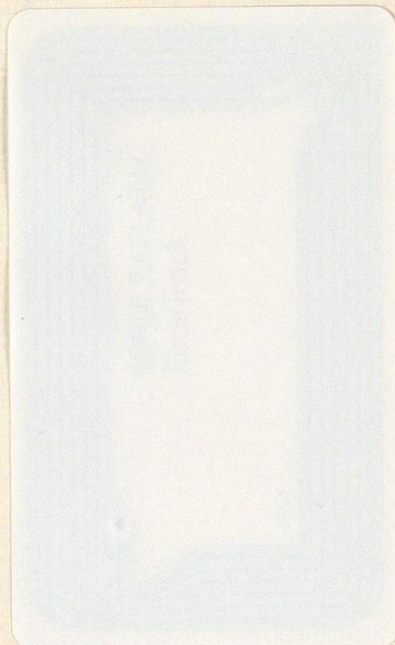




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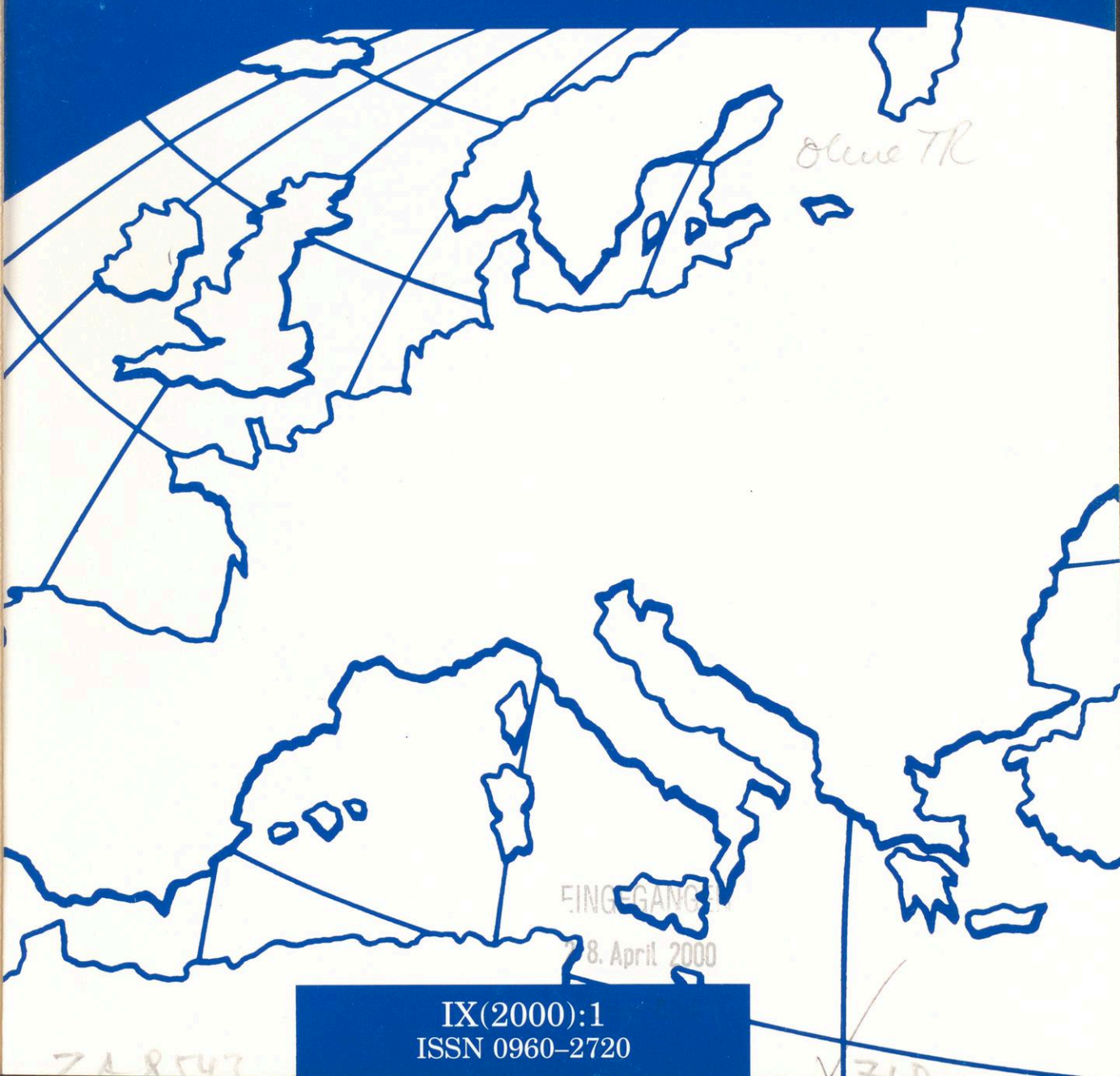
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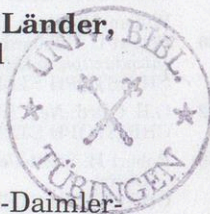
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- **The Essence-Energies Distinction in the Theology of Dumitru Stăniloae**
- *La distinction entre l'essence et les énergies dans la théologie de Dumitru Stăniloae*
- *Die Unterscheidung zwischen Wesen und Energien in der Theologie Dumitru Stăniloae*
- **Emil Bartos**

RÉSUMÉ

La théologie de Stăniloae peut-être considérée à la fois comme apophatique et personaliste. La révélation que Dieu donne de lui-même dans ses actes et ses paroles permet de parler de lui à la fois comme connaissable et inconnaissable dans le cadre d'une synthèse apophatique et cataphatique. Une telle synthèse permet d'entamer et de poursuivre un dialogue entre Dieu et l'homme, entre l'homme et son prochain, entre l'homme et la nature.

La possibilité de la connaissance de Dieu se fonde sur la distinction ontologique entre son essence et ses activités. C'est là le point de départ et le présupposé de l'apophatisme. La doctrine centrale développée par Stăniloae concernant les énergies créées implique une expérience de participation à la divinité, et ce, bien que la nature divine

soit en principe incommunicable. La divinité devient accessible à la participation et est communicable selon le mode d'existence. Des êtres humains peuvent exister dans le mode de Dieu, le mode de l'intégration réciproque, en tant que personnes animées d'un amour mutuel (theosis). Par contre, pour ce qui concerne l'identité d'essence, la divinité demeure incommunicable, l'homme ne peut y avoir part. Ceci ressemble à une contradiction intellectuelle (la participation à ce à quoi on ne peut participer), mais c'est là une voie réelle et unique de la connaissance de Dieu. Cependant, cet accent sur la communion d'énergie entre l'homme et Dieu prêter le flanc à la critique pour l'ambiguïté et l'instabilité de son langage, qui suggère un Dieu incomplètement révélé et une économie divine jouant un rôle très dilué.

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Stăniloae's Theologie lässt sich als zugleich apophatisch und personalistisch charakterisieren. Gottes Selbstmitteilung durch Taten und Worte eröffnet die Möglichkeit, in einer apophatisch-kataphatischen Synthese über die Erfahrbarkeit und Nichterfahrbarkeit Gottes zu sprechen. Diese Synthese ermöglicht und sichert den Dialog zwischen Gott und Mensch, Mensch und Mensch und Mensch und Natur.

Die Fähigkeit, Gott erfahren zu können, basiert auf der ontologischen

Unterscheidung zwischen seinem Wesen und seinen Taten, die den Ausgangspunkt und die Voraussetzung des Apophatismus darstellt. Stăniloae's zentrale Lehre von den ungeschaffenen Energien impliziert die Erfahrung der Teilnahme, des Teilhabens am Göttlichen, obwohl man am Göttlichen im Prinzip nicht teilhaben kann. Das Göttliche wird jedoch der Teilnahme zugänglich und steht somit hinsichtlich der Existenzform der Teilhabe offen. Menschliche Wesen können nämlich in der göttlichen Existenzform, d.h. in Form einer wechselseitigen Integration,

existieren, und zwar als Personen, die von gegenseitiger Liebe bestimmt sind. Was jedoch die Wesensidentität anbelangt, so bleiben sowohl eine Teilhabe als auch eine Teilnahme am Göttlichen unmöglich. Dies klingt nach einem verstandesmäßigen Widerspruch (an etwas teilzuhaben, an dem man nicht teilhaben kann), aber wir haben es hier nicht nur mit einer echten, sondern sogar mit der einzigen Möglichkeit der

Erfahrbarkeit Gottes zu tun.

Diese Betonung der energetischen Gemeinschaft von Mensch und Gott ist jedoch angreifbar aufgrund der Mehrdeutigkeit und Ungenauigkeit der palamitischen Sprache, die an einen nur unvollständig geoffenbarten Gott und eine göttliche Ordnung denken lässt, der lediglich eine abgeschwächte Rolle zukommt.

1. Introduction

The apophatic theology of the Romanian Orthodox theologian Dumitru Stăniloae (1903–1993), inherited especially from the writings of Dionysius, Maximus and Palamas, is deeply imbued with the sense of the divine transcendence and the immanence of God in His creation, whether spiritual or corporeal, sustaining a real as opposed to a metaphorical deification. To explain this contrast, between the transcendence and the immanence of God, Stăniloae thoroughly accepts the division between *theologia* and *oikonomia*, and also makes appeal to a mysterious distinction in the very nature of God. Like the Cappadocian theologians, Stăniloae applies *theologia* strictly to the statements about the Triune God, and *oikonomia* to the central fact of divine economy, that is the incarnation. At the same time, in order to make a clear distinction between knowledge of God's being and knowledge of His acts in creation, Stăniloae adopts from the Greek Fathers the key categories of *ousia*, *hypostasis*, and *energeiai* as essential to the whole Orthodox theological system.¹ By employing the essence-energies distinction, Stăniloae is considered one of the modern Orthodox theologians who represent the school of Neopalamism in this century, together with Vladimir Lossky, John Meyendorff, Panayiotis Nellas, Christos Yannaras or Kallistos Ware. But how relevant is this approach in explaining the basic Christian doctrine of deification?

The apophatic-cataphatic method applied by Stăniloae in understanding

the entire process of salvation (often described by him as deification or *theosis*) uses as a basic ingredient the distinction between God's being and His acts. This means that knowledge of God is not theoretical but a real participation in His uncreated energies. Treatment of the epistemological basis of deification in Stăniloae comes, not surprisingly, in the shape of apophatic theology. He is a mystical theologian following a relative approach and a synthesised method in understanding apophaticism. For Stăniloae, apophaticism is that total attitude of reserve, contemplative wonder, controlling his whole theological enterprise. The mystical theology employed by Stăniloae is the theology of direct experience of God that cannot be totally exhibited in positive terms. Although Stăniloae accepts both the apophatic way of knowledge and the cataphatic one, the first is superior because it goes beyond rational knowledge in experiencing the presence of God as person in a more pressing way and in grasping His infinite richness. In this sense, apophatic knowledge is not irrational but supra-rational.² In a practical way, it involves three levels: (1) apophaticism of negative and positive knowledge, (2) apophaticism at the end of pure prayer, and (3) apophaticism of the vision of divine light. In this context, Stăniloae speaks about the revealed knowledge of divine energies, not as the result of intellectual powers, which in fact had to stop their activity, but as the work of grace in the vision of divine light.

The main purpose of this study is to explain the essence-energies distinction

in God as a starting point in Stăniloae's understanding of deification, and then to engage a critical evaluation of his view. For that, we will look at three central ideas, the trinitarian basis of the uncreated energies, their dynamic personalism and antinomic character, followed by the main charges coming from the non-orthodox camp, that of innovation, impersonalism and confusion concerning the role of the divine revelation in the whole process of deification.

2. The Divine Uncreated Energies

Stăniloae employs the distinction between the being and the operations of God as the starting point in his epistemology, an approach that is 'a new and significant development, so far as works of modern Orthodox dogmatic theology are concerned' and 'Fr. Dumitru's is thus the first dogmatics in which the distinction is seen as fundamental to the Orthodox understanding of God'.³ Against the Greek concept that God is an eternal static and incommunicable substance, and against the recent Western idea of a God wholly involved in 'becoming', Stăniloae decided to build up his systematic thinking firmly established in the patristic view of a living, eternal and personal God, 'the living God of the Scriptures, of prayer and of liturgy'.⁴ Stăniloae's concern, however, is how to give an accurate interpretation of the relationship between the divine stability and mobility. Western theology, suggests Stăniloae, could not provide another alternative in reconciling God's immutability with His 'becoming' or 'historicity' except by ratifying the Palamite distinction between God's immutable being and His inexhaustibly diverse uncreated energies.⁵ Stăniloae mentions as an example the Catholic theologian Hans Küng who came closer to the Eastern alternative when he accepted the 'possibility' of God in His eternal freedom to manifest Himself in various ways. However, even in the case of Küng it is hard to avoid the oversimplification of God's mystery.⁶ Stăniloae himself speaks about the

'possibilities' of God's being to be manifested in various ways as the evidence of His freedom. Nonetheless, these possibilities should not be understood as merely potencies looking for their fulfilment, but the confirmation of an abounding existence that can produce other existences. The mystery of God remains unchangeable, but God manifests Himself 'in unending and eternal varying acts of love',⁷ the indirect reference here being to the uncreated energies. Thus, concludes Stăniloae, at least to the extent that it concerns the energy of creating, the Palamite distinction does allow for potentiality, for God can add to His creation whenever He wishes.

Several central propositions affirmed by Stăniloae are pertinent to this understanding of the role of the uncreated energies in deification.

2.1 *The Trinitarian Basis of the Uncreated Energies*

First, Stăniloae expands the Palamite distinction by trying to localise the existence of the energies in the trinitarian life.⁸ God's knowledge regarding Himself is not separate from His knowledge regarding creatures. God is the same in the mystery of His being and in His historical manifestations. God's coming into the world is through His energies, which are 'neither the essence of God nor the persons in whom His being subsists integrally, but they are "around God's being"'.⁹ Although the divine essence is simple, inaccessible and ineffable, the energies are various and the 'means' of His self-disclosure.

To articulate his monotheism, Stăniloae makes it clear that we cannot speak of three activities or three separate effects of God's activity, and this clarification is done in a pneumatological perspective. Stăniloae exploits the type of trinitarian language so familiar and quintessential to him, so often re-encountered in his writings. Starting with the realm of *theologia*, Stăniloae writes that, due to His proper status in the Trinity, as the One who proceeds from the Father and shines forth from the Son, the Holy

Spirit introduces the divine energies into creation and makes them intimate and proper to the creatures. Stăniloae clarifies this by stating that only in this trinitarian framework can we grasp the meaning of the uncreated energies: these energies originate from the Father, are received by the Son in His proper way and by the Spirit in His proper way together with the Son. As the Spirit's radiation from the Son holds also the radiance of the Son, in His coming to us, the radiance of the Spirit is creating our radiance as sons of the Father and is strengthening in us the 'perceptive sensitivity of God' as our 'filial sensitivity'. This actually reflects that true and unique trinitarian sensitivity as a unique energy, while the persons remain distinct. The Spirit shines forth a real light, a divine energy that becomes in our souls a power of knowledge and love for God. In spite of the danger of confusing the levels of *ousia* and *hypostasis*, Stăniloae continues by explaining that, as the Spirit proceeds from the Father, the energy proceeds from the essence of the source which is the Father. God comes out from His essence through love in the Holy Spirit. Although the Spirit receives the energy in His proper way, the Spirit's being and energy are not distinct from those of the Son or the Father. The distinction exists only when we take into account the modality in which the persons of the Trinity '(possess) the being and "activate" the common energy'. Each operation or energy is accomplished together and with common joy by all three of the trinitarian persons, but by each of them from their personal status.¹⁰

When Stăniloae moves to the realm of the *oikonomia*, he comes back to the idea that the Holy Spirit brings the divine energy into the intimacy of human consciousness and produces a sensitivity for God. This sensitivity, as the result of the uncreated energies that deify man, is defined by Stăniloae in its threefold relationship: (1) in relationship with God, a special capacity of the soul to perceive God as distinct from the world; (2) in relationship with the person himself, an accentuation of the human

consciousness; and (3) in relationship with other human beings, an intensive humanisation. Stăniloae explains that this sensitivity is first of all an exceptional capacity of the human soul to perceive God as distinct from the world. But this sensitivity is at the same time an 'emphasis put upon human consciousness itself and upon the believer's proper place as a human being in existence'.¹¹ On the practical level, the Holy Spirit is working within the believer different steps of sensitivity: the first is faith, being followed by a sense of responsibility towards God, and finally the sanctifying work of the Spirit in man as part of the spiritual growth process.

2.2 The Dynamic Personalism of the Uncreated Energies

The second main characteristic of the distinction between essence and energies in Stăniloae's view is the dynamic personalism of the uncreated energies. Stăniloae expands in a creative way the Palamite distinction by locating the whole issue of the knowledge of God through the uncreated energies into a personalistic framework. At the basis of the energies, writes Stăniloae, 'is the personally subsistent essence'. Moreover, the direct knowledge of God can reach 'only as far as the existence-giving, sustaining, and fulfilling operations of the superexistent personal reality and as far as participation in the attributes manifested within those operations'.¹² Stăniloae understands these operations or energies as relations within the divine being, relations that are above the relation itself and above all that God is not. However, God enfolds them and they are manifestations of His being: some energies are held as relations with the eternal ideas of the world, and some as being virtually involved in relation with the ideas of the world—those energies that are possibilities of being activated at the world's creation. Yet, they are not the sphere of ideas in the world, but it would be more precise to say that the world of ideas in its entirety is contained in the divine energy. The energy, therefore, is the passing of

these ideas from power to action; they are the attributes of God known by the creature. Consequently the energies are not abstract concepts applicable to the divine essence, but living, personal forces, manifestations of a personal God. They extend into the world and are, in opposition to essence, sharable, indivisibly divisible, and capable up to a certain point of being thought and named.

What Stăniloae suggests, then, is that some of the operations do not come forth from the divine being in their active form eternally and independent of the will, but it is important to make a distinction in them between potency and act. As potency they exist along with the divine being in virtue of its existence. As acts or operations, however, they become potencies only by God's will. Even before creation, God might activate some of them as His relations with the ideas of things. And because God can think everything from eternity, we may say that there are countless relationships within Him from eternity. On the one hand, the divine energies are the possibilities within God's being of manifesting Himself in various ways, and, on the other hand, they are the acts in which these possibilities may be manifested. Divine being has by nature infinite possibilities of manifestation, because God is a free being. God also has eternal relation 'with all that is not in His immediate vicinity', a manifestation of His being as an 'eternal irradiation of it'.¹³ God is surrounded eternally by what is around Him—by His glory or by the unapproachable light—as a manifestation of what He is in His intimate being. It is in this light that we may progressively ascend to know God, for He 'makes His energies actual in a gradual fashion'. Moreover, 'God Himself experiences together with us the expectant waiting (and hence time) on the plane of His energies and of His relations with us'.¹⁴

Stăniloae's eagerness to explain the distinction between essence and energies often leads him to make appeal to the analogical experience encountered in interpersonal relationships on the human level. This experience involves various

possibilities to 'conform' ourselves even at the time of our participation into other persons but, due to our limitations, still remaining 'with' our being and 'beyond' any other relationship or becoming. For Stăniloae, in fact, the existent distinction between essence and energies explains the mystery of the person. Basically, personhood is constituted in relationship. Like all human beings, God can fully live as person in Himself and in relationship with His creatures by participation and conformation without ceasing to remain in Himself 'beyond' them. However, God's being is not defined by the relationships with created human beings. The kind of relationship He has outside Himself is determined by the inner relationship that characterises the trinitarian life. On their side, human persons possess that capacity to participate in a real relationship with the eternal God and to become 'radiating agencies of eternity'. Moreover, taking Christ's theandricity as model, Stăniloae affirms that, in human beings, our human energies 'are called to create room for the divine energies and *vice-versa*, in order to become together theandric energies of the believer and of God'.¹⁵ Rooted in these two data, that is the distinction between essence and energies and the ontological relationship man-God, Stăniloae is able to sustain both the paradox of God's immutability in His being and His mutability in relation with His creatures. An extensive analysis of Stăniloae's doctrine of God shows that other basic attributes of God—His absoluteness, eternity, omnipresence, omnipotency—are heavily influenced by the above understanding.

2.3 The Antinomic Character of the Uncreated Energies

Stăniloae is aware of and accepts the paradox involved in this specific distinction. Generally, the appeal to antinomy is characteristic of his theology. This antinomic attitude, met as well in the trinitarian mystery, is repeated when he stipulates that 'although God effects something on each occasion through a particular operation, yet He is wholly

within each operation'. This means that through each operation God produces or sustains a certain aspect of reality. Indeed, 'God Himself is in each of these operations or energies, simultaneously, whole, active, and beyond operation or movement'.¹⁶ The operations are nothing other than the attributes of God in motion. When Stăniloae explains the personal relationship between God and human being, the paradox becomes obvious:

By establishing the relationship with man, God enters into this relationship, on the one hand, with all that is particular to Himself and, on the other hand, He enters only with some of His energies; on the one hand, He becomes accessible in His whole particularity and, on the other hand, remains inaccessible in His being; on the one hand, He is 'modeling' for men, enters into a becoming or historicity by participating in their becoming and historicity and, on the other hand, He apprehends this becoming or historicity only at the level of His energies or operations, not at the level of His being.¹⁷

This does not imply, of course, a Neoplatonic emanation of the divine being in its operations, but a communication of the divine being with the creatures in accordance with their capacity of receptiveness. This is why Stăniloae is careful to separate the acts by which God has created and is now sustaining in existence all things, and the acts by which He enters in direct communication with the creature. This makes it possible to speak of man's deification by God's 'penetration' into the consciousness of human beings through other human creatures, and/or by God's 'transparency' through His operations. This intimacy of 'touch' between God and human beings, alongside the dynamic idea of 'energetical communion', emphasises in fact Stăniloae's departure from the Cappadocians' more restrained application of the notion of divine energies. However, says Stăniloae, 'it remains a mystery in what way the creating act of God, as uncreated act, has a created effect. This mystery has to be experienced, not only thought'.¹⁸

Not surprisingly, the main objection to this view is that, by admitting a distinction between the divine inapprehensible being and the uncreated yet accessible energies, it will result in a composite God. However, Stăniloae strongly believes in the doctrine of simplicity and non-composition in God. His response to all criticism is that the act does not make the being a composite reality, but is 'a necessary manifestation of it'.¹⁹ Specifically, the concept of being in itself implies a source for its acts. We can conceive neither nature without power and operation, nor power or operation without being. And because the status of the being does not introduce composition within the being, similarly, the movement does not make the being a composition. The operation is the manifestation of the intrinsic power, the movement of the ontic power, as for instance is the movement of mind. A being without energy is an inert being, in the same manner as an energy without being lacks consistency.²⁰ Accordingly, 'the unity of God is antinomic for our understanding', because it [our understanding] seeks to reduce everything to an exclusive category. God's unity, however, is various in its aspects, operations, powers, or manifestations. This is why the unrestrained possibilities and manifestations of God are unitary, in conformity with His being. At the same time, this antinomy is rooted in the trinitarian mystery itself. As the relationship between operations is antinomic, so is the relationship between the being and the operations. Finally, Stăniloae asserts his ignorance regarding the inner relation between essence and energies:

We experience nothing from God, in content, other than His varied operations that have to do with the world, which is to say, in relation with us. Beyond this we know that at their basis is the personally subsistent essence, but how it is, we do not know, for it is an essence beyond essences.²¹

2.4 Summary

The explanation given by Stăniloae to what he sees as the unavoidable

distinction between essence and energies in understanding *theosis* is exceptionally relevant. He advances a more dynamic personalist meaning and value to the whole discussion about the trinitarian basis of the distinction essence-energies, in comparison with Palamas' more technical approach. According to Stăniloae's concept of deification-as-participation, the above observation is true especially when this point is applied to the particular term 'participation'. If by participation we accept solely its technical connotation, that of 'possessing a part', then the whole matter of deification becomes very confused and indistinct. On the other hand, it can be argued that, by employing a more personalistic language, Stăniloae succeeded in removing several important suspicions that could be imputed against the whole idea of participation in God. Although he uses the notion of participation, Stăniloae prefers to speak about 'sharing' in God's energies in the sense of reciprocal personal giving. In this instance there exists a related rational distinction such as the one applied, for instance, to the idea of *en-hypostasia*. If for some people participation means just symbolic, nominal sharing, in Stăniloae's mind participation means real sharing. That is, sharing in God's energies means that kind of participation that can only be manifested by a person. In common with Palamas, Stăniloae believes that in the process of deification we become in a certain sense 'uncreated' by our sharing into the divine uncreated energy; although not natural, there is surely a personal possession.

Therefore, Stăniloae affirms certain basic characteristics as regards the divine energies. First, the uncreated energies are divine personal operations. They are not automatic forces manifested sequentially according to a preestablished eternal order. In that case God would not be a free God but one ensnared into an unwilling becoming. The energies presuppose the person, and are the voluntary manifestations of God's benevolence. A free person, in Stăniloae's view, is someone who remains the same in his being and

yet is capable of diversity in his acts. Accordingly, the divine operations do not arise from any necessity for the divine being to be completed, and definitely they are not new forms of God's future becoming. Second, the personal uncreated energies are voluntary irradiations. It is wrong to conceive of God's operations as empty and totally separated from His being. The personal God manifests 'something' from His being in His operations. Having their base in God's being, the divine operations are not separated in their dynamism from the content of divine being. Third, the operations are not one with or identical to the divine being. Precisely, they do not carry in themselves the whole divine being. However, in limited proportions, the divine operations carry on themselves the 'particular' of the whole divine being. Finally, in the act of their manifestation, the divine operations are somehow 'modelled' according to the measure and the status of the divine being.²²

Stăniloae affirms that, in failing to understand 'the mystery of person that cannot dissolve itself', Western theology sees deification as a created state.²³ The result is that in this theology, because there is not a real, unmediated contact realised between God and us, everything we receive from God is created. In this way, we are closed within the limits of the created, creaturehood works like a wall between God and us, and some of the concepts used by the Fathers, like deification, receive an improper meaning. To avoid such a grave misunderstanding, Stăniloae makes a parallel between the subjective essence and the objective essence. He assumes that, in the process of their operations, it would be impossible for the human persons as subjective essences to be dissolved as the objective essences would be. The obvious deduction is then applied to the person of God who, insists Stăniloae, cannot extend Himself as being, not simply because He is uncreated, but because He is a person. However, God as a personal being can extend Himself through His operations. Our mistake, says Stăniloae, is when we

try to close up God in Himself because He is uncreated. Such an approach, however, will make it impossible for us to meet Him and to take possession of something from Him.

The way of reconciliation between the Eastern and the Western positions is found by Stăniloae, on the one hand, in the mutual agreement that, in the unity of God's being, we may discern 'possibilities' to produce different created things (as has been seen earlier in both Stăniloae and Küng). Through created things, continues Stăniloae, we are in touch with the special uncreated operations and with the whole integrity of God. Moreover, having a conscious spiritual 'sensitivity', a human person can 'feel' God building up in his being a unique and different status. On the other hand, by asserting that the divine operations are not dissociated from God's being, Stăniloae wants to say not only that in each operation God is wholly active, but also that God's whole being is variously present. This is because in every act of a person the whole person is variously present, without ever being exhausted in that act. This, considers Stăniloae, is another possible ground for harmonising the Eastern and Western theologies. On the Catholic side, the need is to accept that, when it is manifested in relation with other finite things, divine being is truly manifested in a way that does not exclude other modes of manifestation. On the Eastern side, in order to maintain an authentic Palamite position, it would be enough to affirm that in each operation, and in a different mode, the whole divine being is truly manifested.

3. Critical Evaluation

3.1 *The Charge of Innovation*

The question about Palamism, in general, involves the problem whether it is a genuine development of Cappadocian thought or a new 'innovation' added to the Early Christian tradition.²⁴ On their side, Orthodox theologians refer to the 'Palamite synthesis', which means a fuller presentation of Orthodoxy in its mystical aspect, with much emphasis on

the apophatic character, on the divine light, and on the concept of deification; a presentation, however, with firm roots in the past. Krivocheine writes that in Palamas' thought 'the traditional asceticomystical teaching of the Orthodox East not only finds in his work its final and systematic expression, but also its theological and philosophical expression'. Mantzarides sees Palamas' innovation as justified, being authentic and traditional, while Florovsky calls it 'a creative extension of ancient tradition'.²⁵ Stăniloae himself, although heavily influenced by Palamas' synthesis, rejects the notion of 'creative theology' in favour of 'expressive theology'. The concept of 'creativity' must be preserved for God who alone is the Creator.²⁶ Contrary to the charge of innovation often made against Palamas by Western theologians, the Orthodox use different arguments to defend him. One of these is the question if it would have been possible for Palamas to innovate in such a traditionalist theological milieu as Byzantium. However, the Orthodox agree in finding something new in Palamas as compared with his predecessors.

Although the distinction between essence and energies in particular is certainly present in the Cappadocian thought, of great importance is the question whether, in their thought, the divine *ousia* is ontologically distinct from the divine *energeiai*. We know that the Cappadocian advance in trinitarianism has given their negative theology much more impact than we find in their precursors. By insisting upon the consubstantiality of Father and Son, and Holy Spirit and substituting an 'essential' Trinity, differentiated by 'modes of being' rather than spheres of operation, the Cappadocians make it clear that the Son and Holy Spirit share equally with the Father the ineffability of the divine nature. For the Cappadocians the energies are common to all three persons, and are God in His manward dispensation. The persons in God are distinguished only by their mutual relationships. However, the Cappadocians leave largely unclarified the relation of the divine

energies to the revelation of the incarnation, and to the sanctifying work of the Spirit; and also the relation between the energies and divine grace.

When we pass to Maximus, it seems that he does suggest at times that the *logoi* are energies, but he still has the Cappadocian rather than the Palamite notion of energy.²⁷ It is at this point that the charge of inconsistency in Orthodox theology comes into focus. In his comments, for instance, Rowan Williams claims that Maximus' understanding of energy does not imply an ontological distinction from the essence, but merely an epistemological one. Furthermore, in Palamas' case, Williams suspects two parallel modes of divine experience:

Faced with the Dionysian model of the 'super-substantial substance' participated in its *proodoi*, and apparently unable to revise the notion of participation so as satisfactorily to exclude the idea that creatures 'possess' *ousia* (that is, *theia ousia*) as the persons of the Trinity do, Palamas is compelled to postulate *ousia* and *energeia* as parallel modes of divine experience . . . This, I believe, is the movement of thought which produces the incoherences of Palamism.

Williams holds that Palamas had not the philosophy of his theology, so 'the needs of controversy drove him [Palamas] to adopt a metaphysical theory fraught with obscurities and contradictions'.²⁸ What in fact seems to be happening is that Palamas takes the Cappadocian view of the energies and presses it further than its original meaning and significance. Consequently, on the philosophical level, Palamism is accused of philosophical incoherence, due to its logical contradictions. The Orthodox replies that this is merely a typical theological antinomy. Although there are contrary truths on the rational level, 'a reconciliation is possible on the higher level of contemplative experience'.²⁹

The antinomical character of the distinction between essence and energies is emphasised by Stăniloae in direct connection with the Christian doctrine of God.

For Stăniloae, the knowledge of God does not have a theoretical or metaphorical character but it is vitalised by the axial concern for deification. God is both incommunicable and communicable, invisible and visible, inaccessible and accessible. Without this divine communicability, union with God, man's participation in Him by grace, and finally man's deification, would all be impossible. It becomes clear that for Stăniloae, in line with Maximus and Palamas, God is sharing Himself, not according to His being nor according to the Trinity's hypostases, but according to the uncreated energies shining forth from divine being. At the same time, they hold to the possibility of man's transmutation into and participation in the divine nature. Thus the antinomy becomes the rule of right devotion.³⁰

It can be seen from all of this that the difference between Eastern and Western theology results from a different understanding of participation. Western scepticism in this matter cannot see how one can escape a metaphysical composition in God. Declining to consider the antinomical method, Western theology disagrees with the real distinction between essence and hypostasis and admits a distinction only between the hypostases as they are related one to another. Thus to preserve the simplicity of God, the West makes use of the idea of simple substance, while the East works with the idea of superessential essence. In addition, holding that the simplicity of God is something that transcends our categories, Eastern apophaticism is placing divine simplicity at a level beyond even essence.³¹ Consequently, both Stăniloae and Palamas do not hesitate to affirm that deification is 'real', meaning by that an ontological union between human being and God. On their side, the Western theologians are accustomed to speak of a 'distinction of reason', deliberately avoiding the acknowledgement of a 'real distinction'. This is why a conceivable solution to draw East and West closer in this matter becomes difficult due to two different approaches. However,

the danger comes from both sides: the epistemological approach could sacrifice the possibility of a real deification, while an ontological approach could create problems in understanding God's simplicity and, consequently, promote an exaggerated mysticism in which 'only those beings close to the upper sphere of the divine can feel God's presence'.³²

3.2 *The Charge of Impersonalism*

As distinguished from the hypostases, it is said that the uncreated energies are experienced as personal, because they are God's personal words (*logoi*) for created things.³³ However, the next objection to the essence-energies distinction would be that the personalness of our relationship with God is compromised by affirming that God communicates Himself to us through non-hypostatic beings such as uncreated energies. Even an Orthodox theologian as Timiadis suggests that "it might be better to use more intimate and personal expressions, such as 'communion with the Holy Spirit' ".³⁴

The charge that the energies are impersonal is strongly rejected by Orthodox theologians. Yannaras maintains that 'the acceptance of the distinction between essence and energies means an understanding of truth as personal relationship', and thus 'God is known only as a personal revelation (and not as an idea of "active" essence), only as a triune communion of person, as an ecstatic self-offering of loving goodness'.³⁵ In fact, Palamas himself introduced the concept of *enhypostasia* regarding the energies, saying that they are enhypostasized, that is given a personal nature by being used by persons. It should be remembered that in Byzantine theology God is fully present in His uncreated energies towards us, and not divided or portioned out. Moreover, *ousia* is understood as what God is *in se* and *hypostasis* as what He is *ad alios*.

However, this argument does not hold, because even if hypostasized, the energies would still 'dilute' and make redundant the trinitarian persons themselves by taking their functions. In the trinitarian theology of the Cappadocians the three

hypostases 'do not have a common *ousia*; they are the divine *ousia*'.³⁶ If this is true and it is then applied to the Palamite distinction, the result is that the divine persons belong to the level of the imparticipable and inaccessible essence that is beyond the sphere of man's contact with the deifying energies. Therefore we cannot have a direct communion with the divine hypostases, but only with the divine persons as expressed through the divine energies. Thus, in the process of deification, the energies seem to function as intermediary between the divine persons and humans. The lack of direct communion between the divine hypostases and human being makes one wonder whether in the Palamite doctrine of deification the trinitarian persons have any soteriological functions at all.³⁷

This observation leads to the assumption that the Palamite distinction may jeopardise the whole idea of *missio Dei*. The nature of the Trinity is not static, unrelated to humankind, but is dynamic, inviting us to participate in the communion of divine life. It is recognized that this dynamic and communitary understanding of the Trinity that characterises the Eastern Orthodox Church might provide the Western Church with the true language pattern of dialogue. Indeed, this participation has its foundation and intensity in the Father's initiative, in the sending of the Son and the Holy Spirit into the world. At the same time, the one undivided God is present in His mission in all three persons. The participatory aspect of mission based on the joy of knowing God's love and on the victory of Christ on the cross over the opposing forces, is definitely one of the main peculiarities emphasised by Orthodox theology. However, in the context of *missio Dei*, it is hard to reconcile, on the one hand, the Orthodox understanding of the centrality of divine energies as 'means' of God's revelation and, on the other hand, the centrality of God's revelation in Jesus Christ. Again, Timiadis himself indicates that the distinction might contradict 'the very sense of Christ's incarnation'.³⁸ In biblical perspective the mission of the

incarnate Son as our reconciliation and the objective reality of revelation, adopting a Barthian phraseology, is the heart of the mission of God in human history, while the mission of the Spirit as the subjective reality of revelation is to unite us with the Son. Therefore, we ask how the Orthodox apply the dynamic and biblical idea of the proclamation of the Gospel to the nations, keeping in mind that divine energies are called effective 'means' of God's revelation, and human persons are invited in God's mission as participatory 'means' as well? Since we are called to participate in God's mission and in His self-revelation, it seems that the Palamite distinction identifies too closely the energies' role with the mission of the Son, of the Holy Spirit, and of Christians.³⁹

There is a certain ambivalence in the use of the term 'energy' as referring to the idea of God manifesting Himself wholly to us and the possibility of producing an 'uncreated' person. Stăniloae's affirmation is clear that God reveals Himself wholly in His energies. If one means by this that God reveals His attributes, this is clearly correct. However, on the surface, Stăniloae seems inconsistent when at once he defines the divine energies as God's attributes in motion and at other times as God Himself in motion; at one point the energies are the Holy Spirit's manifestations and at other times they are the Holy Spirit Himself. The ambiguity and instability in language may point to the fact that in His energies God becomes Himself.⁴⁰ The energies therefore become constitutive of God, and the immanent and economic are one. This is scarcely Stăniloae's intention, but it is the logic of his position. There is thus a weakness here which fails to speak of the simplicity of God.

3.3 *Revelation and Deification (theosis)*

In this context, it becomes clear that the whole issue of deification is closely related to the subject of revelation. No doubt, Stăniloae's theology is centred on revelation with its emphasis on freedom and uniqueness, ascribing to it a unique epistemic status, and resulting in the

autonomy and distinctiveness of theological knowledge over all other forms of knowledge. The general view is that revelation is that act of divine self-communication in which the triune God reveals Himself through the medium of created reality as the foundation and the author of creation, reconciliation, and salvation of created beings. In addition to this view, for Stăniloae, revelation takes a relational pattern in which the medium of revelation is an uncreated reality, represented by the uncreated energies.

As we have seen, the real problem with Stăniloae's position is directly related to the Palamite distinction between essence and energies. To stress that once again, we will follow the logical order of what revelation discloses in the Christian rationalisation. It is important to start with the biblical principle that the disclosure event is understood as the result of the intentional action of God who expresses His will, freedom, and being in this event. Since there are no external limitations imposed on God, there is in Him no conflict between being and will, so that all of God's actions are, as expressions of His will, also expressions of His being. At the same time, according to the doctrine of the Trinity, God's action is not uniform, but always unitary, and in this way expresses the unity of intention and act, will and being in God.

Moreover, what Stăniloae rightly maintains is that God does not reveal only propositions about God; God reveals Himself. However, this presupposes some restrictions of human discourse about God. Although God's revelation in *oikonomia* is understood as self-revelation, that does not mean of course that God's self, as it is present to God Himself, becomes now accessible to His creatures. Self-disclosure means that God discloses who He is and what He is. The biblical central truth of the incarnation, which Stăniloae strongly maintains, is the notion of divine self-giving or the event of self-identification in which Christ identifies Himself with created reality by communicating Himself as person in action. The formal structure of God's self-identification as Father, Son

and Spirit is closely connected to the content of God's action by which God shows Himself to be the creator, reconciler and saviour of the world. God's revelation has no other content than His action in creation, reconciliation and salvation, and this unity of the content and the mode of the actualisation of God's action is expressed in the trinitarian self-identification of God—Father, Son and Spirit.

Accordingly, Christian revelation maintains that there must be the act of reception of God's self-communication from the recipient of revelation. The self-disclosure of God has a particular author and content, so its direction or address is also to particular persons. The universal content of divine self-revelation and the universal truth claim of the Gospel of Christ, in which this content is expressed, does not contradict this particularity. This content becomes effective only in such a way that its universal claim is vindicated for particular people as the truth about the personal reality of their lives and about the reality of creation as a whole. The mode of the actualisation of the universal truth of God's revelation is its personal particularisation in the activity of the Holy Spirit.

It is at this stage in the discussion that presence of the mysterious uncreated energies becomes difficult to justify. First, although it is promising to find in Stăniloae the interrelationship of creation and redemption, we ask ourselves how it could be that this idea correlated with the Palamite view sustains a wholly free manifestation of God in His energies. It is this ambiguity that forces von Balthasar, for example, to criticise Palamism as a theology that presents God incompletely revealed and relatively free. It seems that in Palamism, insists von Balthasar, the essence of God withdraws into an unknowability, 'while His knowability becomes diffuse, and the revelation which He intended is thereby destroyed'. Thus the question is whether Palamas ever maintained that God 'holds something back' in His essence or if He covers it by His energies.⁴¹

Moreover, in Stăniloae's theology the

Christ event is seen as the paradigmatic disclosure, God disclosing Himself in created reality. For Stăniloae, Christ represents the supreme stage and the consummation of supernatural revelation. 'Christian revelation', writes Stăniloae, 'is given in a Person'.⁴² On the other hand, the Christ event implies not only the *bruta facta* of the historical events, but also His self-interpretation and the interpretation of His followers under the action of the Spirit. The overwhelming presence of the uncreated energies, unconvincingly defined as personal, in divine revelation and especially in relation with human persons, obscures the particularity of revelation, the efficaciousness of the activity of the Holy Spirit, and the uniqueness of the person and work of the Son. There is a continuous lack of clarity, an ambiguity that is at best obscuring and at worst misleading. Of great concern is the need to eliminate any intermediary that could, in any sense, claim some control over the uniqueness of God's revelation in Christ, and implicitly over the soteriological role of Christ. The object of revelation and the agent of revelation is Christ by the Holy Spirit.

4. Assessment

In conclusion, the transformatory character of mystical theology, mirrored in Stăniloae's original apophatic-cataphatic synthesis, is completed by the dynamism of the divine uncreated energies. As means of God's self-disclosure and reflecting trinitarian life, the uncreated energies become, by creation, intimate to humans and authenticates their 'filial sensitivity'. Although characterised by a dynamic personalism—as manifestations of a free, personal, and yet inapprehensible God, and as means of human ascent with the possibility to participate in God's being—the uncreated energies divulge their antinomic status. Deification-as-participation presupposes, then, the experience of the personal and voluntary irradiations of God's operations and 'something' from His being. However, it was shown that Stăniloae's concept of

deification, with its stress on the energetic communion between man and God (even though, to some extent, it resists the charge of impersonalism and unnecessary innovation) is open to the accusation of ambiguity and instability in his Palamite language, which suggests a God incompletely revealed and a divine economy with a diluted role.

Notes

- 1 Clear developments of Stăniloae's thought as regards this theme are found in the following of his works: *Viața și Învățătura Sfântului Grigorie Palama* (Sibiu 1938; 2 edition, București: Scripta, 1993), *Teologia Dogmatică și Simbolică*, vol. I (București, 1958), *Teologia Dogmatică Ortodoxă*, vol. I (București: EIBMBOR, 1978), *Theology and the Church*, tr. by R. Barringer (Crestwood, N.Y.: Saint Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1980), *Spiritualitatea Ortodoxă* (București, 1981, 2 edition 1992), and *Studii de Teologie Dogmatică Ortodoxă* (București, 1991).
- 2 D. Stăniloae, *The Experience of God*, tr. and ed. by I Ionita and R. Barringer (Brookline, Mass.: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 1994), pp. 98–100.
- 3 A very significant observation made by Kallistos Ware in the preface of the English translation of the first volume of Stăniloae's dogmatic theology, *The Experience of God*, p. XXI.
- 4 D. Stăniloae, 'Dumnezeu este Iubire', *Ortodoxia* 3 (1971), p. 366. Stăniloae sees in the works of Hans Küng, Paul Tillich and 'The Death of God' theology some representatives of an overstated ontology regarding the doctrine of God.
- 5 Stăniloae's earliest published book on Palamas, *Viața și Învățătura Sfântului Grigorie Palama* (1938), including a detailed presentation of the debate on the distinction between essence and energies, was to set the tone for a very large part of his subsequent work and thought. Few scholars of this century have provided so devoted a study of the historical and theological expressions of the Palamism. Stăniloae also translated parts from Palamas' works in *Filocalia* 7 (București, 1977) with a short but relevant introduction. Stăniloae even made the proposal, in 1972, for a future general synod of the Eastern Orthodox Church, that the theme of the divine energies should become central for the discussions, being also central in understanding the unity of the Church for man's salvation. Cf. D. Stăniloae, 'Opinii în Legătură cu Viitorul Sfânt și Mare Sinod Ortodox', *Ortodoxia* 3 (1973), pp. 425–440.
- 6 Cf. H. Küng, *The Incarnation of God. An Introduction to Hegel's Theological Thought as Prolegomena to a Future Christology*, tr. by J.R. Stephenson (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1987), pp. 530–538.
- 7 D. Stăniloae, 'Dumnezeu este Iubire', p. 369.
- 8 For the idea of energies in Gregory Palamas, see J. Meyendorff, *A Study of Gregory Palamas* (London: Leighton Buzzard, 1964), pp. 204–206. Cf. Gregory Palamas, see PG 150, 928–933AD, 936AD, 940C–944B. The works of Gregory Palamas translated into English are: *The Defence of the Holy Hesychasts*, also known as the *Triads*—selections found in Gregory Palamas, *The Triads*, tr. by N. Gendle and ed. by J. Meyendorff, in 'The Classics of Western Spirituality' (New York: Paulist Press, 1983); *The One Hundred and Fifty Chapters*, also known as *Capita CL Physica, Theologica, Moralia et Practica (Capita)*, tr. by R. E. Sinkewicz (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1988); and *Contra Akindynum*, tr. by L. C. Contos, in *The Concept of Theosis in Saint Gregory Palamas with Critical Text of the 'Contra Akindynum'*, 2 vols., Doctoral dissertation (Los Angeles, 1963). Parts from *Triads* were translated by Stăniloae as 'Două Tratatate ale Sf. Grigorie Palama' (Triada I,2,3), in *Anuarul Academiei Teologice Andreiane* 9 (1932–1933), pp. 5–70, reprinted in *Viața și Învățătura Sfântului Grigorie Palama*, including 'Apologia mai extinsă', pp. LIX–XCI, și 'Antericul V Contra lui Achindin', pp. XCII–CLX.
- 9 D. Stăniloae, *The Experience of God*, p. 102.
- 10 D. Stăniloae, 'Sfântul Duh în Revelație și în Biserică', *Ortodoxia* 2 (1974), pp. 223–225.
- 11 D. Stăniloae, 'Sfântul Duh în Revelație și Biserică', p. 229.
- 12 D. Stăniloae, *The Experience of God*, pp. 126, 136.
- 13 D. Stăniloae, *Teologia Dogmatică și Simbolică*, vol. I (București, 1958), pp. 327–328.
- 14 D. Stăniloae, *The Experience of God*, p. 159. Cf. Gregory of Nazianzus, *In Theophaniam*, Oratio 38.7 (PG 36, 317B). See

- also V. Lossky, *The Mystical Theology of the Eastern Church* (Crestwood, N.Y.: Saint Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1976), pp. 73f.
- 15 D. Stăniloae, 'Dumnezeu este Iubire', p. 389.
 - 16 D. Stăniloae, *The Experience of God*, p. 125. Similarly, K. Ware holds that God's energies are God Himself in relation with the world, 'God with us' in K. Ware, 'God Hidden and Revealed: The Apophatic Way and the Essence-Energies Distinction', *Eastern Churches Review* 7 (1975), p. 129. See also Dionysius, *On the Divine Names* 9.9 (PG 3, 916C). Stăniloae maintains the supremacy of divine operations in comparison with divine attributes, saying that we only know the attributes of God in their dynamism, that is, through His operations.
 - 17 D. Stăniloae, 'Dumnezeu este Iubire', p. 370.
 - 18 D. Stăniloae, *Filocalia* VII, p. 221. Ware specifies that we need to make a difference between the uncreated *energeia* and the *energima* as the result of the *energeia* and part of the created order. 'It is possible that earlier Greek Fathers, in certain passages where they speak about God's energies, mean simply the created effects of the divine activity; but in later Patristic theology a clear distinction is drawn between the created effect and the uncreated *energeia* that causes it and maintains it in being'. Cf. K. Ware, 'God Hidden and Revealed: The Apophatic Way and the Essence-Energies Distinction', pp. 131–132.
 - 19 D. Stăniloae, *Teologia Dogmatică și Simbolică*, vol. I, p. 330.
 - 20 D. Stăniloae, *Viața și Învățătura Sfântului Grigorie Palama*, p. 133.
 - 21 D. Stăniloae, *The Experience of God*, p. 126.
 - 22 D. Stăniloae, 'Dumnezeu este Iubire', pp. 369–370.
 - 23 D. Stăniloae, *Filocalia* VII, p. 219. The Catholic Garrigues, referring to Maximus' position, asserts that 'energy is the act of divine essence of which causality creates the deification of men'. J. M. Garrigues, 'L'Energie Divine et la Grâce chez Maxime le Confesseur', *Istina* 3 (1974), p. 285.
 - 24 Among Catholics who accuse Palamas of innovation is M. Jugie, 'Palamas Grégoire' and 'Palamite (Controverse)', in *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique* XI/2: 1735–1776, XI/2: 1777–1818; and J.-P. Houdret, 'Palamas et les Cappadociens', *Istina* 3 (1974), pp. 260–271; among Anglicans is R. D. Williams, *The Theology of Vladimir Nikolaievich Lossky. An Exposition and Critique*, Doctorate dissertation (Oxford, 1975), especially chapter VI, pp. 157–190. For an Orthodox response, see G. Barrois, 'Palamism Revisited', *Saint Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 19 (1975), pp. 211–231.
 - 25 B. Krivocheine, 'The Ascetic and Theological Teaching of St. Gregory Palamas', *Eastern Churches Quarterly* 3 (1938), p. 207; G. Mantzarides, 'Tradition and Renewal in the Theology of Saint Gregory of Palamas', *Eastern Churches Review* 9 (1977), p. 1; G. Florovsky, 'St. Gregory Palamas and the Tradition of the Fathers', in *Collected Works*, vol. I, *Bible, Church, Tradition: An Eastern Orthodox View* (Belmont, Mass.: Nordland, 1974), p. 114.
 - 26 S. Dumitrescu, *7 Diminești cu Părintele Stăniloae* (București: Anastasia, 1992), p. 187.
 - 27 Stăniloae interprets Maximus in Palamite and not in Thomistic terms. As regards with the relation between *logoi* and *energeiai*, see Joost van Rossum, 'The *logoi* of Creation and the Divine "Energies" in Maximus the Confessor and Gregory Palamas', *Studia Patristica* 26 (1993), pp. 213–217. Van Rossum argues that, by comparison, there is a difference in emphasis and context between Maximus' *logoi* and Palamas' *energeiai*. Maximus' teaching on the *logoi* as the divine 'ideas' or 'intentions' of creation is in the context of the doctrine of creation, or in a cosmological context, while Palamas' teaching on the *logoi* and *energeiai* is in the context of the doctrine of God. See in parallel Maximus, *Ambigua* 7 (PG 91, 1080A, 1081A), and Gregory Palamas, *Triads* 2.3, 16. For further study of the 'logos mysticism' and the doctrine of the 'logopoiesis' of creation in Maximus, see G. Maloney, *The Breath of the Mystic* (Denville, N.J.: Dimension Books, 1974), pp. 141–160.
 - 28 R. D. Williams, *The Theology of Vladimir Nikolaievich Lossky*, pp. 177–180.
 - 29 K. Ware, 'The Debate About Palamism', *Eastern Churches Review* 9 (1977), p. 46.
 - 30 Maximus, *Ambigua* (PG 91, 1308B). Gregory Palamas comments that biblical texts, like 2 Peter 1:4, have an antinomic character as elsewhere the doctrine of Trinity, and their antinomy must be maintained as a criterion of reverence. Cf. Gregory Palamas, *Apology* (PG 150, 932D). 'The Divine substance is incommunicable and yet is, in a certain sense, communicated; we

partake of the Divine essence and yet at the same time we do not partake of it at all. And so we must maintain both (affirmations) and lay them down as the standard of piety'. Cf. Krivosheine, p. 145; see also *Theophanes* (PG 150, 932D).

- 31 Mascall has suggested a parallel between the essence-energies distinction in Palamism and the essence-existence distinction in Thomas Aquinas, 'even if they expounded it in terms of divergent metaphysical systems' and 'even if we cannot simply equate existence with energy'. E. L. Mascall, *The Openness of Being. Natural Theology Today* (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1971), p. 222.
- 32 E. Timiadis, 'God's Immutability and Communicability', in T. F. Torrance (ed.), *Theological Dialogue between Orthodox and Reformed Churches*, vol. I (Edinburgh and London: Scottish Academic Press, 1985), pp. 45–47. Two observations here: (1) Timiadis' view (along with Trembelas) could be challenged by other Orthodox theologians. Palamas, it is claimed, is not an elitist but merely accepts the possibility of knowledge of God in this life. (2) Criticism of hesychasm and its focus on the vision of the light of Tabor claims that this was but one episode in the life of Jesus, an episode moreover that points forward to the Passion of Christ. But, if that is indeed so, we ask, how is it possible to suggest a developed doctrine of the 'spiritual senses' and the transfiguration of bodily vision in the vision of God?
- 33 For Palamas' doctrine of *logoi* as God's uncreated energies, particular wills and purposes as in Maximus, see *Capita* 24, 81, 87–88, 90. For Maximus, see *Quaestiones ad Thalassium* (PG 90, 296AB); *Mystagogia* 5. (PG 91, 682B, 692CD, 696A); *Ambigua* (PG 91, 1080AD, 1085AC, 1329CD, 1345BC). A summary of Maximus' doctrine in this respect is to be found in L. Thunberg, *Microcosm and Mediator. The Theological Anthropology of Maximus the Confessor* (Lund: C.W.K. Gleerup, 1965), pp. 79–99.
- 34 But having in mind what Timiadis believes about Patristic method, hermeneutics, and language, his view on the Palamite distinction sounds like a typical Orthodox interpretation. 'The present-day reader will be disappointed if he looks for clear-cut statements and neatly measured definitions. This is not the method of Patristics . . . For them, terminology is not an absolute, an end in itself . . . We risk betraying the real thought and intention of the Fathers if, with our contemporary pre-conceived views, after fifteen centuries, we try to give our own interpretation of some of their linguistic expressions and conceptions'. Timiadis explains: 'These energies are not something that exists apart from God, not a gift which God confers upon man: they are God himself in his action and revelation to the world; God remains complete in each of his divine energies. The world is charged with the grandeur of God; all creation is a gigantic Burning Bush, permeated but not consumed by the ineffable and wondrous fire of God's energies'. Cf. E. Timiadis, 'God's Immutability and Communicability', pp. 23–24, 42.
- 35 C. Yannaras, 'The Distinction between Essence and Energy and Its Importance for Theology', *Saint Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 19 (1975), p. 241.
- 36 C. M. LaCugna, *God for Us. The Trinity and Christian Life* (New York: Harper-Collins, 1991), p. 192. The same interpretation is found in R. Williams, 'The Philosophical Structures of Palamism', *Eastern Churches Review* 9.1–2 (1977), p. 33. See also I. Trethowan, 'Irrationality in Theology and the Palamite Distinction' *Eastern Churches Review* 9 (1977), pp. 19–26.
- 37 For similar conclusions see P. Negrut, *The Development of the Concept of Authority within the Romanian Orthodox Church during the Twentieth Century*, Doctoral dissertation (London: Brunell University, 1994), p. 36.
- 38 E. Timiadis, 'God's Immutability and Communicability', p. 46.
- 39 In a private discussion on this subject, Bishop Kallistos Ware has insisted that, to avoid impersonalism, we must always think in triadic terms. The danger lies in the language of distinction which could be interpreted as impersonal. If, for example, we speak only in terms of essence-energies we would end in impersonalism, while if we speak in terms of essence-hypostases-energies the energies would be understood in more personal terms.
- 40 Ware affirms that 'the term deity (*theotis*) may be applied not only to the essence of God but to the energies'. K. Ware, 'God Hidden and Revealed', p. 130. Mantzarides says that 'the man who partakes of this deifying gift even to a small degree is united through it to God in His entirety'. G. I.

Mantzarides, *The Deification of Man. St. Gregory Palamas and the Orthodox Tradition* (Crestwood, N.Y.: Saint Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1984), p. 109.

- 41 This is von Balthasar's view, as presented by R. Gawronski, in *Word and Silence. Hans Urs von Balthasar and the Spiritual Encounter between East and West* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1995), pp. 56–60. For Balthasar 'the God of love is apophatic not in a "withdrawal" to a hidden essence as Palamas intends; rather, the God of love is apophatic in that He "brings the one filled by Him to adoring silence". The moment of the apophatic is not behind the appear-

ance of God, but in it . . . Thus, both 'with and against Gregory Palamas: God's essence does not cover itself with His "energies", although it really becomes known in them'.

- 42 Cf. D. Stăniloae, *Theology and the Church*, p. 124. 'The line of supernatural acts and the line of spirituality do not meet in Christ at the highest level, however, as if they constituted two parallel peaks. It is precisely the supreme spirituality of Christ which contains within itself the power to overcome the automatism of nature'. D. Stăniloae, *The Experience of God*, p. 25.

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- **Die Frage nach dem Handeln Gottes in der Geschichte in der Kirchengeschichtsschreibung des deutschen Pietismus**
- *The Activity of God in History in the Church History Writing of German Pietism*
- *L'activité historique de Dieu dans la rédaction de l'histoire de l'Église au sein du piétisme allemand*
- **Klaus Wetzel, Beindersheim, Deutschland**

SUMMARY

German language Protestant church history writing underwent a profound change during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Whereas at the beginning it was confessional, it was finally secularized. This development originated in a view of church history according to which secular history was a part of the history of the universal church. The result, however, was a kind of church history writing that in its execution and style followed the methods of secular history.

At the beginning of the period the church historians portrayed the activity of God simply as his activity in and through the true church. As for where the true church could be found, this was determined by its confession. At the end of the process, Protestant church history writing no longer spoke of God's activity in history at all.

In the middle of this process came the upsurge of German Pietism and with it, in the early decades, the blossoming of the theological work of pietistic scholars. Many of them devoted themselves to church history. Best known among them was Gottfried Arnold, who in his *Unparteiischen Kirchen- und Ketzerhistorie* only ever sees the activity of God from the point of view of the 'Ketzer' persecuted by the official church. In this way, Arnold returned to the

confessional view of history. Johann Henrich Reitz in his *Historie der Wiedergeborenen* resolved history into a collection of biographies. Heinrich Horche instituted a fashion for dividing history up according to a theological schema.

Philipp Jakob Spener and August Hermann Francke gave a new impulse to pietistic church history, working out criteria by which God's activity in history might be known. It may be seen wherever the Gospel is proclaimed and where people come to faith in Jesus Christ; and it is present where the proclamation of the Gospel is promoted by various circumstances. Following them, Adam Rechenberg produced an influential church history textbook in his *Summarium Historiae Ecclesiasticae*, in which he divides church history into profane and theological parts. While the discourse itself does not speak of the activity of God, an interpretative passage at the end of each section shows how God has worked in the history of the church.

Johann Wilhelm Zierold, in his *Einleitung zur Gründlichen Kirchen= Historie*, portrayed church history as a spiritual dialogue. Johann Jakob Rambach, in *Collegium Historiae Ecclesiasticae Veteris Testamenti*, deepened and refined the criteria of Spener and Francke for recognizing the activity of God in history.

Even if pietistic church history failed,

in the final analysis, to halt the secularization process, it remains to its credit that it showed clearly that the demonstration of God's activity is an indispensable characteristic of

theological church history. It made many attempts to turn this programme into works of church history. Many of these should still be of interest in modern discussion.

RÉSUMÉ

La manière de rédiger l'histoire de l'Église dans le protestantisme de langue allemande a connu un changement profond au cours des XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles. Au début de cette période, la rédaction était confessionnelle, mais elle a finalement été sécularisée. Ce changement a eu pour origine une conception de l'histoire de l'Église selon laquelle l'histoire profane était une partie de l'histoire de l'Église universelle. Il en est résulté une sorte de rédaction de l'histoire de l'Église qui, dans son contenu et son style, suivait les méthodes de l'histoire profane.

Au début de notre période, les historiens de l'Église peignaient l'activité divine simplement comme son activité dans l'Église véritable et par elle. Pour déterminer où l'Église véritable pouvait se trouver, on considérait sa confession de foi. À la fin de cette période, la rédaction de l'histoire de l'Église dans le protestantisme ne se référait plus à l'activité divine dans l'histoire.

Au milieu du processus qui a apporté ce changement, le piétisme allemand s'est développé. Dans ses premières décennies, les spécialistes piétistes ont produit une œuvre théologique abondante. Plusieurs d'entre eux se sont consacrés à l'histoire de l'Église. Le plus connu de ces spécialistes fut Gottfried Arnold, qui, dans son Unparteiischen Kirchen-und Ketzerhistorie, ne voit d'activité divine que du point de vue des 'Ketzer' persécutés par l'Église officielle. Arnold est ainsi retourné à la conception confessionnelle de l'histoire. Johann Henrich Reitz, dans son Historie der Wiedergeborenen («Histoire des gens nés de nouveau»), a ramené l'histoire à une collection de biographies. Heinrich Horche fut à l'origine de la mode qui a

consisté à diviser l'histoire en fonction d'un schéma théologique.

Philipp Jakob Spener et August Hermann Francke ont donné un nouvel élan à l'histoire de l'Église chez les piétistes: ils ont élaboré des critères pour reconnaître l'activité divine dans l'histoire. On peut la constater là où l'Évangile est prêché et où les gens viennent à la foi en Jésus-Christ. Dieu est à l'œuvre là où la proclamation de l'Évangile est facilitée par diverses circonstances. Dans leur sillage, Adam Rechenberg a produit un manuel d'histoire de l'Église influent, sa Summarium Historiae Ecclesiasticae. Il y répartit son sujet en une partie profane et une partie théologique. Bien qu'il ne parle pas de l'activité divine, un passage où l'auteur interprète l'histoire, à la fin de chaque section, montre comment Dieu a œuvré dans l'histoire de l'Église.

Johann Wilhelm Zierold, dans son Einleitung zur Gründlichen Kirchen= Historie, présente l'histoire de l'Église comme un dialogue spirituel. Johann Jakob Rambach, dans son Collegium Historiae Ecclesiasticae Veteris Testamenti, approfondit et affine les critères de Spener et Francke pour reconnaître l'activité divine dans l'histoire.

Même si, en dernière analyse, l'histoire de l'Église élaborée par les piétistes n'a pas pu empêcher le processus de sécularisation dans ce domaine, il reste porté à son crédit la claire démonstration que la reconnaissance de l'activité divine est une caractéristique indispensable d'une histoire théologique de l'Église. Le piétisme a produit de nombreux travaux en histoire de l'Église qui visaient à mettre en œuvre un tel programme. Nombre d'entre eux conservent encore un intérêt pour la recherche moderne.

Die Umwandlung der deutschen protestantischen Kirchengeschichtsschreibung im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert

Die deutsche protestantische Kirchengeschichtsschreibung hat im Verlauf des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts¹ eine grundlegende Veränderung erfahren. Im Verlauf dieses Umwandlungsprozesses sind vier Phasen zu unterscheiden.

(1) Die erste Phase wird durch die ursprüngliche Kirchengeschichtsschreibung der protestantischen Orthodoxie dargestellt. Ihr wesentliches Kennzeichen ist die Stellung der profanen Geschichte. Die profane Geschichte ist ein Teil der Kirchengeschichte und dieser untergeordnet. Dies wird deutlich an dem anfänglich in der protestantischen Kirchengeschichtsschreibung verwendeten 'Vier-Weltreiche-Schema' zur Gliederung der noch gemeinsam die 'Kirchengeschichte des Alten Testaments' und die Kirchengeschichte umfassenden Darstellung. Das 'Vier-Weltreiche-Schema' ordnete in Anlehnung an Daniel 2 die Geschichte der großen Weltreiche mit Rom und dem Heiligen Römischen Reich Deutscher Nation als dessen Nachfolger als dem abschließendem vierten Weltreich einer theologischen Schau der Geschichte unter.

(2) Im Verlauf des 17. Jahrhunderts erfuhr die protestantische Kirchengeschichtsschreibung ihre erste wesentliche Veränderung dadurch, dass die protestantische säkulare Geschichtsschreibung als selbständiger Bereich neben die Kirchengeschichtsschreibung trat. Wurde bisher die profane Geschichte im Zusammenhang der Kirchengeschichte behandelt, konnte es nun vorkommen, dass ein und derselbe Gelehrte eine Darstellung der Kirchengeschichte und eine Darstellung der Profangeschichte verfasste.²

Die profane Geschichtsschreibung wurde im Verlauf dieser zweiten Phase unabhängig von der Kirchengeschichtsschreibung.³ Die Grundsätze der humanistischen Geschichtsforschung, die schon in der Kirchengeschichtsschreibung der

ersten Phase wirksam gewesen waren, wurden nun für die inzwischen selbständige säkulare Geschichtsschreibung bestimmend. Die protestantische Kirchengeschichtsschreibung widmete sich weiterhin theologischen Fragestellungen, so derjenigen nach der wahren Kirche. Noch wurde die Antwort der konfessionellen Kirchengeschichtsschreibung beibehalten, die—auf protestantischer Seite—die wahre Kirche bis zum Verfall der Kirche um 600 und dann wieder seit der Reformation in der sichtbaren Kirche—nach der Reformation natürlich nur in der lutherischen resp. reformierten Kirche—erkannte. Für die Zwischenzeit findet sich die wahre Kirche repräsentiert durch die Kette der 'Zeugen der Wahrheit',⁴ deren wichtigste Repräsentanten die Waldenser, Wyclif und Hus sind.

Für die Gliederung der Kirchengeschichte setzte sich nach dem Muster der *Magdeburger Zenturien*⁵ immer mehr die Einteilung in Jahrhunderte, das sog. Säkularschema durch.

(3) Ein wesentliches Kennzeichen der theologischen Kirchengeschichtsschreibung ist die Rede vom Handeln Gottes in der Geschichte. Anfänglich war die Rede vom Handeln Gottes in der Geschichte selbstverständlicher Bestandteil der protestantischen Kirchengeschichtsschreibung. Allerdings erscheint das in ihr angewandte Interpretationsschema angesichts der Bedeutung der Fragestellung als zu eng: Gott handelt auf der Seite der evangelischen Kirche, und die Tendenz geht dahin, die Lebensäußerungen der evangelischen Kirche mit dem Handeln Gottes zu identifizieren.

Die Behandlung der Frage nach dem Handeln Gottes in der Kirchengeschichte wurde zum Kriterium für das Verständnis der dritten Phase des Umwandlungsprozesses, den die protestantische Kirchengeschichtsschreibung im Verlauf des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts durchgemacht hat. In der zweiten Phase war die Kirchengeschichtsschreibung im Gegensatz zur profanen Geschichtsschreibung durch die Rede vom Handeln Gottes gekennzeichnet. Kirchengeschichtsschreibung sprach von Gott als dem in der

Geschichte Handelnden. Profane Geschichtsschreibung dagegen war dadurch charakterisiert, dass sie nur den Menschen als Handelnden sah.

In der dritten Phase wurde nun diese Unterscheidung in der Kirchengeschichtsschreibung selbst wirksam. Die Kirchengeschichtswerke erfuhren eine Aufteilung in einen darstellenden Teil, der sich methodisch an der profanen Geschichtsschreibung orientiert, also nicht vom Handeln Gottes in der Geschichte redet, und in einen interpretierenden Teil, dessen wichtigstes inhaltliches Merkmal—von der Darstellung der Kirchengeschichte getrennt—der Aufweis des Handelns Gottes in der Kirchengeschichte ist. Am konsequentesten hat Adam Rechenberg, der Schwiegersohn Speners, diese Aufteilung in darstellenden und deutenden Teil in seinem *Summarium Historiae Ecclesiasticae*, das 1697 erstmals erschien, durchgeführt.⁶ Da Rechenbergs *Summarium* zum meistgebrauchten akademischen Kirchengeschichtslehrbuch seiner Zeit wurde⁷—es erlebte bis 1789 zwölf Auflagen⁸—dürfte es die Kirchengeschichte einer ganzen Theologengeneration in Deutschland geprägt haben.

Die in der zweiten Phase zwischen Kirchengeschichtsschreibung und profaner Geschichtsschreibung sich auftuende Aufspaltung hat nun in die Kirchengeschichtsschreibung selbst Einzug gehalten. Der Ablauf der Kirchengeschichte wird ohne Berücksichtigung der Frage nach dem Handeln Gottes *dargestellt*. Die theologischen Erwägungen zum Aufweis des Handelns Gottes in der Kirchengeschichte werden in separaten, von der Darstellung getrennten Abschnitten vorgetragen.

In der Auswahl des Stoffes setzt sich, von Christian Kortholt zum ersten Mal programmatisch begründet,⁹ mehr und mehr der Verzicht auf die 'Kirchengeschichte des Alten Testaments' zugunsten der Beschränkung auf die Kirchengeschichte seit der Zeit des Neuen Testaments durch.

(4) Die vierte Phase stellt nun das Endergebnis des skizzierten Prozesses

dar. Die hinsichtlich ihrer theologischen Kennzeichen selbstständige Kirchengeschichtsschreibung ist aufgegeben worden. Kirchengeschichtsschreibung ist zu einem Teil der profanen Geschichtsschreibung geworden.¹⁰ Zwar behandelt die Kirchengeschichtsschreibung auch weiterhin die Geschichte der Kirche, aber sie tut dies allein mit dem methodischen Instrumentarium der profanen Geschichtsschreibung. Bedeutendster Vertreter ist Johann Lorenz von Mosheim, der in seinen *Institutionen* als erster das Programm einer 'säkularen' Kirchengeschichtsschreibung konsequent durchführt.¹¹

Der Aufbruch der Pietistischen Kirchengeschichtsschreibung in Deutschland um die Wende zum 18. Jahrhundert

Mitten hinein in den Ablauf des skizzierten Umwandlungsprozesses der deutschen protestantischen Kirchengeschichtsschreibung ereignete sich Ende des 17. und Anfang des 18. Jahrhunderts der Aufbruch der pietistischen Kirchengeschichtsschreibung. Wie sahen die Antworten der pietistischen Gelehrten auf die in der kirchengeschichtlichen Arbeit anstehenden Fragen aus? Folgte die pietistische Kirchengeschichtsschreibung dem beschriebenen Prozess, gestaltete sie eine Phase dieses Prozesses mit oder stand sie gar außerhalb dieses Prozesses?

Zunächst ist festzustellen, dass die pietistische Kirchengeschichtsschreibung keine einheitliche Gestalt gewann. In ihrer Vielfalt fügte sie sich nicht ohne weiteres ein in den Gang der protestantischen Theologiegeschichte. Der pietistischen Kirchengeschichtsschreibung ist es im Ganzen zwar nicht gelungen, dauerhaft prägend auf die akademische Kirchengeschichtsschreibung in Deutschland zu wirken. Gleichwohl verdienen es manche der von der pietistischen Kirchengeschichtsschreibung ausgehenden Impulse, auch heute Beachtung zu finden.

Im Folgenden sollen nach einigen kurzen grundsätzlichen Überlegungen einige

beispielhafte Ansätze der pietistischen Kirchengeschichtsschreibung kurz dargestellt werden.

Die Kirchengeschichtsschreibung des Pietismus fügt sich ein in den Aufbruch des Pietismus zur Erneuerung der Theologie. Die pietistische Kirchengeschichtsschreibung suchte nicht nur, den theologischen Charakter der protestantischen Kirchengeschichtsschreibung festzuhalten oder wiederzugewinnen, sondern sie arbeitete daran, ihn ganz neu zu gestalten.

Schon im Zeitalter der Orthodoxie war ja der theologische Charakter der Kirchengeschichtsschreibung keineswegs unangefochten gewesen, war doch schon das erste protestantische Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte, Melancthons *Chronicon Carionis*, geprägt vom bestimmenden Einfluss des Humanismus.¹² Vielleicht liegt in dieser von Beginn an wirklichen humanistischen Prägung der protestantischen Kirchengeschichtsschreibung eine Ursache dafür, dass die Behandlung der Komplexen Gliederung, Frage nach der wahren Kirche und Aufweis des Handelns Gottes in der Kirchengeschichtsschreibung der protestantischen Orthodoxie allzu schematisch erfolgte.

Die pietistische Kirchengeschichtsschreibung versuchte, sowohl die Defizite der orthodoxen Kirchengeschichtsschreibung zu beheben, als auch dem zur Zeit des frühen Pietismus in vollem Gang befindlichen Umgestaltungsprozess der Kirchengeschichtsschreibung in Richtung auf ihre rein profane Gestalt eine bewusst theologische Kirchengeschichtsschreibung entgegenzustellen.

Gottfried Arnold: *Unparteiische Kirchen- und Ketzerhistorie*—die radikale Position

Grundlegend für die Theologie des Pietismus ist die Frage nach der wahren Kirche. Diese Frage war bestimmend für das bedeutendste Kirchengeschichtswerk, das der deutsche Pietismus hervorgebracht hat, Gottfried Arnolds *Unpar-*

teiische Kirchen- und Ketzerhistorie, deren erste Ausgabe im Jahr 1699 erschien.¹³ Arnold greift ein Hauptproblem der protestantischen Kirchengeschichtsschreibung auf, die Frage nach der wahren Kirche im Zeitraum zwischen dem Verfall der Kirche um das Jahr 600 und der Reformation. Arnold radikalisiert die Anschauung von der Kette der 'Zeugen der Wahrheit' dahingehend, dass es nicht nur im genannten Zeitraum, sondern *zu allen Zeiten* der Kirchengeschichte die von der Amtskirche nicht Anerkannten und von ihr Ausgestoßenen, eben die *Ketzer* waren, die die wahre Kirche repräsentierten.¹⁴ So kenntnisreich aus den Quellen gearbeitet und bestechend geradlinig Arnolds Darstellung der Kirchengeschichte ist, so erscheint sie letztlich doch nur als eine—konsequent durchgeführte—Umkehrung des Deutungsprinzips der Kirchengeschichtsschreibung der protestantischen Orthodoxie, nach dem die wahre Kirche eben in der Amtskirche repräsentiert ist. Für Arnold seinerseits steht die institutionelle Kirche *niemals* in Verbindung mit der wahren Kirche.

Die Kirchengeschichte Gottfried Arnolds hat nicht erneuernd gewirkt, sondern letztlich der rationalistischen Schau der Kirchengeschichte vorgearbeitet, lieferte sie dieser doch viele Argumente gegen die Kirche, auch gegen die evangelische Kirche.¹⁵

Johann Henrich Reitz: *Biographien an Stelle der Geschichte der Kirche*

Die Frage nach der Gestalt der wahren Kirche wurde in der Kirchengeschichtsschreibung des radikalen Pietismus noch auf eine andere Weise aufgegriffen und beantwortet. Die Darstellung der Kirchengeschichte wurde aufgelöst in die Darstellung von Biographien wiedergeborener Christen. Gottfried Arnold hat neben der *Unparteiischen Kirchen- und Ketzerhistorie* auch ein Kirchengeschichtswerk dieser Art verfasst,¹⁶ er war aber nicht der Pionier dieser Art von Kirchengeschichtsdarstellung, hatte doch schon einige Jahre vorher Johann Hen-

rich Reitz seine *Historie der Wiedergeborenen* an die Öffentlichkeit gebracht.¹⁷ Bemerkenswert an seinem Umgang mit der Kirchengeschichte ist die völlige Hintanstellung des äußerlichen Geschehens und der organisierten Gestalt der Kirche zugunsten der Darstellung des geistlichen Werdegangs einzelner Gläubiger. Wichtig erscheinen für Reitz nur noch die Bekehrung eines Menschen sowie sein Leben und seine Bewährung in der Nachfolge Christi. Der Topos des 'Zeugen der Wahrheit' findet hier eine Verallgemeinerung, aber dergestalt, dass nur noch die Zeugenschaft selbst, nicht mehr aber die Wirkung auf ihr Umfeld interessant ist.

Wie bei Arnolds *Unparteiischer Kirchen- und Ketzerhistorie* werden auch in Reitzens *Historie der Wiedergeborenen* die Grenzen bisheriger Kirchengeschichtsschreibung gesprengt. Dies gilt in beiden Werken auch für die konfessionellen Grenzen; so können hier durchaus auch die Biographien katholischer Christen behandelt werden. Zwar bedeutet die Darstellung von Kirchengeschichte durch Biographien einerseits eine Bereicherung, da sie das persönliche Moment der Nachfolge Christi herausarbeitet, andererseits wird man eine unzusammenhängende Aneinanderreihung von Biographien, die zudem noch den Fokus auf die Bekehrung richtet, nur mehr sehr eingeschränkt als Kirchengeschichtsschreibung bezeichnen können.

Zwar hat mit den Werken von Arnold und Reitz der Pietismus im Blick auf die Frage nach der wahren Kirche bemerkenswerte Kirchengeschichtswerke hervorgebracht. Gleichwohl erscheinen die beiden Ansätze für die Kirchengeschichtsschreibung schließlich nicht als weiterführend.

Heinrich Horche und der von der Föderaltheologie angestoßene Seitenzweig der pietistischen Kirchengeschichtsschreibung

Auch hinsichtlich der Gliederung der Kirchengeschichtsdarstellung finden wir in der pietistischen Kirchengeschichts-

schreibung einen Neuansatz. Ausgehend von einem Element der Föderaltheologie,¹⁸ nämlich der allegorischen Deutung der Sieben Sendschreiben der Offenbarung auf sieben Epochen der Kirchengeschichte, wurde die Gliederung der Kirchengeschichte in sieben Epochen zum Hauptkennzeichen eines Seitenzweiges der pietistischen Kirchengeschichtsschreibung. Zwar zeigte auch dieser Seitenzweig der pietistischen Kirchengeschichtsschreibung keine wesentliche Weiterwirkung. Bemerkenswert bleibt an diesem Ansatz aber der Versuch, der inzwischen weit verbreiteten schematischen Gliederung nach Jahrhunderten, dem Säkularschema, wiederum ein theologisches Gliederungsschema, das durch Auslegung eines biblischen Textes gewonnen wurde, entgegenzustellen.

Als erster hat Heinrich Horche die föderaltheologische Gliederung der Geschichte in sieben Epochen in die deutsche Kirchengeschichtsschreibung eingeführt,¹⁹ ohne selbst eine Darstellung der Kirchengeschichte zu verfassen. Für die frühen Werken dieses von der Föderaltheologie beeinflussten Seitenzweiges der pietistischen Kirchengeschichtsschreibung ist die Übereinstimmung der Epochen mit der Charakteristik der sieben Sendschreiben der Offenbarung kennzeichnend.²⁰ Das letzte Werk in dieser Reihe zeigt allerdings, dass die Auslegung der Sieben Sendschreiben auf die Kirchengeschichtsdarstellung Schwierigkeiten bereitete. Friedrich Adolph Lampes *Synopsis Historiae Sacrae et Ecclesiasticae* ist zwar noch nach dem Sieben-Perioden-Schema gegliedert. Die Darstellung der Kirchengeschichte steht in diesem Werk aber in keinem Bezug mehr zur Auslegung der Sieben Sendschreiben der Offenbarung.²¹

Spener und Francke: Der Aufweis des Handelns Gottes als Wesentliches Kennzeichen des Kirchengeschichtlichen Denkens des Hauptzweiges des Pietismus

Einen wesentlichen Beitrag zur Weiterführung der theologischen Kirchengeschichts-

schreibung hat der Pietismus hinsichtlich des *Aufweises des Handelns Gottes in der Kirchengeschichte* geleistet. Die Kirchengeschichtsschreibung des deutschen Protestantismus kannte am Ende des 17. Jahrhunderts noch die Rede vom Handeln Gottes; sie war allerdings ganz überwiegend auf die Kirchenorganisation bezogen. Der Pietismus hat demgegenüber die grundsätzliche Frage nach dem Handeln Gottes in der Kirchengeschichte als ein wichtiges Thema aufgenommen, die Bemühungen um ihre Beantwortung intensiviert und konkretisiert.

Als erster ist hier der 'Vater des Pietismus', Philipp Jakob Spener,²² zu nennen. Wiewohl kein Kirchenhistoriker, hat Spener eine kurze Darstellung der Geschichte der ersten 20 Jahre der pietistischen Bewegung verfasst.²³ Bemerkenswert an diesem kleinen Werk ist die Darstellung des Handelns Gottes in der pietistischen Bewegung. Aus der Darstellung wird das von Spener angewandte Kriterium für das Erkennen des Handelns Gottes in der Kirchengeschichte erkennbar. Das Handeln Gottes in der Kirchengeschichte ist deutlich dort zu erkennen, wo das Evangelium verkündigt wird und Menschen zum Glauben an Jesus Christus kommen. Spener wendet dieses Kriterium nicht nur auf die Lebensgeschichte einzelner Christen an, sondern auch auf die Geschichte der jungen pietistischen Bewegung als Ganzer. Das Handeln Gottes ist in besonderer Weise dort zu erkennen, wo die Verkündigung des Evangeliums gefördert wird, Bibelkreise entsprechend den Vorschlägen Speners in den *Pia Desideria* entstehen und viele Christen zum lebendigen Glauben erweckt werden. Spener löst sich mit seinem Aufweis des Handelns Gottes von der Bindung an die Institution Kirche, ohne aber das Handeln Gottes allein in den Biographien frommer Christen zu suchen. Nach Spener ist die pietistische Bewegung ein von Gott gewirkter geistlicher Aufbruch. Spener bezieht in seine Darstellung auch den Kampf des Satans gegen die pietistische Erweckung ein, der in vielfältiger Weise den geistlichen Aufbruch zu hindern versucht.

Speners Darstellung hat noch nicht das Ganze der Kirchengeschichte im Blick, sie ist sowohl zeitlich, auf die neueste Zeit, als auch inhaltlich, auf die pietistische Bewegung, beschränkt. Gleichwohl weist sie neue Wege, indem sie die Antwort auf die Frage nach dem Handeln Gottes aus der Enge der konfessionellen Kirchengeschichtsschreibung befreit, ohne gleichzeitig der neuen Engführung der alleinigen biographischen Orientierung zu verfallen. Kirche wird bei Spener nicht zuerst als Institution verstanden, sondern als geistliche Gemeinschaft der zum lebendigen Glauben Erweckten. Entsprechend sind neue Schwerpunkte des Aufweises des Handelns Gottes die Verkündigung des Evangeliums, die Ausbreitung der Erweckung und die *praxis pietatis* in Bibelstunden und diakonischem Engagement, während die Kirche als Institution in den Hintergrund tritt, allerdings hält Spener an der Sichtbarkeit der christlichen Gemeinschaft fest.

An die Stelle der Kirche trat dann bei August Hermann Francke²⁴ das Freie Werk, für das die Halleschen Anstalten den Prototyp darstellten. Obwohl auch Francke keine Darstellung der Kirchengeschichte im eigentlichen Sinne verfasst hat, sind seine *Segensvolle Fußstapfen*²⁵ doch als eine Betrachtung von kirchengeschichtlichen Geschehnissen anzusehen, in der Francke das Handeln Gottes in der Entstehung, dem Wachstum und der Erhaltung und Versorgung des Halleschen Werkes herausstellt.

Für den Pietismus rückte so neben die Geschichte der Institution Kirche die Geschichte der geistlichen *Bewegung* in das Blickfeld kirchengeschichtlichen Verständnisses.

Adam Rechenberg: Trennung von Darstellung und Deutung der Kirchengeschichte

Pietistische Gelehrte gingen aber auch in der eigentlichen Kirchengeschichtsschreibung neue Wege beim Aufweis des Handelns Gottes in der Geschichte. Interessanterweise ist es mit dem oben

erwähnten Adam Rechenberg gerade ein pietistischer Gelehrter, der zum Protagonisten der Trennung von Kirchengeschichtsdarstellung und -deutung wurde. In seinem *Summarium Historiae Ecclesiasticae* wählte er den Weg, die Darstellung und die interpretierende Betrachtung der Kirchengeschichte zu trennen. Während Rechenberg in der Darstellung der Kirchengeschichte der einzelnen Jahrhunderte also nicht vom Handeln Gottes spricht, fügt er für jedes Jahrhundert der Darstellung aber jeweils ein eigenes kurzes Kapitel an, in dem er die Kirchengeschichte des betreffenden Jahrhunderts unter der Frage nach dem Handeln Gottes betrachtet. Rechenberg teilt also die Behandlung der Kirchengeschichte in einen 'profanen' und einen 'theologischen' Teil. Während er im Kontext der Darstellung der Geschehnisse keinen Raum für den Aufweis des Handelns Gottes sieht, will Rechenberg doch keinesfalls auf die Beantwortung der Frage nach dem Handeln Gottes in der Geschichte verzichten. Allerdings zerreißt er so die Betrachtung der Kirchengeschichte in zwei Teile. Die Darstellung des Geschehens könnte auch für sich allein stehen und würde dann ein wesentliches Kennzeichen pietistischer Kirchengeschichtsschreibung, die Rede vom Handeln Gottes in der Geschichte, vermissen lassen. Dies war offensichtlich nicht Rechenbergs Absicht, er beschritt vielmehr einen neuen Weg, um eben dem Aufweis des Handelns Gottes auch im Rahmen der akademischen Kirchengeschichtsschreibung einen Platz zu bewahren.

Johann Wilhelm Zierold: Kirchengeschichte als geistesgeschichtliche Auseinandersetzung

In dem Anliegen, dem Aufweis des Handelns Gottes in der Kirchengeschichte einen Platz auch in der akademischen Kirchengeschichtsschreibung einzuräumen, ging ein anderer Schüler Spencers, Johann Wilhelm Zierold, wiederum einen eigenen Weg. Zierold betrachtet in seiner

Einleitung zur Gründlichen Kirchen=
Historie die gesamte Kirchengeschichte, und zwar unter Einschluss der Geschichte des alttestamentlichen Gottesvolkes, unter geistesgeschichtlichem Aspekt.²⁶ Im Mittelpunkt der Darstellung Zierolds stehen nicht die kirchengeschichtlichen Geschehnisse, sondern der geistliche Kampf, in dem das alttestamentliche Gottesvolk bzw. die wahre Kirche steht. In diesem Kampf stehen sich nach Zierold die Theologie des Kreuzes Christi und die Philosophie des Aristoteles unversöhnlich gegenüber. Entsprechend der Grundüberzeugung des Pietismus sieht Zierold die Frontlinie dieses geistlichen Kampfes mitten in der Kirche—auch der evangelischen Kirche. Nach Zierold ist die Philosophie des Aristoteles mit ihrem Vertrauen auf die Kräfte des menschlichen Verstandes wirksam nicht nur in philosophischen Systemen, sondern auch in den Religionen und ebenso in der von der Theologie des Kreuzes abgefallenen Kirche. Nach Zierold lebt allein die wahre Kirche aus der Kraft des Kreuzes Christi. Sie steht in der Auseinandersetzung des geistlichen Kampfes mit den Philosophien ebenso wie mit den Religionen und der abgefallenen Kirche.

Zierolds auf die geistesgeschichtliche Auseinandersetzung zugeschnittene Darstellung der Kirchengeschichte richtet ihr Augenmerk ebenso auf die Frage nach der wahren Kirche, wie auch nach der biblischen Theologie und nach dem Handeln Gottes in der Geschichte. Das Kriterium, um die wahre Kirche von der falschen zu unterscheiden und um das Handeln Gottes in der Geschichte zu erkennen, ist für Zierold vor allem soteriologisch und in diesem Zusammenhang vor allem von der *theologia crucis* her bestimmt. Dort wo diese gelehrt und gepredigt wird, darf die wahre Kirche erkannt und vom Handeln Gottes gesprochen werden.

Zierold weist mit seiner zugeschnittenen Darstellung darauf hin, dass die Kriterien für das Unterscheiden von wahrer und falscher Kirche wie auch für das Erkennen des Handelns Gottes in der Geschichte nur auf dem Weg der

Auslegung der Heiligen Schrift gewonnen werden können.

Johann Jakob Rambach: Schriftgemäße Kriterien für den Aufweis des Handelns Gottes in der Kirchengeschichte

Johann Jakob Rambach, Schüler Franckes, fasste in seinem *Collegium Historiae Ecclesiasticae Veteris Testamenti* die Überlegungen der pietistischen Kirchengeschichtsschreibung über das Erkennen der wahren Kirche und des Handelns Gottes in der Kirchengeschichte interessanterweise im Kontext alttestamentlicher Theologie zusammen.²⁷ Rambach hat in der Tradition der protestantischen Orthodoxie die biblische Geschichte des Volkes Israel als Teil der Kirchengeschichte verstanden.

Kirchengeschichte theologisch zu verstehen und darzustellen, bedeutet für Rambach, zu fragen, inwiefern die beschriebenen Geschehnisse in Bezug zum Christusgeschehen und zum Evangelium stehen.

Rambach entfaltet folgende Grundfragen und -kriterien der theologischen Kirchengeschichtsschreibung.

Richtet der Dienst der Kirche das Evangelium aus oder nicht? Kommen Menschen zum Glauben an Jesus Christus? Wachsen die christlichen Gemeinden, Werke und die Erweckungsbewegungen?

Im Blick auf die Geschichte außerhalb der Kirche lautet die Frage: Fördern oder hindern die betreffenden Geschehnisse die Verkündigung des Evangeliums und das Wachsen der christlichen Gemeinden?

Viele dieser Kriterien können in der Darstellung der Geschichte des alttestamentlichen Bundesvolkes nur angedeutet sein und nicht ausgeführt werden. Dennoch, oder auch gerade wegen der Einbeziehung biblisch-theologischer Überlegungen erscheint der Ansatz Rambachs als eine Vorarbeit für die Durchführung theologischer Kirchengeschichtsschreibung. Ohne die Anwendung biblisch-theologischer Kriterien ist

theologische Kirchengeschichtsschreibung nicht möglich. Auch die Auslegung biblischer Prophetie und Verheißung hinsichtlich der Frage, ob sie im Verlauf der Kirchengeschichte schon in Erfüllung gegangen sind oder noch nicht, rückt somit die theologische Kirchengeschichtsschreibung in den Rahmen der Auslegung der Heiligen Schrift.

Zum Ertrag der Pietistischen Kirchengeschichtsschreibung

Die von Wolphart Pannenberg mit seinem Programm 'Offenbarung als Geschichte' angestoßene Diskussion hat erneut das theologische Interesse an der Frage nach dem Handeln Gottes in der Geschichte gezeigt. Im Mittelpunkt des Programms Pannenburgs steht die These, dass Gottes Macht über seine Schöpfung darin in Erscheinung trete, 'daß jede Begebenheit, jedes Ereignis, zugleich eine Tat Gottes ist'.²⁸ Zugespitzt auf die Geschichte heißt das: 'Wenn die biblischen Aussagen über das Geschichtshandeln Gottes ernst genommen werden, dann gibt es kein Ereignis... in dem Gott nicht handelte'.²⁹ Pannenburgs These hat zur Diskussion angeregt, vielfach auch Widerspruch herausgefordert³⁰ und ist auch über den deutschen Sprachraum hinaus wirksam gewesen.³¹

Die Diskussion um Pannenburgs Programm zeigte die Implikationen für die verschiedenen theologischen Disziplinen wie biblische Theologie,³² die systematische Theologie und besonders die Trinitätslehre, Ekklesiologie und Eschatologie und natürlich die historische Theologie.

Aber auch über die Grenzen der Theologie hinaus hat die Pannenbergdiskussion die Auseinandersetzung mit der Frage nach dem Handeln Gottes in der Geschichte angeregt. Im Gespräch mit der *profanen Geschichtsschreibung* spricht sich Wolfgang Ullman einerseits gegen eine 'tendenziöse Rücktheologisierung der Kirchengeschichte',³³ aber andererseits auch gegen die Einengung der Kirchengeschichte auf die Christentums-geschichte aus. Ullmann billigt der Kirchengeschichtsschreibung einen höheren

Anspruch zu, als nur die Geschichte der Institution Kirche zu schreiben.³⁴

Ullmann kommt zu dem bemerkenswerten Schluss: 'Nur, wenn wir die Kirchengeschichte als Missionsgeschichte auffassen und darstellen, können wir allen Tendenzen einer Auflösung der Kirchengeschichte in Christentumsgeschichte erfolgreich widerstehen'.³⁵

Demgegenüber wendet sich Friedrich Wilhelm Kantzenbach gegen den Aufweis des Handelns Gottes in der Geschichte und sieht die Antwort auf die Frage nach dem Handeln Gottes im Individuum: 'Aber wir benötigen nicht den Nachweis einer zum Reich Gottes führenden Straße durch das Dickicht historischer Ereignisse. Die Spuren der Geschichte sind nicht wissenschaftlich abzusichern. Sie sind nur der Erfahrung und dem Gewissen zugänglich'.³⁶

Sven Grosse sieht eine mögliche Antwort eingegrenzt auf die Mentalitäts- und Frömmigkeitsgeschichte, die herkommend von der Glaubensgewissheit des einzelnen Aussagen über das Handeln Gottes machen könne.³⁷

Im Gespräch mit der *Philosophie* bekräftigt Pannenberg seinen Ansatz. Während der profane Historiker 'ein Reden von Gott und Gottes Handeln in der Geschichte nur noch als subjektive Deutung zulassen'³⁸ wird, wird die Theologie mit Blick auf den biblischen Schöpfungsglauben festhalten, 'dass die Ereignisse der Geschichte letztlich als ein Handeln Gottes in und durch das geschichtliche Geschehen aufzufassen sind, auch da, wo die Ereignisse durch menschliches Handeln zustande kommen'.³⁹ Außerhalb des Bereichs jüdischer Überlieferung könne die Wirklichkeit Gottes aber 'nur auf dem Boden philosophischer, genauer gesagt metaphysischer Argumentation mit Anspruch auf allgemeine Verbindlichkeit' behauptet werden.⁴⁰ Es genüge, 'wenn die Philosophie rationale Kriterien für ein auf anderer Grundlage beruhendes Reden von Gott entwickeln' könne.⁴¹

Vor dem Hintergrund der Feststellung, dass im Horizont des neuzeitlichen Geschichtsverständnisses bestritten werde, 'dass ein von Welt und Mensch

verschiedener Gott in den Geschichtsprozeß handelnd eingreift und sich den Menschen als er selbst offenbart',⁴² sieht Georg Essen die Notwendigkeit, dass 'die Geschichtstheologie einen interdisziplinären Diskurs mit der Historik' führe.⁴³ Allerdings habe 'die interdisziplinäre Ausweisbarkeit des christlichen Geschichtsverständnisses im Geltungsbereich der historischen Vernunft' zu erfolgen,⁴⁴ ein Grundsatz, nach dem es allerdings 'ausschließlich um den Aufweis der Denkbarkeit Gottes wie um die theoretische Möglichkeit seines freien geschichtlichen Selbsterweises gehen' könne.⁴⁵

Im Gegensatz zu diesen mehr grundsätzlichen Überlegungen, die zudem noch die Möglichkeiten der Rede vom Handeln Gottes in der Geschichte entscheidend einschränken, bemüht sich evangelikale Theologie um die Konkretion der Aussage vom Handeln Gottes in der Geschichte, setzt sich aber auch zunehmend mit den vorgetragenen Konzepten auseinander.

Seit Anfang der achtziger Jahre wird in der deutschsprachigen evangelikalen Theologie der Frage nach dem Handeln Gottes in der Geschichte verstärkt Aufmerksamkeit gewidmet. So behandeln Karl-Heinz Michel⁴⁶ und Heinzpeter Hempelmann⁴⁷ die Frage nach dem Handeln Gottes in der Geschichte an Hand zweier zentraler Themenbereiche der christlichen Theologie, nämlich der Frage nach der Schriftauslegung bzw. der Frage nach der Historizität der Auferstehung Jesu Christi. Für Helge Stadelmann stellt die Frage nach dem Handeln Gottes in der Geschichte im Zusammenhang seines theologischen Entwurfes ebenfalls ein wichtiges Thema dar.⁴⁸ Das Thema Glaube und Geschichte wurde im Jahr 1985 vom Arbeitskreis für Evangelikale Theologie zum Gegenstand ihrer vierten Theologischen Studienkonferenz gemacht.⁴⁹ Das Hauptreferat von Karl-Heinz Michel geht direkt auf die Frage nach dem Wirken Gottes in der Geschichte ein. Karl-Heinz Michel weist in diesem Zusammenhang darauf hin, dass für das Erkennen des Wirkens Gottes in der Geschichte die biblische

Prophetie eine Schlüsselstellung einnimmt: 'Geschichtszusammenhang und prophetisches Wort zusammen machen das Ereignis klar und eindeutig'.⁵⁰

Die Konkretion der Rede vom Handeln Gottes fordert Lutz von Padberg von der evangelikalen Kirchengeschichtsschreibung hinsichtlich der Arbeit auch an der mittelalterlichen Kirche.⁵¹

Lothar Gassmanns Darstellung eschatologischer Deutungsmodelle und ihre biblisch-theologische Wertung berühren die Frage nach dem Handeln Gottes in der Kirchengeschichte.⁵²

In der Auseinandersetzung mit Rickert und Troeltsch sieht Karsten Lehmkuhler die historische Weltansicht, die die 'geschichtlichen "Mittel" zur Erlangung des Heiles verneinen muß', auf dem Weg des Spiritualismus.⁵³

Vor dem Hintergrund der aktuellen Diskussion ist zu fragen, welchen bleibenden Beitrag die pietistische Kirchengeschichtsschreibung für die protestantische Theologie geleistet hat.

Gerade hinsichtlich des Zusammenhangs von Schriftauslegung und Aufweis des Handelns Gottes in der Geschichte sollte kirchengeschichtliche Forschung den Beitrag der pietistischen Kirchengeschichtsschreibung beachten.

Die Kirchengeschichtsschreibung des Pietismus hat zwar das Vordringen der rationalistischen Kirchengeschichtsschreibung in der deutschen akademischen Theologie nicht verhindern können. Aber sie hat sich auch nicht mit der *Enttheologisierung* der kirchengeschichtlichen Arbeit abfinden wollen. Die pietistische Kirchengeschichtsschreibung ist eigene Wege gegangen, ohne den Anspruch aufzugeben, dass theologische Kirchengeschichtsschreibung auch akademische Kirchengeschichtsschreibung zu sein hat. Dies gilt jedenfalls für die ersten Jahrzehnte der pietistischen Bewegung.

Die pietistische Kirchengeschichtsschreibung gab neue Antworten auf die Leitfragen der Kirchengeschichtsschreibung nach der wahren Kirche, nach dem Handeln Gottes in der Kirchengeschichte und nach der angemessenen Gliederung

der Kirchengeschichte sowie nach der Auswahl des Stoffes, ohne dass diese Antworten sämtlich überzeugen können.

So gelang es der pietistischen Kirchengeschichtsschreibung nicht, einen überzeugenden Entwurf für die Gliederung der Kirchengeschichtsdarstellung zu erarbeiten.

Allerdings hat die pietistische Kirchengeschichtsschreibung der kirchengeschichtlichen Arbeit einen wichtigen Dienst getan. Sie hat hinsichtlich der Antwort auf die Frage nach der wahren Kirche das enge Schema gesprengt, nach dem nur die Geschichte der Institution Kirche betrachtet wurde. Vielmehr müssen in diese Betrachtung auch die geistlichen Aufbrüche und Erweckungsbewegungen, die Arbeit der Freien Werke wie auch evangelistische und missionarische Vorstöße und nicht zuletzt die Verflechtung des Ganzen der Kirchengeschichte mit der Biographie des einzelnen Christen einbezogen werden.

Im Zentrum der Antwort auf die Frage nach dem Handeln Gottes in der Geschichte stehen in der pietistischen Kirchengeschichtsschreibung die Verkündigung des Evangeliums, das geistliche Wachstum der christlichen Gemeinde und Faktoren, die die Verkündigung des Evangeliums und das Wachstum der christlichen Gemeinde fördern. Die theologische Kirchengeschichtsschreibung des Pietismus hat somit versucht, einen Kriterienkatalog für den Aufweis des Handelns Gottes in der Geschichte zu erarbeiten. Ihr bleibendes Verdienst ist es damit, darauf hingewiesen zu haben, dass theologische Kirchengeschichtsschreibung nicht ohne den Versuch einer Antwort auf die Frage nach dem Handeln Gottes in der Geschichte auskommen kann.

Notes

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- 11 Johann Lorenz von Mosheim, *Institutio-num Historiae Ecclesiasticae Antiquae et Recentioris Libri Quatuor* (Helmstedt, 1755); vgl. Nigg, *Kirchengeschichtsschreibung*, 100–118.
- 12 Vgl. Klempt, *Säkularisierung*, 21; Benrath, *Reformierte Kirchengeschichtsschreibung*, 3.
- 13 Gottfried Arnold, *Unpartheyische Kirchen- und Ketzer-Historie*, Teil 1 und 2 (Frankfurt a. M., 1699); Nigg, *Kirchengeschichtsschreibung*, 76–97.
- 14 Gustav Adolf Benrath, 'Geschichte / Geschichtsschreibung/Geschichtsphilosophie VII/1', 630–643, 633.
- 15 Gustav Adolf Benrath, 'Geschichte/Geschichtsschreibung/Geschichtsphilosophie VII/1', 630–643, 633.
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- 47 Heinzpeter Hempelmann, *Die Auferstehung Jesu Christi: eine Historische Tatsache?* (Wuppertal: R. Brockhaus, 1982), besonders 9–12.
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- **Deuteronomy: Torah for the Church of Christ**
- ***Das Deuteronomium: Eine Thora für die Kirche Christi***
- ***Le Deutéronome, Torah pour l'Église de Jésus-Christ***
- **Gordon McConville, Cheltenham**

The following is based on lectures given at Beeson Divinity School, Birmingham, Alabama, in April 1999.

