



# The Bulletin

## 2011/12

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

Volume 71  
Paul S. Evans, Editor



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Editor:  
Paul S. Evans  
McMaster Divinity College  
McMaster University  
Hamilton, ON, L8S 4K1  
pevans@mcmaster.ca

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Robert A. Derrenbacker, Jr.  
Thorneloe University  
935 Ramsey Lake Road  
Sudbury, ON, P3E 2C6  
rderrenbacker@laurentian.ca

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McMaster University  
1280 Main Street West  
Hamilton, ON, L8S 4K1

**STUDENT LIASON OFFICER:** **Sonya Kostamo**  
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11028-162A St.  
Surrey, BC, V4N 4S8

2011 CSBS PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS  
University of New Brunswick, Fredericton, NB

**Making Room for the Little Ones: How New Research on  
Children and Slaves in Roman World is Changing What We  
Think about the History of Early Christian Women<sup>1</sup>**

Margaret Y. MacDonald  
St. Francis Xavier University

Echoing Paul's language in 1 Corinthians 7 about marriage and distraction, Jerome presented a picture of a frazzled housewife in order to bolster his ideal of the virgin who maintains her undistracted focus on God alone: "The virgin who is not married thinks about God's matters...But the woman who is married thinks about worldly matters, how to please her husband...Over there, babies are chattering, the household is in uproar, children hang on her mouth for kisses, expenses are being counted up, the outgoings are prepared. Here a team of cooks is girded up to pound the meat; a crowd of weaving women is buzzing." Jerome's comments reflect the context of the upper social class or at least those who own some slaves. The wife's domestic duties are bound up with the responsibilities of household management – the needs of infants and toddlers (despite the obvious presence of slaves for assistance) are balanced with the requirements of book-keeping and the management of a household staff. The wife must also be ready for the return of her husband and his friends which creates a new flurry of activity. Jerome comments: "The management of the house, the bringing-up of the children, the needs of her husband,

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<sup>1</sup> I would like to express my gratitude to the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada for supporting my research on this topic.



the training of the slaves - what woman is not distracted by these things from the thoughts of God?"<sup>2</sup>

Anchoring his position in Pauline allusion, Jerome is creating a dichotomy between the married woman and the virgin. From the patristic era to the modern day, commentators have largely held a dichotomous view of the lives of the early Christian women. On the one hand, there were the celibates (the virgins and the widows) and on the other hand, the married women preoccupied with children. As will be discussed shortly, feminist scholars especially writing in the 1980's and 1990's have also reflected this dichotomy, understandably seeking to uncover the remarkable and potentially liberating features of asceticism for women. But new research on how the lives of children and slaves intersected with the lives of women should cause us to read Paul's words cautiously about the celibacy of women and avoidance of anxieties concerning worldly affairs and marriage; his words may actually tell us very little about what was actually really possible for women during his own day in burgeoning church communities, a context which was substantially different from Jerome's era even if Jerome's picture of women's involvement in household management is in keeping with the first century. 1 Corinthians 7, to which I will return, is a remarkable text for it represents the Apostle's attempt to apply and reconcile his eschatological theological vision with the complicated and messy familial realities of house-church life. These involve marriage and sexuality, but also the circumstances of slaves and those mysterious, and rarely mentioned in Paul's letters, children who are presented as the obvious reason why marriages between believers and non-believers should be preserved (1 Cor 7:12-16). The multifaceted

<sup>2</sup> Against Helvidius 20 (PL 23.204), translated and cited in Beryl Rawson, *Children and Childhood in Roman Italy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 216-217.

lives of women are emerging as even more complex with a greater understanding of family circumstances and dynamics in the Roman world.

In this presentation I will address three points of relational intersection: (1) ascetic women and married women in the history of scholarship; (2) mothers, widows and children, especially girls; and more briefly, (3) women and slaves.

#### 1. Ascetic Women and Married Women in the History of Feminist Scholarship

In her highly influential study from early 1980's, *In Memory of Her*, Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza highlighted the remarkable nature of Paul's advice to Christians, especially women, to remain free from the marriage-free bond. What is particularly worthy of reflection for the purposes of this presentation is how Fiorenza constructed the distinction between the lives of married and unmarried women as the implied consequences of Paul's thought:

Paul's theological argument, however, that those who marry are "divided" and not equally dedicated to the affairs of the Lord as the nonmarried, implicitly limited married women to the confines of the patriarchal family. It disqualified married people theologically as less engaged missionaries and less dedicated Christians. It posited a rift between the married woman concerned about her husband and family, and the unmarried virgin who was pure and sacred and therefore who would receive the pneumatic privileges of virginity. One can only wonder how Paul could have made such a theological point when he had



Prisca as his friend and knew other missionary couples who were living examples that his theology was wrong.<sup>3</sup>

I will return to the virgins of Corinth and their potential relationship to Prisca subsequently, but first, we might examine a few points of correlation between Fiorenza's thought and the work of other feminist interpreters. In her important 1992 work, *Her Share of the Blessings*, Ross Shepard Kraemer also presented a radical difference between the lives of married and unmarried women in earliest Christianity. According to Kraemer, "The negation of sexuality, marriage, and childbearing brought with it the possibility of expanded roles for women within the Jesus movement, including substantial participation in the public life of Christian communities. It also effectively freed at least some women from the control of husbands and fathers."<sup>4</sup> Kraemer views women rejecting marriage as refusal to submit to the authority of husbands. New beliefs impelled women to separate from both their natal and marital families. While admitting that the evidence is meager, Kraemer argues that the circumstances of the ancient world point to meaningfully different social realities for women than for men.<sup>5</sup> But she also qualifies her views in an interesting way, anticipating subsequent work on early Christian families which has highlighted ambivalent and ambiguous relationships between early church communities and familial structures: "The Jesus movement and the early Pauline communities supported the renunciation of natal and marital ties, but left just enough room for those who were able to join without breaking such ties

<sup>3</sup> Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, *In Memory of Her: A Feminist Theological Reconstruction of Christian Origins* (London: SCM, 1983), 226.

<sup>4</sup> Ross S. Kraemer, *Her Share of the Blessings: Women's Religions among Pagans, Jews, and Christians in the Roman World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 139.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 139.

altogether."<sup>6</sup> As I will discuss further, Kraemer has become much more cautious about drawing conclusions about the history of early Christian women in her 2011 work, *Unreliable Witnesses*, in keeping with many other feminist scholars.

Focusing on Galatians 3:28 (and 1 Cor 11:7) and at some distance from Fiorenza in her refusal to draw social consequences from this text, Lone Fatum posits a radical distinction between married women and celibate women, reading Gal 3:28 as a reference to the abolition of sexuality and gender differentiation related to Paul's apocalyptic assumptions (Fiorenza gives an extensive response to Fatum in her 1999 volume, *Rhetoric and Ethic*).<sup>7</sup> Fatum speaks of the freedom and equality of asexuality as the consequence of baptism, but this is certainly at a cost, for the woman "...is no longer at one with her sexuality and reproductive function, but on the contrary, as a son of God she has become like a man in God's image. She is no longer female in relation to male; she is male."<sup>8</sup> The proclamation of unity in Gal 3:28 (often understood as a pre-Pauline, baptismal formula) has frequently been linked to the activity of the women prophets of 1 Cor 11:2-16; the passage is viewed as indicative of the type of theology that may have inspired them. Gal 3:28 is one of a series of texts sometimes associated with Jesus himself that links salvation with the unification of opposites (especially male and female) and which is often interpreted as a call to live a celibate lifestyle which transcends sexuality (where there is literally no male and female).<sup>9</sup>

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 140.

<sup>7</sup> See Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, *Rhetoric and Ethic: The Politics of Biblical Studies* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1999), 160-161.

<sup>8</sup> Lone Fatum, "Images of God and Glory of Man: Women in the Pauline Congregations," in Kari Elizabeth Borrensen (ed.), *Image of God and Gender Models in Judaeo-Christian Tradition* (Oslo: Solum, 2001), 56-137 (70).

<sup>9</sup> The Gospel of the Egyptians as cited in Clement of Alexandria, *Strom* 3.13.92; 2 *Clement* 12.2; *Gospel of Thomas* 37, 21a, 22b and as discussed by Dennis R. MacDonald in *There is no Male and Female: The Fate of a*



Like many feminist scholars, Fatum associates celibacy with the opening up of possibilities other than those associated with multiple pregnancies and domestic life as a wife and mother. Especially for scholars writing about ten years ago or more, the ascetic alternative, in the words of Turid Karlsen Seim, represented “an emergency exit – into a eutopian future.”<sup>10</sup> But more and more, interpreters like Fatum are highlighting problematic aspects of this “freedom through celibacy” or, conscious of the ancient understanding of women and gender, increasingly hesitant to describe what this freedom means or to use the term “freedom” at all. In her recent study of gossip, gender, and the Pastoral Epistles, Marianne Bjelland Kartzow, has observed: “Ascetic life obviously meant an alternative for those persons involved, but it is more complicated to draw conclusions related to on what level this alternative represented “more freedom for women.” With her focus especially on the Pastoral Paul, she qualifies the freedom from patriarchy associated with an ascetic lifestyle. She points out that while “... celibate women left fathers or potential or real husbands behind, the church offered new male leaders in its hierarchy, such as the bishop, the elders, and the deacons.”<sup>11</sup> In this presentation, I am especially interested in how the intersection of the lives of

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*Dominical Saying in Paul and Gnosticism* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1987). Here Fatum’s work overlaps with that of Dennis R. MacDonald on the meaning of Gal 3:28.

<sup>10</sup> See Turid Karlsen Seim, “Ascetic Autonomy? New Perspectives on Single Women in the Early Church,” *Studia Theologica* 43 (1989) 125-140 (137).

<sup>11</sup> Marianne Bjelland Kartzow, *Gossip and Gender: Othering of Speech in the Pastoral Epistles*, BZNW 164 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2009), 125. She notes at the same time that two New Testament texts do point to the leadership of women by other women, both mentioning widows: the references to Tabitha in Acts 9:36-41 and to any believing woman who has widows in 1 Tim 5:16.

women with those of slaves and children renders the association of celibacy with freedom more problematic and breaks down the dichotomy between celibate women and women with partners. Such considerations also carry implications for assessing women’s leadership, once again breaking down distinctions between celibate and other women.

I would like to consider one last example from feminist work of two decades ago. In her influential 1990 study Antoinette Clark Wire seeks to explore the rhetorical situation created by Paul’s arguments, highlighting the presence and initiative of women prophets. In contrast to some other interpreters, Wire is confident that some aspects of the theology of the women “might be reconstructed from Paul’s persuasion.”<sup>12</sup> In her reconstruction of life in Corinth, Wire relates a world where “most women were married young, bore many children, and had little scope for a life beyond the hearth” to a context where “we see significant numbers of people in the small Christian community...leaving long-term sexual relationships or refusing marriage.”<sup>13</sup> Linking 1 Corinthians 7 and 1 Corinthians 11 closely together, she understands the women prophets of 1 Cor 11:2-16 who challenge Paul to be mainly celibate women. Because Paul connects prayer with sexual abstinence in 1 Cor 7:5 and “... because the Hellenistic world anticipates women prophets will be chaste,” Wire suggests that it is the desire for prophecy and prayer which draws women to become “consecrated in both body and spirit” (citing Paul’s language in 1 Cor 7:34).<sup>14</sup>

In drawing attention to female initiative, the nature of Paul’s language, and the special focus on virgins in 1 Corinthians 7, Wire

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<sup>12</sup> Antoinette Clark Wire, *The Corinthian Women Prophets: A Reconstruction through Paul’s Rhetoric* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990), 95.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 91.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 183.



was influenced by my own 1990 article on the topic.<sup>15</sup> I continue to believe that the celibacy of women was of special significance to the community of Corinth and that Paul's rhetorical balancing of references to men and women is intended especially to shape the behavior of women who were demonstrating initiative in marital affairs. But where I now disagree with Wire is in how she sets up a strong contrast between the lives married women and the lives of single women based on Paul's argumentation for the freedom from anxiety that comes from single life: "The subordinate role of women in Corinthian marriages would tend to make the contrast of married and unmarried life greater for women than for men."<sup>16</sup> I would suggest that precisely the opposite is true. With the exception of the end of further childbearing, which admittedly had great symbolic as well as physical significance, taking account of family complexities in the Roman world means that in practical terms the lives of the celibate and married, or once married women, who are reflected in the text would have closely resembled each other. Here I am thinking of domestic responsibilities, involvement with child care, and relationships with male guardians. To some degree Wire herself recognizes this when she comments of the domestic situations of the women of 1 Corinthians 7: "Slave women, as well as free women who continue to live in the home of their husbands, probably retain traditional responsibilities, as do – perhaps on a lesser scale – virgins living with parents, widows living with children, and divorced women staying with relatives or other believers. Paul's reference to children shows that many women have children and must care for them."<sup>17</sup> Yet ultimately Wire's analysis ties leadership to the prophetic activity of celibate women in Corinth. When we look at

<sup>15</sup> Margaret Y. MacDonald, "Women Holy in Body and Spirit: The Social Setting of 1 Corinthians 7," *New Testament Studies* 36 (1990) 161-81.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 92.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 91.

the evidence concerning the named women in Pauline correspondence, however, their marital status often remains ambiguous despite the frequent absence of male names associated with Paul's female co-workers. In particular, the identity of the virgins who are of such obvious importance in 1 Corinthians 7 remains shrouded in mystery. Moreover, with the exception of a few tantalizing references such as the virgin daughters of Philip who prophesy (Acts 21:9) or the virgins called widows in Ignatius (Ign. *Smyrn.* 13.1) and leaving aside Mary, the mother of Jesus and the legendary Thecla – specific virgins from the very early period are very hard to find. As I will discuss further below, new research on childhood and the life course, may shed light on this identity issue.

In the last ten to fifteen years, work on women and Christian origins has moved in two main and sometimes opposing directions, both of which might be said to be influenced by a growing interest in gender studies. There has been a definite move, especially under the influence of literary methods and rhetorical analysis and studies of the ancient novel, in the direction of significant pessimism with respect to the recovery of women's social experience. Here the work of Elizabeth Clark has been especially influential and its thesis is succinctly summarized in the title of a frequently cited 1998 article, "The Lady Vanishes: Dilemmas of a Feminist Historian after the 'Linguistic Turn'".<sup>18</sup> While their positions are not identical, it is worth noting that the groundbreaking historian on women and religion in the ancient world, Ross Shepard Kraemer has clearly been influenced by the linguistic turn and has changed her mind on a variety of historical issues, admitting that she may have been "too optimistic about our ability to describe ancient social realities" in *Her Share of the*

<sup>18</sup> See Elizabeth A. Clark, "The Lady Vanishes: Dilemmas of Feminist Historian after the 'Linguistic Turn'" *CH* 67 (1998) 1-31.



*Blessings*. She writes in the introduction to her 2011 volume with the telling title, *Unreliable Witnesses*: "In the intervening years, it has become much clearer to me that interwoven problems of data and theory attend any attempt at the accurate reconstruction and subsequent redescription and explanation of women's religious behaviors and beliefs in Greco-Roman antiquity encounters."<sup>19</sup>

But in contrast to this heightened skepticism, there are other scholars who are confident that advances can be made in the recovery of women's experience. In her 2009 study, *Women in the World of the Earliest Christians*, Lynn H. Cohick, offers the following strong statement: "...I reject the postmodern conclusion that rhetoric is reality and the attending corollary that history is lost behind this veil. Although texts and even inscriptions follow customs of propriety, I maintain that these pieces of information are attached to retrievable history."<sup>20</sup> In my co-authored volume with Carolyn Osiek (with an important chapter contribution from Janet Tulloch), one of our aims was to restore some confidence in the possibility of the historical reconstruction of early Christian women while paying attention to our colleagues engaged in rhetorical and literary analysis. We did so by engaging in an interdisciplinary dialogue with Roman Family Studies, which led us in the first instance to pay very close attention to the house-church context and to focus on the intersection between various dimensions of family life and, in the second instance, to discuss such topics as giving birth and childcare in house churches, or the situation of female slaves, old and young. But we were also very interested in the values associated with family life and how these

<sup>19</sup> Ross Shepard Kraemer, *Unreliable Witnesses: Religion, Gender, and History in the Greco-Roman Mediterranean* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 6

<sup>20</sup> Lynn H. Cohick, *Women in the World of the Earliest Christians: Illuminating Ancient Ways of Life* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Academic, 2009), 27-28.

intersected with imperial ideology, in keeping with the work of members of our society including Harry Maier and Mary Rose D'Angelo.

Our approach in *A Woman's Place* was broadly comparative. In earliest Christianity we identified evidence of greater social freedom (not "liberation" in the modern sense), that was happening already in Roman society and in which early Christianity shared. If elements of women's participation in early church groups were pushing the boundaries of convention, social freedom and public visibility were being demonstrated in similar or complimentary ways by women across the Empire. In many respects, these women were continuing in the roles they had as pagan and Jewish women before they entered believing communities. In fact, nothing has perhaps closed the gap between Jewish, pagan, and early Christian women more than scholarship on women patrons as the recent study by Richard Ascough, *Lydia: Paul's Cosmopolitan Hostess*, demonstrates so well.<sup>21</sup>

Comparative work on women and patronage has to some degree broken down the dichotomy between married and unmarried women as women patrons were both married and unmarried and often widows. The lack of reference to a male partner in the case of Phoebe *prostatis* in Rom 16:1-2 has often led to the suggestion that she is a widow and it is a striking feature of the named women in Paul's letters that so many of them are mentioned without male counterparts. Yet, there is ample evidence in ancient literature and papyri of widows as property owners and of women managing households for themselves.<sup>22</sup> In an early Christian context, however, the lack of reference to male

<sup>21</sup> Richard Ascough, *Lydia: Paul's Cosmopolitan Hostess* (Collegeville, Minnesota: Liturgical Press, 2009).

