Jack Rogers and Donald McKim have provided, for the discussion on biblical authority, a timely, needed, sane work which helps to focus the issue, provide perimeters, and maintain the discussion within the mainstream of Reformed and Protestant theology. Evangelical Christians have claimed to be heirs to the theology of the Reformation and orthodox Protestantism. Within evangelicalism the question of biblical authority is being hotly debated. Addressed first to the discussion within Presbyterianism, the book is not limited in usefulness to that debate. Evangelicals, whether Anglican, Methodist, Baptist, etc., will benefit from this work.

In vogue with the current trend to approach all issues historically, this method is used by Rogers and McKim, and, in the process, evangelicals are provided with a much-needed perspective. One of evangelicalism's weaknesses has been the lack of a good knowledge of Christian theological history. The authors point out that, to the extent that evangelicals have known their theological roots, they have often misunderstood or misinterpreted them. In the United States, they have been guilty of reading back American pietism and Protestant scholasticism on to the Reformation fathers, and have incorrectly concluded that current evangelical theology was the logical development of Reformed theology. Rogers and McKim show this is not so, and demonstrate it with respect to biblical authority. In place of this error, they labour carefully to recover the theology of the magisterial Reformers and of the early church fathers, and offer this recovered theological perspective as a corrective to the dead ends of inerrancy and infallibility in the current authority debate.

The main thrust of the book is to trace the theory of accommodation in relation to the development of an understanding of biblical inspiration and authority. The book is the drama of the theory's development and forgottenness over the history of Christian theology. It is a theory that unfortunately is too often lost or forgotten in the present-day debate, and the authors conclude their work by offering a constructive form of the accommodation theory to be applied to the current discussion.

The Authority and Interpretation of the Bible is also a major contribution to the discussion of authority in the church-at-large. Churchmen of every theological perspective will profit from the help it gives in understanding the role of the Bible in providing authority to the church.

This reviewer, an Anglican evangelical, can only fault it for not showing the positive influence which Anglican evangelicals, by their biblical theology and practice, have had on the authority issue in the Church of England. His personal hope is that the book will 1) have an impact in the church-at-large as the authority debate continues; 2) will be read by Episcopalians in spite of its Presbyterian orientation; and 3) will be voluntarily required reading by all fundamentalists and evangelicals before speaking further on the authority issue.

Christ Episcopal Church, Overland Park, Kansas, USA

BRUCE A. FLICKINGER

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This is a most unusual and attractive book. It is a retelling of the whole story of the Pentateuch: not in the sense of revising or criticizing it, but of transporting us into its world and carrying us along, fascinated, in the current of its events, from the creation to the threshold of the promised land. For a generation which has lost the urge and the ability to surrender to this great story, miracles and all, and to see it whole, the book offers an inducement to read and go on reading (for the telling is beautifully done), and a means of noticing how subtly and resourcefully God was working, stage by stage, towards the goal he had disclosed to Abraham. This theme of the promise is kept before us, with the lightest of touches, as one episode leads on to the next, so that we are conscious not only of the very human actors but of the divine activity interwoven with their adventures.

Even the less inviting material, such as the ritual laws and the preaching of Moses, is substantially here: some parts embedded in the narrative, others collected usefully under subject-headings in an appendix. Nor is there any shirking of what is harsh; only encouragement to see it in its own context.

My only regret is that the author, in his concern to get us right inside the action and the actors, has at times, in my view, over-embroidered his material. But he urges us to go to the Bible itself, which 'nothing can replace'; and the whole spirit and tone of what he has written invites us to do just that. It is a book to give to any of the myriad new Christians who have yet to discover the Old Testament.

Histon, Cambridge

DEREK KIDNER

THE PSALMS: Structure, Content and Message
CLAUS WESTERMANN

first published in Germany 1967

This paperback is a translation by R. D. Gehrke of Westermann's Der Psalter, 1967. After an introduction of twenty-five pages, the bulk of the book is devoted to the five major and five minor types into which post-Gunkel criticism commonly classifies the psalms. A final chapter, 'The Psalms and Christ', shows how faith in the God who 'deigns to look down so low' points on towards the incarnation.

There are three appendices, of which the fullest is a chart displaying the detailed anatomy of each of the five main psalm-types.

Westermann is, of course, more than a summarizer of other men's work. While he stands in the mainstream of modern psalm-criticism, he has his own reservations on certain points, and in particular his own emphasis on the origin of the psalms, as coming from real-life situations as distinct from purely cultic sequences. He is also an enthusiast: a lover of these songs and of the God whom they celebrate. At the same time, his enthusiasm seems to this reviewer to be a valiant survivor of his anatomical investigations and his critical presuppositions, rather than a consequence of them. At one moment he can illuminate a psalm's opening summons to praise, by the happy analogy of a walker calling his fellow-hikers over to share with him a marvelous view (p.89). At another (p.76) he can kill his material stone dead by a sentence like this: 'The vow to praise of an IL type is the item which, when it
reoccurs (so to speak) at the beginning of an IP type, announces what will follow...’ (The abbreviations are of course explained.)

All in all, an excellent guide to the prevailing method of psalm-study; less so to the psalms themselves.

Histon, Cambridge

DEREK KIDNER

STUDIA BIBLICA 1978: II Papers on the Gospels
edited E. A. LIVINGSTONE
JSOT Press, Sheffield 1980 350pp. £9.95 ISBN 0 905774 221

GOSPEL PERSPECTIVES: Studies of History and Tradition in the Four Gospels
Vol. 4 edited R. T. FRANCE and DAVID WENHAM
JSOT Press, Sheffield 1980 263pp. £7.50 ISBN 0 905774 21 3

DOCUMENTS FOR THE STUDY OF THE GOSPELS
DAVID R. CARTLIDGE and DAVID L. DUNGAN
Collins, USA 1980 ISBN 0 529 05683 6
Collins Liturgical Publications 1980 298pp. £8.50 ISBN 0 00 599652 X

These three volumes are all useful handbooks for the study of the gospels. Studia Biblica (the wider-ranging sequel to Studia Evangelica) is a collection of essays presented to the Sixth International Congress on Biblical Studies at Oxford in April 1978. An OT volume has already appeared, and one on Paul and other NT authors has yet to be published. The intention of the congress (now, sadly, discontinued) is to encourage scholarly interest in the Bible on the part of those in church-related posts as well as academic positions. This representative symposium of papers on the gospels admirably reflects the broad aims of the congress, and consequently it will inform and stimulate a varied readership. Of the twenty-nine contributions, twelve are concerned with a detailed examination of gospel passages or terms, eight with studies of the gospels as a whole, and nine with investigations into general gospel subjects. In the essays which refer to the text of the gospels in detail, nine relate to John, seven to Mark, six to Matthew and one to Luke.

Gospel Perspectives has emerged from the Gospels Research Project of Tyndale House, Cambridge, involving some thirty NT scholars who are convinced that the historical value of the gospels is a question of fundamental importance for Christian faith, and one which should not remain unanswered. This first volume consists of nine essays (there are more to come in volume 2). Four deal with general introductory issues relating to the nature and form of all four gospels, including an important enquiry into the ‘criteria’ for authenticity. One study treats the teaching of Jesus in Mark, and four are concerned with specific gospel material which raises historical questions (including one which examines the alleged contradiction between Paul’s view of the resurrection and the account of this by the evangelists). The scholarship behind these essays is both excellent and balanced. If the approach is specialist in character, the issue of historicity in the gospels is of broad relevance; and this treatment of it is one which deserves to be taken seriously.

C. K. Barrett’s selection of documents illustrating the background to the NT (1956) is standard; but there is still room for a more specialized, gospel-oriented compendium. The compilers of Documents for the Study of the Gospels have assembled a collection of freshly translated, annotated texts
from Jewish, Greek, Roman, Egyptian, Syrian and little-known Christian sources which will help students of the evangelists to place the gospels firmly in their cultural and spiritual setting. An introduction on ‘Saviour Gods’ in the Mediterranean world leads on to post-NT materials which relate to Jesus, the Christian Saviour. The remaining texts are non-Christian parallels (Greek, Jewish and Roman) which are presented as illustrating the milieu of the gospels (from the birth and youth of comparable saviour figures, through their teachings, miracles and apocalyptic predictions, to their martyrdom and ascension). The only question is why Cartlidge and Dungan have restricted their selection of texts to the much-debated ‘divine redeemer’ motif. The NT gospels are a fulfilment of this concept (as the texts in this volume, by themselves, do not make clear); and, beyond that, the evangelists bear witness to a tradition which was, and is, infinitely more far-reaching.