RÉSUMÉ

Le Deutéronome, loin d'être seulement la loi de l'Israël ancien, peut affecter la vie des générations toujours nouvelles. Ceci découle de sa structure fondamentale qui transforme le discours de Moïse en parole écrite et qui présente le passage de Horeb à Moab comme le symbole de la réitération de la parole de génération en génération. L'enseignement mosaïque et le langage de la persuasion utilisé dans le Deutéronome trouvent leur fonction dans ces transitions.

Le message du livre est avant tout celui d'une promesse. Il est articulé autour de la promesse faite à Abraham et il peut être compris comme un récit

relatant comment le peuple progresse, depuis le pays de l'esclavage, via Horeb et Moab, jusqu'à l'installation dans le pays promis pour y vivre le culte «devant le Seigneur», au lieu qu'il choisira pour y faire résider son nom. Cependant, les manquements du peuple posent un problème dès le début (9.4–7). Pourtant, même ce problème se trouve surmonté en vertu de la promesse, qui est finalement semblable à celle de la nouvelle alliance (30.1–10).

Bien que le Deutéronome affirme la nécessité de la grâce divine, il fonctionne, d'un point de vue rhétorique, comme instruction et exhortation. Le code de loi et l'exhortation demeurent centraux. En tant que «Torah», le Deutéronome a pour but de former et d'édifier une communauté vivant dans la foi et la droiture et offrant par là au monde un témoignage concernant la nature du Royaume de Dieu.

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Das Deuteronomium, weit davon entfernt, lediglich 'Gesetz' für das alte Israel zu sein, ist durchaus dazu in der Lage, das Leben immer neuer Generationen zu beeinflussen. Dies wird durch die grundlegende Struktur des Buches ermöglicht, in der die Reden des Mose zum schriftlichen Wort werden, und in welcher der Abschnitt vom Horeb bis nach Moab die jeweilige Bestätigung der Gültigkeit dieses Wortes von Generation zu Generation veranschaulicht. Sowohl die Lehre des Mose als auch die deuteronomische Sprache der Persuasion entfalten ihre

Wirkung in diesen Generationswechseln.

Die Botschaft des Buches besteht vor allem in einer Verheißung. Diese wird unter Rückbezug auf die an Abraham ergangene Verheißung entworfen, wobei das Buch als eine Erzählung betrachtet werden kann, welche die fortschreitende Entwicklung des Volkes schildert: d.h. vom Auszug aus dem Land der Versklavung über den Horeb und Moab zur Inbesitznahme des Landes und einem Leben der Anbetung 'vor dem Herrn' an dem Ort, den er für seinen Namen erwählen wird. Doch das Versagen des Volkes stellt von Anfang an eine Schwierigkeit dar (9,4–7), die aber von der Verheißung, die letztlich dem neuen Bund

vergleichbar ist, überwunden wird (30, 1–10).

Obwohl das Buch die grundlegende Notwendigkeit der Gnade Gottes betont, fungiert es doch aus rhetorischer Sicht als Anweisung und Ermahnung. Der Gesetzeskodex und die Ermahnung sind

die zentralen Elemente. Als 'Thora' hat das Deuteronomium die Rolle, eine Gemeinschaft des Glaubens und der Gerechtigkeit zu formen und aufzubauen, die der Welt Zeugnis ablegen soll von der Beschaffenheit des Königreichs Gottes.

I. The Word 'Dwelling Richly'

The title chosen may surprise some of us Pauline Christians, for whom the term 'Torah' may be too 'Jewish'. Yet 'Torah' is a biblical term, though it has got a bit lost in our uncertainty about what to do with the Old Testament. It is quite close to 'word', with all its positive connotations of prophetic warning, exhortation, instruction, growth. But there is a nuance in 'Torah' that I think we should not lose. It expresses a concern that God's people should have his mind, and that this should affect and shape all of their lives. That is what lies behind our choice of topic.

And for 'Torah', Deuteronomy is the primary text, the book of the law of God *par excellence*. Repeating the Ten Commandments (5:6–21), it follows them with six chapters of exhortation to obedience to God's covenant, then a law code (chs. 12–26) that develops the requirements there. Some recent study has seen the book as structured almost entirely around the Decalogue, the laws in 12–26 sequenced according to the order of those primary commandments.¹ The purpose is to create a covenant community, in harmony with God, and its members with each other. Torah is the word of God that aims to make his people perfect.

Torah, therefore (to anticipate), is a word of grace—as was the creative word itself. It is given to a people brought from slavery, and led through the wilderness, as they stand on the brink of entering their land, a new sphere of freedom in the service of Yahweh. It is a word of blessing, and life, a word that creates the community of faith. So this is not 'the letter that kills' (that is a misunderstanding of Torah). We are concerned instead with the word of the LORD living, and making alive, in the community he has made his

own. The Torah is for the Church of Christ, so that it might be perfect, and (through Christ, in the power of the Spirit) manifest the character of God to the world.

The Torah and the Story-Frame

The concept of Torah is distributed widely in Deuteronomy, initially at 1:5, then throughout ch. 4 (the greatest 'word' chapter in the OT), and importantly in chs. 27, 28, 29, 31. These chapters fall at or around beginnings and endings in the book, where Deuteronomy tells us what it fundamentally is. The theme of Torah falls into a storyline that may be expressed as follows. The Torah is given at Horeb (chs. 4; 5), mediated by Moses at Moab (1:5; 29:1[28:69]), written on stones on Mt. Ebal, close to Shechem (27:3, 8), at the heart of a covenant ceremony (27:9b); then written in a book (28:58), to be regularly read in a gathering to worship (31:9–13), and thus to all generations (29:14–15: 'not only with you who stand here with us today before the LORD our God, but also with those who are not here with us today'; cf. other 'children' texts, 4:40; 6:7–9).

There are two important processes, or developments, in that brief account. First, there is a development from Moses' *speech*—unique, once for all—to a *written word*. And second, there is a development from Moses' generation to all generations. The key is the transition from *Horeb* to *Moab*. This transition is at the heart of both those developments (i.e. the generational and the communicative). It is of the greatest significance for the biblical idea of Word. Through 'Moab', generations after Moses, down to modern readers of Deuteronomy, are in touch with the Horeb event, when God addressed human beings on earth, by

means of the spoken word. God's speech, from particular times and places, comes still into the lives and meeting-places of worshippers today. The word of God is in principle unlimited; it can go forth and keep going forth from that time/this time and for evermore.

This structure of Deuteronomy establishes the priority of the divine word, in principle, for all times and places. Its coming at Horeb implies a 'givenness' about the word. The point has a reference to the modern hermeneutical debate, which tends to relativize the 'word' in favour of 'situation'. I do not intend to enter that debate here, but only to maintain the once-for-all character of God's 'speech' to Israel: God spoke into a time and a place, so that he might speak to all in their times and places. And as his speech came once in contention with other claims upon the hearts and minds of Israel (the 'other gods' of Canaan), it does so still, in contention with all such claims on the allegiance of human beings.

The coming of God's Torah to all by means of its coming once to Israel may be explained further by reference to the following four elements in the teaching of Deuteronomy.

i. *The Horeb event made alive in the word*

The fabric of the book consists in speeches of Moses. This omnipresent act of speaking is specified as 'teaching' (4:1 [*lmd*]). And this is conceived in turn as forging a connection between Horeb and the 'present'. Moses is by no means incidental in the story unfolded in Deuteronomy, but crucially accepts the key role of mediator between God and Israel, a role that is necessitated because the people cannot bear the immediate presence of God (5:23–27). This mediation, however, is not a once-for-all act, confined to that historical moment. Rather, it establishes a pattern which Deuteronomy seeks to provide for throughout the anticipated future of Israel. One element in this provision is the office of prophet, in which (alone among the functions which he assumes) he is to be succeeded (18:15–22). That office is complemented by the system of law-

administration first put in place by himself (1:9–18), and also provided for in the community after it came to the land (16:18–17:20). The purpose of these arrangements is that there should always be a means by which the word is present and effective in the believing community. This amounts to a mandate, therefore, for a 'ministry of the word', that is, receptive, understanding, re-expressing the covenantal call to faithfulness for now, 'today'!

The Language of Persuasion

There is a close connection between the theology and the rhetoric or style of the book. Deuteronomy's repetitious style is well-known, especially in the realm of exhortation to obedience. It has a rich vocabulary in this area, its 'laws, statutes, ordinances' (e.g. 4:1, 5, 8) appearing ubiquitously in its exhortation (or paranesis, to use a word almost exclusively applied to this book). Its repetitions reach also into other areas, and are a first rough guide to the things of greatest importance in its theology (cf. e.g. 'the land the LORD your God is giving you to possess'; 'the place the LORD your God will choose to put his name there'; 'purge the evil from your midst'; and see the long list in Driver²).

This 'wordiness' has made Deuteronomy the butt of sneers; but it is the essence of it, and it is profound. Deuteronomy knows the power of speech itself (as has many a demagogue, for good or ill). W. Brueggemann says of the power of deuteronomic speech (for example 6:6–9, cf. Ps 78), that it 'recruits persons into this community and into its faith . . . by a pedagogy of saturation'.³ This points to two distinct audiences, both inside and outside the community. There is a missionary slant in that 'recruiting persons' that knows that the language of faith has a power in the world, however much it may be scorned, and thought to have been tried and found wanting. 'Post-Christian' Europe has still to hear the discourse of faith, and the Church's task is to use it as if it had burst fresh upon the world.

As there is a missionary slant in the

language of Deuteronomy, so there is a pedagogical slant. The language also addresses 'insiders'. How is it that the same word finds targets inside the community as well as outside it? It is because the saturating, penetrating word knows the human heart. There is no final hearing of the language of faith. Deuteronomy knows the moral dimension of hearing, which, indeed, shades over into obeying. This is why it portrays the past failures of the people and exhorts them repeatedly to 'be careful' (literally 'guard yourself', 4:9) to keep the commandments. This most typical deuteronomic phrase suggests a need for self-control in the attempt to remain faithful to Yahweh. Closely related is the command not to 'forget' (4:9). Memory, also a moral quality, is a dominant theme. The key 'memory' text is Deut. 8. Here, Israel's deliverance from Egypt and their establishment in the promised land are considered as accomplished. But the fulfilment of the promise brings, almost inevitably, a great moral danger, the danger that the people, now safe, might feel self-sufficient: '*I did it all myself!*' (8:17). Indeed Deuteronomy has this knowledge of human moral weakness at its heart; the word of the covenant is given to a people that cannot keep it, as is expressed clearly in 9:4–6, and in the Golden Calf narrative generally (9:8–10:11). Even so, the word comes precisely to these.

This is the context of the theme of the need to teach the next generation (4:9, 40). The theme has its best known development in 6:7–9, where the activity of teaching is pictured as pervading all of life. The passage is potentially perplexing in a book that leans so heavily on the need for obedience from the heart, which actually gains its strongest expression in the immediately preceding verses (6:4–6). Does Deuteronomy favour a kind of externalism after all, with its signs on hand and forehead, and its *mezuzoth* on doorposts? In fact the juxtaposition of these two passages (6:4–6, 7–9) demonstrates that 'word' and 'heart' are not at odds; knowledge of God in the heart is fostered by the teaching and learning of the

word (cf. 30:14). Furthermore, Deuteronomy knows no radical distinction between 'internal' and 'external': loving God 'from the heart' means teaching, regularly, formally, insistently. The human heart, even when 'born again', needs to be trained, encouraged, cajoled—*reminded*. Preaching is often not new information: it's just reminding people of what they know.

The Nearness of God in the Word

Deuteronomy's theology of the word is closely connected to its doctrine of the divine presence. God's presence in his word, not in idols, is developed in ch. 4 (note 4:7). The key to Deuteronomy's theology of presence has often been found, wrongly in my view, in its so-called 'name-theology'. That is, it is held that the book denies God's actual presence at the place of worship and substitutes the presence of the 'name' only, as a kind of representative hypostasis (12:5; cf. 1 Kgs 8:27–30).⁴ The 'name' has more to do with the rights of Yahweh to possession and worship in the land that he has given to Israel. The mode of the divine presence is indeed debated in the Old Testament, with an emphasis on the freedom of God in this respect (e.g. 2 Sam. 7:5–7; the point could be pursued in the 'priestly' literature too). But the idea of God's presence as a gift, in giving which he remains free, is developed in Deuteronomy in relation to the word. God's presence-in-word is an aspect of his freedom and spirituality, and thus a repudiation of idolatry, which follows immediately on the passage which records the revelation that Israel *hears* at Horeb (4:9–14, 15–20).

Word in Community

If God's presence in his word means that he is not encapsulated in idols, or even in temples, this never becomes a ground for dreamy individualism. The presence of God in his word comes about in the community of the chosen people, which has a visible form (4:6). When the word takes shape in Israel the world can look on, and see something about the wisdom of God. The Israel that hears the word is essentially constituted for worship ('before the

LORD at Horeb', 4:10–12). This is developed in the pictures of Israel at worship in chs. 12–26 (e.g. 12:18; 16:17). These passages show that the idea of word-in-community goes very deep. It penetrates the family life of the people, and is reflected in the festal pattern, which gives a structure for the perpetual life of the people. In the worship event 'all Israel' gathers. In its households all are included, social barriers broken down; masters, servants, and the 'landless' come together in a great levelling, or better, a great 'communitizing'. Israel takes its most characteristic form thus before God, worshipping, receiving his gifts, and embodying his word that creates a harmonious, liberated people.⁵

Torah for the Church?

To return to our opening question, can the Torah function in the Church as it did in Israel? The idea of the transforming word is also found in the New Testament, now seen Christologically. 'Let the word of Christ dwell in you (pl.) richly, teach and admonish one another in all wisdom' (Col. 3:16); 'be (go on being) transformed (pl.) in your minds' (Rom. 12:2). The word has become the word of Christ. It is he who dwells in the Church, who constitutes it his people, and who gives the command: 'feed my sheep' (John 21:15–17). The *qahal* (the assembly of Israel) has become *ekklesia*—a people hearing the Word of Christ and growing in it (Acts 20:28), and (thus) witnessing to the world about the Lord who gives life to his creation. Even the 'Shema' (Deut 6:4) is Christologized: '... for us there is one God, the Father, from whom are all things and for whom we exist, and one LORD Jesus Christ, through whom are all things and through whom we exist (1 Cor 8:6)'.

Does this mean that Deuteronomy has no message of its own, nothing residual after the New Testament has subsumed its teaching in the person and work of Christ? At a minimum it impresses us with its urgent exhortation, its exemplification of the potency of the spoken word to captivate and transform; its declaration of the human tendency to unfaithfulness, yet its firm hold on the necessity and

possibility of reform. It is also unsurpassed in its images of the people of God in its true character, practicing the presence of God in its worship and openness to the word, uniting faith and worship, ethics and mission.

II. The Word of Life

We have seen that Deuteronomy provides a basis for the belief that the word of God spoken once to Israel could continue to have validity in succeeding generations. We now look more closely at what that message was, to see in what ways it might speak to the Church today. We consider first the message as one of *promise*.

The Promise to the Fathers as a Frame

The memory of Yahweh's promise to Abraham finds expression close to the beginning and end of the book (1:8; 30:20), and is a constant theme. This promise, moreover, is made by *oath*. The theology of Deuteronomy is entirely predicated on this *oath* of God. This sworn promise is that recorded in the OT in Gen. 12:1–3; 15:1–6. The Israelites, perched on the brink of Canaan, are children of Abraham, about to occupy the land shown to him in ages past. Deuteronomy, therefore, has a panoramic view, beginning in the past and reaching into the future. The promise in Genesis is embedded in a story that belongs to all humanity, the story of its reintroduction to forfeited life and blessing. The chosen people are to enjoy again the good things of creation, and at the same time to be a people that is justified, or righteous, before God. The word of Deuteronomy is a word of *life*; a realization of God's creation desire to bless and give fullness. *Life* is the key; 'land' is a metaphor for it.

There is indeed, therefore, a story in Deuteronomy. It can be variously described. It can be seen as *three addresses of Moses*, broadly 1–4; 5–28; 29–30, followed by closing material in chs. 31–34. But this is a rather formal description, which does not highlight the key 'moments' in the book. Another way is to see the book through its well known *treaty*

form. But this also is somewhat static, missing the true vigour of the narrative progression.

The book is better seen as the story of the Torah, in its progression from Horeb to Moab and on into an indefinite future. The story may be elaborated as follows. The setting of Moses' speeches is in Moab, on the way into promised land. The conquest is already partly accomplished (chs. 1–3), the narrative partly repeating Num. 20–24. And now there is a pause for a purpose: to re-realize the covenant. The key texts and articulations of the narrative of the covenant are the following.

i. Deut 4:9–14; 5:2–3. These texts recall the covenant made at *Horeb*, the first destination after the people leave the place of bondage, Egypt (1:2). This covenant, though well in the past as Moses addresses the people gathered on Horeb, is nevertheless made with 'us' (5:2), as if the Moab generation was the same as the Horeb generation (which it strictly speaking is not, cf. 1:34–40; 2:14). The fusion of the generations is rhetorical, and signals the solidarity of Israel's generations, as those who benefit from the promise and the covenant. The Horeb covenant is symbolized by the placing of the tablets of the law (containing the Ten Commandments, 4:13) in the ark of the covenant (10:5).

ii. The Covenant Made With the People in *Moab*. The Moab covenant essentially consists of the words spoken by Moses there, as recorded in Deuteronomy. The identification of it as an independent covenant alongside that of Horeb is made at 29:1 (28:69 Hebrew). Its ratification is contained in 26:16–19: 'you have *today* entered into an agreement with the LORD; today the LORD has entered into an agreement with you'; cf. 27:9; 29:14(13). The two covenants are formally kept separate, having separate symbols of the divine word validating each (respectively the 'tablets' made at Horeb, and the 'book of the law' containing Moses' words, 28:58, 61). However, there is a conflation of them at the heart of Deuteronomy. The Moab covenant is a re-realization of Horeb. Those who enter it

are in effect standing once more at Horeb, the place of the first great decision of Israel to be Yahweh's people.

iii. The blessing and the curse. These twin possibilities are 'set before' Israel in this Moab covenant (11:26–32; 27:15–26; 28). The whole narrative may be considered an appeal to Israel to make the right decision, that is, to follow Yahweh rather than other gods. Deut. 30:15–20 is a final exhortation to 'choose life!', a fitting climax to the main exhortations of the book.⁶

iv. The Book of the Law (the symbol of the Moab covenant) is deposited by the ark of the covenant (31:9–13), in a juxtaposition that expresses the unity of Moab and Horeb.

v. The Deuteronomic law is written on stones on Mt. Ebal (27:1–8), after the people enter the land (cf. Josh. 8:30–35).

vi. In due course the threatened curse will fall (in the exile, 28:63–68), followed by a return to the land in faithfulness (30:1–10).

In this rendering of the covenant condition of Israel, its whole life passes before it—before it has even happened! But the beginning and end are clear: Yahweh gives life to Israel—then gives it again! The promise to the patriarchs is maintained in spite of failure that leads to the exile.

Blessing/Life as the Aim of Deut— A Creation Realization

The book everywhere assumes God's intention to bless and give life. This is implied, for example, in the theme of the gift of the land, often lyrically expressed, and in the short 'blessings' in 28:1–14. These visions of a people enjoying the good things God has given are reminiscent of the blessings intended for the first human beings (Gen. 1:28–31).

The images of this blessing are rich indeed; the descriptions in 6:10–11; 8:7–10; 11:8–12; 11:9 belong in a genre of extravagant accounts of a land's bounty, expressing immeasurable abundance, for

example in the memorable phrase, 'a land flowing with milk and honey'.⁷ Their chief significance is that they are the gift of Yahweh and do not come by any other means. In this respect they resemble Ps. 24:1 ('The earth is the LORD's and its fullness'; cf. Ps. 104, whose theme is a wholly balanced natural world under the sway of Yahweh, in which all parts serve and are served by the others). The gift of Yahweh to Israel, however, is made in language that speaks of his special care: 'a land watered by rain from the sky . . . that the LORD your God cares for' (11:10–12), implying his special love for Israel by the same token. Something similar is intended by 6:10–11: 'cities you did not build', emphasising God's power to give everything, and at the same time his decision to give it to his chosen people.

The theme of the promise of land is utterly pervasive in Deuteronomy. The phrase (with variations) 'when you come into the land that the LORD your God is giving you to possess' is so typical in the book that it is often taken as a sure sign of the 'Deuteronomist'. The promise of land is given so that Israel might 'live long in the land' (11:9), that is, continue in it throughout many generations. Here it is an open-ended prospect of enjoyment of everything that may be enjoyed. Land becomes a metaphor for full living—though it is also actual.

The theme, therefore, is close to blessing itself. In his gift of the land we read that 'he will love you, bless you, multiply you' (7:13–14), and this is explicated in terms of all the essential parts of life—flocks, harvest, health. The account of the blessing also expresses Yahweh's personal involvement in 'natural' processes (giving rain, 'caring for' the land, providing the very houses for his people to live in, 6:10). His careful provision for the welfare of people shows that he is 'emotionally involved'. The language of love and blessing, though it derives from the treaties where it is political, nevertheless takes on emotive characteristics because of the personal way in which the narrative of God, land and Israel unfolds.

The blessing has at its centre the fact

that Israel is Yahweh's chosen people, his special possession (7:6). The covenant mutuality of their relationship is developed in 7:9–11, and in the passage that ratifies the Moab covenant: they are *Yahweh's people*, he is *their God* (26:17–18; cf. 27:9). The relationship is measured against the place of the other nations; Israel is the 'most blessed of peoples' (7:14), 'high above the nations' (26:19). They are *his inheritance*, and therefore his land is *their inheritance* (4:20–21). In their closeness to Yahweh they know *joy*, the typical quality of their worship (12:7, 12; 14:26; 16:14). And this picture of a joyful, worshipping people encompasses the idea of right relationships operating among them, signified in these texts by the inclusiveness that draws in the disadvantaged classes (see further below).

The foregoing has intended to show that blessing is the constant goal in Deuteronomy. It is always held out together with its 'shadow', its destructive opposite, the curse (7:13–14; 11:26–27; 28:1–14; 30:15–16, 19–20). The double possibility is always there—but the LORD wants life for his people.

Deut. 30:15–20 is a peroration, or climax of the paranesis, a fugue on the theme of 'life'. The noun occurs four times, the verb twice; and the similar idea of 'length of days' comes twice also. The main thrust is contained in vv. 15–16: 'love the LORD and you will live'; vv. 17–18 then give the obverse. The final exhortation follows: 'Choose life . . . and live!' (v. 19). And the whole is rounded off with a return to the oath to the patriarchs: 'love the LORD and live' (again)—and thus fulfil the oath to the patriarchs (v. 20).

The Moral Problem of Israel

The paradox of Deuteronomy is that the gift is a fixed, determined thing, yet it must be embraced by the love of the LORD's people, given back to him as he gave it. The problem that this entails lies in the character of Israel. Have they the moral capacity to keep the covenant? This question underlies the whole structure

and texture of Deuteronomy. It may be clarified by examining first the chronicle of Israel's failure as told in Deuteronomy, then the answer provided by Yahweh himself.

Israel's bad record in covenant keeping is illustrated in Deut. 1; 9–10. Deut. 1 is more than a mere prologue, but rather an overture, setting the tone for a story of moral fragility. Deut. 1–3 is a microcosm of the whole picture of Israel in the book. In it we read of a failure to take the land at the first attempt, followed by a kind of 'exile', that is, a return to wilderness, followed in turn by a new, full possession of the land. There is a similarity to the structure of the whole book in this, in which the anticipated first possession must be followed by exile, and only at long last by a further restoration (30:1–10). Deut. 1, therefore, contains the basic theological structure set forth by Deuteronomy.

Israel's first failure to take the land is not accidental, therefore, but expresses something about its character. This is made explicit in 9:4–6, in which the nation is shown to have no claim on the land that arises from its own condition. The nations are driven from their land for lack of righteousness (*sedāqā*), but Israel is no more 'righteous' than they. There is a certain judicial connotation in the language here. Indeed, the terms 'innocence' and 'guilt' (for *sedāqā* and *rish'a*) may be read throughout this passage in place of the more customary 'righteousness' and 'wickedness'.⁸ (For an analogy in the legal section, cf. Deut. 25:1). This means that the divine decision to displace the other peoples is a judicial act. It implies no better qualification on Israel's part, rather a matter between Yahweh and the nations; they are guilty and therefore forfeit the land. The thought is in line with the universal judgment of Yahweh in relation to land possession that is found in Deut. 2. Israel itself, therefore, has no title of its own to the land given to it, but merely benefits from the judgment on the nations. It is not itself pronounced guilty in the same way that the nations are; nevertheless, it is conspicuously not

pronounced 'innocent', but rather is 'stubborn' and rebellious against the LORD (vv. 6–7), and therefore tantamount to 'guilty' before it has even entered the land, the arena of the covenant. The problem faced in Deuteronomy is how a people identified as 'guilty' can be given the land in the first place, on the basis of a covenant that requires faithfulness? Yet this people is to be the people in which the 'righteousness' (*sedāqā*) of Yahweh will be shown. The tendency of Deut. 9:4–7 could be read as a confirmation that 'righteousness' can only be counted to the people of God, as it was counted to Abraham (Gen. 15:6). However, though this passage shows that the grace of Yahweh is paramount in the relationship, the project of Yahweh to create a 'righteous' people is real and meant to be taken seriously.

This paradox pervades the book. The literary-critical treatments of Deuteronomy that distinguish systematically between 'law' and 'grace' sayings (especially where 'law' sayings are thought to come in after, from the pen of the 'legalistic' deuteronomistic writer of the exile, DtrN) fail to see how much the whole assumption of the argument rests on grace. Deut. 6:17–19 is often cited as a DtrN passage.⁹ Yet it is hard to see how the insertion of such a passage might be expected to overturn a structure in which chs. 9–10 have such a prominent place. Rather, Deut. 6:17–19 simply takes its place as part of the rhetorical strategy of the preacher. That is, the word of Yahweh is irreducibly a word of grace, but the command remains real. The structure of the end of the book is a further illustration of the fine balance kept between law and grace. Why does Deuteronomy not end at ch. 28, as the analogy with the treaty form might lead the reader to expect? Deuteronomy subverts the treaty structure by not stopping there; perhaps the celebrated structure has been adopted just to be transcended! If you cross Assyria—there is no 'chapter 30'! This brings us now to a consideration of these final stages of the book.

'New Covenant' in Deuteronomy: Deut 30 as the Key

The term 'New Covenant' does not appear in Deuteronomy (it occurs only in Jer 31:31). However, the theology of restoration in Deut. 30 is closely akin to it. The chapter may be divided as follows: 30:1–10; 11–14; 15–20. The first section, vv. 1–10, is crucial. It in turn may be divided thus: vv. 1–2, 3–7, 8, 9–10. There is a question throughout how to translate the recurring conjunction *ki* that is, is it temporal, 'when', or conditional, 'if'? The answer to this question has a certain theological significance. It is translated in the following regularly by 'when' (and by 'and', where this carries forward the meaning 'when').

Vv. 1–2: a temporal clause:

1 *When* all these things have happened to you, both the blessing and the curse which I have set before you, *and* you lay them to heart among all the nations to which the LORD your God has driven you, 2 *and* turn back to the LORD your God, you and your children, obeying him with all your heart and being, according to all that I am charging you with this day,

vv. 3–7: what God will do:

3 then the LORD your God will *restore your fortunes, have compassion* on you, and *turn and gather* you from all the peoples among which he scattered you. 4 Even if your banished ones are in the farthest land under heaven, even from there *the LORD your God will gather you and bring you back*. 5 The LORD your God will *bring you back* to the land which your forefathers once possessed, and you will possess it; and *he will make you more prosperous and numerous* than your forefathers. 6 *The LORD your God will circumcise your hearts, and those of your descendants, so that you love the LORD your God with all your heart and all your being, and thus live*. 7 The LORD your God *will send* all these curses on your enemies, those who hated and persecuted you.

Verse 6 stands at the heart of the whole passage. It contrasts with the similar 10:16 in its emphasis on *what God will do*.

Even as regards Israel's response to him, he is the one who enables them. This radically new action of God seems to be predicated on their past failure, a theme that was struck in 9:4–7. The line of thought continues:

v. 8 statement or command?

8 But as for you, you will turn and obey the LORD your God, and carry out all his commands with which I am charging you this day.

This *could* be a command ('imperfects' as imperatives); but it is still addressed to the future generation, so strictly it is a description of what will happen then, when God acts in a new way. And finally:

vv. 9–10: once again the 'if' or 'when' question:

9 The LORD your God will give you abundance in all that you undertake: in your own offspring, in the young of your livestock and the produce of your fertile land, for the LORD will turn again to take delight in you, as he did with your forefathers, 10 *on the day that* (= 'when', 'because') you once again obey him, by keeping his commands and laws, all that is written in this book of the law, and return to the LORD your God with all your heart and all your being.

I have interpreted the passage virtually entirely as a future act of God. This is in contrast to NIV, which avoids 'if' in vv. 1–2, but inserts it at v. 10; and conversely to NRSV, which has 'if' in v. 1 (and thus also v. 2), but 'when' at v. 10. These versions both introduce an element of conditionality, but do so at different points. In avoiding the direct conditionals, I am laying a lot of weight on v. 6, with its devastating reversal of the dynamic of 10:16 (also Jer. 4:4). This makes the impression unavoidable that God takes control in bringing about Israel's obedience.

The passage is thus very close to New Covenant theology, which (with or without the phrase itself) may be found in Jer. 31:31–33; 32:39–40; Ezek. 36:25–27. Here too the premiss is that Israel has failed to keep the covenant (Jer. 31:32b; Ezek. 36:22, 32—and even Hos 14:4). These

passages assume that the actual historical failure of Israel reveals its character, so that some new thing had to be done in order to renew the possibility of a covenantal relationship.

Deut. 30 is the unexpected and paradoxical progression from the prolonged catalogue of curses in 28:15–68. We recall that, by strict analogy with the treaty, one would expect Deuteronomy to end at 28:68. The continuation is what makes it significant. In this juxtaposition is the source of all hope. Deut. 28 knows all imaginable suffering. It is salutary to read it having in mind some contemporary outrage against humanity; at the time of writing the horrors of Kosovo are fresh in mind, and Easter close. Chechnya has followed on its heels. How may Easter be celebrated with these things in the background? In answer one can only say: this is what Easter is about!

Deut. 30, therefore, faces on to God's final answer to the problem of humanity: resurrection and new life by his new, overriding action. Unexpectedly, Deut. 30:11–14 then returns, after the promise of the divine action in vv. 1–10, to an appeal for obedience. Yet this hardly disturbs the flow of the deuteronomic paranesis. The effect of it is apparently that obedience itself is made possible by the action of God; in the nearness of the commandment (v. 11), or word (v. 14), obedience has been made available by grace. In this way the line of thought that seemed to abolish the role of the human will suddenly reinstates it. Paul's argument in Rom 10:4–10 is hardly out of line with this.

In that passage Paul reinterprets Deut. 30:11–14 Christologically. He begins by declaring that 'the end of the law (*telos tou nomou*) is Christ, for the justification and righteousness of all who believe'; that is, the law finds its fulfilment in Christ. Paul's thesis, in his dialogue with the 'national righteousness' of certain Jews, is that the 'righteousness' that comes from God (v. 3) is 'the righteousness that comes from faith' (v. 6). And here the 'word' (Deut. 30:14) becomes Christ (Rom 10:6–7). That is, the word that is available

and accessible to bring salvation is Christ himself. Paul Christologizes Deuteronomy here (as he does for Deut 6:4 in 1 Cor 8:6). And he carries his argument on into vv. 9–10, concerning Deut 30:14: the word is in heart *and* mouth, that is, fully internalized *by means of* confession. The new act of God needed to secure Israel's obedience is in Jesus Christ, in whose blood is the New Covenant, by whose spirit we are brought into the obedience of faith. Torah is fulfilled by means of faith in Christ.

This is the measure, finally, of God's creation intention that human beings should have life. The word of life is Christ, the *logos* (with its echo of the Hebrew *dabar*), God's redeeming word to the world. In the new heavens and the new earth, under the rule of Messiah, blessing and life will be full and final, community perfected, and every tear wiped from every eye.

Does this extinguish the need for human responsibility here and now? This question has begun to be answered. It remains in what follows to show how Deuteronomy can continue to be a model for human living before God: the need for justice and righteousness is not suspended for this 'middle of time'

III. The Formative Word

The Place of the 'Laws' in Deuteronomy

We have seen the 'story' of Deuteronomy, that ends in failure followed by God's creation of a new community. But in a sense we have passed over the bulk of Deuteronomy, its very 'heart'. Is it possible that in the interpretation thus far, which has emphasized the failure of Israel, we have been failing to hear the true message of Deuteronomy, missing out on its character as Torah?

That 'heart' of Deuteronomy is the 'statutes, laws and commands'. Wellhausen's dismissive comment, that these were always coming but never arrived, was based on his view of the book as essentially a law code. He could not know that it was a covenant re-realization, since that was only discovered decades later. Even so, the law-code is

central. Here the well-known treaty analogy can mislead, for Deuteronomy is also like a law code (so Weinfeld, rightly¹⁰; and note also that Hammurabi's law code, conversely, has a historical prologue¹¹). The 'stipulations' section in the deuteronomic covenant, therefore, are not like treaty-stipulations, which are almost entirely about political loyalty to the overlord. While Deuteronomy does have that dimension, loyalty to Yahweh is cashed out in *laws*, and for the nearest similarities we have to go to other laws (such as Hammurabi's, as well as other codes from 3M through to 1M), that is, to a legal tradition which Deuteronomy's laws inhabit.¹²

Here, then, is a paradox: the covenant, apparently, can't be kept—but the bulk and substance of Deuteronomy consists in specific, detailed inculcation of right covenantal living. It is important to stress this: the function of the laws is not just there to show that Israel cannot keep them. The commandment has a real intent. This is clear when we notice what Israel is expected to do after they have returned to the LORD and he has 'circumcised their hearts': they will 'obey the LORD, observing all the commandments that I am commanding you today' (30:8; see above).

In order to understand this, it is important to keep separate things separate. The *story*, anticipating the failure of Israel and the need for God's new act of salvation, is an analysis of the relationship between God and human beings; *the laws and commands* give the shape of the human society that the covenant seeks to bring about. There is no paradox after all. Torah and soteriology do not compete. (They are ultimately united in Christ's kingdom—which is both now and not yet).

In this respect, the Old Testament picture, as represented by Deuteronomy, is similar to that of the New Testament. In Romans there is the same creative tension between the word of grace and the exhortation to live the righteous life (Rom. 6), an imputation of righteousness that is, in a sense, apart from law; yet the

New Testament too aims to create a community that has certain characteristics.

i. *Forming a community.* First and foremost, Deuteronomy addresses a community, not a set, or sum, of individuals. It is a *qahal*, the assembly of the LORD (23:1; the Hebrew is parallel to the Greek *ekklesia*). It is also a 'brotherhood', the most characteristic way of speaking about Israel in Deuteronomy. Even kings and priests are primarily 'brothers' in Israel, as are slaves (17:15; 18:2; 15:12).

The unity of this community is reflected in the forms of address itself (singular and plural). The singular address is dominant in the laws. Who is addressed by it? Is it the 'landowning, free, adult Israelite males', as Crüsemann thinks, deducing it from the allusions to other sections of the community in the third person?¹³ This seems to me to over-rationalize the singular address. On Crüsemann's view, some usages would be impossible, for example, 'thy stranger within thy gates', 'thy males (who go three times a year to worship)', 'thy cities'. Rather, it is Israel as such who is addressed. This has important repercussions. For example, in Deut. 16:18 the command 'thou shalt appoint for thyself judges in all thy cities' must be addressed to a corporate entity. The people as such is responsible for keeping, administering and enforcing the law.

(Incidentally, the plural address is also to all Israel, of course. The changes from singular to plural are rhetorical. Oddly, it seems that the plural focuses on individuals, while the singular focuses on the single, corporate unit).

ii. A '*kingdom*' community. The way in which this community is governed, as set out in 16:18–18:22, is very important for an understanding of the book. The ruling principle is *justice* (*sedāqā*, 16:20), that is, the establishment of right relationships among members of the community. Justice is the result of the community keeping Torah. The human king is firmly subject to this justice, this Torah, not above it (17:14–20). The pattern in these chapters,

indeed, which evidently intends to ensure that power is not concentrated in a single individual or group, is what is called in modern times a 'separation of powers'. Deuteronomy, therefore, legislated for a rare thing, a kingdom without a human king whose word was law. The kingdom itself is reserved to Yahweh.

In this context, does one of the officials stand out as the greatest? If any, it is probably the prophet—who comes last in the sequence, and with whom Moses himself is most closely identified (18:15)—, even though the strictly administrative functions belong to others.¹⁴ Here is a programme for social organization that is fundamentally open to the word of God.

iii. *A community of righteousness, loving justice.* Obedience to Yahweh cannot be guaranteed by such arrangements, however. Ultimately justice must be willed by all the people. There is, therefore, a nice balance between institutional structures and the common will to obey the commands of the covenant. The structures are designed to mitigate the possibility of abuse; but Yahweh's will is done only when people actually hear and do his word.

The call to faithfulness in Deuteronomy goes right to the heart, the seat of the righteous life. Certain laws illustrate the point. In Deut. 24:13, 15 there are appeals to the creditor and employer respectively to treat their fellow-Israelites well, with a recognition that there is a level of action that cannot be enforced by the usual processes of law, but that is motivated by a proper fear of Yahweh. He it is who can confer 'righteousness' (or perhaps 'innocence'): 'it will be righteousness to you/sin in you'. The one who is the ultimate judge is judge of the heart. The inner and outward are one, the motive and the act. (This is not far from Jesus' 'But I say to you . . .' Matt. 5:21–48). The conferral of righteousness in these texts is similar to that which is given to Abraham (Gen 15:6). But it is significant that this gift comes in the context of compassionate behaviour to the other person.

There are other laws where the mere

act is not enough, but where the person is expected to go beyond the letter of the law to the love that should lie behind it. The lender should lend generously (15:9); the farmer must generously leave produce in his fields for the needy (23:24); the one who finds the neighbour's ox must not pretend not to see, that is, he must care for the interests of the other (22:1–4). The laws in 24:8–22 are strengthened with motivations to obey, especially the reminder that Israel was once a slave (vv. 18, 22). There are reasons deep in the order of things why Israelites should behave in a certain way. On the day of writing these words, I read in my newspaper that the UK has the richest executives in Europe, but also the lowest rates of severance payments for low-paid workers. This is the sort of thing the deuteronomic law has things to say about! But it is at the same time an approach of law to Gospel, for it proclaims the will of God for human society.

The demonstration of righteousness in the covenant community as pictured in Deuteronomy is one of the book's remarkable features. Here is the community of 'no poor' (15:4), and no marginalized people.¹⁵ Israel at worship embraces the Levite, the widow, the orphan, the stranger. This is the essence of pictures like 12:12, 18; 14:22–29; 16:14. The inclusive picture of the people at the feasts (16:1–17) seems to be achieved by the laws of debt- and slave-release occurring shortly before the laws concerning them (15:1–18).¹⁶ In these astonishing images word and expression become one and the same. Righteousness (*sedāqā*) is enacted, enfleshed before the eyes. Obedience, worship, justice and love are all encapsulated together and inseparably. The synthesis of worship and ethics reminds of the prophets (cf. Amos 2:8; Jer. 7:9–10). There is no true worship apart from the expression of justice and righteousness within a faithful community. The familiar exhortation 'not to forget' is present in this connection too (14:27; 16:12). Again, the level reached by Deuteronomy is the heart. The inner and outward lives are continuous.

iv. *The community is, therefore, fully 'political'.* The people of God in the Old Testament was embodied in real time and space. Israel was a nation among nations, possessing land, waging wars, subject to leaders, implementing laws, having institutions that manifested at one and the same time its political and religious constitution (especially the temple of Yahweh, which challenged not only Baal and other gods, but also those who invoked them in the cause of their own power, such as Ahab and Jezebel, 1 Kgs 18–19). In all these ways it was like its neighbours. And it is in this context that the displacement of other peoples must be understood. The 'kingdom' community holds land claimed and formerly ordered by others. In its claim to land, it is a people-in-contention. This is not merely partisan. Rather it challenges a form of society where human power was self-justifying. In its depth and breadth, it manifested what a people of God should be in the world.

v. *It is also a spiritual people.* If Deuteronomy's message has political implications, this must not be understood as a separate dimension from its spiritual character. Political and spiritual are indivisible in this vision of the world. Yahweh's Torah runs through humanity from top to bottom, from the individual's most private thought to the structures and actions of the 'state'. This explains the motivations addressed to the heart, joined to a programme of laws (6:5; 10:16). It is a mistake to take the appeal to the heart in Deuteronomy as an evidence of personal, still less private, religion, in opposition to the corporate or political. That old false antithesis was superimposed on the Old Testament and ought to be laid to rest. (By the same token Jeremiah was regarded, wrongly, as the founder of 'individual' religion, though he proclaimed a New Covenant for 'the houses of Israel and Judah' [Jer. 31:31], and foresaw the raising up of a 'righteous branch for David'). For Israel to love God from the heart means a whole society living on the basis of devotion to him, so that *sedaqa* is not merely a princi-

ple enshrined in law and system, but willed and protected by every Israelite.

It follows too that the community envisaged is not identified with any one particular manifestation of it. This, it seems to me, is the error of the 'centralization' interpretation of Deuteronomy, which has conceived the book as an apologia for the nationalism, or 'statism', of the late Judean monarchy. Deuteronomy anticipates, in contrast, an Israel that is forever recalled to its true nature, generation by generation, by means of the teaching of Torah. It cannot be 'statist', because Yahweh remains free in his sovereignty. This is why 'the place the LORD will choose' should not be equated simply with Jerusalem. The reticence of Deuteronomy on this (whatever date is ascribed to it) is not due to the need to maintain a fiction of Mosaic authorship, but rather belongs to a pattern of opposition to the kind of 'Zion'-theology that was manifested in practice by most of the Davidic kings, north and south. (Israelites together are 'children of Yahweh' here [Deut. 14:1], not the Davidic king).

Therefore the 'kingdom' portrayed in Deuteronomy is always *in principle* open to new forms, to being reconceived. Deuteronomy can even be said to be eschatological. This is not in the same way as Daniel, for example, with its visions of the destruction of successive earthly kingdoms. Rather, its images are paradisaical. It calls God's people to participate in a history that moves towards the fulfilment of the divine purposes in creation. Accordingly, it is prophetic, radical, foreshadowing the kingdom of God in many wonderful ways, but refusing to allow 'Israel' (or anything else) to be identified with it.

vi. *A community with a mission.* By the same tokens, Deuteronomy's Israel is called to be a community of witness: the nations shall look and see what God is like. If this means anything it must mean that the once-for-all political-religious entity that was Israel can witness to the world of nations, perpetually, as to fundamental matters of right and wrong, and of bearing

authority in world and church. The ancient *qahal* ('assembly') of Israel embodies a claim of God upon the worldly authorities of all times and places, as also upon the *ekklesia* of Christ as witness to it.

Conclusion

How then can Deuteronomy guide the church in a modern age? If this book, so central to Old Testament law and theology, is to be a guide, it must speak both to the hopes enshrined in the Gospel of Christ, and be a guide to right conduct in the world. Deuteronomy's own carefully preserved tension between the practical and the ideal allows it to do both these things. The church, hearing the word of God, witnesses to the authorities concerning their obligation to do justice. That role of the church is unpopular in the modern climate, in which the state prefers to confine the church's voice to the margins of private morality, and has arrogated to itself the responsibility for deciding what it is right to teach, and what constitutes justice. Yet this secularizing of the functions of authorities that derive, in Christian theology, from God, merely sharpens the need for witness. It needs little demonstration that there are flashpoints here, in social policy, in education, in economics. Ironically, the 'Christian' heritage of states seems to lie closest to hand when it justifies a war, the arena in which both church and state need to tread most carefully.

The church can never again identify with state, as if the kingdom of God could be brought on earth by force. To imagine so would be to fall into the trap that Deuteronomy avoids, namely of identifying the kingdom closely with a particular form of human rule. The preaching of the kingdom calls every human authority to obedience, yet at the same time is driven by a vision of the New Heavens and the New Earth. Such a view is consonant with the preaching of Jesus, who proclaimed the kingdom of heaven—thus distinct from the rule of Israel's current

oppressors—yet refused to identify it with any of the options for revolution available in his day. Roman Israel, though oppressed, was in its own way the oppressor (of the weak by the strong), and therefore, like its remote ancestors, not equal to the task of being the people of God.¹⁷ The dilemma is not easily resolved. The task of witness is less glorious than the wielding of power, yet that is the way that always lies ahead, open and possible. As we do good in the world, and try to embody it as church, we also proclaim that the one is coming who will wipe away every tear and establish the new heavens and the new earth revealed in the Gospel and the resurrection of Christ.

Notes

- 1 G. Braulik, 'The Sequence of the Laws in Deuteronomy 12–26 and in the Decalogue', in D. L. Christensen ed., *A Song of Power and the Power of Song* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1993) 313–335; ET of 'Die Abfolge der Gesetze in Deuteronomium 12–26 und der Dekalog' in N. Lohfink ed., *Das Deuteronomium: Entstehung, Gestalt und Botschaft* (BETL, 68; Louvain University Press, 1985) 252–72.
- 2 S. R. Driver, *Deuteronomy* (ICC; Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1895) lxxviii–lxxxiv.
- 3 W. Brueggemann, *Theology of the Old Testament: Testimony, Dispute, Advocacy* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1997) 722.
- 4 G. von Rad, *Studies in Deuteronomy*; (London, SCM Press, 1953) 38–39; M. Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic School* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1972) 191–209.
- 5 N. Lohfink, 'Das deuteronomische Gesetz in der Endgestalt: Entwurf einer Gesellschaft ohne marginale Gruppen' in *Studien zum Deuteronomium und zur deuteronomistischen Literatur* (SBAB 20; Stuttgart: Verlag Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1995) 205–18.
- 6 The theme is ably developed by J. G. Millar, *Choose Life!* (Leicester: Apollos, 1998).
- 7 See the description of Egypt in the *Tale of Sinuhe*, ll. 80–90 (J. B. Pritchard ed., *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*, Princeton University Press, 1969) 19.

- 8 Cf. G. Braulik, *Deuteronomium I* (Neue Echter Bibel; Würzburg: Echter Verlag, 1986), 74–75.
- 9 E.g. N. Lohfink, 'Kerygmata des Deuteronomistischen Geschichtswerks', in J. Jeremias and L. Perlitt eds. *Die Botschaft und die Boten: FS H. W. Wolff* (Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 1981) 98.
- 10 Weinfeld, *Deuteronomistic School*, 148.
- 11 *ANET*, 164–65.
- 12 For the biblical law codes in relation to an ancient Near Eastern legal tradition, see R. Westbrook, 'What is the Covenant Code?' in Bernard M. Levinson ed., *Theory and Method in Biblical and Cuneiform Law; Revision, Interpolation and Development* (JSOTSup, 181; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994) 15–36, and responses to him in the same volume.
- 13 See F. Crüsemann, *The Torah: Theology and Social History of the Old Testament Law* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1996) 220.
- 14 Cf. Jon D. Levenson, 'Who Inserted the Book of the Torah?' *HTR* 68 (1975), 203–33; 227–28.
- 15 Lohfink, N., 'Das deuteronomische Gesetz in der Endgestalt: Entwurf einer Gesellschaft ohne marginale Gruppen' in *Studien zum Deuteronomium und zur deuteronomistischen Literatur* (SBAB 20; Stuttgart: Verlag Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1995) 205–18.
- 16 Braulik, 'Sequence of Laws', 325–26.
- 17 See N. T. Wright in Wright and M. Borg, *The Meaning of Jesus*, (HarperSan-Francisco, 1999) 31–52. This is a short statement of positions argued at length in his *The New Testament and the People of God* and *Jesus and the Victory of God* (Minneapolis: Fortress / London: SPCK, 1992, 1996).

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RÉSUMÉ

Cet article fait la recension de quatre livres sur le mouvement évangélique: Oliver Barclay, Le mouvement évangélique en Grande-Bretagne, 1997, Alister McGrath, Connaître et servir Dieu: Biographie de James Packer (1997), John Wenham, Face à l'enfer, une autobiographie de 1913 à 1996 (1998), David Smith, Transformant le monde: L'impact social du mouvement évangélique britannique (1998). Barclay retrace la résurgence extraordinaire du mouvement évangélique britannique au XX^e siècle, en analyse les raisons, et exprime ses préoccupations quant à la santé du mouvement à la fin du siècle. McGrath raconte la vie de James Packer et relève en particulier combien Packer a insisté pour que le mouvement évangélique soit fondée sur la théologie. Wenham raconte l'histoire d'une vie

passée davantage aux études bibliques qu'à la théologie, mais dit sa lutte avec la doctrine de l'enfer et sa préférence pour la thèse de l'annihilation conditionnelle. Smith pose la question de savoir si le mouvement évangélique transforme ou non le monde.

L'auteur trouve ces livres utiles pour une évaluation du mouvement évangélique au début d'un nouveau siècle. Il considère à leur lumière que le mouvement nécessiterait une analyse plus approfondie et plus rigoureuse. L'orthodoxie évangélique est importante dans notre contexte post-moderne et il trouve la position réformée évangélique de Packer et Wenham précieuses à cet égard. Enfin, il aborde la question d'une pensée chrétienne, ou d'une vision du monde chrétienne, et affirme qu'il serait profitable pour les évangéliques de réévaluer l'héritage Kuyperien.

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Dieser Rezensionsartikel geht auf vier kürzlich erschienene Bücher zum Thema Evangelikalismus ein, d.h. auf Oliver Barclay, Evangelicalism in Britain 1935–1995 (Leicester: IVP, 1997), 159 S., Alister McGrath, To Know and Serve God. A Biography of James Packer (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1997), 350 S., John Wenham, Facing Hell. An Autobiography 1913–1996 (Carlisle: Paternoster, 1998), 279 S. und David Smith, Transforming the World. The Social Impact of British Evangelicalism

(Carlisle: Paternoster, 1998), 146 S. Barclay geht dem erstaunlichen Wiederaufleben des britischen Evangelikalismus im zwanzigsten Jahrhundert nach und zeigt die dafür verantwortlichen Gründe auf. Er äußert aber zugleich Bedenken zum Gesundheitszustand der Bewegung gegen Ende des Jahrhunderts. McGrath erzählt die Geschichte von James Packer und hebt vor allem Packers ausdrückliche Betonung hervor, dass jegliche Evangelisation theologisch fundiert werden muss. Wenham erzählt seine eigene Geschichte, bei der mehr die

Bibelwissenschaft im Vordergrund steht und weniger die systematische Theologie. Teil dieser Geschichte ist jedoch seine Auseinandersetzung mit der Lehre von der Hölle, wobei Wenham für ein Verständnis der Hölle als einer konditionalen Vernichtung eingetreten ist. Smith schließlich fragt nach, ob der Evangelikalismus eine weltverändernde Rolle einnimmt.

Der Autor betrachtet die Bücher als hilfreich für die Bewertung des Evangelikalismus zu Beginn eines neuen Jahrhunderts. Es ist jedoch

darauf hinzuweisen, dass die Bewegung einer gründlicheren Untersuchung bedarf. Die evangelikale Orthodoxie nimmt in unserem postmodernen Kontext eine wichtige Rolle ein, und der reformierte Evangelikalismus Packers und Wenhams ist dabei ein hilfreicher Ausgangspunkt. Abschließend wird die Frage einer christlichen Weltanschauung aufgeworfen, wobei betont wird, dass eine neuerliche Prüfung des Erbes von Abraham Kuyper für Evangelikale gerade zur jetzigen Zeit von Nutzen wäre.

I. Introduction

At the outset of the twentieth century the continued existence of Evangelicalism seemed uncertain. At the start of the twenty-first century the scenario is very different. Evangelicalism made phenomenal strides in the twentieth century and its influence is not in doubt at the start of the second millennium. However, despite the phenomenal growth of Evangelicalism, all is not well. Evangelicalism is deeply fragmented and it is hard to see signs of a healthy consensus.

Evangelicals have, for example, reacted to postmodernism in a variety of ways ranging from Wells' and Carson's Reformed critiques,¹ to Walsh and Middleton's *Truth is Stranger Than It Used to Be*,² to 'post-Evangelicalism', to the embrace of the experiential represented by the Toronto blessing, and so on. At the turn of the century Evangelicalism is truly a 'very contested' tradition.³ Consequently, if Evangelicalism is to contribute to and influence the twenty-first century as it could and should, then assessment of where we have come from and just what constitutes Evangelicalism is urgently required. In this article I review four recent books about (mainly) UK Evangelicalism which are an important contribution to such an assessment. Although these books deal mainly with British Evangelicalism—the biography of Packer, who has significant influence in

American Evangelicalism, is the exception—it should be remembered that UK Evangelicalism has wielded international influence this century. The books are:

- Oliver Barclay *Evangelicalism in Britain 1935–1995. A Personal Sketch* (Leicester: IVP) 1997, 159 pp.
- Alister McGrath *To Know and Serve God. A Biography of James Packer* (London: Hodder and Stoughton) 1997, 350 pp.
- John Wenham *Facing Hell. An Autobiography 1913–1996* (Carlisle: Paternoster) 1998, 279 pp.
- David Smith *Transforming the World. The Social Impact of British Evangelicalism* (Carlisle: Paternoster) 1998, 146 pp.

Together these books provide a fascinating insight into the growth and struggles of Evangelicalism this century. Barclay, Packer and Wenham have all shaped British Evangelicalism in powerful ways since its resurgence after World War II. Barclay writes about the trends in Evangelicalism in the UK this century, whereas McGrath tells the story of a key player in the resurgence of UK and North American Evangelicalism, namely James Packer, who now teaches at Regent College, Vancouver. John Wenham, now deceased, tells his own story. David Smith, presently of the Whitefield Institute, Oxford, asks the important question—is Evangelicalism world transformative or not?

II. Barclay—UK Evangelicalism's Recovery in the 20th Century

Barclay starts off by asking, 'Who is an Evangelical?' He settles for Bebbington's four characteristics and adds another. Bebbington discerns four distinctives of Evangelicalism:⁴

- *conversionism*: people need to come in to a personal relationship with Christ.
- *activism*: faith must be lived especially in terms of telling others about Christ.
- *biblicism*: the final authority in thought and life is the Bible.
- *crucicentrism*: the cross is all important; we are saved by Christ's death as a substitute for sinful humankind.
- to these four Barclay adds: *Christ-centred*—all the above depend on a personal relationship with Christ.

Barclay points out that in the 1930's Evangelicalism was in the doldrums for four reasons:⁵

- it was not taking theological education seriously enough
- it was anti-intellectual. Barclay notes that 'What was a serious weakness was their failure at this stage to grapple with the modern mind in a biblical way'.⁶
- it had legalistic tendencies (don't dance, don't smoke, don't drink!)
- and it was anti-cultural (wary of art, politics, economics, etc.)

Evangelicals were pious and knew their Bibles well but these weaknesses were debilitating.

Barclay goes on to tell the astonishing story of British Evangelicalism's resurgence since World War II as it has tackled these weaknesses and grown in all sorts of exciting ways. Key people were Douglas Johnson, Martyn Lloyd-Jones and John Stott. The student and publishing work of Inter Varsity Fellowship (IVF) played an important role in this resurgence, doing effective Christian work on university campuses and getting literature published to demonstrate the academic credibility of the gospel. It is because of the work of publishers like IVP that there is

so much good Christian material available today, and we easily forget the vacuum in this area for most of this century.

Take biblical studies for example. A range of commentaries and good Evangelical books are now available, but at the end of World War II virtually none of this was in existence. IVF leaders launched an initiative to set up a research centre in biblical studies, and this became the influential Tyndale House in Cambridge and has led to a renaissance of Evangelical biblical study. Barclay recognises the need for Christians to develop a Christian mind and he relates how the ministries of Francis Schaeffer and Hans Rookmaker played an important role in helping Christians to think and act Christianly in relation to politics, economics, philosophy, art etc. John Stott and the Lausanne Conference on evangelism in 1974 played a vital role in helping Christians to rediscover socio-political involvement as a constituent part of the mission of the church.

In all these ways one can see how many of the weaknesses of Evangelicalism in the 1930s have been addressed, and consequently how Evangelicalism has experienced a phenomenal resurgence in the UK and the West this century. Barclay relates this resurgence to four areas in particular:

1. A love of biblical doctrine reflected in the commitment to expository preaching.
2. A commitment to finding the whole biblical outlook—a 'vision of the great biblical scheme from creation to eternity captured the evangelical community in a new way, and gave depth to both preaching and evangelism'⁷—that emerges from a study of the Bible.
3. A new awareness of the need to love God with all our minds and to develop a Christian mind in relation to all areas of life: 'The old defensiveness was lost. They believed that there are Christian approaches to be worked out in every sphere, from academic theology to art, science, education and medicine, and in society. Evangelism and apologetics were greatly improved. Many were, by

God's special blessing, converted and then well taught'.⁸

4. The recovery of biblical themes like creation and providence gave Christians perspectives for dealing with the contemporary world of culture and society. 'A belief that "everything God created is good" (1 Tim 4:4) enabled them to value the material world and to have an approach to the environment and to society. They recovered a responsibility to alter society for the better, which had been such a marked feature of the evangelicals of the early nineteenth century. In brief they arrived nearer to a biblically balanced position'.⁹

These are remarkable achievements! However, at the end of the twentieth century Barclay feels that all is not well in Evangelical circles. Evangelicalism has become more respectable, but Barclay fears that some Evangelicalism is going soft on the Bible and fundamental doctrine and that Biblical illiteracy is rampant in our culture. Barclay calls Evangelicals to be clear on and committed to the core Christian doctrines and to make these the basis of a Christian mind.

III. Packer and Wenham: Key Players in the Evangelical Resurgence

The Packer-Wenham books tell the stories of two key players in the Evangelical resurgence since World War II. Both men are deeply committed Evangelicals and their passion for God is wonderfully evident in a myriad of ways. Biography of this sort is a kind of theology with legs and it is thoroughly enjoyable to read. It also gives one an idea of the hard and visionary work of men like Packer and Wenham, and a sense of just how indebted we are to those who have gone before us. Wenham's book is an autobiography and this gives it a stronger, more personal sense than the more descriptive biography of Packer.

McGrath rightly describes Packer as a great 'theologizer' rather than a great

theologian.¹⁰ In an accessible way Packer has communicated theologically what he felt Evangelicalism needed to hear. As McGrath makes clear, Packer's major contribution is his insistence that Evangelicalism be *theologically* grounded and that to do so it needs to be at home in the Christian tradition. Packer has been a champion of (Reformed) Evangelicalism and yet he has shown a refreshing openness to working with Christians in other traditions when it is important to do so. Most recently this was evident in Packer's participation in and endorsement of *Evangelicals and Catholics Together* (1994).

Like Packer, Wenham contributed massively to theological education and institution building, but his academic work has tended to be more biblically than theologically focused. John Wenham is probably most well known for his *Elements of New Testament Greek*! The personal, honest nature of Wenham's autobiography is delightful and the title of his book—*Facing Hell*—relates to his struggle to articulate a biblical view of final judgement. Somewhat controversially Wenham became a proponent of real judgement for non-Christians leading to annihilation rather than eternal hell. This continues to be a matter of considerable discussion in Evangelical circles, and one at least appreciates Wenham's concern to wrestle biblically with this and other issues.¹¹ Packer took the more traditional view of eternal hell in the Evangelical debate in this regard.¹²

IV. Evangelicalism and Public Theology

Although Packer has taught at Regent for many years, an institution set up to relate Christianity to the whole of life, McGrath has surprisingly little to say about any concern in Packer's theology for a *public* theology, for how theology relates to the whole of life. Wenham tells how he was fired up for a time by the idea of a Christian worldview through his reading of Kuyper's *Calvinism*.¹³ However, neither book manifests a strong concern for a

comprehensive Christian worldview that relates to the whole of life. Bearing in mind the battles that this generation of Evangelicals has had to fight that is somewhat understandable, and one ought to note that other Evangelicals of this generation like John Stott¹⁴ have devoted considerable energy to Christ and culture type issues. However, emerging from the Packer-Wenham books one is still left wondering just how world transformative Evangelicalism really is.

And that is the issue central to Smith's *Transforming the World*. Smith's book is readable and vitally important in the questions it deals with. Following Wolterstorff's definition of Calvinism as world-formative Christianity,¹⁵ Smith describes Christianity with a biblical worldview as *world-transformative*, i.e. as concerned to bring a Christian perspective to bear on and thus reform/transform all of life. Smith argues that originally, i.e. in its roots in the eighteenth century revivals, Evangelicalism was world-transformative: 'I want to argue that the Evangelical movement which emerged from the "Great Awakening" in the eighteenth century constitutes a remarkable example of religion as a powerful agent for political and social change; it was *world-transformative*'.¹⁶ In this respect Smith notes Evangelicalism's roots in the theology of the Reformers and in thinkers like Jonathan Edwards.

After Evangelicalism's promising start, Smith tracks the developing divisions in Evangelicalism so that by the mid-nineteenth century Evangelicalism was no longer a unified movement, and thus less equipped to face the doubt of the growing Enlightenment forces. Smith is particularly critical of the failure of establishment Evangelicals like the Clapham sect to critique establishment and capitalist culture. An exception to this, for Smith, is Spurgeon, who is highly recommended for his popular communication and identification with the political aspirations of ordinary people. General Booth, founder of the Salvation Army is also warmly commended for his social concern.

But, generally Evangelicals were not

good at integrating evangelism and social concern in their understanding of the mission of the church and, as Smith rightly says, 'This inability to unite the personal and social aspects of religion, to see mission as embracing both the declaration of the world of God and the practice of deeds which demonstrate the love and justice of God, remained one of Evangelicalism's consistent, and most damaging, failures'.¹⁷

Christian thinkers such as Orr and Denney made valiant attempts to overcome the growing anti-intellectualism in Evangelicalism, but these attempts were not taken sufficiently seriously. Smith notes that

'as these Scottish theologians were urging the necessity of addressing modern people in intelligible terms, the Cambridge University Christian Union was relying upon an American revivalist whose evangelism was characterized by an emotional sentimentality. As a soloist sang a song with the words, "Tell Mother I'll be There", Charles Alexander asked undergraduates to stand if they wished to meet their mothers in heaven . . . The Christian Union had clearly abandoned any attempt to speak the word of God meaningfully in a university permeated by secular thought and a mission which resorted to such frankly subjectivistic techniques was bound to confirm the intelligentsia in their belief that religious faith was irrational and impossible'.¹⁸

Evangelicalism was not up to the challenge of modern scholarship and scepticism, and hence its low ebb for most of the first half of the twentieth century.

Modernity (post-Enlightenment culture) has been deeply anti-Christian and a key theme in Smith's work is Evangelicalism's reaction to modernity. Modernity allows freedom of religion but privatises it, and Smith is keen to see how Evangelicalism responds to this pressure. He discerns in Lausanne (1974) and John Stott's works a welcome recovery of world-transformative Christianity which refuses to privatise faith and insists on relating the Lordship of Christ to all of

life. However he notes the internal struggles in twentieth century Evangelicalism in this respect, referring inter alia to the ministry of Lloyd-Jones:

‘throughout the post-war period Lloyd-Jones sought to lead Evangelicals in the direction of a thorough-going anti-modernism and he opposed both Stott’s more open attitude toward contemporary thought and the efforts of people like Francis Schaeffer to communicate the Gospel in a form which was relevant to modern people. . . . Clearly this represents an emphatic “Christ-against-modern-culture” position. To Lloyd-Jones and his followers the Lausanne Congress looked like the twilight which precedes the arrival of darkness’.¹⁹

Smith sees the present ‘postmodern’ hour as a time of great opportunity for Evangelicalism if it can recover its world-transformative identity.

‘If Evangelicalism begins to take seriously the missionary task which confronts it within the western world, it will itself be converted in the process. . . . In place of comfortable and undemanding religion genuine conversion will involve the confession of Jesus as LORD and a determination to live in the light of the values of the kingdom of God revealed in his life, death and resurrection’.²⁰

V. Where to from Here?

1. The sort of historical perspective on twentieth century Evangelicalism that these books provide is very helpful. They remind us of the distance that UK Evangelicalism has come this century and alert us to the need to handle this legacy entrusted to us with care.

Part of such a reception of this legacy must, however, involve clarity about just what Evangelicalism is. It remains a moot point whether the Bebbington/Barclay sort of definition of Evangelicalism is adequate. There is a huge diversity in contemporary Evangelicalism and a short set of theological propositions or emphases fails to get at this diversity of traditions. Packer and Wenham are representatives

of Evangelicalism as Reformed Protestantism, but this is only one of the dominant traditions in Evangelicalism.

A depth probing of these traditions is crucial if constructive ways forward are to be found, and not least in answering David Smith’s question! Packer’s Reformed Evangelicalism, for example, emerges out of the Puritan and Princeton type Reformed heritage of Warfield and Hodge. This tradition has a different relationship to modernity to the Dutch Reformed tradition of Bavinck and Kuyper. In his useful book in which he too asserts the need for a far more nuanced analysis of contemporary Evangelicalism, Knight rightly notes that ‘The Dutch theology, with its recognition of multiple coherent worldviews and a more flexible approach to scripture was in many ways positioned far better than any of the nineteenth century American evangelical traditions to engage modernity’.²¹

This kind of analysis has serious implications for how Evangelicalism is/is not handling the challenge of postmodernism. It could be argued that, failure to be sufficiently critical of modernity has made Evangelicalism vulnerable to the powerful winds of postmodernism, with Evangelicals either polarizing towards rational propositionalism or towards irrationalistic subjectivism. If therefore, Evangelicalism is to find a mature path ahead, more sophisticated analyses of Evangelicalism and the traditions it contains must be high on the agenda.²² At the end of the twentieth century Evangelicalism has, in my opinion, shown a worrying tendency to be shaped by culture rather than shaping culture. We will pursue this below, but suffice it here to note that depth analysis must explore the way in which different traditions in Evangelicalism think about the Christ-culture relationship.

2. Packer’s emphasis on Evangelicalism being *theologically* grounded is, I think, very important. It is encouraging to see the greater cultural awareness of Evangelicalism in the UK at the end of the twentieth century, but one does see signs of a blurring of the biblical distinctives and sometimes an uncritical openness to

cultural trends. The Reformed Evangelicalism that Packer represents with its high view of the early catholic creeds and the Reformed confessions has an important contribution to make here against the flux and individual subjectivism of postmodernism. Barclay, likewise, is helpful in his insistence that a Christian mind/worldview must be *Christian*. As Evangelicals recover a mind, it is crucial that it is an integrally Christian one!

A vital and relevant Evangelicalism therefore requires:

- a solid stand on the authority of the Bible as God's infallible Word. Postmodernism makes any notion of an authoritative *text* very difficult, because of the prevalent view that all interpretation is relative. However, Scripture as God's authoritative Word for all of life, is foundational to any Evangelical position. In the final chapter of his autobiography Wenham expresses three wishes for Evangelicalism. The second is that Evangelicals 'will go back to the centre to check their foundations. There is always a danger among us of succumbing to anti-intellectualism in one form or another, or of drifting into liberalism. Our foundation is faith in Christ witnessed to inwardly by the Holy Spirit and outwardly by Holy Scripture. The one unchanging element in this witness of God is the Christ made known to us in the canonical gospels'.²³ This is surely right, and in today's context Evangelicals need to resist the view that makes readers all powerful and texts, especially Scripture, mere putty in readers' hands. It is here that Christian work on hermeneutics is vital,²⁴ and Evangelicals like Thiselton and Vanhoozer²⁵ have made exemplary contributions.
- a Christian mind/worldview shaped foundationally by the Bible. Biblical and theological literacy are fundamental to the development of a Christian worldview. It is imperative that Christian cultural action is in the illuminating grip of Scripture, rather than Scripture being judged by the current

Zeitgeist. Barclay rightly notes that 'Having a Christian mind is not an optional extra for the learned; it is to have our outlook transformed by the biblical revelation, and much of that is doctrine.

. . . Anti-intellectualism and an anti-doctrinal stance are emphatically not what the Bible requires of us, and their dangers are evident today, as they have been in past history when people rely on what they feel is right'.²⁶

- a commitment to *mission* embracing evangelism and the living out a Christian perspective in all areas of life. Missiology is one of the most exciting theological disciplines nowadays, and Smith is alert to the need for Evangelicalism to articulate and practice a biblical theology of mission which understands the whole church to be taking the whole gospel to the whole world.

3. It is important that the *function of Scripture* and the *nature of the church's mission* are carefully and biblically articulated. Throughout this century, as David Smith notes, Evangelicals have manifested a tendency to limit Scripture and mission to institutional church life, with little to do or say to life in its totality.²⁷ Barclay quite rightly recognises that a Christian mind is fundamentally important for Evangelicalism, and that this needs to be made flesh in all areas of life. And David Smith argues rightly that there is great hope for Evangelicalism if it can practice mission energized by a view of Christ as Lord over all.

It is interesting and encouraging to note how the concern to relate Christianity to the whole of life has been foregrounded recently under different auspices. Evangelicals have spoken of a Christian mind, Kuyperians have articulated the need for a Christian worldview, some today call for a public theology, and in missiology one finds the call for a holistic encounter of the West with the gospel.²⁸ The importance of the development of a Christian mind/ a public theology/ a holistic missiology, should not be underestimated. Culture is like the air we breathe, and it generally seems to us as

natural and right as the water in which a fish swims. But culture, as the ways in which humans shape politics, economics, leisure, education, etc., is far from neutral. Ideas have legs, and it is ideas, rooted in worldviews, that shape cultures. Consequently, if Christians do not develop critical, Christian understandings of their cultures, they will be destined to succumb to the idolatries of their cultures. The best antidote to such idolatry is the development of a Christian mind or worldview, a public theology. The capacity of Evangelicals to succumb to postmodernism suggests that we have not made as much progress in this area as we might have. There are issues here that need closer attention.

In recent decades a considerable amount of literature has been published on Christianity and worldviews. Within Evangelical circles Francis Schaeffer probably did more than anyone else to waken Evangelicals to their faith as a worldview.²⁹ The hard theoretical work of thinking through the contours of a Christian worldview has, however, been done particularly in neo-Calvinist circles, in the tradition of the Dutch Calvinism of Bavinck and Kuyper.³⁰ Surprisingly, neither Kuyper, nor Bavinck are mentioned in Smith's *Transforming the World*. Such an omission confirms the comment of a prominent Canadian New Testament scholar that the Kuyperian tradition is one of the best kept and most influential secrets around. It is highly influential but generally not well known. In developing a Christian mind and shaping up a holistic missiology, I believe that the Kuyperian tradition has much to offer Evangelicals. Thus, I will conclude this review with some comments on the Kuyperian worldview and its implications for Evangelicalism.

The best articulation of the neo-Calvinist worldview is that by Wolters in *Creation Regained*. Wolters³¹ defines a worldview as 'the comprehensive framework of one's basic beliefs about things'. 'Things' is deliberately vague so as to include all that we might hold beliefs about, such as suffering, gender, family

life, God etc. 'Beliefs' indicates that a worldview involves claims to know about the world, claims which are deep convictions (*basic*, i.e. ultimate convictions) and which one would try and defend with arguments if pushed on these issues. 'Framework' alerts us to the unifying and comprehensive nature of a worldview.

One way of seeing the distinctive element of the neo-Calvinist articulation of the Christian worldview is to use the basic definition of the Christian faith given by Herman Bavinck: 'God the Father has reconciled His created but fallen world through the death of His Son, and renews it into a Kingdom of God by His Spirit'. The neo-Calvinist worldview takes all the key terms in this ecumenical, trinitarian confession in a universal, all-encompassing sense. The terms 'reconciled', 'created', 'fallen', 'world', 'renews', and 'Kingdom of God' are held to be cosmic in scope. In principle, nothing apart from God himself falls outside the range of these foundational realities of biblical religion. All other Christian worldviews, by contrast, restrict the scope of each of these terms in one way or another.

Much of this is no longer controversial in thinking Evangelical circles. The Kuyperian tradition has had a profound influence on twentieth century Evangelicalism, and George Marsden even speaks of 'the triumph—or nearly so—of what may be loosely called Kuyperian presuppositionalism in the evangelical community'.³² Most recently, the highly influential American Evangelical, Chuck Colson, in the book he describes as his legacy, *How Now Shall We Live*,³³ acknowledges openly his debt to Abraham Kuyper, in his articulation of biblical Christianity as worldview-ish to the core.

But the reception of the Kuyperian tradition, especially in its more developed philosophical forms, has not been without its detractors. Heirs of Kuyper, Herman Dooyeweerd and Dirk Vollenhoven, developed the Kuyperian tradition in the area of philosophy. Barclay writes critically of the Christian philosophy of Dooyeweerd and Vollenhoven that it 'seemed to some, myself included, to put philosophy above

theology and thereby to avoid the necessity of going to the Bible first of all—and last of all'.³⁴ Some contemporary developments in Dooyeweerdian circles go a long way to confirm Barclay's fears, and I have written critically of these elsewhere.³⁵ However, although one shares Barclay's concern, it could equally well be argued that Evangelicalism's strong focus on theology without taking *philosophy* sufficiently seriously has made it deeply vulnerable to all sorts of alien philosophical influences as it recovered culture-wide interests.

In my opinion the attempt by Dooyeweerd to address critically the autonomy of philosophy is absolutely right.³⁶ This is a direction that too few have pursued.³⁷ However, whether Dooyeweerd makes the right moves in his repositioning of theology from queen of the sciences to one of the special sciences, and in his understanding of how Scripture informs and shapes a Christian philosophy via the law idea, are issues that cry out for careful attention and engagement by Evangelicals. High on any contemporary Evangelical agenda should, I suggest, be re-examination of the theology-philosophy relationship. Such an exploration could help Evangelicalism to become integrally Scriptural, and it could help reform the Kuyperian tradition along Scriptural lines.

In response to Barclay's criticism of Dooyeweerdian philosophy, it is also important to distinguish the work of Kuyper and Bavinck from the philosophical development of this tradition by Dooyeweerd and Vollenhoven. The philosophy of Dooyeweerd develops out of Kuyper's worldview, but a worldview is a different thing to a developed philosophy. And, however Evangelicals evaluate Dooyeweerd's philosophy, it is crucial that we come to grips with the challenges of a Kuyperian worldview for the following reasons:

1. Kuyper understood like few others the challenge which the modern worldview presented to Christianity, and Kuyper rose to that challenge. Barclay notes, as we saw above, that a serious

weakness of pre-World War II Evangelicalism was its failure to grapple with the modern mind biblically. Books like Noll's *The Scandal of the Evangelical Mind* suggest that we still have a long way to go in this respect! However, as long as Evangelicals restrict Christian thinking to theology and biblical studies—vitaly important as these are—and fail to articulate the comprehensive range of Christian faith, we will not make real progress against modernity's privatisation of faith. One only has to peruse Kuyper's *Lectures on Calvinism*³⁸ to see how the Kuyperian worldview challenges any restriction of the comprehensive range of Christian faith.

2. Packer and Wenham made important contributions to building theological seminaries. Institution building is a crucial exercise if Evangelicalism is to wield a long term influence. But, in the UK we have virtually no tradition of building Christian institutions outside of seminaries and churches. The USA, by comparison, has, for example, a number of excellent Christian higher education institutions like Calvin College and Gordon College.

Once again Kuyper was exemplary in this respect. One does not need to agree with his philosophy of society in all elements to respect his passion for an integrally Christian presence in all of life. This is essential if modernity's privatisation of religion is really to be challenged.

3. The development of a Christian worldview must be Scripturally rooted. In this respect the discipline of *biblical theology* is crucial. Barclay, as we saw above, notes how Evangelical recovery of a sense of the Bible as a whole—just what biblical theology gets at—played a key role in Evangelicalism's renaissance. And yet, there are still a paucity of courses in biblical theology available in the UK. Scholars like Dumbrell³⁹ have done great work in biblical theology in recent decades and this work needs to be 'shouted from the mountain tops!' and connected with the articulation of a Christian worldview.

At the same time, it is important to note that scholarship in the grip of such a

worldview can re-invigorate theology and biblical studies! The great example of this in recent times is Tom Wright's fascinating reworking of New Testament theology.⁴⁰ At the heart of Wright's work is a strong sense of the comprehensive range of the gospel. And in theology, post-liberals have noted the potential of the Kuyperian tradition. George Hunsinger has perceptively pointed out, that within Evangelicalism it is the tradition of Kuyper and Bavinck that embodies the most fruitful ground for dialogue with postliberalism. Hunsinger notes that Kuyper and Bavinck are less entangled in the encumbrances of modernity than many other prominent evangelical theologians.⁴¹

VI. Conclusion

At the start of a new century, there is much at stake in the state of Evangelicalism. These four books that we have looked at make an important contribution to an historical understanding of how we have arrived at where Evangelicalism is today, and also at where the work needs to be done if we are to move forward. We are where we are because giants like Lloyd-Jones and Packer and Wenham and Stott have gone before us. We owe it to them to stand on their shoulders as we craft an agenda that will take Evangelicalism forward to maturity and release its full potential.

Notes

- 1 See D. Wells, *God in the Wasteland* (IVP, Eerdmans: Leicester, Grand Rapids, 1994) and D. Carson, *The Gagging of God—Christianity Confronts Pluralism* (Leicester: Apollos, 1996).
- 2 B. Walsh and R. Middleton, *Truth is Stranger Than it Used to Be. Biblical Faith in a Postmodern Age* (London: SPCK, 1995).
- 3 W. J. Abraham, *The Coming Great Revival: Recovering the Full Evangelical Tradition* (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1984) 10.
- 4 D. W. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s*

- to the 1980s (London: Unwin Hyman, 1989). Barclay, *Evangelicalism* 10–12.
- 5 Barclay, *ibid.*, 15–45.
- 6 *Ibid.*, 29.
- 7 *Ibid.*, 136.
- 8 *Ibid.*, 136.
- 9 *Ibid.*, 136, 137.
- 10 McGrath, *Packer*, 280.
- 11 See Wenham, *Facing Hell*, 229–264.
- 12 See McGrath, *Packer*, 260–264.
- 13 Wenham, *Facing Hell*, 62.
- 14 See, e.g., Stott's *Christian Mission in the Modern World* (Illinois: IVP, 1977), *The Contemporary Christian* (Illinois: IVP, 1992).
- 15 N. Wolterstorff, *Until Justice and Peace Embrace* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1983) 11.
- 16 Smith, *Transforming*, 2.
- 17 *Ibid.*, 69.
- 18 *Ibid.*, 74.
- 19 *Ibid.*, 97.
- 20 *Ibid.*, 125.
- 21 H. H. Knight III, *A Future for Truth* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1997) 27.
- 22 See Knight, *ibid.*, 20ff, for some examples.
- 23 Wenham, *Facing Hell*, 267.
- 24 But see Barclay's cautious comments, *Evangelicalism*, 103, 104.
- 25 See most recently R. Lundin, C. Walhout and A. C. Thiselton, *The Promise of Hermeneutics* (Grand Rapids, Carlisle: Eerdmans, Paternoster, 1999), and K. Vanhoozer, *Is there a Meaning in This Text?* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1998).
- 26 Barclay, *Evangelicalism*, 126.
- 27 As Smith rightly notes, this has been one of the negative legacies of Lloyd-Jones' otherwise remarkable ministry.
- 28 See, for example, H. Blamires, *The Christian Mind: How Should a Christian Think?* (London: SPCK, 1963), M. Noll, *The Scandal of the Evangelical Mind* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994), P. S. Heslam, *Creating a Christian Worldview. Abraham Kuyper's Lectures on Calvinism* (Carlisle, Grand Rapids: Paternoster, Eerdmans, 1998), L. Newbigin, *Foolishness to the Greeks* (London: SPCK, 1986). It is fascinating to see how these interests converge. See, for example, M. Goheen's 'Toward a Missiology of Western Culture' in *EJT* (1999) 8:2 155–168, and Goheen's comparison of Kuyperianism with Newbigin in M. Goheen, 'Mission and the Public Life of Western Culture: the Kuyperian Tradition', *The Gospel and Our Culture Network Newsletter*, (1999) 26 6–7.

- 29 See M. S. Hamilton, 'The Dissatisfaction of Francis Schaeffer', *Christianity Today* March 3, 1997 22–30, for a recent assessment of Schaeffer's legacy.
- 30 See, for example, P. S. Heslam, *Christian Worldview* and P. Marshall et al, eds. *Stained Glass: Worldviews and Social Science* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1989). It is important to note that Kant first used the German expression *Weltanschauung*, from which the English 'worldview' is derived. The philosophical use of *Weltanschauung* peaked around the early 1900s, being used by Windelband, Rickert and Dilthey. Kuyper appropriated the term for Christian use. There are connotations of relativism in its original philosophical matrix, and these need to be guarded against, particularly in the context of postmodernism.
- 31 A. Wolters, *Creation Regained. Biblical Basics for a Reformational Worldview* (Leicester: IVP, 1985) 2.
- 32 G. Marsden, 'The State of Evangelical Christian Scholarship'. *The Reformed Journal* 1987, 37: 12–16. 14.
- 33 1999, (Wheaton, IL: Tyndale Press).
- 34 Barclay, *Evangelicalism* 88.
- 35 See C. Bartholomew, 'Critical Issues in Recent Developments in Reformational Philosophy: A Perspective'. *Koers* 60(2) 1995:189–212.
- 36 For a short, useful introduction to Dooyeweerd's thought with a basic bibliography, see R. A. Russell, 'Dooyeweerd, Herman', in D. J. Atkinson and D. H. Field, eds. *New Dictionary of Christian Ethics and Pastoral Theology* (Leicester: IVP, 1995) 317.
- 37 A rare, recent exception is J. Milbank's superb chapter, 'Knowledge: The Theological Critique of Philosophy in Hamann and Jacobi', in J. Milbank, C. Pickstock and G. Ward, eds. *Radical Orthodoxy* (London and NY: Routledge, 1999) 21–37.
- 38 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1934).
- 39 See in particular W. J. Dumbrell, *Covenant and Creation* (Exeter: Paternoster, 1984).
- 40 See especially, N. T. Wright, *The New Testament and the People of God* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992).
- 41 G. Hunsinger, 'What Can Evangelicals and Postliberals Learn From Each Other? The Carl Henry—Hans Frei Exchange Reconsidered', in T. R. Phillips, & D. L. Okholm, eds. *The Nature of Confession* (Illinois: IVP, 1996) 134–150, 149.

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RÉSUMÉ

Cet article examine l'œuvre de la philosophe Martha Nussbaum afin de voir comment ceux qui étudient l'éthique biblique peuvent apprendre de ses travaux sur la littérature et l'éthique. Un chrétien ne pourra certainement pas accepter toutes ses

propositions, mais il pourra recueillir certaines de ses trouvailles dans quatre domaines importants: l'incommensurabilité des biens, l'importance de la situation particulière dans laquelle les actes se commettent, l'importance des émotions dans la contribution éthique des récits, et la place centrale des récits en éthique.

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Der Artikel untersucht das Werk der Philosophin Martha Nussbaum, um zu ermitteln, ob—und wenn ja, wie—biblisch ausgerichtete Ethiker von ihrer Arbeit in den Bereichen der Literatur und der Ethik profitieren können. Dabei wird betont, dass Christen, auch wenn sie nicht unbedingt gewillt sein mögen, alle ihre Anregungen und Anliegen

aufzunehmen, durchaus einige ihrer Einsichten anwenden können (wie z.B. in Bezug auf die Inkommensurabilität von Gütern, die Bedeutung der konkreten Situation, in der eine Handlung ausgeführt wird, den Stellenwert von Emotionen im Zusammenhang mit dem ethischen Beitrag von Geschichten sowie die zentrale Bedeutung von Geschichten für die Ethik).

In contemporary philosophical discussions about the role of narrative in ethics the name of Martha Nussbaum is one of the best known and her work some of the most discussed.

In this article I intend to briefly overview some of the themes central to Nussbaum's work on literature and to see

whether Christian readers of the bible can make fruitful use of (perhaps modified) ideas from the Nussbaumian corpus. I propose to consider the following themes:

1. The incommensurability of goods and the fragility of goodness.

2. Story, the priority of the particular and the place of rules.
3. Story, the emotions and ethical rationality.
4. The link between form and content.

Having set out and evaluated these themes I have a final section on the usefulness of Nussbaum for the biblical ethicist.

I. The Incommensurability of Goods and the Fragility of Goodness

Nussbaum's first major work on ethics was entitled, *The Fragility of Goodness*¹ (hereafter, F) In it she tells the story of the role of 'luck' in ethics from the Poets of ancient Greece, to Plato then to Aristotle. The plot line can be simplified as follows.

The Poets were the moral thinkers and teachers of ancient Greece. One of the claims of tragedy is that 'luck' can ruin good people by forcing them into moral dilemmas in which *any* choice they make involves them in performing a wrong action. The Poets also show that the attempt to insulate ourselves against luck dehumanises us (F, ch. 3).

Plato aims to insulate the human soul from 'luck' taking weighing, counting and measuring, a science closely linked to the idea of control, as his model for practical deliberation (F, p. 106). His strategy is to make all values commensurable—measurable by the same standard. On this approach any differences between values will be differences in *quantity and not in kind* (F, p. 108, 110).

Nussbaum asks us to imagine the situation: 'Just try to think it seriously: this body of this wonderful beloved person is *exactly* the same in quality as that person's mind and inner life. Both, in turn, the same in quality as the value of Athenian democracy; of Pythagorean geometry; of Eudoxan astronomy. What would it be like to look at a body and to see in it exactly the same shade and tone of goodness and beauty as in a mathematical

proof—*exactly* the same, differing only in amount and in location, so that the choice between making love with that person and contemplating that proof presented itself as a choice between having n measures of water and having $n + 100?$... These proposals are so bold as to be pretty well incomprehensible, from the ordinary point of view' (*Love's Knowledge*² [=LK], p. 116). We would cease to love the particular and cling only to the abstract.

Aristotle aims to do his philosophy in such a way as to respect the limits of our human perspective and to preserve our understandings of the way things are as much as is possible.³ Most importantly Aristotle, over against Plato, argued that practical deliberation is not, and cannot be, 'scientific' for values are not commensurable. Consequently when one is forced to choose in a situation in which values clash one will inevitably lose out. But the alternative of reducing all values to one is itself a loss (LK, p. 60).⁴

The question of divine-source ethics requires some comment at this point. For the Christian who accepts this view of moral authority it seems that moral goods can be reduced to one feature—namely the command or the nature of God. Is this not incompatible with Nussbaum's approach? Not necessarily. The goods which Nussbaum considers are far wider ranging than moral goods. She has in mind aesthetic goods, the goods of enjoying a tasty meal, the goods of a friendship. These goods may not be commensurable even if moral goods are. Indeed, *moral* goods need not be commensurable to the divine source theorist if morality is seen as rooted not in the commands of God so much as in his perfectly good nature from which those commands flow. Now, it *may* be possible to conceive of the divine moral attributes which ground human moral goods as *themselves* incommensurable (assuming, of course, that the doctrine of divine simplicity is false). Thus human moral goods would also be incommensurable despite coming via God's commands.

II. The Priority of the Particular and the Place of Rules

Aristotle thought that practical understanding is not a deductive scientific understanding but he did have some sympathy with parts of the scientific project. He did seek to give general accounts of the virtues and saw the wise choices of the virtuous as a 'rule' (*logos*) and thus paradigmatic for us. However, Nussbaum argues convincingly that Aristotle sees such paradigmatic choices as responsible to the particulars of the situation rather than vice versa (F, pp. 299–306). The particular is prior but without the general or universal it would be unguided (F, p. 306). Narrative deals with the particular rather than the general or the abstract. Moral rules are important to Nussbaum but the good novel reveals that the particular situation in all its nuances takes priority over the rules. General rules are not fine-tuned enough to cover every type of situation (LK, p. 37) being unable to account for:—

- a) new and unanticipated features in a situation.
- b) the context embeddedness of relevant features.
- c) the ethical relevance of particular persons and relationships (LK, p. 38).

Absolute general rules would have to have so many exception clauses built into them in order to absolutise them as to make them unusable (LK, p. 72). Practical matters are mutable and so specific situations require responses which are imaginative and sensitive. A certain amount of improvisation is called for by the wise agent (LK, p. 71) as 'the concrete ethical case may simply contain some ultimately particular and non-repeatable elements' (LK, p. 72).

Nussbaum has been accused by some of her critics of having no time for rules.⁵ This criticism is perhaps understandable given Nussbaum's emphasis on the particular but is not really a very fair representation of her work as a whole. In 'An Aristotelian Conception of Rationality'

she accounts for rules as very useful rules of thumb—the distilled wisdom of generations which deserve the utmost respect. However, 'principles are authoritative only insofar as they are correct; but they are correct only insofar as they do not err with regards to the particulars' (LK, p. 69). So rules constitute *prima facie* obligations which must not be leaped over but which can be seen as not binding in particular cases (LK, p. 156).

Novels attend to the concrete and consequently embody a high evaluation of the particular. They teach the reader to pay attention to the nuances of specific situations. The moral imagination 'is subtle and high rather than simple and coarse; precise rather than gross; richly coloured rather than monochromatic. . . the full specificity of the image is relevant. The very particular nuances of the image move us in a way which different wording would not. No paraphrase can capture it . . . Moral knowledge, James suggests, is not intellectual grasp of propositions . . . [nor] even simply . . . of particular facts; it is perception. It is seeing a complex, concrete reality in a highly lucid and richly responsive way; it is taking in what is there, with imagination and feeling' (LK, p. 152).

The bible student must clearly deal with the place of the ethical rules that are to be found within the text of the Old Testament. Discussions of Old Testament ethics so very often focus on such laws often to the exclusion of anything else. The question which Nussbaum forces us to ask again is, 'how do such laws relate to the large number of stories which we find within the Old Testament?' It is a strikingly obvious, though often overlooked, fact that the laws of the Old Testament are firmly located within a narrative context. Such laws should be interpreted within that context and yet so often they are abstracted so that other *Sitze im Leben* can be suggested against which to make sense of the legislation. I would not declare such procedures illegitimate but merely inadequate. If one takes the canonical text as it stands one is forced to face the issue of the relation of laws to

stories.⁶ This issue is large and much further study is required but I have appreciated Nussbaum's drawing attention to one aspect of the issue.

The issue of divine command ethics raises its head again for would it be possible to see general⁷ divine commands as extrapolations from particular right choices? Let me make the following comments.

First, whether one can accept Nussbaum's particularist thesis all depends on the kinds of things which one believes God has commanded.⁸ If one believes that God only commanded particular actions then one could see all general rules in the way Nussbaum does. Or, if one believes that God does give general commands but only intends them as 'summary rules' then again one could accept Nussbaum's thesis. Now some, perhaps many, general biblical divine commands could be seen as generalisations of particulars and not as absolute. OT laws are not designed to cover the odd and unusual, or new situations may require adaptations of these laws (e.g. the daughters of Zelophehad in Num 27:1–11; 36:1–13 and David in 1 Samuel 21:1–6 and Mark 2:23–28).

Nevertheless, some of the divine commands in scripture *do* seem to be general *absolute* prohibitions (for example, the command not to worship any false gods). It does not seem correct to say that these rules are mere extrapolations from particular cases. A divine command theorist who is loyal to the tradition would have to put some distance between their position and Nussbaum's. Having said this, Nussbaum's attention to the particular could still be crucial though in a slightly different way. It is the case that, on occasion, divine commands clash and in such cases to obey one divine command would require breaking another. How is the believer to act in such cases? Norman Geisler⁹ proposes a system in which all the absolute divine commands are graded so that when there is a clash the higher command nullifies the lesser command. This neat thesis runs into problems however. How is one to grade the commands?

Scripture provides, at best, vague clues for doing so. How then? The more one reflects on the problem the more one sees the practical impossibility of producing an absolute grading system and it comes as no surprise that Geisler has not done so.¹⁰ Here Nussbaum may come to the rescue. Perhaps careful attention to the particularity of cases may help the believer discern which divine command is the one to follow. There can be no knowable absolute, general rule about how to settle all such disputes in advance and Spirit-inspired wisdom is called for.

In this context it is worth introducing the work of Lawrence Blum and in particular his essay 'Moral Perception and Particularity'.¹¹ Blum points out that even if, unlike Nussbaum, one accepts an ethical system which is rule-based one must recognise the role of something to bridge the rule and the particular situation (pp. 37–38). Kant referred to this 'something' as 'judgement'. After all 'it is not the rule but some other moral capacity of the agent which tells her that the particular situation she faces falls under a given rule' (p. 38). Moral living 'involves moral capacities, sensitivities, and judgement (1) to know which acts count as exemplifying particular moral principles, (2) to know how to carry out the act specified by the principle, and (3) to know when it is and isn't appropriate to instantiate given principles. These capacities go beyond possessing the principle (plus the strength of will to act on it); they are neither guaranteed nor encompassed by the commitment to the principle (plus strength of will) itself' (p. 40). But even the supplementing of the principles with 'judgement' is not enough (p. 38). Before one can get as far as bringing a principle to bear on a particular situation one must first be able to individuate the 'situation'. 'It is moral perception which does the individuating or construing of the situation, thus providing a setting in which moral judgement carries out its task' (p. 42). Blum's essay shifts its focus to the importance of sensitive moral perception of particular situations—such perception is morally valuable *in its own right* as well

as in its informing of right action (p. 43).

Now it is easy to get very mystical about the operation of moral perception and judgement but Blum aims to bring some clarity (pp. 45ff.). He resists the notion that situational perception is 'a unified capacity' instead breaking particularity down to a sensitivity to the presence of particular sorts of moral features. 'The fact is, particular persons are better at perceiving certain *sorts* of particulars than other sorts' (p. 46). For example, a person may be very sensitive to the exemplification of injustice in a particular situation but fail to perceive the affront to the victim's dignity. This decentralisation of moral perception opens the way for an exploration of 'the ways that imagination, attention, empathy, critical reason, habit, exposure to new moral categories, and the like contribute to the formation of those sensitivities' (p. 46).

The consequence of this is that even *if* one resists Nussbaum's insistence on the priority of the particular one can still see that moral rules and principles are inadequate without the operations of the (partly) independent faculties of moral perception and judgement (p. 50).¹² 'It is not as if the principles themselves already fully contain the sensitivity needed to recognise their applicability, violation, and the like' (p. 51).¹³ Consequently, one can appropriate Nussbaum's observations on how stories train us in moral perception even if we wish to give a greater place to rules.

I have two further concerns about Nussbaum's focus on the particular. First, is Nussbaum's moral vision in fact too ambitious (Kalin,¹⁴ pp. 144–146)? There does seem a dream-like idealism about the practicability of making all or even most of our choices with such fine attention to particularity. It seems that a greater role must be given to defaulting to rules.

Second, particularity is important in the ethics of narrative but equally important, and underemphasized by Nussbaum, are the common features stories share: How can an action on one occasion can provide a model for a similar act

on a similar occasion? How can God's kindness to the slaves in Egypt become a model act upon which their treatment of slaves is to be based? The bible often draws attention to paradigmatic events and acts, both positive and negative. In fact, when approaching a new moral situation we *first* look for *similarities* in ethically significant features between the present situation and past situations so that we have some idea how to proceed. Only then so we look for unique features which may modify our application of the previous paradigm. This emphasis on commonality is quite compatible with Nussbaum's focus on particularity. Consider Genesis 22. Abraham's act is a paradigm of sacrificial acts in later Israelite worship¹⁵ yet it contains unique, non-repeatable features (human sacrifice being the most obvious). A narrative action can be partially paradigmatic like this because attention is paid to *both* the similarities *and* differences between the story and later partial parallels. Similar comments could be made about people and objects. We do, as Nussbaum says, appreciate them for their uniqueness and irreplaceability. However, we also value them, as Plato says, for what they have in common with other people and objects, perhaps simply their humanity or a particular skill which they share with others.

III. Story, the Emotions and Ethical Rationality

Nussbaum's essay, 'An Aristotelian Conception of Rationality'¹⁶ helpfully develops a notion of ethical rationality which has a key role for the emotions. Plato thought that emotions mislead the soul and many more recent philosophers have shared this strong mistrust of emotion and imagination. Given the role played in novel reading by emotion and imagination such a view is bound to encourage suspicion about the use of narratives in ethics. Aristotle refused to split emotions from cognition (LK, p. 78). Nussbaum sums up his view as being one in which 'a person of practical insight will cultivate emotional openness and responsiveness

in approaching a new situation' as emotion is a part of ethical 'knowing' (LK, p. 79). Indeed 'a reliance on the powers of the intellect can actually become an impediment to true ethical perception, by impeding or undermining these responses' (LK, p. 81). It can lead to inattentiveness to concrete responses of emotion and imagination to specific cases. It should be clear how this discussion on the role of emotion follows on directly from the discussion of particularity and perception.

In 'Narrative Emotions: Beckett's Genealogy of Love' a stronger claim is made. There Nussbaum argues that we learn our emotional responses from our society: not only but primarily through stories. Stories express the structure of emotions and teach their dynamics. They shape the way that life looks and feels (LK, p. 287). Thus, the grammar of emotions is informed, though not exhausted, by narratives. Emotions find their place in human lives and must be learned from other human lives whether real or fictional.¹⁷

Narratives also evoke emotions in the reader and these emotions are, according to Nussbaum, epistemologically valuable. Here Nussbaum is in line with many recent philosophers and psychologists who maintain that emotions are strongly linked to cognition and are not mere animal instincts. Emotions, according to Nussbaum, are linked to beliefs about what is valuable and the evaluative beliefs which ground our emotions are learned through early habitual exposure to complex social forms of life in which these beliefs are housed. I shall soon propose an important alternative to this claim but one which allows Nussbaum's insights on the importance of emotion to ethics to be maintained.

If emotion is crucial to living an ethical life which Henry James refers to as one that is 'finely aware and richly responsible' and if stories are foundational in learning appropriate emotions then it follows that narrative is crucial for ethical living.

In explanation and defence of the claim

that emotions play a key role in practical reasoning it will be necessary to say more about emotion, practical reasoning and the link between them.

In 'Aristotle on Emotions and Ethical Health' Nussbaum makes out a case for the strong link between emotion and propositional belief. Firstly she argues that certain beliefs are *necessary* for the experience of certain emotion. Take fear, as an example. One does not simply fear. One fears *something*. One fears some possible future unpleasantness, for example. Without being able to conceptualise the object of one's fear, to say what one fears, it seems odd to imagine that one can fear.¹⁸

Nussbaum then goes on to argue that belief is not merely necessary for the experience of certain emotions but that it is actually a *constituent part* of those emotions (TD, p. 88). She says that different emotions are individuated in terms of their beliefs not their 'feely' quality. Take painful emotions. There is not a peculiar pain associated with fear, another with grief and another with pity. These emotions are differentiated primarily in terms of their propositional content. Thus we say that grief is pain *at the thought of x* whilst fear is pain *at the thought of y*. One cannot think of the emotion without the cognitive part of it.

It seems to me that this is insightful but overestimates the role of beliefs and propositions which I would claim are not necessary (though they may be sufficient) for the experience of emotion. Although it is usual for a belief or judgement *that x* to be connected with an emotion, it is possible to have an emotion without believing that *x actually is* the case. Consider the following example: my toddler picks up my mug of hot coffee and pours in onto my lap. I am very cross with her for a short while *even though* I know that she is not morally culpable. I do not have the belief that she has wronged me yet I feel angry with her *as if* I did have such a belief. To help account for this I propose that we use an alternative to Nussbaum's account of emotion.¹⁹ The most insightful philosophical account of emotions that I have found

is, without doubt, that of Robert Roberts outlined in his article, 'What An Emotion Is: A Sketch'.²⁰ Roberts defines an emotion as '*serious, concern-based construals*' (p. 209). This will need a little unpacking. The notion of construal Roberts takes from Wittgenstein's *Philosophical Investigations*. It is 'a mental event or state in which one thing is grasped *in terms of*²¹ something else' (p. 190). Thus a person with whom I am tempted to be angry can be construed in various ways: 'as a scoundrel who did such-and-such to me, as the son of my dear friend so-and-so, as a person who, after all, has had a pretty rough time of it in life, and so forth' (p. 193). To each of these construals corresponds an emotion (anger, benevolence and pity respectively). This is the irreducibly propositional dimension of the paradigm cases of human emotion.²² By 'concern-based' Roberts means that the perceiver must *care* about the construal. For example, to feel guilt one must construe oneself as guilty *and* dislike being guilty. By 'serious' Roberts means that the construal is compelling; having the appearance of truth (p. 201). Now I think that it is better to say that emotions necessarily involve a construal rather than a belief because although one will usually believe one's construal one may not. In the case of my toddler I feel angry briefly because I construe her as morally culpable even though I do not really believe that she is (p. 201). I remind myself that it is not her fault and thus cease to see her as culpable. To the extent that I succeed, the anger vanishes.²³

Roberts' account of emotion may indicate another way in which stories could shape emotion. Some stories may provide readers with new ways of construing people and situations. Such new construals will shape emotional responses to people. Consider Jesus' words, 'Father, forgive them for they do not know what they are doing'. Jesus construed those who crucified him as ignorant rather than as wilfully rebellious against God. These construals are accompanied by different feelings and by making such possibilities open to readers new possibilities are

opened up for seeing situations and people in contemporary life. This puts a different slant on philosopher Paul Ricoeur's ideas about texts proposing to readers new ways of 'being-in-the-world'.

Biblical narratives do seem to consider emotion as a crucial aspect of ethical perception. Consider the reaction of David when Nathan brought home the point of his story with the words, 'You are the man!' Had David had no emotional reaction but merely said, 'Oh, yes I see your point'. We would think that he had not perceived the significance of his deed at all. Consider the rape of Dinah. For the brothers to perceive the rape as a 'defiling' and as 'folly in Israel' *is* to have an emotional reaction. If one did not feel these thoughts one has either not understood them or not accepted them. Adequate ethical perception *is* emotional perception

So the central question concerns the relation of emotion to practical reason. Emotion seems to play two conceptually distinct roles in moral living.