<sup>22</sup> See Carolyn Osiek and Margaret Y. MacDonald, *A Woman's Place: House Churches in Earliest Christianity* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2006), 155-157.



counterparts may be the result of mixed marriages which we know existed as early as Paul's day. Although the degree to which it represents historical reality has been questioned, including by Kraemer in her recent volume, Justin Martyr's Roman matron married to profligate pagan husband, acts with considerable independence in managing her household and affairs even before she decides to divorce her husband, who admittedly is frequently away.<sup>23</sup> We may have an earlier case of an influential early Christian woman who is named in relation to her husband but is greeted independently in Ignatius, *Pol.* 8:2, where Ignatius states: "I greet all by name, and the wife of Epitropus, along with the entire household of her and her children." (trans. Ehrman, LCL) Epitropus could be an ex-husband, a diseased husband, or possibly even a father (the text refers literally to the one belonging to Epitropus), but it is also quite possible that he is not a Christian and that she is a Christian and functioning rather freely.<sup>24</sup>

## 2. Mothers, Widows, and Children

If widows acted with independence, they were in many respects continuing in the role of household management which they undertook as wives and mothers. Good household management, including frugality and various domestic duties such as overseeing the proper running of the household and the care of guests were conventional expectations in the Roman world and we certainly see the reflections of these in a text like 1 Tim 5:14 where young women are instructed to marry, bear children, and manage their households. But in the New Testament era women were challenging the boundaries of authority of the male heads of households and guardians in various ways, exerting their influence

<sup>23</sup> Justin Martyr, *Second Apology* 2. See Kraemer, *Unreliable Witnesses*, 46-55.

<sup>24</sup> Osiek and MacDonald, *A Woman's Place*, 156.

in matters ranging from the negotiation of good matches for their children, to educational concerns, to advocating for their children even into married life. The second-century representation by Aulus Gellius of the mother advocating for her daughter's use of a wetnurse on account of being too exhausted after delivery to nurse her first born is instructive even if it is coloured by a philosophical climate that saw the nursing of babies by their own mothers as virtuous but dangerously on the decline (Gellius 12.1.1-5; cf. Tacitus, *Dialogue* 28.4-5). In widowhood, women were sometimes in a position to manage all of the affairs of their children, including their education into adulthood. But when husbands were absent for various reasons, wives could also wield considerable authority. Plutarch's, *A Consolation to His Wife*, written to his wife upon the death of their two-year old daughter, Timoxena offers illuminating evidence. This text, which is clearly shaped by the conventions of consolatory letter writing, nevertheless by chance reveals expectations about a wife's ability to manage funerary and household affairs in a husband's absence.

There has been much in recent scholarship to moderate the representation of the tyrannical authority of the *paterfamilias*. One feature has been a heightened appreciation of the influence of mothers. One of the most important aspects of Susanne Dixon's research on Roman mothers is that there were conventional expectations around the authority of mothers which cannot be overlooked; often these operated as informal expectations about the authority of mothers which fail to surface in discussions of household management articulating hierarchical familial relations and the formal authority of a male head of the household such as in the New Testament household codes. While evidence is scarce, Dixon invites us to entertain the possibility that among the lower classes, mothers might even have had heightened influence:



“Within the slave and freed-slave families of Rome, the mother must sometimes have been an anchor in a very uncertain world.”<sup>25</sup>

I believe that we have considered too little theme of early Christian women and motherhood. Two demographic realities are significant here, one having to do with the proportion of children in Roman society and the second having to do with the number of children a woman typically bore. In his recent study, *Children in the Roman Empire: Outsiders Within* (first published in 2006 in Dutch and now published by Cambridge in 2011), Christian Laes, builds upon the demographic studies of T. Parkin, proposing a conception of the average western society with 19% of the population between 0-15, compared to an estimated 33% in ancient Rome. Laes comments: “...the proportion of children in ancient Rome was almost twice that in our own society, while we have a three times larger proportion of elderly persons. In other words, it is not an exaggeration to imagine ancient Rome as a bustling society, its streets teeming with children and young people at play or at work.”<sup>26</sup> It is on these teaming streets that early Christianity expanded. The second demographic reality that I would like to consider is the frequency of births. Recent demographic calculations estimate that the average 50-year old woman in Roman Antiquity had given birth to six children, two or three of whom may have survived.<sup>27</sup> Thus, unless they had never been married, like presumably the virgins of 1 Corinthians 7, the birth

<sup>25</sup> Susanne Dixon, *The Roman Mother* (London/Sydney: Croom Helm, 1988), 233.

<sup>26</sup> Christian Laes, *Children in the Roman Empire: Outsiders Within* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 28. He cites T. Parkin, *Old Age in the Roman World: A Cultural and Social History* (Baltimore, MD: 2003), 35-56; 280-81.

<sup>27</sup> Laes, *Children in the Roman Empire*, 50. See also T. Parkin, “The Roman Life Course and the Family,” in Beryl Rawson (ed.), *A Companion to Families in the Greek and Roman Worlds* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2011), 276-290 (279-80).

and death of children were a shared experience of the women we hear about in early Christian texts, be they slave or free.

In my view, we have not paid enough attention to these demographic realities. But as Mary Rose D’Angelo’s careful work on this topic has illustrated, Paul’s references to co-workers and missionary partnership are by no means restricted to married couples.<sup>28</sup> Moreover, the reference to the active leadership of married couples (Prisca and Aquila [Rom 16:3]; Andronicus and Junia [Rom 16:7]; Philogus and Julia [Rom 16:15] have been examined by scholars from a variety of angles, especially in light of Paul’s own preference for celibacy articulated in 1 Corinthians 7 and Paul’s own renunciation of the right to be accompanied by a sister as wife in 1 Cor 9:5. Yet some were almost certainly already married at the time of their allegiance to church groups – though by no means necessarily legally married which was possible for only some categories of persons in the Empire and it is debatable whether such an issue was of any real concern for the status of people who were part of the Pauline churches. There is ample inscriptional evidence for slaves applying marital and familial terminology to themselves and viewing themselves as family even though they had no legal rights to marriage, inheritance, or patrimony. Even if, as has sometime been suggested, Paul’s missionary collaborators had turned to spiritual marriages, given the almost complete lack of effectiveness of ancient birth control, it is probable that at least some of the missionary pairs conducted their work as parents of children.<sup>29</sup>

### *Prisca and Domestic Challenges*

<sup>28</sup> Mary Rose D’Angelo, “Women Partners in the New Testament,” *JFSR* 6 (1990) 65-86.

<sup>29</sup> See Osiek and MacDonald, *A Woman’s Place*, 28.



So what does this change about how we should view a woman like Prisca? Prisca and her partner travelled between, and took up residence in, three major cities of the Roman Empire: Rome, Ephesus, and Corinth. Paul's letters indicate that they were hosts to house churches in Ephesus and Rome (1 Cor 16:19 and Rom 16:3-5) and the fact that they offered hospitality to Paul in Corinth (Acts 18:2-3; 18:18-9:1) suggests that they played the same role in Corinth. Like Paul, Prisca and Aquila were migrant craftspeople, but seemingly unlike Paul, they also sought fairly permanent domestic home bases. In studying the situation of foreigners at Rome, David Noy has drawn attention to the fact that the New Testament evidence concerning Prisca and Aquila offers one of the most complete records of migration for people of their status, indicating both the need to travel long distances and to make contacts and organize new living arrangements.<sup>30</sup> Initially at least, the meeting place of believers might have been something as simple as a rented room in an inn, or in the case of Prisca and Aquila, arrangements for accommodation may have been in place before their arrival in a given city (cf. Acts 28:15) in an establishment or house owned by a fellow Jew. In all likelihood, Prisca's influence was front and center in making these arrangements. And, at times, it must not have been easy. While it concerns the expulsion of foreigners from Rome – indeed an aspect of Prisca and Aquila profile in Acts (Acts 18:2) – Appian (*Macedonian Affairs* 11.9) describes the expulsion of the Macedonians from Rome in 171 BCE, having been given a few hours notice: "Some, in their haste, could not reach a lodging place, but passed the night in the middle of the roads. Others threw

<sup>30</sup> David Noy, *Foreigners at Rome: Citizens and Strangers* (London: Duckworth, 2000), 259.

themselves on the ground at the city gates with their wives and children."<sup>31</sup>

In all likelihood, Prisca and Aquila were parents and their relocation from city to city as Jewish craftworkers would put them in the category of foreigners recently examined by Noy as subject to particular familial challenges that come with migration. Prisca herself was a wife, artisan, missionary, and foreign immigrant. As such, she combined aspects of life traditionally associated with the male (public) sphere and female (private) sphere. Although it is not explicit in the sources, Prisca may have facilitated missionary access to women including the young women who chose to remain virgins (1 Corinthians 7) or the wives of non-believers who turn up in communities as early as Paul's letters (1 Cor 7:12-16; 1 Pet 3:1-2; see further in next section). To return to Fiorenza's point about the chasm that seems to separate Paul's endorsement of Prisca and his preference for the unmarried state, I would suggest that it is doubtful that such a chasm really existed. Comparative evidence suggests that is more likely that Prisca would act as an advocate for younger women in the community with respect to decisions involving marriage and the renunciation of marriage. As an ancient man, Paul would have taken for granted that any married woman or previously married woman was also mother and fully embroiled in the dynamics of family life. It is clearly only new marriages that Paul seeks to limit based on his theological vision and his counsel is markedly cautious.

Prisca is one of several women in Pauline literature and Acts associated with leadership of a house church. In our co-authored book, *A Woman's Place*, Carolyn Osiek and I sought to bring the familial space of the house church to the centre of our discussion. We admittedly took chances in our reconstruction, postulating that

<sup>31</sup> Cited in David Noy, "Foreign Families in Roman Italy," in Beryl Rawson ed., *A Companion to Families in the Greek and Roman Worlds* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2011), 145-160 (145).



we have to think of house-church space as a place where nursing slaves were present and children and their accoutrements could be found. At about the same time, a very different and important study appeared which also had a focus on space. Jorunn Økland examined 1 Corinthians 11-14 where she argued that the Corinthian discourse of gender functions to create sanctuary space which is potentially at odds with the aspirations and faith commitments of women of the community (though her focus is much more on Paul's own discourse than on the women themselves as in our work.) According to Økland, in 1 Cor 11:1-3 we have the gendering of the *ekklēsia* space as primarily male space, where all the higher levels of the hierarchy are male spaces: God, Christ, Paul, Corinthian men – women find a place only at the bottom of the hierarchy.<sup>32</sup> Particularly significant for our purposes, Økland finds support in 1 Cor 11:22 and especially in 1 Cor 14:32-34 where Paul distinguishes between the space of assembly where women should keep silent and the space of the household where women can ask their husbands questions. So, according to Økland, Paul is trying to convert familial space of church meeting into something quite other. Although I find much of what Økland argues about the implications of Paul's discourse convincing, many questions remain for me about the intersection of the ritual space of church meeting and the concrete reality of the space as household space.<sup>33</sup> More research needs to be done on this fascinating topic.

First Corinthians 7 is an important text for finding evidence of the intersection between the ritual space of church meeting and familial space. In a soon-to-be published article with Leif Vaage, we examine Paul's curious and in fact contradictory or paradoxical

<sup>32</sup> Jorunn Økland, *Women in their Place: Paul and the Corinthian Discourse of Gender and Sanctuary Space* (London and New York: T&T Clark/Continuum, 2004), 178.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 151.

(often rendered less so by translation) reference to children in 1 Cor 7:14c as he addressed the thorny issue of marriage between believers and nonbelievers: "Since therefore your children are unclean, but now are holy."<sup>34</sup> This is the only indisputable direct reference to children as members of the community in the undisputed letters of Paul, though Paul frequently refers to children, infancy, and childhood in metaphor or as a rhetorical device. In the disputed Paulines, specifically the household codes of Colossians and Ephesians, children are addressed directly along with other familial groupings. Despite his ascetic ideals, children seem to be at least an unavoidable presence in church groups and in the Apostle's life – his metaphorical references to children might indicate a far more welcomed presence than we can establish. Indeed, children seem to have penetrated virtually every social space in the Roman world. Christian Laes states the following: "Archaeologists have found hardly any children's beds, nor is there evidence of designated play rooms. Children would usually play near the atrium or around the galleries of the peristyle."<sup>35</sup> Simple two-room dwellings above shops, which might well have served as the meeting places for some church groups, would simply have children, including crying infants and toddlers, as a constant presence. With respect to lower classes, the neighborhood and street was the playground.

#### *Family Categories in 1 Corinthians 7*

In Paul's appeal to the various categories of married and unmarried people in 1 Corinthians 7, we sense his attempt to grapple with the messy business of families and of house churches. The

<sup>34</sup> This article has now appeared as Leif E. Vaage and Margaret Y. MacDonald, "Unclean but Holy Children: Paul's Everyday Quandary in 1 Corinthians 7:14c," *CBQ* 73 (2011) 526-46.

<sup>35</sup> Laes, *Children in the Roman Empire*, 37.



interpretation of this text has been hampered by modern anachronistic views of the *ekklēsia*, family, and childhood. The focus on virgins takes on a dramatically different significance, for example, when one recalls that the circumstances of these women are far removed from the circumstances of modern celibate women. Work on the life course in the Roman world has drawn attention to very flexible notions of the end of childhood based on stages of development rather than rigid age demarcation such as we use to determine the right to vote or to be eligible for a driver's license. For girls, marriage was the most visible sign of adulthood. Roman historians continue to debate whether women typically married in their early to mid-teens or late teens. But there is consensus that men were frequently a decade older, and sometimes much older than that.<sup>36</sup> Beryl Rawson, in her magisterial 2003 study of children and childhood in the Roman world, offers evidence that the transition from girl to wife, while on a symbolic level quite dramatic, in practical reality must have taken time to evolve. She points to the household ceremony involving the bride's offering of her dolls and toys to the household gods or to Venus on her wedding day.<sup>37</sup> Yet the end of childhood could make its presence felt with sudden brutality as the following first-century inscription reveals, documenting the risks of early motherhood, and in this case of a slave who may have become pregnant by her master: "My name was Calliste – befitting my appearance (Calliste, meaning very beautiful one). As for my age I was fifteen years old. I was charming to my master and loved by both my parents. I had become weak and ill: the seventh day of my illness was the last. The cause of my death is unknown. They say it was

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., 30-31.

<sup>37</sup> Rawson, *Children and Childhood in Roman Italy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 145 citing Varro in Nonius 863.5; Persius *Sat.* 2.70. On the end of childhood as a flexible concept see pp. 134-45.

childbirth. But whatever it was, I did not deserve to parish so soon."<sup>38</sup>

The distinction between the children in 1 Corinthians 7 and the virgins of marriageable age mentioned elsewhere in the chapter is not really clear and must often have been of small degree – intriguingly both groups are attributed the label holy by Paul – the only place to the best of my knowledge where he singles out individuals for the designation. Assuming that these young women remained with their parents in the desire to remain holy in body and spirit, their significance as consecrated virgins may have been great in the community's ritual gatherings and for community self-definition in a world passing away. But in terms of the practical realities of domestic, familial arrangements, their daily lives were probably quite frequently unchanged, despite the heroic ambitions of Thecla as recounted in the novelistic Apocryphal Acts. It is not much wonder that we sense tension between Paul's theological and ethical vision and the ambitions of mothers, girls, fathers, and fiancés. We hear from an Apostle who is reactive to probably many unforeseen scenarios, including the tricky problem of what to do with one's virgin in 1 Cor 7:34-38.

#### *Mothers as Educators in the Pastorals*

Transition from childhood to adulthood is one aspect of the study of the life course which I believe will become increasingly important for our study of early Christian women as Mona Lafosse's University of Toronto doctoral dissertation on ageing in early Christianity with a special focus on the widows of 1 Timothy 5 illustrates so well. In thinking about how Prisca and other women may have acted as mentors for other early Christian women, we are touching upon the educational influences of women which are tied

<sup>38</sup> CIL VI 5534; CLE 1035 Rome. Cited and discussed in Laes, *Children in the Roman Empire*, 54.



to family life and to the life course, including various aspects of demography. Despite their clear attempt to bolster patriarchal and hierarchical structures, the Pastoral Epistles do, in fact, provide fascinating material in this regard, both at the level of the reinforcement of conventional values and in the manner in which they highlight the way conventional familial expectations may have opened up avenues for women to exercise influence – this against many interpreters who have viewed the Pastorals as only restricting women (I admit that this is one area where I have changed my own mind to a considerable degree.) We might begin with 2 Timothy’s reference to Timothy as being formed in the faith within the context of family life, strikingly by his grandmother Lois and his mother Eunice (2 Tim 1:5) which later finds a corollary in the statement that Timothy has been instructed from infancy in the sacred writings (*brephos*) (2 Tim 3:15). There are several conventional features of this presentation. First, that Timothy is presented as having come under the influence of his grandmother fits with ancient demography where because of the earlier age of women marrying, children were much more likely to have living grandmothers than grandfathers. Building on the work of R.P. Saller, Laes notes: “At age 15, just 10 percent of children had a living grandfather. And almost a quarter of Roman children had lost their father by age 10. By the time they reached 20, fewer than half had a living father.”<sup>39</sup> Moreover, the maternal influence on Timothy in educational matters is in keeping with traditional themes whereby mothers are bestowed with honour by their educational influence on their children. These texts are clearly intended to enhance Timothy’s image as Paul’s emissary in the eyes of an ancient audience. The influence of mothers on the education of children (including sons) is well documented in Greco-Roman literature (albeit elite literature), not only with

<sup>39</sup> Laes, *Children in the Roman Empire*, 28.

respect to the development of character, but also with respect to curriculum and even speech. In speaking of the Roman era, Plutarch, for example, describes the educational influence and dedication of Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi, who took charge of the household and children upon the death of her husband (Plutarch, *Life of Tiberius Gracchus* 1.6-7). Tiberius Gracchus (born c. 163 BCE) was, according to Cicero, educated in Greek literature due to the concern of his mother Cornelia (Cicero, *Brutus* 104). Making it clear that Cornelia’s influence was not limited to maternal care, Cicero proclaims: “I have read the letters of Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi, and it would appear that her sons were actually raised not so much in their mother’s bosom as in her language!” (Cicero, *Brutus* 211; cf. Cicero, *On the Orator* 3.45; Pliny, *Letters* 1.16.6).<sup>40</sup>

At the same time, it is important to remember that such conventional features of 2 Timothy must be evaluated within the context where women faced very real risks in joining these fledgling communities, which in some respects represented a counter-cultural movement. The lack of reference to a believing father in Timothy’s case (Paul is Timothy’s fictive father) is in keeping with ample evidence that mixed marriages involving believing women were social irritants in the relations between church and society of this period – as I have demonstrated in some of my earlier work. The manner in which the author of Pastoral Epistles seeks to restrict the activities of young widows and guide the behavior of young women also displays evidence of conventional motifs while at the same time legitimizing certain types of influence on the part of women (but admittedly the Pastoral Paul seeks definitely to restrict women’s choices

<sup>40</sup> On this theme see also Plutarch, *The Education of Children* 14b-c.; Quintillian, *Training in Oratory* 1.1.6-7. For translations of these texts see M. Joyals, I. McDougall, and J.C. Yardley, *Greek and Roman Education: A Sourcebook* (London and New York: Routledge, 2009).



especially as young women). Tit 2:3-5, where older women are instructed to teach younger women to be good wives, mothers, and household managers reflects societal expectations concerning the ongoing education by older females throughout the process of a first marriage and birth of a first child – the type of transition from childhood to adulthood and motherhood discussed previously in conjunction with the virgins of Corinth. But given the prohibition of women teaching in 1 Tim 2:12, it remains striking that the recognized word for teacher (*didaskalos*) is used for this intergenerational instruction of women in Tit 2:5, begging the question of whether this wisdom imparted by women to the next generation of women was considered equally significant to the instruction they received from men on other topics?<sup>41</sup> The influence of widows young and old clearly is clearly underlies 1 Tim 5:3-16, in the exhortation to assist widows, effort to describe and circumscribe the activities of certain widows, and the encouragement of young widows to give up widowhood altogether in favour of household management so they will less opportunity for the kind of wandering of which the Pastoral Paul clearly disapproves.

