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On Making Other Plans

by Thomas W. Gillespie

Genesis 12:1–5a
1 Corinthians 16:5–9

President Thomas W. Gillespie of Princeton Theological Seminary delivered this Commencement Address in the Princeton University Chapel on May 17, 2003.

Anton Chekhov's drama *Uncle Vanya* played at McCarter this past week here in Princeton. The theater's *News* wrote of the performance:

> Emily Mann's exquisite adaptation infuses Chekhov's masterpiece with humor and heartbreaking humanity, reminding us that life is indeed what happens while you're making other plans.

As if we needed a reminder. As cynical as it may sound, anyone who has lived any length of time knows that it is true. Our lives are overtaken by unforeseen and unforeseeable events and circumstances that direct us into paths never imagined, much less planned. Life *is* what happens to us while we are making other plans.

Even Abraham and Sarah knew that. There they were minding their own business in the land of Haran when out of the blue Abraham hears a call from God:

> Go from your country and your kindred and your father's house to the land that I will show you (Gen. 12:1).

So the childless couple had an unexpected garage sale and moved out toward an unknown destination.

Halford Luccock, the great Congregationalist preacher, once compared the experience of Abraham and Sarah to that of Alexander the Great. He noted that when Alexander completed his conquest of Persia and headed eastward he had no maps for the lands we know today as Afghanistan and Pakistan and India. As Dr. Luccock put it, the great Greek general literally "marched off his maps."

And that is precisely what Abraham and Sarah did. God issued them a call, not a road map. For when you live life under a divine calling, all you need is faith enough to begin the journey. They had no idea when they began that the road would lead to Sodom and Gomorrah, to Egypt, and even to Mt. Moriah. God never told them in advance that they would have to deal with powerful kings like Melchizedek, Abimelech, and Pharaoh.

And they could never have imagined that God would turn them every way but loose before fulfilling his promise of a child, even Isaac. Yet they headed out from Haran to the land and the life God would give them.

Today, similarly, you have received a well-earned diploma, not a career blueprint. Over the years a few students have asked me how I planned my career so as to end up as the President of the Seminary. The only worthy answer is a hearty laugh. When you have a calling, you do not have a career and therefore do not need a plan. You simply answer God's call and let it lead you where it will.

Next Thursday and Friday the Seminary Class of 1953 will return to the campus for the fiftieth anniversary of its graduation. At a special class dinner they will share with one another where the call has led them since their commencement, when they sat where you are sitting today. Some of their stories will be heartwarming and others heartwrenching to hear. But they will be stories of God's faithful guidance in response to the call.

My earnest hope is that you, too, will return a half-century from now to "log-in" with each other and tell the stories of your pilgrimages. By then you will know where the road has led. Today you can only walk out the doors of this great university chapel by faith into the future ministry that God will show you one step at a time. And you will do so knowing full well that life is what happens to you while you are making other plans.

Of course, such wisdom does not eliminate the need to do some planning. In ministry you will need to plan your day, your week, even your year. In teaching you will need class schedules and lesson plans. And if you find yourself responsible for an institution, you will be doing some long-range planning as well.

The Apostle Paul engaged in such activities. Like Abraham and Sarah, the Apostle to the Gentiles knew about God's call. In fact I suspect that there has never been a Christian with a deeper and clearer sense of God's call than Paul. The God he knew and served was the One "who had set me apart before I was born and called me through his grace" (Gal. 1:15).

That in itself was an instance of life happening to the young Pharisee while he was making other plans. Yet precisely as one whom God had called and sent, Paul did make plans—not career plans, mind you, but travel plans, ministry plans, mission plans. He told the Corinthians, for example, that he planned to visit them after traveling through Macedonia, perhaps even to spend the winter with them (1 Cor. 16:5–7).

Evidently, those plans were not realized, for we find him in his next letter to Corinth on the defensive against charges of vacillation. "Do I make my plans according to ordinary human standards," he asks his Corinthian critics, "ready to say 'Yes, yes' and 'No, no' at the same time?" (2 Cor. 1:17). What prevented the apostle from showing up in Corinth on schedule we can only guess, but his original plans provide a clue.

"But I will stay in Ephesus until Pentecost, for a wide door for effective work has opened to me, and there are many adversaries" (1 Cor. 16:8–9). In other words, the opportunity for ministry in Ephesus trumped his plans to visit Corinth.

There is a message here, it seems to me, for all of us when we may be tempted to become "job hoppers" or "church climbers" or "career builders." And the message is that you do not leave Ephesus for Corinth until your work in Ephesus is finished. For our calling is to ministry, and when the door is wide open for effective work, that is where we are supposed to be.

I trust that in due season you will find your Ephesus, your place of ministry, either now or when you complete further academic training. And I pray that when you do, it will provide a wide door opened by God for effective work. From my own experience I assure you that there is nothing else like it in all the world.

But don't forget the "adversaries." Believe me when I say that I am well aware of your vim and vigor, your passion for truth and justice, your zeal for a more faithful church and a better world. And I would not dampen that zeal for anything. Still I caution you not to forget the "adversaries."

I have always loved the story of the two boy scouts who arrived at their troop meeting one night disheveled, scratched, and bleeding. When the scout master asked them what happened, they explained that they were trying to do a good deed on the way to the meeting by helping an elderly lady cross the street. "But how did that result in this?" the scout master asked. "Because," the scouts explained, "she didn't want to go."

And so it is in ministry. Not everyone wants to be saved according to your understanding. Not everyone will agree with your vision of truth and justice. Not everyone will welcome your views on the burning issues of the day. Put simply, you can get killed in ministry. And yet when that door for effective work has been thrown wide open by God for you, it is more than worth the risk and sometimes the pain and even on occasion the sorrow that goes with it.

And so now we come to the moment of farewell. As we do, I look down the corridor of the future and see another President of the Seminary welcoming you back to the campus and inviting you to tell your stories of a lifetime of "effective work" in service to our Lord Jesus Christ—while you were making other plans.

Seven Thousand and Counting

by Elsie Anne McKee

I Kings 19:1–18

Elsie Anne McKee, Archibald Alexander Professor of Reformation Studies and the History of Worship, author of Katharina Schütz Zell: The Life and Thought of a Sixteenth-Century Reformer *(1999) and editor and translator of* John Calvin: Writings on Pastoral Piety (2001), *preached this sermon at the Seminary's Baccalaureate Service in Nassau Presbyterian Church on May 16, 2003.*

It is a very special privilege and honor to stand here before you today, at your invitation. You have been a wonderful bunch of colleagues in our common project of learning with hearts and minds—coming "to play" with Calvin and Sojourner Truth and other sisters and brothers in our family story. I am much touched and deeply grateful for your trust and affection in asking me to share with you some reflections on God's Word as you step forward into the next stage of your ministries. Today there are no outlines—but I promise that I will not babble as quickly as I usually do in lectures! (Or pace back and forth—this pulpit is not geared for that.)

The stories of Elijah and Elisha are endlessly fascinating. So many images of God's mysterious ways come through. The Mt. Horeb text is a favorite. Dr. Katie Geneva Cannon preached on it earlier this year.

When this part of the story begins, Elijah has just come from what looked like the biggest triumph in his life: the victory of the Lord over the prophets of Baal and Asherah. His prayer on Mt. Carmel was perhaps even more amazing than the visible miracle of the fire from heaven.

> O Lord, God of Abraham, Isaac, and Israel, let it be known this day that you are God in Israel, that I am your servant, and that I have done all these things at your bidding. Answer me, O Lord, answer me, so that this people may know that you, O Lord, are God, and that you have turned their hearts back (18:36-38).

We hear the central confession of Israel's God as Lord and the corollary of Elijah as God's servant, but along with those Elijah affirms that God has turned back the hearts of the people. Yet a little later, after the triumphant prophet races back to the city like a young athlete, reaction sets in, and the frightened, weary man seems to have forgotten this last bit, this manifestation of God's powerful grace in God's wayward people.

Fear of Jezebel's revenge drives Elijah to run away—as far as he can, alone. He leaves his servant and goes; angels provide him with food and drink, God gives him rest. So he continues for a long time, into the desert to a cave. There God speaks to him and Elijah answers.

> "What are you doing here, Elijah?" He answered, "I have been very zealous for the Lord, the God of hosts; for the Israelites have forsaken your covenant, thrown down your altars, and killed your prophets with the sword. I alone am left, and they are seeking my life, to take it away."

God does not answer Elijah directly, but instructs him to do something: "Go out and stand on the mountain before the Lord, for the Lord is about to pass by." The wind comes; the earthquake; the fire; but God is not in any of them. Then the "sound of sheer silence." Elijah does as he is told.

He comes out to the mouth of the cave and the same conversation is repeated, word for word.

> "What are you doing here, Elijah?"

Elijah's broken record is heard again.

> "I have been very zealous for the Lord, the God of hosts; for the Israelites have forsaken your covenant, thrown down your altars, and killed your prophets with the sword. I alone am left, and they are seeking my life, to take it away."

Poor Elijah. He has probably been saying this over and over again to himself, for days, until it has become almost a litany of despair. But again, God does not immediately answer Elijah's complaint: instead, God gives him another task, something to do.

> "Go, return on your way to the wilderness of Damascus; when you arrive, you shall anoint Hazael as king over Aram. Also you shall anoint Jehu son of Nimshi as king over Israel; and you shall anoint Elisha son of Shaphat of Abel-meholah as prophet in your place. Whoever escapes from the sword of Hazael, Jehu shall kill; and whoever escapes from the sword of Jehu, Elisha shall kill. Yet I will leave seven thousand in Israel, all the knees that have not bowed to Baal, and every mouth that has not kissed him."

The first thing to strike us is the series of tasks; instead of leaving Elijah to pity himself and give up as a failure, God sends him out to continue his service in some very concrete ways. The next verses show us Elijah going to call his successor, Elisha, and Elisha's ready response. The narrative then moves along through a number of other stories; Elijah tangles again with Ahab and Jezebel and calls them to account for the murder of Naboth and theft of his vineyard (1 Kings 21). But we do not see him anointing Hazael or Jehu.

Then the end of Elijah's ministry draws near, and he goes out to meet God. This time his colleague, Elisha, unlike his servant in the earlier story, repeatedly refuses to be left behind; in the end he shares the miraculous crossing of the Jordan and sees Elijah swept up by a whirlwind into heaven. Then he takes up Elijah's mantel, strikes the water of the Jordan as Elijah had done, and crosses over in the power of "the Lord, the God of Elijah" (2 Kings 2). The story goes on to tell us that, along with Elijah's mantel, Elisha takes up the rest of the tasks which God had given his teacher on Mt. Horeb. Elisha anoints Hazael, Elisha anoints Jehu (2 Kings 8:7-15, 9:1-10); the work is not left unfinished, the ministry continues.

Before moving on, though, let's go back to God's words about "leaving seven thousand in Israel" who have not bowed to Baal or kissed him. In the fervor of his prayer on Mt. Carmel, Elijah himself knew that God had turned back the hearts of the people, but when he fled from Jezebel none of that seemed real, he felt completely alone. On Mt. Horeb, besides giving him a commission to continue his prophetic task, God reminds Elijah of those who have not turned away from the Lord. Elijah is not alone in his dedication to God; God's mysterious power has moved in others to turn back, God's grace has kept seven thousand from falling down before an idol. Not only is his ministry not finished at Horeb, but Elijah himself has never really been left alone.

At the point of graduation, commencement, you are completing one major part of your life-long response to God and beginning the next part. We rejoice with you in the wonderful gifts that God has given to you: gifts of minds and hearts, gifts of time and talents, gifts of accomplishments and worthwhile challenges met. That is one of our shared delights during these long-anticipated happy days: we celebrate the fulfilment of your dreams and hard work, with you we give thanks for God's guidance and for the families of origin and faith who have supported you. The stories of Elijah and Elisha may seem not perfectly fitted to this occasion. The calling of Elisha might be, but what about all the rest of it?

Along the path of faithful ministry we believe that God will give you occasions when you are used as Elijah was on Mt. Carmel; you will be instruments for proclaiming that God is Lord and that God has turned the hearts of the people back to the Lord! There will probably also be times when you will have the privilege of calling others into the shared ministries of Word and Sacraments, of prophetic speech and action, of pastoral care in hospitals or prisons, among refugees or those with special disabilities, in the workday world, or other places you may not even have imagined. We hope to hear about those special joys, too!

Yet there will almost certainly be some times like Elijah's desert journey to Mt. Horeb, when you feel really alone, as if all that you have done in your ministry has not amounted to a great deal, and you simply want God to let you go. Or perhaps, more insidious is the humdrum daily routine of work, when it might feel as if you are not really ministering but just keeping a machine going—and not going very well, either, sometimes!

Then you remember that Elijah did not in fact complete all the tasks that God gave him; some of them he left for Elisha, and Elisha did not fail him. Do you suppose that sometimes Elijah worried about what he had not accomplished? Yet the chariots of fire, the ascent into heaven, say very clearly that Elijah's service was pleasing to God, however unfinished it may have seemed to him. Maybe he realized that God calls us to faithfulness, not to success; to keep on keeping on, not to ticking things off lists. Maybe he finally came to understand that assuring Israel's worship of the Lord did not rest wholly on his shoulders, that there were others with him, as there had been before and would be after him, by God's grace. God's work would not remain undone; God calls to service, God gives tasks to do, but God never leaves us truly alone.

Not only God, but God's people and our fellow servants are there, even when all are hidden from our sight. And they can be all kinds of ministers! Think of Elisha, inheriting Elijah's mantel and his job. Even after accompanying his teacher through the days and months and perhaps years, it was still a challenge to pick up his mantel, maybe even hard to want to pick it up. But we read that Elisha fulfilled the other two commissions given to Elijah on Mt. Horeb. And both men served as instruments of God's power for other acts of ministry, including the way Elisha reached out beyond Israel to heal Naaman the Syrian and bring him to worship the Lord. For this, he had the help of a little girl, a captive from Israel, who believed so firmly in the Lord that she could care about her enemy master and seek his welfare from the God she worshiped (2 Kings 5). Whether Elisha knew it or not, the prophet was assisted by a child, "one of the least of these."

Here is where the long list of names from Paul's letter fits into the story: those were Paul's colleagues, women and men with whom he had worked, in whom he had confidence, from whom he expected continued service to God, for whom he gave thanks. Like your class, Paul's associates named here and elsewhere came from many different peoples: Jews and Gentiles, women and men, from Asia and Europe and Africa: Prisca and Aquila who taught Apollos, Timothy the grandson of Lois, the son of Eunice and a Greek father, Simeon called Niger, Lucius of Cyrene (Acts 18:26, 16:1, 13:1), Epaenetus the first convert in Asia; but they are one with Paul in ministry. He is

separated from them in space but not in heart, reaching out to them across the miles and the cultures.

Can't you almost hear him "telling over" his litany—both like and unlike Elijah's broken record of despair—the litany of fellow ministers. And not just the preachers, but mothers and families! Somehow it sounds like more than a list of greetings: it is a roll call of rejoicing in the "seven thousand and counting" who keep moving forward on the path of faithful service, even when that service may be supporting others—like the angels who fed Elijah, like the little girl who directed Naaman to the prophet, like the mother of Rufus, who very probably fed Paul, like all the parents and spouses and children and friends and church families who have supported and encouraged each of you: All are part of the ministry of God's people.

And so, we think of those who have gone before us, from whom we received the call, from whom we have received teaching and support, rebuke and encouragement, inspiration and hope. Some of those are very special to all of us: James Loder, Robert Jacks, Craig Sell, Richard Shaull, Donald Juel, Edward Dowey, Alan Neely, and others we name in our hearts. In our eyes it may seem that some of their ministries were cut short, but we know that in God's wisdom and mercy there is no such word as failure. Their gifts to us and to the church will follow us through all our days, their tasks become ours, and their service will be part of all that we hand on to those whom we serve and who will serve God's people when we pass our mantels to the next Elishas.

Then we think of those around us, on either hand, who like Paul's friends will be our companions through the years of ministry. Even though scattered in space, there will still be ties, which we can nourish, cultivate, enjoy. Today, besides Paul's quill and paper, we have telephones and e-mail for keeping in touch, for greetings across the miles and the oceans and the world, for mutual strengthening, listening, laughing, crying, unwinding about the things that can't be spoken elsewhere. Let us pledge ourselves to that shared community, for the times when we have Mt. Carmel stories to tell, but especially for the times when we are sitting in the cave on Mt. Horeb or walking through dull endless duties. Let us also pledge ourselves always to look with thanksgiving for the angels, the children, the mothers, who each contribute to make our ministries possible. Let us reach out to each other.

And so we give thanks for those who have gone before us, those who hold with us, those who will come after, to whom we will pass on Elijah's mantel. We give thanks to God for the call to be part of the Body of Christ, by the power of the Holy Spirit, in good days and in bad, in secure positions or on journeys across deserts, as part of the "seven thousand and counting" who walk the path of faith through this life and on into forever.

Thanks be to God!

Gebruyck of Ongebruyck: A Brief Overview of Historic Trends in the Use of the Organ in the Calvinist Churches of the Netherlands

by Martin Tel

Martin Tel, C. F. Seabrook Director of Music and Lecturer in Church Music, presented a version of this lecture in Miller Chapel on October 5, 2002. The lecture was interspersed with musical examples of organ repertoire performed by Tel and psalm singing performed by the audience. To hear the original lecture-recital in its entirety, including musical examples, visit the following Internet web-site: www.ptsem.edu/know/lecture_recital.htm

Introduction

In the second half of the sixteenth century, amidst religious and political fervor, the Calvinist Reformation (or Alteration, as the Dutch referred to it) swept through the northern regions of the Netherlands. Before the walls could dry in these whitewashed churches the new leadership began to debate the role of organ music in the church. Nearly a century later, in 1641, Constantijn Huygens published his treatise entitled *Gebruyck of Ongebruyck van 't orgel in de kercken der Vereenighde Nederlanden* (*Use or Nonuse of the Organ in the Churches of the United Netherlands*).[1] The question of the organ's role in the Dutch liturgy would not be resolved in his century either. Indeed, many would argue that it was never satisfactorily resolved.

The Calvinist setting in the Netherlands offered a historically unique milieu for the survival and eventual blossoming of liturgical organ repertoire. The conflicting interests and directives of the civil and ecclesial authorities profoundly influenced the future roles of both organ and organist within the liturgies of these churches and consequently the liturgical organ repertoire. This paper has been organized into three sections. Each section suggests a distinct function of the organ with regard to the Dutch Calvinist liturgy. The function of the organ in these periods is directly related to the genres of organ building and organ literature. Organ literature from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries will be treated as *ancillary* to the liturgy. Organ literature from the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries will be treated as *accompanimental* to the liturgy. And finally, organ literature from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries will be treated as *adorning* the liturgy. Ob-

[1] Ericka E. Smit-Vanrotte has translated this document into English in the series *Musical Theorists in Translation*, vol. 4 (New York: Institute of Medieval Music, 1964).

viously there can be no clear dates of demarcation separating these liturgical functions of the organ. Rather, the evolution was gradual and additive. For example, the liturgical organ literature published in the twentieth century would continue to include accompanimental and ancillary types. All three periods will be covered in survey fashion in order to demonstrate the ways in which these three types of liturgical organ repertoire are organically related to one another.

Organ Literature as Ancillary to the Liturgy

The first organ compositions to be associated with the Dutch Calvinist liturgy were variations based on the Genevan psalms. Examples of such variations survive in the works of Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck (1562–1621), Hendrick Speuy (c. 1575–1625) and Anthoni van Noordt (d. 1675).[2] The assertion that this music is the headwaters of Dutch Calvinist liturgical organ music is highly paradoxical. The music was rendered in ways that were neither Calvinistic nor liturgical. First, the organs employed for these compositions were not designed to serve the Protestant community. They were inherited from the Roman Church in which the organ either supported the Roman rite or served a concert function.[3] Second, it is a stretch to refer to this organ repertoire as liturgical. Any sounding of the organ within the liturgy proper was clearly anathema according to the dictates of the Protestant ecclesial authorities. At the 1574 Synod of Dordrecht (Dordt) the question was raised as to the propriety of organ music sounding at the conclusion of the liturgy. The general anti-organ sentiment stemmed from the instrument's associations with the Roman Church. The organ was "papist." The following theological and liturgical grounds were raised for the abolition of the organ from the liturgy[4]:

[2] While these composers' output includes more than variations on the Genevan psalm tunes, ecclesial authorities dictated that organ music in close proximity to the worship service be limited to the Genevan psalm tunes. Some of the sources infer that not all organists abided by these strictures. I limit my consideration to compositions that fit into this approved category of organ literature.

[3] In large churches there were often two organs present. The smaller organ, usually located in or near the choir of the church, functioned liturgically, often sounding in alternation with the choir. The larger organ on the west wall of the church was rarely used in the liturgy. This instrument served a secular function as a concert instrument. This secular understanding of the large organ and its endearment to the city magistrates helped to prevent its removal when the buildings fell into the hands of the Calvinist Reformers.

[4] Jan R. Luth, "Gemeentezang en orgelspel door de eeuwen heen," in *Nieuw Handboek voor de Kerk Organist*, ed. Christiaan Ingelse, Jan van Laar, Dick Sanderman and Jan Smelik. (Zoetermeer: Uitgeverij Boekencentrum, 1995), 52.

1. According to biblical instruction (I Corinthians 14:19), speaking in tongues is not appropriate in the church. Like tongues, the organ is unintelligible and should be banned from the liturgy.
2. Organ music causes the congregation to forget the sermon.
3. Organ music promotes superstition and leads to rashness.
4. The organ sounding at the conclusion of the service makes it necessary to collect the offering during the service, a hindrance to the liturgy.

Apparently the desired effect was not achieved. The Synod of 1578 raised the stakes by mandating that organs be physically removed from the churches.[5]

Fortunately, the ecclesial authorities were thwarted in their zeal to remove organs from the churches. The civil authorities saw the organs and carillons of their cities as a matter of civic pride and would not allow for their removal. Before the Reformation, the position of organist was both ecclesial and civic. After the Reformation, city magistrates retained the civic function of organists, employing them to perform for the enjoyment of the citizenry. The civil authorities did not have jurisdiction over the sounding of the organ within the liturgy. But, much to the chagrin of the ecclesial authorities, they did stipulate that the organ should be played immediately preceding and following the worship service.[6] To make the best of what they deemed a bad situation, the clergy insisted that the organist play psalm tunes and thus help the congregants learn the melodies that were to be sung unaccompanied in the service.[7] Thus began the tradition of the "*breecken der psalmen*," the "varying" of psalms as prelude and postlude to an "organ-less" liturgy.[8]

[5] Luth, "Gemeentezang," 52.

[6] An instruction to the organists at Dordrecht in 1598 (which at the time included Hendrik Speuy) demonstrates these sentiments: "Both organists are obliged to appear here and should start with the psalm immediately after the sermon, and after having played it five or six times they shall play grave, edifying pieces." Pieter Dirksen, "The Dutch 17th-Century Tradition of Psalm Variations," *GOArt Research Reports* 2 (2000): 60. Dirksen quotes this from Christiaan C. Vlam and Maarten Albert Vente, eds., *Bouwstenen voor een geschiedenis der toonkunst in de Nederlanden*, vol. 2 (Amsterdam, 1971), 93. Though Dirksen translates "*predicken*" as "sermon," this should not be interpreted to mean that the organ sounded within the liturgy. At the heart of the Calvinist liturgy was the sermon, much in the same way that the sacrament of eucharist was at the heart of the Roman liturgy. The word "*predicken*," or "sermon," was meant to be an inclusive term for the composite Calvinist liturgy, in a similar way that the word "mass" is used inclusively of the composite Roman liturgy.

[7] Luth, "Gemeentezang," 52. The city magistrates were in agreement that the organist should teach the psalm melodies to the citizenry. The same expectations fell on the city carilloneurs. All the way into the eighteenth century organists were directed to play psalm melodies for the *voorspel* (prelude) and *naspel* (postlude) and to refrain from playing secular music. This can be taken as a sure sign that organists were in fact playing secular music.

[8] For more information on the character of the organs and literature of the seventeenth century, see Dirksen, "The Dutch 17th-Century Tradition," 59–77.

Though the compositions of Speuy, Sweelinck and van Noordt certainly influenced composers beyond the Netherlands, the three will remain alone as the "Old Masters" of Dutch liturgical organ literature in the Protestant Netherlands. It may seem odd that a culture that placed such a high value on the organ as an instrument rendered so little extant organ literature. But the lack of printed music is not an indication of a fallow tradition. Rather, it points to the historical Dutch stance toward liturgical music that places a much higher value on improvised music, an approach that prevails in the Netherlands to this day.[9] As published literature began to appear in the eighteenth century, it was clearly didactic in nature, a concession to organists who were not capable of improvising.

Organ Literature as Accompanimental to the Liturgy

The organ having gained a position in close proximity to the liturgy, it was inevitable that Huygens and others would begin to call for the use of the organ within the liturgy proper. There was growing dissatisfaction with the way the psalms were sung. The singers did not move together. Tempi were extremely slow with *voorsinger* (precentor) and congregation "churning" every syllable, sometimes singing "ornamental notes." The volume, feverishly high, was described by the critic as more "hollering" than singing.[10] In his treatise *Gebruyck of Ongebruyck van 't orgel in de kercken der Vereenighde Nederlanden*,[11] Huygens proposed that the organ be employed to *begeleid* the psalm singing. The Dutch word *begeleid* is most often translated as either to accompany or to lead. The word really encapsulates both meanings and can best be translated "to lead alongside."

Perhaps as a rhetorical tool to win the good graces of the ecclesial authorities, Huygens echoes the sentiments of the aforementioned synods in criticizing the use of the organ at the conclusion of the service. He writes: "The use of the organ following the service is the most scandalous use that man can create for the organ. Most often the melody of the last-sung psalm is played, an introduction which actually now is a postlude [*naspel*]. Nobody listens to it. After sitting in the church for two hours, men are happy to get out. After the psalm postlude is concluded, there follows at best some

[9] We know from records of competitions for organ posts that organists throughout the centuries continued in the art of improvising partitas, fugues, praeludia and the realization of figured bass. See Gert Oost, *De Orgelmakers Bätz (1739–1849)* (Alphen aan de Rijn: Canaletto, 1977), 148.

[10] Jan R. Luth, "*Daer wert om 't seerste nytgekreten. . .": Bijdragen tot een geschiedenis van de gemeentezang in het Nederlandse Gereformeerde protestantisme c. 1550–c. 1852* (Kampen: Uitgeverij van den Berg, 1986), 189 and Luth, "Gemeentezang," 58.

[11] See footnote 1.

madrigals in the presence of a few invalids and the sexton. Moreover it is aggravating and ridiculous to begin a religious part [*deel*] just when people are going home."[12] Having baited his opponents, Huygens then turns his argument in favor of employing the organ within the liturgy for the purpose of improving the singing of the psalms. This was considered by many to be radical.

Even before the appearance of his treatise, however, individual churches began to defy the 1574 ruling at Dordrecht by allowing the organ to accompany psalm singing.[13] The city of Arnhem began moving toward this position in 1632.[14] Soon other cities fell in line: Delft in 1634, Leiden in 1636/7, and ironically, Dordrecht itself in 1638. Though organs and organists were not able to usher in a quick fix to the woes of congregational singing, this new function of the organ did eventually produce much of the extant literature for the Dutch organ.[15] This literature was contained in the so-called *koraalboeken*, which began to appear early in the eighteenth century. "*Koraal*" in this sense refers to a musical form, not the poetic text. With a few notable exceptions, these *koraalboeken* were limited to the Genevan psalm tunes.