First, and most obviously, it has motivational power. Emotion drives action. Emotion can drive both immoral and moral action. It can send a person into a violent rage over a trivial matter or compel the prophet to speak out against an injustice. Gilman talks of how emotion involves a judgement about certain features of the world (emotional judgement) and about how it ought to be (emotional projects). Emotion is also the 'energy' linking judgement and project. 'Emotional energy, in other words, is the spark that ignites and drives humans to actualise the projects engendered by emotional judgements' (p. 225).²⁴ The power of emotion to drive action raises the critical issue of the education of the emotions to which we shall return shortly.

Second, emotional acknowledgement of certain features of a situation is the appropriate human acknowledgement of those features. A detached assent to the relevant propositions is an inadequate assent. To perceive a situation with one's moral perception is necessarily to engage

one's emotions. One cannot be looking right if one does not feel as one looks.

Given the importance of emotional perception to moral perception and the importance of emotional education as part of one's moral education we must ask about the role of story in one's emotional education. Story can shape emotion in at least four ways.

First of all the worldview which underpins the value beliefs upon which emotions are parasitic is (always?) narrative in framework. N. T. Wright in his book *The New Testament and the People of God* has written very insightfully here. As far as the bible goes the meta-narrative is absolutely crucial to spinning the worldview. Individual stories find their place in the bigger story. However, the individual narratives will play their role. A worldview and its values cannot be conveyed in a single narrative but a single narrative can reinforce a worldview or challenge aspects of a worldview. It can strengthen a reader's ethical conceptions, stretch them or shatter them. This is the importance of story at the level of the grammar of belief.

Second, and related to this point, is the way in which stories can play a role in the grammar of emotions.

Third, narratives offer models of appropriate and inappropriate emotional responses which can shape those responses in the reader. Of course, many factors influence the emotional life of a person and it would be folly to suggest that simply hearing a story will instantly mould the emotionality of the hearer. Nevertheless, we do learn our emotions *partly* from the emotions displayed by role models in narratives.

Fourth, stories engage the reader's emotions and give them the equivalent of an emotional work-out at the gym. Stories, both fictional and factual, can stretch and mould the emotional responses of the reader so as to shape them for better or for worse. This is not done by informing the reader or hearer (or viewer) how to feel on given occasions but by *eliciting* the feelings themselves. Stories thus become like practice for

facing situations in life and the closer we see the parallel between our lives and the story the more impact they will have on us (consider the parable Nathan told David). Story encourages the reader to enter into the lives of the characters and to learn to perceive the best way forward in specific cases. The reader is encouraged to identify with the characters and thus to become more responsive in their own actual lives. We readers care for the particularity of the characters and in so doing become better perceivers in the situations in which we are embedded (LK, p. 162). Literature thus trains the moral imagination.

IV. Summary: The Link Between Form and Content

It should be clear by now that Nussbaum sees a link between form and content. She maintains that

(a) 'Any text carefully written and fully imagined [has] an organic relation between its form and its content' (LK, p. 4);

(b) 'Certain truths about human life can only be fittingly and accurately stated in the language and forms characteristic of the narrative artist' (LK, p. 5).

Philosophers have often thought that ideas that are communicated are separable from the form in which they are communicated. The form of a text is thus no more than a pretty decoration in which to dress up ideas. Plato more than anyone saw the link between form and content. Nussbaum argues that prior to Plato the philosophical and the literary were not divided (F, p. 123). Texts of many kinds could offer instruction in practical wisdom (p. 123). However, the tragedies engaged the audience's intellectual and *emotional* faculties in reflection on ethical matters (LK, p. 16) and Plato strongly distrusted the emotions. Consequently he devised a new form of philosophy—the dialogue. His dialogues are like the works of tragic theatre in that they contain more than one voice and in that the reader

must enter into the dialogue and engage in the debate (F, p. 126). However, it is an *anti-tragic* theatre—a theatre ‘constructed to supplant tragedy as the paradigm of ethical teaching’ (F, p. 129). Our mind is engaged but the ‘dry and abstract tone positively discourages the arousal of emotions and feelings’ (F, p. 131). There is a move from the particular to the general; from emotions to the intellect (F, p. 131). Narrative form presents a certain kind of ethical vision and it is one which conflicted with the Platonic ethical vision. Narrative form pays attention to particulars and stirs the emotions and this is why Plato hated the Poets and would have banned them from his Republic.²⁵ Nussbaum argues then that novels *by their very form* express a commitment to:

- (a) the ethical significance of uncontrolled events—‘fate’.
- (b) the epistemological value of the emotions
- (c) the variety and non-commensurability of goods and values (*Love’s Knowledge*, p. 26).

Now Anglo-American philosophy tends to see its abstract prose as value-neutral (LK, p. 19). This is an illusion, claims Nussbaum, because any style makes a statement (LK, p. 7). Philosophical prose appeals to the intellect alone and in so doing *assumes* and *communicates* a certain view of rationality (that it is purely intellectual), of the human person (see ‘Fictions of the Soul’ in LK) and of epistemology (that truth can be perceived by the mind alone). Here we see the second thesis of Nussbaum being displayed for suppose that one wishes to claim that some truths cannot be grasped by reason alone—that emotion is needed also. In that case, if this claim is put into standard philosophical prose then the form undermines the claims that are being made (LK, p. 7, p. 21). This claim actually seems to be false for the assertion that not all truths can be grasped by the intellect alone need not itself be one of the truths so designated. However, perhaps what Nussbaum is actually getting at is that

her claims can only be presented most *fittingly* and *fully* in conjunction with careful reading of narrative texts. Indeed their truth (rather than their meaning) can only be perceived by engaging in the recommended practices. Kalin writes, ‘what literary and narrative forms do that is perhaps impossible to do otherwise is to make *apparent* the value of what is presented. Nussbaum is right to argue that there are forms of appreciation that involve their readers in the act of appreciating itself and, as such, are indispensable to moral philosophy’ (²⁶ p. 142, *italics mine*). Literature can involve its readers in a kind of moral activity that an analytical discussion cannot. Thus it can play a role in moral character formation which philosophical texts cannot.

V. Appropriating Nussbaum

It is to be doubted that Nussbaum herself would see biblical narratives as being of much ethical value. This is so for two reasons:—

i) Biblical narratives are narrated by a narrator who cannot be mistaken, seemingly having a super-human perspective, and this appears to be a narration that speaks from ‘nowhere’. If it is the humanness of the narratorial view which gives it its ethical value for us then a God’s-eye view is of no ethical interest.

In reply one could point out that biblical narrators do not have a view from nowhere. They can be clearly located in time (see comments in which narrators break frame to link past events to their contemporary situations, e.g. Josh 6:25), rely upon Israelite sources for their information (as the Deuteronomistic narrator often reminds us, e.g. 2 Kg 14:18) and very occasionally identify themselves as Israelites (Josh 5:6 and 1 Kg 8:65). However, these features must not be overplayed. The anonymity of biblical narration does *perhaps* contribute towards seeing their narration as divinely inspired. So the second thing to say is that the authoritative narratorial voice with its privileged access to the humanly ‘inaccessible’ is no threat to *Christian* ethics.

Nussbaum makes the mistake of identifying a divine perspective of human behaviour with behaviour that is appropriate to the divine. God's view on appropriate human behaviour could be of great interest even if God's view on appropriate divine behaviour is of little value in guiding our behaviour.²⁷ Here I simply take issue with Nussbaum's anti-theistic starting point.

ii) Biblical narratives are famously brief and lack the meticulous attention to detail that Nussbaum values so much. If it is this detail that emphasises the value of the particularity Nussbaum so cherishes (and consider the detail of the authors she favours—James, Proust, Dickens) then biblical narrative falls short again.

The nuancing and detail of biblical narrative must not be underestimated though. Biblical narrators are like expert cartoonists who communicate amazing depth with very few strokes. Their ability to delicately contour their stories is justly celebrated. Nevertheless, they do not give the kind of depth that Nussbaum would seek. There is much that is not told that we may wish had been told. However, some of the moral power in biblical narrative comes from its silences and 'gaps'. Sternberg demonstrates how in the David and Bathsheba story the moral effect on the reader comes from our ignorance as much as our knowledge.²⁸ This is something which Nussbaum does not consider (and possibly may not like). The moral insights of biblical narrative form may not be the same as those of James and Proust.

Nussbaum is very interested in stories which trace the lives of particular characters but, so far as I have read, does not comment on stories which span generations. It is very important when reading biblical narratives that one does not isolate them from their place in the whole biblical meta-narrative. One can only read a particular story adequately when one sees how it fits into the big plot.

In conclusion, it should be clear that I do not think Nussbaum's work will provide the Christian ethicist with a *balanced* approach to ethically opening up biblical

stories. I see her work as more of a prophetic counter-balance to tendencies typically found among bible readers. Her relevance is not so much at the level of hands-on exegesis as at the higher level of readerly orientation. In the first place, Nussbaum's recognition of the value of stories which lack clear-cut moral answers opens the biblical ethicist to examining again stories which are often seen as ethically unhelpful. Second, Nussbaum counters the tendency to only see moral value in stories in which characters act in easily universalizable ways. The recognition of the importance of particularity allows us to learn from stories even when we are not, or are never likely to be, in analogous circumstances. One need not see one's own situation in a story to be morally enlarged by it. Third, Nussbaum's recognition that 'objectivity' is not always a desirable reading strategy calls the Christian ethicist back to an emotional openness to biblical stories. The challenge is to deliberately position oneself so that one can be moved and academics more than most need to take up this gauntlet. Finally, a considerable percentage of scripture is constituted by stories and even the non-narrative parts of the bible usually rest upon a story foundation. Nussbaum's work could be used to issue a call for the restoration of biblical narrative to the heart of biblical ethics and to put law back in its proper place within a narrative frame.

Notes

- 1 M. Nussbaum, *The Fragility of Goodness: Luck and Ethics in Greek Tragedy and Philosophy*, CUP, 1986.
- 2 M. Nussbaum, *Love's Knowledge: Essays on Philosophy and Literature*, OUP, 1990.
- 3 See 'Saving Aristotle's Appearances' in *Fragility*, ch. 8
- 4 The Aristotelian agent 'scrutinises each valuable alternative, seeking out its distinct nature. . . . seeing each value as, so to speak, a separate jewel in the crown, valuable in its own right, which does not cease to be separately valuable just because the contingencies of the situation sever it from other goods and it loses out in an overall ra-

tional choice. The emphasis on the recognition of plural incommensurable goods leads directly and naturally to the perception of a possibility of irreconcilable contingent conflicts among them' (LK, p. 63). Aristotle draws attention to how fate can impede our efforts to live well in the world and certain modern novels also highlights this. Nussbaum is particularly drawn to the work of Henry James among other modern writers. In her interpretation of *The Golden Bowl* she sees Maggie as attempting to live in such a way as to remain morally pure but such an attempt results in cruel behaviour. 'The world of *The Golden Bowl* is a fallen world—a world, that is, in which innocence cannot be and is not safely preserved, a world where values and loves are so pervasively in tension with one another that there is no safe human expectation of a perfect fidelity throughout life' (LK, p. 133). Maggie must hurt her friend Charlotte in order to love her husband but, unlike Agamemnon, in doing so she must never 'cease to be richly conscious of Charlotte's pain and to bear, in imagination and feeling, the full burden of [her] guilt as the cause of that pain' (LK, p. 135). The novel can explore the length and breadth of a particular life—we must value 'texts which display to us the complexity, the indeterminacy, the sheer *difficulty* of moral choice, and which show us . . . the childishness, the refusal of life involved in fixing everything in advance according to some system of inviolable rules' (LK, p. 142).

- 5 Even her good friend Hilary Putnam talks of her 'derogatory attitude towards rules' (H. Putnam, 'Taking Rules Seriously: A Response to Martha Nussbaum' in *New Literary History* 15, 1983, p. 193) and his concern that her approach may degenerate into 'an absolutely empty "situation ethics"' (ibid., p. 93).
- 6 Ricoeur's essay 'Biblical Time' (in P. Ricoeur, *Figuring the Sacred: Religion, Narrative and Imagination*, Fortress Press, 1998) is very suggestive here. I am presently working in this area.
- 7 Many divine commands are context specific and are not general or generalizable.
- 8 My thanks to Philip Quinn and Daniel Hill for helping to clarify my thought in what follows (the errors are mine not theirs).
- 9 N. Geisler, *Christian Ethics*, Apollos, 1989.
- 10 This is not to say that an omniscient God could not know in advance (logically not

temporally) such a general set of rules on how to resolve clashes of rules. But God knows every actual and possible state of affairs and what is right in every actual and possible situation. We do not and cannot as the set would be far too complex. So perhaps what I mean to say is that such knowledge is not possible for *us* and we thus need to develop Spirit-inspired wisdom and perception.

- 11 Chapter 3 in Blum, L., *Moral Perception and Particularity*, Cambridge University Press, 1994.
- 12 As a matter of fact Blum does want to move further from an ethics of rules than I indicate here (pp. 53ff.).
- 13 In a postscript to the original essay Blum sets out seven steps that take a person from a given situation to an action based on moral principle. (1) The accurate recognition of the situation's features. (2) The recognition of the *moral significance* of those features. (3) Asking oneself whether one should act. (4) Deciding whether one should act. (5) Selecting the rule or principle that seems applicable. (6) Determining the act that best instantiates the principle one has selected. (7) Figuring out *how* to perform the act specified. It is clear how crucial perception and judgement are in working with general principles.
- 14 J. Kalin, 'Knowing Novels: Nussbaum on Fiction and Moral Theory' in *Ethics* 103, 1992, pp. 135–151.
- 15 See esp. G.J. Wenham, 'The Akedah: A Paradigm of Sacrifice' in D. Wright, D. Freedman & A. Hurvitz (eds.), *Pomegranates and Golden Bells*, Eisenbrauns, 1995.
- 16 *Love's Knowledge*, ch. 2.
- 17 Nussbaum is certainly not claiming that emotion cannot lead us morally astray for it obviously can. If one's foundational beliefs are out of order then one's feelings will be also. Emotion is open to rational assessment but a rational assessment of an Aristotelian sort. That it to say that there is no Archimedian point from which to assess our beliefs and emotions. Such an assessment must be performed from within our human perspective. Our aim is to establish coherence among our beliefs, emotions and experiences. 'The participants look not for a view that is true by correspondence to some extra-human reality, but for the best overall fit between a view of what is deepest in human lives . . . They seek for coherence and fit in the web of judgement, feeling, perception, and

principle, taken as a whole' (LK, p. 26). Nussbaum trusts that our common humanity provides a sufficient basis for such a task to have hope of genuine progress. Thus 'knowledge conveyed in emotional impressions must be systematised and pinned down by the activity of reflection' (LK, p. 285).

18 *The Therapy of Desire* [TD], (Princeton University Press, 1996) 86. A possible counter-example to Nussbaum's claim is emotions such as angst which do not have an object. This calls for some nuancing of Nussbaum's view. One *may* have a sense of angst (say) without having any *conscious* object for that fear. However, my amateur knowledge of psychology would lead me to suggest that such 'fear' *would* have a *sub-conscious* object. It is the experience of psychotherapists that they can often help clients to recognise the unconscious objects of such feelings. Consequently, the counter-example fails.

19 There are several clear cases which cause problems for Nussbaum's belief-centred account of emotions. One of these is, surprisingly, given Nussbaum's interest in literature, the emotion experienced during engagement with fiction. Nussbaum speaks as if to experience an emotion, fear say, one must believe that such and such *is the case*. However, it is a common experience for those reading fictional novels or watching a good film to feel emotionally moved. When we feel sad at the death of a fictional character we do not believe that the character is a real person who has actually died. When we feel fear as the slime creature approaches we do not think that such things even exist. So how are we to account for our emotional engagement with literature? Kendall Walton (Robin le Poidevin, *Arguing for Atheism*, Routledge, 1996, pp. 116–117) attempts to hold onto a belief-centred account of emotion by arguing that 'emotions' experienced during engagement with fiction are not *real* emotions. He argues that when we become involved in a fictional story, we engage in a game of make-believe. Just as a child may make-believe that the blanket spread over the chairs is the operating theatre of a hospital so we make-believe that a novel is reporting the truth. Now in a game the child may have the same or similar physiological responses as the real doctor trying to save someone's life. However, there is a crucial difference. The child does not *really* believe

that the patient is dying. Thus, Walton says, the belief component of their 'emotion' is different than in cases of real emotion. The child does not experience *actual* fear but *quasi*-fear. In just the same way, the person who engages with fiction experiences quasi-emotions. This account will not appeal to anyone unless they are already committed to a belief-centred theory. On Roberts' account we can construe the situation as X without actually believing that is *really* is X. Thus, the emotions experienced in fiction are *real* emotions. Granted, they are in important ways shallow emotions, for the construals 'are bracketed, by the normal reader, with a proposition to the effect that this is fiction', but they are not second rate emotions. It seems to me, somewhat ironically, that we can give a better account of how stories impact us emotionally, if we abandon Nussbaum's hard-line on the propositional core of emotions.

20 *Philosophical Review*, Vol. XCVII, no.2 (April 1988), pp. 183–209. Roberts has a book-in-progress on the analysis of emotions which develops his account in considerable detail. I am very grateful to him for sending me large sections of it for consideration.

21 'In terms of' can have a perception, a thought, an image or a concept as its object (p. 190).

22 Roberts' book-in-progress will explain in some detail that although the paradigm cases of emotion have a propositional structure this does not entail that all emotions are propositional. And some classes of emotion such as moods and emotions experienced through music are only analogically, at best, related to propositions.

23 I have argued that belief is usual, though not *necessary*, for the feeling but is it *sufficient*? That is to say, would the presence of the belief *entail* the presence of the feeling? On this issue Nussbaum finds Aristotle unclear but she herself thinks that if a person truly believes that their friend has been treated unjustly *and* truly cares for their friend, then it follows that they *will* feel anger. If they do not feel anger one may question whether the appropriate beliefs were actually held. It seems to me that Nussbaum is correct here. However, she wants to go even further than this and she finds the reflections of the Stoics on emotion to be the most profound in the history of philosophy (on Stoics see

- TD, chs. 9–12). Their view is very strong and (in her view) correct. According to Nussbaum, not only did the Stoics think that beliefs were sufficient for emotion but also ‘judgements are *all* that passions are’ (TD, p. 367 *italics mine*). This is not to deny the ‘feely’ dimension of emotion but that ‘the thing that feels like this is an act of assent’ (TD, p. 387). It should be clear why I think that Nussbaum goes too far here.
- 24 Of course, the role of judgement will be recast in terms of construal on Roberts’ account. Many construals are judgements but they need not be.
- 25 It is also interesting to note that after his apparent ‘conversion’ to emotion and particularity later in life (see the *Phaedrus*) Plato found a role for poetry (*Fragility*, p. 223ff.).
- 26 See n. 13.
- 27 The biblical emphasis on the imitation of God ought to make the Christian very uneasy about Nussbaum’s claim that God’s behaviour is irrelevant to ours. But we can waive that point for the sake of the main argument.
- 28 M. Sternberg, *The Poetics of Biblical Narrative*, Indiana University Press, 1987, ch. 6.

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A Gift of Music: Great Composers and Their Influence

J. Stuart Smith and B. Carlson

Carlisle: Solway, 1998, xx + 317 pp., pb, ISBN 1-900507-74-9

RÉSUMÉ

Les publications qui traitent de l'impact des présupposés religieux et philosophiques sur l'histoire de la musique occidentale sont trop peu nombreuses. Malheureusement, le présent ouvrage n'apporte ni une contribution satisfaisante quant à la vie et l'œuvre des compositeurs, ni une analyse critique édifiante. Au contraire, la présentation des compositeurs occidentaux est irréaliste et plus grande que nature, et leur analyse est simpliste en ce que l'on considère seulement si un compositeur était chrétien ou non et qu'on assimile la présence d'éléments chrétiens dans la musique à l'harmonie, la joie, l'ordre et la capacité à stimuler aux œuvres bonnes.

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Publikationen, die auf die Auswirkungen von religiösen und philosophischen Voraussetzungen auf die Geschichte der westlichen Musik eingehen, sind selten im Bereich der Musikwissenschaft. Bedauerlicherweise bietet aber A Gift of Music weder eine zufriedenstellende geschichtliche Einführung in Werke und Biographien von Komponisten noch eine hilfreiche kritische Untersuchung derselben. Stattdessen zeichnet die von den Autoren gebotene Geschichtsdarstellung ein unrealistisches und überdimensionales Bild westlicher Komponisten, während die kritische Würdigung ausgesprochen schablonenhaft ist, da es nur darum geht, ob ein Komponist Christ war oder nicht. Zudem werden christliche Elemente in der Musik einfach mit Harmonie, Frohsinn, Ordnung und der Fähigkeit, jemanden zu guten Werken anzu-spornen, gleichgesetzt.

There is something about the lives of famous figures in history that intrigue us. Perhaps this is why *The Gift of Music*, which abounds in biographical details about composers' lives, has continued to be reprinted. Their book includes 5–8 page summaries of the lives and works of forty-six famous classical composers,

from Schütz to Shostakovich. These Reader's Digest slices of music history include tales of child prodigy, struggles with poverty and sickness, romance, family squabbles, and famous friendships, while also commenting on works of historical importance or artistic merit. Stuart Smith and Carlson, who both work at the Christian L'Abri Fellowship in Switzerland, have also attempted to analyze the worldviews of these well-known figures and make connections between composers' beliefs and their music. Publications which look not only at historical incidences and musical works, but also at the philosophical assumptions behind these works are sadly lacking in the musicological field. Regrettably, this book not only gives poor historical and biographical accounts of composers, but also offers simplistic and unhelpful discussions of composers' worldviews.

In general, the authors' history relies too heavily on a nineteenth-century legacy which exalts a small canon of European 'geniuses' as the heroes of classical music. The composers are painted larger than life, such as Schütz, who was apparently 'the most spiritual composer the world has ever known', or Chopin, who was 'the musical soul of Poland', and Mozart, whose gift of writing music was 'like a cosmic phenomenon'. Dubious biographical legends of these Great Men are described in melodramatic language: Mendelssohn had a 'shining Christian purity', Berlioz was a 'lonely, tortured man ... haunted by the fear of death', Strauss was 'happily married with no scandal in his private life', and Beethoven died dramatically after 'a great flash of lightning which illuminated the death chamber'. In a similar Romantic tone, their historical account is riddled with references to musical works as 'masterpieces', or as having a 'universal' quality, and descriptions using such sweeping accolades as 'one of the most amazing works ever written', 'one of civilization's incomparable masterpieces', or 'among *the best*' (their italics).

Even ignoring the Romantic concepts of high art, universalism, and a 'Great Man' view of history (concepts which this reviewer finds unrealistic and unhelpful), one cannot help being offended at the idea that the works of western Europeans are definitively superior over all other music throughout the world and history. That the book is limited in scope (i.e. western art music) is recognized by Carlson in

the Prelude. However, the absolute language with which the authors describe most music of the Great Composers speaks far louder than this token qualification and betrays the authors' belief that these examples of art music are indeed *'the best'*. This bias is also clear in the narrow-minded and idealistic hope, also expressed in the Prelude, that 'the more people acquaint themselves with what is truly great and beautiful, the more they will dislike and turn away from that which is shallow and ugly'. The category of 'truly great and beautiful' music becomes frustratingly smaller as you read through the book, excluding not only non-western music, but also twentieth-century music which they refer to as 'irritating', 'uninspiring', a 'battery against the listener', and even harboring 'less talent than [the song of the] cuckoo birds'.

More inappropriate even than all of this is the trite way in which a superficial 'Christian perspective' has been tacked on to this history in an attempt to make a critical and relevant analysis for Christian readers. The authors have analyzed the relationship of faith and music by a) divulging what they deem the most important biographical detail of each composer discussed in the book: whether or not he was a Christian, and b) determining 'Christian' elements in a composer's works, defined by them as consonance, cheer, order, and the ability to inspire one to do good works. Ignoring musical-historical contexts, Stuart Smith and Carlson actually suggest that the reason Bach resolved musical dissonances was because he was a Christian and believed in the 'resolution . . . for each individual and for history'. It was this wholesomeness and a 'firm Christian base' in his music that allowed Bach to have such influence on subsequent composers. Similarly, although Haydn was not as devout a believer as Bach, his music is a Christian witness because of its happy and cheerful mood. On the other hand, music which displays disorder and dissonance (Beethoven, Wagner, all twentieth-century music) should be treated with caution, because it proclaims an 'untruthful' hopelessness about the world, and never inspires us to do good.

This critical analysis leaves much to be desired. It not only makes crude, dualistic assessments of what and who are 'Christian', but also ignores a host of other types and levels of belief and the variety of ways that these beliefs could be seen in music. In addition, it assumes that music can be evaluated as an extra-cultural autonomous entity, and that what was true of Bach's music in the eighteenth century

is true of it now. Ironically, this 'Christian perspective', which was meant to enrich their historical account, has in fact worked against the purpose of their book. By evaluating music only as either Christian or non-Christian, the authors have robbed it of much of its rich, complex interest, and by showing a patronizing disappointment in those composers and works which fall short of heavenly stature, many Great Composers have at last been knocked off their pedestals.

Benita Wolters
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0960-2720

Nahum (Historical Commentary on the Old Testament)

K. Spronk

Kampen: Kok Pharos, 1997, pp. xxi + 153, pb, ISBN 90-242-6355-7

RÉSUMÉ

K. Spronk considère que le livre de Nahoum est l'œuvre d'un scribe royal, qui a écrit sous un pseudonyme à Jérusalem autour de 660 av. J.-C. Ce commentaire est remarquable pour le travail minutieux sur le texte, que le lecteur suivra mieux en ayant le texte hébreu sous les yeux. Il est utile et instructif pour une étude sérieuse du livre de Nahoum et de ses liens avec d'autres littératures, mais les prédicateurs seront peut-être déçus d'y trouver moins de synthèse et de réflexion théologique qu'on pourrait s'y attendre lorsqu'on considère les objectifs annoncés pour la série dont il fait partie.

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Spronks Kommentar bietet eine detaillierte literarische Analyse des Nahumbuches. Der Verfasser argumentiert, dass das Nahumbuch um 660 v. Chr. von einem königlichen Schreiber unter einem Pseudonym verfasst wurde. Er weist sowohl auf literarische Beziehungen zu biblischen und ausserbiblischen Texten hin als auch auf den sorgfältigen Aufbau des Buches. Der Kommentar leistet damit einen wichtigen Beitrag zur Erforschung des Nahumbuches. Wer vom Nahumbuch predigen will, wird jedoch enttäuscht sein, dass nicht mehr theologische Diskussion angeboten wird.

This commentary is one of the first in a new series edited by C. Houtman (Kampen), W. S.

Prinsloo (Pretoria), W. G. E. Watson (Newcastle-upon-Tyne), and A. Wolters (Ontario). The editors are committed 'to an approach which takes seriously the historical embeddedness of the message of the Old Testament' and 'to the view that the Old Testament was and is a vehicle of the knowledge of God'. The contributors invited (of whom a list is provided in the book) are Christians from a wide range of denominational affiliation (the author of this commentary is pastor of the Gereformeerde Kerk Culembourg). The challenge given to them is to be up-to-date, but to pay attention to the pre-modern exegetical tradition too, to provide a scholarly exposition with a new translation of the text, but to remain accessible to a wide readership. It is emphasised that 'the authors are expected to pay due attention to the meaning of every historical stage which they discern in the formation of the text, including its final canonical stage. Tradition-historical and redaction-critical analyses should not become ends in themselves, but should be subservient to an understanding of the inner-canonical history of interpretation'. (All quotations are from the editorial preface). In sum, this series is worth watching out for!

Klaas Spronk argues that the book of Nahum is the work of a royal scribe, written under a pseudonym in Jerusalem, ca. 660 BCE. Direct and indirect references to Assyrian treaty texts and royal annals show the influence of Mesopotamian literature on the book of Nahum, but its author was also inspired by Jerusalem cultic texts and the words of Isaiah. Spronk detects three main cantos (1:1–11; 1:12–2:14; 3:1–19) which in turn are subdivided in canticles and strophes. Noteworthy is the break between 1:11 and 1:12 (rather than 1:8 and 1:9) for which Spronk makes a strong case.

The outstanding feature of this commentary is Spronk's painstaking work on the text which readers will best follow with a Hebrew text in front of them. Difficulties of the text are rarely put down to corruptions in the transmission process and are usually credited to the freedom and creativity of the ancient poet. Incidentally, in comparing phrases in Nahum with phrases elsewhere in the Old Testament, Spronk provides a good deal of information for those who want to explore biblical intertextuality. A number of references to an interpretation by, e.g., Tertullian, Jerome, Rashi or Luther fulfill the aim of the editors to provide a commentary that pays explicit attention to the history of interpretation (an index to track down these remarks would have been helpful). Yet more

often than not these remarks look like a collector's item on the shelf. They do not serve as a contribution to the discussion of theological and ethical issues, an area which could have received greater attention from Spronk.

This commentary will be a useful and informative book for those who want to work seriously with the text. Spronk's proposals concerning possible name acrostics (Assur in 1:12; Nineveh in 3:18) and sentence acrostics ('I am Yahweh' in 1:1–3) in Nahum (cf. his article in ZAW 110 (1998): 209–222) are certainly worth further discussion among scholars. Not many ministers, however, would seem to have the stamina and time required to work through the text of Nahum with this very scholarly work which, by the way, could have done with another proof-reading. One wishes that subsequent commentaries in the series combine the same kind of careful analysis with greater synthesis and creative theological thinking. The indications are that a 'historical commentary' has a lot to offer, but a more explicitly Christian approach is required in a commentary that is to be fully adequate for Christian ministers.

Thomas Renz
London, England

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0960–2720

***Transforming Fate into Destiny:
The Theological Ethics of Stanley
Hauerwas***
Samuel Wells

Paternoster Press, 1998, 210 pp., pb,
ISBN 0-85364-906-5

RÉSUMÉ

Dans cet excellent ouvrage, Wells présente les grandes lignes de l'éthique théologique sous la forme d'un récit de Hauerwas. Celle-ci se caractérise comme une éthique du caractère, par opposition à une éthique orientée vers l'action et la décision. La ligne de pensée, qui va du caractère au récit, du récit à la communauté, et de la communauté à l'Église est retracée avec clarté et une grande sensibilité aux nuances. Wells cherche à donner de la pensée de Hauerwas une analyse compréhensive, sans peur de modifier, clarifier et faire progresser le projet de ce penseur. Il nous livre un texte essentiel pour tous ceux qu'intéresse la pensée d'Hauerwas, débutants aussi bien que spécialistes.

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Wells' ausgezeichnete Studie stellt die Konturen von Hauerwas' theologischer Ethik in Form einer Geschichte vor. Der Autor geht dabei zunächst dem Profil der Theologie ausgehend von deren Widerstand zu einer handlungs- bzw. entscheidungsorientierten Ethik bis hin zu einer Charakterethik nach. Die gedankliche Entwicklung von Charakter zu Geschichte, von Geschichte zu Gemeinschaft und von Gemeinschaft zu Kirche wird aufklare und feineren Nuancen Rechnung tragende Weise verfolgt. Wells geht es darum, eine wohlwollende Untersuchung zu Hauerwas vorzulegen, die aber dennoch nicht davor zurückschreckt, dessen Projekt zu modifizieren, präzisieren und voranzutreiben. Das Resultat ist ein Werk, das ein Muss ist für alle, die an Hauerwas interessiert sind, egal ob Anfänger oder 'Experte'.

Stanley Hauerwas is one of the most significant living Christian theologians and Wells has provided an excellent overview and assessment of his work from 1969 to 1997. The book opens by situating Hauerwas within the story of Christian social ethics in North America and emphasizing his debt to MacIntyre and Yoder. The text then proceeds to display Hauerwas' theological ethic in the form of a story.

Chapter Two ('From Quandary to Character') explains his longstanding resistance to an action/decision based morality which maintains an illusory rational neutrality. In its place we find, from the start, a character ethic within which actions and decisions find their proper place. Chapter Three ('From Character to Story') sets the narrative context within which ethics lives and moves and has its being. Rejecting an 'ethics for everyone' Hauerwas turns to doing ethics for the community shaped by the distinctive narrative of Christian scripture. This narrative contains much tension and diversity within its overall unity and these many voices are an integral part of the tradition. Hauerwas' interactions with post-liberal theology are given some attention in this chapter. But story is merely a route which takes Hauerwas from character to community.

Chapter Four ('From Story to Community') examines the central role of the community which reads and performs scripture. This reading community is that which recognizes the authority of the text and embodies the world it projects. The truth of the story is assessed in its embodiment in the Church (does it produce virtue?). So the community, rather than its scripture, is primary for scripture exists only

for the Church rather than vice versa. Hauerwas has a very pragmatic approach to truth and Wells discusses the accusations of fideism and relativism which have been made against him. His discussion here is both balanced and discerning. Chapter Five takes us 'From Community to Church'. The story of Jesus becomes the paradigm for the non-violent existence of the Church. The politics of the Church is to live as an alternative, non-violent, peace-making community thus bearing witness *against* the politics of the world. He resists the notion that the Church should do politics chiefly by getting Christians into influential political positions—this may merely support the liberal society. Rather, the Church is to help the world by *being the distinctive community of the Church*. Hauerwas maintains that this is not to advocate sectarianism for the Church breaks down all social boundaries. On the contrary, the nation-state is that which is sectarian. Being faithful rather than successful is central to a Hauerwasian Christian social ethic.

Chapter Six ('Performing the Church's Story') considers some of Hauerwas' responses to his critics and a case study in how the Christians in the village of *Le Chambon-sur-Lignon* reflected the character of the God revealed in the Christian story in their resistance to the Nazis between 1940 and 1944. Chapter Seven ('From Space to Time') is an attempt by Wells to help Hauerwas respond more adequately to criticisms by proposing that Hauerwas shift away from his emphasis on spatial metaphors when considering the church-world relationship for this gives the strong impression of sectarianism. The role played by these metaphors can be played far more adequately by temporal metaphors. *The church and the world do not live in different spaces but in different times*. Christ's community lives in the light of the eschaton and this has a radical impact on Christian ethics. To my mind this chapter was the highlight of an excellent book. Wells shows how all the key elements in Hauerwas' theology (character, narrative, memory, virtue, revelation, community etc.) can be seen fruitfully in this temporal way. He thinks that this stronger emphasis on temporality can demonstrate that Hauerwas *does* have a doctrine of creation (eschatologically orientated) in spite of the impression he often gives. I would agree, although I still find the modified version inadequate to do full justice to creation. The final chapter ('From Tragedy to Irony') is another constructive analysis of how Hauerwas wishes to recognize tragedy in life but pushes beyond it to irony. The Church

satirizes the world by doing many of the same things such as having children but doing them for very different reasons.

This book is written with a beautiful clarity and a style which does justice to Hauerwas' own passion. The text shows a sensitivity to developments within Hauerwas' thinking and Hauerwas himself says in the 'Foreword' that Wells understands him better than he understands himself. The organisation of the book is very helpful as the chapter titles may indicate and a useful, complete bibliography of Hauerwas' work from 1969 to 1997 is provided. The greatest strength of this text was that Wells does not simply describe Hauerwas' views but seeks to clarify and critique them when appropriate as well as providing an attempt to push the boat out further in numerous places. An excellent text for those familiar with this thinker and for those who know little about him.

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EuroJTh (2000) 9:1, 79–80

0960–2720

Strategy of the Spirit: J. Philip Hogan and the Growth of the Assemblies of God World-wide, 1960–1990

E. A. Wilson

Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 1997, xiv + 214 pp, pb, ISBN 1-870345-23-1

RÉSUMÉ

Dans cette biographie de Philip Hogan, qui a été à la tête du département des missions étrangères des Assemblées de Dieu en Amérique, Wilson présente les principes de la missiologie pentecôtiste. Les plus importants sont le caractère central des Églises indigènes, un accent mis sur la contextualisation, et le rôle important de l'Église locale.

Hogan a exercé son influence de 1959 à 1990, une période qui a vu la croissance importante des Assemblées de Dieu dans le monde entier, et pendant laquelle la missiologie est généralement entrée en crise.

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Indem er eine Biographie über Philip Hogan, den Leiter der Abteilung äußere Mission der Assemblies of God (Amerika) vorlegt, zeigt Wilson zugleich die Prinzipien der pfingstlerischen Missiologie auf, wobei der Schwerpunkt

auf der Zentralität der einheimischen Kirche, der Kontextualisierung und der Bedeutung der Ortsgemeinde liegt. Der Einfluss Hogans währte von 1959 bis 1990, eine bedeutende Periode des Wachstums für die weltweit vertretenen Assemblies of God, aber auch eine Zeit, in der die Missiologie in eine Epoche der Krise eintrat.

Philip Hogan was the head of the Division of Foreign Missions of the Assemblies of God, America from 1959 onwards; during his time the Assemblies of God world-wide grew from hundreds of thousands to an estimated thirty million adherents. The principles that lie behind that growth are worthy of study, particularly since that growth occurred at a time when missiology entered a time of crisis generally.

Hogan is an example of the rugged determination of the early Pentecostal pioneers. Confident and aware of a divine leading, his philosophy of mission was simple, some might say simplistic. He believed that mission was the central *raison d'être* of the Assemblies of God, that mission had to be determined and aggressive, that mission ought to be defined by the extent to which indigenous local churches were planted, however fragile and undeveloped they might seem to the outsider's eye. Simple it may be, there can be no doubt that it was effective. This policy resulted in Hogan leading the Assemblies of God missions department at a time when the local national churches were able to develop their own distinctive cultures that were true to their indigenous cultures. Wilson's book will be useful to students of Pentecostal missiology, since he details the specific elements that combined to characterise it.

Wilson sees Hogan's central achievement as being able to keep the Division of Foreign Missions clearly focused on the core values of the organisation. At times this led to public clashes, for example, over the proposal to start schools rather than churches, and with T. L. Osborn in the 1960s when he was prepared to support missionaries rather than relying on the principle of indigeneity. The more immediately interesting material relates to the activity of Jim Bakker and Jimmy Swaggert. Both were members of the Assemblies of God, but whereas Bakker is portrayed as being a petty thief, Swaggert's arrogance before his public disgrace was far more potentially damaging to the missions department since Swaggert had raised finance for missions. Wilson's account provides an interesting insight into private machinations behind the public disgraces.

Overall, the picture that emerges from Wilson's work is of a determined man of integrity, who was able to maintain a missions policy in the face of immense political and sociological and theological challenges. To all those wanting to know more about Pentecostal missiology this is a useful addition to be read alongside David Martin's 'Tongues of Fire', Douglas Peterson's 'Not by Might Nor by Power' and Harvey Cox's 'Fire from Heaven'.

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0960–2720

**Testing Darwinism:
An Easy to Understand Guide**
P. E. Johnson

Leicester: IVP, 1997, 131 pp., £6.99, pb,
ISBN 0-85111-198-X

RÉSUMÉ

Ce livre part de l'idée fondamentale que le naturalisme scientifique est la cause première de l'athéisme contemporain. Johnson se donne donc pour but d'établir une nouvelle vision du monde dans laquelle la théorie évolutionniste athée est remplacée par un modèle qui suppose un dessein intelligent. L'auteur plaide pour ce qu'il appelle une approche du «coin»: il cherche à enfoncer un coin entre la pensée évolutionniste courante et toute observation scientifique qui apparaît comme contraire au paradigme darwiniste.

La logique de Johnson est fallacieuse, car la science n'est pas nécessairement athée et le lien entre l'athéisme moderne et le naturalisme scientifique est bien moins direct qu'il ne le suppose. Les observations scientifiques qui vont en sens contraire de la théorie darwiniste doivent être considérées avec soin. Johnson traite la paléontologie d'une manière plutôt cavalière, alors qu'il accorde le plus grand respect à la biologie moléculaire. Son approche relève d'une compréhension inadéquate de la méthode scientifique.

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Die dem Band zugrundeliegende Voraussetzung ist, dass der zeitgenössische Atheismus auf den modernen wissenschaftlichen Naturalismus zurückzuführen sei. Phillip Johnsons ambitioniertes Vorhaben besteht nun darin, ein neues Weltbild zu etablieren, in dem die atheistische Entwicklungstheorie von einem Modell ersetzt wird, das mit einem auf eine Intelligenz

zurückgehenden Plan rechnet. Der Autor ist darum bemüht, einen Keil zwischen das gegenwärtige evolutionistische Denken und die dem darwinistischen Paradigma zu widersprechen scheinenden wissenschaftlichen Beobachtungen zu treiben. In der vorliegenden Rezension wird jedoch darauf hingewiesen, dass eine solche Logik fragwürdig ist, da Wissenschaft an sich nicht atheistisch ist und zudem die Verbindung zwischen dem modernen Atheismus und dem wissenschaftlichen Naturalismus als viel geringer zu bewerten ist, als der Autor annimmt. Auf wissenschaftlicher Arbeit beruhende Evidenz, die dem darwinistischen Ansatz widerspricht, gilt es, mit großer Sorgfalt zu untersuchen. Der Autor des vorliegenden Buches behandelt aber z.B. die Paläontologie auf recht nachlässige Art und Weise, während er der Molekularbiologie großen Respekt zollt. Der gesamte Ansatz verrät ein unzulängliches Verständnis wissenschaftlicher Methodik.

Is there anything left to say on the subject of the evolution versus faith debate? Phillip Johnson obviously believes that there is. Author of two technical books on this subject his latest volume is written for a wider audience—teenagers at high-school and at the start of their university courses and for pastors, teachers, parents and youth-workers, those who have to deal with the questioning minds of the young adult.

This a bold book, for unlike many previous Christian books on the subject of evolution, the author goes for the big picture. There is little here of the traditional approach in which a blow by blow account seeks to demolish a traditional scientific argument. Instead Phillip Johnson takes on the entire atheistic scientific establishment. His prize is the naturalistic philosophy which underpins the entire edifice of western science. His goal is to establish a new world-view, for, he argues, the debate over evolution is better seen within the conflict between a naturalistic world-view and a Christian supernaturalistic world-view.

Testing Darwinism: an easy to understand guide is also published in the United States under the title *Defeating Darwinism—by opening minds*. An explicit aim of the book is 'to give a good high-school education in how to think about evolution'. This is emphasised in the book's frontispiece which states that 'in some ways this book has less to do with Darwinism than with how to think'. A laudable aim, which is well developed in two of the early chapters of the book. Slightly less guarded is the brief descriptor of the book on Phillip Johnson's

web pages which state that the aim of the book is to 'explain the tricks of logic and loaded definitions which Darwinists use to protect their theory from critical examination and exposes the materialist philosophy that lies concealed underneath the so-called "fact" of evolution'.

In the second chapter of the book Phillip Johnson describes at some length the play *Inherit the Wind*—the dramatic retelling of the 1925 Scopes Trial in Tennessee, in which a school teacher was prosecuted for teaching the theory of evolution. This is an unusual angle on the evolution versus Christianity debate which draws uniquely upon the author's north American roots and his academic legal background—for the author is a criminal law specialist at the University of California, Berkeley. Phillip Johnson uses the play *Inherit the Wind* to illustrate the way in which the media and the scientific establishment have closed ranks against any view other than Darwinism. This no doubt reflects the author's difficulty in putting into the press or the scientific literature any view which is contrary to evolutionary orthodoxy.

The reader quickly becomes aware that this book is deeply critical of much contemporary scientific writing about the theory of evolution. What then does the author seek to put in its place? Firstly, Phillip Johnson develops an argument for intelligent design. This draws on evidence from cell biology which appears to show that the assumptions of Darwinian natural selection do not work at the molecular level. On the basis of this observation he develops his main point, a strategy called 'the wedge'. Rather than seeking to find a reconciliation between evolution and faith, Phillip Johnson argues that we should seek to drive a wedge between scientific observations and the atheistic philosophy of scientific naturalism. Thus observations that have no obvious explanation within the current Darwinian paradigm should be highlighted as evidence for an alternative view, that of intelligent design.

In the opinion of this reviewer Phillip Johnson's book is deeply flawed, and whilst there is much here that is true and with which I agree, there are many arguments and assumptions which are wrong.

In his attack on the contemporary scientific atheistic mindset, the focus of much of Phillip Johnson's criticism is on the writings of the Oxford biologist Richard Dawkins. Few Christians would disagree with this criticism, for Dawkins has set himself up as a spokesman for atheistic scientific materialism. It is important to remember however that not all scientists

would identify with the logical necessity of Dawkins' atheistic position—this reviewer for one. Crucial here is the issue of scientific humility. Johnson quotes with approval the physicist Richard Feynmann who said that 'scientists need... an extra type of integrity... bending over backwards to show how you're maybe wrong'. It is true that many scientists go beyond the limits of their discipline and make 'grand pronouncements' on issues which are far beyond their remit. Richard Dawkins is a good example. But isn't this saying more about scientists than science itself?

What then, is the connection between contemporary atheism and modern science? For Phillip Johnson 'science starts with the basic assumption that God is out of the picture' and from this scientific root atheism has spread into all realms of modern thought. Whilst I accept that all of modern thought is pervaded by atheistic assumptions I remain unconvinced that scientific naturalism is the only cause. Furthermore, I reject a definition of science which regards science as inherently atheistic. It is well known that western science grew out of the Christian belief that the natural world was ordered and amenable to investigation. I would argue that the logical connection between scientific thought and atheism is much less direct than Phillip Johnson would permit. In fact it may have as much to do with the failures of modern Christendom as with the achievements of science. Two examples will suffice. Firstly it is important to recall that a scientist is trained to doubt, trained to question the accepted authority. Could it be that the failure of contemporary Christianity to answer the penetrating questions has had a bearing on the rise of scientific atheism? Secondly, for scientists, the apparent logical consequence of many of their investigations is awesome—mankind is alone in this vast, purposeless universe. Could it be that the failure of the modern church to proclaim a good news which extends beyond the limits of the scientific method has a bearing on contemporary atheism.

The argument I am seeking to develop here is that Phillip Johnson's criticisms of contemporary atheistic scientific naturalism are misdirected. Instead of seeking to bring down the scientific establishment by discrediting the theory of evolution it would be better to concentrate the energy on discrediting the atheism. If we disentangle the science from the atheism then the 'wedge' approach is unnecessary and a mutual appreciation of the limitations of the scientific and religious ways of

knowing is possible. This approach allows the possibility for the complementarity of science and faith.

The approach adopted in this book betrays a misunderstanding of the scientific methodology. It is true that some scientists are so wedded to their views that their science has become for them a 'faith commitment'. These are the scientists who have lost their scientific humility and have overstepped the mark. The scientific method, however, does allow for scientific ideas to change. At its best a scientific theory is a working model—a model which is currently the best explanation of the data. As new data come along the theory has to be refined to accommodate them. If the theory begins to break down under the weight of contrary evidence then it must be replaced by a theory which can explain both old and new data—a painful process for all scientists whose careers were embedded in the redundant paradigm.

It is because of this misunderstanding of the nature of scientific thinking that I find the argument for design presented in this book so unconvincing. If, as is stated by Johnson, there is a body of evidence which cannot be explained by the current Darwinian paradigm, then this is a scientific problem. To the scientist, the inadequate model needs to be replaced by a better model, a model which is more able to explain all the data. Data which do not fit an accepted theory do not automatically require a philosophical revolution and a new world view. To argue that such a model will never be found is a presumptuous statement of faith. Furthermore, statements such as 'The scientific evidence is strongly *against* the blind watchmaker thesis' (i.e. atheistic evolution, p. 21) and 'Darwinism is sustained not by an impartial interpretation of the evidence but a dogmatic adherence to a philosophy, even in the teeth of evidence' (p. 83), I believe to be untrue. Of the evidence discussed from my own scientific discipline, the Earth Sciences, I am deeply dissatisfied. In two places the author plays down the palaeontological evidence for evolution. This in my view is dangerously naive. There are two certainties in this area of science. One is the great age of the earth—4.55 billion years—an observation which has been verified from a number of independent methods of radioactive dating. The second certainty is that there is a palaeontological record; this record which when taken to include geochemical signatures for photosynthesis can be traced back in time for 3.8 billion years. Over this huge sweep of time there is a progressive in-

crease in biological complexity. That this complexity did not increase in a linear manner says something about the mechanisms of evolution, rather than to nullify the process. Furthermore, to pour scorn on the absence of evidence from single celled organisms (p. 95) is to display an ignorance of the nature of the fossilisation process.

A further element of the argument for design is embodied in statements such as 'a God who acted openly and left his fingerprints all over the evidence' (p. 23). Surely, this is a re-run of the classical argument from design, many centuries old but illustrated with modern scientific examples. Personally, I find this argument unpersuasive. As a Christian believer I can see the evidence, but I cannot expect my agnostic or atheistic colleague to be convinced.

Taken as a whole the most significant weakness of this book is that it seeks to destroy the theory of evolution without replacing it with an adequate alternative. The author seems to want to replace the theory of evolution with a model of 'intelligent design'. If this is the case then he must articulate his alternative much more clearly. Much of the art of modern science is in communicating the results of a scientific investigation. So here. If the author wants to convince the scientific world that their current paradigm is wrong, then he must seek not only to present an alternative, but he must demonstrate how this better paradigm explains our observations of life on earth and life in the past more successfully than the currently accepted scientific view. If he can do this then he will have achieved his goal. In my view he has not yet done this successfully and for this reason I shall not be recommending this book to my high-school children.

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0960-2720

Streams of Renewal **P. Hocken**

Carlisle, Paternoster Press, 1997,
301 pp., pb, ISBN 0-85364-805-0

RÉSUMÉ

L'auteur étudie les divers courants qui ont alimenté les débuts du renouveau charismatique dans les Îles britanniques au milieu des années soixante et au début des années soixante-dix. Il

ne prend pas vraiment position sur l'apparition de ce que l'on a appelé les «nouvelles Églises» et sur la tension qui est apparue entre celles-ci et les Églises majoritaires. Il se base pour la plus grande partie du livre sur des interviews de personnes et sur des textes non publiés. Ceci donne une présentation sympathisante, basée sur des faits, et le plus souvent sans critique, d'une tranche importante de l'histoire de l'Église en Angleterre. Elle intéressera les spécialistes du mouvement charismatique.

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Peter Hocken untersucht die verschiedenen Strömungen, die in die frühe charismatische Erneuerung auf den britischen Inseln in der Mitte der sechziger Jahre und in den frühen Siebzigern eingeflossen sind. Das Buch nimmt aber den Leser nicht wirklich mit hinein in das Aufkommen der so genannten 'neuen Kirchen' und in die Spannung, die zwischen ihnen und den etablierten Religionsgemeinschaften bestand. Vieles von dem, was im Buch berichtet wird, basiert auf persönlichen Interviews und unveröffentlichten Materialien. Hockens Werk ist eine wohlwollende, auf Tatsachen beruhende und größtenteils unkritische Darstellung eines wichtigen Kapitels der englischen Kirchengeschichte, die vor allem Kenner der charismatischen Bewegung interessieren wird.

In this revised and updated edition of *Streams of Renewal* Peter Hocken examines the various streams which fed into the early years of the charismatic renewal in the British Isles in the mid nineteen sixties and early nineteen seventies. Much of what he writes is based on personal interviews, letters and other unpublished materials. Hocken's work has preserved a vital piece of religious history which might otherwise have been largely lost. The book is focused on the early developments in the Church of England and the establishment of the Fountain Trust. Hocken draws out well the influence of men such as Richard Bolt who was asked to leave Clifton Theological College on account of his Pentecostal views and the general suspicion of Anglican authorities of the time towards all things charismatic. The book does not really carry the reader into a significant consideration of the emergence of the Restoration House churches and the tensions which existed between them and mainstream religion. It is however given a passing reference in Appendix 4 at the end of the book.

Hocken helpfully identifies some of the prime marks of the early charismatic movement. Among these he includes a new level of

awareness of the persons of the Trinity, a new love for Jesus, a new capacity to praise God and hear his voice, and a new power in people's lives to transform their daily living.

The book which betrays the writer's warm sympathy with his subject matter is a largely factual and uncritical account of the origins of charismatic renewal. Nevertheless it is a good read and provides many fascinating anecdotes and biographical cameos. There are 95 pages containing appendices, notes and bibliography but regrettably there is no index.

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0960-2720

The Missions of Jesus and the Disciples according to the Fourth Gospel

A. J. Köstenberger

Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998. xvi + 271 pp., \$30. H/B, ISBN 0-8028-4255-0

RÉSUMÉ

Köstenberger aborde le sujet relativement peu traité de la mission, en se fondant plus particulièrement sur l'Évangile de Jean. Il montre à la fois ce que la mission de Jésus et celle de ses disciples ont en commun et ce en quoi elles diffèrent. La mission des disciples est liée à leur rôle de représentants de Christ, et celle de Christ dans son incarnation ne constitue pas un modèle pour la leur. Les disciples n'accomplissent pas de signes, mais «des œuvres plus grandes» (bien qu'on ne sache pas clairement en quoi elles consistent). L'ouvrage apporte une étude approfondie et utile, en particulier pour ce qui concerne la mission de Jésus, et il montre que l'Évangile s'adresse au monde environnant. Mais il se concentre peut-être un peu trop sur le thème de l'envoi et ne s'intéresse pas suffisamment au contenu et aux objectifs de la mission. Il serait souhaitable d'aller plus loin, en montrant ce que Jean nous enseigne pour la mission de l'Église aujourd'hui.

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Köstenberger beschäftigt sich mit dem verhältnismäßig wenig behandelten Thema der Mission mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des Johannesevangeliums, wobei er auf Kontinuität und Diskontinuität im Zusammenhang mit der Missionstätigkeit Jesu und der seiner Jünger hinweist. Er kommt dabei zu dem Ergebnis,

dass das Missionsmodell letzterer nicht ein inkarnatorisches, sondern vielmehr ein repräsentatives sei. Die Jünger tun keine Zeichen sondern 'größere Werke' (worum es sich dabei handelt, wird jedoch nicht deutlich). Das Buch ist vor allem aufgrund seiner ausführlichen Behandlung der Mission Jesu zu empfehlen, aber auch, weil es aufzeigt, dass es dem Evangelium um die Welt geht. Köstenberger beschäftigt sich aber wohl etwas zu viel mit dem Motiv 'des Sendens' und nicht genug mit dem eigentlichen Inhalt und den Zielen der Mission. Sein Werk ist grundsätzlich ein nützlicher Beitrag zum Thema, aber man müsste noch einen Schritt weiter gehen und den Lesern deutlich machen, auf welche Weise die johanneische Darstellung für die heutige kirchliche Mission fruchtbar gemacht werden kann.

Scholars have at last begun to take seriously the character of the New Testament as a collection of books written in the context of evangelism and mission. Köstenberger's doctoral thesis fills an important gap in the literature by considering the nature of mission in the Gospel of John and by doing so with the aid of modern linguistic theory. His specific interest is to see how the missions of Jesus and his disciples are related: how far and in what respects is the former the pattern for the latter? And in what way does the mission of the disciples according to John relate to the mission of the church today?

It is interesting that a survey of previous scholarship on the topic can commence with a date as recent as 1964. The material is covered fairly briefly and there is little to garner from it as a basis for further study. The author then turns to a consideration of the way in which semantic fields can offer a way into the topic. This leads to a listing of the relevant elements in Greek vocabulary and the activities involved in mission. It then becomes possible to identify those passages in the Gospel where the relevant elements occur in clusters; sixteen semantic clusters are identified in this way, and the amount of material thus identified indicates the central importance of the topic. From this material a preliminary definition is offered: 'Mission is the specific *task* or purpose which a person or group seeks to accomplish, involving various *modes of movement*, be it sending or being sent, coming and going, ascending and descending, gathering by calling others to follow, or following' (p. 41). It will be evident that this is a very formal or 'structural' definition which says nothing about the specific content of the mission of Jesus and the

disciples (apart from the hint offered in the reference to 'ascending and descending').

With the parameters set the author can now turn to the mission of Jesus in the major chapter (running to 97 pp.). Attention is drawn to the unique characteristics of Jesus as a divine being which may suggest that there is discontinuity as well as continuity between his mission and that of the disciples. Thus 'signs' are associated with Jesus but not with the disciples. 'A sign is a symbol-laden, but not necessarily *miraculous*, public work of Jesus selected and explicitly identified as such by John for the reason that it displays God's glory in Jesus, who is thus shown to be God's true representative, even the Messiah (cf. 20:30–31)' (63). In terms of this definition the crucifixion, resurrection and resurrection appearances are not signs, but the cleansing of the temple is to be included. The works of Jesus form a broader category. Jesus' work is both revelatory and redemptive, activities in which the disciples can participate only in a limited sense. Considerable attention is devoted to the 'mission' motif in terms of the sending of Jesus, his coming into the world and his return to the Father (with which is tied up the motif of descent and ascent), and his role as the eschatological shepherd-teacher who calls and gathers. The motif of sending is associated with Jesus as the Son and brings out the elements of obedience and dependence demonstrated by him. Descent and ascent is associated with the Son of Man. The mission of the earthly Jesus is basically presented in chs. 1–12, and the disciples have no part in this mission; then in chs. 13–21 we have the mission of the exalted Jesus, in which the part of the disciples is important. It follows that there is an important distinction between the understandings of the disciples before and after Jesus' resurrection.

The mission of the disciples occupies 58 pp. Their work lies in harvesting, fruit-bearing and witnessing. An important question is whether what is said about the disciples before the resurrection applies to Christ's followers after the resurrection. Certainly the language used widens out to include the latter, and allows for a 'secondary' and 'subordinate' use of the witness vocabulary to apply to them, and they will share in the 'greater works' which disciples will be able to perform. Various individuals act as patterns, including Peter and the 'beloved disciple' with their complementary roles of shepherding and witness. Corporate metaphors are also used, specifically the flock and the branches of the vine.

The task of the disciples does not include the performing of signs, but it does include the 'greater works'. These are to be understood as taking place in 'a different, more advanced phase of God's economy of salvation' (175) and are done by Christ through believers, but the sense in which they are actually 'greater' is not really discussed. Very little is revealed about the actual content of the believers' mission. They produce a harvest and bear witness to Jesus. They 'follow' Jesus (which includes self-sacrifice) and are sent by him into the world, they are commissioned by him to go and bear fruit. They are must demonstrate love and unity, and this stands alongside their witness to Jesus' death and resurrection. They do so in the power of the Spirit. Thus in major respects the missions of Jesus and the disciples correspond, but (not surprisingly) there is nothing in the case of the disciples which corresponds to Jesus' coming into the world and his return to the Father, and likewise (and obviously) in the case of Jesus there is not the necessity of coming in faith to the Saviour.

Finally, some conclusions are drawn. First, the preliminary definition of mission is confirmed for both Jesus and the disciples. Second, the focus is on the mission of Jesus rather than on that of the disciples, but nevertheless John is concerned with the mission of the disciples to the world, and therefore an understanding of the gospel as a sectarian document concerned primarily with intra-community matters is to be rejected. The Gospel can have both a missionary (= evangelistic) and an edificatory purpose.

It follows that the church today should see itself more consciously in relation to the mission of Jesus and should acknowledge afresh the sovereignty of God in mission. It should reject an incarnational model, which sees Jesus' incarnation as the model for the church, in favour of a representational model. Here the author is particularly critical of John Stott. Jesus is not primarily a teacher of the disciples or a model for them. His example is not normative, but the church must be free to adapt its methods to the contemporary world. The Spirit and the exalted Lord must be given freedom to direct the church. In summary the disciples must be obedient to Jesus, be separated from the world, and hold an inaugurated eschatological outlook as in they gather believers into the messianic community.

This is a helpful, well-researched book which takes further the concept of Christ's being sent into the world. It is valuable in its refutation of any ideas that John was a sectarian

writer, interested only in his own community and not in the world around. Nevertheless, it leaves some questions. It can be argued that the book is too much concerned with the 'sending' or structural nature of mission and does not pay enough attention to the actual task and aims of mission: how is mission related to evangelism? A fuller discussion of what Jesus actually did would have been useful.

Then the discussion of the incarnational and representative models is expanded into a debate over the relationship of word-evangelism and service; there seems to be some looseness of terminology here, and there is a danger of resting the case solely on the evidence of John without bringing in the rest of the NT. In particular, the suggestion that Stott's use of the principle of incarnation threatens the salvation-historical uniqueness of Christ is plainly absurd.

In the end, the distinction that the author is trying to draw between the actual activity of Jesus and that of his disciples is not clear, and to this extent the book is not as helpful as it might have been in giving theological and practical guidance to the church for its mission today. Certainly, it is claimed that 'remarkably little is said about the purpose or content of the disciples' mission' (175), but I suspect that more might have been made of what there is.

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0960-2720

Pastoral Care and Counselling: a Manual

W. K. Kay and P. C. Weaver

Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 1997, xiv + 200 pp., pb, ISBN 0-85364-784-4

RÉSUMÉ

Cet ouvrage parle de ceux qui font de la cure d'âme, de ceux qui en bénéficient et des techniques à mettre en œuvre pour en faire. L'approche est solidement enracinée dans la Bible et l'ouvrage est pratique dans ses applications. L'auteur fait preuve tout au long d'un esprit d'humilité tout à fait bienvenu.

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Hierbei handelt es sich um ein Buch, das sich mit Seelsorgern, Seelsorge Suchenden und Seelsorgetechniken beschäftigt. Es legt starken Wert auf eine biblische Ausrichtung und bietet

praxisorientierte Anwendungen. Besonders wohltuend ist der Geist der Demut, der das Buch durchzieht.

The root of the word 'pastor' is found in the Latin for 'herdsman' and is derived from *pascere*—'to feed'. That the tautology 'pastoral care' has become a valid and necessary topic for a book reflects to some degree the distance our present concept of pastorhood has strayed from the original concept. Although mainly addressed to Christians in counselling positions, this book is helpful to anyone wishing to be a 'fruitful, effective, useful Christian' (p xii). The book has two broad sections, Part 1 dealing mainly with the minister, and Part 2 dealing entirely with counselling. In a society increasingly haunted by uncertainty, it is important for the Church to re-examine her position within and in relation to this shepherdless society. Unfortunately, the Church has very often become a mere repository of anxiety, if not adding to this *angst*, for example by apocalyptic preaching devoid of teaching about the Lordship of Christ. The frightened sheep have trampled many shepherds with their demands and criticism, and shepherds have often not been particularly caring towards each other either. Kay and Weaver understand this, both writing from a pastoral background. 'What on earth can the church say to a world that has rejected the concept of truth?', asks Clive Calver in his foreword (p. x). Kay and Weaver offer hope in the form of practical and biblical guidance. Studying this book, one becomes aware of the 'pastorhood' of all believers—in Christ, we are all called to care. Who dares follow the Master?

Every chapter has a similar three-fold structure. Starting off with a bible basis, it moves on to a discussion of the biblical text and context, ending with a set of implications and personal reflections to help the reader apply the texts to his or her present context. A handy list of references at the end of each chapter provides additional avenues for study. Throughout the book, Weaver's illustrations add life to the discussions with their wit, sensitivity and tongue-in-cheekiness.

Part 1 consists of ten chapters, dealing with context, calling, the cost of ministry, the pastoral task, the minister's gifting, personal responsibilities, congregation, youth work and community. To go into detail about the contents of each chapter would needlessly increase the length of this review without doing proper justice to the authors. They show a remarkable and broad insight into the orb of

challenges facing the minister in a pluralistic Western society. Kay's academic record complements Weaver's pastoral experience, by adding researched figures and percentages to an analysis of the situation facing counsellors today.

Part 2 deals with counselling. After discussing approaches in counselling and the practicalities of counselling, this is applied to bereavement, depression, family problems, low self-esteem, marriage difficulties and sexual orientation. While maintaining a biblical basis through-out, the authors draw in a variety of opinions on the topics. Their intention is to give direction to a topic without being dogmatic about systems and structures.

I did at times get the impression that Kay and Weaver optimistically underestimate the complexity of the counselling task, sometimes failing to anticipate possible critical responses to actions proposed by them, but it might just be my own cynical nature interfering with a perfectly good book. Since every chapter could probably be the basis of an entirely new book, this 'short-coming' actually highlights the need for more sensitive thought around the topic of counselling. The field of counselling, often thought to be full of heretical weeds or trampled to dust by 'pagans', still has plenty of food to offer to the flock of a discerning shepherd. The local congregation, ignoring the importance of pastoral care and counselling, effectively cripples any evangelistic interaction it might have with a post-Christian world.

This book is well-designed either for self-study, or study in a group, either by lay people, or by clergy. It reads easily, is well researched and thoroughly bible-based. It is a useful guide to all who take seriously the Shepherd's instruction to Peter: 'Feed my sheep'.

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Word Without End: The Old Testament as Abiding Theological Witness

Christopher R. Seitz

Grand Rapids, MI; Cambridge:

Eerdmans, 1998, xi + 355 pp., £18.99, pb., ISBN 0-8028-4322-0

RÉSUMÉ

Cette collection d'essais traite de manière sti-

mulante une variété de sujet répartis en trois rubriques: la théologie biblique, l'exégèse et la pratique. L'auteur adopte l'approche canonique de Brevard Childs pour se faire le défenseur d'une lecture de l'Ancien Testament qui se vent chrétienne, et qui prenne au sérieux le canon en le considérant comme Écriture pour l'Eglise chrétienne. Alors que la méthode historico-critique tend à limiter la recherche aux questions historiques, Seitz a le souci de mettre en œuvre une lecture théologique de l'Ancien Testament qui n'accorde à cette méthode qu'une place préparatoire.

Cet ouvrage apporte une contribution importante au débat sur l'avenir de l'étude spécialisée de la Bible. Il préparera peut-être la voie pour que l'enseignement théologique de l'Ancien Testament soit à nouveau entendu. Cependant, on peut se demander jusqu'où une lecture théologique de l'Ancien Testament peut profiter de l'héritage de la méthode historico-critique.

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Bei Seitzes Word without End handelt es sich um eine zu weiterem Nachdenken anregende Sammlung von Essays, die sich unter den Überschriften 'Biblische Theologie', 'Exegese' und 'Praxis' mit einer ganzen Reihe von Themen beschäftigen. Seitz, der Childs' kanonischen Ansatz zustimmend aufnimmt, vertritt eine Auseinandersetzung mit dem Alten Testament, die bewusst und ungeniert christlich geprägt ist und die vom Kanon als der Schrift der christlichen Kirche ausgeht. Seitz nimmt vor allem an der unermüdlichen historisch-kritischen Beschäftigung mit ausnahmslos historischen Fragen Anstoß und ruft stattdessen zu einer theologischen Auseinandersetzung mit dem Alten Testament auf, die der historisch-kritischen Forschung lediglich eine vorbereitende Funktion zugesteht.

Das Buch, bei dem es sich um einen wichtigen Beitrag zur Debatte um den zukünftigen Kurs der bibelwissenschaftlichen Forschung handelt, ist darum bemüht, den Weg zu einem erneuten Hören des bleibenden Zeugnisses des Alten Testaments zu ebnen. Man fragt sich jedoch, inwieweit der Ruf nach einer theologischen Interpretation des Alten Testaments dazu beitragen kann, mit dem Erbe der historisch-kritischen Forschung zurechtzukommen.

Seitz's *Word Without End* is a collection of twenty-two essays grouped under the three headings of 'biblical theology', 'exegesis' and 'practice'. What at first appears to be a random

assortment of largely unconnected articles turns out to be held together by Seitz's controlling concern to render the Old Testament theologically relevant for today's church. To those familiar with his earlier writings, Seitz's espousal of Childs' canonical approach will come as no surprise. This 'canonical perspective' is one of the book's characteristic features that informs not only the programmatic pieces in the biblical theology section, but also Seitz's exegetical work as well as his engagement with theological and ethical issues facing the church today.

Biblical theology. The nine essays comprising the first major part of the book cover a variety of topics, such as election and revelation (or 'disclosure', as Seitz prefers to call it), the legacy of Gerhard von Rad and the quest for the 'Historical Jesus'. Seitz also ponders the appropriate term for the first three quarters of the Christian Bible ('Old Testament' or 'Hebrew Bible') and discusses the use of the so-called 'three-legged stool', i.e. the Anglican principle of Scripture, reason and tradition, in the 'Baltimore Declaration'.

In 'The Changing Face of Old Testament Studies', Seitz reflects on the possibility of theological readings of the Old Testament in the post-Biblical-Theology-Movement era, which is troubled in particular by 'the lack of a clear and persuasive understanding of the role of "the author" and of intentionality' (p. 80). Pondering the likely impact of Childs' *Biblical Theology of the Old and New Testaments*, which Seitz fears will turn out to be limited, he urges that Childs' voice be kept 'at the center of the discussion' (p. 109).

Exegesis. In the second part, Seitz focuses primarily on the book of Isaiah, addressing issues, such as the quest for the author(s) and the unity of the book, the logic of Isaiah 40–66 within the book as a whole and the role of the reader in reading biblical texts. Seitz's 'canonical perspective' is manifest throughout, yet it can be seen at work most clearly in the articles dealing with the issue of suffering in Isaiah and Lamentations, the royal promises in Isaiah and the Psalms as well as in the essay looking at Isaiah in the New Testament, the lectionary and the pulpit.

Shifting his attention from Isaiah to the call of Moses and the 'revelation' of the divine name in Exod. 3 and 6, Seitz presents a reading that challenges traditional source-critical interpretations of the two narratives (without however denying levels of tradition in principle).

Practice. The majority of the essays

grouped under this heading deal with contemporary issues that have caused a fair amount of controversy in today's church. This is true in particular for the question of homosexuality to which Seitz devotes two chapters. He argues that a Christian church guided by the authority of Scripture cannot condone homosexuality, as this is seen to be against 'Scripture's plain sense' (p. 333). In two articles that focus on much less controversial topics, Seitz looks at 'The City in Christian Scripture' and at 'The Lectionary as Theological Construction', calling, in the latter, for a new lectionary that seizes on the opportunity for rejuvenating interest in the Bible, and that does so by presenting a carefully worked-out biblical theology.

Finally, commenting on the current inclusive language debate, Seitz stresses that the use of masculine language for addressing God does not imply that God is thereby construed in male terms. Pointing out that earlier generations of readers, which were much more biblically literate than the modern churchgoer, understood that God is above human sexuality, Seitz argues that the present discussion is largely the result of a lack of reader competence. Thus, instead of attempting to sanitise and correct the Bible from the outside, which is a dangerous exercise open to all sorts of ideological interventions (cf. e.g. the Nazis' efforts at turning the Jesus of the New Testament into a non-Jewish Jesus by eliminating what was deemed to be repulsive), Seitz urges us to become competent readers. Competent readers, that is, 'of a scripture whose intention is not only to include [even by what "incompetent readers" might regard as non-inclusive language], but to address and judge and cleanse and save' (p. 299).

Throughout his work, Seitz adopts an approach that is self-consciously and unashamedly Christian, and that treats the biblical canon as Christian Scripture. For Seitz, this means, among other things, that what is needed today is a theological reading of the Bible that overcomes the historical-critical tendency to reduce the interpretive exercise to a purely historical enquiry. Commenting furthermore on competing calls for either a hermeneutic of suspicion or one of assent, Seitz talks about 'a hermeneutic of estrangement overcome' (pp. 41ff.) emphasising that it is only by God's grace that we, as Christians, have been entrusted with 'God's oracles' at all. Thus, it is not for us to judge whether we prefer to hear God's word in assent or suspicion. It is Scripture that judges us, not *vice versa*.

This is a stimulating and thought-provoking collection of essays by someone who passionately believes that the abiding theological witness of the Old Testament deserves, indeed, needs to be heard in the Christian church of our day. Seitz's book too, one is inclined to add, deserves a wide readership, and if only to spark further reflection on the issues he has raised. To sum up his contribution to biblical scholarship, Seitz offers programmatic proposals for the future direction of Old Testament studies, stimulating exegesis and engagingly written communiqués on a range of contemporary questions.

As space does not permit any in-depth interaction with Seitz's wide-ranging contributions, I want to end this review by simply pointing out one area where I believe more work needs to be done. Thus, while I sympathise with Seitz's desire to encourage theological readings of the Old Testament that do not get stuck in the muddy grounds of history, I fear that his work does not really help us come to terms with the legacy of historical criticism. This, however, seems to me precisely what is needed at a time when we witness not only a staggering variety of approaches, but—and this I believe is the real problem—also a breakdown of communication resulting in a situation where 'everybody does what is right in their own eyes'.

On the whole, Seitz does not appear to be too keen on historical-critical work, which in his estimate 'plays no positive theological role whatsoever' (p. 97), although he does grant historical criticism a role as a necessary preliminary to theological interpretation. In the light of the severe criticisms levelled against the approach on literary, theological and philosophical grounds, one wonders, however, whether it is adequate for a canonical approach somehow to seek to supplement the traditional methods of source, form, tradition and redaction criticism.

To be sure, in his own exegesis, Seitz occasionally does more than that (for instance, in his interpretation of Exod. 3 and 6, which, as we have already seen above, challenges traditional source-critical readings). Yet what is missing, especially in the programmatic essays in the first part of his book, is a sustained critique that engages the literary-critical, theological and philosophical presuppositions at work in the traditional historical-critical enterprise. Thus, to raise just one question that comes to mind, can we really be sure that the historical-critical methods are not wrong, but have only been put to wrong use (cf. p. 102

where Seitz notes that this was Childs' starting point)?

To sum up my reservations, if the goal is to transform Old Testament studies, then the call for a theological approach that takes the canon seriously treating it as Christian Scripture, important though this is, may not be enough. Let me point out, however, that this criticism should not deter anyone from reading what, I repeat, is a stimulating and thought-provoking collection of essays that deserves to be widely read.

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The Servant King: The Bible's Portrait of the Messiah

T. Desmond Alexander

Leicester: Inter-Varsity Press, 1998, 171 pp., £5.99, pb., ISBN 0-85111-575-6

RÉSUMÉ

L'auteur montre comment s'élabore progressivement, à travers toute la Bible, le portrait du Messie. Ce livre nourrira la contemplation privée ou pourra servir de base à des groupes d'études bibliques. Mais il lui manque des principes herméneutiques clairs qui pourraient aider le lecteur à bien appréhender la relation entre les deux Testaments et le caractère historique des textes bibliques.

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Alexander skizziert in seiner gesamtbiblischen Studie das sich nach und nach entfaltende biblische Portrait des Messias. Das Buch eignet sich für das persönliche Bibelstudium bzw. für die Verwendung in Bibelkreisen; ihm fehlen jedoch hermeneutische Hinweise, die den Lesern helfen würden, das Verhältnis der beiden Testamente zueinander sowie die historische Dimension der biblischen Texte angemessen zu würdigen.

Stressing the centrality of the concept of the Messiah as the unifying theme for both the Old and the New Testament, Alexander outlines its gradual emergence throughout the biblical corpus. Aimed at a general church readership, Alexander's sketch of the Bible's portrait of the Messiah consists of twenty short chapters, each of which is framed by brief summaries and conclusions designed to guide the reader

along. There are also questions for reflection and discussion at the end of each chapter, which make the book a useful tool for private contemplation or for the use in small Bible study groups. A 'further reading list' comes to the aid of those who want to delve deeper.

Alexander's little guide to the Bible's portrait of the Messiah is needed in a Church that is increasingly biblically illiterate, and that struggles to make sense of the Old Testament in particular. While providing a Christian reading of the texts that interprets the Old Testament through the lenses supplied by the New, Alexander is sensitive to the fact that the concept of the Messiah emerged and developed gradually. Yet it is in relation to this point that I have a quibble, for I suspect that readers devoid of Alexander's sensitivity and knowledge will be unlikely to do justice to the texts' historical dimensions. What is lacking in Alexander's treatment is some kind of explicit hermeneutical guidance, perhaps in the form of an additional chapter that explains the relationship between the Testaments, and that alerts readers to the historical dimension of the biblical witness(es).

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Isaiah III/2 (Isaiah 49-55)

Jan L. Koole

Historical Commentary on the Old Testament; Leuven: Peeters, 1998, xxv + 454 pp.; ISBN 90-429-0679-0; no price

RÉSUMÉ

Ce volume appartient à une série qui prend au sérieux le contexte historique des textes bibliques et veut en tenir compte dans l'élaboration d'une théologie chrétienne. On y trouve une nouvelle traduction du texte, et une exégèse très complète embrassant des questions de philologie, d'histoire de l'interprétation, et la préoccupation pour le sens théologique du texte, en particulier dans son rapport avec le Nouveau Testament. Son ampleur dépasse celle de bien des commentaires existants. L'interprétation théologique se situe en gros dans la ligne réformée. La proclamation du salut à toutes les nations par le Serviteur naît de sa mission envers Israël et la prolonge. La question de l'identité du Serviteur reçoit un traitement méticuleux et est comprise à la lumière de la mis-

sion de Christ. L'ouvrage est impressionnant par son étendue, avec un apport important quant à la théologie du texte biblique éclairée par des convictions théologiques chrétiennes solides.

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Kooles Kommentar ist Teil einer Reihe, die den historischen Hintergrund des biblischen Textes ernst nimmt und die zudem darauf abzielt, diesen für die christliche Theologie dienstbar zu machen. Der Band bietet neben einer neuen Übersetzung ausgesprochen umfangreiche exegetische Betrachtungen, wobei der philologischen Arbeit, der historischen Auslegung und der theologischen Bedeutung des Textes (vor allem auch der Beziehung zum Neuen Testament) besondere Aufmerksamkeit gewidmet werden. Hinsichtlich seines Umfangs übertrifft er die meisten verfügbaren Kommentare bei weitem. Der theologische Ansatz kann als im weiteren Sinne reformiert gelten. Der Auftrag des Gottesknechts, allen Nationen Heil zu verkünden, entspringt dem ursprünglichen Auftrag an Israel und setzt diesen fort. Die Identität des Gottesknechts wird gründlich erörtert; sie wird jedoch letztlich im Hinblick auf den Auftrag Christi verstanden.

Der Umfang des Werkes ist gewaltig und zeugt von der biblischen Theologie des Autors, die in einer mit Überzeugung vertretenen christlichen Theologie wurzelt. Die Übersetzung ins Englische ist sehr zu begrüßen, da es sich hierbei um eine bedeutende Ergänzung zu den bislang in dieser Sprache zur Verfügung stehenden Jesaja-Kommentaren handelt.

This volume is a translation of Kooles's commentary in Dutch in the *Commentaar op het Oude Testament* (1990). The English series title gives a clue to the character of the commentary. 'In contrast to the ahistorical approach of much contemporary reader-orientated exegesis, in which it is mainly the interaction between the modern reader and the final text that matters, the editors of *HCOT* are committed to an approach which takes seriously the historical embeddedness of the message of the Old Testament' (from the Editorial Preface). They also take the view that the Old Testament 'was and is a vehicle of the knowledge of God' (*ibid.*). On this basis, the series provides a detailed commentary, with a fresh translation. The comment on each passage is divided into a shorter 'Essentials and Perspectives', intended for a non-technical readership, and a rather longer 'Scholarly

Exposition', in which Hebrew and Greek are cited liberally, untransliterated, and commentators are quoted in the original languages, including Latin. This is, therefore, the most serious kind of scholarly interpretation. To comment on the scale alone, the 454 pages devoted here to seven chapters compares with the *Word Commentary's* seventy-two on the same section of Isaiah. In his close exegesis, Kooles shows a sensitivity to a huge range of scholarly interpretation, past and present, Jewish and Christian. On the setting of Isa. 49–55, he is undogmatic, but accepts that the prophet is 'Deutero-Isaiah' (DI), and his message is delivered to the Babylonian exiles.

Some examples will illustrate the method and message of the commentary. On 49:1–6, in 'Essentials and Perspectives', he depicts the Servant proclaiming his message to the whole world, no longer just to Israel, as in ch. 42. This is done with the help of cross-references, in meditative mode, to several New Testament passages on the topic of the power of the word of God. The Servant's message is that, though his mission to Israel has failed, it will yet come to fruition, along with, and by virtue of, his mission to the nations. Rom. 9–11 is a commentary on the present section (pp. 1–3).

In the 'Scholarly Exposition' on the same passage, he discusses at length, and in dialogue with Jewish and Christian exegetical traditions, the identity of the speaker (the Servant? Israel? the faithful part of Israel? the Messiah?), and decides for the last of these on the grounds that the call to 'hear' followed by 'elay' ('to me') in DI always indicates that God is drawing attention to himself (p. 7). He finds in addition that 'neither the prophet nor Israel could really have addressed the heathen world in the situation of the exile, which would make this act of speaking purely imaginative' (*ibid.*). Nor is there a decisive change at v. 5 (*contra* Watts, for example, who sees a new 'servant' commissioned there, *Isaiah 40–66*, *Word Commentary*, 187). Rather, this marks a new phase in the Servant's mission. In a discussion of 49:6, he takes *mhywtheka* ('that you should be'), not the following infinitives, as the subject of *naqel*, ('it is light, easy'), with a minority of interpreters and translations. The effect of this is to resist the idea that the servant's 'failure' in his mission to Israel is an 'acceptable loss'. The task previously given to the Servant, to bring back Israel to Yahweh, is therefore *not* dismissed here as too slight a task for him. Rather it is reaffirmed: 'your being Servant to me is easy, to restore the tribes of Jacob . . .'; and the mission to the whole world becomes a

continuation of this: 'and I give you as a light to the nations . . .' The review of interpretation, phrase by phrase, is compendious.

In this detailed exegesis, a theological thesis is never far from the surface. In Koole's interpretation, salvation in Christ is at the heart of the work begun in the restoration of the tribes, the preserved of Israel. Furthermore, the 'Servant' cannot readily be identified with DI, as he thinks this would be incompatible with the worldwide reach of his ministry (i.e. not just the prophet's Babylonian hearers) (p. 25).

A further example from the same chapter, 49:22-26, is instructive. In the 'Essentials and Perspectives', Koole sees vv. 22-23 as depicting a 'festive procession to Zion' by the nations, bringing exiles back in an act of homage parallel to the 'pilgrimage' in Isa. 2:2-4 (p. 69). Vv. 24-26, in contrast, portray an enemy, still holding the children of Zion captive, and to whom God declares that he will overcome them. New Testament echoes are found in Mark 3:27 (particularly), and in Rev. 16:6 (pp. 69-70).

The Scholarly Exposition begins with a discussion of the unity of the passage (which is defended, pp. 70-72). Vv. 22-24 are then interpreted as portraying the willing tribute of the nations. Here a problem is encountered because of the strong language of v. 23b, which seems to put the tributaries in the position of defeated enemies; but Koole sees this merely as a recognition of Yahweh's lordship, because of v. 23c (p. 76). He then contrasts this group with the 'oppressors' of v. 26 (p. 83). The uniting theme is the eventual recognition by all that Yahweh is God.

In this passage it is true that there is a different tone in vv. 24-26 from vv. 22-23. But the transition is perhaps not so sharp as Koole argues (against others who think vv. 22-23 depict the nations in servile role, cf. D. van Winkle, VT 35 [1985], 450ff.). It is possible that the theological thesis of the messianic message of salvation to all nations has influenced the exegesis too much at this point.

On the fourth Servant Song (Isa. 52:13-53:12), Koole offers a traditional Christian interpretation. The Servant now proclaims a new salvation: 'The suffering, dying Servant shares in the divine glory' (252). The New Testament fulfilment is always in view. For example, in 53:1, Israel admits its wrong; is Rom. 11:25-26 anticipated? At the same time the interpretation takes a broad view of the imagery here. The author shows a sympathy with all the human suffering that is evoked. In it, Israel is not excluded, but rather Auschwitz is

involved in what is portrayed (p. 251). And the Suffering Servant is rightly appropriated by the synagogue as well as the Church. However, the theological commitment is clear. On 53:12a, the 'many' (not the 'great') are those who are reconciled, after having turned away in 52:14: 'These have already accepted the Servant as Saviour (49:7). For them he was the only way to salvation' (p. 257).

There are two areas in which a reader might take issue with the commentary. One arises from the comprehensiveness itself. The lexicographical material in particular does not always feed directly into the interpretation offered. The author avoids the well known dangers of philology in interpretation, because he is sensitive to the contexts of words, but this means that sometimes one feels the discussions are redundant. The second area is the theological interpretation itself. As is clear from the above examples the commentary falls definitely into the Reformed tradition of interpretation, in its conviction that the prophetic text articulates in essence the message of the Gospel. Readers may sometimes quibble on the theological grounds over his reading of texts.

Nevertheless, this is a monumental work, the fruit of a lifetime's scholarship. It is both scholarship and theology, a celebration of the purpose of God to show his salvation to the whole world by means of the most painstaking labour on the Old Testament text. The intended comprehensiveness—from text-criticism and philology to theology—is sometimes challenging to the reader. Yet this work goes beyond most commentaries in its insistent concern to scrutinize the text of Scripture out of a theological conviction, and with a host of theological and hermeneutical questions in mind. In that sense it is a model. Not that it compels assent on every point, but that it manifests the devotion of a Christian scholar.

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Paul and Perseverance: Staying In and Falling Away

Judith M. Gundry Volf

Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1990. IX + 325 pp.

Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 2. Reihe, 37.
DM 69,- Hb.

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Die vorliegende Tübinger Doktorarbeit widmet sich dem Problem der Perseveranz im Corpus Paulinum. Die Verfasserin teilt die untersuchten Texte in vier Kategorien ein, die die eschatologische Dimension des Problems, den Lebenswandel, den Glauben und das Ziel der paulinischen Mission betreffen. Ihre Lösungsvorschläge sollten nicht nur von Neutestamentlern und Systematikern beachtet werden, sie sind vielmehr auch Pastoren eine Hilfe im Umgang mit den Passagen bei Paulus.

This book began life as a doctoral dissertation, directed by Prof. Dr. Otfried Hofius and accepted in 1988 by the Evangelisch-Theologische Fakultät of the University of Tübingen. As the title indicates, it is a comprehensive study of "the perseverance of the saints" in Paul's undisputed letters (including, however, 2 Thessalonians). Gundry Volf arranges the texts relevant to her subject in four broad categories. Under the first category ("The Eschatological Tension and Staying In") she examines such passages as Romans 5:1–11, Romans 8:29–30 and Philippians 1:6. She concludes that in these texts and others like them Paul unambiguously affirms God's faithfulness to bring his chosen people to final salvation despite the onslaughts of present evil. Her's is the most natural reading of these passages, as the classic Reformed confessions recognize, and her exegesis of them is unexceptionable. Other texts, however, have always been difficult to harmonize with these passages, and Gundry Volf tackles these passages in her next three categories. Her second category ("Conduct and Falling Away") examines passages in which, according to many, Paul assumes that the sinful conduct of the wayward among his congregations has placed their salvation at risk. In every instance, Gundry Volf's exegesis attempts to demonstrate that something other than ultimate salvation is at stake. The weak who violate their own convictions in 1 Corinthians 8:11 and Romans 14:15 are not "destroyed" in any ultimate way, but merely unedified. The judgement which, in 1 Corinthians 11:27–34, falls on those who are abusing the Lord's Supper is pedagogical rather than condemnatory in nature. The incestuously immoral man of 1 Corinthians 5:1–5 is only a falsely professing believer, as Paul demonstrates when he expresses the hope that expulsion will lead the man to repentance and salvation. Similarly, the person who thinks he stands in 1 Corinthians 10:12 show take heed lest he fall from the appearance of salvation

rather than from salvation itself. Finally, the vice lists in 1 Corinthians 6:1–11 and Galatians 5:19–21 do not threaten Paul's sinful readers with loss of salvation. In the first, Paul shows the Corinthians that their behavior is incompatible with their eternal destiny and in the second he demonstrates to the Galatians that he is not, despite slanders to the contrary, a libertine.

The third category ("Faith and Falling Away") examines four passages in which Paul has often been understood to describe failure of the elect to persevere in saving faith. Gundry Volf argues that two of these texts refer not to the final "falling away" of those whom God has chosen, but to a temporary hardening (Israel in Romans 9–11) or expulsion (Gentile Christians in Romans 11:17–24) of the unfaithful as part of God's wider, merciful purposes (Romans 11:26). A third passage (Galatians 5:1–4) is a hypothetical statement intended to force Paul's readers to grapple with the consequences of their flirtation with another gospel. The final text (2 Corinthians 13:5), similarly, implies that rejection of Paul's apostolic authority is equivalent to confessing that one is not a believer after all. These passages demonstrate, says Gundry Volf, that Paul did not view perseverance in salvation as "automatic" but as constantly in need of God's active, sustaining grace.

The fourth category ("Final Outcome of Mission") covers passages in which Paul seems to express doubt about the saving outcome of his mission. Does Paul claim that his own salvation depends upon the success of his mission to the Gentiles (1 Corinthians 9:27, 1 Corinthians 9:23, or Philippians 3:11–12)? Do Paul's references to laboring in vain mean that he thought his converts might fail to persist in their faith and lose their salvation (Philippians 2:16; 1 Thessalonians 3:5; and Galatians 2:2; 4:11)? Does Paul's talk of believing in vain and receiving God's grace in vain reveal a fear that some recipients of God's grace among his congregations might lose their grip on salvation (1 Corinthians 15:2 and 2 Corinthians 6:1)? According to Gundry Volf, some of these texts do not have salvation in view at all (1 Corinthians 9:23, 27). Others are best read as expressions of confidence in ultimate salvation (1 Corinthians 15:2; Philippians 3:11–12). But some of them, if taken alone, might be understood as expressions of doubt about the perseverance of believers (2 Corinthians 6:1; Galatians 2:2; 4:11; Philippians 2:16; 1 Thessalonians 3:5). The stance of this last group on the question of perseverance, how-

ever, is not unambiguous and should not upset the overwhelming evidence of other texts that Paul held to the perseverance of believers.

Gundry Volf's ambitious volume has many strengths. It is carefully crafted, proceeding logically from the passages where her thesis is most secure to those where its footing is less certain. Although the book is highly technical, her frequent summaries both of the problem she is about to tackle at the beginning of a section and of her conclusions at the end make her argument easy to follow. It is also thorough, treating with care every text pertinent to her subject and often shedding new light on shopworn debates over difficult texts. For example, she correlates the term "good work" in Philippians 1:6 with 2 Corinthians 8:9 and the notion of God's beneficence in such texts as the Testament of Joseph. She then draws the conclusion that Philippians 1:6 speaks of God's completion of his own "good work" among the Philippians. The statement does not refer, as is commonly thought, to some "good work" of the Philippians themselves. Similarly, she helpfully illuminates the meaning of the term "judgment" in 1 Corinthians 11:29 and 34 when she correlates it with the notion of pedagogical judgment found in such texts as Deuteronomy 8:5; Proverbs 3:11-12; and Wisdom 11:10.

Her argument seems weakest when treating the problem of Jewish unbelief, and the potential for Gentile unbelief, in Romans 9-11. Here she claims that the temporary nature of the hardening or the cutting off leaves room for subsequent salvation and so does not impugn God's faithfulness to the elect. This perspective is promising enough at the national level, but Gundry Volf does not adequately address the nagging question of how God's faithfulness to the elect remains in tact when the individuals who fall in the present differ from those who experience God's mercy in the end.

This, however, is a small matter in light of the book's overall usefulness. Systematic theologians, New Testament scholars, and pastors who have puzzled over the difficult texts that Gundry Volf treats will all find this an indispensable volume.

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Trinität und Gemeinschaft. Eine ökumenische Ekklesiologie.

Miroslav Volf

Mainz: Matthias-Grünewald;
Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener
Verlag, 1996. 307 S., DM 56,-, Pb.,
ISBN 3-7867-1959-4 und
3-7887-1530-8

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Miroslav Volf, ein weit bekannter Theologe aus Kroatien, hat mit dieser Monographie seine Habilitationsschrift veröffentlicht, die 1993 in Tübingen angenommen wurde. Die Arbeit stellt einen nicht unbedingt leicht lesbaren hochstehenden Beitrag zur Ekklesiologie der Gegenwart dar. Sie versucht, der historischen Tiefendimension der Kirche genauso gerecht zu werden wie ihrer gegenwärtigen ökumenischen Weite, die die freikirchliche Ekklesiologie in in Darstellung einbezieht.

Miroslav Volf, als Sohn eines freikirchlichen Pastors in Novi Sad im ehemaligen Jugoslawien aufgewachsen und jetzt am Fuller Theological Seminary in Pasadena, Kalifornien, lehrend, legt mit diesem Buch seine Habilitationsschrift vor, die er 1993 an der Evang.-Theol. Fakultät der Universität Tübingen einreichte und von Jürgen Moltmann betreut wurde. Die Arbeit ist nicht nur deswegen interessant, weil Miroslav Volf den Ruf auf einen Lehrstuhl in Heidelberg erhielt, sondern weil diese Ekklesiologie zugleich eine Programmschrift für die Zukunft der Kirche darstellt. Volf will mit seiner Untersuchung "zu der Neuentdeckung der Kirche beitragen" (10). Dies ist um so wichtiger, da der kirchlich gelebte Glaube immer mehr "durch einen diffusen, in sich die Elemente der multiplen Religiositätsformen einschließenden und sich ständig ändernden individualistisch gelebten Glauben ersetzt" wird (11). Volf kontrastiert in dieser Arbeit das freikirchliche Kirchenverständnis, das er anhand des Gründers der Baptisten, John Smyth, aufzeigt, mit den ekklesiologischen Positionen von Kardinal Ratzinger und dem orthodoxen Metropoliten Johannes Zizioulas und zieht dann seine eigenen Folgerungen.

Zunächst wird Joseph Kardinal Ratzingers Verständnis der Kirche dargestellt, für den es unverzichtbar ist, daß eine Ortskirche in Gemeinschaft mit der ganzen Kirche stehen muß, daß sie entweder katholisch ist oder keine Kirche im echten Sinne sein kann. Diese eine Kir-

che verbürgt das Wort Gottes und den Glauben, denn "ohne den Glauben der Kirche zerfällt die Schrift in eine Vielzahl aufeinander nicht bezogener Stimmen aus der Vergangenheit, aus denen jeder sich seine eigene Lebensphilosophie herauszudestillieren hat" (48). Das reformatorische Prinzip "allein die Schrift", nach dem jeder einzelne einen direkten Zugang zum Wort Gottes zu haben meint, führt nach Ratzinger zum ekklesiologischen Individualismus und zur soteriologischen Eigenmächtigkeit. Deshalb ist es wichtig, daß in der Gestalt der apostolischen Sukzession mit dem Petrusamt als Mitte die Kirche die Stätte ist, in der "die abgeschlossene Offenbarung unabhängig, vollmächtig und verbindlich ausgelegt wird" (51). Es nicht verwunderlich, daß Volf abschließend resümiert: "Ratzingers reduktive Hermeneutik der religiösen und ekklesialen Erfahrung protestantischer (vor allem freikirchlicher) Christen ist ökumenisch wenig fruchtbar" (61). Doch auch die Ekklesiologie von Johannes Zizioulas hat ihre Probleme.

Für Zizioulas ist die trinitarische personale *Communio* das Paradigma für die menschliche *Communio*. Zu dem trinitarischen Gott findet man jedoch nur Beziehung in der Kirche, denn in der Taufe vollzieht sich eine neue Geburt "durch die Vereinigung unserer erschaffenen Natur mit dem unerschaffenen Gott in Christus" (85). Die Personalisierung des Menschen, die für den einzelnen in der Taufe ihren Anfang genommen hat, findet in der Eucharistie ihre konkrete, historische Verwirklichung. So ist "die Eucharistie das zentrale soteriologisch-ekklesiologische Geschehen, in dem das Wesen sowohl des Heils als auch der Kirche zum Vorschein kommt" (93). In der eucharistischen Gemeinschaft geschieht die Verwirklichung des Eschatons, in dem die unsichtbare Kirche in den konkreten Versammlungen der Ortskirche konkret wird. Die Kirche ist somit ein eschatologisches Ereignis, eine antizipatorische Parusie. Da nach orthodoxem Verständnis jeder Bischof Nachfolger aller Apostel ist, führt das zu keiner kollektiven Einheit, sondern zu einer Einheit in Identität, wobei jede Lokalkirche ganz Kirche Christi ist und nicht lediglich ein Teil von ihr. Diese Ekklesiologie ist damit einer freikirchlichen angemessener als die streng hierarchische Ratzingers.

Volf hält nichts von einem Entweder-Oder zwischen episkopaler Struktur oder freikirchlicher Gemeinschaftsbetonung. Die Kirche darf weder zu einem privaten Club gleich den-

kender und sich gleich verhaltender Menschen reduziert werden, noch darf Kirche objektiv auf die das Wort und Sakrament verwaltende Hierarchie beschränkt werden. Viel besser ist es, von Matthäus 18,20 auszugehen ("Wo zwei oder drei in meinem Namen versammelt sind, da bin ich mitten unter ihnen"). Dieses Bibelwort ist nicht erst für die Freikirchen wichtig geworden, sondern hat in der Tradition mindestens seit Tertullian, wenn nicht Ignatius eine wichtige Rolle gespielt. Im Blick auf die frühkirchliche Tradition und das Neue Testament betont Volf, daß die Präsenz Christi nicht lediglich durch das Amt bezeugt wird, "sondern durch das multidimensionale Bekennen der ganzen Versammlung" (144).

Die eine Kirche existiert in der Geschichte nur als Gemeinschaft der Kirchen, erst in der eschatologischen Sammlung des ganzen Volkes Gottes gibt es die eine Kirche im Singular. Volf wendet sich nun der Instrumentalität der Kirche zu und gewinnt der alten Formel "außerhalb der Kirche gibt es kein Heil" neue Aktualität ab, denn mit Bonhoeffer betont er, daß "das Heil nicht ohne die Kirche und die Kirche nicht ohne das Heil" zu denken ist (166). Obwohl der Wille der Menschen, als eine konkrete Kirche zusammenzukommen und zusammenzubleiben ein konstitutives Element des Kircheseins ist, wird das ekklesiale Sein immer schon vorausgesetzt, denn die Kirche ist meinem Eintreten in sie schon vorgängig.

Obwohl diese Arbeit nicht immer leicht zu lesen ist, darf man ihr wünschen, daß sie nicht nur von vielen gelesen, sondern auch beherzigt wird. Von der amerikanischen freikirchlichen Tradition beeinflusst, weiß Volf wie kein anderer, daß den traditionellen Kirchen die Felle davonschwimmen. Doch bemerkt er auch, daß die Freikirchen, die gerade auf Kosten der traditionellen Kirchen einen immensen Zulauf haben, "allzuleicht zu religiösen Clubs entarten, in denen sich die Menschen gleicher Rasse, gleicher sozialer Klasse und politischer Ansichten in ihren Einseitigkeiten religiös gegenseitig bestätigen" (266). Deswegen möchte er den Freikirchen zu größerem ekklesialem Selbstverständnis verhelfen, ohne sie in evangeliums-fremde Rechtsstrukturen erstarren zu lassen. Man kann diesem Versuch nur viel Erfolg wünschen, denn er würde sich auch auf die Großkirchen befruchtend auswirken, da er viele der Voreingenommenheiten gegenüber den Freikirchen ausräumt.

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Introduction to Biblical Interpretation

William W. Klein, Craig L. Blomberg, Robert L. Hubbard

Dallas, London: Word Publ., 1993, 518 pp., £14.-, hb., ISBN 0–8499–0774–8

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Die Autoren bieten eine hervorragende Einführung in die Auslegungsprinzipien der ganzen Bibel. Es geht über Grundfragen der Hermeneutik, Auslegungsgeschichte und Kanon zum Ausleger selbst und dem Ziel seiner Auslegung. Das Buch behandelt Sprache (Prosa und Poesie) und Gattungen der Bibel, ihren heutigen Gebrauch und ihre sachgemäße Anwendung (jeweils mit reichlich Beispielen). Abschließend werden neuere methodische Zugänge knapp vorgestellt und beurteilt. Der Band ist allgemein verständlich gehalten und am gegenwärtigen Forschungsstand orientiert. Die spezifische Fragestellung und Problematik historisch-kritischer Hermeneutik und Exegese erscheint kaum. (Nicht nur) Aus solider evangelikaler Sicht gibt es bisher in deutscher Sprache keine so umfassende, brauchbare und praktische 'Methodenlehre' für interessierte Bibelleser, Studenten und ihre Dozenten. Übersetzung (mit leichter Bearbeitung, s.u.) wäre wünschenswert (vgl. Rez. H. Pehlke in JETH 9, 1995, 182–85).

Those who learned from and treasured the volumes on biblical interpretation by B. Ramm and A.B. Mickelsen will cherish this book. Those who found these volumes wanting, will enjoy this book more. A team of three well-known evangelical scholars from the faculty of Denver Seminary set out on and mastered the task of writing a solidly based textbook, each author contributing from his area of expertise (two NT, one OT scholar). The book forms an integrated whole and indicates that its content has been often tested in classrooms, wrestled with, revised and improved and matured with time.

The book is subdivided into five sections. In The Task of Interpretation (3–78) the authors consider the need for hermeneutics, the history of interpretation and the canon (briefly touching on canon criticism and on the texts and translations of the Bible).

The Interpreter and the Goal (81–151) outlines the interpreter's qualifications (faith, obedience, illumination, membership in the

church) and the presuppositions of correct interpretation (about the nature of the Bible, the interpreter, methodology and the goal of hermeneutics), and points up the presuppositions of the interpreter and how to accept and overcome them. The chapter on the goal of interpretation raises and answers crucial questions: Does the text have one fixed meaning or several levels of meaning? Is textual meaning the singular goal of interpretation? Can we achieve a legitimate reader-response interpretation? How can we validate our interpretation? The authors provide a good introduction and a clear orientation in the current debate regarding these issues.