With respect to the older widows, T. Parkin's simulation of the life course of the imaginary Tatia (based on a simulation of the life course of a model family), reads like a blue print for the context of 1 Timothy 5:3-16: "By age 60 Tatia is perhaps a widow living alone; her two surviving children (aged in their 20s or 30s) have left home and she has three living grandchildren, as well as two nieces and a nephew. She has attended many family funerals over the years, of parents, of a husband or two, of a number of her own children, including those of half of her siblings. She herself has only a few years left."<sup>42</sup> Tatia is the type of widow, left alone, who

according to author of 1 Timothy, can continue in prayer and supplication, night and day (1 Tim 5:5). In his description of widows the author of 1 Timothy relates celibate life to family life – motherhood remains closely linked to the life of the older ascetic – a reality that is also hinted at in the greeting to the orphans and widows that Grapte is to instruct in the Shephard of Hermas (Herm. *Vis.* 2.4.3) or perhaps even the puzzling reference to "virgins called widows" in Ignatius (Ign. *Smyrn.* 13.1). Older women become models for younger women in these texts and were seemingly sometimes involved in childrearing and the education of adolescent girls heading into married life. And in a context where Christianity is looking increasingly suspicious in the eyes of outsiders, it is important to remember that even the call for young widows to marry and rule their households is both an apologetic defense against those who would slander the community for violating familial and political norms, and an opportunity to establish new family units that can provide the infrastructure for house churches – all under the under tutelage of older women to act as wise guides.

<sup>41</sup> See Osiek and MacDonald, *A Woman's Place*, 90-91.

<sup>42</sup> Parkin, "The Roman Life Course and the Family," 280.



## 3. Children and Slaves – Overlapping Identities

As a final topic, I would like to give a brief overview of how research on slaves in the Roman world is changing our understanding of early Christian women. In the past twenty years there has been an impressive growth in scholarship on the theme of early Christianity and slavery, with important contributions of such scholars as Dale Martin, Jennifer Glancy, Bernadette Brooten and Albert Harrill. This impressive scholarship is closely tied to advances in our understanding of slavery in the Roman world and across cultures. It has included significant advances in our understanding of slave families, much of which is based on inscriptional evidence. Here I will highlight two elements: (1) the multifaceted identities of female slaves; (2) the vulnerability of female slaves.

A particularly useful distinction when trying to understand the dynamics of a house church in the Roman world is that of a “houseful” as opposed to a “household.” Archaeological investigations of Pompeii have been central to this distinction, indicating that several households could function within one domain, especially in large dwellings. “Houseful” refers to the number of people living in a particular house which could include slaves, freedpersons, clients and relatives as well as the head of the household, his wife and children.<sup>43</sup> To a certain degree households could operate with some independence within a larger structure which could also encompass shops with adjacent rented rooms. Such circumstances could offer opportunities for slaves to form a

<sup>43</sup> See A. Wallace-Hadrill, “Houses and Households: Sampling Pompeii and Herculaneum,” in Beryl Rawson (ed.), *Marriage, Divorce, and Children in Ancient Rome* (Canberra, and Oxford and New York: The Australian National University and Oxford University Press, 1991), 191-227; *Houses and Society in Pompeii and Herculaneum* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994).

believing community and have access to a significant number of people living within the same structure or in close proximity.

Like children, slaves were ubiquitous in Roman houses. The archaeological evidence for the existence of slave quarters is subject to debate, but in her study of Pompeii and Roman Ephesus, the Canadian scholar Michele George has indicated that there is little firm evidence for separate slave quarters, and argued that slaves and slave children may well often have slept in such places as kitchens, storerooms, or on the floor of the master’s bedroom.<sup>44</sup> Scholarly consensus exists, however, that freeborn children often spent their days and even nights in the company of slaves, in close proximity to their wet nurses and with slave children their own age. The mingling of free and slave children in childhood has not received enough attention as a possible source of early Christian expansion, nor has the role of slaves as wet-nurses and child-minders. Among females slaves the teaching authority and influence of the wet-nurse is especially worthy of note. In her study of childhood and infancy in antiquity, Véronique Dasen offers the following assessment: “The nurse’s social function was extensive. Her role did not stop at the weaning period. Much evidence shows that in Greece as in Rome she was a life-long companion. In positive circumstances, she could construct non-kin relations and became, through connections not of blood, but milk, a member of an extended family.”<sup>45</sup>

There are several female slaves mentioned in early Christian literature including the female slave with the spirit of divination at Philippi (Acts 16:16-19), the door keeper in the house of Mary in

<sup>44</sup> Michele George, “Domestic Architecture and Household Relations: Pompeii and Roman Ephesus,” *JSNT* 21 (2004): 7-25. For a different reading of the evidence see Laes, *Children in the Roman Empire*, 36.

<sup>45</sup> Véronique Dasen, “Childbirth and Infancy in Greek Roman Antiquity,” in Beryl Rawson (ed.), *A Companion to Families in the Greek and Roman Worlds* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2011), 291-314 (309).



Jerusalem (Acts 12:12), and the two *ancillae* called *ministrae* who are tortured by Pliny the younger for information (Ep. 10.96). The Acts of the Martyrs refer to Blandina, the heroic figure of Lyon, and Felicitas of Carthage who gives birth in prison.<sup>46</sup> It is important to acknowledge that references to female slaves could serve the rhetorical purposes of ancient authors by repeating slave stereotypes, but the reference to circumstances of Felicitas do represent a common experience of slave women: motherhood (and in this case no father mentioned). Slave women could become pregnant because they formed marital partnerships with other household slaves or because they were used sexually by their masters for enjoyment or for breeding purposes. But whatever the circumstances might be, it is important to realize that in encountering female slaves in early Christian communities, we must bear in mind that they could be daughters, wives, and mothers in addition to being slaves themselves. They could be the slaves of non-believing masters, the partners of non-believing slaves, or involved in a type of mixed marriage where their husbands were living elsewhere. The negotiations involved in preserving their family connections, not to mention allegiance to a new religious group, must have been complicated indeed. The well documented use of marital and familial terminology in funerary monuments of freedpersons, makes it clear that we must include slaves and freedpersons within the purview of early Christian texts dealing with marriage and family life unless there is good reason to exclude them.<sup>47</sup> For example, I think we cannot assume that all of the children that Paul has in mind in his discussion of mixed marriage (1 Cor 7:14-16) are freeborn. The Corinthian audience

<sup>46</sup> For more examples and fuller discussion, see Osiek and MacDonald, *A Woman's Place*, 108.

<sup>47</sup> See especially Dale Martin, "Slave Families and Slaves in Families," in David L. Balch and Carolyn Osiek (eds), *Early Christian Families in Context: An Interdisciplinary Dialogue* (ed.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003), 207-30.

may have included slave women who brought their children to meetings and whose non-believing "husbands" were the domestic slaves of non-believers. The overlapping identity of a woman as a slave and a mother would be rendered even more problematic if she brought her children (and possibly even the children of her master) to meetings without the knowledge of the *paterfamilias*. Presumably, the consequences could be brutal for this was a society where executioners sometimes offered specialized services for the torture of slaves.<sup>48</sup>

This last point leads to a brief discussion of the vulnerability of female slaves; this vulnerability involves a variety of factors, including sexual availability, physical labour, and stability of family relations. Jennifer Glancy has highlighted Paul's silence on the sexual use of slaves which was a widespread cultural expectation with very few calls for limitation. Paul simply does not answer the question of whether sex with one's slave constitutes *porneia*. In fact, W. Scheidel has very recently raised the possibility that a majority of slave children may have been the masters own children, the so called *fillii naturales*.<sup>49</sup> Given the widespread acceptability of the use of slaves for sexual purposes (here we need to include child slaves sometimes adopted as favourites of their masters, cultivated for their charm and good looks and living in circumstances of pseudo-adoption, known as *delicia*) it would be naïve to think that the sexual use of slaves disappeared from early Christian communities; the Christian ethical ethos would have no effect in any case on the circumstances of slaves with non-believing masters. The forceful

<sup>48</sup> Laes, *Children in the Roman Empire*, 164.

<sup>49</sup> W. Scheidel, "The Demographic Background," in S. R. Huebner and D.M. Razan (eds), *Growing up Fatherless in Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 38-40. Cited in Henrik Mouritsen, "The Families of the Roman Slaves and Freedmen" in Beryl Rawson (ed.), *A Companion to Families in the Greek and Roman Worlds* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2011), 129-44 (134).



call for the obedience of slaves in the household codes, including the concise call for slaves to obey their masters in everything in Col 3:22, raises the question of whether this includes sexual service.<sup>50</sup> I have examined this issue at length elsewhere, but here I will just point out that the bearing of the ethics propounded in Pauline texts on the sexual use of slaves is not easy to determine. In an ancient context female slaves could not be ascribed honour – they had no claim to shame or chastity. The violation of enslaved captives was one of the ways this lack of honour was demonstrated publicly. But the promise of inheritance to slaves (essentially making siblings of all believers in Christ) in Col 3:24 is definitely equalizing rhetoric which bestows honour. We should also add relations between believing free, freed, and slave women to the mix. There is a lack of evidence of solidarity between free women and female slaves, including descriptions of the wife jealous of the female slave with whom her master is sexually involved. While it is not made explicit, we must keep in mind that many of the named women in early Christian literature were probably slave holders. For example, the author of Luke-Acts stresses the conversion of respectable householders and probably intends his audience to understand Lydia's household described in Acts 16 as comprised of slaves. Lydia, the purple merchant, has often been understood as a freedperson herself, but it remains unknown how women like Lydia would have treated their slave-sisters in Christ.

The identity of Lydia as a woman active in trade raises another aspect of slave vulnerability which has been of interest to Roman

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<sup>50</sup> See more detailed discussion in Osiek and MacDonald, *A Woman's Place*, 95-117. From the first two centuries, we only have the Didache 2.2 which seems to prohibit the sexual use of children, "thou shall not corrupt youth" and possibly Ep. Barn 10.6-8 in the metaphorical prohibition against the eating of hare. See Laes, *Children in the Roman Empire*, 270-272, also for discussion of later evidence.

historians over the past decade; the skeletal remains recovered at Pompeii and Herculaneum, and analyzed by anthropologists, have revealed evidence of sustained physical labour in youth. Adults showed signs of prolonged exertion pointing to labour activity from childhood and children as young as five, including a significant number of girls, showed signs of significant injury. The geographical locations of Pompeii and Herculaneum suggest that the labour in question involved farming and activities related to the harbour such a rowing or unloading cargo. One fourteen year old girl was found cradling a baby; while the infant was adorned with bronze jewels indicating upper class status, the girl demonstrated signs of severe malnutrition and prolonged exposure to physical exertion involving heavy lifting – she was likely a slave girl entrusted to look after her master's baby, already exhausted from performing hard labour.<sup>51</sup> Although the use of slaves for menial tasks and for prostitution is generally well known, slaves were trained from childhood for a variety of occupations, including some requiring significant education such copyists or types of accountants. Some were trained as actors.<sup>52</sup> There is an allusion to the profit to be made from female slaves in the reference to the female slave with the spirit of divinization in Philippi, left vulnerable by Paul's cure having lost her ability to make money for her owners (Acts 16:16-19). In Acts, Paul and his entourage are notably unconcerned about her fate. The Apostle, however, would have certainly encountered slaves, including children, in conjunction with work as an artisan and among fellow craftspeople and traders. One inscription tells of C. Vettius Capitolinus who at age 13 was very skilled at embroidery or sewing.<sup>53</sup>

A final area of the vulnerability of slaves, which must have greatly affected women, was the instability of the slave family.

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<sup>51</sup> Laes, *Children in the Roman Empire*, 153-54,

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, 156.

<sup>53</sup> See CIL VI, 6182 cited in *Ibid.*, 190.



Scholars continue to debate the extent to which slaves formed family units, but there is general agreement that the phenomenon was widespread and recognition that to allow families for form family units was a strategy of slave management and slave control where the punishment of relatives along with oneself was a powerful deterrent. Yet, in speaking of the situations of Roman slaves and freedpersons, Henrik Mouritsen has recently stated that the most fundamental risk to a slave's family life was forced family-breakup. As he puts it, "Slave families could at any time be broken up by the master, spouses separated from each other and parents from their children. This might happen in a number of ways. Slaves might be sold off, either as punishment or to raise capital and profit from the natural growth of the slave holding. Short of sale, a slave could also be relegated to other parts of the estate, again either for punitive or practical reasons to meet changing labor requirements."<sup>54</sup> Is the preservation of slave families an aspect of treating slaves justly and fairly as is commanded of masters in Col 4:1? The slaves of non-believers who seem to be of special concern in 1 Tim 6:1 were taking very big risks in their allegiance to early Christian groups. But perhaps these risks were taken, at least in part, for the opportunity to foster family life that the house church provided. Although I have not previously referred to art and iconography in this presentation, there is fascinating material here to consider. Mouritsen draws attention to the funerary window reliefs of the late Republic and early Empire, which belong almost exclusively to freedpersons. These visual displays clearly reflect Roman norms and ideals, but they also reflect a concern to display newly founded lineage and continuity.<sup>55</sup> They show spouses lined up together with family members of different generations, flexibly incorporating members

<sup>54</sup> Mouritsen, "The Families of Roman Slaves and Freedmen," 138.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid, 142-43.

of both the nuclear and extended families. According to Janet Huskinson, these reliefs are more emblematic than literal depictions of particular families with accurate records of membership. However, she comments: "But even if they cannot provide definitive or reliable answers about the structure of the Roman family, they are important statements to the outside world about the ideals attached to the family by an emergent social group."<sup>56</sup>

By way of conclusion, let me just state that this presentation has been of necessity impressionistic. I have sought to demonstrate how dialogue with studies of families in the Roman world – especially new work on children and slaves – is changing some early views of early Christian women that tended to locate leadership mainly in female asceticism and to dislocate women from the spatial and structural realities of households in the Roman world. In drawing upon comparative evidence, my conclusion is that the lives early Christian women must be evaluated with a thorough understanding of familial relations and interactions and a deep appreciation of overlapping aspects of identity such as being a slave and mother in an increasingly suspicious religious group. Although I have not examined it here, one of the most fascinating features of this exercise is that in the early period at least some groups demonstrate anti-familial (and to some degree anti-imperial) tendencies even as they constructed alternate families where little ones found a place.

I have concentrated only to a limited extent on how gender constructions influenced the representation of women in early Christian texts. There has been fine work by scholars on this topic in the last ten years which has made me much more cautious about

<sup>56</sup> Janet Hutchinson, "Picturing the Roman Family," in Beryl Rawson (ed.), *A Companion to Families in the Greek and Roman Worlds* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2011), 521-541 (533). She comments specifically on the Tomb Relief from Via Po, Rome, Augustan Period.



the move from rhetoric to reality. But I think it is important that the study of early Christian women remain grounded in social history even if our conclusions become even more tentative. To draw upon Elizabeth Clark's title, my feminist inclination is not to lose sight of the lady no matter how fleeting the glance. For women who become clearly the subject of broader male agendas, such as Justin's Roman matron or Philo's Therapeutrides, our task has been rendered more complicated by recent scholarship adopting various literary approaches and theoretical perspectives.<sup>57</sup> But the study of families, especially perhaps with the assistance of Post-Colonial analysis and Empire Studies, has a real contribution to make to our understanding of the women named briefly in passing or remaining unnamed in early Christian literature – in other words, the silent majority of women who played a key role in early Christian expansion and the development of infrastructure: the silent mothers, widows, virgins, and even slaves who despite all odds, refuse to disappear.

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<sup>57</sup> These two descriptions of women are thoroughly discussed by Kraemer in *Unreliable Witnesses*.

**Minutes of the 2011 CSBS  
Annual General Meeting**

University of New Brunswick  
Fredericton, NB  
May 29, 15:30 – 17:00

**In Attendance:** Attendees: Peter Flint, James Bowick, Tyler Williams, Bob Derrenbacher, John Kloppenborg, John McLaughlin, Phil Harland, Alicia Batten, Fred Tappenden, Richard Middleton, Krysztof Boranowski, Sonya Kostamo, Zeba Crook, Steven Sutt, Wayne Coppins, A. Teitelbaum, Jan Van Seters, Glen Taylor, John Horman, Madison Robins, Steven Muir, Matthew Thiessen, Angela Brkich, Chelsey Vargo, Judith Newman, Terry Donaldson, Glenn Wooden, Joyce-Ann Spinney, Heather Macumber, Erin Vearncombe, Callie Callon, Richard Ascough, Anthony Pyles, David Beldman, Steve Wilson, Willi Braun, Mona Tokarek LaFosse, Keir Hammer, Eileen Schuller.