None of these three (otherwise valuable) books is indexed!

Coventry Cathedral

STEPHEN S. SMALLEY

‘LOVE YOUR ENEMIES’: Jesus’ Love Command in the Synoptic Gospels and the Early Christian Paraenesis

JOHN PIPER Society for NT Studies Monograph 38

CUP 1979 273pp. £9.95 ISBN 0 521 22056 4

The demand of Jesus for enemy-love has justly been regarded as one of the most significant parts of his teaching, but strangely the history of the tradition has not received a comparable concentration of concern. John Piper’s book, a model of exegetical sensitivity and of critical caution, aims to pursue just such a concern. And, let it be said immediately, its reconstruction of Jesus’ teaching, the survey of its prehistory, and the reconstruction of the adjustments and adaptations made necessary by new pressures and theological presuppositions in the early church, are very well done.

The study takes off from the demand common to Rom. 12:14,17-20; 1 Thess. 5:15 and 1 Peter 3:9, and reconstructs a firm ingredient of early Christian paraenesis: mê apodidontes kakon anti kakou. This command has its roots in widespread proverbial use of Prov.17:13 but is never divorced from the positive command to bless/do good and, moreover, never compromised by an ambiguity of approach to the enemy such as other parts of the OT traditions had exhibited. The distinctive features of early Christian usage are, in Piper’s view, only explicable in terms of ultimate dependence on Jesus. As far as Jesus is concerned, a good deal of effort is devoted to reconstructing not only the content of the teaching but also its context in Jesus’ broader strategy and emphasis. Here I would myself think Piper unduly nervous about a direct dependence on Q in Matt.5:38-48=Luke 6:27-36, perhaps unduly favourable towards a pre-Matthean origin of the antithetical introductions (Matt.5:38-39a,43), and occasionally rather strained in his attempt to see the demand for love as part of the kerygmatic demand for repentance and an offshoot of the presence of the power for human transformation which is part of the (alleged) presence of God’s reign in Jesus. But on these matters there remains, of course, a variety of opinion and the reading of Piper’s book certainly compels one to take stock. More impressive seemed to me the handling of the early church’s use of the demand for enemy-love, whether in paraenetic instruction (the discussion of Paul is particularly perceptive, I think) or in the theological reworking carried out by Matthew and Luke.

Two final words should be added. First, this is a book for those who are
professional scholars and for those who are not. To anyone worried about two apparently non-communicating orders of existence, John Piper's book will be a tonic. It will have to be on scholarly shelves, and it ought to be on preachers' shelves as well, and frequently off them too! Secondly, the tone of the volume is attractively modest and restrained. It engages with the arguments without being argumentative, and it begins to wrestle with the dilemmas involved whenever and wherever Jesus' demand is brought to bear on painfully practical situations. The rest of the wrestling is left where it must be— with the reader.

Furness College, Lancaster

DAVID CATCHPOLE

CHRISTIAN ORIGINS IN SOCIOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE
HOWARD C. KEE
Westminster Press, USA 1980
SCM Press 1980 206pp. £4.95

Recent NT scholarship has been refining its critical tools for both literary and historical analysis of its source material. On the literary side there have been rhetorical criticism and structural analysis, while on the historical side it has been sociological investigation that has been found useful. Howard Kee, Professor of NT at Boston University, not Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania as the back cover of the British edition states, has previously used such an approach in his specialist study of the community behind Mark's gospel, Community of the New Age, and now aims to show more generally how some of the methodological resources of the social sciences can provide fresh paradigms in the tasks of historical reconstruction of Christian origins and interpretation of the literature which emerged from the Christian movement.

Using a 'sociology of knowledge' approach, Kee discusses issues of identity and adaptation in the 'sacred cosmos' or life-world of diverse Jewish groups and early Christian writers. He then examines the various types of charismatic leaders to be found in the first-century Jewish and Graeco-Roman worlds in order to shed light on authority roles within the Christian movement. There follows an analysis of the dynamics of the communities which accepted such charismatic leadership, distinguishing between itinerant groups and urban communities, taking account of social tensions within groups, and inquiring into what features made Christian communities attractive in comparison with other cults. Like other religious groups, the early Christians developed their own patterns of ritual and myth, and Kee devotes a chapter to the issues of how in this development Christians transformed inherited structures and how at the same time they adapted to political structures. A final chapter considers social aspects of the intended function and actual use of Q, different NT writings or groups of writings, and the canon.

The book is deliberately introductory, so that the NT specialist is likely to find very little that is new and much that is frustratingly brief and oversimplified. His or her students should find set out in a fairly straightforward and readable fashion topics they have to deal with in other contexts, such as the Pauline letter form, the gospel genre, the role of women, attitudes to the state, the communities behind Matthew or the fourth gospel, baptism, the eucharist and myth but here placed in a framework of sociological categories. Other topics are suggested which a sociological focus might help to illuminate. At the beginning of his last chapter, Kee also gives students a short but valuable appraisal of both the benefits and the limitations of this approach to
the study of NT texts. A fringe benefit of an interaction with Kee’s introduction for many students may well be the inevitable stimulus it provides to reflect on analogous issues of continuity and change in contemporary Christian communities and their thought-worlds.

St John’s College, Nottingham
A. T. LINCOLN

ONE GOD IN TRINITY: An Analysis of the Primary Dogma of Christianity
edited PETER TOON and J. D. SPICELAND
Samuel Bagster 1980 177pp. £7.95
ISBN 0 85150 308 X

THE FORGOTTEN FATHER
THOMAS A. SMEAL
Hodder and Stoughton 1980 189pp. £4.95
ISBN 0 340 25365 7

Books on the doctrine of God are not nearly as frequent as the greatness and importance of the subject might lead one to expect. It is therefore an unusual pleasure to welcome two at the same time. The first is the more academic of the two. One God in Trinity is a symposium, marked by the patchiness of most symposia but wide-ranging in its team and including some excellent chapters. Those by Gerald Bray on ‘The Patristic Dogma’ and by Alasdair Heron on ‘The Filioque Clause’ struck the reviewer as particularly good, but there are also worthwhile studies of Trinitarian doctrine in Barth, Lonergan and Moltmann, in ‘Process Theology’ and in ‘Recent British Theology’. In the last-named chapter, by Brian Hebblethwaite, those who look to see blunt things said about the writings of Wiles and Lampe will not be disappointed.

The book by Tom Smail (as was indicated above) is more popular in character, but is none the worse for that. The author tells us that it is the product of his experience of having lost his human father before he was old enough to know him, and also of having later been director of the Fountain Trust. Those who were pleased to see a theologian appointed as director of the Trust hardly expected that he would preside over its dissolution; but so it has proved, and people who regret the event might be tempted to attribute it to this cause. For himself, however, the author is sure that to disband the Trust was desirable in order to deter the charismatic movement from an unbalanced preoccupation with the Holy Spirit, and to encourage it to develop a fully Trinitarian theology and devotion. His earlier book, Reflected Glory, was concerned to relate the Spirit to the Son, and the present volume relates the Spirit and the Son to the Father. There is a wealth of biblical material here for meditation and preaching.

Latimer House, Oxford
ROGER T. BECKWITH

THEOLOGY OF THE LOVE OF GOD
G. M. NEWLANDS
Collins 1980 219pp. £3.50
ISBN 0 00 215827 2

This is a compact yet wide-ranging book, and a conscious attempt to do theology in a responsible way.

The outline of the book is twofold. The first part looks at the idea of love as a focus in theological method and in the history of theology. The second half looks at the notion of love in ideas of God as Creator and Redeemer, Christ, and the Spirit in history.

However, the content is not so much a study of the love of God as a study in systematic theology which uses the notion of love as the occasion for in-
numerable discussion of problems of theological method. This persistent concern with methodology overshadows discussion of love, and reduces the book’s theological effectiveness. Basic questions about the love of God remain untackled. For example, how does God's love relate to God's rule, to his judgement, or to the problem of evil? Of what significance is the obvious contrast between the bland assumption of theology that God is revealed as a God of love, and the experience of God in the Bible (or San Salvador, Uganda, or for that matter Britain) where love is known in the acts of God only in ambiguity and tension, bewilderingly mixed with judgement, grace, silence and delay, injustice, death and chastening? And even after reading chapters eleven and twelve, I am not sure what the author means by 'God's love in Christ'.

