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Remembering Charlie Moule

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The title of this very brief essay is, in some ways, highly presumptuous. As far as I can recall I only met Charlie Moule once, in Cambridge when I was a student of English literature and I was not, at the time, especially concerned with theology. C. F. D. Moule was Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity in Cambridge for twenty-five years – known to all as ‘Charlie’ Moule – and one of a now sadly dying breed, being a profoundly pastoral Anglican clergyman who was also a deeply learned scholar and a brilliant teacher. His intellectual brilliance is not given to many of us, but his example of prayer and learning, nevertheless, remains pertinent.

The impetus for these few pages lies in the occasion of being given for Christmas a fairly recently published collection of Moule’s unpublished writings and sermons.¹ I mentioned this book recently as an important example of Anglican theology to a group of Episcopal ordinands, only to be met by blank looks. Who was Charlie Moule? Memories, it may be, are short, but there are things well worth preserving within our Anglican tradition, and among these are the theology and example of Professor Moule. If these few words can persuade anyone to read this book and remember his spirit, then they will have served their purpose.

In his sermon in Great St. Mary’s Church, Cambridge on 9 February 2008 on the occasion of the Memorial Service for Professor Moule, published in this volume of Moule’s writings, Archbishop Rowan Williams reminds us that Moule had his roots, like many other clergy and Anglicans of his era, in China where his parents were missionaries. This gave to his later theology the broad and universal perspective that characterizes all his work, and was above painstakingly pursued in his New Testament scholarship. It is a universality of outlook that is sometimes sadly lacking in our Church today. My own copy of his book *The Birth of the New Testament* (1962), bought in my own first year as an ordinand in Oxford in 1973 (the date is written in my hand on the inside cover), remains in my memory as a work of, at once, profound and broad faith and meticulous research and intelligent reflection. That is something to which we should all aspire.

Most of the first half of *Christ Alive and at Large* consists of an extensive critical essay entitled ‘The Spirituality and New Testament Theology of Charlie Moule’ by the Oxford theologian Robert Morgan, and I do not intend to offer any synopsis of its

¹ *Christ Alive and at Large: Unpublished Writings of C. F. D. Moule*, ed. by Robert Morgan and Patrick Moule (Norwich: Canterbury Press, 2010).

contents here. This fine essay should be read in its own right. But I do wish here to commend the writings of Moule himself as they are presented in this book, drawn from the years of his long and creative retirement during which he maintained his scholarship in letters to friends and colleagues, talks, pastoral interactions, practical reflections on the Bible and sermons. Like many clergy of his day, Moule was immensely well read not only in theology but also in poetry and literature, and this shows not only in his references, but also in his style of writing and clarity of expression. In these pages theology of often profound complexity comes to us in equally often extraordinary, translucently simple and clear forms of words. It is a gift of the great teacher.

Here is an example in a brief essay on the Christian doctrine of the Trinity. Moule begins with an all-too familiar experience for almost all those, ordained or lay, who are called to preach on Trinity Sunday. He pulls no punches:

From Anglican pulpits on Trinity Sunday most sermons will declare that Godhead is an impenetrable mystery, but few will attempt to probe it (175).

We tend to adopt the language of adoration without any further attempt to pursue understanding of what we say or to communicate it. But we owe it to our congregations to preach intelligently. Furthermore, Moule was quite clear that in the end all our worship withers and fades ‘unless the convictions behind it are rationally investigated’. Being on your knees does not mean that you should abandon your intelligence, or the habit of asking critical questions. However, Moule’s few words in this short paper are not an historical or philosophical enquiry into the development of Trinitarian theology in the Early Church. Typically, he begins with the matter of the Bible and Hebrew monotheism, before moving forwards into the New Testament and above all the writings of St Paul. There, before theology begins to become more articulate in later centuries, he explores the nature of the ‘living unity of God’ as something both experienced and that which prompts, above all in the Pauline epistles, careful thought and reflection. Moule begins in the living, intelligent faith of the Church, acknowledging that ‘the language of a properly doctrinal understanding was forged after the New Testament in the complex debates of the following centuries’ (177). But still, like the first Christians, we must always ask the fundamental questions, not assuming that the answer is a given even before we begin to think. And so he demands: ‘Why the number three?’ Well, of course, there is no simple answer – but Moule is concerned always to ask us to think and then think again, and he gives clues as to where we should start in this process. Perhaps the real difficulty begins with the term ‘spirit’. Clue? Have a go at Dorothy Sayers’s classic work *The Mind of the Maker*

(1942. Repr. 1994), which draws also on the wisdom of creative art, both visual and literary. Moule does not presume to give an answer – he prompts us to think for ourselves and suggests some tools to use in the process. Things may change and the prompts draw on newer material, but the principle remains the same. Then Moule's last sentence sums up his whole motivation in pursuing an intelligent faith:

The Trinitarian 'Gloria', in Christian worship, is infinitely more than a decorative formula. It is a serious reminder of how to grasp, with all God's people, what is the breadth and length and height and depth of the love of Christ which surpasses knowledge, for only so shall we be filled up to the full measure of God (178).

Surpassing knowledge, indeed, but yet demanding our entire attention in body, spirit – and mind.

Then there is a lovely sermon preached in Winchester at Epiphany in 1991. It consists of a careful, indeed meticulous, leading us through the Epiphany story, and how the experience of the biblical Wise Men might be found again for us today. Moule is perfectly clear:

It has been my duty to ask, ruthlessly and with no holds barred, Is this true? Does that stand up to scrutiny? Where is the evidence for such and such a view? How much is legend, how much is history? (203).

In the process of such enquiry, he readily admits, some things must be jettisoned. There is always the danger that our faith will become lazy and based on untested or naive principles. But if what we believe centrally is indeed the truth, then it can but be strengthened in us by such critical enquiry, for the truth cannot but be reinforced by intelligent, prayerful, ruthless testing.

Charlie Moule described his task as a Professor of Divinity as the pursuit of 'skeptical studies', never engaged in without the discipline of prayer and sacrament into which, as a clergyman, he was ordained. These two things of mind and spirit must never stand apart. Indeed, he suggests in his 1991 Epiphany sermon that 'critical scholarship' has always been part of the story which constitutes, for him, the faith of the Church. If, we might say, the evidence demands the paradox of Christology – not either/or but the both/and of man and God in Christ, then that evidence must be carefully and critically sifted with all our thinking mind, becoming matter that is strong enough to support the miracle of faith.

Charlie Moule remains for me a powerful pattern of the priestly life. I pray that his testimony to the heart and mind of Anglican identity be not forgotten. We cannot,

indeed should not, all be Lady Margaret Professors of Divinity – but we can, both lay and ordained, follow his example of a life of prayer and critical honesty. Indeed, we owe this not least to the people and the Church which we serve and to which are called to teach in faith and lead in prayer and worship.

Christianity, Scripture and the State of Israel¹

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Myth and history are seldom entirely distinguishable, and this is all but invariably and inevitably the case with the origins of nations and of religious movements. That this is true of ancient Israel, and of the Judaism and Christianity which emerged from it, as of the Islam which later also claimed the heritage of Abraham, has been more than adequately established by critical scholarship during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Such historical evidence as there is furnishes neither academic certainty nor religious contentment on nearly all the details; movements have been sustained by myths of their own origins, and by truth claims beyond verification by the methods of any academic discipline. This includes the biblical narrative, which cannot be substantiated on the basis of archaeological or externally verifiable documentary evidence. This study will firstly examine the origins of Israel, its foundation myths, and its evolving bases of identity until the end of the Roman period, and, secondly, the emergence of Zionism in Europe in the light of subsequent Jewish history. It will be shown that, whereas Christian Zionism emerged from Protestant interpretation of Scripture, Jewish Zionism was initially a secular nationalist movement which later acquired religious expression. The two are entirely irreconcilable, and neither is sustainable on the basis of critical historical reconstruction of ancient Israel.²

The Origins and History of Biblical Israel

Irrespective of whether or not Abraham ever existed,³ the nation of Israel was formed not through his fecundity and that of his descendants, but through a series of social,

¹ Paper read at the Church and Academy Seminar, University of Glasgow, April 2016. See <https://www.churchandtheacademy.org/>.

² For a study of ways in which Scripture is interpreted in relation to Zionism and the land of Israel in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, see N. H. Taylor, "Scripture, History, and the Israel-Palestine Conflict", M. Marten & N. H. Taylor (ed), *Holy Land, Promised Land?* forthcoming.

³ Historicity defended, W. F. Albright, *The Biblical Period from Abraham to Ezra* (New York: Harper & Row, 1963); A. Alt, *Essays on Old Testament History and Religion* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1966); J. Bright, *History of Israel* (London: SCM, 1962). Contra, D. B. Redford, *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel in Ancient Times* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992); T. L. Thompson, *The Historicity of the Patriarchal Narratives*

economic, and political reconfigurations of the Canaanite polities over several centuries. There were undoubtedly population migrations along the fertile crescent – wandering Aramaeans as the Deuteronomist called them (Deut 26:5) - and pastoral nomads competed with agrarian societies for land and water. Immigration of escaped slaves from Egypt perhaps provided a minor catalyst, but not the demographic mass, of whatever tribal configuration subsisted under Philistine suzerainty after the decline of the Egyptian, Mycenaean, and Hittite empires, and before the resurgence of the Assyrian, Babylonian, and Egyptian empires (c. 1400-1000 BCE).⁴ The people of ancient Israel were Canaanites, subjects of the various city states which rose and fell over the centuries as vassals of the more powerful empires. Israel came about through social revolutions which overthrew or withdrew the peasant population from the city states, formed less hierarchical and less militarised pastoral and agricultural societies in the hill country of Canaan, resisting the rule of the surviving city states and of neighbouring Aramaeans, Phoenicians, and Philistines - as happened also during this period in Ammon, Moab, and Edom, lands to the east of the Jordan and to the south of what became Judaea. If Moses existed,⁵ he was a Midianite shaman and founder of the priestly caste whose later shrines at Shiloh and Dan were the centres of the cultic life of the disparate clans who populated the hill country of Canaan.⁶ Yahweh, the god of Israel, reflects an evolving religious sensibility, derived from the Canaanite notion of the divine patriarch 'El, his consort Asherah, and (in most versions of the mythical family tree, their son) Ba'al, the god of war and of fertility, and storm god, i.e., giver of rain.⁷

Judges preserves traditions of localised wars of liberation, with freedom always relative and precarious under the protection of the (modified Canaanite) war god

(New York: De Gruyter, 1974); J. van Seters, *Abraham in History and Tradition* (New Haven: Yale, 1975).

⁴ W. G. Dever, *Who were the Early Israelites, and Where did they come from?* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003); N. K. Gottwald, *The Tribes of Yahweh* (Maryknoll: Orbis, 1979); B. Halpern, *The Emergence of Israel in Canaan* (Missoula: Scholars, 1983).

⁵ Cf. K. A. Kitchen, *On the Reliability of the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003).

⁶ Cf. F. M. Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1973); *From Epic to Canon* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998).

⁷ The names, roles, and relative power of similarly named deities varied in the ancient near eastern pantheons, so some generalisation for the purposes of this study is inevitable. For more detailed treatments, see Cross, *Canaanite Myth; Epic to Canon*.

Yahweh.⁸ The viability of a relatively egalitarian society (provided one was male and slave-owning) against encroachment from the city states was fragile, and generated pressure towards more permanent and centralised military and political structures. The monarchy under Saul was localised and tentative. The extent of David's kingdom is less certain than the ways in which the monarchy was fundamentally to alter the character of Israelite society, creating an exploitative and militarised agrarian society, as Samuel is credited with having foreseen (1 Sam 8:11-18). David may have been little more than a warlord with a side-line in banditry,⁹ and his vices may have been proportionately fewer than is related in 2 Samuel. David is credited with having brought together the diversity of tribal and cultic entities, and integrated their epics and genealogies, to create a nation with a common ancestry whose cultic life was centred on Jerusalem.

The dissolution of the two Hebrew kingdoms by the Assyrians (Samaria, 722 BCE) and Babylonians (Jerusalem, 587 BCE), and the consequent population migrations, altered permanently the character of Israel. Between these two events came the brief but enduring reforms of Josiah, which consolidated the national epic and initiated the deuteronomistic movement.¹⁰ The shrine of 'El at Bethel was desecrated and destroyed, and cultic worship centralised in Jerusalem. As Josiah extended his territory to include some of the former northern kingdom, monotheism and laws of social responsibility became established, which were to endure long after the kingdom was destroyed, and to be the foundation of Jewish, Christian, and Muslim ethics thereafter.

The exiles from Samaria and Jerusalem, far from being enforced mass population migrations, consisted of no more than the removal of the ruling classes, royal and priestly, from the people they ruled, and of conscripts for the imperial armies and labour gangs, estimated at no more than 10% of the population.¹¹ Nevertheless the Babylonian exile was an experience of profound significance in the development of Judaism. The crisis of separation from the land of Israel enabled profound new theological insights to be reached by the prophets of the period (Ezekiel 10-11; cf. Psalm 137). These were to be of quite fundamental significance for

⁸ Gottwald, *Tribes of Yahweh*; G. E. Mendenhall, "The Hebrew Conquest of Palestine", *Biblical Archaeologist* 25 (1962) 66-87; cf. I. Finkelstein & N. Na'aman (ed), *From Nomadism to Monarchy* (Jerusalem: Biblical Archaeology Society, 1994).

⁹ Cf. E. Hobsbawm, *Bandits* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 2000).

¹⁰ *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic*; Finkelstein & Silberman, *Bible Unearthed*; M. A. Sweeney, *King Josiah of Judah* (Oxford: OUP, 2001).

¹¹ R. Albertz, *Israel in Exile: The History and Literature of the Sixth Century BCE* (Atlanta: SBL, 2003); Finkelstein & Silberman, *Bible Unearthed*.

both Judaism and Christianity in later centuries, but the ears upon which they fell at the time were either deaf or politically disenfranchised. Those politically enfranchised were the descendants of the exiles who were permitted by the Persians to rebuild the Judaeen polity and cult in Jerusalem (c. 540 BCE). Not only were the people of the former northern kingdom excluded, giving rise ultimately to the emergence of the Samaritans, but the people of the land, *amme ha'aretz*, were denigrated as ethnically dubious and cultically impure, while the land itself came to be regarded as holy (Zech 2:16).¹² Ethnicity became, for the first time, a weapon of exclusion, as Nehemiah and Ezra, and their successors, produced the final redaction of the Pentateuch, the definitive statement of Jewish theology, law, and ethics, and the genocidal epics of Joshua and Judges. Far from having being revealed to Moses, the Pentateuch is the creation of a reconstituted ethnic and cultic community formed by the descendants of the exiles, in Babylon and Jerusalem, during the fifth century BCE.¹³ Books such as Ruth and Jonah, with their more generous openness to the gentiles, and Job with its philosophical universalism, represent a muted reaction to this process.

The details of the religious and political contests of the Persian period are beyond recovery, on account of the paucity of extant documents of the period, and the difficulties in dating and locating those which do survive.¹⁴ It is clear that the dominant faction in Jerusalem, supported by the imperial establishment, was to define Judaism according to the ethnic and religious self-identity of elite cadres who had been exiled to Babylonia, and from whom the leadership of the reconstituted Judaeen polity was drawn. Their attempts to impose ethnic exclusivity and cultic conformity led to fragmentation, the emergence of the Samaritans as a distinct cultic and political entity,¹⁵ and the evolution of apocalypticism within the continuing prophetic movement.¹⁶

¹² This is the earliest attested use of the expression “holy land”, c. 520 BCE. The only other occurrences in Scripture are in 2 Macc 1:7 and Wis 12:3, both of which emanate from diaspora Judaism in Egypt several centuries later.

¹³ Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic; From Epic to Canon*; Finkelstein & Silberman, *Bible Unearthed*; E. T. Mullen, *Ethnic Myths and Pentateuchal Foundations* (Atlanta: Scholars, 1997).

