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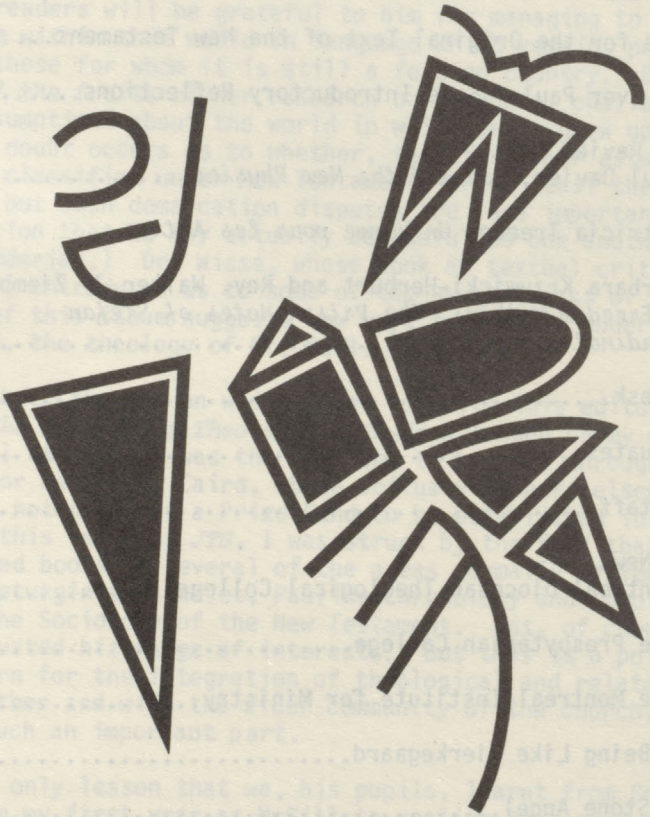
BIBLICAL STUDIES



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EDITORIAL

N.T. WRIGHT

This ARC, like its biblical archetype, contains pairs of animals, though in this case only two: two Old Testament essays and two New Testament ones. These, though not designed exactly in order to keep their species alive on the face of the earth, may yet do something to persuade those who follow their fortunes to believe that they are at least still around and kicking. More: there may yet be more light to break out of the Word, or at least out of Biblical scholarship, which may not be quite the same thing. Dr. Culley introduces us to the world in which it is believed that In the Beginning was the Story, and readers will be grateful to him for managing to describe how things look from within that world in language which remains perfectly comprehensible to those for whom it is still a foreign country. Dr. Runnalls gives us some of the fruits of her research on Josephus, challenging us to re-think old assumptions about the world in which Jesus grew up. (At this point a nagging doubt occurs as to whether, therefore, her essay ought not after all to be classified under New Testament, or at least the Jewish background thereto, but such demarcation disputes are less important than the welcome realization that we may actually be useful to one another across traditional boundaries.) Dr. Wisse, whose book on textual criticism was published last year, introduces us to some of the newer tricks of that trade; and the editor of this issue suggests new ways forward in understanding that perennial puzzle, the theology of St. Paul.

It so happened that, the day on which I was to write this editorial, the latest copy of *The Journal of Theological Studies* landed on my desk (vol. 35, part 1, for April 1984). It was the last one to be seen through the press by the late Professor George B. Caird, whose obituary appears elsewhere in this issue, as does a notice about a Prize Fund to be established in his memory. Looking through this issue of *JTS*, I was struck by the fact that George Caird had reviewed books in several of the areas normally divided up among specialists: Septuagintal studies, Pauline Chronology and Theology, Textual Criticism, and the Sociology of the New Testament. Not, of course, that these areas exhausted his range of interests. But this is a pointer to his breadth of concern for the integration of theological and related studies both with each other and with the wider community of the church, in which also he played such an important part.

That was not the only lesson that we, his pupils, learnt from George Caird. I was startled in my first year at McGill to realize that some of my students (they must have come from other institutions, clearly) expected that, if they wrote a paper disagreeing with a position they knew I espoused, the mark would be lower than if they agreed with me. We did not so learn scholarship. My favourite memories of George Caird are of times when I had written draft chapters trying out odd ideas, and would go and see him to talk about them.

There he would be, rubbing his hands, ready for the fray, saying, " This is very interesting. I'm not sure I agree with a single word of it, but it's very interesting. Sit down and let's talk about it"--to be followed by an hour or two of tea and hard talking, ranging from the niceties of a Greek particle to the huge issues of theology, preaching and Christian living that were inseparably bound together in his own person. He and I did, of course, agree on many things, but we agreed to differ on many others, and when agreement came it was often not because of capitulation but through common advance to a point where the things we had been anxious to defend (or to exclude) in our original positions were taken care of within a larger whole.

These personal reflections, while out of place in an obituary proper, may yet make a point that is important for our Faculty of Religious Studies, the historical successor to the Faculty of Divinity of which George Caird was such a distinguished member. As teachers, we are not seeking to make disciples, except in the sense that we hope our pupils will come to share our love of the subject and our commitment to serious scholarship in pursuit of truth in our own area. We are seeking to learn from one another in the ways appropriate to the university setting. To that end the present issue of ARC reflects not merely the diversity of our interests, even within the comparatively restricted area of Biblical Studies, but the unity of our underlying aims. The animals remain not merely in pairs, but within the same boat.

"TELL US THE ONE ABOUT..."

ROBERT C. CULLEY

We all like to hear stories. We are all good listeners but only a few are good storytellers. We even like to hear the good stories over and over again, especially when told by a gifted narrator or raconteur. But we also like to tell stories, even if we are not good at it -- funny stories, personal experiences about unusual events, rumours. It is remarkable, when one reflects on it, how much we are surrounded with narrative in one form or another far beyond this: newspapers, magazines, comic strips, films, television, and books.

It should not be surprising, then, that the subject of narrative or story has become a hot topic in a number of academic disciplines. Literary critics, at least some of them, have even invented a sub-discipline which they call narratology. Folklorists have long been up to their ears in stories of all kinds, collected from every part of the globe, with the result that they sought ways of describing and explaining the nature of this remarkable and pervasive human phenomenon of storytelling. Historians debate the role of narrative in the writing of history. There is even a journal of cognitive psychology where one may find numerous articles on the subject of narrative, usually having to do with how people order and structure what they say when they tell stories or recount experiences.

Both biblical studies and theology have joined in this widespread fascination with story. Given this interest, I thought that it might be useful to offer a brief review of some of the recent writings on the subject that have appeared in these fields. This will mean rather more on Old Testament and less on New Testament and Theology. The list of books and articles on narrative or story in biblical studies and theology is substantial and growing. I have limited myself here to a selection.

One book which has been widely discussed and frequently referred to in both biblical and theological studies of narrative is *The Eclipse of Biblical Narrative* by Yale theologian Hans Frei. His views are summed up in a terse introduction to this book. While his views are cryptic and in need of further explanation and precision, his general argument runs something like this.

Before the eighteenth century, people read the Bible in a way which Frei calls "realistic." This means that there was no tension between the way persons perceived their world and the way in which the world was described in the Bible. By the eighteenth century readers of the Bible became more and more aware that the view of the world presented by the Bible was one among many, so that fitting the Bible to reality became a problem toward which a great deal of energy was directed. The study of the Bible split into two different streams, historical criticism and biblical theology. For Frei, this shift was a wrong turn because it led to a false concentration on the historicity of biblical texts as a test of truth.

Frei argues that biblical narrative may still be described as realistic in in our day if what we mean is history-like. Even if some parts are not historically true, says Frei, the literal shape of the narrative is immensely significant for meaning. It is this description of biblical narrative as realistic or history-like that has been so widely quoted and, and indeed, widely accepted. Frei remarks in the preface to his book that he considers the exegesis of Karl Barth, as seen in volumes II and IV of the *Dogmatics*, to be a model of the kind of narrative reading which points once again in the right direction and avoids making history the test of meaning.

Narrative Theology

As a general approach narrative theology is remarkably broad and varied. This may be seen from Gabriel Fackre's recent article in *Interpretation* entitled " Narrative Theology: An Overview." Generally speaking, narrative theology seeks to explore how storytelling is a way of doing theology. It is different from the kind of discursive argument usually found in theological writings. As Fackre defines it " narrative theology is discourse about God in the setting of story" (343). He goes on to claim that " narrative . . . becomes the decisive image for understanding and interpreting faith" (343), which is no small claim.

In order to display the range of views held by those who relate narrative to theology, Fackre arranges his discussion under three major headings, ways of looking at story. He speaks first of the canonical story. This refers to those who put the Bible at the centre of the discussion of story, viewing the Bible both as containing stories and as a story in itself. For example, one may examine how the stories of the Bible may be seen as open-ended, holding out the promise of " meaning in the midst of the imponderable and ambiguous" (345).

A second heading is life-story, either one's own or the life-story of others. This view embodies an attempt to take experience seriously. Fackre notes that this approach can be related to protest, either on the personal level as an attempt to recover the spontaneity and self-expression smothered and dominated by large structures or on the social level as a means of giving voice to the marginalized and forgotten. This may involve studying biographies and autobiographies of significant figures (Augustine, Martin Luther King), reading novels and stories (Wiesel), or listening to the songs and sermons of a disenfranchized group like the black community. For this, see the article " The Story Context of Black Theology" in *Theology Today* by James Cone.

The third heading is community story. For Fackre this is the story of a faith community which has come into existence through a canonical story and life stories. A community story seems to provide a total view of reality. The writings of Stanley Hauerwas are frequently mentioned in this literature because of his attempt to deal with ethics in terms of the communal story.

Two recent books provide useful complements to Fackre's survey article. *The Promise of Narrative Theology* by George Stroup argues that narrative theology will provide fresh ways of meeting two critical issues facing Christians, the problem of identity and the meaning of revelation. In *Theology and Narrative: A Critical Introduction*, Michael Goldberg, a Rabbi and Jewish theologian, offers a very useful survey and critical evaluation of the various strands of narrative theology.

Biblical Studies

In biblical studies, the issue is not so much focused on the theology of narrative as the need to come to terms with the fact that a significant part of the Bible is narrative. This is especially true of the Hebrew Bible or Old Testament. Here we find a vast complex of many different stories woven together to form larger and more comprehensive narratives until we are left with a long and rich narrative running from creation to exile.

A remarkable feature of the discussion about narrative in the Bible is the variety of perspectives and interests shared by the contributors. There are literary critics as well as biblical critics, those interested in the Bible as a Jewish book as well as those interested in the Bible as a Christian book, not to mention those who wish to regard the Bible primarily as a work of literature.

Two books on biblical narrative are of interest at this point especially because they were written by literary critics and not biblical scholars. In *The Genesis of Secrecy: On the Interpretation of Narrative*, Frank Kermode turns to the gospels as narration. He argues that the gospels, like all narratives, are opaque or dark in that they do not yield their secrets easily. What may appear to be simple texts engage the interpreter in a much more baffling and demanding task than many are prepared to admit. While Robert Alter, another literary critic, speaks of a literary approach to the narrative of the Hebrew Bible in his book, *The Art of Biblical Narrative*, he strives for a broader perception of the text than his title might suggest. He advocates " a complete interfusion of literary art with theological, moral, or historiosophical vision" (19), which may lead to a different understanding of what a literary text might be and indeed a different notion of what a religious text might be.

In order to survey the discussion of narrative in the Old Testament, I will simply mention a few of the most important issues which have arisen and try to illustrate in each case by referring to a particular writer who has commented on the issue. There are now a number of books and articles on the subject in Old Testament studies and each one touches on a number of issues. For a discussion of narrative in the New Testament field, see *Literary Criticism for New Testament Critics* by Norman R. Petersen.

The first issue involves the decision to view Old Testament narrative as story first and foremost before anything else such as theology or history. In a book on King David, David Gunn argues that this story, as well as the rest of biblical narrative, must be seen as a work of art, which he defines as entertainment. By this he means " serious" entertainment rather than simple amusement. Serious entertainment demands active engagement, challenging the intellect, emotions, and understanding. In Gunn's view the notion of story as serious entertainment has gained less attention than it deserves because theological or historical questions have usually been given priority.

Another matter is that narrative in biblical studies is usually examined in a large context. Story is only one of several broad literary types in the Hebrew Bible. There are also poetic traditions like those of the prophets, the psalms, and the wisdom writers. Gunn's colleague at the University of Sheffield, David Clines, sets narrative in this broader context in an article entitled " Story and Poem: The Old Testament as Literature and as Scripture." Here the problem of narrative is seen as part of a wider issue: Scripture as literature. Story, like all literature, is an oblique rather than a direct form of communication. To root out quickly clear, straightforward messages and general truths from biblical story is to miss the subtlety of the medium. The same can be said for prooftext collecting.

This leads to a third issue. What about history? Do these stories not purport to be about things which happened in the past? James Barr has dealt with this matter most recently in an article, " Some Thoughts on Narrative, Myth, and Incarnation." While biblical narrative does refer, even though inexactly, to things which are really there and events which really happened, Barr argues that this does not mean that the past is the only, or even the main, thing to which biblical stories point. He suggests that the motive for much Israelite storytelling was not so much to tell how things were as to indicate how things are or even provide models for future hope. In her recent book, *Poetics and Interpretation of Biblical Narrative*, Adele Berlin stresses that narrative is a form of representation so that we must not confuse, say, a historical individual like David who must be studied historically with his representation in narrative which must be examined in literary terms.

This suggestion leads in turn to a fourth issue: how does narrative refer beyond itself? What is it really talking about? This problem of what a story refers to and how it refers is one of the most difficult topics in the study of biblical narrative. We have noted Barr's suggestion that story uses the past to create models for future hope. Put another way, stories offer a way of looking at the world. This is a very common way critics have of talking about what story is all about. In a book on the theology of story, *The Dark Interval*, John Dominic Crossan sought to classify stories according to how they invite us to view the world. Some, like myth, establish and affirm the world, allowing us to breathe easily because things are under control. Others, like parable, shatter and disrupt the world forcing us to reconsider what we have always taken for granted to be true. Crossan sides with parable, which

coincides with his radical view that we are caught in language and must be continually delivered from the notion that we can talk directly about reality.