Understanding Literature (155–255) shows the nature of biblical prose and poetry and presents general hermeneutical principles. Headings for the former include literary context, historical-cultural background, word meanings, grammatical-structural relationships; for the latter: the dynamics, sounds, structure, language and larger unity of poetry. A tremendous introduction for many younger people who as readers of the Bible only now are beginning to discover the beauty, force, intricacy and many more features of language and literature.

Part four (Understanding Bible Genres; 259–374) lists the genres of both Testaments (narratives, law, poetry, prophecy, wisdom, Gospels, Acts, Epistles, Revelation) and discusses the implications for their interpretation (and for some key theological issues). As in other sections, well chosen examples (often disputed passages or issues) illustrate the principles propounded and explained, as the authors strive 'to show students not merely what interpretation is all about, but how to interpret' (XIX). These examples will also inspire preachers. Those expounding biblical books in various settings will find in this part valuable preparation. Their ministry will be enriched (and challenged) by studying and referring to the entire volume.

The authors do not leave their readers in the 'then and there', however fascinating and illuminated it has become! In The Fruits of Interpretation (377–426) they show the relevance of proper biblical interpretation 'here and now', surveying the use of the Bible today in gaining information and understanding, in worship, formulation liturgy and theology, in preaching, teaching and pastoral care, and for spiritual formation in the Christian life. The last chapter deals with the importance of application and its pitfalls (such as total or partial neglect of the literary or historical context, or

insufficiently analogous situations) and develops a fourfold strategy for legitimate application: determine the original application(s); evaluate the level of specificity of the original application(s); identify the cross-cultural principles; find appropriate applications that embody the broader principles. Lest the reader be dismayed, this part closes with brief considerations on the role of the Holy Spirit in this process.

This well balanced treatment (in stance and proportion) of the various issues is followed by an appendix dealing with various modern approaches to interpretation. Under literary criticism appears structuralism, narrative criticism, post-structuralism; classification and the interpretation of advocacy groups come under social-scientific approaches to Scripture (427–57). It is refreshing that these approaches, presented, promoted, discussed and often predominating elsewhere, receive comparatively little space at the end of a book which presents, explains, illustrates and defends the traditional conservative approach of interpretation. From this perspective these fashionable approaches, often in their own way attempting to correct the deficiencies of liberal approaches, will be used with caution and no little gain (cf. J.B. Green (ed.), *Hearing the New Testament: Strategies for Interpretation*, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans; Carlisle: Paternoster, 1995). The volume ends with more than thirty pages of annotated bibliography of hermeneutical tools and sources, 'widely accepted as the best currently available' (459, English titles only, including translations), which will be an excellent guide for students and those in charge of building up libraries (best buys indicated, obviously the assessment of individual works is subjective). One should distinguish between Friedrich and Franz Delitzsch (46, 487, cf. RGG3 II, 74–75). *Elenchus Bibliographicus Biblicus* (485) appeared since 1920 (cf. IATG2, 264). In a revision a brief survey of computer based aids for Bible study might be included. The bibliography is followed by indices of authors, references and subjects.

This volume, very good value for money, will prove to be an excellent textbook for seminars, taught courses and correspondence courses (and for those preparing them), and for the individual student who will find rich reward. Each chapter is a self-contained unit. It is a fine example of a text not too technical, yet never simplistic. All the way through the authors provide footnotes with selected references that lead into the current academic discussion including

'main stream' and evangelical contributions. Also scholars will find quick access and orientation. Though possibly not the most exciting volume on this topic, the IBI of KBH is certainly the most helpful recent volume for the student wishing to learn sound conservative interpretation. Methods come and go and it is encouraging to see inadequate methods wane. But as much academic literature (commentaries and monographs, these titles appear in the bibliography!) is still influenced by the 'historical-critical method' or its variants, more thorough treatment of its presuppositions and a critique would be valuable. From p. 44–45 the impression could arise that this method was a phenomenon of the nineteenth century. G. Maier, *Biblical Hermeneutics* (Wheaton: Crossway, 1994), 247–306, offers a broader discussion of this issue. At the same time it is also refreshing that these questions of the past do not dominate the presentation.

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New Testament Theology

**G.B. Caird, completed and edited by
L.D. Hurst**

Clarendon Paperbacks

Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995, xix, 498
pp., £18.50, ISBN 0–19–826660-X

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Diese neutestamentliche Theologie des verstorbenen Oxforder Neutestamentlers steht über dem Methodenkonflikt, der ähnliche deutsche Publikationen bestimmt. In seinem Modell einer 'apostolischen Konferenz', will Caird die verschiedenen ntl. Autoren miteinander ins Gespräch bringen. In acht Runden geht es um den göttlichen Plan, die Notwendigkeit des Heils, seine drei Zeitstufen, die Tatsache, Erfahrung und Hoffnung des Heils und um Christologie. Durch dieses Vorgehen wird immer wieder, trotz verschiedener Schwerpunkte, die Einheit des NT erkennbar. Ein abschließender Abschnitt behandelt die Theologie Jesu. Die Ergebnisse sind oft erstaunlich konservativ, in vielen Ergebnissen und Argumentationen werden sich Evangelikale wiederfinden. Die Darstellung ist nicht mit Sekundärliteratur und Forschungsmeinungen überladen, sondern stark exegetisch geprägt, ferner wird der atl. Hintergrund berücksichtigt. Viele Themen und

ntl. Bücher, die in den vergleichbaren deutschen Werken meist zu kurz kommen, werden hier gebührend behandelt. Dieses Buch bietet die beste und aktuellste englischsprachige NT Theologie mittleren Umfangs.

While a surprising number of single or multi-volume New Testament theologies have appeared in German over the last few years (Berger, Hübner, Strecker, Stuhlmacher), in this regard the English language section of NT studies was comparatively quiet. After the 1986 volume of L.L. Morris (NT Theology) and the revision of G.E. Ladd's A Theology of the NT by D.A. Hagner 1993, Caird's is the only other recent volume. Yet it is not only a matter of numbers between both realms, but also of essential differences of approach. While the German contributions on this subject emphasise and often over-emphasise methodological issues and are usually divided between the two camps of so-called Biblical Theology of the NT and exponents of so-called NT Theology, the English volumes are more modest in approach and content to get the job done. The volume of the late George Bradford Caird (21.4.1994) exemplifies this latter approach and does get the job amazingly well done. The volume testifies throughout to Hurst's summary of Caird's conviction: 'For him the meaning of the language and imagery of the NT was what its writers intended it to mean; and the only way to understand that meaning was to read and reread the NT' (xi), a position that serves as a welcome corrective to increasingly popular approaches that neglect or ignore authorial intent (cf. the brilliant critical discussion of this subject in the epilogue, 422–24, e.g. 422 '... a gospel means news about historical events, attested by reliable witnesses, and having at its centre a historical person. Whenever Christians have attempted to give the scriptures a sense other than the plain sense intended by those who wrote them, Christianity has been in danger of running out into the sands of Gnosticism'). Elsewhere in his appreciation Hurst notes that Caird 'had little time for schools of thought or "the methodology of the month". The latest scholarly fad was for him as truth-bearing as a fortune cookie' (x).

The editor took over Caird's half-finished manuscript, set out to reconstruct the author's view from his other publications to complete the volume in the author's spirit and filled in the blanks. In the foreword Hurst outlines his procedure and the material he drew from. He includes a brief biography and assessment of Caird's contribution to NT scholarship. The

bibliography (431–49) is preceded by his complete list of writings (427–30).

In two ways this volume is unique in approach: in its establishment and use of what Caird calls the 'apostolic conference model' as a way of organising the thought of the NT and in placing the theology of Jesus last. The participants at this conference, namely the NT authors, and Jesus are linked by theology as their subject matter. In including Jesus, Caird attempts 'to show that the historical Jesus is a deeply theological figure in the same sense as Paul, John and others. Jesus' teaching is recoverable and identifiable as the starting point for much of the NT writers' discussion of the issues surrounding salvation' (x). Caird sets out by asking what NT Theology is and develops his model against other approaches (dogmatic, chronological, kerygmatic, author by author) to writing such a volume (1–26). To give an impression of the subjects addressed, it appears best to let the headings and subheadings of the following eight chapters speak for themselves. Chapter 2 contains 'The Divine Plan': the whole counsel of God; the coming of God; the plan of salvation; Israel and the world; According to the Scriptures; the obedience of Christ; the opening of the Scriptures; a people prepared. Chapter 3 examines 'The Need of Salvation': The universality of sin and of judgement; the experience and essence of sin; the threefold Adam; the sin of the world; principalities and powers; Satan; the Antichrist; the unforgivable sin (74–117). The fourth chapter introduces 'The Three Tenses of Salvation': the triple pattern; Christian progress; the presence of the Transcendent; the kingdom of God. The 'Fact of Salvation' presents the One and the many, revelation and atonement (136–78). Chapter six, 'The Experience of Salvation' is devoted to newness of life; worship; the sovereignty of grace; the imitation of Christ; in Christ and the Spirit; in the church. 'The Hope of Salvation' (238–78) reflects on 'Because I live, you too shall live'; the meaning of 'eschatology'; the parousia and its imminence; individual and historical eschatology. 'The Bringer of Salvation', the eighth chapter, deals with christology (Beginning at the beginning; developing from the beginning; the qualifications of Jesus). Chapter 9 presents 'The Theology of Jesus'. After exposing four cardinal errors (e.g. the first being the assumption that the Jesus of history was a different person from the Christ of the Church's faith), the author deals with the birth of Christian theology; the gathering storm; the kingdom of God; the Son of Man; the law; the nations; son-

ship and death (345–408). Chapter 10 presents a brief summary of each chapter and conclusions on Jesus and his relation to the apostolic conference, followed by a brief but challenging epilogue on 'Dialogue, meaning and authority' (409–25). The volume is rounded off by indices of passages, authors and subjects, which allow use of the book as a reference tool and study of the theological contribution of an individual book.

In addition to the fresh approach of the 'apostolic conference' model, the emphasis and strength of this volume derives in part from its reflection of Caird's previous works. Throughout there is exemplary sensitivity to issues of language and expression and their bearing on the methods and meaning of the theology of the biblical authors, as one would expect from the author of the magisterial *The Language and Imagery of the Bible* (1980). The conference gives welcome attention to Revelation, likewise reflecting Caird's scholarly interests and last major publication, *The Revelation of St. John the Divine* (2nd ed., 1985), a book often neglected in NT theologies as a mere appendage to the section on Johannine literature. Likewise Caird's earlier study *Principalities and Powers* (1956) is reflected throughout (especially 102–17), also an area otherwise often neglected or underestimated in NT Theology. There is also a welcome attention to the theological contribution of Luke-Acts and of Hebrews. The latter will have been heightened by the expertise of the editor (cf. 439). Such balance in treatment is found in few comparable volumes.

Reflecting Caird's above conviction, the volume and discussion is not overloaded with secondary literature or critical discussion of scholarship. Positions of the past (mainly Bultmann, Dodd, Schweitzer, J. Weiss) are summarised and discussed insofar as they introduced lasting points which dominate the discussion until the present. The discussion of E.P. Sanders' 'covenantal nomism' is too brief. In view of Caird's review of Sanders' manifesto (*JThS* 29, 1978, 540f), more extensive discussion would have been valuable. In his repeated and extensive references to the OT as the conceptual background for NT theology C. resembles the German advocates of a Biblical Theology of the NT.

This stimulating volume raises many issues. To pursue only one, one may ask in evaluating

the 'conference-table' approach whether the historical Jesus could be invited to join and how this would change the conference and its proceedings. Should he be the one to open the discussion of the various topics? How would the interrelation of theology and politics in the teaching of Jesus, for which Caird so persuasively argues, affect the discussion? Would this inclusion be different from other approaches, and if so, how? Though this conclusion is not always noted, this approach leads Caird to a conservative estimation of the unity of the NT. Though allowing for diversity and emphasis – dialogue being the essential characteristic – there are few dissonant voices at Caird's table. Many of Caird's observations and conclusions reflect those of evangelical scholars (cf. p. x; an exception would be the universalism reflected throughout). Similarly, much of Caird's criticism of previous scholarship resembles and affirms that raised by conservative writers.

Hurst is to be thanked for engaging in and mastering a difficult task. Author and editor present what is probably the best medium length NT Theology currently available. The book will give students a valuable survey of the biblical evidence (especially of subjects or books otherwise neglected) and helpful guidance in evaluating this evidence and the opinions voiced about it elsewhere. It should likewise teach and demonstrate to students that no amount of scholarly or methodological discussion can and should ever replace careful study of the texts themselves. Scholars will share these benefits and will find stimulation in Caird's well-argued and presented observations and critical evaluation of scholarship, neither of which should be dismissed without good evidence. This is a volume fully worthy to be mentioned with the longer volumes of Ladd and Guthrie, which should be consulted for more extensive treatment of the great topics of Pauline theology (a slight weakness of Caird's volume). Together this trio forms a helpful combination of approaches, emphases and constructive results to which Evangelicals of other languages, and not only they, can only look at with envy. The paperback edition is a slightly corrected reprint of the 1994 hard over edition (45).

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Jesus the Messiah: A Survey of the Life of Christ

Robert H. Stein

Downers Grove, Leicester: IVP, 1996.

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US 0-8303-1884-7

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Im Vergleich zu vielen Jesusbüchern der vergangenen Jahre bietet Stein ein nüchternes und dennoch faszinierendes 'Leben Jesu' auf der Grundlage der kanonischen Evangelien. Besonders hervorzuheben sind – sowohl in der einleitenden methodischen Reflexion wie auch in der Durchführung – sein durchweg überzeugendes Eintreten für die Historizität der Evangelienberichte (ohne dabei historische Schwierigkeiten zu übersehen oder herunterzuspielen) und seine Bereitschaft, Wunder nicht a priori auszuschließen. Evangelikale werden sowohl die durchweg verständliche und sich aufs Wesentliche konzentrierende Darstellung wie auch die gebotene Argumentationshilfe schätzen, andere sollten sich über die hier präsentierten Argumente nicht ohne gute Gründe hinwegsetzen. Übersetzung ins Deutsche wird empfohlen, da es z. Zt. auf Deutsch kaum Vergleichbares gibt.

The last decade has produced a great number of books, which – in the widest use of the term – could be called 'biographies' of Jesus. In addition to numerous popular accounts, scholarly studies abound on all aspects of the life of Jesus, his teaching, his background, etc. It is hardly possible to stay abreast of this ever-rising tide. Several helpful surveys are available, e.g. B. Witherington, *The Jesus Quest: The Third Search for the Jew of Nazareth* (Downers Grove: IVP, 1995); N.T. Wright, *Jesus and the Victory of God*, *Christian Origins and the Question of God II*; (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1996), 3–124; C.A. Evans, *Life of Jesus Research: An Annotated Bibliography*, rev. ed., NTTS 25 (Leiden: Brill, 1996); B. Chilton, C.A. Evans (ed.), *Studying the Historical Jesus: Evaluations of the State of Current Research*, NTTS 19 (Leiden: Brill, 1994).

Stein is well-known on account of several studies related to Jesus and the Synoptic Gospels, which many evangelicals have come to appreciate (e.g. *The Method and Message of Jesus' Teaching*, *The Synoptic Problem: An Introduction*). Following his preface and introduction, Stein offers in Part One of the present

volume a fine discussion of some 'Key Issues in Studying the Life of Christ' (15–60). The chapter headings summarise well the issues succinctly covered by Stein: 'Where you start determines where you finish: The role of presuppositions in studying the life of Jesus'; 'Where can we go?: Sources for Studying the Life of Jesus' (including helpful discussion of the increasingly popular non-canonical gospels) and 'When did all this take place?: The problem of chronology'. Part Two deals with the life of Jesus from virgin birth to resurrection (61–277).

In several ways Stein's *Jesus the Messiah: A Survey of the Life of Christ* makes a unique contribution to the widening stream of books on Jesus. Firstly, while others deny the value or even the possibility of historical study of the life of Jesus or allow for very little of historical value, Stein offers an outstanding compilation of what can be said with reasonable certainty about the life and ministry of Jesus. While readily acknowledging historical difficulties (e.g. concerning the Lukan census, 68f), Stein demonstrates persuasively throughout the volume that in reconstructing the life of Jesus there are good historical reasons to believe the Gospel accounts. The evidence and arguments he presents need to be taken seriously by friend and foe. The second main strength and contribution of this volume follows from the first. In the programmatic chapter 'Where you start determines where you finish: The role of presuppositions in studying the life of Jesus' (17–25) Stein gives a brief history of the development of the non-supernatural approach to the miracles of the Gospels (Harnack, Bultmann, Hume, Troeltsch) and shows its weakness, subjective presuppositions and the terminology employed to avoid direct statements (historical, kerymatic, historic; 21f). He demands that an a priori exclusion of the supernatural, i.e. the miraculous, is a presupposition that should be clearly stated. Using Matthew's resurrection account as an example, Stein presents the approach and self-imposed limits of the classical 'historical critical' method (in the definition of Troeltsch, 20). Stein believes that due to the adherence to its basic tenets, the results of the so called third quest remain disappointing. Starting with the resurrection of Jesus Stein brings out the consequences of such an endeavour: 'To deny the miraculous is to deny historic Christianity' (18). Stein openly declares his openness to the possibility of the supernatural (13) and concludes: 'A study of the life of Jesus that excludes the miraculous is destined from the

start to produce a Jesus who is an aberration. He will be a stranger both to his opponents, who acknowledged his miracles ..., and to his followers, who will no longer be able to identify him as the object of their faith ... Attempts to strip the supernatural from Jesus' life can only produce a Jesus so radically different that he is unrecognizable and his impact on history is unexplainable' (24). This chapter is well worth reading for its tight argument and the challenge of much of older and current mainstream positions. What is observed and stated on methodological questions in the opening chapters is consistently applied in the second part. Stein's statement of his own methodological presuppositions is exemplary and, sadly, rarely to be found in similar publications. Perhaps one might add a few paragraphs indicating that the traditional non-supernatural approach is strongly indebted to the worldview of the last two centuries and that more recent views allow for more things in heaven and earth than were dreamt of in the older philosophy.

Both of Stein's emphasises are closely related. Is the historical scepticism about the life and ministry of Jesus not predominantly directed to his miracles, including his resurrection? Once students become sceptical of or reject the miracle accounts of the Gospels, is this attitude then not easily extended to other passages? After all, can authors, who account the miraculous as if it really happened, be trusted in other aspects? If, however, the possibility of miracles is granted, the accounts which contain such reports become more acceptable as historical testimony. Stein's book is an excellent case study of the impact of a priori assumptions on historical study and of evaluating the historicity of sources.

In addition to this welcome focus on history and the miracles and the sensitive treatment of both issues, Stein offers helpful summaries of the proclamation of Jesus (e.g. 'The message of Jesus: The kingdom of God has come to you', 123-40). Stein's attention to and actual treatment of the infancy narratives in 'Conceived by the Holy Spirit, born of the virgin Mary: How it all started' (64-80; critical views of the virginal conception, historical difficulties in the biblical accounts, the birth of Jesus, the theological importance of the virginal conception), otherwise often dismissed lightly, is to be welcomed. The same applies to the chapter on the 'silent years' of Jesus (81-89; their normality - aimed against apocryphal accounts, the brothers and sisters of Jesus, the family life of Jesus, the personal life, the languages of

Jesus). There are but a few points where the present reviewer would disagree in either part.

Stein is to be thanked for a well-argued, sober and yet fascinating and masterly presented account of the life of Jesus based on the canonical Gospels. He provides a 'no-nonsense' introduction and informed guidance for undergraduate students and others seriously interested in Jesus. It will be a stimulating challenge to those of different persuasion, due to their own convictions or simply due to ignorance of such an alternative. However, readers more acquainted with the facts and issues will also find stimulating fresh insights. Though the volume does not offer detailed interaction with current scholarship, the informed reader appreciates the authors' indirect interaction with major positions in the field. This is a volume that students and their teachers can hardly afford to miss.

Dr. Christoph Stenschke
Stralsund, Germany

EuroJTh (2000) 9:1, 100-102

0960-2720

**Das Evangelium des Lukas.
Übersetzt und erklärt
Josef Ernst**

Regensburger Neues Testament
Regensburg: Friedrich Pustet, 2. Aufl.
1993, 558 S., DM 98.-, geb.,
ISBN 3-7917-1393-0

SUMMARY

This is the latest and probably the most helpful recent one-volume German commentary on Luke's Gospel for a general readership. Scholarly and up to date with current research and literature, scholars and exegetes find in this beautifully produced volume what is, with Schürmann's magnum opus, among the finest modern Catholic interpretation of Luke's Gospel (the closest English equivalent is perhaps C.F. Evans' Saint Luke). Moderately (historical-) critical and redaction critical in general approach (Mark, Q, Lukan Sondergut, stress on oral tradition), the author also attempts - though somewhat hesitantly - to take some of the more recent reading 'strategies' on board. In addition, Ernst sketches with varying success the relevance of each passage for application in preaching and teaching in a separate subsection following those on analysis and exegesis.

Bei dem vorliegenden Band handelt es sich um die zweite Auflage der Neubearbeitung des RNT-Bandes zum Lukasevangelium (1977, 1.–4. Aufl. J. Schmid) durch Josef Ernst (E), Vertreter der älteren Garde katholischer ntl. Exegeten und u.a. Kommentator des Mkev. in der gleichen Reihe. E bietet damit den neuesten deutschen Kommentar zum Lkev. Bis weitere Bände der Kommentare von H. Schürmann (HThK III.1, 2/1; bis Lk 11.54 erschienen) und F. Bovon (EKK III/1; bis 9.50) erscheinen, wird E auch für die Forschung maßgeblich bleiben. Ausführlicher als G. Schneiders Taschenkommentare (ÖTK 3/1.2, 2. Aufl. 1984), ist dieser Kommentar vielleicht am ehesten mit W. Wiefels Auslegung (ThHK III, 1988) zu vergleichen, wobei E konservativer und praxisorientierter ausgerichtet ist.

In der Einleitung behandelt E in erfrischender und allgemeinverständlicher (Vorwissen nicht voraussetzender) Weise die theologischen und schriftstellerischen Eigenarten des Lkev. (S. 15–25), die geschickt um das Stichwort Evangelium angeordnet sind (Ev. – und Heilsgeschichte, und Erlösungsgeschehen, als Bericht (Gattung), und der Heilsplan Gottes, und die Endzeit, und die Kirche, und die Welt und Jesus Christus). Ein knapper Abschnitt bietet Überlegungen zu den literarischen Quellen (Voraussetzung: Mk, Q, Sondergut, Betonung mdl. Tradition). Abschließend kurz zu Verfasser, Abfassungszeit und -ort (30–32; Bibliographie, 33–43). Der Verfasser des Ev., ein 'hellenistisch gebildeter Heidenchrist, der durch seine Darstellung der Geschichte Jesu und der Anfänge der Kirche die christliche Botschaft in die hell. Welt hinaustragen möchte', ist nicht der Paulusbegleiter kirchlicher Tradition (vgl. jedoch C.-J. Thornton, *Der Zeuge des Zeugen: Lukas als Historiker der Paulusreisen*, WUNT 56 (Tübingen: Mohr, 1991) und H.-J. Schulz, *Die apostolische Herkunft der Evangelien*, 2. Aufl., QD 145 (Freiburg, Basel, Wien: Herder, 1995), 243–90). Geschrieben hat dieser 'Nicht-Lukas' zwischen 70 und 80, da die Zerstörung Jerusalems 'insbesondere in der großen Endzeitrede Kap. 21 ihren Niederschlag gefunden hat' (32), mit der der Autor Jesus vaticinia ex eventu in den Mund legt. Leider fehlt hier die nötige Auseinandersetzung mit C.H. Dodds und J.A.T. Robinsons berechtigten Anfragen an diesen kritischen Konsens (vgl. meine Kritik in NT 37, 1995, 410). Auch die seit Conzelmann fleißig wiederholte Behauptung der 'offenkundigen Unkenntnisse über die geographischen Verhältnisse Palästinas' (32) ist fragwürdig (vgl. M. Hengel, ZDPV 98, 1983; J.M. Scott, 'Luke's

Geographical Horizon', A1CS II (1994), 483–544). Zuweilen ist E angenehm unabhängig von der sonst oft noch die Diskussion bestimmenden Vorherrschaft der Conzelmann'schen Lukasanalyse.

Zum Aufbau des eigentlichen Kommentars (45–515; Aufriß des Ev., 5–11): Nach der jeweils vorangestellten, stark am griechischen Text orientierten und kursiv gesetzten Übertragung, wendet sich E in jeweils drei Arbeitsschritten (in der Gewichtung von ca. 15 – 75 – 10%), die Übersichtlichkeit gewährleisten und die Verwendung des Bandes als Nachschlagewerk ermöglichen – den einzelnen Perikopen zu:

Die 'Analyse' bietet (kleiner gedruckte) literarische, traditions- und redaktionsgeschichtliche sowie gelegentlich historische Überlegungen. Diese Voranstellung ist zu begrüßen, da so diese Fragen den jeweiligen Exegese-Abschnitt nicht dominieren und profitables Benützen der Auslegung nicht durchweg von Kenntnis oder Teilen der methodischen (redaktionsgeschichtl.) Voraussetzungen dieser Analyse abhängt. In der praxisorientierten Benutzung dürfte kurzes Überfliegen genügen. Hilfreich sind hier Überlegungen zur Einbindung der Perikopen in den Gesamtaufbau des Ev. Diese (eher kompositionsgesch.) Überlegungen könnten noch ausgebaut werden.

Der zweite Schritt, 'Exegese', bietet die Vers-für-Vers Auslegung (fettgedruckte Versangaben erleichtern Orientierung). Hier kommentiert E knapp und mit feinem Gefühl für das Wesentliche des Textes. E beobachtet: 'Unsere Kommentare laufen Gefahr, vor lauter Detailinformationen am Ende nicht mehr lesbar zu sein und das Eigentliche zu verpassen' (13). Ohne überladen zu erscheinen oder von der eigentlichen Auslegung abzulenken, ist E (wo nötig und wirklich entscheidend) mit den wichtigsten internationalen, neueren Forschungsergebnissen im Gespräch. Immer wieder zeigt er atl. und frühjüd. Bezüge auf. Doch wird die im Klappentext angekündigte, vorwärtsweisende Neuorientierung ('Das Instrumentarium des wiss. Arbeitens wurde durch neue Ansätze, z.B. Linguistik, Rhetorik, Metaphorik und neue Mythentheorien verfeinert. Die alten Methoden der hist.-krit. Forschung erhielten in Psychologie, Soziologie, Sprachtheorie u.a. Konkurrenz und Ergänzung') nur zögerlich (oft in der 'Besinnung') in die Tat umgesetzt; in der Regel dominiert historische Kritik in redaktionsgesch. Ausprägung. Zudem wird der gestaltende und Tradition neu anwendende

Theologe (und Seelsorger) Lukas (z.B. 'auf die Kirche in der Zeit bezogen und geschichtlich angepaßt', 307; 'durch Gemeindegebrauch überlagert', 458) auf Kosten des sorgfältig tradierenden Historikers überbetont. Wichtige übergreifende Themen sind in hervorragenden, kompakt formulierten Exkursen behandelt (z.B. die menschlichen Anfängen des Gottessohns im Bekenntnis des Lk, die bibl. Kindheits Erzählungen, die Rolle Johannes' des Täufers im luk. Geschichtswerk, zu Synagoge, Jüngerschaft und Nachfolge, Einheit von Gottes- und Nächstenliebe, Gebet im Lkev., luk. Verständnis der Passion). Ähnliche Exkurse zu Jesu Gleichnissen und Wundern, zu Besessenheit und Exorzismen wäre ebenfalls hilfreich. Freilich wird man in diesem, wie auch im nächsten Arbeitsschritt, nicht immer einer Meinung mit dem Autoren sein. Griechischkenntnisse sind nicht vorausgesetzt.

Im dritten Schritt ('Besinnung') versucht E das theologisch und paränetisch Bedeutsame der ausgelegten Perikope hervorzuheben und ihre Botschaft für damalige und heutige Leser, für sachgerechte Verkündigung und Lehre zu erschließen. '... die vielen "Arbeiter vor Ort" verlangen nach dem "täglichen Brot" und der soliden Kost' (13). Für sie bietet E Anregung in unterschiedlicher Ausrichtung und Qualität (vgl. z.B. 181, 230), die trotz mancher hervorragender Überlegungen (z.B. 488) oft lediglich Zusammenfassung und Anregung bleibt und (in ihrer tw. unverständlichen Kürze, z.B. 492) das konkrete Anwenden des Textes kaum erschließt (z.B. 185) oder gar verdunkelt und hinterfragt (256). Unter anderem werden spezifisch katholische Themen vom Text her aufgegriffen, jedoch ohne daß konfessionelle Interessen dominieren (281). Der evangelikale 'Arbeiter vor Ort' wird in der Predigtmeditation (gerade der längeren Auslegungspredigt vor einer und für eine bibelfeste Gemeinde) neben E auf F. Godets Kommentar und, unter neueren Arbeiten, auf die jeweiligen explanation – Abschnitte in J. Nollands dreibändigem Kommentar zum Lkev. (WBC 35a-c; Dallas: Word Books, 1989–93) zurückgreifen wollen.

Vierzig Seiten Stellen- (mit erfreulichem atl. Teil) und Sachregister runden den Band ab. Druckbild, Papierqualität und buchbinderische Verarbeitung sind musterhaft. Selten wird ein wissenschaftliches Werk in ein derart schönes Leinengewand gekleidet.

Dr. Christoph Stenschke
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EuroJTh (2000) 9:1, 102–103

0960–2720

Handbuch der Theologie im 20. Jahrhundert

Rosini Gibellini

Regensburg: Friedrich Pustet, 1995,
554 pp., DM 98.-, ISBN 3–7917–1465–1.

SUMMARY

The Italian author presents the essential theological currents of the twentieth century, with reference to the main works of their most important representatives. In doing so he identifies a series of four movements, which lead from a concentration on the word of God (Barth) through the 'anthropological turn' (Bultmann, Fuchs, Ebeling; Tillich, Rahner; the French theological renewal) and the assimilation of the political dimension (Moltmann, Metz; contextual theology) to ecumenical theology and the theology of religions (Küng, Rahner, Knitter, Hick, Pannikar, Samartha).

Gibellini unternimmt in diesem aus dem Italienischen übertragenen Werk den Versuch, die wesentlichen Strömungen christlicher Theologie im 20. Jahrhundert nachzuzeichnen. Er verfolgt dabei – so sein Vorwort – keine "scholastische" oder "dialektische", sondern eine "perspektivische Konzeption". Er versteht die unterschiedlichen Richtungen "als verschiedene Perspektiven auf den unvergleichlichen und ergreifenden Gegenstand ... des Geheimnisses und der Offenbarung", will diese jedoch betont im Kontext von Erfahrung, Kultur und Gesellschaft verorten. Er sieht darin ein für die Theologie des 20. Jh. kennzeichnendes Gefälle vom "Diskurs 'zur Ehre Gottes'" hin zum "Diskurs zur Verteidigung und Förderung des 'Humanum'", in dem sich etwa der Satz des Irenäus widerspiegelt: "Gloria Dei vivens homo – die Herrlichkeit Gottes ist der lebendige Mensch".

In 16 Kapiteln behandelt G. anhand ihrer jeweiligen Hauptvertreter die "Dialektische Theologie" (Barth), "Existenztheologie" (Bultmann), "Hermeneutische Theologie" (Fuchs, Ebeling), "Theologie der Kultur" (Tillich), "Theologie und Moderne" (Bonhoeffer), "Theologie der Säkularisierung" (Gogarten), den "Weg der katholischen Theologie vom Modernismusstreit bis zur anthropologischen Wende", die "Theologie der Geschichte" (Cullmann, Pannenberg),

“Theologie der Hoffnung” (Moltmann), “Politische Theologie” (Metz, Moltmann), “Theologie und Erfahrung” (Schillebeeckx), “Theologie der Befreiung” (Gutiérrez, Boff), “Schwarze Theologie” (Cone u.a.), “Feministische Theologie” (Russel, Daly u.a.), “Theologie der Dritten Welt”, “Ökumenische Theologie” (Congar, Fries, Rahner, Cullmann, Küng u.a.). Dabei bietet G. kompakte Referate der von den Genannten verfaßten Hauptwerke, die die Diskussion im 20.Jh. geprägt haben. Besonderes Interesse kann das ausführliche Kp. VII (100 S.!) über den “Weg der katholischen Theologie” beanspruchen, das sich eingehend mit der von Frankreich ausgehenden “theologischen Erneuerung” beschäftigt. Hier findet sich der “größte Ökumeniker der katholischen Kirche” (204), Y.Congar. R.Guardini, K.Rahner und H.U.v.Balthasar sind eigene Unterabschnitte gewidmet.

G. ist bemüht, gewisse Strömungen bis in die aktuelle Gegenwart zu verfolgen. Dabei bildet die “Ökumenische Theologie” nicht ohne Grund den Abschluß: Die Darstellung des Werkes von H.Küng mündet ein in die Skizzierung der “Theologie der Religionen” (Ansätze von Rahner, Knitter, Hick, Pannikar, Samartha), deren Umrisse dann besonders in Küngs “Theologie im Aufbruch” bzw. “Projekt Weltethos” erkennbar werden. Dabei steht “das Evangelium ... wie die einzelnen Religionen im Dienst des Humanum, ... dem fundamentale[n] ökumenische[n] Kriterium” (502).

Während der Darstellung enthält sich G. fast durchgängig jeder Wertung. Lediglich auf den letzten beiden Seiten (504f.) deutet er mit einem typisierenden Rückblick auf “vier theologische Bewegungen” des 20.Jh. auch die eigene Sicht der Dinge an: Zunächst konzentriert sich das Augenmerk auf das Wort Gottes; sodann vollzieht sich die “anthropologische Wende”; diese “vertieft

sich” in den sechziger Jahren durch die politische Dimension; am Ende steht eine Vielfalt kontextueller Theologien mit der Öffnung zur ökumenischen Theologie und zur Theologie der Religionen, durch die “die Theologie in eine ökumenische und planetarische Epoche geführt” wird (505). Was die Theologie im Zuge des 20.Jh. immer deutlicher erkannt hat, ist somit “die Aufgabe ..., sich in der Logik der Inkarnation und der Erlösung der Verteidigung und dem Dienst am ‘Humanum’ zu verschreiben.”(ebd).

Erwähnenswert ist außerdem der 40 S. umfassende “Literaturanhang” mit den behandelten Quellen sowie wichtigen Sekundärwerken, der Autoren aus dem englischen, französischen, italienischen, spanischen, portugiesischen und deutschen Sprachraum umfaßt – ein Umstand, der für Leser einer “europäischen” Zeitschrift von Interesse sein könnte!

Naturgemäß muß sich ein derart umfassend angelegtes Werk inhaltlich beschränken. Dennoch ist kritisch anzumerken, daß man nicht nur einen Hinweis auf das Anliegen einer von der Heiligen Schrift normierten (“evangelikalen”) Theologie, sondern etwa auch auf Darlegungen pentekostaler oder charismatischer Provenienz vermißt. Daß diese nicht wahrgenommen werden, dürfte weniger an der mangelnden Qualität oder Verbreitung, als vielmehr an den differierenden Grundlagen und Aufgabenstellungen liegen. Was jedoch die behandelten Bewegungen angeht, liegt in diesem Handbuch eine leicht lesbare, kompakte Darstellung vor, die zur Lektüre auch dann einlädt, wenn man die einseitige anthropologische Ausrichtung theologischer Arbeit nicht zu teilen vermag.

Dr. Eberhard Hahn
Tübingen, Deutschland

Making Christ Known

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Editor: John R.W. Stott

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- **Menschlich–Sein: biblisch-theologische Gedanken zur Gottesebenbildlichkeit**
- *On being Human : Towards a Biblical Theology of the Image of God*
- *Être humain : Pour une théologie biblique de l'image de Dieu*
- **Herbert H. Klement, Sprockhövel**

SUMMARY

The question, how to understand the doctrine of the image of God in human beings, so fundamental for any theological anthropology, is discussed. Recognizing the difficulty of demonstrating

it empirically, an exegetical approach is taken. From the context of the idea in primeval history, the topics of language and communication, creativity and human work are dealt with, and, from its reception in the New Testament, ethical orientation and natural theology.

RÉSUMÉ

La doctrine de l'image de Dieu est fondamentale pour l'anthropologie biblique. Constatant qu'il est difficile de définir cette notion par une démarche empirique, l'auteur adopte une approche

exégétique. À partir du récit des origines, il traite les thèmes du langage et de la communication, de la créativité et du travail humain, puis, à la lumière du Nouveau Testament, les thèmes de l'orientation éthique et de la compréhension du monde.

Das Konzept der Menschenwürde im abendländischen Kulturraum geht auf jüdisch-christliches Denken zurück. Darin erfährt sich der Mensch als Teil alles Geschaffenen, jedoch mit einer ihn von der übrigen Schöpfung absondernden einzigartigen Zuwendung, Fürsorge und Behandlung. Im ersten Kapitel der christlichen und jüdischen Bibel ist der Mensch Ziel, Abschluß und Höhepunkt der Schöpfung Gottes. Ihm wird das komplette vorausgehende Sechstageswerk Gottes zur freien Gestaltung übereignet. Nach der Erschaffung der Welt dreht sich Gottes Handeln zentral und ausschließlich um das Ergehen des Menschen. Die übrige Schöpfung wird in Relation zu den Menschen wahrgenommen. Gottes Zuwendung gilt den Menschen und führt schließlich bis zur Selbstpreisgabe im Sohn. Da gibt Gott sich in den Tod, weil Menschen ihm so bedeutsam sind. Der

Preis, der den Wert eines Menschen aufwiegt, wird darin angegeben mit „Gott selbst“. Die Grundlage dafür ist in der Bibel das Erstprädikat des Menschen, und das lautet Gottesebenbildlichkeit. Einige Aspekte dazu sollen im Folgenden angesprochen werden. Ausgehend von grundlegenden Beobachtungen zu Gen 1,26–30 werden auch andere Texte genannt, die zu dem Thema beitragen. Dies geschieht nicht nur exegetisch, sondern auch im Horizont pädagogischer und sozialpsychologischer Fragestellungen.

1. Zum Kontext: Genesis und Urgeschichte

Sowohl der christliche wie der jüdische Kanon beginnen mit einer universalen Perspektive. Nach einem Blick auf das Ganze der Schöpfung wird darauf aufbau-

end in heilsgeschichtlicher Abfolge das Partikulare entfaltet. Dieser Aufbau ist keineswegs selbstverständlich. Die Darstellung hätte auch umgekehrt erfolgen können, in einer Weise, die das Universale und Grundsätzliche aus der Erfahrungswirklichkeit abgeleitet hätte. Die Voranstellung der Perspektive der Universalität im biblischen Kanon hat für eine darauf aufbauende Theologie einen entscheidenden Einfluss.

Universal ausgerichtet ist die biblische Urgeschichte, mit der der Kanon eingeleitet wird.¹ Sie beginnt mit der Erschaffung von Himmel und Erde durch Gott. Gott ist von Anfang an da. Das erschaffende Handeln schließt Sonne und Gestirne ein und zielt auf die Erschaffung der Menschen in Gottesebenbildlichkeit als Abschluss der Schöpfungswoche, die mit dem Sabbat ausklingt. Auf diese folgt die Geschichte vom Verlust der unmittelbaren Gottesgemeinschaft, der Vertreibung aus dem Garten Eden mit dem anschließenden Brudermord und dessen Folgen. Daran anschließend wird die Erwählung der Familie Noah und ihre Rettung aus der universalen Vernichtung in der Sintflut berichtet. Nach der anschließende Ausbreitung des noachitischen Menschengeschlechts in siebzig Völkern, deren Charakter durch die Turmbaugeschichte exemplarisch veranschaulicht wird, wird mit der Erwählung Abrahams ein Kontrast entgegengestellt.

Traditionell geschah die Genesisinterpretation häufig unter dem präjudizierenden Einfluss der literarkritischen Forschung zum Pentateuch. Der Text mit der Aussage der Gottesebenbildlichkeit und der Schöpfungswoche in Gen 1 und die das Buch strukturierende Toledotformel waren in diesem Denkraster der spätesten Phase der Redaktion zugewiesen, die anderen Textabschnitte wurden unter den übrigen hypothetischen Quellen aufgeteilt – je nachdem, welche und wie viele man zu erkennen können glaubte. Einzelne Texte wurden dann weniger im Kontext des Buches Genesis als vielmehr vorrangig im Kontext der jeweils postulierten Quellenschrift oder Redaktionsphase interpretiert. Der tatsächlich

vorgegebene Textzusammenhang war demgegenüber meist nachgeordnet, wenn er denn überhaupt noch zur Sprache kam. Mit der offensichtlichen Krise und Diffusierung dieser das letzte Jahrhundert dominierenden Quellenhypothesen wird der Blick wieder frei für die Wahrnehmung der tatsächlich vorliegenden literarischen Zusammenhänge. Der synchronen Wahrnehmung der überlieferten Texte gehört wieder die sachliche Priorität vor einer hypothetischen Erklärung vorhandener oder vermeintlicher Spannungen im Text², wobei die Zuweisung zu den traditionellen Pentateuchquellen in immer weiteren Kreisen kaum noch als hilfreich empfungen wird.³

Das Buch Genesis ist so genannt nach der das Buch strukturierenden Toledot – Formel.⁴ Das Wort wird dreizehnmal verwendet und ist elfmal im Sinne der Formel gebraucht. Die Diskussion über ihr Verständnis ist sehr umfangreich. Liest man sie als Scharnier-Formel, unterteilt sie das Buch dadurch in zwölf Einheiten, deren sechs erste die sog. Urgeschichte der Menschheit bilden und mit der Ausbreitung der Söhne Noahs und dem Turmbau zu Babel abschließen, die zweiten sechs beginnen mit den Patriarchen (Toledot Therachs am Übergang, Bezug zu beiden Gruppen, Mittelstellung) und enden mit den Söhnen Israels, die nach Ägypten ziehen. Es wird kaum als Zufall anzusehen sein, dass im ersten Teil in der Völkertafel die Menschheit in 70 Ethnien aufgeteilt ist und der zweite Teil die Nachkommen Abrahams ebenfalls mit 70 Stammv Vätern der Geschlechter Israels enden lässt. Der Menschheit in Adam/Noah wird so Israel parallel gestellt⁵, der Erde (*'eret*), auf der die Menschheit lebt, das Land (auch *'eret*), das den Stämmen Israels als bleibende Heimat verheißen ist.

In diesen zwölfteiligen Aufbau in zwei Gruppen ist der Abschnitt über die Schöpfungswoche in Gen. 1,1 – 2,4 als Einleitungstext integriert. Er fällt aus dem Ganzen nicht heraus. Sieht man ihn näher an, so ist er geschrieben aus einer universalen Perspektive. Der Standpunkt des Schreibers liegt jenseits der

Schöpfungshandlung und beobachtet gewissermaßen von außen das Sprechen Gottes und das Werden des Lichts und der Gestirne, die Teilung von Wasser und Land, das Entstehen der Pflanzen, Tiere und die Erschaffung des Menschen. In Gen. 2,4ff wechselt die Darstellungsperspektive und rückt näher an den Menschen heran. Die Handlung erfolgt nun auf der Erdoberfläche. Gott und der erzählende Beobachter befinden sich quasi „in Augenhöhe“ mit dem Menschen auf dem Acker. Während der Mensch in Gen 1 definiert wird aus seiner Relation zu Gott als geschaffen in Gottesebenbildlichkeit, wird er in Gen 2 verstanden aus seiner Beziehung zu seiner materiellen Substanz als „Staub vom Ackerboden“. Mit der vorrangigen Erwähnung dieses Aspektes des Menschseins ist bereits seine später erzählte Todverfallenheit antizipiert (3,19). Es fällt auf, dass auch andere eingangs erzählte Details sich auf das im Ablauf später Geschehene beziehen. So wird das bereits Gen 2,5 erwähnte „Kraut vom Acker“ im Fortgang der Geschichte eine nicht unwesentliche Rolle spielen: es wird von Dornen und Disteln erstickt, der Acker, der es trägt, wird verflucht, die Früchte, die von diesem Acker dargebracht werden, taugen nicht mehr als Opfer (Gen. 4,3.5). Dieser Text von den Opfern von Kain und Abel gehört literarisch noch ganz in den Zusammenhang, der mit Gen. 2,4 begann.⁶ Die dort anfangs erwähnte Bewässerungsart (Gen 2,6) – wie immer sie im einzelnen verstanden ist – steht im Kontrast zu der Art des Niederschlags, der sich später in der Sintflut auf die Erde ergießt. Auch hier ist bereits mit einem Detail, das für den unmittelbaren Kontext keine weitere Bedeutung hat, das Schicksal antizipiert, das der ganzen Menschheit mit Ausnahme einer einzigen Familie den Tod gebracht hat. Die Auswahl der erwähnten Details in Gen 2,4ff ist damit bereits von einem Wissen um den Ausgang des Geschehens bestimmt.

Es erweist sich als sinnvoll, diese Texte als zusammenhängend zu lesen. Auch das Thema der Gottesebenbildlichkeit taucht

darin mehrfach wieder auf – zunächst kryptisch in dem Versprechen der Schlange „Ihr werdet sein wie Gott“. Der Leser weiß bereits, dass dies Gottes Plan war, bevor er überhaupt Menschen geschaffen hat. Die Schlange suggeriert etwas, was dem Mensch bereits eignet. In Gen 5,1 beginnt die Genealogie Noahs, der der Überlebende der kommenden Menschheitskatastrophe sein wird, mit Rückverweis auf die Erschaffung Adams in Gottesebenbildlichkeit. Nach der Sintflut wird in dem Bund Gottes mit Noah diese Sonderstellung des Menschen gegenüber der übrigen Schöpfung ausdrücklich wiederholt. Als Begründung wird die Erschaffung des Menschen in Gottesebenbildlichkeit genannt (Gen. 9,6). Die Menschen werden aufgefordert, sich zu vermehren und die Erde zu füllen.

Diese Aufnahme von Elementen aus Gen 1,26ff in Gen 9,1ff steht überraschenderweise in einem Zusammenhang, der darum weiß, dass „das Dichten und Trachten des menschlichen Herzens böse ist von Jugend auf“ (Gen 8,21).⁷ Letzteres war Anlass für den Untergang der Menschheit (Gen. 6,5ff), ist jedoch keineswegs als im Widerspruch zur Aussage der Gottesebenbildlichkeit empfunden. Die Wertung des Menschen als „böse von Jugend auf“ – einschließlich des gerechten Noah und seiner Familie – und die Aussage der für ihn erwarteten Behandlung als Gottes Repräsentant (Bild) auf der Erde im Gegenüber zur übrigen Schöpfung stehen als sich komplementär ergänzende Aussagen nebeneinander.

Ähnlich wird auch die Aussage der Gottesebenbildlichkeit in Gen. 1,26 und die des Staub-Seins des Menschen in Gen. 2,7 nicht als Sach-Widerspruch anzusehen sein, sondern als sich komplementär ergänzende Angaben über das Wesen des Menschen. Es spiegelt sich darin die Spannung zwischen der Sünd- und Todesverfallenheit einerseits und der Erlösungs- und Erhaltungsabsicht Gottes andererseits. Diese wird nun nicht, wie es abendländischem Denken entsprechen würde, in systematisch-abstrahierender Weise dargestellt. Vielmehr werden ganz in Übereinstimmung mit altorientalischen

Konventionen in narrativer Form im Nacheinander die divergierenden Aspekte des menschlichen Wesens beschrieben.⁸ Wollte man diese Verschiedenheit quellenkritisch auflösen, würde man die so in den Texten vorhandene komplementäre Spannung zerstören. Beide Aussagenlinien gehören in der Urgeschichte als eine sich ergänzende Aussage zusammen. Die Erstaussage über den Menschen in seiner Relation zu Gott wird durch die nachfolgende über seine „Bildung“ aus Staub und damit seine Todverfallenheit nicht aufgehoben, sondern additiv ergänzend danebengestellt.

2. Konkretionen der Gottesebenbildlichkeit

2.1. Repräsentanz und Ähnlichkeit

Die Erstaussage des Kanons über den Menschen begreift ihn aus seiner Beziehung zu Gott. In Gen. 1,26–30 wird die Erschaffung der Menschen als letztem, abschließendem Schöpfungswerk unübersehbar deutlich und markant von den übrigen Schöpfungswerken abgehoben. Das hebräische *bārā'*, das von Gott ausgesagte absolute *erschaffen*, ohne dass dabei ein Werkstoff genannt ist, wird bei den sieben Vorkommen im Schöpfungsbericht in 1,27 bei der Erschaffung des Menschen gleich dreimal verwandt:

- | | |
|------|---|
| 1,1 | Gott <i>schuf</i> (1) Himmel und Erde |
| 1,21 | Gott <i>schuf</i> (2) die großen Wassertiere |
| 1,27 | Gott <i>schuf</i> (3) den Menschen zu seinem Bild, zum Bild Gottes <i>schuf</i> (4) er ihn und <i>schuf</i> (5) sie männlich und weiblich |
| 2,3 | Gott ruhte von den Werken, die er <i>geschaffen</i> (6) hatte |
| 2,4 | Dies sind die Toledot von Himmel und Erde bei ihrer <i>Erschaffung</i> (7). |

Das mit dem theologisch gewichtigen Wort *bārā'* ausgedrückte Erschaffen Gottes ist dreifach auf die Menschen bezogen. Bei dem Vorkommen der Siebenzahl scheint die zentrale Stellung – vorher zweimal, zu Beginn der Schöpfung insgesamt sowie bei der Erschaffung der großen Lebewesen, abschließend zweimal

zur Zusammenfassung der gesamten Schöpfung – kaum zufällig zu sein. Mit dem Menschen tritt etwas ins Sein, das bereits durch den Gebrauch dieser Vokabel als qualitativ überragend und zentral gewertet ist.

Zur Beschreibung der Gottesebenbildlichkeit werden zwei Ausdrücke verwendet. Das Wort *tzelem*, spricht von einem Abbild, einer Statue. Es deutet eine Entsprechung an wie etwa die eines *Standbildes* zu dem dargestellten Herrscher. Das Herrscherbildnis verdeutlicht häufig den Machtanspruch der dargestellten Person in einem bestimmten Gebiet oder einer Stadt. Heute dienen dazu eher Nationalflaggen oder Wappen. So wird durch die Wahl dieses Ausdrucks der Mensch in der Bedeutung ähnlich als Gott repräsentierend in der Schöpfung bezeichnet. Das stellt ihn als selbst zur Schöpfung gehörend ihr doch gleichzeitig auch als mit Herrschermacht betraut gegenüber. Was man diesem Bild antut, das betrifft auch Gott selbst. Aber als Bild Gottes ist diese darin ausgedrückte menschliche Herrschaft nicht autonom, sondern von der Gottes abgeleitet und abhängig.

Das andere Wort *d'mût* steht parallel dazu, legt jedoch einen Akzent auf *Ähnlichkeit, Nachbild, Entsprechung*. Kinder ähneln ihren Eltern, ein Modell entspricht dem fertigen Werk. Gott und Mensch sind nicht identisch, aber es besteht etwas zwischen ihnen, was sich entspricht. Vom Menschsein wird damit eine Ähnlichkeit mit Gott ausgesagt, die nicht näher definiert wird.

Es hat in der Auslegungsgeschichte viele Versuche gegeben, diese Ähnlichkeit konkreter zu fassen.⁹ Es wurde in dem gesehen, was die Menschen empirisch von der übrigen Schöpfung unterscheidet. Seit der alten Kirche vor allem in der immateriellen Seite des Menschseins, in der Seele, dem Geist, der Vernunft des Menschen. Heute scheint das, was den Menschen eigentlich zum Menschen macht, weder biologisch noch sozio-psychologisch deutlich auszumachen. Die Behauptung einer Sonderstellung des Menschen im Kosmos gilt vielen durch wissenschaftliche Erforschung des

Menschen als nicht mehr haltbar. Diese Vorstellung sei „als theologisches Restvorurteil entlarvt“ (Gadamer)¹⁰ und damit preiszugeben. Ein besonderer Wert des Menschen, der ihn gegenüber anderen Lebensformen heraushebt, scheint auf diesem empirischen Wege nicht mehr nachweisbar oder aussagbar – manche sprechen von der Kränkung des modernen Menschen seit Galileo Galilei, Charles Darwin, Sigmund Freud u.a..¹¹

Bei aller Problematik der Versuche, durch Vergleiche so etwas wie einen materiellen Nachweis der Gottesebenbildlichkeit empirisch zu ermitteln, bleibt die Aussage für eine theologische Bestimmung des Menschseins grundlegend und von zentraler Bedeutung. Wenn das so ist, dann ist nicht damit zu rechnen, dass dies ohne Bezug zum konkreten Menschsein in seinem Alltag steht. Ansätze zu einem Verständnis und auch zu einer inhaltlichen Konkretion sollen versucht werden durch einen Blick auf den literarischen Kontext, in dem die Aussagen verwendet werden.

2.2. Menschlich: angesprochen und antwortend

Der Abschnitt zur Erschaffung des Menschen beginnt mit einer göttlichen Absichtserklärung: „*Lasset uns Menschen machen, ein Bild, das uns gleich sei*“. In der Exegese hat dieser Dialogteil und der unerwartete Plural in diesem Satz zu den verschiedensten Überlegungen Anlass gegeben. Diese Form als Plural Majestatis zu verstehen, ist dem Hebräischen fremd, es gäbe dafür keine Parallele. Christliche Theologen haben in Anlehnung an Joh. 1,1; 17,5.24 an den präexistenten Christus gedacht, andere an die Trinität. Im Vergleich mit anderen alttestamentlichen Texten legt sich die Vorstellung eines Rates um Gott nahe (Hi. 1,6ff; 2,1ff; Ps. 82,1f; 89,6f u.a.).¹² Wie immer dieser Plural verstanden wird, für den jetzigen Zusammenhang genügt die Beobachtung, dass er Gott zeigt als sich beratend, planend und beschlussfassend in Pluralität. Von Gott wird gesprochen als in Kommunikation stehend. Der eine

Gott redet mit anderen, bevor er Menschen erschafft.

Mit dieser Feststellung korrespondiert, dass als erster Folge nach der dreimalig erklärten Schöpfungsbestimmung des Menschen zur Gottesebenbildlichkeit er eine andere Behandlung erfährt als die übrige Schöpfung. Die gerade geschaffenen Menschen werden von Gott – wie die vorigen Gesprächspartner – persönlich angesprochen. Hieß es in der Abfolge der bisherigen Schöpfungswerke „Gott sprach ... und es geschah“, so heißt es nun: „und Gott sprach zu ihnen“. Gottesebenbildlichkeit wird damit als erstes konkretisiert als angeredet werden von Gott in einer personhaften Form. Offensichtlich ist diese Sonderbehandlung, dass Gott mit dem Menschen personale Kommunikation aufnimmt, als Auswirkung und inhaltliche Konkretion der Gottesebenbildlichkeit zu begreifen. Der kommunizierende Gott schafft Menschen in Ähnlichkeit zu ihm, mit denen er unmittelbar und ohne Verzug ebenfalls Kommunikation aufnimmt.

Dem kommunizierenden Gott entspricht der Mensch als antwortende und sprechende Person. Diese sich hier exegetisch nahelegende Interpretation muss nun nicht auf die Gottesbeziehung beschränkt bleiben. Auch die Kommunikation der Menschen untereinander hat teil an dieser in der Anrede Gottes begründeten Personalität. Die oft vermutete zentrale Bedeutung der menschlichen Sprache für das Menschsein des Menschen¹³ erfährt hier eine exegetische Begründung. Menschen entsprechen Gott als sich personhaft mitteilend, miteinander sich verständigend und redend. Sie sind geschaffen zur personalen Kommunikation mit Gott und untereinander. Das zeichnet sie vornehmlich aus.

Am Ende der Urgeschichte ist im Bericht vom Turmbau zu Babel gerade die Sprache der Menschen verwirrt. Menschen verstehen sich nicht mehr. Damit ist ein zentraler Aspekt des Menschseins betroffen. Menschen trennen sich, driften aus- und gegeneinander. Die Erlösung des Menschen zielt auf Versöhnung als Wiederherstellung von Beziehung. Die

Gabe des Geistes an Pfingsten erneuert das Sich-Verstehen der Menschen. In der Folge des Evangeliums wird deutlich, dass Sünde von Gott und Menschen trennt, Vergebung jedoch erneut Gemeinschaft schafft (vgl. 2Kor 5,19; 1Joh 1,7ff).

Da gewinnt der Mensch seine Würde, Identität und Persönlichkeit, wo sie ihm von Gott zugesprochen wird (Dtn. 8,3; Koh 6,7; Mt. 4,4). Der Mensch reflektiert das Reden Gottes als Persönlichkeit. Seine Relation zu Gott begründet seine Menschenwürde. Vergisst er Gott, sucht er Ersatz, um seinen Durst nach Identität zu stillen. Er findet seinen Wert durch Zuspruch von außen. Fällt das Wort Gottes aus, treten an seine Stelle andere Worte, Urteile, Wertungen der Umwelt, die sich in der Erfahrung durch Verinnerlichung zum Selbstwert- oder Minderwertigkeitsgefühl verdichten. Wen oder was der Zeitgeist gerade als wertvoll anpreist, erscheint ihm erstrebenswert – und sei es, dass er seine Identität durch einen Konsumartikel wie ein Auto oder durch eine bestimmte Mode meint finden zu können. In seiner Gottverlassenheit versucht er, sich selbst seine Bedeutung durch Anpassung an die Wertungen der Umwelt zu erweisen. Gesellschaftlich anerkannte Verhaltensweisen und Leistungen, die Reaktionen von Menschen werden zu Normen, an denen er sein Wichtigsein ablesen kann.

Dass Gott redet, ist im biblischen Denken die zentrale Aussage. Dem Bilderverbot im Gottesdienst Israels steht die zentrale Stellung des Wortes Gottes gegenüber. Israels Identität als Gottesvolk ist von der Weisung Gottes, seinem Reden durch die Propheten abhängig. Die Sprache als Grundlage der Gottesebenbildlichkeit zu erkennen, erweist sich als ein Schlüssel für eine Reihe weiterer theologischer Zusammenhänge.

2.3. *Menschlich: frei und schöpferisch*

Die vorrangige Charakterisierung Gottes in Gen 1 ist, dass er der Schöpfer von allem ist. Dies deutet auf eine weitere Konkretion der Besonderheit des Menschen. Neben die die Gottesebenbildlichkeit konstituierenden Anrede durch Gott

tritt der Auftrag zu herrschen. Als Raum dafür wird dem Menschen das gesamte Sechstageswerk zur freien Gestaltung übereignet. Die Menschen sollen sich die Erde untertan machen. In diesem Schöpfungsauftrag liegt ein weiterer Aspekt der Ähnlichkeit mit Gott vor, insofern Gott als der frei und kreativ gestaltende Schöpfer dem gottesebenbildlich geschaffene Menschen Anteil an seinem Schöpfersein gibt durch Teilhabe an der Weltgestaltung. Dem entspricht ein Moment gestalterischer Freiheit, wie es bei der Inbesitznahme durch Namensgebung ausdrücklich betont wird: Gott brachte die Tiere zum Menschen, „daß er sähe, wie er sie nannte. Denn wie der Mensch jedes Tier nennen würde, so sollte es heißen“ (Gn 2,19). In der Freiheit zur kreativen Gestaltung seiner Umwelt ist demnach ein Aspekt der Menschenwürde auszumachen.

Im Dekalog wird ausdrücklich auf die Sechstagesarbeit Gottes verwiesen.¹⁴ In dem zentralen Gebot zum Sabbat entspricht der Schöpfungswoche Gottes die Arbeitswoche des Menschen: „*Sechs Tage sollst du arbeiten und alle deine Werke tun... Denn in sechs Tagen hat der Herr Himmel und Erde gemacht und das Meer und alles, was darinnen ist, und ruhte am siebten Tag*“ (Ex 20,9.11). Das Schöpfersein des Menschen hat seinen primären Ort in der menschlichen Arbeit. Sie ist Würde der Anteilhabe an der Weltgestaltung. Diese anthropologische Verankerung der Arbeit im Schöpfungsdesign der Gottesebenbildlichkeit lässt sie als einen Aspekt der Menschenwürde und damit als ein Menschenrecht¹⁵ erscheinen.

Im Fortgang des Textes der Urgeschichte verändern sich die Rahmenbedingungen der Arbeit grundlegend. Der primäre Ort menschlichen Schöpferseins, der Acker, ist verflucht (Gen. 3,17–19). Damit verbunden werden gravierende Einschnitte angesprochen: a) Menschliche Arbeit steht fortan unter dem Verdikt der Vergeblichkeit (Dornen und Disteln). Was Menschen schaffen, hat keinen bleibenden Bestand. Der Zerfall beginnt, sobald das Werk fertiggestellt ist. So muß dieselbe Arbeit immer von neuem getan

werden; b) Menschliche Arbeit wird schweißtreibend und mühevoll. Nach biblischer Aussage gehört es zu den Konstanten in der Welt dieseits von Eden, dass das Leben spielerisch nicht zu meistern ist. Wer meint, auf Anstrengung in der Lebensbewältigung verzichten zu können, wird nach dieser Aussage scheitern müssen; c) Menschliche Arbeit steht fortan unter dem Zwang der Sicherung des Lebensunterhalts. Die Sorge um das tägliche Brot begleitet den Menschen lebenslänglich.¹⁶

Arbeit ist Teilhabe an der Herrschaft über das Sechstageswerk. Das älteste Bild für das Herrschen in der Bibel ist das des Hirten. Unter den Rahmenbedingungen des „sündigen menschlichen Herzens von Jugend auf“ ist diese Herrschaft als Mandat Gottes in der Verantwortung vor Gott umgeschlagen in eine autonome Herrschaft des Menschen. Nicht bewahrendes, erhaltendes Interesse bestimmt den Menschen bei seiner Arbeit, sondern Machtzuwachs und selbstgemachte Erlösung vom Fluch. Diese Motive liegen auch dem technischen Naturzugang zutiefst zugrunde. Die Freiheit des Menschen in der Gestaltung der Schöpfung schlägt dabei gleichzeitig um in aggressive Ausbeutung. Technik hat dann den Charakter von Abstraktion der Natur und Rekonstruktion der Schöpfung nach den Bedürfnissen des Menschen unter der Motivation der Sünde. Mit ihren ökologisch unübersehbaren Folgen hat diese so wahrgenommene Herrschaft ihre letzte Wurzel in der Aggression des Menschen gegen Gott und seinem Herrschenwollen ohne Gott.¹⁷ Unter dem „Sein wollen wie Gott ohne Gott“ gerät die Freiheit im Umgang mit der Schöpfung schnell zu ihrer Zerstörung. Auch hier deutet sich an, daß Sünde mit dem Tod zu bezahlen ist.

Dass die exegetisch beobachtete anthropologische Bedeutung der menschlichen Arbeit sich auch empirisch bestätigt, zeigt sich besonders bei dem Verlust von Arbeitsmöglichkeiten. Der unfreiwillige Verlust von Arbeit wird überwiegend als schwere menschliche Degradierung erlebt. Das Reden von Arbeitslosigkeit ist

Scham-besetzt. Längerfristige Arbeitslosigkeit hat häufig einen Verfall der Persönlichkeit zur Folge.¹⁸ Dies ist nicht nur auf gesellschaftliche Prägung zurückzuführen. Exegetisch und theologisch ist Arbeit als schöpferische Teilhabe an der Weltgestaltung als eine Konkretion von Gottesebenenbildlichkeit anzusehen.

Umgekehrt wird im sozialtherapeutischen Bereich kreative Arbeit als die Persönlichkeit stabilisierend selbstverständlich eingesetzt. Menschen brauchen einen Raum zur Mitgestaltung von Welt. Es ist Teil der Würde, die Gott ihnen zugedacht hat, als er sie zu seinem Ebenbild erschuf. Dabei kennt weder alttestamentliche noch neutestamentliche Theologie ein Arbeitspathos. Der Sabbat steht dem Werktag gegenüber, der Beziehung zu Gott gehört die Priorität vor der Beziehung zur Dingwelt. Menschliche Arbeit und der Beruf werden zum Abgott, wenn sie unabhängig von Gott zur ersten Quelle der Identität werden.

Auch wenn menschliche Kreativität heute in einer arbeitsteiligen und damit häufig einseitigen Arbeitswelt und unter den Bedingungen der abhängigen Lohnarbeit von vielen nur bedingt oder als Ausgleich im Freizeitbereich erlebt wird, drückt sich doch gerade in der schöpferischen Leistung etwas zutiefst Menschenwürdiges aus. Nicht nur die materiell messbare Arbeit, sondern die freie, kreative Gestaltung in jeder Form verdient Anerkennung und Würdigung. Achtung vor der Menschenwürde verachtet nicht das von Menschen geschaffene Werk, sei es musischer, literarischer oder handwerklicher Art.¹⁹ Diese Achtung vor der Schöpfung von Menschen bleibt möglich und nötig, auch wenn die dadurch vermittelte Botschaft keine Zustimmung finden kann, wie etwa in ethisch verwerflicher oder aggressiv destruktiver Ausprägung oder im Kontext religiöser Formen, die dem ersten Gebot des Dekalogs zuwider laufen.

Würdigung menschlicher Arbeit äußert sich auch in angemessener Bezahlung. Gerade bei nicht-selbständiger Arbeit soll „um Gottes willen“ gerechte Entlohnung

sein. Im sog. Heiligkeitgesetz werden gewerkschaftliche Anliegen mit der „Heiligkeit Gottes“ begründet und von dem Gottesvolk eingefordert (Lev. 19,2.13). Den Menschen um Gottes willen als sein Ebenbild zu achten, schließt die Achtung vor den von Menschen geschaffenen Werken und seiner Arbeit ein.

3. Menschlich: weitere Aspekte

Der Anspruch der Besonderheit des Menschen findet sich auch in anderen biblischen Zusammenhängen wieder. So staunt der Psalm 8 angesichts der Weite des Weltalls und der Winzigkeit von Säuglingen betend über die Einzigartigkeit des Menschseins vor Gott. Er greift einige Aspekte von Gen 1 auf und fragt nach dem Interesse Gottes am Menschen, der doch „wenig niedriger als ^ʿtōhīm geschaffen sei.²⁰ – In den Sprüchen wird soziales Engagement angemahnt mit der Begründung, dass dies auch dessen Schöpfer unmittelbar betreffe (Spr. 14,31; 17,5; 22,2; 29,7). Im Neuen Testament weist es der Jakobusbrief (Jak. 3,9) als einen unerträglichen Widerspruch ab, Gott zu loben und gleichzeitig Menschen zu fluchen, die doch im Bild Gottes geschaffen sind. Hier wird die Aussage des Menschen als Repräsentanten Gottes aufgegriffen. Man kann den Menschen nicht behandeln, ohne dass dabei gleichzeitig und mitlaufend auch Gott mitbetroffen wäre – weder im Bösen noch im Guten. Über dem Menschsein an sich liegt die Wertigkeit, die es verbietet, gottesebenbildliches Menschenleben zu verachten.

Das Konzept der Gottesebenbildlichkeit liegt auch zugrunde, wenn im Neuen Testament die Auswirkung des Evangeliums auf den Glaubenden beschrieben wird. Das Ziel der Versöhnung mit Gott ist auch als Wiederherstellung von Gottesebenbildlichkeit (Eph 4,24; Kol 3,10) in Christusebenbildlichkeit (Rö 8,29; 1Kor 15,49; 2Kor 3,18; 1Joh 3,2) beschrieben. Im Rückgriff auf die Erschaffungsabsicht wird Heiligung so bestimmt, daß Menschen nicht göttlicher, sondern menschlicher im Sinne ihrer

schöpfungsmäßigen Bestimmung werden sollen.

3.1. Menschlich: ethisch verantwortlich

Dass im Zusammenhang mit einer Entsprechung des Charakters Gottes und der Menschen, auch eine ethische Dimension angesprochen sein kann, legt sich von der Formel „Ihr sollt heilig sein, denn ich bin heilig“ (u.a. Lev. 19,2) her nahe. Das dort angesprochene Verhalten zielt auf menschlichen Umgang in dem Volk des Bundes „um Gottes Heiligkeit willen“. Es werden Fragen der Lohngerechtigkeit, des Umgangs mit gesellschaftlich Schwachen, mit Alten und Ausländern angesprochen, die später immer wieder von den Propheten Israels eingefordert werden.²¹

In den neutestamentlichen Texten, die von dem Ziel der Erneuerung des Menschseins durch das Evangelium im Bild des neuen Adam Jesus Christus sprechen, werden ähnliche Konkretionen von Gottesebenbildlichkeit erkennbar. So spricht Paulus Eph 4,24 von dem Anziehen des neuen Menschen, der nach Gott geschaffen ist. Das soll geschehen in „rechtschaffener Gerechtigkeit und Heiligkeit“. So wird Gottesebenbildlichkeit mit ethischem Verhalten in Verbindung gebracht. Menschenwürde findet sich in der Orientierung an der Heiligkeit und am Willen Gottes. Daraus lässt sich folgern, dass Menschen menschlich behandelt werden, wenn man sie auf biblische Ethik hin anspricht und ihnen diese zumutet. Ethische Orientierung im Verhalten lässt sich aus diesen Zusammenhängen als konstitutiv für das Menschsein erkennen. Orientierung am Gewissen und am geoffenbarten Willen Gottes sind zutiefst menschlich.

Auch wenn das Gewissen und ethische Werte von Menschen zur Selbstrechtfertigung vor Gott gebraucht werden, erschöpft sich ihr Sinn darin nicht. Das Wissen um das Gute charakterisiert die Verantwortlichkeit des Menschen in seinem Tun (Röm 2,11ff; Mt 12,36). Erneuerung zur Gottesebenbildlichkeit setzt in der durch Christus geschenkten Heiligkeit und Gerechtigkeit ein.

3.2. Menschlich: Verstehen von Zusammenhängen.

In einem ähnlichen Zusammenhang nennt Paulus die Veränderung durch das Evangelium eine „Erneuerung zur Erkenntnis nach dem Abendilde des, der ihn geschaffen hat“ (Kol 3,10). Im Kontext des Kolosserbriefes meint die Erkenntnis als Ort der Gottesebenenbildlichkeit die Sehweise der Welt von der Christuswirklichkeit her. Die Welt im Zusammenhang mit Gott zu begreifen, gilt biblisch als Anfang der Weisheit.²² Dazu gehört das eigene Leben, das Verhalten zu den Mitmenschen, der belebten und unbelebten Natur, die Sicht auf das Weltall. Das Verstehen von Mikrokosmos und Makrokosmos soll nach Paulus erneuert werden durch die alles integrierende Größe Jesu Christi.

Solche Gottesebenenbildlichkeit beinhaltet auch vernunftmäßiges Erkennen. Erkenntnis unter Vergessen oder Ausklammerung Gottes führt zu fatalen und selbstzerstörerischen Fehleinschätzungen (Rö 1,18ff), hat aber dennoch seine Wurzel in der Gabe der Welterkenntnis, die mit der Aussage der Gottesebenenbildlichkeit verbunden ist. Das Angewiesen-sein des Menschen auf weltbildliche Orientierung für sein Leben und seine Forschung, die Größe und Faszination philosophischer Welterkenntnis, haben hier eine theologische Begründung.²³ Das Erkennen des Menschen diesseits von Eden in Religionen, Weltanschauungen und Ideologien bleibt suchend und oft irrend, wenn es nicht durch die Gotteserkenntnis in Christus hindurchgegangen ist.²⁴ In der Erneuerung durch Christus liegt auch der Zugang zur seinskongruenten Erkenntnis der Welt in ihrer Größe und Schönheit, ihrer Grausamkeit und Todverfallenheit, ihrer Verlorenheit und Hoffnung: „In Christus liegen verborgen alle Schätze der Weisheit und der Erkenntnis“ (Kol 2,3).

NOTES

- 1 Der jüdische Kanon endet mit der Chronik, einem Buch, das ebenfalls mit Adam beginnt und die Zeit bis zur Rückkehr ins

Land (wörtlich: zur Erde) der Verheißung aus dem Exil beschreibt. Der christliche Kanon endet mit der Offenbarung und der Verheißung „einer neuen Erde und eines neuen Himmels“.

- 2 Vgl. u.a. David Clines, *The Theme of the Pentateuch*. JSOT.S 10. Sheffield: JSOT 1978; Rolf Rendtorff, *Theologie des Alten Testaments: Ein kanonischer Entwurf*. Neukirchen: Neukirchener 1999.
- 3 Vgl. u.a. meinen Artikel „Text-Recycling assyrisch und biblisch: Zur fälligen Revision der Literarkritik“, *JETH* 9 (1995), 7–20.
- 4 *tôl'dôt* wird von der LXX mit γενεαίς übersetzt.
- 5 Scharnierformel: 11mal als Formel = XII Texteinheiten [13 Vorkommen]

Schöpfung + Text I. 1,1 – 2,4

Urgeschichte II.	2,4 – 5,1	2,4	(1) Toledot von Himmel und Erde
III.	5,1 – 6,9	5,1	(2) Buch der Toledot Adams
IV.	6,9 – 10,1	6,9	(3) Toledot Noahs
V.	10,1 – 11,10	10,1[32]	(4) Toledot der Söhne Noahs
VI.	11,10 – 11,27	11,10	(5) Toledot Sems
Patriarchen VII.	11,27 – 25,12	11,27	(6) Toledot Terachs
VIII.	25,12 – 25,19	25,12[13]	(7) Toledot Ismaels
IX.	25,19 – 36,1	25,19	(8) Toledot Isaaks
X.	36,1 – 36,9	36,1	(9) Toledot Esaus
XI.	36,9 – 37,2	36,9	(10) Toledot der Söhne Esaus
XII.	37,2 – 50,26	37,2	(11) Toledot Jakobs

- 6 Der dogmatitische Topos des Sündenfalls hat wohl zu der häufig zu beobachtenden, jedoch unglücklichen literarischen Abgrenzung der Einheit bei Gen 3 geführt.
- 7 Synchroner Aufbau von Gen 6,5–9,17 (in Anlehnung an Siegbert Riecker, *Segen, Einschränkung und Verheissung im Bund Gottes mit Noah*. Licentiaats-Thesis. Evangel. Theol. Fakultät Leuven 1998, unveröffentlicht):

A ₁	6,5–8	Selbstbeschluss Gottes: Vernichtung der Menschheit (6,5: Böses Herz)
A ₂	6,9–22	Mitteilung des Beschlusses an Noah – Ziel: Bund (6,18)
B	7,1–9	Gebot, in die Arche zu gehen, und Noahs Gehorsam

- | | | | |
|------------------|---------|--|--|
| C | 7,10–16 | Beginn der Flut | |
| D | 7,17–24 | Ansteigen der Wasser | |
| D' | 8,1–5 | Sinken der Wasser | |
| C' | 8,6–14 | Ende der Flut | |
| B' | 8,15–19 | Gebot, die Arche zu verlassen, und Noahs Gehorsam | |
| A ₁ ' | 8,20–22 | Selbstbeschluss Gottes zur Bewahrung der Menschheit (8,21: Böses Herz) | |
| A ₂ ' | 9,1–17 | Mitteilung des Beschlusses an Noah – Bund und Bundeszeichen. | |
- 8 Zum Unterschied von der abstrahierenden Darstellung moderner Argumentation und der eher binären komplementären Darstellung in vorgriechischen Kulturräumen vgl. u.a. Emma Brunner-Traut, *Frühformen des Erkennens: Am Beispiel Ägyptens*. Darmstadt: WBG 1992; Herbert H. Klement, „Chiasmus und Aspekte“, in: *II Samuel 21–24. Context, Structure and Meaning in the Samuel Conclusion*. Europäische Hochschulschriften XXIII/682. Frankfurt a.M.: Peter Lang 2000, S. 86–98.
 - 9 Vgl. u.a. Leo Scheffczyk, Hrsg., *Der Mensch als Bild Gottes*. Darmstadt: WBG 1969; Jakob Jervell, „Bild Gottes I: Biblische, frühjüdische und gnostische Auffassungen“, *TRE* Bd. VI, S. 491–498; Albrecht Peters, „Bild Gottes IV: Dogmatisch“, *TRE* Bd. VI, S. 506–515.
 - 10 Hans-Georg Gadamer, „Theorie, Technik, Praxis – die Aufgabe einer neuen Anthropologie“, *Neue Anthropologie I – biblogische Anthropologie – Erster Teil*, hg. Hans-Georg Gadamer, Paul Vogler, München: DTV 1972, S. XVIIff
 - 11 Vgl. Rolf Hille, „Von der Moderne zur Postmoderne – Bilanz am Ende des Jahrhunderts“, *Theologische Wahrheit und die Postmoderne*, hrsg. Herbert H. Klement. Wuppertal: Brockhaus 2000, 9–45.
 - 12 Vgl. meinen Aufsatz „Gott und die Götter im Alten Testament“, *JETH* 11 (1997), 35ff
 - 13 Vgl. J. Lohmann, „Die Sprache als das Fundament des Menschseins“, *Neue Anthropologie VII: Philosophische Anthropologie – Zweiter Teil*, hrsg. Hans-Georg Gadamer u. Paul Vogler, München: dtv 1975, S. 204ff; Francis A. Schaeffer, *He is there and he is not silent*, 1972.
 - 14 Dekalog – die rabbinische Aussage, nach der Gott die Welt mit 10 Worten geschaffen hat, bezieht sich auf das zehnfache Vorkommen der Formel *wayyō'mer 'lōhīm* – und Gott sprach in Gen 1 (Verse 3, 6, 9, 11, 14, 20, 24, 26, 28, 29).
 - 15 Günther Brakelmann, „Recht auf Arbeit“, *Recht auf Arbeit – Sinn der Arbeit*, hrsg. Jürgen Moltmann, München: Chr. Kaiser 1979
 - 16 Vgl. Horst-Walter Beck, „Politik-Unterricht – ein Gutachten“, *factum* Sept. 1980, S. 31ff
 - 17 Vgl. Georg Huntemann, *Provozierte Theologie in technischer Welt*, Wuppertal: Brockhaus 1968
 - 18 Vgl. Ali Wacker, *Vom Schock zum Fatalismus*, 1978; Herbert Klement u. Klaus Brandt, *Die Krise der Arbeitslosigkeit*. Kassel: Born 1985
 - 19 Vgl. Udo Middelmann, *Pro Existence*, Wuppertal: Brockhaus 1976; Francis A. Schaeffer, *Art and the Bible*, 1973; H.R. Rookmaker, *Art and the Public today*, 1969
 - 20 In Hebr. 2,6ff wird *'lōhīm* nicht wie üblich mit Gott, sondern als Plural und mit Engel wiedergegeben und christologisch interpretiert.
 - 21 Vgl. u.a. Christopher J.H. Wright, *Living as the People of God: The Relevance of Old Testament Ethics*. Leicester: IVP 1990 [= 1983]
 - 22 Vgl. Alfred E. Stükelberger, *Erziehung – die Herausforderung an unsere Zeit*, Wuppertal: Egd 1979, S. 31: Das Dreieck.
 - 23 Vgl. H.W. Beck, *Die Welt als Modell*, Neuhausen: Hänssler 1973
 - 24 Vgl. L.E.v. Padberg, „Glauben und Denken – Die Hochschule in der Spannung zwischen christlicher und säkularer Orientierung“, *factum* 1/89, S. 28–38

- **Die Bruchstellen der gemeinsamen Perikopen-Reihenfolge als Indiz für vier gemeinsame Quellen der Synoptiker**
- *Disruptions in the Shared Sequence of Pericopes as Evidence for Four Sources Common to the Synoptics*
- *Les modifications de séquences communes aux synoptiques révèlent l'existence de quatre sources communes à ces trois évangiles*
- **Franz Graf-Stuhlhofer, Wien**

SUMMARY

The most important argument for reconstructing substantial pre-synoptic sources is the common sequence to be found in the Synoptics. However, there are several disruptions in this, where two of the Synoptics depart from the sequence at the same point. (Cases where one of the Synoptics alone departs from the sequence, to include short insertions, do not constitute such disruptions). By means of such striking disruptions it is possible to trace back to four sources in all, shared by all three Synoptics, and thus to substantial collections. These may be designated: the 'Archē-source, Γαλιλαία-source, Ιουδαία-source and Σταυρός-source. With regard to these sources one

might speak here of a fragmentary hypothesis.

This rediscovery of four large collections as sources of the Synoptics implies the assumption of the Synoptics' more or less simultaneous, yet independent, emergence (in the 60s?). The chronological sequence of the four collections was so obvious, that in the ordering of them independent compilers of necessity arrived at the same result. The equally independent 'discovery', therefore, of the gospel-form, was no great step forward, since the authors, who were influenced by the Old Testament, found a suitable vehicle to portray the work of Jesus, in which – as with Moses in his time – word and deed were combined.

RÉSUMÉ

Pour reconstituer les sources qui ont servi à la composition des évangiles synoptiques, on se fonde d'abord sur les séquences qu'ils ont en commun.

Cependant, on constate souvent que deux des synoptiques divergent de la séquence au même point (les cas où l'un seulement des synoptiques s'écarte de la séquence pour inclure de courtes additions n'entrent pas ici en ligne de compte). En considérant ces modifications de

séquences, il est possible de remonter à quatre sources au total, que l'on retrouve dans les trois synoptiques, et qui constituent des collections substantielles. On peut les désigner de la manière suivante : la source archè, la source galilaia, la source ioudaia, et la source stauros. On peut parler à leur égard d'hypothèse fragmentaire.

Cette mise à jour de quatre collections importantes qui auraient servi de sources aux synoptiques implique que la composition de ces trois évangiles a

été plus ou moins simultanée, bien qu'indépendante (dans les années soixante ?). L'ordre chronologique de la matière des quatre collections était si évidente que les trois rédacteurs, en ordonnant leurs matériaux, devaient nécessairement parvenir au même résultat. Ces rédacteurs ont également pu forger indépendamment

le genre de l'évangile : ceci ne constituait pas réellement une grande nouveauté car ces auteurs, qui étaient influencés par l'Ancien Testament, y trouvaient un genre approprié pour réaliser un portrait de l'œuvre de Jésus : par exemple, le récit de la vie de Moïse combine déjà les actes et les discours.

Die sogenannte *Zwei-Quellen-Theorie* (Markus-Priorität, Redensammlung Q) hatte als Lösung des synoptischen Problems breite Anerkennung erlangt. Das Hauptargument für eine literarische Abhängigkeit der drei Synoptiker ist die zwischen Markus und Matthäus sowie zwischen Markus und Lukas häufig übereinstimmende Reihenfolge von Perikopen.¹ Es ist das weitaus wichtigste Argument für literarische Zusammenhänge zwischen umfangreichen Texten, und es soll hier als Grundargument für die Behandlung des synoptischen Problems fungieren. Dabei ergibt sich, daß es vier Quellen-Sammlungen gab, die von allen drei Synoptikern benutzt wurden.²

Die herkömmliche Zwei-Quellen-Theorie erscheint im ersten Moment als einfache und logische Lösung, bei näherem Hinsehen erweist sie sich aber doch als sehr kompliziert.³

Die Betrachtung des allen drei Synoptikern gemeinsamen Stoffes zeigt annähernd tausend (!) Stellen, wo Mt in der Formulierung mit Lk – gegen Mk – übereinstimmt.⁴ Aufgrund dieser sog. 'minor agreements' (kleineren wörtlichen Übereinstimmungen) ist es sehr unwahrscheinlich, daß das uns vorliegende Markusevangelium die Vorlage für Mt sowie Lk war. Als deren Vorlage wird daher nun ein *Deuteromarkus* postuliert⁵, eine Bearbeitung unseres Mk.⁶

Die zweite Quelle, die postulierte Redenquelle Q, wird bei näherem Hinsehen zu zwei nur teilweise übereinstimmenden Quellen, zu Q^{Mt} und Q^{Lk}.

Dieses verstärkte Wahrnehmen von Schwierigkeiten und die daraus resultierende Verkomplizierung der Theorie führte in der Nachkriegszeit zum

verbreiteten Bewußtsein, daß die ursprüngliche, so 'einfach' scheinende Zwei-Quellen-Theorie nur eine unzureichende Antwort auf das synoptische Problem darstellt.⁷

Die Reihenfolge von Perikopen als Hauptargument

Das wichtigste und stärkste Argument für die literarische Abhängigkeit der Synoptiker ist der 'Ordobeweis'⁸, 'the argument from order'⁹. Ein anderes Argument, nämlich die Wortlaut-Übereinstimmung, liefert keine eindeutigen Folgerungen, denn hier wären auch andere Erklärungsmöglichkeiten denkbar: Eine gemeinsame mündliche Tradition oder einzelne schriftlich verbreitete Perikopen als Quelle für die Synoptiker. Je umfangreicher aber die Abschnitte mit übereinstimmendem Wortlaut sind, desto unwahrscheinlicher wird der Rückgriff auf eine bloß mündliche Tradition, und je mehr Abschnitte mit parallelem Inhalt aufeinanderfolgen, desto länger wird auch die gemeinsame Vorlage gewesen sein (oder es diene das eine Evangelium dem anderen als Vorlage). Hier liegt die Frage, auf die sich das synoptische Problem konzentriert: Gibt es zwischen den drei ersten Evangelien eine *umfangreiche* literarische Abhängigkeit?¹⁰ Und zur Beantwortung dieser Frage ist die parallele Aufeinanderfolge von Perikopen zu prüfen. Soweit diese Parallele bei zwei – oder allen drei – Synoptikern gegeben ist, liegt der Rückschluß auf einen literarischen Zusammenhang nahe. Dieser Rückschluß ist auch dort noch gerechtfertigt, wo *ein* Synoptiker durch den Einschub einer anderen Perikope von der

gemeinsamen Reihenfolge abweicht. So lassen etwa Mt und Mk auf die Taufe Jesu seine Versuchung in der Wüste folgen; Lk hat zwar auch diese Reihenfolge, aber nicht unmittelbar; er fügt dazwischen den Stammbaum Jesu ein.¹¹ Neben solchen Einschüben kommen auch Auslassungen vor.

Wo die Übereinstimmung in der Reihenfolge als Argument gewertet wird, muß auch das Gegenteil ernst genommen werden, nämlich *das Abbrechen dieser gemeinsamen Reihenfolge*. Wenn Mt und Lk über eine Erzählfolge hinweg mit Mk parallel gehen und dann an einer bestimmten Stelle gleichzeitig 'aussteigen', so wird das eher kein Zufall sein. An mehreren Stellen läßt sich ein solcher 'Ausstieg' beobachten, wie im folgenden gezeigt wird.¹²

Das Abbrechen der gemeinsamen Reihenfolge als Indiz

Als Ursache solchen gemeinsamen Ausstiegs postuliere ich, daß den drei Synoptikern dieselben Sammlungen von Perikopen zugrundelagen. Ein solcher Ausstieg wäre dann ein wahrscheinliches Indiz dafür, daß an dieser Stelle eine solche Sammlung endete. Da ein solcher Ausstieg jedoch kein eindeutiger Beweis ist, sind noch zusätzliche Indizien heranzuziehen. An welche Indizien wäre hier zu denken?

Wenn sich ein Synoptiker bei der Verwertung von Sammlungen von Perikopen eng an diese anschließen wollte, daneben aber auch über sonstige Texte verfügte, so war es ein naheliegender Gedanke, dieses zusätzliche Material (u.a. Sondergut) vor allem nach dem Ende der einen Sammlung und vor dem Anfang der nächsten Sammlung einzuschieben. Das gilt nicht so sehr für kürzere Abschnitte, z.B. aus der mündlichen Tradition bekannte Aussprüche Jesu. Solche konnte er an ganz verschiedenen Stellen – wo sich dazu ein Anlaß, etwa ein sachliches oder geographisches Stichwort bot – einschieben. Aber speziell bei umfangreicherem sonstigen Material bot sich der Einbau zwischen zwei ausgewerteten Sammlungen

an.¹³ Im besonders großen Umfang eines Einschubes von Mt und/oder Lk kann demnach ein zusätzliches Indiz gesehen werden.

Manchmal schieben nicht bloß Mt und Lk eigenes Material ein, um anschließend wieder die markinische Erzählfolge aufzunehmen, sondern auch Mk selbst baut – parallel dazu – Sondergut ein.¹⁴ Auch das ist ein Indiz, daß nun eine gemeinsame Vorlage zu Ende war und alle drei Synoptiker die Gelegenheit nützten, um eigene Stoffe unterzubringen.

Zu fragen ist auch, ob eine etwaige Bruchstelle im Text der Syn noch die mögliche Gestalt von Anfang bzw. Ende (z.B. ein Summarium) einer Vorlage erkennen läßt.

Soweit also zu den Indizien, die – insbesondere in Kombination miteinander – auf das Ende einer Perikopen-Sammlung hinweisen. Diese Indizien lassen auf vier Sammlungen als Vorlagen rückschließen.

Vier den Synoptikern gemeinsame Vorlagen

Ap̄x̄n-Quelle: Mk 1,1–39

Mk zeigt sich hierbei als „breviator“, indem er mehrere Abschnitte wegstreicht, die bei Mt/Lk erhalten blieben: Erstens Einzelheiten des Auftretens des Täufers (Mt 3,1f.7–10.12 par), zweitens Jesu Versuchung (Mt 4,3–11). Die 'Ap̄x̄n-Quelle' schloß mit einem Summarium (Mk 1,39 par: „... in ganz Galiläa ...“). Es handelt sich um eine kurze Sammlung (etwa 11 Perikopen umfassend), worin Jesu Wirken grundsätzlich umschrieben ist: Sein Vorläufer, Jesu Taufe, seine Bewährung in der Versuchung, die Berufung der ersten Jünger, Dämonenaustreibung, Krankenheilung, Unterricht. Vielleicht stand der bei Markus zu findende Einstieg bereits in der Vorlage: ἀρχ̄η – im Sinne einer 'Grundlegung'.¹⁵ Das Wirken Jesu, Inhalt des Evangeliums, erscheint in dieser Umschreibung *grundgelegt*.

Nach dem Ende dieser Vorlage baut Mt seine umfangreiche Bergpredigt ein, Lk den Fischzug des Petrus.

Γαλιλαία-Quelle: Mk 1,40–9,48

Den Übergang von der eingeschobenen Bergpredigt zur Γαλιλαία-Quelle bildet Matthäus mit „als Jesus diese Reden beendet hatte“ (7,28). Mit ähnlichen Worten schafft er auch den Übergang zur Ιουδαία-Quelle (19,1) sowie zur Σταυρος-Quelle (26,1).¹⁶ Während die erstgenannte Quelle vielleicht einen – für uns heute noch erkennbaren – formellen Beginn sowie Abschluß hatte, ist das bei der zweiten Quelle nicht der Fall. Diese 'Γαλιλαία-Quelle' umfaßte etwa 42 Perikopen und ist somit die mit Abstand längste der vier hier postulierten Quellensammlungen. Mt übernahm das meiste davon, schob aber darüber hinaus zahlreiche Perikopen ein. Lk dagegen ließ davon fast die Hälfte aus – die sog. „lukanische Lücke“ ist nicht völlig außergewöhnlich, sondern nur der Höhepunkt einer Serie von Auslassungen.¹⁷ Auch Lk macht – wie Mt – bei dieser Quelle mehr Einschübe als bei den anderen Quellen. Die lukanischen Auslassungen gegenüber der 'Γαλιλαία-Quelle' könnten also damit in Verbindung stehen, daß Lk in bezug auf Jesu galiläisches Wirken über viele weitere Stoffe verfügte, aber den Galiläa-Teil seines Evangeliums nicht zu stark ausdehnen wollte.

Das Ende dieser Quelle wird daran erkennbar, daß nach ihrer Verwertung alle drei Synoptiker unterschiedliche Stoffe einbauen: Den Rangstreit der Jünger (Mk 9,33–37 par) haben noch alle drei Syn gemeinsam, es folgt die Frage nach den getrennten Nachfolgern bei Mk sowie bei Lk; daraufhin 'schert Lk aus' und bringt seine 'große Einschaltung' (9,51–18,14; der darauffolgende Rest des sog. lukanischen Reiseberichts geht wieder mit Mk parallel). Mk und Mt setzen mit dem „Wehe über die Verführer“ sowie mit der „Warnung vor dem Ärgernis“ fort. Nun kommt eine Bruchstelle: Mk (9,49f) hängt noch das Salzwort an, während Mt mehrere Abschnitte (größtenteils Sondergut) einschiebt: verlorenes Schaf, brüderliches Zurechtweisen, Bidegewalt, einmütiges Gebet, Vergebebereitschaft, unbarmherziger Knecht (18,12–35). Nach diesem kleinen Einschub bei Mt (und dem

großen Einschub bei Lk) treffen sich Mk (10,1–12 par) und Mt wieder mit der Erwähnung von Jesu Aufbruch nach Judäa sowie der Behandlung der Ehescheidung. Bei der anschließenden Kindersegnung (Mk 10,13–16 par) zieht auch Lk wieder mit, ebenso bei den folgenden Abschnitten zum Thema Reichtum.

Zwischen dem Ende von Mk 9 und dem Beginn von Mk 10 wäre ein Einschnitt¹⁸ auch insofern plausibel,¹⁹ als das zuvor berichtete Wirken Jesu in Galiläa stattfand, während es danach um Judäa als Schauplatz ging. Die beiden Quellen (eigentlich: Quellen-Sammlungen) würden dann Zusammenstellungen einzelner zwar lokalisierter, aber nicht datierter Perikopen darstellen.

Ιουδαία-Quelle: Mk 10,1–13,32

Wie bereits erwähnt, beginnt die dritte Quelle mit dem Aufbruch nach Judäa; sie endete mit dem Hinweis darauf, daß nur der Vater „jenen Tag“ kenne. Diese Angaben stellen durchaus einen passenden Beginn bzw. Ende dieser – etwa 26 Perikopen umfassenden – 'Ιουδαία-Quelle' dar. Danach hängt Mt mehrere Endzeit-Gleichnisse (Mt 24,37–25,46) an, Mk und Lk fügen je eine kurze Endzeit-Bemerkung an.²⁰ Während die ersten beiden Bruchstellen durch jeweils einen umfangreichen Einschub (Mt-Bergpredigt, lukanische „große Einschaltung“) gekennzeichnet waren, ist das hier nicht der Fall. Allerdings fällt bei dieser Bruchstelle auf, daß die drei Syn als Endzeit-Rede in übereinstimmender Reihenfolge sieben Perikopen bringen, ausgehend von dem Hinweis der Jünger auf den Tempel. Danach ergänzt jeder der drei Syn noch durch andere Endzeit-Worte Jesu.

Σταυρος-Quelle: Mk 14,1–16,8

Die synoptische Passionsgeschichte wurde schon in der frühen mündlichen Tradition zusammengestellt.²¹ Diese Σταυρος-Quelle beginnt mit der Erwähnung der Absicht, Jesus festzunehmen. Am Ende der danach berichteten Salbung in Bethanien wird über dieses Ereignis hinausgeblickt: „Wo immer in der ganzen

Welt das Evangelium gepredigt wird ...“ (Mk 14,9). Den Bezug auf das Evangelium fanden wir auch schon am Beginn der Ἀρχη-Quelle. Nach dem Bericht über das leere Grab brach das Markus-Evangelium ursprünglich ab (und hier endete auch die insgesamt etwa 20 Perikopen umfassende ‘Σταυρος-Quelle’²²), während Mt und Lk verschiedene Erscheinungsberichte anhängten.²³

Diagramm

Das folgende Schaubild soll die Inhalte der Quellen der Synoptiker im Überblick darstellen:

Charakterisierung der vier Quellen

Ich rechne also mit vier²⁴ Quellen, die allen drei Synoptikern vorlagen. Je größer die Zahl der postulierten Quellen ist, desto unwahrscheinlicher wäre es, daß diese von den Synoptikern unabhängig voneinander in der gleichen Reihenfolge verwertet wurden. Das ist im Hinblick auf die vier hier postulierten Quellen aber kein Problem, denn die korrekte chronologische Reihenfolge dieser vier Quellen war unschwer zu eruieren: Zuerst die Taufe durch Johannes (Α), danach Wirken in Galiläa (Γ), daraufhin Einzug in Jerusalem (Ι) und schließlich Kreuzigung (Σ). Wenn diese vier Quellen den drei Syn-

optikern vorlagen und sie versuchten diese prinzipiell in chronologischer Reihenfolge anzuordnen, so kamen sie auch völlig unabhängig voneinander zur in den synoptischen Evangelien gegebenen Anordnung.²⁵

Die erste Stufe im Entstehungsprozeß der Evangelien bildeten mündliche oder schriftliche Perikopen, die zweite Stufe die Sammlung solcher Perikopen zu u.a. den vier beschriebenen Quellen.²⁶ Die Verfasser dieser Quellen gehörten zu den von Lukas erwähnten πολλοί.²⁷ Die Γ-Quelle läßt sich umfangmäßig etwa mit der großen lukanischen Einschaltung vergleichen, und die Ι-Quelle mit der matthäischen Bergpredigt. Lk und Mt verfügten also neben den vier hier postulierten Quellen jeweils noch über mehrere weitere – umfangmäßig vergleichbare – Sammlungen, die sie gleichfalls verwerteten. Wenn der Rückschluß auf die beiden Quellen Γ und Ι zutrifft, ergeben sich daraus Konsequenzen für unser Bild von den Vorstufen der Synoptiker. Demnach hatten die αὐτοποι eine gute Erinnerung in bezug auf die Geographie; sie konnten sich daran erinnern, ob ein Ereignis in Judäa oder in Galiläa stattfand, aber oft nicht mehr an den Zeitpunkt – außer wenn sich etwas im Rahmen eines Festes ereignete. Die beiden Sammlungen waren also räumlich/geographisch orientiert, nicht

	Matthäus	Markus	Lukas
	Herkunft, Geburt & Flucht		2 Geburten & Tempel
Ἀρχη-Quelle	Mk 1,1–39: Jesus wird von seinem Vorläufer getauft, wird versucht, er predigt, heilt, beruft Jünger		
	Bergpredigt		Fischfang des Petrus
Γαλιλαία-Quelle	Mk 1,40–9,48: Ereignisse in Galiläa		
	18,12–35	Salzwort	„große Einschaltung“
Τουδαία-Quelle	Mk 10, 1–13,32: Ereignisse in Judäa		
	Endzeit-Gleichnisse	Türhüter-Gleichnis	Ermahnung zu wachen
Σταυρος-Quelle	Mk 14,1–16,8: Passa, Gefangennahme, Kreuzigung und leeres Grab		
	Bestechung, Erscheinungen		Emmaus, Erscheinungen

zeitlich. Die beiden Groß-Synoptiker übernahmen – wie Mk – die Reihenfolge der Perikopen in diesen beiden Quellen weitgehend, da sie selbst über keine besseren zeitlichen Informationen verfügten. Bei dieser Hintereinanderschaltung der geographisch angeordneten Berichte über die einzelnen Ereignisse ergab sich nun der – nur tw. zutreffende – Eindruck eines Nacheinanders (zuerst Jesu gesamtes galiläisches Wirken, dann sein judäisches Wirken).²⁸

Die vierte Sammlung endete vermutlich mit dem leeren Grab und den Engel-Erscheinungen.²⁹ Eine weitere, fünfte Sammlung wurde vorerst nicht erstellt, denn sie betraf die aktuelle Phase, die als 'das Wirken des auferstandenen κυριος' überschrieben werden konnte: Diese war ja noch nicht abgeschlossen, und ihr 'Inhalt' erweiterte sich ständig, nämlich durch die Wunder des Auferstandenen, die er durch seine Jünger wirkte.³⁰ Auch im mutigen Auftreten seiner Anhänger konnte ein Wunderwirken des Auferstandenen erkannt werden.³¹

Wenn die vier beschriebenen Quellen den Synoptikern in griechischer Fassung vorlagen,³² dann können wir die Formulierungen dieser Quellen aufgrund von Übereinstimmungen unter den Synoptikern rekonstruieren: Wir berücksichtigen den ganzen Stoff, der außer bei Mk noch bei zumindest einem weiteren Synoptiker enthalten ist.³³ Innerhalb dieses Stoffes gilt folgende Faustregel: Alle Formulierungen und Worte, bei denen zwei Synoptiker miteinander übereinstimmen, waren bereits in der Vorlage enthalten. Wo eine Aussage von jedem der drei Synoptiker mit etwas anderen Worten überliefert wird, kann manchmal dennoch auf das ursprüngliche Wort rückgeschlossen werden. So lesen wir bei der Heilung des Aussätzigen über Jesus (Mk 1,41 par): λεγων (Mt), και λεγει (Mk) bzw. ειπων (Lk). Hier wäre die matthäische Formulierung als 'Verbindungsglied', als gemeinsame Mitte denkbar, da sich von dieser sowohl die lukanische als auch die markinische Form leicht ableiten läßt.