1. **Approval of the Agenda + Business Arising** (Tyler Williams / John McLaughlin - passed)
2. **Approval of the Minutes of the Last Annual General Meeting, June 1, 2008** (Richard Ascough / John McLaughlin – passed)
3. **President's Report (Margaret MacDonald):**
  - Remembered deceased members John Weavers and Alan Segal
  - Thanked Richard Ascough for his contributions as Communications Officer in the previous years.
4. **Membership Secretary (Bob Derrenbacher)**
  - Read names of potential new members, who were then



approved (Bob Derrenbacker / Tyler Williams – passed)

**5. Executive Secretary's Report (Phil Harland)**

**6. Student Liaison Officer's Report (Sonya Kostamo)**

- Discussed the special student session on the academic's work/life balance

**7. Vice-President's Report (Marion Taylor)**

- Awards: Wagner award: Daniel Machiela and Andrew Perrin (McMaster University); Scott award: Joel N. Lohr, *Chosen and Unchosen: Conceptions of Election in the Pentateuch and Jewish-Christian Interpretation*. Siphut: Literature and Theology of the Hebrew Scriptures 2. Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 2009; Beare award: Daniel A. Smith, *Revisiting the Empty Tomb: The Early History of Easter*. Minneapolis: Fortress, 2010.
- Nominations: VP: Edith Humphrey; Student Rep: Sonya; Communications Officer: Paul Evans (John McLaughlin / Tyler Williams – acclamation passed)

**8. Programme Coordinator's Report (Zeba Crook):**

- Reported concerning number of papers and distribution between NT and Hebrew Bible.
- Raised question of how to deal with increasing number of paper submissions, including student paper submissions. In particular, in 2011 there had been a large increase in student proposals that was likely due to certain institutions requiring that students present at a conference as part of their degrees. Fitting all papers into the meeting had been very difficult and there was a potential problem in balance (e.g. having many student papers from one institution at the meeting). Increasing the number of days for the meeting did not seem a feasible way of fitting in the increased number of papers.

The executive led by Zeba had suggested the possibility of adding new requirements for student paper submissions, which might assist in limiting the number of papers presented to a workable number in future years.

- John Kloppenborg and Willi Braun raised objections to changing any requirements for student submissions for the CSBS programme and referred to a recent controversy within the SBL context. Glen Taylor suggested the possibility of having student papers vetted by someone from another institution. Willi expressed concerns regarding this suggestion by Taylor.
- Richard Ascough and Zeba both explained the rationale of the executive in addressing the issue.
- In light of the discussion that followed, Zeba suggested that we hold off on changing any of the requirements for student paper proposals. Instead, we will wait and see if there are difficulties in fitting in all papers or in quality control in future years. We will return to the issue if the problem of having too many papers for the amount of time persists.

**9. Communication Officer's Report (Richard Ascough)**

- Encouraged members to send book announcements to the Communications Officer
- Explained the judging procedures for the book awards.
- Thanked judges for the 2011 competition.

**10. Treasurer's Report (Robert Derrenbacker)**

- Read through report (attached)

**11. CCSR President Discussion (Theodore De Bruyn)**

- Explained the purpose of the CCSR (which was founded in 1971), including its major role in coordinating publication-related issues for a variety of societies interested in the study



of religion. He explained the various publication series  
(Editions SR, Women and Religion, ESCJ)

**12. Other Business – none**

**13. Adjournment**

(The minutes were prepared by Philip Harland, June, 2011)

CANADIAN SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL STUDIES  
FINANCIAL STATEMENTS  
AUGUST 31, 2011  
(Unaudited)

- Review Engagement Report
- Statement of Financial Position
- Statement of Operations
- Statement of Changes in Fund Balances
- Statement of Cash Flows
- Notes to the Financial Statements
- Schedule of Restricted Funds



**ROBERT W. R. BISHOP**  
Chartered Accountant

13308 Crescent Road, South Surrey, BC V4P 1K4

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

REVIEW ENGAGEMENT REPORT

To the Directors of  
**Canadian Society of Biblical Studies**

I have reviewed the statement of financial position of Canadian Society of Biblical Studies as at August 31, 2011 and the statements of operations, changes in fund balances and cash flows for the year then ended. My review was made in accordance with Canadian generally accepted standards for review engagements and accordingly consisted primarily of enquiry, analytical procedures and discussion related to information supplied to me by the Association.

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

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

*"Robert W.R. Bishop"*

February 24, 2012

CHARTERED ACCOUNTANT

**CANADIAN SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL STUDIES**  
STATEMENT OF FINANCIAL POSITION  
As at August 31, 2011  
(Unaudited)

	General Fund	Restricted Funds	ESCJ Fund	2011 Total	2010 Total
<b>ASSETS</b>					
Cash	\$ 13,998	\$ 2,176	\$ -	\$ 16,174	\$ 26,616
Accounts receivable	-	-	-	-	658
Investments (Note 5)	-	121,482	-	121,482	116,859
Funds held by CCSR (Note 6)	-	-	11,753	11,753	11,753
	<u>\$ 13,998</u>	<u>\$ 123,658</u>	<u>\$ 11,753</u>	<u>\$ 149,409</u>	<u>\$ 155,886</u>
<b>LIABILITIES</b>					
Accounts payable	\$ -	\$ -	\$ -	\$ -	\$ 7,319
Deferred revenue (Note 4)	-	-	-	-	658
	-	-	-	-	<u>7,977</u>
<b>FUND BALANCES</b>					
Unrestricted	13,998	-	-	13,998	18,165
Restricted	-	123,658	11,753	135,411	129,744
	<u>13,998</u>	<u>123,658</u>	<u>11,753</u>	<u>149,409</u>	<u>147,909</u>
	<u>\$ 13,998</u>	<u>\$ 123,658</u>	<u>\$ 11,753</u>	<u>\$ 149,409</u>	<u>\$ 155,886</u>

APPROVED BY THE BOARD:

\_\_\_\_\_ Director

\_\_\_\_\_ Director



CANADIAN SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL STUDIES  
 STATEMENT OF OPERATIONS  
 For the Year Ended August 31, 2011  
 (Unaudited)

	General Fund		Restricted Funds		ESCJ Fund	
	2011	2010	2011	2010	2011	2010
<b>E ENUE</b>						
Membership dues	\$ 16,514	\$ 17,242	\$ -	\$ -	\$ -	\$ -
SSHRC travel grant	4,755	4,755	-	-	-	-
CSBS dinner	3,149	3,096	-	-	-	-
Congress registration	1,330	1,540	-	-	-	-
Subscriptions and other	-	600	-	-	-	-
Donations	-	-	5,387	5,387	-	-
Investment income (Note 5)	-	-	8,167	17,275	-	-
	25,748	27,233	13,554	22,662	-	-
<b>E PENSES</b>						
Accounting and audit	5,020	4,810	-	-	-	-
Bank charges	104	88	-	-	-	-
Computer software	-	226	-	-	-	-
Congress expenses	861	713	-	-	-	-
Craigie Lecture	-	-	3,757	-	-	-
CSBS dinner	2,983	3,126	-	-	-	-
Dues and memberships	2,514	2,351	-	-	-	-
Executive	6,643	4,292	-	-	-	-
Member travel	5,163	4,403	-	-	-	-
Office, printing and postage	651	88	-	-	-	-
Student awards	-	-	3,579	2,000	-	-
Subscriptions	6,527	7,319	-	-	-	-
	30,466	27,416	7,336	2,000	-	-
<b>E CESS OF E ENUE</b>						
O E E PENSES	\$ (4,718)	\$ (183)	\$ 6,218	\$ 20,662	\$ -	\$ -

CANADIAN SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL STUDIES  
 STATEMENT OF CHANGES IN FUND BALANCES  
 For the Year Ended August 31, 2011  
 (Unaudited)

	General Fund		Restricted Funds		ESCJ Fund	
	2011	2010	2011	2010	2011	2010
BALANCE, OPENING	\$ 18,165	\$ 11,902	\$ 117,991	\$ 103,774	\$ 11,753	\$ 11,753
<b>E CESS OF E ENUE</b>						
O E E PENSES	(4,718)	(183)	6,218	20,662	-	-
INTE FUND T ANSFE S	551	6,446	(551)	(6,446)	-	-
BALANCE, CLOSING	\$ 13,998	\$ 18,165	\$ 123,658	\$ 117,990	\$ 11,753	\$ 11,753



CANADIAN SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL STUDIES  
STATEMENT OF CASH FLOWS  
For the Year Ended August 31, 2011  
(Unaudited)

	General Fund		Restricted Funds		ESCJ Fund	
	2011	2010	2011	2010	2011	2010
<b>CASH PROVIDED BY / USED FOR</b>						
<b>OPERATIONS</b>						
Excess of revenue over expenses	\$ (4,718)	\$ (183)	\$ 6,218	\$ 20,662	\$ -	\$ -
Unrealized change in market value (Note 5)	-	-	(4,228)	(21,490)	-	-
Changes in non-cash working capital:						
Accounts receivable	658	169	-	559	-	-
Investments	-	-	(395)	(6,344)	-	-
Accounts payable	(7,319)	7,319	-	-	-	-
Deferred revenue	(658)	(169)	-	-	-	-
Interfund transfers	551	6,446	(551)	(6,446)	-	-
<b>CHANGE IN CASH</b>	<b>(11,487)</b>	<b>13,582</b>	<b>1,044</b>	<b>(13,059)</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>
CASH, OPENING	25,484	11,902	1,132	14,191	-	-
<b>CASH, CLOSING</b>	<b>\$ 13,997</b>	<b>\$ 25,484</b>	<b>\$ 2,176</b>	<b>\$ 1,132</b>	<b>\$ -</b>	<b>\$ -</b>

CANADIAN SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL STUDIES  
NOTES TO THE FINANCIAL STATEMENTS  
August 31, 2011  
(Unaudited)

1. PURPOSE OF THE ORGANIZATION

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

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

2. SIGNIFICANT ACCOUNTING POLICIES

(a) Basis of Presentation

These financial statements have been prepared in accordance with Canadian generally accepted accounting principles ("GAAP") applicable to a going concern and do not include any adjustments that might be necessary should the Society be unable to continue to realize its assets and discharge its liabilities in the normal course of operations. The Society is dependent upon membership dues, grants, donations and income from investments to support it as a going concern. While the Society has been successful to date in securing such sources of revenue, there can be no assurance that it will be able to do so in the future.

(b) Use of Estimates

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

(c) Fund Accounting

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

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

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

The ESCJ Fund (Etudes/Studies in Christianity and Judaism) is a publication subsidy program managed through the Canadian Corporation for Studies in Religion ("CCSR") -- see Note 6.



2. SIGNIFICANT ACCOUNTING POLICIES, continued

(d) Financial Instruments

Effective September 1, 2006, the Society adopted, on a prospective basis, the recommendations of CICA Handbook Section 3251 "Equity", Section 3855 "Financial Instruments - Recognition and Measurement", Section 3861 "Financial Instruments - Disclosure and Presentation" and Section 3865 "Hedges". These new standards apply on a prospective basis and, accordingly, prior period amounts have not been restated.

Section 3855 prescribes when a financial asset, financial liability or non-financial derivative is to be recognized on the balance sheet and at what amount, requiring fair value or cost-based measures under different circumstances. Under Section 3855, financial instruments must be classified into one of five categories: held-for-trading, held-to-maturity, loans and receivables, available-for-sale financial assets, or other financial liabilities. All financial instruments, including derivatives, are measured in the balance sheet at fair value except for loans and receivables, held to maturity investments, and other financial liabilities which are measured at amortized cost. Subsequent measurement and changes in fair value will depend on their initial classification, as follows: held-for-trading financial assets are measured at fair value and changes in fair value are recognized in net earnings; available-for-sale financial instruments are measured at fair value with changes in fair value recorded in other comprehensive income until the investment is derecognized or impaired at which time the amounts would be recorded in net earnings.

Section 3861 establishes standards for presentation of financial instruments and non-financial derivatives, and identifies the information that should be disclosed about them. Under the new standards, policies followed for periods prior to the effective date generally are not reversed and therefore, comparative figures are not restated except for the requirement to restate currency translation adjustments as part of other comprehensive income.

Section 3865 describes when and how hedge accounting can be applied as well as the disclosure requirements. Hedge accounting enables the recording of gains, losses, revenues and expenses from derivative financial instruments in the same period as for those related to the hedged item.

Effective September 1, 2007, the Society adopted the recommendations of CICA Handbook Section 3862 "Financial Instruments - Disclosures", and Section 3863 "Financial Instruments - Presentation". Sections 3862 and 3863 replace Handbook Section 3861 "Financial Instruments - Disclosure and Presentation", revising and enhancing its disclosure requirements, and carrying forward unchanged its presentation requirements. These new handbook sections place increased emphasis on disclosures about the nature and extent of risks arising from financial instruments and how the entity manages those risks.

(e) Capital Assets

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

2. SIGNIFICANT ACCOUNTING POLICIES, continued

(f) Revenue Recognition

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

(g) Donated Materials and Services

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

During the year ended August 31, 2011 the value of donated materials and services recorded in the accounts was \$nil (2010 - \$nil).

3. CHANGES IN ACCOUNTING POLICIES

Recent Accounting Pronouncement - Not-For-Profit Organizations

Effective September 1, 2012, the Society will adopt the recommendations of CICA Handbook Part III "Accounting Standards for Not-For-Profit Organizations". This Part establishes accounting and financial statement presentation and disclosure standards for not-for-profit organizations. The effect of this new Part on the Society's financial statements has yet to be determined.

4. DEFERRED REVENUE

As at August 31, 2011, the Society was owed \$nil by the Canadian Federation for the Humanities and Social Sciences ("CFHSS") in connection with Congress 2011 (2010 - \$658). These amounts are shown in the financial statements as deferred revenue.

5. INVESTMENT INCOME	2011	2010
Realized investment income (loss)	\$ 3,939	\$ (4,215)
Unrealized change in market value of investments	4,228	21,490
Investment income	\$ 8,167	\$ 17,275



6. FUNDS HELD BY CCSR

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As at August 31, 2011, the amount of \$11,753 was held on behalf of the Society by the Canadian Corporation for Studies in Religion. Of this amount, \$3,141 was designated for the ESCJ program and \$8,612 was designated for the UM Book Series.

7. CAPITAL MANAGEMENT

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The Society's objectives when managing its capital are to safeguard its ability to continue as a going concern in order to pursue its stated purposes.

The Society manages its capital structure and makes adjustments to it in light of changes in economic conditions, the risk characteristics of underlying assets, and the availability of financial resources. The Society is dependant upon external revenue sources in order to fund its activities.

The Society is not subject to any externally imposed working capital requirements or debt covenants.

8. FINANCIAL INSTRUMENTS

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(a) Classification of Financial Instruments

The Society's financial instruments consist of cash and cash equivalents, accounts receivable, investments in marketable securities, and accounts payable and accrued liabilities. The Society does not have any hedging instruments.

The Society classifies its cash and cash equivalents, and investments in marketable securities as held-for-trading, which are measured at fair value. Accounts receivable are classified as loans and receivables, which are measured at amortized cost. Accounts payable and accrued liabilities are classified as financial liabilities, which are measured at amortized cost.

(b) Fair Values

The carrying amount of cash and cash equivalents, accounts receivable, and accounts payable and accrued liabilities each approximate their fair values due to the short-term maturities of these instruments. The fair value of investments in marketable securities is based on quoted market prices.

(c) Credit Risk

The Society's accounts receivable do not expose the Society to significant credit risk. The Society has no history of bad debts.

8. FINANCIAL INSTRUMENTS, continued

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(d) Foreign Exchange and Interest Rate Risk

Because the Society's functional currency is the Canadian dollar and all current operations occur within Canada, the Society is not exposed to significant foreign exchange risk. The Society has no debt and so is not exposed to significant interest rate risk.

(e) Liquidity Risk

Liquidity risk is the risk that the Society will not be able to meet its financial obligations as they fall due. The ability of the Society to settle its financial obligations with cash depends upon the level of income it derives from its investments and the continued support of its members through dues and donations.