The *koraalboeken* served as examples for organists who were not up to the task of improvising accompaniments for the psalm singing. Many times the

[12] Luth, "Gemeentezang," 52, translation mine.

[13] Luth, "Gemeentezang," 57. The push to introduce organ accompaniment was in many ways a continuation of the old struggle between the civil and ecclesial leadership, both claiming to be the true representatives of the Christian folk. In the end it was the city magistrates who again prevailed by pushing through the decision to introduce organ music (in the guise of accompaniment) into the service, adding fuel to the mistrust in anti-magisterial circles. In 1655 the clergy dug in their heels declaring that church music was a matter of church authority, not the state. They took the opportunity to repeat the anti-organ rhetoric of the 1574 Synod of Dordrecht. Well into the eighteenth century we find vestiges of these anti-organ sentiments. The organ would continue to be banned from particularly solemn services (communion services and prayer services) as church leaders maintained that the organ added frivolity to the Calvinist services. This could perhaps be understood more as a statement of the austerity of the Calvinist service than the frivolity of the organ.

[14] Luth, "*Daer wert om*," 108–9, 215. The magistrates in Arnhem cited the practice in *Vrieslandt* which at that time may have referred to the modern provinces of Friesland and Groningen. There is a reference to *orgelbegeleiding* in Leeuwarden (Friesland) in 1580, but it is unclear in which church this took place and how long the practice was tolerated.

[15] It is worth noting that the critiques of congregational singing did not subside following the introduction of *orgelbegeleiding*. Right through the nineteenth century complaints abounded of the hollering singers (*schreeuwen*) and slow tempi. Even the ornamentations or, as some described it, the "mutilation" of the melodies continued. The organ did little to correct these problems. In fact, in most instances it seems the organ simply "played along" according to the prevailing practice. See Luth, "Gemeentezang," 58.

position of organist fell to the principal at the local school (the *schoolmeester*)[16] or even the sexton (*koster*).[17] The results were often disastrous. Hence, it was hoped that the *koraalboeken* could be used for the improvement of *begeleiding*, the accompaniment of psalm singing.

Though not considered to be solo organ literature, the *koraalboeken* do give an indication of improvisatory practices with their many ornaments and interludes imbedded within the scores.[18] The inclusion of ornaments between successive notes seems to indicate several things. The ornaments (often passing tones, escape tones, or anticipations) signal to the congregation the movement to the next note. This may emulate the technique formerly employed by the precentors, who would parcel out the psalm note by note to the congregation. Ornamentations by the organist became so standardized that there are reports of congregations singing them.[19] Though the psalters from which the congregants sang continued to follow the metrical originals of the French Genevan psalter, the *koraalboeken* make clear that in practice the psalms were sung isorhythmically. And though the melodies are modal in character, the *koraalboeken* make extensive use of functional tonal harmony, employing dominant-seventh chords with seeming indiscretion.

The *koraalboeken* give many indications of how the organ should be used with singing. Here we note a distinct shift not only in the function, but also in the design of the organs. Whereas up to the period of van Noordt the organ dictated the form of the literature, now the needs of the singing

[16] This followed the practice of having the *schoolmeester* serve as the *voorzinger* (precentor) and the *voorlezer* (lector). *Schoolmeesters* were charged with teaching the psalms to the children and would often have the children assemble together in the church to help lead the singing. As the organ began to replace the *voorzinger*, there are accounts of the *schoolmeester* reading scripture, moving to the organ, introducing the psalm, and then singing with the organ in such a way as to function as both *orgelbegeleider* and *voorzinger*. See S. J. Zandt, *Organisten, Orgelspel en Kerkzang binnen het Nederlandse Calvinisme* (Bedum: Uitgeverij Profiel, 1995), 277–8.

[17] See Luth, "*Daer wert om*," 144. The practice of coercing the sexton (*koster*) to serve as *voorzinger* seems to have occurred early on after the "Alteration." In Hagesteijn a complaint was filed at the convent (an early Dutch Protestant gathering) charging the sexton with refusing to serve as the *voorzinger*. *Acta der provincale en particuliere synoden, gehouden in de Noordelijke Nederlanden gedurende de jaren 1572–1620* vol. 6, ed. J. Reitsma and S. D. van Veen (Groningen, 1892–1899), 302.

[18] Gert Oost suggests that these ornaments fit into the style of the day known as the *empfindsamer Stil* (from the German, literally "sensitive style"). Oost, *De Orgelmaker Bätz*, 143. However, if the precedent for ornamentation came from the *voorzingers*, it would seem that it arose more from an attempt to hold together very slow singing than from a desire to align *orgelbegeleiding* with the *empfindsamer Stil*.

[19] See J. W. Lustig, *Inleiding tot de Muziekkunde* (n.p., 1771), 43, for a report on eighteenth century psalm singing in Groningen. For more on the "ornamentation" added by some *voorzingers*, see Luth, "*Daer wert om*," 284.

congregation determined the design of the instrument. These organs were built (or rebuilt as the case may be) with the strength needed to hold together the very loud singing of the congregation. The emphasis in the voicing and disposition of the organ leaned heavily toward homophonic textures, with the added capability of emphasizing the melodic line.[20]

In the judgment of later generations, the style of playing and singing as exemplified in the eighteenth-century *koraalboeken* would be deemed crude and unrefined. But it is an important genre for several reasons. It is a folk craft that did not purport or necessarily wish to be refined. Though the *koraalboeken* began as a primitive attempt to rein in wayward psalm singing, in effect they mark the beginnings of a "traditional style" of organ playing that would greatly influence the course of liturgical organ repertoire through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

In 1773 the Dutch Reformed Church adopted a new versification of the Psalter known as the *Statenberijming* (Authorized Versification). Though poetically not as stilted as the previously endorsed versification of Petrus Datheen (1566), the poetic foot of the *Statenberijming* was not adequately aligned with the original rhythms of the Genevan psalms. There was insufficient interest in singing the psalms according to the original rhythms.[21] Nonetheless, people were interested in singing the psalms more expediently. In an effort to achieve this, a new manner of singing was contrived and became associated in some regions with the adoption of the *Statenberijming*. According to this mensural system, which could be applied generically to all the psalms, the first and last notes of every phrase were lengthened, and the interior notes were shortened.[22] This was known as the *korte zingtrant* (short

[20] Organ building and voicing encouraged these techniques. For example, plenum ranks—the principals of the organ—might be doubled or tripled in the treble. Certain stops such as the *cornet* or a 16′ *praestant* might be present only in the treble. In some cases (e.g., the organ of the Nieuwe Kerk of Haarlem) there was the possibility of coupling only the treble. Many of the prefaces of the *koraalboeken* instruct the organist to keep the accompanying voices of the left hand below C# (at middle C) which, on organs with a treble emphasis, would in effect solo out a penetrating melody.

[21] There seems to be little agreement about when congregations began singing isorhythmically. The strongest case can be made for the theory that most congregations never sang metrically. The poetic foot of the oldest Dutch psalters does not work well with the syncopated rhythms of the metrical Genevan melodies. Nor is there any documentation of a switch to isorhythmic singing. Because the tradition had always been to print the psalters using the original rhythms, some had supposed that they must have at one time been sung rhythmically. There simply is no definitive documentation of this practice.

[22] One notices that in the *koraalboeken* the penultimate note of a phrase is often lengthened. This exception was applied by some composers to lines that had an uneven number of notes. The lengthening of the penultimate note would allow the composer to lay out the psalms in strict common time measures. Though this artificial adaptation of the rhythm often worked well with the poetic stress of the text, in practice it is not likely that the congregation would observe these deviations. Rather, Luth suggests that the length-

singing style) since it was hoped that it would shorten the time it took to get through the singing of a psalm verse. Curiously not all people shared this aspiration. Some understood the extremely slow singing as a trademark of church music (*kenmerk van kerkelijke muziek*). The government in some regions was so intent on speeding up the singing that they instituted practice "sings" held in the evening. There were even instances of fines being levied against those who refused to adapt to the new manner of singing![23]

The preface to Jacob Potholt's 1777 *koraalboek* verifies that this new style was practiced in Amsterdam.[24] The notation bears this out as well. Emphasis on ornaments between the notes is reduced. Attention is now concentrated on interludes between the psalm phrases. A trill on the penultimate note indicates to the congregation that they have reached the end of the phrase. These interludes, played on softer stops of the *Bovenwerk*, lead to the beginning pitch of the next phrase. The congregation catches their breath. The entrance of the pedal signals the singing of the next phrase.[25] Though the tempi still prevent the singing of a phrase on a single breath, the congregation is moving beyond concentrating their energy on every syllable.[26]

With increasing frequency we find the inclusion of a prelude or *inleiding* to the psalm. In 1776 the mayors of Haarlem resolved that the organists of the Grote Kerk should introduce the psalm with full chords. This prelude should comprise the length of two or three whole notes. Interludes between the phrases should be confined to the length of one whole note.[27] These stipulations of short introductions and interludes may be understood as a correc-

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ening of the penultimate notes represent a composer's "ideal." See Luth, "*Daer wert om*," 289, 367.

[23] See Luth, "*Daer wert om*," 277, 286–288, and Joshua van Iperen, *Kerkelijke Historie van het PSALM-GEZANG der Christenen* (Amsterdam, 1778), 450.

[24] Jacob Potholt, *De Muzyk van DE CL PSALMEN benevens LOFZANGEN, naar den Nieuwsten Zangtrant met* Prae *en* Interludiums *en* Baschen, *door* JACOB POTHOLT, *organist van de Oude kerk en Klokkenist van 't Stadhuis te Amsterdam.* (Amsterdam: JOH. WESSING Willemsz., 1777).

[25] Luth, "*Daer wert om*," 364. Luth cites the preface of George Neumann's *koraalboek* to corroborate this practice. The interlude is necessary because the singer "needs a chance to rest, to catch his breath in order to recover. During this time the organist should play something and fill in the pause." Translation mine.

[26] Petrus Hofstede, preacher of Rotterdam, wrote the following in 1775 in support of the new *korte zingtrant:* "In this new way, the people will sing the notes with less craning, less dragging, less churning and shifting in the mouth, shorter breaks [between words or syllables], and with due attention paid to the necessary intermediate pauses at the end of each phrase into the beginning of the next." As quoted in Luth, "Gemeentezang," 53. Translation mine.

[27] Luth, "Gemeentezang," 53. From some of the documented duties for organ positions we know that some organists were expected to provide psalm preludes in the form of fugues, partitas, and praeludia. See footnote 12.

tive measure for what were considered to be introductions and interludes that were too lengthy or too ostentatious. As we follow the evolution of the *koraalboeken* into the nineteenth century, several generalizations can be noted. The short singing style did not endure.[28] Congregations returned to straight isorhythmic psalm singing. Interludes were gradually curtailed. In addition, more and more attention was paid to the modal qualities of the psalm melodies.[29]

However, two of the most important developments in the nineteenth century have less to do with style and more to do with content. Following a bitter debate, which eventually contributed to a schism in the Dutch Reformed Church, the singing of hymns was sanctioned and the 1863 *Evangelische Gezangen* "*Evangelical Hymns*" was added to the *Statenberijming*. *Koraalboeken* would now begin to move beyond the scope of the psalms.[30] Alongside this development, composers of the *koraalboeken* began to include introductions (*inleidingen*) to the psalms and hymns since it was acknowledged that not all organists were able to improvise these. The toleration for the organ's presence in the liturgy having been tested, composers seemed poised to move beyond the very short intonations such as were prescribed in Haarlem and notated in the *koraalboek* of Potholt. These modest introductions eventually led to larger scale organ works published apart from the *koraalboeken*.

Jan Albert van Eijken (1823–1868) composed a *koraalboek* in 1853 that exemplifies well the progression toward the inclusion of modest psalm introductions.[31] In his psalm settings van Eijken continues to include interludes, but they are disciplined and the composer suggests that they be left out where they are unnecessary.[32] The slightly later *koraalboek* produced by

[28] Luth, "*Daer wert om*," 302. After 1777 there is no more mention of the *korte zingtrant*. Luth suggests that the phenomenon lasted no more than fifteen years.

[29] Johannes Bastiaans was among the first to make a point of the modal character of psalm accompaniments in his *koraalboek*. He points to Claude Goudimel as a model for harmonizing the psalms. *Vierstemmig Koraalboek voor koor (sopran, alt, tenor, bas) en Orgel of Piano-Forte; bevattende al de melodieën der Evangelische Gezangen, bij der N.H. Gemeenten in gebruik; ten dienste van Kerk, Zangvereeniging, School en Huisgezin* (Arnhem, 1852).

[30] Technically, the official Dutch psalter did include a few canticles: the Song of Mary, the Song of Simeon, the Song of Zechariah, the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, the Dutch *Credo*, a sung Prayer for Illumination, and two table prayers.

[31] Jan Albert van Eijken, *De Melodieën der Psalmen en Lofzangen in gebruik bij de Hervormde, Waalsche, Remonstrantsche en Doopsgezinde Gemeenten, vierstemmig bewerkt voor Orgel of Koor met Voor-, Tusschen- en Naspelen* (Rotterdam, 1853).

[32] Luth, "Gemeentezang," 67. Van Eijken suggests in his preface that a tempo should be chosen in keeping with the content of the psalm. This suggestion, coinciding with the diminished use of inteludia indicates more fluidity in tempo, something other than simply "very slow." He also suggests that interludes, when used, should be played on the same manual as the organ accompaniment. The entrance of the pedal will serve as an indication

Johannes Worp (1821–1891) in 1863, with its many revised editions, demonstrates the continuing evolution of the *koraalboek* through the nineteenth and into the twentieth century. The popularity of Worp's *koraalboek* eclipses that of any that precede or follow it. The "harmonization" is now in keeping with the modal character of the psalm melody.[33] Though the earliest editions of Worp did include short interludes between the phrases, they were edited out of later editions. In order to adapt to the introduction of rhythmic singing, which became standard by the middle of the twentieth century, a rhythmic version of his *koraalboek* appeared.[34] Worp's preludes are more substantial than van Eijken's and those found in earlier *koraalboeken*. The textures, even where they incorporate contrapuntal elements, maintain a vocal approach to the organ. This is emblematic of what is referred to as Dutch "traditional style." The texture is a reflection of the congregation's voice.

Before moving on to the next section, it is important to note that this general trend toward greater acceptability of the organ in the liturgy was not uniform. Already in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries there were Dutch composers such as van Blankenburg and Bastiaans who were composing liturgical organ music independent of the *koraalboeken*. On the other hand there were still churches in the nineteenth century that continued to sing the psalms without accompaniment. Though some of this was circumstantial (where congregations never had organs), there were still churches that persisted in banning the organ from the liturgy on theological grounds.[35]

Organ Literature as Adorning the Liturgy

As an indirect outgrowth of the *koraalboeken* preludes, later composers began publishing independent compositions intended to function as extended introductions for the singing of the psalm or hymn. A composition of modest length might be used to introduce a psalm in the course of the liturgy. Larger

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to the congregation that they are to sing the next phrase. Though otherwise isorhythmic, van Eijken sometimes lengthens the penultimate note of a phrase. His reasoning is to fit the music with the poetic stress. He acknowledges, however, that most congregations are not acquainted with this practice. See Luth, "*Daer wert om*," 394.

[33] Worp offers in his preface that he would also have gladly composed the *voorspel* using modal material, but that this would have been rejected by both organist and publisher. See Johannes Worp and George Stam, *De Psalmen met Enige Gezangen van de Gereformeerde Kerken, achttiende druk* (Groningen: J. B. Wouters, 1942), vi.

[34] Both the isorhythmic version (*niet-ritmische* 16th edition, ed. H. P. Steenhuis) and the rhythmic version (22nd edition, ed. George Stam) are available in reprints from Bedum: Uitgeverij Den Hartog.

[35] Luth, "Gemeentezang," 59.

scale compositions served as preludes to the service (*voorspel*) or music during the collection of the offering. However, the organ literature for the most part remained organically tied to the singing of the psalm or hymn. If the opening psalm is Psalm 100, the *voorspel* will be some sort of extended *bewerking* (working out) of the psalm that will lead directly into the singing of the psalm. Likewise, the offertory would be a *bewerking* of the psalm or hymn to follow and will lead directly into its singing. This is all to say that, even though these compositions were published apart from a *koraalboek*, they were often conceived as an expansion of the psalm or hymn introduction (*inleiding*).

Before launching into this new category of literature several points need to be clarified. The need for preludes and offertories did not develop overnight. Throughout the preceding centuries expansive preludes were improvised by capable organists (at least in churches that allowed for them). The genre thus is not entirely new, but more and more we are finding published examples. And the publications of these liturgical works seemed to be driven not so much by didactic concerns (as was the case with the *koraalboeken*), but by the demands of a large public following.

At the end of the nineteenth century certain organists began to gain truly popular recognition. The concerts they performed were quasi-liturgical events that included enormous fantasies leading into the singing of psalms and hymns by the audience. The musical style followed the popular fashion of the day—a certain Romantic influence from French composers—but adapted to fit the Dutch Calvinist temperament and the beloved psalm tunes.[36] As these performers increased in popularity, there began to be a demand for the publication of their compositions and improvisations so that organists not skilled in improvisation could perform this music in the local church.

Jan Zwart (1877–1937) is probably the first name associated with this populist organ movement. His sons and students carried on this tradition.[37] Though Zwart continues to be best known (and in many academic circles maligned) for his compositions and improvisational style in more popular

[36] Dutch organist, composer and pedagogue Piet Kee referred to this phenomenon as "Calvinist entertainment." Rudolf Zuiderveld, interview by Martin Tel, Jacksonville, IL, 2002. Zuiderveld is professor of organ at Illinois College, Jacksonville, IL.

[37] See A. J. Kret and Feike Asma, eds., *Jan Zwart 1877–1937: Een profeet op de orgelbank* (Kralingsche Veer, 1957). It was a regular occurrence to have well over a thousand people in attendance at these concerts.

idioms as heard in concerts and radio broadcasts, it is becoming apparent that his "easy-on-the-ears" compositions were not his only interest.[38] Zwart held the compositions of Speuy, Sweelinck and van Noordt in high esteem and promoted their study among his students. He understood the modal character of the psalms and would compose and improvise using modal scales.

A gradual decibel build-up in these compositions is typical of the psalm fantasy. There is a compelling rationale for this. To some extent this may be a conscious imitation of the symphonic genres of their French contemporaries. The late nineteenth-century developments in Dutch organ building certainly facilitated the practice.[39] But, perhaps more importantly, the music expanded the decibel volume to full organ because it was intended to prepare the audience for singing. Recall the "primal source" of this "traditional style" which is the eighteenth century style of singing and playing as exemplified in the *koraalboeken* of that period. In many congregations all the singing was more or less *fortissimo*. There was little concern for adapting the volume to the content of the psalm. This did not mean that the singers ignored the meaning of the psalm. Loud singing was simply an indication of assent to the content of the psalm, whether that be praise, petition, lament or confession. And loud singing was considered a traditional "church style" that was passed on from generation to generation.[40] When placed in the context of the liturgy, a psalm prelude with thin textures or one that tapered off at its conclusion would be confusing to the congregation.

The followers of Zwart were instrumental in setting up mechanisms for the dissemination of this liturgical organ music. Many of these compositions were published in journals to which organists subscribed. One early and prominent publisher of new organ music was *Ars Nova*. The appearance of *Ars Nova* coincided with a reform in organ building that was making inroads into the Netherlands. A significant group of "progressive" organists issued a

[38] Critics of the style referred to it as "*gemakkelijk in het geboor*." See Sanderman, "Psalmbewerkingen in de orgelliteratuur," in *Nieuw Handboek voor de Kerk-Organist*, ed. Christiaan Ingelse, Jan van Laar, Dick Sanderman and Jan Smelik (Zoetermeer: Uitgeverij Boekencentrum, 1995), 111.

[39] For example, the organ builders Maarschalkerweerd and Adema.

[40] John Calvin in his preface to the 1543 Genevan Psalter quotes St. Augustine in stating that the songs of the church should possess *poids & majesteit*, gravity and majesty. Some used this instruction of Calvin in their defense of the Dutch "church style," though such interpretations were later rejected. Luth considers Calvin's words to be a reference to a compositional quality of the melodies and not to the performance of the same. See Luth, "*Daer wert om*," 416. See also David W. Music, "Hymnology: A Collection of Source Readings," in *Studies in Liturgical Musicology, no. 4*, ed. Robin Leaver (Lanham, Md: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1996), 65–66.

call for new organ compositions in polyphonic idioms.[41] Lambert Erné, the head of the *Synodale Orgel Commissie* of the Dutch Reformed Church, sought to steer liturgical organ music in a more academic direction.[42] In comparing such an academic and contrapuntal style to the more populist style, one can imagine that congregations, the "folk" in the church, felt that something was being taken away from them. They were listening for full-bodied homophony. Lacking a language to explain their dissatisfaction with both the trends in organ building and organ literature, the people said that the "feeling" was missing.[43] These new organ compositions did not *move* them to sing.

Apparently that was precisely the point the musical leadership of the Dutch Reformed Church was trying to drive home. The ideology undergirding this new approach to organ literature was that church music must be first and foremost objective.[44] Individual musical expression would derail the communal experience of the liturgy. How the church folk "felt" was of secondary importance. But no amount of coercion would convince the majority of congregants that they should do with less "feeling" and *forte* in their liturgy. Most church organists rejected this new genre as too stark and dissonant. They turned en masse to the publisher J. C. Willemsen, which countered the *Ars Nova* by dedicating itself to the publication of accessible organ music in the "traditional" idiom.[45] This all served to solidify a schism in the Dutch organ world that pitted the "professionals," the *vakmusici*, against the "amateurs," the *kerkmusici*. The problem for the professionals was that the vast majority of organist posts were held by amateurs who also held the public's favor.

[41] *Ars Nova* responded to this call for new polyphonic music, but much of what was published was intended to be accessible to the amateur organist. For more on the publisher *Ars Nova*, see Willem Jan Cevaal, "De uitgeverij Ars Nova te Goes" in *Het Orgel* 95, no. 4 (1999), 6–11.

[42] It is noteworthy that organ building was no longer following a function (e.g., the accompaniment of psalm singing) but rather a philosophy. The philosophy did not accord with the liturgical sense of the folk. In the estimation of Dick Sanderman, the so-called neo-Baroque organ did not "sing" the way Calvinists wished for them to. They were particularly problematic with relation to pipe speech, and lack of fundamental support for the high mixtures. Furthermore, neo-Baroque organs were wholly instrumental in their conception, not vocal. For Erné and the academy, polyphony was the ideal. But homophony had been the backbone of the Dutch liturgy. Congregational singing and *orgelbegeleiding* require a vocal discant emphasis, homophonic support, and a defining bass line. See Dick Sanderman, "Het kerkorgel in protestants Nederland," in *Nieuw Handboek voor de Kerk-Organist*, ed. Christiaan Ingelse, Jan van Laar, Dick Sanderman and Jan Smelik (Zoetermeer: Uitgeverij Boekencentrum, 1995), 187.

[43] Sanderman, "Psalmbewerkingen," 116.

[44] Sanderman, "Het kerkorgel," 183.

[45] J. C. Willemsen has continued as "Strengholt," based in Naarden, since 1994.

Conclusion

By the middle of the twentieth century there was a clear divergence in the Dutch organ world. Each camp loathed the other. In the late eighties when I studied for a semester in the Netherlands, the hostility between these factions seemed palpable. But upon my return to the Netherlands for a year of study in the mid-nineties and most recently with an organ research group in May 2002, it has become clear that these hostilities are waning.

Several things, I think, have paved the way for this movement toward convergence. First of all, many so-called amateurs are more and more being exposed to classical organ training, learning themselves to reconcile the two traditions. Secondly, the Dutch Protestant churches of the post-war Netherlands have seen an extraordinary drop-off in membership (*onkerking*). This, coupled with a new liberal theology in the largest Dutch Reformed denominations, has undercut the fervor that birthed the Dutch singing tradition in the first place. There simply is less call for strong accompaniment and fiery introductions.

But the move toward convergence is not entirely circumstantial. With the new generation of professional Dutch organists filling posts in the most prominent churches of the country, the music of Zwart and other populist performers—the *kerkmusici*—are receiving consideration in academic research and in recital programs. Dutch conservatories are considering approaches to preserving the craft of improvisation. Evidence of this new cooperation can perhaps most clearly be seen in the recent *koraalboeken* that have been published by the Boekencentrum.[46] Born out of the tradition of the eighteenth and nineteenth century *koraalboeken*, these new *koraalboeken* feature contemporary composers and idioms whose work supports good congregational singing.[47]

[46] Uitgeverij Boekencentrum (Zoetermeeer) was originally established as a publishing company for the Dutch Reformed Church (Nederlandse Hervormde Kerk). Today it serves the broader Protestant community with scholarly publications, Bibles and hymnals, including the *Liedboek voor de Kerken* which is the current psalter and hymnal used in most Protestant churches in the Netherlands.

[47] The Boekencentrum has published two books intended to serve as preludes for the Psalm melodies: *Koraalbewerkingen over de 150 Psalmen*, ed. Jan D. van Laar, Hans van Nieuwkoop and Willem Vogel (Zoetermeer: Uigeverij Boekencentrum, 1993); and *Orgelboek bij de 150 Psalmen: voorspelen, intonaties en zettingen*, ed. Jan D. van Laar, Hans van Nieuwkoop and Willem Vogel (Zoetermeer: Uigeverij Boekencentrum, 1995). Both books are intended for use in conjunction with singing the psalms. The compositions are by contemporary composers utilizing a broad range of compositional techniques. The former is intended for longer preludes on the psalms. The latter provides shorter preludes, intonations and harmonizations of the psalms. Both are offered by the editors as models for improvisation.

The spirit of this convergence is perhaps most clearly embodied in the work and legacy of one person, Klaas Bolt. In 1979 Bolt (1927–1990) rocked the guild of Dutch church organists with his article "*De Gemeentezang in een Crisis Situatie*" ("Congregational Singing in Crisis.")[48] Bolt maintained that those who wished to civilize the sound and accompaniment of congregational singing had gone too far. The singing was too fast and did not allow for the full-bodied use of the voice that had been a trademark of Dutch Calvinist singing for centuries. He wanted the academy to revisit the techniques used to sustain congregational singing in the past. This caused a tumult in a guild that was still seeking to purge itself of what had been considered to be "unlearned" singing and organ playing. Had it not been for Bolt's prominent position in both the academy (Sweelinck Conservatory of Amsterdam) and the church (St. Bavo Kerk of Haarlem), his ideas could easily have been dismissed. Such was not the case.

Bolt is one representative among many who now demonstrate the ideal of embracing a single tradition which rejects false dichotomies that pit vocal against instrumental, homophony against polyphony, *kerkmusici* against *vakmusici*. Such an aspiration serves as a fitting conclusion to this overview of historic trends in the use of the organ in the Calvinist churches of the Netherlands.