Reluctant to go this far Clines argues that all stories are potentially subversive and capable of challenging the way we look at the world and understand life. Similarly, he proposes that many stories also establish and affirm, holding out new and different ways of seeing ourselves and the world in which we live.

Final Comments

It is clear that narrative is a topic worthy of serious attention. Telling and listening to stories is a vital human activity. Beyond this, storytelling has been important in one form or another to many religious traditions. Since narrative bulks large in the Hebrew Bible, biblical stories, and indeed the act of narration, have proven important to both Christianity and Judaism, although Judaism seems to have turned to story in a more fundamental way than Christian tradition. When one adds to this that forms of narrative are by no means absent from the New Testament, one may conclude that it is appropriate for Christian theology to reflect on story.

From the variety of views expressed in the books and articles mentioned, the precise way in which narrative is important for theology and biblical studies is still an open question. Nevertheless, the issues which have emerged provide an appropriate agenda for future discussion.

Frei's terms " realistic" or " history-like" may not in the end be the most apt for biblical narrative. Still there is a way in which biblical narratives relate to the past and this needs to be taken into account, although the relationship as such is not unique to biblical texts.

I would be inclined to side with those who prefer to see narrative as part of a larger issue. That is to say, story along with poetry and other literary forms together pose the issue of the literary nature of the Bible. This poses more substantially the question raised by a number of narrative theologians about the relative roles of story and rational discourse so that the opposition may be restated in a more general form as that between literary statements like story and poetry and discursive statements like theology and philosophy, a very old and difficult problem.

To this very matter Paul Ricoeur, a philosopher with a deep interest in Christian theology and biblical studies, has devoted a good part of his life. The nature and function of the imagination has been a major preoccupation for him and has led to his studying a number of topics which overlap remarkably with the topics which have emerged in our review of the discussion of narrative, including symbol, metaphor, narrative, narrative and history, the nature of text, how literary texts refer to reality, and the opposition between the

humanities and the sciences. It would be useful to develop more substantial links between the debate on these issues among Ricoeur and his debating partners and between those discussing narrative in theology and biblical studies.

In this general perspective the human imagination plays a central role, as many have recognized. Amos Wilder, a New Testament scholar, has never tired of reminding us that any full engagement with life takes place at the level of the imagination. In this regard Ricoeur has noted: " It is in imagining his potentialities that man exercises prophecy with respect to his own existence . . . By changing his imagination, man changes his existence" (49).

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REFLECTIONS ON THE RECENT

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E.J. Furcha

JOSEPHUS AND THE WORLD OF JESUS

DONNA RUNNALLS

As one reads books and articles in which the works of Josephus, the first century Jewish historian, have been used as a witness for various interpretations of biblical materials, historical issues and archaeological findings, one finds that highly selective principles seem to be applied. One reason for this may be the difficulties inherent in the inconsistencies and contradictions which are found in the historian's various writings. A survey of the entries in Heinz Schreckenberg's *Bibliographie zu Flavius Josephus* may illustrate another; here we see a clear indication that scholarly interests have followed the particular issues current at the time as well as reflecting individual preoccupations. The same patterns are apparent as are found in the history of modern biblical scholarship: first there was a need to establish a critical text, a goal accomplished by B. Niese between 1888 and 1895; questions of sources were then examined culminating in the 1920 publication by Richard Laqueur, *Die jüdische Historiker Flavius Josephus* (a work which challenged the assumption of the previous generation that the *Jewish War* was the centre piece of Josephus' writings). Studies of his writing style and literary milieu were produced by scholars such as H. St. John Thackeray and Robert J.H. Shutt. Only relatively recently has there been a burgeoning of critical inquiries into his role as an interpreter both of the Hebrew Bible and the history of the Jews. While the issues in Josephus scholarship have clearly paralleled those in biblical scholarship, there does seem to be a time-lag in the utilization of the results by scholars in the biblical field.

The first of Josephus' publications was the *Jewish War* which appeared, in seven books, somewhere between 75-79 C.E. This was, apparently, an official history of the war which took place between the Jews and the Romans from 66-73 C.E. Josephus began the work, however, with an account of Jewish history from the time of Antiochus Epiphanes in order to set the context for the Jewish attitude to the Romans. Only after sixteen years did he publish his next major work, the *Jewish Antiquities*. This appeared, in twenty books, in 93 - 94 C.E. Because it was dedicated to a certain Epaphroditus, Thackeray assumed that he had, by this time, lost his royal patronage because Domitian, who was Emperor from 81 - 96, was an enemy of literature and his was a time in which the position of historians was particularly precarious (Thackeray, 1926, I, xi). The *Antiquities* is a history of the Jewish people from the beginning of Genesis to the outbreak of the war with the Romans. There is, thus, an overlap between this account and that in the *Jewish War* for the period from Antiochus Epiphanes to the Roman procurator Florus; we find inconsistencies and contradictions between the two.

Josephus published two smaller works later than 94, perhaps even after 100. The work entitled *Against Apion*, in two books, is an apology for Judaism and a refutation of current prejudices about the Jews. He gives numerous

quotations from otherwise lost writings and presents an interesting insight into the anti-Semitism of the first century. The other work, the *Life*, seems to be an appendix to the *Antiquities*. It was occasioned by the appearance of a history of the Jewish War written by Justus of Tiberias. Justus accused Josephus of causing the city of Tiberias to revolt against the Romans. This work, which includes autobiographical details, consists mainly of Josephus' defence of his actions during the half year he commanded the Jewish defences of Galilee. Because of the particular content there are parallels with some passages in the *Jewish War* and again we find inconsistencies and contradictions.

Josephus was the son of a Jerusalem priest, Matthias; on his mother's side he was a descendant of the royal house of the Hasmonaeans. Born in 37 - 38 C.E., he claims to have been a precocious child who by the age of fourteen was being consulted by priests and learned men concerning the Torah. By sixteen he says that he undertook a programme of investigating three of the Jewish sects, the Sadducees, the Pharisees and the Essenes, in order to select the best for himself. In the *Life* at this point he makes one of the statements which has led to considerable divergence of opinion among scholars. Let me quote:

> ...I submitted myself to hard training and laborious exercises and passed through the courses. Not content, however, with the experience thus gained, on hearing of one named Bannus, who dwelt in the wilderness, wearing only such clothing as trees provided, feeding on such things as grew of themselves, and using frequent ablutions of cold water, by day and night, for purity's sake, I became his disciple. With him I lived three years and, having accomplished my purpose, I returned to the city. Being now in my nineteenth year I began to govern my life by the rules of the Pharisees, a sect having points of resemblance to that which the Greeks call the Stoic school (*Life* 11-12).

Prior to the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, Thackeray claimed based on this statement and the historian's lengthy description of the Essenes in the *Jewish War*, that the writer, a cosmopolitan man of affairs, nonetheless " had a genuine strain of asceticism in his nature" (Thackeray 1929, 6). The question of Josephus' first-hand knowledge of the Essenes became very important following the discovery of the Scrolls when the community portrayed by them was identified with the Essenes as described by Josephus, Philo and Pliny. The reliability of Josephus' account is of crucial importance for this identification because of the particular features of the community life which he included. The many similarities as well as the differences between the various accounts has led to an on-going and unresolved scholarly debate as to the viability of this identification. In his recently published bibliography, *Josephus and Modern Scholarship 1937 - 1980*, Louis Feldman lists 101 books and articles which have included a discussion of this issue (Feldman 1984, 618 - 33). We have, for example, R.P.C. Hanson writing in 1958 that " There is no reason to doubt Josephus' statement that he had gone some way toward becoming an Essene himself, and therefore his description must be regarded as

particularly reliable" (Hanson 1958,55). In the same year, Morton Smith, in his usual hypercritical manner, wrote the following:

> The general course of Josephus' rather worldly career would make it seem unlikely that he was ever very familiar with the Essenes. He claims to have acquired experience of all three " sects" of " Jewish philosophy" by " going through" them at the age of 16. But he must have gone through all three in a single year since he was able, afterwards, to spend three years with a hermit (evidently, therefore, not an Essene, in spite of the fact that he bathed every day) and return to Jerusalem by the age of 19, no doubt tired of asceticism and ready for the pleasures of Rome, where he moved in the circle of the Empress Poppaea (who also bathed every day, but was probably not an Essene) (Smith 1958, 277-8).

Such divergent opinions may be seen as a natural reaction when scholars are compelled radically to revise previously held ideas; while some writers had earlier suggested that first century Judaism was complex, Josephus' description of the three sects was widely used to portray the setting in which the ministry of Jesus took place. The discovery of the Scrolls forced a reassessment so that by 1961 Matthew Black noted what has now become an accepted view:

> The actual situation in Judaism . . . appears, in fact, to have been one of a widespread and dangerously proliferating and fissiparous hetero-praxis . . . (Black 1961, 8).

Did scholars realize what a particular attitude toward Josephus' personal claim implied? If Josephus had not personally been acquainted with the Essenes, but rather relied on written sources, then divergences from the Scrolls could be explained without discrediting him concerning other historical problems. Otherwise serious doubts could be raised about any number of issues for which he provided the primary evidence.

Josephus' simple description of first century Judaism as made up of three sects was obviously written to make a complex and variegated sectarianism clear for his readers rather than accurately portraying the real situation. A careful reading of his works makes this obvious because he mentions other groups such as Zealots, Herodians, and the " fourth philosophy"; even within the three main sects it would appear that there were distinct groupings. It has been necessary, therefore, to re-examine Josephus' own purposes in writing such specific reports about the sects. A more critical evaluation is now represented by such scholars as Geza Vermes who while accepting the historian's claim that he experimented with the Essene way of life at the age of sixteen (Vermes 1981, 125) claims that his account is not fully trustworthy because he was writing largely for non-Jews, so there is a large element of interpretation involved.

> . . . the fact that the Scrolls are directed to internal use among the sectaries themselves, whereas Philo, Josephus and Pliny wrote for non-Essenes and even largely for non-Jews, is bound to have affected the

presentation of their material. Thus Josephus reports on the Essene abstinence from vows (though he knows of the vow taken on admission), and from animal sacrifice, and also on their frequent purificatory baths, with a view to presenting the sectaries as Jewish equivalents to the Pythagoraeans, a much admired Hellenistic philosophico-religious group renowned for such practices (Ibid. 129).

When Josephus was twenty-six he went to Rome on a mission to secure the release of certain priests who had been arrested on " a slight and trifling charge" (*Life* 13) and sent there. Through his friendship with a popular actor he was introduced to Poppaea, the mistress of Nero, and was able to have the priests freed. Josephus was, by his account, in Rome in the year it burned and the Christians were persecuted, but he mentions neither. However, in the attempt to justify his subsequent actions he does say that he was very impressed with the military strength of the Romans as well as with their good fortune. When he returned to Jerusalem he found the revolutionary movement growing and tried to persuade the leaders of those set on rebellion of the futility of war against Rome. In his autobiography he claims that when he was unsuccessful in so persuading them, he and others of like mind had to hide their true feelings and join the rebellion to protect their lives.

In 66 C.E., Cestius Gallus, the Roman governor of Syria, led an army against Jerusalem to put down the rebellion. After his defeat, Josephus was sent with two other priests to organize Galilee to be ready to meet whatever actions the Romans would take against that territory.

The historian has given two accounts of his own actions and related events in Galilee and they contain obvious contradictions. In the *Jewish War* he states that he was appointed to conduct war, but in the *Life* he says he was sent to pacify the inhabitants of the territory. Which account can one believe? Opinions have varied from that which claims that the *War* was written to conform to the official government version and that the *Life* therefore presents the actual situation to others which claim that the account in the *Life* is so clearly an attempt at self-justification that it should be discounted.

After leading the defence of Galilee for over six months, Josephus was eventually besieged by the Romans in a city called Jotapata where he subverted a suicide pact and surrendered to Vespasian who would become Emperor. When the army did proclaim him Emperor, Josephus was remembered and made translator and adviser on Jewish affairs to Titus, Vespasian's son, who continued the war in Palestine. After the defeat of the rebels Josephus went to Rome with Titus and there received the patronage of the Flavian imperial family, was made a Roman citizen, and was given a pension. It is obvious that his personal interest in describing his military activities in Galilee changed over twenty years and this accounts for some of the discrepancies between the two. The problem is, however, very complex.

Of what interest would these reports, along with their contradictions, be to biblical scholars? These writings of Josephus have been one of the main sources from which it has been concluded that the whole of Galilee was a hotbed of revolution at least since the days of a certain Judas and his clan who had opposed the Roman census in 6 C.E.

Geza Vermes, following a theory proposed by Emil Schürer in *A History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus* (a theory also supported by Martin Hengel (Hengel 1961, 57-61)), cites a long line of rebels beginning with the robber chief Hezekiah in the middle of the first century B.C.E. to substantiate this portrait of Galilee. Hezekiah led a band which ravaged the territory on the borders of Syria. He was captured and in 47 B.C.E. put to death by Herod, who was then governor of Galilee. His activities were carried on by his son Judas who, on the death of Herod, attacked others trying to seize power as Herod's successor. His actions were so vicious that he began a reign of terror in the area. By identifying this Judas with " the Galilean" who led the revolt against the Romans at the time of the census of Quirinius and incited the people to resist Roman taxes and to recognize no foreign master, Vermes suggests that it is only a slight exaggeration to say that Galilee was the source of all revolutionary movements which disturbed Romans. Judas the Galilean and a Pharisee named Zadok became co-founders of a politico-religious movement, that of the Zealots. While the family of Judas continued to play a leading part in the Zealot movement until the destruction of Jerusalem, Vermes claims it was not just a family business, but a widespread Galilean activity (Vermes 1973, 46-8).

The particular identification of Judas ben Hezekiah with Judas the Galilean has been disputed by others. Kirsopp Lake, for example, in 1920 said of Schürer's thesis:

> Schürer's statement that Judas ben Hezekiah is " sicherlich" the same as Judas of Galilee seems . . . quite indefensible, except in so far as the use of " sicherlich" in theological writing indicates the combination of insufficient evidence with strongly held opinion (Lake 1920, I, 1, 424).

Furthermore, the alignment of those rebels with the particular party named the " Zealots" has been disputed, and Lake, followed by Morton Smith (1971), insisted that the Zealots as a distinct group appeared only in 66 C.E.