The book’s style is not lucid (the material might be better heard than read) and the relevance of the problems discussed to the love of God is not always clear. This book is an interesting study in the problems of theological method, but is disappointing as a theology of the love of God.

St John's College, Durham

PETER ADAM

GOD’S LAW AND GOD’S LOVE NORMAN ANDERSON
Collins 1980 199pp. £3.50
ISBN 0 00 215296 7

Sir Norman brings to his subject an unusual range of skills—for many years a missionary of the love of God in Arab lands, subsequently director of the Institute of Advanced Legal Studies and professor of oriental laws in the University of London, and through all this time a devoted disciple of Jesus Christ, deeply involved in the life of the church. He is thus able to address himself to 'God's law and God's love', not only from within the Christian tradition but from within a substantial knowledge of Islam and Hinduism as well. I am not qualified to judge how comprehensive is his treatment of the Muslim and Hindu sources, though I think I can say that his treatment of Christian sources is cogent and well-balanced. I have only one criticism. Any of us who have ever handled this subject at any depth seem to be trapped in a certain antithesis between law and love. It is an antithesis which the Jewish people, and indeed our Lord himself, would not have recognized. For them the Torah of God is itself an expression of the love of God. It is like the opening of a father's heart and mind to his children, intended for their happiness in a dangerous and confusing world. The giving of the law at Sinai was an act of love.

The main theme of this book is highly relevant to us all, but no less useful are the 'asides' drawn from Buddhist, Hindu, Christian and Muslim sources, dealing with the problem of suffering and evil, the significance of mysticism, the place of ecstasy in religion, and the relationship between law and the gospel. This is the kind of book which the Christian, the Jew, the Buddhist, the Hindu, the Muslim or the atheist could read with profit.

Bishopthorpe, York

+ STUART EBOR:

CHRISTOLOGY IN THE MAKING : An Inquiry into the Origins of the Doctrine of the Incarnation JAMES D. G. DUNN
SCM Press 1980 443pp. £10.50
ISBN 0 334 00237 0

Despite widespread opinions to the contrary, the idea of ‘incarnation’—that
is, of a pre-existent divine being becoming man—is found neither in pre-Christian, Jewish or pagan literature (so much for the 'Myth' men) nor in the NT outside John and parts of Hebrews (so much for Phil.2:5-11 and lots of other passages). This important and well-presented argument, clear and learned at the same time, will, like Paddington's attempts at carpentry, 'delight your family and surprise your friends': much cause for thanks, many grounds for disquiet.

Dunn's stated aim is to let the NT writers be heard in their own terms, so as to avoid reading into them overtones of later controversies. This is an admirable aim, though Dunn himself is perhaps a bit over-conscious of some later deviations he wishes to cut off at source. But his method, of dividing the material into categories (Son of God, Son of Man, Adam, Logos, etc.), while useful in some ways, leaves me with the distinct impression that the weight of several NT passages and arguments as a whole has been avoided. And I continually felt that there was a chapter missing. Nowhere is 'Messiahship' itself discussed (in a book on Christology!), perhaps because no one today is suggesting that 'Christ' was a divine title: but a lacuna here leaves imbalance elsewhere.

I therefore found this very much a 'yes ... but' sort of book. I agree (for instance) that the only pre-Christian 'son of man figure' relevant to the gospels is the one in Daniel 7, and that this figure is not apparently 'pre-existent'. But a) this is not of itself an argument that Jesus did not think of himself as pre-existent, only that the title was not used for this purpose; and b) though his argument runs parallel to that of Vermes, he neither adopts nor argues against the latter's suggestions about supposed Aramaic circumlocutions. Likewise, I agree strongly that Adam-Christology is central to (e.g.) Phil.2:5-11. *But this is no argument against pre-existence as such in this passage:* only against 'pre-existent humanity', an idea foreign to the entire NT, though not to some writers whom Dunn rightly rebuts. In arguing against the latter (Bultmann et al.) he seems to me to have indulged in overkill, rejecting the entire idea of pre-existence and so, while hitting the target, also wounding innocent bystanders. As Caird has stressed (Paul's Letters from Prison, p.121, cf. pp.102, 104, 119f.), the whole argument of the passage in its context depends on the contrast between Adam, grasping at a status to which he had no right, and Christ, voluntarily renouncing (in becoming man) a status to which he had every right. In asserting—not without one or two suspect arguments, like the slide from possibility to probability to definite statement which occurs in the discussion of Mark's supposed quasi- adoptionism—that the majority of NT writers believe that the man Jesus now shares divine honours, Dunn never faces the consequent chain of questions: Are there now two Gods? If not, has Jesus been simply absorbed into the Deity? If not, are we not left talking about the man Jesus as being identified with one who was, though not yet man (and therefore not yet Messiah nor yet, in *that* sense, 'son of God'), nevertheless God from the beginning? And does not this, in the light of Genesis 1 (oddly omitted in Dunn's discussions of Col.1:15ff. and John 1:1-14) leave us with a theological position that looks uncommonly like those two passages, not to mention Phil.2:5-11; 1 Cor.8:5-6; 2 Cor.8:9; etc? In many of these passages the first-century Jew would undoubtedly hear divine honours being ascribed to Jesus, even if, as Dunn argues (rightly, I believe), figures like 'wisdom' were personifications, not separate beings, in pre-Christian Jewish thought; and then the chain of questions would inevitably arise.

In fact, once we abandon the red herring of pre-existent humanity, some of Dunn's expressions about the power (etc.) of God becoming man seem to be moving in this direction, though with an apparently modalist tendency. But at these points, where we badly need clarification, it never quite comes. And
Hebrews, which could perhaps have shed some light on all this, is analysed as a hybrid, only asserting pre-existence insofar as the writer is dependent on Philonic ideas.

To say that this is Dunn's most controversial book yet is to make a large claim. I also think it is probably his best: not because I agree with it, but because the issues are in general set out so clearly, and the demolition of the 'myth' claim—by undermining its foundations rather than attacking its structure directly—is so thorough. But as part of the book's value is its provocative nature. I must record two concluding problems. First, are we to understand that Johannine Christology was a good and/or necessary development, or that it was merely a metaphorical (and dispensable?) way of saying that God was at work in Jesus, which the synoptics could assert without the idea of pre-existence? (Another aside here: is it really the case that the virgin birth is incompatible with Jesus' pre-existence? Only, I think, if we take pre-existence to mean human pre-existence, which the NT—John included—does not.) Would Mark, or Paul, have felt condemned by Nicaea or Chalcedon? If Dunn is correct, some readers may be left feeling that, if the Fathers hadn't existed, it would have been necessary to invent them. Second, I am uneasy about the quasi-chronological doctrinal development proposed. Hengel, Caird and others have been protesting against this for some time, but we are faced yet again with a scheme analogous to that of the Tubingen school, beginning with Jewish-Christian ideas, wrestling with Hellenistic ones, and ending up with Catholic doctrine. In a couple of passages (pp.128, 267f.) Dunn reveals a basic presupposition which an unkind critic might suggest had determined more exegesis than is at first sight apparent. Incarnation is to be suspected because it may endanger the theologio crucis, the genuine Protestant doctrine of redemption. But if the one who died was not in some sense already identified with God (not merely enjoying a unique 'relationship' with God—a slippery concept which helps Dunn round some corners which would otherwise be tricky for his case), how can the cross be, as Paul declares it to be in Romans 5:8, the revelation and commendation of the love of God? It is of course possible to link cross and incarnation in a way which distorts either or both. But to abstain from linking them at all will seem to many an unwarranted reaction.

In short, there are many passages in this book to which I shall return, and which I have already put at the top of various undergraduate reading lists—some because I agree with them, others because I disagree with them, and all because (as we have come to expect from this author) they are fresh, lucid and provocative treatments of important biblical material. Christology in the Making reminds me of rock-climbing: dangerous, but exhilarating.