¹⁴ Grabbe, *Judaism from Cyrus to Hadrian*; Sacchi, *History of the Second Temple Period*.

¹⁵ G. N. Knoppers, *Jews and Samaritans* (New York: OUP, 2013); Reinhard Pummer, *The Samaritans* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2016).

¹⁶ J. J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination* (New York: Crossroad, 1984); S. L. Cook, *Prophecy and Apocalypticism* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 1995).

These developments continued with the Greek ascendancy, during the third quarter of the fourth century BCE. The establishment of the Hasmonaean monarchy after the Maccabaeen revolt (mid-second century BCE) saw the establishment of an independent polity which aggressively expanded its territory to include much of the mythic Davidic empire.¹⁷ This brought the descendants of the people of the former kingdom of Israel, including the Samaritans as well as the Galileans, under Judaeen domination. The Hasmonaean also extended their territory across the Jordan and to the south, conquering Idumaea and forcibly converting the population. Ironically, this process was ultimately to introduce the Herodian family to Roman favour, with consequences which may raise questions about the prudence of this means of seeking security.

Roman hegemony in the eastern Mediterranean was the consequence of the internecine strife over a century and more following the disintegration of Alexander's empire. In-fighting in Judaea facilitated the Roman occupation, as Pompey, having conquered the Seleucid empire, entered Jerusalem and desecrated the temple in 64 BCE.¹⁸ Herodian vassals, Hasmonaean priests, and Roman prefects and procurators competed for power in the Levant, until the outbreak of the Jewish uprising in 66 CE. The ensuing war ended in the destruction of Jerusalem and the temple by Titus in 70 CE, which effectively ended the temple cult.¹⁹

By the time Jerusalem fell to the Romans, the majority of Jews had lived in diaspora for centuries, assimilating in different ways and to varying degrees with the societies in which they lived.²⁰ The majority not merely sustained their Jewish identity, but also drew adherents and converts to their communities, of whom Onqelos the Targumist²¹ and certain relations of the imperial family are among the

¹⁷ S. J. D. Cohen, *From the Maccabees to the Mishnah* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2014); Grabbe, *Judaism from Cyrus to Hadrian*; Sacchi, *History of the Second Temple Period*.

¹⁸ Josephus, *Antiquities* 14.70-71; Cohen, *From the Maccabees to the Mishnah*; Grabbe, *Judaism from Cyrus to Hadrian*; Sacchi, *History of the Second Temple Period*.

¹⁹ Josephus, *Jewish War* 3-7; Cohen, *From the Maccabees to the Mishnah*; Grabbe, *Judaism from Cyrus to Hadrian*; Sacchi, *History of the Second Temple Period*.

²⁰ J. M. G. Barclay, *Jews in the Mediterranean Diaspora* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1996); S. J. D. Cohen, *The Beginnings of Jewishness* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999); M. D. Goodman, *Mission and Conversion* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1994); P. Schäfer, *The History of the Jews in the Greco-Roman World* (London: Routledge, 2003); P. R. Trebilco, *Jewish Communities in Asia Minor* (Cambridge: CUP, 1991).

²¹ The *Targumim* are Aramaic renditions of the Hebrew Scriptures, by tradition evolved in the context of synagogue worship where the Hebrew original was no

most prominent. For some their links with Jerusalem and its institutions remained strong, for others they became tenuous, but separation from their ancestral land, whether voluntary or not, did not constitute a crisis. For some Jerusalem remained the locus of eschatological hopes, the place in which they might hope to end their days and be buried. Others quite consciously renounced their Jewish identity in order to integrate fully in Graeco-Roman pagan society, of whom Tiberias Julius Alexander, nephew of the philosopher Philo of Alexandria, who became procurator of Judaea, prefect of Egypt, and chief of staff to Titus in the conquest of Jerusalem, is perhaps the most infamous example.²²

The permanent end of the temple cult would not have been apparent for several decades, until after the Bar Kokhba uprising (132-35 CE), when the emperor Hadrian created a pagan Roman city, *Aelia Capitolina*, on the ruins of Jerusalem, and dispersed the population of Judaea. Any hopes of restoration after seventy years, as had followed the destruction of Solomon's temple,²³ which may have motivated the uprising, were dashed. While rabbis continued faithfully to preserve and transmit traditions regarding temple liturgies and associated purity regulations, and priests retained their identity and position in society, the essence of Jewish life evolved to the point that these became archaic and largely redundant. The *Mishnah* and *Tosephta* reflect consolidation of rabbinic traditions over the ensuing century, as Judaism continued to flourish in the eastern Mediterranean world and beyond.²⁴ The way of life and worship which evolved, in continuity with developments at least as

longer understood by the congregation. One of the surviving traditions committed to writing is that attributed to the second century CE proselyte Onqelos. Rabbinic traditions identify Onqelos variously as the nephew of the emperor Titus (*Babylonian Talmud, Gittin* 56b) or of Hadrian (*Midrash Tamhuma*). The *Jerusalem Talmud*, earlier than the *Babylonian*, identifies the translator of the *Targum* as Aquila rather than Onqelos, but nevertheless identify the translator as a proselyte (*Megillah* 10b).

²² Josephus, *Antiquities* 20.100. Alexander appears also in several passages in Josephus, *Jewish War*, books 2, 5, and 6.

²³ While the intervention of Cyrus (c. 538 BCE), mentioned above, which allowed the rebuilding of Jerusalem and the temple took place approximately 50 years after their destruction by the forces of Nebuchadnezzar (587 BCE), 70 years was nonetheless understood as the duration of the exile, during which restoration was anticipated. Jews who understood the events of 70 CE against this background would naturally have expected that restoration would come after 70 years.

²⁴ Cohen, *From the Maccabees to the Mishnah; The Beginnings of Jewishness* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999); N. de Lange, *Judaism* (Oxford: OUP, 2003); S. Sand, *The Invention of the Jewish People* (London: Verso, 2009).

ancient as the Babylonian exile, rested on the premise that God's covenant with Israel was as mobile as the Ark carried by the priests through the wilderness, and could be established and lived anywhere. The creator God could and would be worshipped throughout the earth. In place of the temple, observance of *Torah* and synagogue worship became the defining characteristics of Jewish piety.

By the time of Bar Kokhba, Christianity had evolved over a century in both the Greek and Aramaic worlds, with different movements defining themselves within Israel and over and against rival forms of Judaism, supplementing the *Tanakh* with their own Scriptures,²⁵ and converting members of other nations as well as their fellow Jews to their distinctive form of the faith.²⁶ The narrative in Acts represents a very small part of the first three decades of this process, on a trajectory around the Mediterranean fringe from Judaea through west Syria into the Roman provinces of what is now Turkey, Greece, and Italy; the small part is told is that associated with the apostle Paul, his dramatic conversion from persecutor of the church to enthusiastic evangelist of a Jewish gospel to the nations, and who is (anachronistically) credited with the theological breakthrough which made the gentile mission possible.²⁷ The reality is that, while there were Christian groups who remained strictly within the parameters of Torah-observant Judaism, Paul was neither the first nor the only one to proclaim the Gospel to people of other nations, and to include them in the communities he formed.²⁸ Nevertheless, Paul's theology, as it came to be understood centuries later, has been formative for Christian attitudes to Judaism, particularly in

²⁵ Many, but by no means all, of these documents were eventually included in the Christian New Testament. The formation of the Canon was a protracted and contested process over several centuries. Several other Gospels were in circulation during the earliest centuries, and were revered as holy Scripture in the churches which acknowledged them as of apostolic authorship. Cf. Bart D. Ehrman & Zlatko Pleše, *The Apocryphal Gospels* (Oxford: OUP, 2011).

²⁶ J. D. G. Dunn, *Christianity in the Making* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003, 2009, 2015); W. H. C. Frend, *The Early Church* (London: SCM, 2011).

²⁷ M. Hengel, *Acts and the History of Earliest Christianity* (London: SCM, 1979); N. H. Taylor, *Paul, Antioch and Jerusalem* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1992; London: Continuum, 2015).

²⁸ In Acts 11:19-30 it is clear that gentiles were being converted to Christianity in Antioch before the time of Paul's activity there. Cf. R. E. Brown & J. P. Meier, *Antioch and Rome* (London: Chapman, 1983), M. Zetterholm, *The Formation of Christianity in Antioch* (London: Routledge, 2003).

the western Church. It is therefore important to consider what Paul actually taught on the subject.²⁹

To place Paul in context, we need to be aware that Christianity originated within a Jewish matrix, within which the Church was a minority movement, much smaller and less powerful than the principal Jewish institutions which were well established in the Roman empire. This power was used to suppress nascent Christianity, and Paul himself openly admits to having been involved in this.³⁰ While the crucifixion of Jesus was carried out by Roman troops, under the authority of the Roman prefect of Judaea, Jewish authorities undoubtedly played a role in this (Mark 15), even if Matthew embellishes the “responsibility” of the Jews (27:25), and thereby sowed the seeds for the later notion of Jewish “blood-guilt”.³¹ Even after the destruction of Jerusalem and the temple in 70 CE, and the extinction of the high priesthood, the relative power of local Jewish institutions in the Roman empire over against Christian churches was undiminished. Rabbinic authority came to be established independently of the temple cult,³² and was used against the Church for

²⁹ While Paul was strongly repudiated in Jewish Christian documents such as the “Pseudo-Clementines” and has traditionally been reviled within Judaism, there has been a renewed interest in his writings in recent Jewish scholarship, with quite significant reappraisals of his place within first century Judaism. E.g., D. Boyarin, *A Radical Jew: Paul and the Politics of Identity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994); R. L. Rubenstein, *My Brother Paul* (Harper Collins, 1975); A. F. Segal, *Paul the Convert: The Apostasy and Apostolate of Saul the Pharisee* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990).

³⁰ M. Hengel, *The Pre-Christian Paul* (London: SCM, 1993); Taylor, *Paul, Antioch and Jerusalem*.

³¹ The gospel of Matthew is, of the four in the New Testament, both that which most strongly emphasises the Jewishness of Jesus and the essentially Jewish context of his ministry, maintaining the enduring significance of the law of Moses, and also that which most strongly repudiates the Jewish authorities of his day. Cf. Meier, *Marginal Jew*; A. J. Saldarini, *Matthew’s Christian-Jewish Community* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994); D. C. Sim, *The Gospel of Matthew and Christian Judaism* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1998); T. L. Donaldson, *Jews and Anti-Judaism in the New Testament* (London: SPCK, 2010); P. Fredriksen & A. Reinhardz, *Jesus, Judaism, and Anti-Judaism in the New Testament* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2002); S. Sandmel, *Anti-Semitism in the New-Testament?* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1978).

³² Cohen, *From the Maccabees to the Mishnah*; J. M. Lieu, J. North, & T. Rajak, *The Jews among Pagans and Christians in the Roman Empire* (London: Routledge, 1994); Schäfer, *History of the Jews*.

centuries, as is reflected in the Johannine literature and in Jewish anti-Christian polemics.³³

It is also important to recognise that, by the time of Paul, there had been several centuries of debate within Judaism as to whether, and on what terms, those born outside ethnic Israel could be incorporated into the covenant community.³⁴ Early Christian missions need to be understood in this context, and there is unambiguous evidence that there were vigorous debates within the Church on this issue.³⁵ Paul quite radically re-interprets God's promises to Abraham, as recorded in Genesis, and subordinates to these the covenant mediated by Moses at Sinai, including the laws which governed every aspect of Jewish life.³⁶ Paul argues that God's promises to Abraham are ultimately and definitively fulfilled in Jesus (Gal 3:16), whose death and resurrection bring salvation and abolish the ritual and dietary laws associated with Moses. This enables people of all nations to attain salvation in Christ

³³ There are several rabbinic texts which may reflect polemics against Jesus without explicitly naming him: *Mishnah Yebamoth* 4.13 refers to the illegitimacy of an unnamed but clearly prominent person, widely understood to be Jesus. The second century Greek philosopher Celsus cites similar and detailed allegations, clearly of Jewish provenance, quoted in Origen, *Contra Celsum* 1.28,32. The Babylonian *Talmud* has several passages which may allude to Jesus, adding accusations of sorcery to the previous, *Sanhedrin* 43a, 67a, 104b. The Syro-Greek philosopher Porphyry, *Adversus Christianos*, reflects knowledge of such polemics, so far as can be ascertained from refutations by later Christian authors. These stories reflect not so much memories of the life of Jesus as tensions between Jewish and Christian groups during the second and subsequent centuries.

³⁴ S. McKnight, *A Light among the Gentiles* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 1991); Goodman, *Mission and Conversion*.

³⁵ As well as the quite different positions reflected in the New Testament, e.g. between the gospel of Matthew and the letters of Paul, Jewish-Christian writings testify to a form of Christianity which defined itself within the nation of Israel, and observed aspects of *Torah* which had been abandoned or reinterpreted by predominantly gentile Christian groups. See Skarsaune & Hvalvik, *Jewish Believers in Jesus*. There were also movements, such as that associated with Marcion, which repudiated the Hebrew Scriptures and the heritage of Israel entirely. See J. M. Lieu, *Marcion and the Making of a Heretic* (Cambridge: CUP, 2015); P. Perkins, *Gnosticism and the New Testament* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 1993).

³⁶ T. L. Donaldson, *Paul and the Gentiles* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 1997); E. P. Sanders, *Paul, the Law and the Jewish People* (London: SCM, 1983); Segal, *Paul the Convert*.

(Gal 3:8,26-29). The nation of Israel had played a role in preparation for the coming of Jesus, and would ultimately enjoy the salvation which had been promised (Romans 9-11), but had no monopoly on this salvation, and there is no suggestion anywhere in Paul's letters that possession of the historic land of Israel was guaranteed or would be of any salvific relevance. On the contrary, in Gal 4:21-31 he suggests that physical places are transcended by spiritual realities, and that the locations sacred to Israel's history have lost their significance. Paul is concerned not with the land promised to Abraham, but with the people descended, physically or spiritually, from him.

While the position of Jesus is recoverable only from later accounts, some relevant details are clear.³⁷ Jesus came from Galilee, a district on the periphery of the former northern kingdom which had been brought under Jewish rule by the Hasmonaeans, but remained somewhat disenfranchised so far as Jerusalem and the temple were concerned – “Galilee of the gentiles” (Isa 9:1; Matt 4:15; cf. John 7:52). This does not mean that Jesus was not an observant Jew, but his standing as a teacher of Torah was hardly unchallenged when he travelled to Jerusalem (Mark 11:27-12:34). Jesus proclaimed by word and deed the destruction of the temple (Mark 13:1-2; cf. 14:58; 15:29), as an event not only of temporary divine judgement, as had happened previously, but as one of cataclysmic eschatological significance.³⁸ This led directly to his crucifixion, and the disciples in Jerusalem remained subject to harassment on this account (Acts 5-7).³⁹ While the origins of the Eucharist are an area of enormous complexity and scholarly dispute,⁴⁰ that Jesus instituted a cult in which bread and

³⁷ D. C. Allison, *Constructing Jesus* (London: SPCK, 2010); P. M. Casey, *Jesus of Nazareth* (London: T & T Clark, 2010); J. D. G. Dunn, *Jesus Remembered* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003); S. V. Freyne, *Jesus, A Jewish Galilean* (London: T & T Clark, 2004); R. A. Horsley, *The Prophet Jesus and the Renewal of Israel* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1012); J. P. Meier, *A Marginal Jew* (New York: Doubleday, 2016); E. P. Sanders, *Jesus and Judaism* (London: SCM, 1985); E. W. & W. Stegemann, *The Jesus Movement* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1999).