[48] Klaas Bolt, "De gemeentezang in een crisissiutatie" in *Het Orgel* 75, no. 5 (1979), 138–165. Bolt includes in this article a very interesting quotation by Lowell Mason who described the very slow singing at Haarlem (1854) in a positive fashion: "During a recent tour through some of the principal places in Holland, we took care to hear the church-singing, and to learn what we could of the actual state of Psalmody. . . . There was a large congregation the Sabbath we were in Haarlem, and all united in great earnestness in the psalms. The movement was very slow—very nearly twice as slow as it is common to sing the Old Hundredth in our American churches, so that the time was easily described by counting four to each note, or eight in a double measure. No leading voice was heard; the organ alone seemed to lead, and yet the singing and the playing were so nearly together that no unpleasant effect was produced. . . . The singing was in unison and the tunes seemed to be perfectly familiar. The tune was not played over upon the organ before the singing, but the organist played only a prelude of a few measures, when all the people joined at once in the hymn. The interludes were very short; indeed they could hardly be called interludes since they were too short to include even a single phrase; they consisted only of a passing chord or two, merely allowing time to breath between the stanzas. We have already intimated that the singing was very general in the congregation; in this respect, we think the Dutch congregations are in advance even of the Germans; for there was one universal burst of vocal sound from the beginning to the end of the hymn. No other musical form was attempted than that of the plain metrical tune, or chorale. We were also present during public worship in churches at other places, as Leyden and The Hague, but a description of one is a description of all. At Amsterdam and Rotterdam the same general style of church singing prevails."

Jonathan Edwards and Princeton

by Stephen D. Crocco

Stephen D. Crocco, James Lenox Librarian, presented this lecture in Princeton University's Whig Hall on April 11, 2003 as part of the Jonathan Edwards the Theologian conference.

I

There are a number of ways to talk about "Jonathan Edwards and Princeton."[1] I could have considered *Remnants of Edwards at Princeton.* Then this paper would have been little more than a catalog of the many relics and memorials in and around Princeton University—a stained glass window, furniture, portraits, pieces of cloth, furniture, and so forth.[2] Another option was to consider *Edwards's intellectual legacy to Princeton*, noting where and when Edwards's ideas appeared in the curriculum and faculty publications over the years. Or I could have considered the legacy in terms of what might have been. Supposing Edwards lived a long life, as did both his parents, and published his great works and imposed a school of thought on the College?[3] A fourth approach, the one I will take, is to consider again *Jonathan Edwards at Princeton*—a story of a Yale graduate, a fledgling school, and the familial, theological, and institutional connections that brought him to Princeton for the last six weeks of his life. In her biography of Edwards, Ola Winslow wrote that the "Princeton chapter is quickly told."[4] Winslow is correct in only the most obvious sense. The argument of this paper is that the College of New Jersey was not a postscript to Edwards's life. Even his brief time in Princeton, when understood in this light, is not simply a late honor to the person and an

[1] I want to thank George M. Marsden, whose biography of Edwards was at the press when this paper was written. He graciously allowed me to read two chapters in draft form so I would not simply duplicate his work, or, more to the point, duplicate it poorly! I also want to thank Kenneth P. Minkema for uncovering and transcribing Edwards's application to a commencement sermon he preached in 1752 and a sermon marked for delivery in February 1758.

[2] Edwards artifacts and memorials include a stained glass image in the "Theology Window" in the Chapel, Edwards Lane, Edwards Hall, a gravestone, portraits, a plaster model for a bronze relief, books from Edwards's library, portraits, some letters, furniture, serving utensils, and fragments of significant pieces of cloth from Edwards's life. Edwards's remains in Princeton are discussed in Howard C. Rice. "Jonathan Edwards at Princeton: With a Survey of Edwards Memorials in the Princeton University Library." *Princeton University Library Chronicle*, 53 (1953):69–89. There is a rumor of an Edwards statuette on campus, but I have not been able to find it.

[3] Alexander T. Ormond speculates on what might have been had Edwards lived in his "Greetings from Princeton University," *Jonathan Edwards: A Retrospect.* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company 1901), 80–86.

[4] Ola Winslow. *Jonathan Edwards: 1703–1758, A Biography* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 1979), 313.

early honor to the school. Remember that Edwards's first pastorate was in New York City.[5] He was interested in New Jersey for spiritual reasons and traveled there early in his career. The expulsion of David Brainerd from Yale in 1743 gave birth to the College we now call Princeton. Indeed, since Brainerd was arguably Princeton's first student, it is impossible to imagine Edwards not being deeply interested in the school from its start and for the school not to be interested in him.[6] There is an entry in Ezra Stiles's notebook about a Mr. Rand who reported that Edwards's troubles in Northampton began with a salary dispute. In that context Rand told Stiles that "Gov. [Jonathan] Belcher had suggested to him [i.e., Edwards] the prospect of the Presid[enc]y of Jersey College in its Beginning."[7]

II

While at Northampton, Edwards formed close ties with New Light Presbyterian ministers in the middle colonies, including Jonathan Dickinson, Aaron Burr, Samuel Blair, and Gilbert Tennent. Of these four ministers, the first three were presidents and the fourth was a trustee of the College of New Jersey.[8] In a November 1745 letter to a Scottish correspondent, Edwards

[5] See Wilson H. Kimnach. "Preface to the New York Period." *Sermons and Discourses, 1720–1723.* The Works of Jonathan Edwards, vol. 10. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 261–293.

[6] Alison B. Olson wrote that "The founding of the College of New Jersey . . . has long been thought of primarily as a chapter in church history. . . . But the establishment of the College should also be studied as a chapter in New Jersey's political history, for the College was deeply involved in provincial politics during the first few years after its creation." "The Founding of Princeton University: Religion and Politics in Eighteenth-Century New Jersey." *New Jersey History.* vol 37, no. 3, (Autumn 1969):133. When Olson was writing thirty-five years ago, Edwards was thought of primarily as a figure in church history. Since then, he too has come to be seen as a figure with strong connections to colonial politics, economics, and education.

[7] Ezra Stiles. *Extracts from the Itineraries and other Miscellanies of Ezra Stiles, D.D., L.L.D., 1755–1794 with a Selection from his Correspondence.* Ed. by Franklin Bowditch Dexter. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1916), 246.

[8] Norman Pettit has quoted sources showing the link between Brainerd's expulsion from Yale and the founding of the College of New Jersey. See his "Editor's Introduction." *Life of Brainerd.* Works of Jonathan Edwards, vol. 7, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985.) Rev. E. H. Gillette wrote that after the division of the Old Side and the New Side in 1741, "the New Brunswick Presbytery became the champion of the new religious movement, and responded to the calls of Connecticut churches, that favored the revival, to supply their pulpits. Then came the persecuting Connecticut laws of 1742, by which young Finley, subsequently President of the College at Princeton, was arrested, and sent as a vagrant beyond the limits of the colony; laws which forbade David Brainerd to show his face at New Haven for fear of imprisonment; laws which dogged the steps of many a minister, and virtually silenced him; laws which sent several of the most devout and fervent pastors of Connecticut out of the colony, to find within the bounds of the Presbyterian church, a freedom that they could not hope to enjoy under the shadow of a church trammeled by the State." Rev. E. H. Gillett, D.D., "Historical Discourse." *The First Church, Orange, N.J.,*

wrote, "I think the design [by these ministers of erecting a college in New Jersey] to be very glorious, and very worthy to be encouraged, and promoted by all the friends of Zion."[9] Most historians trace the origin of the College to 1746 in the parsonage of Jonathan Dickinson in Elizabeth, New Jersey, nearly forty miles from Princeton. Dickinson died on October 7, 1747, after four and a half months in office. In November 1748, the trustees selected Aaron Burr and the College moved to his parsonage in nearby Newark. In 1748 and 1749, Edwards wrote letters to his Scottish correspondent, John Erskine, with news about the early political struggles to put the new school on solid footing.[10] These letters show that Edwards had waded into the politics of higher education in New Jersey, an area as complicated, vicious, and vexing as three of his other interests—economics, international relations, and war. Burr's close friendships with the Brainerd brothers, David and John, certainly did not escape Edwards's attention. When his daughter, Esther, married Aaron Burr in late June 1752, and his son Timothy became a student that year, Edwards was connected to the College by family and conviction. To jump ahead, if there were any doubts, the awakening at the College in 1757, sealed his affection for and attention to Princeton.

In late September 1752, a few months after the wedding of his daughter Esther, Edwards went to Newark to deliver a commencement sermon at the College. On that occasion, he repreached a sermon from Isaiah 9:6, with a special application for "those members of the college in this place who are expecting this week to receive the honor of the society." He urged students who are used to seeking the counsel of teachers, to seek also the "counselor of counselors, and as such the counselor of ministers and see to it that their own hearts are under the influence of his light and grace." Edwards somberly reminded the students that the time will come when their names will be noted in the catalog of graduates with "an asterisk as a signification of death—and you know not whose names will appear with this mark annexed to 'em." He spoke directly to the younger students in the grammar school: "Let me beseech you, dear children and youth, as you would regard the interest of your precious and immortal souls, to hearken to the advice of that

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One Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary, November 24 and 25, 1869, Memorial. (Newark: Jennings Brothers, 1870), 91.

[9] Edwards to John MacLaurin, November 1745, *Letters and Personal Writings.* George S. Claghorne, ed., *The Works of Jonathan Edwards*, vol. 16, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 185.

[10] Edwards to John Erskine, October 14, 1748 and May 20, 1749. Works, vol. 16: 259–265, 268–271.

Great Counselor . . . Seek first the kingdom of God . . ."[11] From Newark, Edwards traveled to a synod meeting in New York where he preached a sermon that was subsequently published as *True Grace, Distinguished from the Experience of Devils.*[12]

At that September 1752 trustee meeting, Princeton, and not rival New Brunswick, was selected as a permanent site for the College because the residents there contributed land for buildings and wood and promised £1000. These gifts, along with political and ecclesiastical considerations, were deciding factors, but they were not the only ones. The College moral code at the time prohibited students from frequenting "Taverns or Places of publik Entertainment" and associating with "persons of known Scandalous Lives, who will be Likely to Vitiate their Morals. . . ."[13] Princeton was about as far as one could go in New Jersey from the worldly temptations of New York and Philadelphia and still remain relatively convenient to both cities. On July 29, 1754, the trustees broke ground for the new College building and President's House on a treeless field, just off the King's Highway in Princeton.

Two months later, Edwards attended the College's commencement in New York. By that time, Edwards's friends knew of his difficulties in Stockbridge and some sought out positions for him. In 1755, Edwards was seriously considered for the position of pastor at New York's First Presbyterian Church.[14] In that same year Edwards's name surfaced again for a position at the College. That year Burr "hinted to William Hogg: 'We hope by the help of some generous benefactor . . . to support a Professor of Divinity. The Trustees have their eyes upon Mr. Edwards and want nothing but ability to give him an immediate call to that office.'"[15] The Trustees met on September 24, 1755, at Newark, where, among other things, they raised President Burr's salary to £250, in part for his "great Services for the sd. College, for which he never had reciev'd any pecuniary Consideration. . . ."[16] At the same meeting, Belcher gave his library of 474 books to the College.[17] Edwards attended that

[11] "Is. 9:6. Mar. 49, repreached July 52 at Newark, NJ." Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University. Transcribed by Kenneth P. Minkema.

[12] Edwards to Erskine, November 23 N.S., 1752, Works, vol. 16, 540.

[13] "Minutes of the Proceedings of the Trustees of the College of New Jersey" vol. 1. University Archives, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library. 1748–1777, 15. Used with permission.

[14] Esther Burr. *The Journal of Esther Edwards Burr, 1754–1757* Edited with an introduction by Carol F. Karlsen and Laurie Crumpacker. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984), 132.

[15] Quoted in Elisabeth D. Dodds. *Marriage to a Difficult Man* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1971), 183.

[16] "Minutes of the Proceedings," 42, 60.

[17] Belcher's books are discussed in *An Account of the College of New Jersey.* Published by the Trustees. (Woodbridge, NJ: James Parker, 1764), 16.

meeting and then traveled to Philadelphia with his son-in-law.[18] Generations of Princetonians have reason to look back to this meeting in gratitude to Governor Belcher for declining the honor of being the namesake of the College's new hall. (Or as George Marsden put it, "he saved generations of Princetonians from bad jokes."[19]) This was not the first time Belcher refused an honor. In 1748, he declined Edwards's suggestion to dedicate the *Life of Brainerd* to him. *Prodesse quam Conspici*—useful not conspicuous—was Belcher's motto.[20]

On November 28, 1756, the Burrs moved into the President's House and seventy students, three tutors, and a steward moved into Nassau Hall, a building that would not be finished until 1762.[21] According to William Seldon, in Edwards's time and "well into the 19th century the students lived under spartan conditions. The floors in the hallways were paved with brick, and simple planking was laid in the bedrooms . . . Meager furniture, the least expensive and in the plainest style, included a washstand with a basin and a pitcher filled from the college well. Except for special occasions, the food was simple and the cause of frequent complaints."[22] The Burr's house was spacious and well suited for the heavy load of entertaining that was the lot of the President's wife but, like Nassau Hall, it remained unfinished for some time.

Esther Burr's diary entries in the first half of 1757—complaints about the scarcity of news in Princeton, her exhaustion, poor health, sick children, and small pox spreading—are overshadowed by her joy over a considerable awakening at the College that began in February.[23] Many students and even two of the workers were affected and were under deep concern. Esther wrote in her diary, "The Lord's work goes on gloriously in the College—Mr. Burr sent for Mr. Tennent of Freehold to come and assist in drawing the Net ashore for it is ready to Break with the aboundance [sic] of the Fish that are Caught in it. . . ."[24] Not everyone was as enthusiastic as Esther. In late February, several students were sent for by fathers who "had heard that the schollars [students] were all Run Mad . . ."[25] In April 1757, Edwards wrote a

[18] Burr, 156.

[19] George M. Marsden, *Jonathan Edwards: A Life* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 427.

[20] Edwards to John Brainerd, December 14, 1747, Works, vol. 16, 241.

[21] It was widely considered that Nassau Hall was the largest permanent building in the colonies at its time. In the words of Esther Burr, it was a "Monstrous House" and "the largest of any upon the Continent." Burr, 121, 215.

[22] William Selden, *Nassau Hall*, (Princeton: Old Guard of Princeton), 6.

[23] Burr, 242ff., 264.

[24] Burr, 246.

[25] Burr, 251.

letter to Erskine with "news truly joyful concerning the college in New Jersey" with excerpts from glowing letters by both Aaron and Esther Burr.[26]

In August of 1757, things began to unravel quickly for the Burr and Edwards families. The French and Indian War took its toll on both Aaron Burr, who feared the spread of the War, and his father-in-law, who finally acknowledged that he may have to flee from Stockbridge.[27] Little Sally Burr was sick with throat distemper—or diphtheria—an often fatal disease, and Esther was simply overwhelmed by life. On August 22, an exhausted President Burr traveled to Philadelphia on College business where he heard that the great patron of the College, Governor Belcher, had died on August 31. A now exhausted and feverish Burr rushed to Elizabethtown to preach his funeral sermon on September 4. The forty-one year old Burr returned to Princeton the next day, collapsed, and died on September 24, four days before the first scheduled commencement at Nassau Hall.

Three days later the trustees elected Edwards to succeed Burr by a vote of 17 to 3. At the same meeting, the President's salary was reduced from 250 to 200 pounds, though pains were taken in the minutes not to associate the two actions.[28] On September 29, Richard Stockton wrote to Edwards that he was the choice of the trustees to succeed Aaron Burr. Edwards's well-known October 19 letter to the trustees expressed surprise at the invitation. His surprise was perhaps feigned, but his doubts were not. His burden to write was almost overwhelming. As additional arguments against a move, he cited his deficiency in certain academic subjects and his poor health. Edwards's litany of physical ailments, if translated into modern speech, falls into the category of "too much information." His letter to the trustees concluded by saying that the greatness of the affair required him to take the call seriously and he proposed to submit his decision to a council of ministers. On November 15, an optimistic trustee, Gilbert Tennent, wrote to a London news correspondent as though Edwards was in the bag.[29]

On November 20, Edwards wrote a letter of consolation to Esther. He also spelled out some of his thoughts about a possible future in Princeton. For one thing, he could not afford to live in Princeton on the salary offered by the trustees. It seems likely that Edwards knew that his salary offer was a reduction from his son-in-law's salary. He was at the trustee meeting when

[26] Edwards to John Erskine, April 12, 1757, Works, vol. 16, 702–705.
[27] Burr, 272.
[28] "Minutes of the Proceedings," 60.
[29] "Providence has mercifully interposed in the choice of a Successor [to President Burr], the Revd. Mr. Jonathan Edwards . . . whose praise for Superior acumen, Orthodoxy, Learning, Piety, & courage in the cause of God, is in all the churches. . . ." Rice, 70.

Burr received that raise. Edwards probably heard the good news from Esther and Aaron. He must have wondered why the trustees, who knew of his financial problems, would reduce the salary. On another front, Edwards was not at all sure that the council would approve the call given the arguments the residents of Stockbridge would put forth to keep their pastor.[30] And, even if the council approved the call, there would be practical details to work out about moving to Princeton. At their December 14 meeting, the Trustees apparently decided to sweeten the offer. If Edwards moved to Princeton in the winter, he would be "entitled to the President's Salary for the whole of this Year: and that he have the Liberty of receiving one half of his salary at the End of Six Months from the last Comencement [sic]," i.e., at the end of March. The Trustees requested Caleb Smith and John Brainerd to travel to Stockbridge immediately and attend the council, if possible.[31] Bad weather postponed the December 21 meeting until the new year. Edwards had plenty to do in the meantime. Among other things, he was quite likely putting the finishing touches on *Original Sin.*

III

The council of ministers met on January 4 and, with the briefest of deliberations, released Edwards from his charge. Edwards's response was to weep. His October letter to the trustees gave reasons for hesitating. There were other reasons, some alluded to in the letter and some not. For one thing, it meant turning away from the Indian mission, though he had reason to hope the mission would be in the good hands of John Brainerd.[32] For another, accepting the call meant that he had to uproot and move his large family once again. His predecessors, Dickinson and Burr, both worked themselves to death. Would that be his fate as well? Or he might have wept because the system he trusted broke down again. As someone who struggled his entire life to discern God's will, to have such a momentous decision made so quickly and presumably so easily, must have struck Edwards as folly. Why did the ministers on this council not take his own concerns and his strong sensibilities about the divine will more seriously? Apparently no one on the council—not even Samuel Hopkins, his devoted student, who had Edwards's

[30] Edwards to Esther Burr, November 20, 1757, Works, vol. 16, 731. In this letter Edwards wrote, "I know I can't live at Princeton, as a president must, on the salary they offer: yet I have left that matter to their generosity."

[31] "Minutes of the Proceedings," 66.

[32] The council requested the services of John Brainerd from the commissioners in Boston and asked the trustees of the College to use their influence to secure Mr. Brainerd for the position in Stockbridge. *The Works of Jonathan Edwards.* vol. 1 Revised and corrected by Edward Hickman, (Carlisle, PA: Banner of Truth Trust, 1974), clxxvii.

company to lose with this move—hesitated on the question. Edwards might have wondered if drawing straws would have been a better indicator of the divine will.

Another possible reason for Edwards to weep was his likely ambivalence about working with students again. As a tutor at Yale, he was familiar with student problems and, of course, his own problems with "young" people were legendary. In the 1757 College student moral code, violations such as leaving a chamber after certain times, eating and drinking in one's room, or having a woman in one's room without permission were subject to empirical verification. Other regulations simply invited trouble, such as "No scholar [student] shall spread abroad, any thing transacted in this House which being publickly known may tend to injure the Credit of the Institution or disturb the peace of the Members."[33] Given clearly established areas of responsibility, there was simply no way for the President to avoid disciplinary cases.

There were also many good reasons for Edwards to accept the call. Perhaps some of his tears were tears of joy. Early reports say that once he accepted it as God's will, he was enthusiastic. Princeton came with the hope of a better salary—assuming he could persuade the trustees to increase the salary they offered—a new and spacious home, escape from the war, proximity to two of the largest cities in the colonies, access to the 1,200 volume College library, being united with Lucy, Esther, and his grandchildren Sally and Aaron, Jr., and, to top it off, no major teaching responsibilities for his first term.[34] By going to Princeton, where God's Spirit had been gloriously revealed so recently, Edwards took steps towards realizing a dream that was, perhaps, ill-formed, but nonetheless real and long-standing. That dream was a school where students would be taught true learning and be nurtured in true holiness at the same time.[35] Such a school would welcome awakenings in

[33] "Minutes of the Proceedings," 64.

[34] The library is briefly described in *An Account of the College of New Jersey* (Woodbridge, NJ: James Parker, 1764), 13.

[35] Arthur Cushman McGiffert, Jr. quotes Edwards probably from 1748–49, "I cannot but think that it is practicable enough so to constitute such societies that there should be no being there without being virtuous, serious, and diligent. It seems to me to be a reproach to the land that ever it should be so with our colleges, that instead of being places of the greatest advantages for true piety, one cannot send a child thither without great danger of his being infected as to his morals. . . .There is a great deal of pains taken to teach the scholars human learning; there ought to be as much, and more care, thoroughly to educate them in religion and lead them to true and eminent holiness. . . . It has been common in our public prayers to call these societies *the schools of the prophets;* and if they are schools to train up young men to be prophets, certainly there ought to be extraordinary care taken to train them up to be Christians. And I cannot see why it is not on all accounts fit and convenient for the governors and instructors of the colleges, particularly, singly and frequently to converse with the students about the state of their souls." Arthur Cushman McGiffert, Jr. *Jonathan Edwards* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1932), 210.

their various manifestations, prepare students for ministry and service, and provide a front line in the defense of orthodoxy against Arminianism and Deism. It is not too much to say that with each commencement, Edwards envisioned a graduating class of "David Brainerds" spreading across the land to do God's will.

IV

On January 8, Edwards preached a farewell sermon in Stockbridge on Hebrews 13:14: "for we have no continuing city, but we seek one to come."[36] Then some time before the following Sunday, in Dwight's words, he "girded up his loins, and set off from Stockbridge for Princeton . . . He left his family at Stockbridge, not to be removed till the Spring. . . . His arrival at Princeton was to the greatest satisfaction and joy of the college. And indeed all the greatest friends of the college, and to the interests of religion, were highly satisfied and pleased with the appointment."[37] Almost certainly, Lucy and Esther and her two children were living in the President's House at the time.[38] Presumably the tutors, nearly one hundred students, and any trustees who could make it, gathered to welcome the new President. Of all these people, after his family, Edwards may have been most anxious to talk to the College Steward, Jonathan Baldwin, class of 1755, the second in command, upon whose shoulders rested a thousand mundane responsibilities essential to the workings of the college.[39] Edwards's son, Timothy, was not in Princeton at the time. He did not return until after the death of his father and sister.[40]

[36] See also, E. A. Park, "Memoir" in *The Works of Samuel Hopkins, D. D.* vol. 1 (Boston: Doctrinal Tract and Book Society, 1854), 46.

[37] Hickman, clxxviii.

[38] Several sources suggest that Burr might have owned a house and barn in Princeton, but this is deemed doubtful by Henry Lyttleton Savage. See his *Nassau Hall 1756–1956* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1956), p. 21.

[39] Jonathan Baldwin, class of 1755, held the thankless position of Steward for seventeen years. "Next to the president he was the chief executive of the College. His principal task of course was to maintain the college dining-room, and he was required periodically to give bond that he would supply good board at a stipulated rate. But in addition he collected board bills, tuition fees, and room rent, and as long as the prayer-hall continued to be the village church he also collected pew rents. He sold text-books, he cleaned the college chimneys, and was a guardian of the belfry and especially of the bell-rope, that ever lurking temptation to mischievous scholars. He hired the college servants and sometimes even paid the tutors. . . . What with bad debts, overdue fees, grasping merchants, and a defective system of bookkeeping, his accounts were continually awry, and it was seldom that his affairs were not the subject of consideration at trustee meetings." Varnum Lansing Collins. *Princeton* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1914), 43.

[40] Timothy left for Princeton on April 18 (Burr, 303). "The two Burr children remained with the William Shippen family in Philadelphia until 1760 when Timothy Edwards, recently married, became their guardian, taking them first to Stockbridge and then in 1762 to Elizabethtown, New Jersey, where Timothy practiced law." Marsden, 598 n.22.

Shortly after Edwards arrived in Princeton, he received the sad but not surprising news that his father had died on January 27, at the age of eighty-nine. No sooner did he hear this news than he was confronted with a decision whether or not to be inoculated against smallpox. Smallpox was common in Princeton and increasing in frequency. Lucy contracted a mild case a year before and Esther had lived in fear that her husband would contract the disease. Edwards supported the practice of inoculation, though he was aware of its risks and the controversies surrounding its use.[41] In fact, he had recommended the procedure to Aaron Burr in 1752, shortly before he married Esther.[42] Although Dwight says Edwards received the "consent of the corporation" to be inoculated, there is no record in the minutes that the trustees approved the decision.[43] Since they were due in Princeton in mid-February, it is likely Edwards consulted with them for the same reason he consulted with a council about whether to leave Stockbridge. If nothing else, he may have solicited their recommendation of a good physician. The trustees sent for Dr. William Shippen, a prominent Philadelphia physician who was well connected to the College.[44]

On Thursday, February 16, Edwards was installed as President and qualified as a trustee. On Friday, February 17 tutor Isaac Smith was dismissed. The two remaining tutors divided Smith's responsibilities. John Ewing took the junior and sophomore classes and Jeremiah Halsey took the freshman and senior classes. Even with the dismissal of Smith, Edwards was released from major responsibilities for the senior class for his first term. At that meeting, the trustees also decided that "President Edwards [should] have the Direction Care & Government of the Grammar School."[45] Trustee business was

[41] McGiffert gives a brief history of inoculation including the near riot in Boston in 1721 over the matter and the later efforts of the new President of Columbia to avoid exposure (McGiffert, 211).

[42] Edwards to Aaron Burr, May 6, 1752, Works, vol. 16, 478. "One thing I will venture to give you my thoughts in, viz. That since you have not had the smallpox, if you can find a skillful, prudent physician, under whose care you can put yourself, you would take the smallpox by inoculation before you go, after properly preparing your body for it, by physic and diet." The Edwards family was no stranger to smallpox. On April 1, 1753, Edwards wrote to his son Timothy, a student at the College, about being exposed to smallpox on his trip to Newark. "Before you receive this letter, the matter will doubtless be determined, as to your having the smallpox. You will either be sick with that distemper, or will be past danger of having it, from any infection taken in your voyage. But whether you are sick or well, like to die or like to live, I hope you are earnestly seeking your salvation" Works, vol. 16, 578.

[43] Hickman, clxxviii.

[44] Shippen assisted Robert Smith with the plans for Nassau Hall, his brother Edward was a trustee, and one of his daughters, Susannah, lived with Aaron and Esther Burr in 1755 (Burr, 120).

[45] "Minutes of the Proceedings," 69.

finished on Saturday, February 18. On Thursday, February 23, Dr. Shippen inoculated the Edwards family.[46] Five days later Edwards wrote a letter to the college treasurer, Jonathan Sergeant, reminding him of the agreement with the trustees that he was to receive half a year's salary at the end of March. Edwards also requested a loan of £100 in May, also agreed to by the trustees.[47] Whether out of habit or for perceived reason, once again Edwards felt the need to remind the powers-that-be about his salary. George Claghorne noted that with this, his last known letter, "the correspondence of the great theologian ends on a financial note."[48]

"During this time," Dwight reported, "Mr. Edwards seemed to enjoy an uncommon degree of the presence of God" and a growing confidence that he was called to Princeton.[49] According to Dwight, "While at Princeton, before his sickness, he preached in the college-hall, sabbath after sabbath, to the great acceptance of the hearers, but did nothing as president, unless it was to give out some questions in divinity to the senior class. . . ."[50] The remark about "sabbath after sabbath" invites the question of how many times Edwards could have preached while in Princeton. There were eight *or* nine Sundays from his arrival in Princeton until his death. If Edwards was inoculated on February 23, he would have remained relatively symptom-free until March 7, when he would have probably developed some combination of fever, headache, backache, nausea, night terrors, and delirium. At this time the first smallpox rash might have appeared, followed by the appearance of blisters between March 8 and 10. After that, his window for doing anything in Princeton would have closed rapidly. Assuming that Edwards was unable to preach after the smallpox blisters appeared, he could have preached for six *or* seven Sundays.