Downing College, Cambridge

N. T. WRIGHT

JESUS AND THE LIVING PAST  MICHAEL RAMSEY

OUP 1980  90pp.  £3.50

As the presses continue to pour out confusion on the subject of the incarnation, we still await the book or books that will herald the turning of the theological tide, the movement—which must surely come—back from the excesses of scepticism, back to creative and humble believing restatement of Christian truth. In the meantime, there are signs that the old truths, scorned and derided by those who insist that twentieth-century theology should consist of footnotes to Descartes and the rest, have more staying-power than had been thought: and this book is one such, a sort of arrabon which promises that the tide will indeed turn one day. The former Archbishop of Canterbury, writing
in an easy and enjoyable style, has adapted various sets of lectures into a short book devoted to the various issues at the heart of modern theological debate: history and relativism, the development of belief in Jesus' pre-existence, and so on. His treatment is like a breath of fresh air, especially after Schillebeeckx and Co.: he introduces into the argument a valuable discussion of the nature of Christian spirituality, and includes a chapter on Christian sacrifice. Again and again, Ramsey emphasizes and explains the incarnation and cross as the revelation of the very nature of God, namely, self-giving love: 'The lamb and the throne: here is the true way of life for man, and the unveiling of the heart of God.' This book itself is to be welcomed as a sign of hope, as the author himself sees: 'It is possible that future history will attach less importance to attempts which are made at the present time to dispense with the Incarnation from the Christian faith than to the attempts made by contemporary thinkers to express the Incarnation in new modes.'

Downing College, Cambridge

N. T. WRIGHT

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE THEOLOGY OF KARL BARTH
GEOFFREY W. BROMILEY

Eerdmans, USA 1979 $7.95
T. and T. Clark 1979 253pp. £3.60

Dogmatics in Outline has hitherto served as the basic introduction to Karl Barth's theology and his Church Dogmatics. It was my first exposure to his theology, and reading it left me wanting more and feeling that I had not been properly or adequately introduced to him. I set out then to try the Dogmatics for itself, only to fail to make it all the way through.

The need I felt as a seminarian has been met. There is no substitute for reading the Church Dogmatics itself but, until one can do that, Geoffrey Bromiley has provided a superb introduction to Barth, better than anything available to date.

Bromiley, who possesses a deep, personal intimacy with Barth's theology (as translator of the Church Dogmatics into English), has written an introduction that allows Barth to speak for himself. The only one to stand between him and the reader is Bromiley, and, to the extent it is humanly possible, the latter does not get much in the way (a hope he expresses in his preface). For example, he has not imposed any schema foreign to Barth—such as trying to discuss him under the category of grace—in order to present us with Barth's theology. Rather, Bromiley follows Barth's own ordering as found in the Church Dogmatics.

Reading Bromiley's introduction prompted me to check his chapter on Holy Scripture against Barth's own chapter in the Church Dogmatics. I found that I had not been led astray by Bromiley—at least in my own understanding and reading of Barth.

What we have in this book is an excellent presentation of Barth's essential theology, with only a minimum of suggestions from Bromiley on areas in which to evaluate it. This introduction will serve seminarians, priests and pastors well by giving them a first-rate understanding of Barth until the time they can read the Church Dogmatics. In reading Bromiley, I have been motivated to go back to the Dogmatics and begin again to work through it. I will be returning to Barth himself with a better initial understanding with
which to engage, evaluate and test him—devoid of the feeling of being lost in the maze.

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Bruce A. Flickinger

THEOLOGY ENCOUNTERS REVOLUTION
J. Andrew Kirk

Perhaps it is a sign of the growing maturity and confidence of the conservative evangelical tradition that writers are emerging within it who can challenge their commonly conservative readership with a positive Christian evaluation of revolution. This volume is typical Kirk again, hard on the heels of his Liberation Theology; as close packed and clinical as ever, yet full of insights and the same wide-ranging guide to new fields.

The author says he has two aims: firstly, to survey the terrain of revolutionary thinking as it has developed since the fourteenth century until its diverse forms in the present day. This he does well. Secondly, he is ‘trying to show in outline how one may use the Bible hermeneutically’, for he is dissatisfied with the dogmatic constraints imposed by traditional evangelical methodology and its consequent failure to meet the social and political challenges of the day. This, however, he does less well, and one should consult the other book. Even there the answer is given only as a theoretical basis and not illustrated in practice.

The first three chapters introduce the discussion historically and with definitions. Kirk is always good on the history, but there is also a very neat summary of symptoms which indicate that a revolutionary situation is arising. We are then introduced briefly to Rauschenbusch, Niebuhr, Barth and Bonhoeffer, pioneers of a gospel expounded in relation to contemporary political reality. Perhaps in an attempt to do justice to the unresolved questions (an impossibility in the space) these thumb-nail sketches do not highlight sufficiently the incisive contributions of these giants.

Part two guides us through revolutionary theology in Europe, America and South Africa. In dealing with some of the more difficult exponents, such as Moltmann, the book demands too much prior knowledge for the non-specialist, yet is too brief for the specialist. Readers will simply have to glean what they can where the level of material happens to suit them. There are two useful appendices, one on the WCC, and one on violence.

The final section is directed at where we go from here, and the answer is given in terms of new hermeneutical method. Chapter nine zips through biblical themes relevant to an understanding of the place of revolution in God’s purpose. This is left at a tantalizingly summary and seminal stage, and may well not help the reader who has not already begun to think along these lines. The final chapter shows the failure of all revolutionary theory to evaluate ends as well as means, and to reckon with fallen human nature. Here then lies the challenge to theology and there are great possibilities in a fresh approach to hermeneutics. But I long for a book from Kirk which will develop his method and illustrate its scope in dealing with present-day issues.

St John's College, Nottingham

Graham Dow

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PERSECUTION IN THE EARLY CHURCH
HERBERT B. WORKMAN
first published 1906
OUP 1980 145pp. £1.95

One of the factors which have drawn the reviewer to a close interest in the present-day fortunes of Christians in countries such as the Soviet Union has been the recognition of remarkable similarities between their faith and experiences and those of primitive Christianity. The most prominent, although not the most significant, parallel is the fact of persecution. It is therefore wholly appropriate that the foreword to this reissue of Persecution in the Early Church should be contributed by Michael Bourdeaux, who as director of Keston College has done so much to inform the world about contemporary persecution of Christians. He suggests that Workman’s book has more direct relevance today than when first published in 1906. ‘Bold would be the man who claimed that fewer than two million Christians have given up their life for the faith in this century.’

Workman’s study (which reached its fourth and final edition in 1926) has already merited a reissue in 1960 in very similar form to this paperback, i.e., bereft of its scholarly apparatus. However, on this occasion Professor W. H. C. Frend has provided a select bibliography (which is not restricted to English material, although this is a popular edition) and revised Workman’s chronological table. An index would have been equally welcome.

Michael Bourdeaux justly claims that ‘modern research has revealed little necessitating any basic modification of what Dr Workman wrote.’ There has of course been intensive discussion of many aspects of his account, e.g., the legal basis of the persecutions and the role of the Jews in the persecution of Christians. Much of it is reflected in Frend’s own Martyrdom and Persecution in the Early Church (1964). Nevertheless, the merits of Workman’s brief survey are undeniable. It is marked not only by judicious synthesis but above all by a vivid, sympathetic presentation of the way of the martyrs. He writes to inspire as well as to inform. If Christians in the West today rarely need the steadfastness of the confessors and martyrs, let Workman remind us what countless of our fellow-Christians have had to endure, both yesterday and today.

New College, Edinburgh

D. F. WRIGHT

THE YOUNG AUGUSTINE
JOHN J. O’MEARA
first published 1954
Longman 1980 214pp. £3.95

AUGUSTINE: WAYWARD GENIUS
DAVID BENTLEY-TAYLOR
Hodder and Stoughton 1980 272pp. £1.95

Since it was first published in 1954, The Young Augustine by John O’Meara, professor of Latin at University College, Dublin, has been the standard introduction in English to Augustine’s Confessions and the attendant historical problems. In short, O’Meara successfully vindicated the general reliability of the Confessions as ‘a true account of Augustine’s life up to the time of his conversion’, while carefully identifying the rhetorical and theological character of the work. The question, much agitated earlier in the century, whether Augustine was converted to catholic Christianity or to
Neoplatonism, was shown by O'Meara to rest on a false disjunction. His treatment of the relationship between the Augustine of the Confessions (written a decade or so after the conversion) and the Augustine of the immediately post-conversion Dialogues from the Cassiciacum interlude is still the best available in English. O'Meara is a pre-eminent Neoplatonic scholar.