CANADIAN SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL STUDIES  
 SCHEDULE OF RESTRICTED FUNDS  
 For the Year Ended August 31, 2011  
 (Unaudited)

	General Endowment	Student Research	RBV Scott Award	N Wagner Award	Publication Fund
<b>CAPITAL</b>					
Balance, opening	\$ 22,470	\$ 1,283	\$ 17,843	\$ 10,321	\$ 3,481
Donations	3,085	-	1,000	-	-
Expenditures	-	-	-	-	-
Interfund transfers	-	-	-	-	-
Balance, closing	25,555	1,283	18,843	10,321	3,481
<b>INCOME ON HAND</b>					
Balance, opening	3,167	322	2,134	1,859	685
Investment income	1,862	99	1,422	800	270
Expenditures	-	-	(500)	(500)	-
Interfund transfers	(171)	(14)	(104)	(74)	(33)
Balance, closing	4,857	407	2,952	2,086	922
<b>FUND BALANCE, CLOSING</b>	<b>\$ 30,413</b>	<b>\$ 1,690</b>	<b>\$ 21,795</b>	<b>\$ 12,407</b>	<b>\$ 4,403</b>

	Beare Award	Craigie Lectureship	Founders' Prize	Jeremias Prize	Total
<b>CAPITAL</b>					
Balance, opening	\$ 12,097	\$ 16,832	\$ 8,765	\$ 9,563	\$ 102,655
Donations	-	-	702	600	5,387
Expenditures	-	-	-	-	-
Interfund transfers	-	-	-	-	-
Balance, closing	12,097	16,832	9,467	10,163	108,042
<b>INCOME ON HAND</b>					
Balance, opening	1,934	2,870	1,082	1,282	15,335
Investment income	938	1,305	707	765	8,168
Expenditures	(500)	(3,757)	(1,829)	(250)	(7,336)
Interfund transfers	(81)	(14)	1	(61)	(551)
Balance, closing	2,291	404	(39)	1,735	15,616
<b>FUND BALANCE, CLOSING</b>	<b>\$ 14,388</b>	<b>\$ 17,236</b>	<b>\$ 9,428</b>	<b>\$ 11,898</b>	<b>\$ 123,658</b>

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**Membership News**

**Monographs, Edited Volumes**

- Ascough, Richard S. and John S. Kloppenborg, *Greco-Roman Associations: Texts, Translations, and Commentary. Vol. 1. Attica, Central Greece, Macedonia, Thrace.* BZNW 181. Berlin/New York: de Gruyter, 2011.
- Ben Zvi, Ehud, and Diana V. Edelman, eds. *What Was Authoritative for Chronicles?* Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2011.
- Daniel-Hughes, Carly. *The Salvation of the Flesh in Tertullian of Carthage: Dressing for the Resurrection.* London/New York: Palgrave/Macmillan Press, 2011.
- Duhaime, Jean, with Peter Flint, and Kyung S. Baek, eds. *Celebrating the Dead Sea Scrolls: A Canadian Collection. Early Judaism and Its Literature.* Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2011.
- Eberhart, Christian A., ed. *Ritual and Metaphor: Sacrifice in the Bible.* Resources for Biblical Study 68. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2011.
- . *The Sacrifice of Jesus: Understanding Atonement Biblically.* Facets. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2011.
- Fried, Lisbeth S., ed. *Was 1 Esdras First? An Investigation into the Priority and Nature of 1 Esdras.* Ancient Israel and Its Literature 7. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2011.
- Humphrey, Edith M. *Grand Entrance: Worship on Earth as in Heaven.* Grand Rapids: Brazos Press, 2011.
- Irwin, Brian, with Randall Heskett, eds. *The Bible as a Human Witness to Divine Revelation: Hearing the Word of God through Historically Dissimilar Traditions.* Gerald Sheppard Festschrift.



- Library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies 469. London: T & T Clark, 2010.
- Jervis, L. Ann. *Galatians*. Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 2011.
- Kloppenborg, John S., with Richard S. Ascough. *Attica, Central Greece, Macedonia, Thrace*. Vol. 1 of *Greco-Roman Associations: Texts, Translations, and Commentary*. BZBW 181. Berlin/New York: de Gruyter, 2011.
- with Paul Foster, Andrew Gregory, and Joseph Verheyden, eds. *New Studies in the Synoptic Problem*. BETL 239. Leuven: Peeters, 2011.
- Knoppers, Gary N., with Oded Lipschits, and Manfred Oeming, eds. *Judah and the Judeans in the Achaemenid Period: Negotiating Identity in an International Context*. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2011.
- Kobel, Esther. *Dining with John. Communal Meals and Identity Formation in the Fourth Gospel and its Historical and Cultural Context*. Biblical Interpretation Series 109. Leiden: Brill, 2011.
- Miller, John. *A Defining Moment: When, Where, and Why the Christian Scriptures Were Initially Published in a Single Volume—A Critique of Prevailing Views*. New Dundee: Blenheim Bible, 2011.
- Neufeld, Dietmar, with Daphna Arbel, and Robert J. Cousland. *And so they went out. The Lives of Adam and Eve as Cultural Transformative Story*. New York: T&T Clark/Continuum, 2010.
- with Richard E. DeMaris, eds. *Understanding the Social World of the New Testament*. New York: Routledge, 2010.
- Reinhartz, Adele. *Caiaphas the High Priest*. Edited by D. Moody Smith. Personalities of the New Testament Series. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2011.
- . *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Books of the Bible*. Oxford University Press, 2011.

- Thiessen, Matthew. *Contesting Conversion: Genealogy, Circumcision, and Identity in Ancient Judaism and Christianity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.
- Ulrich, Eugene and Peter W. Flint. *Qumran Cave 1.II: The Isaiah Scrolls. Part 1: Plates and Transcriptions; Part 2: Introductions, Commentary, and Textual Variants*. Discoveries in the Judaean Desert 32. Oxford: Clarendon, 2010.
- , co-trans. *The New American Bible: Revised Edition*. The Catholic Biblical Association. New York: Catholic Book Publishing, 2011.
- Van Dam, Cornelis. *God and Government. Biblical Principles for Today: An Introduction and Resource*. Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2011.
- Van Seters, John. *Changing Perspectives 1: Studies in the History, Literature and Religion of Biblical Israel*. London: Equinox, 2011.
- Wassen, Cecelia, with Jeremy Penner, Ken M. Penner, eds. *Giving Thanks to the Lord: Essays on Prayer and Poetry in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature in Honor of Eileen Schuller on the Occasion of Her 65th Birthday*. Studies in the Texts of the Desert of Judah 98. Leiden: Brill, 2011.
- , ed. *Dödahavsrollarna: innehåll, bakgrund och betydelse (The Dead Sea Scrolls: Content, Background, and Meaning)*. Stockholm: Atlantis, 2011.

#### Articles, Chapters, Published Conference Proceedings

- Ascough, Richard S. "The Apostolic Decree of Acts and Greco-Roman Associations: Eating in the Shadow of the Roman Empire." In *Aposteldekret und antike Vereinswesen*:



- Gemeinschaft und ihre Ordnung*, ed. Markus Öhler, 297-316. WUNT 280; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Paul's 'Apocalypticism' and the Jesus-Associations at Thessalonica and Corinth." In *Redescribing Paul and the Corinthians*, ed. Ron Cameron and Merrill P. Miller, 151-186. ECL 5; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 2011.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Learning (About) Outcomes: How the Focus on Assessment Can Help Overall Course Design." *Canadian Journal of Higher Education* 41/2 (2011) 44-61.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Thessalonians." In *Oxford Bibliographies Online: Biblical Studies*, ed. Christopher Matthews. Oxford University Press, 2011.
- Batten, Alicia. "The Jesus Tradition and the Letter of James." *Review and Expositor* 108 (2011) 381-90.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "'The Giblews' and the Palimpsest." In *Papers of the Nineteenth-Century Theology Group XLII*, ed. Todd Gooch, Dawn De Vries, and Arie Molendijk, 217-34. Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2011.
- Ben Zvi, Ehud. "On Social Memory and Identity Formation in Late Persian Yehud: A Historian's Viewpoint with a Focus on Prophetic Literature, Chronicles and the Dtr. Historical Collection." In *Texts, Contexts and Readings in Postexilic Literature Explorations into Historiography and Identity Negotiation in Hebrew Bible and Related Texts*, ed. L. Jonker, 95-148. FAT II, 53; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 2011.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "General Observations on Ancient Israelite Histories in their Ancient Contexts." In *Enquire of the Former Age Ancient Historiography and Writing the History of Israel*, ed. L. L. Grabbe, 21-39. LBHOTS, 554; London/New York: T & T Clark, 2011.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "From My Corner of the Field': A Preliminary Response to L. L. Grabbe, A History of the Jews and

- Judaism in the Second Temple Period: Volume 1. Yehud: A History of the Persian Province of Judah." In *Enquire of the Former Age Ancient Historiography and Writing the History of Israel*, ed. L. L. Grabbe, 119-33. LBHOTS, 554; London/New York: T & T Clark, 2011.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "One Size Does Not Fit All. Observations on the Different Ways That Chronicles Dealt with the Authoritative Literature of Its Time." In *What Was Authoritative for Chronicles?*, eds. E. Ben Zvi and Diana V. Edelman, 13-35. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2011.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Introduction." In *What Was Authoritative for Chronicles?*, eds. E. Ben Zvi and Diana V. Edelman, 1-12. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2011.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Memory of Abraham in the Late Persian/Early Hellenistic Yehud/Judah." In *The Reception and Remembrance of Abraham*, eds. P. Carstens and Niels-Peter Lemche, 13-60. Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2011.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Azariah, King of Judah." In *Encyclopedia of the Bible and Its Reception* (EBR), Vol. 3. 170-77. Berlin/New York: de Gruyter, 2011.
- Braun, Willi. "Virgins, Eunuchs, Empire." In *Studies on the Family as Strategy in the Roman Empire*, ed. Philip R. Bosman and Johannes N. Vorster, 19-38; special issue, *Acta Patristica et Byzantina* 21.2 (2010).
- \_\_\_\_\_. and Francis Landy. "Wither or Whither: The Study of Religion at the University of Alberta." *Religion* 41 (2011) 145-48.
- Charles, Ronald. "Interpreting the Book of Revelation in the Haitian Context." *Black Theology: An International Journal* 9.2 (2011) 177-98.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Rahab: A Righteous Whore in James." *Neotestamentica* 45.2 (2011) 208-21.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Une lecture narrative de Joseph et Aséneth à la



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- . “Two Stories of David Sparing Saul’s Life in 1 Samuel 24 and 26: A Question of Priority.” *Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament* 25 (2011) 93-104.
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- . “‘Because of the Angels:’ Reading 1 Cor 11:2-16 in Light of Angelology in the Dead Sea Scrolls.” In *The Dead Sea Scrolls in Context: Integrating the Dead Sea Scrolls in the Study of Ancient Texts, Languages, and Cultures, Vol. 2*, eds. Armin Lange, Emanuel Tov and Matthias Weigold, 735-54. Supplements to Vetus Testamentum, 140/II. Leiden: Brill, 2011.



- . “Visions of the Temple: Conflicting Images of the Eschaton.” *Svensk Exegetisk Årsbok/ Swedish Exegetical Yearbook* (2011) 41-59.
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- Zerbe, Gordon. “Constructions of Paul in Filipino Theology of Struggle.” In *The Colonized Paul: Paul through Postcolonial Eyes*, ed. C. Stanley, 188-220. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2011.
- . “Peace and Justice in the Bible.” In *Peace and Justice: Essays from the Fourth Shi’i Muslim Mennonite Christian Dialogue*, eds. Harry J Huebner, Hajj Muhammad Legenhausen, 124-43. Winnipeg: CMU Press, 2011.
- . “The Politics of Paul: His Supposed Social Conservatism and the Impact of Postcolonial Readings.” In *The Colonized Paul: Paul through Postcolonial Eyes*, ed. C. Stanley, 62-73. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2011.

#### Dissertations/Theses Completed

- Kovács, Frank Z. *The Covenant Concept as an Organising Principle in Luke-Acts*. Ph.D., North-West University, SA; Greenwich School of Theology, UK, 2011

#### Appointments, Promotions, Awards, Honours

- Ascough, Richard S. Elected to membership in the Studiorum Novi Testamenti Societas (SNTS).
- Batten, Alicia. Research Fellow, University of South Africa

- . Elected to co-chair, Social Scientific Study of the New Testament Section, SBL.
- Debanné, Marc J. Professeur adjoint en études bibliques, Département de sciences religieuses Université de Sudbury, Sudbury, ON.
- Ho, Edward. Assistant Professor of Biblical Studies, New York Theological Education, Center/Chinese Online School of Theology.
- Irwin, Brian. Associate Professor, Knox College, Toronto School of Theology, Toronto, ON.
- . Promotion to Associate Advanced Degree Status at the Toronto School of Theology.
- Jervis, L. Ann. Appointed to Editorial Board, *New Testament Studies*, Cambridge University Press.
- . Elected as Member of American Theological Society.
- Kalimi, Isaac. “*Fulbright Distinguished Professor*” in Intercultural Theology, Zentrum Theologie Interkulturell und Studium der Religionen, University of Salzburg (Austria, 2011).
- Kloppenborg, John S. Doctor of Arts, *honoris causa*, University of Lethbridge, Oct 15 2011.
- Knoppers, Gary N. President, Biblical Colloquium, 2010-2011.
- Kobel, Esther. “Fakultätspreis” for the best dissertation of the academic year 2010/11, awarded by the Faculty of Theology, University of Basel.
- Korner, Ralph J. Receipt of a Graduate Scholarship from the Friends of Simon Wiesenthal Center for Holocaust Studies (Toronto, ON). Awarded for dissertation research, *The Collective Identification of Early Christ-Followers as Ekklesia and the Expansion of the Jesus Movement in the Greco-Roman World: A Socio-Theological Study*.
- MacDonald, Margaret Y. President, Canadian Society of Biblical Studies, May 2010 to May 2011.
- Mitchell, Matthew W. Granted tenure and promotion to Associate



Professor of Religious Studies and Theology at Canisius College.

Middleton, J. Richard. Professor of Biblical Worldview and Exegesis, Northeastern Seminary at Roberts Wesleyan College, Rochester, NY.

———. President, Canadian Evangelical Theological Association.

Miller, Daniel. Adjunct professor, Université de Sherbrooke.

Reinhartz, Adele. Member, Institute of Advanced Study, School of Historical Studies, Princeton, NJ (2011-12).

———. General Editor, *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 2012–2015.

Ulrich, Eugene. Award from the Biblical Archaeology Society, 2011: “Best Book Relating to the Hebrew Bible” for Eugene Ulrich and Peter W. Flint, *Qumran Cave 1.II: The Isaiah Scrolls. Part 1: Plates and Transcriptions; Part 2: Introductions, Commentary, and Textual Variants. Discoveries in the Judaean Desert 32*; Oxford: Clarendon, 2010.

———. National Endowment for the Humanities Fellowship for 2012.

Wassen, Cecelia. Appointed Associate Professor of New Testament Exegesis at Uppsala University, Department of Theology.

### Research in Progress

Ascough, Richard S. Greco-Roman associations; 1 & 2 Thessalonians.

Batten, Alicia. The Letter of James; Clothing and Adornment in Early Christianity; Philemon.

Duhaime, Jean. Recherche sur les Commentaires des prophètes et sur les Écrits de sagesse de Qumrân.

Evans, Paul S. 1-2 Samuel; 1-2 Chronicles.

Fried, Lisbeth S. *Ezra in History and Tradition: Inquiries into God's Justice* (Personalities of the Old Testament); *Ezra, a new translation with Introduction and Commentary* (Hebrew Bible Monographs Series; Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press); *Nehemiah, a New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (Hebrew Bible Monographs Series; Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press).

Humphrey, Edith M. “Tradition” in the NT; Mediation and the Immediacy of God in the NT; Genre and “Intent” in Early Christian Hagiographical Narratives.

Idestrom, Rebecca G. S. Monograph on *The Glory of God in the Old Testament*.

Irwin, Brian. *Judges; History and Geography of Ancient Israel*.

Jeal, Roy R. Preparation of Sociorhetorical Commentaries on Colossians and Philemon for the Rhetoric of Religious Antiquity Series.

Jervis, L. Ann. *Paul's Ethics* (contract with Baker Academic); ‘Paul the Theologian’ for *Oxford Handbook of Pauline Studies* (contract with Oxford University Press); ‘Time in Romans’ for *Creation, Conflict, and Cosmos – A Conference on Romans 5-8*, Princeton, May, 2012.

Kloppenborg, John S. *James* (Hermeneia; Fortress Press); *Papyrological Commentary on the Parables* (Papyrologische Kommentar zum Neuen Testament; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht).

Knoppers, Gary N. Jews and Samaritans: The Origins and History of Their Early Relations (with Steven L. McKenzie); I and II Kings (International Exegetical Commentary on the Old Testament).



- Knowles, Michael. *Of Seeds, Reaping, and the People of God: Preaching as Parable*.
- Kobel, Esther. Den Juden bin ich wie ein Jude geworden, (...) denen, die ohne Gesetz sind, wie einer ohne Gesetz." (1Kor 9,20-21); Der polyglotte Paulus als interkultureller Vermittler.
- Korner, Ralph J. *Emerging Normativities: Examining the Formation of Proto-Orthodox Christianities and Rabbinic Judaism 200–800 CE* (Sept. 21-22, St. Thomas More College, Saskatoon, SK); A SSHRC funded conference hosted by the Religion and Culture department. Presentation entitled: "The Collective Identification of Early Christ-Followers as *Ekklēsia*: An Affirmation of Jewish Normativity?"; *Urban Dreams and Realities: An Interdisciplinary Conference on the City in Ancient Cultures* (Oct. 21-22, University of Alberta, Edmonton, AB). A SSRHC funded conference hosted by the Department of History and Classics Graduate Program—Ancient Societies and Cultures Specialization. Presentation entitled: "The *Ekklēsia* of Early Christ-Followers in Asia Minor as the Eschatological New Jerusalem: Anti-Imperial Rhetoric?"
- MacDonald, Margaret Y. Monograph on children in early Christianity; 10,000 word essay on the Disputed Pauline Letters for the Oxford Handbook of Pauline Studies (ed., R. Barry Matlock).
- Miceli, Calogero A. Ph.D. Thesis: Miceli, Calogero A. Ph.D. Thesis: *Who is this Young Man? Retracing the Roots of the neani,skoj in Biblical & Hellenistic Literature*.
- Middleton, J. Richard. New creation eschatology; 1 and 2 Samuel.
- Miller, John. How the Bible began (in the Assyrian period), the purpose of its originating scrolls.

- Muir, Steven. Greco-Roman religions, Galatians, Epistle to the Hebrews, Social Identity in early Christianity.
- Neufeld, Dietmar. Mark, Mockery, and Secretism: *Markery...* the art of telling a good story; Book-length treatment of mockery in the social world of Mark's Gospel; The Ridiculed Paul Ridiculing: Paul and Mockery.
- Reinhartz, Adele. *The Gospel of John and the Parting of the Ways The Bible and Film: An Introduction*.
- Van Seters, John. A series of papers on the Pentateuch, some to be given as papers in the coming year: "The Tent of Meeting (Exod. 33:7-11) in the Yahwist's Sinai-Wilderness Story: A Test Case"; "The Itinerary of J from Egypt to the Jordan River"; "The Yahwist Flood Story and the Babylonian Primeval History Tradition"; "The Israelites in Egypt (Exod 1-5) within the Larger Context of the Yahwist's History"; *The Making of a Biblical Scholar*.
- Wassen, Cecelia. Jesus' attitude to ritual purity laws.