Von einer solchen rekonstruierten Fassung der vier Quellen A, Γ, I und Σ ausgehend kann untersucht werden, welche Änderungen die einzelnen Synoptiker vornahmen.³⁴ Nicht jede Abweichung muß jedoch auf die Redaktion des Synoptikers zurückgehen; wo massive Abweichungen vorliegen, kann es auch an einer eigenen Tradition liegen, über die der betreffende Synoptiker verfügte.³⁵

Ungefähr gleichzeitige Entstehung der drei Synoptiker

Was bedeutet die These der unabhängigen Benützung der vier – wie wir sie nennen könnten – 'synoptischen Quellen' durch die Syn für deren Entstehungszeitpunkt? Demnach schrieben die Synoptiker ungefähr gleichzeitig und ohne voneinander zu wissen, zumindest ohne einander zu benützen.³⁶

Gegen eine solche Vorstellung könnte eingewandt werden, daß es unwahrscheinlich sei, daß die drei Synoptiker gleichzeitig und unabhängig voneinander die originelle Gestalt eines Evangeliums quasi erfanden. Woher nahmen die Synoptiker die Anregung zu einer solchen – durchaus nicht ganz einheitlich entworfenen³⁷ – Darstellungsform der Jesus-Ereignisse? Bei der Frage nach möglichen Vorbildern ist in erster Linie das Alte Testament zu betrachten,³⁸ denn vor allem dieses bildete die geistige Welt, in der Jesu Anhänger lebten. Dem von der AT-Lektüre herkommenden Leser lagen drei Möglichkeiten einer Darstellung des Wirkens Jesu nahe: Erstens eine *Beschränkung* auf die von Jesus vertretenen Lehren – wie bei manchen Propheten und Psalmisten, zweitens eine *Trennung* von Leben + Wirken einerseits und Lehren + Schriften andererseits – wie bei David und Salomo, und drittens eine *Verbindung* von Wirken und Lehren – wie vor allem bei Mose, dessen Leben außerdem von Geburt bis Tod berichtet wird (2.–5.Mose).³⁹ Im Fall des Wirkens Jesu war es nun naheliegend, die dritte Möglichkeit zu wählen, also die *Verbindung* von Tat und Wort. Denn viele wichtige Aussprüche Jesu waren nur im

ursprünglichen Rahmen verständlich, etwa in Verbindung mit einer Wunderhandlung oder als Teil eines Dialogs. Wenn Jesu Anhänger davon überzeugt waren, daß mit Jesus etwas grundlegend Neues begonnen hatte, und daß Jesus höher stand als Mose, lag der Gedanke nahe, Jesu Wirken und Lehren in Verbindung miteinander darzustellen, wie das auch bei Mose geschehen war.⁴⁰ Die Evangelien wurden somit zur Gründungsurkunde einer neuen Religion – diese intendierte die eigentliche Erfüllung der alten Religion zu sein.

Um zur Gestalt unserer Evangelien zu gelangen, genügten einige Grundentscheidungen: Erstens die eben besprochene *Verbindung* von Wort und Tat, zweitens die monographische Beschränkung auf das Wirken *Jesu*, drittens ein *deskriptives* Schwergewicht. Diese Entscheidungen ergaben sich aufgrund der Einschätzung des Wirkens Jesu seitens seiner Anhänger sowie aufgrund der Art ihrer Bildung fast von selbst.⁴¹ Insofern wäre es auch nicht verwunderlich, wenn Mt und Lk unabhängig voneinander zur gleichen – und Mk zu einer ähnlichen – Darstellungsweise gelangten.

Was war die Veranlassung zum Abfassen von Evangelien? Für die Bedürfnisse der meisten Christen dürften die zuvor existierenden Sammlungen (Σ , Γ und I) sowie kürzeren Texte (die Perikopen) ausreichend gewesen sein.⁴² Jedoch konnte bei manchen gebildeten Nichtchristen und Sympathisanten (wie Theophilus, Lk 1,3) der Wunsch bestehen, Jesu Wirken als Ganzes nachzuvollziehen.

Wenn ich hier von einer 'gleichzeitigen' Entstehung der drei Synoptiker spreche, so ist dieses 'gleichzeitig' nicht zu präzise zu nehmen, sondern als ein Zeitraum von etwa einem Jahrzehnt zu sehen. Wesentlich ist, daß sie unabhängig voneinander entstanden. Wenn ein Synoptiker z.B. in Rom schrieb, der zweite in Antiochien und der dritte in Alexandrien⁴³, so konnte durchaus eine Mehrzahl von Jahren vergehen, bis einer vom anderen erfuhr.⁴⁴

Mehrere kleine Q's

Was bedeutet die Anwendung des *Arguments der Reihenfolge* für die Annahme einer Redenquelle Q? Der nur Mt und Lk gemeinsame Stoff ist in den beiden Evangelien kaum in der gleichen Reihenfolge angeordnet.⁴⁵ Das Höchstmaß an Übereinstimmung sind Perikopen im Umfang von je etwa zehn Versen.⁴⁶ Die Annahme, daß diese Texte – und weitere Q-Texte – in einem umfassenden Kodex oder in einer umfassenden Rolle, also in einem fortlaufenden Text, vereinigt waren, ist unbegründet.⁴⁷ Ein Grund, um auf *eine* umfassende Q rückzuschließen, würde dann vorliegen, wenn Mt und Lk in der Anordnung dieser Abschnitte eine einigermaßen vergleichbare Reihenfolge erkennen ließen.⁴⁸ Das ist jedoch nicht der Fall, somit könnte Q auch als bloße Lose-Blatt-Sammlung existiert haben⁴⁹ (abgesehen von der Möglichkeit mündlicher Überlieferung⁵⁰).

Die Frage nach den gemeinsamen Quellen von Mt und Lk bleibt natürlich bestehen. Je kürzer die gemeinsamen Abschnitte sind, desto leichter wäre es vorstellbar, daß es sich um verbreitete mündliche Tradition handelte. Dieser Rest kürzerer Abschnitte konnte durchaus in auswendig gelernter Form verbreitet gewesen sein. Es handelt sich dabei hauptsächlich um Aussprüche Jesu, und ihr gesamter Umfang war gering. Der gesamte Q zugerechnete Maximalbestand beträgt ca. 4000 Wörter, was einem Redestoff von etwa einer halben Stunde entspricht. Aussprüche Jesu in dieser Menge konnten durchaus auswendig gelernt werden.⁵¹

NOTES

- 1 Die Übereinstimmung *im Wortlaut* bei kürzeren Abschnitten könnte, abgesehen von mündlicher Überlieferung, durch die gemeinsame Benutzung von im Umlauf befindlichen schriftlichen Perikopen erklärt werden. Der Rückschluß auf gemeinsame *umfangreichere* Quellen (bzw. auf gegenseitige Benutzung) ergibt sich erst aus den Übereinstimmungen in der Reihenfolge solcher Perikopen.

- 2 In Anlehnung an die von Lachmann und Holtzmann vertretene Urmarkus-Hypothese (weitere Vertreter sowie Gegner bei Werner Georg Kümmel, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament* [Heidelberg 1980] 35, Fn.40f) könnte man die von mir postulierten vier gemeinsamen synoptischen Quellen als 'vier getrennte Teile des Urmarkus' (oder: '... des Protomarkus') ansprechen. – Ich will hier deutlich machen, wie meine Alternative die einzelnen synoptischen Beobachtungen erklärt, ohne daß ich dabei die Auseinandersetzung mit allen anderen möglichen Alternativen führe.
- 3 Einen Überblick über verschiedene Schwierigkeiten lieferte Rainer Riesner, 'Wie sicher ist die Zwei-Quellen-Theorie?', *Theologische Beiträge* 8 (1977) 49–71.
- 4 Die Annahme einer zufällig übereinstimmenden Redaktion der Markus-Vorlage könnte nur für einen kleinen Teil dieser Stellen plausibel gemacht werden. In den letzten Jahren rückten diese 'agreements' ('positive agreements', das sind Zusätze, sowie 'negative agreements', das sind Auslassungen) in den Blickpunkt des Interesses: Siehe Frans Neirynck, *The Minor Agreements in a horizontal-line Synopsis* (Leuven 1991); Georg Strecker (Hg.), *Minor Agreements. Symposium Göttingen 1991* (Göttingen 1993); Andreas Ennulat, *Die 'Minor Agreements'. Untersuchungen zu einer offenen Frage des synoptischen Problems* (= WUNT 2,62; Tübingen 1994). Eine Liste von 52 besonders gewichtigen 'agreements' stellte S. McLoughlin zusammen (wiedergegeben in Neirynck S.101f oder in Strecker S.229f).
- 5 Referiert bei Udo Schnelle, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament* (Göttingen 21996) 203–206. – Das Problem, warum die anderen beiden Synoptiker das Markus-Sondergut nicht übernommen haben, verliert durch die Annahme eines Deuteromarkus an Schärfe; die Frage nach dem Grund der Nichtübernahme bleibt aber bestehen. Unklar bleibt auch, warum der stilistisch bessere und – gemäß dieser Annahme – verbreitete (sowohl Mt als auch Lk kannten und benutzten ihn) Deuteromarkus verlorenging, während Mk erhalten blieb. Jedenfalls gilt bei der Rekonstruktion dieser als ursprünglich existierend angenommenen Quelle folgender Leitgedanke: *Alles wo zumindest zwei Synoptiker übereinstimmen, war darin enthalten.* Diese Annahme gilt auch für meine Hypothese.
- 6 Eine andere Lösungsmöglichkeit wäre, daß Mt und Lk als Vorlage einen *Urmarkus* benützten, aus dessen Weiterbearbeitung unser Mk wurde. Dagegen wird eingewandt, daß der Text von Lk und Mt eher eine stilistische *Verbesserung* des Mk-Textes darstellt. Und demnach hätte Markus einen ihm vorliegenden guten Text (den die 'minor agreements' enthaltenden *Urmarkus*) verschlechtert. Dazu meint aber Robert Morgenthaler, *Statistische Synopse* (Zürich 1971) 289, daß die Veränderung eines griechisch-hellenistischen Textes hin zu einem stärker semitisierenden (der z.B. vermehrt das *kaí*-consecutivum verwendet) durchaus denkbar wäre – falls Mk, im Unterschied zu Lk, „in einem noch stark dem Judentum verpflichteten Milieu schrieb“.
- 7 Wenn Thomas S. Kuhns *Struktur wissenschaftlicher Revolutionen* hier angewandt werden kann, dann ist die Zwei-Quellen-Theorie als *Paradigma* (oder *disziplinäre Matrix*) in zunehmendem Maße mit *Anomalien* konfrontiert, die zu einer *Krise* und somit zu wachsender Bereitschaft für einen *Paradigmenwechsel* führen – zu einem solchen Wechsel ist allerdings die Präsenz eines erfolversprechenden alternativen *Paradigmas* nötig.
- 8 Auch 'Akoluthiebeweis' genannt; von 'Kontextparallelität' spricht Bo Reicke, Die Entstehungsverhältnisse der synoptischen Evangelien, in: ANRW II 25, 2 (Berlin 1984) 1758–1791, gestützt auf Joseph B. Tyson, 'Sequential Parallelism in the Synoptic Gospels', *NTS* 22 (1976) 276–308. Tysons synoptische Tabellen eignen sich gut zum Nachvollziehen der parallelen Reihenfolge sowie zum Erkennen des Fehlens einer solchen (insb. S.302–304).
- 9 Vgl. E.P. Sanders, 'The Argument from order and the relationship between Matthew and Luke', *NTS* 15 (1968/69) 249–261. Sanders berücksichtigt aber nicht nur die Reihenfolge von *Perikopen*, sondern auch die Reihenfolge *kleinerer Abschnitte* – darin liegende Übereinstimmungen sind jedoch kein eindeutiges Argument für einen literarischen Zusammenhang umfangreicher Texte.
- 10 Mit der Möglichkeit, daß daneben auch einzelne Sätze aus gemeinsamer

- mündlicher oder schriftlicher Tradition stammen, wird allgemein gerechnet. Aber diesbezüglich läßt sich im einzelnen kaum Sicherheit gewinnen.
- 11 Mk 1,9–13 par. – Ein anderes Beispiel: Auf (a) Jesu erste Lehrtätigkeit in Galiläa folgen (b) die ersten Jüngerberufungen (Mk 1,14–20 par); Lk fügt nach (a) Jesu Wirken in Nazareth ein und setzt (b) zurück. Das bei Mk (1,21–34 par) folgende (Heilungen in Kapernaum) hat auch Lk, jedoch Mt z.T. nicht hier, z.T. überhaupt nicht. Auch solche Muster paralleler Aufeinanderfolge sprechen für literarische Zusammenhänge.
 - 12 Mit der Möglichkeit, daß es in einem Einzelfall rein zufällig einen solchen gleichzeitigen Ausstieg gibt, ist zu rechnen. Aber das Wahrscheinlichere und daher Naheliegendere ist die Annahme, daß diesen gleichzeitig erfolgten Ausstiegen eine bestimmte Ursache zugrunde liegt.
 - 13 Es kann natürlich auch umgekehrt gewesen sein: Daß etwa Lukas über eine umfangreiche Sonderüberlieferung verfügte, die bereits den Geschichtsrahmen vorgab, und die hier von mir beschriebenen synoptischen Quellen blockweise einarbeitete. Siehe Rainer Riesner, 'Prägung und Herkunft der lukanischen Sonderüberlieferung', *Theologische Beiträge* 24 (1993) 228–248.
 - 14 Wo lediglich Markus – nicht auch die beiden 'Großsynoptiker' – Sondergut einbaut, liegt darin kein Indiz. Bei Sondergut nehme ich generell an, daß es kein Inhalt der hier postulierten synoptischen Quellen war.
 - 15 So übersetzt etwa von Rudolf Pesch, *Das Markusevangelium* (HThK), I. Teil (Freiburg i.Br. 1976, 1989) 75; Hans-Joachim Eckstein, 'Markus 10,46–52 als Schlüsseltext des Markusevangeliums', *ZNW* 87 (1996) 33–50, dort 45: 'Beginn und Grundlage'.
 - 16 Während also Mt die Übergänge zur jeweils nächsten meiner vier Quellen mit ähnlichen Worten („diese Reden ...“) vollzieht, schließt er zwei andere Einschübe mit spezifischeren Ausdrücken ab: „seine Anweisungen an seine Jünger beendet“ (11,1) und „diese Gleichnisse beendet“ (13,53).
 - 17 Als „lukanische Lücke“ wird das Fehlen der 8 Perikopen von Mk 6,45–8,26 vor Luk 9,18 bezeichnet. – Den Inhalt der anderen drei Quellen nahm Luk größtenteils auf (gemessen an der Perikopen-Zahl zu jeweils mehr als 80%, während es bei der Γαλιλαία-Quelle nur etwa 60% waren). Bei Mt nimmt der Rezeptions-Grad von Quelle zu Quelle zu, gemessen an der Perikopen-Zahl etwa 70%, 80%, 90%, 100%.
 - 18 In Bibelübersetzungen, Kommentaren und Einleitungen wird im allgemeinen eher erst *nach* Mk 10 ein Einschnitt gesehen (anders jedoch Kümmel [wie Anm.2], der S.55f nach der 'Einleitung' fünf Teile unterscheidet und den 3. Teil mit Mk 10,1 beginnen läßt). Wenn bei Mt eine fünfteilige Gliederung vorgenommen wird, wonach am Ende jedes Teils die Wendung 'als Jesus diese Rede beendet hatte' steht, ergibt sich in Übereinstimmung mit meiner Quellscheidung bei Mt 19,1 ein Einschnitt. Bei Lk wird meist der bis 19,27 reichende Reisebericht als Einheit gesehen (die sog. 'große Einschaltung' endet jedoch – in Übereinstimmung mit meiner Quellscheidung – bereits mit 18,14).
 - 19 Nicht so plausibel wäre ein – gemäß meinen Kriterien möglicher – zusätzlicher Einschnitt an einer anderen Stelle, nämlich nach Mk 4,34: Dort findet sich ein Gleichnis-Summarium (auch Mt 13,34), danach schiebt Mt weitere Gleichnisse ein. Lk läßt die zuvor von den anderen beiden Synoptikern gebrachten Perikopen aus und baut stattdessen die kurze Perikope über die wahren Verwandten Jesu ein (Lk 8,19–21); daraufhin nimmt er wieder die markinische Erzählfolge auf. Die Einschübe der beiden Großsynoptiker sind hier also nur klein.
 - 20 Detlev Dormeyer, *Evangelium als literarische Gattung*, in: ANRW II, 25/2 (Berlin 1984) 1545–1634 (Lit. dazu ab 1695) dort 1595 unterteilt Mk in fünf Einheiten, wobei die letzten beiden Einschnitte (von seinen insgesamt vier) mit den hier präsentierten übereinstimmen.
 - 21 Als „der am frühesten in feste Form gebrachte Abschn[itt] der Überlieferung“ wird die Passionsgeschichte bezeichnet von Wilhelm Michaelis, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament* (Bern 1961) S.17. Ähnlich Kümmel [wie Anm.2] 21 und 50, Fn.81 bei der Besprechung der Formgeschichte.
 - 22 Möglicherweise endete die 'Σταυρός-Quelle' bereits mit der Grablegung, also am Ende von Mk 15. Die Entdeckung des leeren Grabes (Mk 16,1–8 par) würde sich zwar inhaltlich gut anfügen, da sie in den Versen davor, durch die Erwähnung der

- Frauen, vorbereitete war, aber es läßt sich nur bruchstückhaft ein den drei Syn gemeinsamer Wortlaut erkennen.
- 23 In die 'Σταυρος-Quelle' selbst bauten die beiden Großsynoptiker nur vereinzelt Sondergut ein: Mt den Selbstmord des Judas sowie die Aufstellung einer Grabwache, Lk die Sendung Jesu zu Herodes, die weinenden Frauen sowie Mahnung und Bitte des Mitgekreuzigten.
- 24 Wenn man eine weitere „Bruchstelle“ annimmt, wie in Fn.19 ausgeführt, würden sich statt vier insgesamt fünf Quellen ergeben.
- 25 Auch in bezug auf ihr jeweiliges Sondergut entschlossen sich Mt und Lk zu einer chronologischen Anordnung – erkennbar in der Anordnung ihrer Geschichten von Geburt und Kindheit einerseits und der Berichte über die Erscheinungen des Auferstandenen andererseits. Das mag vielleicht selbstverständlich klingen, aber Dormeyer in ANRW (wie Anm.20) 1600, sieht in dieser chronologischen Anordnung 'keine literarische Notwendigkeit' (man hätte z.B. den Passionsbericht an den Anfang stellen und danach beim Erzählen des Wirkens Jesu gelegentlich darauf zurückverweisen können). Aber auch die möglichen alttestamentlichen Vorbilder einer Verknüpfung von Wort und Tat wählten durchwegs eine prinzipiell chronologische Reihenfolge.
- 26 Darin würde sich 'die stoffimmanente Tendenz zur Bildung größerer Textkomplexe' zeigen. So Schnelle (wie Anm.5) 187.
- 27 Ob diese 'Diegesen' umfangreiche Evangelien (wie Mk oder Mt) oder kürzere Berichte (vielleicht gar nur einzelne schriftliche Perikopen) waren, bleibt bei Lk offen. Bei der Auslegung von Lk 1,1 wird oft an ganze Evangelien gedacht (z.B. von Kümmel [wie Anm.2] 119) und somit vorausgesetzt, daß Mk und Mt bereits vorgelegen haben müßten, doch scheint es mir unwahrscheinlich, daß es damals bereits 'πολλοί' Evangelien gegeben hätte. Das 'viele' wird sich auf kürzere Berichte beziehen.
- 28 Nun wurde z.B. die Tempelreinigung kurz vor Jesu Kreuzigung berichtet, im Gegensatz zur späteren Darstellung des Johannes-Evangeliums.
- 29 Es würde dazupassen, daß Mk ursprünglich tatsächlich mit Mk 16,8 schloß, möglicherweise veranlaßt durch die Gestalt der Σταυρος-Quelle. Daß Mk 16,8 der ursprüngliche Schluß war, wird für wahrscheinlich gehalten von Michaelis (wie Anm.21) S.57 (dazu Ergänzungsheft S.9) und von Kümmel (wie Anm.2) S.72f, immerhin für möglich von Schnelle (wie Anm.5) S.244.
- 30 Für diese Phase existierten zwar bereits einzelne Perikopen – wie sie später von Mt und Lk für ihre Auferstehungskapitel verwertet wurden –, aber noch keine Sammlung. Der Bedarf, auch diese Berichte zu sammeln, wurde wohl nicht so rasch verspürt, denn das Wirken des Auferstandenen konnte von Außenstehenden vor allem in selbst beobachteten, durch Jesu Anhänger gewirkten aktuellen Wundern erkannt werden; demgegenüber waren für Außenstehende die Berichte über Erscheinungen vor bestimmten Aposteln zweitrangig. – Zum Zeitraum, in dem der Auferstandene erschien, siehe Rainer Riesner, 'Chronologie und Theologie bei Paulus', *Jahrbuch für evangelikale Theologie* 10 (1996) 110–122.
- 31 Darin läge eine Erklärung dafür, warum Mk sein Ev mit dem Satz 'sie sagten niemandem etwas, denn sie fürchteten sich' schloß. Damit wollte er nicht behaupten, daß die Frauen den Jüngern nie etwas sagten, sondern er wollte den Gegensatz zum aktuellen öffentlichen Wirken von Jesu Anhängern scharf zeichnen: Sie waren enttäuscht, irritiert und hatten Angst – bevor ihnen der Auferstandene erschien. Daß sich ihre Verfassung daraufhin radikal geändert hatte, konnten Außenstehende ohnehin ständig beobachten; der aktuell zu beobachtende Kontrast hob sich vom Anfangs-Zustand, mit dem das Mk-Ev schloß, überdeutlich ab. Daß das Mk-Ev ergänzt wurde, war die Folge des Erscheinens der beiden Groß-Synoptiker, woraufhin der bisherige Mk-Schluß als ungenügend empfunden wurde. Denn diese beiden Synoptiker hatten die Zäsur anders gesetzt: Nicht beim leeren Grab, sondern bei Jesu Himmelfahrt. Und Lukas hatte alles weitere in ein zweites Buch verarbeitet.
- 32 Wenn man stattdessen mit einer aramäischen Fassung als Vorlage der Syn rechnet, könnte man die im Zusammenhang mit Mt bei Papias erwähnten λογία (bei Euseb, h.e. III/39) als 'Berichte' verstehen (so Kümmel [wie Anm.2] 28f; auch in Papias' Bemerkung über Mk werden die λογία mit dem vom

- κρυπός Gesagten und Getanen gleichgesetzt), nämlich als die vier hier beschriebenen sowie weitere Quellen. Die Syn sind zwar keine wortgetreue Übersetzung eines aramäischen Textes, aber vielleicht eine sinngemäße, freie Übertragung.
- 33 Wo Mt und Lk in der Linie der markinischen Erzählfolge gemeinsam etwas bei Mk Fehlendes bringen (z.B. die Bußpredigt des Täufers, Mt 3,7–10/Lk 3,7–9), rechne ich das gleichfalls dazu.
- 34 Es wären verschiedene Gründe denkbar, warum solche Änderungen vorgenommen wurden. Ein traditioneller Standpunkt würde vor allem auf die mit *Augenzeugenschaft* verbundenen zusätzlichen oder genaueren Kenntnisse verweisen: Matthäus/Levi als Apostel, Markus als Begleiter des Petrus, Lukas als Rechercheur. Die Redaktionsgeschichte dagegen achtet vor allem auf das besondere theologische Interesse des jeweiligen Synoptikers.
- 35 Das Jesuswort von den Kindern und dem Reich stimmt bei Mk 10,15 und Lk 18,17 genau überein, weicht dagegen bei Mt 18,3b stark ab. Da es bei Mt außerdem außerhalb der Mk-Reihenfolge steht, wäre hier der Rückgriff auf eine eigene Mt-Tradition plausibel.
- 36 Es wäre möglich, daß ein Syn einen anderen, bereits vorliegenden Syn kannte, doch dann führte diese Bekanntschaft nicht zu einer direkten Übernahme, sondern allenfalls zu einer Anregung im Blick auf die Gestaltung des Auftrisses. Die 'gegenseitige Unabhängigkeit' sowie die 'annähernde Gleichzeitigkeit ihrer Abfassung' (etwa um 65 n.Chr.) behauptete bereits Frédéric Godet, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, Bd.2: Die Evangelien und die Apostelgeschichte (Hannover 1905) 418.
- 37 Die jeweils entworfenene Gestalt zeigt zwischen Mk einerseits und Mt/Lk andererseits beträchtliche Unterschiede: Bei Mk fehlen am Beginn Geburt und Kindheit, am Ende Erscheinungen des Auferstandenen. Mk hat nur ca. 5% an Sondergut aufgenommen. Lk unterscheidet sich, auch von Mt, durch die Gesamt-Anlage: Die Jesus-Geschichte bildet bei Lk nur die erste Hälfte; die zweite Hälfte (die Apg) wurde fast genauso umfangreich, war für Lk also offenbar ebenfalls sehr wichtig.
- 38 Alttestamentliche Texte als Vorbilder der neutestamentlichen Evangeliendarstellung wurden bereits genannt von Theodor Zahn, 'Der Geschichtsschreiber und sein Stoff im Neuen Testament', *Zeitschrift für kirchliche Wissenschaft und kirchliches Leben* 9 (1888) 581–596, insb. 584–589 (Anonymität als Gemeinsamkeit). – Klaus Baltzer, *Die Biographie der Propheten* (Neukirchen-Vluyn 1975) behandelt am Ende auch 'Die Evangelien als Biographien'. – Treffend Martin Hengel, *Zur urchristlichen Geschichtsschreibung* (Stuttgart 1984) 33: „Das Vorbild für die Sammlung und literarische Darbietung 'biographischer' Jesusüberlieferung wird ... zu suchen sein ... in der alttestamentlich-jüdischen Geschichtsdarstellung, die sich ja auf weite Strecken aus 'biographischen' Partien zusammensetzt. So finden wir bereits in der Genesis die 'Erzväter-Biographien', die zumindest bei Jakob relativ ausführlich die entscheidenden Ereignisse zwischen Geburt und Tod schildern. ... Den meisten dieser biographischen Komplexe der alttestamentlich-jüdischen Tradition ist gemeinsam, daß sie aus Einzelerzählungen, die bestimmte, markante Szenen bzw. Anekdoten enthalten, zusammengesetzt sind. Sie wurden zunächst in mündlichen Sammlungen überliefert und stehen z.T. auch jetzt noch relativ unverbunden nebeneinander.“
- 39 Eine solche Verbindung war auch in bezug auf Samuel (1.Samuel 1–12), Elia und Elisa (1.Könige 17–21, 2.Könige 1–9) sowie Jeremia vorgenommen worden.
- 40 Beim Versuch, das 'Evangelium' literaturwissenschaftlich einzuordnen, werden meist vorzugsweise hellenistische Parallelen betrachtet. Siehe dazu Detlev Dormeyer, *Evangelium als literarische und theologische Gattung* (= Erträge der Forschung 263, Darmstadt 1989). Dabei wird jedoch oft nicht klar zwischen Inhalt und Form unterschieden, so daß nur dort von der gleichen Gattung gesprochen wird, wo auch eine große inhaltliche Ähnlichkeit gegeben ist. Daß sich *inhaltliche* Unterschiede zwischen alttestamentlichen Vorbildern und der Schilderung des Lebens Jesu ergeben, spricht nicht gegen eine Vergleichbarkeit, denn Vergleichbarkeit der literarischen Form einerseits und inhaltsbedingte Andersartigkeit andererseits schließen

einander nicht aus. Daß Jesu Passion viel ausführlicher geschildert wird als das Sterben alttestamentlicher Propheten, liegt an der einzigartigen theologischen Bedeutung, die dem Sterben Jesu zugemessen wurde, möglicherweise auch an einem apologetischen Motiv ('als Unschuldiger verurteilt, nicht als Verbrecher') sowie daran, daß Einzelheiten von Verurteilung und Hinrichtung als mitteilenswerter erscheinen als Details eines natürlichen Todes. – In einer gründlichen Untersuchung kommt Richard A. Burridge, *What are the Gospels? A Comparison with Graeco-Roman Biography* (MSSNTS 70; Cambridge 1992) zum Ergebnis, „that the gospels are part of the genre of ancient *βίος* literature.“ (S.106) Seine Begründung: „there is a high degree of correlation between the generic features of Graeco-Roman *βίος* and those of the synoptic gospels“ (S.218).

- 41 Möglicherweise hätte z.B. Lukas die Voraussetzungen gehabt, um eine literarisch anspruchsvolle Biographie zu verfassen, doch erstens teilte Lukas die erwähnte Einschätzung seitens der Anhänger Jesu, und zweitens stützte er sich auf (mündliche und schriftliche) Augenzeugenberichte und war durch die Reichweite von deren Angaben eingeschränkt.
- 42 Diese Vorstufen entstanden für den unmittelbaren Gebrauch, nicht im Blick darauf, daß ein großes Evangelium daraus werden müßte.
- 43 Ägypten wird zwar als Entstehungsort eines der vier Evangelien kaum erwogen, doch steht zumindest fest, daß das Christentum dort bald eine große Bedeutung gewann. Daß *Mt* in Alexandrien entstand, vermutet S.G.F. Brandon, *The Fall of Jerusalem and the Christian Church* (London 1951), Ch.12.
- 44 In einer sorgfältigen Untersuchung der altkirchlichen Angaben über 'Die Publikationsdaten der Evangelien in den ältesten Quellen' (unter besonderer Berücksichtigung einer Notiz des Irenäus, wie im Untertitel erwähnt: 'Zu Irenäus, *adversus haereses* 3.1.1') nennt Armin Daniel Baum für die drei Synoptiker die 60er Jahre, in: *Jahrbuch für evangelikale Theologie* 11 (1997/98) 77–92. – Für *Die apostolische Herkunft der Evangelien* tritt nachdrücklich Hans-Joachim Schulz ein

(erschieden in der Reihe *Quaestiones Disputatae* 145; Freiburg i.Br. 1993).

- 45 Hierin ist etwa Kümmel [wie Anm.2] zu korrigieren; siehe seine Nebeneinanderstellung des nur *Mt* und *Lk* gemeinsamen Gutes auf S.39. Die insgesamt 23 Abschnitte zeigen nur 4mal die gleiche Aufeinanderfolge, aber 18mal nicht. Besonders anschaulich wirkt die Skizze bei Morgenthaler (wie Anm.6) 252 aufgrund der Verbindungslinien (man vgl. dagegen die Skizze S.230 zu Markus mit den Seitenreferenten).
- 46 Kaum gemeinsame Reihenfolge zeigen die einzelnen Aussagen der Bergpredigt/Feldrede, außerdem nur eine geringe Wortlautübereinstimmung. Deshalb beurteilt sie Thomas Bergemann, *Q auf dem Prüfstand. Die Zuordnung des Mt/Lk-Stoffes zu Q am Beispiel der Bergpredigt* (= FRLANT 158; Göttingen 1993) 236 'als eine eigenständige, von Q gänzlich unabhängige Quelle'. Nach Bergemann müßte man überhaupt einen großen Teil des im allgemeinen Q zugerechneten Materials diesem absprechen.
- 47 Tatsächlich werden für diesen Aspekt der Zweiquellentheorie kaum Argumente vorgebracht; aus den Übereinstimmungen zwischen *Mt* und *Lk* wird zumeist sofort auf eine fortlaufende und umfassende Q geschlossen, ohne die Alternative einer Mehrzahl kleinerer Quellen zu diskutieren.
- 48 So schließt auch A.M.Honoré in einer anspruchsvollen statistischen Untersuchung aus 'the Sequence of Sections': 'Q was not a single document': A statistical study of the synoptic problem, *Novum Testamentum* 10 (1968) 95–147, dort Ch.III sowie p.135. In dieser Schlußfolgerung widersprechen ihm jedoch Charles E. Carlston & Dennis Norlin, Once more – Statistics and Q, in: *Harvard Theological Review* 64 (1971) 59–78, dort 74f. Deren Argumentation wiederum wird kritisiert von Sharon L. Mattila, A problem still clouded: Yet again – Statistics and 'Q', in: *Novum Testamentum* 36 (1994) 313–329.
- 49 Als Erklärung für das Nebeneinander von hoher Übereinstimmung und Abweichung wäre an die *Quellenkombination* zu denken; für *Lk* wird diese nachzuweisen versucht von Tim Schramm, *Der Markus-Stoff bei Lukas. Eine literarkritische und redaktionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung* (MSSNTS 14; Cambridge 1971).

50 Das Leistungsvermögen mündlicher Überlieferung wird, unter Hinweis auf neuere Beobachtungen zur Merkfähigkeit, hoch veranschlagt von Armin Daniel Baum, 'Experimentalpsychologische Erwägungen zur synoptischen Frage', *Biblische Zeitschrift* 42 (2000) 37–55.

51 In Summe ergeben die in den vier Evangelien überlieferten Worte Jesu nur

drei Stunden Redestoff. Vgl. Franz Stuhlhofer, *Jesus und seine Schüler* (Gießen 1991) 28. Die Möglichkeit einer zuverlässigen mündlichen Überlieferung dieser Worte wurde dargelegt von Rainer Riesner, *Jesus als Lehrer. Eine Untersuchung zum Ursprung der Evangelien-Überlieferung* (Tübingen 1981, 1988).

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- **Christoph Stenschke, Stralsund**

RÉSUMÉ

Ce travail est une étude de la famille du mot 'réconciliation' dans le Nouveau Testament. Il aborde aussi le sujet du sacrifice de Christ, dans la mesure où l'on rencontre des références à la mort de Jésus, à son sang et à la croix, dans le contexte immédiat des affirmations concernant la réconciliation. L'auteur passe en revue les principales questions qui sont actuellement débattues dans les travaux consacrés à ces textes pauliniens (Rm 5.10s ; 2 Co 5.18–21 ; Ep 2.12 ; Col 1.20,22), et les réponses qui y sont apportées, dans le monde germanophone surtout. Il rappelle quelles on été les réponses traditionnelles et montre comment elles on été considérées dans la recherche récente : tantôt réaffirmées, parfois pour recevoir de nouveaux développements, tantôt remises en question, ou encore abordées avec un angle d'approche nouveau. Quelle est la nature de la réconciliation, comment est-elle opérée et pourquoi ? En quoi la mort de Christ est-elle le fondement de la réconciliation, où le moyen par lequel elle est effectuée, et pourquoi ? Quel rôle joue cette mort ici : a-t-elle la fonction d'un sacrifice (cultuel), ou une fonction substitutive, ou une fonction représentative ?

Faut-il la comprendre en fonction de notions venues de l'Ancien Testament du judaïsme, ou du monde gréco-romain, et lesquelles ? L'auteur rend compte des débats et tente une évaluation. Ceux qui remettent en cause la compréhension traditionnelle font un travail critique utile et soulèvent des problèmes qui nous forcent à reconsidérer de positions que l'on on traditionnellement adoptées comme allant de soi. Ils nous amènent aussi à nous demander si les éléments sur lesquels certains ont insisté ces dernières décennies sont réellement présents dans les textes de Paul, ou encore si l'arrière-plan conceptuel de ces textes a bien été analysé. Les tenants de deux positions livrent des études approfondies des textes pauliniens en cause et de ceux qui ont un rapport avec ceux-ci. Ils sont progressor notre connaissance de leurs contextes, de l'arrière-plan conceptuel de l'usage paulinien du thème de la réconciliation, ils nous font mieux comprendre la conception paulinienne de la mort de Jésus, ils nous apportent des lumières sur la manière dont on considérait les sacrifices, la propitiation et le remède au péché dans l'Ancien Testament, dans le Judaïsme ancien et, dans une moindre mesure, dans le monde gréco-romain.

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Dieser Beitrag konzentriert sich auf das Wortfeld „Versöhnung“ im Neuen Testament. Er behandelt ausserdem das

Opfer Christi, insofern Verweise auf den Tod, das Blut oder das Kreuz Jesu im unmittelbaren Zusammenhang mit Aussagen über Versöhnung erscheinen. Der Aufsatz geht die Hauptfragen in der

gegenwärtigen Diskussion paulinischer Aussagen (Röm 5, 10f.; 2 Kor 5, 18–21; Eph 2, 12; Kol 1, 20–22) und einige Antworten durch. Es werden hauptsächlich deutschsprachige Beiträge berücksichtigt. Wie lauten die traditionellen Antworten, und auf welche Weise wurden sie bestätigt, entwickelt, herausgefordert oder aus einer neuen Perspektive beleuchtet? Es wird gefragt, was Versöhnung ist, wie und warum sie geschieht. Wie und warum kann der Tod Christi die Grundlage oder der Weg sein, auf der bzw. dem Versöhnung geschieht? Stirbt er als (kultisches) Opfer, Repräsentant, Stellvertreter, etc.? Welche alttestamentlichen, jüdischen oder griechisch-römischen Vorstellungen liegen jeweils im Hintergrund? Die Debatte wird zusammengefasst und ein Bewertungsversuch wird unternommen.

Die Herausforderungen des traditionellen Verständnisses bieten wertvolle Kritik und werfen Fragen auf, die nachzudenken zwingen, inwiefern die traditionelle Sicht oder neuere Entwicklungen wirklich in den paulinischen Aussagen enthalten sind oder nur ihren konzeptuellen Hintergrund abgeben. Die Beiträge auf beiden Seiten dieser Diskussion bieten sorgfältige Studien der Aussagen selbst und anderer Texte, die oft mit ihnen in Verbindung gebracht werden. Ausserdem werden neue Einsichten in ihren Kontext, in den konzeptuellen Hintergrund der paulinischen Versöhnungssprache, in das paulinische Verständnis des Todes Jesu und allgemeiner in das alttestamentliche und frühjüdische sowie, in geringerem Umfang, in das griechisch-römische Verständnis von Opfer, Sühne und Wegnahme von Sünde gegeben.

This paper will focus on the word group of reconciliation in the New Testament, namely the verbs καταλλάσσω, ἀποκαταλλάσσω and the noun καταλλαγή. However, we shall see that the subject is closely related to the sacrifice of Christ because references to the death, blood or actual cross of Jesus occur in the immediate contexts of statements on reconciliation.

In order to arrange the material in a helpful way, I decided not to list and comment upon some representative recent exegetical studies – of which there are many – in great detail or to present detailed surveys of research for each of the four major passages in Paul's letters where he employs the language of reconciliation.¹ Rather, I tried to discover the major questions in the current discussion of Paul's statements and some of the answers they received. We shall briefly survey traditional answers and the ways in which they have been affirmed, developed, challenged or given treatment from a fresh perspective by recent study.

1. What is reconciliation?

Any attempt at the study of particular NT words with theological significance has become a daunting prospect. Studies of the

past have received severe criticism. In addition, due to the progress in linguistic methodology and its application to biblical studies since, for example, F. Büchsel's entry 'ἀλλάσσω, ktl.' in the *Theological Dictionary*, word study has become a science in itself.² It is therefore not surprising that the most recent and also most comprehensive monograph on the NT language of reconciliation by C. Breytenbach, *Versöhnung: Eine Studie zur paulinischen Soteriologie*, contains a section on proper methodology for such a study.³ We are on the safe side – at least from a linguistic perspective – if we present the definitions of J.P. Louw and E.A. Nida for our word group:

to re-establish proper friendly interpersonal relations after these have been disrupted or broken (the componential features of this series of meanings involve (1) disruption of friendly relations because of (2) presumed or real provocation, (3) overt behaviour designed to remove hostility, and (4) restoration of original friendly relations) – 'to reconcile, to make things right with one another, reconciliation'.⁴

A more traditional definition is that of L.L. Morris, a prolific writer of the older generation on the work of Christ, who defines

reconciliation as the death of Christ doing away with the hostility that sin aroused.⁵ C.M. Tuckett observes: 'Where sacrificial language conceives the human situation in terms of sinfulness, ... reconciliation language thinks in terms of *personal relationships, severed and restored*'.⁶ And finally the definition of J. Stott: '... to reconcile means to restore a relationship, to renew a friendship. So an original relationship is presupposed which, having been broken, has been recovered by Christ'.⁷

There is only one occasion in the NT where a word of the *καταλλαγή/καταλλάσσω* word group occurs *without* referring to the relationship of humans and God.⁸ In 1 Cor 7:11 Paul advises that if a wife has separated from her husband (v. 10) she should remain unmarried or else be reconciled to her former husband (τῷ ἀνδρὶ; καταλλάγητω). She is called to undo the previous divorce and restore the severed relationship with her husband.⁹

The cases where reconciliation is used metaphorically in the NT to refer to the restoration of human relationships with God, or *vice versa* of God's relationship with humanity, do not fully define this concept or answer all our questions. Before we turn to the passage where Paul comes closest to a definition of reconciliation, we briefly gather what *can* be learnt from the contexts of these metaphorical usages: Reconciliation is to God (Rom 5:10; Eph 2:16; Col 1:20); it comes through the death of his Son (Rom 5:10; through the cross, Eph 2:16; through him, Col 1:20; through the blood of his cross, Col 1:20; in his fleshly body through death, Col 1:22); reconciliation relates to all things, whether on earth or in heaven (Col 1:20); reconciliation is brought about by (God) making peace (Col 1:20); the rejection of the Jews is the reconciliation of the world (Rom 11:15). The purpose and consequence of the reconciling activity is twofold: a) to present the beneficiaries 'holy and blameless and irreproachable before Jesus (Col 1:22; this purpose is dependent on the beneficiaries' continuing in the faith, v. 23!); b) through reconciliation Jews and Gentiles become one body, their former hostility is eliminated (Eph 2:16).

The most thorough Pauline definition and further clues appear in 2 Cor 5:19. After stating what is also expressed elsewhere ('who reconciled us to himself through Christ'), Paul claims to have received 'the ministry of reconciliation'. This is then further defined in v. 19 as: 'that is (referring to *καταλλαγή* in v. 18) in Christ God was reconciling the world to himself'. His activity has a twofold thrust: a) (In reconciling) God does not count their trespasses against them and b) entrusts the message of reconciliation to Paul.¹⁰ In this function Paul entreats the audience on behalf of Christ: 'Be reconciled to God' (v. 20). The statement that God does not count their trespasses against people is explained and developed by v. 21: 'For our sake God made Jesus to be sin who knew no sin, so that in him we might become the righteousness of God'. The question left open in these contexts is: why and how exactly does reconciliation work?¹¹ How can the cross, death, flesh of Jesus procure reconciliation? How can his work overcome enmity to bring about reconciliation and peace? This will be the question we shall pursue in the following section.

The meaning of reconciliation as restoration of a broken relationship, present in most definitions and biblical contexts, indicates that this concept – while relatively limited in its actual occurrences – is also implicit in other references to the work of Christ, *e.g.* the forgiveness of sins (so that they no longer impede or spoil the relationship between God and humans [cf. Isa 59:2]).¹² Reconciliation is also present in passages that speak of the establishment of peace between God and humans.¹³ Stott notes: 'It is only when we have been justified by faith that we have peace with God (Rom 5:1), which is reconciliation'.¹⁴

2. How and why does reconciliation work?

In our focus on the nature of the relationship between the death of Jesus and reconciliation we leave aside many important, interesting and debated questions regarding Paul's references to

reconciliation, such as their origin (traditional formulations or Pauline creation?), whether reconciliation is 'objective' or 'subjective', the significance of reconciliation in Pauline theology (the relationship between reconciliation and the various other concepts employed by Paul; is reconciliation the very 'centre' of Pauline theology?¹⁵), the nature of the enmity and the people in need of reconciliation, leading to the question of why reconciliation is necessary, Paul's understanding of his ministry as a messenger of reconciliation, the universal(ist) scope of the references in Colossians and other issues.¹⁶

This restricted focus serves a case study. The death of Jesus is essential for this *and* the various other ways in which the New Testament describes the work of Jesus. However, precisely how is the soteriological significance of his death to be understood in each of these concepts? Is it his death as a (cultic) sacrifice, as a representative, a substitute, *etc.*? Which Old Testament, Jewish or Graeco-Roman notions lie in the respective background? What we briefly survey here – the nature of the relation of Jesus' death to *reconciliation* – also needs to be examined for the other concepts. Such examination will encounter many of the issues mentioned below.

Our above observations on Paul's references to reconciliation agree with H. Ridderbos' observation that '... in the pronouncements on reconciliation the death of Christ is brought up again and again as the foundation on which or the way in which this reconciliation takes place'.¹⁷ This leads to the further question, which is no less important: *How and why can the death of Christ be this 'foundation on which or the way in which this reconciliation takes place'.* To quote Ridderbos once more: 'All this places before us the question as to what significance must be ascribed to the suffering and death of Christ in the whole of the reconciling activity of God. ... what connection is made in his (Paul's) proclamation between the reconciliation that goes forth from God to the world and the necessity of the death of Christ'.¹⁸ It is this connection

between reconciliation and the death of Jesus which we pursue in this contribution to a conference on the sacrifice of Jesus. Is his *sacrifice* at the heart of this connection?

In pursuing this question scholars agree that the immediate contexts, while linking reconciliation with the death of Jesus (see above), do not specify the nature of this link.¹⁹ Precisely this fact is the challenge and the cause of the diverse results surveyed below.

2.1. Romans 5:10f

2.1.1. The 'traditional' position

We follow Ridderbos a little longer as his approach is representative. He and many others turn to other passages – 'the complex of pronouncements that make this restoration rest on the passion and death of Christ'²⁰ – where the same expressions referring to the death of Jesus occur in order to gain clues from there for our unspecified context:

What is meant in Romans 5:9,10 by ... 'reconciled by the death of his Son' can best be elucidated by the pronouncement of Romans 3:25, with which these expressions are linked, that God 'made [Christ] openly to be a means of propitiation in his blood'. For here the significance of the words 'in' or 'by' his blood is explained by the combination with the idea *hilasterion*, means of propitiation. ... While the concept *kattallage* (reconciliation) originates in the social-societal sphere, *hilasterion* (means of propitiation) is derived from the cultus, particularly from the propitiatory sacrifice, and the accompanying phrase '(consisting) in his blood' has materially the meaning of 'propitiatory blood'.²¹

Thus Ridderbos can conclude: 'The related expressions in Romans 5:9 are to be understood *in the same sense* and say that justification has been accomplished by his propitiatory blood and *reconciliation by his propitiatory death*' (italics mine). This is defined: 'The literal sense consists surely in the fact that the propitiatory sacrifice enters in substitutionally between the holy God and sinful man,

because the life given up in sacrifice through the attendant shedding of blood covers sin before the face of God and in this way atones'.²²

This procedure itself is legitimate regarding its methodology. It seeks to understand statements by referring back to places where they occurred previously in the same document. What is offered there by way of definition or explanation may be assumed for later contexts, when clues to the contrary are absent. It should be noted that the expression ἐν τῷ αἵματι αὐτοῦ in Rom 5:9 refers to δικαιωθέντες, not directly to καταλλαγμὲν of v. 10, which is said to occur δια τοῦ θανάτου τοῦ γιου αὐτοῦ. Thus, strictly speaking, the linkage of both passages through αἶμα applies only to 5:9.

Ridderbos finds his conclusion of 'the substitutionary character of Christ's death on the cross' affirmed by the statements of Rom 5:6,8 which say that Christ died for us ὑπὲρ ἁσδεβων ἀπεθανεν... ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀπεθανεν.²³

To be sure, the expression 'for us' in itself does not yet signify 'in our place'; it indicates that the death of Christ has taken place 'in our favour'. Nevertheless, the substitutionary significance of these expressions cannot be doubted.

Critics of this understanding of the death of Jesus have pointed out 'that the reconciling passion and death of Christ are proclaimed only as divine activity, not as an "accomplishment" of Christ over against God, and that the necessity or possibility of this activity is not reflected on'.²⁴ To this observation Ridderbos answers:

Likewise the fact that reconciliation as the restoration of the broken relationship between God and the world has been brought about by God and that he therefore is the Author and Initiator of reconciliation is no respect whatever in conflict with the idea of the propitiatory sacrifice that must cover and atone for sin before God. Not only does God turn in Christ to the world in order to effect reconciliation (*katallage*), but Christ also stands in place of men to offer himself up to God, to expiate (*hilasmos*) the sin of

his people. ... For the same God with whom the restoration of the broken fellowship originates and who has summoned men to be reconciled to him ... is also the one who has instituted the order of 'propitiation' (*hilasmos*) by the death of Christ.²⁵

2.1.2. Affirmation and development

How has this procedure and argument been developed in recent scholarship?

1. The link of Rom 5:10f with Rom 3:25f itself is not disputed. However, Ridderbos' understanding of ἱλαστηριον as 'means of propitiation' is not widely shared.

a) U. Wilckens argues for more than that:

Was jedoch Röm 3.25 betrifft, so ist die Kapporät *die Stätte der Sühne gewährenden Gegenwart Gottes*. Sofern nun Gott Christus als Kapporät 'öffentlich hingestellt' hat, hat er den Gekreuzigten zum Ort erlösender Sühne für alle Glaubenden gemacht, an dem er selber gegenwärtig ist.²⁶

Wilckens further notes on the expression ἱλαστηριον ... ἐν τῷ αὐτοῦ αἵματι:

Die Kategorien der Sühne-Aussage sind nicht juristische, sondern kultische. Sie setzen die jüdische Grundauffassung von der Sünde als auf das Geschick des Sünders zurückschlagender geschichtlicher Tat-Wirklichkeit und von der Sündenvergebung als Befreiung von dieser bösen Wirklichkeit durch das stellvertretende Auf-Sich-Nehmen voraus. Die Vorstellung ist jedoch dadurch radikalisiert und vertieft, daß nicht das Leben eines Tieres für das verwirkte Leben der Sünder eintritt, sondern das Leben Christi, und daß Gott nicht im Hintergrund, sondern als selbst Handelnder im Zentrum des Sühneaktes steht. So wird dieser zum Erweis seiner Gerechtigkeit, als seiner heilschaffenden Bundesgerechtigkeit, die alle Menschen als Sünder ihr zueignet, indem sie ihre Sünde durch die Sühne in Christi Tod *aufhebt*.²⁷

Thus Wilckens suggests: 'Von daher wird deutlich, daß die kultische Sühne-Vorstellung durchweg der Horizont ist, unter dem der Tod Christi in seiner

Heilsbedeutung im Urchristentum gedacht wird. ... Das gilt ... auch für die Versöhnungsaussage.²⁸ Thus despite the different interpretation of ἱλαστηριον, Wilckens affirms the understanding of the death of Jesus as a propitiating sacrifice in a cultic way. This understanding is implied by ἐν τῷ αἵματι αὐτοῦ in Rom 5:9 and δια τοῦ θανάτου τοῦ γίου αὐτοῦ in Rom 5:10.²⁹

b) P. Stuhlmacher argues that in Rom 3:25f

ist der kultische Sühneritus des Großen Versöhnungstages [Lev 16] ... zum Deutungsmuster des Kreuzestodes Jesu erhoben worden. ... Gott selbst hat an die Stelle des von ihm gestifteten und vor der kapporät alljährlich zu wiederholenden kultischen Sühnerituals die durch Jesu stellvertretende Lebenshingabe am Kreuz ein für alle mal vollbrachte Sühne gesetzt.³⁰

J. Roloff reaches similar conclusions:

... daß im Zentrum der Typologie nicht eigentlich der Sühneritus der Blutsprenkung, sondern die Einsetzung eines neuen, den alten überbietenden Ortes der Sühne ist: An die Stelle der im Tempel verborgenen kapporäet und des auf sie bezogenen Sühneritus hat Gott Jesus treten lassen, der durch 'sein Blut', d.h. durch seine Lebenshingabe Sühne wirkte. Der Gekreuzigte ist so zu dem Ort geworden, an dem Gott selbst öffentlich und für alle sichtbar Versöhnung hat wirklich werden lassen. So ist der Karfreitag zum eschatologischen Großen Versöhnungstag geworden.³¹

c) While fully aware of its recent challenges, U. Swarat affirms this line of argumentation and argues in its defence:

Es liegt von daher auf der Hand, daß ... Paulus den Begriff 'Versöhnung' aus dem politisch-militärischen Sprachgebrauch seiner Umwelt entnommen hat. Damit ist freilich noch nicht gesagt, daß der Begriff bei Paulus nun auch ganz den gleichen Sinn hat wie in seiner heidnischen Umwelt. Dagegen spricht schon, daß das heidnische Griechisch mit ganz wenigen Ausnahmen von Versöhnung nie im

Verhältnis zwischen Gott und Mensch redet. Aber gerade auf dieses Verhältnis kommt es Paulus wesentlich an. Man wird also den Sinn des paulinischen Versöhnungsgedankens nicht allein von der Herkunft des Begriffes aus bestimmen dürfen, sondern man muß sehen, wie Paulus selbst den Begriff inhaltlich füllt.³²

How Paul achieves his unique definition of this terminology, Swarat describes in a section entitled 'Reconciliation as Propitiation' with reference to Rom 5:8f:

Der Schlüssel zum Verständnis der Versöhnung Gottes mit uns ist also der Tod seines Sohnes. ... Versöhnung geschieht durch das 'Blut' Christi (v. 9), dadurch, 'daß Christus für uns gestorben ist' (v.8). Dieses 'für uns' bezeichnet den Tod Christi als Sühntod. Und dies ist der Punkt, wo der hellenistische Begriff 'Versöhnung' bei Paulus vom Alten Testament her gefüllt wird. Versöhnung mit Gott geschieht nicht durch einen diplomatischen Friedensschluß, sondern durch Sühne. ... Sühne ist Heilsgeschehen, daß Gott selbst dem Menschen gewährt, um ihm ein neues Leben zu ermöglichen.³³ Das Sühnemittel Blut ist eine Gabe Gottes an den sündigen Menschen. ... Die Sühne des alttestamentlichen Gottesdienstes hat somit den Sinn der Versöhnung des Sünders mit Gott, der Eröffnung eines neuen Zugangs zu Gott für den, der vergehen müßte, weil seine Schuld ihn von Gott trennt.

Wenn es nun in der Sühne um die Versöhnung des Sünders mit Gott geht, dann ist es auch ganz verständlich, daß Paulus, wo er von Versöhnung spricht, das Sühnopfer Christi immer mitdenkt, das Blut Jesu Christi, das als Sühnemittel uns den Zugang zu der Gnade eröffnet hat, in der wir stehen. Weil Jesus Christus sein Leben durch den Tod hindurch Gott geweiht hat, können wir Sünder, wenn wir uns mit diesem Opfer identifizieren, wieder in der Nähe Gottes leben. ... Versöhnung ist Versühnung.³⁴

Similarly S.E. Porter notes on the expression ἐν τῷ αἵματι αὐτοῦ of v. 9: 'The ἐν phrase with the reference to his blood

probably denotes an act sacrificial in nature, describing the death of Christ as an act by which justification was effected'.³⁵

2. Wilckens, Swarat and others also affirm Ridderbos' argument that the reference to Christ dying for (ὑπέρ) for us in Rom 5:6,8 indicates a substitutionary atonement.³⁶

These scholars have emphasised the OT idea of *propitiation as the conceptual background for Paul's idea of reconciliation*. What was briefly indicated by Ridderbos is developed intensively in their studies. However, as it is disputed, firstly whether the immediate and wider contexts of the reconciliation references do indeed point to this background and, secondly, whether this is the correct understanding of this background, it is not surprising that this development has sparked further research and received criticism, to which we shall now turn.

2.1.3. The challenge

Against these claims stands the straightforward thesis of J.A. Fitzmyer:

What is striking is the absence of any allusions to expiation, propitiation or even sacrifice in any of the passages which deal with the notion of reconciliation. Paul clearly says that the reconciliation was effected by the death of Christ, by his blood, or the blood of the cross; yet he does it without importing these nuances.³⁷

1. With the reference to *hilasterion* and Rom 3:25f we encounter not only a further New Testament description of the work of Christ, but also a new problem, as the interpretation of Rom 3:25f is disputed, despite Ridderbos' claim that the language of Rom 3:25f is 'unmistakable in its clarity'.³⁸

According to Breytenbach these verses show

daß das völlig unkultische Kreuzesgeschehen den Tempelkult ablöst. Er versteht den Tod Jesu nicht als neues, alles überbietendes Kultgeschehen, sondern antitypisch als Gegensatz zum Kult. Der

Tempel wird vom Kreuz her neu verstanden, eher als daß Jesus als eschatologisches Opfer verstanden wird.³⁹

It has also been observed that ἱλαστήριον describes the place of propitiation or propitiation in a general way and is not necessarily restricted to cultic contexts.⁴⁰ Based on this observation Schröter argues:

Wenn Paulus in Röm 3,25 davon spricht, daß Gott Christus als ἱλαστήριον öffentlich hingestellt hat, so deutet der terminologische Befund also keineswegs auf eine Verbindung zur atl. *khphrth*. ... Dann aber sagt Paulus hier, daß Gott selbst eine Möglichkeit zur Sühne geschaffen hat, indem er ein ἱλαστήριον, eben ein 'Sühnendes', bereitgestellt hat. Daß dieses der Tod eines Menschen sein konnte, war sowohl von den makkäbischen Märtyrern, als auch von römischen Prodigien her vorstellbar, wogegen der Zusammenhang mit Lev 16 und dem Opfergedanken nicht naheliegt.⁴¹

2. Also the affirmation of propitiation based on the preposition ὑπέρ has come under scrutiny:⁴²

a). M. Hengel distinguishes between the ἀποθάνειν ὑπέρ τινος formulas preferred by the Hellenists which are not directly cultic and the LXX expressions ἐξιλασκεσθαι περι της ἁμαρτίας των ἁμαρτιων and drew attention to the different background of these expressions:

This terminology was more directly related to the atoning sacrificial cult of the Temple than the very Greek-sounding formulae of Paul ... It is easy to explain why this not directly cultic Graecized formula was preferred to that of the LXX, which was more connected with the Jerusalem cult: the formula χριστος ἀπεθάνεν ὑπέρ ... expressed the uniqueness of the death of Jesus and its soteriological significance over against the constant atoning sacrifices in the Temple; in contrast to the universal atoning effect of the death of Jesus these latter only had a very limited force and therefore had to be repeated constantly.⁴³

b) C. Breytenbach refers to another recent study of the Hellenistic background:

In seiner Studie über 'effective death' in den griechischen und lateinischen Quellen der Kaiser-zeit hat H. Versnel darauf aufmerksam gemacht, daß es in den meisten Fällen, in denen das Sterben für (ἀποθνήσκειν ὑπέρ) begegnet, '... unerlaubt wäre, ... von "Stellvertretung" zu sprechen. Ohne nähere Erhärtung aus dem Kontext darf man ὑπέρ pro nicht ohne weiteres als "an Stelle von" interpretieren. Die militärische Bedeutung "zur Verteidigung von", "zum Schutz von", ... liegt mehr auf der Hand'. Diese Bemerkungen Versnells lassen die Frage aufkommen, ob der Tod 'für' in der urchristlichen Tradition immer zugleich als Stellvertretungstod aufzufassen ist.⁴⁴

c) On Rom 5:7 Breytenbach concludes:

Die ... Vorstellung in Röm 5.7 ist eigentlich eher untypisch, zeigt aber, daß Paulus die dem Judentum bekannte, ursprüngliche hellenistische Auffassung des Sterbens 'zum Schutz von' einer Tugend oder einer Person auch unabhängig von der Paradosis in 1 Kor 15.3b kannte. Hier in Röm 5.7 ist weder der Gedanke der Sühne noch der der Stellvertretung enthalten (ἀγαθὸν ist neutrisch).⁴⁵

3. However, the critics of reconciliation based on cultic propitiation have also taken new approaches.

3.1. As the conceptual background behind Paul's reconciliation references is not made clear by the respective contexts, students of the language of reconciliation have repeatedly turned to its occurrences outside the NT. In what contexts do references to reconciliation appear in Graeco-Roman or Jewish literature? What *common connotations* did these words carry in the ancient world?⁴⁶

Breytenbach examines the whole range of Graeco-Roman, Hellenistic Jewish and NT usage of the reconciliation word group. He argues that Paul's usage is not the *religious* usage of Hellenistic Judaism⁴⁷. Rather Paul adapts in Rom 5:1–11 and 2 Cor 5:18–21 (and in Eph 2:16 and Col 1:18,20) the *secular, political*

*usage and concept of reconciliation*⁴⁸ in order to explicate his disputed apostleship and gospel.⁴⁹ In itself this approach is not new. Word studies have been conducted on smaller scales previously.⁵⁰ Porter offers an extensive word study of the reconciliation terminology in *καταλλάσσω* in *Ancient Greek Literature With Reference to the Pauline Writings*.⁵¹

3.2. In addition, Breytenbach emphasises that despite the assumption to the contrary displayed in numerous studies of NT soteriological terminology *ἰλασκεσθαι* and *καταλλάσσειν* are not synonymous words.⁵² Stuhlmacher summarises the conclusion to be drawn:

Man darf sich deshalb nicht dazu verleiten lassen, die mit *ἰλασκεσθαι*, *ἰλασμος* und *ἰλαστήριον* ktl. ausgedrückte Sühne (unter dem Einfluß der deutschen Worte 'Versöhnung' [Versöhnung] und 'versöhnen' [versöhnen]) ohne weiteres mit der *καταλλαγή* gleichzusetzen. Sühne und Ver-söhnung sind vielmehr zunächst semantisch und überlieferungsgeschichtlich zu unterscheiden, und erst wenn dies geschehen ist, ist kritisch zu fragen, ob und auf welche Weise Paulus beide miteinander verbindet.⁵³

Similarly Breytenbach:

Es ist ein grundsätzlicher Fehler, wenn man meint, traditionsgeschichtliche Zusammenhänge aufzuzeigen, ohne auf die Sprache zu achten, in der überliefert wird. ... traditionsgeschichtliche Zusammenhänge zu postulieren, die im Gegensatz zum nachweisbaren Sprachbefund stehen, führt dazu, der traditionsgeschichtlichen Methode die nachprüfbar und somit wissenschaftliche Basis zu entziehen.⁵⁴

Breytenbach notes that *καταλλάσσειν*, ktl. referring to the reconciliation between God and people occurs in the LXX only in 2 Maccabees and concludes:

Nie wurden di- und *καταλλάσσειν*, ktl. als Übersetzung der mit *khphr* assoziierten priesterlichen Sühneterminologie verwendet. Terminologisch also gibt es

keinen Grund, davon auszugehen, daß die paulinische Versöhnungsvorstellung traditionsgeschichtlich der Sühnetradition der Priesterschrift entstamme.⁵⁵

Thus through the *καταλλάσσειν*, ktl *terminology itself* Paul does not refer to the cultic language of the LXX. Breytenbach concludes: 'Wer die urchristliche Interpretation des Todes Jesu an die khwphr- und khphr – Traditionen der alttestamentlich-jüdischen Überlieferung anbinden will, muß leider auf die paulinische *καταλλαγή*-Vorstellung als Brücke verzichten'.⁵⁶

L. Goppelt draws a similar conclusion from a different point of departure:

Was das Wort 'versöhnen' an diesen Stellen philologisch bedeutet, ist am Kontext eindeutig abzulesen. Nach ihm wird *durch die Versöhnung Feindschaft, nicht etwa Schuld, behoben* (Röm 5.6–8; Eph 2.14). Demgemäß steht an drei der vier Stellen als Parallelbegriff *Friede*, und nicht *Entsöhnung* (Röm 5.1; Kol 1.20; Eph 2.14). ... Die Vorstellung des Versöhnens ist nirgends in dem Wort enthalten, und doch nimmt es durch die Art, wie die Versöhnung hier vollzogen wird, besonderen Charakter an⁵⁷

4. Should propitiation not be the conceptual background of reconciliation, where are we to look? Can a convincing background be sketched? Breytenbach observes in his word study: 'Bei der zwischen-(stadt)staatlichen Versöhnung ist oft Amnestie verliehen worden [offering examples]. In einigen frühjüdischen Texten, wo die Vorstellung übertragen wird, wird der Amnestie entsprechend gesagt, daß Gott bei der Versöhnung die Sünde vergibt'.⁵⁸ Unfortunately this venue is not pursued sufficiently.⁵⁹

Rather, in his study of the preposition *ὑπερ*, Breytenbach suggests:

2 Kor 5.14 und vielleicht auch Röm 5.6,8 lassen sich als stellvertretendes Sterben verstehen. In diesen Fällen geht es um das Sterben anstelle des Sünders. Die sündige Existenz wird vernichtet. ... Jeweils wird *abstractum pro concreto* formuliert: Christus starb als Verfluchter oder als

Sünder *ὑπερ ἡμῶν*, d.h. anstelle der Verfluchten oder Sünder. *Es geht um viel mehr als nur die Fortschaffung der Sünde, es handelt sich um eine Vernichtung der sündigen Existenz des Sünders.*⁶⁰

Breytenbach then turns to the underlying notion of this concept:

Bei allen möglichen Übereinstimmungen zwischen einerseits dem Gedanken des stellvertretenden Sterbens und dem Martyrium wegen einer Überzeugung und andererseits dem Tod der Märtyrer in 2. und 4. Makk und dem Tod Jesu, bleibt die entscheidende Differenz, daß der Tod Jesu aus den Todesfolgen der Sünde erlöst, und zwar im Zusammenhang des Endgerichts ... Der Tod Jesu durchbricht den Tat-Folge-Zusammenhang zwischen Sünde und Todesgericht, und zwar für alle. Dieser Gedanke, daß die menschliche Sünde den Tod nach sich zieht, es sei denn, Gott greift ein, läßt sich nur von alttestamentlich-jüdischen Vorraussetzungen her verstehen. So gesehen implizieren die *ὑπερ/περι τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν* – Wendungen, daß die Folgen der Sünde aufgehoben werden. Sagen wir doch, sie implizieren eine 'Sühnevorstellung'. Aber welche? Von welchen Voraussetzungen her?⁶¹

How does Breytenbach answer his own question?

Die Hingabebefehle sind wahrscheinlich von LXX Jes 53.11–12 beeinflußt worden. Nimmt man dies an ... (ist) ein direkter Einfluß der Sühnevorstellung der Priesterschrift auf die 'Hingabebefehle' ebenfalls abzulehnen. ... die Rede von dem stellvertretenden Strafleiden des Gottesknechtes knüpft [nicht] an die tempelkultische Sühnevorstellung des Leviticus an.⁶²

We shall return to Breytenbach's proposals of *non-cultic propitiation* as the background for Paul's understanding of reconciliation. Let us turn with our questions 'How and why does reconciliation work?' and 'Is there a relationship with the sacrifice of Jesus?' to other Pauline occurrences. What do they contribute?

What roads have been traveled there in order to find answers?

2.2. *Corinthians 5:18–21*

2.2.1. *The 'traditional' position*

H. Ridderbos only referred briefly to 2 Corinthians 5:14. For him, the expression ὑπὲρ πάντων ἀπεθάνεν indicates the substitutionary character of Jesus' death. He adds:

And it is corroborated by such expressions as that in 2 Corinthians 5:21: God made him who knew no sin to be sin for us; cf. Romans 8:3 and Galatians 3:13, where it is said that Christ has become a curse for us. In these passages the thought of the substitutionary (atoning) sacrifice is unmistakable, a thought that is enunciated in almost so many words when the phrase 'One died for all' is explained by the words, 'so then all have died' (2 Cor 5:14).⁶³

However, what are the links of such a death in vs. 14f with reconciliation? Though referring to Jesus (διὰ χριστοῦ, ἐν χριστῷ)⁶⁴, the verses on reconciliation (18–21) do not directly mention his death or anything like a sacrifice.

Following these traditional lines, J. Stott starts off with Paul's references to Jesus in 2 Cor 5:18f and asks: 'What, then, was it which God did or accomplished in and through Christ?'⁶⁵ Verses 19b and 21 provide the answers:

God in his mercy refused to reckon our sins against us or require us to bear their penalty. What then has he done with them? For he cannot condone them. ... the positive counterpart is given in v. 21 ... For our sake God actually *made the sinless Christ to be sin with our sins*. The God who refused to reckon our sins to us reckoned them to Christ instead. Indeed, his personal sinlessness uniquely qualified him *to bear our sins in our place*. Moreover, Christ became sin for us, in order that 'in him we might become the righteousness of God'. In other words, our sins were imputed to the sinless Christ, in order that we sinners, by being united with him, might receive as a free gift a standing of righteousness before God (200, italics CS).

Stott's conclusions to his section 'The achievement of the cross' (167–203) include reconciliation:

... God's saving work was achieved through the blood shedding, that is, the substitutionary sacrifice of Christ. With regard to the blood of Christ the texts are again unequivocal. ... 'You who once were far away have been brought near (*i.e.* reconciled) through the blood of Christ'. Since Christ's blood is a symbol of his life laid down in violent death, it is also plain ... that he died in our place as our substitute. The death of Jesus was the atoning sacrifice because of which God averted his wrath from us, the ransom-price by which we have been redeemed, the condemnation of the innocent that the guilty might be justified, and the sinless One being made sin for us.⁶⁶

2.2.2. *Affirmation and development*

Other students have made this passage the point of departure for understanding Paul's language of reconciliation. In our attempts of definition we saw that this passage has most to offer.

1. O. Hofius notes that God's act of reconciliation (2 Cor 5:18–19a) is explained by *God not counting their trespasses against people* (19b), which means that God's act of reconciliation is characterised as the cancellation of sin.⁶⁷ How was this cancellation possible? Hofius argues:

Damit klingt bereits die Aussage des v. 21 an, denn die 'Nichtanrechnung' ihrer Übertretungen ist der gottfeindlichen Menschenwelt eben darin widerfahren, daß Gott die Übertretungen aller Menschen *dem* 'angerechnet' hat, 'der Sünde nicht kannte', daß er ihn, den Sündlosen, 'für uns zur Sünde gemacht' hat.⁶⁸ Wenn A. Schlatter zu v. 19a.b erklärt 'Die Versöhnung der Menschheit mit Gott geschieht dadurch, daß Gott vergibt',⁶⁹ so muß hinzugefügt werden, daß Paulus die Sündenvergebung als Wirkung der von Gott im stellvertretenden Kreuzestod Jesu vollzogenen und gewährten *Sühne* begreift (vgl. Röm 3.25f). Weil der Sühntod des Einen, der 'für alle gestorben und auferstanden' ist, im Sinne inklusiver Stellvertretung *alle* einschließt (2 Kor

5.14f), des-halb ist die gottfeindliche Menschheit durch das an dem Gekreuzigten vollstreckte Todesgericht hindurch – von ihrer Sünde befreit – mit Gott verbunden und in die Gemeinschaft mit ihm zurückgebracht worden.⁷⁰

Thus Hofius answers our question with reference to 2 Cor 5:21: 'The reconciliation with God of humans hostile to God was accomplished in the substitutionary propitiatory death of the sinless Christ'.⁷¹ Hofius concludes:

Im Ereignis dieses 'Tausches' gehören die von Gott gewährte *Sühne* und die von ihm gewirkte *Versöhnung* untrennbar zusammen ... Zwischen *Sühne* und *Versöhnung* kann daher nicht so unterschieden werden, daß man eine der beiden Größen zum sekundären Interpretament des jeweils anderen erklärt. Weder hat die *Sühne*-aussage lediglich dienende Funktion im Rahmen einer völlig unkultisch gedachten *Versöhnungs*-anschauung, noch dient umgekehrt die *Versöhnungs*-aussage bloß der Erläuterung des *Sühne*-gedankens.⁷²

2. In his excursus 'Zum Verständnis der Sühnevorstellung: 2. Der Tod Christi als Sühne im NT', U. Wilckens also addresses 2 Corinthians 5:

Vor allem 2 Kor 5,21 zeigt den *Sühne*-Kontext der καταλλαγή von V 18f. Hier ist der *kultische Vorstellungszusammenhang* besonders deutlich: Daß Gott den gekreuzigten Christus 'für uns zur Sünde gemacht hat', ist in der Formulierung für griechische Ohren hart und erklärt sich nur vom Sühne-Ritual Lev 4 her, wo das zusammenfassende deklaratorische Urteil ... V. 21 in LXX wörtlich wiedergegeben wird: ἀμαρτικ συναγωγῆς ἐστιν. Die Sündenvergebung 2 Kor 5,19 mit dem ebenfalls deklaratorischen λογισθαι ... als Wirkung der 'Versöhnung' ist im Sühneritual topisch die Wirkung der vollzogenen Sühne: vgl. Lev 4,20.26.31.35; 5,6.10.13; ...'.⁷³

3. P. Stuhlmacher argues along similar lines and offers more support for his thesis than the scholars surveyed previously. He writes:

Auch in 2 Kor 5,21 erscheint Christus als der Grund unserer Rechtfertigung, weil sein Tod ... als von Gott dargebrachtes Sühnopfer verstanden und auf dem Hintergrund von Jes 53,6.11–12 dargestellt wird ... Die Sühne- und Versöhnungstat Gottes in und durch Christus ist der entscheidende Rechtsgrund der Rechtfertigung, die neues Leben vor Gott begründet.⁷⁴

Therefore Stuhlmacher paraphrases v. 21 as: 'He made him, who did not know the guilt of sin for us to be the (bearer of the) guilt of sin (sacrifice of sin), so that through him we might become the righteousness of God' (195) and argues in defence of this interpretation:

Der Satz spricht die sühnetheologische (Fach-)Sprache der LXX. Sie übersetzt den terminus technicus für 'Sündopfer' ... mit το περι της ἀμαρτίας δωρον, kann diesen langen Fachausdruck aber auch abkürzen und entweder περι ἀμαρτίας (vgl. Lev 5,6.7.11 u.ö.) oder auch nur ἀμαρτία sagen (vgl. Lev 4,21.24; 5,12). Da ποιεῖν opfertechnisch, verfahren mit/behandeln als/darbringen als' heißt (vgl. Lev 4,20; 5,10; 9,7; 16,15), gewinnt die Wendung ἀμαρτίαν ἐποίησεν in 2 Kor 5,21 klaren Sinn: Gott hat den schuldlosen Jesus zum Träger der Sündenschuld bzw. *zum Sündopfer gemacht*, damit 'wir' durch seine Preisgabe an den Tod ein neues Sein in Gerechtigkeit gewinnen.⁷⁵

Thus Stuhlmacher concludes:

Eine Trennung von Sühne und Versöhnung nimmt Paulus in 2 Kor 5,18–21 nicht vor. Er ruft seine Adressaten ... dazu auf, sich mit Gott versöhnen zu lassen, d.h. sich dem Evangelium zu öffnen und die von Gott ohne ihr Zutun durch Jesu Sühnetod gewirkte Versöhnung im Glauben zu empfangen. Nimmt man 2 Kor 5,18–6,2 und Röm 5,1–11 zusammen, ist καταλλαγὴν für Paulus zusammenfassender Ausdruck (1) für die geschichtliche Gottestat der Sendung Christi als Sühnopfer und der mit diesem Opfer begründeten Rechtfertigung und (2) für das Resultat jener Gottestat, die das Evangelium den Glaubenden darreicht

Die καταλλαγή hat also für Paulus umfassende soteriologische Bedeutung. Der Apostel faßt Sühne und Rechtfertigung unter dem Vorzeichen der Versöhnung zusammen und prägt damit einen theologischen Begriff von hoher biblisch-theologischer Integrationskraft.⁷⁶

Stuhlmacher suggests for the first Christian witnesses:

In der Erinnerung an Jesu eigenes Todesverständnis und unter Rückgriff auf das Gotteswort der Hl. Schriften haben sie das Sterben Jesu als von Gott ins Werk gesetztes, ein für allemal gültiges (inkludierendes) Sühnegeschehen begriffen. Die Deutung des Kreuzes von Lev 16 her in Röm 3,25–26 und das Verständnis der Lebenshingabe und Auferweckung Jesu von Jes 53,5.10–12 aus in ... 2Kor 5,21 verschränken und ergänzen sich dabei gegenseitig.⁷⁷

What has become of this view of reconciliation and propitiation, proposed and argued for the OT by H. Gese and B. Janowski and adopted and developed for the NT mainly by Hofius and Stuhlmacher?

2.2.3. The challenge

All three indicators of propitiation behind the references to Christ in this context of reconciliation have come under scrutiny.

1. The formula of 2 Cor 5:14f εἰς ὑπερ παντων ἀπεθανεν does not necessarily indicate propitiation. M. Thrall notes that 'Whether the preposition ὑπερ has substitutionary force here will depend on the interpretation of the second half of the assertion'.⁷⁸ Though Thrall's exposition seems to suggest a substitutionary understanding, the ambiguity of this interpretation needs to be noted. The expression μη λογιζομενος αὐτοις τα παραπτωματα αὐτων in 5:19 is little helpful as it does not indicate on what basis such renunciation of reckoning is possible.⁷⁹ It does not necessarily imply removal of the trespasses *through propitiating sacrifices*.

2. Stuhlmacher's argument is based mainly on the claim of v. 21 that God

made the sinless Christ to be sin (ὑπερ ἡμων ἁμαρτιαν ἐποιηδεν). Porter draws attention to the difficulties of this verse: 'This is a difficult statement for three major reasons: the sense of ὑπερ, the understanding of ἁμαρτιαν, and what it means that God ἐποίησεν'.⁸⁰ Stuhlmacher's interpretation of the second ἁμαρτια as an 'offering for sin' is disputed.⁸¹ We follow Thrall in her survey of the two main lines of understanding v. 21b and of the arguments adduced for both positions.⁸²

a) Arguments in favour of ἁμαρτια as 'sin-offering'

The linguistic basis of the first interpretation is the fact that the Hebrew hatta't, 'sin', is used to mean 'sin-offering' in several verses in Lev 4, and is rendered ἁμαρτια in the LXX. ... The possibility that Paul might follow the Hebrew idiom, *via* the LXX, may be evidenced in Rom 8.3: his περι ἁμαρτιας could derive from the περι ἁμαρτιας in Isa 53.10, where the Servant is said to make himself 'an offering for sin'.⁸³ There are other Pauline texts (Rom 3.25 and 1 Cor 5.7) where the death of Jesus is seen as a cultic sacrifice, and the reference in the present verse to his sinlessness calls to mind the cultic requirement of an unblemished offering. In fact, the allusion to sinlessness and the reference in v. 21b to justification suggest that Paul may well have in mind here Isa 53.9–11 (the Servant has committed no sin, and will 'justify many'), and if so, the Servant's giving of his life as an expiatory sacrifice will suggest that the same view is held of the death of Jesus.⁸⁴

b) Arguments against this understanding:

It is true that Paul does use sacrificial language when referring to Christ's death. But the interpretation of Rom 8.3 in this sense is uncertain.⁸⁵ Furthermore, if he has Isa 53.9–11 in mind when writing the present verse, *and* if he intends ἁμαρτια to be understood as 'sin-offering', why does he not use the more common περι ἁμαρτιας found in Isa 53.10 itself? ... In the phrase under discussion, ἁμαρτια must have roughly the

same meaning as in the preceding (ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἁμαρτιαν ἐποίησεν), where the sense 'sin-offering' is impossible.⁸⁶ We might also have expected some verb other than ποιεῖν, if the allusion is sacrificial.⁸⁷ Lastly, ἁμαρτία stands in contrast with δικαιοσύνην, and this must require that it should mean 'sin'.⁸⁸

What Thrall questions regarding Isa 53, Breytenbach questions concerning Leviticus:

'... fraglich, ob die Übersetzer des Leviticustextes je ἁμαρτία oder περι ἁμαρτίας als 'Sündopfer' interpretierten und dies als 'Fachausdruck für Sündopfer' verstanden, sie übersetzten *cht'th* konsequent mit ἁμαρτία und *licht'th* konsequent mit περι ἁμαρτίας... Übersetzt man 'Sündopfer', trägt man einen Begriff an Paulus heran, der in der Leviticusübersetzung fehlt.⁸⁹

Therefore Breytenbach concludes:

Angesichts der vielen Unsicherheiten, die mit der Auslegung von 2 Kor 5.21 und Röm 8.3 im Sinne von 'Sündopfer' verbunden sind, ist es problematisch, ein paulinisches 'Sühneverständnis' von diesen Stellen aus entwickeln zu wollen. Die paulinische Kontextualisierung ... läßt nicht erkennen, das Paulus den Tod Jesu als Antitypos zum Sühnopferritual verstanden hätte. Zu einer solchen Deutung kommen nur diejenigen, die das an sich eindeutige Wort ἁμαρτία ... mit einem Sondersinn verstehen.⁹⁰

c) Let us turn for the second occurrence of ἁμαρτία in v. 21 to 'the alternative possibility, variously elaborated: Christ suffered *as though he were a sinner*'.⁹¹ Thrall argues:

The presupposition of this line of argument is that death is the ultimate consequence of sin and so may be seen as its punishment. ... To say that Christ was made 'sin' means that 'he came to stand in that relation with God which normally is the result of sin, estranged from God and the object of his wrath'. The context, concerned with the theme of reconciliation, would favour this interpretation. It would not be a matter of a

death penalty impersonally imposed in accordance with a heavenly system of abstract justice. Rather, Christ's death would be the consummate experience of that personal alienation from God that has characterised human life from the beginning. Whilst Paul does refer to this death in sacrificial language, and whilst also the passage in Isa 53.9–11 may be in his mind here, the ἁμαρτία is to be understood in terms more personal than that of a 'sin-offering', which suggests the objective neutralising and removal of sin rather than a radical change which needs to be brought about in the personal relationship of the sinner with God. ... In the first half of the verse Paul has described the first element of a dual process of identification and exchange. Christ became identified with sinful humanity, exchanging the situation proper to his own sinlessness for the condition consequent upon human sin.⁹²

While also arguing against cult related propitiation as the background of 2 Cor 5:21,⁹³ Breytenbach proposes another alternative:

Bereits das Alte Testament zeigt *einige Sühnevorstellungen auf, die nicht an den Tempel gebunden sind*. Auch der stellvertretende Sühnetod des Gottesknechtes wird als Geschehen unabhängig vom Tempelkult dargestellt. ... Für das Frühjudentum was Sühnen keinesfalls nur an den Tempel gebunden. *Es gibt die Möglichkeit, Jesu völlig unkultischen Tod als Sühnetod zu begreifen, ohne auf den Tempelkult zurückgreifen zu müssen*.⁹⁴

What then is this alternative? Breytenbach suggests that

Der Tod Jesu ὑπὲρ wird als *Stellvertretungstod* verstanden. ... In 2 Korinther 5 wird die Bedeutung dieses Stellvertretungstodes (2 Kor 5.14) mit Hilfe der Versöhnungsvorstellung interpretiert. In Römer 5 expliziert er die Bedeutung des Stellvertretungstodes Christi, indem er in einer parallelen Argumentation auf die Versöhnungsvorstellung und die Rechtfertigung zurückgreift.⁹⁵

On the origin of this concept Breytenbach surmises:

Der Gedanke des stellvertretenden Sterbens eines Menschen fehlt im Alten Testament⁹⁶ und zeigt sich im Frühjudentum (4 Makk) erst unter hellenistischem Einfluß. Es gibt nur eine Ausnahme, Jes 53. Dieser Text mußte für das vom Hellenismus beeinflusste frühe Judenchristentum ansprechend gewesen sein, zieht man die Verbreitung der Vorstellung des Stellvertretungstodes in der frühen Kaiserzeit in Betracht. Auch Paulus greift auf LXX Jesaja 53 zurück. ... In diesem Text begegnet eine 'Sühnevorstellung', deren Einwirkung auf die vorpaulinische Tradition und auf die paulinische Argumentation traditionsge­schichtlich und philologisch nachweisbar ist.⁹⁷

Following Breytenbach, Schröter concludes against Wilkens:

Die Annahme, daß die kultische Sühne-Vorstellung 'durchweg der Horizont ist, unter dem der Tod Christi in seiner Heilsbedeutung im Urchristentum gedacht wird' ist also zurückzuweisen. Der generelle Deutungshorizont des Urchristentums bezüglich des Todes Jesu ist vielmehr der, daß Gott durch diesen Tod zugunsten der Menschen gehandelt hat, indem er dadurch die Beseitigung ihrer Sünden ermöglichte.⁹⁸

Outside of our scheme of 'development and challenge' is the contribution of I.H. Marshall, who observes on 2 Cor 5:19,21:

Against the background of thought which we have explored, particularly in 2 Maccabees, it follows irresistibly that the picture is of a God who is offended by the sins of men and acts in wrath and judgement against them. But now because of what Christ has done *in identifying himself with their sin*, God regards them as righteous and no longer holds their sins against them. When Paul says that God has reconciled us to himself, the meaning is thus that God has dealt with the sins which aroused his wrath and that there is no barrier on his side to the establishment of peace and

friendly relations. ... the putting away of God's wrath against human transgression was achieved by what Christ did; the earlier part of the passage speaks of his dying on behalf of men, and the final verse speaks of his becoming sin for us. It is hard to understand this in any other way than that in dying Christ exhausted the effects of divine wrath against sin.⁹⁹

While Marshall describes the relationship of Jesus' work with reconciliation as 'identifying himself with their sin', two aspects arise which need further consideration:

1. If the backdrop of reconciliation is divine enmity against and wrath over human sin, which is suggested by Marshall and others,¹⁰⁰ the question needs to be raised how such wrath is removed or placated in *other biblical contexts*. What cultic and non-cultic ways does the OT describe to procure this effect? Were those non-cultic ways suitable categories to describe the work of Jesus? Where in the NT are they employed and to what extent? It may be argued that any understanding of the relationship of the death of Jesus to the statements of 2 Cor 5:19,21 needs to take adequate account of this backdrop.¹⁰¹

2. Marshall draws out the differences between the occurrences of *καταλλαγή*, ktl. in 2 Macc 1:5; 5:20; 7:33; 8:29 and Paul's usage:

(Paul's teaching) stands in marked contrast to the teaching of 2 Maccabees where men urged God to be reconciled to them and made an offering for their own sins to him and for the sins of the nation. It is tempting to suppose that Paul's teaching was formulated in conscious contrast to this Jewish attitude. The evidence of Paul's use of 2 Maccabees is admittedly very thin, but there is a good case that Paul was familiar with the martyr tradition which is expressed in 2 and 4 Maccabees and that he made use of it in his interpretation of the death of Jesus as an atoning sacrifice.¹⁰²

If Paul's teaching was indeed formulated with this Jewish notion in mind, it becomes understandable why Paul would

not include any reference to the death of Jesus as a sacrifice (cf. 1 Cor 5:7) in this context: 1. Because of the OT tradition of rejection of human sacrifice, the Maccabean martyrs would hardly understand their impending deaths as sacrifices (cf. our n. 97). 2. None of the occurrences of reconciliation in 2 Maccabees is directly linked with the *death* of the martyrs: 2 Macc 1:5 links reconciliation with prayers; 5:20 does not indicate how the reconciliation of the great Lord was reached. Other than the mention in 7:37f of the martyrs' deaths, God's reconciliation with his servants in 7:33 is not accounted for. The youngest brother refers to their giving up their lives for the ancestral laws (7.37), appealing to God to show mercy soon to the nation (ἐπικαλούμενος τον θεον ἰλεως). Rather than being based on human achievement, reconciliation derives from the character of God; cf. 7:37f. After being angry over the people's sin for a little period, God (will be merciful and) will be reconciled to his own servants again. The appeal next concerns the enemy and only then it also includes that he and his brothers would bring to an end the wrath of the Almighty (7.38).¹⁰³ Thus reconciliation is dependent on *divine mercy* (ἀρχην ἔλεους ταξαντος αὐτοῖς; 8:27) and can be prayed for (cf. 1:5; 8:29 'they made common supplication and implored the merciful Lord' (κοινην ἱκετειαν ποιησαμενοι τον ἔλεημονα κυριον ἡξιουν) to be wholly reconciled with his servants'¹⁰⁴).

The interpretation of the martyrs' deaths in 4 Maccabees 6:28f; 17:21f, with its probable sacrificial overtones (6:29; 17:21f!), does *not* describe the benefits as *reconciliation*.¹⁰⁵ If Paul used and referred to this and related Jewish usage of καταλλη and καταλλασσω, he concentrated on formulating the contrast Marshall (and others) identify¹⁰⁶, rather than linking reconciliation with a *sacrificial* understanding of the death of Jesus. Such a link is *not* suggested by the Maccabean language of reconciliation.¹⁰⁷

In addition to Marshall's consideration, the question also needs to be raised whether there are indicators in the text

preceding 2 Cor 5:18–21 (apart from the disputed ὑπερ παντων ἀπεθανεν in v.14) which elucidate the question of how Christ and reconciliation are related in this passage. May the statements of 1 Cor 5:7 (το πασχα ἡμων ἐτυθη χριστος) and 11:25 (ἡ καινη διαθηκη ἐστιν ἐν τῷ ἔμφω αἵματι) be assumed as the background for the references of 2 Cor 5 to *Christ*?¹⁰⁸ What of the tradition cited in 1 Cor 15:3 χριστος ἀπεθανεν ὑπερ των ἁμαρτιων¹⁰⁹

A further question to be pursued is based on 5:21b. If the expression ἁμαρτιαν ἐποίησεν in v. 21a is disputed as an indication of Paul's propitiatory understanding of the death of Jesus (see above), what of Paul's use and understanding of ἡμεῖς γενωμεθα δικαιοσυνη θεου in v. 21b? What understanding is implied here? Is such justification possible without propitiation? If not, what kind of propitiation is implied or necessary? The link between *reconciliation* and *justification* also appears in Rom 5:1 (δικαιωθεντες v.9: δικαιωθεντες νυν ἐν τῷ αἵματι αὐτου). To what extent is the concept of propitiation or the sacrifice of Jesus behind this description of the effects of Christ's death?¹¹⁰ However, these questions lead into the discussion of justification, which we cannot pursue further.

2.3. Ephesians 2:12; Colossians 1:20,22

Many scholars exclude Ephesians and Colossians as Deutero-Pauline letters from the discussion of Paul's understanding of reconciliation.¹¹¹ However, there are several persuasive arguments for the Pauline authorship.¹¹² Here these passages concern us only insofar as they contribute to understanding how reconciliation is linked to the death of Jesus.¹¹³ As these passage have not received as much attention as Rom 5 and 2 Cor 5 in recent discussion, the above manner of treatment is unsuitable.

After the argument outlined above, Ridderbos goes on to present other passages which speak of Christ's death as sacrificial:¹¹⁴ 'But the pronouncements on reconciliation in Ephesians 2 and

Colossians 1 are also to be cited to this end, at least so far as mention is there made of peace, and reconciliation “through the blood of Christ” and “through the blood of his cross”.¹¹⁵ The references to the blood and death of Jesus in Colossians 1 (v. 20: *δια του αϊματος του σταυρου αυτου*; v. 22: *εν τω σωματι της σαρκος αυτου δια του θανατου*) are directly linked to reconciliation (cf. Rom 5:9f). Therefore we focus more on the occurrences in Colossians than on the expression *δια του σταυρου* of Eph 2:16.

However, references recalling Col 1:20,22 occur in the preceding context of Eph 2:16: in v. 13: *εν Χριστω Ιησου...εν τω αιματι του Χριστου*; in v. 14: *εν τη δαρκι αυτου*. Thus Swarat can argue regarding Eph 2:16: ‘Und das Mittel der Versöhnung ist das Kreuz, “das Blut Christi” (v. 13). Wieder also ist die Versöhnung als Versühnung verstanden; die zerbrochene Gemeinschaft der Sünder mit Gott wird durch das Sühnopfer Christi am Kreuz geheilt’.¹¹⁶ However, is this reference to *αιμα* still present in v. 16? We return to the significance of *αιμα* below. How is the confession *αυτος γαρ εστιν η ειρηνη ημων* of v. 14a related to *δια του σταυρου* of v. 16 (cf. *εν χριστω ιησου...εν τω αιματι του χριστου* in Col 1:20)? Eph 5:2 strongly indicates a sacrificial understanding of the death of Jesus, saying that Jesus gave himself up for us, a fragrant offering and sacrifice to God (*εν τη σαρκι*); cf. Heb 9:26; 10:12,14¹¹⁷; Barn. 7:3.

1. The references in Col 1:20,22 to the death of Jesus and its manner are much more specific than the simple references to Christ in 2 Corinthians. However, the question remains: do the expressions of Col 1:20,22 necessarily indicate or imply the *sacrificial* death of Jesus on the cross?¹¹⁸ Some scholars have drawn this conclusion from Paul’s reference to the blood of Jesus in Rom 5:9 (*εν τω αιματι αυτου*).¹¹⁹ This line of argument needs no repetition here. Porter suggests a similar understanding for Col 1:20:

... it is clear that the author does refer to what he believes is the historical work of

Christ and his sacrificial death upon the cross as the means for God’s reconciling activity of *τα παντα*. ... A sacrificial sense is probably present in this reference to blood, reinforced by mention of the cross, altogether viewing the death of Christ as the means of making peace.¹²⁰

This sacrificial understanding is probably also indicated through the preposition *ejn* of v. 22. Again Porter:

... the use of *εν*, whether it is locative indicating the place of death, or whether it is instrumental indicating that the physical body of Christ was the means of reconciliation. Despite the locative use of *εν* in v 16, but in the light of the use of other instrumental phrases, especially whenever reconciliation is spoken of, *the instrumental sense is more likely. In this instance it specifies the exact means by which reconciliation was effected*, although it is still to be distinguished from the following phrase, *δια του θανατου*.¹²¹

2. The preceding context of Col 1:20,22 also mentions the work of Jesus. Jesus has rescued us from the power of darkness and transferred us into the kingdom of his beloved Son, *εν ω εχομεν την απολυτρωσιν την αφεσιν των αμαρτιων*. Does *redemption* and *forgiveness of sins* imply propitiation and the sacrificial death of Jesus? This seems to be the case. Marshall concludes on *redemption*:

Jesus thus does what God alone can do ... by giving his own life, and the use of the noun *lytron* makes it quite clear that he gives his life in exchange for those whose lives are forfeit and thus sets them free. *The death of Jesus is thus conceived as the sacrifice ... through which we are set free from our sins and their consequences, in other words through which we receive forgiveness* (Col 1:14; Eph 1:7).¹²²

It is possible that the understanding of the work of Jesus indicated in v. 14 is also present behind the different references to the death of Jesus in v. 20 and 22 (*δια του αιματος του σταυρου αυτου* and *εν τω σωματι της σαρκος αυτου δια του θανατου*) and thus also behind the concept of

reconciliation. Some manuscripts indicate the close relationship of both sets of references to the work of Jesus by adding the words *δια του αιματος αυτου* behind *απολυτρωσιν* of v. 14.¹²³

Thus it is not surprising that Marshall argues in his study of 'The Meaning of Reconciliation':

Reconciliation is made possible by the fact that God has made peace by the blood of his cross [Col 1:20]. This symbolical language expresses *the sacrificial character of the death of Jesus, and thus indicates again that reconciliation is possible on the basis of the appeasing of God's wrath by means of the sacrifice which he himself has provided in Jesus.*¹²⁴

Those disagreeing with this proposal need to explain in what manner other than sacrifice/propitiation the statements of Col 1:20,22 have to be understood.

3. However, the mention of the blood of Jesus in v. 20 is ambiguous. B. Weiss observed:

Auch die Bezeichnung des Todes Christi durch *αιμα* ... weist keineswegs notwendig auf das Sühnopfer hin, da sie auch nur diesen Tod als einen gewaltsamen charakterisieren kann, der also nicht nach Naturnotwendigkeit, sondern auf Grund einer besonderen Veranstaltung Gottes (Röm 5.8) erfolgt ist.¹²⁵

The occasional equation of blood and death might suggest that the expression *δια του αιματος του σταυρου αυτου* simply means 'through his death on the cross' – which is explicitly stated in v. 22 (*δια του θανατου*) – without the overtones associated elsewhere with *αιμα*.¹²⁶

4. Col 1:22b describes the result of the death of Jesus in cultic language (*παραστησαι υμας αγιους και αμωμους και ανεγκλητους κατενωπιον αυτου*).¹²⁷ This suggests that the death of v. 22a is seen as a sacrificial death.¹²⁸

These statements of Colossians and Ephesians affirm the connection of reconciliation with the death of Jesus. The reference in Colossians to the blood of Jesus parallels that of Rom 5:9 and both passages are significant indicators of the

underlying understanding of the death of Jesus. The context in Col 1 points to the sacrifice of Jesus as the basis for reconciliation.

3. Evaluation

We have surveyed some contributions to an extensive scholarly debate. How are these important and useful contributions to be evaluated?

1. The *challenges* which we have outlined are to be welcomed. They offer valuable criticism and raise issues which force students to consider afresh whether, what has been traditionally assumed (and at times not really been demonstrated or argued with insufficient care) or what has recently been developed and emphasised is really *present* in Paul's references or is indeed the *conceptual background* behind them.

Contributions on *both sides* of this discussion offer careful studies of the statements themselves and those often linked with them and provide new insights into the contexts of these statements, into the conceptual background of Paul's language of reconciliation, into Paul's understanding of the nature of the death of Jesus and more generally into the OT and early Jewish and – to a smaller extent – Graeco-Roman understanding of sacrifice, propitiation and the removal of sin.

C. Breytenbach's exploration and presentation of the general non-Biblical usage of the *καταλασσω* word group is exemplary and persuasive. His contention that the concepts of reconciliation and propitiation are distinct linguistically has won approval. He offers a challenging proposal of how and why Paul used this concept in 2 Corinthians to describe and defend his apostolic commission. However, this proposal needs careful examination. What is there in Paul's references and their contexts that is *not* explicable against this backdrop? What is lacking in Paul which one should expect in view of the secular political-diplomatic usage of *καταλασσω*? Paul uses the *καταλασσω*

word group to refer to reconciliation between God and people. For this usage, secular parallels are scarce. Thus the question of how Paul fills this terminology is crucial.

How compelling is the alternative understanding developed by Stuhlmacher and others? Again: what does it explain, where does it fall short? What is the basis of reconciliation and propitiation in their understanding? What understanding of the death of Jesus is involved?

While the challengers present acute observations on the meaning of the expressions of reconciliation, on their immediate contexts and also on statements often referred to in order to elucidate them, the question for the *larger* biblical context of these statements can not be neglected. Is their interpretation sustainable in this perspective? Does the 'cultic propitiation' thesis fare better in this regard?

These contributions also address further issues: Do Isa 53 and other OT passages *really* speak of a substitutionary death apart from the cult? How much credit is to be given to metaphorical language? How widespread was the cultic notion of propitiation of Leviticus and the alleged non-cultic propitiation in early Judaism? How is the impact of the daily functioning of the temple cult to be weighed against the different situation in the Jewish Diaspora and among Jewish groups critical of the cult and/or those in charge of it? Are the sources we have representative?¹²⁹

It is striking how Paul combines reconciliation with other ways of referring to the work of Jesus and its effects. This interrelationship deserves further attention. When occurring in the same contexts, it is fair to assume that a sacrificial understanding behind one of these other concepts is also behind reconciliation.

2. This discussion fosters our academic understanding and appreciation of the work of Christ in New Testament theology. However, it also should promote our reflection on how this work is to be explicated and proclaimed today.

Paul used a familiar concept of his day and age, be it of Jewish or Graeco-Roman origin, to describe the effects of the work of Christ and filled it in his own way. His Christian audiences understood what he meant and how what he meant was different from the common understanding. Whether he used the same concept in his evangelistic proclamation we do not know.

What common concepts of the nascent twenty-first century, either from politics and diplomacy, or from the sacred or cultic of our age or from other areas, can be employed or perhaps be re-employed to achieve the same goal today inside and outside the church? If we follow Paul's example, how would these concepts need to be *redefined* in order to do justice to the death of Jesus and its significance? Do we strive to be *creative* communicators of the Gospel to our world as Paul was to his contemporaries in his use of καταλλάσσω, ktl.¹³⁰

Perhaps we should start with a smaller task: do we sufficiently explain and illustrate the NT concepts to our students and congregations for them to fully understand and be shaped by them? Furthermore, what aspects of the contemporary connotations of *e.g.* the word 'reconciliation' can be affirmed, which aspects need to be redefined, repudiated or added?