All of these arguments, however, are over the identification of the Galilean rebels, but underlying them is a general assumption of a Galilean revolutionary ethos which formed the background against which the main thrust of Jesus' ministry was set.

In *Jesus and the Zealots*, for example, S.F.G. Brandon, following the work of Robert Eisler (1931), gathers a great deal of evidence to try to show that Jesus, if not a member of the Zealot party, was at least aligned closely to their philosophy. He describes the influence of Jesus' early environment this way:

> The suppression of Judas of Galilee and the scattering of his followers undoubtedly led to a withdrawal of the hard core of the Zealots to the desert areas of Judaea and Galilee. From such strongholds they probably conducted a guerilla warfare against both the Romans and their Jewish collaborators in Judaea and the government of Herod Antipas in Galilee; for they would have had little respect or liking for the latter, who was a son of the hated Herod and owed his position to the Roman emperor. There is every reason, therefore, for assuming that Jesus, during his youth and early manhood, grew up with a close acquaintance of the Zealots and their aims and activities. In all probability the memory of Judas was treasured by the Galilaeans, who would have seen in him a martyr for the sacred cause of Israel's freedom. It is likely that many Galilaeans had taken part in the revolt of A.D. 6, and Jesus would have known some of the survivors and the families of those who had perished. To a Galilaean boy or youth those martyred patriots would surely have been his heroes, and doubtless he would often have listened enthralled to tales of Zealot exploits against the hated Romans (Brandon 1976, 65).

Brandon concludes that Jesus seems to have differed from the Zealots because he " was more immediately concerned to attack the Jewish sacerdotal aristocracy than to embroil himself with the Romans" (Brandon 1967, 356). This difference, however, stemmed from the fact that he was primarily interested in preparing Israel for the coming of the kingdom of God. ". . . a bond of common sympathy surely united Jesus and his followers with those who sought to maintain the ideals of Judas of Galilee" (Ibid. 358).

Arguing from a self-consciously Marxist perspective, Heinz Kreissig maintains that Jesus and his followers were a group of counter-agitators working against the philosophy of the Judas-Zadok group. Jesus' political involvement, nonetheless, resulted from his growing up in revolutionary Galilee (Freyne 1980, 221).

Despite his description of Galilee as the centre of revolutionary ferment in first century Palestine, Vermes rejects the idea that Jesus was associated with the Zealot movement and seeks to locate him within the Galilean hasidic tradition as one of the holy miracle workers (Vermes 1973, 223).

Even those strongly opposed to the idea that Jesus himself acted from political motivations assume a Galilean revolutionary ethos as the background to his ministry. In *Historical Tradition in the Fourth Gospel*, C.H. Dodd has commented that behind certain references in the Gospel of John lie fragments of a whole range of facts remembered about the conflict in which Jesus met his death.

> . . . in view of the permanent state of disaffection prevailing in Palestine, and particularly in Galilee, all through the period with which we are concerned, we can well believe that the mission of Jesus, in so far as it included a popular appeal to the Galilaean masses, was in danger of becoming involved with such political disturbances (Dodd 1963, 217).

W.D. Davies, in *The Gospel and the Land*, takes a similar position.

> A living awareness on the part of Jesus of extreme nationalists, who have often, probably wrongly, been referred to as the Zealots, as if they already constituted a party of that name in the time of Jesus, was inevitable: they were a dynamic force in his world, especially in Galilee (Davies 1974, 337).

How viable is the assumption of a Galilean revolutionary ethos? A critical examination of Josephus' writings shows it to be highly tendentious.

First, the action of Judas the " Galilean" is related by Josephus in connection with a census of the territory of the deposed Archelaus which was being incorporated into the Roman system of provincial administration. As Archelaus had controlled Judaea, the appeal of Judas to resist the census was an appeal to the Jews of Jerusalem and Judaea. Furthermore, in *Antiquities* 18.4 Josephus says that Judas was from Gamala on the Golan heights. Various reasons for identifying him as a Galilean have been suggested, but it must remain a question what his relationship to that particular territory was and whether he was, in fact, representative of a widespread Galilean attitude. Moreover, the fact that the people were persuaded to accept the census by the arguments of the high priest Joazar suggest that Judas did not have a great following. Josephus does not even give an account of the outcome of this revolt, but Acts 5:37 states: " . . . Judas the Galilean arose in the days of the census and drew away some of the people after him; he also perished and all who followed him were scattered." Some have suggested that the appearance of this account in Acts means that Judas had led a revolt of significant size. Here, however, it is compared with the revolt of Theudas who had a following of about four hundred men. The revolt of Judas, then, may have been equally insignificant.

The picture of revolution that Josephus draws is one in which the movement, though built on long-standing economic and political dissatisfaction, burgeoned in the fifties and sixties. Even then it is difficult to assess the revolutionary spirit of Galilee. When Cestius was marching against Jerusalem in 66 he sent a force against Galilee. The majority of the people remained passive while a group of what the historian calls " rebels and brigands" fled into the mountains. Eventually 2000 of them were killed and only a few escaped (*Jewish War* II. 510-512). When Josephus arrived in Galilee he states that there was general support for his efforts to fortify the territory, but his main backers appear to have been the peasants from the countryside and the villages. They wanted as much to sack Sepphoris, Tiberias, and Gabara, the three main cities of the area, as they wanted to fight the Romans. The dissatisfaction of the peasants, who may have owned their own land or have been tenant farmers or day labourers, was as much with the city aristocracy as it was with the Romans. Shayne Cohen has cited a number of studies which suggest that the situation in Galilee was one of city-country tension, of which he says: " Peasants . . . had ample cause to hate the neighbouring large cities,

the seats of the tax collectors and the large landowners" (Cohen 1979, 208 n.51). The degree of the discontent is, however, difficult to assess. When the Romans arrived enthusiasm for war waned. When most of Galilee had been conquered and only Gischala in Upper Galilee remained unsubdued, Josephus says that the inhabitants ". . . were inclined to peace, being mainly agricultural labourers, whose whole attention was devoted to the prospects of crops. . . " (*Jewish War* IV, 86). When all the territory had been retaken, the Romans made little effort to punish the Jews of the area, another fact which suggests a half-hearted rebellion.

As Sean Freyne has pointed out in his important study *Galilee from Alexander the Great to Hadrian 323 B.C.E. to 135 C.E.*, the assumption of a Galilean revolutionary ethos in the first century has been greatly exaggerated, particularly for the time of Jesus. While it is possible that the Galilean crowds did respond politically to Jesus' teaching, the nature of the response is obscure. That Jesus rejected the assumption that he was the leader of a political movement is clear from his teachings as well as from the gospel accounts of his reaction to the expectation of individual disciples. Freyne concludes:

> . . . no such revolutionary ethos comes clearly into focus in the ministry of Jesus despite occasional pockets here and there. This explains the apparent indifference of Jesus to the concerns of the revolutionaries, both in the images he chose to illustrate his message and the choice and constitution of his intimate band of followers (Freyne 1980, 229).

As charges of sedition, however, led to the crucifixion of Jesus, it is important to note that the locus of both the charges and the action by those in authority was Jerusalem. Freyne indicates the importance of this fact:

> . . . we can say that Jerusalem rather than Galilee was the focal point of resistance -- even for Galileans. This helps to underline the religious aspect of all resistance to Rome in the first century. . . Galilee and Galileans were not so isolated from attitudes elsewhere to have been unaffected by strong nationalistic feelings, at least on the occasion of the great feasts and the pilgrimages, and as we suggested, there must have been many shades of opinion as to how these feelings could best be implemented. One suspects that countrypeople were likely to react spasmodically and in a disorganized way, if only because they were cut off from each other in the isolation of village communities. A wandering prophet-like figure such as Jesus, was likely to draw together many such disparate strands, and the religious-apocalyptic tone of his language could easily have been interpreted in political terms by those with such hopes and expectations (Ibid. 228).

Interpretations of the Gospels which are based on the assumption of a Galilean revolutionary context for the development and ministry of Jesus, it seems to me, have utilized the writings of Josephus in a very selective and uncritical

manner. It appears that his writings have been used to support *a priori* assumptions, a method to be rejected as much in the field of biblical scholarship as in any other field.

Each generation puts its own questions to the sources it has inherited, but the questions which are appropriate are those which fall within the intentions of the sources; and the answers must take into account all the evidence. Thus a careful assessment of the way in which biblical scholars have used, misused, the writings of Josephus is an important task to be pursued.

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JERUSALEM OF THE HEART

" ...if I prefer not Jerusalem above my chief joy." -Psalm 137

To long for her with a lover's longing;
To be sick with the desiring of her -
To vow with a desperate intention
By strange waters far from our desert hills,
Strangers by the willows of a strange land.
In the deepest, darkest hour of the night
When the heavens and all the earth are still:
In sorrow, in grief, in silence, in tears;
To open up our breasts with our own hands
And in a gesture of remembering,
To offer up the wine of our sufferance;
The blood-sacrifice of our broken hearts.

For the sake of thee, O Jerusalem,
Do we sing your song with myrrh in our soul,
As a bridegroom banished from his bride.
May we behold thee and dwell within thee
Once again as once before and forever,
Beloved, Jerusalem of the Heart.

James Jervis

THE QUEST FOR THE ORIGINAL TEXT OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

FREDERIK WISSE

It is agreed that the proper aim of textual criticism is the attempt to establish, on the basis of the surviving manuscript evidence, a text which is as close as possible to the lost original. This is stating the obvious, yet the practice of New Testament textual criticism over the last three centuries has generally been far removed from this lofty aim. For good or bad reasons, textual critics felt justified to compromise and to establish their critical text of the New Testament on the basis of a relatively small, one-sided part of the manuscript evidence.

Things did not start out this way. Prior to the first printed edition of the Greek N.T. there was no systematic or sustained attempt at textual criticism. Of course, some ancient copyists were aware of variant readings and thus were forced to choose between them, but the process by which this was done appears to have been subjective and arbitrary. During the late medieval period some scriptoria in the shrinking Byzantine empire produced copies of N.T. books which were remarkably uniform in text, (1) but the reason for this was clearly the ecclesiastical demand for uniformity rather than a scholarly process by which those variant readings were chosen which have the greatest claim of being original. Also, Erasmus' edition of the Greek New Testament was not a critical text based on sound text-critical principles, (2) but simply an attempt to produce a Greek text in print ahead of Cardinal Ximenes who was in the process of publishing his *Polyglot* in Spain. (3) It is not clear which and how many MSS Ximenes' team used, but at any rate also the New Testament in the *Complutensian Polyglot* is not a critical text, though it is considered superior to the one produced by Erasmus. However, already beginning in the sixteenth century we witness a growing awareness among some printers and scholars that the Erasmean text, which after some modifications had been elevated to *Textus Receptus*, (4) diverged significantly from some MSS already present in or being added to libraries and private collections in Western Europe. A slow and somewhat haphazard process commenced of gathering variant readings keyed to the *Textus Receptus*, apparently with the hope of arriving eventually at a revised text. The first stage of this process reached its climax in 1707 with the publication by John Mill of some 30,000 variant readings gleaned from the Church Fathers, early versions and some hundred continuous Greek text MSS (5) available to him.

Shortly after Mill's publication another great British intellect, Richard Bentley, thought that the time was ripe for producing a critical edition which would claim to restore the text as it was current in the fourth century, the time Jerome translated the Latin Vulgate. This text, he believed, would agree in minutiae with the text of the Vulgate as preserved in its most ancient witnesses. With a fourth century Greek and Latin text speaking in one voice, he thought, the church could be assured of having recovered a foundation as

trustworthy as the originals. The edition never materialized, but Bentley's intended approach is clear. He had no intention of taking all the available manuscript evidence into account. He planned to limit hemself to only the oldest versions and Fathers, and to use no witnesses to the continuous Greek text written later than the eighth century. Two unproven presuppositions shine through in this approach. Bentley must have assumed that older witnesses are generally better than later ones, or in other words, that the manuscript tradition is characterized by increasing corruption. Secondly, Bentley's selection of witnesses takes for granted that the oldest manuscripts give an accurate representation of the text as it stood in the fourth century and that later MSS have nothing of value to add to this. No doubt this overconfidence in the early tradition was really the counterpart of a deep-seated distrust in the printed Textus Receptus of the Greek and Latin New Testaments which were based on a few, late MSS. On the basis of the variants gathered by Mill and his predecessors, Bentley was well aware that the Textus Recepti of the Greek and Latin Text were often contradicted by early witnesses, but that they found wide support among the great majority of medieval MSS. Thus by eliminating the late witnesses, including all the minuscules, (6) Bentley not only saved himself an enormous amount of work, but he also no longer needed to face the fact that the relatively few early witnesses would be far outweighed by the mass of late witnesses. The problem faced by Bentley and his questionable solution are still with us today.

The theoretical possibility of taking all available evidence into account was restored by Bentley's contemporary, Johann Albrecht Bengel, who showed that MSS generally divide into families or groups and that the weight or value of their witness is not related to the size of the group to which they belong. This meant that the large " Asiatic nation" of MSS as he called the text apparently shared by most of the minuscules, is not necessarily better than the small " African nation" of MSS. In principle Bengel's discovery promised an objective representation and evaluation of the manuscript attestation of each variant.

Bengel and other scholars in the next century took steps towards a critical edition which would not be a revision of the *Textus Receptus* but a text based on a well-founded choice between the available variants in the whole tradition. During this time the number of available MSS of the continuous Greek text, the lectionaries, the versions and the Fathers grew by leaps and bounds. New Testament textual critics were faced by the dilemma that to take all manuscript evidence into account would be an endless and unmanageable task, while producing a critical text within the foreseeable future would mean ignoring a large part of the relevant evidence. A desperate need was felt to find a short cut which would justify ignoring most of the available evidence.

Two escape routes seemed to be open. Bengel had laid a sound foundation for evaluating variants on the basis of internal considerations. Griesbach had further refined this method in his fifteen canons of textual criticism. (7)

This allowed for an approach in which the very complicated external attestation of a variant no longer needed to play a role, but only the intrinsic probability of which of the options in a passage had the greatest claim to being original. This so-called eclectic method continues to have a powerful attraction today. It does not circumvent the need to survey the whole manuscript tradition for new variants, but it need not be noted in which MSS a variant occurs. The saving is not so much in terms of scope as of logistics. Presumably after a basic number of MSS have been taken into account, further MSS would hardly add any new readings and thus could be ignored or sampled in only a few passages. Furthermore, textual critics would not have to wait until all MSS have been surveyed, but could start the evaluation of the variants long before.