³⁸ Sanders, *Jesus and Judaism*; N. H. Taylor, “Palestinian Christianity and the Caligula Crisis: I. Social and Historical Reconstruction”, *JSNT* 61 (1996) 101-124; “Jerusalem and the Temple in early Christian Life and Teaching”, *Neotestamentica* 33 (1999) 445-61; contra, B. D. Chilton, *The Temple of Jesus* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1992).

³⁹ N. H. Taylor, “Palestinian Christianity”; “Jerusalem and the Temple”; “Stephen, the Temple, and early Christian Eschatology”, *Revue Biblique* 110 (2003) 62-85.

⁴⁰ P. F. Bradshaw, *Eucharistic Origins* (London: SPCK, 2004); J. Jeremias, *The Eucharistic Words of Jesus* (London: SCM, 1965); D. E. Smith, *From Symposium to*

wine symbolised his body and blood, and which transcended the sacrificial system of the temple, was believed and proclaimed by the middle of the first Christian century (1 Cor 11:23-25; cf. Mark 14:22-25).

The de-centring of Jerusalem, the temple, and, by implication, the land is emphasised in the narrative of Acts: Luke begins in the temple (1:5-22), the resurrection appearances, ascension, descent of the Holy Spirit, and first proclamation of the Gospel are all located in Jerusalem (Luke 24; Acts 1-2), but the story moves progressively to Samaria (Acts 8:5-25), to the Syrian cities of Damascus (9:2,10-19) and Antioch (11:19-26), from whence the account of Paul's journeys ends in Rome (28:14-31).⁴¹ The Johannine Jesus speaks of a time when the place in which worship is offered ceases to be relevant, when the faithful worship God "in spirit and in truth" (John 4:23-24). Documents as profoundly Jewish as the letter to the Hebrews⁴² and Revelation⁴³ point to a transcendent reality which supersedes Jerusalem and the temple as the focus of Christian hope.

It was not until Constantine imposed an imperial standard at the Council of Nicaea (325 CE) that Christianity, within the boundaries of the Roman empire, began to acquire anything approaching uniformity. Torah-observant forms of Christianity continued to the east, until annihilated by the conquering Muslim Arabs during the seventh century.⁴⁴ It was under Constantine's patronage that the Church for the first time became more powerful than Jewish institutions in the Roman empire, and the

Eucharist (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2003); M. D. Stringer, *Rethinking the Origins of the Eucharist* (London: SCM, 2011).

⁴¹ N. H. Taylor, "Luke-Acts and the Temple", in *The Unity of Luke-Acts*, ed. J. Verheyden (Leuven: University Press & Peeters, 1999), pp. 709-721; "Jerusalem and the Temple".

⁴² R. J. Bauckham, D. R. Driver, & T. A. Hart (ed), *The Epistle to the Hebrews and Christian Theology* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009); P. Church, *Hebrews and the Temple: Attitudes to the Temple in Second Temple Judaism and in Hebrews* (Leiden: Brill, 2017).

⁴³ R. A. Briggs, *Jewish Temple Imagery and the Book of Revelation* (New York: Peter Lang, 1999); A. Spatafora, *From Temple of God to God as the Temple* (Rome: Gregorian, 1997); G. Stevenson, *Power and Place: Temple and Identity in the Book of Revelation* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2001).

⁴⁴ W. Baum & D. W. Winkler, *The Church of the East* (London: Routledge, 2003); S. H. Moffett, *A History of Christianity in Asia* (Maryknoll: Orbis, 1998); J. Neusner, *Judaism, Christianity, and Zoroastrianism in Talmudic Babylonia* (Atlanta: Scholars, 1991); R. A. Pritz, *Nazarene Jewish Christianity* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1988); O. Skarsaune & R. Hvalvik, *Jewish Believers in Jesus* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 2007); J. S. Trimmingham, *Christianity among the Arabs in Pre-Islamic Times* (London: Longman, 1979).

centuries of intermittent conflict mutated into the patterns of persecution and expulsion of Jewish communities which were to recur intermittently in Christian Europe until the Holocaust.⁴⁵

The received orthodoxy is that Judaism during these centuries was consolidated under the leadership of the rabbis in Galilee and Mesopotamia, producing the *Mishnah*, *Tosephta*, and later the *Talmudim*.⁴⁶ These documents enabled Judaism to survive as a minority ethnic and religious group, always vulnerable to persecution, in various parts of the world until the dawn of Zionism. Notwithstanding the considerable tragedies and atrocities which have overshadowed many phases of Jewish history, there have also been very significant triumphs. Far from being an insular ethnic sect, Judaism was as spectacularly successful as was Christianity in attracting converts in the places in which communities were established.⁴⁷ While from the time of Constantine Christianity came to eclipse Judaism within the Roman empire, beyond its borders to the north and east nations and their rulers were converted to Judaism, the spread of Christianity was contained, the decline of Zoroastrianism hastened, and the expansion of Islam resisted until the Mongol invasions and the rise of Rus drove the ancestors of the Ashkenazi into Europe and indirectly ensured the triumph of Islam in western and central Asia.⁴⁸

Christian Europe and the Origins of Zionism

The history of Jewish communities in Christian Europe contains many indelible blots on the legacy of Christendom – which no comparison with the persecution of Jews and Christians by Muslim rulers at various times until the present, or even Jewish persecution of minorities in the Khazar empire, and of Palestinian Christians and

⁴⁵ J. Carroll, *Constantine's Sword* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2001); J. R. Marcus & M. Saperstein, *The Jews in Christian Europe* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2015). For a theological assessment, H. Küng, *Judaism* (London: SCM, 1992).

⁴⁶ S. J. D. Cohen, *From the Maccabees to the Mishnah* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1987); *The Beginnings of Jewishness* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999); E. P. Sanders, *Jewish Law from Jesus to the Mishnah* (London: SCM, 1990).

⁴⁷ Sand, *Invention of the Jewish People*. Sand reviews the origins and growth of Jewish communities in Africa, the Arabian peninsula, south-eastern Europe, and central Asia, as well as in the Roman empire. Many of the primary sources he cites have been known for a long time, but have made little impact on eurocentric scholarship. Much of the scholarship he cites is written in Hebrew, and therefore not widely known. For another perspective, Goodman, *Mission and Conversion*.

⁴⁸ K. A. Brook, *The Jews of Khazaria* (London: Rowman & Littlefield, 2018); A. Koestler, *The Thirteenth Tribe* (London: Macmillan, 1977).

Muslims today, can eradicate. Nevertheless, Jewish communities were established in many parts of Europe by the Renaissance, were integral to the Enlightenment, and have ever since been at the forefront of European and American intellectual, cultural, civic, and commercial life. Like Christians they have been affected by secularism, and by the new and godless religions which emerged in Europe at the French and industrial revolutions – nationalism and capitalism. Of the ambiguities of their religious, cultural, and ethnic identity only they can tell; for some their Jewishness has been central to their intellectual and cultural pursuits, to others it has been irrelevant, and often far from apparent in the wider society. For some it has been an embarrassment, to be concealed through conformity to the dominant strand of Christianity, whether to gain protection by demonstrating loyalty to the prevailing political order, or to gain access to commercial and educational opportunities, particular professions, or to influence. What is clear, though, is that the rise of European nationalism saw an increased, positive or negative, emphasis on ethnicity in the self-identity of Jewish elites in Europe during the nineteenth century.⁴⁹

Alongside the recognition among some Protestant theologians of the force of Paul's teaching on the eschatological redemption of Israel in Romans 9-11,⁵⁰ the origins of Zionism are to be found in Protestant Christian fundamentalist and millennialist fantasies, which taught that, if Jews were repatriated to Palestine the return of Christ would be brought closer. Early proponents of this position, who nowhere advocated the violent expulsion, subjugation, or annihilation of the indigenous population of Palestine, included the English puritan John Owen (1618-83)⁵¹ and settlers in North America, John Cotton (1585-1652) and Increase Mather (1639-1723), and later Jonathan Edwards (1703-58).⁵² In Scotland this position was held by Edward Irving (1792-1834), one of the progenitors of the Catholic Apostolic Church.⁵³ Anglican evangelicals who espoused early Christian Zionism included

⁴⁹ Küng, *Judaism*, provides a careful if provocative review of ways in which different cultural forces in Europe have influenced Christianity and Judaism, and relations between the communities.

⁵⁰ Samuel Rutherford (1600-61; Professor of Divinity at St Andrews), *Letters of Samuel Rutherford*, ed. A. A. Bonar (Edinburgh, 1891).

⁵¹ *An Exposition of the Epistle to the Hebrews with Preliminary Exercitations. I* (1668), Exercitation 18, "Jewish Objections against the Christian Religion, Answered".

⁵² *A History of the Work of Redemption* (1773) 4.7.

⁵³ *Babylon and Infidelity foredoomed - A Discourse on the Prophecies of Daniel and the Apocalypse which relate to these latter times, and until the Second Advent* (1826).

Charles Wesley (1707-88),⁵⁴ Charles Simeon (1759-1836),⁵⁵ and John Nelson Darby (1800-82), who left the Church of Ireland to join firstly the Plymouth Brethren and then to found the Exclusive Brethren. Darby distinctively believed that, while the Jews repatriated to Palestine would be converted to Christ during the eschatological tribulations, the temple would be rebuilt in Jerusalem as the centre of Christ's kingdom.⁵⁶

An early and influential convert to Christian Zionism was Anthony Ashley-Cooper (1801-85), Tory MP and later seventh earl of Shaftesbury, President of the British and Foreign Bible Society, of the London Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews, and of the Evangelical Alliance, commemorated in Anglican calendars for his campaigns to reform what would now be known as care for the mentally ill,⁵⁷ and to regulate child labour in the factories and mines of industrial Britain.⁵⁸ Ashley wrote in the *London Quarterly Review* in 1838:

The soil and climate of Palestine are singularly adapted to the growth of produce required for the exigencies of Great Britain; the finest cotton may be obtained in almost unlimited abundance; silk and madder are the staple of the country, and olive oil is now, as it ever was, the very fatness of the land. Capital and skill are alone required: the presence of a British officer, and the increased security of property which his presence will confer, may invite them from these islands to the cultivation of Palestine; and the Jews, who will betake themselves to agriculture in no other land, having found, in the English consul, a mediator between their people and the Pacha, will probably return in

⁵⁴ The hymn "Almighty God of Love", first published by Charles Wesley in 1762 and subsequently revised by John Wesley and later editors, is discussed by H. B. McGonigle & W. T. Graham, "A Wesley 'Zionist' Hymn", *The Wesley Fellowship* (2008, 2011), http://www.wesley-fellowship.org.uk/Zionist_Hymn.html, retrieved 27 February 2018.

⁵⁵ A founder with William Wilberforce of the London Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews in 1809 (now known as the Church's Ministry among Jewish People).

⁵⁶ "The Hopes of the Church of God", *The Collected Writings of J. N. Darby. II* (1840).

⁵⁷ Ashley sponsored the County Lunatic Asylums (England) and the Madhouses Acts of 1828 and two Lunacy Acts of 1845.

⁵⁸ Ashley sponsored the Ten Hours Act 1833, the Mines and Collieries Acts 1842, and, in the House of Lords, the Chimney Sweepers Regulation Act 1864 and the Chimney Sweepers Act 1875.

yet greater numbers, and become once more the husbandmen of Judaea and Galilee.

As well as the overt economic and imperialist motivations of his Zionist programme, Shaftesbury was an early user of the fatuous expression “a country without a nation” in need of “a nation without a country... the ancient and rightful lords of the soil, the Jews!”, in a letter to the Prime Minister, the Earl of Aberdeen, in 1853, at the height of the Crimean War.⁵⁹ The earliest attestation of this expression is in Free Church of Scotland Minister Alexander Keith’s *The Land of Israel According to the Covenant with Abraham, with Isaac, and with Jacob*.⁶⁰

Christian Zionism has since then become an extremely powerful force in North America, not least through the influence of Cyrus Ingerson Scofield (1843-1921),

⁵⁹ D. M. Lewis, *The Origins of Christian Zionism: Lord Shaftesbury and Evangelical Support for a Jewish Homeland* (Cambridge: CUP, 2014).

⁶⁰ Edinburgh: William Whyte, 1844.

convicted fraudster⁶¹ whose “reference” Bible, first published in 1909,⁶² has become the biggest-selling Christian product ever. Despite his having no competence in any area of Biblical scholarship or the ancient languages, Scofield succeeded in persuading Oxford University Press that his amateur and uninformed manuscript was worthy of publication. While it has certainly met the commercial criteria of publication, it is nonetheless somewhat depressing and distressing that Scofield’s ignorant and opinionated annotations have been and continue to be received as though they are integral to sacred scripture by millions of fundamentalist Christians over the past century. Lest we consider this tendency the fanaticism of a lunatic fringe, we need to recall that Zionism, and the expulsion of the Palestinian people from their homes and land has been supported by theologians of the stature of Reinhold

⁶¹ “Cyrus I. Schofield, formerly of Kansas, late lawyer, politician and shyster generally, has come to the surface again, and promises once more to gather around himself that halo of notoriety that has made him so prominent in the past. The last personal knowledge that Kansans have had of this peer among scalawags, was when about four years ago, after a series of forgeries and confidence games he left the state and a destitute family and took refuge in Canada. For a time he kept undercover, nothing being heard of him until within the past two years when he turned up in St. Louis, where he had a wealthy widowed sister living who has generally come to the front and squared up Cyrus’ little follies and foibles by paying good round sums of money. Within the past year, however, Cyrus committed a series of St. Louis forgeries that could not be settled so easily, and the erratic young gentleman was compelled to linger in the St. Louis jail for a period of six months.

“Among the many malicious acts that characterized his career, was one peculiarly atrocious, that has come under our personal notice. Shortly after he left Kansas, leaving his wife and two children dependent upon the bounty of his wife’s mother, he wrote his wife that he could invest some \$1,300 of her mother’s money, all she had, in a manner that would return big interest. After some correspondence he forwarded them a mortgage, signed and executed by one Chas. Best, purporting to convey valuable property in St. Louis. Upon this, the money was sent to him. Afterwards the mortgages were found to be base forgeries, no such person as Charles Best being in existence, and the property conveyed in the mortgage fictitious.....”, *The Daily Capital*, Topeka, Kansas, 27 August 1881.

⁶² *The Holy Bible, Containing the Old and New Testaments : Authorized Version, with a New System of Connected Topical References to All the Greater Themes of Scripture, with Annotations, Revised Marginal Renderings, Summaries, Definitions, and Index : to which are Added Helps at Hard Places, Explanations of Seeming Discrepancies, and a New System of Paragraphs.* Oxford: OUP, 1909.

Niebuhr (1892-1971)⁶³ and Paul van Buren (1924-98),⁶⁴ and is reflected in the often unthinking assumptions of mainly Protestant Christians, including many Anglicans.⁶⁵ As articulate an advocate of the rights of black Americans as Martin Luther King Jr (1929-68) was similarly sympathetic to the state of Israel and the Zionist project.⁶⁶

The later Jewish version of Zionism was initially a form of secular, and often atheistic, European nationalism.⁶⁷ Notwithstanding the usually disastrous initiatives of earlier periods, such as that of Sabbatai Zvi (1626-76), and the discrimination and intermittent persecutions and pogroms which precipitated these migrations, the majority of European Jews were committed to assimilating into European society. Those who professed any expectation of restoration of a Jewish polity in and around Jerusalem regarded this as an eschatological hope, not to be speculated upon or anticipated through their agency. The Jewish Enlightenment philosopher Moses Mendelssohn (1729-86), the model for Lessing's *Nathan der Weise*, was unequivocal on this subject, notwithstanding the context of controversy surrounding the place of Jews in German society in which he wrote:

The hoped-for return to Palestine ... has no influence on our conduct as citizens. This is confirmed by experience wherever Jews are tolerated. In part, human nature accounts for it – only the enthusiast would not love the soil on which he thrives. And he who holds contrary religious opinions reserves them for church [sic] and prayer. In part, also the precaution of our sages accounts for it – the Talmud forbids us *even to think* of a return by force. Without the miracles and the signs mentioned

⁶³ E. Naveh, "Unconventional 'Christian Zionist': The Theologian Reinhold Niebuhr and his Attitude toward the Jewish National Movement", *Studies in Zionism* 11 (1990) 183–196; 12 (1991) 85–88; *Reinhold Niebuhr and Non-Utopian Liberalism* (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2002).