Most accounts say that Edwards preached a sermon on "Unchangeableness of Christ" after he arrived in Princeton. Certainly one of the last, if not the last, sermon he ever preached or re-preached was on Jude 6, "Unto the judgment of the great day," dated February 1758.[51] Why these sermons? Did Edwards hope they would fan the flames of the awakening, speak to the decaying political situation, or have some special relevance to a college setting? The Jude 6 sermon, especially when read in the context of Princeton,

[46] February 13 and 23 are both given as dates when Edwards was inoculated. The later date is more likely because it allowed time for Edwards to consult the trustees.

[47] Edwards Jonathan Sargeant, February 28, 1758, Works, vol. 16, 738.

[48] Works, vol. 16, 738.

[49] Hickman, clxxviii.

[50] Hickman, clxxviii. These questions may be included in Hickman, 690–01.

[51] Notes on the manuscript indicate that Edwards had preached the sermon in May 1744 and January 1754.

brings Edward's life to a point. On judgment day, he wrote, all secrets and motives will be revealed, it shall be determined who was right and wrong in all controversies, political, ecclesiastical, and personal. All masks will be removed. All eyes will be opened to the vanities of this world. Human achievements will be put in their place, things will be settled, and God's ends will be clear. "It will be a Joyfull day." "[T]he most Joyfull." "Love his appearing . . . Looking for that blessed hope . . . Amen even so Come L. J."[52]

Edwards did not live to see that day, but such a day came to him. Sometime in early March, Edwards's quill pen ran dry for the last time. Paper ceased to be a precious commodity to him. And he let go of his unfinished works. The few accounts of Edwards's state of mind during his sickness all testify to his calm spirit and abiding faith.[53] Austin Flint uses these days as the jumping off point for his insightful, compelling, and at this point, intriguingly speculative, play, *The Flaming Spider: Jonathan Edwards in Northampton.* "ACT ONE. SCENE ONE. Time. 1758. Princeton, New Jersey. JONATHAN EDWARDS in his sparsely furnished sickroom, bed off to one side, covers open, mussed. He is lying there alone, wearing a loose-fitting robe. JONATHAN. 'Oh, my God, my God! Is this fever your punishment for my sins? . . . And how did Satan know so exactly what to dangle before my eyes? Wealth would never have done it. . . . [t]hough I wouldn't have minded a little more money these last few years. But that most flattering letter summoning me from my seven years in the wilderness. President of the College of New Jersey at Princeton! The chance to start again, to build an institution in the image of God. That was the one thing I could never resist. . . . Redemption. I'll never live to finish it now. Just as I never built the New Jerusalem in Northampton, never built the great City on the Hill. What a dream it was! What a blessed dream!'"[54]

Edwards died as a result of complications from the inoculation. The accounts of Edwards's last words and then his last moments on Wednesday, March 22, are well known. Two incidents stand out. First, his words to Lucy for Sarah, "therefore give my kindest love to my dear wife and tell her that the uncommon union which has so long subsisted between us, has been of such a nature, as I trust is spiritual, and therefore will continue for ever. . . ." And then, when he overheard his caretakers bemoaning the loss to the church

[52] Edwards Sermon manuscript. Jude. 6—unto the Judgment of the Great day. Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University. Transcribed by Kenneth P. Minkema.

[53] Hickman, clxxviii.

[54] Austin Flint. *The Flaming Spider: Jonathan Edwards in Northampton.* Unpublished play. (1999). I-1-1 Used with permission.

and the College, he said, "Trust in God, and ye need not fear!" and he died.[55] However, in an obscure address delivered at Kenyon College in 1893, David Turpie provided a different version of Edwards's last words. He wrote, "When now the disease grew worse and had for many days eagerly pursued him, he said to the young men who waited upon him—it was on the morning of the 22d of March, 1758: 'Lads, turn my face to the wall.' They thought he would have engaged in his devotions, as he had been wont. But the lips were motionless; a sudden change came over his countenance as if a light had shown there for an instant and vanished. The noble spirit had fled."[56] Dr. Shippen, who attended Edwards in his illness, wrote to Sarah with the news. Esther Burr followed her father to the grave on April 7. On October 2, Sarah Edwards died in Philadelphia at the home of William Shippen, where Esther's children were living.[57]

Many accounts of Edwards's life end like this: "The election, acceptance and inauguration of the great Jonathan Edwards of Princeton College, though he held the keys only a few months, did great honor to the institution. It is doubtful whether the name of any other of its presidents, before or since that time, irrespective of services actually rendered has done and will do more to honor and commend the college than his great name."[58] But was Edwards's time in Princeton simply an honor late in his life and a feather in the cap of the young school? As I suggested at the outset of the paper, this approach minimizes the duration of his involvement with Princeton and the extent of his enthusiasm for the work there. If Edwards had lived as long as his father, his association with the College would have lasted more than half his life—forty-eight years—from 1743 until 1791. After his death, Princeton was honored by his stature. But during the last fifteen years of his life, he honored the school with his prayers, writings, conversations, correspondence, and his children. Looking back from 1758, much of Edwards's life led, with clear and direct lines, to Princeton. The school he never lived to lead could well have been a crowning achievement to an already impressive career. The masterworks he never lived to write would have been forever associated with Princeton.

In most accounts of the life of Edwards, Yale figures prominently and Princeton is a postscript. In this paper I have argued that the opposite is true.

[55] Hickman, clxxviii.

[56] David Turpie. *Jonathan Edwards.* An Address Delivered at Kenyon College on June 29, 1893. (Columbus, Ohio: Kenyon College Alumni Committee, 1893), 25.

[57] Marsden, 598 n.22.

[58] John Frelinghuysen Hageman. *History of Princeton and Its Institutions* vol. 2 (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1879), 253.

Yale is largely a prelude to the real story of Edwards. Of course, Edwards never stopped caring about New Haven College, praying for it, and wishing it well. But after 1743, he looked back at Yale and looked forward to Princeton.[59] In remarks at the 250th anniversary of Princeton University in 1996, Yale President, Richard C. Levin jested that it was a Princeton Committee, (the trustees) that killed Yale's most famous graduate when they approved his inoculation.[60] On this occasion and in this place, it may be fitting to suggest that it was a Yale committee (those who decided to expel David Brainerd) that killed Edwards's passion for his alma mater and freed him to turn his enormous gifts to God's work in Princeton.

* * *

Sacred to the memory
of a most venerable man JONATHAN EDWARDS, A. M.
President of the College of New Jersey.
He was born at Windsor in Conn., on the 5th of October,
A.D. 1703, O.S.
His father was the Rev. Timothy Edwards.
He was educated at Yale College, and commenced his ministry at Northampton 15th of Feb. 1726–7
He was dismissed from that place, on the 22nd of June 1750,
and undertook the office of teaching the Savages.
He was made President of Nassau Hall the 16th of Feb.
1758.
Died in this village the 22d of March following, N.S., in
the 55th year of his age.
In person he was tall and slender, thin with intense study,
abstinence and application.
In the piercing subtlety of his genius, in judgment and Prudence he was second to none.
He was distinguished by skill in the liberal Arts
and Sciences; the best of sacred critics;
An eminent Theologian, with scarcely an equal.

[59] Perry Miller said much the same thing. After Brainerd's dismissal, "Edwards appears to have had no connection with Yale. He was isolated in the back-country, and his hope lay in the new college that was being planned in the hinterland of New Jersey." *Jonathan Edwards* (New York: William Sloan Associates, 1950), 197.

[60] Richard C. Levin. "Greetings on the Occasion of Princeton's 250th Birthday." Anniversary Convocation, October 25, 1996, 1. "News from Princeton, Oct–Dec 1996" Communications Office, Princeton University, *http://www.princeton.edu/pr/news/96/index4.html* (accessed September 3, 2003).

A candid disputant:
A strong and invincible defender of the Christian faith;
a Preacher impressive, serious, discriminating,
and by the blessing of God, most successful.
Eminent for piety, severe in his morals,
but, just and considerate towards others.
He lived beloved, revered.
but oh! he is to be mourned, dead;
What lamentations, did his departure call forth!
Alas for so much wisdom, learning and religion!
The college bewails his loss,
The church bewails him.
Go, Stranger and follow his pious steps.[61]

* * *

In Memory of Sarah, Wife of the Revd. JONATHAN EDWARDS. Who was born Jan. 9, 1709–10 O.S. Married July 20, 1727. Died October 2, 1758 N.S. A sincere Friend. A courteous and obliging Neighbor. A judicially indulgent Mother. An affectionate and prudent Wife. And a very eminent Christian.

[61] Translation of Latin transcription of Edwards's tombstone is presumably by William A. Dod. See William A. Dod. *History of the College of New Jersey* (Princeton: J. T. Robinson, 1844), 15. Jonathan and Sarah are buried together in the President's Plot at the Princeton Cemetery. Sarah's tombstone is affixed to the head of the stone box on which Jonathan's tombstone rests. The inscription on her tombstone is in English.

M. Richard Shaull: A Tribute

by Mark L. Taylor

Mark L. Taylor, Professor of Theology and Culture, and author of The Executed God: The Way of the Cross in Lockdown America (2001), *delivered this memorial tribute before the Seminary faculty on May 7, 2003.*

M. Richard (Dick) Shaull was the Henry Winters Luce Professor of Ecumenics at Princeton Theological Seminary, for eighteen years between 1962 and 1980, after which time he took an early retirement. Twenty-two years later, on October 25, 2002, at the age of 82, Dick died of cancer, peacefully and at home in Ardmore, Pennsylvania, in a loving hospice maintained by his wife Dr. Nancy Johns, and surrounded by other family, friends, students and colleagues. In his final years, Dick had become Parish Associate at Bryn Mawr Presbyterian Church, which celebrated his life at a memorial service there on November 2, 2002.

In a very real sense, the celebrations of Dick Shaull's life have not ceased. From the Presbyterian Seminary in Campinas, Brazil, to university settings in Costa Rica, to prayer services in Geneva, and amid Christian groups throughout the world, memorial celebration of his life has been ongoing. A theological school has been renamed for him, and at least one journal plans a special issue in honor of Dick and his work. A theological training school (Presbyterian) has recently been named after him in his honor. Last month, Princeton Seminary's own new Henry Winters Luce Professor of Ecumenics, Luis Rivera-Pagán, dedicated his Inaugural Address to Richard Shaull. Why this flow of remembrance and celebration?

We can begin by recalling *his dedication to family*. Since early retirement he served alongside his wife, Nancy Johns, as Volunteers in Mission in the U.S. and in Latin American countries (Guatemala, Mexico, Costa Rica, Nicaragua, Brazil). He is survived by his two daughters (Madelyn Shaull and Wendy Shaull of California), his sisters (Jane Keesey and June Stroup), his brother (George Shaull), and his two step-daughters (Anita Smart and Sylvia Smart). He is also survived by his former wife, Mildred Miller Shaull, of California.

The why of his remembrance and celebration must also note how Dick's life journey was marked by *an undying commitment to Christian struggle on behalf of impoverished communities.* Dick himself was born on a small farm in York County, Pennsylvania, in 1919, and along with his parents and three siblings, he journeyed through the tumultuous times of the Great Depression. These years found his family active in churches that exposed him to religious community that conjoined Christian faith with social practice with and for the poor. After graduating from Elizabethtown College in 1938, and

then from Princeton Theological Seminary in 1941, he served a parish in Wink, Texas, for one year. He then departed to Colombia, South America, to begin his life-long work as ecumenist and missionary.

Remembrance and celebration of his life especially lifts up his distinguished work *as missionary and Christian worker abroad.* In Colombia he consolidated his understanding of biblical faith's distinctive way of reaching out to all peoples, i.e. by sharing experiences of God alongside the earth's diverse communities of the poor and those marginalized from centers of power. He returned from Colombia to Princeton Seminary to do doctoral work with Paul Lehmann, completing a thesis entitled, "The Power of God in the Life of Man: A Study of Protestant and Catholic Concepts of New Life in Christ."

He later went to Brazil where he taught at the Presbyterian Seminary in Campinas, Brazil, co-founded with Aureo Bispo the Centennial Seminary in the interior of the state of Matto Grosso, and also served as Vice President of Mackenzie University (Presbyterian) in Saõ Paolo. After being forced out of Brazil during a military junta, he was called by President James I. McCord, to the ecumenics position at Princeton Seminary. From there he influenced an entire generation of ministers, missionaries and Christian activists; but it was during the brief time in Brazil, before becoming a Princeton professor, that Dick did crucial work as an ecumenically-inclined Protestant in Brazil. This identified him as one of the founders of liberation theology, a description used by many about him, but never claimed by him.

Remembrance and celebration of Richard Shaull still flows today also because of his long work *as teacher.* Dick had a special respect for the writer of the New Testament book of *James* who admonished, "Don't many of you be teachers, for you shall receive the greater condemnation." This meant, as stressed by one recent memorial speaker, that Dick also "questioned the authority of the institution which gave him that problematic power." On campus, he thus could be provocative and confrontational. The same memorial speaker went on to stress, however, that as a teacher he "enabled students to find their own voices by being careful never to drown them out with his."

It is this kind of teaching over his long tenure at Princeton that enabled one to say, according to another student, Philip Wickeri (now Professor of Evangelism and Mission at San Francisco Theological Seminary) that "Dick's community . . . is spread all over the world, from Latin America to Asia to Africa," as well as to towns and cities across the United States. One Brazilian student testified to Dick's influence, "He had more faith in us than we had in ourselves." A Korean student noted: "Dick was unlike any other teacher I had. He always challenged me when I thought I had it right." Another

Brazilian student, Raimundo C. Barreto, whose dissertation I am currently advising in Religion and Society, had Dick as a member of his committee for a short while. "He made me see," writes Raimundo, "that before thinking of pleasing my professors at Princeton, I should think of doing something meaningful to my own reality. Once, when he noticed that I was too concerned with method he said, in a very irreverent way, 'be concerned with the content, rather than with the method. The content is the soul of your work.' "

Maybe it was Dick's capacity to respect the content of a person's work and life that drives, today, the ongoing remembrance and celebrations. This certainly resonates with so many others' recollections of him. I met Richard Shaull late, only after his 1980 departure from the Seminary, and then, first, only through his writings. The first personal meeting came, fittingly, at a press conference in Philadelphia that I had organized for scholars and activists fighting for the life of a journalist on Pennsylvania's death row, Mumia Abu-Jamal. Dick had quietly slipped into the crowded press conference room to lend his support. I would later serve with him on two Princeton dissertation committees, dine with him at several retirement dinners at this Seminary, share another meal with him in my home, and have several lunch meetings with him when he came for library work on this campus.

My most vivid memory of him is somewhat mundane, but revelatory of his way of being. I see him leaning against the frame of my office door, waiting for me to gather some things to discuss with him over one of our lunches. His ultra slim and wiry frame seemed to radiate, paradoxically, both a disciplined calm and a nervous energy. This always bestowed a kind of sprightly energy to his down-to-earth caring heart and to his nimble intellectual acumen.

It is this kind of life and energy that conveyed to so many students and others a presence that was as prophetic as it was pastoral. Recall, that his tenure at Princeton Seminary, from 1962 to 1980, coincided with a time of dizzying change: the Vietnam War and the anti-war movements, the assassinations of Martin Luther King, Jr. and Robert Kennedy, the execution of Caryl Chessman, the birth of the Berkeley Free Speech Movement and the founding of the Students for a Democratic Society, the Second Vatican Council, another wave of feminist movements in the U.S., the tensions of the "Cold War" and nuclear arms race, and repressive military dictatorships in Latin America, such as the one in Brazil that excluded Dick from travel there for over twenty years. In these years, I am told by his colleagues of that time that Dick's classes were often full to overflowing with students sitting in the aisles and window-wells. He once joined an anti-war, draft-card burning demonstration in front of Miller Chapel.

Throughout this tumultuous period, Dick sought change by being part of a kind of community that featured what he called "a point of reference beyond the immediate social struggle." Dick never relinquished that reference point, even when distinguished revolutionaries with whom he made common cause advised it. Herbert Aptheker—activist, historian, literary executor for W. E. B. Dubois, and Director of the American Institute for Marxist Studies—applauded Dick's writing in *The Christian Century* about how "the old order" could be "brought down or broken open" by "the dynamic of God's action in the world."[1] Aptheker advised, however, a renaming of the dynamic of change, viewing it as *mass* action instead of *God's* action. It was a substitution that Shaull could never make. For Shaull, mass political action, as also the small acts of political and personal change, were sites of God's work in history.

It is such an impressive witness as this, which will call so many of us, again and again, into the content of Dick's written work: *Encounter with Revolution* (1955), *Containment and Change* (with Carl Oglesby) in 1967, *Consumers or Revolutionaries* (with Josef Smolik) in 1967, *Liberation and Change* (with Gustavo Gutiérrez) in 1977, *Heralds of a New Reformation: The Poor of South and North America* (1984), *Responding to the Cry of the Poor: Nicaragua and the USA* (with Nancy Johns), *Naming the Idols: Biblical Alternatives for U.S. Foreign Policy* (1988), *The Reformation and Liberation Theology: Insights for the Challenge Today* (1991). A Festschrift in his honor appeared and was celebrated in Princeton in 1998, *Revolution of Spirit: Ecumenical Theology in Global Context*. His most recent publication, in the year 2000, was *Pentecostalism and the Future of the Christian Churches: Promises, Limitations, Challenges* (with Brazilian sociologist, Waldo Cesar). There, he and Cesar examine Pentecostal movements' role in transforming unjust economic, social and political structures in a way that is a witness to the entire ecumenical church.

And Dick Shaull will soon address us with yet another written word, even now after his death. I refer to his memoirs, being published in November of this year in Portuguese under the title, *Surprised by Grace*. In addition to ranging broadly across his own long and rich life, the memoirs will close with an epilog that examines "the consequences of September 11." There, he greets us with another prophetic meditation for our times: "no longer can we live in security in a world where so many inequities pile up, and people suffer so many hardships." An English version of Dick's memoirs, edited from the

[1] Herbert Aptheker, *The Urgency of Marxist-Christian Dialogue* (New York: Harper & Row, 1970) 172. Aptheker was commenting on M. Richard Shaull, "The God Question," *The Christian Century*, February 28, 1968, 275.

Portuguese book, is currently being prepared by Philip Wickeri, and will also include commentary from students and other scholars who have been inspired by Dick's witness.

Raimundo Barreto and I visited Dick at his home just a few days before he died. We said our good-byes, sat in some silence, listened to that still sprightly mind debate the issues of the day, relishing, especially, the coming Presidential victory in Brazil of Workers Party candidate, Luis Inacio da Silva, a victory that at that time was just days away. His wiry frame was now almost skeletal, but he was as alert as ever. We also tried to say to him, as had so many other visitors from around the world, what he had meant to us. I rambled: "Through you I somehow was oriented to a history of needed change, in touch with a strange Princeton Seminary 'tradition' that fused human liberation and divine grace, and somehow I will still be borne by that history when you are gone, because of your witness and because of the Creator who brought you to us."

I wish I also had been there when Waldo Cesar—Brazilian sociologist, friend and co-author with Dick—made a final toast to the man. Cesar describes that October day when it was clear to all that Dick would not see his 83rd birthday that November.

> *The day is cold. At the end of the afternoon I mix a caipirinha cocktail to share with Nancy and her daughter Anita. Dick wants to participate. He asks for his share. The atmosphere is less tense then. I propose a toast: 'Dick Shaull, you taught us a great deal about living, and now you also teach us how to die. Hail to all you have done for us.'*[2]

[2] Waldo Cesar, "Surprised By Grace," translated by Jovelino Ramos, edited by Joan Ramos, *Tempo e Presenca*, no. 326, November/December 2002.

Donald Harrisville Juel: A Tribute

by Beverly Roberts Gaventa

Beverly Roberts Gaventa, Helen H. P. Manson Professor of New Testament Literature and Exegesis, and author of Acts (2003) *and* First and Second Thessalonians *(1998), delivered this memorial tribute before the Seminary faculty on May 7, 2003.*

Donald Harrisville Juel was born on March 4, 1942, in Alton, Illinois, the son of Grace Beart Juel and Leslie Harrisville Juel. A sister Janet and a brother Stephen later joined him. Hints of Don's vocation came quite early. Family tradition tells that he loved the story of the call of the young Samuel and had memorized it by the age of three. Unable even then to distance himself from the text, he asked his mother when God would be calling him.

A 1964 Phi Beta Kappa graduate of St. Olaf College, Don enrolled in the B.D. program at Luther Seminary, where he graduated first in his class in 1968. Among the major influences on him at Luther were Gerhard Forde and Roy Harrisville. He then began doctoral studies in New Testament at Yale University, where he came under the abiding influence of two other Norwegians, Nils Dahl and Jacob Jervell.

While still a junior in high school in Lewiston, New York, Don was invited to a graduation party by Lynda Goodroe, who wanted a date for that important occasion who would be fun and smart, someone with whom she could have a good conversation. That good conversation continued over the next several years and eventually into a beautiful marriage of thirty-seven years. That marriage joyously welcomed the arrival of their children, Kristin and Mark.

Don's first academic appointments during the early 1970s were at Indiana University and at Princeton Theological Seminary. He then joined the faculty at Luther Seminary in 1978 and taught there for seventeen years before returning to Princeton in 1995 as Richard J. Dearborn Professor of New Testament Theology.

Because he is remembered so vividly at Princeton as a teacher and colleague, and because of his own natural modesty, it would be easy to underestimate Don's extensive contribution to scholarly literature. That contribution began early, with the exacting work of translating and editing. As a graduate student, Don was among the translators of two highly influential works, Willi Marxsen's *Mark the Evangelist* and Jervell's *Luke and the People of God;* later he participated in the translation of Hans Conzelmann's commentary on the Acts of the Apostles in the Hermeneia series. He edited three

volumes of Nils Dahl's essays as well as a Festschrift for his teacher and cousin, Roy Harrisville. Not surprisingly, Don's own first book, *Messiah and Temple*, was a study of the Gospel of Mark. Yet his eleven books ranged across the New Testament, including commentaries on I Thessalonians as well as on Mark, a volume on the narrative unity of Luke-Acts, and an introduction to the New Testament.

Of these books, the two that best characterize Don's contributions are *Messianic Exegesis* and *A Master of Surprise*. *Messianic Exegesis* takes up the question of how early Christians read the Old Testament.[1] Over against most of his predecessors, Don argued that early Christian interpretation of Scripture was driven less by apologetics than by the need to understand the gospel, "to clarify the implications of faith in Jesus for one's relationship with Israel's God and with the world."[2] Here Don promotes and expands on the thesis of his teacher Nils Dahl that Jesus was actually crucified as a messianic pretender—as King of the Jews—and that only that circumstance makes it possible to understand the confession of Jesus as the risen Messiah. Scholarly reviews of the volume welcomed it both for the freshness of its thesis and the detail with which the argument was executed.[3] The lively interest of Princeton Seminary students in questions of early Christian interpretation of Scripture provides another indication of the lasting impact of this volume.

A Master of Surprise (together with *The Gospel of Mark* in the "Interpreting Biblical Texts" series) gives readers Don's most insistent presentation of the Second Gospel.[4] Impatient with reading strategies that attempt to achieve control over the text and to subject God to institutional constraints of one sort or another, Don unflinchingly listened for another voice in Mark's Gospel, that of the God who will not be excluded from human life. Taking his cues from the tearing of heaven at Jesus' baptism, the tearing of the temple veil at the crucifixion, and especially the open door to Jesus' empty tomb, Don described the Markan Jesus as one who is "on the loose":

> [Jesus] cannot be confined by the tomb or limited by death. In Jesus' ministry, God tears away barriers that afforded protection in the past. God cannot be kept at arm's length. Such a possibility that light dawns

[1] *Messianic Exegesis: Christological Interpretation of the Old Testament in Early Christianity* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988).

[2] Ibid., 1.

[3] See especially the reviews of Rowan Greer in *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 58 (1989):198–200; Alan Segal in *Word and World* 9 (1989):91–94; and David Hay in *Journal of Biblical Literature* 109 (1990):135–37.

[4] *A Master of Surprise: Mark Interpreted* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1994); *The Gospel of Mark* (Interpreting Biblical Texts; Nashville: Abingdon, 1995).

> even on those who inhabit the realm of darkness is disquieting; it means there is no refuge for the cynical any more than for the naive.[5]

The absence of refuge comes to expression elsewhere in Don's work, as he compares biblical interpretation with sailing. In his inaugural lecture at Princeton Seminary, Don commented:

> Living with the scriptures is more like sailing than like building cathedrals. We don't have control over the elements—just enough to navigate in the face of surprising shifts of wind and changed water conditions. Some would perhaps hope for more stability, but for sailors bedrock is where sunken ships lie.[6]

Perhaps this commitment to exposing the inability of readers to control the interpretive process explains Don's deep love of the question. Don appreciated the rhetorical, pedagogical, and theological value of a good question. His inaugural lecture at Princeton, drawing on the course he had taught with Patrick Keifert at Luther Seminary, addressed the question, "What do we mean when we say that the Bible is true?" The question, "Why did Jesus have to die?" became the focal point of his course on the death of Jesus. When Jacqueline Lapsley interviewed for a teaching position in Old Testament, Don impishly asked her why Christians should bother reading the Hebrew Bible. Readers of the Gospel of Mark were asked what is its rightful ending. To students who persisted in converting the parable of the sower into a morality lesson, Don would wonder aloud how it is that soil goes about becoming good. If these questions made hearers not only squirm but occasionally protest sharply, Don was unrepentant. Given his reading of the Gospel of Mark, it might be said that he understood their disturbance as an opportunity for instruction, even an opportunity for the gospel to do its work.

A person of genuine dignity, Don never confused dignity with pretentiousness. While in residence at the Center for Theological Inquiry, he was famous for padding down the hall in his stocking feet, having left the brown loafers sitting under his desk. This sense of ease went beyond matters of dress. A graduate student remembers Don's response when he learned that the student's first submission to a scholarly journal had been rejected. Foregoing predictable formulas of reassurance, Don recalled that his own first venture had been turned down by two journals in succession. (The reviewer

[5] Master of Surprise, 120–21.

[6] " 'Your Word is Truth': Some Reflections on a Hard Saying," *Princeton Seminary Bulletin* 17 (1996) 27.

for the second journal opined that the author evidently did not know any German.)

Don understood that life is more than work, and he enjoyed his life. He relished the theatre, opera, music, a round of golf, a fine meal, and a good bottle of wine. With Lynda, he delighted in working at home in the garden or traveling to intriguing places. He relished Lynda's sculpture and made collecting the aluminum cans she uses for her work into a project for all his classes. When daughter Kristin read her first scholarly paper at the Modern Language Association, Don proudly reported her success to his friends. One of his last trips was to attend the wedding of his son, Mark, to Morgen Ellerbusch, an occasion that gave him great joy.