This reissue, with the text virtually unaltered but with a revised bibliography, is therefore warmly welcome. It may not possess the flair of Peter Brown's distinguished biography, but it displays a sympathy and an erudite sobriety which confer their own mark of distinction. David Bentley-Taylor's Augustine: Wayward Genius is further evidence of the far-flung fascination exercised by its subject, whether or not (as the cover claims) 'Augustine has probably influenced the history of Christianity more than any other man since the apostle Paul.' (Constantine would be another candidate for this equivocal accolade.) It is many years since the reviewer was enthralled by the author's invigorating accounts of church planting and growth in Indonesia in The Prisoner Leaps, The Great Volcano and The Weathercock's Reward. Now this senior missionary statesman has turned his twinkling eye and lively pen to the greatest luminary in what was for a few centuries the strongest church in the western world.

He writes primarily for readers who know little beyond Augustine's name. The story is constructed largely from Augustine's writings, with frequent quotations throughout, some of them from works not available in English translation. For a book at this level, the indexes are generous, and two helpful plans of Hippo are included. (The author has visited the scenes of Augustine's African career.) No guidance is given for further reading, not even about the English translations of the works of Augustine. The chapters are brief for piecemeal consumption.

The narrative is rich in Augustine's personal relationships: with his mother Monnica, with Ambrose and Jerome, the heretic Faustus and the schismatic Petilian, with wealthy patron and government official, with Pelagius and the relentless Julian of Eclanum. The humanity of Augustine stands out in the regular routines of ministry, illumined by many a skilfully drawn vignette or a telling phrase—'his sermons were biblical rambles'. The rhetorical character of the Confessions is inadequately recognized, so that Augustine's teenage immorality is exaggerated. But many a reader should find here an appealing yet not uncritical introduction to an outstanding whole-hearted Christian.

New College, Edinburgh

D. F. WRIGHT

THE AGE OF REFORM 1250-1550 : An Intellectual and Religious History of Late Medieval and Reformation Europe

STEVEN OZMENT

Yale University Press 1980 458pp. £15.75 ISBN 0 300 02477 0

The title of this book is misleading: indeed, not many historians would see the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries as eras of 'reform'. The theme of the book is best seen by an outline of its contents.

The first 180 pages deal with the intellectual background to the Reformation under three main headings. The author deals with the scholastic tradition of the late Middle Ages, especially the doctrines of salvation, knowledge and Scripture. Secondly, he looks at spiritual movements over this
period of three hundred years, monks, friars and the mystics. Thirdly, he
discusses the relations of church and state through the Great Schism and the
Conciliar Movement. In each area, his concern is with the intellectual pro-
cesses as much as with the practice of religion; and the range of his concern
stretches back to Augustine and to early monasticism.

A brief chapter entitled 'On the Eve of the Reformation' is more tra-
ditional, laying stress on the 'emergence' of strong monarchies, the economic
development of the early sixteenth century and the printing press. Three
studies of the Lutheran revolt—a discussion of Erikson's psycho-historical
analysis of 'Young Man Luther' and his relationship with earlier scholastic
and mystical movements, an examination of the social and political back-
ground and Luther's 'social gospel', and an analysis of whether Lutherans
were more humanists or scholastics—occupy the next hundred pages.
Zwingli, radical reformers and Calvin are dealt with in 60 pages; brief studies
of the debate over clerical marriage, of the Counter-Reformation and of John
Knox conclude the book. Exactly half the book covers the years 1517 to the
1580s; and the Reformation of the sixteenth century is its clear focus, not the
period 1250-1550.

There is virtually no mention of the English Reformation. This is not a
matter of dates, for John Knox is there. It may be a matter of focus, for the
aim is to synthesize the intellectual discussions of the period and relate them
to those of the second half of the medieval period. Thus, Knox is there to
show how there emerged in the course of the fierce controversies a doctrine
of resistance to duly constituted but tyrannical political authorities. But the
peculiar English compromise is not discussed.

The strongest part of the book is the first. The doctrine of grace as debated
by Aquinas, Scotus and Ockham, the debates over 'knowledge' and the role
of the church as the vehicle of 'knowing', the processes of interpreting
Scripture as allegorical and literal, are all summarized clearly and with a
pleasing informality of style which clearly derives from the origin of this book
in lectures. The controversies between those who studied and those who
'lived' Christian doctrine, and between those religious orders who withdrew
from 'the world' and those who engaged with it, and the search for perfection
in poverty or in the various strands of late medieval mysticism, are illu-
minated. The trends by which the separation of church and state came about,
and the way in which papal power came to be more and more limited, both
within the church and within the political sphere, are traced. 'In the later
Middle Ages, the integrity and autonomy of the secular world was firmly
established: the spiritual became truly spiritual, and the profane ceased to be
merely profane' (i.e. inferior to the higher levels of the church and religious
values). If one could see the Reformation as the working-out of these
principles in relation to the papacy itself, then new light would have been
shed on the Reformation. For this part of the study alone—and for its illus-
trations—this book will be welcomed by many.

The rest is too uneven—even as a study of intellectual development—and
omits too much to live up to the first part. It summarizes much modern
literature and has interesting glimpses (for example, that the doctrines of the
Anabaptists of passive non-resistance and separation from the world re-
lected political reality rather than developed theology; or the comment 'In
the sixteenth century, old men were sent to die in wars created by young
men'; or the reference to the 'urban origins of the Reformation'). But it lacks
balance. It is, however, always worth reading and as such is recommended
heartily.
The renewal of Anglican evangelical theological scholarship since the last war has not been sufficiently matched in other fields such as those of history and literature, but here is a book about Anglican evangelicalism and the nineteenth century by a writer who is herself of evangelical sympathies. That means, for a start, that she does not make the oft-repeated mistake of not being able to distinguish Anglican evangelicals from Methodists. In the second place, it means that she has a good grasp of essential evangelical doctrines. When to these is added the skilful but unpretentious literary scholarship and critical ability that Dr Jay possesses, we have the makings of a thoroughly appropriate exponent of the topic she has chosen.

The first part of the work is a mixture of history and doctrine in which Dr Jay shows not only her familiarity but also her capacity to move freely and deftly in the field of nineteenth-century evangelicalism, aptly linking creed and ethics on the one hand with literary exploitation of them on the other. In the shorter second part, she devotes separate chapters to George Eliot (mainly *Scenes of Clerical Life* and selected aspects of *Middlemarch*), altogether too short but very illuminating consideration of Emma Jane Worboise’s *Thornycroft Hall* (described as ‘An Evangelical Answer to *Jane Eyre*’) and finally Samuel Butler, where again Dr Jay is tantalizingly insufficient. These several individual considerations focus on evangelicalism and balance the more general references in the first part, where Dr Jay draws on the riches of the unsympathetic Trollope with telling force and repeatedly exposes Dickens’ fuzziness on religion generally, and evangelicalism in particular.

This study is not definitive; it is better than that—it is suggestive. Others can now till the fields that Dr Jay has discovered and revealed, and thereby extend the frontiers of Anglican evangelical literary scholarship.

University of Hull

ARTHUR POLLARD

William Barclay was full of surprises. He said that he ‘never had an original idea’ in his life, and when pressed would attribute his success to a good memory, hard work, an ability to work to order (he never wrote a Sunday sermon after Thursday), a facility with words, and a capacity for thinking in pictures rather than in theological abstractions. He was reticent about discussing the inspiration of Scripture, but would impishly point out that he was the only member of his divinity faculty who believed that Matthew, Luke and John wrote the gospels attributed to them. And he was notably free of the intolerance of liberalism.

In this paperback, nine of Professor Barclay’s friends deal with different aspects of the Glasgow University professor who could get alongside the working-man as few could. They tell of his scholarship and teaching methods, his broadcasting and his contemporaneity, his ecumenical outreach and his likeability. Some of them are a little vexed that he was coolly regarded by the academic establishment, but generally this is a good-humoured, affectionate collection ably edited and introduced by the editor of the kirk’s magazine *Life*.
and Work. Those who criticize his message could well copy his method; even the right words are enhanced by a good singing voice.