⁶⁴ *A Christian Theology of the People of Israel* (San Francisco: Harper San Francisco, 1984).

⁶⁵ *Land of Promise? An Anglican exploration of Christian attitudes to the Holy Land, with special reference to Christian Zionism* (London: Anglican Consultative Council, 2012); V. Clark, *Allies for Armageddon* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007); G. R. McDermott, *Israel Matters* (Grand Rapids: Brazos, 2017); (ed), *The New Christian Zionism* (Downers Grove: IVP, 2016).

⁶⁶ E. J. Sundquist, *Strangers in the land: Blacks, Jews, post-Holocaust America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005).

⁶⁷ M. Brenner, *A Brief History of Zionism* (Princeton: Wiener, 2011); J. Rose, *The Myths of Zionism* (London: Pluto, 2004).

in the Scripture, we must not take the smallest step in the direction of forcing a return and a restoration of our nation.⁶⁸

This position continued to be articulated by Jewish philosophers and theologians in the European Enlightenment tradition until the dawn of Nazism. Particularly notable examples were Hermann Cohen (1842-1918)⁶⁹ and his student Franz Rosenzweig (1886-1929). Reflecting on the Genesis narratives of the creation and the migrations of the patriarchs, Rosenzweig distinguished the Jews from other nations in that

We alone have put our trust in blood and have parted with the land... [T]he tribal legend of the eternal people begins otherwise than with indigenoussness. Only the father of humanity ... sprouted from the earth... Israel's ancestors immigrated.⁷⁰

The pioneer of modern Hebrew literature, Micah Joseph Berdichevsky (1865-1921), reviewed dispassionately the Zionist assertion of an exclusive and inalienable claim to Palestine:

For the most part, our Fathers were not natives of the Land but its conquerors, and the right they acquired was also acquired by the conquerors who subsequently conquered it from us.... The Land of Israel is not virgin land before us; it is populated by a people cultivating its land, with rights to its land.⁷¹

Orthodox and Reform Judaism in central and western Europe were united in their opposition to Zionism. The prominent Orthodox Rabbi Samson Raphael Hirsch (1808-88), while sharing the spiritual attachment to the land inhabited by biblical Israel, nevertheless represented the antithesis of what became secular Zionism. He warned that his contemporaries' aspiring to occupation and sovereignty over Palestine risked incurring a tragedy akin to that brought upon the Jews by Bar Kokhba, and, like Rosenzweig, reflected upon the biblical narrative:

⁶⁸ ET, P. Mendes-Flohr & J. Reinharz (ed), *The Jew in the Modern World: A Documentary History* (Oxford: OUP, 1995), 48-49.

⁶⁹ *Deutschtum und Judentum* (Gießen: Töpelmann, 1915); *Religion und Zionismus* (Crefeld: Blätter, 1916).

⁷⁰ *The Star of Redemption* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2005), 319.

⁷¹ ET, Sand, *Invention of the Land of Israel*, 203.

Yisrael was given the Torah in the wilderness, and there – without a country or land of its own – it became a nation, a body whose soul was Torah.... Torah, the fulfilment of the Divine Will, constitutes the foundation, basis, and goal of this people.... [L]and, prosperity and the institutions of statehood were to be put at Yisrael's disposal not as goals in themselves but as a means for the fulfilment of the Torah.⁷²

The overwhelming majority of observant Jews in Europe held a similar position;⁷³ the exceptions, until secular Zionism became a reality, were minority movements, including Kabbalists and Hasidim, and also Perushim, who migrated to Palestine in the expectation that the messiah would come in 1840.⁷⁴

A North American precursor to Zionism may be found in the enterprise of Mordecai Manuel Noah (1785-1851) to establish a Jewish “refuge”, appropriately to be known as Ararat, on Grand Island in the Niagara River. Like some European and American Protestants, Puritans in particular, Noah believed that the indigenous people of North America were descended from the “lost tribes” of Israel.⁷⁵ The failure of the Ararat project to attract any support, other than from Freemasons, led Noah subsequently to advocate migration of Jews to Palestine.⁷⁶ The first American consul in Jerusalem and subsequent proselyte and settler, Warder Cresson (1798-1860), was the first to implement such a scheme.

The origins of Jewish Zionism lie, not in continuity with the spiritual movements among European Jewry of the preceding centuries, or in the waves of emigration to the Americas, but in the cultural and political foment which followed the French revolution, the emergence of nationalist ideologies in Europe, and the struggles for the unification of Italy and Germany.⁷⁷ In *Rom und Jerusalem, die letzte Nationalitätsfrage*, Moses Hess (1812-75) articulated a reconstitution of Israel as a racially defined nation, against the prevailing assimilation of Jewish elites in

⁷² “The Eighth Letter: The Founding of the Jewish People”, *The Nineteen Letters* (New York: Feldheim, 1995), 115-16.

⁷³ For examples, including citations of documents available only in Hebrew, Sand, *Invention of the Land of Israel* 187-96.

⁷⁴ A. Morgenstern, *Hastening Redemption: Messianism and the Resettlement of the Land of Israel* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).

⁷⁵ *Discourse on the Evidences of the American Indians being the Descendants of the Lost Tribes of Israel* (New York: Van Norden, 1837).

⁷⁶ *Discourse on the Restoration of the Jews* (New York: Harper, 1844).

⁷⁷ A. Hart, *Zionism: The Real Enemy of the Jews. I. The False Messiah* (Atlanta: Clarity, 2009); W. Laqueur, *A History of Zionism* (New York: Schocken, 2003).

(western) European societies.⁷⁸ Leon Pinsker (1821-91), reacting to a rising tide of “Judaophobia” in the Russian empire, published *Selbstemanzipation: Mahnruf an seine Stammgenossen, von einem russischen Juden*, arguing for the establishment of a Jewish national homeland, preferably in Palestine.⁷⁹ During the late nineteenth century, several centuries of acquiring colonies in other parts of the world had escalated among the European powers, with nationalism giving a competitive edge to the scramble for empire.⁸⁰ Crude misappropriation of the evolutionary theories of Darwin added an overtly racist dimension to established systems of economic exploitation, and to notions of identity among European peoples.⁸¹ European Jewish elites, overwhelmingly secular and assimilationist, as well as many being either atheistic or superficially conforming to the dominant Protestantism or Roman Catholicism of the societies in which they lived, were amenable to a colonial adventure of their own somewhere outside Europe; this was particularly true of the Rothschild family.⁸² A Jewish colony could be a convenient destination for Jews at that time fleeing persecution in Russia, whose poverty and culture were discordant with the image and aspirations of established Jewish elites in western and central Europe.

This was the context in which former German nationalist and assimilationist Theodor Herzl (1860-1904) published *Der Judenstaat*,⁸³ the defining text of modern Zionism, advocating the departure of Jews from Europe for a land of their own – suggesting either Argentina or Palestine as a suitable destination. Like other Europeans of that period, Herzl and most Zionists had few if any moral qualms about appropriating the land and homes of other people, and subjugating, expelling or even annihilating the indigenous population; what distinguished Zionists among European colonialists was the myth, which many may have believed to reflect historical and biological reality, that they were descended from the nation known as Israel or Judah during the millennium before the Roman destruction of Jerusalem, and therefore had some legitimate claim to the land in which biblical Israel and Judah had lived. The first Jewish Zionists nevertheless did not immediately identify

⁷⁸ *Rome and Jerusalem: The Last National Question* (Leipzig: Mengler, 1862).

⁷⁹ *Auto-Emancipation: Warning to His Fellow People, from a Russian Jew* (Berlin: Iasleib, 1882).

⁸⁰ E. J. Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire, 1875-1914* (New York: Vintage, 1987).

⁸¹ A. Pichot, *The Pure Society: From Darwin to Hitler* (London: Verso, 2009); R. Weikart, *From Darwin to Hitler* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006).

⁸² N. Fergusson, *The House of Rothschild: The World's Banker* (London: Penguin, 1998).

⁸³ *The Jewish State* (Leipzig: Breitsenstein, 1896).

Palestine or any other backwater in the declining Ottoman empire as their colony of choice.

European Jews swayed and prayed for Zion for nearly two millennia, and by the end of the nineteenth century their descendants had transformed liturgical longing into a political movement to create a Jewish national entity somewhere in the world. Zionism's prophet, Theodor Herzl, considered Argentina, Cyprus, Mesopotamia, Mozambique, and the Sinai Peninsula as potential Jewish homelands. It took nearly a decade for Zionism to exclusively concentrate its spiritual yearning on the spatial coordinates of Ottoman Palestine.⁸⁴

The Jewish Colonization Association, established by Baron Maurice de Hirsch (alias Moritz von Hirsch) in 1891, initially acquired land in Argentina and Canada for settlement by Jews fleeing imperial Russia, and only later channelled funds into assisting the colonisation of Palestine. In 1903, the British Colonial Secretary, Joseph Chamberlain, offered territory in East Africa for Jewish settlement. This proposal divided the Zionist movement. The British Jew Israel Zangwill (1864-1926), known for coining the expression “melting pot” to describe the creation of a single [white] nation in the United States out of diverse immigrant communities, having come to the realisation that “Palestine proper has already its inhabitants”⁸⁵, repudiated his former endorsement of Shaftesbury’s notion of a “land without a people” and came to the conclusion that the “people without a land” should seek territory elsewhere. He accordingly founded, with Lucien Wolf (1857-1930), the Jewish Territorialist Association in 1905, which sought land for Jewish colonisation in North America, Australia, East Africa, and parts of the Ottoman Empire other than Palestine. Subsequently, the Freeland League for Jewish Territorial Colonization was founded in London in 1935 by Russian Jewish refugee, and former People’s Commissar for Justice under Lenin, Isaac Sternberg (1888-1957), to support Jews fleeing the incipient Holocaust, and unsuccessfully sought land in Australia and Surinam for exclusive Jewish colonisation.

Notwithstanding these invariably unsuccessful ventures, Ottoman Palestine was the preferred destination for most Jewish colonial initiatives. On account of its place in their religious heritage, it was to Palestine that Jewish groups fled persecution in the Russian empire following the assassination of Tsar Alexander III and the anti-

⁸⁴ A. Rover, *In the Shadow of Zion: Promised Lands before Israel* (New York: New York University Press, 2014) 45.

⁸⁵ *The Voice of Jerusalem* (London: Macmillan, 1921) 92.

semitic laws introduced in the aftermath thereof.⁸⁶ The most prominent of these, the *BILU* movement, led by Israel Belkind (1861-1929), was conspicuous in that it sought coexistence with the Palestinians: Belkind argued, in terms in significant respects similar to the historical reconstruction above, that the Palestinians were descendants of Jews who remained in the land, and had not been exiled by the Babylonians or Romans, and who had subsequently been converted to Christianity and then to Islam.⁸⁷ However paternalistic Belkind's proposals would be considered from a postcolonial perspective, they brought him into conflict with the Zionism of Rothschild and Weizmann, and are a necessary corrective to the assumption that all Jewish groups settling in Palestine sought to dispossess the local population.

The migrations to Palestine which anticipated the formation of a Jewish polity were initially on a small scale, and land was acquired by legitimate purchase, often from absentee landlords.⁸⁸ Nevertheless, Herzl was quite explicit in his aspiration to effect the expulsion of the entire Palestinian population:

We shall have to spirit the penniless [*sic*] population across the border by procuring employment for it in the transit countries, while denying it any employment in our own [*sic*] country.

Both the process of expropriation and the removal of the poor [*sic*] must be carried out discreetly and circumspectly.⁸⁹

Lord Rothschild, the aristocratic sponsor of Zionism in Britain, and Chaim Weizmann (1875-1952), Herzl's successor and later the first President of the state of Israel, were equally outspoken in their demands for the "reconstitution" on Palestine as a Jewish political and economic entity, without any regard for the existing population whom Herzl described as "poor", but who nonetheless held property which he wished to expropriate.⁹⁰ The encouragement of European politicians, many of whom espoused

⁸⁶ R. Aharonson, *Rothschild and Early Jewish Colonization of Palestine* (London: Rowman & Littlefield, 2000).

⁸⁷ *Arabs in Eretz Israel* (Tel Aviv: Hermon, 1969).

⁸⁸ This does not imply that tenant farmers, many of whose families had lived and worked on the land for centuries, were never evicted. But, in terms of Ottoman law, the land was acquired legitimately.

⁸⁹ T. Herzl, *Complete Diaries. I.* ET H. Zohn; ed R. Patai (New York: Herzl, 1960), 88.

⁹⁰ Sand, *Invention of the Land of Israel*; J. Schneer, *The Balfour Declaration* (London: Bloomsbury, 2011).

a toxic blend of Christian Zionism with anti-semitism,⁹¹ and the rise of fascism in parts of Europe, undoubtedly hastened and increased Jewish immigration to Palestine, but theological significance was attached to this process more by Protestant fundamentalists than by Jewish scholars and religious authorities.

Martin Buber (1878-1965), who became a student and associate of Rosenzweig after breaking with Herzl's secular political Zionist movement, articulated a vision of a spiritual and cultural Zionism which would allow Jewish communities to coexist peacefully with Arab neighbours in a binational state.⁹² Neither the *Brit Shalom* movement nor the *Ihud* political party, which upheld Buber's values, ever gained much support among the Jewish population of mandate Palestine or subsequently, in the state of Israel. Nevertheless, the vision of coexistence has been sustained by a small minority of secular and religious Israeli Jews to the present day.⁹³

⁹¹ Arthur James Balfour, British Foreign Secretary and signatory of the "Balfour Declaration" in 1917, had been the Prime Minister who promoted the Aliens Acts 1905 to curb Jewish immigration into Britain. He is perhaps the most notorious of these, but was not alone, either in his day or subsequently. The later Prime Minister Winston Churchill was similarly ambivalent.

⁹² P. R. Mendes-Flohr (ed), *A Land of Two Peoples: Martin Buber on Jews and Arabs* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005).

⁹³ *Da'am* and *Brit Olam*, the political parties which include Jewish and Arab Israelis, routinely fail to reach the threshold for representation in the Knesset. Organisations such as the Israeli Committee against House Demolitions (<https://icahd.org/>), Machsom Watch (<https://machsomwatch.org/>) and New Profile (<http://newprofile.org/english>) confront the occupation through activism. *Bat Shalom* (<https://www.batshalom.org/>) is an Israeli women's organisation which collaborates with the Palestinian Jerusalem Centre for Women (<http://www.j-c-w.org/>), the One State Foundation (<https://onestatefoundation.org/>) and *Gush-Shalom* (<http://gush-shalom.org/>) advocate peaceful coexistence between Israelis and Palestinians in a unitary state. Rabbis for Human Rights (<http://rhr.org.il/eng/>) is the most prominent coalition of Jewish religious leaders in Israel opposed to the more vicious atrocities committed by the Israeli army, police, and secret services *Naturei Karta* (<http://www.nkusa.org/>) is an international (Haredi) Jewish organisation opposed to Zionism on the same theological principles as expressed by mainstream European Jewry until the rise of Nazism. Rabbi Raanan Mallek, one of the "12 Faces of Hope" (<https://www.oikoumene.org/en/what-we-do/12-faces-of-hope>) identified by the World Council of Churches, cites other Jewish and inter-faith organisations and activities concerned with peace, justice, and environmental sustainability, <https://shalomcrafter.weebly.com>. Internationally, Jewish Voice of

The 1914-18 war brought significant changes to the Middle East. The fall of the Russian empire and outbreak of civil war, together with the emergence of new, nationalist, states in eastern Europe struggling to establish their boundaries, saw an upsurge in anti-Semitism, generating a further wave of migration to Palestine – especially after the United States of America imposed limits on Jewish immigration. The dismemberment of the Ottoman empire was accelerated by competing British and French imperial ambitions, which in turn generated many of the issues which have beset the region since.⁹⁴ In 1917, the British government issued the “Balfour Declaration” in support of creating a geographically and politically undefined Jewish entity in Palestine, supposedly – and oxymoronicly - without compromise to the rights of the existing population there.⁹⁵ The British Mandate administration, established in 1920, provided little if any protection to the Palestinian population. As Jewish immigration into Palestine increased, Zionist paramilitary organisations, from the founding of *Haganah* in 1921, were increasingly violent in their attacks both on British military and civilian personnel and on the Palestinian population.