The final words belong to Ridderbos, who introduced us to the issues at hand and whose words well summarise the cause of the discussion we surveyed:

Nor is one able to say that the doctrine of reconciliation in the sense of the propitiatory sacrifice is deliberately or expressly unfolded in his epistles ... This is not to say that for Paul the idea of propitiation does not occupy an important place. Materially it is found so frequently that one must consider it as pertaining to the central content of the Pauline kerygma. But its significance is more often presupposed than expressly brought up for discussion. ... But this does not alter the fact that it is more characteristic of the foundation than of the distinctive construction of Paul's gospel.¹³¹

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NOTES

- 1 Cf. H.-J. Findeis, *Versöhnung – Apostolat – Kirche: Eine exegetisch-theologische und rezeptionsgeschichtliche Studie zu den Versöhnungsaussagen des Neuen Testaments (2 Kor, Röm, Kol, Eph)*, fzb 40 (Würzburg: Echter, 1983), 14–32; Breytenbach, *Versöhnung*, 6–30.
- 2 *ThWNT* I, 252–60. Cf. e.g. J. Barr, *The Semantics of Biblical Language* (1961; London: SCM; Philadelphia: TPI, 1991). P. Cotterell, M. Turner, *Linguistics and Biblical Interpretation* (London: SPCK, 1989), 106–87. D. Hill, *Greek Words and Hebrew Meanings: Studies in the Semantics of Soteriological Terms*, SNTSMS 5 (Cambridge: CUP, 1967), 1–22. M. Turner, 'Modern Linguistics and the New Testament', in J.B. Green (ed.), *Hearing the New Testament: Strategies for Interpretation* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans; Carlisle: Pater-

- noster, 1995), 146–74. Compare also the survey of English language contributions in S.E. Porter, ‘The Basic Tools of Exegesis of the New Testament: A Bibliographical Essay’ in *idem* (ed.), *Handbook to Exegesis of the New Testament*, NTTS 25 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1997), (23–41) 27–34 and *idem*, ‘The Greek Language of the New Testament’, *loc. cit.*, 99–130.
- 3 Pp. 40–44 (of 260 pages in total!). S.E. Porter, the author of the other major monograph and otherwise a prolific writer on questions of NT Greek and language, is disappointing in this regard (merely some scattered considerations on pp. 13–19).
- 4 *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament Based on Semantic Domains* (New York: United Bible Society, 1988), I, 40.1. (quoted as LN)
- 5 ‘Atonement’, *New Dictionary of Theology*, S.B. Ferguson *et al.* (eds.) (Leicester, Downers Grove: IVP, 1988), 55. Morris includes the origin of this hostility which the biblical texts do not indicate directly. Rom 5:10 mentions hostility (‘while we were enemies’), 2 Cor 5:19 defines reconciliation as ‘God not counting their trespasses against them’. V. 21 also implies that reconciliation has to do with human sin. The recipients of reconciliation (Col 1:22) are described in the preceding verse as ‘estranged and hostile in mind, doing evil deeds’.
- 6 ‘Atonement’, *AncBD I*, (518–22) 521, italics CS.
- 7 Cross, 192.
- 8 The simple form ἀλλασσεῖν occurs in Acts 6:14; Rom 1:23; 1 Cor 15:51f; Gal 4:20; Heb 1:12.
- 9 Cf. F. Lang, *Die Briefe an die Korinther*, NTD 7 (Göttingen, Zürich: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986), 92. Other compound verbs based on the simple form ἀλλασσεῖν, which occur in the NT, likewise refer to interpersonal relations. Moses tried to make peace between the quarreling Israelites (συνῆλλασσεν αὐτοὺς εἰς εἰρήνην, Acts 7:26). Reconciliation with the brother is to precede sacrifice (διαλλαγῆθι τῷ ἀδελφῷ σου, Matt 5:24). For ἀπαλλασσομαι in Luke 12:58 (ἀπηλλαγθαι ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ) cf. LN 40.3.
- 10 Cf. the detailed analysis of Breytenbach, *Versöhnung*, 107–42.
- 11 Ridderbos, *Paul*, 189 notes that in the context of Paul’s reconciliation statements ‘the necessity or possibility of this activity is not reflected on’.
- 12 LN combine reconciliation and forgiveness into one domain ‘Reconciliation, Forgiveness’ (40).
- 13 Cf. L.L. Morris, ‘Atonement’, *NDT*, 55; Morris, *Cross*, 251f; W. Foerster, *ThWNT II*, (398–418) 406.41–61, 413–414.29; G. Delling, ‘Frieden.IV.NT’, *TRE XI*, (613–19) 616f, bibliography on p. 618. LN include εἰρηνοποιεῖν, ktl. (Col 1:20; Matt 5:9) in domain 40 A ‘Reconciliation’:

To cause a state of peace or reconciliation between persons ... εἰρηνοποιεῖν is closely related in meaning to the series in 40.1 (καταλλάσσω, καταλλαγή, ἀποκαταλλάσσω, συναλλάσσω) in that the making of or peace or reestablishing peace between persons is a distinctive feature of reconciliation
- 14 Cross, 193. In this context of reconciliation as ‘our personal relationship with our Father in the home’, Stott further discusses ‘adoption’ and ‘access’ (cf. Rom 5:2; Eph 2:18 – both in the context of reconciliation – Eph 3:12; cf. 1 Pet 3:18; Heb 10:19–22) and concludes: ‘Thus, reconciliation, peace with God, adoption into his family and access into his presence all bear witness to the same new relationship into which God has brought us’ (p. 194).
- 15 So R.P. Martin, ‘Center of Paul’s Theology’, *DPL*, 92–95; criticism in Morris, ‘Atonement’, *NDT*, 55.
- 16 Compare the discussion in F. Büchsel, *ThWNT I*, 255–259.40 and G.E. Ladd, *A Theology of the New Testament*, rev. ed. by D.A. Hagner (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993), 492–98.
- 17 *Paul*, 186; cf. Rom 5:10; Eph 2:13f; Col 1:20,22.
- 18 *Paul*, 186f.
- 19 Ridderbos, *Paul*, 192 notes: ‘Nor is one able to say that the doctrine of reconciliation in the sense of the propitiatory sacrifice is deliberately or expressly unfolded in his epistles, as is the case, for example, with the theme of justification ...’.
- 20 Ridderbos, *Paul*, 187.
- 21 *Paul*, 187. An older proponent of this understanding of ἰλαστήριον is e.g. B. Weiss, *Lehrbuch*, 304: ‘so mußte er [Gott] der Welt ein Sühnemittel proponieren und er gab ein solches ihr in dem Blut Christi’. For criticism of this interpretation (‘dinglich-kultisches Verständnis’) cf. Schröter, *Versöhner*, 310f.
- 22 *Paul*, 188. Compare the brief treatment by Morris, *Preaching*, 230f, 249f; Cross, 226, n. 43 and his essay ‘The Meaning of ἰλαστήριον in Romans 3.25’, *NTS* 2, 1955–56, 33–43.

- 23 Paul, 190; cf. Rom 4:25; 8:32.
- 24 Ridderbos, *Paul*, 189 with reference to H. Lietzmann, *An die Korinther*, rev. by W.G. Kümmel, 4. ed., HNT 9 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1949) on 2 Cor 5:21; cf. Stott, *Cross*, 196–98 for God as the author of reconciliation. Ridderbos goes on to defend Paul's understanding of the death of Jesus as propitiatory (pp. 189–93).
- 25 Paul, 190f; cf. Morris, *Cross*, 226, n. 43.
- 26 *Römer I*, 192, italics CS; compare his detailed discussion (pp. 190–92) and excursus 'Zum Verständnis der Sühne-Vorstellung', pp. 233–43, esp. 241f; cf. Stuhlmacher, *Theologie I*, 193f and J. Roloff, *EWNT II*, 455–57. Similarly Goppelt, 'Versöhnung', 155: 'Wenn jedoch, wie hier vorausgesetzt wird, an Lev 16 gedacht ist, müssen ἱλαστήριον und ἐν τῷ αὐτοῦ αἵματι verbunden werden. Der Gekreuzigte ist dann mit der Stätte der gnädigen Gegenwart Gottes verglichen, an der Gott das sühnende Blut entgegennimmt', italics CS.
- 27 P. 196; cf. pp. 234–39.
- 28 *Römer I*, 240, italics CS.
- 29 Cf. *Römer I*, 298: 'In der Wiederholung des gleichen Schlusses V 10 steht an der Stelle der Rechtfertigung durch das Blut Christi (V 9) die Versöhnung der Feinde Gottes mit Gott durch den Tod eines Sohnes'.
- 30 *Theologie I*, 193f, italics CS. On Lev 16 cf. the description by Stuhlmacher on pp. 192f; J. Herrmann, *ThWNT III* (300–24) 309 and B. Lang, *ThWAT IV*, 312f.
- 31 *EWNT II*, (455–57) 456. Roloff briefly surveys and rejects the interpretation of Rom 3:25 as 'den hat Gott öffentlich als Sühne (bzw. Sühnopfer) herausgestellt' (so E. Käsemann, *An die Römer*, 3. ed., HNT 8a; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1974), 85; H. Schlier, *Der Römerbrief*, HThK VI; Freiburg: Herder, 1977, 102 and E. Lohse, *Märtyrer und Gottesknecht: Untersuchungen zur urchristlichen Verkündigung vom Sühntod Jesu Christi*, 2. ed., FRLANT 64; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1963, 149–54), also rejected by Wilckens, *Römer I*, 191f. This understanding is close to Ridderbos' 'means of propitiation'.
- 32 'Versöhnung', 313, italics CS. For the common non-religious usage Swarat refers to Breytenbach, *Versöhnung*. Against Breytenbach Swarat notes (p. 320, n. 8): 'Breytenbach hat sich ... zum Ziel gesetzt nachzuweisen, daß Versöhnung und Sühne traditionsgeschichtlich nicht zusammengehören. Dies kann darum nicht recht überzeugen, weil er Traditionsgeschichte auf begriffsgeschichtliche Zusammenhänge beschränkt und offenbar zuwenig den positiven Sinn des alttestamentlichen Sühnekultes als ein Zu-Gott-Kommen veranschlagt', italics CS. Cf. the far-reaching criticism of Breytenbach by Stuhlmacher, 'Breytenbach', 345–47, who dismisses this Graeco-Roman background.
- 33 Swarat refers to Gese, 'Sühne' and Janowski, *Sühne* (cf. the summary of Janowski's study by B. Lang, *ThWAT IV*, 309). On pp. 325f Swarat concludes:

Hintergrund dieses Versöhnungsverständnisses sind die alttestamentlichen Sühne- und Sühnopferitten. Sühne meint 'Existenzstellvertretung' (Gese), Auslösung verwirkten Lebens durch eine den Sünder einschließende stellvertretende Totalhingabe. Als ein Zu-Gott-Kommen durch den Tod hindurch hat die alttestamentliche Sühne den Sinn der Versöhnung des Sünders mit Gott. Deshalb kann Paulus auch den hellenistischen Begriff 'Versöhnung' vom Alten Testament her als 'Versöhnung' interpretieren.
- 34 'Versöhnung', 319–21, italics CS; cf. Swarat's summary on p. 326.
- 35 Καταλλάσσω, 157, citing Martin, *Reconciliation*, 147 and J.D.G. Dunn, *Romans 1–8*, WBC 38 A (Dallas: Word, 1988), 257 in support.
- 36 Cf. *Römer I*, 240, 294f, 296f; Swarat, 'Versöhnung', 319. C.M. Tuckett, 'Atonement', *AncBD I*, (518–22) 521 notes 'heavily cultic and forensic language in Rom 5:8–9'.
- 37 'Reconciliation', 162, cited according to Porter, καταλλάσσω, 157. While not excluding the idea of propitiation, Goppelt, 'Versöhnung', 157 also observes on Rom 5:8: 'Daß das Sterben Jesu Gottes Liebeserweis nicht nur allgemein als seine Zuwendung zur Welt, sondern speziell als sühnende Tilgung der Sünde war (vgl. 2 Kor 5,19b), wird in diesem Vorstellungszusammenhang nicht ausgeführt'.
- 38 Paul, 189. Cf. Wilckens, *Römer I*, 190–99; P. Stuhlmacher, 'Zur neueren Exegese von Römer 3.24–26', in *Versöhnung*, 117–35; F. Büchsel, *ThWNT III*, 321–24; Breytenbach, *Versöhnung*, 166–69; see our n. 31.

Breytenbach, *NTS*, 66f observes that ἱλαστήριον occurs only once in what he considers a quotation of pre-Pauline tradition and questions the significance of the statement:

- Bis auf diese eine Stelle kommt Paulus ohne die Begriffe 'Sühne' und 'sühnen' aus, wenn er das Evangelium, das er verkündigt, den Gemeinden verdeutlicht. Es ist angesichts des Fehlens der mit ἑξίλασκεισθαι und ἱλασμος assoziierten Begrifflichkeit ... eine sehr ernstzunehmende Frage, ob wir bei der Explikation der Gedanken des Paulus einen vorpaulinischen Begriff zur zentralen Kategorie erheben sollten, auf den die paulinische Tradition anscheinend verzichten konnte (similarly Schröter, *Versöhner*, 314).
- 39 NTS, 78f with reference to Janowski, *Sühne*, 352. Schröter, *Versöhner*, 311 notes:
- So ist der Schlußfolgerung von Stuhlmacher, Wilckens und Janowski zuzustimmen, daß kultische Sühne im Sinne von Lev 16 hier nicht gemeint sein kann. Gegen dieselben ist allerdings einzuwenden, daß das Sühneritual aus Lev 16 in Röm 3 nicht als überboten und damit als Kult-handlung von nun an überflüssig erscheint, sondern auch als *Verstehenshorizont* nicht im Blick ist.
- 40 Cf. Schröter, *Versöhner*, 311 with reference to A. Deissmann, ἱλαστηριος und ἱλαστηριον: Eine lexikalische Studie', ZNW 4, 1903, 193–212. Cf. the nuanced discussion of J. Herrmann, F. Büchsel, *ThWNT III*, 319f, esp. 320.21–321.7.
- 41 *Versöhner*, 312; cf. F. Büchsel, *ThWNT III*, 320.29–31, against Schröter compare lines 33–36: 'In der LXX ist also die ursprüngliche allgemeine Bedeutung von ἱλαστηριον: das Sühnende noch deutlich erkennbar. Andererseits ist aber ἱλαστηριον in der LXX zum term techn für die khphrth geworden, und dieser Sprachgebrauch wirkt dann weiter'. On Lev 16 cf. J. Herrmann, *ThWNT III*, 309. This understanding of ἱλαστηριον is close to that rejected by Roloff, *EWNT II*, 456, cf. our n. 31.
- 42 Cf. H. Patsch, *EWNT III*, 948–51; H. Riesenfeld, *ThWNT VIII*, 510–18; M. de Jonge, 'Jesus' Death for Others and the Death of the Maccabean Martyrs', in T. Baarda, et al. (eds.), *Text and Testimony. Essays on New Testament and Apocryphal Literature in Honour of A.J.F. Klijn* (Kampen: J.H. Kok, 1988), 142–51. I have not seen J.W. van Henten, *The Maccabean Martyrs as Saviours of the Jewish People: A Study of 2 and 4 Maccabees*, Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism 57 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1997).
- 43 *The Atonement: A Study of the Origins of the Doctrine in the New Testament* (London: SCM, 1981), 51; summary following Breytenbach, NTS, 67; cf. *Versöhnung*, 60, 197–202. On ἑξίλασκομαι in the LXX see J. Herrmann, *ThWNT III*, 315.25–41 and Breytenbach, *Versöhnung*, 86–92.
- 44 NTS, 67f with reference to H.S. Versnel, 'Quid Athenis et Hierosolymis? Bemerkungen über die Herkunft von Aspekten des "effective death"', in J.W. van Henten (ed.), *Die Entstehung der jüdischen Martyrologie*, StPB (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1989), 162–96.
- 45 NTS, 68, italics CS. On pp. 68f Breytenbach presents convincing reasons, why it is impossible to assume the direct influence of the LXX-Leviticus concept of 'propitiation for' for the ὑπερ of the death formulae.
- 46 Marshall, 'Meaning', 259 observed in 1978: 'It is a remarkable fact that most discussions of the concept have explored the means of reconciliation, the effects of reconciliation, and the question whether men are reconciled to God or vice versa, but little has been said about the actual meaning of the words involved'.
- 47 *Versöhnung*, 45–83; cf. the summary by Breytenbach in NTS, 62, 66. On Breytenbach cf. the extensive summary and criticism of Stuhlmacher, 'Breytenbach'.
- On Graeco-Roman religious usage Breytenbach notes: 'Eine relevante Übertragung der Terminologie auf religiöse Sachverhalte ist nach Plato (*Symp.* 193B) – die urchristliche Literatur und das griechisch schreibende Judentum ausgenommen – bislang nicht belegt. Angesichts der Spärlichkeit der sowieso sehr frühen Belege (sonst nur Sophokles *Ai* 744) ist dies auch nicht zu erwarten'; similarly F. Büchsel, *ThWNT I*, (252–60) 254.16–19: καταλλατειν und καταλλατεσθαι spielt in der griechischen und hellenistischen heidnischen Religion auch in ihren Sühneriten keine wesentliche Rolle'. While there are many occurrences in secular contexts, there are but a few examples of the religious usage which is prevalent in Paul; cf. the Goppelt, 'Versöhnung', 149.
- 48 We follow the summary of Stuhlmacher, *Theologie I*, 318. An example of this diplomatic/political usage is found in the variant of Codex D in Acts 12:22: καταλλαγεντος δε αὐτου τοις τυριοις ο δε δημος ἐπεφωνει; cf. the severe criticism of this identification by Stuhlmacher, 'Breytenbach'.
- 49 Cf. Breytenbach's summary in NTS, 63f and Schröter, *Versöhner*, *passim* (summary p. 319).

- 50 E.g. Goppelt, 'Versöhnung', 149; F. Büchsel, *ThWNT I*, (252–60) 253.23–35, 254.4–14 (secular usage), 254.15–30 (religious usage); Morris, *Preaching*, 215–19 (limited to occurrences in the LXX, Rabbinic sources, Josephus and 2 Macc); Marshall, 'Meaning', 259–262 (detailed treatment of the occurrences in 2 Macc 1:5; 5:20; 7:18,32f,37f; 8:29; cf. 4 Macc 7:28f; 17:22, for discussion see below).
- 51 Pp. 23–76. However, Porter's goal is not the elucidation of the conceptual background (as is the case with Breytenbach's history of tradition approach) but inquiry into and classification of the grammatical usage of the word group. Porter argues Paul 'is the first known writer to use καταλλάσσω in the active voice in which the offended party in a relationship (i.e. God) as (grammatical) subject takes the initiative in effecting reconciliation between himself and the offended party' (back cover).
- 52 *Versöhnung*, 99; cf. pp. 60, 85, 88–91. He summarises the three main arguments for this thesis in *NTS*, 60f; cf. also p. 65.
- 53 *Theologie I*, 318. Stuhlmacher concedes the validity of the first quotation but counters: aber die deutschen Worte Versöhnung (Versöhnung) und versöhnen (versöhnen) drücken trotzdem sehr präzise aus, warum es nach Paulus (und Kol 1,15–20) von Gott her bei der Sendung Jesu gegangen ist und geht: um die endzeitliche Neubegründung der *eijrhvnh* zwischen der Schöpfung und ihrem Schöpfer durch den Sühnetod und die Auferweckung Christi (p. 320).
- 54 *NTS*, 61; cf. *Versöhnung*, 95–100.
- 55 *NTS*, 61f; cf. *Versöhnung*, 69f. For various LXX renderings of *khphr* cf. J. Herrmann, *ThWNT III*, 302.4–26 and B. Lang, *ThWAT IV*, 306.
- 56 *NTS*, 66.
- 57 'Versöhnung', 149, italics CS. Goppelt, pp. 149–53, discusses the peace brought about by reconciliation against the background of contemporary Graeco-Roman notions, esp. p. 153; cf. Breytenbach, *Versöhnung*, 144f; E. Dinkler, 'Friede', *RAC VIII*, 434–505; *idem*, *ειρηνη: Der urchristliche Friedensgedanke*, SHAW.PH (Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1973).
- 58 *NTS*, 62; quoting as examples Philo, *Vita Mosis* 2.166; *Jos. As.* 11:18; For secular examples of amnesty cf. Breytenbach, *Versöhnung*, 55 (Diodor XIV 34.6), 57 (Appian of Alexandria).
- 59 Cf. the brief consideration in *Versöhnung*, 134 (merely four lines)!
- 60 *NTS*, 68, italics CS; cf. *Versöhnung*, 125–29, 155–59, 193–215.
- 61 *NTS*, 70; *Versöhnung*, 60, 206f.
- 62 *NTS*, 70. Support for this claim is given on pp. 68f; cf. our n. 45 and the extensive defence of this position in *Versöhnung*, 205–15.
- 63 *Paul*, 190. After listing 2 Cor 5:14f among other passages Goppelt, 'Versöhnung' 153 comments: 'Dieses "Für alle" bedeutet im Bekenntnis: Jesu Sterben war stellvertretende Sühne zugunsten aller'; cf. Stuhlmacher, *Gerechtigkeit*, 75. For criticism of taking ὑπερ as an indication of substitutionary propitiation see above.
- 64 Cf. Stott, *Cross*, 199. Note his explanation of both prepositions.
- 65 *Cross*, 199f.
- 66 *Cross*, 202.
- 67 'Gott', 8. Similarly in 'Erwägungen', 188: '... Gottes Versöhnungstat als Tilgung der "Übertretungen" und somit als Sühnegeschehen charakterisiert'. On v. 21 Hofius adds: 'Mit diesen Worten legt Paulus nunmehr explizit dar, was in V. 19a.b bereits anklang: Die Versöhnungstat geschah im stellvertretenden Sühnetod des sündlosen Christus'.
- 68 In 'Erwägungen', 190 Hofius writes:
Das aber geschah dadurch, daß er die Übertretungen der Sünder dem sündlosen Christus anrechnete und ihn stellvertretend für die Schuldigen die Folge ihrer Sünde, das Todesgericht treffen ließ. Indem sich die Unheilmacht der Sünde auf Christus konzentrierte und an ihm auswirkte, wurden die Sünder in die Heilssphäre der δικαιοσυνη θεου, der rettenden Heilsmacht Gottes, versetzt.
- 69 Cf. *Paulus, der Bote Jesu: Eine Deutung seiner Briefe an die Korinther*, 4. ed. (Stuttgart: Calwer, 1969), 566.
- 70 'Gott', 8. For the OT background Hofius refers to Gese, 'Sühne'. Goppelt, 'Versöhnung', 147f discusses the German terms involved. He comments on 2 Cor 5:21: 'Das Gotteshandeln, das ihn sühnend und stellvertretend den Tod des Sünders sterben ließ ...' (155).
- 71 'Gott', 10; cf. the literature cited by Hofius in his n. 37. In 'Erwägungen', 194–96 he discusses and rejects various proposals for the origin of Paul's concept of reconciliation and argues that Paul was dependent on Isa 52:13–53:12 (pp. 196–99).
- 72 On the notion of exchange cf. Stott, *Cross*, 200. *Diogn.* 9 expresses this idea: 'O sweet exchange (της γλυκεινας ανταλλαγης)! O unsearchable operation! ... that the wickedness of many should be hid in a single

- Righteous One, and that the righteousness of One should justify many transgressors'; cf. ἀνταλλαγμα in Matt 16:26; Mark 8:37. In some cases [κατ]αλλασσω means '(ex)change'; cf. our n. 8 and F. Büchsel, *ThWNT* 1, 252.6, 254.8f.
- 73 *Römer* I, 240, italics CS. On Rom 5:10 Wilckens refers to 2 Cor 5:21: 'Denn dort wird in V 21 ausgeführt, worin die Versöhnung begründet ist: im Sühnetod Christi mit seiner Rechtfertigungswirkung' (p. 298); cf. Wilckens' valuable reflections on cultic-propitiatory understanding of the death of Christ today, pp. 242f.
- 74 *Theologie* I, 296; cf. also p. 338.
- 75 *Theologie* I, 195. Stuhlmacher continues:
Wie in Röm 4,25 wird auch in 2 Kor 5,21 die Entsühnung der Sünder durch die von Gott ins Werk gesetzte stellvertretende Lebenshingabe Jesu von Jes 53,5.11–12 her als Akt der seinsgründenden Rechtfertigung interpretiert: Die Sünder gewinnen durch die vom Gottesknecht vollbrachte Opfertat ein neues Sein, das sie an der Gerechtigkeit Gottes partizipieren läßt.
- Cf. his treatment of the passage on p. 296 and reference to K. Koch, *ThWAT* II, 867. Cf. the discussion and criticism of Thrall, 2 *Corinthians*, 440f (quoted below); Breytenbach, *Versöhnung*, 203 and Stuhlmacher's meagre response in 'Breytenbach', 345 (not refuting B's arguments); cf. also T.K. Abbott, 'Has POIEIN in the New Testament a Sacrificial Meaning?', *JBL* 9, 1890, 136–52.
- In his 1966 monograph *Gerechtigkeit*, 75, n. 1, Stuhlmacher wrote: 'Daß ἁμαρτία hier nicht das Sündopfer bezeichnet, haben mit Recht Bachmann und Windisch z. St. betont'. He argued that Paul used ἁμαρτία 'um den Machtcharakter der Sünde zum Ausdruck zu bringen. ... Gott selbst hat den Sündlosen der Sünde preisgegeben und zum Erweis der Sünde schlechthin gemacht'; cf. pp. 77f, n. 2.
- 76 *Theologie* I, 319f; cf. his definition on p. 338.
- 77 *Theologie* I, 196; cf. p. 193 for definition of 'inkludierende Stellvertretung', also pp. 337f. For Jesus' own understanding of his death see Stuhlmacher, 'Jesus als Versöhner ...', *Versöhnung*, 9–26 and 'Die neue Gerechtigkeit in der Jesusverkündigung', *Versöhnung*, (43–65) 55–61.
- 78 2 *Corinthians*, 409. Schröter, *Versöhner*, 293 observes on the relation between v. 14 and vs. 18–21: '... es darf somit geschlußfolgert werden, daß das δια Χριστου', ebenso wie das εν Χριστω, in 2 Kor 5.18f in derselben Weise, wie Röm 5.10 an 3.25 anknüpft, nun seinerseits die Rede vom Tod Christi aus V. 14 aufnimmt und fortführt'. Cf. Breytenbach, *Versöhnung*, 125–29, 197–202 for detailed criticism.
- 79 Thrall, 2 *Corinthians*, 435 notes: 'It is through sinfulness that they have become estranged and hostile ..., and reconciliation must entail the removal of this barrier to friendly relations. How this was made possible we learn from v. 21'; cf. p. 439. Cf. Breytenbach, *Versöhnung*, 134f.
- 80 καταλλασσω, 142. Porter refers to M.D. Hooker, 'Interchange in Christ', *JThS* NS 22, 1971, 349 'who ranks it with Gal 3:13 as Paul's two most difficult statements'. On ὑπερ Porter notes: 'Whereas the substitutionary sense may be present here, the sense of benefit, recognised by most commentators, is certainly sufficient'. Thrall, 2 *Corinthians*, 442 argues that ὑπερ ἡμῶν means 'as our representative', adding in a note: 'It is rather more than "for our benefit" ..., but "in our place" ... may be a little too strong, in view of the παντες ἀπεθανον of v. 14'. For problems regarding the verb ἐποίησεν see M.E. Thrall, '2 Cor 5.18–21: Reconciliation with God', *ET* 93, 1981/82, 229f and the fierce discussion between Stuhlmacher, *Theologie* I, 195 ('Breytenbach', 345) and Breytenbach, *Versöhnung*, 203.
- 81 ἁμαρτία is interpreted as *sin offering* by: Martin, *Reconciliation*, 157; J.D.G. Dunn, 'Paul's Understanding of the Death of Jesus', in R.J. Banks (ed.), *Reconciliation and Hope: New Testament Essays on Atonement and Eschatology*. FS L.L. Morris (Grand Rapids: W.B. Eerdmans, 1974), (125–41), 131–33; Wilckens, *Römer* I, 240; L. Sabourin, 'Christ Made "Sin" (2 Cor 5.21): Sacrifice and Redemption in the History of a Formula', in S. Lyonnet, L. Sabourin, (eds.), *Sin, Redemption and Sacrifice: A Biblical and Patristic Study*, AnBib 48 (Rome: PBI, 1970), 187–296.
- 82 Cf. also Schröter, *Versöhner*, 310–14 who also surveys interpretations of Rom 3:25; 4:25; 8:3.
- 83 For this identification see our n. 92.
- 84 2 *Corinthians*, 440. We found these arguments for this understanding Stuhlmacher; cf. the list of his contributions toward this end in Breytenbach, *Versöhnung*, 160, n. 89.
- 85 Cf. the discussion in Breytenbach, *Versöhnung*, 159–66.
- 86 Breytenbach also observes that this interpretation requires of the reader 'beim

Lesen von 2 Kor 5.21 und Röm 8.3 dem griechischen Wort ἁμαρτία jeweils einen verschiedenen Sinn zuzuschreiben, ohne daß irgendetwas dem Leser diesen Wechsel signalisiert. ... Es ist viel natürlicher, dem Wort ἁμαρτία überall denselben Sinn "Sünde" zuzuschreiben', NTS, 73. Porter, *Katallavssw*, 142 adds '... this view is generally discredited ... because it requires a sense unparalleled in the NT'.

87 Thrall refers to P. Bachmann, *Der zweite Brief des Paulus an die Korinther*, 4. ed., KNT 8 (Leipzig: A. Deichert, 1922), 273, but apparently is unaware of Stuhlmacher's explanation; cf. our n. 75.

88 2 Corinthians, 440f.

89 NTS, 73f; cf. *Versöhnung*, 159–65. Breytenbach, NTS, 74f rightly questions whether Paul's Jewish contemporaries still would naturally assume the 'theocentric concept of propitiation of the priestly tradition' (p. 74) when later Jewish sources also display different concepts. Such assumption requires demonstration; cf. Breytenbach's n. 52!

90 NTS, 75; n.b. n. 53!

91 Thrall, 2 Corinthians, 441, italics CS.

92 2 Corinthians, 441f. Porter, καταλλάσσω, 142 summarises:

Most commentators ... see a sense in which either the abstract is used for the concrete or, on the basis of the chiasmic structure of the clause and the previous sense of ἁμαρτιαν, 'God is said to have identified Christ with man's sin' ... Whereas in the above humans were seen as sinners who did not have their transgressions counted against them, here it is stated by Paul that Christ, who is depicted as knowing no sin, is said to have been made, appointed or designated sin, i.e. their transgressions are counted against him.

Similarly Schröter, *Versöhner*, 315: '... daß die Sünde verurteilt wird, weil nur so Gerechtigkeit geschaffen werden kann. Deshalb wird Christus ... auch nicht zum Sündopfer oder zum Sünder, sondern zur Sünde schlechthin' (further developed on pp. 315f). However, not all interpreters take these different understandings to be mutually exclusive. H. Merklein, 'Paulus und die Sünde', in H. Frankemölle (ed.), *Sünde und Erlösung im Neuen Testament*, QD 161 (Freiburg: Herder, 1996), (123–63; further literature in n. 4!) 150 writes:

Paulus nutzt geschickt die unterschiedlichen semantischen Nuancen des ἁμαρτία -Begriffs. Christus, der 'die Sünde nicht kannte', weil er nie gesündigt hat, kein Sünder ist und daher auch nicht unter der Macht der Sünde steht: ihn hat Gott 'für uns zur Sünde gemacht', d.h., indem er für uns zur ἁμαρτία, zum 'Sündopfer' (in Analogie zu Lev 4.1–5.13; 16) wurde, übernahm er – ἁμαρτία als

abstractum pro concreto – unsere Identität als Sünder, wurde zum homo peccator.

93 NTS, 74, a 'tempelkultische Sühnetheorie'; cf. *Versöhnung*, (199–202)199f.

94 NTS, 75f, italics CS. J. Herrmann, *ThWNT III*, (300–24) gives a general OT survey (302.4–303), one of cult related concepts of propitiation (*khphr* in priestly traditions, 306.3–311.20) and of the 'nicht kulttechnischer Gebrauch von *khphr*' (304.1–306.2); cf. also B. Lang, *ThWAT IV*, 303–18 and Breytenbach's survey in *Versöhnung*, 199f.

95 NTS, 77, italics, CS; cf. *Versöhnung* 205–15. Breytenbach continues on p. 78 (NTS):

Die Vorstellung, daß der Gottessohn, der nicht unter dem Fluch des Gesetzes war (Gal 4.4–5), anstelle der Verfluchten zum Fluch wurde (Gal 3.13), ist dem Gedanken, daß einer der keine Sünde kannte, anstelle der Sünder zu Sünder wurde (2 Kor 5.21) parallel. Der Eine starb als Gerechter (Röm 5.18) anstelle der Gottlosen (Röm 5.6), d.h. anstelle aller (2 Kor 5.14).

96 Might 2 Sam 21:1–14 not be understood as an incident of substitutionary death? Compare all the instances listed by J. Herrmann, *ThWNT III*, 304.1–306.2.

97 NTS, 78; cf. *Versöhnung*, 207–15. Isaiah 53 well accounts for the removal of sin which is constitutive of reconciliation for Paul (Schröter, *Versöhner*, 306, 308); cf. vs. 5f, 8, 10–12. In view of the abhorrence toward human sacrifice in the OT, it is not surprising that the substitutionary propitiatory death of the Servant of God is presented as an event *independent of the temple cult* (Breytenbach, NTS, 75; *Versöhnung*, 200, without drawing conclusions from his observation). Compare 4 Macc 17:21f which interprets the not cult related death of the martyrs as follows: ... ἀντιψυχον γεγονοτας της του ἔθνους ἁμαρτίας. και δια του αίματος των εὐσεβων ἐκεινων και του ἱλαστηριου του θανατου αὐτων; note the introductory modification ὥστε in v. 21; cf. the studies in our n. 42. Despite this abhorrence, sacrificial language occurs perhaps in Isa 53:5–7, 10–12. Breytenbach, *Versöhnung*, 212 denies any cultic reference:

Nun geht es in Jes 52,13–53,12 LXX nicht um einen Sühnevollzug, der sich im Kult abspielt. Für den hebräischen Text könnte man noch über das Schuldopfer ('*shem*') einen kultischen Bezug herstellen. In der LXX aber bezieht sich die Wendung ἐὰν ὅποτε περὶ ἁμαρτίας (53,10) nicht mehr auf den Gottesknecht. Ohnehin zeigen Ausdrücke wie πλῆγη, μαλακία, πορνός, κακώς und μωλωφ, daß es sich hier um Misshandlung, Verwundung (τραυματίζειν) und Peinigung (ὀδυναῶ) handelt.

Does Breytenbach's proposal consider sufficiently that the emphasis in Isa 53 is not on the Servant's substitutionary *death for others* but on his substitutionary *bearing of the sin of others* (ἡμῶν, του λαου μου, αὐτῶν, πολλῶν)? The reference ἀνθ' ὧν παρεδοθη εἰς θάνατον ἡ ψυχή αὐτοῦ without immediate reference to sin in v. 12a is repeated in v. 12b with such a reference: καὶ διὰ τὰς ἁμαρτίας αὐτῶν παρεδόθη.

While otherwise very conscious of verbal links and the significance of set terms for a specific concept, Breytenbach fails to explain why Isa 53 does not contain a single occurrence of the preposition ὑπέρ (even the two ἀντι of v. 9 are used differently). It is difficult to accept Breytenbach's conclusion in *Versöhnung*, 212: 'Für Paulus, der den Christus als den Gekreuzigten verkündete (1 Kor 1.18–23), lag nahe, die Formel χριστός ἀποθάνειν ὑπέρ ἡμῶν von Jes 53 LXX her zu verstehen, zumal dies im Jesajabuch stand, das er oft zitierte'. Nowever, neither χριστός nor ἀποθνήσκω, ἀποθάνειν nor ὑπέρ occur in Isa 53!

The purpose of the Servant's death, namely the removal of sin, is *expressed through other prepositions or other constructions*: τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν φερεῖ (v. 4); διὰ τὰς ἀνομίας (v. 5); κύριος παρέδωκεν αὐτὸν ταῖς ἁμαρτίας (v. 6); ἀπο τῶν ἀνομιῶν του λαου μου ἤχθη εἰς θάνατον (v. 8) ἕαν δῶτε περὶ ἁμαρτίας (v. 10) καὶ τὰς ἁμαρτίας αὐτῶν αὐτὸς ἀνοίσει (v. 11); αὐτὸς ἁμαρτίας πολλῶν ἀνενεγκεν (v. 12); καὶ διὰ τὰς ἁμαρτίας αὐτῶν παρεδόθη (v. 12).

- 98 *Versöhner*, 316, included quotation from Wilckens, *Römer I*, 240. Schröter summarises his argument (316f):

So ist es auch kein Zufall, daß Paulus in 2 Kor 5,21 die Tauschvorstellung einführt ... Aus unserer Stelle erhellt jedenfalls, daß zur Herstellung von Gerechtigkeit ein Ausgleich geschaffen werden muß, der die Forderung nach einem Ausgleich für die Sünde begleicht (wie auch Röm 5,6–8). Denn nach der Auffassung des jüdischen Gesetzes – die Paulus natürlich teilt – ist der Tod die Folge der Sünde. Die Voraussetzung für diesen 'Handel' war deshalb, daß Christus selbst bisher in keiner Weise von dem Bereich der Sünde affiziert worden war. So konnte er den Part übernehmen, den bisher wir zu spielen hatten, wodurch wir sozusagen frei waren, die Stelle zu wechseln und seinen freigewordenen Platz einzunehmen. Die Denkvoraussetzung ist hier also, daß durch den Tod eines Gerechten Kapazitäten freigesetzt werden, die zum Heil von Sündern wirken können. ... (p. 319:) Aufgrund dieser Erwägungen ist für den V. 21 die *Tauschvorstellung als eine Form zugespitzter Stellvertretung als Deutungshorizont des Todes Christi* anzunehmen (italics CS).

- 99 'Meaning', 264, italics CS; cf. also p. 266. Stott, *Cross*, 197f also refers to enmity and wrath on God's side. This contention raises the issue as to what is needed to overcome it.

- 100 Cf. C. Gunton, 'Sühne 3. Systematisch-theologisch', *EKL*, 3. ed., IV, 557f; Wilckens, *Römer I*, 234f.

- 101 Cf. the material in Breytenbach, *Versöhnung*, 196–215 and B. Janowski, 'Sühne 1. AT und Judentum', *EKL*, 3. ed., IV, 552–55.

- 102 'Meaning', 271; cf. Marshall's interpretation of these passages on pp. 261f; Goppelt, 'Versöhnung', 150: 'Dieses spärliche Reden von Versöhnung in seiner jüdischen Umwelt hat Paulus sicher nicht veranlaßt, sondern es ihm höchstens erleichtert, Christi Werk als Versöhnung zu deuten'. The contrast between the usage in Paul and 2 Maccabees has been observed frequently; cf. Breytenbach, *Versöhnung*, 69f; Porter, *καταλλάσσω*, 61f. In this context Marshall suggests: 'The point is beyond proof, but there is a high degree of probability that the Jewish martyr tradition, which surfaces in this particular form in 2 Maccabees, has provided the catalyst to the development of Paul's use of the category of reconciliation'. Breytenbach, *NTS*, 64f observes the differences between Paul's use and the exceptional religious usage of 2 Maccabees and denies any link:

Der einzig gemeinsame Punkt zwischen Paulus' Gebrauch und dem der anderen hellenisierten Juden ist eigentlich lediglich die Übertragung der Terminologie auf das durch Sünde gestörte Verhältnis zwischen Gott und Mensch. Meines Erachtens handelt es sich um parallele Erscheinungen und man kann nicht sagen, daß die traditionsgeschichtlichen Ursprünge der urchristlichen Versöhnungsvorstellung sich durch die Belege im 2. Makkabäerbuch, bei Philo und Josephus erklären lassen. Paulus kannte die griechische Sprache nicht aus dem 2. Makkabäerbuch oder von Philo her ... (Er) hat selbst die allgemein verbreitete Versöhnungsterminologie und die damit verbundene Vorstellung übertragen ...

Cf. the criticism of Stuhlmacher, 'Breytenbach', 345–47 and the study of J.W. van Henten (our n. 42).

- 103 Cf. Breytenbach's observation of the granting of amnesty in secular contexts of reconciliation, *Versöhnung*, 55, 57, 134; our n. 58f.

- 104 The spoils mentioned in the previous verse (cf. vs. 25,27) were either distrib-

- uted to those who had been tortured and to the widows and orphans or were kept by the fighters and their children. The spoils were *not* used for sacrifices (cf. 1 Sam 15:14f) in order to move God to reconciliation.
- 105 Cf. our n. 97; Breytenbach, *Versöhnung*, 201; for 3 Macc 2:32 see Porter, *καταλλάσσω*, 62.
- 106 Stuhlmacher, 'Breytenbach', 345–47 presents a strong case that Paul was influenced by the religious language of Hellenistic Judaism rather than by secular Graeco-Roman notions of reconciliation.
- 107 In view of these observations it seems promising to examine the context of other *Jewish* occurrences of *καταλλάσσω*, ktl. (cf. the survey in Breytenbach, *Versöhnung*, 69–81 and Porter, *καταλλάσσω*, 41–48, 60–64).
- 108 Cf. Ridderbos, *Paul*, 192.
- 109 Breytenbach, *NTS*, *passim* refers to this verse, however, without relating it to 2 Cor 5:18–21; cf. *Versöhnung*, 196–202, 210.
- 110 Cf. Thrall, 2 *Corinthians*, 442–44; Stuhlmacher, *Gerechtigkeit*; Wilckens, *Römer I*, 202–33 (bibliography, pp. 202f); A.E. McGrath, 'Justification', *PDL*, 517–23; K. Kertelge, *EWNT II*, 784–810 (recent literature in col. 1146). On 2 Cor 5:21 Kertelge writes: 'Gott teilt seine sündenvergebende und den Bund erneuernde Gerechtigkeit den Menschen mit; diese Heilszuwendung Gottes und damit der "Erweis seiner Gerechtigkeit" ist durch den stellvertretenden Sühnetod Jesu möglich geworden'. Cf. also Stuhlmacher, *Gerechtigkeit*, 74–77, 207–10 and *passim* and H. Merklein, 'Die Bedeutung des Kreuzestodes Jesu für die paulinische Gerechtigkeits- und Gesetzesthematik', in *idem*, *Studien zu Paulus und Jesus*, WUNT 43 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1987), 1–106.
- 111 E.g. Breytenbach, *Versöhnung*; Hofius, 'Erwägungen', 186.
- 112 Cf. P.T. O'Brien, *Colossians, Philemon*, WBC 44 (Milton Keynes: Word, 1987), xlii and the introductions of D. Guthrie, *New Testament Introduction*, 3. ed. (London: Tyndale, 1970), 551–55; D.A. Carson, D.J. Moo, L. Morris, *An Introduction to the New Testament* (Leicester: Apollos, 1992), 331–34; W.G. Kümmel, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, 21. ed. (Berlin: EVA, 1989), 298–305 and T. Zahn, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, 3. ed. (Leipzig: A. Deichert, 1906), I, 312–22, 328–71.
- 113 For their significant contribution in other areas, e.g. the horizontal plane of reconciliation or its cosmic dimension cf. Stott, *Cross*, 194–96.
- 114 *Paul*, 187f. His discussion closes with the various criticisms that have been levelled against this understanding (*Paul*, 188f).
- 115 *Paul*, 188. The second included quotation is from Col 1:20.
- 116 'Versöhnung', 321; cf. his treatment of Eph 2:14–18 on pp. 321–25. What other indicators for the understanding of 2:16 can be found in Eph 1:1–2:15?
- 117 Cf. P. Stuhlmacher, 'Sühne 2. NT', *EKL*, 3. ed., IV, (555–57) 556.
- 118 J.B. Lightfoot, *St. Paul's Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon* (repr. Peabody: Hendrickson, 1987), 162 discusses why the words *της σαρκος αὐτου* have been added to *ἐν τῷ σωματι* in 1:22: 'To combat a false spiritualism which took offence at the doctrine of an atoning sacrifice. But for this purpose they would not have been adequate, because they are not explicit enough'. Lightfoot does not comment on *δια τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ σταυροῦ αὐτου* in 1:20.
- 119 So e.g. Swarat. Cf. L.L. Morris, 'Sacrifice', *NDT*, 608f and O. Böcher, *EWNT I*, 88–93, who summarises the OT connotations (cols. 88f). His section on the blood of Jesus opens with the claim 'Als blutiges Opfer deutet das NT den Tod Jesu. In den Aussagen des NT über Jesu Blut gipfeln alle Hoffnungen antiker Frömmigkeit auf die reinigende und sündentilgende Wirkung des Opferbluts' (col. 92).
- 120 *καταλλάσσω*, 177, 179; cf. *idem*, 'Peace, Reconciliation', *DPL*, (695–99) 697f: 'The work of Christ as a sacrifice upon the cross is the means or instrument by which reconciliation is brought about ...'.
- 121 *καταλλάσσω*, 179, italics CS.
- 122 'Redemption', *NDT*, 560. Cf. L.L. Morris, 'Redemption', *DPL*, 784–86; see W. Haubeck, *Loskauf durch Christus: Herkunft, Gestalt und Bedeutung des paulinischen Loskaufmotivs*, TVG 317 (Gießen: Brunnen; Witten: Bundesverlag, 1985), 188–94 on Col 1:14 and his excellent discussion of 'Das Motiv des Loskaufs im Zusammenhang des paulinischen Sühneverständnisses', pp. 321–31. For *forgiveness of sins* cf. L.L. Morris, 'Forgiveness', *DPL*, 311–13 and R.P. Martin, 'Reconciliation and Forgiveness in

- Colossians', in R.J. Banks (ed.), *Reconciliation and Hope: New Testament Essays on Atonement and Eschatology*. FS L.L. Morris (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1974), 104–24.
- 123 Cf. NTG, 27. ed., 524.
- 124 P. 267, italics CS. Compare the similar conclusion by Porter, καταλλάσσω, 179 and his thorough treatment of Col 1:20,22 on pp. 170–85. See also E. Lohse, *Die Briefe an die Kolosser und an Philemon*, KEK IX.2 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1968), 102, n. 5.
- 125 *Lehrbuch*, 304. Weiss observes: 'Wie das vergossene Blut des Tieres das Zeichen seiner gewaltsamen, um des Opfers willen vollzogenen Tötung war, so war das Blut Christi das Zeichen des gewaltsamen Todes, den er um der Sünde willen erlitten hatte'. J. Gnllka, *Der Kolosserbrief*, HThK IX.1 (Freiburg: Herder, 1980), 76 notes: 'Der Ausdruck Blut lenkt die Aufmerksamkeit auf das gewaltsam genommene Leben und deutet die Sühnkraft der Lebenshingabe an. Als Deutung des Todes Jesu wurzelt er letztlich in der Abendmahlsüberlieferung (Mk 14,24 parr.)'.
- 126 O. Böcher, *EWNT I*, (88–93) 91 refers to Matt 23:35/Luke 11:50; Mark 14:24; Acts 22:20; Rom 3:15; Rev 16:6; also Matt 27:6,8 (cf. v. 4); Acts 1:19; Heb 12:4.
- 127 Cf. Lightfoot, *Colossians*, 162; Gnllka, *Kolosserbrief*, 90f.
- 128 However, Lohse, *Kolosser*, 107f and O'Brien, *Colossians*, 68f argue for *legal* rather than *cultic* categories.
- 129 This debate also raises interesting methodological issues: 1. How legitimate is it to

assume what is said clearly by one author in one passage also for other writings of the same author? To what extent can a certain concept be assumed without the occurrence of the specific terminology indicative of it? Can students ever venture beyond assumptions? 2. What is the relationship between an author's underlying conceptual framework and his concrete statements? How can conclusions be drawn from the latter to the former in a reflected and legitimate manner? Cf. the stimulating considerations in T.L. Donaldson, *Paul and the Gentiles: Remapping the Apostle's Convictional World* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1997; cf. my review in *CBQ* 61, 1999, 151–53).

- 130 Paul apparently was the first to use the verb ἀποκαλλάσσω and his use of previously known words of the reconciliation word group was likewise unique.

- 131 *Paul*, 192. Cf. Schröter, *Versöhner*, 309:

Denn wenn der unmittelbare Kontext nicht auf den Aspekt 'Sühne' schließen läßt, so wäre der Beweis anzutreten, daß dieser als ein Grundmuster der paulinischen Christologie fungiert und die verschiedenen Aussagen von Paulus über den Tod Christi deshalb letztlich alle auf den Sühnedenken zurückzuführen sind.

Helpful discussion of our subject is offered by the Tübingen 'Evangelicals' in V. Gäckle (ed.), *Warum das Kreuz: Die Frage nach der Bedeutung des Todes Jesu ...*, TVG: Orientierung (Wuppertal: R. Brockhaus, 1998), see H. Schmid, 'Die Möglichkeit der Sühne nach dem Gesetz des Mose'; R. Albrecht, 'Sühne in Jesaja 53'; V. Gäckle, 'Sühne und Versöhnung bei Paulus'.

- **Reading Ricoeur: Authors, Readers, and Texts**
- *Ricoeur: Autoren, Leser und Texte*
- *Pour lire Ricœur : Auteurs, lecteurs et textes*
- **G. J. Laughery, Huémoz**

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Dieser Artikel behandelt Ricoeurs Auffassung von Autoren, Lesern und Texten. Er besteht aus vier Teilen. Zunächst wird die Hauptfrage des Beitrags vorgestellt: Autorenintention und Rezeptionsästhetik (reader response). Was ist Ricoeurs Sicht dieser hermeneutischen Probleme?

Im zweiten Teil wird der gegenwärtige Kontext der Debatte um die Rolle des Autors und Lesers in der Interpretation von Texten beleuchtet und diskutiert. Sind Autoren und ihre Intentionen in hermeneutischen Überlegungen noch von

Bedeutung? Soll der Leser der beherrschende Faktor in der Interpretation von Texten sein? Der dritte Teil gibt eine Bewertung der Ansichten Ricoeurs, hauptsächlich im Hinblick auf die Rolle von Autoren und Lesern, aber auch die Kategorie des Textes ist in diese Reflektionen einbezogen. Wie sieht Ricoeur Autor und Leser, besonders in seinen neueren Beiträgen, Temps et récit ('Zeit und Narrativ') und Penser la Bible ('Biblisches Denken'), die sich mehr auf biblische Hermeneutik beziehen?

Der vierte Teil fasst die Ergebnisse der Untersuchung zusammen.

RÉSUMÉ

L'auteur examine, dans cet article en quatre parties, la conception ricœurienne de l'auteur, du lecteur et du texte. Il introduit tout d'abord la question principale, celle de l'intention de l'auteur et de la réponse du lecteur. Quelle perspective Ricœur adopte-t-il sur cette herméneutique problématique?

Puis il présente et analyse brièvement le contexte du débat concernant le rôle de l'auteur et celui du lecteur dans l'interprétation d'un texte. Les auteurs et

leurs intentions doivent-ils encore être pris en considération? Ou les lecteurs sont-ils rois dans l'entreprise d'interprétation d'un texte?

Ensuite, l'auteur évalue la pensée de Ricœur, essentiellement sur le rôle de l'auteur et du lecteur, bien qu'une réflexion sur le texte soit aussi menée. Comment Ricœur considère-t-il les rôles d'auteur et de lecteur, en particulier dans ses ouvrages les plus récents, Temps et récit, et Penser la Bible?

Enfin, l'auteur tire les conclusions de sa recherche.

1. Introduction

The aim of this article is to discuss the debate¹ over authorial intention and reader response² to the text, with specific reference to the work of Paul Ricoeur.³ Ricoeur has had, over the last twenty-five years, a tremendous impact on the problematic of hermeneutics in general and biblical hermeneutics in particular.⁴ His writings continue

to stimulate interest, raise questions, and give rise to thought, hence, the merit of an analysis of his perspective.

2. A Brief Overview of the Contemporary Context

Seán Burke suggests, the crisis of post-modernism is a crisis of authorship.⁵ Where is the author in the contemporary

hermeneutical enterprise? According to Roland Barthes,

the modern scriptor ... is not the subject with the book as predicate; there is no other time as that of the enunciation and every text is eternally written *here and now* ... For him, on the contrary, the hand cut off from any voice, borne by a pure gesture of inscription (and not of expression) traces a field without origin – or which, at least, has no other origin than language itself, language which ceaselessly calls into question all origins.

Succeeding the Author, the scriptor no longer bears within him passions, humours, feelings, impressions, but rather the immense dictionary from which he draws a writing that can know no halt: life never does more than imitate the book, and the book itself is only a tissue of signs, an imitation that is lost, infinitely deferred. Once the Author is removed, the claim to decipher a text becomes quite futile.⁶

Do authors, in our contemporary hermeneutical context, have rights, aims, and purposes or are they merely ideological fabrications?⁷ In many cases, authors seem to be ejected from texts as quickly as survivors might attempt to parachute from burning airplanes.

One might ask, if authors are mortally wounded can meaning livingly survive? J. S. Croatto, for example, argues that authors die in the inscribing of their message. This sacrificial “act”, as it were, is one in which one lays down one’s life.⁸ We might also reflect on the work of Stanley Fish and his famous statement with regard to authorship and the interpretation of a text: “the reader’s response is not to the meaning, it is the meaning.”⁹

Others argue however, that authors and their intentions were previously considered, up until recent times, as important for hermeneutics. Kevin Vanhoozer states:

... premodernity and modernity alike shared a similar aim in interpretation: to recover the meaning of the text, understood in terms of the intention of the author. ... up until fairly recently there was a

near consensus on the importance of the author’s intention.¹⁰

Perhaps, on taking Croatto’s understanding an “act” further, some might query whether there is yet a place for the resurrection of the author and his/her intention with regard to textual interpretation? If the total focus of meaning is located in the reader reading the text, what is the role of author and text in the hermeneutical trajectory?

Within this somewhat recent phenomenon in both literary theory and biblical interpretation¹¹ there is then the contemporary notion that readers, by decree, requisition the primary place and become the ultimate consideration with regard to biblical-textual meaning and interpretation.¹² It is argued that this has led to the reader achieving something of a celebrity ranking within hermeneutics. Susan Suleiman states:

The words *reader* and *audience*, once relegated to the status of the unproblematic and obvious, have acceded to a starring role.

Today, one rarely picks up a literary journal on either side of the Atlantic without finding articles (and often a whole special issue) devoted to the performance of reading, the role of feeling, the variability of individual response, the confrontation, transaction or interrogation between texts and readers, the nature and limits of interpretation – questions whose very formulation depends on a new awareness of the audience as an entity indissociable from the notion of artistic texts.¹³

What are we to make of the role of authors and the relatively recent emphasis on readers in response to the text?¹⁴ How is it possible for texts, the biblical text-narratives, to refigure readers’ lives? Do authors count? Have God and Author been sacrificed on the altar of the reader?

3. Reading Ricoeur

Our primary focus, after having briefly sketched something of the wider context of the discussion, is with an investigation

into Ricoeur's views on authors, readers, and texts. We must point out, however, that our analysis is not so much centred on the textual landscape of sense and reference (although this remains a consideration), as it is on the general question of how Ricoeur envisions the authors and readers of narratives-texts.

We shall first undertake an examination of reading and readers. According to Ricoeur, hermeneutics is concerned with more than just the text. Within the task of hermeneutics, as opposed to semiotics, both author and reader have a legitimate place and must be included in the operational trajectory of the interpretation of the text.¹⁵ In other words, in Ricoeur's narrative vocabulary, mimesis II (configuration) must be connected to the two sides of mimesis I (prefiguration) and mimesis III (refiguration)¹⁶ through the act of reading. Ricoeur states the following with regard to hermeneutics:

Elle ne se borne pas à placer mimèsis II entre mimèsis I et mimèsis III. Elle veut caractériser mimèsis II par sa fonction de médiation. ... le lecteur est l'opérateur par excellence qui assume par son faire – l'action de lire – l'unité du parcours de mimèsis I à mimèsis III à travers mimèsis II.¹⁷

In this hermeneutical scenario the passage from mimesis II to mimesis III takes place through the act of reading.¹⁸ Ricoeur appeals to Roman Ingarden, Wolfgang Iser and Hans Robert Jauss for a theory of reading a text.¹⁹ Such a theory must continue, in Ricoeur's opinion, to be preoccupied with the problematic of the reference of the text.²⁰

However, at this juncture, we need to take a relevant detour into a Ricoeurian shift. It is important to point out that Ricoeur, while continuing to use the term 'reference' in *Temps et récit*, modifies it with the term 'refiguration.' This is the case for at least the following reasons.

In *La métaphore vive*,²¹ Ricoeur wrote of metaphorical reference as extra-linguistic. In his opinion, such statements have a capacity to refer outside the closed boundaries of language itself. This

perspective also holds true for narrative, yet with regard to *Temps et récit*, Ricoeur states:

I would say today that a connecting link was missing between reference, considered the intention belonging to the metaphorical statement, and hence still to language, and the being-as detected by the latter. This intermediary link is the act of reading. ... Now the act of the poet is abolished in the poem uttered. What alone is relevant is the act of the reader who in a certain way makes the metaphor, by grasping the new semantic relevance along with its impertinence in the literal sense.²²

For Ricoeur metaphor is not limited to the innovation of meaning, but it extends to the power of the redescription of the real, more generally speaking, to our being-in-the-world on the level of both language and ontology. In re-working the conception of metaphorical reference, Ricoeur now extends it to narrative, but because of the complications of reference (which is described as tied to existential logic or analytic philosophy for example),²³ he underscores:

I came to say that metaphorical and narrative statements, taken in hand by reading, aim at refiguring reality, in the twofold sense of *uncovering* the concealed dimensions of human experience and of *transforming* our vision of the world. ... refiguring seemed to me ... to constitute an active reorganization of our being-in-the-world, performed by the reader following the invitation of the text.²⁴

From this point of view, a reader is not just dealing with text meaning (sense), but also the text reference transmitted through its meaning (sense). However, what Ricoeur now views as essential to hermeneutical equation is the reader, who becomes one of the key reasons for the move from reference to refiguration.

It is only because text and reader each have a world that there can potentially be a confrontation and intersection between the two, which then has the possibility of leading to a refiguration of the world of action.²⁵ In other words, the configured

text-narrative has a world and the reader has a world. Refiguration takes place through the effect the plot (configuration) generates on the reader reading (mediation) and acting on this plot in time.²⁶

We shall now bring the detour to a close. A reading theory, according to Ricoeur, transfigures the question of reference into one of refiguration, now incorporating the reader and the phenomenon of reading, which were not taken into sufficient consideration in *La métaphore vive*.²⁷

A Ricoeurian hermeneutics attempts to pay the closest attention to the motion of the unfolding of the world of the text in front of itself, while being less concerned with restoring the author's intentions which lie behind the text.²⁸ The *vis-à-vis* of the text is not its author, but its sense and reference, its configured world. A readerly appropriation of a text is to understand oneself in front of the world the text projects.²⁹ Without this mediation by the reader, according to Ricoeur, the text cannot refigure human action in time.

Furthermore, with regard to both historical and fictional narrative, the former through reference by traces and the latter through metaphorical reference, there is an interface with human action in time. As a result of this interface read narratives have the capacity to refigure the temporality of readerly human action.³⁰

Ricoeur, in *Temps et récit*, accentuates the role of the reader in the hermeneutical trajectory. His awakening to the necessary mediation of the reader can be understood from the perspective that Ricoeur has now given recognition, not only to the epistemological criteria of the text-narrative, but also to its ontological criteria.³¹ This new apperception came about because the world of the text had previously remained, in his opinion, a world exceeding the text's structure, yet with the result that there was no way of linking it up with the world of the reader. Ricoeur states:

Certes, en adoptant ainsi, comme dans *la Métaphore vive*, la thèse selon laquelle

l'oeuvre littéraire se transcende en direction d'un monde, nous avons soustrait le texte littéraire à la clôture que lui impose – à titre légitime, d'ailleurs – l'analyse de ses structures immanentes. Nous avons pu dire, à cette occasion, que le monde du texte marquait l'*ouverture* du texte sur son «dehors», sur son «autre», dans la mesure où le monde du texte constitue par rapport à la structure «interne» du texte une visée intentionnelle absolument originale. Mais il faut avouer que, pris à part de la lecture, le monde du texte reste une transcendance dans l'immanence. Son statut ontologique reste en suspens: en excès par rapport à la structure, en attente de lecture.³²

In our opinion, it appears that Ricoeur joins the contemporary hermeneutical movement with its emphasis on the reader. While Ricoeur practices a form of reader-response theory, his following of Iser and Jauss shows that his is of a milder form than that of Fish or Barthes. However, Ricoeur leaves us with several questions here. What prohibitions are there for readers not to simply devise and be responsible for creating their own meaning/s of the text-narrative? Do readers determine, constitute, or discover textual meaning/s?³³ Is it possible for a reader to misinterpret a text?

We shall now turn to the question of author's intent. Whether a more recent phenomenon or having its origin in a previous era, an 'anti-authorial' project has recently constituted itself as a prominent component within the interpretive landscape.³⁴

Ricoeur affirms that texts always have authors, while at the same time he argues texts are to be understood as having an autonomy at the level of the original author's intention. Ricoeur points out:

... writing renders the text autonomous with respect to the intention of the author. What the text signifies no longer coincides with what the author meant; henceforth, textual meaning and psychological meaning have different destinies.³⁵

The text's career escapes the finite horizon lived by its author. What the text

means now matters more than what the author meant when he wrote it.³⁶

For Ricoeur, a text or narrative has an author, but this author's intent is neither retrievable, nor is it significant for its reader. With regard to Ricoeur's understanding of a text as discourse fixed by writing and as event and meaning, as our investigation has already pointed out, it is the event which disappears along with the author's intent, while the meaning remains fixed by the text. In other words, the saying vanishes (event), while the said endures (meaning). Ricoeur attempts to preserve the 'said' while eschewing what he presumes is a psychological event which is related to the intent of an author.

In the 1998 collaborative volume *Penser la Bible (Thinking Biblically, ET)*,³⁷ one of Ricoeur's more recent efforts, he continues to devalue authorial intention as a valid part of the hermeneutical endeavor. With regard to the biblical text, it is argued that there is a '*dynamisme textuel*' at every level of biblical literature, however, this dynamism has no recourse to an author's intent, but rather is related to the original authors being aware of an incompleteness which asks to be, 're-modelé, ré-effectué par la communauté seule dépositaire des textes.'³⁸ The authors state:

Le premier effet de l'écriture (la lecture?) est de conférer au texte une autonomie, une existence indépendante, qui l'ouvre ainsi à des développements, à des enrichissements ultérieurs, lesquels affectent sa signification même.³⁹

Ricoeur and LaCoque frame the biblical text as autonomous⁴⁰ and in need of a completion or fulfillment by its reading community. From this point of view, it is argued that the autonomy of the text is related to the author, not the audience. In this sense, the authors contend:

Le texte existe, en dernier ressort, grâce à la communauté, pour l'usage de la communauté, en vue de donner forme à la communauté.⁴¹

However, it is the text itself that is plurivocal and therefore must be read at several levels. As readers and reading communities have differing interests in the biblical text there will be differing receptions of it. A textual plurivocity, which links up with that of a plurivocal reception, underscores a diversity of reading levels engendered by the same text.

In reference to the biblical text and what is identified by these authors as the '*communautés de lecture et interprétation*', the hermeneutical circle functions in the following manner: in the interpretation of '*Les Écritures*' this community interprets itself.⁴² What is of import to us here is again the affirmation and emphasis on the text and the place it is given within this discussion of thinking biblically.

Si ce cercle herméneutique peut ne pas être vicieux aux yeux des fidèles des communautés concernées, c'est que le rôle de fondation attaché aux textes sacrés et la condition d'être fondé de la communauté historique ne désignent pas des places interchangeables. Le texte fondateur instruit: c'est le sens du mot «*tora*»; et la communauté reçoit l'instruction.⁴³

While the text and the community of readers remain central and authorial intention remains underplayed,⁴⁴ the function of the text and the community, in the opinion of Ricoeur and LaCoque, are not the same. The text, in this case the First Testament, takes a priority position in the founded community of readers. In regard to this, on the reader's part, there is then a necessary recognition of an asymmetry between authoritative text and listening reader.

Within this hermeneutical proposition, in order to listen to biblical thinking the reader is obliged to enter the circle. This entry requires, according to these authors, a participation both in imagination and sympathy with the act of adhesion through which a community of readers is founded. It is argued that it is only within this sharing that there is a

possibility of accessing the meaning of these texts.

In summary, Ricoeur's work remains axed on the textual and, especially since *La métaphore vive* on the reader. He is concerned to refute the psychological excesses of authorial intent text interpretation, which reduces hermeneutics to seeking a connection with another mind, yet he also opposes the thought that the text is a closed system of signs.

While Ricoeur's position may offer a valid critique to some modernist interpretation theories, in our opinion, it has several weaknesses. When Ricoeur argues that a discourse (text) is 'somebody saying something to someone'⁴⁵ his tendency is to down-play the knowability of the intent of the 'somebody' when it comes to the written text. However, is it not possible to critique a rationalist, structuralist or Romanticist hermeneutics without resorting to the necessary exclusion of authorial intent?

Furthermore, how does Ricoeur's view square with his own position and intent being able to be communicated through his written discourse when he, for example, seeks to defend his not mixing philosophy and theology or vice-versa?

I hope that my readers will agree that I have gone to such lengths not to mix these genres that I might well be accused of personal inconsistency. All things considered, I am more willing to be the target of this suspicion than of that of confusionism, mixing crypto-theology on the philosophical plane and crypto-philosophy on the plane of exegesis and theology!⁴⁶

It is certainly true that the intentionality of an author may not always be transparent, but it nevertheless, in concern for the Other and others, demands an interpreter's attention.

We would like to challenge Ricoeur's position on the text as it relates to author's intentions. In our opinion, there is at least implicit evidence of the practical necessity of the acceptance of the reality that author's intentions do count more than Ricoeur makes them out to, when it

comes to the interpreting of texts. We shall argue that this is true with regard to Ricoeur's own work, as well as to his perspective of the texts of others.

Ricoeur, in our point of view, is not entirely consistent. There are a number of occurrences in his work, at least on the implicit level (if not the explicit), of a different perspective. In *Penser la Bible* (*Thinking Biblically*, ET),⁴⁷ for example, there seems to have been an effort by each author to write in the context of having read the other author's work and taken it into account:

L'exégète a d'abord rédigé sa contribution, sur laquelle le philosophe a ensuite réagi. Puis ils ont tous deux accordé leurs contributions respectives de manière à donner à leur dernière rédaction la structure d'un livre où l'un tient compte de l'autre.⁴⁸

In order for such a venture to fulfill its goal, in our opinion, it would seem that the other author's intentions cannot be entirely ignored in the process of working together to produce a single volume.⁴⁹ These authors also write of their shared conviction with regard to certain points of view which they have written about in this particular book.⁵⁰ However, in taking these authors' contention of the autonomy of the text seriously, one must ask if it is rather the text that has conviction, and not *per se* the authors?

In another context Ricoeur writes of the practical articulations related to narrative and how Heidegger's existential analysis in *Being and Time* can play a central role, although this must be framed in certain way. Ricoeur firstly seems to presuppose the understanding of Heidegger's intended existential analysis and then secondly, his own capacity to be able to frame this 'sous certaines conditions qui doivent être clairement établies'.⁵¹ Ricoeur, at least, implicitly accepts both Heidegger's and his own intentions as authors and we would surmise their relevance for interpreting *Being and Time* and *Time and Narrative*.

One further example of Ricoeur's, at least implicit concession to authorial intention, is found in the context of his

discussion of the work of Genette on narrative in *Temps et récit* II. Ricoeur writes of the 'intention' of Genette, not merely what the text says.⁵²

We contend for the possibility that authors' intents more specifically, as well as texts and readers, must be taken into consideration in the hermeneutical enterprise. Generally speaking, it is ironic, how authors often demand the right to defend what they have written in a text in spite of maintaining that the author's intentions are unrecoverable or even unnecessary.⁵³

This is also most noticeable, either when authors are asked what they meant when a reader wants to know if they have understood their work or if they are accused, for example, by a critic of meaning something they never intended. The response is frequently, 'I meant to say ... in regard to that argument or that person's position, or I did not mean that and have been misunderstood, as I really meant ...'⁵⁴

The previous argumentation, it may be said, is based on the possibility of questioning 'living authors', but is it not arguable that it may equally apply to authors that are not living except through their texts? No one denies, for example, that the biblical writers have passed from the scene. However, is it not possible that we are left with the author's literary action (not so much now being there – but having been there)? In Ricoeur's terminology perhaps the question could be addressed to him in this manner: is the text not the 'trace' or 'testimony' of an author intending something to someone? Does not Ricoeur admit as much in the following statement?

Le témoin est témoin des choses arrivées. On peut penser que le souci d'inscrire la prédication chrétienne dans les catégories du récit, comme narration des choses dites et des choses faites par Jésus de Nazareth, procède de cette intention de suturer le témoignage-confession au témoignage-narration. Cette conjonction est opérée de façon diverse par les quatre Évangélistes et l'on pourrait constituer une typologie sur cette base. A une extrémité de l'éventail on

aurait Luc, à l'autre Jean. ... Or, c'est Jean qui, de tous les Évangélistes, est par excellence le héraut du témoignage.⁵⁵

Do authors and testimony have a link that readers have a responsibility to pay attention to? Kevin Vanhoozer makes a helpful observation with regard to testimony in arguing:

testimony, of all literary forms, is least welcoming to deconstruction and radical reader-response criticism. For the reader to impose his own meaning or to affirm indeterminate multiple meanings is to deny the very nature of testimony; it is to subject testimony to interpretative violence. Rightly to receive testimony, I shall argue, means to attend to and respect the voice of the author.⁵⁶

4. Conclusion

We shall conclude our investigation in the following manner. Ricoeur has written above that the world of the text remains latent when not read. If this is the case, using his terminology, is it more appropriate to speak of the world of the text becoming a world 'for me' when I read it? Perhaps it is possible to distinguish between text 'world-meaning' and 'meaning-world' for me. Does the latency of the world of the text affect its truly being a world? If a narrative is configured at the level of mimesis II would it, whether or not it is read in its world, still remain a world?⁵⁷ Is it not possible for a text to be complete without being dependent on its reader to complete it?⁵⁸ For example, is a piece of music a piece of music, if it is never played?⁵⁹ Ricoeur's readerly point of view, at this stage, is more aesthetic than rhetorical,⁶⁰ and as such it favours a reader's response to the text over a reader's responsibility to the intent of its author.

Several recent exemplary works effectively take the intent of the author in a direction that Ricoeur himself has explored and given careful attention to, but not drawn out the significance of with reference to the written: intended human action.⁶¹ Rather than equating authorial

intention with a purely psychological phenomenon, as Ricoeur often seems to do, the support for authorial intention focuses on intention as act.⁶² A text therefore can and should be considered an author's literary act shown the due respect and care of the interpretive act. As it would be inappropriate, or perhaps even disastrous to ignore a speaker's intention, might not this hold true to some degree at least, with regard to a text in general and to a biblical text in particular?

While it is true that textual interpretation is always mediate, indirect, a task of seeking sense, as opposed to immediate, direct, or a givenness of completed sense, a text is never entirely semantically autonomous.⁶³ Texts are author intended entities, not necessarily enclosed within the psychological constraints of their author, but opened by a literary act which unfolds a world out into the world, which a reader's world is then able to engage with.

We have argued there is an ambiguity with regard to Ricoeur's position on author's intention. Is it warranted, or even appropriate to continue to refer to 'the author', while at the same time arguing that 'the author's intent' can be depreciated when interpreting a text? Perhaps, in the light of this ambiguity, Ricoeur might consider a modification of his point of view that an author's intentions are by and large irrelevant to the interpretation of texts. Authors intentions must be considered as pertinent to textual interpretation as it is their communicative actions that set the literary genre and content of the text.⁶⁴ A search for the meaning of biblical texts is to be concerned with what authors have accomplished as an action of communication. This perspective is not a return to a psychological intentionality, which Ricoeur rightly critiques, but a turn to the author's literary act.⁶⁵

Paul Ricoeur's writings have had a profound impact on hermeneutics and biblical hermeneutics over the last twenty-five years. It is imperative that theologians, historians, and literary critics become more familiar with his massive

body of work in order to affirm and critique Ricoeur's venture, and to assess its impact in their various disciplines.

NOTES

- 1 This subject has received a tremendous amount of discussion in our contemporary context. We shall mention only a few examples: E. D. Hirsch, Jr., *Validity in Interpretation*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967. W. Iser, *The Act of Reading: A Theory of Aesthetic Response*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978. U. Eco, *The Role of the Reader: Explorations in the Semiotics of Texts*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1979. J. P. Tompkins, ed., *Reader-Response Criticism: From Formalism to Post-Structuralism*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980. F. Lentricchia, *After the New Criticism*, London: Methuen, 1983. W. V. Harris, *Literary Meaning: Reclaiming the Study of Literature*, London: Macmillan, 1996. For an excellent bibliography of work in the field of reader-response criticism see Tompkins, *Reader-Response Criticism*, 233-272.
- 2 See E. Freund, *The Return of the Reader: Reader-Response Criticism*, London: Methuen, 1987, 7, who points out that reader-response theory or criticism is a term with manifold representations: the implied reader (Iser), the model reader (Eco), the ideal reader (Culler), the actual reader (Jauss), the informed reader (Fish). Our concern is limited to the general theoretical component which considers the flesh and blood reader. We shall not focus, for example, on the dimension of readers in the text *per se*. Within our limited field of inquiry however, the role of the text, from what might be referred to on a sliding scale as more or less of a concern for the text, remains an interest. In other words, the text can play a greater or lesser role in the readerly interpretive effort depending on where it is situated on the scale. Two examples of this would be: S. Fish, *Doing What Comes Naturally: Change, Rhetoric, and the Practice of Theory in Literary and Legal Studies*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989, (less textual), and W. Iser, *The Act of Reading: A Theory of Aesthetic Response*, (more textual).
- 3 The sheer immensity of Ricoeur's writings makes it impossible to cover all the intri-

- cate details of his position. Our attempt is rather to lay out the general contours of his thought on this question.
- 4 See P. Ricoeur and A. LaCoque, *Penser la Bible*, Paris: Seuil, 1998, (*Thinking Biblically: Exegetical and Hermeneutical Studies*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998, ET) for a recent example.
- 5 S. Burke, 'Introduction: Reconstructing the Author', in: S. Burke, ed., *Authorship: From Plato to the Postmodern*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1995, xv-xxx, esp. xxix. 'When we consider that the war on totalities must be a war waged on the transcendental / impersonal subject through whose putative construction totalities emerge, it becomes clear that the great crises of postmodernism are crises of authorship even if they still disdain to announce themselves as such.'
- 6 R. Barthes, "The Death of the Author", in: *Image-Music-Text*, Paris: Seuil, 1977, reprinted in: Burke, *Authorship*, 125-130, esp. 127-128 (parenthesis and *italics* his). W. V. Harris, *Literary Meaning*, 30-35, argues that Barthes is strong on rhetoric, yet weak on explanation. Harris claims that Barthes assumes and does not argue or demonstrate the death of the author.
- 7 S. Moore, *Literary Criticism and the Gospels: The Theoretical Challenge*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989, 38. Moore clearly sides with the latter. 'If he is not simply to be regarded as a historical figure inefficiently managing our scholarly discourse in absentia, from some remote point antecedent and external to it, who or what is he in addition?'
- 8 J. S. Croatto, *Biblical Hermeneutics: Toward a Theory of Reading as the Production of Meaning*, New York: Orbis, 1987, 16-17.
- 9 S. Fish, *Is There a Text in this Class? The Authority of Interpretive Communities*, Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1980, 3.
- 10 Vanhoozer, *Is There A Meaning in This Text? The Bible, The Reader, and the Morality of Literary Knowledge*, Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 74.
- 11 S. Moore, *Literary Criticism and the Gospels*, 107. Moore argues 'reader theory in literary studies is a Pandora's box into which we, infant literary critics of the Bible, have barely begun to peer.'
- 12 For some of the implications with regard to biblical texts see, N. Petersen, 'The Reader in the Gospel', *Neotestamentica* 18, (1984), 38-51. E. V. McKnight, *The Bible and the Reader: An Introduction to Literary Criticism*, Philadelphia: Fortress, 1985. R. Detweiler, ed., *Reader Response Approaches to Biblical and Secular Texts*, Semeia 31, Decatur: Scholars Press, 1985. R. M. Fowler, *Let the Reader Understand: Reader Response Criticism and the Gospel of Mark*, Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991. K. J. Vanhoozer, *Is There A Meaning in This Text? The Bible, The Reader, and the Morality of Literary Knowledge*, 1998.
- 13 S. R. Suleiman, 'Introduction: Varieties of Audience-Orientated Criticism', in: S. R. Suleiman and I. Crosman, eds., *The Reader in the Text: Essays on Audience and Interpretation*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980, 3-45, esp. 3-4. (*italics* hers).
- 14 R. A. Reese, *Writing Jude: The Reader, the Text, and the Author*, Sheffield: Unpublished PhD Thesis, 1995, 3. She states, 'I am not interested in discovering the meaning of the text. Instead, I want to see the text expand its meaning potential as it interacts (through me) with other texts in the textual sea.'
- 15 We shall see more clearly what role Ricoeur attributes to 'author' and 'reader' below.
- 16 For a full explanation of this Ricoeurian terminology and its significance for authors, readers and texts than it is possible to develop here, see Ricoeur, *Temps et récit*, I-III, Paris: Seuil, 1983-1985. (*Time and Narrative*, I-III, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984-1988, ET).
- 17 Ricoeur, *Temps et récit*, I, 86. (*Time and Narrative*, I, 53, ET).
- 18 Ricoeur, *Temps et récit*, III, 246-247. (*Time and Narrative*, III, 168-169, ET), argues with respect to the act of reading, that there is a triple dialectic in a phenomenology of reading: discordant concordance, lack of determinacy and excess of meaning, familiar and unfamiliar.
- 19 R. Ingarden, *Das literarische Kunstwerk*, Second Edition, Tübingen: M. Niemeyer, 1961, (*The Literary Work of Art*, Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1974, ET). W. Iser, *The Act of Reading: A Theory of Aesthetic Response*. H. R. Jauss, *Towards an Aesthetic of Reception*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1982, and *Aesthetic Experience and Literary Hermeneutics*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1982.
- 20 Ricoeur, *Temps et récit*, I, 117-124. (*Time and Narrative*, I, 77-82, ET).

- 21 Ricoeur, *La métaphore vive*, Paris: Seuil, 1975, 273–324. (*The Rule of Metaphor*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977, 216–256, ET).
- 22 Ricoeur, *The Philosophy of Paul Ricoeur*, L. E. Hahn, ed., Chicago: Open Court, 1995, 29.
- 23 Ibid., *The Philosophy of Paul Ricoeur*, L. E. Hahn, ed., 47. Also, *Temps et récit*, III, 13, 'l'herméneutique du «réel» et de l'«irréel» sort du cadre assigné par la philosophie analytique à la question de la référence.' (*Time and Narrative* III, 6, ET).
- 24 Ricoeur, *The Philosophy of Paul Ricoeur*, L. E. Hahn, ed., 47. (*italics* his)
- 25 See also Petersen, 'The Reader in the Gospel', *Neotestamentica* 18 (1984), 38–51, esp. 42–43 for another perspective on text, world, and reader.
- 26 Ricoeur, *Temps et récit*, I, 116–117. (*Time and Narrative*, I, 77, ET).
- 27 Ricoeur, *Temps et récit*, III, 229–231. (*Time and Narrative*, III, 158–160, ET).
- 28 Ricoeur, *Temps et récit*, I, 122. (*Time and Narrative*, I, 81, ET). Also, A. Thomasset, *Paul Ricoeur: Une poétique de la morale*, Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium CXXIV, Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1996, 271–272, who also alludes to this motion in Ricoeur's hermeneutics.
- 29 Ricoeur, 'La fonction herméneutique de la distanciation', in: *Du texte à l'action*, Paris: Seuil, 1986, 101–117, esp. 116–117. 'Ce que finalement je m'approprie, c'est une proposition du monde; celle-ci n'est pas derrière le texte, comme le serait une intention cachée, mais devant lui, comme ce que l'oeuvre déploie, découvre, révèle.' ('The Hermeneutical Function of Distanciation', in: *From Text to Action*, Evanston, Northwestern University Press, 1991, 75–88, esp. 87–88, ET). (*italics* his) Also, *Interpretation Theory: Discourse and the Surplus of Meaning*, Fort Worth: Texas Christian University Press, 92–94.
- 30 Ricoeur, *Temps et récit*, III, 229–263 and 371–374. (*Time and Narrative*, III, 158–179 and 259–261, ET).
- 31 Ibid., 148–150, esp. 149. (*Time and Narrative*, III, 100–101, ET). Ricoeur points out that both history and fiction affect their readers and both relate to the 'réel'. Ontological criteria return at this stage of *Temps et récit*, showing that both history and fiction pose a 'représentance' ('standing-for') which has possible positive affects on readers. 'C'est à travers la lecture que la littérature retourne à la vie, c'est-à-dire au champ pratique et pathique de l'existence.'
- 32 Ibid., 230. (*Time and Narrative*, III, 158–159, ET). (*italics* his)
- 33 See N. Wolterstorff, *Divine Discourse, Philosophical Reflections on the claim that God speaks*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995, 130–152, for a discussion of Ricoeur's view of text and author.
- 34 For a fuller discussion see, S. Burke, 'Introduction: Reconstructing the Author', in: S. Burke, ed., *Authorship: From Plato to the Postmodern*, xv–xxx.
- 35 Ricoeur, 'The Hermeneutical Function of Distanciation', cited from, *Hermeneutics and the Human Sciences*, 131–144, esp. 139. While this may or may not be the case, Ricoeur shows his assumption that an author's intention is psychological. Might it not be otherwise?
- 36 Ricoeur, *Interpretation Theory*, 30.
- 37 P. Ricoeur and A. LaCoque, *Penser la Bible (Thinking Biblically: Exegetical and Hermeneutical Studies)*, ET).
- 38 Ibid., 11–12. (*Thinking Biblically*, xiii, ET).
- 39 Ibid., 9. (*Thinking Biblically*, xi, ET). Parenthesis mine. The reason for this parenthesis is that the English translation reads, 'The first effect of "reading" ...'
- 40 See also Ricoeur, 'Herméneutique et critique des idéologies', in: E. Castelli, ed., *Démythisation et Idéologie*, Paris: Aubier, 1973, 25–64, reprinted in: *Du texte à l'action*, 333–377, esp. 366. ('Hermeneutics and the Critique of Ideology', in: *From Text to Action*, 270–307, and in: J. B. Thompson, ed., *Hermeneutics and the Human Sciences*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981, 63–100, esp. 91, ET), for a fuller statement on the autonomy of the text.
- 41 P. Ricoeur and A. LaCoque, *Penser la Bible*, 12. (*Thinking Biblically*, xiii, ET). Does the biblical text exist solely because of its community of readers? See D. Stewart, 'Ricoeur on Religious Language', in: L. E. Hahn, ed., *The Philosophy of Paul Ricoeur*, 423–442, esp., 438, for another point of view. Stewart sets forth the perspective that Ricoeur would affirm that without a historical event there is no 'text' to confront a community of readers.
- 42 See L. Fisher, 'Mediation, Muthos, and the Hermeneutical Circle in Ricoeur's Narrative Theory', in: M. Joy, ed., *Paul Ricoeur and Narrative: Context and Contestation*, Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 1997, 207–219, for a useful discussion of what, in

- her opinion, is the crucial importance of the hermeneutical circle in Ricoeur's thought.
- 43 P. Ricoeur and A. LaCoque, *Penser la Bible*, 15. (*Thinking Biblically*, xvi-xvii, ET).
 - 44 Ibid., 9. (*Thinking Biblically*, xi, ET). In relation to the text's autonomy there is the added inference of a renunciation of what these authors refer to as the 'caractéristique de l'herméneutique romantique', which seeks to discover the intention of the author. While Ricoeur and LaCoque do not entirely deny the appropriateness of biblical research having a legitimate concern for an author, date, and placing of a biblical text, they do argue: 'nous tenons que la signification d'un texte est chaque fois un événement qui naît au point d'intersection entre, d'une part, des contraintes que le texte apporte avec lui et qui tiennent pour une large part à son *Sitz im Leben* et, d'autre part, les attentes différentes d'une série de communautés de lecture et d'interprétation que les auteurs présumés du texte considéré ne pouvaient anticiper.' (*italics theirs*)
 - 45 Ricoeur, *Interpretation Theory*, 30. With respect to the view of Ricoeur and LaCoque mentioned above we propose the following question: Why would imagination and sympathy not also be necessary readerly components when it comes to someone's acts of reading somebody's intended text?
 - 46 Ricoeur, *The Philosophy of Paul Ricoeur*, L. E. Hahn, ed., 149.
 - 47 P. Ricoeur and A. LaCoque, *Penser la Bible* (*Thinking Biblically: Exegetical and Hermeneutical Studies*, ET).
 - 48 Ibid., 7. (*Thinking Biblically*, ix, ET).
 - 49 We acknowledge that the scenario is different with a living author. However, why should it be presupposed that a once living author's literary act is to be minimized when it comes to reading his/her text?
 - 50 P. Ricoeur and A. LaCoque, *Penser la Bible*, 16–17. (*Thinking Biblically*, xvii–xviii, ET).
 - 51 Ricoeur, *Temps et récit*, I, 96. (*Time and Narrative*, I, 60, ET).
 - 52 Ricoeur, *Temps et récit*, II, 121. 'En fait, Genette lui-même se référait au texte fameux de Platon dans «Frontières du récit». Mais son intention était alors polémique.' (*Time and Narrative*, II, 180, ET).
 - 53 A most simple example of this is in copyright laws which recognize the 'rights' of authors.
 - 54 See Ricoeur, 'Poetry and Possibility: An Interview with Paul Ricoeur', in: *The Manhattan Review*, 6–21, reprinted in: M. J. Valdés, ed., *A Ricoeur Reader: Reflection and Imagination*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991, 448–462, esp. 459–460. We have already mentioned several instances of this ambiguity in Ricoeur's work. Two further examples: First, in a response to the question of the subject and society, Ricoeur argues for a subject who is responsible for his/her words. If this is not the case, we are no longer in a position to speak of freedom and the 'rights of man.' If this is the case, might it not be appropriate to speak of the 'rights' of authorship also? Ricoeur calls for an '*ethic of the word*' and the basic moral duty 'that people be responsible for what they say.' (*italics his*) 'The Creativity of Language', in: R. Kearney, ed., *Dialogues with Contemporary Continental Thinkers*, 17–36, reprinted in and cited from: *A Ricoeur Reader*, 463–481, esp. 477. In an age with such a profound and certainly correct emphasis on human rights should not the rights of an author also be taken into consideration in the interpretation of the text? Second, Ricoeur comments that, 'Thompson is right' concerning the emphasis of the 'operative concept of the text' in four of Ricoeur's essays. He goes on to write that '... this concept had been introduced with the express intention ...' 'A Response by Paul Ricoeur', in: J. B. Thompson, ed., *Hermeneutics and the Human Sciences*, 32–40, esp. 37. This seems to imply that there could be a getting it 'wrong' and an authorial intent.
 - 55 Ricoeur, 'L'herméneutique du témoignage', *Archivio di Filosofia* 42, (1972), 35–61, reprinted and cited from *Lectures III*, Paris: Seuil, 1994, 107–139, esp. 121–123. ('The Hermeneutics of Testimony', in: L. S. Mudge, ed., *Essays on Biblical Interpretation*, Philadelphia: Fortress, 119–154, esp. 134–137, ET). One wonders if the author continues to have a voice in testimony?
 - 56 See Vanhoozer, 'The Hermeneutics of I-Witness Testimony: John 21.20–24 and the Death of the "Author"', in: A. Graeme Auld, ed., *Understanding Poets and Prophets: Essays in Honour of George Wishart Anderson*, Sheffield: Journal of Old Testament Studies Press, 1993, 366–387, esp. 367–368, for a fuller critique of modern and post-modern perspectives on the author.
 - 57 *Temps et récit*, III, 239. (*Time and Narrative*, III, 164, ET). Ricoeur states, 'Sans

- lecteur qui l'accompagne, il n'y a point d'acte configurant à l'oeuvre dans le texte; et sans lecteur qui l'approprie, il n'y a point de monde déployé devant le texte.'
- 58 Ricoeur, *Du texte à l'action*, 'Qu'est-ce qu'un texte?', 137-159, esp. 159 '... la lecture est cet acte concret dans lequel s'achève la destinée du texte.' (From *Text to Action*, 'What is a Text?', 105-124, esp. 124, ET).
- 59 Ibid., 153, '...la lecture est comme l'exécution d'une partition musicale; elle marque l'effectuation, la venue à l'acte, des possibilités sémantiques du texte.' (Ibid., 119, ET).
- 60 Ricoeur, *Temps et récit*, III, 243-245. (*Time and Narrative*, III, 166-167, ET). See M. Warner, 'The Fourth Gospel's Art of Rational Persuasion', in: M. Warner, ed., *The Bible as Rhetoric: Studies in Biblical Persuasion and Credibility*, Warwick Studies in Philosophy and Literature, London: Routledge, 1990, 153-177, for a useful discussion of rhetoric.
- 61 See for example, M. Sternberg, *The Poetics of Biblical Narrative: Ideological Literature and the Drama of Reading*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985. N. Wolterstorff, *Divine Discourse: Philosophical Reflections on the Claim that God Speaks*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995. K. J. Vanhoozer, *Is There A Meaning in This Text? The Bible, The Reader, and the Morality of Literary Knowledge*. W. V. Harris, *Interpretive Acts: In Search of Meaning*, and *Literary Meaning: Reclaiming the Study of Literature*.
- 62 Vanhoozer, *Is There A Meaning in This Text?*, 225.
- 63 M. Sternberg, *The Poetics of Biblical Narrative: Ideological Literature and the Drama of Reading*, 9-11, argues, 'As interpreters of the Bible, our only concern is with "embodied" or "objectified" intention ... In my own view, such intention fulfills a crucial role, for communication presupposes a speaker who resorts to certain linguistic and structural tools in order to produce certain effects on the addressee; the discourse accordingly supplies a network of clues to the speaker's intention. The text's autonomy is a long-exploded myth: the text has no meaning, or every kind of meaning, outside the coordinates of discourse that we usually bundle into the term "context".'
- 64 D. Dutton, 'Why Intentionalism Won't Go Away', in: A. J. Cascardi, ed., *Literature and the Question of Philosophy*, London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987, 192-209.
- 65 In personal discussion and correspondence the present author posed the following question to Ricoeur: 'how is it possible, in your hermeneutics, to speak of a necessary love for the Other/other, yet ignore the intention of the author of a text?' Ricoeur agreed that it is important to be sympathetic to authorial intention (here the concern was the Bible) and responded in the following way: 'The question is not to deprive the authors from their commitment, but to wonder to what extent the authority of the author on his/her text is part of the meaning.' Personal correspondence with Ricoeur, 28 May, 1999.

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RÉSUMÉ

Le Groupe d'Oxford, connu par la suite sous le nom de « réarmement moral », est un réseau évangélique informel qui est né en Angleterre dans les années vingt, et qui s'est rapidement répandu en Europe et au-delà dans les années trente. Le chef de file du groupe était Frank Buchman (1876-1961), et le groupe avait pour mot d'ordre ce que Buchman appelait le « changement de manière de vivre ». Le Groupe était un mouvement missionnaire, une expression nouvelle de la vieille tradition revivaliste. Il a eu une influence énorme dans les années trente, ce qui donne un exemple de la capacité du christianisme européen à s'engager de manière renouvelée dans l'entreprise missionnaire.

Au milieu des années trente, le Groupe s'est livré à une activité d'évangélisation qui, pour sa plus grande part, s'est déroulée à l'intérieur des dénominations existantes en Europe, plus particulièrement en Grande Bretagne, dans les pays scandinaves, en Allemagne et aux Pays Bas. Puis, en 1938, lorsque le mouvement a pris le nom de « réarmement moral », sa principale préoccupation est devenue la mise en cause des dictatures politiques en Europe, le national socialisme et le communisme, et l'objectif premier du mouvement,

l'évangélisation personnelle, est alors largement passé de mode.

L'auteur étudie les causes du succès du groupe d'Oxford dans les années trente et s'efforce de montrer que sa croissance dans toute l'Europe a été due à son attachement à la tradition évangélique au sein de laquelle il était né, en même temps qu'à sa capacité d'adapter cette tradition à la lumière de la modernité. Le Groupe a associé les convictions évangéliques à un intérêt croissant pour les relations interpersonnelles, l'expression de soi, la thérapie et des styles de vie non institutionnels.

C'est à partir de 1920 que Buchman a commencé à mettre en avant son idée de vies changées en Angleterre. Il avait eu quelques contacts avec des étudiants évangéliques conservateurs de l'union chrétienne de l'université de Cambridge. La base s'est ensuite déplacée à Oxford, et c'est pourquoi le mouvement a été appelé le Groupe d'Oxford à partir de 1928. Il attirait les responsables d'église, les professeurs, les étudiants et d'autres personnes, à Oxford et ailleurs, qui étaient frustrés par certains aspects de la vie des églises et qui recherchaient une expérience spirituelle plus authentique.

Au début des années trente, dans le cadre des écoles d'Oxford, de grandes réunions du Groupe se tinrent dans les

maisons. En 1933, elles comptaient cinq mille participants. Parmi eux, beaucoup considéraient que leur temps à Oxford les préparait à s'impliquer pour faire changer la vie en Europe et au-delà. Les membres du Groupe s'engageaient par exemple comme délégués aux rencontres de la Ligue des nations à Genève. C.J. Hambro, qui fut président du parlement de Norvège et deux fois président de l'assemblée de la Ligue des nations, était un partisan du Groupe.

Le Groupe a exercé une influence considérable dans les pays scandinaves. Frederik Ramm, un journaliste norvégien de réputation internationale, est passé par un changement profond et s'est ensuite impliqué dans des mouvements d'étudiants en Norvège, ainsi que dans des efforts de réconciliation entre la Norvège et le Danemark. Plusieurs haut responsables de l'Eglise luthérienne étaient des partisans du Groupe et se sont trouvés ainsi proches les uns des autres.

Le Groupe a affirmé et ré-interprété les implications, en terme de changement de manière de vivre, du message de la conversion, de la croix, de l'autorité de la

Bible et de l'engagement dans le service. Buchman a volontairement façonné son mouvement de manière à ce qu'il soit en phase avec les orientations de l'époque. On s'y préoccupait de questions qui intéressaient beaucoup de gens: les besoins personnels profonds, la quête religieuse, l'intérêt pour les média, le chômage et le réarmement.

De diverses manières, le Groupe d'Oxford des années trente a préparé la voie aux évolutions du monde évangélique en Europe à partir des années soixante. Cela apparaît par exemple dans sa spiritualité charismatique, son désir d'œuvrer au sein de différentes dénominations, sa mobilisation de tous et sa promotion de chants nouveaux.

Lors d'une rencontre à Visby en 1938, Buchman insista sur le caractère insuffisant du réveil. Il appela les gens de divers pays qui se tenaient dans la cathédrale de cette cité ancienne à aller de l'avant, pour « bâtir une philosophie chrétienne qui transformera l'Europe » et à découvrir l'expérience de la croix. Cette expérience faite, affirma-t-il « vous ne reculerez devant rien ».

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Gegenstand dieses Beitrags ist die Oxford Bewegung (später bekannt als 'Moral Re-Armament', 'moralische Wiederaufrüstung'), ein informelles evangelikales Netzwerk, das in den zwanziger Jahren in England entstand und sich schnell in den dreissiger Jahren in Europa und anderswo verbreitete. Der Leiter der Gruppe war Frank Buchman (1878–1961), und die Gruppe fühlte sich dem verpflichtet, was Buchman als 'Lebens-Veränderung' bezeichnete. Die Gruppe war eine missionarische Bewegung, die einen zeitgenössischen Ausdruck einer älteren erwecklichen Tradition darstellte. Der beträchtliche Einfluss der Oxford Bewegung in den dreissiger Jahren ist ein Beispiel dafür, wie die europäische Christenheit zu einer Erneuerung ihrer Mission fähig gewesen ist.

In der Mitte der dreissiger Jahre fand ein Grossteil der evangelistischen Aktivität der Bewegung innerhalb bestehenden denominationellen Lebens in Europa statt, besonders in England, Skandinavien, Deutschland und den Niederlanden. Spätestens seit 1938, als die Gruppe begann, für eine 'moralische Wiederaufrüstung' zu werben (der Begriff wurde in dem Jahr offiziell übernommen), konzentrierte sich die Gruppe primär auf die Herausforderung der politischen Diktatoren Europas – Nationalsozialismus und Kommunismus – und die frühere Identifikation als Bewegung für persönliche Evangelisation verschwand grösstenteils im Hintergrund.

Dieser Beitrag untersucht die Gründe für den Erfolg der Oxford Bewegung in den dreissiger Jahren. Es wird argumentiert, dass ihr Wachstum quer

durch Europa auf ihrem Vermögen beruhte, mit der evangelikalen Tradition, aus der sie kam, verbunden zu bleiben, sowie diese Tradition im Lichte der Moderne zu bearbeiten.

Wie David Bebbington gezeigt hat, verband die Bewegung den Evangelikalismus mit dem wachsenden Interesse an interpersonellen Beziehungen, Ausdruck der eigenen Persönlichkeit, Therapie und nicht-institutionellen Lebensentwürfen.

Von 1920 an begann Buchman, sein Konzept von verändertem Leben in England umzusetzen. Er hatte seine ersten Kontakte in England zu konservativen evangelikalen Studenten in der College-übergreifenden christlichen Vereinigung der Universität Cambridge. Der Standort wurde dann nach Oxford verlegt, und seit 1928 wurde die Bewegung 'Oxford Group' genannt. Die Bewegung erwies sich als attraktiv für leitende kirchliche Mitarbeiter, Akademiker, Studenten und andere in Oxford und anderswo, die angesichts mancher Aspekte des bestehenden kirchlichen Lebens frustriert waren und nach authentischer geistlicher Erfahrung suchten.

Anfang der dreissiger Jahre gab die Bewegung in Oxfords Colleges grosse Hausfeste. 1933 kamen 5000 Teilnehmer. Viele der Anwesenden sahen ihre Zeit in Oxford als Vorbereitung für späteres Engagement für 'Lebens-Veränderung' in Europa und darüberhinaus. Gruppenmitglieder waren beispielsweise unter den Delegierten bei Treffen der Liga der Nationen in Genf aktiv. C. J. Hambro, Präsident des norwegischen Parlamentes und zweimal Präsident der Versammlung der Liga der Nationen, unterstützte die Gruppe. Das Leben in Skandinavien wurde von der Gruppe in nicht unwesentlichem Masse beeinflusst.

Frederik Ramm, ein international angesehener norwegischer Journalist, erfuhr einschneidende Lebensveränderungen und engagierte sich besonders unter norwegischen Studenten und für die Versöhnung zwischen Norwegen und Dänemark. Mehrere Leiter der lutherischen Kirche unterstützten die Bewegung, was in engeren Kontakten zwischen ihnen resultierte. Die lebensverändernde Botschaft von Umkehr, des Kreuzes Christi, der Autorität der Bibel und des aktiven Dienstes wurde von der Gruppe gleichzeitig verteidigt als auch re-interpretiert. Buchman formte die Bewegung bewusst im Gespräch mit den Strömungen der Zeit. Die Gruppe befasste sich mit Angelegenheiten, die für viele Menschen von Interesse waren – tiefe persönliche Bedürfnisse, religiöse Suche, das Interesse an Massenmedien, Arbeitslosigkeit und 'moralische Wiederaufrüstung'. Auf verschiedene Weise nahm die Oxford Bewegung in den dreissiger Jahren evangelikale Entwicklungen in Europa in den sechziger Jahren und darüber hinaus vorweg. Dies ist beispielsweise in ihrer charismatischen Spiritualität, ihrer Bereitschaft, innerhalb verschiedener Denominationen zu arbeiten, ihrer Mobilisation der Laien und ihrer Förderung neuen Liedgutes sichtbar.

Auf einem Hausfest in Visby im Jahre 1938 bestand Buchman darauf, dass Erweckung nicht genug sei. Er forderte Teilnehmer aus verschiedenen Ländern bei einer Versammlung in der Kathedrale dieser alten Hansestadt heraus, 'eine christliche Philosophie zu entwerfen, die Europa bewegen wird,' und die Erfahrung des Kreuzes zu entdecken. Mit dieser Erfahrung, so Buchman, 'werdet ihr keiner Schwierigkeit ausweichen.'

On 8 December 1933 the London *Evening Standard* reported on an unusual meeting held in the House of Commons in London which had attracted so many MPs that it had 'emptied smoking rooms and

the floor of the House alike'.¹ The subject of the meeting was the message of the Oxford Group (later known as Moral Re-Armament), an informal evangelical network which had emerged in England in

the 1920s and which spread rapidly throughout Europe and elsewhere in the 1930s. The main speaker on behalf of the Group was Carl Johan Hambro, President of the Norwegian Parliament and twice President of the League of Nations Assembly. Three months earlier, speaking to an audience in Geneva, Hambro had announced that he believed the vision of the Group's leader, Frank Buchman (1878–1961), for what Buchman termed 'life-changing', was more important than most of the subjects on the agenda of the League of Nations. Hambro's view was that 'we all need constant change', and he believed the Group helped to stimulate such change. Four years after the Commons gathering of 1933 the Group's magazine, *Rising Tide*, was being translated into nine languages, with over one and a half million copies being sold, mainly in Europe and America.² As he surveyed the religious scene of the 1930s, the journalist Malcolm Muggeridge, who kept a watch on European developments, highlighted Frank Buchman's notable success as a revivalist.³ The Oxford Group was a missionary movement, representing a contemporary expression of an older revivalist tradition.

The enormous impact made by the Oxford Group in the 1930s is an example of the way in which Christianity in Europe has been capable of renewed mission. The roots of the group were in mainstream evangelicalism, that form of Christianity which, as David Bebbington has shown, stresses conversion, the cross, the Bible and activist faith.⁴ In 1901 Buchman, who was an American Lutheran and was then training for ordained ministry, attended the Northfield (Massachusetts) Student Conference, which owed its origin to the American evangelist D. L. Moody, known for his evangelistic enterprises in North America and Britain. What he experienced at Northfield, Buchman reported, 'completely changed' him.⁵ It was language heavy with evangelical conversionism. In 1908 Buchman visited the British Keswick Convention, a week-long

devotional gathering of about 5,000 evangelicals which was held annually in the English Lake District, hoping to meet F. B. Meyer, a Baptist internationalist who was one of the Convention's main speakers. Discovering Meyer was not there, Buchman rather disconsolately entered a local chapel where he heard Jessie Penn-Lewis, a powerful personality associated with the Welsh Revival, speaking on the subject of the cross. Buchman had what he described as 'a poignant vision of the Crucified'. He later wrote that the cross was 'an awesome and devastating confrontation with God's holiness which breaks but also remakes, which condemns but also cures.'⁶ Buchman's crucicentric experience was quintessentially evangelical.