There was another escape route, however, which promised to entail far less work than the eclectic method and which could boast to be far more objective and scientific. Starting with Bengel's "nations" of MSS, which had been confirmed and developed further by others, an attempt could be made to evaluate text-types as a whole using the well-established Bengel-Griesbach principles of intrinsic probability. Perhaps it could be proved that just as one variant can be shown to be prior and thus more original than its competitors, so one family of MSS could be older and purer than the others. If this proved to be the case, the other families of MSS could justifiably be ignored as being secondary and corrupted. The bulk of the available MSS could then be left out of consideration, not because of lack of time and opportunity, but for good scientific reasons.

As the wish is the father of the thought, so the needed proof will soon follow the demand for it, especially where clever scholars are concerned. To be sure, the proof that the " Egyptian" or " Neutral" text is old and pure, while the " Syrian" or " Byzantine" text is secondary and corrupt is no house of cards or mere wishful thinking but a well argued conclusion. This holds true even if one grants that the die was already cast and that F.J.A. Hort did not set out to praise or blame the Byzantine text but to bury it.(8)

Hort started with the three text-types generally recognized in his time: the Neutral text made up of Codices Vaticanus and Sinaiticus, with as close ally the Alexandrian text, secondly the Western text and finally the Syrian or Byzantine text. He assumed that these three text-types were already well represented in collations available to him and that no further manuscript study was necessary. Patristic evidence, (9) he argued, shows the Byzantine text to be the latest of the three, though it eventually won out and became the text found in the great majority of the minuscules. He knows of no Byzantine readings which were in existence before A.D. 250. Secondly, a study of conflate readings--Hort used four from Mark and four from Luke--proves that the Byzantine text is a recension which made use of the Neutral and Western texts. This would mean that the Byzantine text is not only posterior to the Western and Neutral texts, but also that it is secondary in nature. Finally intrinsic

evidence shows that Byzantine readings tend to be smooth and transparent. On the basis of *lectio difficilior potior* (the more problematic reading has the greater claim of being original) this shows them up as secondary. Thus, in Hort's words, since the Byzantine text " is only a modified eclectic combination of earlier texts independently attested, existing documents descended from it can attest nothing but itself." So much for 95% of the known manuscript evidence of the Greek New Testament!

Hort's argument is still the cornerstone of the practice of New Testament textual criticism today. The supposedly " Neutral" Codex Vaticanus, recently strengthened by P 75 (an early papyrus codex), has become the new Textus Receptus which allows one to ignore competing voices. (10) Yet few realize that, though Vaticanus may in most instances exhibit a superior reading on the basis of intrinsic probabilities, yet Hort's general case against the Byzantine text as a whole holds little water and should be abandoned.

Put briefly, Hort's distinction between the Neutral and Alexandrian texts is unwarranted and Codices Sinaiticus and Vaticanus are certainly not neutral but part of a particular text recension. (11) On the other hand, the Western text is not a recension but an outgrowth of the relatively uncontrolled period of transmission before the third century when the great majority of important textual variants were created. Secondly, some of the early papyri and the Old Syriac version date some Byzantine readings before A.D. 250. Thirdly, conflation of variant readings is characteristic of all types of text. As a matter of fact, late MSS do not distinguish themselves from earlier ones by increased corruption but rather by an accumulation of naive " textual critical"activity. The tendency was to eliminate errors and other textual difficulties and to conflate available variants if a choice could be avoided. Such attempts at improving the text may at times have made matters worse, but they present no basis for characterizing the late text as secondary and corrupted. Finally, the Byzantine text is not really an entity which can be compared with the Alexandrian text-type, but consists of a number of distinct groups which only appear as a unity when put over against such a peculiar text as found in Codex Vaticanus. Since well over half of all minuscules belong to one Byzantine group (K^X), the features of the other Byzantine groups tend to be obliterated when viewed together.

Hort's conclusions were so attractive that they have remained standing even though their foundation has crumbled. The only serious challenge has come from Hermann von Soden who completed the largest text project ever undertaken. (12) He deserves the honour of being the only scholar who tried to take all available manuscript evidence into account. He would have succeeded if he had not muddled his approach with questionable and unnecessary assumptions and left his methodology and results hard to check and marred by an unacceptable number of inaccuracies. (13) This and his far too mechanical way of establishing his critical text furnished other textual critics with a basis for easy refutation and for ignoring his great achievement. Von Soden has shown that

the enormous amount of manuscript evidence can be reduced to a manageable quantity, not by an *a priori* elimination as Hort did, but by classifying the text of individual MSS in terms of groups which can be represented in a critical apparatus under a group symbol or by a few representative members. This way only a small residue of MSS with an unusual text will remain unclassifiable.

These unusual Byzantine MSS have pricked the conscience even of staunch followers of Hort. After all, there might be a few undiscovered nuggets among the common rubble of Byzantine MSS discarded by Hort. Particularly North American scholars and students have searched the many minuscules newly acquired from Europe or the Middle East for valuable witnesses. Everyone believes his goose a swan and so, by means of uncritical statistical methods, ordinary members of von Soden's Byzantine groups were mistaken to be interesting MSS with an unusual admixture of non-Byzantine readings. (14) This fuelled a growing feeling among American scholars that a new apparatus criticus was needed which, in contrast to Tischendorf's superb *editio octavo maior*, would include many minuscules in addition to all papyri and uncials. This led in 1948 to the founding of the International Greek New Testament Project, a cooperative venture between British and American scholars.

" The Profile Method for the Classification and Evaluation of Manuscript Evidence" was developed in response to the needs of the I.G.N.T.P. In the course of some twenty years several hundred minuscules had been collated in the Gospel of Luke, but without a guarantee that these were representative of the rest and already redundant. To collate all available minuscules would be far too time consuming and would make the apparatus unmanageable. A classification tool was needed that could determine which of the already collated MSS could be omitted from the apparatus and which uncollated ones deserved to be added in order to reach an adequate representation of all known MSS.

The results of the application of the Profile Method to the Gospel of Luke are now complete. (15) A total of 1385 MSS have been classified leaving 468 that are lost, inaccessible, dated after Erasmus' printed text, or have a text that is interwoven with a commentary. These 1385 MSS divide into fourteen groups plus twenty-one clusters. A cluster is a group or subgroup with less than ten members. The fourteen main groups include such well-known entities as Codex Vaticanus with its allies, family 1 and family 13. In addition six of von Soden's groups were confirmed. Since the Profile Method is a tool far more precise than von Soden used, many subgroups or clusters could be distinguished within his larger groups. For example, among the 734 MSS belonging to group K^x there are twenty-nine subgroups or clusters and seventeen pairs. Five main groups and most of the clusters and pairs were previously unknown.

Few MSS remained which could not be classified in terms of a group or cluster. Among these are fourteen pairs and thirty-one singles which can be called unusual or significantly mixed and as such deserve to be included in an apparatus

criticus. In all I estimate that the 1385 witnesses to the continuous Greek text of Luke can be represented adequately by less than 150 MSS. This means that with the help of the Profile Method it has finally become possible to bring the evidence of the whole manuscript tradition to bear on the establishment of a critical text.

The Profile Method can be applied with profit to any text with an attestation of more than one hundred MSS. For the New Testament each gospel, Acts, the Pauline Corpus, the Catholic Epistles and Revelation need to be considered separately. After all available MSS have been profiled and classified, representatives can be chosen for an apparatus criticus. Whether a group should be represented by a siglum or by one or more of its members depends on its character and size. In this way the textual critic has all the information needed to make a reasoned choice among the available variants. For a critical apparatus this has the following consequences:

1. A critical apparatus can be and should be an objective and balanced reflection of the *whole* manuscript tradition. No group should be over-represented or ignored.

2. The introduction to the apparatus should contain a full justification for the inclusion of each MS. It should provide all the information necessary to evaluate its support of variants, such as date, provenance, group membership and relationship to other groups.

3. The inclusion of uncials in an apparatus needs to be justified in the same way as minuscules. The relatively early date of an uncial is not sufficient reason for inclusion if its text is already adequately represented by another uncial.

4. Finally minuscules should be selected not on the basis of their distance from the Byzantine majority text, but on the basis of their ability to represent a distinct group which is not attested by any of the uncials. Those minuscules which differ significantly from all groups represented in the apparatus deserve to be included.

Footnotes:

1) They form a distinct group called K^r which includes about 12% of the surviving manuscripts of N.T. books.

2) He compared only a few late medieval manuscripts available in Basle, Switzerland. He simply handed existing manuscripts to the printer with some changes and printing instructions added in the margin. For a full discussion of the history of the printed text see B.M. Metzger, *The Text of the New Testament* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968), Part Two.

3) One of the few surviving copies of this beautiful edition is in the antiquarian collection at The Presbyterian College, Montreal.

4) The Dutch publishing house Elzevir gave rise to this designation by claiming in 1633 that their edition was " received by all" and contained " nothing changed or corrupted." This hard-sell advertising slogan was believed for more than two centuries. Elzevir is still a large and profitable business today.

5) Continuous text MSS are to be distinguished from lectionary texts which served as pulpit bibles and include only the lections of the liturgical year.

6) Minuscules are MSS written in cursive script rather than separate capital letters (uncials). The first minuscules date from the ninth century and soon after they became standard for biblical texts.

7) See Metzger, *The Text*, pp. 119f. Basically the canons are "common sense" rules stating why certain types of variant readings are more or less likely to be original than others.

8) Brooke Foss Westcott and Fenton John Anthony Hort, *The New Testament in the Original Greek: Introduction and Appendix* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1882).

9) I.e. on the text of the N.T. reflected in the biblical quotation found in the writings of the early Greek Church Fathers.

10) The popular United Bible Societies edition, *The Greek New Testament*, generally follows Vaticanus/P 75 in the Gospels and Vaticanus/P 46 in the Pauline epistles.

11) Whether this third century edition was based on sound textual-critical principles is doubtful, but it may have used old and relatively uncorrupted MSS.

12) H. von Soden, *Die Schriften der Neuen Testaments* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1902-13).

13) See F. Wisse, *The Profile Method for the Classification and Evaluation of Manuscript Evidence* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982), pp. 9-18.

14) *The Profile Method*, pp. 23-28.

15) *The Profile Method*, pp. 47-116.

PUZZLING OVER PAUL: SOME INTRODUCTORY REFLECTIONS

N.T. WRIGHT

There are three problems which the apostle Paul has posed for those who, not content with a superficial reading of his letters, have struggled to understand him better. First, a problem of *history:* how does Paul fit, in terms both of ideas and of religion, into the jigsaw of the whole of the first century C.E.? Second, a problem of *contemporary interpretation:* how can his message be relevant to a church and world very different from his own? Third, a problem of *theology:* how can we best understand his thought, as a whole and in its various expressions?

The range of options open to those who ask these questions is surprisingly wide, considering the amount of labour that has been expended on them. The historical problem is really two problems in one. First, how did Christianity develop from Jesus, through the earliest church, to Paul, and on to the second century? Second, what role did Paul play in the movement from a predominantly Jewish religion to an (apparently) predominantly Greek one? To these interrelated problems some have answered by putting Paul close to Jesus in theology and close to Judaism in religion, leaving a huge gap between him and the second-century Greek church. Others have placed him further from Jesus, further from Judaism, and nearer to Clement and Ignatius. Others have placed him somewhere in the middle. Yet others have asked whether the picture is really as one-dimensional as that. Paul was, after all, only one of many influences on the second and third generations of the church; and the idea of making him *the* link, or making the line that runs through him *the* line that joins Christianity's founder to its later manifestations may (it is said) be a grave oversimplification of the actual facts.

The problem of contemporary interpretation reflects this historical uncertainty. It could, indeed, be argued that it helped to create it. Those who are predisposed to be suspicious of Judaism, and who see as Jesus' great achievement his breaking out of the straitjacket of his ancestral religion, can either hail Paul as the man who communicated this victory to a wider audience (Luther) or damn him as the man who tied Christianity up again in the ever tighter knots of Rabbinic casuistry (Nietszche). Those who welcome Jewish ideas as being somehow purer or truer than pagan and/or Hellenistic ones can either paint Paul as the great Rabbi who believed that the Messiah had come and who interpreted his coming in thoroughly Jewish terms, or draw him as the hellenizer who imported corrupt pagan ideas into the pure Jewish message of Jesus and thus permanently distorted it. Modern post-war " biblical theology" (W.D. Davies) has tended to follow the first line, modern Jewish writing on Paul (H.J. Schoeps, G. Vermes) the second.

The question, what one is to do with Paul, is thus a complicated one. It remains to be seen whether the third problem that of Paul's theology, will prove to be the key that unlocks the first two. This is not, it should be

noted, the role it is usually given. Treatments of Paul usually arrange his theology according to a pattern dictated by the needs of history or contemporary interpretation. Thus - to give examples of the latter - advocates of a traditional creed-based theology comb his works for passages that deal with the regular topics, thereby highlighting some things that seem of little importance in the letters themselves and squeezing some extremely important Pauline ideas into the nearest available dogmatic pigeon-hole. (See, for example, D.E.H. Whiteley, Alan Richardson, or Donald Guthrie.) Lutherans, reading Paul in the light of the Reformers' protest against Rome, have made " justification by faith" the centre of Pauline theology, arranging his ideas by attempting to discern their relationship to this fixed point - the need for justification, God's provision of it in Christ, the fruits of justification (Bornkamm). Bultmann's celebrated variation on this theme highlighted " anthropology," by which he meant Paul's view of man - his state outside faith, his coming to faith, and so forth - all in the interests of the application of the New Testament to a modern world in which man (he supposed) was the primary concern. At the present time one of the liveliest debates about Paul concerns his attitude toward the Jewish people, and this debate is usually carried on in explicit relation to the stance of the church over against the synagogue in the post-holocaust era - a fact which usually distorts exegesis in one direction or another (see the debate between K. Stendahl and E.P. Sanders).