LastName	FirstName	Department	Institution	Address	City	Prov / State	PostalCode	WorkPhone	EmailAddress
Abegg	Martin		Trinity Western University						abegg@twu.ca
Adams	Sean A.			201 Holton Ave. S.	Hamilton	ON	L8M 2L8		adams.sean@gmail.com
Aitken	Ellen B.	Faculty of Religious Studies	McGill University	3520 University St.	Montreal	PQ	H3A 2A7	5143988367	ellen.aitken@mcgill.ca
Alexander	William E.			589 West 19th Ave.	Vancouver	BC	V5Z 1W8		wea@aya.yale.edu
Alibertis	Demetrios			209 Strathmore Blvd.	Toronto	ON	M4J 1P4	4164643348	demetrios.alibertis@ssho.ox.ac.uk
Anderson	Bill	Religious Studies	Concordia University College	7128 Ada Blvd.	Edmonton	AB	T5B 4E4	2504799366	bill.anderson@concordia.ab.ca
Andrews	Stephen		Diocese of Algoma	P.O. Box 1168	Sault Ste. Marie	ON	P6A 5N7	7052565061	bishop@dioceseofalgoma.com
Ansell	Nicholas		Institute for Christian Studies	229 College St.	Toronto	ON	M5T 1R4	4169792331	nikansell@hotmail.com
Arnal	William E.	Department of Religion	University of Regina	3737 Wascana Parkway	Regina	SK	S4S 0A2	3065855680	william.arnal@uregina.ca
Ascough	Richard S.		Queen's Theological College		Kingston	ON	K7L 3N6	6135336000	rsa@queensu.ca
Badley	Jo-Ann		Mars Hill Graduate School	2501 Elliott Ave.	Seattle	WA	98121		jbadley@mhgs.edu
Baek	Kyung		Trinity Western University	21055 79A Ave.	Langley	BC	V2Y 0H6	6048887511	kyung.baek@twu.ca
Baergen	Rene		Emmanuel College, TST	50 Allen St. E.	Waterloo	ON	N2J 1J2		rene.baergen@utoronto.ca
Bailey	Jesse			8339 Fairways West Dr.	Regina	SK	S4Y 0A2	3055332982	jessemcbailey@gmail.com
Baines	Shannon		McMaster Div. College	7 Robinson St., Apt. 507	Hamilton	ON	L8P 4T2		shannon.baines@sympatico.ca
Baker	Murray		Wycliffe College	82 Stevens Cres.	Georgetown	ON	L7G 1B6		mbaker@vif.com
Baranowski	Krzysztof			72 Mansfield Ave.	Toronto	ON	M6J 2B2		k.baranowski@utoronto.ca
Barker	Tom		McMaster Divinity	29 Blackbird Circle	Cambridge	ON	N3C 0B1		tom_barker@rogers.com
Barkman	Heather			22 Nakota Way	Nepean	ON	K2J 4E9		barkman.heather@gmail.com
Batten	Alicia		University of Sudbury	935 Ramsey Lake Road	Sudbury	ON	P3E 2C6	7056735661	abatten@usudbury.ca
Baxter	Wayne	Religious Studies		14-100 Beddoe Dr.	Hamilton	ON	L8P 4Z2	9055282099	wbaxter5@UWO.CA
Beach	Lee			73 Gates Cr.	Ajax	ON	L1S 6Z4	9055259140	lbeach@sympatico.ca
Beavis	Mary Ann	Religious Studies and Anthropology	St. Thomas More College	1437 College Drive	Saskatoon	SK	S7N 0W6	3069668044	mbeavis@stmcollege.ca
Beck	Roger	Erindale College	University of Toronto	3359 Mississauga Rd. N.	Mississauga	ON	L5L 1C6	9055694686	rbeck@utm.utoronto.ca

Becker	Eve-Marie		Institut fuer Neues Testament, Erlangen	Kochstrasse 6	D-91054 Erlangen	Germany			eve-marie.becker@web.de
Bedard	Stephen			9 Nickolas Cr.	Cambridge	ON	N3C 3L7	5195382533	stephenjbedard@gmail.com
Bédard	Rebekah			11 Bexhill Ct., Apt. 14	Toronto	ON	M9A 3A8		rebekah.bedard@utoronto.ca
Beldman	David			39 Cumming Ct.	Ancaster	ON	L9G 1V4	9053040610	dbeldman@gmail.com
Bell	Ronald			1413 Thornwood Cres	Kingston	ON	K7P 3B6		bell_rw@hotmail.com
Bellavance	Eric	Faculty of Religious Studies		3520 University Street	Montreal	QC	H3A 2A7	5143984129	eric.bellavance2@mcgill.ca
Ben Zvi	Ehud	History and Classics	University of Alberta	2-28 HM Tory Bldg.	Edmonton	AB	T6G 2H4	7804927183	ehud.ben.zvi@ualberta.ca
Bennett	R. Bruce			1A Bain Ave.	Toronto	ON	M4K 1E5		bruce.bennett@utoronto.ca
Bergen	David			2500 University Dr. NW	Calgary	AB	T2N 1N4	4032207063	dabergen@ucalgary.ca
Bernier	Jonathan			412-175 Hunter St. W.	Hamilton	ON	L8P 1R4		berniejt@mcmaster.ca
Bernofsky	Michael			215 Flamingo Rd.	Thornhill	ON	L4J 8K6		mikey_b@sympatico.ca
Bertone	John A.			2498 Thompson Rd., RR#1	Niagara Falls	ON	L2E 6S4		jabertone@aol.com
Bestvater	Ron		Lutheran Theological Seminary	111 Elm St.	Saskatoon	SK	S7J 0G6	3068671899	bestcard@sasktel.net
Beverly	Larry W.		Presbyterian Church of Canada	PO Box 847	Crystal Beach	ON	L0S 1B0		lbeverly@cogeco.ca
Black	Fiona C.	Dept. of Religious Studies	Mt. Allison University	63D York Street	Sackville	NB	E4L 1G9	5063642555	fblack@mta.ca
Blumell	Lincoln			275F JSB	Provo	UT	84602	8014222497	lincoln_blumell@byu.edu
Boda	Mark	McMaster Divinity College	McMaster University	1280 Main St. W.	Hamilton	ON	L8S 4K1	9055259140	mjboda@mcmaster.ca
Bodner	Keith		Atlantic Baptist University	Box 6004	Moncton	NB	E1C 9L7	8889686228	keith.bodner@abu.nb.ca
Bolton	John Garrett			University Hall, Room 104	Hamilton	ON	L8S 4K1	9055259140	boltonjg@mcmaster.ca
Bowick	James			311 East 45th St.	Hamilton	ON	L8T 3K7	9053872292	bowick@idirect.com
Brant	Jo-Ann	Dept. of Bible, Religion and Philosophy	Goshen College		Goshen	Indiana	46526	5745357458	joannab@goshen.edu
Braun	Willi	History and Classics	University of Alberta	2-28 Tory Bldg.	Edmonton	AB	T6G 2H4	7804922879	willi.braun@ualberta.ca
Brkich-Sutherland	Angela			338 Hunters Run	Edmonton	AB	T6R 2N9		angelabrkich@yahoo.ca



Broadhurst	Laurence		University of Manitoba	309 Montrose Street	Winnipeg	MB	R3M 3M1	2044748114	laurence.broadhurst@gmail.com
Brown	Schuyler	Faculty of Theology	St. Michael's College	81 St. Mary St.	Toronto	ON	M5S 1J4	4167661887	schuyler.brown@utoronto.ca
Buchner	Dirk	Religious Studies		7600 Glover Road	Langley	BC	V2Y 1Y1	6045132121	dirk.buchner@twu.ca
Burke	Tony	School of Arts and Letters	Atkinson Faculty of Liberal & Prof St York Univ		Hamilton	ON			tburke@yorku.ca
Callon	Callie			171 Chisholm St.	Oakville	ON	L6K 3J6		calliecallon@hotmail.com
Carrington-Phillips	Wendy		McMaster Divinity College	2148 Oakpoint Road	Oakville	ON	L6M 3N2	9053309117	wcarringtonphillips@gmail.com
Carson	Donald A.		Trinity Evangelical Divinity School	2065 Half Day Rd.	Deerfield	IL	60015	8473178081	adnosrac@trin.edu
Carter	Philippa A.			3545 Eglinton Ave. W	Toronto	ON	M6M 1V7		carterph@mcmaster.ca
Chambers	Stephen		Concordia Lutheran Seminary	7040 Ada Blvd.	Edmonton	AB	T5B 4E3	7804741468	studentlife@concordiasem.ab.ca
Charles	Ronald		Wycliffe College	4020 Brandon Gate Dr. #8	Mississauga	ON	L4T 3W8	4169771204	ronald.charles@utoronto.ca
Choi	Jeaman		McMaster Div. College	1417-760 Mohawk Road W.	Hamilton	ON	L9C 6P6		talent098@hotmail.com
Christian	Michelle			129 Maberley Cres.	Scarborough	ON	M1C 3Y1	6478835055	michelle.christian@utoronto.ca
Cianca	Jennifer			3037 rue College	Sherbrooke	QC	J1M 1V3		jenn.cianca@utoronto.ca
Clancy	Frank			285 Deer Ridge Dr.	Kitchener	ON	N2P 2K6		ardec45@hotmail.com
Cloutier	David			6450 de Marseille, Apt. 3	Montreal	QC	H1N 1L8	514-254-2286	david.cloutier@student.uni-tuebingen.de
Cohn	Naftali			1455 de Maisonneuve Blvd W	Montreal	QC	H36 1M8	5148482424	naftali.cohn@gmail.com
Comber	Justin		McMaster Div School	5-8 Wellington St. West	Brampton	ON	L6Y 1K4	6478288267	justin.comber@gmail.com
Conway	Mary		McMaster Divinity College	169 Raylawn Cr.	Georgetown	ON	L7G 4M6		mconway4@cogeco.ca
Coomber	Matthew		St. Ambrose University	518 W. Locust St.	Davenport	IA	52803	2182993813	mjm.comber@gmail.com
Cooper	Alan		Jewish Theological Seminary	3080 Broadway	New York	NY	10027-4649	2126788928	amcooper@optonline.net
Coppins	Wayne			222 Stonybrook Circle	Athens	GA	30605		wcoppins@uga.edu
Corman	Sherry								sherry.corman@gmail.com
Cotter	Wendy J.	Dept. of Theology	Loyola University of Chicago	6525 North Sheridan Rd.	Chicago	IL	60626	7735088456	wcotter@wpo.it.luc.edu

Cousland	Robert		UBC Classical, Near Eastern and Religious Studies	1866 Main Mall	Vancouver	BC	V6T 1Z1	(604) 822-4062	cousland@interchange.ubc.ca
Cox	Claude		McMaster Divinity College	18 Roslyn Rd.	Barrie	ON	L2M 2X6	7057927411	c.cox@sympatico.ca
Crook	Zeba	Dept of Classics and Religion	Carleton University	1125 Colonel By Dr.	Ottawa	ON	K1S 5B6	6135202600	zeba.crook@carleton.ca
Culley	Robert C.	Faculty of Religious Studies		171 Stonehenge Dr.	Beaconsfield	PQ	H9W 3X8		robert.culley@mcgill.ca
Cummins	Tony		Trinity Western University	7600 Glover Rd.	Langley	BC	V2Y 1Y1	6048887511	tony.cummins@twu.ca
Cwikla	Anna			35 Mapleton Dr.	Winnipeg	MB	R2P 0J4		cwikla@ualberta.ca
D'Angelo	Mary R.	Dept. of Theology	University of Notre Dame	436 Malloy Hall	Notre Dame	IN	46556	2196317040	mdangelo@nd.edu
Dallaire	Helene		Denver Seminary	1372 Northcrest Dr.	Highlands Ranch	CO	80126	303-762-6916	helene.dallaire@denverseminary.edu
Damm	Alexander			50 Napa Valley Cres.	Brampton	ON	L7A 2X8		adamm@wlu.ca
Daniel-Hughes	Carly	Dept. of Religion		1455 de Maisonneuve Blvd.	Montreal	PQ	H3G 1M8		cdanielhughes@gmail.com
Davis, RSM	Elizabeth M.		Regis College	70 St. Mary Street	Toronto	ON	M5S 1J3	4169268519	edavis16@hotmail.com
de Bruyn	Theodore	Department of Classics and Religious Studies	University of Ottawa	70 Laurier Ave. East	Ottawa	ON	K1N 6N5	6135625800	tdebruyn@uottawa.ca
de Groot	Christiana	Dept. of Religion	Calvin College	3201 Burton SE	Grand Rapids	MI	49546	6165267042	edegroot@calvin.edu
De-Whyte	Janice		McMaster Div. College	3474 Galena Cres.	Mississauga	ON	L5A 3L8		janice_dawhite@yahoo.co.uk
Debanne	Marc J.		Institut Biblique Vie	265 Martin Ave.	Dorval	QC	H9S 3S1	5146330864	marc.debanne000@sympatico.ca
DeCock	Miriam			40 Guise St. E.	Hamilton	ON	L8L 4L9		decockmj@mcmaster.ca
Derrenbacher	Robert A. Jr.		Thorneloe University	935 Ramsey Lake Rd.	Sudbury	ON	P3E 2C6	7056731730	rderrenbacher@laurentian.ca
Di Giovanni	Andrea			1773 Bayswater Cres.	London	ON	N6G 5N1		adgiov2@uwo.ca
Dickieson	Brenton D. G.			14 Laphorn Ave.	Charlottetown	PE	C1A 2M2		brentondickieson@hotmail.com
Dille	Sarah		College of Wooster, Religious Studies	1189 Beall Ave.	Wooster	OH	44691	3302632000	sdille@wooster.edu
Dion	Marie-France	Theological Studies	Concordia	1455 boul. de Maisonneuve Ouest	Montreal	PQ	H3G 1M8	5148482424	marie-france.dion@sympatico.ca



Doerksen	Russell		Providence Theological Seminary	Box 438, Providence Theological Seminary	Otterburne	MB	R0A 1G0		russell.doerksen@gmail.com
Donaldson	Terence L.		Wycliffe College	5 Hoskin Ave.	Toronto	ON	M5S 1H7	4169463537	terry.donaldson@utoronto.ca
Doudna	Gregory L.			1916 18th St., Apt. E206	Bellingham	WA	98225		gdoudna@msn.com
Dow	Lois		McMaster Divinity College	30 Simpson Ave.	Kitchener	ON	N2A 1L3	9055259140	loiful@hotmail.com
Dragos	Jennie			200 Bold St. Apt. 1	Hamilton	ON	L8P 1V6		dragosj@mcmaster.ca
Droge	A. J.		Department of Humanities	1265 Military Trail	Toronto	ON	M1C 1A4	4162877164	a.droge@utoronto.ca
Dueck	Nathan			1104A Child Ave.	Calgary	AB	T2E 5C5	4038363375	nrdueck@gmail.com
Duggan	Michael W.	Religious Studies	St Mary's University College	14500 Bannister Rd. SE	Calgary	AB	T2X 1Z4	4032543720	michael.duggan@stmu.ab.ca
Duhaime	Jean	Faculté de Théologie et de sciences des religions	Université de Montréal	CP 6128 Succ Centre-Ville	Montreal	PQ	H3C 3J7	5143437160	jean.duhaime@umontreal.ca
Duperreault	Danielle			884 Wiseman Ave.	Montreal	QC	H2V 3L1		danielle.duperreault@mail.mcgill.ca
Dutcher-Walls	Patricia		Vancouver School of Theology	6000 Iona Drive	Vancouver	BC	V6T 1L4	6048229804	patdw@vst.edu
Eberhart	Christian A.		Lutheran Theological Seminary	114 Seminary Crescent	Sakatoon	SK	S7N 0X3	3069667865	c.eberhart@usask.ca
Ehrlich	Carl S.	Division of Humanities	York University	4700 Keele St.	Toronto	ON	M3J 1P3	4167362100	ehrlch@yorku.ca
Engler	Erich		McMaster University	13 Ball Ave.	Cambridge	ON	N1R 2A2		erich@exculink.com
Epp-Tiessen	Daniel		Canadian Mennonite University	500 Shaftesbury Blvd.	Winnipeg	MB	R3P 2N2	2044873300	depptiessen@cmu.ca
Epstein	Heidi			1437 College Dr.	Saskatoon	SK	S7N 0W6	3069668047	hepstein@stmcollege.ca
Erho	Ted M.		Dept. of Theology and Religion	Abbey House, Palace Green	Durham		DH1 3RS		t.m.erho@DURHAM.AC.UK
Evans	Paul		McMaster Divinity College	Divinity Room 236, 1280 Main St. West	Hamilton	ON	L8S 4K1	9055259140	pevans@mcmaster.ca
Fai	Stephen		Azrael School of Architecture and Urbanism	1125 Colowel By Drive	Ottawa	ON	K1S 5B6	6135202867	stephen_fai@carleton.ca
Falk	Daniel	Dept. of Relg. Studies	College of Arts and Sciences	1294 University of Oregon	Eugene	Oregon	97403-1294	5413464980	dfalk@oregon.uoregon.edu