During the long course of Don's illness, his behavior witnessed powerfully to the gospel that so fiercely shaped his life and thought. He vigorously pursued the cause of his malady, patiently going from doctor to doctor, from test to test. Along the way, he enticed physicians and other care-givers into conversation, even conversations about hermeneutics; among his last visitors was a specialist who arrived at the Juels' home unannounced but very much welcome. In his final months, Don held on to each day, welcoming the dawn even during the long winter of 2003, because it meant he had survived another night. He found particular pleasure in music, in meals prepared by his colleagues and friends, and in the presence of guests as his stamina allowed.

When confronted by his own mortality, Don turned quickly to the Gospel of Mark, recognizing his own loss of control as an instance of the reader's inability to control either Mark's ending or Mark's God. In conversation, he several times repeated to friends his conviction that his work on Mark 16 was the most important of his contributions—not only as a scholarly contribution but as the lens through which he read his own impending death. His exegesis went beyond the surface and all the way through to the bone.

The early loss of Donald Harrisville Juel comes as a terrible blow to Princeton Seminary, to Luther Seminary, to the entire community of theological inquiry, and to his large circle of family and friends. We have been blessed and will continue to be blessed by his passionate life and by his confidence in the God "who will not be shut in–or out."[7]

[7] *Master of Surprise*, 120.

BOOK REVIEWS

F. W. Dobbs-Allsopp. *Lamentations.* Interpretation: A Bible Commentary for Teaching and Preaching. Louisville: John Knox Press, 2002. Pp. 169. $21.95.

Is it possible that this is the finest commentary on the book of Lamentations published in the last generation? The very question seems frivolous, I know. The genre of academic book review encourages one to be more measured in one's opinions, to temper one's enthusiasm. And yet when I come across a commentary volume as excellent as this I see no reason to pretend not to be enthusiastic about it. Still, the question would be easier to answer were it not for the recent efflorescence of scholarship on the short book of Lamentations, which too often in the past was, for the purposes of commentary writing, simply lumped in with Jeremiah. But major, new commentaries devoted solely to Lamentations have just appeared by Adele Berlin in the Old Testament Commentary series and by Kathleen O'Connor in the *Interpreter's Bible*, and two more are in preparation by Edward Greenstein for the Jewish Publication Society's Bible commentary and by Robin Salters for the International Critical Commentary. Moreover, recent monographs have appeared by O'Connor (*Lamentations and the Tears of the World*), Nancy C. Lee (*The Singers of Lamentations*) and myself (*Surviving Lamentations*). Given the diverse perspectives and the uniformly high quality of this recent work—excepting from this judgment my own book naturally, which I will allow others to evaluate—it is unnecessary to choose favorites. Suffice to say that this contribution by Dobbs-Allsopp to the justly popular Interpretation series stands with the very best of scholarship on Lamentations and is a model of biblical commentary-writing.

Students of Lamentations will recognize Dobbs-Allsopp as the author of an influential earlier book, *Weep, O Daughter of Zion* (1993), which explored the generic parallels between the book of Lamentations and Mesopotamian city-laments, as well as a raft of sometimes rather technical articles in the scholarly journals. Thus the present volume caps more than a decade's worth of intensive work on Lamentations, offering Dobbs-Allsopp's fullest and most nuanced treatment of the book, as well as the most accessible to preachers, teachers, and laypeople in general. He continues to make connections with the Mesopotamian city-laments, and the volume is full of local insights that will have to be taken into account by other scholars, but most impressive are the literary and theological sensibilities on display throughout the commentary. These latter features will have an effect on scholarship too, but it seems to me that they make the book of Lamentations available in a more general and compelling way.

With regard to the literary qualities of Lamentations, Dobbs-Allsopp rightly insists that the reader take account of the fact that the book consists of lyric poetry—rather than, say, narrative or straight argumentation—and that "a fully satisfying reading of Lamentations can come about only through an understanding and appreciation of its lyricism." When reading Dobbs-Allsopp's treatment of the nature of this lyricism one is struck by how little account has in fact been taken of the poetic quality of Lamentations by commentators, who tend to move quickly to questions of content and meaning while giving little attention to the play of the words themselves. But with poetry, even more than other forms of discourse, meaning is intimately bound up with the language and the forms in which it is expressed; and as Dobbs-Allsopp shows better than anyone else I have read, Lamentations is first of all poetry. In the introduction to the commentary he devotes separate, brief sections to defining the poetic devices of metaphor, diction, wordplay, punning, euphony (the play of sound), the acrostic form, and enjambment (in which a line is not end-stopped, but rather carries over to the following line), and throughout the body of the commentary, then, he makes note of how these various devices are used in the poetry and how they ultimately contribute to the making of meaning for the reader.

If Lamentations is first of all poetry it does not, however, follow that it may be reduced to its poetic devices and left in the realm of language-play. Poetry does many things, and the poetry of Lamentations in particular serves as a profound source for theological engagement. Such engagement is less about reflecting on or making claims about the *nature* of God than it is about *addressing* God, most especially about addressing God out of situations of drastic, inexplicable destruction and crushing affliction. Such situations do not encourage theological niceties or complex theodicies, and the book of Lamentations offers neither. It offers instead powerful, lyrical expressions of grief, suffering, anger, and a sense of abandonment by God. Dobbs-Allsopp knows that, if we are lucky, most of us do not live constantly in the midst of such intractable situations of suffering and thus do not have need day in and day out for the brutally frank theological language provided by Lamentations. Yet there are certainly days for all of us when we do need such language, for pastors perhaps more than others, and when those days come the book of Lamentations will be there waiting for us, as it has been for countless generations before. When the need to turn to Lamentations arises, I can think of no better companion than this superb commentary.

Tod Linafelt
Georgetown University

Fenn, Richard K. *Beyond Idols: The Shape of a Secular Society.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2001. Pp. 196. $27.50.

One of the abiding ironies of the sociology of religion is that its two founding figures, Max Weber and Emile Durkheim, were both—in Weber's phrase—religiously "unmusical." Here the irony is reversed by a distinguished sociologist *cum* theologian who assaults religion despite being one of the great baritones in its "bare-ruined choir." Of course, Richard Fenn is not the first to savage religion in order to save it. He belongs in the great tradition of Soren Kierkegaard, Dietrich Bonhoeffer, Harvey Cox, and Thomas Altizer. To paraphrase the last of these, Fenn seeks not "the death of God" but the death of the sacred in its frozen and idolatrous state so that a living and unfettered Sacred may survive.

Like most important works, the message is deceptively simple. It hinges upon a conception of secularity. Thus, ". . . to become secular is, I argue, to open oneself and one's society to a wide range of possibilities. . . . In their totality, they constitute the Sacred, with a capital S. A truly secular society is therefore one that is wholly open to the Sacred. I will be using the term sacred with a lower-case s, to refer to the ways in which the sacred is reduced to manageable proportions in most societies. . . . To complete the process of secularization, it will be necessary to remove any signs of the sacred that claim to be able to stand the test of time. These signs . . . are the marks of idolatry. In sociological terms, a wholly secular society would be one in which the Sacred is largely de-mystified and nowhere institutionalized."

Those unfamiliar with Fenn's challenging perspective and who see the Sacred and the secular as mutually exclusive combatants will be surprised to see them here as mutually supportive compatriots; they will also be surprised to learn of his antipathy to such conventional expressions of the sacred as formal liturgy, celebratory language, charismatic heroes, religious sisterhoods and brotherhoods, and civil religion. He is particularly hard on the last, including its sociologist proponents, Robert Bellah and one of both his idols and mine, Emile Durkeim. While they see a sacred commitment to society as essential to its integration and stability, Fenn sees this as another instance of the sacred's idolatrous identification with an all too finite time and place at the expense of those infinite possibilities that constitute our real transcendence.

But what is to unlock our fettered senses and release our explorations—in short, what is the instrument of secularization on which the truly Sacred depends? It is, of course, the church. "My argument is very simple. At the heart of the Christian gospel, I will suggest, is a tendency toward radical

secularity." Fenn goes on to pit a "religion-less Christianity" against what might be called a de-Christianized religion. He and I might disagree over which is the source of liberation (it is the former for him) or whether such liberation is either necessary or likely. However, we would surely concur that waiting for and then releasing the full range of the Sacred is "risky, uncertain and precarious."

In fact, were I fortunate enough to be a Fenn student, I might have a semester's worth of questions. Here are a few examples. Does Fenn's lexicon involve the danger that there is no Sacred at all if the term is reserved solely for the ineffable? Put another way, doesn't anything that has paused long enough to be perceived and appreciated thereby sacrifice its claim to Sacredness and amount to a self-defeating prophecy? And while there is some truth to Fenn's charge that the very notion of a civil religion is tautological since any sacredness associated with society would seem to qualify, is this not as much a fundamental truth about society and its compelling claims rather than a fundamental flaw of logic? Fenn suggests that there are societies and by implication individuals who simply don't need the sacred in its conventional idolatrous sense and who would be better off joining his own gamble in holding out for the truly Sacred. But how do we know this, and how might we test it? Is it not possible that Fenn's conception of the sacred fits his sensitivities as a theologian better than the cruder sensibilities of the rest of us, for whom a few idols might suffice? Shouldn't we be wary of such a sharp dichotomy between the sacred and the Sacred, when it is more appropriate to regard Sacredness as a variable along a continuum? When Fenn prefers "public religiosity" to "civil religion," is he not really choosing among apples and oranges, especially since, as Durkheim (like one of his idols, Rousseau) made clear, a society may have a sense of civil sacredness that is not conventionally religious at all—or as I have put it elsewhere, a "religion of the civil" as opposed to a "civil religion?" Finally, in this amended spirit, is all civil religion to be jettisoned, or is there something to be said for a dollop of idolatry to stave off a diet of anomie?

Most of us know the tale of the pastor caught in his church during a flood, who rejected assistance from a police car, a fire truck, a row boat, and a motor launch—each time insisting that "God will provide" and climbing up another set of stairs. Finally, the waters rose above the pastor clutching the top of the steeple and took him to his gurgling doom. Once in heaven, he encountered God and asked, "Why didn't you save me?" "Save you?" God thundered in response, "I sent you a car, a truck, a boat, and a launch. Wasn't that enough?" The story suggests several more counters to Fenn's brilliant analysis. Not only does it serve up the hazard of relying on possibilities as yet

untested, but it points up a delicious ambiguity between being "saved" and being merely rescued, and it shows how the perfect may be the enemy of the good in religion as well as the law.

Lest all this questioning seem to demean *Beyond Idols*, I have failed to make both my point and Fenn's. Books only reach beyond their own idolatrous state when they provoke further thinking about further possibilities. In this most important sense, Fenn's work is a Sacred gift to us all.

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Old, Hughes Oliphant. *Worship Reformed According to Scripture*, Revised and Expanded Edition. Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2002. Pp. 195. $19.95.

Hughes Oliphant Old is a graduate of Centre College, Princeton Theological Seminary and received his Th.D. from the University of Neuchatel, Switzerland. Ordained into the Presbyterian ministry, he served pastorates in Atglen, PA, and West Lafayette, IN. He is a member of the Center of Theological Inquiry.

The first edition of this book appeared in 1985. At that time the author stated that the purpose of the book was to explicate the classical Reformed tradition in regard to worship, noting also that the heart of this tradition is the witness of the Reformers to the teaching of Scripture. This emphasis is continued in the expanded edition. With the addition of material from the Middle Ages, the author helps put the Reformers in clearer perspective. Going on to the eighteenth century, Old gives special attention to the way pietism affected Reformed worship. Contributions from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries are also included, although restrictions of space simply did not allow for an exhaustive exposition of those time periods.

The volume is centered around ten chapters. Within the confines of each chapter, the reader is introduced to a plethora of names, not all of them easily recognizable, but all of whom merit attention by any serious student of the basic theme of the books as indicated by its title.

For purposes of this review, I would single out for particular notice the author's emphases on the ministry of praise, the ministry of the Word and the ministry of prayer/daily prayer.

Quite correctly, Old begins his discussion of the ministry of praise with Old Testament foundations. Rabbinical sources from the time of Jesus indicate that the synagogue worship began with psalmody. The first Chris-

tians took over many of the worship traditions of the synagogue, including but not limited to the Psalms which formed the core of the praises of the New Testament church. The author writes: "One practice my pastoral experience leads me to recommend is the regular use of psalms of lamentation." In the context of current world events, I find this a challenging recommendation worthy of consideration by all Christians.

In his discussion of the ministry of the Word, Old, again starting with scriptural foundations, argues without apology for the recapture of expository preaching in the American pulpit.

The chapters on the ministry of prayer and daily prayer were to this reviewer the most daring and at the same time controversial. As Old put it: "During the middle of the twentieth century among Presbyterians, as generally among mainline American Protestants, the life of prayer languished." Concerning daily prayer, the plea of Old is to "recover the older classical Protestant discipline of daily morning and evening prayer." One may well wonder if that plea will fall upon deaf ears.

In any book of this scope there are always minor errors of fact. The life dates of Princeton's Andrew Blackwood should read (1882–1966) rather than (1822–1966). The Jean Bude referred to on page 157 was not the son but rather the grandson of Guillaume Bude. While such errors really do not affect Old's overall work, any future edition should include such necessary corrections.

Old's final chapter is worth the price of the book. He lists fifteen liturgical traditions. They commend themselves to us because they are, above all, according to Scripture. Without the endorsement and support of congregations, liturgical reformation will not take place. The role of the clergy in such transformation is crucial. The twenty-first century is the crucible for testing the waters of liturgical renewal. This book is a vital resource to aid us in the process.

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Roberts, J. J. M. *The Bible and the Ancient Near East.* Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 2002. Pp. 434. $42.40.

This volume brings together twenty-seven essays by a major scholar who has written few books but has written several highly influential articles. Few biblical scholars in this generation have exhibited such mastery of ancient Near Eastern sources, or done so much to illuminate the Hebrew Bible in its historical context.

The essays are divided into five sections. The first, "Fundamental Issues," includes surveys of scholarship on the Bible and the Ancient Near East and of the literary genres common to them. It also includes classic essays on "Myth versus History" and "Divine Freedom and Cultic Manipulation" in which Roberts protests effectively against the simplistic tendency to use the Ancient Near East only as a foil for biblical ideas. The second section, "Themes and Motifs" contains nine essays that range over Job and several prophetic texts. The most important item here, and arguably in the whole volume, is a previously unpublished transliteration and translation of the Mari prophetic texts—the first full publication of that corpus in English. This chapter, which runs for fully ninety-six pages, by itself is worth the price of the volume and more. Also important here is an essay on Isaiah 9, demonstrating the influence of Egyptian models on Judahite understanding of kingship. The third section, "New Readings of Old Texts," contains six studies of specific texts, although some of them have wide-ranging implications. (So especially chapter 19, "Blindfolding the Prophet: Political Resistance to First Isaiah's Oracles in the light of Ancient Near Eastern Attitudes towards Oracles," and chapter 20, "Yahweh's Foundation in Zion (Isaiah 28:16)." Part 4 has five essays on "Kingship and Messiah." The concluding section has two essays dealing with biblical theology. There is a brief preface by Roberts' long-time colleague, Patrick Miller, which highlights some of the characteristic features of his *oeuvre*. These features include philological rigor, an insistence that ancient Near Eastern sources be treated seriously and not caricatured, and an abiding interest in the Zion theology. The highly technical scholarship is often leavened with Texan candor, as when Brevard Childs' proposal on the unity of the book of Isaiah is declared to be "sheer nonsense."

The most controversial feature of Roberts' work is undoubtedly his insistence on the early date of the Zion theology and the importance he attaches to the reigns of David and Solomon. For Roberts, "the imperial conquests of David played an essential role in the development of the theological claim that Yahweh's rule was universal." The historicity of David's imperial conquests has been widely disputed in recent years. Roberts does not address that issue directly in these essays, although one can easily imagine what he might say about the so-called "minimalists." It does not seem to me, however, that his understanding of the Zion theology requires a defence of the Davidic empire. It makes sense to say that the establishment of the Yahwistic cult center in Jerusalem was the natural occasion for a theology of divine election. But dreams of imperial grandeur, or of the universal rule of Yahweh, were not necessarily grounded in actual historical experience.

Roberts seldom discusses historical issues in the narrow sense, but his whole approach is shaped by the appreciation of historical context. His most theoretical reflections are offered in chapter twenty-six, which is primarily a critique of the Yale theologian George Lindbeck. Even here, the theory is largely deconstructive, in the manner of James Barr. He takes Lindbeck and other critics of historical criticism to task for failing to take seriously the historical development of both the canon and Christian biblical interpretation. His main defense of historical criticism, however, is his practice of it. Any method that enriches our understanding of the biblical texts as well as these essays do is not to be set aside lightly.

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Yale University

Seow, Choon-Leong. *Daniel.* Westminster Bible Companion. Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2003. Pp. 198. $22.95.

This is one of the best in its series, and the best "popular" treatment of Daniel since David Russell's works. The introduction covers the basic ground regarding the origin and nature of the book, and specifically the reasons for dating it in the 160s B.C. Here, and throughout, the commentary works hard to mediate current scholarship on Daniel in a digestible way. The format of the series does not encourage references or allow footnotes, but it is clear that Seow, Professor of Old Testament at Princeton, has read widely in the secondary literature, and is thus in a position to mediate its perspectives in a digestible form to the ordinary reader.

The commentary helps the reader see how the stories about Daniel and his friends read as stories and offers ways to avoid treating them as merely the ancient equivalent of *Veggie Tales.* Indeed, it emphasizes that the book is about God and the way God's sovereignty is at work, in the lives of Daniel and his friends and in different ways in the centuries covered by the visions. The book is not primarily concerned to set human examples before us but to set God before us. At the same time, in describing a human-like figure coming with the clouds of heaven, the vision in Daniel 7 first demythologizes the ideas that lie in its background, ideas about a heavenly being appearing to deliver people in distress, and then democratizes them. The figure stands for the people of God. With further paradox, at the same time the chapter also re-mythologizes them in identifying them with the celestial host.

While the commentary notes the classic historical problems in the book (e.g., the figures of Belshazzar and Darius the Mede), much of the time it

avoids a preoccupation with historical questions and focuses on the way the actual stories work. The treatment of chapter one, for instance, notes how three occurrences of the same Hebrew verb for "give" help to make a key theological affirmation, in a way that translations obscure. Wisely, in my view, Seow declines to identify the four "empires" in chapter two and rather sees them as the four regimes that the stories refer to. The four empires in chapter seven are thus different from the four regimes in chapter two; they do refer to Babylon, Media, Persia, and Greece. (Seow notes that "some" interpreters assume the fourth empire is Rome. I would have thought that, alas, most readers of Daniel who have an opinion on the matter still assume that the fourth empire is Rome, and always will!). Sometimes a neat phrase helps the reader make links between our own world and the strangeness of the visions—e.g., Seow's comments on 11:27: "the diplomatic niceties at the Memphis summit are recognized as the farce they were."

If I have a criticism, it is that the commentary may underestimate the distance Christian readers have to travel in order to come to terms with the idea that the stories in Daniel are legends, that its visions issued from later figures, and that its actual prophecies cannot be related to historical events. I agree with Seow that one can accept such views and still see the book as a proper part of scripture that speaks of God and of God's ways to us. But I find that people need a huge amount of help in order to see how they can maintain that (and I am not sure how often I succeed in providing that help). Nor do I find this is just true of people from a fundamentalist background.

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George Gallup, Jr. and D. Michael Lindsay. *The Gallup Guide: Reality Check for 21st Century Churches.* Loveland, Colorado: Group Publishing, 2002. Pp. 175. $16.99.

Most everyone knows that in recent years the famed Gallup Organization of Princeton, New Jersey, arguably the granddaddy of all public opinion polling groups, has been keenly interested in religion and the churches. Now George Gallup himself, whose personal interest in religion has been behind his organization's work, has co-authored this little "how to" book for congregations on how to conduct their own in-house surveys to get various kinds of information on what their people believe, want, feel, expect, and hope for. Books on survey research are readily available; Amazon.com alone lists over 1,600 of them, and the top dozen or so include titles like Pamela Alreck's *The Survey Research Handbook*, Louis Rea's *Designing and Conducting Survey Re-*

search, Priscilla Salant's *How To Conduct Your Own Survey*, Floyd J. Fowler, Jr.'s *Survey Research Methods*, and in the more academic domain Sage Publications' flagship *The Survey Kit*, 2nd edition, a 10 volume series edited by Arlene Fink. Few, however, are aimed specifically at congregations and religious interests, and so *The Gallup Guide* fits justifiably into a neglected niche.

The book itself is laid out informally and readably, clearly intended for a lay readership. It touches the major concrete bases of survey construction with chapters on "Collecting Data," "Drafting the Questionnaire," "Sample This!", "Analyzing the Data," and "Reporting the Results and Taking Action." Both its tone and its layout are "homey" and colloquial; no one will be frightened into thinking that with something so innocent as this they might actually be doing something as ponderous and accountable as *research*.

Therein lies both the usefulness and equally the danger of the book. Any researcher knows that surveys can be tricky things, difficult to design and interpret well, and susceptible to misleading conclusions and alarmingly seductive implications. At the same time they look easy to do, and far more people are tempted to use them than have the background, patience, or technical skill to do so responsibly. Within qualitative research, surveys are usually way down on the list of preferred methods, after things like personal interviews, case-studies, focus groups, and participant observation of several kinds. Still, the first reaction of many an organization or agency facing a question it needs to know about is "Let's conduct a survey!" More often than not the results are likely to be useless at best, disastrously misrepresentative at worst. A book like *The Gallup Guide* is useful at least to the extent that it puts into the hands of these unqualified enthusiasts some basic information that may keep them off the most dangerous shoals of survey research and give them a better shot than they otherwise would have had at coming up with some actually useful data.

Would other books such as I mentioned before be better? Unquestionably yes. Are they likely to be used by people in churches? Doubtful. Because Gallup is a household word and because he is identified with the good guys religiously (even if he tends to be on the theological right wing), there is at least a chance *this* guide may actually get used, and that will be a gain over the completely unguided alternative.

But there is danger here too, and it really needs to be named. We have become a culture of polls and surveys, and if the sound-bite has replaced actual discourse, the pithy survey result is in danger of doing the same to real knowledge. The plain fact is that the information even the best surveys generate is so devoid of nuance and context it always runs the risk of being

more hazardous than useful. And we would be naive to expect a survey done after a local pastor or congregational committee has consulted this book to be one of the best. News media routinely use telephone surveys of 500 or so respondents. The results are clear, glossy, and often persuasive. What they do not tell you is that nineteen out of twenty people they call to begin with hang up and refuse to take the survey, leaving their supposedly "representative" sample a highly distorted and self-selected bunch. (Imagine the hazard of generalizing the results of only those people who are willing, or even *eager*, to spend time on the phone at dinnertime with surveyors and telemarketers!)

Who can gainsay the importance of finding out systematically and responsibly what people actually think, in the church as well as anywhere else? But research by any other name is still research, and it makes professional, ethical, and intellectual demands on any who would undertake it, no matter how naive (or pure, for that matter) their motives and intentions. Part of the danger of this book is that it makes surveys look too easy, too handy, and too benign. Surveys will always be tempting, and like the poor they will likely always be with us. To the extent that *The Gallup Guide* contributes to making them more responsible (and perhaps even slightly less overused, once people find out what really needs to be involved), then it is a welcome, if casual, addition to the already large professional literature. Just let us not forget the danger, or the fundamentally more reliable, if messier and more time-consuming, alternative of talking honestly and personally to people at length and in detail to find out what they really want to tell us.

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Brandt, James M. *All Things New: Reform of Church and Society in Schleiermacher's Christian Ethics.* Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2001. Pp. 160. $29.95.

Even St. Thomas, the "angelic doctor," who later became the benchmark of orthodoxy for the Roman Catholic hierarchy in the 19th century, spent almost a century in that historical purgatory reserved for suspected heretics. The novelty of his methods, and the immense creative genius that his *Summa* represented were threatening to many of the established theologians of his day—including the preeminent theological faculty in Paris. It should be no surprise, then, that one of the leading giants in the history of Protestant theology has taken his turn in purgatory.

Before his death in 1834, criticisms of Schleiermacher's systematic theology were everywhere. And by the turn of the 20th century, the leading

theologians of the years between the two world wars all thought that somehow Schleiermacher was responsible for the theological sins of their day. Karl Barth traced the Kaiser's war policy back to the feet of his liberal theology professors all of whom, to greater or lesser degree, were indebted to Schleiermacher. And while the litany of criticisms of Schleiermacher's dogmatic theology (subjectivism, emotionalism, anthropocentrism, mysticism) is familiar enough, the criticisms of his theological ethics are no less pointed. Schleiermacher was seen as a Prussian nationalist and public intellectual first and as a Christian only as a poor second. H. Richard Niebuhr in his famous book, *Christ and Culture*, identified Schleiermacher's ethics as of the Christ "accommodating culture" type—an ethics with no prophetic critique of the dominant culture. German nationalism—especially in its extreme expression in the Third Reich—it has been claimed, was only the natural unfolding of the Schleiermacherian inheritance of German theology. In the last thirty years, however, Schleiermacher's place in the history of Protestant theology has been undergoing a reevaluation, and it may be that his stint in purgatory is almost up. If that occurs, it will be in no small measure as a result of works like Professor Brandt's.

In seven carefully argued chapters, Brandt offers an overview of the major themes in Schleiermacher's Christian ethics (*Sittenlehre*), and shows the close coherence between the ideas and theories articulated in it and the life and work of its author. He argues convincingly that Schleiermacher's ethics is better understood as of the "Christ transforming culture" type, and he concludes by showing the many ways in which it can be seen to stand within the distinctive Reformed tradition in ethics. The book covers an amazing amount of territory with deftness and facility. The *Sittenlehre* is located in relation to the other major parts of Schleiermacher's divisions of the theological curriculum. In addition, Brandt offers an entire chapter interpreting the relationship between philosophical ethics and Christian ethics in Schleiermacher's thought. He shows why Schleiermacher preferred an ethics of the highest good over an ethics of duty or virtue (because the latter two do not take into account the social environment of moral activity). And he gives at least some clues as to the richness of Schleiermacher's treatment of subjects ranging from child-rearing, entertainment, politics, sports, the criminal justice system, just war theory, church discipline, catechesis, and the need for reformation in the church. Schleiermacher was an early critic of the use of corporal punishment in child-rearing. He was also absolutely opposed to the death penalty and believed that all Christians had an obligation to work for its end. Particularly interesting to those who lay the blame for inordinate nationalism at Schleiermacher's door will be his actual argument that na-

tionalism is, in Augustine's words, a "magnificent vice"—a case of raising a penultimate good wrongly to the status of highest good. Also interesting is Brandt's account of how in his own political life Schleiermacher was consistently a critic of the Prussian government, and an opponent to the neo-conservative "Throne and Altar" program. His views on church and state stand firmly in the Calvinist tradition.

Because Brandt chose to put the Christian ethics in the broadest possible interpretative context of Schleiermacher's life and work, at times the treatment of individual subjects does not go as deep as one would wish. Moreover, there is relatively little here that will be new to those who are familiar with the work of German scholars like Hans-Joachim Birkner. Still, this book makes a major contribution to the English literature on Schleiermacher. It is an accurate and highly readable account of a side of Schleiermacher that is virtually unknown to many English-speaking readers, except perhaps through H. Richard Niebuhr's misreading of him. This book is a must for all theological libraries, and it belongs on the shelves of many pastors as well. Highly recommended.