If Pauline theology has thus been fitted into an interpretative scheme, it has also been the servant of an historical programme. Albert Schweitzer, who saw the historical problem as clearly as anyone, fitted Paul's thought into the first-century jigsaw by making it centre upon a Christ-mysticism which, though itself Jewish in origin and essence, was easy for subsequent generations to reinterpret in a Hellenistic fashion. W.D. Davies arranged Paul's theology to demonstrate that it was best understood from the perspective of Rabbinic Judaism, as opposed to the Hellenism advocated by Bousset and Bultmann. The latest in this brilliant line is E.P. Sanders, who, in an exercise in comparative religion, modifies the thesis of Davies by emphasizing the radically new position brought about by Paul's understanding of salvation in Christ.

It would, of course, be quite unjustified to suggest that such schemes have no value in the task of understanding Paul's theology. But the fact that their main purpose lies elsewhere has caused inevitable distortions, as the clash between Schweitzer and Bultmann illustrates: both have immensely important points to make, but the two schemes of thought produced are fundamentally incompatible. If " Christ-mysticism" (in Schweitzer's sense) really is the centre of Paul's thought, justification (in Bultmann's sense) is not, and *vice versa*. And when the theology is arranged to fit an essentially historical (Davies) or comparative (Sanders) task, distortions and actual gaps are hard to avoid. Davies, for instance, has no treatment of, nor logical place for, justification; Sanders, no room for Christology or Pneumatology as part of the essential logic of Paul's thought. From a very different perspective Ernst

Käsemann has made a fascinating synthesis of history, theology and contemporary applicability; but his treatment of Paul gives itself away by the need to bracket off large areas of thought - usually the bits which can be called " apocalyptic" - as remnants of Paul's background beliefs which had not been properly assimilated into his mature thought. The real points at issue are historical and interpretative: Paul is on the one hand fitted into a particular framework, and on the other hand seen to be offering a radical reinterpretation of primitive Jewish-Christian apocalyptic, which turns out to be, when brought forward into the modern world, the necessary position for a radical Protestant to take up against present-day " nomism" or " enthusiasm" (see my article of 1982).

These apparent weaknesses in previous attempts to present an overall view of Paul's theology are not the only reason for suggesting that the proper task is to begin with the theology and let the wider historical and interpretative questions take second place. Put like that, of course, the matter again appears too simple: no student of theological problems can ignore those of history and interpretation. But to give the *logical* first place to theology - the attempt to understand Paul's thought, to explore its contours and coherence, in its own terms - is to begin on the more solid ground. We do not know nearly as much as we would like about pre- or post-Pauline Christianity, certainly not enough to draw up a diagram which will leave us with a Paul-shaped blank in the middle.

In the same way, to write Pauline theology with too ready an eye to modern application is, obviously, to run the risk of making the Apostle in one's own image. This danger is not averted by the modern fad for accusing him of inconsistency, which is a charge that often rebounds upon the accuser. When we stumble upon an apparent inconsistency, the proper scientific procedure is to suspect that it is our perspective that needs adjusting. Nor does flat disagreement (Paul says this, but I disagree) guarantee the critic's neutrality; Paul may simply be cast in the role of a contemporary opponent, be he a male chauvinist or a turncoat Jew. Rather, the appropriate method is to begin with the primary source material itself, and to attempt to answer the questions which it, in its own way, raises. The primary material can only be placed in its wider historical context, or re-interpreted for a new setting, when it has itself been properly understood.

II

The problem of Pauline theology, in this sense, is itself an historical problem of understanding the thought of a figure of history, as it appears in his extant writings. It also subdivides into three sub-problems, whose interrelationship raises a vital question of method. We must enquire into the purpose, flow of thought, and inner coherence (or lack of it) of each letter. We must examine the relationship between the different letters, not least between apparently similar or parallel passages in different letters. And we must examine the meaning, and the mutual integration, of themes and ideas in the corpus as a whole.

We are here presented with the dangerous necessity of arguing in a circle. On the one hand, decisions about the interpretation of particular passages or letters, or about the relationship between different passages or letters, cannot be taken without at least a working hypothesis as to the overall shape and direction of Paul's thought. On the other hand, such a working hypothesis must itself be built up by means of, and tested constantly against, the individual letters themselves. It is in this process (which would be identical, *mutatis mutandis*, for any body of literature, such as the works of Shakespeare or of Cicero), that certain further questions are raised. Are we sure that we know the extent of the corpus? What counts (this is really the same question in a different guise) as coherence or consistency? How do we determine the centre or starting point for the hypothesis, and how would we know if we were wrong in our assessment of this?

That these questions too are interrelated is obvious enough in the case of Paul. If we claim that " justification by faith" is the centre and starting point, we may be inclined to categorize as " non-Pauline" writings which, though bearing his name, appear to have no interest in the topic or which seem actually to militate against it. Such an argument forms part - perhaps too important a part - of the case regularly made against the authenticity of the Pastoral Epistles or of Ephesians. One answer to this might be that it rules out too much; for there are passages even in the " main letters" like Romans and Galatians which have to be regarded as secondary: witness, for instance, Bultmann's dismissive treatment of Romans 9-11. It is at points like this that normal canons of literary criticism dictate that the text must be the text. The attempt not merely to think the author's thoughts after him but to think them *better* than he did, so that we are able to play off one of his chapters against another, is extraordinarily rash, expecially in the case of a text from another time and culture, even if the process is dignified with a technical term of its own (in this case, *Sachkritik*, " material criticism").

It is, however, in the nature of the circular argument that one cannot start with too many fixed points. Initial working hypotheses are required to be modest; they may only expand themselves when invited to do so by the evidence. If, therefore, we find that a particular hypothesis has the effect of leaving a particular text, or indeed the entire corpus, in complete disarray, we are justified in claiming that it has overstepped its limits, and in rejecting it in favour of one which shows that the material is in fact well integrated. In practice this means, among other things, that one assumes, until the contrary is conclusively proved, that the author is not a fool, and has not changed his mind arbitrarily from one moment to the next. In literature, as in science, that hypothesis has the strongest claim which achieves three objects: (1) to cover the maximum possible amount of evidence (" saving the appearances") (2) to do so in the simplest possible fashion, and (3) to illuminate areas beyond the initial choice of subject matter. In literature, the first two aims are of course often in tension. One can cover all the evidence easily enough by postulating a highly complex scheme of interpolaters (one is

reminded of Ronald Knox's satirical comment on some " discrepancies" in the Sherlock Holmes stories: " nihil aliud hic latet nisi redactor ignorantissimus" (" we have to do here with nothing else than an exceptionally stupid redactor")). Progress is achieved by working on both fronts at once, maintaining the tension between simplicity and the detailed evidence until, as in a long suspended musical cadence, harmony is eventually attained.

It is therefore impossible to begin with the first verse of Paul's writings, work through until one comes to the end, and only then declare that we have a working hypothesis about the nature of his theology. Not only would this be unbearably repetitious, it would be actually impossible in terms of the exegesis itself. Before one had gone three chapters one would have drawn at several points on a wider understanding, on at least a working hypothesis, of what Paul was driving at.

Nor, however, could we begin with the hypothesis and simply follow through its implications to the end, drawing at will on verses and passages from Paul. The object of the exercise must be to present an hypothesis which can then be tested in the most rigorous way, against the texts themselves: to give a picture, a bird's eye view, of the theology of the apostle which will illuminate and throw into focus whole letters and, ultimately, the whole corpus. At that point it may become clear that a letter previously suspect is in fact, theologically at least, at home with the rest, or that a letter previously unsuspected may in fact be out of line, always recognizing the danger that to reach the first judgement may be to achieve simplicity at the cost of the evidence, and that to give the second may be to allow what is taken for evidence to ruin the simplicity. We know that we have avoided both Scylla and Charybdis when we can say, not " how much easier it would have been if Paul had said this, or this, instead of what he has in fact said, " but " look at his thought as a whole like *this*; and then you will see that in passage after passage, in letter after letter, he has said exactly what he intended to say."

Our overall method, therefore, must be to construct the hypothesis first - though with each part based upon careful exegesis - and then to step back and see what effect it has on the letters as wholes, and as a whole. If it succeeds in highlighting the points which are clearly important for Paul, and in demonstrating their mutual relation in a way which does justice to their deployment in various different arguments and contexts, it is doing well. If it gives coherence to letters that are often split up, on theological grounds, into disparate sections - I am thinking particularly of Romans - it will do better still. If it can show that an underlying thematic unity exists between letters that are usually regarded as in some way incompatible - Romans and Galatians, for instance, with their apparently divergent views of the Law - it will do very well indeed.

III

If we know anything about Paul at all we know that he was a Jew, and indeed, for the early part of his life, a zealous and strictly orthodox one. Nor did his submission to the gospel of Jesus Christ make him forget his ethnic and religious origins. On the contrary, it seems to have forced him to ask the hardest possible questions about them. Any hypothesis that wishes to do justice to Paul must therefore include, and in fact preferably start with, as clear as possible an idea of what that Judaism was in which he had been brought up and whose meaning he never ceased to explore in the light of the gospel. Even if we were to conclude that he abandoned Judaism totally, that he exchanged it for something else altogether, it would still be necessary to begin here; for in that case the fact would remain that one of the most significant things about him would be his being an *ex*-Jew. (In other words, beginning here in no way begs the question of whether Paul's mature theolgy is basically " Jewish" or " Hellenistic" or anything else.) Much more in line with the evidence, however, is the working assumption that Paul the Christian was consciously rethinking and reworking his Jewish principles, ideas, aims and motives, in the light of the gospel and of his awareness of the peculiar vocation that had been entrusted to him, that of being the apostle to the Gentiles.

These two further elements (the gospel and his vocation) must also, of course, be part of any worthwhile working hypothesis. Paul's fixed point of reference in passage after passage is Jesus Christ, and it is the unanimous affirmation not only of Acts but of the relevant passages in the letters (Gal. 1-2, 2 Cor. 4, etc.) that the great change that had come about in his life was due to what he believed to be a vision, given by God, of Jesus in his risen glory. His letters, though, are not simply abstract theologizing about Judaism in the light of Jesus. They form instead one part of what seems at times like a military campaign: " thanks be to God," he writes, " who always leads us in triumph" (2 Cor. 2:14). He wants to encourage, congratulate, advise, plead with and warn young churches, most of which had been planted by himself or under his direction. His theology is part of his missionary work. This does not mean that it is to be taken any less seriously as theology, as though there existed a special missionaries' licence to be as inconsistent as the occasion may seem to demand. It should, rather, encourage us to see the letters, which are after all brief and " occasional," as parts of a larger hypothetical whole, namely, the total understanding of God and his purposes that preoccupied Paul when preaching and teaching as much as when writing to those who had already heard him (or perhaps a colleague of his) in the flesh.

If, then, we must begin with Paul's Judaism, and his understanding of the Jesus who had been revealed to him on the road to Damascus, the shape of the " larger hypothetical whole" which we are to construct must be thoroughly *theological*. That is to say, we may presuppose that the fundamental feature of Paul's thought, first as a Jew and then as a Christian, is an understanding

of God himself. We must resist the attempt to reduce his thought to terms of human existence merely, or of the interplay of sociological forces, or of the collecting and reworking of sundry early Christian traditions. We may be encouraged in this presupposition by the self-evident fact that the notion of *faith* plays such a large part in his thought - and that not merely as part of an analysis of human behaviour or existence (" what sort of a thing is human faith?") but as related directly to God himself, the object of faith. The question at stake is " who is God?", or more fully, " who has the God of Abraham shown himself to be in the events concerning Jesus of Nazareth?" This fits well with the basic concern of Jews of the period, which was not, as is so often assumed, how one might acquire merit before God, but the much larger question of what God was doing with his people. These questions were, I believe, Paul's questions too; and in Jesus of Nazareth, and in his own vocation to be the Apostle to the Gentiles, he found answers to them and put those answers into practice.

If we begin here, we will arrive at a new shape and emphasis in Pauline theology, one which (I believe) will do more justice to the subject matter than its various rivals. My basic argument would be that the gospel provided Paul with a new understanding of God and of God's people: a redefinition, in fact, of the central Jewish doctrines of monotheism and election. Although most if not all of the standard topics in Pauline theology are covered by this scheme, they are not simply to be arranged encyclopedia-fashion, or in a compendium of " topics" culled from a creed or an overtly Protestant arrangement ("man's need of salvation and God's provision of it"). On the contrary, I believe that this outline possesses, quite irrespective of its subsequent testing against the letters as a whole, the great virtue that it demonstrates the proper organic relation between the different topics. To those who are instantly suspicious of such an idea, and who prefer to imagine Paul as a disjointed, quite unsystematic thinker, I can only make the request that they try the scheme through and see whether it is capable of doing justice to the evidence.

The outline of Pauline theology that would result from such a starting point might look like this. Christology (i.e. Paul's view of Jesus, based on his Damascus Road experience) gives him a new understanding of the meaning of monotheism. The One God has one people: this basic Jewish belief is transformed by the parallel realisation (Romans 3:30) that the one God has a single plan of salvation, which must therefore be the same for Jew and Gentile alike. Christology therefore answers the old Jewish problem about the Righteousness of God. God is in the right in winning the victory over evil and in making a way, in fulfilment of his covenant promises to the patriarchs, for people of all races to find membership in his family. The new (or renewed) covenant is thus a controlling category for Paul (2 Cor. 3, Rom. 7-8): the people of God are redefined as the people of Jesus Christ, indwelt by the Spirit of God. Christ and the Spirit together take, therefore, the role occupied by the Torah in the Judaism of Paul's day. The new community, reckoned " righteous" (i.e. within the covenant) on the basis of its Spirit-inspired faith, is seen as the fulfilment of Israel's destiny. (The problem this raises about ethnic Israel

is faced by Paul, *in exactly this context*, in Romans 9-11.)

It is my belief that such a scheme does justice to the particular emphasis of the various letters in a way that no other yet attempted can do. I believe that it will also help us to solve the two other problems with which we started. This picture of Paul fits well into the historical jigsaw of the first century, giving a coherent and comprehensible transition from Jesus and pre-Pauline Christianity to the church of the second century. It also provides us with much food for thought as we attempt to appropriate Paul for a new generation, suggesting (among other things) that Christology is the key to the large issues of God, the church and the world, and in particular that the doctrine of justification is not to be understood merely individualistically, but as part of the vision of a renewed world and a renewed people.