Feuerherm	Karljürgen	Department of Archaeology and Classical Studies	Wilfrid Laurier University	75 University Ave. West	Waterloo	ON	N2L 3C5	5198840710	kfeuerherm@wlu.ca
Fewster	Gregory P.			1880 King St. W.	Hamilton	ON			gregfewster@gmail.com
Flint	Peter		Trinity Western University	7600 Glover Rd.	Langley	BC	V2Y 1A1	6048887511	flint@twu.ca
Flynn	Shawn	Near and Middle Eastern Civilization		4 Bancroft Ave., 2nd Flr.	Toronto	ON	M5S 1C1		shawn.flynn@utoronto.ca
Fontanille	Jean-Philippe								jp.fontanille@sympatico.ca
Fox	Douglas J.			44-115 Wright Cres.	Kingston	ON	K7L 4T8		rdfox@sympatico.ca
Fraikin	Daniel			1370 Thurlow Road	Victoria	BC	V8L 1L7		fraikind@post.queensu.ca
Fried	Lisbeth S.	Near Eastern Studies	University of Michigan	202 South Thayer St. #4111	Ann Arbor	MI	48104		lizfried@umich.edu
Friesen	Courtney J. P.			869 Oxford St. N.	St. Paul	MN	55103	6126255353	frie0259@umn.edu
Froese	Daniel J.		Wycliffe College/TST	#85-91 Muir Dr.	Toronto	ON	M1M 3T7	6474502017	daniel.j.froese@gmail.com
Frost	Stanley B.	History of McGill Project	McGill University	3459 McTavish St.	Montreal	QC	H3A 1Y1	5143987460	
Fry	Christina M. L.		Dept. of Religious Studies	2500 University Dr. NW	Calgary	AB	T2N 1N4		cmfry@ucalgary.ca
Gadzinski	Anthony			997 rue Beauchamp	Sainte-Jean-Sur-Richelieu	QC	J3A 1E2		wilks@videotron.ca
Gagné	André	Dept. of Theological Studies		2140 Bishop St., Annex D	Montreal	QC	H3G 1N2	5148482424	andgagne@alcor.concordia.ca
Gignac	Alain	Faculte de Theologie	Universite de Montreal	CP 6128 Succ. Centre-Ville	Montreal	PQ	H3C 3J7	5143436840	alain.gignac@umontreal.ca
Gilders	William K.	Department of Religion	Emory University	Callaway S214	Atlanta	GA	30322	4047271826	wgilder@emory.edu
Gill	Michael			425 Gardiner St.	Oromato	NB	E2V 1G4		091154g@acadiau.ca
Gooch	Paul W.	President Victoria University	Victoria University	73 Queen's Park Cres.	Toronto	ON	M5S 1K7	4165854511	paul.gooch@utoronto.ca
Goussev-Sushinsky	Olga			265 Dixon Rd., Apt. 1007	Toronto	ON			olgagoussev@gmail.com
Greifenhagen	F. Volker	Luther College	University of Regina	3737 Wascana Parkway	Regina	SK	S4S 1X3	3065854859	franzvolker.greifenhagen@uregina.ca
Gruca-Macaulay	Alexandra			28 Kingsford Cres.	Ottawa	ON	K2K 1T4	6162361393	agrucamacaulay@sympatico.ca
Haase	Ingrid M.			2240 Halifax Drive, Apt. # 1402	Ottawa	ON	K1G 2W8		imhaase@uottawa.ca



Halpern	Baruch		Penn State University	103 Weaver Bldg.	University Park	PA	16802	8148630175	bhx13@psu.edu
Hamilton	Gordon	Faculty of Theology	University College	1349 Western Rd.	London	ON	N6G 1H3	5194387224	gjhilton01@hotmail.com
Hammer	Keir E.		Taylor University College	11525-23 Avenue	Edmonton	AB	T6J 4T3	7804315211	keir.hammer@taylor-edu.ca
Harland	Phillip			22 Everwood Un	Kitchener	ON	N2P 2B1	5148482065	pharland@yorku.ca
Harvan	Mary			1426 Bishop	Montreal	QC			bobharvan@vif.com
Hawkin	David J.	Dept. of Religious Studies	Memorial University		St. John's	NFLD	A1C 5S7	7097378166	dhawkin@mun.ca
Hayes	Leslie			298 Gainsborough Rd.	Toronto	ON	M4L 3C6	4166042597	leslie.hayes@cu.edu
Hayward	Nicola			#2 - 3954 St. Hubert St.	Montreal	PQ	H2L 4A5		hay.nicola@gmail.com
Hegedus	Tim	Waterloo Seminary	Wilfrid Laurier University		Waterloo	ON	N2L 3C5	5198840710	thegedus@wlu.ca
Helfield	Michael			151 Westminster Ave. North	Montreal-West	QC	H4X 1Z3	4167365127	mhelpfield@gmail.com
Henderson	Ian H.	Faculty of Religious Studies	McGill University	3520 University Street	Montreal	PQ	H3A 2A7	5143981316	ian.henderson@mcgill.ca
Hiebert	Robert		Trinity Western Seminary	7600 Glover Road	Langley	BC	V2Y 1Y1	6048887511	robh@twu.ca
Hiltunen	Chelica		TWU	208 - 5669 201 A St.	Langley	BC	V3A 1S9		chelicahiltunen@hotmail.com
Ho	Edward			25 Amulet Cres.	Richmond Hill	ON	L4S 2S2	9059180425	edwardewho@yahoo.ca
Hobbs	T. Raymond			35 Dromore Cres.	Hamilton	ON	L8S 4A8	9055721104	ray.hobbs@sympatico.ca
Hogan	Pauline		McMaster University	16 Haynes Ave.	St. Catharines	ON	L2R 3Z1		phogan@cogeco.ca
Holmstedt	Robert D.	Near & Middle Eastern Civilizations	University of Toronto	Rm 328, 4 Bancroft Ave.	Toronto	ON	M5S 1C1	4169783180	robert.holmstedt@utoronto.ca
Horman	John F.			132 Erb St. W	Waterloo	ON	N2L 1T8		jhorman@sentex.net
Humphrey	Edith M.		Pittsburgh Theological Seminary	616 North Highland Ave.	Pittsburgh	PA	15206	4123625610	ehumphrey@pts.edu
Hurd	John C.		Trinity College	705-18 Wanless Ave.	Toronto	ON	M4N 3R9		john.hurd@squam.org
Iavoschi	Roxana		Universite de Montreal	250 60E Ave.	St-Joseph-du-Lac	PQ	J0N 1M0	5148556130	jakoblim@yahoo.com
Idestrom	Rebecca G. S.		Tyndale Seminary	25 Ballyconnor Ct.	Toronto	ON	M2M 4B3	4162266620	ridestrom@tyndale.ca
Irwin	Brian P.		Knox College	59 St. George St.	Toronto	ON	M5S 2E6	4169782789	brian.irwin@utoronto.ca
Jackman, o.p.	Edward J. R.			P.O. Box 398	Kleinburg	ON	L0J 1C0		revdjackman@rogers.com

Jeal	Roy R.		Booth College	447 Webb Place	Winnipeg	MB	R3B 2P2	2049244874	jeal@mts.net
Jervis	L. Ann		Wycliffe College	5 Hoskin Ave.	Toronto	ON	M5S 1H7	4169463539	a.jervis@utoronto.ca
Johnson	Lee		East Carolina University	A-327 Brewster	Greenville	NC	27858		johnsonle@ecu.edu
Jones	Catherine		St. Michael's College	14 Verclaire Gate	Unionville	ON	L3R 9P6		catherine.jones@utoronto.ca
Jonker	Louis		Fakulteit Teologie	Privaatsak X01	Matieland	7602			lej@sun.ac.za
Jung	Kisoo (Andrew)			9254-213 St.	Langley	BC	V1M 1L2		kisoo.jung@mytwu.ca
Kalimi	Isaac	Religion	Northwestern University	8731 N. Central Park Ave.	Skokie	IL	60076	8476738698	kalimi22@gmail.com
Kalman	Jason			3115 S. Whitetree Circle	Cincinnati	OH	45236		jkalman@huc.edu
Kampen	John		Methodist Theological School in Ohio	3081 Columbus Pike	Delaware	OH	43015	7403623125	jkampen@mtso.edu
Kato	Julius-Kei		King's Univ. College at UWO	266 Epworth Ave.	London	ON	N6A 2M3	5194333491	jkato@uwo.ca
Keiser	Jeffrey A.			3525 Decarie Blvd.	Montreal	QC	H4A 3J4	5143981301	jeffrey.keiser@mail.mcgill.ca
Keough	Shawn W. J.	Faculty of Theology		Sint-Michielsstraat 6	Leuven			+32 16323791	shawn.wm.j.keough@gmail.com
Kerfoot	Donna			1359 Lisbon Rd.	Wellesley	ON	N0B 2T0		donna.kerfoot@utoronto.ca
Kessler	John		Tyndale Seminary	25 Ballyconnor Ct.	Toronto	ON	M2M 4B3	4162266620	jkessler@tyndale.ca
Kiffiak	Jordash			P. O. Box 31913, Givat Ram, Hebrew University	Jerusalem		91391		jordash.kiffiak@mail.huji.ac.il
Kim	Eun-Jung			905-30 Godstone Rd.	Toronto	ON	M2J 3C6		jxadonai@hotmail.com
Kirk	Alan	Department of Philosophy and Religion MSC 7504	James Madison University	MSC 7504	Harrisonburg	VA	22807	540-568-2830	kirkak@jmu.edu
Kirkpatrick	Patricia G.	Faculty of Religious Studies	McGill University		Montreal	PQ	H3A 2A7	5143984121	patricia.kirkpatrick@mcgill.ca
Klassen	William			#12-545 Laurelwood Dr.	Waterloo	ON	N2V 2R4		williamklassen@rogers.com
Kloppenborg	John S.		Trinity College	6 Hoskin Ave.	Toronto	ON	M5S 1H8	4169786493	john.kloppenborg@utoronto.ca
Knight-Messenger	Andrew			5 Hoskin Ave.	Toronto	ON	M5S 1H7	4169463535	andrewdkm@hotmail.com
Knoppers	Gary	Dept. of Classics & Ancient Med Studies	Penn State University	108 Weaver Bldg.	University Park	PA	16802-5500	8148635644	gxk7@psu.edu
Knowles	Michael		McMaster Divinity College	1280 Main St. W. DC-214	Hamilton	ON	L8S 4K1	9055259140	knowlesm@mcmaster.ca



Kobel	Esther		University of Basel	Thiersteinerallee 9	Basel		CH-4053		esther.kobel@unibas.ch
Kok	Michael			155 Calico Dr.	Sherwood Park	AB	T8A 5P9		mike_kok@hotmail.com
Kolarcik	Michael	Biblical Dept. OT	Regis College	15 St. Mary St.	Toronto	ON	M4Y 2R5	4169225474	mkolarcik@bigfoot.com
Korner	Ralph			74 Rifle Range Rd.	Hamilton	ON	L8S 3B4		kornerjr@mcmaster.ca
Kostamo	Sonya K.		Trinity Western University	11028-162A St.	Surrey	BC	V4N 4S8		s_sonya@hotmail.com
Kovacs	Frank			106 Antique Dr.	Richmond Hill	ON	L4E 4G3		reformedkov@sympatico.ca
Krause	Andrew			Dept. of Religious Studies, UH-B107	Hamilton	ON	L8S 4K1		krausear@mcmaster.ca
Krawiec	Rebecca			2001 Main St.	Buffalo	NY	14226	7168882822	krawiec@canisius.edu
Laberge	Leo	Faculty of Theology	St. Paul University	175 Main St.	Ottawa	ON	K1S 1C3	6132361393	laberjel@yahoo.ca
Labrèche	Jacques			3515 Marlowe	Montreal	PQ	H4A 3L8		jacques.labreche@umontreal.ca
LaCoste	Nathalie			2A-536 College St.	Toronto	ON	M6G 1A6		nathalie.lacoste@utoronto.ca
LaFosse	Mona Tokarek	Centre for the Study of Religion	University of Toronto	30 Vintage Crescent	Kitchener	ON	N2P 1L2		mona.lafosse@utoronto.ca
Land	Christopher			90 Pinehurst Cres.	Kitchener	ON	N2N 1E4		chris@christopherland.info
Landy	Francis	History and Classics	University of Alberta	2-28 Tory Bldg.	Edmonton	AB	T6G 2H6	7804927183	francis.landy@ualberta.ca
Langille	Timothy			#310, 55 Maitland St.	Toronto	ON	M4Y 1C9		tim.langille@gmail.com
Lasair	Simon		St. Thomas More College	1437 College Dr.	Saskatoon	SK	S7N 0W6		slasair@stmcollege.ca
Last	Richard			7 Jackes Ave., Apt. 2006	Toronto	ON	M4T 1E3		richard.last@utoronto.ca
Lec	Bernon		Bethel University	3900 Bethel Drive	St. Paul	MN	55112		b-lec@bethel.edu
Lemos	Tracy			1349 Western Rd.	London	ON	N6G 1H3	5194387224	tlemos@uwo.ca
Leuchter	Mark	Religion Dept.		650 Anderson Hall, 1114 West Berks St.	Philadelphia	PA	19122		mark.leuchter@temple.edu
Levinson	Bernard	Dept Classical & Near Eastern Studies and Hebrew Bible		245 Nicholson Hall, 216 Pillsbury Drive SE	Minneapolis	MN	55455	612-625-4323	levinson@tc.umn.edu
Lightstone	Jack	Office of the President	Brock University		St. Catharines	ON	L2S 3A1	9056885550	jack_n_lightstone@hotmail.com
Lohr	Joel N.			7600 Glover Road	Langley	BC	V2Y 1Y1	6045132121	joel.lohr@twu.ca
Lok	Ka Ho		Wycliffe College	35 Charles St. W. #707	Toronto	ON	M4Y 1R6		kaho.lok@mail.utoronto.ca
Longard	Bradley		Acadia Divinity School	23 Arbor Way	Hammonds Plains	NS	B4B 1L1		brad.longard@gmail.com
Lortie	Christopher			10090 243rd St.	Maple Ridge	BC	V2W 1X3		clortie@yahoo.ca

Luna	Rodolfo F.	Faculté de théologie, d'éthique et de philosophie	Université de Sherbrooke	112, Chemin Loiseau	Havre-aux-maisons	QC	G4T 5H4		rodolfo.felices@usherbrooke.ca
MacDonald	Margaret Y.	Dept. of Religious Studies	St. Francis Xavier University	P.O. Box 5000	Antigonish	NS	B2G 2W5	9028675407	mymacdon@stfx.ca
Machiela	Daniel			1280 Main St. West	Hamilton	ON	L8S 4K1	9055259140	machiela@mcmaster.ca
MacKenzie	Robert K.			2302 Lawn Ave.	Ottawa	ON	K2B 7B4		robert.mackenzie@rogers.com
MacLachlan	David S.		Atlantic School of Theology	660 Francklyn St.	Halifax	NS	B3H 3B5	9024967941	dmaclachlan@astheology.ns.ca
Macumber	Heather			805-478 Pearl St.	Burlington	ON	L7R 2N3		heather.macumber@utoronto.ca
Magee	James		Trinity Western University	7600 Glover Road	Langley	BC	V2Y 1Y1	6048887511	icession@hotmail.com
Mahn	Shlomo			4735 Bouchette	Montreal	QC	H3W 1C6	5146224123	shlomo.mahn@mail.mcgill.ca
Maier	Harry O.		Vancouver School of Theology	6000 Iona Dr.	Vancouver	BC	V6T 1L4	6058229461	hmaier@vst.edu
Marshall	John		Department for the Study of Religion	University College	Toronto	ON	M5S 3H7	4169788122	john.marshall@utoronto.ca
Martens	Andrew		ACTS	35384 Sandyhill Rd.	Abbotsford	BC	V3G 1J2		sammym@telus.net
Martini	Jeromey		Horizon College and Seminary	1303 Jackson Ave.	Saskatoon	SK	S7H 2M9	3063746655 x101	jmartini@horizon.edu
Mathieu	Yvan	Theology	Université Saint-Paul	223 rue Main	Ottawa	ON	K1S 1C4	6132361393	ymathieu@synapse.net
Matties	Gordon H.	Dept. of Biblical and Theological Studies	Canadian Mennonite University	500 Shaftesbury Blvd.	Winnipeg	MB	R3P 2N2	2044873300	gmatties@cmu.ca
Mattila	Sharon Lea			1805 Martha Berry Blvd., Apt. 29	Rome	GA	20165		slmattila@hotmail.com
McClellan	Daniel			516 Tremont Ave., Apt. 104	Bellingham	WA	98226		dan.mcclellan@gmail.com
McCready	Wayne O.		University of Calgary - Dept. of Religious Studies	2500 University Dr. N.W.	Calgary	AB	T2N 1N4	4032203928	mccready@ucalgary.ca
McDaniel	Karl			3510 Rue de Verdun	Verdun	QC	H4G 1K4	514-766-8271	thefamily_nj@yahoo.ca
McGeough	Kevin	Dept. of Geography		4401 University Dr.	Lethbridge	AB	T1K 3M4	4033827168	mcgekm@uleth.ca
McLaughlin	John L.	Faculty of Theology	University of St. Michael's College	81 St. Mary St.	Toronto	ON	M5S 1J4	4169267267	johnl.mclaughlin@utoronto.ca
McRae	Rachel		Queen's Theological College	P.O. Box 296, 14 Birch Cres.	Whitney	ON	K0J 2M0		mcrac.rachel0@gmail.com
Metso	Sarianna	Department of Near and Middle Eastern Civilization	University of Toronto	4 Bancroft	Toronto	ON	M5S 1C1	4169463243	s.metso@utoronto.ca