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Cosgrove, Charles H. *Appealing to Scripture in Moral Debate: Five Hermeneutical Rules.* Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002. Pp. 240. $22.00.

Charles Cosgrove (Professor of New Testament Studies and Christian Ethics at Northern Baptist Theological Seminary) has written a compelling and sophisticated volume on the hermeneutical issues involved in the use of scripture in moral reflection and debate. While a number of other books have paid attention to how scripture has been used, or seek to apply scripture to particular moral problems, Cosgrove is interested in teasing out often unspoken hermeneutical assumptions in authoritative appeals to (or dismissals of) the Bible in moral argumentation.

Cosgrove identifies (as the subtitle states) five hermeneutical rules that articulate certain norms for legitimate use of scripture in moral debate. In summary form, the five rules are as follows: 1) The Rule of Purpose. The purpose underlying a biblical moral rule has more weight than the rule itself; 2) The Rule of Analogy. When applying scripture to contemporary moral debate the use of analogical reasoning is both an appropriate and necessary method; 3) The Rule of Countercultural Witness. The countercultural tendencies expressed in scripture, especially those that voice the concerns of the powerless and marginalized,

have greater weight than do the tendencies in scripture that express the dominant culture of their time; 4) The Rule of the Nonscientific Scope of Scripture. Scripture cannot be used validly to address matters of scientific or empirical knowledge; 5) The Rule of Moral-Theological Adjudication. When there are conflicting plausible interpretations of scripture, moral and theological considerations should guide the hermeneutical choices made.

A separate chapter is devoted to each of the five rules, with helpful examples of how such rules impact the appropriation of scripture in moral debate. At the end of the chapter on the rule of purpose, Cosgrove addresses biblical rules against lending at interest, the rule of Romans 1 on homoerotic behavior, and the levitical purity rules. Rules and their justifications are highly contextual in character, so that separating the rules from their original justifying contexts limits the applicability of such rules to different (and much later) contexts. Under the rule of analogy, Cosgrove explores analogizing to the Exodus story within the context of liberation theology. He considers minority voices and feminist interpretation under the rule of countercultural witness. In the chapter on the rule of nonscientific scope Cosgrove treats the examples of dietary laws, social and sexual ethics, and the status of women in relation to mostly failed attempts of Christians to use scripture in conversation with empirical scientific study. Finally, the chapter on the rule of moral-theological adjudication addresses the rule of love (especially as articulated by Augustine), as well as various contemporary forms of the application of this rule (e.g., in liberation hermeneutics, the work of Paul Ricouer, Phyllis Trible, Daniel Patte, and Cosgrove himself).

Cosgrove is concerned to identify and explicate these rules (or principles/guidelines) of interpretation for several important reasons. First, identifying such rules has a long history within Christian tradition. Second, it is crucial to make explicit what is all too often an implicit set of presumptions when using and applying scripture to contemporary moral issues. Third, such hermeneutical rules promote consistency and fairness in how scripture is used; they help to articulate plausibility structures inherent in moral argumentation, and make it easier to subject such structures to testing for coherence and consistency. And fourth, from a practical perspective the use of rules enables "past experience and reflection to guide future deliberations and decisions." All of these are important reasons for deliberating with some care over the hermeneutical presuppositions that inform both individual Christians and Christian communities as they seek faithfully to use scripture in moral debate. In his conclusion Cosgrove considers the hermeneutical rules as rhetorical assumptions, compares the five rules, and provides an example of using the rules in combination (the case of appealing to scripture

in support of gender equality). An appendix surveys several other hermeneutical rules (e.g., relevance, canonical interpretation, and historical rules).

Although the book is not easy reading (Cosgrove appeals occasionally to the rhetoric of legal argumentation), it is a stimulating and rewarding discussion throughout. The book is very useful for all who are committed to using scripture in moral reflection and argumentation, i.e., anyone who preaches or is concerned about the life of faith and the church! It forces the reader to come clean about his or her presuppositions when using scripture in moral discourse, and more importantly still, provides helpful and well thought-through guidelines for making legitimate appeals to scripture in ongoing moral discussions. Highly recommended.

Jeffrey S. Siker
Loyola Marymount University

Alister E. McGrath. *A Brief History of Heaven.* Oxford: Blackwell, 2003. Pp. 203. $17.95.

A generation ago, heaven was a subject that was not only neglected, but even despised in many theological circles. Neither process theology nor liberation theology had much interest in traditional accounts of life beyond the grave and some of the more radical theologians of the era thought heaven could be dismissed as part of an outmoded view of reality. Indeed, heaven was even seen as an embarrassment, a graphic example of religion as wish fulfillment, as exposed by the likes of Freud and Feuerbach. McGrath's little book is a healthy reminder that the recent indifference to heaven is an aberration in Christian thought and experience. Until recently, heaven was not only central to Christian hope, but also a powerful and pervasive cultural resource as well. Some of the greatest writing and art in Western culture has been inspired by the Christian hope of heaven. McGrath's approach in this book brings this point vividly into focus.

Unlike some other recent histories of heaven, his is not chronological, but rather, thematic. Moreover, he informs us that his explorations in the field of Western literature were far more interesting than anything he found in systematic or other technical works of theology, and consequently his focus in this book is on literary works. This is not surprising in light of McGrath's view that the concept of heaven "demands an imaginative mode of encounter." While human beings possess a distinctive ability to imagine as well as to think, most theologians have specialized in the latter rather than the former. But it is the imagery more than the theology of the New Testament that has made an impact on depictions of heaven in Western literature. Two biblical

images in particular have been predominant in this regard, namely, heaven as a city and heaven as a garden. McGrath traces the image of heaven as the New Jerusalem through Augustine, later Medieveal spirituality, and John Bunyan in his classic work *Pilgrim's Progress*. In his view, however, perhaps the finest account of the New Jerusalem in the English language is the fourteenth century poem *Pearl*, apparently written by the same unknown author of *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*. In a separate chapter, he traces how heaven has been variously pictured as paradise, as an enclosed garden and as the restoration of Eden. Along the way, he informs us of various Christian opinions on fascinating details such as the shape, appearance and age of redeemed bodies in heaven.

One of the most interesting chapters in the book is entitled "Opening the Gates of Heaven: Atonement and Paradise." Here McGrath explores different accounts of how Christ makes heaven accessible for us, ranging from depictions of him as a heroic warrior to more institutionalized views of the atonement that emphasize the Church as the gateway to heaven. Next, he identifies several intimations of heaven that we experience in the created order, both in the inner world of our longings and in the outer world of natural beauty that points to another world where our hearts may be satisfied. Another chapter that deals with very earthy longings discusses heaven as consolation, particularly in the face of grief and loss, an expression of the Christian hope that has been especially vulnerable to the critique of heaven as wish fulfillment. McGrath documents this dimension of the heavenly hope in sources as diverse as early Roman Christianity and African American Spirituals. The final chapter of the book describes different ways of thinking of heaven as the goal of the Christian life. This reminds us that the Christian life is a journey to our true home where we will see the face of the One who has walked with us the entire way and guided our steps. This book is clearly written and accessible to a broad audience. Fittingly, it is enhanced with eight illustrations. Pastors and teachers will find it not only a delightful way to refresh their memory on a matter of great cultural importance, but also to clarify what loving God is all about at the end of the day.

Jerry L. Walls
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Minear, Paul S. *The Bible and the Historian: Breaking the Silence About God in Biblical Studies*. Nashville: Abingdon, 2002. Pp. 280. $30.00.

What a treat it is to have this collection of essays freshly put together by the venerable (born in 1906!) and highly-esteemed biblical theologian Paul S.

Minear. Although the twenty-one essays were originally published over a period of nearly fifty years, the earliest from 1950 and the latest from 1993, they hold together remarkably well, thanks not only to the consistency of Minear's approach over the decades, but also in part to the fact that he often adds new paragraphs that help to bridge from one essay to the next. The unity of the essays is further aided by Minear's introduction to each of the four main parts of the book: 1) Divine Revelation and Historical Research; 2) The Churches' Memories of the Messiah; 3) The Messiah's Presence with the Churches; and 4) The Messiah's Gifts, the Churches' Gratitude. To read through the book is a satisfying experience and the disparate origin of the essays proves to be no distraction. J. Louis Martyn provides an appreciative foreword to the volume in which he rightly characterizes Minear as one who *listens* to the text and as "a paradigm of the biblical scholar who stands *under* the Word, following it where it leads." But how can one hear the voice of God in the Scriptures when the indispensable historical-critical method seems to disallow the very possibility? What happens when the method is not suited to the material being studied? This is the problematic that runs through these essays like a leitmotif. Minear confesses that "for more than sixty-five years . . . I have been baffled and challenged by the contrasts between the perspective of modern historians and those of the biblical authors."

In these essays the historical method and the faithful hearing of God's Word remain in a dialectical tension. Ignoring the widely-alleged demise of biblical theology, Minear provides us with what could well be described as the fruit of constructive biblical theology. These brilliant, insightful, and eloquent essays manifest a biblical theology that is alive and well, productive of rich, edifying theological insight that serves the faith of the church. Minear always deals with the issues in an honest, open, and convincing manner. There are no gimmicks, no special pleading, no dodging of the difficult questions—only the illuminating exposition of biblical texts.

At the same time, to be sure, these essays can occasionally seem a little out of touch with the latest trends. They plunk the reader down in the thick of modernity, without so much as a hint of the dawning of post-modernity. While it would have been interesting to get Minear's take on post-modernism, especially given the main concern of these essays, some readers will, with me, express a sigh of relief at seeing unhindered reference to such things as "objective methods," "ontology," "truth," and even "ultimate truth." In the present intellectual climate, it is refreshing to read an author who believes in the possibility of knowing truth, in contrast to mere subjective opinion.

Minear's approach, however, is never flatly modernist. He knows well the involvement of the interpreter in all interpretation; he is neither dogmatic

nor simplistic, but rather exhibits the humility that is appropriate to all interpretation. He lauds exegetes who listen for the voice of God, who can inject "a tone of freedom and vitality into methods that have become fixed and sterile." Such scholars "may criticize prevailing objectives and assumptions," he continues, "not from the desire to champion outworn shibboleths of fundamentalist bibliolatry, nor from the fear of subjecting the Bible to rigorous examination, but from the experienced realization that they are dealing with truths that enter human history on a level too deep to be measured by rationalistic historicism, objective empiricism, or the tortuous paths of antiquarianism." In a remarkable way, these words, originally published in 1950, anticipate some of the recent emphases of post-modern study of the Bible.

Those who want to rediscover how rich and edifying biblical theology can be, and who want an example of thoughtful listening to the word of God, will find these essays invaluable reading.

Donald A. Hagner
Fuller Theological Seminary

Rainey, Virginia F. *Stewards of Our Heritage: A History of the Presbyterian Historical Society.* Louisville, Geneva Press. 2002. Pp. 308. $34.95.

I believe it was Emerson who said an institution is the lengthened shadow of an individual. In this lucidly written history of the Presbyterian Historical Society, that adage is proved several times over. The book covers the origins of the two historical archives—the Presbyterian Historical Society in Philadelphia for the "northern" Presbyterian Church and the Historical Foundation of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S. in Montreat in the "southern" Presbyterian Church. The author holds a Ph.D. in history from the University of North Carolina in Chapel Hill and lives in Tigard, Oregon. Her mastery of the archives and her clear narrative, plus a very attractive design by Geneva Press, make this a worthy symbol of the 150th anniversary of the preservation efforts by Presbyterians.

The story reveals the courageous leadership of "stewards," who sought to maintain not only records of their sponsoring denominations but also an ecumenical search for relevant material. It culminates in the union of the two societies in two locations—Philadelphia and Montreat—after the 1983 reunion of the United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. and the Presbyterian Church in the U.S. These leaders were underpaid and their historical institutions were underfunded nearly all of their history. Their efforts were usually greeted with apathy by their sponsoring denominations. Perseverance

by the archivists and key board members eventually produced what is now widely regarded as the finest church archives in the country. A history of archives would, at first glance, be an instant cure for insomnia, but in Rainey's hands, the tale is told with grace and accuracy. What is striking in the story of the Historical Foundation of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S. is the pioneering path paved by women in that denomination—both as volunteers and as financial sources. The "northern" church women played a much less significant role.

Much of this story was new to me, at least until the 1970s to the present, and it portrays endeavors that were not and still not appreciated by Presbyterians. The foresighted acquisitions policies were modified along the way to make the denominations increasingly dependent upon the archives for preserving significant records and more valuable to researchers. The staff gradually became much more professional and showed more expertise in what was collected, organized, and made available—both to a broader range of historians and scholars and to the sponsoring denominations. There is one possible omission in the book. Presbyterian minister William B. Sprague was the foremost collector of books and manuscripts in the 19th century, yet he is mentioned only once in the book. Surely the archivists and leaders of the Presbyterian Historical Society had more contact with him than is covered in this volume. Institutional histories rarely have a large readership, and this book will probably be no exception. Yet as a record of records, it stands as signal achievement by its author and by the Presbyterian Historical Society.

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Wenham, David. *Paul and Jesus: The True Story.* Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002. Pp. 195. $20.00.

The subtitle of this book should not be brushed off as hype from a marketing department, for the author himself employs the phrase as the title of his concluding chapter. Despite the questions raised by "some scholars," his own judgment is that Acts tells a true story of Paul, that Paul's letters are true to the teachings and ministry of Jesus, and that "the New Testament story of Jesus is based on good history." This last point is by no means incidental to the aim of this book. For Wenham—a lecturer at Wycliffe Hall, Oxford, who also serves an Anglican parish—"there is probably no more important question [for Christian faith] than whether the gospel stories of Jesus are true."

In part one, Wenham presents the story of Paul's early years, including his

conversion and visits to Antioch and Jerusalem. His sources are principally Acts and Galatians, which he reads as complementary and consistent. The longest and most critical section of the book is part two, "Paul's Missionary Journeys and Letters." Here Wenham deals, in sequence, with the letters he considers to be the earliest: Galatians, 1 Thessalonians, 2 Thessalonians, and 1 Corinthians. In each case, an initial chapter locates the letter historically and chronologically by drawing on Acts, a second exposits the letter itself, and a third assesses what that letter discloses about Paul's knowledge and use of Jesus' teachings and the stories about Jesus. In part three, Wenham first offers summary observations about the remainder of the Paul narrative in Acts and the remaining Pauline letters—including Colossians, Ephesians, and the Pastorals (the authorship of which he acknowledges to be disputed). The final chapter highlights the author's judgment that Acts and the Gospels are historically reliable, and that Paul attached great importance to the historical Jesus and his teachings.

Although Wenham has written for non-specialists—the style is easygoing, sometimes breezy, there are no footnotes and no bibliography as such—he generally calls attention to points on which "some scholars" hold a different view. He also generally mentions the principal evidence on which he bases his conclusions. Still, perhaps partly because of the need for brevity and simplicity, contrary and ambiguous evidence tends to be slighted. Readers who are aware of the complexity of the issues will probably not be satisfied with this, and may wish to consult the author's earlier, more detailed and technical books, especially, *Paul: Follower of Jesus or Founder of Christianity? A New Look at the Question of Paul and Jesus.*

Even readers who are less aware of the complexity of the issues may be struck by the frequency with which Wenham's argument (especially for Paul's reliance on Jesus) proceeds with helping expressions like "a plausible inference," "at least possible," "makes sense," "may well reflect," "may suggest," and "entirely likely." The way this works is particularly apparent in two paragraphs on pp. 182–183. The first opens with Wenham suggesting, "[r]ather more speculatively," that the usual scholarly distinction between "gospel" as Paul spoke of it and as a term for the written gospels may be misleading. Continuing, he avers, in turn, that "it is *at least possible* that Paul's churches learned the 'good news' of Jesus in a form not dissimilar to our written gospels," that "it *seems likely* that Paul's evangelistic preaching will have included *substantial explanation* of Jesus' life and teaching," and that "[i]t also *seems quite possible* that Paul's evangelistic missions will have included a *systematic explanation* of the story of Jesus—from his birth to his resurrection" (in all cases, my emphasis). Then the next paragraph opens with Wenham

invoking his earlier conclusion that the author of Luke–Acts was a member of Paul's "missionary team," and closes with the striking proposal that "[i]t is *not unreasonable to deduce* that Luke's gospel gives us a good idea of what Paul's churches would have been taught about Jesus" (my emphasis).

At the outset and throughout, Wenham likens the task of historical reconstruction to detective work, because both involve the analysis and synthesis of evidence in order to posit a reasonably plausible scenario. But while this book, like his earlier ones, shows that Wenham is a skilled detective, it may well leave many readers thinking that he has been too eager to make a particular case, and too confident that "the true story" has emerged from his labors.

Victor Paul Furnish
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Baker, Mark D. *Religious No More: Building Communities of Grace and Freedom.* Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 1999. Pp. 187. $15.00.

Imagine E. P. Sanders prosecuting an ethnographic survey of fundamentalist converts in a Honduran shanty town having just completed (and published) *Paul and Palestinian Judaism: A Comparison of Patterns of Religion* while serving (for three previous years) as youth pastor on staff of a large evangelical (and dispensationalist) church in Southern California. Admittedly, this is something of a stretch, a vocational and conceptual mind-binder. Still, the images evoked by this exercise would help readers of this book understand how seemingly disparate disciplines as social criticism, church history, cross-cultural church planting, comparative anthropology and New Testament studies (Galatians), come together in this popularized edition of a Duke dissertation by a Mennonite evangelical who labors in Central America as a community organizer and church planter.

Mark Baker's *Religious No More: Building Communities of Grace and Freedom* is a revision of his dissertation. The mark of mentors—Geoffrey Wainwright, Joel Green, Richard Hays, Frederick Herzog—are acknowledged and clearly influential. But Baker's insights are his own, as is his unique reading of what several New Testament scholars term "The Sanders Revolution" through the eyes of economically displaced Hondurans proselytized by North American fundamentalists into highly strictured congregations.

The book has two main divisions, an introduction, conclusion and significant end notes. The introduction narrates Baker's Honduran sojourn and the sorts of questions asked by rural peasants which initiate his Galatians inquiry: "During a workshop I was giving in a rural town a man raised his hand and

said, 'I have always imagined God as sitting up in heaven writing down all of my sins so that he could punish me.' " Chapters one through four draw heavily on the author's previously published ethnographic study, advancing Baker's distinction between "holistic Christianity" and "religion" which "acts as a barrier to authentic community" and "produces individualistic-spiritualized Christianity." The hinge, chapter five, deconstructs the "traditional interpretation of Galatians" which fails to reveal the nuances of St. Paul's attack upon "the power and tenacity of religion." The second section, chapters six through nine, accepts Sanders' notion that "Jewish teaching was not legalistic." Indeed, first century forms of Judaism "did not teach that Jews earned a place within the covenant community by these practices. Rather the practices identified them as what they were by God's action—the people of God."

But Baker differs from the new reading of Judaism vis-à-vis legalism in his insistence that Galatians is not a broad attack upon the theological foundations of Judaism but rather an attack upon "religion" as experienced in Antioch, Galatia and Tegucigalpa, Honduras. The new reading rightly informs us as to the "official teaching" of first century Judaism; Baker, following Paul, "points to what is lived out." For those under the sway of religion "a relationship with Jesus Christ was not enough." Hence, not individual salvation but a community threatened by disunity is, for Baker, the ecclesial occasion for the Galatian missive. "The central question in Galatians is, what is the basis of the united fellowship of Jews and Gentiles—an encounter with Jesus Christ or rather compliance with religious standards?" Central to Baker's hermeneutic is his close reading of the problem of "separate tables" at Antioch as parallel and analogous to "the potential threat to unity in Galatia." Thus Baker concludes that in Galatians Paul "does not focus on what humans must do to sit at the table, whether it be human works or human believing, but on what God has done to bring Jews and Gentiles together at one table." For Baker "Paul's primary concern in Galatians [is] to prevent division caused by religion." The closing chapters demonstrate how far this corrected reading engenders "freedom for community" through "freedom from religion." Baker concludes that "religious communit[ies] can be programmed" but genuine communities born of the Spirit are "more complex, messier and less successful in terms of numbers and appearances." Still, "freedom from religion is freedom for an increased level of Christian commitment; it is freedom for community."

Academicians will be unsettled by Baker's frank exposure of how "religion" creates alienation within the academy, blocking "peace with God" and the building of "authentic community." While New Testament scholars probably will not read anything new they may be interested in how Baker goes

about "building communities of grace and freedom" in a developing nation by re-reading Galatians with new eyes. Vocationally pastors, ministers and chaplains are more likely to encounter intransigent "religion" and parishioners' images of "a stern old man with a long, gray beard and a big stick ready to hit me if I do something wrong."

The book is not, however, without its problems. Not the least of its deficiencies is that it reads much like a revised dissertation. It is not finely edited and should have been extensively formatted anew for the author's intended audience. A key pedagogical metaphor announced early seems clumsy and is not consistently developed to the end of the work. At times an element of "witness" detracts rather than illuminates. Still, for those who press on—while paying close attention to the range of scholarly debate documented in the end notes—this is a little gem.

William L. Mangrum
Princeton Theological Seminary

Bockmuehl, Marcus. *Jewish Law in Gentile Churches: Halakhah and the Beginnings of Christian Public Ethics.* Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 2000. Pp. 312. $29.99.

Over the past thirty years, a distinctive stream of "Jesus studies" has developed. With research from outstanding figures such as J. P. Meier, James H. Charlesworth and N. T. Wright, a basic theme of this scholarship is that a more accurate understanding of Jesus and of Christianity lies in understanding the Jewish context out of which he and his religion originates. Jesus has to be understood in large part as a first-century Jew, an inheritor of a long Jewish national and religious tradition, and that Christianity must be clearly understood, as one contemporary Messianic Jewish commentator put it, as a form of "transcultural Judaism."

In his book, *Jewish Law in Gentile Churches*, Marcus Bockmuehl advances this growing consensus into the realm of Christian ethics. In this admittedly provisional and "preliminary" study, Bockmuehl addresses the question of the relationship between Old Testament Torah and New Testament morality, and how Torah and rabbinic ethical discourse shaped and provided normative criteria for the creation and articulation of a distinctively Christian public ethic.

Bockmuehl's book is a wonderful reminder of what scholarship is all about, replete with abundant footnotes that testify to a wide range of reading, along with frequent reference to Hebrew, Greek, and Latin words and phrases. An important term throughout the text is *halakhah*, which refers to rabbinic

extrapolation and explication of the statutory implications of Torah. *Halakhah* literally means "way of walking," and is complemented by *haggadah*, the narrative explication of the story of Scripture, particularly associated with the narrative of the Exodus. The basic premise of the book is that early Christian ethics was a form of halakhah, ultimately authorized by Jesus himself and reflecting the Gospel narrative of his life and character, and addressed primarily to the growing Gentile presence within the early church. How Gentiles were to follow the Jewish Messiah was a major question facing the early Christian movement.

The answer to this question, according to Bockmuehl, lies in large part in Old Testament statutes regarding non-Israelite aliens within the land of Israel, and the rabbinically developed notion of the "Noachide Commandments," those pre-Sinaitic commands delivered to Noah, and directed towards all, including his non-Semitic descendents. Together, these form a kind of universal moral code, applicable and indeed accessible to the Gentile world, and forming a Jewish counterpart to the idea of "natural law." Thus, for example, Bockmuehl finds the Noachide prohibitions against idolatry, fornication, and the consumption of blood, as the Old Testament source for the decisions of the apostolic counsel regarding Gentile converts described in Acts 15.

Moving from the predominantly Jewish thought world of the early Church toward the predominantly Gentile thought world of the second and third-century Church, Bockmuehl concludes with the beginnings of Christian engagement with Greco-Roman society, taking as a main text case, material attributed to second-century apologist Aristides of Athens and the *Epistle to Diognetus*. Here, Bockmuehl identifies what will be staple features of Christian description and defense of Christian doctrine and morality, including appeals to common sense and widely held mores, all of which will contribute to later developments of natural law theory.

Other points of particular interest lie in Bockmuehl's challenge to the familiar Protestant separation of law from grace, a separation he finds warranted only in a selective and historically ill-informed reading of the New Testament. This theme is pursued with a surprising exegesis of the "let the dead bury their dead" saying of Jesus, one that Bockmuehl argues needs to be read in light of the Jewish ascetic tradition of the Nazirite vow. Bockmuehl also provides interesting and very helpful insights into the familiar Christian struggle between an ethic of withdrawal and one of positive public engagement with society. Bockmuehl understands this as a dialectic that emerges from the material of the Gospel message itself, and that both tendencies witness to a truth that must be mutually acknowledged within Christian thought.

The tentative nature of some of the book's theses is more than comple-

mented by the extensive reading behind the text of Bockmuehl's project. What is certainly undeniable is the need for Christians to more thoroughly ground their understanding of Christian ethics in the Jewish context from which their faith emerges.

James McCullough
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Cox, Richard H. *The Sacrament of Psychology: Psychology and Religion in the Postmodern American Church.* Sanford, FL: InSync Press, 2002. Pp. 319. $19.95.

By the author's own admission, this book represents the culmination of more than fifty years of reflection on the relation of psychology to religion gained during his professional service, including doctoral degrees in psychology, medicine and theology. Richard Cox is President Emeritus/Professor of the Forest Institute, an accredited graduate school of professional psychology, a charter member of the American Association of Pastoral Counselors (retired) and an ordained Presbyterian minister.

Readers will note immediately that Cox writes with an op-ed style; he editorializes with unabashed directness and opines without regard for political correctness! From the very first page one encounters a frontal attack on the church's preoccupation with trendy psychology and psychology's insurgence into the sacred canopy of human spirituality. Hence the title: The Sacrament of Psychology. "By making a sacrament out of psychology, it is easy to trust both religion and psychology for determining our needs." This is a trust that Cox feels is both dubious and dangerous.

Cox has very little good to say about the modern church, though he is a devoted adherent and faithful member. Nor does he appreciate the pretensions and intentions of modern and postmodern psychology which he accuses of trivializing transcendence and relativizing core human values for the sake of comforting rather than convicting.

The church has largely abandoned its true nature and purpose, argues Cox. Chapter One, "The Church has Gone Out of the Religion Business," is followed by an analysis of "Why America's Churches are Failing" (Chapter Two). Cox argues that human beings are essentially spiritual beings seeking transcendent value and meaning which only religion can provide. While he admits that spirituality and religion are not synonymous, the practice of religion and a deep sense of personal empowerment are intertwined. The modern church, he asserts, has largely adapted secular strategies, psychological language, and humanistic concepts to advance its own institutional goals at the expense of authentic spirituality. In Chapter Three, "Created in a New Image," and Chap-

ter Four, "Here and Now—There and Then," Cox uses his laser-like scalpel to expose the fallacy of the "new image," created by the merger of hedonistic religion with humanistic psychology. In Chapter Five, "The New Snake and the New Garden," Cox unleashes his most scathing critique of psychology by asserting that "Humanistic psychology and the doctrine of original sin may be related." Earlier in the book he has warned us that this was coming when he wrote, "Humanistic psychology used humanism as a base for the most selfish, self-centered, hedonistic, and even narcissistic approach to human beings that ever was invented, and the church at times went just as far in the other direction into total denial of one's self." Cox argues that humanistic psychology and hedonistic religion combine to tempt modern persons with what he calls "The 'Being Real' Neurosis" (Chapter Six).