Nationalism in Europe after the 1914-18 war saw the rise of fascist or fascist-tending regimes in several countries, most notoriously Italy (1922), Germany (1934), and Spain (1936), but also Hungary (1920), Lithuania (1928), Portugal (1933), Latvia and Austria (1934). Increasingly violent anti-Semitism was either tolerated, encouraged, or became official policy, with destruction of life and property causing Jewish citizens to flee to western Europe, North and South America, South Africa, and Palestine. The outbreak of the 1939-45 war saw the rise of further fascist regimes in Slovakia (1939), Romania (1940), and Croatia (1941). The “Holocaust”⁹⁶ which followed

Peace (<https://jewishvoiceforpeace.org/>) and the International Jewish Anti-Zionist Network (<http://www.ijan.org/>) are the most prominent secular Jewish organisations opposed to Zionism and in support of Palestinian rights. Scottish Jews for a Just Peace is the equivalent Jewish organisation in Scotland.

⁹⁴J. Barr, *A Line in the Sand: Britain, France, and the Struggle that shaped the Middle East* (London: Simon & Schuster, 2012); C. Davidson, *Shadow Wars: The Secret Struggle for the Middle East* (London: Oneworld, 2016); D. Fromkin, *A Peace to end All Peace: The Fall of the Ottoman Empire and the Creation of the Modern Middle East* (New York: Holt, 2009); R. Hardy, *The Poisoned Well: Empire and its Legacy in the Middle East* (London: Hurst, 2016).

⁹⁵ M. R. Kelly, *The Crime of Nationalism: Britain, Palestine, and Nation-building on the Fringe of Empire* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2017); J. Schneer, *The Balfour Declaration: The Origins of the Arab-Israeli Conflict* (London: Bloomsbury, 2010).

⁹⁶ The term is problematic, in that it derives from the Greek *holocaustos*, meaning a burnt offering, referring to the offering of animal sacrifices. The Hebrew *shoah*,

saw the annihilation of most of central and eastern European Jewry, and the displacement of nearly all who survived. Its continuing significance will be considered shortly.

Religious Zionism became established within the mainstream of Jewish rabbinic and political thought in Palestine during the period of the British Mandate. Abraham Isaac Ha-Kohen Kook (1865-1935), the first Ashkenazi Chief Rabbi of Palestine, was a formidable halakhic scholar who accorded theological and eschatological significance to the secular Zionist programme, and won the support of other rabbis and observant Jews to this. In 1924 Kook established the *yeshiva Mercas HaRav Kook* in Jerusalem, the first and for a long time the only Zionist rabbinic institution in Palestine. Kook claimed priestly lineage, and encouraged rabbinic students of priestly lineage to study *halakhah* concerning the temple and its rituals, in anticipation of the expected rebuilding of the temple and restoration of its cult. Notwithstanding tensions in his relations with secular Zionists, Kook taught that their programme prepared the way for the eschatological restoration of Israel.⁹⁷ His influence, continued not least through his son Zvi Yehuda Kook (1891-1982), generated an uncompromising religious fervour for the realisation of the Zionist programme, including aspirations to occupy by force the traditional site of the former temple, to rebuild a temple there, and to re-establish a cult which had been dormant for nearly two millennia.⁹⁸ The younger Kook was a founder of *Gush Emunim*, one of the first “settlement” movements which sought to take permanent possession of Palestinian lands occupied during the 1967 war. He also supported the activities of rabbi and convicted terrorist Meir Kahane (1932-1990). While religious Zionism is no more monolithic than its secular counterparts, there is nonetheless entrenched within Israeli society a powerful movement whose religious fervour and eschatological vision for an ethnically pure and geographically extensive Jewish state, with political influence but lacking in a pragmatic capacity for compromise and accommodation.⁹⁹

meaning catastrophe – as does the Arabic *nakba* – is also used. Küng, *Judaism*, argues for the continued use of Holocaust, despite its inadequacy.

⁹⁷ *When God becomes History* (New York: Kodesh, 2016).

⁹⁸ R. Eisen, *Religious Zionism, Jewish Law, and the Morality of Law* (New York: OUP, 2017).

⁹⁹ For studies of not dissimilar movements, see K. O. L. Burridge, *New Heaven, New Earth* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1969); N. Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millennium* (London: Pimlico, 1993); L. Festinger & al., *When Prophecy Failed* (New York: Harper & Row, 1956); R. A. Landes, *Heaven on Earth* (New York: OUP, 2011); P. Worsley, *The Trumpet Shall Sound* (New York: Schocken, 1968).

That the Nazi genocide was a defining moment for the subsequent history of Judaism is beyond dispute. The crisis in Jewish theology has in many respects been the counterpart of the “death of God” movement in Christian theology.¹⁰⁰ Immigration of survivors from the concentration camps to Palestine impacted less on the demographics of Palestine than on the profound sense of perpetual danger from others, which has become engrained in the consciousness of many religious and secular Jews – and which is exploited by Israeli politicians in their manipulation both of their electorate and of western nations. This in no way implies that there do not continue to be principled and courageous Jewish opponents of Zionism, resident in Israel as well as in other parts of the world.¹⁰¹

Christians in Europe and America have been confronted with their history of persecution of their Jewish neighbours over many centuries, the recognition of which has impacted powerfully on Protestant¹⁰² and Catholic¹⁰³ theology, as also on Biblical studies among both Jewish¹⁰⁴ and Christian¹⁰⁵ scholars. Conservative evangelicals

¹⁰⁰ E. Berkovits, *Faith after the Holocaust* (New York: Ktav, 1977); D. R. Blumenthal, *Facing the Abusing God: A Theology of Protest* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1993); E. L. Fackenheim, *To Mend the World: Foundations of Post-Holocaust Jewish Thought* (New York: Schocken, 1991); I. Maybaum, *The Face of God after Auschwitz* (Amsterdam: Polak & Van Gennep, 1965); R. Rubenstein, *After Auschwitz* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1986).

¹⁰¹ N. Chomsky & I. Pappé, *On Palestine* (London: Penguin, 2015); J. Halper, *An Israeli in Palestine* (London: Pluto, 2010); *War against the People* (London: Pluto, 2015); M. Peled, *The General's Son: Journey of an Israeli in Palestine* (Charlottesville: Just World, 2012); Y. M. Rabkin, *A Threat from Within: A Century of Jewish Opposition to Zionism* (London: Zed, 2006); *What is Modern Israel?* (London: Pluto, 2016).

¹⁰² M. Braybrooke, *Christian-Jewish Dialogue: The Next Steps* (London: SCM, 2012); Van Buren, *Theology of the Jewish-Christian Reality*; R. D. Harries, *After the Evil: Christianity and Judaism in the Shadow of the Holocaust* (Oxford: OUP, 2003); J. Moltmann, *The Crucified God* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993).

¹⁰³ Küng, *Judaism*; M. B. McGarry, *Christology after Auschwitz* (New York: Paulist, 1977); F. Mussner, *Tractate on the Jews* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1984).

¹⁰⁴ D. Boyarin, *A Radical Jew: Paul and the Politics of Identity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994); P. Fredricksen, *Jesus of Nazareth, King of the Jews* (London: Macmillan, 1999); A. F. Segal, *Rebecca's Children* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1986); G. Vermes, *Jesus the Jew* (London: SCM, 1983).

¹⁰⁵ This tendency has permeated New Testament scholarship in particular, and is directly addressed in several works, e.g. C. A. Evans & D. A. Hagner (ed), *Anti-Semitism and Early Christianity* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993); J. G. Gager, *The Origins of Anti-*

have tended to continue the Christian Zionist tradition, and to attribute theological and eschatological significance to the formation of the state of Israel, and to support its territorial aspirations and the expulsion or suppression of the Palestinian people, without relinquishing their often quite virulent anti-Semitism.¹⁰⁶ The political culture on both sides of the Atlantic has also proved susceptible to anti-semitism in nationalist and white supremacist movements, while financial interests in oil and armaments have influenced foreign and economic policy in favour of Israel.

Concluding Reflections

The Jewish, religious and secular, and Christian Zionisms are fundamentally irreconcilable. Whether or not any religious version of Jewish Zionism includes messianic expectations, it has no place for Christian eschatology: the ultimate triumph of Christian supersessionism is inimical to any form of Judaism. Christian Zionism, on the other hand, does not recognise the state of Israel as a place of enduring security for the Jewish people, but rather as a means to the fulfilment of their own hopes and aspirations, which for many include the extermination of Jews who do not subscribe to (their) Christian beliefs. As has been demonstrated in the first section, no Zionist vision is founded on sound biblical, historical, or ethnological scholarship, or on the principles of godly justice at the heart not only of the Prophetic tradition, but of Scripture as a whole.¹⁰⁷ Furthermore, neither version of Zionism, with its justification of the oppression and dispossession of the Palestinians, is compatible with elementary principles of human rights as established in 1948 under United Nations Resolution 217A, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. This does not mean that Jewish people, their beliefs, and their piety are not or cannot be integral to the multicultural society of the Middle East. The land and the places associated with their heritage, mythical or historical, continue to be sacred to Jewish identity, but this does not translate into a geopolitical possession.

Semitism (Oxford: OUP, 1983); E. P. Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism* (London: SCM, 1977); *Jesus and Judaism* (London: SCM, 1985).

¹⁰⁶ J. L. Falwell, *Listen, America* (New York: Random House, 1981); D. Finto, *God's Promise and the Future of Israel* (Ventura: Regal, 2006); J. Hagee, *In Defense of Israel* (Lake Mary: Frontline, 2007); *Jerusalem Countdown* (Lake Mary: Frontline, 2007); H. L. Lindsey, *The Late Great Planet Earth* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1970); D. Pawson, *Defending Christian Zionism* (Bristol: Terra Nova, 2008); M. G. (Pat) Robertson, *The New World Order* (Dallas: Word, 1991).

¹⁰⁷ Ateek, *Justice, and only Justice*; Isaac, *From Land to Lands*; Marchadour & Neuhaus, *Land, the Bible, and History*.

For Christians faithful to the biblical tradition, and recognising God's ultimate revelation in the person and work of Jesus, no political entity or military-industrial complex founded on tyranny can serve God's purposes in this world. The Jew from Nazareth who is at the same time God incarnate brings to fulfilment God's promises made to Abraham. The election of Israel, and its privileged status as the recipient of God's revelation to Moses and the Prophets, prepares the way not for an ever-precarious if highly militarised apartheid state, but for the salvation of all humanity. The Christ who breaks down the walls of separation and hostility among people is triumphant in human weakness, not in military power and state terrorism.

For Christians, the people who received God's revelation to Abraham, Moses, and the Prophets, but who see its fulfilment not in Jesus of Nazareth, still less in the Christian Church in any of its manifestations, but in their continuing obedience to God's law as they understand it, are nonetheless the children of God's promise. Jews and Christians seeking God in fidelity to their respective traditions can and do find in this postmodern world ever broadening paths of dialogue, in which the boundaries become more fluid and permeable, and each is enriched through encounter with the other. While recognising that events of great significance to both traditions have taken place in a land that is ascribed sanctity on that account, this cannot translate into Christian endorsement of attempts to create in that land an exclusive but fake ethnic state. Still less can Christians ascribe to the military-industrial complex and political institutions of Israel of any theological significance or validation, or exempt it from the moral and legal standards of justice by which other states are measured.

**A Paler Shade of Noir:
Reconsidering Pessimism in Christian Thought and Nordic Crime Fiction¹**

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Let me first express my appreciation to the College for conferring on me this emeritus chair of Nordic Theology following my retirement as Principal of the College. At one level, it is clearly a generous act, or perhaps a celebration, that after my eighteen and one-half years as the academic head of the institution, I could be retired to the pastures of research. I think it is a tribute, however, to something more profound, that is a conviction within the College that theology is to be broadly understood, that theology comes from and is about God who is as fully at work in the world as in the church, and that theology ought to draw deeply from many different wells of inspiration.

This is very much consonant with those parts of Nordic theology to which I find myself most attracted and most in tune. To Scandinavian ‘creation’ theologians (holding together the first and second articles of the creed), ‘the world is not a strange and alien place – this world is God’s own creation, and is our home’ (Gregersen et al. 2017: 8), in which ‘the secular and the religious are interlaced and overlapping both historically and in everyday life’ (ibid., 14).

My career has embraced time in the church as a minister (ordained in 1976) and in working for fourteen years in local government education services. It was in adult education that I first really encountered Scandinavia, as I became involved in a European action research project on the labour market in Denmark and Scotland. There, I met the life and work and the legacy of N. F. S. Grundtvig, the eighteenth-nineteenth-century pastor and hymn writer, inspirer of folk high schools, scholar of Old Norse mythology, member of the then Danish parliament and shaper of what was to become the smaller and more modern Denmark following the times of absolute monarchy. Professionally, I was impressed by a society that took the education of adults seriously, but in truth I fell in love with almost everything. I made friends (who, remarkably, remain friends). I discovered the music of Carl Nielsen. I enjoyed Tivoli Gardens with its gentle fun. I celebrated the varieties of Danish *smørrebrød* for lunch. I found a society that was a bit more egalitarian, collaborative, proud in a modest kind

¹ Delivered as the Inaugural Lecture of the Emeritus Research Professor of Nordic Theology of the Scottish United Reformed and Congregational College (Glasgow) at the Peedie Kirk, Kirkwall, Orkney, on 22 March 2018.

of way, and tolerant of diversity (albeit experience has given me a more nuanced evaluation of Danish society). And so, Denmark and the Nordic world has become a very big part of my life and my work.

I should like to suggest that my interests are eclectic, though others suspect that I am indeed a jack-of-all-trades and master-of-none, a *tusindekunstner*, a thousand-tasks artist. Though my principal academic interest remains Grundtvig – his educational, cultural, and theological thinking – I much enjoyed my studies at the then Centre for Nordic Studies in the University of Highlands and the Islands – I have brought along my postgraduate hood as a token of appreciation – and I am grateful to those who taught me there. In recent times, I have found great pleasure in reading and reflecting on Nordic Noir, Scandinavian crime fiction.

So, we come to the subtitle of this lecture: ‘Reconsidering pessimism in Christian thought and Nordic crime fiction’. It may seem an eccentric pairing brought about by my personal interests, and there is truth in that! The link is indeed the issue of pessimism, which plays a strong part in both Christian theology and Scandinavian crime novels and films, but they are held together also by the role of narrative. Recently, I was reading a review of the 2018 film *Mary Magdalene*,² in which one line struck me: ‘the film makers are storytellers, not theologians’ (Haag 2018: 5). Are they so different? The comment reminded me of the extent to which my own way of doing theology is in fact significantly related to and draws upon narrative and indeed a broad and deep mine of story (Fiddes 2009). Books, Grundtvig suggested, as living things are concerned with ‘the elucidation of human life in all its directions and relationships’ (Broadbridge and Jensen 1984: 44). My premise for this lecture is that Scandinavian crime-fiction literature is a source for the elucidation of human life.