St Andrews, Fife

J. D. DOUGLAS

ROMAN CATHOLICISM : The Search for Relevance
BILL McSWEENEY

TODAY'S CATHOLIC  EDMUND FLOOD OSB
118pp. £2.75 ISBN 0 232 51473 9

MORAL DECISIONS  GERARD J. HUGHES SJ
60pp. £1.50 ISBN 0 232 51470 4

FAITH IN JESUS CHRIST  JOHN COVENTRY SJ
56pp. £1.50 ISBN 0 232 51474 7

Practical Theology Series
All published by Darton, Longman and Todd 1980

At the Nottingham Congress of 1977, evangelical Anglicans affirmed their desire to be better informed about the Roman Catholic Church. The four books under review all have a part to play in this process of growing mutual understanding. Three of them are from a promising new series entitled 'Practical Theology' which affirms the Second Vatican Council's policy 'of living the Christian life in closer touch with the perspectives of the Bible', and the fourth is the comment of a sociologist who sees Vatican II as little more than a disaster: 'After the Vatican Council, who can say what is valid or fallacious, and whether it is true or false or simply meaningless to hold that God became man or that outside the Church there is no salvation?' (McSweeney p.162). What we have here are two very different approaches to contemporary Catholicism.

I cannot conceal my lack of enthusiasm for McSweeney's book. In part, he offers a potted history of Catholicism from the French Revolution to the present day; in part he offers a sociological analysis. What he finds happening in the church is a prolonged slide into doctrinal relativism. As he sees it, the clearly defined faith and practice of nineteenth-century Catholicism, set over against the world by Pius IX, has suffered a progressive erosion, so that, with the victory of progressive theology in and since the council, the hallmarks of traditional Catholicism are disappearing. For McSweeney there has been a vast, but apparently inevitable, sell-out to relevance and relativism.

Such a depressing interpretation would be valid, even illuminating, if McSweeney showed any understanding of the nature and method of theology. In general, he sticks to his sociological last, with forays into history. He claims that his book is about 'the interrelation of politics and theology in the development of the Roman Catholic Church' (p.xi), but it is in fact written in strong reaction against the theological rationalization of what he calls 'political' changes in the church, particularly in the nineteenth century. Nowhere does he discuss, even if only to avoid trespassing on theological interpretation, the way in which theology might validly determine the activity and self-understanding of the church. The theoretical issue of authority—the limits to pluralism—goes by default. When McSweeney says that 'Short of a
divine intervention of cataclysmic proportion, the traditional Church has disappeared and a new institution has taken its place' (p.261), I cannot conceive what he has in mind, and how he would know it to be a divine intervention. Certainly, if he thinks so little of Vatican II, he cannot be calling for Vatican III.

There is much more sap, and much more theology, in the three little books of the ‘Practical Theology’ series. Edmund Flood, who writes on Today’s Catholic, specifically rejects any suggestion of ‘a struggle between conservatives who are trying to preserve Christian values and liberals who would be content with their abandonment’ (pp.31-2), which is more or less how McSweeney sees it. When Flood goes on to say that ‘The real debate is between those who wish to help the Church to apply the very demanding values of love, incarnation and the Church’s service to the world, and those who see Christian morality as something different’, we have the central stress of a series which expounds a more flexible and humane Catholicism as being truer to the Bible and the council.

This is reasonable religion, and Flood’s tone is practical rather than prophetic. When he says that ‘The only purpose of the Church is to enter, at the deepest possible level, into God’s creativity’ (p.73), he shows an inspired simplicity. He writes on the church as community, on family life, divorce, prayer and church leadership—topics which seem a little eclectic. However, anyone who begins a section on ‘our basic attitude to life’ by saying that ‘our first need is to relax’ wins me over.

Gerard Hughes’s little anatomy of Moral Decisions is excellent on the complex factors involved in the most everyday situations, and persuasive when he calls for a closer attention to the information we need in making such decisions. He definitely plays down the place of authoritative moral teaching, whether from the Bible or the church. He pleads for a reasonable Christian morality that makes sense by any standard, not a revealed morality that short-circuits intelligent and responsible discussion. On his account, I cannot see how Christian morality could ever develop as a radical alternative to prevailing social mores.

John Coventry’s book is a masterpiece of economy and clarity. He sets out to explain the meaning of Faith in Jesus Christ as it is to be understood in the light of contemporary biblical scholarship. Thus he starts by discussing faith in God; then he explains how the NT came to be written, how scholars think about the resurrection, the resurrection faith of the early Christian community, and the origins of Christology. He ducks none of the critical issues, but rather uses contemporary critical thought to illuminate the meaning of believing. Books like this, so short and so clear, are just what is needed to guide the non-specialist through disputed territory. As soon as I finished it, I read it again.

The Nottingham Statement declared that evangelical Anglicans ‘welcome the growing emphasis [of Catholics] upon the Bible as normative for Christian faith and conduct.’ Such an emphasis pervades these intelligent and sensitive little books. Behind their urbane simplicity there is considerable hermeneutic sophistication.

St Edmund’s House, Cambridge

Nicholas Sagogovsky
Care and Counsel, London EC4

MYRA CHAVE-JONES

PALESTINE COMES FIRST  L. GROLLENBERG
translated JOHN BOWDEN
first published in the Netherlands 1977
SCM Press 1980  151pp.  £2.50

Few books published by SCM have aroused as much controversy as L. Grollenberg's timely study on Palestine. Originally a Dutch publication (1977), John Bowden found the book so compelling—indeed sobering—that he was immediately convinced of the need for an English translation.

Grollenberg's experience in Palestine began in 1946 (two years before the birth of modern Israel) when he came to Jerusalem for study. The disturbing experiences he found there have remained with him to this day and have led to frequent visits to Israel and thorough study of its recent history and political future. The most remarkable feature of this book is the way Grollenberg challenges us to rethink the traditional account of Palestinian history as he sketches the land's historical backdrop from the nineteenth century to the present day. The nineteenth-century development of Arab
Palestine, the relationship between Zionism and nineteenth-century colonialism, the arbitrary division of Palestine by the victorious powers after World War One, and the manipulated immigration policies during the British Mandate period (1920-48) are all items which leave the reader with many discomforting surprises. In addition, the near legend we ascribe to the founding of Israel is critically presented with its many blemishes. For example, Ben Gurion is noted as making compulsory in 1955 the reading of *Joshua* in school classrooms. Children were taught 'that the Israeli army should treat the Arabs in the same way as Joshua, at God’s command, had treated the Canaanites' (p.131).

But amidst the many books written on this subject, why is Grollenberg’s important? Three reasons come quickly to mind. First, this book is unique in that each chapter is followed by a selection of primary sources. For the incredulous, Grollenberg is careful to cite at length Arab, Jewish, and western sources in order to substantiate his arguments. Second, although the author occasionally overstates his case, on the whole his criticisms do not echo the heated polemic that generally surrounds this subject. He is fair and exceptionally clear. One other reviewer described this book as ‘anti-Israeli political propaganda’! Grollenberg (on the other hand) is simply refusing to let us continue to glaze over Israeli history without comment. Thus a cavalier dismissal will not do for this book: its line-up of sober facts must be first proven wrong. Third, Grollenberg credibly presents the Palestinian case. It is true that the Jewish perspective on Palestine is generally foremost in our western press. Israeli channels for lobbying, information, and influences are well developed and sophisticated. This is not the case with the Arab world, whose leaders are not European and historically have never had access to the western media. Grollenberg does well to mention the serious centres of Arab political study (i.e. Beirut, Lebanon) whose contributions to the problems of the Middle East are virtually unknown in the West.

Today no informed observer is without an opinion concerning the Middle-East problem. This is especially true for churchmen, who add a theological dimension to the problem. Yet for us to be fully informed, interaction with voices such as Grollenberg’s is essential. The author’s views are indeed prophetic and will arouse a strong response. Thus he writes: ‘I stand in the tradition of the prophets of Israel, with their remorseless condemnation of religion, temple and state when they are used wrongly’ (p.139). The easiest way to read this book is to dismiss its author as extremist or misdirected. But for one such as myself who has done formal study of Middle-East politics (both in the West and in the Middle East), Grollenberg’s report, although at times simplified and overstated, rings very, very true.