In Chapter Seven, "What We Really Want and Need," Cox probes deeper into the core of what he calls the human reach for transcendence, which he describes as finding the purpose of life and the meaning of death. Psychology tends to exploit human wants disguised as needs, while religion seeks to ground the human spirit in ultimate meaning which helps shape our faith to live better lives. In the final chapter, Cox asserts, "There are Answers and it Can Be Fixed." The first thing that the church must do is to root out the noxious weeds of psychology from its message and method—"Psycho-Babble Leads to Psycho-Dabble." Those who are trained to be pastors should not attempt to supplement their pastoral care with pretensions of being therapists. Nor should therapists attempt to do more than help persons manage their own behavior. Religion and psychology are not archenemies, he insists. Both have their respective domains of theory and practice and work best together as partners. If this can be done, it is a "win-win" situation for both religion and psychology. In a final tantalizing few paragraphs Cox says "Get ready for the next great discovery." This discovery is the realm and life of the Spirit. Here he offers a tentative differentiation between religion and spirituality. Religion tends to end in rituals and practices of behavior while authentic spirituality is a demonstration of the Spirit which is synonymous with God and which constitutes the spirit of the human soul.

In the end, the underlying thesis of this book is meant to be a constructive one: religion does well when it attends to questions regarding the core issues of human *being*; psychology plays an important role as a tool which assists in modifying human *behavior*. Cox calls for a creative partnership between the church and the social sciences, not a hybrid creature that is neither fish nor fowl. Religion must attend more to the transcendent values of hope based on who we are rather than what we do. Psychology must become more concerned with persons' health rather than their illness.

My own response is not so much that Cox has overstated his case (which he has) but that his basic assumption concerning human personhood suffers from a kind of platonic dualism. To say that religion is concerned only with being and not with behavior, while psychology ought to attend only to behavior and not to personal being falls short of a biblical anthropology. Surely the message of the gospel demands change of behavior as much as it offers transformation of personal being. Cox would say, I think, that this is correct, but if one's behavior is inconsistent with healthy spiritual life then psychology can be used as a corrective rather than a diagnostic tool. But human behavior is more than the shadow side of personal being (Plato), it is an act of will and demonstration of spirit. The human soul is not a spiritual reality in and of itself apart from embodied social and historical existence. Regarding psychology as merely a tool is a form of spiritual hegemony which is as much of a distortion of theological anthropology as it is of psychological humanity. This may reflect my own bias and is not meant to dissuade others from reading the book. What Cox has to say is often prophetic in the biblical sense even if problematic in a practical sense.

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Fuller Theological Seminary

Mouw, Richard J. *When the Kings Come Marching In: Isaiah and the New Jerusalem.* Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003, Pp. 142. $14.00.

The production, distribution and end-use of resources, the delicate intricacies of racial integration, the right ordering of the public sphere and the final vindication of the wronged are but a few themes taken up into the Christian vision of a "Heavenly City" as presented by philosopher and theologian Richard Mouw in his revised edition of *When the Kings Come Marching In.* First published in 1983, this twentieth anniversary edition is both revision and expansion (from 77 pages to 131) of material which began life as a series of lectures given before a Mennonite audience in the heart of Kansas. Mouw, a Reformed Christian thinker in the Kuyperian tradition, chose for his "Bible-study type lectures" the provocative theme of "the transformation of culture" as seen through the lens of Isaiah 60 and, in doing so gives us a hybrid of biblical meditation, theological reflection and pastoral directive.

That these lectures still evoke repentance, compassion, questions, and hope as well as inspire engagement with culture and text is a testimony to their gentle wisdom. But Mouw's work is not, and does not claim to be, a scholarly exegesis of Isaiah 60. Readers looking for the author's take on date,

composition, unity and the like will, perhaps, find his brief introductory comments inadequate to the complexities of what is arguably the most important of canonical prophetic literature. But brevity in this regard is justly compensated for in provision of one Kuyperian's read on the future life and its relation to this one. Here ministers, chaplains and pastors will immediately recognize the pressing uncertainty which takes innumerable forms: "Will I still be able to pet Rover? Will Irving still be 'my husband'? Will I be able to play golf or collect stamps? Will I eat pizza in heaven?"

Mouw, now in his second decade as President of Fuller Theological Seminary, is rightly concerned with our instinctive "hope for a prospering city, a permanent dwelling place for God's redeemed people." He also rightly discerns that "our eschatological concerns" are often limited to "how much of 'me' and 'mine' will be carried over into eternity" whereas "Isaiah seems much more interested in 'them' and 'theirs.'" As he sees it, the prophet's concerns are more "cosmic" than ours and thus lead to "surprising observations about the future destiny of many items of 'pagan culture.'" Thus Mouw seeks to build a picture of a complex, well-ordered and joyful city for our "eternal rest."

Though delimiting his status as a biblical scholar Mouw is never-the-less conversant with multiple levels of reading a text. So, while skillfully weaving a "sermonic" series Mouw examines "the more specific levels" of meaning in Isaiah 60 with an eye to recovering the "historical concreteness" of that text from which helpful guidelines for Christian engagement with culture in anticipation of "Christ transforming culture" may be developed. But Mouw only reluctantly identifies with the "transformationalist" perspective, and with specific qualifications. "Christ will transform culture at the end of time. The ships of Tarshish, presently vessels that serve rebellious designs, will someday carry the wealth of the nations in the presence of the Creator." The transformationalist correctly expects "the transformation of culture" and does so actively rather than passively. "We are not to be passive in our lives of anticipation. The biblical visions of the future are given to us so that we may have the kind of hope that issues forth into lives of active disobedience vis-a-vis contemporary culture." This side of glory, our waiting is not without duty. But Christian duty, Mouw warns, is not a "grandiose or triumphalistic" transformation "here and now." Rather, "We are called to await the coming transformation. But we should wait actively, not passively. We must seek the City which is to come."

For Mouw, however, this seeking is not given in a digitized schematic but is rather lived as an embodied and faithful witness to what Christians believe is promised and inevitable. "When we propose programs of racial justice, we are actively preparing for the day when the new song to the Lamb will fill the

earth. And in a very special and profound way, we prepare for life in the City when we work actively to bring about healing and obedience within the community of the people of God."

For persons working to focus congregational ministry and develop mission or purpose statements, this book will helpfully serve as a thoughtful guide. Used patiently over several weeks the seven chapters will evoke discussion and theological comprehension without scripting "here's how to" which is most properly discerned locally. Short, illustrative comments drawn from real conversations illuminate and inform the material and should enable lay people to engage the significant theological question of relating earthly life to eternal life in the Celestial City.

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Princeton Theological Seminary

Mowinckel, Sigmund. *The Spirit and the Word: Prophecy and Tradition in Ancient Israel.* Edited by K. C. Hanson. Minneapolis: Fortress, 2002. Pp. 174. $16.00.

This book includes three of Mowinckel's previously published works. Chapters 1–9 were originally published as *Prophecy and Tradition* (Dybwad, 1946). Chapter 10 was originally published in *Journal of Biblical Literature* 53 (1934). Chapter 11 originally appeared as chapter 1 in *Psalmenstudien*, Vol. 3 (Dybwad, 1922) and subsequently in English in *Prophecy in Israel*, edited by D. Petersen (Fortress, 1982). K. C. Hanson's foreword provides a brief biographical sketch of Mowinckel and also surveys his contributions to biblical studies, particularly the tradition history methodology he championed. Hanson has added footnotes that update the discussion, bibliographies of Mowinckel's works in English, and bibliographies on tradition history, prophecy, and evaluations of Mowinckel's contributions. He has also created indexes of authors and scripture passages.

Mowinckel's contributions to the study of the prophets, as Hanson notes in the foreword, include the following emphases: 1) the role of religious experience among the prophets; 2) the oral basis of prophetic speech and the continuation of oral tradition alongside written texts; 3) the importance of a prophet's disciples in collecting, preserving, and shaping prophetic sayings in both oral and written forms; and 4) the prophets' relation to Israelite cultic traditions. This combination of Mowinckel's writings introduces readers to each of these emphases.

Whether reading Mowinckel for the first time or re-reading him, one cannot help but be impressed by his lucid delineation of prophetic texts, his acute discernments concerning their origin, transmission, and collection, and

especially by his attentiveness to the ways in which these texts have been shaped by and for the practical and ever shifting religious interests of Judean readers, his preferred term for which is "congregation." In my own rereading, I have been particularly struck by Mowinckel's repeated emphasis on the spiritual dimension of prophetic activity. In the midst of measured discussions about the objectives of tradition history, the "verbal art" of speech forms, and the "imaginative picture" of what is "necessary" and "possible" that the prophets and their disciples seek to present to their audience, Mowinckel constantly returns to the idea that a "spiritual force," a "piety," informs every stage of the *tradition* of prophetic speech and its *history*. Two citations, which speak both to the nature of prophetic activity and to the promise of the tradition history method, illustrate the point: "The prophetic sayings existed as a living spiritual force in the religious struggle and activity [of the times] . . . "; "the traditio-historical approach . . . gives us a clearer understanding of the spiritual history of which the transmission is part . . . " Looking backward from the perspective of the contemporary concern with "spiritual formation," Mowinckel's assessment of the "spiritual property and arsenal" the prophets bequeathed to their disciples—written almost sixty years ago—reads like a sermon for today's theologs: "Analogously, it would correspond to, for instance, when one of the New Testament authors got his thoughts and formed them in connection with a word from the Old Testament, or when a later Christian author or preacher grasped what to him was a new and clearer truth with the strength of personal experience in association with a biblical quotation. . . . "

Given the current preoccupation in biblical studies with the final or canonical form of the text, Mowinckel's tradition history approach may seem like little more than a relic from the past, a methodology that flowered for a season, then faded into oblivion. Perhaps so. And yet, Mowinckel would remind us that the final form of the text is but the tip of the iceberg. Below the now often neglected surface of the text, the waters are teeming with oral and written traditions, swirled by shifting religious, psychological, social, and historical currents into a myriad of still generative forms. In summoning biblical interpreters to work both above and below the surface of the text, Mowinckel pleads his case with a question: "Should we have to demonstrate that this is a necessary task of research?" The question is as pertinent today, perhaps more so, as it was in 1946. For those who wish to pursue it, this collection of Mowinckel's writings will be an instructive place to begin.

Samuel E. Balentine
Baptist Theological Seminary at Richmond

Oglesby, E. Hammond. *Ethical Issues That Matter: A New Method of Moral Discourse in Church Life.* Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America, 2002. Pp. 207. $30.00.

E. Hammond Oglesby teaches Christian Ethics at Eden Theological Seminary. He is a powerful and passionate voice among African-American Christian social ethicists. In this, his most recent book, he wants to describe and recommend "a new method of moral discourse" to and for Christian churches.

The first chapter is an exploration of "the landscape of ethics" and a proposal that Christians retrieve the "spiritual sources" for thinking about questions of moral identity and practice. The second and third chapters describe the current situation in culture and the Church. The culture is fragmented; the Church too often follows fashion rather than faith; the competing ethical models—among which he treats secular humanism, utilitarianism, relativism, ethical egoism, and pluralism—are in need of correction and transformation by the model of Christ. Along the way in these opening chapters he had hinted at his proposal for a new method of moral discourse. He had said, for example, that "the image of God as the Master Potter is *a new method of moral discourse in church life*," and he had said that "Christian ethics, ultimately, has its origins in a spiritual source emanating from the heart of God as Master Potter." But in chapter four he begins to clarify his proposal by joining the biblical notion of covenant and the African concept of *Harambee*, or "solidarity."

Oglesby turns then to a series of moral issues. The last part of chapter four takes up abortion, and chapters five through eight consider the moral formation of young people, homosexuality, the Church's response to the threat of AIDS, and blended families. In the last chapter Oglesby finally develops more fully the image of God as the Master Potter. I would recommend to readers that they turn to this chapter first (or after reading chapter one). It is important to help one understand much of what precedes it.

I have said that Oglesby is a powerful and passionate voice. His voice, however, is not particularly well served by this most recent book. There is passion enough, to be sure, and sometimes the powerfully compelling voice of a prophet among us comes through. But the book needs a good and thorough editing. The need for editing shows up in many small things, in typographical errors and in grammatical flaws, for example. It shows up in organizational issues, like the inconsistency in providing questions for discussion at the end of chapters and, more significantly, the placement of what seems to me, at least, to be the foundational chapter at the very end. And it

shows up in some conceptual confusion; for example, when Oglesby says that "modernity and postmodernism are interchangeable terms." The fault here may be the publisher's rather than the author's, but it is regrettable in part because it interferes with the reader's attention to a voice worth attending to.

Allen Verhey
Hope College

Olson, Roger E. *The Mosaic of Christian Belief: Twenty Centuries of Unity & Diversity.* Downers Grove, Illinois: InterVarsity, 2002. Pp. 367. $30.00.

Roger Olson, Professor of Theology at George W. Truett Theological Seminary of Baylor University, makes it a habit to write useful books. This volume is a companion to his *The Story of Christian Theology* (InterVarsity, 1999) where he provided a narrative history of the development of Christian theological doctrines through twenty centuries. This new volume is arranged by theological topics, in the fashion of a systematic theology textbook. What makes it different in approach, however, is Olson's pursuit of a pattern of unity and diversity which he finds in all doctrines. His angle is to discuss the unitive consensus of the church on the topic and then to explore the diversities among Christian views, all within the pale of fidelity to the basic doctrine itself. He does not aim for an "either/or" of false alternatives. Rather, his goal is a mediating evangelical theology that is "both-and" inclusive and irenic in tone. Olson wants this book to be "thoroughly biblical and both faithful to the Great Tradition of Christianity as well as contemporary in its restatement of what Christians have always believed." The author wants to be "progressive in his evangelical approach to theology." He argues, for example, for the use of "infallibility" instead of "inerrancy" as the best descriptor of Scripture's accuracy and trustworthiness.

Olson's recognitions of diversities in Christian history does not leave him blind to the difficulties of defining and setting parameters for "the Great Tradition of Christianity" to which he seeks to be faithful. He says:

> It is apparent that most Christian theologians of all major branches of Christianity—including evangelical Protestants of many denominational backgrounds—agree that it includes those basic assumptions and declarations agreed on by most if not all of the church fathers of the second through the fourth centuries (and perhaps into the fifth century ending with the great Council of Chalcedon's definition concerning the person of Christ).

The importance of recognizing this is that the Great Tradition functions as

a "canon outside the canon" or a "map or a compass" to give shape to Christian belief and what it means to be a Christian. Olson affirms that while "there is room for widely varying interpretations of basic Christian beliefs . . . not every interpretation that claims to be authentically Christian should be accepted as valid."

While this may not be a big step for many in Presbyterian or some other Reformation traditions, it is a significant recognition for many of Olson's potential readers in various Baptist and "evangelical" churches where the importance of ancient Christian tradition has often not been much recognized.

Olson's chapters initially consider "the Christian Consensus," discuss alternatives, and then move to the issue of "Diversity" before seeking a "Unitive View" of the theme. The "Both-And" approach allows such chapter titles as: "Providence: Limited *and* Detailed;" "Salvation: Gift *and* Task;" "The Church: Visible *and* Invisible."

At the traditional flash points of controversy, Olson makes clear his own commitments. In the Introduction, he indicates the formative influences on his theological perspectives: "a Baptist who stands within the broader evangelical free-church tradition;" influenced by Pentecostals and later Pietists;" and as one also who "has come to value the wider catholic tradition that transcends any denomination and embraces the common teachings of the early church fathers, Reformers and modern conservative and evangelical theologians." Thus the book's most natural constituencies will be with those most open to this amalgam of viewpoints and who want to look at Christian theology in light of the church's past and its controversies with the kind of progressive and irenic spirit that Olson clearly embodies. In his discussion of the wranglings between those who believe in a "limited providence" and their critics, Olson pleads: "And yet, they should embrace one another as fellow Christian believers within the one, invisible and universal church of God and know when and where to stop the polemical arguments against each other and work and worship together in spite of significant differences over details."

Students and pastors can turn here for a reliable exposition of Christian beliefs that highlights elements of unity and diversity and seeks as much common ground as possible. This is done by a well-respected theologian from the evangelical tradition. It is an effort that all who care about theology from any Christian tradition should applaud and celebrate.

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Westminster John Knox Press
Germantown, Tennessee

Pryce, Mark. *Literary Companion to the Lectionary: Readings throughout the Year*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2002. Pp. 143. $17.00.

It has been said that the pulpit is a hungry place, and most women and men who are responsible for the preaching and worship life of congregations or institutions are constantly on the lookout for resources that will help them fulfill their homiletical and liturgical tasks. Mark Pryce's *Literary Companion to the Lectionary* will prove to be a useful tool for those who are willing to savor its offerings over time. As Rowan Williams, the recently-elected Archbishop of Canterbury, states in the foreword, "We need one another" when it comes to reading scripture, and this book seeks "to let us read together with those who have allowed their imaginations to be kindled into creativity by our common story of salvation." Pryce has drawn together an interesting and inspirational array of comrades for that endeavor.

This is a collection of readings—mostly poetry—for each Sunday and major liturgical festival in the Christian year. Each selection reflects a story, image, or idea from one or more of the readings for years A, B, and C of the Revised Common Lectionary, or expresses the overall theme of the liturgical season or day. In his introduction Pryce notes that he has attempted to draw from a wide range of writers to produce a collection that is "deliberately eclectic and ecumenical." While there are contributions from various European writers and one African author, English poets are by far the most well-represented, along with a fair number of Welsh and Anglo-American and a few Australian writers. Twentieth century works dominate, although the complete collection spans several centuries.

One encounters the familiar names of Christina Rosetti, George Herbert, and Emily Dickinson along with some that may be less well-known by the average reader, and among the more traditionally inspirational pieces one finds some surprises. "God Speaks," by French philosopher and poet Charles Péguy (1873–1914), to be read in conjunction with the texts for the second Sunday before Lent, extols the virtue of the person who can sleep at night, for to sleep is to trust in God's providence. Irish poet Brendan Kennelly's "The Job," in which Judas speaks across the centuries, is a startlingly provocative reading for the Wednesday in Holy Week. In the midst of such poems one may not expect to find an excerpt from Dom Gregory Dix's classic, *The Shape of the Litnrgy*, or a selection from Izaak Walton's *The Compleat Angler*, but Dix's reflection on the eucharist (to be read on Maundy Thursday) is a delight, and Walton's musings for Proper 13 remind the fishermen by the stream—and the contemporary reader—to be grateful for the all-sufficient provisions of God.

For the most part, these are not readings that would be easily incorporated into a sermon—in other words, this is not a handy stash of illustrations for the harried preacher. Rather, this collection is indeed a companion on the journey through the liturgical year for the reader who is willing to spend time contemplating its treasures. Pryce serves as an able guide by providing brief introductions to each selection; it's not unlike having your favorite English teacher introduce each offering with a pithily orienting line. Those who consider themselves poetically challenged will be grateful for the help, while readers who lean naturally toward the mystical will not be offended or bothered by his commentary. A list of sources, as well as indexes by author and first line, also add to the book's usefulness.

Pryce—who serves as Dean of Chapel at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, has preached and taught in India, Australia, and the United States, and has worked as a priest in England—provides the best apology for living with this book in his own introduction. "When our imagination is hampered or impoverished," he writes, "then our prayer is cramped and our interpretation is shallow. Hence this is a book which aims for richer meanings and deepened understandings, to ward off spiritual stagnation and the wither of compassion." In bringing his literary sensibilities to bear on pastoral work, Pryce provides rich fare for those whose proclamation and prayer nurture, challenge, and uplift the faithful who meet each Sunday to worship God.

Kimberly Bracken Long
Drew University

Scott, Bernard B. *Re-Imagine the World: An Introduction to the Parables of Jesus.* Santa Rosa: Polebridge Press, 2001. Pp. 180. $18.00.

The author is Professor of New Testament at the Phillips Theological Seminary, University of Tulsa. He has previously published a study of most of the parables in the Synoptic Gospels entitled, *Hear Then the Parable.*

This brief volume covers nine of the same texts which are now discussed through the lens of the findings of the Jesus Seminar of which Scott was an active charter member.

The author has no interest in the parables "as they appear in the Gospels" but only in "the historical Jesus" uncovered by the Jesus Seminar. He has nothing but praise for Robert W. Funk and John Dominic Crossan and nothing but criticism for Matthew and Luke who misunderstood and deformed the material they recorded.

Granting the hypothetical nature of his construct, he argues that both the

Greek text and all translations are likewise hypothetical scholarly reconstructions. The reader becomes for him a "co-author" of the text and Mark had no more evidence for an outline of the life of Jesus than we do. The parables tell us nothing about Jesus who in turn created them to "re-imagine a world that subverts the status quo."

Printed texts with relevant background material are interspersed with the commentary. After an eccentric discussion of nine selected parables a syntheses of findings presents three summary conclusions. The parables teach that: "God is unclean," "God is present only in absence" and "cooperation" is better than "contest." The reader discovers that Jesus was killed because of "the success of Jesus' social experiment in peasant community . . . which threatened Roman rule." Scott admits conflict with the religious authorities as well. In the end Jesus' language betrayed him and as a result he failed. His followers misunderstood and rewrote his sayings and his vision was lost. "What he was actually talking about was so deep that language broke down." Thanks primarily to a few good, living, white, American men, like Funk and Crossan that breakdown, after 1900+ years of ignorance, is at long last identified and repair is possible. Jesus was a kind of poet who called people to a re-imagined better world. Jesus sided with Job and Qohelet against the Deuteronomist. He offered hope by helping people remember that "things do not have to be this way."

The book then becomes autobiographical as the author very sincerely and movingly reflects on his ministry to sufferers from HIV/AIDS in the gay and lesbian community of Tulsa who are "the leaven of this society" and how such a re-imagined world brings them new hope and freedom. He concludes that "we need a Christianity without Christ." Anyone who does not accept his conjectural reconstruction of history automatically falls into the fundamentalist camp with Oral Roberts. We need no faith *in* Jesus but only faith *with* Jesus (emphasis his). Jesus is neither our master nor our Lord but our "companion on the way." The book concludes with a brief review of some recent parable studies. High praise is offered time and again for the works of the Jesus Seminar scholars which have already "won the day." Some of this scholarship, we are told, will last "forever."

After forty-seven years in the Middle East I know that the Muslim fundamentalists of the Arab world are delighted at these types of studies which they follow closely with great interest. In Cairo there is a constant stream of references in the Arabic media to such efforts. For more than 1300 years Islam has insisted that the Gospels are "*muharrif*" (corrupted). Now Christian scholars, the fundamentalists declare gleefully, are confirming the centuries old Islamic position against the Christian faith. The Qur'an, however,

affirms a much higher Christology than Scott is willing to accept. Arab Christians are neither frightened nor threatened by such studies, only saddened.

Those already committed to the presuppositions, methodologies and conclusions of the Jesus Seminar will find this book of interest. Picking up threads of ideas already available in cynicism, nihilism, Islam and deconstructionist Unitarianism, the author offers a manifesto for a new religion.

Kenneth E. Bailey
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The Ecumenical Institute, Jerusalem (emeritus)

Storey, Peter. *With God in the Crucible: Preaching Costly Discipleship.* Nashville: Abingdon, 2002. Pp. 175. $15.00.

What is great preaching? All too often, we answer this by turning to the princes of the pulpit, people whose words have both been preserved for posterity's sake, and have been acclaimed by the academy. Their rhetorical skill and their erudition, combine to give their words a timeless ring.

But what of the thousands upon thousands of people faithfully preaching Sunday by Sunday? No one bothers to record their words, no one submits them to the academy for examination. Yet, as Peter Storey points out in the introduction to his collection of sermons, "... the preaching that counts most is not the platforms of great conferences, but in the journey a pastor makes with his or her people." It is this journey of which we catch a glimpse in this collection of Storey's own work. It is a glimpse of the words of a courageous and gifted preacher. But it is also a glimpse of communities of faith struggling to make sense of the gospel in the everyday reality of their lives, lives which include not only the struggles of apartheid in a general sense, but security police invasions of church services, bomb-scares, and intimidation.

The majority of the sermons in this volume come from Storey's ministry at Central Methodist Mission in Johannesburg, at the height of the resistance against apartheid. Chronicled therein are the persistent attempts of this community to bring the gospel to birth in a context of evil, in a context of tension, fear, and hostility. And while they are grounded in that particular context, they ask questions which are universal in scope: Where is evil manifested in your community? How might it be challenged by the gospel of Christ? What could God do with a truly faithful church? They are questions which reach from conference platforms to funeral sermons, from Lake Junaluska in North Carolina to Sydney in Australia. They emerge from East

Berlin and Soweto and Moscow; they are raised by Palm Sunday in the bush of Namibia and flying business class over the Atlantic.

For those of us who live in a culture which likes its religion to be comforting and safe, this collection of sermons is profoundly dangerous; in a country which prides itself on a separation between church and state, the collection challenges privatized religion and opens up a new vision of the relationship between the power of God and human powers. They deal with all the issues that do not make for good dinner table conversation: politics, racism, war, suffering, voting, land reform, patriotic idolatry, and revenge. And these sermons bring those issues under the glaring light of the gospel.

Storey is not content with preaching that confines itself to personal piety: "If our task as preachers is limited to nurturing a community fixated on their own spiritual health, while occasionally offering deeds of kindness in an unkind word, then the world should thank us for entombing Jesus in our church parlors and Sunday schools and sanctuaries. That way it can go on doing whatever it wants, unencumbered by confidence and undisturbed by the risen Christ."

This is not a book to read if you believe Christianity is essentially a private matter. This is not a book to read if you are satisfied with the status quo. This is a book which challenges anyone who dares preach not just to think about justice, but to begin to search out the injustices in their own community and to take action to fight them.

As I write this review, it is Holy Week, and the image which stays with me from Peter Storey's sermons is that of a statue of Christ, which stood in the foyer of the South African Council of Churches. When that building was bombed by police saboteurs, all that remained was Christ, stretching his arms over the desolation. Storey invites us to a journey downwards, a journey not into success but into suffering, a journey into the depths of pain. And when we get there, we will find not the desolation we expect, but Christ, alive, calling us to follow him in working to reconcile the world.

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Valentin, Benjamin. *Mapping Public Theology: Beyond Culture, Identity, and Difference.* Harrisburg: Trinity Press International, 2002. Pp. 208. $26.00.

This short but dense book is both a constructive proposal for transforming theology into a public discourse and a critical analysis of the current state of

U.S. Hispanic/Latino theology. Valentin defines public theology as a discourse originating in the beliefs and practices of a particular community that seeks to engage and transform the social whole. However, it is in describing and evaluating U.S. Hispanic/Latino theology that Valentin makes his most valuable contribution.

This book's potential longevity lies in its challenge to an entire theological movement to reconsider its guiding methodologies. U.S. Hispanic/Latino theology is an emerging and intentionally ecumenical theology that models a collaborative and communal approach to theology by incorporating the work of theologians, pastors and lay people across cultural and denominational lines. This method of doing theology, called *teología en conjunto* (literally "theology done jointly" or "together"), is grounded in the pioneering work of Latin American liberation theology. Yet, after a twenty- to thirty-year gestation period, U.S. Hispanic/Latino theology still remains marginalized and neglected by the mainstream theological community.