Nordic Noir

And the form of fiction with which we are concerned here is popularly, or perhaps commercially,³ referred to as Nordic Noir, Scandi-crime. Of course, it is now an international phenomenon in books, television series and films. Jo Nesbø, Henning

² Directed by Garth Davis with the screen play by Helen Edmundson and Philippa Goslett.

³ As Stougaard-Nielsen (2017) suggests, ‘Nordic crime fiction ... is perhaps only really “Nordic” when viewed or read from abroad - ... where the branding of national peculiarities is essential for attracting the attention of potential funders, publishers and book buyers in a crowded, globalised field’.

Mankell, Anne Holt, Jussi Adler-Olsen and Stieg Larsson are widely read here,⁴ and there is a strong whiff of the Nordic in Ann Cleeves's *Shetland*.⁵

Is Scandinavian crime fiction a genre in any meaningful sense ... [or] is it simply a vague term for a collection of books that happen (in most cases at least) to originate from the same geographical region? Or, indeed, is it just a cynical marketing ploy? I do not think we need to become involved in a semantic conversation or to determine what falls within or outwith the genre. For working purposes, let us assume that it is 'a particular type of Scandinavian crime fiction ... typified by its heady mixture of bleak naturalism, disconsolate locations and morose detectives. ... a dimly-lit aesthetic ... matched by a slow and melancholic pace, multi-layered storylines, and an interest in uncovering the dark underbelly of contemporary society' (Creeber 2015: 21,22).

I remember from my schooldays the little punning song *Life is butter melon cauliflower* – life is but a melancholy flower. It might be suggested that it is the anthem of Nordic Noir! Is there a Nordic propensity to the melancholic? Hansen and Waade (2017: 83) reflect on the work of prominent Nordic creatives such as Jean Sibelius, Munch's *Melancholia*, August Strindberg's *The Father*, and Ingmar Bergman, commenting:

For centuries, *melancholy* has been a core concept in aesthetic theories and philosophy as well as a medical term; it was echoed in the rise of the romantic artistic genius, in which the melancholic and troublesome emotional conditions of the artist themselves were considered to be qualities with a positive influence on the works of art (citing Hornbek 2006: 123-46).

In the 2016 BBC television programme *Art of Scandinavia*, Andrew Graham-Dixon observed that the linking by Montesquieu of climate and character was one that seemed to make sense in a Norwegian context.⁶ In many Nordic Noir novels, the landscape seems to form part of the narrative (Ingold 1993: 152-74); the characters, narrative and landscape are a unity (Jakubowski 2012). Johan Theorin, the novelist, writes (referring to his own website) of 'the [seasonal] weather and the atmosphere

⁴ Nesbø (Norway), Mankell (Sweden), Adler-Olsen (Denmark), Holt (Norway) and Larsson (Sweden) are perhaps best known for the Harry Hole, Wallander, Department Q/Lost Causes, Vik/Stubo (Modus) and Millennium series respectively.

⁵ The *Shetland* Quartet and later books; see also the BBC television series.

⁶ BBC4 *Art of Scandinavia*. Episode 1: 'Dark Night of the Soul', broadcast BBC4 on 14 March 2016.

of the landscape affect[ing] the characters of the story' (Peacock 2014: 168). The landscape and its companion, the dreich climate, seem to seep into the characters of the novels and also reflect a reality about the people itself – the environmental and inner landscapes in tune with one another, reflected in Wallander's father's recurrent painting of a 'melancholy autumn landscape' (Mankell 2002). 'There is a feeling of melancholy and restlessness arising [it seems] from the thoughts and life under the grey and somber northern sky' (Sorensen, Jens Erik 1991: 107), though it has been suggested by one translator of Scandinavian crime fiction that 'too much emphasis has been placed on the "gloom"' (Marlaine Delargy, quoted in Forshaw 2012: 75). As is said of Helene Tursten's *Inspector Huss* novels, 'Tursten's Sweden may not be a rose-coloured land, but neither is it a place of unrelenting gloom' (Cummins 2014).

It is perhaps this melancholy that is one strand of the appeal to readers. John Lier Horst, a former police officer and the author of the William Wisting series, has suggested:

Readers ... feel a conspicuous fascination for what we might call 'Nordic melancholy', concocted from winter darkness, midnight sun, and immense, desolate places. The taciturn, slightly uncommunicative Nordic crime heroes have a particular dark aura; they are lone wolves living in a barren, cold part of the world, constantly embarked on an uncompromising pursuit of truth and clarity. What's more, the entire idea of paradise lost is a prominent feature of Nordic crime; the social-democratic, efficient society attacked from within by violence, corruption and homicide (Horst 2014/2016).

Horst's mention of the social-criticism dimension to Nordic Noir is an important and recurrent one, a sense of loss of what once was or was imagined to be a source of pride for the Scandinavian nations – a deep regret that this had been taken from them. 'Research on welfare is easily tempted towards melancholy, as if we walked through a city landscape where certain proud monuments of our blessed, but austere, past remain while others have dissolved into ruins, to be replaced by new and alien structures'. 'The Nordic welfare state has often been referred to as a secular religion, a higher organising principle, that binds the citizens together' (Stenius 2008: 75), so of central importance socio-economically but also in terms of Nordic identity.

McCorristine asserts that 'a cultural history of modern Scandinavian identity could be written purely through reference to pessimistic attitudes' and asks: '... Why is Scandinavian pessimism such a significant cultural component? Why has Sweden been described as a 'worn-out or at least partially demolished paradise?' (2011: 77, quoting Mankell 2004). There is of course something a little puzzling about why a

region that regularly tops ‘happiness’ tables and that gave the world the word *hygge* should gift us also such an extensive and thriving seam of crime fiction literature. Indeed, Nordic crime rates compare favourably with others. For example,

Iceland [the home of authors Yrsa Sigurðardóttir and Arnaldur Indriðason] is a low crime country. The annual murder rate averages just 1.8 murders a year. There have been years without a single homicide And when murders do occur, they are mostly the results of intoxicated fights or family feuds. Unsolved murder cases, so-called murder mysteries, are almost unheard of (Pakes and Gunnlaugsson 2017).

The prevalence of crime writing may reflect, rather, levels of anxiety about crime in some Nordic nations. Political platforms for elections, from Social Democrats (Petersen et al. 2012: 17; Stougaard-Nielsen 2017: 17) to the right-wing people’s parties (Dahl 2015), have frequently emphasized the promise of security and peace of mind and sought to trade on fears.

Scandinavian Utopianism and Paradise Lost

Arguably a common feature in Norden (and related to noirness) is some sense of loss of what once they had (or thought they had), of what once they were (or imagined themselves to be). I do not mean to suggest that the Nordic nations are at all carbon-copies of one another; they are distinct and go to some efforts to affirm both their commonalities and their differences.

A central image of Norden is *folkhemmet* (the people’s home), the universal provision that underpins the welfare of all within each Nordic society, the significant role of the state, democratic participation in decision-making, some measure of economic regulation, a sizeable public sector, access to universal and free education and health care, even some levels of social engineering. (It also implies that all are expected to contribute fully to the society.) The development of a Nordic social and economic model owed much to the dominance of political social democracy across Scandinavia, though one can assert that there developed a ‘hegemony that the idea of the universal welfare state had been obtained between the end of the Second World War and the 1960s’ (Brandal et al. 2013: 66).

It would, however, be easy to overlook the extent to which Lutheran theological ethics provided an underpinning for the Nordic model (Sorensen 1998: 364-65), rooted in Luther’s suspicion of the money economy (Lindberg 2003: 172-3) and the responsibility of the civil powers to ‘govern in accordance with God’s will, to secure justice, and to provide for the needy’ (Doherty 2014: 67). ‘Here are the roots of

the sense of social solidarity which remains such a powerful influence in the Nordic world even today', argues Nelson (2017).

Even before more recent neo-liberal reversals of and restrictions in governmental activity (Baeten et al. 2016), Nordic Noir in its infancy had levelled criticism of the Nordic Model which concealed a reality of corruption, bureaucracy, consumerism, undermining of personal responsibility, poverty, discrimination, disillusionment. The so-called godparent authors of Nordic Noir, Sjöwall and Wahlöö turned to crime writing to expose the cracks in the façade. In an interview for *The Guardian* (in 2009), Maj Sjöwall commented,

We realised that people read crime and through the stories we could show the reader that under the official image of welfare-state Sweden there was another layer of poverty, criminality and brutality. We wanted to show where Sweden was heading: towards a capitalistic, cold and inhuman society, where the rich got richer, the poor got poorer. [and the journalist noted ...] They planned 10 books and 10 books only. The subtitle would be 'The story of a crime' – the crime being society's abandonment of the working classes (France 2009).

Earlier, Kierkegaard (1847: 164), on his once-desired ambition to be a police agent, reflected 'I realized that it was good that I did not become one, for most police cases involve misery and wretchedness – not crimes and scoundrels. They usually involve a paltry sum and some poor devil.' Yet, there may be implicit also a crime of betraying Nordic optimism, even utopianism, as suggested in Horst's phrase, the 'idea of paradise lost' (see also Hansen and Waade 2017: 90).

Nations and even transnational cultural communities (a status we might afford to the Nordic region) often rely upon some sense of a golden age, either held to be historical or imagined and mythical, to sustain, reinforce and revive their sense of meaning and purpose and identity (Smith 1999), in some ways imagined through three related myths:

A Myth of the Heroic Age, or *How We Became Glorious ...* Every nationalism requires a touchstone of virtue and heroism, to guide and give meaning to the tasks of regeneration. The future of the ethnic community can only derive meaning and achieve its form from the pristine "*golden age*" ... The epoch in which they flourished is the great age of liberation ..., which released the energies of the people for cultural innovation and original political experiment (1999: 65).

The myth of decline or *how we fell into a state of decay* ... tells us how the community lost its anchor in a living tradition, how the old values became ossified and meaningless, and how ... common sentiments and beliefs faded to give way to *rampant individualism and the triumph of partisan interests* over collective ideals and communal solidarity (1999: 67).

A myth of regeneration, or *how to restore the Golden Age and Renew our community as "in the Days of Old"* [-] here we move from the sphere of explanatory myth to that of prescriptive ideology: from an idealized, epic history to an account of "required actions", or rationale of collective mobilization (ibid.).

The golden age of *folkhemmet* and the notion of a perfectible society is still part of the Norwegian national psyche (Forshaw 2011 and 2012: 124), suggests Staalesen, the Norwegian novelist and creator of *Varg Veum*. 'I think [he says] that the generation to which I belong (I was born in 1947) still has a dream about an ideal society, a functioning democracy based on welfare and society.' Booth's jocular book title, *The Almost Nearly Perfect People: The Truth about the Nordic Miracle* (2014) is not entirely ironic in hinting at the possible perfectibility of society, or least something very close.

It is common to see one of the most visible cracks in the Nordic façade in the murder of Olof Palme, the Swedish Prime Minister in 1986. 'His assassination in Stockholm shocked a country that had regarded itself as a utopian welfare state, [an event treated in Leif GW Persson's *Faller fritt som i en dröm* (*Falling Freely, as in a Dream*). Palme did not even have any security with him when he went out into the city square that night, typifying the total and complete trust Swedes and other Scandinavians had in their fellow citizens and in their states' security' (Abrams 2013).

More recently, of course, Norway suffered the terrible attacks perpetrated by Breivik in the bombings in Oslo and the shootings on Utøya. Mankell wrote in the aftermath of the mass murder by Breivik, 'The distant and in many ways idyllic Norway, the country with the oil and the wealth, is suddenly exposed to the banality of evil' (2011). Such national trauma can impact significantly on assumptions about identity, community, solidarity, predictability, shared traits, consensus in values, innocence. This is not to suggest that such questioning was not already apparent in the Nordic nations. The attempted portrayal of Breivik as 'a lone monstrous fanatic' (Stougaard-Nielsen 2017:195), therefore aberrant and pathological, did not displace wholly some sense that 'the heart of darkness lies buried deep within ourselves' (Myhre 2011) and questions rose around social issues such as child welfare (Breivik's dysfunctional childhood), mainstream as well as extreme racism in society, attitudes

towards immigration and integration, the marginalized within successful society, the collapse of social bonds in a society imagined to be coherent and caring.

Such traumatic national events, truly awful in themselves, have of course the capacity to impact on the national psyche as a whole, though the adaptive responses vary. While Nordic Noir's portrayal of the state of Norden is generally one of gradual decline, these terrible events have sometimes been read in terms of loss of innocence -- 'the snow was no longer white; it whipped around him in a shade of grey', to borrow a phrase from Anne Holt's novel, *The Lion's Mouth* (Holt 2014: loc 3023), 'idealism had been wounded' (Lundin 1993: 8), 'Scandinavian innocence' was no longer sustainable (Stevenson 2010).

Of course, while such horrendous criminal events loom large in memories and imaginations, as Jenkins wrote in *The Guardian* in the aftermath of Utøya, 'The Norwegian tragedy is just that, a tragedy. It does not signify anything and should not be forced to do so. A man so insane he can see nothing wrong in shooting dead 68 young people in cold blood is so exceptional as to be of interest to criminology and brain science, but not to politics' (2011). That's right: to extrapolate from one traumatic event or indeed from the existence of crime as reflected in crime fiction is a nonsense, and a horrendous nonsense. Yet the response to evil deeds may tell us something about a society.

The reader of crime fiction wants to know about motivation, about prior events and experiences, about social context, about psychological processes, about alternative explanations. And a society nurtured on reflective analysis and self-criticism is liable to inquire into causality, and not merely the immediate causes but underlying and deeper causes. Andrew Anthony, the British journalist with an interest in Scandinavian crime fiction, has challenged what he regards as 'the overly deterministic "Scandinavian analysis of errant behaviour, which invariably ascribes criminality to society's faults"' (Brunsdales 2016).

In the Nordic context and in its crime fiction, I think there is nonetheless a particular perspective. Lene Kaaberbøl, with Agnete Friis, the author of *The Boy in the Suitcase* (Kaaberbøl and Friis 2008, trans. 2011), tries to explain this 'insistence on explaining *why* [emphasis added] a crime happens – Brought up as we are in societies brimming with affordable childcare, free education, free health care, and a penal system emphasizing rehabilitation ... we are still entranced by those who, on the page at least, take a switchblade to the welfare state cocoon' (Kaaberbøl 2014-15: 28). The focus is more on macro-explanation than on the specifics of the 'case'. The investigation may appear to be of one or more murders but there is a parallel investigation of society itself, not least in those novels and series that spotlight particular issues in Nordic society – violence towards women, corruption, the impact of globalization and its importation of less desirable features, the abuse of power,

ecology and climate change, drugs, immigration and minorities, homelessness, treatment of mental health issues ... In *The Bridge*,⁷ the Dano-Swedish TV production, the so-called, self-named Truth Terrorist, though ultimately shown to be pursuing a more personal agenda, at first appears to be bringing into the light issues that, like the shooting of many of the series' scenes, otherwise may lurk in a crepuscular gloom.

The recurrent underlying question emerges, for example, in Anne Holt's *The Death of a Demon* (Holt 1995/2013) where there has been a murder in a 'well-run children's home' (Brunsdale loc 8001) is 'how can it be that all our social investment is of no help in confronting the seemingly radical evil present in this little boy? [and] The welfare society and the *folkhemmet* ideology provide[s] no answer to this question' (Saarinen 2003: 132). Another author has said that 'I want to examine the individual psychological, social, cultural or political mechanisms which form the basis for the ultimate evil, murder. I am looking in other words after the evil *enigma*' (Eeg 2012; emphasis added).