Biblicism and activism were also features of the Group's operations. A Report on the Group by the Social and Industrial Council of the Church of England's Church Assembly noted that within the movement the use of Moffat's modern translation of the Bible was encouraged. The Report was unhappy that 'no serious account appears to be taken of critical scholarship' and that isolated biblical passages were 'used out of context and with no necessary reference to their original and legitimate meaning', but it acknowledged that this was not uncommon among 'ordinary' church members.⁷ It was often these 'ordinary' members who were inspired to follow Buchman in his 'life-changing' mission. The Group exhibited a determinedly activist spiritual ethos as it pursued this mission, a further expression of its evangelicalism. In the mid-1930s a good deal of evangelistic activity took place within existing European denominational life, especially in Britain, Scandinavia, Germany and the Netherlands.⁸ But by 1938, when the Group began to call for 'moral rearmament' (the name it then officially adopted), its primary concerns had become the challenge of political dictatorships in Europe – National Socialism and Communism. From the 1940s the Group's earlier identification of itself as a movement for personal evangelism and to

an extent an arm of the churches was largely out of fashion.⁹

This study examines the reasons for the success of the Oxford Group in the 1930s, arguing that its growth throughout Europe stemmed from its ability to remain connected to the evangelical tradition from which it arose while also adapting that tradition in the light of modernity. The Group, as David Bebbington has shown, blended evangelicalism with the growing interest in exploring inter-personal relationships, self-expression, therapy and non-institutional modes of living.¹⁰ In England, the Bloomsbury Group set the pace in a number of these areas. One Oxford Group member explicitly took up the theme of modernity, saying: 'We are Moderns'.¹¹ The Group's self-consciously progressive spirituality represented an attempt to understand and communicate Christian experience in terms of the contemporary context. Thus it had its early focus in Oxford, among students who prized themselves on being thoroughly contemporary in their outlook. It used the Keswick holiness network and other inter-denominational bodies, but reshaped traditional emphases. Group members made strenuous attempts to resonate with inter-war societal changes. Finally, the Group was able to adjust to different expressions of church life in Europe. As early as 1921 Buchman had the impression that God was going to use him to 'remake the world'.¹² The Group's vision was of engaging with and then changing the socio-cultural environment of the inter-war period through the transformation of individuals.

Oxford Connections

It was from 1920 that Buchman began to put his concept of changed lives into action in England. At this early stage the crucial elements in Buchman's approach to the reshaping of evangelical spirituality can be traced: life-changing at an individual level; the building of open relationships within teams; a community of people surrendered entirely to God;

confession or 'sharing' of sins and failures, and direct divine guidance which opened up new dimensions of adventurous living. Buchman's initial English contacts were with conservative evangelical undergraduates in the Cambridge University Inter-Collegiate Christian Union (CICCU).¹³ During the early 1920s Buchman was active in American college campuses, but a reaction against him took place in 1926 at Princeton University – his opponents alleged that he intruded into people's personal lives and stimulated a morbid interest in sexual matters – and this led to the centre of gravity of the movement shifting to England.¹⁴ By the following year the 'First Century Christian Fellowship', as Buchman termed it at that time, was firmly based in Oxford, and from 1928 the movement was called the Oxford Group.

The First Century Fellowship was, Buchman had asserted in 1922, a protest against 'committeeized and lifeless Christian work'.¹⁵ As such it appealed to some Free Church leaders who were frustrated by aspects of existing church life and were looking for renewal. In Oxford theological circles, for example, Nathaniel Micklem, principal of Congregationalism's Mansfield College, and someone who was deeply concerned about the church in Europe, followed the Group's activities with interest. In 1932 he commented that while he admired the Group's 'apostolic fervour' he wondered if it generated a real sense of God.¹⁶ After attending one Group meeting in 1935, however, he went so far as to say: 'There was the air of Pentecost about it.'¹⁷ There was wide agreement that informal Group meetings, with their testimonies, fellowship and prayer, were contemporary versions of Methodism's class meetings.¹⁸ A best-selling book about the Group by a journalist, A. J. Russell, *For Sinners Only* (1932), spoke about Group activities developing and growing in Germany, Switzerland and Holland, as well as elsewhere in the world. Group members, said Russell, 'were urging Christians, congregations and clergy alike, to expel sin from their midst, as the Apostles did too, stressing the need to

surrender entirely to God'.¹⁹ When 1,600 people attending a Group meeting packed the Town Hall in Bournemouth, England, in 1936, comparisons were being made with the impact of John Wesley and George Whitefield – who also came together initially in Oxford, as members of the 'Holy Club'. It is significant, however, that the central feature of the Bournemouth event was not preaching but was personal testimony from (twenty-four) Group members.²⁰ Older evangelistic approaches were being adapted to a modern context.

Group influence among progressive Oxford Anglicans was even more evident. L. W. Grensted, Chaplain of University College and later professor of the Philosophy of Religion, who was also a psychologist, was a prominent recruit in the mid-1920s and was to remain heavily involved in the Group for a decade. He gave talks on the psychology of life-changing and Christian experience.²¹ Grensted used depth psychology as a framework for his thinking. Alan Thornhill, chaplain of Hertford College, Oxford, described Group gatherings in Oxford as having as their aim 'to build a new world'. They combined 'intense spiritual training' with 'complete informality'.²² Thornhill became a leading Group spokesman and activist, emphasising that 'a personal knowledge of Christ ... is to be put to work for others'.²³ Another Oxford college chaplain, Geoffrey Allen, at Lincoln College, who later became bishop of Derby, was impressed by an occasion in autumn 1926 when Buchman drew together his Oxford circle and 'shared with them his guidance' about the effect he believed they could have.²⁴ The Group believed that such guided 'thoughts', to which considerable significance was attached, should be written down and put into practice. It was in the same year that Buchman, at the invitation of Archbishop Nathan Soderblom of Uppsala, Sweden, who was one of the pioneers of the ecumenical movement and who worked closely with Anglican leaders, attended the opening session of the League of Nations in Geneva. Soderblom saw

Buchman as someone who fostered deeper Christian unity.²⁵ Buchman's vision was calculated to appeal to those looking for a relevant approach to Christian witness.

Although Buchman attracted some known Oxford academic figures, his greatest success was with the university's undergraduates. Loudon Hamilton, a former army officer, who was the Fellowship's first student convert in Oxford and who travelled with Buchman in Europe, recalled that undergraduates would queue for hours to obtain an interview with Buchman.²⁶ Hamilton himself had a profound influence on Eric Liddell, the Scots Olympic gold medallist and later a missionary in China. Liddell described in 1932 how eight years previously, in a conversation with Hamilton, his heart had 'burned within him'.²⁷ One flamboyant Oxford student, Marie Clarkson, was typical of those to whom the Group proved irresistible. She described how she had revelled in driving spectacular sports cars and frequenting cocktail parties. The Group's freshness, however, had made her feel so 'dull and dissipated' that she gave her life to Christ.²⁸ The Group also attracted students with a more serious inclination, such as John Morrison, who had studied theology at New College, Edinburgh, and in Germany under Karl Barth and Rudolf Bultmann. In one Oxford college a sweepstake was held as to who would be the next student to be 'changed'.²⁹ The contrast with more traditional evangelism was marked.

The Group's practice of openly sharing personal failures in group settings was part of its commitment to freedom and to deeper inter-personal relationships. It also proved highly controversial, with sex being the main problem. In 1928, writing in the *Daily Express* about what was taking place in Oxford, the British MP and journalist Tom Driberg first highlighted what (he claimed) a college head had described as 'morbid sensualism masquerading under the guise of religion', and which Driberg saw as crude invasions of physical and spiritual privacy.³⁰ T. R. Glover, a Baptist layman and Public

Orator of Cambridge University, although a Group sympathiser, believed that Buchman over-emphasised sexual matters.³¹ In the face of criticisms over sexual sins being shared in the Group's conferences or 'house-parties' (a term which was deliberately non-religious), Buchman claimed in 1930 that 'it is the rarest thing in the world for irrelevant or foolish talk to be heard on such occasions'.³² One Group supporter, Leslie Weatherhead, the highly popular author and minister of the City Temple, London, admitted in July 1932 that at one recent house-party he had encountered 'rather a morbid display of minds preoccupied with sexual temptations'.³³ Nathaniel Micklem, writing two weeks later, had simply found the event boring.³⁴

In the early 1930s Oxford's colleges became the setting for very large Group house-parties, a name which was retained even when the size of the gatherings meant that the original sense of intimacy had gone. In 1931 about 700 Groupers filled the three women's colleges in Oxford. Two years later a huge summer event was convened, again in Oxford, with 5,000 people attending. Many of those present considered that their time in Oxford trained them for engagement in life-changing in Europe and beyond. Group members were active in 1933 among the delegates to meetings of the League of Nations in Geneva. At the end of 1933, as we have seen, one of the League's most prominent figures, C. J. Hambro, was one of several speakers associated with the Group who addressed over one hundred British MPs.³⁵ In 1934, Hambro and his wife organised the first Group house-party in Norway, and in the same year B. H. Streeter, a respected New Testament scholar and provost of Queen's College, Oxford, who had an interest in the place of intuition and of divine guidance, came to see the Group as offering spiritual hope for Europe. He told an audience in the Oxford Town Hall that he was associating himself with the movement.³⁶ The many social and theological connections which Oxford offered ensured that it was a fertile seed-bed for

the growth of the Group. At a time when much European church life was flagging, here was an expression of contemporary mission.

New Evangelical Initiatives

The Group sought to base itself on principles derived from older evangelicalism while ensuring their modern acceptability in order to make mission effective. Conversionism underwent crucial reshaping. In 1921 Murray Webb-Peploe and Godfrey Buxton, both from leading Anglican evangelical families with Keswick Convention connections, spent three months with Buchman in America and were impressed by his unconventional evangelism.³⁷ The Group's association with Keswick, as David Belden shows, was to a large extent written out of later Group historiography. Yet it was Keswick speakers such as F. B. Meyer, as well as missionary statesman such as John Mott and outstanding lecturers such as Henry Wright of Yale and Henry Drummond of Edinburgh, who influenced Buchman's ideas about personal witness.³⁸ Buchman's emphasis, like that of Drummond, was on the relevance to the contemporary setting. Older evangelical language such as 'Are you saved?' was rejected by the Group. Instead, converts spoke of discovering the 'adventure and romance which I looked for in my pagan days'.³⁹ Churches were fired by the new mood. Howard Rose, an evangelical Anglican clergyman deeply affected by the Group, moved in 1932 from Oxford to Christ Church, Penge, in south-east London, determined to show his new parish that the Group was relevant. In August 1933 Rose wrote in his parish newsletter about his vision of God speaking directly through 'a spiritual receiving set in every home in our parish'. By autumn of the following year he could report that many who had drifted from faith were now joining Christ Church, finding there 'new reality and joy'.⁴⁰

Conversion was seen as a miracle in which a person was transformed and through which he or she found new

personal potential being realised. An example was Fredrik Ramm, a Norwegian journalist with an international reputation. Ramm had represented the world's press on Amundsen's flight across the North Pole in an airship. In 1934 Hambro invited Ramm to a house-party at Høsbjør, and as Ramm was travelling to the mountain hotel where the gathering was to take place he enquired, with evident cynicism, what was going to happen. 'Miracles', his enthusiastic Group companions replied, 'and you'll be one of them'. Later Ramm spoke of how, at that house-party, 'the ice in my heart melted and a new and unknown feeling began to grow'. He apologised to Group members that his opinion of himself had been too big. 'Not too big', was the response, 'too small.' This was a clear change of emphasis when compared to some traditional evangelical thinking about pride, although Group members argued that the perspective that was being talked about was a divine rather than a human one. Buchman encouraged Ramm to see his potential for achieving change in Norway and Ramm became particularly involved in movements among Norwegian students as well as in crucial moves towards reconciliation between Norway and Denmark over fishing rights. Previously Ramm had bitterly opposed Denmark's claims. At the Norwegian national students' conference of 1935 the press noted that 'the Oxford spirit' was dominant.⁴¹

The Group both asserted and re-interpreted the life-changing relevance of the message of the cross of Christ. Buchman summed up his experience in 1908 at Keswick with the words of an evangelical hymn – 'At the Cross, at the Cross, where I first saw the light' – and he wrote to Jessie Penn-Lewis in 1920 to say that he seldom spoke at meetings without mentioning that event.⁴² Julian Thornton-Duesbery, who later became principal of the evangelical Anglican Wycliffe Hall, Oxford, gained an 'apprehension of what Christ did on Calvary' at a house-party.⁴³ Replying in 1933 to criticisms that the Group had been moving away from traditional teaching on the atonement,

Buchman asserted that it was a personal experience of the atonement, not a theory about it, to which the Group was committed.⁴⁴ Thus for the Group it was possible for Christians who took different theological positions over the interpretation of the cross to experience unity and to engage in mission together. In Norway there were considerable theological tensions between liberals and conservatives within the Lutheran Church in the 1920s, but the influence of the Group helped to bring a measure of peace in the mid-1930s. One of those affected by the Group was Eivind Berggrav, who represented the more liberal theological tradition. By the end of the decade Berggrav, by then the Bishop of Oslo, was making common cause with Professor Ole Hallesby, the leader of the conservative evangelicals in Norway. The coming together through the Group, said Bishop Arne Fjellbu of Trondheim in 1945, was an essential foundation for the united witness given by the Norwegian church during the Nazi occupation.⁴⁵

Many of those who were attracted to the Group espoused a position on the authority of the Bible which stressed its practical relevance. For some it was like a new Reformation, indeed bishop Berggrav commented: 'What is now happening in Norway is the biggest spiritual movement since the Reformation.'⁴⁶ What the Group offered was an approach to the biblical text that majored on its spiritual significance. In 1935, when Buchman visited Geneva and spoke at a luncheon for 500 guests hosted by Edvard Beneš, President of Czechoslovakia and President of the League of Nations Assembly that year, there was comment on the Group's use of the Bible. The Group was seen as accepting the challenge of the Sermon on the Mount and seeking to see the effect of the Word in personal and public life. As Theophil Spoerri, professor of French and Italian Literature at Zurich University, put it, Buchman's reading of a text such as Ephesians 3 verses 20 and 21 transformed it into 'something moving, moving more and more urgently towards the one point – the overflowing abundance of

God's effective action, beyond all the bounds of our understanding and longing'.⁴⁷ For the Group the authority of the Bible was not to be defined in terms of theological propositions. Rather the Bible was understood as offering direct guidance to anyone who sought help with the everyday decisions which were necessary in contemporary life.

Frank Buchman and his colleagues were also marked by energetic evangelical activism. Buchman's vision was always of an active church. In an address in Zurich in October 1935, which formed the climax of a visit in which Buchman had spoken at many business and governmental receptions, Buchman set out an agenda for Switzerland. 'I can see the Church in Switzerland', he announced, 'in such power that she sends out a mission to Christians in many lands. I can see Swiss business men showing the leaders of the world's commerce how faith in God is the only security. I can see Swiss statesmen demonstrating that divine guidance is the only practical politics.'⁴⁸ A few months later Buchman considered that his vision for a Europe mobilised for spiritual action was being fulfilled. Twenty-five thousand people gathered in the British Industries Fair building, Birmingham, the largest covered hall in Europe. There were contingents from thirty-five countries, five hundred from Holland alone. International sportspersons speaking about life-changing included Marjorie Saunders, who had played hockey for England, and Henry Poulson, a Scottish rugby and cricket international. Broadcasting from England in August 1936 Buchman asked his listeners to picture the vast Birmingham audience responding to more than a thousand young people from many nations, 'marching together in a new enlistment'.⁴⁹ Active engagement in bringing about change was paramount.

Social and Political Dimensions of Mission

What was also evident by the mid-1930s was that Buchman was consciously shaping his movement so that it resonated

with the currents of the time. The most notable achievement of the Group had always been its ability to adapt to a changing cultural context. One observer, Marjorie Harrison, voiced the widespread belief that the Group's promises of joy and thrills fascinated 'a post-War generation, lonely in the midst of crowds, hungry in the midst of plenty, with neither standards nor stable background'.⁵⁰ The attention given to themes connected with overcoming sexual temptation was – as we have seen – an example of the Group's determination to face the issues of the time, although Beverley Nichols, a British journalist and sought-after Group speaker in the mid-1930s, complained that 'the real stuff, raw and naked' was not publicly shared. He recalled that when a pimply young man had described at one house-party sensations he had felt during a visit to the Folies Bergères, Buchman had rung a bell and stopped him.⁵¹ Yet the focus on frank revelations about personal longings and failures, which represented a thoroughly modern instinct, was integral to the Group's success.

The Group also mirrored the fascination in the period with the paranormal. There were many stories of Buchman's going, seemingly for no reason, to the right place at the right time, of his ability to discern the thoughts of others, and of his knowing events elsewhere or what would transpire in the future.⁵² Interest in the supernatural dimension of life gave the Group a ready audience. Healing, too, was explained by the Group in a way which capitalised on the rapidly growing field, initially a specialist one but increasingly picked up by society at large, of psycho-analysis and psychology.⁵³ There were reports within the Group of inner healing of sexual complexes, healing of relationships and even physical healings. L. W. Grensted, whose interest in this area was considerable, described a case in which tubercular destruction of a person's lung, clearly shown by X-ray, cleared up within a month.⁵⁴ He argued that prayer, psychotherapy and drugs were

all ways by which God's love could cure physical and emotional disorders.⁵⁵ The claim was being made that the experience of surrender as explained by the Group offered a direct experience of God and resulted in personal wholeness.

The increasing interest in mass media was another feature exploited by the Group. Modern methods of communication were used to spread the Group's message. Ivan Menzies, a performer with the D'Oyly Carte company, became an active Group member and began to investigate communicating Christianity through drama.⁵⁶ At one Sunday morning service, held in a theatre in Oxford, Groupers showed a film.⁵⁷ One British journalist, Hugh Redwood, deputy editor of the *News Chronicle*, was one of a number of journalists across Europe attracted by the Group. The British media had a field day in 1937, however, when, at a Foyle's Literary Lunch featuring Group apologists, Margaret Rawlings, an actress, pronounced to the audience of 2,500 that exposure of one's soul in public was like undressing in Piccadilly.⁵⁸ The Group was defended by its supporters in Scandinavia, as well as in Britain by Wilson Carlile, the founder of the Church Army. Although the statement by Rawlings embarrassed the Group, her perspective could be seen as a logical extension of the Group's desire to connect with a world that increasingly revelled in the sensational.

There was, however, a more sombre aspect to the society of the 1930s, with economic depression and rising unemployment a feature of the lives of many communities. The Group tried to address the situation of those who found their way of life collapsing. In order to tackle this issue, George Light, chairman of the Unemployed Workers' Association of Warwickshire, in England, was used as a prominent speaker at Group events in Britain. He also spoke to workers and intellectuals in Denmark.⁵⁹ In the later 1930s a student for the Baptist ministry at Regent's Park College, Bill Jaeger, led teams of Groupers who worked in poor areas in the East End of London, often on

a cross-denominational basis. Jaeger, who never entered Baptist ministry, was to devote much of his life to the labour movement throughout the world.⁶⁰ Bill Rowell, who was to represent 250,000 unemployed people in 1936 at the Trades Union Congress, was one of those recruited by a member of Jaeger's team – who was himself the son of a peer. It appeared that through the efforts of Group members such as Jaeger women and men from all sections of inter-war society were beginning to be affected. Increasingly, with the idea of social revolution in the air, Buchman saw the Group as a revolution aimed at bringing in a new social order.

The idea began to emerge of mobilising an international spiritual army, a Group manifesto speaking of fighting a greater war than any known before.⁶¹ Political figures could be utilised. The influence of supportive figures such as Carl Johan Hambro, or in England Sir Lynden Macassey, Leader of the Parliamentary Bar, and Ernest Brown (a Baptist), who was Minister of Labour, was significant.⁶² Buchman's frequent visits to Germany in the period in which Nazi influence was growing included a meeting in 1932 with 150 church leaders at Bad Homburg. In the same year a body called the 'German Christians' was organised by the Nazis and one bishop from the German Christians, after attending the 1933 Oxford house-party, preached against the expulsion of Jewish Christians from the churches. He left the German Christians. Dietrich Bonhoeffer, as part of the Confessing Church that opposed Hitler, deprecated the Group's efforts to gain a hearing in Nazi circles, efforts that in any case failed.⁶³ Buchman's contact with Germany highlighted for him the importance of what he called 'spiritual dictatorship'. The Group began to arrange large camps and assemblies, the largest, as we have seen, attracting 25,000 to Birmingham for an event described as 'Enlistment in the moral equivalent of war'.⁶⁴ Buchman incurred severe censure for his apparent appreciation, in what was perhaps a throwaway comment, of Hitler's

role as a possible bulwark against Communism.⁶⁵ There was certainly never any common ground between the Group and Fascism. An SS Central Security Office document of 1936 saw in the Group a 'dangerous opponent for National Socialism'.⁶⁶ By 1938 Buchman's belief in God-control, and his sensitivity to political developments, had led to a new thought: 'Britain and the world must re-arm morally'.⁶⁷ The early evangelistic outlook that marked the Group gave way to a more general campaign for Moral Re-Armament.

Renewal and Revival

In a number of ways, however, the Oxford Group in the 1930s anticipated evangelical developments in Europe in the 1960s and subsequently. Group belief in fresh operations of the Holy Spirit in human experience, David Bebbington argues, anticipated the influential charismatic renewal movement of the 1960s.⁶⁸ The Swiss theologian Emil Brunner frequently spoke of his debt to the Group and suggested that it offered a form of 'renewal ... by the power of the Holy Spirit'.⁶⁹ The British Methodist leader, W. E. Sangster, agreed, and took strong objection to Karl Barth's assertion that the Group was destructive of mystery and spirituality.⁷⁰ As with the later charismatic movement, the Group offered a stimulus to existing, rather lack-lustre expressions of religion. Indeed there was some continuity of personnel between the Group and charismatic renewal. Bebbington notes the example of Cuthbert Bardsley, later the bishop of Coventry.⁷¹ George West, Bishop of Rangoon, who was drawn into the Group in 1935, also became an ardent charismatic in the 1970s.⁷² John Tyndale-Biscoe, West's chaplain, was one of a circle of early Groupers who subsequently embraced charismatic spirituality, and for him the Group exhibited 'an enthusiasm, expectancy and unity which we find in the Charismatic Renewal'.⁷³ The Group's strategy was to promote renewal that promoted mission.

Like many of the leaders of spiritual renewal from the 1960s, the Group's leaders wanted to work within existing denominations. Lord Salisbury, Leader of the House of Lords and a senior Conservative, was a Group sympathiser, and encouraged Cosmo Lang, Archbishop of Canterbury, to favour the Group.⁷⁴ On 7 October 1933 a congregation of over 6,000 filled St Paul's Cathedral for a service in which the bishop of London, A. F. Winnington-Ingram, used a specially constructed liturgy to authorise 500 life-changers for mission in London.⁷⁵ Four German Church leaders attended this ceremony and one of them brought back the Nazi Bishop Hossenfelder to London to meet Buchman and to seek to improve the image of the German Church. Hossenfelder reported back that he did not understand 'all they kept saying about change'.⁷⁶ Norway and Finland, through Lutheran Church leaders, experienced the impact of the Group on national life in the mid-1930s. In Oslo the notable Lutheran scholar Sigmund Mowinckel gave support to the Group. Up to 14,000 people attended Group meetings in this period, and communicants in the Oslo diocese grew by nearly a quarter over the following two years.⁷⁷ The Group enjoyed widespread acceptance in part because it worked with clerical leaders and did not seek to create separatist churches.

In many situations, however, the Group was prepared to take advantage of extra-ecclesiastical networks and it was also committed to the mobilisation of lay people. These were also emphases that would characterise many more churches in Europe in subsequent decades. The Group's campaign in Denmark in 1935, when team members who had been part of a house-party of 10,000 people in Oxford moved on to Copenhagen, relied heavily on international, non-denominational contacts. These were often made through the YMCA and also through the Keswick Convention, which had links with holiness conventions throughout Europe. For a week the biggest hall in Copenhagen was filled every night. At an

all-Scandinavian demonstration in Hamlet's Castle at Elinsore 10,000 people crowded into the castle courtyard. The chief editor of *Dagens Nyheter* spoke of how all ages and classes were represented.⁷⁸ An important factor in the Group's advance was its ability to foster lay leadership. In Norway the two most outstanding Group leaders were probably Ronald Fangen, President of the Norwegian Authors' Association, and Fredrik Ramm. In Denmark, in 1935, a well-known High Court Advocate, Valdemar Hvidt, was convinced by the message of the Group and threw his energies into its activities. Out of the team of 210 which formed the core of the group in Denmark, only seven or eight were clergy. Buchman encouraged them to see Jesus Christ as the answer to human need and to look for 'a mighty awakening of the living Spirit of God'.⁷⁹ Lay women and men were given the freedom by the Group to explore new ways of spreading this message across Europe.

Although the Group seemed to offer freedom to individuals, some observers nevertheless detected an underlying authoritarianism in its operations. It became the practice that each person who joined the Group became subject to a system of detailed checking of guidance by someone in the Group's chain of leadership.⁸⁰ By 1936 Buchman's view, which reflected ideas of discipline becoming popular in Europe, was that no-one could be 'wholly God-controlled who works alone'.⁸¹ A magazine entitled *Groups*, launched in 1933 by a British Methodist minister, Frank Raynor, voiced anxieties about the system of checking, however, suggesting that personal guidance should be assessed by experienced clergy rather than by an 'inner group' operating, as he put it, in Episcopal fashion, from Brown's Hotel in London, where Buchman often stayed.⁸² Raynor was determined to oppose tyranny and compulsion, having himself once been told by the inner Group: 'You have not checked your guidance with us.'⁸³ God-control was through guidance checked by the Group. This was a symptom of the

authoritarianism of the time and also foreshadowed some of the authoritarian charismatic groups that would emerge, for example within British evangelicalism.

Styles of worship within the Group were also designed to convey more modern ideas. Complaints in the 1930s of lack of hymn-singing at Group meetings indicate that the Group was not convinced that existing hymnody was culturally relevant.⁸⁴ Neither was the spirituality of the Group sacramental in the traditional churchly sense. Swedish observers spoke of the experience of fellowship itself being the sacrament of the Group.⁸⁵ At large Group events in Scandinavia traditional hymns such as 'A Mighty Fortress is our God', might be used, but attention was paid to less familiar features such as visual displays and the vibrant accompaniment of bugles and drums.⁸⁶ From 1935, Group members began to compose their own songs, the first – which was written in Denmark in 1935 – being the rhythmic 'Bridgebuilders', composed by George Fraser, a former church organist in Edinburgh. Fraser went on to write over 1,000 songs. A Group-produced record, 'The Drums of Peace', which had sophisticated orchestration, sold 75,000 copies.⁸⁷ At a significant house-party at Visby, on the island of Gotland in Sweden, in 1938, when Buchman spoke on progressing through 'Revival' to 'Revolution' and 'Renaissance', a special collection of songs was published. Some of these songs emphasised the creation of a new Nordic spirit which could help to solve world problems.⁸⁸ New hymnody was to become increasingly popular in many churches from the 1960s, to a large extent through the charismatic movement.

The Visby house-party was important because Buchman was to insist more and more that revival was not enough. During the Danish campaign in 1935 Buchman clashed with those who he saw as promoting 'over-personal, revivalist-type Christianity' and he was especially annoyed that some local groups organised a prayer meeting to which they invited the press. By the later 1930s he was seeing

traditional revivalism as a kind of 'spiritual deformity'.⁸⁹ In some areas of Europe the Group did continue to provide inspiration for local revivals. The renewal in Howard Rose's parish in Penge, London, for example, attracted attention in Sweden. One Swede, Erik Palin, visited Penge in 1934 and took back to Sweden a vision of local parish revivalism. Sweden was to experience the impact of the Group much more through these kinds of personal contacts and also through literature than through large Group rallies of the kind found elsewhere in Europe. Buchman's call at Visby in 1938, however, was of a different order. He challenged people from various countries meeting in the cathedral of this old Hanseatic city to look forward, to 'build a Christian philosophy that will move Europe' and to discover the experience of the cross. With this experience, he asserted, 'you would not shrink from anything'.⁹⁰

Conclusion

This study has sought to examine a remarkable movement which emphasised the possibility of life-changing experience. The first phase of the Oxford Group, beginning in the 1920s, owed a great deal to aspects of the evangelical tradition in America and Britain. Buchman was, however, dissatisfied with the status quo, and his concern was to promote a message which would attract people for whom the traditional evangelical approach was irrelevant. The Group's informal and undoctrinal meetings, house-parties and larger events, centred initially on Oxford, were part of a strategy designed to adapt evangelical mission to modernity, in particular to cultural trends in Europe in the 1930s. Spiritual experience involved life-changing, forging deeper relationships, sharing and guidance. The lack of a theological framework was a serious weakness, but some European church leaders saw in the Group a contemporary, non-clerical form of Christianity that could bring together those from different traditions. New evangelical initiatives were being taken. The Group sought to be

relevant to the social and political environment. Although Buchman became wary about ideas of revival, the Group presaged later movements of renewal. Buchman's ideas were always changing, and the Group's mission emphases, so clearly evident in the inter-war period, gave way to a wider moral campaign. But the spiritual changes that had been felt in the 1930s continued to have an effect. Fredrik Ramm, who had seen his life dramatically altered through contact with the Group (and who was referred to by Norway's foreign minister as 'one of Norway's greatest heroes'), as he was dying in a Gestapo prison during the Second World War said: 'All I learned in the Oxford Group remains true. I would rather be in prison with God than outside without Him'.⁹¹

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EuroJTh (2000) 9:2, 187–192

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Theologie der lukanischen Schriften **Petr Pokorný**

FRLANT 174. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1997, 225 pp., DM 48, ISBN 3-525-53861-8 (paper), 3-525-53857-X (cloth)

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Pokorný präsentiert nach Hans Conzelmann (1954) die zweite große deutschsprachige Arbeit zur Theologie des Lukasevangeliums und der Apostelgeschichte und wagt dabei zugleich eine Gesamtinterpretation. In vier Abschnitten behandelt er die großen Themen lukanischer Theologie: Ekklesiologie, Eschatologie, Soteriologie/Christologie und Anthropologie. Pokorný erweist Lukas als Theologen eigener Prägung, als einen 'viel tieferen Denker, als man bisher meistens gedacht hat' (S. 59), der einen 'kongruenten theologischen Gesamtplan' (S. 186) verrät. Die überzeugende Interpretation und Betonung gerade der Soteriologie als Zentrum lukanischen Denkens ist besonders beachtenswert: 'Lukas hat ... das Leben Jesu als ganzes soteriologisch gedeutet, und zwar auf eine neue Weise, die auch Nicht-Juden besser verständlich war: Jesus ist der messianische Prophet und der Diener Gottes ... sein Repräsentant unter den Menschen, der die Verlorenen sucht und rettet' (S. 140). An diesem Band wird weitere Forschung zur lukanischen Theologie sowohl zur Orientierung als auch zur Anregung nicht vorbeikommen. Vgl. meine kürzere, deutschsprachige Rezension in *Novum Testamentum* (im Druck).

RÉSUMÉ

Voici l'ouvrage de langue allemande sur la théologie de Luc-Actes qui est le second en importance après celui de Conzelmann (1954), et dans lequel l'auteur s'essaie à une interprétation unifiée. Il aborde quatre thèmes majeurs de la théologie lukanienne: l'ecclésiologie, l'eschatologie, la soteriologie/christologie, et l'anthropologie. Pokorný montre que la théologie lukanienne est d'une facture qui lui est propre et d'une profondeur qui ne lui a pas été reconnue jusque-là (p. 59), et que l'œuvre de Luc révèle tout du long un projet théologique concret (p. 186). L'inter-

prétation convaincante de la soteriologie de Luc et l'accent sur son rôle central dans la pensée du compagnon de Paul méritent une mention particulière: Luc a interprété la vie de Jésus comme ayant tout entière une portée soteriologique, et cela d'une manière nouvelle pour qu'elle soit plus compréhensible par les non Juifs; il dépeint Jésus comme le prophète messianique et le Serviteur du Seigneur, ...le représentant de Dieu parmi les humains, qui cherche et sauve les perdus (p. 140). La recherche sur la théologie de Luc ne pourra désormais pas ignorer cet ouvrage: il déterminera son orientation, ou apportera un stimulant pour aborder de nouvelles pistes.

After the older studies of H. Conzelmann, *Die Mitte der Zeit*, 5 ed., BHTh 17 (Tübingen, 1964; 1954¹) and J.C. O'Neill, *The Theology of Acts in Its Historical Setting*, 2 ed. (London, 1970; 1961¹), the more recent introductions to the theology of the book of Acts by H.C. Kee, *Good News to the Ends of the Earth* (London, 1990) and J. Jervell, *The Theology of the Acts of the Apostles*, NTTh (Cambridge, 1996; cf. the summary in Jervell's new KEK volume on Acts, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, 17 ed., Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998, pp. 90–105) and the volume on some aspects of Lukan theology by J.A. Fitzmyer, *Luke the Theologian* (New York, Mahwah, 1989), with this book by Petr Pokorný there is again a German-language study of Lukan theology. It covers the theology both of Luke's Gospel and the book of Acts and endeavours to present not individual aspects of Lukan theology but an over-all interpretation of the theology of Luke-Acts. In view of the vast amount of available investigations and their often widely diverging results, there is no doubt that this undertaking by the Professor of New Testament of the Protestant Theological Faculty of the Charles University of Prague is a bold venture and an achievement at the same time, since E. Schweizer once wrote: 'Today the writing of a real theology of Luke is a task which still exceeds the strength of all of us' (*ThRv* 79, 1976, 373).

Following a brief survey of questions of introduction, some considerations on the relationship between witness and theology and the significance of Luke the theologian, in which he mostly agrees with the historical-critical consensus (pp. 11–37), Pokorný examines in four

large sections Lukan *ecclesiology*, *eschatology*, *soteriology-Christology* and *ethics*. Under the heading 'The people of God in Luke-Acts' (pp. 38–85, *ecclesiology*) Pokorny sets out with the problem of Israel and the church, Jesus as the Messiah of Israel, 'The church, the kingdom of God and the hope of Israel' ('The church is a new eschatological creation, different from Israel. She stands at the end of Israel's way and means at the same time its suspension'; 'Aufhebung'; cf. the definition on p. 48) and

The church as a mediator between Israel and humanity'. Next comes Pokorny's exegesis of Luke 2:22–40 with considerations of the significance of the time of Israel in view of the coming of Jesus: 'All, who are like Simeon and Hannah, embody those who wait for the "redemption of Israel"'. As such they are dismissed solemnly and in peace at the arrival of the Messiah. The saying of this dismissal applies also to Israel as the people of God (Luke 16:16). It does not relate to the salvation [Heil] of Israel but to her role in the plans of God. (p. 57)

Can this conclusion be maintained, e.g. in view of Acts 15:13–17? On these suggestions readers should compare the conclusions of J. Jervell in the above mentioned *Theology* (pp. 18–54) and in the commentary (cf. my forthcoming review in *JBL*). They assess the continuous significance of Israel and the church's relation to Israel differently.

Pokorny continues with some preliminary exegetical notes on Luke 15:11–32 (cf. the detailed analysis on pp. 155–76) and argues that the parable is also expressive of Luke's view of the relationship of the church and Israel. The parable is (like all of Luke-Acts) an open ended story, the openness of which demonstrates the intention of the father: The Jews as the older brother always remain children of the heavenly father. His house and his inheritance belong fully to them: 'all that is mine, is yours' (Luke 15:31). It is also 'an effort to shape Christian consciousness in the sense of humility towards the Jews as the older brother' (p. 59). This is followed by an examination of 'The church and the Jewish Bible'. The Scriptures connect the church with Israel. 'According to Luke the history of Jesus is incomprehensible apart from the Scriptures and without the history of Jesus the Scriptures would not be fulfilled', pp. 38f).

Then Pokorny examines the universal commission of the church under the heading 'Overcoming ignorance' (pp. 62f). The point of departure is the history of Israel. 'The history of

the people to whom God revealed himself ... testifies that ignorance can be overcome not through knowledge or understanding ... but through God's forgiveness and repentance – returning to God' (pp. 62f). The most profound rationale of Luke's argument is not to relativise sin through its interpretation as ignorance, but to unmask the ignorance of people who do not follow the will of God as sin, in which they are set against themselves and which is to be compensated for not through knowledge or understanding but through repentance, turning and God's forgiveness (pp. 67f). The Christian proclamation is to lead people to repentance; this is defined as 'returning from their alienation from God' (p. 69). These observations are welcome in view of some suggestions for Lukan anthropology according to which for Luke people do not need salvation but rather correction (e.g. J.-W. Taeger); cf. the extended discussion in my *Luke's Portrait of Gentiles Prior to Their Coming to Faith* (WUNT II 108; Tübingen: Mohr/Siebeck, 1999). However, Pokorny's definition of the nature of this ignorance presents a limited picture: 'Luke rather emphasises the fact that most people do not know the best values of humanity and veil the God-given harmony of the world through their ignorance' (p. 66). Luke's references to open and deliberate human rebellion against God (e.g. Acts 4:25f) and wilful rejection of revelation also need to be taken into account (cf. my 'Die Bedeutung der Propheten und des Prophetenwortes der Vergangenheit für das lukanische Menschenbild', *JETH* 10, 1996, 123–48). As Luke's main theme is salvation, it is not surprising that Luke's view of humanity, its state before God and the nature of sin is not in the foreground of his narratives. However, more than what Pokorny says can be said to illumine the dark background against which God's saving intervention in Jesus Christ is to be understood.

Next the author turns to the church and humanity (the church as the centre of a new humanity), the testimony and the realisation of salvation and 'Baptism and the holy Spirit' (Lukan pneumatology, pp. 71–75). On this section one may compare the major recent studies of Lukan pneumatology: J.M. Penny, *The Missionary Emphasis of Lukan Pneumatology*, Journal of Pentecostal Theology Supplement Series 12 (Sheffield: SAP, 1997); M. Turner, *Power From on High: The Spirit in Israel's Restoration and Witness in Luke-Acts*, Journal of Pentecostal Theology Supplement Series 9 (Sheffield: SAP, 1996); M. Wenk, *The Holy Spirit and the Ethical/Religious Life of the People of God in Luke-Acts*

(Diss. London [LBC], 1998) and C. Keener, *The Spirit in the Gospels and Acts* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1997). Further topics of this section are the nature of the witnesses (pp. 75–78), the Lord's supper (celebrated as an act of remembrance, as an anticipation of eschatological salvation, as a 'remembrance of the future', p. 78), exegesis of Luke 24:13–35 ('a masterly interpretation of the Easter proclamation', pp. 79–83) and observations on Acts 27 (claiming: 'the journey itself becomes a picture of the way of the individual Christian and of the church', p. 84).

The second section, devoted to *eschatology*, which was at one point the storm-centre of discussion of Lukan theology, examines 'Salvation and the time' (pp. 86–109). Under the heading 'The word of God and history' Pokorny discusses Conzelmann's concept of Lukan theology. While noting that Conzelmann's concept was widely criticised, Pokorny claims that some of his redaction-critical observations are irreversible and assents: 'Conzelmann characterised Luke's theological achievement as a redaction of older material based on a new comprehension and assessment of time' (p. 87). Detailed interaction with the critics of Conzelmann's suggestions is lacking (cf. e.g. W. W. Gasque, 'A Fruitful Field: Recent Study of the Acts of the Apostles', *Interpretation* 42, 1988, 117–31). Next Pokorny turns to the providence of God (pp. 91–93, an area about which more could be said; cf. J. Squires in Marshall/Peterson, see below, pp. 19–39!) and skilfully defends the endeavour of Luke's historiography against some of Luke's older critics:

Luke the theologian cannot be separated from Luke the historian *sui generis*. Because for a long time scholars have not recognised the nature of Luke's work as witness or have not analysed the implications of the concept of witness, they charged Luke with the objectivising of the kerygma, and Luke's historical interest has been called an *opus alienum* and a false support of the faith. (p. 89)

The purpose of Luke's history is to demonstrate the binding nature of the 'Mitte der Zeit' in all regards.

Further subjects are what Pokorny calls 'Verdoppelte Eschatologie' (doubled eschatology), that is the tension between the fulfilled and still unfulfilled Christian expectation of the future (in contrast to Judaism) and its Lukan solution (namely the 'Christologising' of eschatology', pp. 97–101), 'The role of the church in the history of salvation', the personal hope of

Christians at death, the meaning of Luke's expression 'to the ends of the earth' in Acts 1:8 (cf. J.M. Scott, 'Luke's Geographical Horizon', *AICS II*, 483–544) and a section on 'Salvation and the world', which focuses on the wide implications of salvation. For Luke, the kingdom of God is more than the church, it is the restoration of the universe (Acts 3:21) and the realisation of the longing for the true God (Acts 17:22bff), a longing suppressed by sin and degenerated into curiosity (p. 109). The understanding of Acts 17:22 as indicating the Gentiles' longing for the true God and several other references to the Areopagus speech are dependent on the 'interpretive tradition' of M. Dibelius. Others, e.g. B. Gärtner, C. Hemer and H. Külling, rightly saw in these verses an indication of the Gentiles' superstition and spiritual blindness. Their observations should be compared before far-reaching conclusions are drawn. At other junctures Pokorny interacts critically with this German tradition of interpreting the speech.

The third and, rightly so, longest section is devoted to *Christology* and *soteriology* (pp. 110–76). Consideration of Luke's christological titles from the perspective of 'Luke between tradition and new interpretation' and a survey of Luke's emphasis on Jesus the saviour and salvation (pp. 118–20) is followed by treatment of Luke's notions of sin and repentance, which form the backdrop to salvation. The sinner is dependent upon divine forgiveness to alter his state. Sin consists of tragic ignorance and alienation ('Entfremdung'). Pokorny notes the difference regarding this point between Paul and Luke. However, the impression that Luke wants to excuse man through his understanding of sin is not true to fact. Sin has fatal consequences and leads to death. From death and meaninglessness the whole life of Jesus, including his death, is the only salvation. For Luke, the death of Jesus is the event which demonstrates the depth of human alienation from God (Luke 23:4f; Acts 13:27f). Ignorance is combined with real perversity ('Verkehrtheit'). The nature and extent of this alienation becomes also evident from the fact that it cannot be repaired through understanding and knowledge but through repentance and turning. The metaphor of turning from darkness to light and from the power of Satan to God emphasises the range of such turning. Acts 15 illustrates Luke's understanding of the priority of the grace and compassion of God (prior to and more important than human repentance) in the salvation of sinners (pp. 123–25). This view

of sin Pokorny finds illustrated in an exemplary fashion in Luke 18:9–14:

The contrast between the piety of the Law [of the Pharisee] ... as alienation and the awareness of total dependence on the grace of God [displayed by the publican] as a way of passing through God's judgement and to new life, embodies the essence of the notion of sin. This is typical for Luke, proves him a truly significant Early Christian theologian and distinguishes him from the theology of Hellenistic Judaism. The question is not mere purification of man, as J.W. Taeger has summarised Lukan soteriology, but true redemption and salvation. If it is still to be called purification, it is a purification so deep and thorough-going that it is salvation and deliverance in its full sense. (p. 127)

Pokorny's conclusions are a much needed correction to the often repeated claim of a merely ethical-moral Lukan understanding of sin, which was first suggested by Conzelmann, whose assessment of this (and other aspects!) of Lukan theology was far too much influenced by a one-sided comparison with Paul, and the Paul of a certain understanding (cf. my detailed presentation and criticism in *Luke's Portrait*). Pokorny's analysis fits far better with the solution provided for sinners in and through God's saving intervention.

The following examination of God's salvation in Luke-Acts, the main theme of Luke's writings (cf. I.H. Marshall, *Luke: Historian and Theologian*, 3 ed.; Exeter: Paternoster, 1988; 1970¹, pp. 77–215), is the acme of Pokorny's study. He begins with 'God as father of all people', including evaluation of the Areopagus speech (Acts 17:22–31; pp. 128–36). In view of the setting and over-all content of the speech, other references (e.g. Acts 4:24f) and God's special relationship with Israel displayed throughout Luke-Acts (and rightly emphasised by Jervell, see above), God as the *creator* of all people would probably be more Lukan than 'father'. Acts 17:27 expresses the openness of human existence, which, however, remains unfulfilled due to sin, so that man is dependent on God's initiative in seeking him out. Despite all their relationship with God, humans are called into the judgement of God, where Jesus is the key figure. The speech corrects pagan notions:

The father of all people and the unconscious origin and direction of their restlessness and searching is therefore not

Zeus or fate, but the God who raised Jesus Christ from the dead. The God who will judge the world through Jesus is near to humans. He is not separated from their lives by a holy domain, through ethnic or geographical boundaries, he is not far from each one of us (17:27). (p. 135)

Jesus is the saviour because in his whole history and in his coming he represents God's visitation, that is God the father and creator of all people. Wherever Jesus is proclaimed, God is not far.

Next Pokorny defines the work of Jesus with reference to Luke 19:10 as 'The Saviour who seeks the lost'. Luke describes Jesus as a powerful proclaimer of God's salvation, as the one who represents the salvation of God in all of his life and who is the judge of the world in the name of God (p. 131). Through his proclamation and the realisation ('Vergegenwärtigung') of the kingdom of God Jesus brought salvation also to the sinners and made their repentance and turning possible. According to Pokorny, as has often been claimed, the salvific significance of the death of Jesus is diminished in Luke (p. 131). However, this is by no means a deficit:

While Paul began with and tied his theology to the formulas of the substitutionary death of Jesus, Luke interpreted *the life of Jesus as a whole soteriologically*. He did so in a new way which was also easier to understand for non-Jews: Jesus is the Messianic prophet and servant of God ... God's representative among people, who seeks and saves those who are lost. (p. 140)

For this new interpretation by Luke, Pokorny can adduce persuasive reasons. The presentation of 'the saving significance of the history ("Geschichte") of Jesus' follows this insight. Pokorny identifies the following tendencies in Luke's soteriology: 1. Emphasis on the initiative of God as the compassionate Father. The stress moves from the substitutionary sacrifice of the Son to the forgiveness of the Father: 'Luke expresses the saving significance of Jesus not only through the central role which he plays, but also by moving the stress from the 'substitution-Christology' in favour of an impressive portrait of God as the compassionate and gracious Lord' (p. 142). 2. The saving significance of the death of Jesus is extended to his whole life. His whole life is the visitation of God, the aim of which is the salvation of the people alienated from God. 3. Another characteristic of Lukan soteriology is general, comprehensive expressions for this salvation,

which also replace the traditional expressions for substitution (p. 146f). These three tendencies derive from the transition of the Christian movement into the Gentile world, where the Jewish belief in God and Messianic concepts were unknown and where sacrifice had a different meaning. In this situation Luke set out to present the history of Jesus as the visitation of God (cf. Luke 1:68,78; 19:44; Acts 15:14).

Pokorny discusses the passion of Jesus in this light ('If therefore the death of Jesus as such has only indirect saving significance, this still does not mean that a soteriology tied to Jesus cannot be found in Luke's writings', p. 151). The passion narrative as a whole shows Jesus' solidarity with sinners which reaches even into death; it is a profound consequence of Jesus' ministry of seeking and saving and proof that God's visitation in this world is an expression of God's grace' (p. 144). While for Mark and Paul the life of Jesus is a pre-history to his death which procures salvation, for Luke *the death of Jesus is the solemn and corroborating conclusion to his life which procures salvation as a whole* (p. 149). Yet, this is not a *theologia gloriae*: the suffering of Jesus is not eliminated, it is not concentrated in his death: because his whole life is the salvation of the lost, his suffering in this ministry extends over his whole life and begins with his birth on the margin of society. Easter was the vindication of Jesus and the ratification of this proclamation of the kingdom. For Luke, *redemption is to be understood mainly as the revelation of the grace of God through Jesus Christ*. These considerations are followed by Pokorny's, by and large, convincing effort to find through detailed exegesis Luke's soteriology, even his whole theological intention, gathered like rays of light in a lens, in the parable of the prodigal son (Luke 15:11-32; pp. 155-76).

The last section, 'Man as an active agent' (pp. 177-95) examines Luke's *ethics*. Pokorny sets out by showing that for Luke the world has to be changed and corrected through word and service ('Service and the salvation of the lost ... was the behaviour of the Lord of the church, it is also the foundation of Christian ethical orientation', p. 181) and how this was possible within the structures of the Roman empire. Luke works with the model of eschatological equalisation (Luke 1:53; 6:20b,24a; 13:30; etc.). The settlement of the differences between poor and rich, the powerful and the weak is the determining factor in the theory and practice of Lukan ethics. Social contradictions and conflicts will not pass the judgement of God. The kingdom of God entails their

removal. This becomes evident in Luke's portrait of the community of goods of the early Christian community of Jerusalem (cf. the different studies of B. Capper, e.g. *AICS IV*, pp. 323-56 and in Marshall/Peterson, see below, pp. 499-518). With this portrait Luke shapes a model 'of social relationships, whose imitation and propagation belongs for Luke to the authentic Christian witness' (p. 184). Here the 'ideal human response to God's visitation in Jesus Christ is to be found' (p. 190). It is questionable to me that Luke's note of the 'level place' as the location of the Sermon on the Plain (Luke 6:17) points to this 'levelling' equalisation and compensation. Bibliography and index of references conclude this well-produced volume (pp. 196-225).

Through well-done comparisons with Paul and Mark (presupposed as a Lukan source) Pokorny proves Luke to be a theologian of a high rank and with a distinctive character of his own. Luke is a 'much deeper thinker, than he has hitherto been mostly considered' (p. 59), and a theologian who betrays a 'congruent and unified theological concept' (p. 186). Repeatedly Pokorny also interacts with the modern charges of anti-Judaism levelled against Luke and shows persuasively that the respective passages are to be understood differently.

Throughout this volume Pokorny engages with an impressive cross-section of the veritable flood of studies of Lukan theology of the last few decades. In view of this vast amount nobody should denounce omissions. Two further references should suffice. Pokorny's interaction with the monographs of H.D. Buckwalter, *The Character and Purpose of Luke's Christology* (MSSNTS 89; Cambridge, 1995; cf. my review in *EQ* 70, 1998, 268-70) and P. Doble, *The Paradox of Salvation: Luke's Theology of the Cross* (MSSNTS 87; Cambridge, 1994) would have been interesting, especially since Doble appraises the significance of the *death* of Jesus much higher than Pokorny (and the scholarly consensus). Pokorny and Doble each emphasise different aspects of the salvific role of the *life* of Jesus. Both Pokorny's welcome stress on the whole life of Jesus as a visitation of God the Saviour and Doble's fresh and by and large convincing appraisal of the saving significance of the death of Jesus need to be taken into account in further discussion of Lukan Christology and soteriology.

Does Pokorny's volume constitute E. Schweizer's 'real theology of Luke' (see above)? Or does it rather or perhaps still belong to 'the preliminary studies which

supplement each other and need complement ... on the way to a new, complete picture of Lukan theology' (W. Wiefel, *ThLZ* 114, 1989, 273)? The answer to these questions depends on how compelling one considers Pokorny's analysis and on how one assesses themes of Lukan theology which Pokorny treats less extensively, e.g. pneumatology, the providence and plan of God, appropriation of salvation. However, perhaps with the exception of pneumatology, Pokorny's valuation and emphasis correspond to that of Luke and his intentions. Pokorny's emphasis on and interpretation of soteriology (with the above proviso) as the centre of Lukan theology (so already, I.H. Marshall, see above) and the amalgamation of soteriology with other theological themes earn undiminished recognition. Further research on Lukan theology and on New Testament theology cannot afford to miss this volume for orientation and also for stimulation.

On the themes of Lukan theology treated by Pokorny and other themes one will compare with great gain the contributions (from an evangelical perspective) of the recent collection of essays *Witness to the Gospel: The Theology of Acts*, ed. I.H. Marshall, D. Peterson (Grand Rapids, Cambridge, U.K.: Eerdmans, 1998); for methodological considerations compare mainly Marshall's introductory essay 'How does one write on the Theology of Acts', pp. 3-16.

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spät datierten synoptischen Evangelien. Berger sieht eine 'ökumenische Komplementarität' anstelle von literarischer Abhängigkeit. Leider ist das Buch hastig und teilweise auch polemisch geschrieben (weniger wäre mehr!) und verliert dadurch an Überzeugungskraft. Insgesamt eine interessante Ergänzung zu J.A.T. Robinson (Johannes - Das Evangelium der Ursprünge: Aktualisierte Ausgabe herausgegeben von H.-J. Schulz, TVG Bibelwissenschaftliche Monographien 4; Wuppertal: R. Brockhaus, 1999), aber gewiß kein Ersatz! Vgl. die Besprechung von A. Baum in Bibel und Gemeinde 98, 1998, 315-317.

RÉSUMÉ

Berger défend une datation haute pour l'Évangile de Jean, dans les années 67 à 70. Il apporte de nombreuses perspectives sur les questions d'introduction, parmi lesquelles certaines sont nouvelles, d'autres curieuses (p. ex. André est considéré comme le « disciple que Jésus aimait »). Il étudie aussi divers thèmes théologiques, toujours en défendant l'ancienneté de la tradition johannique et son indépendance par rapport aux évangiles synoptiques, auxquels il attribue généralement une date tardive. Berger affirme une complémentarité œcuménique entre le quatrième évangile et les synoptiques, plutôt qu'une dépendance littéraire. Malheureusement, le livre a été écrit à la hâte, et en partie de façon polémique: il en perd en force de persuasion. Il vient comme un complément utile à l'ouvrage de J.A.T. Robinson (John), sans le remplacer.

In his *Einleitung in das Neue Testament* W.G. Kümmel writes on the date of John's Gospel: 'Die Annahme ist darum heute fast Allgemeingut, daß das Johannesevangelium etwa im letzten Jahrzehnt des 1. Jahrhunderts geschrieben worden ist' (21 ed.; Berlin: EVA, 1989, p. 211). Rare for issues of dating, this *Allgemeingut* is shared by conservative and liberal scholars alike, as J.A.T. Robinson observed in his magisterial study *Wann entstand das Neue Testament?* (Wuppertal: R. Brockhaus; Paderborn: Bonifatius, 1986, 265):

daß die Gelehrten ...hinsichtlich der Datierung der johanneischen Literatur zu einer bemerkenswerten Übereinstimmung gelangen, die fast jede sonstige Verschiedenheit übersteigt. Diejenigen, die der Überzeugung sind, daß alle fünf Bücher - Offenbarung, Evangelium und die drei Briefe von einem einzigen Verfasser stammen - und dieser Mann ist

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Im Anfang war Johannes: Datierung und Theologie des vierten Evangeliums

Klaus Berger

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ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Im vorliegenden Band datiert Berger das Johannesevangelium in die Jahre 67-70 n. Chr. Neben vielen, teils sowohl neuen wie auch kursorischen Perspektiven zu den Einleitungsfragen (z.B. Andreas als der Lieblingsjünger), untersucht Berger verschiedene theologische Themen des JohEv und vertritt durchweg ein hohes Alter der johanneischen Traditionen und die Unabhängigkeit von den in der Regel

der Apostel Johannes -, und diejenigen, die die Behauptung aufstellen, daß keine einzige Schrift von ihm stamme, oder die sich an jede nur mögliche Verschiedenheit klammern, finden alle zusammen Gründe, um die Offenbarung, das Evangelium und die Briefe in die Jahre $\pm$ 90-100 zu setzen.

What then are the reasons for this remarkable consensus? Let us again turn to a standard New Testament introduction, this time U. Schnelle's *Einleitung in das Neue Testament* (UTB: Theologie 1830; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994, 537):

Die andere Art der Darstellung, die eigenständige Theologie, die zahlreichen Sonderüberlieferungen und die explizit an der nachösterlichen Perspektive orientierte Denkwelt lassen darauf schließen, daß nicht ein Augenzeuge des Lebens Jesu das 4. Evangelium verfaßte. Es war ein Theologe der *späteren* Zeit, der auf der Basis umfangreicher Traditionen das Leben Jesu in besonderer Weise bedachte, interpretierte und darstellte.

In addition, John's Gospel is often considered to be the result of a reading process by its author of other New Testament books, such as the Synoptic Gospels and – certainly to a lesser degree – of Paul (cf. the surveys in Schnelle, *Einleitung*, 563–70; Kümmel, *Einleitung*, 166–70 and D.A. Carson, D.J. Moo, L. Morris, *An Introduction to the New Testament*; Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1992, 160–66). Due to its late date (required by the author's supposed knowledge of the Synoptic tradition, if not the Gospels) and its developed theological/christological perspective (often assumed to have been influenced by some form of Gnosticism; cf. G.E. Ladd, *A Theology of the New Testament*; rev. ed.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993, 273–89), John's Gospel was often regarded with suspicion and considered historically less reliable than the Synoptic Gospels, if not useless as a historical record of the life and teaching of Jesus (cf. the survey in D. Guthrie, *New Testament Introduction*, 3 ed.; London: Tyndale, 1970, 323–28).

Time and again, efforts have been made by liberal and conservative scholars alike to question this scholarly consensus and to 'rehabilitate' John's Gospel. Some sought to demonstrate and defend its historicity (cf. e.g. C.H. Dodd, *Historical Tradition in the Fourth Gospel*, Cambridge: CUP, 1963; cf. the works mentioned by Carson, Moo, Morris, 173, n. 97). Others have argued for an early date and/or apostolic origin (e.g. H.-J. Schulz, *Die*

apostolische Herkunft der Evangelien, 2 ed., QD 145; Freiburg, Basel, Wien: Herder, 1995, 291–391; cf. *NT* 38, 1996, 298f; Guthrie, *Introduction*, 241–71, 282–87; cf. the excellent survey in Robinson, *Wann entstand?*, 318f, n. 218). Among the more recent, most exhaustive and best known of these challenges is J.A.T. Robinson's *The Priority of John* (ed. J.F. Coakley; London: SCM, 1985). In addition to such challenges, the last two decades of research on John's Gospel have demonstrated that the sands are shifting in many ways. It became clear that a number of the charges and suspicions levelled against John's Gospel were based more on false assumptions and misunderstandings of the author's intention, genre and theology than upon careful scrutiny.

In the present volume, Dr Klaus Berger, Professor at the University of Heidelberg, a well known and prolific New Testament scholar, addresses a number of these issues. He argues that the Fourth Gospel was written towards the end of the sixties of the first century. John's Gospel contains not only some older material (which is usually conceded by the advocates of a late date), rather in its entirety it is to be dated early. Berger tackles the questions of date and theology of the Fourth Gospel in four parts.

In the *introductory part* (11–53) Berger presents a survey of research on the various arguments for a late date. Since the doubts raised by D.F. Strauss (1835) and F.C. Baur, scholarship has been accustomed to a late date (cf. W.G. Kümmel, *The New Testament: The History of the Investigation of Its Problems*, NTLI; London: SCM, 1973, 124–26 and Index, s.v. 'John, Gospel of' and S. Neill's well-known *The Interpretation of the New Testament*). Other students focused on the Gospel's 'high' Christology (cf. A.M. Hunter, *Interpreting the New Testament 1900–1950*, 2 ed.; London: SCM, 1958, 78–92). Brief surveys of the respective positions are followed by excellent discussion and – occasionally amusing – refutation. On the background of John's Gospel Berger writes: 'Das religionsgeschichtliche Milieu, dem es entstammt, ist nicht als "Gnosis" oder gar Mandäismus zu bestimmen, wie man es von F.C. Baur bis R. Bultmann annahm, sondern wird durch Qumranfunde und alexandrinische Philosophie (Philo) recht vollständig erhellt' (16). Repeatedly, Berger succeeds in showing that the arguments and evidence in favour of a late date have either been superseded or were based on convictions which required them ('Die aus dialektischer Notwendigkeit geborene These F.C. Baur's,

das JohEv habe alle anderen Evangelien zur Vorraussetzung, beherrscht auch heute noch einen guten Teil der Evangelienforschung', 17). For both reasons, these arguments should be re-examined.

Berger notes on allusions to the Synoptics and/or the OT:

Dies gilt dann als Beweis dafür, daß das JohEv nicht nur 'spät' datiert werden müsse, sondern überdies ein höchst artifizielles, ja surrealistisches Konglomerat von offenen oder verdeckten Anspielungen sei, die der Leser - bewaffnet mit elektronischer Konkordanz - erst richtig goutieren kann, wenn er Zug um Zug die geheimen Vernetzungen aufdeckt. Wahrhaft ein detektivisches Spielchen, das dem so mit Bildung ausgestatteten Leser immer wieder aufs neue seine Spürnase bestätigt (18).

This sweeping criticism is followed by a succinct methodological discussion.

Next, Berger discusses the question of the unity and genre of John's Gospel (21–29) and concludes from the character of the whole book: 'Zwölf Kapitel handeln von Jesu Wirken vor seinem Ende, neun Kapitel sind "Abschiedshandlungen". Das JohEv ist damit auf einzigartige Weise zu einer Hilfe in der Zeit von Jesu Abwesenheit geworden. Das kann nur auf eine Zeit weisen, in der dieses Problem virulent war, das heißt auf eine relativ frühe Zeit' (25).

Berger then turns to the meaning of the notion 'early date'. By examining the criteria applied for determining the age of traditions in John and the Synoptics, he raises methodological issues concerning authenticity. The Synoptics strive for authenticity through their reference to tradition, but John strives to reach the same goal through the notion of Jesus as a faithful ambassador and of the Paraclete as a faithful preserver. Berger describes the relationship between John and the Synoptics as one of 'ecumenical complementation' ('ökumenische Komplementarität'): though both are essentially different, each also contains and possesses specific elements of the other. The Synoptics exhibit typically Johannine elements, as also John exhibits typically Synoptic features. Common material is often interpreted differently in John and the Synoptics. Behind apparent differences, common features are discernible (37; cf. his discussion in part 4).

This part closes with a succinct discussion and critique of traditional and more recent cri-

teria for assessing the authenticity and trustworthiness of the words of Jesus (37–47), of trends in studying Christology and of the significance and misuse of Christology in assigning age to traditions. Berger offers a valuable assessment of the methodological sections of G. Theißen and A. Merz (*Der historische Jesus: Ein Lehrbuch*; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996), the latest German textbook. Throughout, this first part is helpful and could serve as an introduction to Johannine studies. For this reviewer's taste it could have been much longer!

The *second part* (55–127) addresses various questions of introduction. Initially, Berger argues that the author of John's Gospel was an Alexandrian by origin who made contact with Christianity in Palestine, perhaps in Damascus. There he met the early Paul. Perhaps he also had contact with Ephesus (54). The urban character of the Gospel, Jesus' self introductions with the 'I am' formula, the logos concept, the understanding of the cosmos, the Johannine dualism, the relationship to the *Corpus Hermeticum*, the derision of Carabas and other analogies to Philo's *In Flaccum*, the relationship to Apollos, Jesus' faithfulness to his divine mission (the notion of 'remaining in') and the Diaspora situation are taken to point to Alexandria. Not all of these old and new observations and arguments of this rather mixed bag will appeal equally. Noteworthy in the light of the recent debate is the link which Berger draws to Paul, a connection argued in more detail in part 4 (259–82).

The plurality of people whom this Gospel seeks to address is likewise a mixed bag (64–76): disciples of John the Baptist, Christian Pharisees (Nicodemus being the first – his address of Jesus as 'Rabbi' [John 3:2] is wrongly taken to be a Christian confession; cf. Acts 15:5, Lk 9:20 parr.), Christian Samaritans, Jewish Christians who follow Peter, Jewish Christians who are close to those who transmitted the infancy narratives of Matthew and Luke and who have a strong national-Jewish understanding of the Messiah and finally – an all too modern politically correct – Palestinian group, which took its orientation from the testimony of faith of the great Christian women of the early days (Mary and Martha, Mary Magdalene). Berger argues that the evangelist tries to integrate various groups through his Gospel. Otherwise, we have only rudimentary knowledge of these groups and only in John's Gospel do they become discernible as groups still to be integrated. The state in which the author found and described all these groups

corresponds to an early stage (none of them still existed by the later date proposed by other scholars) and excludes a late formation of the Gospel. On this suggestion of addressees, R.J. Bauckham's (ed.) challenging volume *The Gospels for all Christians: Rethinking the Gospel Audiences* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997) should be compared. The *opponents* are non-Christian Pharisees (76–78).

Berger takes up further criteria used in dating John. These include the Gospel's alleged *Anti-Judaism* (79–83). He persuasively refutes this notion and shows its origins in the uneasiness of liberal exegesis with certain absolute statements of Jesus, the authenticity of which can hardly be denied ('Mit "Antijudaismus" ist abgestempelt, was man selbst gerne los wäre: die Konfrontation mit dem Anspruch Jesu bzw. für Jesus, der Heiland zu sein'). Berger argues that the statements, often taken as indication of such a stance (e.g. John 8:37–47), point to an early stage, in which the separation between church and synagogue was caused by the latter. All of John's Gospel can be understood as a single endeavour to integrate those who have lost their spiritual home in this process. Only in the early years could the separation from Judaism have been so painfully perceived as it is reflected in John's Gospel.

Another criterion for dating is John's references to Jerusalem (84–90). Are there any clues as to whether the *destruction of Jerusalem and the Temple* has occurred at the time of writing? Are clear references to the destruction to be expected if it has occurred? Berger discusses John 2:19f; 4:20–23 and 11:48 and concludes that a pre-destruction date of composition is the best explanation for the fact that '... the temple and the city are mentioned time and again in John's Gospel without the slightest hint to their destruction' (84); cf. the similar conclusion of Robinson (*Wann entstand?*, 287–90) who adduces further proof from John 5:2 and the diverging interpretation of this evidence by Carson, Moo, Morris, 150f, 166–68.

Berger then turns to the *death of Peter and the fate of the beloved disciple* (John 21:18f,22). John is taken to presuppose the death of both disciples. Since Peter died between 64 and 67 AD, and since John does not presuppose the destruction of Jerusalem, the Gospel of John should be dated between 67 and 70 AD. Likewise, the lack of reference to church structure is better explained by an early date rather than with a situation of persecution and/or with the lack of contact with other early Christians.

In his thirteenth chapter Berger unveils the mystery of the identity of the so-called '*beloved disciple*' (96–106). He starts with a suggestion by H. Thyen ('Im Sinne des Verfassers dürfte dieser [sc. der Lieblingsjünger] der absichtsvoll anonym bleibende Jünger sein, der aufgrund des Täuferzeugnisses zuerst zu Jesus kam ... Damit erscheint er schon hier ebenso vor und neben Petrus wie ...'; 'Johannesevangelium', *TRE* 17, 211). Berger argues that Andrew, the disciple first called in John's Gospel (1:35–42), is called 'the disciple whom Jesus loved' in the later farewell discourse chapters (13:23–25) and beyond (18:15f?; 19:25–27; 20:2–8, 21:20). For this – to my knowledge – new proposal Berger adduces ten rather different reasons, for example: (1) Andrew as also the beloved disciple have the decisive Christological insight first and before Peter (1:41; 20:4f; 21:7). (2) There is a correspondence between the first and last chapter of the Gospel:

Nach Joh 1:35–39 läßt der Evangelist zwei namenlose Jünger am Anfang des Evangeliums stehen, entsprechend sind es in Joh 21.2 in der Liste zwei namenlose Jünger, die den Schluß der Liste bilden. In Joh 1 wird einer der beiden zunächst Namenlosen dann als Andreas identifiziert (1.40), in Joh 21 wird einer der beiden Namenlosen dann als Lieblingsjünger enttarnt (21.7). In Joh 1 gibt Andreas den entscheidenden Hinweis: Es ist der Messias, in Joh 21.7 sagt der Lieblingsjünger: Es ist der Herr. Die Erzählungen folgen im Aufbau derselben Struktur. Wieder entspricht Andreas dem Lieblingsjünger (97f).

The fourth reason is: 'Within the framework of Jewish and early Christian theology as the first called disciple Andrew is the best candidate for the predicate "whom the Lord loved". ... As the first called disciple Andrew is the "beloved disciple"' (99).

However, even a brief glance at John 1:35–42 reminds us that there were two first-called *disciples* (vs. 35,37, etc.), a fact which Berger notes but quickly brushes aside (98). In v. 40 one of the two disciples is identified as Andrew, the brother of Simon Peter. The other disciple is not identified. This is all the more noteworthy, as Andrew (V. 40), Simon Peter (V. 40f), Philippus (V. 43) and Nathanael (V. 45) are all introduced with their names. Thus what Berger argues for the relationship of Andrew, the first-called and beloved disciple in relationship to Peter (1) and regarding the naturally

superior position of the first-called disciple (4) would just as well apply to John, the traditional beloved disciple and *as much a first-called disciple* as Andrew! This applies also to Berger's tenth argument:

Dadurch, daß der Erstberufene und Intim-Zeuge Andreas Täuferenschüler war, wird erklärbar, warum die Überlieferungen zu Johannes dem Täufer im JohEv einen besonderen Stellenwert haben. In seiner Person stellt Andreas einen besonderen Brückenkopf zur täuferischen Tradition dar. (105)

Why is Andrew only identified as the beloved disciple more than half-way through the Gospel (cf. Kümmel, *Einleitung*, 202)? Again Berger: 'Er wird erst im Abschiedsteil des JohEv so genannt, weil Jesus erst hier systematisch an die Jünger das weitergibt, was er selbst empfangen hat: Liebe' (99). One may question Berger's notion of 'systematisch' and 'erst hier' and wonder – if this should be the explanation for the beginning of the references to the 'beloved disciple' – why the title is limited to one disciple. Would not this explanation require rather beloved disciples? Jesus' love is certainly not limited to one beloved disciple; cf. e.g. 13:34: καὶ ὁὖν; ἡγάπησα ὑμᾶς?; 15:9: ὑμᾶς? ἡγάπησα, 12: ἡγάπησα ὑμᾶς?! Thus while Berger rightly points to the role which Andrew plays in John's Gospel (Andrew brings Peter to Jesus, 1:40–42; draws Jesus' attention to the boy with five loaves and two fishes, 6:8f; and together with Philippus announces to the master the Greeks' desire to see Jesus, 12:21f), his identification of Andrew as the beloved disciple is dubious. The identification of John, the son of Zebedee, as the beloved disciple (and the author of John's Gospel) has more to commend it. The '... traditional view squares most easily with the evidence and offers least tortuous explanations of difficulties that all of the relevant hypotheses must face' (Carson, Moo, Morris, 150; cf. their detailed argument, 138–51 and Kümmel's discussion of the identity of the beloved disciple, 200–04). In addition to our brief observations, there is no external evidence whatsoever for this identification (cf. Carson, Moo, Morris, 139–43). While Andrew features in a number of early apocryphal works, nowhere, not even in the 'Acts of Andrew', is he credited with the writing of a Gospel (cf. C.M. Kerr, 'Andrew', *ISBE* I, 122f; J.M. Prieur, W. Schneemelcher, 'Andreasakten', *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen* II: *Apostolisches, Apokalypsen*

und Verwandtes, ed. W. Schneemelcher, 5 ed.; Tübingen: Mohr/Siebeck, 1989, 93–137). The curious reference to Andrew in the Muratorian Canon (101–03) clearly addresses questions of authorship, not of the identity of the beloved disciple. According to this source it was revealed to Andrew that John should write the Gospel in his own name and that all other apostles should check it! Two further chapters of the second part are devoted to the role of the inner circle of disciples (the trio from Bethsaida: Andrew, Peter, Philip) and the significance of the references to Simon Peter ('Das JohEv hat eine Reihe altentümlicher Züge über Petrus bewahrt, die jedenfalls nicht durch Rückbildung der Ansagen anderer Evangelien zu erklären sind', 118).

Berger's *third part* (128–258) sets out with an examination of a variety of the theological themes of John's Gospel: 'Word of God' and 'Word of Jesus', the Spirit, pre-existence, John the Baptist (John contains a plethora of ancient traditions about John that cannot be traced back to the Synoptics), the Son of Man according to John (John's Gospel offers an independent interpretation of the Son of Man concept in the framework of the notion of a prophetic emissary according to Ezekiel), miracles (indicating a prophetic Christology), demonology, concealed and open speech (explaining the absence of parables), eschatology, open proclamation and present judgement.

This is followed by various Johannine christological issues: God's presence in Jesus, blasphemy and ditheism (the unity of Jesus with the Father), the 'I am' sayings (they do not as such indicate a high and late Christology), the vine (on the sociology of John's Gospel), metaphors in John 10 (arguing for the improbability of the use of other Gospels as written sources), Lazarus (independent of Luke 16), the Last Supper (independence of John 6 from the Synoptic and Pauline tradition), the washing of feet, the passion tradition (John's version of the trial of Jesus is historically more probable than the Synoptic account), the understanding of the death on the cross, Jesus' exaltation (John's notion of exaltation is earlier than that of Phil. 2), resurrection (John presents a much less highly developed Christology than Matthew and is therefore older) and glorification and the motive of descending and ascending (John's own frame of reference for his presentation of the whole ministry and presence of Jesus on the earth). For all of these issues Berger argues – with varying degree of persuasiveness – that

Johannine theology reflects early tradition and an early stage in the development of early Christian theology (which is, however, in itself a highly questionable model to employ!). These theological themes indicate that John is not dependent upon the Synoptic Gospels as written sources. Time and again, Berger's discussion indicates how the traditional questions of introduction are and have to be combined with examination of the theology.

In the fourth part, 'The position of John in its theological environment' (259–302), Berger compares various aspects of the theology of John with that of other NT writers. On the significance of the shared features between John and Paul Berger notes that in its formal features as also in a large measure of its content John becomes discernible as the link between the epistolary and gospel genre. Concerning content, this means that in John's Gospel, Jesus is presented as saying what the Apostles tried to convey through their letters, namely that they intended to give Christianity an application for the present of the respective church. Berger concludes:

John's Gospel emphasises the point of departure from the crucifixion of Jesus, Paul emphasises the destination of the resurrection. Between both positions is the picture of the necessary death of the grain of wheat as the precondition of salvation for all Christians. Paul and John complement each other in their own ways. The material which they have in common, was completely absorbed by each author into his theology. Thus it is certainly impossible to call the picture in John's Gospel a result of the reception of Pauline theology. Rather, both authors use very old tradition that arose long before them. (277)

Berger then examines John's close relationship with Colossians and Hebrews. On the former, he concludes that the similarities are only explicable by an intensive exchange of the authors (compare the discussion of various explanations of this evidence in Schnelle, *Einleitung*, 569–71; cf. Guthrie, *Introduction*, 319ff on similarities with Paul, with reference to E.F. Scott, *The Fourth Gospel: Its Purpose and Theology*, 2 ed., 1908). Berger argues that common theological material between early Christian writings is usually to be explained not through literary dependence, but through joined phases of limited collegial co-operation and communication between the authors. This suggestion moves beyond D. Guthrie, who spoke of 'several co-lateral streams, of which

Paul, Hebrews and John represent contemporary manifestations, developed at an early stage' (*Introduction*, 319). Concerning Matthew, Berger concludes that John cannot be dependent on Matthew. The similarities between John and the Synoptic tradition are due to the use of common, widespread tradition (cf. Schnelle, *Einleitung*, 563–70; Guthrie, *Introduction*, 287–300; A. Denaux (ed.), *John and the Synoptics*, BETL 101; Leuven, 1992 and the studies mentioned by Schnelle on p. 565, n. 174). They do not indicate literary dependence and therefore a late date for John's Gospel. The validity of the late date assigned to the Synoptic Gospels by the majority of scholars is not examined. The observation that John's Gospel must be early and that it shares many common features with the Synoptics would invite reflection on their date! A short bibliography and an index of biblical references round off the volume (303–12).

What consequences does Berger draw from his thesis? John's Gospel, as a whole, is to be treated as of equal rank with the Synoptics, namely as an independent projection next to others. What has so far been dismissed as Johannine and – therefore – late could turn out to be a variant of early Christian tradition that historically needs to be taken seriously. These are conclusions most conservative Johannine scholars would fully agree with. Berger briefly addresses the areas that such reassessment would need to include: the identity of the churches John tries to address, Christology, miracles, Wisdom and miracles, the death of Jesus, the Gospel's stance towards Judaism, questions of genre, dualism and apocalypticism. If John, as a whole, is much earlier than is usually assumed, the current understanding of the historical Jesus should no longer be based almost exclusively on the Synoptic Gospels: '... die gesamte Jesusüberlieferung steht in neuem Licht' (292). The Johannine Jesus needs to be taken far more seriously than hitherto (cf. the conclusions of M. Hengel, 'Das Johannesevangelium das Quelle für die Geschichte des antiken Judentums', *Judaica, Hellenistica et Christiana: Kleine Schriften* II, WUNT 109; Tübingen: Mohr/Siebeck, 1999, 293–334).

Berger's thesis will have to stand up to careful assessment of its proposals in all four areas of examination. Few of Berger's arguments and results come as a surprise to the reader familiar with conservative and evangelical studies of John's Gospel (cf. the references in Carson/Moo/Morris, 135–79 and Robinson, *Wann entstand?*, 265–322) and principles of ex-

egesis. While some new persuasive arguments can be gleaned from Berger's treatment and many stimulating suggestions can be found ('Dennoch ist es notwendig, Hypothesen zu bilden, weil Wissenschaft sonst steril wird', 54; Berger offers plenty of them!), some will have to be dismissed. What is new in this volume are often creative, bold arguments that upon closer scrutiny may not support Berger's case. The value and strength of this volume lies in its trenchant critique of many aspects of earlier and more recent historical critical study of Jesus and John's Gospel. However, despite this sharp criticism, detailed, careful and thus persuasive refutation of opposing views is unfortunately often lacking. Rhetoric, however powerful, and polemics do not replace sound argument. Evangelicals would agree with much of this criticism. However, the alternatives proposed by Berger are less compelling. As a whole, this book ought to support and reinforce some evangelical convictions concerning John. Hopefully other readers will allow themselves to be challenged by Berger to reconsider a questionable consensus that has been building up for over 150 years. In this process, Berger's advantage may be that he is not suspected of having a conservative axe to grind.

Unfortunately, both groups of readers will note with regret that this book suffers from the fact that it was written with a red-hot pen. What Berger entrusts the reader with in the preface is all too evident throughout the whole volume: 'Viele Kapitel dieses Buches entstanden auf den langen Bahnfahrten von und zu Vorträgen vor einer breiteren Öffentlichkeit'. The whole argument could be much strengthened and made more coherent. Had the material been composed and revised more carefully, it would have been all the more persuasive (cf. the comments on Berger's *Theologiegeschichte des Urchristentums* by M. Hengel, A.M. Schwemer, *Paul Between Damascus and Antioch*; London: SCM, 1997, 491f). While Berger interacts with some recent, mainly German-language studies and mentions several interesting recent PhD theses from German universities, much older and recent literature of importance is simply missed. For example, there is but *one* reference to Robinson's *The Priority of John*. The important essay of F.L. Cribbs, 'A Reassessment of the Date of Origin and the Gospel of John' (*JBL* 89, 1970, 38–55) and the 100-page discussion of H.J. Schulz (*Apostolische Herkunft*, 291–391) is not even mentioned. Such omissions mar the whole undertaking. In such

contributions, Berger would not only have found opponents but also much carefully argued material to strengthen his own case. Berger comments on his own agenda (12): 'Daß es für viele Menschen nur die Alternative zwischen klassischer liberaler und fundamentalistischer Exegese gibt, ist ebenso bekannt wie bedauerlich. Der Versuch, das zu ändern, dauert bei mir schon lebenslang'. It is unfortunate that this present attempt suffers from such severe limitations that might put members of both camps off.

If asked for advice on which stimulating books to read on the date of the Fourth Gospel, I would recommend the studies of Robinson, the NT introduction by Carson, Moo and Morris (138–51) and the introduction of R.E. Brown's commentary *The Gospel According to John* (i–xii; AncB 29; Garden City: Doubleday, 1966; LXVII–CXXVIII, on Brown cf. Carson, Moo, Morris, 145–47). For theology, turn to S. Smalley, *John – Evangelist and Interpreter* (2 ed.; Carlisle: Paternoster, 1998, cf. the review of R. Behrens in *EuroJTh* 8, 1999, 108f) and Ladd, *Theology*, 249–344. Those restricted to German should start with Robinson (cf. the German revised edition with an epilogue: *Johannes – Das Evangelium der Ursprünge*: Aktualisierte Ausgabe herausgegeben von H.-J. Schulz, TVG Bibelwissenschaftliche Monographien 4; Wuppertal: R. Brockhaus, 1999), then turn to Schulz (*Apostolische Herkunft*), note the dated, though thorough discussion of T. Zahn (*Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, 3 ed.; Leipzig: A. Deichert, 1906; I, 452–575) and then check Berger's volume. The glue binding of this hard-cased volume is very poor.

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God Will Be All in All: The Eschatology of Jürgen Moltmann
Richard Bauckham, Editor

Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1999, xv + 295 pp., £14.95, pb., ISBN 0-567-086631

RÉSUMÉ

Cet ensemble d'essais est une réponse à l'eschatologie de Jürgen Moltmann, à l'occasion de la parution de son ouvrage important intitulé La venue de Dieu: l'eschatologie chrétienne. Richard Bauckham, Trevor Hart, Timothy Gorringer (de l'université de St Andrews en Écosse), et Miroslav Volf (de l'université de

Yale) ont contribué à cet ensemble. Moltmann répond à chacun de leurs six essais, apporte une courte réflexion sur le salut universel et un essai substantiel pour terminer. Le livre comporte une présentation utile de l'eschatologie de Moltmann, de son orientation vers un futur que l'homme ne bâtit pas lui-même, de la relation de sa théologie avec la pensée politique et théologique de Karl Barth et de son appropriation des théologies des pays de l'est et de l'ouest. On peut cependant regretter que l'idée de l'éclipse eschatologique de la finitude temporelle ne reçoive que peu d'attention critique dans cet ensemble d'essais, par ailleurs de grande valeur.

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Diese Artikelsammlung bietet Stellungnahmen zur eschatologischen Theologie von Jürgen Moltmann anlässlich des Erscheinens seines wichtigen Werkes Das Kommen Gottes: Christliche Eschatologie. Zu den Mitwirkenden gehören Richard Bauckham, Trevor Hart, Timothy Gorringe (alle drei sind oder waren bis vor kurzem Kollegen an der Universität von St. Andrews, Schottland) und Miroslav Volf (Yale). Moltmann antwortet auf jeden der sechs Beiträge und steuert außerdem ein kurzes Essay zur Lehre vom universalen Heil sowie ein umfangreiches Schlusswort bei. Der Band enthält nützliche Überblicksdarstellungen zu der in Das Kommen Gottes entworfenen Eschatologie, zu Moltmanns Ausrichtung auf eine nicht von Menschenhand gemachte Zukunft, zu seiner Beziehung zum politischen und theologischen Denken Karl Barths und zu seiner Aufnahme der Theologien des Ostens und des Westens. Bedauerlicherweise wird dem von Moltmann vertretenen eschatologischen Verschwinden der zeitlichen Begrenztheit in einer ansonsten hochwertigen Sammlung von Essays wenig kritische Aufmerksamkeit geschenkt.

In the words of Richard Bauckham, Jürgen Moltmann's 1995 work, *Das Kommen Gottes: Christliche Eschatologie* (ET *The Coming Of God: Christian Eschatology*) is an expression of 'Moltmann's mature eschatological vision, the climax which his previous volumes of dogmatics require to complete them' (xiv). *God Will Be All In All* has grown out of the discussions that this important work sparked off among colleagues at the University of St Andrews in Scotland. More than a discussion of Moltmann, this work represents a discussion with Moltmann as the Tübingen theologian provides replies to the six essays on his work. He also contributes a short piece on uni-

versal salvation and a substantial closing essay, 'The Liberation of the Future and its Anticipations in History'.

Bauckham opens the collection with an overview of the eschatology advocated in *The Coming Of God*, focusing on its Christological character, its all-embracing scope and its relevance to present existence. Moltmann's understanding of redemption as more than the restoration of creation's sin-prone and transient nature is also expounded.

After a brief reply, which honours Bauckham as his leading interpreter and which clarifies his panentheistic understanding of the God-world relationship, Moltmann contributes a lively five-page essay on 'The Logic of Hell' organised around a critical analysis of *The Mystery of Salvation*, a 1995 publication of the Doctrine Commission of the Church of England's General Synod. Here Moltmann hones in on how, in a century that has witnessed the obliteration of Hiroshima, belief in the ultimate destruction of the unsaved gives the final victory to the annihilating forces of evil. He also raises a number of objections to the Arminian character of the 'freedom' which the report presupposes and attempts to safeguard. This short piece, more than any other, reveals the strongly Calvinistic character of Moltmann's theology even though his own voice remains distinctive throughout. As Bauckham was a member of the Doctrine Commission, it is disappointing that he does not offer a reply to this provocative and insightful essay.

Trevor Hart (co-author with Bauckham of *Hope Against Hope* 1999 – a work dedicated to Moltmann) provides us with a helpful discussion of how Moltmann's view of imagination differs from the non-Christian visions of George Steiner and Ernst Bloch in refusing to ground human hope in the latent potential of the present. In exploring how the coming kingdom of God differs from any future that we can hope to construct for ourselves, Hart notes how Moltmann eschatologizes Barth's rejection of natural theology. There is no natural capacity for the new in the old. Nature cannot give birth to grace.

In what is his most revealing reply in the collection, Moltmann reflects on how his theology has developed from positing a rigid cross/resurrection antithesis between night and day, old and new, to exploring a more flexible trinitarian dialectic in his 'systematic contributions to theology' series. In commenting on how the 'apocalyptic contradiction ... of the kingdom of God to the conditions of this world'

highlighted in his early work is complemented in his more recent writings by the 'messianic correspondence' of world and kingdom (84), Moltmann clarifies his understanding of the continuity that exists between the two aeons of God's one world. Flesh and blood do not inherit the kingdom (nature cannot lead us to grace) but the mortal must put on immortality. The New Creation, present now in the Spirit, embraces and transforms the old, thus establishing the continuity between the two ages. In this respect (and in keeping with Hart's analysis), Moltmann here also follows Barth in asserting that it is God alone who establishes and creates the point of contact with his sinful creation. Continuity runs from new to old, but not vice-versa.

The link between Moltmann and Barth is also central to Timothy Gorringe's discussion of 'Eschatology and Political Radicalism', an essay which Moltmann finds 'so good and unerring' that he 'can only agree with it entirely' (115). This reflects the irenic tone of the collection thus far. The remaining essays, however, though still appreciative, are more critical of certain features of Moltmann's work. Regrettably, Moltmann's replies often fall short of fully engaging with the issues. This is evident in his response to Miroslav Volf (the one contributor who was not part of the original St Andrews discussions). In addition to probing his allegiance to the Enlightenment, Volf proposes that Moltmann combines the Western notion of 'redemption' with the more Eastern theological focus on 'completion'. But this helpful suggestion is virtually dismissed by Moltmann as resting on a semantic confusion, even though his own comments seem to confirm Volf's interpretation.

Bauckham's other contributions also receive disappointing responses. When challenged about whether he really needs to believe in a future Millennium, Moltmann's claim that this presents us with an alternative future to the realised Millenarianism of Christendom does little to answer Bauckham's main question: why can't a vision of the New Creation provide us with what we need? One possible answer, which Bauckham does not explore, is that Moltmann's conviction that all transience will be overcome in the eschaton so *denatures* the creation God has given us that he needs a future this-worldly Millennium to act as a norm for present action.

The one persistent blindspot in all the essays is that there is no recognition of the way in which Moltmann's vision of temporal finitude finding its simultaneous fulfilment and nega-

tion in God's eternity betrays a Hegelian reworking of a Neoplatonic understanding of creation, thus leading to a vision of the eschaton that is profoundly at odds with the biblical witness. In this respect, Bauckham's third essay on 'Time and Eternity', though characteristically illuminating, is (in my opinion) far too uncritical.

Nevertheless, the consistently high quality of this volume should be recognised. The dialogue may be disappointing whenever a note of disagreement is sounded, but each essay will be of interest to anyone wishing to deepen their understanding of Moltmann and the issues that his theology raises. All in all, this is an excellent collection.

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Domestic Violence and the Church **H.L. Conway**

Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 1998, 198 pp., pb., ISBN 0-85364-817-4

RÉSUMÉ

Helen Conway pose un regard sérieux sur la violence domestique à partir d'une perspective chrétienne, d'une perspective légale et d'une perspective sociale. Elle suggère diverses manières dont l'Église peut s'engager et agir face à ce problème. Le livre est destiné à un public britannique, mais l'approche générale est universelle dans son application.

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Helen Conway bietet eine umsichtige Bestandsaufnahme zur innerstaatlichen Gewalt aus christlicher, juristischer und sozialer Perspektive. Sie nennt mehrere Bereiche, in denen die Kirche einbezogen werden kann, um dem Problem entgegenzuwirken. Obwohl das Buch speziell an ein britisches Publikum gerichtet ist, sind der grundsätzliche Ansatz und die grundlegenden Einsichten allgemein übertragbar.

Helen Conway is a solicitor working in Britain, specialising in all aspects of Family Law. She is involved with the Liverpool and Knowsley Domestic Violence Forums and has also written *Domestic Violence: Picking up the Pieces*, a self-help book for victims of domestic violence. She writes both passionately and compassionately, and her practical experience

superbly supplements her philosophical approach.

The book starts off with a chapter outlining the scope of domestic violence and discussing the prevalence of domestic violence. Due to a number of factors and mechanisms, it is generally assumed that the prevalence of domestic violence is underreported. However, even the reported statistics are frighteningly high. Conway quotes some surveys that highlight the extent of the problem, on both sides of the Atlantic. She is firm in her opinion that the church has a duty to respond to individual victims of domestic violence, whether they are within or without the folds of the church. In addition, she stresses the duty of the church to confront the causes and effects of domestic violence within society.

The following chapters outline the reality of domestic violence and the prevailing societal attitudes. It paints profiles of both the abused and the abuser (dispelling a number of cherished and popular myths). The expanding circle of effects is sketched, as occurrences in one section of society domino into the other. In the end, domestic violence is everybody's problem. The causes of domestic violence are examined, not from a feminist or criminological focus, but starting from a study of the word of God. The church, contends Conway, should counter the aftermath of violence as well: the multi-pronged destruction of marriage, home and wholeness, and the knock-on effects on society as a whole. Conway sternly critiques the generally accepted public / private dichotomy, which so often also pervades the church, leading to a reluctance to take a stand on the issue of domestic violence. Throughout the book, her emphasis is as much (if not more) on the eradication of domestic violence, as it is on escape from violence. She maintains that the tendency to favour escape at the expense of eradication has done little to improve the situation in society as a whole.

Conway proceeds to examine the causation of domestic violence, combining theories on the cultural patterning of violence, contextual and situational factors and reinforcement to illustrate the complex roots of domestic violence.

The second half of the book deals mainly with the legal recourse open to a victim of domestic violence (based on the Family Law Act 1996) and possible sources of help. Though these aspects would be specially relevant to UK citizens, they are nevertheless a source of general practical wisdom. In particular, the chapters dealing with escape and eradication are important in any societal context. To address eradication, Conway builds on a basic

framework of compassion and control, with intervention being victim-orientated, offender-orientated and society-orientated.

The ultimate chapter consolidates the antecedent chapters. A practical response by the church is proposed that challenges domestic violence at a level of complexity as deep as the perplexing causation of the problem. Five 'break points' are identified – weak spots in the causation of domestic violence that can be the target of sensible and effective eradication projects.

The liberal sprinkling of footnotes throughout the book testify to Conway's research, and are one more indication of the diligence and care with which this book was compiled. This book is well worth the buy.

Frank Müller
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0960–2720

The Promise of Hermeneutics

Roger Lundin, Clarence Walhout and Anthony C. Thiselton

Grand Rapids: Eerdmans; Carlisle:

Paternoster Press, 1999, xii + 260 pp.,

£12.99, pb., ISBN 0-8028-4635-1

(Eerdmans); 0-85364-900-6 (Paternoster)

RÉSUMÉ

Trois spécialistes de l'herméneutique à la pointe de la recherche tentent une voie moyenne entre la voie sans issue de la recherche du sens (unique) des textes et le désert d'un indéterminisme radical du sens. Les textes imposent des limites au sens, mais, à l'intérieur de ces limites, une palette d'interprétations peut être légitime. Lundin analyse l'héritage cartésien en herméneutique et tente de montrer la nécessité d'emprunter une direction nouvelle. Walhout tente de construire un modèle d'interprétation de la fiction considérant le discours comme action; il s'appuie pour cela sur l'œuvre de Wolterstorff. Thiselton exploite et développe les idées de Lundin et de Walhout pour proposer des avancées en herméneutique. C'est là un ouvrage excellent et créatif, qui demande de la concentration.

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Dies Buch besteht aus Beiträgen von drei hervorragenden christlichen Gelehrten, die einen Weg zwischen der hermeneutischen

Sackgasse namens 'Ein Text hat nur eine einzige Bedeutung' und der Wildnis eines radikalen Bedeutungsindeterminismus suchen. Texte setzen der Bandbreite von Bedeutungsmöglichkeiten Grenzen, aber innerhalb der Grenzen gibt es eine legitime Interpretationsvielfalt. Lundin schreibt mit guten Einsichten über das Vermächtnis Descartes' und die Notwendigkeit, eine neue Richtung zu finden. Walhout benutzt ein Sprechakt-Modell für Interpretation und entwickelt besonders den Ansatz Wolterstorffs weiter. Thiselton verbindet die Einsichten Lundins und Walhouts und entwickelt sie richtungsweisend für zukünftige Hermeneutik weiter. Ein hervorragender und kreativer Text, der Konzentration verlangt.

This book is a complete rewrite of *The Responsibility of Hermeneutics* (1985). It is composed of three important new essays, the first of which is Roger Lundin's 'Interpreting Orphans: Hermeneutics in the Cartesian Tradition', which sets the scene for what follows. Lundin writes in his usual, wonderful prose style making use of philosophical, theological, historical and literary resources. He centres his argument on the motif of the orphaned interpreter who is the heir of the Cartesian tradition, which rejected traditional (parental) religious and philosophical authority. The 'self' becomes the centre of authority to all Descartes' secular and religious intellectual children. This Cartesian 'self' thinks that it stands apart from society and history to look objectively at truth. Lundin argues that this is simply self-delusion and 'prejudice against prejudice', for nobody can stand outside the flow of history.

The essay charts two traditions within the Cartesian family, one which is seen in Schleiermacher and the other which comes to fruition in Hegel. Schleiermacher felt that the interpreter must seek to set aside the history that separates an ancient text from a reader. The modern Cartesian heirs on this side of the family are E.D. Hirsch and his disciples in the evangelical world who sharply divide exegesis from application, imagining that we can leap over two thousand years of history and land in the presence of the apostles themselves! The Hegelian side of the family, the allegorists, have surveyed the multiplicity of interpretations and have lost confidence in the ability of 'the self' to find the truth about word or world and thus focus on how it can create truth. However, both intentionalists and al-

legorists are simply different ways of re-enacting the 'Cartesian moment of self-fathering'.

Lundin seeks to push behind Descartes' squabbling heirs and aim for a Christian hermeneutic in the tradition of Heidegger, Gadamer and Ricoeur. This will put tradition back in its rightful place as an *aid* rather than a hindrance to interpretation. One begins with questions posed by one's tradition, but these questions are in turn reshaped by the text and a spiralling, interpretative, friendly dialogue between text and reader is set up. Thus one can actually learn from texts and see more than one's own reflection and one can adjudicate the validity of different interpretations even if Cartesian certainty is impossible and undesirable.

Walhout's essay 'Narrative Hermeneutics' is a superb overview of a hermeneutic based on speech act theory which resists the idea that texts are autonomous and can 'make sense' in isolation from the context of the actions which brought them into being. Walhout develops the notions of reference and mimesis in texts such that reference indicates the relationship between the language of a text and the world it projects whilst mimesis indicates the relationship between the projected world and the actual world we inhabit. Textual analysis can be thought of as constituted by five main actions, which correspond to five actions that go into composing the text. The reader must (1) analyse the formal structures of the text, (2) survey the world projected by the text, (3) attempt to see the significance the author attributes to this projected world, (4) compare the fictional world with our understanding of the actual world, (5) analyse the models or paradigms which the texts presents us with. In these ways the text is the *object* of the actions of author and readers. It is also an *instrument* of readerly action in various ways. The climax of hermeneutics is the interaction of text and reader and the ethical use of narrative texts is that which tends to embrace other uses. The discussion on the ethical impact of narrative is the highlight of the essay in my view. In a nutshell, Walhout thinks that fictional narratives provide models for our ethical reflection but not prescriptive models, which have to be followed. Personally I would argue that biblical narratives, at least, attempt to provide *both*, but Walhout's explorations are rich and suggestive. Of the three essays, this was the one

that stood out most as one definitely worth a revisit.

Thiselton's essay 'Communicative Action and Promise in Interdisciplinary, Biblical, and Theological Hermeneutics' is, as one would expect, an amazingly rich and insightful piece boasting massive breadth of knowledge. It draws the previous two essays together by focusing on the key issue behind the book: how to chart a new path in hermeneutics between the Scylla of Cartesian, mechanical repetition and the Charybdis of radical, unconstrained textual indeterminacy. Thiselton argues that texts set limits within which right interpretations (plural) can continue to arise. Texts encourage active reader participation and biblical texts fall all along the spectrum of polyvalence between closed to open. Although reader-response criticism has brought gains it was reactionary and, in its radical Fishian version, is misleading. Humans and hermeneutics are thoroughly temporal so, inspired by the work of Robert Jauss, Thiselton calls for a rediscovery of the importance of the history of interpretation of biblical texts, which mediates between those texts and us. Fresh insights occur *within* reading traditions. The climax of the chapter is the application of speech act theory to understanding the central biblical notion of 'promise'.

It is impossible to give a clear impression of any of these deep and provocative essays in the space allocated. All unite in pointing to a way forward through the current hermeneutical confusion and all would repay second and third readings. It is a demanding read (especially Thiselton whose essay was also, if anything, over long) best suited to postgraduates or dedicated undergraduates.

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Reading for Good: Narrative Theology and Ethics in the Joseph Story from the Perspective of Ricoeur's Hermeneutics

Theo L. Hetteema

Studies in Philosophical Theology 18.

Kampen: Kok Pharos, 1996, 380 pp., no price, pb., ISBN 90-390-0252-5

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Das Buch bietet im ersten Teil eine Darstellung der hermeneutischen Theorie Ricoeurs, und im zweiten eine Interpretation der Josephsgeschichte in Genesis 37–50, die als narrative Einheit gelesen wird. Nach der guten Darstellung der Theorie ist der zweite Teil enttäuschend, da er sich weder mit neueren literarischen Ansätzen (Alter, Sternberg), noch mit theologischen Interpretationen (von Rad, Clines) ausführlich auseinandersetzt, und Diskursanalyse als irrelevant abtut. Positiv ist nur die Herausstellung einzelner ethischer Themen (z. B. Vorsehung, Versöhnung), die größere exegetische Beachtung verdienen.

RÉSUMÉ

Dans sa première partie, l'auteur présente la théorie herméneutique de Paul Ricoeur, et propose ensuite une interprétation de l'histoire de Joseph (Gn. 37–50) lue comme une unité narrative. L'exposé théorique est bon, la seconde partie décevante: elle ne prend en compte ni la théorie littéraire moderne (Alter, Sternberg), ni les interprétations théologiques (von Rad, Clines), et laisse de côté l'analyse de discours. Le point positif est la mise en évidence de thèmes éthiques particuliers (la providence, la réconciliation).

The first part of this book is devoted to an exposition of Ricoeur's theory of hermeneutics, particularly his concepts of prefiguration, configuration and refiguration—that is, the stages between the conceptualisation of a narrative in an author's mind and its reinterpretation by the reader.

The second part of the book is devoted to an interpretation of the Joseph narrative. Hetteema takes the whole of Genesis 37–50 as a coherent unit, which could lead to a fresh and positive reading of the book. But in fact this section is disappointing. Though he is aware of the work of the newer literary critics such as Alter and Sternberg, there is very little interaction with them. Discourse analysis is dismissed as irrelevant, and those who have tried to deal with the theology of the Pentateuch, such as von Rad and Clines, are virtually ignored. The result is a pathetically inadequate discussion of the Joseph story as a whole and Genesis 38 in particular.

It must be said that Hetteema does raise issues about the ethics of the biblical story of Joseph that ought to have a much higher profile in exegesis, e.g. the concept of providence in this text and its definition of reconciliation.

He also makes some useful observations about how we perceive these ideas in the text and how we apply them in our situation. So though this book may be a splendid example of theorising about hermeneutics, it is a disappointing example of hermeneutical practice.

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0960-2720

The Biblical Flood: A Case Study of the Church's Response to Extrabiblical Evidence

Davis A. Young

Grand Rapids: Eerdmans; Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 1995, xiii + 327 pp., £14.99, pb., ISBN 0-8028-0719-4 (Eerdmans); 0-85364-678-3 (Paternoster)

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Das Buch bringt einen hervorragenden Überblick über die Beziehungen zwischen biblischer Exegese und naturwissenschaftlichen Entdeckungen von neutestamentlicher Zeit bis heute. Relativ viel Platz wird der Darstellung und Widerlegung exzentrischer konservativer Erklärungen der Flut gewidmet. Young selbst sieht eine lokale mesopotamische Flut (als berechtigtes Paradigma universalen Gerichts) im Hintergrund des biblischen Berichtes.

RÉSUMÉ

Le livre donne un excellent aperçu de la relation entre l'exégèse biblique et les découvertes scientifiques depuis le temps du Nouveau Testament jusqu'à nos jours. L'auteur consacre une large place à l'exposé et à la critique des explications conservatrices plutôt excentriques du déluge. Il considère pour sa part que le récit biblique du déluge a pour arrière-plan un événement local, qui s'est produit en Mésopotamie, et qui fonctionne comme un paradigme du jugement universel.

Belief in a universal flood was part of standard Christian belief until the nineteenth century. Indeed, in the early days of geology fossils and sedimentary layers were often ascribed to Noah's flood. But as geological knowledge grew, traditional views of the flood became less and less credible.

Young in this book gives a magnificent survey of the interaction of biblical exegesis and scientific discovery from New Testament times to the present. It is salutary to realise how many older interpretations have rested on ephemeral scientific theory and how more recent evangelical studies have often ignored well established geological facts.