Meyer	Nick			23 - 145 Rice Ave.	Hamilton	ON	L9C 6R3		meyerna@mcmaster.ca
Miceli	Calogero			9090 Maritain	Montreal	PQ	H1R 3K6		calogero_jade@hotmail.com
Middleton	J. Richard	Northeastern Seminary	Roberts Wesleyan College	2265 Westside Dr.	Rochester	NY	14624-1997	5855946971	middleton_richard@roberts.edu
Miller	Daniel R.	Religion	Bishop's University	29, rue Summer	Sherbrooke	QC	J1M 1G4	8198229600	daniel.miller@sympatico.ca
Milton	John			4852 rue Jean-Brillant	Montreal	QC	H3W 1T6		john.milton@mail.mcgill.ca
Mitchell	Matthew	Religious Studies and Theology		2001 Main St.	Buffalo	NY	14208-1098	7168882828	matthew.mitchell@canisius.edu
Montgomery	Eric			100 Rice Ave. #8	Hamilton	ON	L9C 5V9		emontgome@hotmail.com
Moore	Anne	Dept. of Religious Studies	University of Calgary	2500 University Dr. NW	Calgary	AB	T2N 1N4	4032203288	amoore@ucalgary.ca
Morrow	William		Queen's Theological College		Kingston	ON	K7L 3N6	6135336000	morroww@queensu.ca
Mroczek	Eva			660 Eglinton Ave. W. #609	Toronto	ON	M5N 1C3		eva.mroczek@utoronto.ca
Muir	Steven C.		Concordia University College of Alberta	7128 Ada Boulevard	Edmonton	AB	T5B 4E4	7804799367	steven.muir@concordia.ab.ca
Murray	Michele	Dept. of Religion	Bishop's University	29, rue Summer	Sherbrooke	PQ	J1M 1G4	8198229600	mmurray@ubishops.ca
Neufeld	Dietmar	CNERS	University of British Columbia	1866 Main Mall Buch C270	Vancouver	BC	V6T 1Z1	6048222515	dneufeld@interchange.ubc.ca
Newman	Judith H.	Religion	Emmanuel College-TST	75 Queen's Park Crescent	Toronto	ON	M5S 1K7	4165854533	judith.newman@utoronto.ca
Ney	Stephen			unknown	Vancouver	BC			
Noll	K. L.	Department of Religion	Brandon University	270-18th Street	Brandon	MB	R7A 6A9	2047279690	nollk@brandonu.ca
Oegema	Gerbern S.	Faculty of Religious Studies	McGill University	3520 University St.	Montreal	PQ	H3A 2A7	5143984126	gerbern.oegema@mcgill.ca
Oeste	Gordon		Heritage Theological Seminary	175 Holiday Inn Dr.	Cambridge	ON	N3C 3T2	5196512869	goeste@heritageseminary.net
Olfert	Ryan			14511-103 Ave.	Edmonton	AB	T5N 0T5		ryan.olfert@gmail.com
Olson	Theodore W.			244 Harrygan Cres.	Richmond Hill	ON	L4C 4J1	4167365156	theodore.olson@sympatico.ca
Ong	Hughson		McMaster Divinity College	34-55 Towercrest Dr.	Hamilton	ON	L9A 5J1	2898872321	hughsonong@yahoo.com
Pahl	Michael W.		Cedarville University	251 N. Main St.	Cedarville	OH	45314	9377667687	michaelpahl@gmail.com
Palmer	Carmen		Emmanuel College	75 Queen's Park Cr., #102	Toronto	ON	M5S 1K7		carmen.palmer@utoronto.ca
Paré	Marc			15425 Hazelnut	Pierrefonds	QC	H9H 4C5	5143310878	marc.pare@etem.ca

Parker	Neil		United Church of Canada	366 The East Mall, #302	Etobicoke	ON	M9B 6C6		nparker416@gmail.com
Pascoe	Samantha			430 Rosedale Ave.	Winnipeg	MB	R3L 1M2		samantha.pascoe@gmail.com
Penner	Todd C.	Religious Studies	Austin College	Box 61605 900 N. Grand Ave.	Sherman	TX	75090	9038132367	tpenner@austincollege.edu
Perrin	Andrew			#27, 26 Moss Blvd.	Dundas	ON	L9H 6W7		perrinab@mcmaster.ca
Pettem	Michael			454 Hudson	Montreal-Ouest	QC	H4X 1W8		pettem@sympatico.ca
Pfenniger	Jennifer			624 William St Unit 30	London	ON	N6B 3G2		jpennig@uwo.ca
Piovaneli	Pierluigi	Dept. of Classics and Religious Studies	University of Ottawa	70 Laurier Ave. E.	Ottawa	ON	K1N 6N5	6135625800	piovanel@uottawa.ca
Porter	Stanley E.		McMaster Divinity College	1280 Main Street West	Hamilton	ON	L8S 4K1	9055259140	prinpl@mcmaster.ca
Poxon	Dan			154 Crystalridge Cr. [WRONG ADDRESS]	Okotoks	AB	T1S 1W3		dipoxon@gmail.com
Price	Robert			89 Lloyd St.	Stouffville	ON	L4A 4J5		rrprice@sympatico.ca
Provan	Iain		Regent College	5800 University Blvd.	Vancouver	BC	V7H 1T3	6042243245	iprovan@regent-college.edu
Pummer	Reinhard	Dept of Classics and Relg. Studies	University of Ottawa		Ottawa	ON	K1N 6N5		rpummer@uottawa.ca
Pyke	Daniel		Acadia Divinity School	Douglas Baptist Church, 1012 Hwy. 105	Douglas	NB	E3G 7J4		g.dan.pyke@gmail.com
Pyles	Anthony R.		McMaster Divinity College	163 Homewood Ave.	Hamilton	ON	L8P 2M6		pylesar@gmail.com
Raccach	William		Institute for Biblical Relevancy	8531-33 Ave. NW	Calgary	AB	T3B 1M2	4039782525	wvc3@telus.net
Racine	Jean-Francois		Jesuit School of Theology	1735 LeRoy Ave.	Berkeley	CA	94709	5105495030	jr Racine@jstb.edu
Reid	Duncan			121 Shady Pine Circle	Brampton	ON	L6R 1K2		sdreid@rogers.com
Reinhartz	Adele	Département d'études anciennes et sciences de religion	L'Université d'Ottawa	70 Laurier - Room 014	Ottawa	ON	K1N 6N5	6135625397	adele.reinhartz@uottawa.ca
Remus	Harold E.	Dept. of Religion and Culture	Wilfrid Laurier University	85 Longwood Dr.	Waterloo	ON	N2L 4B6		hremus@wlu.ca
Ricciuti	Anthony		Mumford Presbyterian Church	254 Hillside Ave.	Rochester	NY	14610	5854739081	ajricciuti@hotmail.com
Richards	Kent Harold			3 Sandpiper Ln.	Mystic	CT	06355		kent.richards@sbl-site.org



Richardson	Peter		University of Toronto	483 Broadview Avenue	Toronto	ON	M4K 2N4	4169788155	prchrdsn@chass.utoronto.ca
Rilett Wood	Joyce			14 Saranac Blvd. #19	Toronto	ON	M6A 2G3	4167820383	joyce.rilettwood@utoronto.ca
Ristau	Ken		State College	932 Stratford Court	State College	PA	16801		ken.ristau@anduril.ca
Rives	James B.	Department of Classics	University of North Carolina	212 Murphey Hall Campus Box 3145	Chapel Hill	NC	27599-3145	9199627191	jbrives@email.unc.edu
Robins	Madison		Centre for the Study of Religion	22 Brunswick Ave.	Toronto	ON	M5S 2L7		madison.robins@utoronto.ca
Rochais	Gerard	Dpt Science Religieuses	UQAM	7045 Avenue Clark	Montreal	PQ	H2S 3G5		rochais.gerard@uqam.ca
Rollens	Sarah			666 Spadina Ave., #207	Toronto	ON	M5S 2H8		sarah.rollens@utoronto.ca
Runesson	Anders	Department of Religious Studies	McMaster University	1280 Main St.	Hamilton	ON	L8S 4K1	9055259140	runess@mcmaster.ca
Runions	Erin	Dept. of Religious Studies	Pomona College	551 N Collge Ave	Claremont	CA	91711	9096070479	erin.runions@pomona.edu
Ryan	Jordan			24 Perivale Cres.	Toronto	ON	M1J 2C1	6476865584	ryanj23@mcmaster.ca
Sabo	Peter			1407-10883 Saskatchewan Dr. NW	Edmonton	AB	T6E 4S6		psabo@ualberta.ca
Sandul	Lindsey							5146041716	l_sandul@live.concordia.ca
Sandys-Wunsch	John			930 Lakeview Ave.	Victoria	BC	V8X 3H8	2507431106	jwunsch@islandnet.com
Santos	Carlucci Dos		Wycliffe College, TST	5 Hoskin Ave, Apt A9	Toronto	ON	M5S 1H7	4169463535	carlucci.dossantos@utoronto.ca
Schellenberg	Ryan			385 N. Glenn Ave.	Fresno	CA	93701		ryan.schellenberg@utoronto.ca
Schuller	Eileen	Dept. of Religious Studies	McMaster University		Hamilton	ON	L8S 4K1	9055259140	schuller@mcmaster.ca
Scott	Mark	Religious Studies	Harvard University	6 Sunnysbank Rd.	Watertown	MA	02472		mscot@alcor.concordia.ca
Segal	Eliezer L.	Religious Studies	University of Calgary	2500 University Dr. NW, SS 1301	Calgary	AB	T2N 1N4	4032205886	eliezer.segal@ucalgary.ca
Shantz	Colleen A.	Faculty of Theology	University of St. Michael's College	81 St. Mary St.	Toronto	ON	M5S 1J4	4169276103	c.shantz@utoronto.ca
Sheinfeld	Shayna			5895 Centennial #19	Côte St. Luc	QC	H4W 1T2		shayna.sheinfeld@mail.mcgill.ca
Slater	Susan		Atlantic School of Theology	640 Francklyn St.	Halifax	NS	B3H 3B5	9024257051	sslater@astheology.ns.ca
Smith	Daniel A.	Faculty of Theology	Huron University College	1349 Western Rd.	London	ON	N6G 1H3	5194387224	dsmith89@huron.uwo.ca
Snow	Robert S.		Nazarene University College	610-833 4th Ave.	Calgary	AB	T2W 1H6	403410200	rsnow@auc-nuc.ca

Soderlund	Sven K.		Regent College	5800 University Blvd.	Vancouver	BC	V6T 2E4		ssoderlund@regent-college.edu
Sommers	L. Javed			1896 Rue Frontenac	Montreal	PQ	H2K 2Z1		luke.sommers@mail.mcgill.ca
Spilsbury	Paul		Alliance University College	630-833 4th Ave SW	Calgary	AB	T2P 3T5	4304102000	pspilsbury@ambrose.edu
Spinney	Joyce-Ann		Acadia Divinity College	3800 Hwy. #3, Box #1, Site #5, RR#1 Glenwood	Yarmouth County	NS	B0W 1W0		100538s@acadiau.ca
Stauber	Chad			4 Devonshire Place	Toronto	ON	M5S 2E1	4169783181	chad.stauber@utoronto.ca
Stichele	Caroline Vander	Religious Studies	University of Amsterdam	Oude Turfmarkt 147	Amsterdam		1012 GC	0205252010	c.vanderstichele@uva.nl
Stoner	Ryan			170 St. George St., Flr. 3	Toronto	ON	M5R 2M8		ryan.stoner@utoronto.ca
Stovell	Beth		St. Thomas University	16401 NW 37th Avenue, Sullivan Hall Rm 107	Miami Gardens	FL	33054	(305) 628-6675	bethstovell@gmail.com
Stratton	Kimberly	300 Patterson Hall	Carleton University	1125 Colonel By Drive	Ottawa	ON	K1S 5B6	6135202600	kim_stratton@carleton.ca
Suderman	Derek			11739 McCowan Rd	Stouffville	ON	L4A 7X5		dsuderman@uwaterloo.ca
Sulzbach	Carla			6582 DeVimy	Montreal	QC	H3S 2R8		cjsulzbach@hotmail.com
Tappenden	Frederick S.			4440 Avenue d'Oxford	Montreal	QC	H4A 2Y6		f_s_tappenden@yahoo.ca
Taylor	J. Glen		Wycliffe College	5 Hoskin Ave.	Toronto	ON	M5S 1H7	4169463541	glen.taylor@utoronto.ca
Teitelbaum	Dina		University of Ottawa	195 Marlborough Ave.	Ottawa	ON	K1N 8G3		dina.teitelbaum@alumni.uottawa.ca
Thiessen	Matthew		Saint Louis University	Adorjan #124, 3800 Lindell Blvd.	St. Louis	MO	63108-3414		matthew.thiessen@usask.ca
Tiffany	Frederick C.		Northwest House of Theological Studies	550 Vista Ave SE	Salem	OR	97302	5035884344	ftiffany1978@comcast.net
Timmer	Daniel			109 Bristol Cove	Madison	Miss.	39110	18004754482	dtimmer@hotmail.com
Toffelmir	Colin			42 Hyde Park Ave.	Hamilton	ON	L8P 4M5		toffelcm@muss.cis.mcmaster.ca
Tolppanen	Kari	Biblical/New Testament		1A Lynwood Ave.	Toronto	ON	M4V 1K3		kari.tolppanen@utoronto.ca
Trautwein	Sherri		Wycliffe College	#5 - 65 Brybeck Cres.	Kitchener	ON	N2M 2C5	5197456302	sherri.trautwein@utoronto.ca
Tsai	Hung-Chih		McMaster Divinity College	13-525 Stone Church Rd. E.	Hamilton	ON	L8W 3B2		paul783@yahoo.com.tw
Tulloch	Janet			1125 Colonel By Drive	Ottawa	ON	K1S 5B6	6135202600	janet_tulloch@carleton.ca
Ulrich	Eugene	Theology		130 Malloy Hall	Notre Dame	IN	46556	5746314041	eulrich@nd.edu



Upson-Saia	Kristi	Dept. of Religious Studies		1600 Campus Rd.	Los Angeles	CA	90041		upsonsaia@oxy.edu
Vaage	Leif E.		Emmanuel College	75 Queen's Park Cres. E.	Toronto	ON	M5S 1K7	4165854532	leif.vaage@utoronto.ca
Van Dam	Cornelis		Canadian Reformed Theological Seminary	642 Ramsgate Road	Burlington	ON	L7N 2Y1		cvandam@cogeco.ca
Van Nie	Johannes			904 - 77 Lombard St.	Toronto	ON	M5C 3E1		vannicja@mcmaster.ca
Van Seters	John	Religion and Culture	Wilfrid Laurier University	70-139 Father David Bauer Dr.	Waterloo	ON	N2L 6L1	5198889380	john.vanseters@sympatico.ca
van Zutphen	Vincent H.		St. Peter's Seminary	817 Little Mabou Rd.	Colindale	NS	B0E 2W0	5192274726	vzutphen@uwo.ca
Vanderhooff	David	Dept. of Theology	Boston College	140 Commonwealth Ave.	Chestnut Hill	MA	02467	6175524240	vanderho@bc.edu
Vargo	Chelsey Lee			215 Hanley Cres.	Regina	SK	S4R 5A9		vargo11c@uregina.ca
Vearncombe	Erin		Wycliffe College	375 Scarborough Rd.	Toronto	ON	M4E 3N1		evearn@hotmail.com
Viard	Jean-Sebastien		Universite de Montreal	1844 Tupper	Montreal	PQ	H3H 1N4	5147616201	le_jons@hotmail.com
Vroom	Jonathan		University of Toronto	46 Dovehaven Cres.	Brampton	ON	L6P 2N8		jonvroom@rogers.com
Vuong	Lily		McMaster University	1224 Amethyst St. Apt. C	Redondo Beach	CA	90277	9058140128	vuongl@mcmaster.ca
Waddington	Nicole			30 Norcross Rd.	North York	ON	M3H 4R2		rnwaddington@gmail.com
Wadholt	Richard			1202 Nordine St. S.	Karlstad	MN	56732	2184691201	wadholt@gmail.com
Walsh	Matthew Leland			30 Pleasant Hill, P. O. Box 236	Stewiacke	NS	B0N 2J0		walshmat@gmail.com
Wassen	Cecilia	Religion and Culture		Eriksludsvagen 310	Taby		18753		ceciliawassen@yahoo.ca
Watson	Ryan			47 Dunlaine Cres.	Brampton	ON	L6T 3H1		watsonra@mcmaster.ca
Webb	Robert L.			#25 - 2169 Orchard Road	Burlington	ON	L7L 7H9	9053328318	webb.bob@sympatico.ca
Webster	Jane	Dept. of Religion and Philosophy	Barton College	P.O. Box 5000	Wilson	NC	27893	2523996440	jwebster@barton.edu
Weir	Heather			99 Mulock Ave.	Toronto	ON	M6N 3C5		hew@interlog.com
Westerholm	Stephen	Dept. of Religious Studies	McMaster University		Hamilton	ON	L8S 4K1	9055259140	westerho@mcmaster.ca
Wettlaufer	Ryan			36 James St.	Parry Sound	ON	P2A 1T5		r.wettlaufer@utoronto.ca
Wheller	Mark S.			5902 120 Ave.	Edmonton	AB	T5W 1L6	7804538206	mark.wheller@gmail.com
White	Ellen			46 Midland St.	Worcester	MA	01602		ewhite@assumption.edu

Williams	Tyler		Kings University College	9125-50 Street	Edmonton	AB	T6B 2H3	(780) 465-3500	tyler.williams@kingsu.ca
Wilson	Andrew		Mt. Allison University	63D York St.	Sackville	NB	E4L 1G9		
Wisse	Frederik			467 Upper Crestview Dr.	Coldstream	BC	V1B 2X7		fwisse@telus.net
Witmer	Amanda			240 Hidden Creek Dr.	Kitchener	ON			pm5witmer@rogers.com
Wooden	R. Glenn	Acadia Divinity College	Acadia University	31 Horton Ave.	Wolfville	NS	B4P 2R6	9025852227	glenn.wooden@acadiau.ca
Worthington	Bruce		McMaster Divinity College	1280 Main St. W.	Hamilton	ON	L8S 4K7		bruce.worthington@utoronto.ca
Wray Beal	Lissa		Providence Theological Seminary		Otterburne	MB	R0A 1G0	2044337488	lissa.wray.beal@prov.ca
Xue	Esther Xiaxia		McMaster Divinity College	104 Emerson St.	Hamilton	ON	L8S 2X6		xuexiaxia@gmail.com
Yamasaki	Gary		Columbia Bible College	2940 Clearbrook Rd.	Abbotsford	BC	V2T 2Z8	604-853-3358	Gary.Yamasaki@columbiabc.edu
Yapp	Neil Andre	Theological Studies	Concordia University	3825 Ave Dupuis #12	Montreal	PQ	H3T 1E5		neil_yapp@alumni.concordia.ca
Yoon	Manhee								
Zapata	Brigidda			170 St. George St., 3rd Flr.	Toronto	ON	M5R 2M8	4165586403	brigidda.zapata@utoronto.ca
Zehnder	Markus			Fredrik Fransonsvei 4	Kristiansond		4635	+47 38106539	zehnder@ansgarkolen.no
Zerbe	Gordon M.		Canadian Mennonite University	500 Shaftesbury St.	Winnipeg	MB	R3P 2N2	2044873300	gzerbe@cmu.ca
Zoccali	Christopher			21 Rochelle Dr.	Churchville	NY	14428		czoccali@gmail.com