Many of these social issues are rooted in a denial of the humanity of some, or in creating an environment in which we do not flourish as human beings. In the tradition of Sjøwall and Wahløø, the link is drawn between crime and the dehumanising processes of society where 'people think of themselves not as human beings but consumers' (Brunsdale loc 12805), a shift portrayed in *The Bridge* television crime series where cars are regularly shown scuttling across the Øresund Bridge connecting Copenhagen and Malmø – consumers, commuters and clients (Ek 2006: 14) not citizens, or members of a cultural community, or anything with any depth of human connection. In particular, this re-casting of human beings as consumers is challenged. Jakob Stougaard-Nielsen (2017: 28) offers a passage from Villy Sørensen's 1955 *Købmanden*, translated as *The Grocer*:

[P]eople thronged in front of the new shop's gaily-lit windows, in which the whole shop was on show like an advertisement – abounding in goods that had never been seen in those parts before, because the whole grocer hadn't thought them necessary ... There were enough shop assistants for everyone, for they all served themselves and took the goods they wanted, and to which coloured advertisements drew their attention. ... Everyone paid up willingly, for all his wares were cheaper

⁷ Bron|Broen – *The Bridge*. Created by Hans Rosenfeldt (also principal writer); Director Henrik Georgsson; Joint creative and financed production by Sveriges Television and DR. First screened on SVT1 on 21 September 2011 with DR1 screening on 28 September 2011; Series 2 from 22 September 2013; Series 3 from 27 September 2015; Series 4 from 1 January 2018.

than the old grocer's; but their bills were bigger, for now they were allowed to buy things they didn't need (Sørensen 1991: 75-76).

And one commentator on the passage (Kjældgaard 2009:36) alerts us to a Danish play-on-words for 'to serve' – linked to 'to set free or emancipate' but also 'to dispatch' with its connotation 'to kill' (Stourgaard-Nielsen 2017:29). What appeared to be a more abundant life (in terms of access to goods and services) had the potential also to kill our human-ness.

When I delivered my last inaugural lecture as Principal, back in 1999, my theme was a difficult-to-translate Danish term *folkelighed*. It is a multi-faceted word that we cannot explore this evening, but one strand of its meaning and its ethical power is a belonging to community and a shared commitment to each other. Practically and politically, this underpins and supports universal provision to meet the needs of all and enables its resourcing through public taxation and spending.

At the heart of the message of the Danish thinker Grundtvig is:

the basic fact that you always find yourself in a certain context. A historic and dynamic context expressed in language, history, common myths, songs, religious heritage and common problems. Further, you are a part of the web between the dead and the unborn, you are dependent on other people and they depend on you. You are tied to them because you are tied together in a common destiny and that is your place in the world. So in order to become yourself ... you must go to your place in history ..., and there you will find yourself and what is expected of you (Nielsen 2011).

In the wider human community too 'Christian faith has to be lived in a humane way, in accordance with a shared sense of humanity' (Gregersen et al. 2017: 8). Indeed, Løgstrup, the twentieth-century Danish philosopher and ethicist, asserts our mutual obligations as simply coming with human existence as a fact (Løgstrup 1972: 17-23). Mutual obligations *simply come with human existence*; it comes with the territory. To quote Løgstrup:

Trust is not of our own making; it is given. Our life is so constituted that it cannot be lived except as one person lays him or herself open to another person and puts him or herself into that person's hands either by showing or claiming trust. By our very attitude to another we help to shape that person's world. By our attitude to the other person we help to determine the scope and hue of his or her world; we make it large or

small, bright or drab, rich or dull, threatening or secure. We help to shape his or her world not by theories and views but by our very attitude towards him or her. Herein lies the unarticulated and one might say anonymous demand that we take care of the life which trust has placed in our hands (1956: 18).

This calls for ‘a decentering of the subject, which, in keeping with Lutheran and Løgstrupian ethics, places the factual tacit demands of the other at the *center* of our lives and interests’ (Kristensson Ugglå 2017: 97 emphasis added).

The tension between individualism and community is explored in Anders Bodelsen’s *Think of a Number* (1969). I am indebted to Stougaard-Nielsen (2017:55) for this summary:

[It] is a crime novel about one individual’s inability to adjust his personal desires to the needs of the collective. His unethical self-serving actions, his conspicuous consumption signify his inability to maintain meaningful social relationships that, due to the welfare state’s ‘liberation’ of the individual from social bonds, demand ethical choices that transcend the individual. Borck is in many ways still a child of the welfare state, as he hides the money in his school lunch box; a child who still has to grow into a welfare citizen, who is able to differentiate between the ephemeral dream world of advertisements and what makes for real happiness or an authentic life.

If neoliberalism, consumerism and individualism have in measure undermined the Nordic welfare state, the welfare state too is charged with undermining the natural social bonds.

Fallen-ness and Flawed Humanity

I quoted the phrase ‘the evil enigma’. Self-evidently, Scandinavian crime fiction is concerned with contexts and issues of evil – there is one or more murder together with a host of other social wrongs. Amidst all the social analysis and criticism, there are sometimes hints at something darker. Let me share with you this little – I hope, amusing – Reformed theology story:

Responding to his owner Matt affectionately calling him a “good boy” for fetching a stick, local Calvinist canine Rupert reportedly reminded him that “according to the Scriptures, nobody is a good boy.”

“We’ve been over this, Matt. We’re all corrupted — every one of us,” Rupert reportedly said to his owner after stopping mid-stride to address the glaring theological error. “How can you call me a good boy when we have all been marred by the effects of sin?”

According to witnesses, the dog went on to lecture his owner for several minutes, stressing how easy it is to forget who we really are in light of God’s blinding holiness and our desperately fallen nature.

“Do not call me a good boy — I am a depraved wretch,” he added before picking up his stick and continuing to play (*The Babylon Bee* 2018).

In Nesbø’s *The Snowman*, Aune is suffering from cancer. He observes, “The more aged I become, the more I tend to the view that evil is evil, mental illness or no. *We’re all more or less disposed to evil actions ...*” (Nesbø 2010: 544 emphasis added).

If Nordic Noir worries away at the question of society’s place in all this and sometimes explores the inner motivations of criminals, it also can suggest that the murderer is less untypical of humanity than we should like to imagine.

Christian Jungersen, in his novel *The Exception* (2004, tr 2006) explored the issue of genocide, and in an interview, he pondered:

I’ve long thought it enormously interesting that people you think of as congenial, charming, and nice can sometimes completely change character and turn into virtual demons if certain situations present themselves. ... In reality, evil is most often committed by people like you and me, who think we’re doing the right thing and that what we’re doing is perfectly reasonable. With this story about four women, I want to show the self-deception that makes it possible for all of us to be evil and yet convince ourselves that we’re not (Bartholdy 2004).

This resonates with the observations of Karin Fossum in the BBC documentary *Nordic Noir: The Story of Scandinavian Crime Fiction*⁸ when she explained:

if a murder had happened in her tiny Norwegian town, she likely would have known the victim, the victim’s family, and/or even the murderer personally. She would know the murderer as a “good person, before they committed this one act.” With this consciousness, Fossum, like other Scandinavian crime writers, aims to depict all parties involved in the crime with this same moral complexity. Audiences will find, then,

⁸ Timeshift series, December 2010.

that these stories are not the same “good vs. evil” mysteries one would expect from Sherlock Holmes, Agatha Christie, or Harry Potter. In Nordic noir, the “bad guy” is not always a bad person, and the “good guy” is not without flaws (Abrams 2013).

Even the heroes of Nordic Noir, perhaps the anti-heroes, are portrayed as flawed if not evil. Often this is expressed in quite physical terms. Wallander has been described as ‘a fat, divorced southerner who is so burned out that he can hardly make it to work’, suffering diabetes and depression; Beck suffers from stomach aches and nausea; Varg Veum and Harry Hole are alcoholics; Erik Winter takes headaches; Van Veeteren has cancer; Lars Martin Johansson is in poor health; and Martin Rohde’s vasectomy hints at demasculinization. They are the visible products of a welfare state that cannot solve all the problems of human life, symbols of decay woven into the very fabric of what it is to be human. They mirror what Nordic Noir identifies as the root problem. Something has afflicted the nation and its people, a sickness in the psyche, a dis-ease, notably present in the ailing detective. Violence, corruption, exclusion, bureaucracy, neoliberalism, the collapse of social solidarity etc. are ‘symptoms’ of an unwell society. It is unwell, through failures certainly, but also through an inherent and inevitable weakness in human society, the presence of evil.

Humankind

‘Humankind is no ape ... but a unique, wonderful creation,’ says, Grundtvig. Contrary to the conclusion to which we might jump, this quotation is not a response to Darwin’s *On the Origin of Species* (1859), for Grundtvig’s phrase dates to 1832!

The Nordic Noir picture of human beings might be thought to be as bleak as a rainy Nordic city or a misty landscape, but I want finally to explore briefly a more positive reading of humanity. As mentioned in my introduction, I came into the Nordic through my encounter with Grundtvig, the eighteenth- nineteenth-century Danish priest and more. One of the things that has sustained me is finding there and in later Scandinavian theology what Wingren, the Swedish theologian, refers to as ‘a *positive* doctrine of [hu]man[ity], a theological anthropology (Wingren 1947.59: xi emphasis added).

Grundtvig did not doubt the theological and human reality of The Fall, or indeed the fact of evil in the world, or still faith in Christ as the way of salvation, or that human beings can turn their back on what is life-giving (‘Humankind, to God’s only Son blind, in Your sight claims its own merits’⁹) but he resisted the notion that the Fall was utter:

⁹ *Du, som går ud fra den levende Gud* (Grundtvig 2002); see also Michelsen (1983).

‘we should not consider nature in us and around us, as the property of the Enemy, but as the work of God, which never fell from his hand or slipped from his care ... however much it was spoilt by sin and put to shame by death as the wages of sin. Yes, we shall consider nature as God’s work, in us and around us, which shall in no way be hated, mistreated and destroyed, but loved, cleansed, healed and sanctified’ (*Grundtvig’s sermons: 4th Sunday after Trinity, 1838*).

And, in one of his hymns *Menneskelivet er underligt* – ‘What a great wonder is human life, all kinds of description exceeding, enlight’ning us all from age to age wherever our lives we are leading ... Humans are all in God’s image made ...’ (Grundtvig 2006).

Sid Bradley, the Anglo-Saxonist, writing on *Beowulf* and Grundtvig says:

the poet celebrates the Creator Lord’s delight in creation and sees the manifestation of the Creator within his creation, in its orderliness, beauty, radiance, and teeming life -- and, at its centre, under God’s providential care, humankind, endowed with knowledge of God and with creative visions and skills and a will to emulate God’s bright order within the human family and community. Here a theological issue lies close in the background of this Anglo-Danish legend-history: that humankind preserves, despite the Fall, the image of God in which it was created; and that the establishment of human communality when it is ideally conceived both reflects the orderliness and beauty of God’s primary act of Creation and will be providentially overseen by God (Bradley 2004: 236).

This action in which we are ‘loved, cleansed, healed and sanctified’ is salvation, a recapitulation in which creation is restored and humankind restored to its fullness of humanity, a regaining of lost humanity (Kristensson Uggla 2017: 99). ‘We may say (with a little exaggeration) that to be saved means nothing other than to be a human person, conscious of one’s flaws and yearning for perfection, and with the Gospel as the clear spring from which one can drink’ (Karlsson 2013: 148). Against a tendency in twentieth-century theology to affirm Christ’s divinity very much at the cost of his humanity, the Swedish theologian Gustav Wingren asserted of Jesus Christ, that ‘he who lives and gives us eternal life is a human being, the only completely healthy human being’ (Wingren 1983: 18).

‘In contrast to Luther, Grundtvig argued that human beings never lost the positive traces of being “created in the image and likeness of God”. Accordingly, the

Christian triad of faith, hope and love, can be recognized, appreciated, and ... also exercised by non-believers' (Gregersen et al. 2017: 8), in whom 'God's prevenient grace in creation' (Dokka 2017: 208, quoting the Swedish Bishop Einar Billing) is at work in them.

Of Adler-Olsen's *Redemption* (2013; *A Conspiracy of Faith* in the USA ; *Flaskepost fra P* 2009), Brunsdale (2016: loc 1029) considers that the author 'invests this grim tale with unshakable faith in humanity's goodness'. In the midst of wrong, the good can still shine through. Adler-Olsen relates from his childhood his experience of the hospital where his father was a psychiatrist and of coming to know that one patient who was kind to him – brought him meals from the central kitchen and even gave him a kitten – had killed his wife. He was 'nice and evil at the same time, good and evil in the one person, we all have' (Adler-Olsen and Corbett 2013: 31'00"- 31'22").

Crime fiction at its best invites us into a world of mystery – we usually do not know who dunnit! – but it can lead us also into exploring the mystery of human life, of human relationships, of human society – a world riddled (in both senses) with ambiguities and contradictions.

Donald Allchin was the external examiner for my PhD *viva* – fortunately a man as kind as he was wise. On Grundtvig and the enigma of human-ness, Allchin wrote:

Humanity is, from the beginning, a great and unparalleled wonder, riddle, mystery, experiment. All the words are necessary to express his attitude towards our common humanity. There is wonder and amazement at the mixture of littleness and immensity in the human calling. We are earth clods, we are fashioned out of dust, yet we aspire to the divine. Humanity's life is a riddle, never fully explained, never immune from conflict and tension. The intermingling of wisdom and foolishness, of self-sacrifice and destructive self-seeking, of ardour and coldness in human history, personal and universal, these are not things which human beings can in themselves explain, clarify, let alone transfigure. For this we must wait upon God (Allchin 1997: 145).

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Book Reviews

DALE B. MARTIN. *Biblical Truths: The Meaning of Scripture in the Twenty-first Century* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2017). 416 pp. ISBN 9780300222838.

Dale Martin has a well-established reputation as an incisive and provocative New Testament scholar, which will be enhanced by this volume on the interpretation of Scripture in the modern and post-modern world.

The substantial Introduction articulates the position in which Martin finds contemporary biblical scholarship. He notes the chasm which has emerged between academic scholarship and theology, and the impact this has had on biblical interpretation. This is particularly true of historical critical methods, which he believes have predominated in biblical scholarship for far too long. Martin is of course himself a rigorous historical critic, but he recognises the limitations of the discipline and the provisional and speculative nature of its findings. He perhaps neglects the benefit that the secular academic disciplines have challenged denominational biases, and enabled scholars of no Christian profession to participate in the academic debates. Jewish scholars in particular have made significant and lasting contributions to the study of the New Testament and Christian origins, even if their work would not be regarded as strictly theological. Nevertheless, the need for some meeting and integration of scholarship and theology which Martin identifies is real, and this book contributes significantly to it.

The first chapter continues many of these themes, exploring the nature of knowledge, and arguing for the place of belief and faith in perception, not least in reading Scripture, and in the generation of knowledge. Martin articulates a distinction between the books of the Bible as historical and literary artefacts and the Canon of Christian Scripture as the repository of knowledge of the faith. He argues strongly that Scripture finds meaning precisely in the process of interpretation. Therefore, truth relates not only to the text read with philological tools, but to the context in which it is read. The veracity of statements of Christian doctrine is measured against the cardinal principles of love of God and of neighbour. There is a degree of circularity in the argument, as tends to be the case with most scholarship, and the sentiment is perhaps more compelling than the logic.

The argument is developed further in the second chapter, on Scripture. The distinctions between 'canon', 'scripture', and 'gospel' are explored, and the nature of the authority vested in each examined. The connection between Jewish and Christian Scripture is also discussed. Martin argues strongly that the historical critical approaches to reading the biblical texts, however useful in themselves, cannot define

or restrict the ways in which Scripture is interpreted. Interpretation must remain a fluid and dynamic process, at once creative and faithful, in which divergent positions are not merely inevitable but necessary. Many of the interpretive methods of pre-critical eras may prove to be of enduring value for Christian interpretation today.

The third chapter discusses God, and the ways in which God is spoken of and can be apprehended through reading and interpreting Scripture. Martin argues for an apophatic theology, before dealing with modern constructions of God, including the notions of transcendence and immanence, and the quintessentially modern western conception of a 'personal' god. Martin argues that God be understood, in continuity with the biblical tradition, as the source of all love, which has clear implications for how Scripture is to be interpreted and Christian life lived in the present world.