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ATTENTION: FACULTY OF RELIGIOUS STUDIES GRADUATES

As this year marks the 100th anniversary of the admission of women to McGill, the next issue of ARC will be devoted to the thoughts and experiences of those women who have graduated from our faculty.

We will be creating a montage consisting of the personal reminiscences of both men and women who have graduated from our faculty and would welcome a short paragraph from any of our readers who can remember what it was like either to be a woman or to have them present in the midst of one of the last male preserves on campus.

Please send your contributions as soon as possible to:

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BOOKS ON REVIEW

Paul Davies. *God and the New Physics*. London: J.M. Dent, 1983. Pp.x+225.

In a general way it could be observed that at present there are three major positions in the discussion of the relationship between religion and science. The first position holds that there neither is nor can be any productive relation between science and religion as explanatory principles of the world. The two fields operate from totally different premises and project totally different goals. The scientific investigator bases his predictive conclusions upon logico-mathematical rules and empirical data; the scholar of religion studies the historical construction of mythical world-views or cosmologies and endeavours to interpret them. While there may be certain superficial similarities in methodology, the perspectives and aims of the two fields are radically divergent. Science pursues the possibility of a given whose status remains always theoretically open; religion as phenomenon rather than object of study constantly circles back to a substantial prior given. In principle at least, science is ever patient of total revision, religion only of relative reassessment. Religions can vanish in a way that science cannot. This first position is philosophically interesting inasmuch as it allows for rational evaluation.

Such is not the case with the second position, which in its philosophically strong form collapses science into religion. Until the beginning of the modern period, it was precisely this view that obtained in the Christian West. That it is not yet dead can easily be seen in the recent controversies over creationism. Nevertheless, this position is ultimately trivial. It allows for no rational discussion, merely for repetition or refutation. A weaker, non-philosophical variant of the second position is a pervasive but rather inchoate attempt to collapse religion into science, as for example in some science fiction and such religio-scientific epic films as *E.T.* and *Star Wars*. Indeed, the commercialism of the publishing industry, Hollywood, and American fundamentalism no doubt constitute an intricate complex that has yet to be fully investigated. Nor, unfortunately, is the scientific community immune from the opportunism that such lucrative enterprises encourage. From the point of view of the first position, one might say that the most interesting aspect of the second position is that it exhibits quite lucidly the basic category mistake that for centuries has resulted in the confusion of science and religion.

There is, however, a mediating position which while maintaining a rigorous distinction between the fields of science and religion, seeks to examine points of possible complementarity or, at least, similarity. It is interesting that these points of relation are most likely to occur when science attempts a total explanation. This is especially true in the area of theoretical physics. And it is here that Paul Davies' book *God and the New Physics* will prove of most interest to philosophers, theologians, and scholars of religion.

Paul Davies is Professor of Theoretical Physics at the University of Newcastle upon Tyne. He is the author of textbooks and technical studies and of several explanatory works for the general reader. It is to the latter category that *God and the New Physics* belongs. In spite of Davies' penchant for split infinitives, his new book offers very clear, non-technical expositions of the main theories of present-day physics. Especially helpful are his discussions of relativity, quantum theory, the big bang theory of the origin of the universe, unified field theory in its more recent developments, and a particularly informative section on leptons and quarks. It becomes obvious, however, that Davies is on less sure ground when he deals with the biological sciences, evolution, and the mind/matter problem. His discussion of artificial intelligence and its relation to non-organic systems, with the light that this throws upon the mind/body problem and the possibility of a divine intelligence in relation to the universe, is nonetheless of great interest. The difficulty is that the philosophical questions involved are too complex for the scope of this book.

Perhaps Davies places rather too much emphasis on the dichotomy between reductionism and holism in today's science, but this is in line with the general tendency of his book, which stresses the quest in the new physics for total explanation, the simple mathematical formula that would explain the entire universe. At this point, of course, there might be the possibility of a religious explanation, particularly if the central questions in modern physics--the state of the universe at the big bang before Planck time (10^{-43} second) and the ultimate fate of the universe in terms of either attritional expansion or the big crunch--should remain unanswered. At present, however, physicists are seeking the answer to the first question in unified field theory. It is postulated that at the very high energy levels below 10^{-43} second the four basic forces--electromagnetism, gravity, and the strong and weak nuclear forces--formed a unity. At Planck time gravity separated off, as did the other three forces in the subsequent period of cooling. Further investigation of the still not well-understood gravity force in addition to experiments at high energy levels should resolve this question. The second question about the ultimate fate of the universe depends in turn upon experiments which would determine whether electrons decay and whether neutrinos possess mass, both of which conditions would point to an expanding universe and an end by attrition rather than by the reverse action of the big bang, namely the big crunch. So, on these central questions there may be no need to appeal to divine intervention. The universe may be totally self-explanatory. The same applies to the recent "inflationary" theory developed by Alan Guth and others which seeks to explain why the universe in its very early stages failed, as would have been likely, to collapse back upon itself. The universe may be, as the proponents of this theory have it, the ultimate "free lunch."

The greatest difficulty from the scientific point of view with *God and the New Physics* arises from the nature of the work as an exposition for the

general reader. Davies has been obliged to omit the very heart of the matter--the mathematical models which constitute the true meaning of physical theories. As a result, the reader for whom the book is intended, unless he is very cautious or rather more literate than most people in the objectives of physics, may come away with the impression that theoretical physics is more closely related in its concerns to religion than it actually is. Some amazing fantasies could arise in the minds of the unaverted from such speculations as Everett's multiple-realities solution to Schrödinger's paradox of the indeterminism of quantum systems. The wilder reaches of sci. fi. might also be broached by the unwary through a theory like Wheeler's interpretation of the universe as a self-observing system, especially given the graphic illustration on p.111. Without the mathematics these highly intriguing theories are open to possible abuse. Perhaps Davies has made things too easy.

On the other side, from the point of view of religion, there are a couple of difficulties which are engendered by Davies' presentation. In his preface (p.viii), Davies says that the theme of his book concerns four major questions: Why are the laws of nature what they are? Why does the universe consist of the things it does? How did those things arise? How did the universe achieve its organization? The last two questions are properly questions for scientific investigation. The second question is explicable in terms of the answer given to the first question. Thus everything depends upon how one answers the first question: Why are the laws of nature what they are? Three kinds of answers are possible: scientific, metaphysical, and religious. At present, physics reaches a limit concept with the postulation of a "singularity," a theoretical point at which spacetime ceases to exist, as the originating ground of the big bang. Beyond this singularity--but then the language becomes metaphorical--one must remain silent or resort to other kinds of explanation. Strictly speaking, *we* cannot logically conceive of anything outside the parameters of spacetime. Davies is very much aware that the great danger that religion faces in taking into account the discoveries of modern science is the risk of adopting too readily a "God of the gaps." This kind of negative and historically relative explanation is no explanation at all, for it is continually subject to either revision or overthrow. Here we see theology unsuccessfully imitating the methodology of science.

Although Davies is admirably objective and non-committal throughout his book, he does provide a tentative suggestion for a religious explanation of the universe. Given the almost inconceivable odds of this particular kind of universe emerging by chance, one may reasonably assume an intelligence which, as it were, chooses the laws of physics which determine this universe. This intelligence we could then call God. Obviously, this is a bare minimum, nor does it avoid the transcendence/immanence problem. It also, I think, equivocates on the terms "intelligence" and "God" and may in the end turn out to be just another version of the God-of-the-gaps theory. Davies himself

does insist, however, that all ultimate answers may eventually be provided within the context of physics alone. Where then is God?

This brings me to my major criticism of Davies' book. As is too often the case, Davies' knowledge of contemporary physics is not matched by his knowledge of religion and theology. From the footnotes, the latter seems to be based largely on the *New Catholic Encyclopedia* and the writings of Richard Swinburne, along with the usual textbook examples from the history of Christial theology. Yet Davies recognizes this inadequacy and develops his work chiefly along the scientific perspective. Still, a more sophisticated theological approach to fundamental questions such as the doctrine of creation would have vastly improved the book. More serious is the failure to discuss sufficiently the distinction between metaphysics and religion. Are the two really the same thing? If they are not, why would not a metaphysical explanation be preferable to a religious one? Indeed, why multiply hypotheses at all? These questions beg to be answered.

God and the New Physics is on the whole an excellent and very clear introduction to the subject of contemporary research and theory in physics. Read intelligently it will be of great benefit to philosophers, theologians, and general readers who are not conversant with the new physics. Like all scientific works, however, much of it will rapidly become dated. What is imperative at present on a practical level is greater interdisciplinary discussion among scientists, philosophers, and scholars of religion.

Richard Cooper

Patricia Treece. *Un Homme pour les Autres: Maximilien Kolbe, le Saint d'Auschwitz*. Paris: Pygmalion/Gérard Watelet, 1984. Pp. 249. Distributed in Canada by Diffusion Prologue Inc., Montreal, Quebec.

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"I believe that man will not merely endure: he will prevail." William Faulkner

For more than a millennium, the Polish Roman Catholic Church has occupied a fundamentally pivotal role in shaping the nation's social, economic, political and intellectual history. Ever since the Diast Synasty adopted the biblical teachings of Christian doctrine in the year 966, successive generations of Poles have faithfully upheld the Church's sovereign legitimacy in protecting the material and spiritual welfare of the country, a proud tradition which continues well into our own age.

Certainly one of the most visible signs of Roman Catholicism's significant impact on Polish national affairs has been the elevation of many ecclesiastical sons and daughters to positions of pre-eminence. Indeed, religious officials figure prominently in the annals of Poland's best loved patriots, martyrs and heroes. Two of the most cherished symbols of the country's abiding affinity with Roman Catholicism, who left their lasting imprint on the turbulent record of the twentieth century, are the subjects of the books presently under review. The authors successfully describe and evaluate the life, work and times of these outstanding human beings with a richness and flair that definitely capture the essential elements of their legendary stature.

Patricia Treece's *Un Homme pour les Autres* is a model of scholarly analysis. Impeccably researched and beautifully crafted in an elegant literary style, the monograph retraces the lost footsteps of a humble Franciscan monk who posthumously received world attention and acclaim when His Holiness Pope John Paul II canonized him in St. Peter's Basilica on October 10, 1982.

Maximilian Kolbe was born on January 8, 1894, in a Poland which had already been conquered, partitioned and jointly administered by the victorious Prussian, Austrian and Russian powers for well over a century. It was a particularly bleak and infamous chapter in Polish history when the nation completely disappeared from the map of Europe and, strictly speaking, did not even legally exist. By a curious twist of fate, Kolbe reached intellectual maturity in the same year that modern Poland regained her lost independence in 1918 following the manoeuvres of the diplomatic forces which would also soon engineer the Versailles Treaty and the end of World War I.

Kolbe possessed, above all else in Treece's estimation, a first-rate intellect. Before his twenty-seventh birthday, he was ordained priest, received two doctorates in philosophy and theology respectively and attained the prestigious title of full professor of church history at a seminary in Cracow.

Shortly after the onset of the Great Depression, Father Kolbe left Poland and travelled to Japan where he was almost single-handedly responsible for establishing a Roman Catholic Mission in Nagasaki. He returned home in 1936 to become "Guardian" of the Niepokalanow Convent amidst ever increasing international tension spawned by the rise of Adolf Hitler and the National Socialist Party. The steaming cauldron of fear, racial hatred and war rumours with which the Nazi expansionist masters had haunted, if not terrorized, Europe and the world as a whole finally boiled over in the early morning hours of September 1, 1939, when hordes of German armoured columns and aircraft squadrons rolled over Poland with unforeseen ferocity. For the second time in less than a generation, planet Earth was once again caught in the throes of a Gargantuan conflagration.

Almost three weeks after the initial Nazi thrusts into Poland had taken place, German occupation authorities confiscated the Niepokalanow Convent for military purposes and arrested Father Kolbe and his religious colleagues. Thence began a fifteen week ordeal in no less than three different prisons that suddenly ended on December 10, 1939, when he was unexpectedly released. Kolbe quickly returned to Niepokalanow where he happily resumed his clerical duties. There he would remain until February 17, 1941, when the hated Gestapo re-arrested him on trumped up charges of secretly aiding local partisans in their struggle against German rule. Father Kolbe was detained in a Warsaw jail and in May was transferred to the notorious death camp at Auschwitz.

Later that year, a most remarkable human drama began to unfold. In August 1941, Kolbe voluntarily offered to take the place of a condemned man who, together with thirteen other camp inmates, had been arbitrarily singled out by the local German commander to die in the notorious "starvation cell" as a reprisal for the death of several of his troops at the hands of Polish guerrilla freedom fighters. A visibly stunned camp commander, looking on with incredulity, listened carefully to Kolbe's plea and, despite a moment of sceptical hesitation, agreed to the terms of the prisoner exchange. Two weeks later, Father Kolbe, his body totally emaciated from lack of food and water, received a deliberate overdose of an unknown lethal injection from the camp's doctor and passed away.

For his part, the man whose life was mercifully spared as a direct result of Father Kolbe's benevolent intervention, Sergeant Francis Gajowniczek, miraculously survived the monumental evil of Auschwitz and went on to see the dawn of better days. He was among the thousands of ordinary men and women and invited dignitaries who witnessed the canonization ceremonies at the Vatican.

Kolbe's horrible death aptly represented what Reinhold Niebuhr once described as the titanic struggle between "the children of light and the children of darkness." His untimely and premature departure snuffed out a life characterized by loyalty, unflinching devotion to the universal cause of his fellow man and fearless self-sacrifice, in sum the noble attributes which inspire the finest accomplishments of the human condition.

The themes of suffering and brotherly love which dominated Father Kolbe's body and soul were also clearly present in the moral fibre which determined Stefan Cardinal Wyszynski's defiant resistance to communism in post-war Poland. *A Freedom Within* is a truly remarkable book that documents the day to day activities of Poland's most famous primate (and Archbishop of Warsaw and Gniezno) in his own words as he languished in a filthy prison cell for openly voicing strong and unequivocal opposition to the state's persecution of the Roman Catholic Church. As the most outspoken critic of the communist bosses' misguided desire to foist the mantle of atheism on the people of Poland, Wyszynski was brutally incarcerated by the puppet regime of President

Boleslaw Bierut in October 1953. He was released only three years later following the ascendancy to power of President Wladyslaw Gomulka.