European readers may be surprised at the amount of space devoted to eccentric American conservative Christian explanations of the flood and geological discovery, but clearly these ideas have much more currency on the other side of the Atlantic. Young is concerned to confute such views. Those who have never taken them seriously may be tempted to ignore this book, but Young's concern to integrate geological discovery with the testimony of Scripture is an important one for Christian apologetics. He believes that a Mesopotamian local flood lies behind the biblical story, but that the Bible is right to affirm this as a paradigm of universal judgement. He is also right to hint that Christians should stop being defensive about the relations between science and faith. The age, size and complexity of the universe witness to a Creator of unimaginable wisdom and power.

I should also have liked him to have gone further and discussed the *Tendenz* of Genesis in its use of Mesopotamian tradition. Its monotheistic theology, the place it assigns mankind in the divine purpose, and its scepticism about human progress give the theology of Genesis a strikingly original thrust that still resonates today.

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0960-2720

The Jesus Debate: Modern Historians Investigate the Life of Christ

Mark Allan Powell

Oxford: Lion, 1999, 238 pp., £16.99, hb., ISBN 0-7459-4209-1

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Powells Buch besteht aus einer Darstellung und Wertung von sechs wichtigen Beiträgen zur wissenschaftlichen Suche nach dem historischen Jesus. Besprochen werden die Arbeiten des Jesus Seminars, J.D. Crossans,

M.J. Borgs, E.P. Sanders', J.P. Meiers und N.T. Wrights. *Die Darstellungen sind auch für Nichtspezialisten gut verständlich. Die Wertungen sind ausgewogen und fair. Powell beleuchtet auch die ideologischen Hintergründe der einzelnen Projekte und bietet neben der Konzentration auf die zentralen Probleme auch humorvolle Randbemerkungen, die die Lektüre zu einer angenehmen, aber informativen machen. Die Hauptkapitel sind umschlossen von einleitenden historischen und methodologischen Kapiteln und einem Schlußkapitel, in dem die wichtigsten Probleme und Trends in der neuesten Forschung zum historischen Jesus hilfreich gebündelt werden.*

RÉSUMÉ

Cet ouvrage présente les six contributions importantes à la recherche scientifique du Jésus historique et en propose une évaluation: il s'agit des travaux du « Séminaire sur Jésus », et de J. Crossan, M. Borg, E. Sanders et N. Wright. Les évaluations sont substantielles et appropriées. Powell met en lumière l'arrière-plan idéologique de chaque projet. À côté du traitement des problèmes centraux, les commentaires marginaux pleins d'humour rendent la lecture plaisante. L'ouvrage s'ouvre par des chapitres d'introduction aux questions historiques et méthodologiques, et se clôt sur un chapitre qui fait le tour des problèmes les plus importants et des tendances de la recherche récente sur le Jésus historique.

Powell's book, the American edition of which was published in 1998 as *Jesus as a Figure in History*, consists mainly of a presentation of six contributions to the 'third quest' for the historical Jesus. These include the work of the Jesus Seminar, J.D. Crossan, M.J. Borg, E.P. Sanders, J.P. Meier and N.T. Wright, arguably the most prolific scholars in the field. In each case, Powell reviews the methods and the general approach used, and summarises the results that have been obtained as well as the criticisms that have been levelled against the approach by other historians. The summaries are clear and easy to understand for a wider audience of non-specialists, and the assessment is fair and balanced.

Apart from carrying out a descriptive and evaluative task, Powell also puts the different approaches into their larger contexts and points out the agendas behind various projects. This is visible not only in whole

sections devoted to this task (e.g. on 'Implications of the Jesus Seminar's work', focusing on Robert Funk's vision of a new Christianity in terms of secularised spirituality rather than institutionalised religion), but throughout the book in numerous remarks that reflect Powell's awareness that scholarship has never been done in an ideological vacuum.

While focusing on the crucial issues of each of the contributions, Powell also provides interesting background information. He does not miss humorous bits, such as the comment of Hollywood producer and member of the Jesus Seminar Paul Verhoeven, who during preparations for a Jesus movie commented on the Seminar's minimalist portrait of Jesus: 'You'd have a man walking about from marketplace to marketplace saying aphorisms. That isn't much of a movie.' Details such as this combined with a well-informed knowledge of the more serious issues help the reader to get a good introduction into all significant problems of the third quest for the historical Jesus while being entertained in the process.

The chapters dealing with the major contributions are sandwiched between introductory chapters on the history of Jesus research as well as a number of methodological problems, and by a concluding chapter summarising the key issues in the debate. The short but informative historical introductions include the work of Reimarus, Paulus, Strauss, Renan and Schweitzer as pioneers of the quest for the historical Jesus. They also present Bultmann as a negative foil for the work of Käsemann, Bornkamm and Perrin, and refer to Wrede, Mack and Schüssler-Fiorenza as important figures for understanding why the historical Jesus became so difficult to get at. After explaining the major criteria of authenticity, Powell also includes snapshots of some authors who influenced in one way or another the work of the six contributions under discussion (i.e. R.A. Horsley, G. Vermes, M. Smith, B. Witherington and F.G. Downing). One would have expected Ben Meyer in this section, but he is mentioned only in three footnotes, one of which recognises his influence on N.T. Wright.

The diversity of methods, approaches and results visible in the six contributions are helpfully highlighted in the last chapter. Here Powell shows again his ability not to get lost in details but to point out clearly the crucial issues involved. He notes the

differences in the evaluation of sources, such as the Gospel of Thomas, Q and Mark, and highlights the criterion of dissimilarity and the 'double criterion of similarity and dissimilarity' as proposed by Wright. He also points to a major methodological difference by noting that, whereas some scholars try to include a maximum amount of historical data (Wright, Sanders), others base their portraits on a minimum of data that seem most reliable (Crossan, Jesus Seminar). Powell also directs our attention to the related issue of whether one should start with a piecemeal approach to the data, first judging the reliability of each saying or event and then constructing a hypothesis (a method employed by scholars as diverse as Meier and the Jesus Seminar), or whether one should begin with an overall hypothesis and then interpret the data in the light of it (Sanders, Wright). Although the issues involved in these alternatives are more complex (cf. e.g. the epistemological problems mentioned by Wright in *The New Testament and the People of God*), to focus the problem in this way nevertheless helps the non-specialist to get an idea of some of the major differences between the third questers.

All in all, Powell's book is a helpful guide for everyone interested in recent developments in the third quest for the historical Jesus.

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0960–2720

Rhetoric and Galatians: Assessing an Approach to Paul's Epistle **Philip H. Kern**

Society for New Testament Studies
Monograph Series 101. Cambridge:
Cambridge University Press, 1998, xiv +
304 pp., £37.50, hb., ISBN 0-521-63117-3

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Philip Kern geht es darum, die durch Betz und Kennedy stark verbreitete Einstufung des Galaterbriefes als rhetorisches Kunstwerk zu hinterfragen. Er tut dies vor allem dadurch, dass er zeigt, dass die rhetorischen Handbücher der Antike nicht auf den Galaterbrief anwendbar sind. Sie setzen in aller Regel gerichtliche Szenen voraus und sind nicht für eine Übertragung auf andere Situa-

tionen konzipiert. Allenfalls lässt sich vermuten, dass man sowohl die Handbücher als auch den Galaterbrief mit Formen mündlicher Darbietung in Verbindung setzen kann, aber das bedeutet noch lange nicht, dass der Galaterbrief nach den Kriterien der Handbücher geschrieben worden sei. Vielmehr stellt sich heraus, dass aus dem Blickwinkel klassischer griechisch-römischer Rhetorik die paulinischen Briefe eher durch Grobschlächtigkeit auffallen und auch seitens der Kirchenväter entsprechend eingestuft wurden. Konsequenterweise dürfte es bei der Interpretation dieser Briefe nicht darum gehen, rhetorische Klassifizierungen anzuwenden, sondern der theologischen Aussage ihr volles Gewicht zukommen zu lassen. Kerns These überzeugt zumindest in ihren Grundzügen. Man könnte aber nachfragen, ob er seine Kritik der Anwendung rhetorischer Kategorien auf den Galaterbrief nicht etwas überzeichnet hat.

RÉSUMÉ

L'auteur considère la thèse de Betz et Kennedy qui voient l'épître aux Galates comme un chef d'œuvre rhétorique. Il montre que l'épître ne correspond pas à ce que l'on trouve dans les manuels de rhétorique de l'antiquité. Ceux-ci présupposent généralement des scènes de procès qui ne sont pas conçues pour être transposées à d'autres situations. On peut bien sûr supposer que les manuels de rhétorique ainsi que l'épître peuvent être mis en relation avec des formes orales, mais il ne s'ensuit nullement que l'épître a été écrite en suivant les règles des manuels. Au contraire, il est clair que les épîtres pauliniennes tranchent par leur style peu raffiné avec la rhétorique gréco-romaine classique et se rattachent d'avantage aux œuvres des premiers pères de l'Église. Par conséquent, il n'est pas approprié de faire appel aux catégories classiques pour l'interprétation de ces lettres, mais il est préférable de leur accorder leur propre valeur théologique. La thèse de Kern est convaincante, tout du moins dans sa perspective générale, mais sa critique de l'application des critères rhétoriques est peut-être excessive.

Rhetoric and Galatians seeks to challenge the kinds of assumptions about Paul's use of rhetoric in Galatians which were introduced into Pauline scholarship (and accepted by many) by scholars such as Betz, Kennedy and others. This book is the result of a Sheffield PhD investigation under the supervision of L. Alexander. In its single-mindedness it is a

typical 'PhD-type' monograph, but in other ways it is not. For instance, it is not customary in PhD dissertations to make attacking scholarly approaches one's main objective. If one does, it is imperative that one has a strong argument indeed. Does Kern have one? And how does he develop his line of reasoning? Let's start with the conclusion: Kern's major contention is that, contrary to the assumptions of Betz and others, Paul's use of structure and language in Galatians does not conform to what we know of Greco-Roman rhetoric. Previous attempts to claim the opposite ignore some fairly basic categories for studying rhetoric. We need to distinguish between different levels or spheres of rhetoric. To show similarity between documents on one level does not mean that we can confidently postulate correspondence on another level. This is where things went wrong in the past. So what are these levels or spheres which Kern suggests?

First, the level of *universal strategic communication*; secondly *oratory*; thirdly *Greco-Roman rhetoric* and fourthly *handbook rhetoric*. The first level is about persuasion, the second about the mode of persuasion (such as oratory), the third about the cultural environment of verbal discourse and the fourth about the particular venues of communication. The importance of distinguishing between these levels is clear when one observes, for instance, that Hellenistic handbook rhetoric tended to originate almost entirely from forensic settings such as courtroom scenes. In other words, the applicability of such rhetoric was seen to be restricted in terms of venue almost from the start. This simple fact has too often been ignored in studies of the rhetoric of Galatians. Such mistakes have occasionally led to attempts to fit Paul into the kind of rhetorical straightjacket that was never envisaged by the handbooks in the first place. It is not that previous scholars have failed to see the courtroom milieu from which the handbooks originated, rather, they employed different strategies to avoid the obvious conclusion that Galatians is not based on handbook rhetoric. Betz' strategy, for instance, was to interpret Galatians by linking it to a fictitious courtroom setting. Kennedy, on the other hand, argues that it takes little effort to build a bridge between the rhetoric of the handbooks and that of Galatians, even though the settings are quite different.

Kern is not totally opposed to some of the proposals of the scholars already cited, but he argues that their conclusion that Paul applied Greco-Roman rhetorical conventions holds water only up to level two, not to levels three or even four. To that extent the work of such scholars is flawed by a category mistake. If one wants to continue to argue along the lines of Betz or Kennedy, one ought to be keenly aware of the limitations of classifying Galatians under a range of rhetorical species. It will not do to label Galatians *deliberative* (Kennedy) or *epideictic* (not often claimed for Galatians) or *forensic* (Betz) *rhetoric*. These are the categories of the handbooks – not of Galatians. It is not enough to shift one's preference (as many scholars have done) from Betz' construal of rhetoric in Galatians to that of Kennedy. The very use of the rhetorical handbooks for interpreting Galatians and more specifically the use of functional categories for determining rhetorical species need to be challenged. This challenge gains further weight when it is considered that the classically trained Church Fathers as well as the most significant post-patristic rhetoricians saw no reason to regard Galatians either as oratory or as the product of significant rhetorical skill. If anything, we find in their writings about the epistles a certain embarrassment by Paul's crudeness of style. Paul clearly did not employ language appropriate to oratory.

It is normally dangerous to take on major scholarly approaches as part of a PhD dissertation but Kern was justified in making his case. His treatment of other scholars strikes me as fair. There is, for instance, plenty of admiration for the way in which Kennedy (Betz perhaps a little less so) has advanced our understanding of the significance of handbook rhetoric for studying the biblical literature. As far as Betz is concerned, many have suspected for some time that his treatment of Galatians is somewhat of the Procrustean variety. Kern has provided the evidence to back up such suspicions. One might take issue with the full-blooded way in which Kern dismisses the relevance of classical handbook rhetoric (or even all ancient rhetorical conventions?) for interpreting Galatians. There is at least scope for trying out interpretative scenarios such as, for instance, the fictitious courtroom setting suggested by Betz. Not all such endeavours are designed to obfuscate the issue of rhetorical species. One gets the impression that Kern shuts the door on any such venture. I don't think that is necessary.

More importantly though, the criticisms directed by Kern at the scholars cited (and of course others who have attempted to apply handbook rhetoric to Galatians) are largely well taken and extremely relevant. *Rhetoric and Galatians* really is an important contribution to our understanding of the relationship (if there is one) between Greco-Roman rhetoric and Paul's letters.

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0960-2720

Justice and Christian Ethics

E. Clinton Gardner

Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,
1995, xiv + 179 pp., £35, hb.,
ISBN 0-521-49639-X

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Wie dem Titel nicht unbedingt zu entnehmen, handelt das Buch mehr vom ideologischen Hintergrund der amerikanischen Verfassung als von Gerechtigkeit. Es enthält Kapitel über Gesetz und Religion, die Vorstellung von Gerechtigkeit bei Aristoteles und Thomas von Aquin, das biblische Konzept des Bundes, die Kategorie des Bundes in puritanischen Ideen zu Gesellschaft und Gerechtigkeit, die Wichtigkeit religiöser Einflüsse auf Locke und die amerikanische Verfassung, sowie ein Plädoyer, den Bundesgedanken in heutigen Kontexten fruchtbar zu machen. Das Buch ist nicht ausführlich genug, um das wichtige Thema befriedigend darzustellen.

RÉSUMÉ

Cet ouvrage traite d'avantage de l'arrière-plan idéologique de la constitution américaine que de la justice. Il aborde les thèmes de la loi et de la religion, la compréhension de la justice chez Aristote et Thomas d'Aquin, la notion biblique d'alliance, la catégorie d'alliance dans la conception puritaine de la société et de la justice, l'importance des influences religieuses sur la pensée de Locke et sur la constitution américaine. Il plaide aussi pour que l'on applique la notion d'alliance dans les contextes modernes. L'ouvrage ne nous paraît pas suffisamment détaillé pour aborder ces différents thèmes de manière satisfaisante.

Despite its title, this book is more a historical review of the ideological background to the American constitution than a discussion of justice. After an introductory chapter on the relationship of law and religion, Chapter 2 discusses the notions of justice in Aristotle and Aquinas. They saw justice as the most important of the virtues, and held that the implementation of justice required both a virtuous and charitable judge.

Chapter 3 summarises the biblical view of covenant. It is based on God's grace and sovereignty. It creates a community, in which obedience to God's will expressed in the law is paramount. In this framework justice is both relational, it determines behaviour between one covenant member and another, and also eschatological, for only God's intervention will bring complete justice.

Biblical notions of covenant were fundamental to the Puritan approach to society and justice (Chapter 4), and they were obviously central to the first American colonists who established the Puritan states of New England. The ideas of these colonists were perpetuated and moderated in a secular direction as a result of the Enlightenment and writers such as John Locke.

However in Chapters 5 and 6 Gardner insists that neither Locke nor the American constitution were as secular as is often supposed. For instance, the separation of church and state in the federal constitution arose not because of opposition to the establishment of religion, but because different churches were established in different states that made up the union.

In the final chapter Gardner argues that biblical notions of covenant are still of use today. They enable us to see each member of society as made in God's image and therefore entitled to justice, yet at the same time all are knit together in community bound by promises and obligations as well as the law.

This book tackles an interesting and important topic, but is ultimately disappointing. It is not detailed enough either in tracing the evolution of the American constitution or in its application of covenant principles of justice to modern society to be satisfying. Finally, in discussing biblical covenants Gardner seemed unaware of modern approaches that would lead his synthesis to be questioned.

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**Forbidden Revolutions:
Pentecostalism in Latin America
and Catholicism in Eastern Europe**
David Martin

London: SPCK, 1996, 96 pp., £7.99, pb.,
ISBN 0-281-04999-8

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

David Martin zeigt in diesem Buch die Unangemessenheit säkularer soziologischer sowie religiös-liberaler Analysen in Bezug auf die revolutionäre Kraft des Christentums auf. Sowohl die pfingstkirchliche Bewegung in Lateinamerika als auch der Katholizismus in Osteuropa beweisen die Fähigkeit, kulturelle, soziale, politische und ökonomische Veränderungen zu initiieren, und widerlegen Theorien, die Religion als ein marginales oder im Abstieg befindliches Phänomen beschreiben.

RÉSUMÉ

L'auteur s'efforce de montrer que l'analyse sociologique séculière et l'analyse religieuse libérale de la puissance révolutionnaire du christianisme sont inadéquates. Le mouvement pentecôtiste en Amérique latine et le Catholicisme en Europe de l'est ont démontré leur capacité à engendrer des changements culturels, sociaux, politiques et économiques, ce qui dément la théorie selon laquelle la religion serait un phénomène marginal ou sur son déclin.

David Martin, now Emeritus Professor of Sociology at the London School of Economics, has produced a stream of articles and books that have helped to subvert the conventional wisdom, dogmas and rhetoric of modern sociology while utilising the sociological imagination and detailed empirical studies to do so.

Many of the founders of sociology as discipline (Marx, Durkheim, Weber, et al.) worked within the metaphysical vision for sociology established by Auguste Comte (1798–1857). Comte himself not only coined the terms 'sociology' and 'positivism', but also 'altruism' as the central virtue of his new religion of humanity. Aptly described as 'Catholicism minus Christianity', Comte proposed that humanity should replace the creator-redeemer God of Christianity as the ultimate being, the focus of our worship and service. Comte actually established a posi-

tivist church complete with festivals, saints' day and catechism. Rejecting the story of creation-fall-redemption and consummation, Comte embraced the Enlightenment's storyline of progress tightly linked with secularisation. More specifically it was a dispensationalism that moved from theological-mythical to metaphysical to positive scientific worldviews.

From the nineteenth century onwards discipline after discipline variously adopted this dispensationalism. Ironically, it was precisely at the time that mainline history and philosophy of science began to demolish the Comtian narrative in the 1960s that, in a devolved form, the Comtian vision impacted theology and the churches. When Comte arrived in theology, Jesus was the Comtian hero, incarnating altruism, the man for others. The realisation of the Kingdom of God was the secular city (Harvey Cox). The gospel was that of Christian atheism (Thomas Altizer), and we were all to be secular men, come of age, called to be autonomous and self-reliant. Doubtless Comte would be impressed by this new believable form of Christianity, but in the early seventies in a delightfully ironic piece David Martin admitted that sociologists had unfortunately failed to locate and identify the 'modern secular man' for whom the theologians, following Bultmann's program of demythologising, were re-shaping Christianity to make it 'credible'.

In *Forbidden Revolutions* Martin launches a conceptual and empirical attack on the secularist tradition as it expresses itself in social (and liberal religious) analysis. He maintains that the 'vocabularies that do most damage in the case of the revolutions in Latin America and Eastern Europe are the false polarities of left and right, liberal and fundamentalist, political and apolitical, cultural and structural. It is these, along with their background apparatus, that forbade the occurrence of these revolutions' (p. 4). He exposes the widespread sociological assumption that religion is a marginal and declining force, and that its remaining presence is to be explained as some form of cultural lag or as the by-product of various real socio-economic forces, structures or whatever. What the assumption ruled out *a priori* was that religion could (still) actually initiate new or even revolutionary cultural, social, political and economic change. Not only does Martin expose the assumption but he also documents in detail how reality has

failed to respect what it forbids, in particular in Eastern Europe and Latin America. His account is fascinating in itself, but I also suspect that readers may well become self-conscious of ways in which such assumptions have come to define their expectations concerning the gospel and the church.

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0960–2720

Comenius: A Critical Reassessment of his Life and Work

Daniel Murphy

Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1995, x + 294 pp., £40, hb., ISBN 0-7165-2537-2

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Angesichts der Tatsache, dass man nicht gerade über eine Schwemme englischer Literatur zu Comenius klagen kann, ist Murphys Studie hochwillkommen. Das Buch setzt sich kritisch mit der Comenius-Rezeption marxistischer sowie pragmatischer Autoren auseinander, die die christliche Grundlage von Comenius' politischer Aktivität, vor allem im Bildungssektor, ausblenden. Murphy hingegen zeichnet ein umfassendes Portrait von Comenius als wichtigem Vertreter eines reformatorischen Traditionsstranges, der später vor allem von Abraham Kuyper und Herman Dooyeweerd aufgegriffen und weiterentwickelt wurde.

RÉSUMÉ

Il existe peu d'ouvrages consacrés à Comenius (Jan Amos Komensky, 1592–1670) et celui-ci est donc le bienvenu. Il fait une critique de la vision marxiste et de la vision pragmatique de Comenius, qui ont toutes deux minimisé le fondement chrétien de l'activité politique de Comenius, en particulier dans le domaine de l'éducation. Murphy nous fait connaître Comenius de manière plus complète, en le présentant comme un représentant important d'un courant de la tradition réformée dans lequel devaient plus tard se situer Abraham Kuyper et Herman Dooyeweerd.

Comenius (Jan Amos Komensky, 1592–1670) was a Czech philosopher and pioneering educationalist, bishop and theologian of

the Unitas Fratrum (Moravian Brethren). This church found its roots in the reforming work of John Huss (1372–1415), who was in turn inspired by the writings of John Wyclif (c.1330–1384), many of which have only survived as Czech manuscripts. Wyclif's ideas spread to Bohemia through the closer relations to England that followed the marriage (1382) of Anne, sister of Wenceslaus IV (d.1419) to Richard II. We know that Jerome of Prague (c.1371–1416) returned from Oxford in 1401, where Wyclif had taught, with copies of Wyclif's books. Huss was burnt at the stake in 1415 and Jerome in 1416. The Czech reformation was properly the first reformation, while that associated with Luther was the second. Luther himself recognised this, for he wrote to Spalatin in February 1520, 'Without knowing it I have both taught and held the teaching of Huss: in short, we were all Hussites without knowing it'.

Indeed, the Moravian church benefited from both reformations. Comenius himself, like other Moravians, was educated at the German Calvinist universities of Herborn and Heidelberg. Comenius was driven out of his Bohemian homeland by the violence and persecution of the Catholic Counter-Reformation, and subsequently found refuge in various Protestant countries, Holland and Sweden in particular. In his own time he had a pan-European reputation and was respected as an educational genius.

Comenius was invited to England in 1641 by a group representing both Houses of Parliament (including leading bishops) with a view to setting up a Comenian College in London. Tragically, the project was eclipsed by the rebellion in Ireland and the outbreak of the Civil War in 1642. He was then offered a similar position in France by Cardinal Richelieu, the Presidency of Harvard College, and a Swedish invitation to reform the education system there. For various reasons Comenius went to Sweden and later settled in Holland.

Here in Britain, interest in Comenius revived in the late nineteenth century and a number of multitudinous writings were translated and published. Many of the subsequent works on education would have a mandatory chapter on Comenius alongside Plato, Rousseau, Dewey, et al. It is perhaps only amongst contemporary language teachers that the name of Comenius is familiar for his role in the introduction of pictures in

children's textbooks. Comenius then practically disappeared from teacher education with the secularising 'revolution' in the philosophy of education led by professors Paul Hirst and Richard Peters. Hirst explicitly maintained that Christian education was a contradiction in terms, while Comenius saw it at the very heart of his vision for the transformation and Christianisation of society. Hirst was only prepared to call 'education' such schooling as was aiming to produce a liberal secular society, so 'Christian education' that did not have this objective was excluded by definition.

At first many Christians felt intimidated, but subsequently have begun to realise that they need to articulate their own definitions of reality, society, education, knowledge, personhood, culture and indeed everything in a manner coherent with the Christian revelation and the best of the Christian tradition. Along with this realisation and a growth of confidence in their own identity Christians have undertaken a renewed commitment to Christian education. Evidence of this is the concern to re-Christianise the county (state) schools and denominational schools as well as set up a network of new Christian schools. Here in Britain, directly and indirectly, the reformational tradition inaugurated by Abraham Kuyper (1837–1920) has provided many of the resources for this redefinition and redirection. In my opinion it is about time that Comenius was also recognised, for he too has a richly encyclopaedic Christian vision of the same order as Kuyper from which much can be learnt.

However, so little was available in print in English by or about Comenius. Consequently we are much in debt to Daniel Murphy, Senior Lecturer in Education at Trinity College, Dublin, for this new and substantial work on Comenius, which includes in the text substantial translated passages from Comenius's writing. Murphy acutely recognises that Comenius's ideas have been badly misrepresented by Marxist and pragmatic thinkers alike. Comenius was neither a Czech proto-socialist patriot nor was he a narrowly focused technical expert on child development and learning methods. Educational psychologist Piaget manages to describe Comenius's ideas without mentioning the faith that shaped and structured them, but Murphy is rightly emphatic that

Comenius can only be properly located with the Judeo-Christian tradition.

Something of the real flavour of Comenius's comprehensive Christian vision for education can be found in the typically full seventeenth-century title of one of his many writings, this one finally published in 1657, *The Great Didactic*, setting forth the whole art of teaching all things to all men, or, a certain inducement to found such schools in all parishes, towns and villages of every Christian kingdom, that the entire youth of both sexes, none being excepted, shall quickly, pleasantly and thoroughly, become learned in the sciences, pure in morals, trained to piety, and in this manner instructed in all things necessary for the present and for the future life, in which, with respect to everything which is suggested, its fundamental principles are set forth from the essential nature of the matter, its truth is proved by examples from several mechanical arts, its order is clearly set forth in years, months, days, and hours, and, finally an easy and sure method is shown, by which it can be pleasantly brought into existence.

When this educational programme is compared with that of Plato in the *Republic* or the various Renaissance treatises on the exclusive education of princes or the later works of Rousseau and others, then the fruits of the gospel through the two reformations are evidently visible. Comenius calls for the development of an integral holistic Christian philosophy. Where Descartes was committed to a dualism of Christian faith plus autonomous philosophy and sciences, Comenius vigorously rejected the dualism and the autonomy. For him, philosophy and the sciences were to be part of the Augustinian project of faith seeking understanding. If philosophy and the sciences were not shaped by the Christian faith, then they would be misshaped by another faith, pagan or humanistic. In all this Comenius remarkably anticipates the Kuyperian tradition and Herman Dooyeweerd's work in particular.

The second chapter of Murphy's excellent *Comenius* focuses on his life and times. It served to evoke for me an amazing sense of the interconnectedness of Christian European culture at that time, its tragedies, lost opportunities and imagined possibilities. The rediscovery, or rather re-rediscovery, of Comenius as a pan-European figure, and

more, may well open up for us some exciting perspectives on the future.

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0960–2720

Tod eines Messias : Messiasgestalten und Messiaserwartungen im Judentum

Kai Kjær-Hansen, Editor

Neuhausen: Hänssler, 1996, 213 pp., DM 14,90, pb., ISBN 3-7751-2450-0

SUMMARY

This book, translated from English, deals in twenty short contributions with the question of Messianic hope in Christianity. The authors are Jewish Christians and Christians who collaborate with Jewish Christians. Emphasised themes in the volume are the seventh Lubavite rabbi, Rabbi Menachem Mendel Schneerson, and Jesus Christ as the Messiah of Israel.

RÉSUMÉ

Cet ouvrage, écrit en anglais et traduit en allemand, comporte vingt courtes contributions sur la question de l'espérance messianique dans le christianisme, de la plume de Juifs chrétiens et de chrétiens qui œuvrent aux côtés de Juifs chrétiens. Il y est question, entre autres, du septième rabbin Lubawitch, de Rabbi Menahem Mendel Schneerson, et de Jésus-Christ Messie d'Israël.

Die zwanzig recht kurzen Beiträge dieses Taschenbuches kreisen wie um zwei Brennpunkte einer Ellipse um zwei Themen, die man vom Titel nicht gleich erwartet: Einerseits geht es um den 1994 in Brooklyn (New York) verstorbenen sogenannten siebten "Lubawitscher Rebbe", Rabbi Menachem Mendel Schneerson (geb. 1902), der von großen Teilen der jüdisch-chassidischen Chabad-Bewegung als Messias verehrt wird bzw. wurde, sich aber nie selbst dazu erklärt hat. Den anderen "Brennpunkt" bildet die Überzeugung von Jeschua (Jesus von Nazareth) als dem Messias Israels; dieser wird öfters dem "Lubawitscher Rebbe" (und anderen jüdischen Messiasgestalten und -erwartungen) gegenübergestellt. Bei den Autoren handelt es sich um messianische Juden und unter (messianischen) Juden tätigen

Christen aus Skandinavien, Israel, den USA und England (vgl. S. 210–213). Schon in der Einleitung wird mutig und geradezu programmatisch hervorgehoben, daß alle Autoren "die Überzeugung und den Glauben [teilen], daß Jesus der Messias Israels war und ist und [...] darin überein[stimmen], daß Juden ebenso wie Nichtjuden Jesus zum Heil nötig haben" (S. 9). Manche Beiträge bleiben leider nicht nur äußerlich etwas knapp, so daß man sich oft etwas mehr und vertieftere Informationen zu einzelnen Themen und insbesondere auch Quellenangaben gewünscht hätte. Zwar werden in der "Ausgewählte[n] Bibliographie" (S. 202–209) einige Bücher genannt und auch einzelnen Beiträgen zugeordnet, doch finden sich darunter kaum deutsche Titel; fast alle Literaturhinweise sind englische Werke (manche Titel wären m.E. in deutscher Übersetzung vorgelegen), z.T. sind sogar rein hebräische Werke dabei. Anhand dieser Literaturhinweise ist es also dem interessierten (deutschen) Laien kaum möglich, sich vertiefend mit der Thematik zu beschäftigen; dafür wäre eine auf deutsche Verhältnisse zugeschnittene Literaturauswahl nötig gewesen. Eine sehr gute Verstehenshilfe für den Laien bietet hingegen das "Glossar" (S. 196–201).

Gerade vom Untertitel her hätte man sich eine etwas ausführlichere geschichtliche Darstellung von "Messiasgestalten und Messiaserwartungen im Judentum" gewünscht: Die meisten Namen und Personen (z.B. Judas der Galiläer, Theudas, Simon bar Kochba, Asher Lämmlein, Sabbatei Zwi) werden nur ganz kurz genannt, manche finden überhaupt keine Erwähnung (z.B. Andreas Lukuas, der um 115 n.Chr. in der Cyrenaika als Messias auftrat), ausführlichere Informationen finden sich lediglich zu Rabbi Menachem Mendel Schneerson (v.a. in "Gelobt sei der König Messias" von Kai Kjær-Hansen, S. 11–21) und der Deutung seines Lebens, Leidens und Todes innerhalb des Judentums (v.a. in "Was die Presse über Rabbi Schneerson geschrieben hat" von Susan Perlman, S. 22–34).

Nach den beiden ersten "Kapiteln", die näher auf den Anlaß dieses Buches eingehen, soll in den "Kapiteln" 3–10 ein geschichtlicher Überblick über Messiasvorstellungen gegeben werden: im Tanach (= Altes Testament), in den Qumranschriften, im Neuen Testament, im Judentum des ersten Jahrhunderts, im Judentum und hier insbesondere in der chassidischen Chabad-Bewegung. Die letzten zehn "Kapitel" behandeln verschiedene

Themen im Umfeld von messianischen Vorstellungen im Judentum, messianischem Judentum und Jesus als Jude bzw. Messias für Israel, wobei auch ein persönliches Zeugnis eines Juden über seinen Weg zu Jesus als Messias Eingang gefunden hat (Stan Telchin, S. 182–190).

Nicht alle Beiträge können hier ausführlich besprochen werden; einige seien deshalb hier kurz herausgegriffen und positiv hervorgehoben: Eine gerade für Laien gute Definition des Messiasbegriffs sowie hilfreiche Erläuterung des Messiasgedankens anhand der alttestamentlichen Heilsgeschichte und der wichtigsten messianischen Stellen im AT bietet der Beitrag „Der Messias Gottes im Tanach, im Alten Testament“ von Noam Hendren. Der Artikel „Der Messias, der am Holz verflucht wurde“ von Torleif Elgvin (S. 55–62) bietet eine sehr gute Klärung der Frage, wie ein (am Kreuz) Verfluchter der Messias sein kann, wobei auch sehr interessante Stellen aus der spätjüdischen und rabbinischen Literatur und Geschichte herangezogen werden. Interessante und sehr bedenkenswerte Hintergründe und Zusammenhänge zu 1Kor 15,20 anhand des Alten Testaments und des Judentums bietet der Beitrag „Der Messias – der Erstling von denen, die auferstehen“ von Barry A. Rubin (S. 75–82).

Aspektenreich werden von Carol Calise („Die Chabad-Bewegung und ihr Messias“, S. 102–110) wesentliche Lehraussagen der Chabad-Bewegung bzw. des Chassidismus dargestellt, wobei hervorzuheben ist, daß „[d]er Chabad-Messianismus [...] die Messiasfrage wieder in den Vordergrund des jüdischen Lebens und Denkens gerückt“ (S. 109) hat.

Sehr bedenkenswert sind die interessanten Ausführungen von Tvi Sadan („Neues Interesse an messianischen Texten“, S. 111–120) über die gegenüber dem traditionellen jüdischen Denken geradezu revolutionären neuen Sichtweisen biblischer Texte (v.a. Jes 53) bezüglich des Messias, die z.T. christlichen Aussagen sehr nahe kommen: Das Leiden des „Messias“ (d.h. des Lubawitscher Rebbe) geschieht um der Sünde des Menschen willen. Gerade auch für Juden kann der Artikel „Jüdische Einwände gegen Jesus“ von Arnold Fruchtenbaum (S. 132–140) u.U. gute Denkanstöße geben.

David Sedaca bietet in „Die Wiedergeburt des messianischen Judentums“ (S. 152–161) einerseits eine sehr gute und hilfreiche Definition des „messianischen Judentums“, andererseits einen knappen geschichtlichen Abriß

über die neuere messianisch-jüdische Bewegung bis zur ihren heutigen vielfältigen Formen in aller Welt, wozu von Bodil F. Skjott exemplarisch „Messiasgläubige in Israel und ihr Messias“ (S. 162–171) vorgestellt werden.

Gerade für interessante Laien bietet dieses sehr preisgünstige Büchlein somit eine gute, interessante und allgemein verständliche Einführung in jüdische Messiasvorstellungen (bis) heute und (messianisch-)jüdische Sichtweisen von Jesus Christus; dabei bieten sich auch Theologen neue und äußerst interessante Erkenntnisse und Hintergrundinformationen.

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0960-2720

Das Wort Gottes – Gericht und Rettung: Untersuchungen zur Autorität der Heiligen Schrift in Bekenntnis und Lehre der Kirche
Armin Wenz

FSÖTh 75. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996, 343 pp., DM 98,—, pb., ISBN 3-525-56282-9

RÉSUMÉ

Le conflit des autorités est un thème clé de la thèse de Wenz. La question de l'autorité de l'Écriture revient, à ses yeux, à celle du rapport de l'Écriture aux autres autorités. Il considère que la crise du principe scripturaire n'est pas une crise spécifique à notre époque, mais qu'elle est liée à un conflit eschatologique entre les autorités. Wenz considère trois situations conflictuelles: la réforme luthérienne, le conflit à l'intérieur des églises allemandes sous le III^e Reich, et le débat moderne sur l'autorité de l'Écriture en théologie systématique. La réforme luthérienne constituait en elle-même une situation concrète de conflit; elle est aussi à la racine des deux autres situations conflictuelles, car les collections de textes normatifs pour le luthéranisme y manifestent leur influence. Le conflit de l'église sous les III^e Reich fait apparaître combien les décisions cruciales prises au moment de la Réforme peuvent être pertinentes pour une crise moderne. Ce fut un combat à propos de distinctions cruciales face à une théorie de l'unité qui ne distinguait plus entre la révélation de Dieu et la réalité dans le monde. En outre, la remise en cause du pré-

supposé selon lequel l'Écriture est le fondement faisant autorité est caractéristique de la majorité des théologiens modernes. En même temps subsiste le désir de conserver à la Bible, d'une manière ou d'une autre, la place de texte de référence pour la théologie.

Un processus herméneutique est nécessaire à la prédication moderne. Face aux changements importants que l'on constate dans les constructions dogmatiques par rapport aux vérités redécouvertes lors de la Réforme, Wenz considère des voies en concurrence. Il critique « l'homo hermeneuticus » pour ses prétentions quant à la nécessité pour les êtres humains d'une interprétation actualisante de l'Écriture et quant à sa capacité de mener à bien une telle entreprise, ainsi que pour les conséquences que cela entraîne, dans la pratique, quant à la validité de l'autorité scripturaire. Vu sous l'angle théologique, la voie de « l'homo hermeneuticus » n'est qu'une tentative de trouver une voie moyenne entre la foi et l'incrédulité.

SUMMARY

Conflict of authorities is a key idea in Wenz's thesis. The question of the authority of Scripture is, in his view, identical with the question of the relation of Scripture to other authorities. His basic assumption is that, in the crisis of the Scripture principle, it is a question, not of a time-conditioned crisis, but of an eschatological conflict of authorities. Wenz considers three conflict situations: the Lutheran reformation, the struggle in the German churches in the Third Reich, and the modern contention over the authority of Scripture in systematic theology. The Lutheran reformation, on one hand, is a self-standing, concrete situation of conflict; on the other hand, it lays the foundation for the two following main sections, because in these the normative set of texts (Textsammlung) for Lutheranism comes to expression.

In the 'church struggle' in the Third Reich it can be seen how crucial decisions in the reformation can take on new validity in a modern crisis. The 'church struggle' became a struggle about crucial distinctions in the face of a theory of unity which failed to distinguish between God's revelation and the reality in the world. It is typical of leading modern theologians that the presupposition of a Scripture as foundational authority has become largely suspect. Yet there remains a desire to retain it, somehow, as a standard text for theology.

For the sake of contemporary preaching a hermeneutical process is required. In the face of

major shifts in systematic constructions over against the insights rediscovered in the reformation and the 'church struggle', Wenz examines alternative voices. His criticism of the efforts of 'homo hermeneuticus' is directed at claims made about the necessity and possibility or capacity of human beings for an actualising interpretation of Scripture, as well as the consequences of such claims for the validity in practice of scriptural authority. From a theological point of view, the way of 'homo hermeneuticus' is an attempt to find a third way beyond both faith and unbelief.

Armin Wenz hat sein Buch, das als Dissertation von der Theologischen Fakultät der Friedrich-Alexander-Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg 1994 angenommen wurde, einem Grundlagenthema gewidmet. Es betrifft die Frage nach der Grundlegung von Theologie und Kirche überhaupt, obwohl Wenz sich mit einer primär innerlutherischen Klärung der Sachverhalte beschäftigt.

Die Untersuchung ist in drei Hauptteile gegliedert: I. "Die Autorität der Schrift in den evangelisch-lutherischen Bekenntnisschriften", II. "Die Autorität der Schrift im Kirchenkampf" und der umfangreichste Teil III: "Die Autorität der Schrift in der zeitgenössischen systematischen Theologie", der seinerseits in zwei Teile zerfällt: 1. "Die Krise der Schriftautorität und ihre Konsequenzen" und 2. "Die Gewißheit der Grundlage: Die Schrift als Autorität." Das Buch mündet in Teil IV "Zusammenfassung" und V "Ausblick" aus.

Das Thema der Untersuchung ist nicht die Schriftlehre als solche, sondern die Autorität der Schrift, die Frage, auf welche Weise die Schrift im Vollzug theologischer Reflexion und Verantwortung zugrunde gelegt, angewandt, kritisiert und im Konflikt geltend gemacht wird. Trotzdem deckt Wenz mit den verschiedenen Autoritätskonzeptionen auch viel von den dahinterliegenden Schriftverständnissen ab.

Ein Schlüsselbegriff der Untersuchung ist "Autoritätenkonflikt". Die Frage nach der Schriftautorität ist, so Wenz, mit der Frage nach dem Verhältnis der Schrift zu anderen Autoritäten identisch. Es ist die Grundannahme von Wenz, daß es sich bei der Krise des Schriftprinzips nicht um eine zeitbedingte Krise, sondern um einen eschatologischen Autoritätenkonflikt handelt, insofern hier das "wie" und das "woher" des zeitlichen und ewigen Heils des Menschen und dieser Welt vor Gott im Streit sind. Diese

Grundannahme entstammt der Überzeugung, daß die reformatorische These von der Klarheit und Selbstdurchsetzungskraft der Schrift von zeitübergreifender Geltung und Tragfähigkeit ist.

Den durch die Schrift inaugurierten Autoritätenkonflikt beleuchtet Wenz zunächst anhand von kirchlichen Entscheidungen in zwei offenkundigen Konfliktsituationen, der lutherischen Reformation und den deutschen Kirchenkampf während des Dritten Reiches. Auf diesem Hintergrund überlegt er zweitens, ob und inwiefern das heutige Ringen um die Krise des Schriftprinzips mit ihren Folgen sich als Autoritätenkonflikt, als eschatologischer Konflikt verstehen läßt. Das Ziel der Untersuchung von Wenz ist nicht theologiegeschichtlich, sondern systematisch-theologisch, dogmatisch.

Hauptteil I: "Die Autorität der Schrift in den evangelisch-lutherischen Bekenntnisschriften" soll in der Untersuchung sowohl die Grundlage für Teil II und III legen, weil hier die für lutherische Theologie normative Textsammlung zur Sprache kommt, als auch eine selbständige, konkrete Konfliktsituation darstellen.

Wenn man sich an das lutherische *sola-scriptura*-Prinzip und die Bedeutung des Verständnis der Heiligen Schrift für die lutherische Reformation erinnert, ist es überraschend, daß die lutherischen Bekenntnisschriften keinen selbständigen Lehrartikel über die Heilige Schrift und ihre Autorität in der Kirche enthalten. Wenz zeigt aber, daß sowohl die Autorität als auch die Klarheit der Schrift in der Argumentationsweise und dem Umgang mit der Schrift vorausgesetzt sind. Man redet und lehrt nicht über die Schrift, sondern man redet und lehrt aufgrund der Schrift und hört auf sie. Entscheidende Bedeutung für die Schriftautorität hat das *Mandatum Dei* (Gebot Gottes). Alle Gebote gründen im ersten Gebot. Autorität ist die Schrift auch als Buch von der Geschichte Gottes mit seiner Welt und den Menschen.

Zu einem Autoritätenkonflikt kommt es, wenn das Reden und Handeln Gottes in eine Welt hineinwirken, in der menschliche und irdische Größen, die nicht dem Wort Gottes entsprechen, auftreten und autoritative Geltung beanspruchen. Dieser Konflikt zwischen Gottes Wort und Menschenwort ist Ausdruck des eschatologischen Machtkampfes zwischen Gott und Widergott um die Herrschaft über den Menschen. Der Autoritätenkonflikt vollzieht sich als Konflikt zwischen der Schrift und der dieser Schrift nicht entsprechenden

menschlichen Tradition. Der Autoritätenkonflikt erfährt seine Zuspitzung im Konflikt um die Schriftauslegung. Es geht um die Frage, ob die Schrift das *verbum alienum Dei* (von außen kommende Wort Gottes) bleibt, welches sich als klares Evangelium selbst auslegt und nicht menschlicher Sicherheiten in Gestalt menschlicher Auslegungen, des theologischen oder kirchlich-hierarchischen Lehramtes oder eines Kanons im Kanon bedarf.

Als Autoritätenkonflikt, als Konflikt um die Geltung der Schrift, muß auch der Kirchenkampf gesehen werden. Am Hauptteil II: "Die Autorität der Schrift im Kirchenkampf" kann beobachtet werden, wie reformatorische Grundentscheidungen in einer Krisensituation der Moderne zur Geltung kommen können. Der Kirchenkampf vollzieht sich als Kampf um lebenswichtige Unterscheidungen gegen ein Einheitsdenken, in dem zwischen Gott und Mensch, Gottes Offenbarung und der Weltwirklichkeit nicht unterschieden wird. Ausgangspunkt des Kirchenkampfes ist die Besinnung auf kirchenspezifische Grundlagen, Schrift und Bekenntnis. Man stimmt in das Bekenntnis der Kirche ein, indem man sich mit den Vätern zur Herrschaft Christi bekennt. Die Herrschaft Christi ist aber identisch mit der Herrschaft der Schrift.

Auf dieser Grundlage vollzieht sich das Lehren als Unterscheidung der Geister in aller Klarheit durch feste Behauptungen und Verwerfungen, wobei die Schrift selbst souveränes Subjekt solcher Unterscheidung ist und bleibt. Das Weltverhältnis der Kirche ist in einer von Sünde gekennzeichneten Welt nicht durch Vermittlung und Synthese, sondern als Kampf bestimmt, der allein durch das Wort geführt wird und sich im Horizont des endzeitlichen Gerichtes Gottes abspielt. Das Weltverhältnis der Kirche erweist sich nicht als vermittelndes, sondern als überaus kritisches und zwar in dem Sinn, daß die Welt vor das auch ihr geltende und sie richtende Gebot Gottes gestellt wird.

Wenz beschränkt im dritten Teil: "Die Autorität der Schrift in der zeitgenössischen systematischen Theologie" in der ersten Unterabteilung: "Die Krise der Schriftautorität und ihre Konsequenzen" die Untersuchung auf deutschsprachige, evangelisch-lutherische Theologen der Nachkriegszeit, u.a. W. Trillhaas, G. Ebeling und W. Pannenberg. Er fragt, wie in Übereinstimmung oder im Widerspruch zu den kirchlichen Entscheidungen der Vergangenheit in heutiger theologischer Verantwortung die Schriftautorität bestimmt wird, und wie sich das in der theologischen Durchführung auswirkt.

Es ist für die heutigen Theologen kennzeichnend, daß die Voraussetzung der Schrift als grundlegende Autorität der Theologie weithin fraglich geworden ist. Das reformatorische Schriftprinzip wird als hermeneutische Gegenthese zum römisch-katholischen Traditionsprinzip und als ansatzweise Befreiung von einem formalistischen Offenbarungsverständnis angesehen. Die Identifizierung von Schrift und Wort Gottes wird als zutiefst problematisch empfunden und daher abgelehnt oder von ergänzenden Faktoren abhängig gemacht. Auch die traditionellen Bestimmungen der Schrift, ihre Einheitlichkeit, Selbstausslegungskraft und Autorität fallen. Die Ablehnung der Schrift als voraussetzende Grundlage wird vor allem durch den Hinweis auf den Wandel der Zeit bzw der Situation, den man häufig mit dem Stichwort "Neuzeit" zu bezeichnen pflegt, begründet. Denn diese neuzeitliche Situation erweist sich als mit voraussetzenden Normen oder Autoritäten unvereinbar. Konsequenz ist die rückhaltslose Historisierung der Schrift. Man sucht die Schrift ausschließlich immanent als Wort und Werk von Menschen bzw. der Kirche zu verstehen. Folgerichtig wird die Unterscheidung von Schrift und Tradition, Gottes Wort und Menschenwort aufgegeben. Dennoch will man an der Schrift als dem maßgebenden Text der Theologie "irgendwie" festhalten. Ihre unentbehrliche Funktion als primäre historische Quelle und die Erfahrung ihrer Wirksamkeit sind die beiden Faktoren, in welchen man die Geltung der Schrift begründet sieht.

Ist das Wort unverfügbar, die Schrift aber Objekt der Forschung, so schiebt sich die Frage nach der Grundlegung der Theologie (als Frage nach der gegenwärtigen Vermittlung bzw. Vertretbarkeit der Sache) mit großer Dringlichkeit als die zentrale Aufgabe der Theologie in den Vordergrund. Allein von der kritisch erforschten Schrift kann erwartet werden, was nicht mehr "gesetzlich" der Schrift selber zugeschrieben werden darf, nämlich daß sich das Verstehen der Sache ereignet, der Geist zu Worte kommt, das textgewordene Wort wieder lebendig und gegenwärtig wirksam wird. Zugleich gilt freilich, daß die Identifizierung der Sache der Theologie rein historisch nicht lösbar, immer nur vorläufig erreichbar ist. Um der gegenwärtigen Vertretung der Sache in der Verkündigung willen, der die Theologie dienen soll, bedarf es eines die historische Grundlegung

aufnehmenden und auf die gegenwärtige Relevanz hin bedenkenden und übersetzenden hermeneutischen Prozesses. Die Identifikation der Sache fällt nicht mit ihrer Schriftgemäßheit, sondern mit ihrer Gegenwartsrelevanz zusammen. Die Forderung nach Gegenwartsrelevanz wird auf charakteristische Weise gegen eine Einengung auf die Soteriologie ins Feld geführt. Gegenüber dieser Engführung wird die Berücksichtigung der gesamten welt-menschlichen Lebenswirklichkeit eingefordert.

Teil III, 2. "Die Gewißheit der Grundlage: Die Schrift als Autorität"

Angesichts der weitgehenden Verschiebungen in den dargestellten systematischen Entwürfen gegenüber den in Reformation und Kirchenkampf wiederentdeckten Einsichten stellt Wenz die Frage, ob man diese Entwürfen alternativlos als Vollendung der Reformation bzw. als deren sachgemäße Verwirklichung unter den Bedingungen der Neuzeit ansehen muß. Es gibt tatsächlich alternative Stimmen, die in kritischer Auseinandersetzung mit den heute gängigen Voraussetzungen von der Reformation her auf die der Theologie spezifische, göttlich vorgegebene Grundlage hinweisen.

Der Einsatz beim Selbstverständnis der biblischen Schriften weist die Theologie hin auf die Subjektivität des dreieinigen Gottes. Im Medium des textgewordenen Wortes handelt Gott in jeder Gegenwart, indem er durch die hier berichtete Geschichte erkennen läßt, was sich unter dem Wort in Glaube und Unglaube des Menschen ereignet, indem er durch das Wort der Schrift in Verkündigung, Taufe und Abendmahl den gegenwärtigen Menschen zueignet, was er in Christus vollbracht hat.

Das schriftgewordene Wort ist neben dem mündlichen Wort eine selbständige Ausdrucksform des Geistes, lebendige Rede Gottes, die in der Schriftlichkeit authentisch aufbewahrt wird und so dauerhaft zugänglich bleibt. Die Geschichtlichkeit des Wortes ist dabei weder ausgeblendet, noch wird sie zum Nachteil. Vielmehr bezeichnet sie Gottes tatsächliche Offenbarung in ihrer unableitbaren Vorgegebenheit und – universal – erfahrbaren Leiblichkeit, Diesseitigkeit und Gegenständlichkeit.

Die Schrift stellt damit jede Zeit neu vor die Frage nach der Anerkennung ihrer Vorgegebenheit und Suffizienz bzw. Unabhängigkeit von jeder nachträglichen Begründung, Zustimmung oder Autorisierung durch Menschen. Die Inspiration der Schriften ist in dem Sinne zu verstehen, daß sich der Geist an die

Schriften gebunden hat und durch sie in vielfältiger Gestalt wirkt.

Die Kritik der Bemühungen des *homo hermeneuticus* richtet sich auf die Behauptungen der Notwendigkeit und Möglichkeit bzw. Befähigung des Menschen (bzw. Christen oder Theologen) zur aktualisierenden Deutung der Schrift sowie die Konsequenzen dieser Behauptungen für die faktische Geltung der Schriftautorität. In theologischer Hinsicht ist der Weg des *homo hermeneuticus* der Versuch, einen dritten Weg jenseits von Glaube und Unglaube gehen zu wollen. An die Stelle des schrift- und darin christusgebundenen Glaubensgehorsams tritt die Distanzierung und Abstrahierung von der Schrift und ihrer Wirksamkeit, das Postulat eines Abstandes, der dann durch die verifizierende Vergegenwärtigung wieder überbrückt werden muß. Aus der Perspektive der sich selbst in freier Vollmacht zueignenden Schrift ist dieser Versuch als Haltung des alten Menschen zu werten, der sich die Gabe nicht schenken lassen will.

Die "Krise des Schriftprinzips" ist, so Wenz gegen das Selbstverständnis der heutigen systematischen Theologie, weniger das Ergebnis eines geschichtlichen Prozesses, als vielmehr die Auswirkung des zu allen Zeiten vollziehenden Konfliktes um die Autorität der Schrift. Indem die Schrift das Wort Gottes von außen in diese Welt hineinträgt, fordert sie den Widerspruch einer aus dem eigenen Lebensentwurf in eigenmächtiger Selbstverantwortung lebenden Menschheit heraus.

Es geht vor allem anderen um die Frage nach der Suffizienz der Schrift für die Grundlegung der Theologie und der Kirche und für die Vermittlung des Glaubens angesichts der Anfechtungen der Autorität der Schrift von innen und von außen. Entweder ist die Schrift suffizient hinsichtlich ihrer grundlegenden *claritas* und ihrer heilschaffenden und kirchegründenden *efficacia*, oder sie bedarf aufgrund von veränderten, zeitbedingten Konstellationen bzw. Bestreitungen ihrer Autorität und ihres Inhalts der Nachhilfe des Menschen, dem sie begegnet und gilt. – Der historische Rückblick auf die Reformationszeit und die Zeit des Kirchenkampfes zeigt deutlich, daß die Bemühungen heutiger Applikationshermeneutik im Ansatz und in der Struktur keineswegs neu sind.

Das Buch von Wenz hat als Titel: *Das Wort Gottes-Gericht und Rettung*. Und um das Heil des Menschen geht es letztlich. Nach Wenz wird die reformatorische Heilslehre von der Applikationshermeneutik gefährdet. Eine Theologie, die dagegen auch heute noch das *sola scriptura* einprägt, sich von der Suffizienz

der Schrift getragen weiß und diese tragfähige Grundlage ernst nimmt, dient damit in der Tat der Freiheit, dem Leben des Menschen und der Welt, weil nur so die Rechtfertigung allein aus Gnade und durch den Glauben aufrechtzuerhalten ist. Allein indem die Theologie vor der Schrift bleibt, bleibt sie im Gefälle der Alleinwirksamkeit Gottes davor bewahrt, zum Selbstvollzug, zur Selbstrechtfertigung des christlich-frommen Menschen oder der Kirche zu werden.

Wenz hat sein Buch einem sehr wichtigen Thema gewidmet. Er hat, soweit ich es beurteilen kann, die Untersuchungen auf vertrauenswürdige Weise durchgeführt und hat dazu ohne Zweifel ein großes systematisches Denkvermögen demonstriert. Wenz hat uns dadurch eine wertvolle Hilfe geliefert, ein wichtiges Thema in der heutigen systematischen Theologie zu durchschauen und ein tragfähiges reformatorisches Schriftverständnis festzuhalten um des Heils des Menschen willen. Ich muß aber eine grundlegende Frage einwerfen: Ist es *immer* treffend, wie Wenz behauptet, daß der Weg des *homo hermeneuticus* einen Versuch, einen dritten Weg jenseits von Glaube und Unglaube gehen zu wollen, ausmacht?

Obwohl der Horizont von Wenz eindeutig die lutherische systematische Theologie Deutschlands ist, ist sowohl die lutherische Reformation, der Kirchenkampf und die zeitgenössische systematische Theologie Deutschlands von allgemeinem Interesse. Das macht meiner Meinung nach das Buch von Wenz nicht nur als Orientierungshilfe interessant, sondern es ist ein wertvoller systematisch-theologischer Beitrag zu der immer neuen theologischen Aufgabe sich zu besinnen, welche Rolle, welche Autorität der Schrift zu kommt, um hier und heute wahre Kirche zu sein.

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καταλλάσσω in Ancient Greek Literature With Reference to the Pauline Writings

Stanley E. Porter

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SUMMARY

Porter presents in this monograph a detailed study of the Greek word-group καταλλάσσω, ktl. This word is of particular importance because of its place in New Testament soteriology. Porter argues that Paul is the first Greek-language author known to us who uses καταλλάσσω in the active sense, with God as the subject who is offended and yet who reconciles.

RÉSUMÉ

Cette monographie est une étude détaillée de groupe de mots de la racine de καταλλάσσω en grec. L'usage de cette racine dans l'exposé de la sotériologie néo-testamentaire lui confère toute son importance. L'auteur souligne que Paul est le premier auteur connu à utiliser cette racine dans un sens actif, Dieu étant le sujet qui, bien qu'offensé, réconcilie.

Porter ist Professor am Roehampton Institute, London, und bekannt als Autor einiger einschlägiger Veröffentlichungen zu Grammatik und Syntax des neutestamentlichen Griechisch (vgl. z.B. 'Die griechische Sprache des NT' in S.E. Porter (Hrsg.), *Handbook to the Exegesis of the New Testament*, NTTS 25 (Leiden, New York, Köln: E.J. Brill, 1997, 99–130; vgl. meine Rezension in *Novum Testamentum*, im Druck).

Der vorliegenden Band präsentiert die detaillierte Wortstudie einer griechischen Wortgruppe. Obwohl die tatsächlichen Vorkommen im Neuen Testament begrenzt sind, erscheinen die Wörter καταλλάσσω, ktl. (versöhnen, Versöhnung) an prominenter Stelle im Zusammenhang der paulinischen Soteriologie. Paulus gebraucht diese Wortgruppe in Röm 3.25f; 5.8–11; 2 Kor 5.18–21; Eph 2.16; Kol 1.20,22, um das Werk Jesu zu beschreiben.

Angesichts der Bedeutung dieser Wortgruppe in der gegenwärtigen Diskussion über die Versöhnung in der wissenschaftlichen Reflexion auf die neutestamentliche Theologie (siehe unten), nimmt sich Porters Zielvorgabe relativ bescheiden aus. Er greift eine Vermutung von I.H. Marshall auf ('Paul uses καταλλάσσω in ways unattested in earlier Greek', 16) und tritt an, um nachzuweisen, daß Paulus der erste uns bekannte Griechisch schreibende Autor war, der καταλλάσσω im aktiven Sinn verwendet, in dem die verletzte/angegriffene Seite oder Partei in einer Beziehung (im theologischen Sprachgebrauch also Gott) als grammatikalisches Subjekt die Initiative ergreift um zwischen sich und der verletzenden Partei Versöhnung zu schaffen. Dieser Nachweis, soll er methodologisch sau-

ber geführt werden, erfordert einen langen Anmarschweg. So untersucht Porter alle uns bekannten Vorkommen der καταλλάσσω – Wortgruppe (καταλλάγη, ἀλλάσσω, διαλλάσσω, ἀντικαταλλάσσω) in der antiken griechischen Literatur von den Anfängen bis zum sechsten nachchristlichen Jahrhundert, freilich mit besonderem Augenmerk auf die neutestamentlichen Vorkommen.

Zunächst stellt Porter ein Klassifikationsmodell für den Gebrauch der einzelnen Vorkommen der καταλλάσσω – Wortgruppe vor. In Anlehnung an I.H. Marshall, 'The Meaning of "Reconciliation"', *Jesus the Saviour: Studies in New Testament Theology* (London: SPCK, 1990), 258–74 unterscheidet Porter fünf Kategorien. A1: das Subjekt erreicht den Austausch von Gütern zwischen Parteien (Aktiv, Medium oder Passivformen, die Güter erscheinen in indirekter Rede, mit oder ohne Präpositionen). A2: Das Subjekt erreicht Aussöhnung zwischen gegenseitig verfeindeten Parteien (Aktiv, Medium oder Passivformen, die Parteien erscheinen in indirekter Rede, mit oder ohne Präpositionen). B: Das Subjekt erreicht Versöhnung, indem es eine feindliche Partei überzeugt, seinen Zorn gegen das Subjekt aufzugeben (aktivisch). C: Das Subjekt wird versöhnt (oder erreicht Versöhnung), indem es eine feindliche Partei überzeugt, seinen Zorn aufzugeben, gewöhnlich gegen das Subjekt (Medium oder Passivformen, Passiv gelegentlich deponential verwendet, wahrscheinlich medial). D: Das Subjekt erreicht Aussöhnung, indem es seinen eigenen Zorn auf eine andere Partei aufgibt (passive Verbformen). E: Das Subjekt erreicht Aussöhnung, indem es seinen eigenen Zorn auf eine andere Partei aufgibt (aktive Verbformen).

Im ersten Teil der Untersuchung zählt Porter sämtliche Vorkommen der Wortgruppe in nicht-neutestamentlichen Schriften auf (23–116). Zuerst kommen die Dramatiker, Historiker, Redner und Philosophen der griechischen klassischen Epoche, dann folgen griechisch hellenistische Autoren (nicht-theologische Schriftsteller und theologische Schriftsteller, hier die Septuaginta, das Testament Abrahams und das Testament Hiobs), anschließend die Vorkommen in griechischen Papyri und Inschriften und zum Abschluß Vorkommen in den griechischen Kirchenvätern von Clemens von Rom bis ins fünfte Jahrhundert. Zu jedem Vorkommen bietet Porter eine knappe Einführung in den Zusammenhang, Zitat(e) in griechischer Sprache (ohne Übersetzung) und ausreichende Erklärungen, um die Zuordnung zu einer der Kategorien zu erklären und zu

rechtfertigen. Ziel des Autors ist dabei 'to provide as much primary evidence in the shortest length as possible', 19). In den teilweise ausführlichen Fußnoten berücksichtigt Porter die klass.- philologische Diskussion.

Der zweite Teil gilt den neutestamentlichen Vorkommen (119–89). Kapitel 5 behandelt den nicht-theologischen Gebrauch von καταλλάσσω und verwandten Formen in 1 Kor 7.11; Mt 5.24; Lk 12.58 und Apg 7.26, jeweils mit Klassifikation. Die folgenden Kapitel (6–7) gelten dem theologischen Gebrauch in 2 Kor 5.18–21 und Röm 5.8–11 (125–62). In 2 Kor gehören die Vorkommen zur Kategorie E: Gott ergreift die Initiative, indem er den Grund seines eigenen Zorns gegen die Menschheit entfernt: 'Paul describes God as the agent and goal of reconciliation, in the sense that he is the one who initiates reconciliation and the one toward whom it is directed, all through or by means of the work of Christ' (143). Zum Gebrauch von καταλλάσσω in Röm 5 stellt Porter fest: 1. 'Frieden mit Gott haben' (V. 1) und Versöhnung (V. 10a) werden scheinbar von Paulus gleichgesetzt. 2. Paulus beschreibt Gottes Werk indem er zwei Wörter verwendet mit sich überschneidendem semantischem Bereich (dikaionw und katallavssw). 3. Paulus sagt deutlich, wodurch dieses Werk Gottes erreicht wird. 4. Paulus setzt das 'Sünder-Sein' mit dem 'ein Feind Gottes sein' gleich. 5. Die Erwartung einer eschatologischen Rettung ist das Resultat dieser gemeinsamen Handlung, entweder Rechtfertigung oder Versöhnung genannt. Der genaue Gebrauch der Wortgruppe in Röm 5 ist schwer zu bestimmen (C, vielleicht auch D): 'this usage of καταλλάσσω is perhaps the most interesting because it is the most suggestive, although all interpretations are agreed that reconciliation is only possible through the work of Christ' (161).

Kapitel 8 untersucht die Vorkommen von ἀποκαταλλάσσω in Kol 1.20,22 und Eph 2.16. Zu den Kolosser-Vorkommen schreibt Porter:

If the author is using the prefixed ἀπό not in the sense of restitution but as an intensifying prefix, it is legitimate to ask in what sense καταλλάσσω is intensified. This becomes clear when it is appreciated what new factors are included in the use of the word, including making Christ the agent of reconciliation in v 22 and including the entire universe as the object of reconciliation in v 20. These are new senses of reconciliation previously unattested even in Pauline usage, and fittingly spoken of using a new, emphatic form of the lexical item. (184f)

Abschließend schneidet Porter die Verfasserfrage (Eph, Kol) an: 'With regard to Col 1.20,22 and Eph 2.16, is it to be believed that there was a second, now unknown, creative user of καταλλάσσω and its derived cognates in the early church, or was this the same Paul exploiting anew his vocabulary of reconciliation?' (189). Der Gebrauch in Kol 1 fällt unter die Kategorie E (mit Elementen von B und A2), in Eph 2.16 liegt A2 vor 'in which Christ as the reconciling agent affects reconciliation between mutually antagonistic parties, Jews and gentiles. He does this through his work on the cross, so as to present them reconciled to God' (189). Neben detaillierten grammatikalischen Analysen (die gute Englischkenntnisse und große Liebe zu grammatischen Fragen voraussetzen!) findet man im zweiten Teil gute, stark grammatikal orientierte Exegese, trotz des Zugeständnisses: 'Since this is in the first instance a grammatical analysis, I have studiously avoided exploring the many possible theological implications of use of καταλλάσσω in the NT' (18). Der Band enthält weder Bibliographie, Indizes, Zusammenfassungen noch ein Schlußwort.

Neben dem erfolgreichen Nachweis der obigen These kommt Porter zu weiteren Ergebnissen: 1. Die Vorkommen zeigen, daß καταλλάσσω keine bedeutende Rolle in heidnischen religiösen Riten der klassischen und hellenistischen Zeit hatte (mit Ausnahme einer umstrittenen Stelle in Sophokles, *Ajax* 744). Der religiöse Gebrauch wird erst im 2. Makk und dann in vier ntl. Schriften bedeutsam. 2. Aufgrund des paulinischen Gebrauches vermehren sich Vorkommen von καταλλάσσω und verwandten Wörtern drastisch, vor allem die ungewöhnlich hohen Vorkommen in den Kirchenvätern, speziell bei Johannes Chrysostomos. 3. Paulus hatte nicht nur prägenden Einfluß auf den verbalen Gebrauch von καταλλάσσω, sondern hat auch das Wort ἀποκαταλλάσσω (Kol 1.20,22; Eph 2.16) in die griechische Sprache eingeführt (Fragen der Verfasserschaft werden nur knapp diskutiert, S. 164).

Jede Würdigung dieser Arbeit muß berücksichtigen, daß dieser Band nicht umsonst in einer Serie zur neutestamentlicher Philologie erschienen ist. Zurecht mag man sich fragen, worin die Bedeutung dieser Studie und der These des Autors liegt. Selbst wenn Leser nun wissen, daß – nach unserem gegenwärtigen Wissensstand – Paulus als Erster die καταλλάσσω - Wortgruppe in diesem Sinn verwendet hat, ist damit scheinbar noch nicht viel gewonnen für das Verständnis der paulini-

schen Aussagen. Doch täuscht dieser Eindruck. Die Würdigung macht einen Blick auf die neuere deutschsprachige Diskussion um den traditionsgeschichtlichen Hintergrund der paulinischen Versöhnungsaussagen notwendig. Hier verlaufen die Fronten hauptsächlich zwischen den Tübinger Neutestamentlern Stuhlmacher und Hofius und – ebenfalls als Vertreter einer größeren Zahl von Forschern – C. Breytenbach.

Vgl. O. Hofius, 'Erwägungen zu Gestalt und Herkunft des paulinischen Versöhnungsgedankens', *ZThK* 77, 1980, 186–99 = *Paulusstudien*, WUNT 51 (Tübingen: Mohr/Siebeck, 1989), 1–14; *idem*, "Gott hat unter uns aufgerichtet das Wort von der Versöhnung" (2 Kor 5.19)', *ZNW* 71, 1980, 3–20 = *Paulusstudien*, 15–32; *idem*, 'Sühne und Versöhnung: Zum paulinischen Verständnis des Kreuzestodes Jesu', in W. Maas (ed.), *Versuche, das Leiden und Sterben Jesu zu verstehen*, Schriftenreihe der katholischen Akademie der Erzdiözese Freiburg (München, Zürich: Schnell & Steiner, 1983), 25–46 = *Paulusstudien*, 33–49; *idem*, Rezension von Breytenbach, *Versöhnung*, *ThLZ* 115, 1990, 741–45. P. Stuhlmacher, 'Das Evangelium von der Versöhnung in Christus: Grundlinien und Grundprobleme einer biblischen Theologie des Neuen Testaments', in P. Stuhlmacher, H. Claß, *Das Evangelium von der Versöhnung in Christus*, Calwer Paperback (Stuttgart: Calwer, 1979), 13–54; *idem*, *Versöhnung, Gesetz und Gerechtigkeit: Aufsätze zur biblischen Theologie* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1981); *idem*, 'Cilliers Breytenbachs Sicht von der Sühne und Versöhnung', *Jahrbuch für Biblische Theologie* 6, 1991: *Altes Testament und christlicher Glaube* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1991), 339–54; *idem*, *Biblische Theologie des Neuen Testaments I: Grundlegung; Von Jesus zu Paulus* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1992). C. Breytenbach, *Versöhnung: Eine Studie zur paulinischen Soteriologie*, WMANT 60 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1989) und 'Versöhnung, Stellvertretung und Sühne: Semantische und traditionsgeschichtliche Bemerkungen am Beispiel der paulinischen Briefe', *NTS* 39, 1993, 57–79. Vgl. ferner H.-J. Findeis, *Versöhnung - Apostolat - Kirche: Eine exegetisch-theologische und rezeptionsgeschichtliche Studie zu den Versöhnungsaussagen des Neuen Testaments* (2 Kor, Röm, Kol, Eph), fzb 40 (Würzburg: Echter, 1983); H. Schmid, 'Die Möglichkeit der Sühne nach dem Gesetz des Mose'; R. Albrecht, 'Sühne in Jesaja 53'; V. Gäckle, 'Sühne und Versöhnung bei Paulus',

in V. Gäckle (ed.), *Warum das Kreuz: Die Frage nach der Bedeutung des Todes Jesu*, TVG: Orientierung (Wuppertal: R. Brockhaus, 1998), 7–33, 35–51, 87–105 und U. Swarat, 'Versöhnung mit Gott und Menschen: Eine Bibelarbeit', in E. Brandt, P.S. Fiddes, J. Molthagen (eds.), *Gemeinschaft am Evangelium*. FS W. Popkes (Leipzig: EVA, 1996), 311–29.

Während die Tübinger Versöhnung eher von den hellenistisch-jüdischen Vorkommen her verstehen und betonen, daß Gott 'durch Christi Sühnetod Rechtfertigung und Versöhnung für die Gottlosen heraufführt' und somit Versöhnung und Versöhnung untrennbar zusammenschauen (Versöhnung geschieht durch Versöhnung), versucht Breytenbach nachzuweisen, daß die *καταλλάσσω*-Vorstellung im profanen politisch-diplomatischen Bereich anzusiedeln ist und für sich selbst nichts über das 'wie' oder die Grundlage der Versöhnung aussagt: 'Sühne und Versöhnung sind vielmehr zunächst semantisch und überlieferungsgeschichtlich zu unterscheiden, und erst wenn dies geschehen ist, ist kritisch zu fragen, ob und auf welche Weise Paulus beide in 2 Kor 5.18–21; Röm 5.1–11 (und Kol 1.20) miteinander verbindet'. Dem entgegnet Stuhlmacher: 'Das Evangelium ist "Wort von der Versöhnung"', indem es von dieser göttlichen Versöhnungstat heilswirksame Kunde gibt. Eine Trennung von Sühne und Versöhnung nimmt Paulus in 2 Kor 5.18–21 nicht vor. Er ruft seine Adressaten als apostolischer Gesandter des erhöhten Christus dazu auf, sich mit Gott versöhnen zu lassen, d.h. sich dem Evangelium zu öffnen und die von Gott ohne ihr Zutun durch Jesu Sühnetod gewirkte Versöhnung im Glauben zu empfangen (vgl. 2 Kor 5.18,20 mit Röm 5.6–11)' (alle Zitate Stuhlmacher, *Theologie*, 318f).

Obwohl Porter eher in der Nähe des Tübinger Verständnisses anzusiedeln ist (157, 177: 'sacrificial death', 179: 'sacrificial sense'; vgl. auch die obigen Ergebnisse zu Röm 5), trägt seine Studie als Ganzes direkt zu dieser Diskussion wenig bei. Ob nicht die gründliche grammatikalische Analyse, die Porter für seine eigene Fragestellung vornimmt, das 'Patt' zwischen diesen beiden Positionen hätte auflösen können? Doch bietet Porters Studie auch für die umrissene Diskussion einige indirekte Anregungen. Wenn Paulus tatsächlich *καταλλάσσω* als erster auf eine neue Art und Weise verwendet hat ('the evidence here seems undeniable that Paul was a creative user of his language, Greek, both grammatically and conceptually', 15), dann läßt dies auch die Vermutung zu, daß er, zum einen, den Inhalt des

Wortes anders füllt als seine Zeitgenossen (darauf mag der neuartige Gebrauch und der Neologismus ἀποκατάλλασσω weisen), und zum anderen in seinem Gebrauch *unabhängig ist vom konzeptionellen Hintergrund sowohl der griechisch-römischen Welt, wie auch der jüdischen Vorkommen*. Damit wären die Exegeten weg von den eigentlichen Begriffen auf den Kontext verwiesen, auf den sich die Tübinger Position zurecht beruft. Und weiter, wenn Paulus auf ganz neue Weise beschreibt, daß Gott die Initiative ergreift, um zwischen sich und den Menschen Versöhnung zu schaffen, dann wird dieser Versöhnung ein Geschehen zugrunde liegen müssen, daß jenseits menschlicher Verfügbarkeit zu suchen ist.

Man darf weiter fragen: Liegt die Neuheit und Andersartigkeit des paulinischen Gebrauches von καταλλάσσω an der Neuheit und Andersartigkeit der Ereignisse, deren soteriologische Bedeutung Paulus in Worte zu fassen, darzustellen und zu deuten versucht? Wenn es um Andersartigkeit und Neuheit geht, wird man nicht zu schnell mit bekannten Kategorien wie Sühne operieren dürfen, ohne deren Gegenwart in der Begrifflichkeit selbst oder im Kontext überzeugend nachgewiesen zu haben (so richtig die Anfragen Breytenbachs an die – im Deutschen naheliegende – vorschnelle Verschmelzung von Versöhnung mit Versöhnung).

Nach der oben genannten grammatikalischen Definition hat nach Paulus Gott (als grammatikalisches Subjekt), die verletzte/angegriffene Seite in der Beziehung Gott – Mensch, aktivisch die Initiative ergriffen, um zwischen sich und der verletzenden Partei, den Menschen, Versöhnung zu schaffen. Diesen Sachverhalt beschreibt Paulus mit Aktivformen von καταλλάσσω. Das bringt uns von der Grammatik und exegetischen Diskussionen zum Herzstück christlichen Glaubens.

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0960–2720

Kurshalten in stürmischer Zeit: D. Walter Michaelis: Ein Leben für Kirche und Gemeinschaftsbewegung Michael Diener

TVG, Kirchengeschichtliche Monografien 1. Gießen: Brunnen, 1998, 656 pp., DM 59,—, pb., ISBN 3-7655-9422-9

SUMMARY

The oldest and most important part of the evangelical movement in Germany is pietism in the state churches. Since the end of the seventeenth century this pietism has been operating as a biblically based renewal movement in the churches that derive from the Reformation. In the last 110 years it has formed itself into the group known as the Evangelischer Gnadauer Gemeinschaftsverband ('Gnadauer Verband'; the Protestant Gnadau Congregational Union), now with its headquarters in Dillenburg. An important role in this history has been played by its former president. Diener's dissertation presents Walter Michaelis (1866–1953) as the most important figure in the Gnadau movement. The many and varied projects to which he devoted himself compose a little history of German pietism in the first half of the twentieth century, of a sort that has not been written before.

RÉSUMÉ

La partie la plus ancienne et la plus importante du mouvement évangélique en Allemagne est constituée du mouvement piétiste dans les églises officielles. Depuis la fin du XVII^e siècle, il s'est présenté comme un mouvement de réveil fondé sur la Bible au sein des églises issues de la Réforme. Depuis plus d'un siècle, ceux qui s'y rattachent se sont rassemblés dans l'union évangélique de Gnadau, qui a maintenant son quartier général à Dillenburg. Son ancien président, Walter Michaelis (1866–1953), a joué un rôle important dans son histoire. L'auteur de cette thèse le présente comme la personnalité la plus influente dans le mouvement de Gnadau. Les nombreux projets variés auxquels il s'est attelé permettent de composer une petite histoire du piétisme allemand dans la première moitié du XX^e siècle, d'un genre jusqu'à présent inconnu.

Die evangelikale Bewegung in Deutschland wird vom Pietismus getragen, der sich als Erneuerungsbewegung in den Landeskirchen versteht. Seit 1888 organisierte sich der innerkirchliche Pietismus im Gnadauer Gemeinschaftsverband. Bisher liegen Untersuchungen besonders über den Anfang des Gnadauer Verbandes vor. Mit der Betheler Dissertation des pfälzischen Pfarrers Michael Diener wird nun erstmals eine umfassende Biographie eines der Präsidien des pietistischen Verbandes vorgelegt. Da Walter Michaelis (1866–1953) achtunddreißig Jahre lang das Amt des Präses innehatte, liest sich die Biographie auf weiten Strecken wie eine

Darstellung der Geschichte Gnadaus in der ersten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts. Die bisherigen Arbeiten zu den Anfängen Gnadaus finden somit in würdiger Weise ihre Fortsetzung. Da der Band Personen- und Sachregister enthält, eignet er sich gut als Nachschlagewerk für die Gnadauer Geschichte.

Wilhelm Michaelis machte sich, bevor er in 'Gnadau' mitarbeitete, als Pfarrer in Bielefeld (1892–1901 und 1908–1919) um die innere Mission in Westfalen verdient. Als Mitarbeiter in der pietistischen Deutschen Christlichen Studentenvereinigung (DCSV) und des Westfälischen Gemeinschaftsverbandes, als Missionsinspektor der Evangelischen Mission für Deutsch-Ostafrika und freier Evangelist (1901–08) betätigte er sich für Diakonie, Evangelisation und Mission, die großen Arbeitsbereiche des landeskirchlichen Pietismus. Während er für den Gnadauer Verband arbeitete, war er noch als Dozent für Praktische Theologie an Bodelschwinghs Theologischer Schule in Bethel tätig (1919–30), wurde Mitbegründer des Pastorengebetsbundes (heute: Pfarrer-Gebetsbruderschaft, PGB) und arbeitete in der verfassunggebenden Kirchenversammlung der Altpreußischen Kirche 1921/1922 und in manchen anderen Aufgaben mit. Für Gnadau stellte er sich zuerst nebenamtlich (1906–11), dann teilzeitlich und ab 1930 hauptamtlich (1919–52) zur Verfügung. Von seiner nebenamtlichen Tätigkeit mußte er wegen Überlastung zurücktreten (S. 242). Für seine Verdienste um den »Neubau der evangelischen Kirche« verlieh ihm die Theologische Fakultät Greifswald 1922 die Ehrendoktorwürde (S. 313–314).

Die nicht ohne Sympathie für Michaelis geschriebene Monographie von Diener rückt die wesentlichen Gnadauer Themen und Streitfragen in den Mittelpunkt der Darstellung, und das macht die Lektüre des voluminösen Bandes interessant. Am Anfang stehen die Fragen des Gemeinschaftsabendmahls und der Pfingstbewegung. Diesen schließt Diener einen wichtigen Exkurs über Michaelis' Stellungnahmen zu weiteren enthusiastischen Bewegungen und Persönlichkeiten an (Stanger, Röckle, Marienschwestern). Ein immer wiederkehrendes Gnadauer Dauerthema ist die Innerkirchlichkeit, wobei mir die Mitteilung neu war, daß Möbius 1939 für den Verband von Schleswig-Holstein zugleich Mitgliedschaft in Gnadau und im Bund Freier Evangelischer Gemeinden beantragen wollte (S. 497). Unter *Verschiedenes* wird die Gründung der Gnadauer Brasilienmission referiert (S. 441–

442). Besonders spannend ist Gnadaus Haltung zum Dritten Reich in der Zeit des Kirchenkampfes bis hin zur Teilnahme von Michaelis an der Kirchenführerkonferenz in Treysa 1945 (S. 528–531 – mehr soll dazu an dieser Stelle nicht verraten werden). In der Nachkriegszeit widmete er sich der Theologie Bultmanns, dem amerikanischen Fundamentalismus und der biblischen Inspiration (S. 543–56). Im Anhang bringt das Buch sechzehn ausgewählte Quellentexte sowie chronologische und bibliographische Aufstellungen zu Michaelis Lebenswerk (S. 577–628).

Michael Dieners Hochschulschrift kann nicht nur den deutschen, sondern auch den europäischen Lesern als Einführung in die Vorgeschichte des Pietismus in der zweiten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts nur ausdrücklich empfohlen werden. Im Medium der Biographie kristallisieren sich die entscheidenden Brennpunkte landeskirchlicher Frömmigkeit heraus, die bei wechselnden Namen jeweiliger Vertreter in der Gegenwart dieselben geblieben sind. Ein Folgeband über die Amtsnachfolger von Michaelis ist ein dringendes Desiderat der wissenschaftlichen Erforschung der kirchlichen Zeitgeschichte.

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***Neuer sprachlicher Schlüssel zum griechischen Neuen Testament:
Band I: Matthäus –
Apostelgeschichte; Band II: Römer –
Offenbarung
Wilfrid Haubeck, Heinrich von
Siebenthal***

Gießen, Basel: Brunnen, 1994 (II) und 1997 (I).

Band I: XXXVI + 896 S. Gebunden. 99 DM. ISBN 3-7655-9391-5

Band II: XXXIV + 507 S. Gebunden. 79 DM. ISBN 3-7655-9392-3.

SUMMARY

These two volumes constitute the best and most comprehensive linguistic and grammatical analysis of the Greek NT presently available. It is an excellent tool for those beginning to study the NT in Greek as well as for advanced students, pastors, Bible translators and exegetes. The extensive notes include a variety of information concerning meaning, grammatical and

syntactical issues, figures of speech, textual variants, examples from various Bible translations and diverse pieces of background information. The second volume contains a hundred-page survey of Greek grammar which is referred to in the notes. Very few students of the NT will have a grasp of NT Greek that would not benefit from these volumes! An English edition is under preparation by Hendrickson Publishers, Peabody.

RÉSUMÉ

Ces deux volumes constituent l'outil linguistique et grammatical le plus complet pour l'analyse du grec du Nouveau Testament. Il est excellent pour ceux qui commencent l'étude du Nouveau Testament en grec, ainsi que pour les plus avancés, les pasteurs, les traducteurs bibliques et les exégètes. Des notes conséquentes apportent une variété d'informations sur les questions sémantiques, grammaticales et syntaxiques, sur les figures de langage, les variantes textuelles, l'arrière-plan, et donnent des exemples tirés des diverses traductions de la Bible. Le second volume contient aussi une centaine de pages de survol de grammaire grecque, auquel les notes font références. Peu de gens possèdent une connaissance du grec du Nouveau Testament qui leur permettra de se passer de cet ouvrage. (Une édition anglaise est en préparation chez Hendrickson, Peabody).

Im Folgenden erweitere ich meine Rezension des zuerst erschienen zweiten Bandes in *Novum Testamentum* 37, 1995, 404–05 (mit Genehmigung der Herausgeber).

Neben denen, die gerne Gravamina über den traurigen Zustand altphilologischer Kenntnisse unter Theologiestudenten singen, gibt es zwei Dozenten, die – sicher trotz allem Bedauern – Abhilfe schaffen wollen. Wenn es scheinbar nicht mehr ohne sprachliche Hilfsmittel zu gehen scheint (ging es je?), dann sollen diese wenigstens gründlich sein und modernen sprachwissenschaftlichen Prinzipien entsprechen.

Jetzt liegen die beiden Bände *Neuer sprachlicher Schlüssel zum griechischen Neuen Testament* vor, die Haubeck, FeT-Mitglied und Rektor und Neutestamentler am Theologischen Seminar der Freien evangelischen Gemeinden (Dietzhöhlztal) und von Siebenthal, Dozent für biblische Sprachen und Textforschung an der Freien Theologischen Akademie (Gießen), zusammen erarbeitet haben. Haubeck ist bekannt durch seine gründliche philologisch-theologische Analyse der Gestalt und Bedeutung des paulinischen Loskaufmotivs

(*Loskauf durch Christus*; Gießen, Basel: Brunnen, 1985), von Siebenthal durch seine *Griechische Grammatik zum NT* (mit E. G. Hoffmann, 2. Aufl., 1990) und die deutsche Bearbeitung von T. O. Lambdins *Lehrbuch Bibel-Hebräisch* (3. verbesserte Aufl.; Gießen, Basel: Brunnen, 1999).

Nach Vorwort und Einführung mit entsprechenden 'Gebrauchsanweisungen' (I.VII–XIV; II.IX–XIV) folgen eine Liste aller Vokabeln mit 40 und mehr Vorkommen im NT (I.XV–XXXII; II.XV–XXXI) und Abkürzungsverzeichnis. Im ersten Band, Matthäus bis Apostelgeschichte, sind 891 Seiten, im zweiten Band, Römer bis Offenbarung, sind weitere 411 Seiten der gründlichen Erschließung des Textes gewidmet. Die Versangabe im laufenden Text und die jeweiligen Lemmata des griechischen Textes erscheinen fett gedruckt. Bibelbuch, Kapitel- und Versangabe bilden die Kopfzeile der Seite, am Rand erscheinen Versangaben erneut. Die Seitengestaltung ist übersichtlich und benutzerfreundlich. Textgrundlage ist die 27. Auflage des *Novum Testamentum Graece*, jedoch sind wichtige Varianten in der Analyse berücksichtigt. Stilfiguren werden identifiziert und entsprechende Erklärungen zu deren Verständnis geboten (oft mit Verweis auf die detaillierte Behandlung der Stilfiguren in den Grammatiken von Blass-Debrunner-Rehkopf und Hoffmann/von Siebenthal; äußerst knappe Zusammenstellung auch im Anhang, II.502–04). Für eine gründlichere Erschließung der Stilfiguren bleibt man weiterhin angewiesen auf das Register in E. Bullinger, *Figures of Speech Used in the Bible* (1898; repr. Grand Rapids: Baker, 1968); vgl. auch W. Bühlmann, K. Scherer, *Sprachliche Stilfiguren der Bibel: Von Assonanz bis Zahlenspruch; Ein Nachschlagewerk*, 2. Aufl. (Gießen: Brunnen, 1994).

Im Text finden sich ferner Querverweise auf verschiedenste bekannte und weniger geläufige Grammatiken, Wörterbücher und ausgewählte Kommentare. Zum Beispiel werden zum Markusevangelium die Kommentare von Cranfield, Gnilka, Guelich, Gundry, Pesch, und die Monographie von M. Reiser, *Syntax und Stil des Markusevangeliums im Licht der hellenistischen Volksliteratur, herangezogen; zur Apostelgeschichte Haenchen, Hemer, Marshall, Newmann, Pesch, Roloff, Schneider, Stott und die Bände der Serie The Book of Acts in its First Century Setting*. Bei der Apostelgeschichte vermisst man neben A. Weiser vor allem den 1994 erschienenen stark philologisch orientierten Band von C.K. Barrett, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Acts of the*

Apostles I: Preliminary Introduction and Commentary on Acts I–XIV, ICC (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark; Band II: Acts XV–XXVIII, 1998). Hinweisen mag man ferner auf das 1996 erschienene *Revised Supplement* (Hrsg. P.G.W. Glare, A.A. Thompson; Oxford: Clarendon) des gelegentlich angeführten *A Greek-English Lexicon* von H.G. Liddell, R. Scott und H.S. Jones.

Im ausführlichen grammatischen Anhang des zweiten Bandes (II.413–504) finden sich Flexionstabellen, Stammformenreihen unregelmäßiger Verben (mit Register) und - am interessantesten – ein Abriß zur Syntax des neutestamentlichen Griechisch (II.448–504). Hier wird knapp und durchsichtig dargestellt, wie einzelne Wörter in ihrem Zusammenhang funktionieren und somit Bedeutung tragen. Dank entsprechender Querverweise im laufenden Text und im Anhang selbst sind alle Angaben leicht zugänglich. Literaturverzeichnisse runden die Bände ab (I.892–96; II.505–07). Ferner enthält der erste Band Corrigenda und Addenda zu Band II.

Um dem Leser Vorgehen und Umfang dieses sprachlichen Schlüssels deutlich werden zu lassen, möchte ich aus den Angaben zum Vaterunser (Mt 6.9f) zitieren:

‘9 προδ-εύχεσθε Imperativ ὑμεῖς Subjekt betont (Anhang 122); es folgt ein Mustergebet (“Vaterunser”), wie Jesus es wohl bei verschiedenen Gelegenheiten in unterschiedlicher Form lehrte bzw. wie es von den frühen Christen unterschiedlich überliefert wurde (vgl. Lk 11,1-4 und Didache 8,2-3). πάτερ Vokativ πατήρ. ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς (= ὁ οὐράνιος [V. 14]) Attribut zu πάτερ (vgl. Anhang 84); πάτηρ ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς *unser im Himmel* (befindlicher/wohnender) Vater, übers. *unser Vater im Himmel*. ἁγιασθήτω Imperativ Passiv 3. Person Singular ἁγιάζω⁹¹ (Hinweis auf die Stammformenreihe des Verbs im Anhang unter Nr. 33) *heiligen, heilig machen, weihen*; hier als heilig behandeln, heilig halten (Bauer/Aland, *Wörterbuch*, s.v., 3). 10 ἐλθέτω Aorist Imperativ 3. Person Singular ἐρχομαι; ἐλθέτω ἡ βασιλεία σου dein Reich/deine Herrschaft komme; diese Bitte dürfte besonders folgende Aspekte miteinschließen: a) daß sich Gottes heilbringende Herrschaft, die mit dem Kommen Jesu angebrochen ist, jetzt ausbreite (indem Menschen sich ihm unterstellen und den Segen des [eschatologischen] Heils schmecken); b) daß sie sich bald in endgültiger Vollkommenheit entfalte. γενηθήτω Aorist Imperativ Passiv 3. Person Singular γίνομαι hier *getan werden* (Bauer/

Aland, *Wörterbuch*, s.v., I2a), *geschehen*. ὥς ... καὶ wie ... so auch (Bauer/Aland, *Wörterbuch*, s.v., καὶ II3; vgl. BDR § 4533); γενηθήτω ... ὥς ἐνοῦρανῶ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς (zum “fehlenden” Artikel siehe Anhang 106a) ... *geschehe, wie (er) im Himmel (geschieht,) so auch auf der Erde* bzw. (Neue Genfer Übersetzung) ... *geschehe auf der Erde, wie er im Himmel geschieht*’ (Abkürzungen jeweils von mir ausgeschrieben).

Trotz des bescheidenen Titels beinhalten die beiden Bände weit mehr als strenggenommen zu einem ‘sprachlichen Schlüssel’ gehört. Gelegentlich erinnern die Angaben eher an die älteren Bände des *Handbuchs zum Neuen Testament* oder des *International Critical Commentary* (vgl. z.B. die Angaben zu den Stichwörtern ἀγορά, 6 Zeilen; Ἐπικούρειος, 7 Z.; Στοῖκός, 11 Z.; Ἀρειος πάγος, 9 Z in Apg 17.18f.), wo entsprechende Hintergrundinformationen geboten werden. Zu σπέρμο-λόγος heißt es zum Beispiel: ‘(σπέρμα, λέγω auflesen; eigentlich “einer, der Samenkörner aufliest”) offenbar ein Athener Slangwort (bezeichnet unter anderem den Rinnsteinspatz, dann einen Menschen, der auf dem Markt Abfälle sammelt, einen nichtswürdigen Kerl [ähnlich wie ἀγοραῖος V. 5], schließlich [wohl auch hier] einen, der Wissensbrocken sammelt [Bruce, Apg, S. 377]), etwa *Schwätzer*’ (I.773f). Wie hilfreich ist der lange Anmarschweg zu κόκκινος in Mt 27.28: ‘(κόκκος “Samenkorn”; auch “Scharlachbeere” [Weibchen der Kermesschildlaus, das beerenartig auf den Blättern der Stecheiche sitzt: im Altertum zur Herstellung der Scharlachfarbe verwendet], daher auch “Scharlach, Scharlachfarbe”; GBL 3, S. 1359f) *scharlachrot*’? Das *Exegetische Wörterbuch* notiert ein bescheidenes ‘scharlachrot’ (II.756); Zerwick/Grosvenor lediglich ‘crimson’; selbst das *Theologische Wörterbuch* verschweigt die detaillierten instruktiven, wohl aber verzichtbaren etymologischen Zusammenhänge (*ThWNT III*, 812f)! Wichtiger wäre ein Hinweis auf die Bedeutung der Farbe des Soldatenumhanges als Anspielung auf die Purpurroben orientalisch-hellenistischer Könige; vgl. den entsprechenden Spott der Soldaten in V. 29.

Problematisch ist vielleicht, daß der Anfänger im Griechischen kaum die Fülle des gebotenen Materials ausschöpfen kann und mehr finden dürfte, als für seine Zwecke nötig ist. Fortgeschrittene, die mit entsprechenden Angaben umgehen könnten, werden vermutlich seltener zu einem sprachlichen Schlüssel greifen. Doch wer sich in diesen Schlüssel einarbeitet, was mit der ausführlichen Einführung

leichtfällt, wird eine Fülle nützlicher Angaben finden und gerade, was Satzbau und Struktur des Textes angeht, Material finden, das wissenschaftliche Kommentare, seien sie eher philologisch oder theologisch orientiert, ergänzt und darüber hinausgeht. So werden z.B. spezielle Satzkonstruktionen und syntaktischer Gebrauch von Partizipialkonstruktionen erklärt. Auch fortgeschrittene Exegese wird hier Anregung finden.

Manchmal werden m.E. zu viele Bedeutungsvarianten eines Wortes gegeben. Muß ein Schlüssel neben dem im Zusammenhang Gemeinten noch bis zu vier andere Bedeutungen aufführen? Für Bibelübersetzer unter den Benutzern dürfte hilfreich sein, daß – vergleichbar mit dem auch herangezogenen Wörterbuch von Louw/Nida – Bedeutungsinhalte oft umschrieben werden. Ist doch die Erklärung „einer, der abfällig über andere redet“ heute verständlicher als der auch erwähnte paulinisch-lutherische „Ohrenbläser“ (Röm 1.29; II.4). An wichtigen Stellen wird auch auf Textvarianten hingewiesen (in Anlehnung an den textkritischen Apparat des UBS *Greek New Testament*). Meist werden dort erscheinende Formen knapp erklärt, z.B. zu Lk 9.47. Zur Lesart ὡς καὶ Ἠλίας ἐποίησεν in Lk 9.54 heißt es: '[Var. Ἠλίας 1.17. ἐποίησεν V.10.]'. Die Varianten zu Vs. 55f werden nicht erwähnt. Zu Lk 10.1: '[Var. ἐβδομήκοντα siebzig] ... [Var. einfaches δύο mit gleicher Bedeutung]'; zu 10.38: '[Var. ἐγένετο Aorist Medium γίνομαι; ἐγένετο mit folgendem finiten Verb steht pleonastisch (Hebraismus, Anhang 271; vgl. BDR §442¹¹).]'.
 Regelmäßig finden sich Zitate aus verschiedenen deutschen Bibelübersetzungen (Elberfelder, Gute Nachricht, Gute Nachricht Bibel - 1997, Menge, häufig die Neue Genfer Übersetzung, Schlachter, Wilkens, etc., ferner auch fremdsprachige Übersetzungen, z.B. die moderne *Today's English Version*. Obwohl die Zusammenstellung, wie die verschiedenen Übersetzungen eine Passage wiedergeben, interessant ist, bleibt fraglich, ob Zitate aus bis zu vier Übersetzungen (z.B. zu Apg 17.22) noch hilfreich sind. Warum nicht einfach die Übersetzung zitieren, die die Autoren für die angemessenste halten? Dies geschieht vor allem im ersten Band, der durchgängig ausführlichere Angaben zu den einzelnen Lemmata als der zweite Band enthält.

Während Kritiker bei den sprachlichen Angaben lange nach Fehlern suchen müssten, tauchen – wie in jedem Kommentar! – in den über das sprachliche hinausgehenden Informationen zuweilen Angaben auf, de-

nen man widersprechen möchte. Zwei Beispiele genügen. Zum Lemma τὸ θεῖον in Apg 17.29 heißt es auf Seite I.778: '*das Göttliche, die Gottheit*, hier (wohl als Gründen der stilistischen Variation) statt τὸν θεόν gebraucht (Bruce, Apg, S. 385)'. L. Goppelts Beobachtungen weisen überzeugend darauf hin, daß es sich nicht um stilistische Variation, sondern um bewußten Gebrauch von τὸ θεῖον handelt. Dieser Ausdruck beschreibt die vage heidnische Gottesvorstellung, die Israels Wissen um den lebendigen Gott gegenübersteht: 'Die hellenistische Welt aber kennt Gott nur als das Göttliche, das als Kraft und Ordnungsprinzip den Kosmos durchwaltet und als Inspiration aus göttlichen Menschen spricht. Die hellenistischen Schriftsteller pflegen unpersönlich neutral von dem θεῖον, dem Göttlichen ... zu reden' (in 'Versöhnung durch Christus', *idem, Christologie und Ethik: Aufsätze zum Neuen Testament*; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1968, 151; vgl. ferner *LSJ*, 788 s.v. II.2 und H. Kleinknecht, *ThWNT III*, 122f). Durch seine Wortwahl unterscheidet Paulus sorgfältig zwischen seinem Gott, der in Vs. 24-29 eingeführt wird als ὁ θεὸς ὁ ποιήσας und in V. 30 bezeichnet wird ὑπεριδὼν ὁ φεός, und den Gottesvorstellungen seiner Hörer (τὸ φεῖον), die er korrigiert. Zum Lemma ἄγνοια in V. 30 liest man: '*Unwissenheit, Unkenntnis; οἱ χρόνοι τῆς ἀγνοίας die Zeiten der Unwissenheit* etwa = die Zeiten, in denen die Menschen unwissend waren/es nicht wußten (d.h. ehe sie von Gottes Willen in Jesus Christus erfahren haben; vgl. TEV; Newman-Nida, Apg, S. 343; GN: *darüber hinweggesehen, weil die Menschen es aus Unwissenheit getan haben*) oder *die Zeiten, in denen die Menschen ihn nicht kannten* (vgl. Marshall, Apg, S. 290; TEV2); vgl. Röm 1,21.28; 1Kor 1,21; Gal 4,8; Eph 4,18; 1Thess 4,5; Weisheit 14,2; 15,11; vgl. auch oben 14.16'. Doch der Vorwurf der Unwissenheit der Heiden bezieht sich im Zusammenhang der Rede nicht auf Gottes Willen in *Jesus Christus*, sondern auf mangelnde Erkenntnis Gottes und seine angemessene Verehrung in der Vergangenheit.

Neben Hinweisen auf ein gelegentliches 'Zuviel-des-Guten' wären – strenggenommen freilich auch über einen sprachlichen Schlüssel hinausgehende! – häufigere Hinweise auf markante Septuaginta Vorkommen neutestamentlicher Wörter oder Phrasen oder auf semitisch beeinflusste Diktion hilfreich. Der erfahrene Exeget wird aus solchen Hinweisen seine Schlüsse auf Herkunft und Hintergrund

neutestamentlicher Sprache und ihrer Gedankenwelt ziehen; der Anfänger wird von Anfang an mit dem Zusammenhang beider Testamente und der Rolle der Septuaginta als vielfältiger, unter anderem auch sprachlicher Mittlerin vertraut gemacht.

Doch genug der kritischen Anmerkungen. Den Autoren Haubeck und von Siebenthal ist zu einem konkurrenzlosen Werk zu gratulieren. Sie setzen ein hervorragendes Beispiel und nehmen in die Pflicht: in der hier vorgeführten Weise muß sich das von beiden Autoren vertretene evangelikale Schriftverständnis im konkreten Bemühen um den Bibeltext umsetzen und bewähren. Das Werk ist in etwa vergleichbar mit M. Zerwick, *M. Grosvenor, A Grammatical Analysis of the Greek New Testament* (Rom: Biblical Institute Press, 1981), geht jedoch u.a. in den syntaktischen Diskussionen (im Text und Anhang) durch die Erläuterung von Partizipial- und AcI-Konstruktionen und in der Fülle der angebotenen Informationen weit

darüber hinaus. Mit dem sprachlichen Schlüssel von Fritz Rienecker (jetzt in 19. Aufl.) hat der inhaltlich völlig unabhängige *Neue sprachliche Schlüssel* außer der Idee wenig gemeinsam und übertrifft dessen englische Übersetzung und Neubearbeitung durch C. Rogers bei Weitem. Haubeck und von Siebenthals Schlüssel wird ohne Zweifel für Jahrzehnte im deutschsprachigen Raum eine Schlüsselstellung einnehmen

Wünschenswert wäre, wenn das Gesamtwerk (ggf. leicht gekürzt) in einem Band in verkleinertem Format erhältlich wäre. Somit wäre der Anhang auch bei Verwendung des ersten Bandes leicht zugänglich. Druckbild, Bindearbeiten und Umschlaggestaltung sind vorbildlich. Vielleicht möchten einige Leser, anstatt weiter Klagelieder zu singen, diesen sprachlichen Schlüssel ihren Studenten, Kollegen und Bibliotheken empfehlen.

Rev. Dr Christoph Stenschke
Stralsund, Germany

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