Valentin's primary thesis is that Hispanic/Latino theologies have fostered an ethos that emphasizes matters of personal and group cultural identity to the detriment of political and economic liberation. He argues that, while "the search for positive self-identity and collective cultural identity [is] a crucial component of liberation in the United States . . . Latino theological scholarship as a whole is driven by this fervor to promote cultural affirmation and the achievement of positive self-identity and group identity" demonstrating an "inability to break out of a specifically Hispanic/Latino localism." The author identifies two primary *loci* distinguishing U.S. Hispanic/Latino theology: (1) *mestizaje* (cultural and racial mixing) as a source of positive self-identity and collective cultural identity, and (2) *popular religion* (those practices that do not originate in "official" doctrine and thrive without the presence of clergy) as the location of ongoing Latino self-definition and communal resistance to North American cultural hegemony. Valentin's work challenges us to reevaluate these two ever-present themes that have come to constitute the orthodoxy in U.S. Hispanic/Latino theology.

The author diagnoses U.S. Hispanic/Latino theology as becoming politically irrelevant unless it becomes intentionally trans-contextual. Yet, his overall characterization of Latino theology as an insular discourse concerned solely with matters of personal and group identity, and therefore incapable of contributing to the common moral discourse, is open to debate. This conclusion seems premature given that he only examines the theology of Virgilio Elizondo when discussing mestizaje and that of Orlando Espín when discussing popular religion. Recent contributions from other Hispanic/Latino theologians, like Ada María Isasi-Díaz, Luis G. Pedraja, and Roberto S. Goizueta

to name a few, provide strong examples of how mestizaje and popular religion can become politically empowering models of social activism and dialogic encounter.

A secondary thesis is that Latino theologies have been narrowly *ecclesio-centric.* Valentin's proposal for overcoming this ecclesio-centrism is a pragmatic and progressive public theology grounded in the constructive theology of Gordon Kaufman, the critical social theory of Nancy Fraser, and the "prophetic pragmatism" of Cornel West. Here Valentin's methodological commitments reveal a preoccupation with the marginalization of theology in the broader public sphere: "The reality is that theology rarely manages to have an impact or even be heard beyond its disciplinary, professional boundaries." Unfortunately, by cautioning Latino theologians to move beyond a "dogmatic" theology toward a more "revisionist-constructive" approach, Valentin appears to grant epistemic privilege to the methods and criteria of the secular academy, raising the question, *must theology surrender much of what makes its discourse distinctly theological in order to participate in public discourse?*

If, as Ada María Isasi-Díaz has argued in *En La Lucha*, the ability to name oneself is the first step toward liberation, then it is vital for Latino theologies to enter the public arena defining *for themselves* the language and orienting concerns they bring to the public discourse. Therefore, when Benjamin Valentin argues that a "theology that aims to promote social justice cannot be limited to discussions of symbolic culture, local identity, subjectivity, and difference," he should consider that U.S. Hispanic/Latino theology's distinctive contribution to the public discourse on social justice *is* to link political and economic liberation to matters of ethnic and cultural identity. Regardless of these few misgivings, *Mapping Public Theology* is a major contribution to the North American theological conversation that deserves to be read by a very wide public—from lay persons, pastors, and religious educators with emancipatory concerns to academic theologians navigating the broader social discourse.

Rubén Rosario Rodríguez
Memphis Theological Seminary

Webster, John. *Word and Church: Essays in Christian Dogmatics.* Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 201. Pp. 290. $41.95.

Word and Church is a series of "working essays in dogmatics" by John Webster, Professor of Systematic Theology at the University of Aberdeen. Webster is best known in the United States as an interpreter of Barth (*Karl Barth's Moral Theology*). In these essays, he applies dogmatics to the life and

practices of the contemporary church. One of Webster's concerns is that the church has not paid sufficient attention to "doctrinal description of the nature of Scripture." The three essays in the first section present a "dogmatic account of Scripture and its readers": a dogmatic interpretation of the canon, doctrinal reflections on hermeneutics, and an account of Barth's and Bonhoeffer's theological construal of Scripture and Bible reading. A second major concern of Webster's is the "steady eclipse of belief in Jesus' presence" in modernity. He confronts this issue in two essays, a theological reflection on "the Word became flesh" and an assessment of Eberhard Jüngel's Christology. Webster believes that when Christology is weak, ecclesial concerns take over. In an effort to restore balance, he presents two essays in "negative ecclesiology," which address the work of reconciliation and the organization of the Church. A third major concern is to fashion "an account of personhood thoroughly integrated into a Trinitarian theology." Two essays on ethics offer dogmatic accounts of conscience and psychology.

Webster's dogmatic method is to review the current state of the conversation on the issues he discusses then to interpret the situation by going back to the dogmatic tradition and to the Scriptures. The theologians he consults the most often include Calvin, Schleiermacher, Barth, Bonhoeffer, Augustine, Hans Frei, and T. F. Torrance. The result is a living conversation between the past and the present. He ends up by formulating his own pithy, often beautiful dogmatic statements. For example, in "The Dogmatic Location of the Canon," he reviews recent theories about the canon as a means to legitimate authority or to establish community. He concludes with a proposal grounded in the Trinity. The canon is, "that means of grace through which the judgment of the apostolic gospel is set before the church. If the canon is a function of God's communicative fellowship with an unruly church, if it is part of the history of judgment and mercy, then it cannot simply be a stabilizing factor, a legitimating authority. Rather, as the place where divine speech may be heard, it is—or ought to be—a knife at the church's heart." The incarnation is, "humble, delighted, repentant and joyful repetition at the level of theological concepts of the primary affirmation of the church: that the church's Lord, Jesus, is the incomparably comprehensive context of all creaturely being, knowing and acting, because in and as him God is with humankind in free, creative and saving love."

One of the most helpful aspects of this book is the way Webster conceives of the task of theology. "Christian theology is rational speech about the Christian gospel." Our thinking is ordered by the gospel: "It arises out of the devastatingly eloquent and gracious self-presence of God, by which it is endlessly astonished and to which it never ceases to turn in humility and

hope." Dogmatics is "sanctified speech." "Good dogmatics is a mode of holiness: chastened, unassuming, sanctified speech." And it is modest: "Dogmatics is the focussed, modest and self-critical activity whereby the church seeks reflectively and systematically to give its attention to the gospel as it is announced in Holy Scripture: no more and no less." Webster is also honest about the shadow side of the enterprise of theology. In a passage reminiscent of Helmut Thielicke's *Short Exercise for Young Theologians* and Barth's *Introduction to Evangelical Theology*, Webster addresses particular temptations of the theologian: "Not only is there the resistance generated by the instinctive conservatism of the theological establishment (especially of the liberal establishment) but also the theologian encounters within him- or herself a resistance to the necessary losses sustained by those whom the gospel besieges. There is a certain temper of mind from which the theologian must be set free, a sense of competence in the matter of the Christian faith, an inordinate and unstable desire for intellectual stimulus, the witty avoidance of the wounds which the truth inflicts on our self-sufficiency." Webster is not sanguine about the state of dogmatics in the English-speaking world. Among British systematic theologians, positive dogmatics is "notable only by its absence." He finds that the current conversation is an occasionally sparkling but "Christianly not very specific conversation which has lost the rough edges of the gospel." If you are called to this vocation, all you can do is "dig deeply and lovingly into the thoughts of the church thinkers of the past and above all into Holy Scripture, and say as clearly and vividly and generously as one can what one finds, in the hope that it may well prove to be just what church and culture really need."

Webster is not easy to label, because he draws from such a vast theological tradition. He is free to learn from both Schleiermacher and Barth, for example. But he has a definite point of view, which can be summarized by the following convictions and repeated themes. The Trinity is central to any constructive work in theology. He believes that in the current climate, ecclesiology will become the dominant theological category apart from constructive work on Christology and the doctrine of Scripture. He is suspicious of anthropological accounts of the Church's life which are not grounded in the Trinity. He approves of Barth's and Bonhoeffer's approach to Scripture, because they thought through the human act of Bible reading in light of the larger saving purposes of God. Webster is also critical of the over specialization of the academic guilds, particularly the separation between dogmatics and biblical studies. "The task of exegesis is far too important to be devolved upon biblical technicians. But if modern theology demonstrates a failure on this score, it does not lie primarily on the part of the guild of biblical scholars

but on the part of dogmatic theologians who have all too often abdicated responsibility for exegesis . . . ." The cure for an anemic doctrine of Scripture is "exegesis, exegesis, exegesis."

I can think of two different ways to read this book profitably. The first is to learn about the task of theology from the way Webster applies dogmatics to the church's life. Reading this book confirms the importance of dogmatics for the health of the church. Webster knows how to make passages from Calvin and Schleiermacher and Barth speak right into the current situation. The other is to read it topically. If you want to find out the state of the conversation on, say, hermeneutics or conscience or the church's ministry of reconciliation, you can read a chapter and find yourself right in the middle of the conversation. Although there is no bibliography, when he introduces a new subject, he cites all the relevant sources, even if he does not discuss them.

The writing is clear, and Webster excels in the plain style (sanctified, modest speech!). But this is not a book to read quickly. Certain passages that appear straightforward are actually quite intricate and bear rereading.

Pastors who are wondering whether the hard work of exegesis and exposition are worth it should read this book. It will send you back to your study with renewed conviction about the importance of the task. Theologians and students of dogmatics should read this book. It will remind you why you got into this field and why it is worth working at. Webster calls these "working essays in dogmatics," which sounds like he is preparing something bigger. I hope John Webster keeps writing positive dogmatics. If this is any indication what is to come, then "it will turn out to be what the Church and the world really need."

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Willimon, William H., *Pastor: A Reader for Ordained Ministry*, Nashville: Abingdon, 2002. Pp. 326. $25.00.

With a unique collection of material published in one accessible volume, Will Willimon invites the reader into his study. Willimon has drawn upon his own experience as pastor and preacher to select a broad range of authors and topics. The organization of the book is intended to follow that of his companion volume, *Pastor: The Theology and Practice of Ordained Ministry*. Offering the title of "reader," Willimon accurately describes his effort. He offers pastors a sampling of the reading material that has served him well. It is as if one has the chance to browse a bit through Willimon's office.

The author's intent is to introduce pastors to a company of theologians and

preachers throughout history. The rationale for the collection is clear. Leadership in the community of faith thrives on fitting role models. Pastors today would benefit from an encounter with such models. The writings and reflections of some of those who have gone before will give insight, encouragement, and wisdom. Using this unique form of a reader that is both contemporary and historical, Will Willimon hopes to provide resources for the parish pastor on a wide range of topics.

Willimon points out that the chapter headings match his more systematic volume on the theology and practice of ministry. After beginning with a chapter on ordination and the vocation of ministry, the topics generally follow the offices and tasks of the pastor. Selected readings address the role of pastor as priest, interpreter of scripture, preacher, counselor, teacher, evangelist, prophet, and leader. Two concluding sections deal with the pastor's character and the Christian life of the pastor. Serving as editor, Willimon has included material that sparks the imagination and efficiently tackles the chapter headings.

Readers will be struck by the breath of Willimon's choices. Familiar names populate the contemporary list: Barbara Brown Taylor, Eugene H. Peterson, Henri J. M. Nouwen, and Richard Lischer. Some of the historical names should simply have a spot there on the shelf: Martin Luther, P. T. Forsyth, Harry Emerson Fosdick, Reinhold Niebuhr, Martin Luther King, Jr. The other contributors will be recognized as well. Some of the historical pieces, like Dr. King's "Letter from Birmingham Jail," many will have read before. Some recent samples, like the selection from Richard Lischer's *Open Secrets*, will spark a purchase to add to the book shelf.

Few readers will work Willimon's *Reader* from cover to cover. Some may find here a helpful companion in daily devotions. Others will take a more utilitarian view and look to reap fruit for sermon material. No doubt a few of the selections are too long and a pastor may easily skip over them. A chapter entitled "Ministry for the Twenty-first Century" appears a bit out of place in the neatly defined organization of the book. However, that chapter entails a wonderful essay by Richard Lischer on the preaching of Martin Luther King, Jr. It is an important part of the collection.

For more knowledgeable readers, the collection may seem a bit like readings from Will Willimon and friends. However, Willimon owns up to his selection process in the introduction. He has put together a reader of pieces he has found interesting and helpful in his own life and work. A more apt criticism, however, is the lack of contributions from women. Willimon includes a fine piece by Barbara Brown Taylor on vocation and there is a biographical entry on the ministry of Aimee Semple McPherson written by

Daniel Mark Epstein. It is far too easy for pastors in the church today to lose that voice of the witness and ministry of women. Unfortunately, this volume does little to help in that struggle. Willimon's desire was to engage pastors with some "fitting models of godly models who preceded us." Some are notably absent.

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Reid, Alvin L., *Radically Unchurched: Who They Are and How to Reach Them.* Grand Rapids: Kregel Publications, 2002. Pp. 219. $13.00.

Alvin L. Reid holds the Bailey Smith Chair of Evangelism at Southeastern Baptist Theological Seminary. In *Radically Unchurched*, he seeks to re-direct the church's evangelistic focus to what he calls the radically unchurched. Reid promises the reader a kind of ecclesiastically-focused safari into the secular psyche and cultural make-up of the "postmodern" American citizen, whom he defines as radically unchurched. "The radically unchurched are those who have no clear personal understanding of the message of the gospel, and who have had little or no contact with a Bible-teaching, Christ-honoring church." Reid believes that over 41 percent of our population consists of radically unchurched people.

The pursuit of the book is seen in its two parts. Part One is "A Profile of the Radically Unchurched." Chapter one defines who are the radically unchurched and derides the contemporary church for its lack of vision and concern for these people. He then presents the theological mandate for this type of evangelism. Reid gives a kind of incarnational perspective, which leads him to understand evangelism as penetrating the culture of the unchurched with the gospel.

In chapter four "We're Not in Kansas Anymore," Reid begins with pop culture examples of American culture's downfall, and the core of the chapter surrounds the shift from modernity to postmodernity. While recognizing concerns with modernity, Reid rebukes postmodernity, blaming it for pluralism, tolerance, and secularization. He goes so far as to label even the postmodern emphases on ethnicity and urbanization as negative. The discussion leads the author to label the unchurched negatively as "postmoderns." Part one ends with chapter five, "Hope Floats," in which Reid points to the coming youth generation as promise on the horizon. He uses popular generational studies as well as Cassie Bernall and other school and church shooting victims as his anecdotal proof.

Part Two, "A Plan to Reach the Radically Unchurched," presents five elements in five chapters which Reid believes "are critical to penetrating the world of the unchurched." The first is to have a strong doctrinal foundation. The author uncompromisingly asserts that in dealing with the unchurched we must "begin with the gospel, not [their] needs . . . ." The second element in reaching the unchurched is to use narrative and testimony. Reid wants the reader to always be bold and prepared to speak about his or her own conversion experience. The third and fourth elements are the need for creative evangelistic worship, and using new and creative ways to communicate. Reid gives advice and examples for using drama, mass media, the Internet, sports evangelism, and school evangelism. The final element is the need for new churches to be planted with a focus on evangelism to the unchurched.

Overall, Alvin Reid should be commended for seeing the need and having a desire for the so-called unchurched people to hear the life-affirming gospel of Jesus Christ. Yet, in the end this reviewer is more concerned than excited by his work. The book ultimately fails to provide what it promises. We are told that we will understand these unchurched people. In the end, however, Reid has little to say about them directly. Though his theology and his methodology will permit it, he does not include empirical analysis in his study. By not letting the unchurched speak, we are left to wonder whether he really knows them. Overall, this steals any veracity from his cultural interpretation and saps the inner logic from his theology. In other words, his theology is simply doctrinal and biblical assertion rather than constructive contemplation on the work of God's Spirit in the world that confronts us. This can be seen more directly in Reid's desire for the church to return to a first century model, which is both impossible and unhelpful. Reid may benefit from a more eschatological understanding and theological reading of Scripture.

Yet, what is most disturbing about this work is its either/or, in or out presentation. Reid gives us no theological or cultural understanding of a common human experience. The work pushes us to go to the unchurched, not because they are our neighbors, brothers and sisters, God's beloved, but because if we do not they will go to hell (true or not, there must be a deeper and richer theological concern). There is a fundamental breakdown of any human solidarity, of any universality of the work of God. This is seen most pointedly in the author's labeling and misunderstanding of postmodernity. Whether we truly are in modernity, later-modernity, or postmodernity, we (all of humanity) are in it together. Even in resisting its perspectives or

fighting against its tendencies, we remain people of our time locked in its philosophical make-up. Reid too easily finds and creates categories and containers in which to place people, e.g. postmoderns. It may be more helpful methodologically and more profound theologically if our evangelistic pursuits were not to place people within categories, but to point them to the reality of a world without categories, presently hidden but promised fully, where humanity is united under the Lordship of Christ.

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Chatham, James O. *Enacting the Word: Using Drama in Preaching.* Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2002. Pp. 71. $8.95.

James O. Chatham, author of *Sundays Down South: A Pastor's Stories*, served for two decades as pastor of Highland Presbyterian Church, Louisville, KY. His second book, *Enacting the Word* contains seven simple, fully-scripted dramas, complete with character descriptions, prop lists, lines, and stage directions. These "enactments" or sermon dramas, seen as an alternative to pulpit monologue, represent the "kind of drama that can be written by a variety of different people and is within reach for several Sabbaths a year." Those offered here deal with: (1) Jonah; (2) God's recreative power (Ps 107); (3) Rahab and the spies; (4) the widow and the unjust judge; (5) the call of Abram; (6) warnings against calling light 'darkness' and darkness 'light;' and (7) the resurrection. The final chapter suggests twelve additional drama starters. Earthy humor and contemporary paraphrase flesh out scenarios from contemporary life, which we would not be surprised to find in midweek fellowship, educational workshops, or Youth Sundays. Everywhere evident is the pastor's desire to employ the tongues and talents of gifted lay leaders, to address concrete human problems, to show how "God makes all things new! All people new!"

Several basic concerns arise, however, the foremost being a confusion of genres. Chatham prescribes the use of drama, not in alternative venues, but precisely as *sermon* drama. Although such an approach should require some explanation, less than three pages are devoted to rationale. We learn that through sixteen of Christianity's twenty centuries liturgical drama was viewed as "common and degenerate," even "taboo," but the reasons for this view are neither explained nor disputed. The use of drama in other religions is cited, without qualification. The 10th–13th centuries are upheld as the heyday of Christian liturgical drama, but regarding its reintroduction in the last cen-

tury, no critical reflection is offered. Rather, late twentieth century homiletical esthetics apparently warrants this experiment in form (and so many others). But where is the *scriptural* warrant for employing actors in Christian worship and preaching?

Second, where Chatham aims beyond esthetics, he aspires to the ethical formation of narrative community. The sermon drama places *the people* "in the middle." It begins "with the telling of *our story*." The impression of bleating sheep without a shepherd is inescapable. With such prominence given to communal narrative, it is difficult to distinguish key doctrines, e.g. the resurrection, from an artist's colony or a merely social ethic.

Therein lies our third concern. Scripture, we learn, offers three primary things: *anthropology*, *theology*, and *ethics*, the latter being differentiated from "moralism" in that the question "How should we act?" can only be addressed after the sermon drama fully explores the dynamic between the human story and the presence of God. Of God's many revelations, however, Christ figures as quantitatively supreme. Absent is any operative view of the preached Word as the Word *of God*, any qualitative distinction between the God-man and the people. How does sermon drama constitute "enacting the word" as distinguished from "acting" or "re-enacting"? How is presentation distinguished from re-presentation, effect from affect?

Broadly speaking, *Enacting the Word* evinces what Kierkegaard called "the religious confusion of the present age." Here, it is the confusion between worship and theatre which the faith-epistemologist rightly set on its head. In fact, preaching is *not* theater! Such proposals, lively as they appear, fail to distinguish between the esthetic validity of worship and esthetics *per se*. That ethical and communal formation appears as the highest is unsurprising, since, as Kierkegaard understood, ethics is the transitional sphere between esthetics and "the leap" into Christian faith, prior to which preaching's authority and apostolicity simply do not arise. But if the apostolic task is to know *nothing* but Christ, to "proclaim Christ crucified" (1Cor 1:23; 2:2), if there is but *one* gospel (Gal 1:7; 2Cor 11:4), whence the ubiquitous suspicion of monologue *vis-à-vis* the preached Word of God? Ironically, Chatham has God curtail and simplify Jonah's proclamation: "Just walk through the streets . . . and shout, 'Repent! Repent!' That will be quite enough." Less preaching means more script, apparently. Thus is the sermon supplanted by theatre, which, simple though it may appear, confuses everything.

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Lischer, Richard, ed., *The Company of Preachers: Wisdom on Preaching, Augustine to the Present.* Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002. Pp. 478. $29.00.

Richard Lischer cares deeply about preaching. For the past quarter century this professor of preaching at Duke Divinity School has profoundly impacted the lives and ministry of a great company of students who have passed through his classes. Known as a fine preacher himself, Lischer's writings on the theology of preaching and especially his prize-winning *The Preacher King: Martin Luther King, Jr. and the Word that Moved America* have challenged many of us who climb the pulpit steps weekly to reflect critically and theologically upon our task while also inspiring us to soar in the wake of those who have gone before us.

This volume is an excellent collection of over fifty essays written by great preachers from the fourth to the twenty-first centuries on various aspects of preaching. Each essay covers an essential component of the preaching mission and is introduced by the editor who offers keen insights into the historical context of each reading as he draws it into conversation with other treatises in the book. The genius of this work is not only whom Lischer has chosen to include, but how he has grouped the works. Arranged in seven divisions entitled "what is preaching?", "the preacher," "proclaiming the word," "Biblical interpretation," "rhetoric," "the hearer," and "preaching & the church," he presents a comprehensive theological and historical cross-section of the church's homiletics through the centuries. Since this volume began as a revision of his earlier work (*Theories of Preaching*), it is fascinating to see who is new and what has changed from the initial edition. Lischer has done a wonderful job of enlarging the circle of voices from whom we hear, especially inviting more women and persons from varying ethnic traditions to teach us.

In the first section, we still have C. H. Dodd offering his ringing challenge toward "Apostolic Preaching," but it is Barbara Brown Taylor who teaches us to collapse the distance between preacher and congregation by associating our quest for God with theirs. In the section on the person of the preacher, we could find no better guide for faithfulness in our changing times than St. John Chrysostom while George Herbert's spiritually profound yet mundane insights from *The Country Parson* still ring true to any pastor languishing between Christmas and Ash Wednesday. I disagree with Lischer's assessment, however, that there is no current interest in "the holiness of the preacher." Quite the contrary, recent works like *Practicing Theology* by Miroslav Volf and Dorothy Bass point toward an intense contemporary quest for holiness among both clergy and laity. The addition of John Cassian's treatise on *The Fourfold Reading* of scripture greatly strengthens this edition

over the first one as it reintroduces an approach to Biblical interpretation which stretches back to Origen, yet finds immense resonance in today's post-modern context. This section is also significantly strengthened by the addition of Katherine Sakenfeld's "Feminist Uses of Biblical Materials" which encourages us to understand the Bible's authority in a new way. The final section on "Preaching and the Church" has been totally recast. Readings by Geoffrey Wainwright and Will Willimon especially focus the task of preaching into the larger context of the church's liturgy in a helpful manner.

In my parish, the 21st century arrived cruelly on September 11, 2001 when twenty-four residents of this small town did not return on the commuter trains from Manhattan. The illusion of security was shattered and the need to honestly engage the growing populations of persons of other living faiths in local grocery stores and schools became immediate. I found my congregation waiting impatiently and listening intently each Sunday as I began to preach; so much remains at stake. The homiletics classes I took almost thirty years ago were set in another world. What I longed for and needed was the chance to listen to pivotal voices from over the centuries who could offer wisdom on preaching at a time when the ground under you is shifting; mentors who could serve up encouragement when the task seems too daunting. *The Company of Preachers* delivers these conversation partners who can point the serious preacher toward faithful proclamation in a new and different century. It should be in every preacher's study.

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Gunton, Colin, *The Christian Faith: An Introduction to Christian Doctrine.* Oxford: Blackwell, 2002. Pp. 197. $57.95.

Colin Gunton, who died unexpectedly at age 62 on May 6, 2003, was until his death Professor of Christian Doctrine at King's College, London. He was widely acknowledged around the world as among the most influential and distinctive voices in English-speaking theology, having presented the distinguished Oxford Bampton Lectures in 1992 under the later-published title, *The One, the Three, and the Many: God, Creation, and the Culture of Modernity.* Gunton was a "big-picture," synthetic thinker; one who specialized in identifying, explicating, and evaluating broad intellectual trends and movements with bird's-eye insight into their broadly ultimate theological implications and repercussions.

Standing as it does among his last published works, *The Christian Faith*

offers remarkable testimony to this expansive synthetic and systematic ability. If the issue of the book's cost can be surmounted, this renders it an engaging textbook for introductory college and seminary courses in Christian theology. It provides a breathtaking and inspiring mountaintop view of the spectrum of traditional theological loci, organized appropriately according to the general outline and trinitarian structure of the Apostles' Creed. Given the book's thinness and accessibility, its breadth, scope, and conceptual integration are truly remarkable. Due to Gunton's comprehensive yet discriminating view of the subject matter, the book is able to function as a sort of adjustable zoom lens. The general perspective it provides is definitely wide-angle. But throughout, the reader is still enabled to clearly focus in on the theological heart of Christian faith.

With specific regard to the doctrine of the Trinity, to which his other writings give such thorough attention, Gunton makes an unexpected move in this summary volume. Both title and structure converge to intentionally suggest he is siding with Schleiermacher rather than Barth. Thus, the formal discussion of the Trinity stands at the end, rather than the beginning, of Gunton's systematic consideration of the other theological loci. Upon closer examination, however, any resemblance to Schleiermacher is primarily aesthetic rather than substantial or methodological. A carefully developed and eminently orthodox economic-trinitarianism is theologically assumed throughout. It functions centrally sketching the architecture of Christian faith in its every aspect. Drawing on Irenaeus, the Son and the Spirit are repeatedly depicted as "the two hands of God." The Son is the divine coherence and integration for creation. The Spirit is the divine particularizing and contextualizing of God's work in an interaction with the world. The structure Gunton adopts for the book stands in a certain tension, then, with its content. However, it does have a clear rhetorical function and a winsome aesthetic appeal, since as written, the various interwoven doctrinal themes build up to a moving trinitarian climax, not unlike a complex musical composition.

The book's broadly trinitarian premise allows Gunton to reframe many traditional theological concepts in more helpful contemporary terms, while still remaining faithful to the deep structures of the tradition. Thus, *The Christian Faith* is able to refract more brightly than most summary dogmatic works God's constant active involvement with an ongoing transformation of the creation, and God's stake in human growth towards ever-deeper divine-human communion. This eschatological emphasis reflects, of course, the acknowledged influence of Irenaeus. Fresh theological perspectives and insights abound on every page, a rare accomplishment for so slim a volume.

Among the book's more interesting features are a passionate (though not entirely convincing) defense of divine impassibility, subtle and successful negotiation of the traditional and unhelpful opposition often posed between divine and human freedom, a noticeably Alexandrine Christology, and a determined embrace not only of Christ's unique saving significance and the reality of divine judgement, but also of a kind of "universalism of hope" (which, however, acknowledges the possibility that some may ultimately exclude themselves from the divine presence).

Laypersons, students, pastors, and theologians alike will find this volume an expansive, insightful, and inspiring guide to the deep themes of Christian faith, remarkably integrated into a coherent and winsome theological vision.

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