Iron willed and immensely stubborn, Wyszynski was resolved to uphold the church's age old participation in Poland's national domain and adamantly refused to let his strong convictions be dampened by the machinations of the communist leaders. Tempered by the devastating hardships of World War II, especially during the most brutal years of Nazi barbarism, Wyszynski was certainly no stranger to the tyranny which menacingly antagonized him in 1953. He calmly accepted his fate in prison and regularly found solace in the philosophical and theological teachings of Roman Catholicism. At the end of his first day in prison, Cardinal Wyszynski interpreted what was happening to him as " the story of just one class of Polish priests in the twentieth century."

> My brother Tadeusz had his share of camps and prisons: Soviet, German, and Polish. Most of the priests and bishops with whom I worked had experienced prisons. Something would have been wrong if I had not experienced imprisonment. What was happening to me was very appropriate.
>
> Jesus called Judas " my friend." I could not harbor a grudge against those men who were my keepers and who had been rather polite to me, really. In a way, they had only facilitated the inevitable, which was obvious to everyone. I would have to appreciate all that was happening to me at their hands (p. 12).

Over a year later, however, Wyszynski could scarcely contain his anger and complained bitterly about his prison experiences and the government authorities who had callously usurped his precious freedom. " Now I must describe my position explicitly," he told the prison's physician during a visit to his cell.

> I feel wronged by the government, not only in my right as bishop of three million Catholics, but in my rights as a citizen. I am condemned to prison in absentia, without a document of indictment, without any opportunity to offer evidence, contrary to the principle of *audiatur et altera pars*. And so it has gone on for a year. I am treated like an internee of a concentration camp, despite the fact that the conscience of the whole world has condemned this method of treating citizens. I was kept in a house whose rot helped destroy my health and sap my strength. I was put in a place where the Nazis imprisoned Austrian bishops after the *Anschluss*. And this is happening before the very eyes of all of Europe, which carefully watches the fate of a man who - regardless of his personal merits - occupies a position to which the cultured world cannot be indifferent, especially the Catholic world. Does making a martyr out of me really help the government, and does it dispose society favorably toward it? After all, there is no shortage of Poles who find the Primate of Poland meaningful in their lives. It is difficult to act against the public opinion because you cannot rule a country if you are at loggerheads with its citizens. After all, a state exists for its citizens and not the other way around (pp. 121-122).

Wyszynski's inner feelings of anger and contempt soon gave way to less emotional and more reflective meditations. By the time he had entered his third year of solitary confinement, Wyszynski pondered eloquently about the meaning of his forced existence behind bars. " The suffering of a priest," he observed, " always makes sense, since he is given to serve as a sign..." (p.203).

A Freedom Within is also noteworthy for its description of the Bierut administration's efforts to neutralize the institution of Roman Catholicism in Poland. During this long and extremely painful episode, the Catholic press was destroyed, nearly all periodicals, bookstores, and publishing houses, not excluding the official organs of the diocesan curias were shut down; church charities were destroyed, as were many educational and care centres. Catholic schooling and hospital services were forcibly closed; many convents and monasteries were indiscriminately desecrated or razed to the ground. Acts of inhumanity also included hideous forms of torture against innocent priests, monks, and nuns during their incarceration or interrogation, while others received patently unjust kangeroo court verdicts that resulted in prisons full of cassocks and habits.

Taken together, *Un Homme pour les Autres* and *A Freedom Within* offer penetrating glimpses into the Polish Roman Catholic Church's formidable resistance to the politically intolerant ideologies which mistakenly attempted to bury it under an avalanche of oppression. They are essential reading for anyone interested in the state of the Polish Catholic Church today and why it continues to remain an influential and potent force that the Warsaw government can ill afford to ignore.

André Kuczewski

FACULTY ARCHIVES

Do any graduates of the Faculty of Religious Studies have any old photographs, documents, or other memorabilia which you would be willing to donate to our Faculty Archives? If you do, would you please send a description of the material to our Librarian:

Miss Norma Johnston
Religious Studies Library,
3520 University Street,
Montreal, Quebec H3A 2A7

DEAN'S DESK...

It's a good year for the Faculty, now that the first month is over. Not only did we have the usual opening business, with large enrolments once again - especially in B.Th. and graduate - but we were without our secretaries, both of whom left us just before classes started. Fortunately, Mrs. Helen Shepherdson, who replaced Mrs. Paltoo (now in Toronto) in the receptionist-secretarial office, arrived the first day of lectures and handled student enquiries and the usual confusion about timetable and classrooms. Also the numerous phone calls asking, Is McGill really open during the Pope's visit? Answer: Naturally. Our administrative secretary, Mrs. Brais, has moved to the Macdonald campus, and has been replaced by Mrs. Marina Costain whose experience with university procedures promises to catch up with our backlog by the time you read this. Administrative matters may be addressed to her from now on. So the secretarial staff - our best " support system" - is working admirably at last, and everyone has settled down to regular work habits.

The Birks Event and Zwingli Symposium were an odd match during the same week, but the change of pace was helpful. We moved from the theological womb of Asia back to 16th century Zürich with its peculiar but significant issues of church-state, bible-world and sacrament as sign-seal. They need hyphenation because Zwingli's unique contribution to Reform was his insight into their unity.

Andrew Sandilands (B.Th.3) is our new president of the Religious Studies Undergraduate Society, and Don Stoesz (Ph.D.3) of the Graduate Society. Their activities along with a full slate of visiting speakers, as well as campus events to celebrate the Women's Centennial and whatever else we can find to honour, glorify or just enjoy - all this suggests the perennial potpourri of campus life.

Our graduate enrolment (last year 100 this year 101) makes us, in Principal David Johnston's words, " one of the most graduate-intensive per faculty member of any discipline in ours or any other university." Of course this is flattering, but it cannot change the harsh reality of extra work badly married to shortage of funds. While morale remains high, the lamentable story of annual budget cuts (i.e. starting each year lower than the previous budget, then facing the new cutback) is bound to affect the " quality of life" if things do not change. Once again, then, let me remind you how much we count on your financial support to make up the difference. Your gifts to the Alma Mater Fund (or others to the Development Fund) are a visible sign of your affection for us and your support of our enterprise. So let's hear from you! And thanks for listening.

J.C. McLelland

OUR GRADUATES...

Two graduates are a very present help in trouble these days, serving as replacements for regular teaching staff. Now that Professor Monroe Peaston has retired to California, his courses are being taught this year by *Mr. Francis Charet* (B.A. '78, M.A. '80). Francis expects his doctorate in Psychology of Religion from the University of Ottawa this year. The other teaching graduate is *Miss Patricia Kirkpatrick* (B.A. Honours '77, M.Th. London '79), assisting Professor Runnalls in the Old Testament department during Professor Robert Culley's sabbatical. She is completing her doctorate for Oxford University and expects to return to Oxford briefly in December to defend her thesis. Good luck to both!

Dr. Mavourneen (Morny) Joy (Ph.D. '81) has been on post-doctoral fellowship at the University of Chicago, but now has moved to a teaching position as Assistant Professor in the Department of Philosophy, the University of Wisconsin at Stevens Point. She is working on material for publication.

Dr. Alfred L. Boettcher (B.D. '65, M.A. '73) reports from Tokyo in the recent (September) issue of the United Church *Mandate* mission magazine about a signal achievement after many years of lobbying. Alfred had been a seaman for 12 years before studying for the ministry, and in Japan the huge port of Yokohama in particular convinced him of the need for some form of service. Ninety-eight berths at public piers with 150 private and 27 berths at the buoys represent heavy traffic: over 12,000 ocean-going vessels each year, about 300,000 seafarers. He writes, " A most important recent event has been the establishment of the Association for Seamen's Mission in the United Church of Christ in Japan (Kyodan), for which I have laboured long and ardently." His ministry has been largely in Japan, including university teaching at Nishinomiya-Kobe, and then in Yokohama. As the first Chaplain at the ports of Yokohama/Tokyo he will have a ministry which reflects his long-standing love of the sea and its people and ambition for such a mission.

Ms. E. ('Liz') Muir (B.Th. '80) now writing her doctoral dissertation, will be the Faculty's delegate to the National Gathering of Women in Theological Education, Toronto November 7 - 10.

Among familiar faces at the Birks Event and Zwingli Symposium was that of *Margaret Assels* (B.D. '51) the first female graduate in the Faculty of Divinity. She recalls another woman who would have graduated in 1950 but switched to French Language and Literature, where she has attained an international scholarly reputation - *Eva Kushner* (McGill B.A. '48, M.A. '50, Ph.D. '56). Dr. Kushner teaches in the Department of French, and is at present a Killam Award (Canada Council) holder. We hope to hear memories of Faculty life from both. Mrs. Assels, for instance, was part of the " radical" group of that era, including staff and students in Divinity who proved embarrassing to both

Dean and Bishop in particular. Another woman graduate, *Phyllis N. Smyth* (B.D. '64) received the honorary D.D. from Victoria University, Toronto, Dr. Smyth is on staff in the Faculty of Medicine's Department of History of Medicine, and Palliative Care Service.

Professor in the Religion Department at Carleton University, *Antonio ('Nino') Gualtieri* (B.D. '61, S.T.M. '63, Ph.D. '69) has published two books within the past year. *The Vulture and the Bull: Religious Responses to Death* (University Press of America) compares a variety of responses, notably Hindu, Muslim and Christian to what has become a leading interest, death and dying. Gualtieri's phenomenological approach, owing much to former Professor Wilfred Smith in our Comparative Religion Department, attempts to unveil the chief characteristics of the responses, and the points of contact and difference. His latest work is *Christianity and Native Traditions: Indigenization and Syncretism among the Inuit and Dene of the Western Arctic* (Notre Dame, Ind.: Crossroads Books).

On a sadder note, the *Reverend William Ellwood Black* (S.T.M. '77) died on September 18, 1984 in Cornwall after a lengthy illness.

FORMER STAFF

You might be interested to know that Dr. John Kirby, former Associate Professor of New Testament in the Faculty, is as busy as ever despite rumours of his retirement. Moving from Montreal to Halifax, Dr. Kirby has become involved in the Atlantic School of Theology (where Dr. H. Martin Rumscheidt, B.D. '61, S.T.M. '63, Ph.D. '67 is Professor of Theology) while his wife Mary pursues her musical career. The latest news about Dr. Kirby, from the ATS publication *Angelos* (Autumn '84), tells of "the new turn-on" in theological education: " Rev. Dr. John Kirby, professor of New Testament, beamed a short course on the The Gospel of Mark for Today from the studio at Mount Saint Vincent University, Halifax, to a Pastor's Group in the University of Prince Edward Island's audio-visual room at Charlottetown." Each lecture was followed by discussion through telephone conference. The previous year Dr. Kirby had visited Charlottetown monthly to give the course, but the new broadcast experiment is considered more effective, although the students " preferred Dr. Kirby's presence to his television image."

Dr. Wilfred C. Smith, original Birks Professor of Comparative Religion in the Faculty of Divinity and founder of the Institute of Islamic Studies, has retired after a distinguished career including positions at Lahore, McGill, Dalhousie and the Centre for World Religions at Harvard. (The last was founded by another former professor of our Faculty, Dr. Robert H.L. Slater, now retired to Knowlton). Dr. Smith was awarded the prestigious Killam Award of the Canada Council and is residing in Toronto.

MONTREAL DIOCESAN THEOLOGICAL COLLEGE

ANTHONY CAPON

Fall Term, 1984, has got off to a good start. Total enrolment is 35, the highest for many years. Students come from nine Canadian dioceses, and also from the United States, Nassau and Zaire. Ten of them are women.

Term began with a retreat led by Fr. Frere Kennedy, of the Society of St. John the Evangelist. One of the highlights since then has been a day-long visit from the Primate, Archbishop Scott. Wednesday Eucharists and lunches continue to be a time when our whole community comes together for worship, fellowship and learning.

Going back a little, we were delighted, after a "false start" the previous year, to welcome Bishop Stephen Neill as Convocation Speaker. In fact, he was with us for the better part of a week, and made a deep impression on us all. It is sad to have to record that Bishop Neill died in Oxford a few weeks later; we therefore represented his last overseas engagement.

We duly graduated five students at May Convocation: Carol Canton, Cedric Cobb, Donald Meloche, Robert Warren and Jenny Wong. Robert can't keep away, and is back to finish off his M.A.!

A new "voice of melody" is to be heard in chapel these days: we have been given a two-manual Hammond organ by Mrs. Joan Stirk, and our building staff (Russell Horan and Hervé Paul) have used their electronic and carpentry skills to adapt the speakers for installation in the chapel. The effect is extremely good and there is already a noticeable interest in improving the quality of music in our chapel worship. The dedication of the organ by Bishop Hollis is set for October 10th.

The ranks of alumni have been thinned this year by the death of Rev. Norman Egerton, Archdeacon Vincent Cole, Archdeacon Isaac Lidstone, Canon Stanley Andrews, Dr. Knut Enger, Canon Selwyn Willis, Canon Norman Peterson, and the Rev. Ed McColl. We commend them to God's keeping until the day of our reunion in Christ.

I must report on our involvement in the Montreal Institute for Ministry. This is the agency through which the final-year students of all three colleges receive their pastoral and professional training. Normally, our Director of Studies spends two thirds of his time in this programme (known as the "In-Ministry Year"). However, owing to the illness and subsequent resignation of Mrs. Margaret Boorman, Canon John McNab of our College has been appointed Executive Director for this academic year, and this is demanding virtually a hundred percent of his time. Our small staff, including John

himself, is bearing a heavy load at present and appreciates the continuing prayer support of our friends.

Letters from Alumni are always refreshing, and much of the news in them is shared with the students. Please keep them coming!