King’s College, Aberdeen

**MUSIC AND THE ENGLISH REFORMATION**

The question of the place of music in the English church in the sixteenth century has been answered many times, and yet many of the answers have not adequately dealt with the issue. On the one hand, there has been the pervasive influence of the Tractarian movement which regarded the rich musical tradition of the pre-Reformation church as normative for subsequent generations. Consequently, in many treatments of English church music of the sixteenth century much space has been devoted to the pre-Reformation tradition and the establishment of the choral service under the later Elizabethan Settlement. The important transitional years, from the end of...
the reign of Henry VIII to the beginning of Elizabeth I's, are generally glossed over, often with more than a hint of impatience and irritation with the reign of Edward VI, which is presented as being an entirely negative period for church music. An example of this approach is found in C. H. Phillips, *The Singing Church*, originally published in 1945 and recently reissued by the Addington Press, a new publishing partnership between Mowbrays and the Royal School of Church Music. Here Cranmer's principle of syllabic settings for liturgical chant, as expressed in Marbeck's music for the Prayer Book services, is criticized for not continuing the tradition of plainsong: 'The music... was neither fish nor foul; it was a typical English compromise' (p.70). Phillips did not fully understand the environment of the Edwardine years and was inclined to present opinion as fact. For example, he claimed that there is no evidence that Marbeck's book was ever actually used. On the contrary, as I have demonstrated in the introduction to my forthcoming facsimile of *The Booke of Common praiuer noted*. 1550 (Sutton Courtenay Press), evidence of its use is to be found in at least one of the extant copies and in the church inventories of 1552. Phillips' book is, of course, much wider than a survey of just sixteenth-century church music. However, the same rather dated approach continues throughout. Our knowledge has progressed and the climate in the church is somewhat different from what it was forty years ago, so that it would seem to have been preferable to have commissioned a new study rather than reprint this old one—especially as second-hand copies are not too difficult to find.

On the other hand, there has been the influence of what might be termed latter-day puritanism. The reign of Edward VI is likewise presented as a negative, the exception being their approval of the singing of metrical psalms. Index to the Parker Society volumes of the writings of the English Reformers clearly shows that a majority of their references to music are somewhat negative, the exception being their approval of the singing of metrical psalms. These hesitations are taken to be the roots and foundation of the later puritan musical antagonism. But the popular picture of the later Puritans as musical philistines is basically defective, as Percy Scholes demonstrated in his classic study: *The Puritans and Music in England and New England: A Contribution to the Cultural History of the Two Nations*, OUP 1934 and reissued in 1969. Such a reappraisal of church music, together with the theological principles which either promoted or proscribed it in the transitional years of the mid-sixteenth century, is long overdue, but a start has been made in a number of recently issued books.

One of the volumes to be included in the new *Cambridge Studies in Music*, under the general editorship of John Stevens and Peter le Huray, is Stevens' *Music and Poetry in the Early Tudor Court*. It is a reissue of the work originally published in 1961 by Methuen, which was hailed as the originator of a new field of research. This reissue is not quite a straight reprint: a number of small corrections have been incorporated and the bibliography has been extended. The work as a whole is a highly original study of music and literary sources and an enquiry into the relationship between words and music. The fifth chapter is particularly important in that the author reviews the impact of the Reformation on the music of the time, something that had not really been considered in earlier studies. Much of the background to the chapter is based on Horton Davies' *The Worship of the English Puritans,
1948, but Stevens also makes his own pertinent observations. First, he sets the Reformers’ suspicious attitude towards over-elaborate music in its proper perspective. Such hesitations were not the invention of the sixteenth-century Reformers but had been voiced from almost the earliest days of the Christian church. In the recent past, both Wycliffe and Erasmus had registered their own protests (p.77f). Second, Stevens sees the positive significance the change in theological climate had on the music of the day. The Reformation, he says, was ‘part of an intellectual revolution . . . [which was] manifested in an intense concern with words’ (p.75, author’s italics). This led to a revolutionary simplification in music: ‘In the Middle Ages words were fitted to music; but now music is fitted to words’ (p.79). It was ‘a return to melody, the single, unadorned line of sound . . . [which] bore rich fruit’ (p.84).

Consequently, Stevens—unlike Phillips above—understands Marbeck’s settings of the text of the Prayer Book not as simple, truncated plainsong, but as a new approach to liturgical melody, syllabic in nature and following the stresses and rhythms of the vernacular text (p.83). Similarly, the author does not underestimate the importance of the emergence of metrical psalms as popular, congregational songs (p.85).

Another study in the series Cambridge Studies in Music is the impressive two volume survey: The Music of the English Parish Church, by Nicholas Temperley. It was given a full review in Churchman, Vol. 94, pp.284-6, but some notice ought to be taken of it here. As was pointed out in the review, Temperley’s discussion of the period covering the years 1540-60 is rather cursory, but nevertheless contains important and significant information. The discovery of a previously unknown English metrical psalter, printed for use by the exiles in Wesel in 1556, means that all those many discussions of metrical psalm singing as beginning in 1560 are now rendered obsolete. The Wesel psalter (which uses Sternhold’s original texts rather than Whittingham’s revisions, while at the same time using some of Whittingham’s original texts) implies that Sternhold’s metrical psalms were more widely sung in Edwardine England than has been generally thought hitherto.

Yet another volume in the Cambridge Studies in Music is Peter le Huray, Music and the Reformation in England 1549-1660. It is virtually a straight reprint, with minor revisions, of the first edition which was issued in 1967 in the series Studies in Church Music, edited by Erik Routley and published by Herbert Jenkins. The revisions are almost exclusively confined to bibliographical material and questions of contemporary performance.

Even though the book has rightly become the standard work, one has to say that its title is something of a misnomer, and the treatment of its contents is at one and the same time too narrow and too broad. The book is not what its title suggests: a discussion of the place of music in the Reformation debate, the views of the Reformers and the resultant practice of church music in the worship life of the church. It is rather, as the terminal dates suggest, a study of the music of the Reformation period in England. The discussion is too narrow in the sense that 1549, though an obvious date, is rather late to be speaking about a reformation in church music. Such a reformation had begun years earlier, and although this is referred to in the book, more attention could have been given to the later Henrician years. It is similarly narrow in confining itself to a discussion of composers and their music. Questions of
conflicting theologies, differing liturgical needs, the significance and extent of continental influence, and other such issues, are barely admitted. The first chapter does cover 'music and the English Reformation', but it is the least satisfactory chapter of the book and much more needs to be said.

The study is too broad in the sense that the terminal dates are too wide for a satisfactory study. The period really demands two books: one which would cover the later Henrician years to the early Elizabethan period, and the other covering the years 1570-1660. But having said this, the book nevertheless remains an invaluable study; and in what it covers, it does exceedingly well. Particularly valuable are the summary charts which compress a great deal of information into a small space. Le Huray presents a veritable wealth of material this way, summarizing the cathedral choirs of both old and new foundations, comparisons of liturgical services, listing important manuscripts and their contents, and so on. The lives of composers are discussed, along with their basic output, with a generous sprinkling of musical examples. Dr le Huray's first-hand experience of the source material is both impressive and informative, and anyone who would study the church music of the period must begin here.

Ten years after le Huray's study, another volume appeared that was clearly intended as a companion volume: Hugh Benham, Latin Church Music in England c. 1460-1575. The approach is similar to le Huray's in that the lives of composers and their music are systematically studied, with particular attention given to compositional features, performance problems, and manuscript sources. Benham is perhaps more analytical than le Huray but is more ready to compare the techniques of English composers with those of their continental counterparts. The eight-page subsection 'Latin Church Music and the Reformation' is somewhat slight and, again, one would have liked to have seen more here. But at least there is the important information that the English Reformation did not sweep away all things Latin: that where the language was 'understanded of the people' (Art. XXIV) in courtly, ecclesiastical and university circles there was no problem.