THE PRESBYTERIAN COLLEGE

FREDERIK WISSE

Dramatic changes have happened at the College. Principal Klempa left at the end of July on a one year sabbatical leave in Edinburgh placing matters in the shaky inexperienced and part-time hands of Dr. Frederik Wisse. The College faculty has further been decimated by the sabbatical leave of Dr. Robert Culley who is rumoured to be in hiding on his country estate in distant Beaconsfield. Fortunately, our librarian Daniel Shute finished his Master of Library Science degree this spring and is now able to reinforce the faculty. He spent the summer improving his knowledge of Modern Hebrew by working on a Kibbutz in Northern Israel. Dr. Geoffrey Johnston is back as Director of Studies, now no longer "interim". Dean McLelland, who finished 25 years on the faculty of the College,continues to provide the needed continuity and stability.

Eleven new students entered the College coming from as far as Vancouver Island and Prince Edward Island. Some of the second year students quickly and expertly made them feel at home.

Plans are in the works to renovate the chapel. There is an urgent need to do something about the leaking steeple roof and the inadequate heating. It is likely that the seldom used balcony and vestry will be removed and the seating rearranged diagonally. Once finished the chapel will be dedicated as the Ritchie Bell Memorial Chapel in honour of the Acting Principal of the College from 1969-73.

Another fitting memorial to a beloved teacher and his wife is now in place: the Elleene and Keith Markell Bursary funded by a sizeable sum which Dr. Markell bequeathed to the College. Plans are in an advanced stage for the publication of a history of the College which Dr. Markell completed shortly before his death.

Finally it should be reported that oft a strange and eerie cry can be heard in the halls and classrooms - and even louder in the principal's office: BILL KLEMPA WON'T YOU PLEASE COME HOME!

REPORT FROM THE MONTREAL INSTITUTE FOR MINISTRY

Eighteen persons graduated from the Institute in the Spring of 1984. It had been a difficult year with many challenges for us as the search for a new Executive Director continued unsuccessfully in its task. We owe a debt of gratitude to *Mrs. Margaret Boorman* for leading us through this period. Her pacific and joyful spirit brought a calm direction and purpose that was greatly appreciated by staff and students alike. Regretfully at the beginning of June, illness made it impossible for her to continue as Interim Executive Director. We rejoice to hear that she is recuperating well and we remember her constantly in our prayers.

Dr. John McNab now acts as Executive Director in addition to his duties as Director of Studies of Dio. At the end of the year we also lost the services of the *Rev. Shirley Herman*, Woman Staff Person, and *Mme. Cosette Odier*, Coordonatrice de l'Institut de Théologie de Montréal. Their places have been taken by *Ms. Kathryn Anderson* and *Mme. Marie Payette-Falls* respectively. The *Rev. Geoffrey Johnston* stayed with us as Director of Studies - Presbyterian College and the *Rev. Ron Coughlin* serves part-time as Director of Studies - United College. Our Teaching Staff was strengthened by the addition of *Dr. Nathan Mair* - Education in the Church and the *Rev. Alison Stewart-Patterson* - Preaching.

Perhaps the most helpful and effective development during 1983-84 was the work put into activating the Programme Committee and then the work done by Staff and Programme Committee in planning the year. One of the goals in this academic year is to serve the wider community by inviting your participation in two of our workshops.

(1) Projet de programme pour l'Atelier Québec - du 22 au 24 octobre 1984. L'atelier Québec se propose d'étudier la situation des églises catholique, protestante et épiscopale au Québec.
(2) Workshop on Conflict Management - January 21-23, 1985. (Provision has been made to include four persons from each Church.) Further details are available from the M.I.M. office.

We have 16 students this year. The months ahead hold out great promise. We have started with a good spirit. We attempt great things for God: we expect great things from God. Pray for us.

John McNab

BEING LIKE KIERKEGAARD

Especially during the final years
when as a resolute man
he prepared to attack
the eminent Professor Martensen
and the admired Bishop Mynster,
being now able to say
what he wanted to say,
his polemical nature
now unfettered to declare,
" Christianity no longer exists"--

Especially in that 1855 autumn
when, having dropped unconscious
while working on a pamphlet,
then outside on the street
while promenading, only
to be taken to hospital,
saying, as he entered,
" I have come here to die:"
thereby he warrants what is more
than solicitude--even emulation.

Hard, though, to be or want to be
like someone who was all frayed
edges and nerves: soul and body
in disproportion: frail as a child
and with a spinal curvature:
sprung from a family
of a certain morbid religiosity
and with a father who when a boy
had cursed God, gone on to violate
his wife-to-be when a maidservant.

Even harder to live a life
of almost pure thought--the rattling
sabre of dialectic swinging
from his hip during promenades
taken around Copenhagen
to stimulate the writing
of copious books and journals:
subjectivity turned upon itself
in a walking object turning corners
to meet derisive looks from children.

Hardest of all, perhaps, to turn
away from Regina Olsen,
seeing she had at once charm
and intelligence. Though she soon
married Fritz Schlegel, one may hope
she knew Sören would have had problems
with any girl--no reflection on her.
And with the break he was left free
to die amidst his polemics,
expressing great peace and confidence.

David Lawson

STONE ANGEL

Stone angel, on a wall,
Crumbling, grey,
Adorned with pearls of dew
On silvered web of spider-lace -
I seem to see
Upon your face
Veiled by the moss-green silks of Time:
An intimation of a smile.

Are you the angel Gabriel
With the lily-wand in hand?-
Left out in sun and storm and snow -
How many years have you been there?
And still:
Through the silent silks of Time,
An intimation of a smile.

James Jervis

THE LAWGIVER

So, man makes his own laws, to regulate his isolation, and thereby reinforce it. But we are not concerned with discussing the laws of this level ... for they are relative and irrelevant. We are asking if man can become his own law, and thereby transcend his servility to laws and institutions.

Who is the lawgiver? It is certainly not the judge, he simply complies with what is written in the books. It is certainly not the lawyer, he is an exploiter of conflict. Is it the politicians who legislate? No, they legislate laws of expediency, laws that are relative and that serve the interests of isolated existence, and as isolation is divisive, obviously the laws will serve those that know how to abuse them.

So, who is the real lawgiver? . . . the man that is his own law, where law and existence merge, where there is no dichotomy between thought and action, and therefore no hypocrisy. Where action becomes whole, where there is no room for resentment or regret, this is the living law, it knows no division, no favouritism, because it holds no interest, it emanates from death, the lawgiver's body . . . the living paradox.

This is why Christ was both innocent and guilty and Pilate did not know what to do with him. He was guilty by the transgression of the isolating laws of his culture, but innately spotless, and Christ's paradox was Pilate's contradiction. The fragment passed judgement on the whole, and an innocent man was crucified.

So, it is imperative that we bring back the true lawgiver, for man's survival, otherwise, with the advancement of the computer age the few lucky ones will become automatons and the rest, unemployed vestiges of an earlier age.

So, the greatest commandment is: And thou shalt not create any laws that flow not naturally from the heart.

Jim n. Bardis

CONTRADICTION AND PARADOX

In order to properly understand our place in the universe it is necessary to know its structure and how it functions. The universe is a monad, and whether it is infinite or closed may not be a meaningful question as it may be both. Our relationship to this universe will depend upon the manner in which our consciousness functions.

The universe is whole, its opposites are intertwined and intermingled into one, and as such it is paradoxical. But where this paradox contracts within consciousness its opposites split into separate poles, a gap is created, and what once was a paradox is now a contradiction. The opposites have separated,

they attract, repulse, and transpose and our view of the world is no longer holistic and harmonious but rather divided and conflictual. The universe is still a monad however, but a contracted monad, and as the contraction is self-destructive or self-limiting it is contradictory, and this contradiction of the nerve cells drives the projection process of consciousness which situates our understanding of reality within a time-space or time-direction framework. Hence, the whole business of preparing for the future. Furthermore, an entire gamut of our behaviour is driven by this contradiction, and as it is monistic it is self-caused, in other words, the effects are their own causes. There is nothing esoteric in all this, it is all quite simple if one closely observes the functioning of consciousness. So, to effect a change in this paralytic contradiction of consciousness, the energy invested therein must be released. This naturally will bring about an organic mutation in movement, perception, emotions and thinking . . . nothing short of destroying the very foundation of our being, but where there is destruction there is also rebirth. The destruction of contradiction is the birth of paradox . . . we are releasing the energy that sustains the paralytic schism distorting perception and thereby healing the cosmos. Transforming consciousness into a perfectly reflecting mirror, a mirror that no longer knows the dichotomy of pleasure and pain, an ecstatic mirror that is and loves its reflection, that has no reason to destroy nature, or to possess anyone or anything. A mirror that observes clearly its world, without comment, and cries deeply inside . . . observing the ignorance of man, she has understood the whole of man's suffering and with an austere compassion implores him to ascend into the void . . .

Jim n. Bardis

LETTER TO THE EDITOR

January 20, 1984

Dear Sir:

I fear that the editor's prefatory comments about my article " The Image of God and The Sanctity of Life" in *ARC* (Vol. XI, No. 1) may have supplied a perspective to readers that might cause them to miss the point. Professor Boorman writes, " Gualtieri provides interesting Scriptural support for Joseph Fletcher's criticism of the 'vitalistic fallacy.' "

Actually, I saw myself as providing a criticism of Fletcher's criticism of the vitalistic fallacy. Fletcher rejects the doctrine of absolute sanctity for physical, metabolic existence and replaces it with a " quality of life" position that entails a list of criteria for personhood which alone is sacred and imposes moral obligations of protection. I look upon this, on Christian premises, as a mistaken spiritualization of the essence of humanness (the image of God) that constitutes sanctity and demands unconditional respect. My own understanding of the Bible's view of this human definiens or image is, as I explicitly said, " vitalistic" though, admittedly, I have given to vitalism a somewhat (theologically) unusual organic or " structuralist" interpretation of physical life, in place of bare metabolism.

It may well turn out that it makes no practical difference whether or not my point is missed, for the moral consequences of Fletcher's quality of life position and my own brand of vitalism may turn out to be the same.

But this would serve to confirm the radical body/person anthropology of the Old Testament (apart, possibly, from late apocalyptic elements). The destruction of vital integration of the body (the image of God, *strictu senso*) entails also the loss of spiritual, affective and rational personhood.

Yours Sincerely,

Antonio R. Gualtieri
Professor of Religion
Carleton University

GEORGE BRADFORD CAIRD (1917-1984): AN OBITUARY

George Bradford Caird was professor of New Testament Language and Literature at McGill from 1950-59, being the first proper appointment in the field since the Faculty of Divinity was founded in 1948 (the job was done for the first two years by the already retired W.A. Ferguson). His death on April 21, at the early age of 66, has been felt deeply not least by those who knew him here at McGill in those days, not only in the United Church of which he was such an active member (and Principal of its College) but among all those whom he introduced to the world of the New Testament.

George Caird was born on July 19, 1917, and was educated at King Edward School, Birmingham, and Peterhouse in Cambridge. There he read Classics before going on to study Theology at Mansfield College, Oxford, finishing with a D. Phil. gained for a thesis on "'Glory' in the New Testament." From 1942 to 1946 he was the Minister of the Congregational Church at Highgate in London. It was in 1945 that he married Viola Mary ("Mollie") Newport, to whom our condolences are now extended.

The Cairds came to Canada in 1946, when George was appointed Professor of Old Testament Languages and Literature at St. Stephen's College, Edmonton. They moved to McGill in 1950, living first in Montreal West and subsequently, after George's appointment as Principal of the United College (1955), in the old United College which, though still standing next to the Birks building, has today a somewhat different purpose.

George Caird excelled at both speaking (whether lecturing or preaching) and writing. He was known at McGill as a lecturer who was able to communicate his excitement to his audience, as well as a writer who could express profound thought or detailed argument with brevity, clarity and grace. By the time he returned to Oxford in 1959 he had written *The Truth of the Gospel*, *Principalities and Powers* and *The Apostolic Age*, three very different works, each reflecting these qualities in the appropriate manner.

Mansfield College managed to lure the Cairds back to England. Caird was Senior Tutor there, and eventually Principal. In addition, he was lecturing and teaching for the University. In a context where lectures are not compulsory for undergraduates, he was the exception in managing to hold on to, or even increase, the number of those coming to hear him. It was no surprise when, in 1977, he was appointed to the Dean Ireland Professorship of the Exegesis of Holy Scripture. He occupied the chair with distinction, producing among other things his award-winning study *The Language and Imagery of the Bible*. By this time, of course, he had also written his three fine commentaries, on Luke, Revelation, and the Prison Letters. During this period he also shouldered the burden of co-editing the *Journal of Theological Studies*. At the time of his death he was working on two major books, a commentary on Hebrews and a New Testament Theology. The latter certainly, and the former possibly, may yet see the light of day, completed by his literary executor.

In addition to his main scholarly work, George Caird made an important contribution to church life. He was an observer at Vatican II, and Moderator of the United Reformed Church in Britain in 1975-6 (he spent the year, at his own suggestion, travelling round the country to visit congregations of all sorts and getting them to put to him their questions about the Bible). This central urgency of his life--to help people to understand the Bible for themselves--was well expressed in one of his many fine hymns:

Not far beyond the sea, nor high
Above the heavens, but very nigh
Thy voice, O God, is heard.
For each new step of faith we take
Thou hast more light and truth to break
Forth from thy holy word.

Those who knew George Caird will know that there is much more, beyond the outline of a career, that could be said. His was a many-sided and rich personality, and to know him was to be enriched in surprising ways. I remember his undisguised delight when Mansfield College's rowing VIII achieved success on the river, his regular attendance both at string quartet concerts and cricket matches, his shrewd comments upon a trip to South Africa, his sadness at the destruction of the Sherbrooke Street he had known in the 1950's, his exact and enthusiastic knowledge of Canadian birds. But those who knew him as a teacher, particularly at graduate level, will know the reason why he was a successful academic. There can be few supervisors who have given to their pupils such an attention to detail, coupled with a sensitive grasp of the wider issues. It is those twin qualities, exemplified in his own writings, that form his main legacy to all those who want to read the Bible with more understanding.

N.T. Wright

G.B. CAIRD MEMORIAL PRIZE

In response to a suggestion from former pupils of Professor Caird, the Faculty has decided to establish a Memorial Fund in his name, the proceeds from which will go towards an annual prize for a student who has shown excellence in the area to which George Caird devoted most of his life, that of New Testament Exegesis and Theology. Contributions to this fund are now invited, and should be sent c/o the Dean.

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From the Chinese Classic *The Changes of Chou* dating from the 12th century B.C.E.

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