Unlike le Huray and Benham, the books by Colin Hand and David S. Josephson are devoted to just one sixteenth-century composer: John Taverner. Both books set out to accomplish the same purpose, but Josephson's is the more weighty of the two, being a rewritten doctoral thesis containing a wealth of well-documented background material. Both books have the same structure: their second parts deal with the extant music of Taverner, which is discussed and analysed at length. These analyses need to be compared with those in the book, noted above, by Benham (whose doctoral thesis was The Music of John Taverner: A Study and Assessment, Southampton University 1970). In both, the discussion of the music is preceded by an account of the composer's life. Here both Hand and Josephson are somewhat controversial. They each set out to demonstrate, first, that Taverner was not the religious fanatic which tradition and Peter Maxwell Davies' opera portray; and, second, that he did not adopt Protestant views at all but continued loyal to the old doctrine. The authors succeed on the first point but fail on the second. The traditional picture of Taverner—largely constructed by Edmund Fellowes (in an article on the composer in Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians, 5th ed., Ed. E. Blom, Vol. 8, pp.323ff.) on the basis of evidence in Foxe's Acts & Monuments—is that while in Oxford
he espoused 'Lutheran' views and was arrested for 'heresy', along with John Frith and others, in 1528. Within a few years he abandoned a musical career and moved to Boston, where he acted as an agent for Thomas Cromwell in the suppression of religious houses in South Lincolnshire. It was his involvement in this latter work that, according to the Fellowes tradition, shows that he was a fanatical and heartless Protestant. Both Hand (p.32f.) and Josephson (p.99ff., and with greater detail than Hand) rightly draw attention to some letters of Taverner to Cromwell during the Boston years, which reveal that he was not the ruthless and cruel persecutor of the inmates of religious houses. It was Denis Stevens, in articles published in the late 1960s, who first noticed the importance of these letters in which Taverner expresses a compassionate and considerate attitude towards the 'poor brethren' of these institutions. This represents an important revision of our picture of the man, based on solid documentary evidence. But both Hand and Josephson use this evidence in a simplistic manner (Hand more so than Josephson) to make the deduction that Taverner never really espoused Protestant views. 'When the subject is examined in full context and with all the documentary evidence to hand we discover Taverner still embracing his original faith' (Hand, p.36); 'He remained an orthodox Catholic, but not a "papist"' (Josephson, p.111). But there is no objective and categorical evidence to support such an assertion, and it can only be made if the evidence from Foxe is devalued and the nature of the reforming movement in the later Henrician years underestimated. Both the authors base part of their case on Taverner's membership of the Guild of Corpus Christi in Boston, 'which was, after all, a Catholic-based organisation' (Hand, p.35). But membership of such guilds is no compelling evidence. John Marbeck, for instance, continued as a musician at the equally 'Catholic-based' St George's Chapel, Windsor Castle, after his arrest and pardon on a charge of heresy in 1543, but it is known that he retained his strong Protestant views. Indeed, at Windsor there was something of a reforming cell, a pattern which might well have been repeated in Boston. After all, the guilds there were in decline, long past their former glory, and it is worthy of note that Thomas Garrat, who had been involved in the heresy affair in Oxford with Taverner, was a master at the Grammar School maintained by one of the Boston guilds at the same time as Taverner was working in the town as the agent of Cromwell.

Hand goes further and attempts to show that Taverner's Lutheran leanings at the time of the 1528 heresy hunt should not be taken too seriously. Dean Higden, of Cardinal College, Oxford, where Taverner was Informator Choristorum, directed: 'As for Master Taverner I have not commit him to prison, neither Radley' because 'they be unlearned, and not to be regarded.' Hand (p.26) comments: 'This last phrase should not be taken too literally, for it must surely mean that these two members of the chapel were less knowledgeable in Lutheran doctrine than the accused scholars.' But the reference to Taverner as 'unlearned' has nothing to do with his 'Lutheranism' as such. It means, rather, that Taverner was a musician and as such had no part of the academic establishment and therefore was not in a position to propagate his views.

As part of their argument, both Hand and Josephson imply that the reforming movement of the later Henrician years was not particularly significant and was confined to the removal of abuses in the church. Josephson
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(p.129) states that Marian devotion continued unabated until the mid-1540s, by which time Taverner was in his final years. In support he cites two pieces of evidence. The first is a manuscript which was probably compiled in Anne Boleyn's court circle between 1533 and 1536. Josephson comments: 'Of particular interest is the evidence . . . that, contrary to the view generally held, Marian antiphons were considered perfectly acceptable in the reformist group led by Archbishop Cranmer. . . . More than a third of the pieces in the collection are settings of Marian texts.' This is something of an overstatement. Marian antiphons were sung, but whether Cranmer approved of the practice is another question. There are signs that he did not. Such antiphons were usually sung before an image of the Virgin and from about 1536 there were official directives about the idolatrous overtones this practice had. That year both the Ten Articles and the Royal Injunctions issued warnings to this effect, and in the Royal Injunctions of 1538 there was the decree that all such images should be taken down and that devotion to them should cease. Thus, if images were no longer to be the focus of attention there would be little need for the Marian antiphon. The second piece of evidence that Josephson offers (p.244) is Robert Testwood's objection to singing to Mary as 'Redemptrix et Salvatrix' at Windsor. Josephson cites it as evidence for the late survival of Marian devotion, for he assumes that it took place in 1543. However, the incident took place about ten years earlier (see my book The Work of John Marbeck, Courtenay Library of Reformation Classics 9, Appleford 1978, p.29), and shows that the reforming movement was concerned about these Marian devotions and that Testwood's protest was not in the nature of a practical joke, as Josephson suggests, but for the theological reason that such promotion of Mary must involve a corresponding demotion of Christ.

But most of the argument in both books relies on discrediting the evidence given by Foxe. The account of the Oxford heresy trial in 1528, and Taverner's part in it, is only recorded at length in Foxe's Acts & Monuments, 1563. Both the authors fall into the trap of other detractors by assuming that, because of his pro-Protestant stance, Foxe must have rewritten history to suit his purpose. Josephson (p.64ff.) goes to some lengths to show that some of Foxe's dates in this case were not quite right. But, as Mozley points out (John Foxe and His Book, SPCK 1940), Foxe may be vague in some of his dating, but the substance of his evidence has been proved reliable, even though others had called his evidence into question.

The storm centre is the marginal comment that Foxe added to a later edition of Acts & Monuments. alongside the account of Taverner. It runs: 'This Taverner repented him very much that he had made Songs to Popish Ditties in the time of his blindness.' Hand states (p.8) that this is 'simply a personal comment by Foxe in a work that is coloured by his own religious affiliations'; and Josephson (p.7), 'Foxe's remarks must be discredited on most counts.' Both Hand (pp.24ff., 36) and Josephson (pp.1,4,7,62,64ff., 69,71, etc.) make much play on the information that as the marginal comment appeared for the first time in the 1583 edition of Acts & Monuments, that is, twenty years after the first edition and thirty or more years after the event itself, it cannot be taken seriously. Unfortunately, neither author knows the Foxe editions very well. Josephson quotes from the 9th edition of 1684 and does not appear to know that the Testwood affair (see above) was recorded in Foxe (he quotes the incident from a secondary source); and Hand only notes
the 1563 and 1583 editions. It was Fellowes, in the introduction to the first volume of *Tudor Church Music*, OUP 1923, who recorded that the marginal comment appeared for the first time in the 1583 edition. Hand and Josephson appear to have been content to take Fellowes at his word. Unfortunately, Fellowes was wrong. The marginal comment first appeared in the second edition of *Acts & Monuments* issued in 1570 (p.1174). Thus the statement is not as far distant from the event as these authors assume. Further, both authors note John Bergsagel’s article, ‘The Date and Provenance of the Forrest-Heyther Collection of Tudor Masses’, *Music & Letters*, Vol. 44, 1963, pp.240-48, but neither picks up an important suggestion that is made there. The fact that the manuscript contains mass settings by Taverner and Marbeck, coupled with ‘the fact that both ... were arrested for heresy (Taverner in 1528, Marbeck in 1543) leads one to wonder whether there might have been a master-pupil relationship between them in which they enjoyed a theological as well as a musical sympathy’ (ibid., p.247). If that is so, as I have shown in my study of Marbeck (op. cit., p.53), the Windsor theologian/musician may well have been Foxe’s immediate source for the marginal comment, particularly when one calls to mind the fact that Marbeck wrote the account of the Windsor happenings (including the Testwood incident) especially for Foxe’s second edition (see *Acts & Monuments*, 1570, p.1399).

Admittedly, there are large areas of Taverner’s life for which we have no evidence at all. For example, there is no direct evidence that Taverner was involved in any musical activity after he left Oxford for Boston. Josephson is of the opinion that he must have continued making music because the guilds he belonged to had a history of musical activity, and because the author cannot believe that a composer of Taverner’s talent could possibly give up the art. Fellowes, on the other had, thought that Taverner gave up the practice of music on adopting Protestant views and becoming an agent of Cromwell. The question remains open. But to doubt the account in Foxe, simply because it is that particular source, is to lay oneself open to the charge that is often levelled against Foxe, that of adjusting the evidence to fit the theory.

* * * *

Much work has been done in recent decades on the sources and content of pre-Reformation church music within the context of the liturgical life of the church at that time. But these recent studies have pointed up the need for more attention to be paid to the emerging reforming movement and how it developed during the reign of Edward VI. And to do that effectively will require an adequate grasp of theology, ecclesiastical history and hymnology, as well as liturgiology and musicology.

Latimer House, Oxford

ROBIN A. LEAVER

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