In the fourth chapter, Martin turns to Christ, dealing with the place of historical constructions of Jesus of Nazareth as well as the nature of resurrection and questions of Christology. While not dismissing the relevance of modern historical Jesus studies, Martin argues for a Christology that he describes as orthodox, which is creative, and which attributes to Jesus qualities and a significance which could not be sustained on the basis of historical-critical investigations – and which might even be quite contrary to a scholarly construction based on critical reading of the synoptic gospels. He asserts that this orthodoxy 'allows us Christians to have our cake and eat it too'. While this may well be the position of many Christians who are also critically aware in their reading of Scripture, there remain questions to be asked as to how this Christology can disregard aspects of the historical image of Jesus generated through critical scholarship, with which modern and postmodern Christians might be uncomfortable.

The fifth chapter concludes treatment of the persons of the Trinity with discussion of the Holy Spirit. Martin identifies many of the complexities and ambiguities reflected in texts which came to be associated with the third person of the Trinity. He argues that precisely in the elusiveness of definition can something of the dynamism of the Spirit be found. Comparison with other divine emanations spoken of in the biblical tradition and cognate literature might have illustrated more adequately how these came to be personified, and to acquire distinct characteristics, which in turn would have provided insight into ways in which the human imagination can and has conceptualized God's activity in the world. Martin deals usefully also with the perichoretic understanding of the Trinity, gendering God, and the Holy Spirit in particular, and with the ecumenically contentious *filioque* clause.

In chapter 6, Martin turns his attention to humanity. He discusses ways in which the human being and human identity are constructed in different cultures, arguing robustly for an affirmative attitude to the body and sexuality. Questions of sin, in its variety of meanings, and salvation, are discussed in relation to the human

quest for union with God. The corporate nature of human identity is brought into sharper focus in the final chapter, dealing with the Church. The ambiguities of the human institution, in relation to God's sovereignty, are discussed, and searching questions are raised about the imagery of the body as a metaphor of the church. Issues of authority and governance are considered, not in relation to the polity of any particular denomination, but against the background of the ancient Greek *ekklesia* and its 'democratic' structures and processes. Martin is perhaps more than a little naïve in his depiction of the Greek *polis*, and in his treatment of leadership and authority in the earliest Christian communities. He addresses the vexed issue of the Church in relation to Israel; in doing so he joins with the overwhelming majority of contemporary scholars in repudiating supersessionism, but asks no questions of the connection between the modern state of Israel and the nation from which Christianity emerged. In discussing the church as a place of safety from the world, Martin perhaps overlooks the vulnerability of communities – including mediaeval monasteries – which offer refuge and protection in a hostile environment.

This is a challenging book. While it is open to criticism on several points, and there is much with which to disagree, Martin offers a model for integrating critical scholarship with theology in creatively interpreting Scripture in the world of today. Many who struggle to make this connection, to be true both to their intellectual endeavours and to their Christian faith, will be grateful. Those more complacent will be provoked. Scholarship and the Church are equally well served.

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ROBYN WRIGLEY-CARR, ED. *Evelyn Underhill's Prayer Book* (London: SPCK, 2018). 144 pp.
ISBN 9780281078738.

How is it that after so many years this collection of prayers should appear? The short answer is as a result of their accidental discovery at The House of Retreat, Pleshey in the Anglican Diocese of Chelmsford, where Evelyn Underhill and her friend Lucy Menzies established twice-yearly retreats, and sometimes conducted them in a group of other diocesan houses. Who were these two women, and what is the importance of this prayer book?

Take Lucy Menzies first (to whom there is but a brief reference on page 8 of Dr Wrigley-Carr's introduction). She is included in the SEC's Calendar for commemoration on 24 November – a comparatively recent addition, the case for her inclusion having been made by one of her godsons, John Hunter (whose memoir of

her is on the Web).¹ Lucy was a great support to Piers Holt Wilson who became Bishop of Moray, Ross and Caithness (1943-52), and is commemorated in a window in the choir area of All Saints, St Andrews. Wilson's daughter, the Revd Marie-Louise Moffet still has the prayer book Lucy Menzies wrote out for him when he was made a bishop. Lucy herself was born in 1882 into the family of Allan Menzies, a Church of Scotland minister who was to become Professor of Biblical Criticism in St Andrews University, his inaugural lecture being delivered on 12 November 1889. The list of his publications in the catalogue of St Andrews University Library reveals him to have been important both as a translator and transmitter of the German-language biblical scholarship of his day, but also sufficiently competent to teach and write on Comparative as well as Philosophy of Religion. And he remained attentive to the publications of some fine sermons by his contemporaries. In 1918 Lucy was to publish a memoir of her father attached to his study of Calvin.

Lucy and her sister Mary were educated at home, with the study of languages central to their young lives, as one might expect from their father's skills, and significant for Lucy's later collaboration as a translator with Evelyn Underhill. It is cheering to note also Lucy's 1929 book on the friendship between 'man and dog' rather than imagine her solely preoccupied with the Christian past and its inheritance of 'spirituality', valuable though that was to become. The Menzies family had from Lucy's early childhood taken their holidays in a cottage on Iona, and Lucy came to love the island. One of her first books was a life of St Columba (1920, later revised and reprinted). That book on St Columba received an anonymous review in *The Westminster Gazette*, and Lucy was understandably delighted to discover that the reviewer was no less than Evelyn Underhill, the latter about to commit herself publicly to the Church of England, the church of her baptism, confirmation and marriage.

First through correspondence, then in active collaboration as writers, they became firm and trusted friends, and Evelyn became a significant influence on Lucy's decision to become an Episcopalian. In 1928 Lucy joined Evelyn as Warden at Pleshey, where Evelyn conducted 'retreats'; there, to Evelyn, Lucy dedicated her major publication of that same year, *Mirrors of the Holy*. After Evelyn's death in 1941 Lucy published a good deal of Evelyn's work together with her own 'memoirs' of the friend from whom she and others had learned so much. Lucy also had the pleasure of recalling that Evelyn had received an Honorary DD from the University of Aberdeen in 1938, when she herself became, in 1954, the first woman to be awarded an Honorary DD by St Andrews, which had long become her own home town. As it happened 24

¹ John Hunter and his wife were long-standing members of the congregation of All Saints, St Andrews. See www.umilta.net/menzies.html.

November that same year was the year of her death, commemorated by a memorial tablet in the side chapel of All Saints.

Evelyn Underhill was born into the family of a man who became a most distinguished lawyer, and who, on moving from the Midlands to London, flourished. Like Lucy, but in a very different context, Evelyn was educated at home to begin with, followed by a few rather miserable years at boarding school. Holidays in mainland Europe honed her language skills, but also introduced her to a range of Christian traditions (including the Orthodox) and fostered within her a generous sympathy for differences in religious sensibilities and practice – invaluable for the vocation she eventually established for herself. For once launched into the opportunities offered by the ‘Ladies Department’ of King’s College, London, she began to flower in wholly unpredictable ways.² She might have become a distinguished poet, but although enjoying some publication of her work, realised in good time that such may have been beyond her talent. She produced three published novels, and between the writing of the second and the third fortunately discovered her true vocation, which was to rediscover and transmit a range of Christian traditions from the past. Her first major publication was *Mysticism* (1911), updated in a series of revisions, and rarely out of print since. One unexpected result of her studies for this book (which included attention to some ancient non-Christian traditions) was that friends and acquaintances turned to her for advice about their own lives. Such advice she gradually became confident to offer in letters and conversation – all relevant, as it happened, for the discovery of what turned out to be her vocation.

Something of a crisis occurred in 1907 with the papal condemnation of ‘Modernism’ – concerned with the extent (if any) of how Christian doctrine (or at least Roman Catholicism) could be correlated with the twentieth-century world and its new discoveries and disciplines. This was a serious blow to someone like Evelyn who admittedly had dabbled in various ‘cults’, but had both been stabilised as it were by attentive presence at the Kensington Church of Maria Assumpta and its (Tridentine) Latin Mass, and had paid eager attention to all sorts of literature on many subjects and in several of her excellent languages.³ The issue over ‘Modernism’ put paid to her hope of becoming a Roman Catholic, but on the other hand made her marriage possible since her fiancé was deeply opposed to such a change. As well as having consequences for the marriage ceremony and the rearing of possible children, such a change could have significantly affected relationships more widely within her family

² King’s College for Women made her an Honorary Fellow in 1913, and she became its first woman Fellow in 1927.

³ By the 1920s she had become such a skilled book reviewer that she became Reviews Editor of *The Spectator* whilst T. S. Eliot was editor.

which included some Church of England 'High Churchmen' to whom she may have owed more than has generally been recognised.

Given the long-standing discomfort in Christian institutions about women as authoritative teachers, not least in 'mixed' company, it was remarkable that Evelyn Underhill (accompanied by Lucy Menzies) could establish herself as 'retreat director' at Pleshey. For this responsibility Evelyn had to gather her resources both in the prayers she offered to those who came on retreat, and for the six retreat addresses she published subsequently (listed on p. 9 of the new *Prayer Book*). The rediscovery of two prayers books at Pleshey by Dr Robyn Wrigley-Carr was sheer accident on the latter's part. With a doctoral thesis (School of Divinity, University of St Andrews) focussed on Friedrich von Hügel, it was almost inevitable that she would comprehend the significance of Evelyn Underhill; yet she could not have expected to find first one and then another of Evelyn's hand-written prayer books on a visit to Pleshey and to realise their significance! Nor would everyone have had the brilliant idea of combining the two into one, presented in a volume of a hand-held size, and with a jacket which replicates the binding of one of the re-discovered books, the binding very probably the personal handiwork of Evelyn herself, given her expertise in the craft.

Evelyn Underhill's prayers are now presented in one coherent whole, including helpful 'Author biographies and liturgical sources' (131-32) in the order in which their authors appear in her edition of the prayers. There are also helpful notes on the 'Church Liturgies' familiar to Evelyn, the fruits of which would eventually appear in her last major work, *Worship* (1936). Since the collection is not organised along the pattern of the liturgical year, however, users may well enjoy finding their own ways of appropriating its contents, perhaps even in tandem, so to speak, with reading Evelyn's published retreat addresses. Prayers from the third to the twentieth century of Christian tradition (and from a Sufi mystic) bring us closer both to writers in 'spirituality' as well as to liturgical texts, and in the concluding pages (101-07) to prayers written by Evelyn herself as the grim years of the Second World War began. To Robyn Wrigley-Carr, many thanks!

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MARK D. CHAPMAN AND DOMINIC JANES, EDS. *New Approaches in History and Theology to Same-Sex Love and Desire* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018). 270 pp. ISBN 9783319702100.

This is an exciting collection of essays providing readers with an introduction to key issues raised by the apparent acceleration of liberalizing attitudes towards gender relations within historically Christian contexts. Given the complexity of any attempt to lay out a taxonomy of gender relations, religion or even Christian identities, a book of thirteen chapters is inevitably going to come up short on one front or another. However, the variety of contexts and academic calibre of contributions, offer those who are new to the field a great deal of useful information, and all interested readers, much to think about alongside numerous references for further exploration.

Within the collection, one notable distinction exists between authors who self-identify according to a range of descriptions as gay, homosexual or queer and those preferring to maintain a convention of authorial detachment. Heightened awareness of relationality and context are now characteristic of western mainstream scholarship and conventions of authorial detachment do not necessarily ignore all such issues. Nonetheless, authors who self-identify draw the reader's attention more explicitly to the provocations of identity politics that underpin the publication of a volume like this. Whilst this book reflects how gender norms have sometimes varied or changed in line with geopolitical locations and historical periods, the focus, as made clear in the editors' introduction, is the present perplexity within Christian – and perhaps especially Anglican (five chapters reference the Communion in a significant sense) – churches. However, the collection is not simply distinguished by its concern to raise awareness of the churches' perplexity, but by its invitation to further theological engagement (2). Whilst it is commonplace to make the suggestion that the churches are increasingly marginalized within a 'secular' world, the editors would seem to be saying that theology does not therefore need to throw in the towel.

Part of the rationale for the book is nonetheless about providing more information about how questions of gender and queer desire do not exist within a vacuum and are, moreover, subject to challenge and change that churches and Christian communities need to be ready to deal with. Nik Jovčić-Sas's essay on Serbian Orthodoxy, for example, offers information about extreme anti-homosexual feeling in Serbian Orthodoxy, arguing here, that this is not so much about theological principle as about Serbian ethnic identity (61). Historically speaking, Serbian Orthodoxy fielded Christian warriors against an Ottoman empire that was tolerant of same-sex attraction but extraordinarily and brutally intolerant of Christians (62). Subsequently the impact of western powers on the Balkans was to intensify abhorrence of same-sex relations as a mark of colonial, cultural inferiority (61). Editor

Mark Chapman – in his single-authored chapter – similarly makes reference to the impact of colonialism, recognising how issues of gender-relations can become, in his terms, a ‘condensation symbol’ (198), in this case, for post-colonial resistance. Chapman’s chapter focuses on the response of Anglican churches in Africa to attempts to liberalize sexual morality. He underlines the irony that an insistence on ‘biblical morality’ in this area ‘has only relatively recently supplanted traditional approaches to marriage and sexuality’ (192). Nevertheless the point is that the liberalization of sexual morality has become powerfully associated with western, and especially American culture (192) and thus, in post-colonial terms, anathema. Adrian Thatcher’s chapter on ‘theological amnesia’ seems, similarly, to be aimed at reminding us that what we take to be unalterable views on gender within Christian tradition may in fact have been subject to fairly major changes throughout the centuries.

Returning to the book’s rationale as a context for developing theological responses to the issue of changing gender relations, there is some excellent work here. Some of this is more critical than personal or explorative in emphasis but still allows us to see and reflect on the theology of pioneers and martyrs to the cause. For example, Alana Harris’s fine chapter on the Conservative politician Norman St John-Stevas (1929-2012) addresses in some detail his efforts after the publication of the Wolfenden Report in 1957, to reconfigure relations between law and morality in a liberal, plural society, showing how his views changed through time as he sought the means to reconcile his homosexuality, his political values and his loyalty to the Roman Catholic Church. Philip Healy’s chapter focuses on the modernist context within which the Roman Catholic priest George Tyrrell (1861-1909) wrote in favour of a less rigid and ‘scholastic’ attitude to the issue of ‘sexual purity’ (68) and was expelled from the Jesuits and excommunicated for his pains. Bernard Schlage writes about Robert Wood (b. 1923) a minister from the American United Church of Christ who was, theologically very much ‘ahead of the curve’ on LGBT issues. In his most well-known publication, *Christ and the Homosexual* (1960), Wood laid out a ‘positive pastoral theology of homosexuality’ (167).

In a final category there are authors who use this space to develop their own theological approaches. Drawing on James Alison and Eugene Rogers, Rémy Bethmont, for example, puts forward what he calls an ‘eschatological paradigm’ to replace the more familiar ‘natural paradigm’ derived from Thomas Aquinas. Nothing is simply ‘natural’ but constructed with the bringing of a divine order into being in mind (212). In these terms, procreation is just one possible channel for bringing about this fruitful outcome. Like equally prevalent bridal imagery, the on-going insistence on marriage, Bethmont argues, still reflects a traditional patriarchal world view (219). We can recognise the political logic leading to marriage equality but he cautions the

Anglican Episcopal churches discussing the issue, not to ignore the theological legacy of the campaign (223) which might justifiably reject or downplay this kind of imagery where we are not dealing with fixed essences. My personal favourite in the collection is Donald Boisvert's meditative piece on the ways in which devotion to the saints allowed him to establish a 'devotional script' (263) resilient enough to affirm his queer and marginal identity in 'the language of Catholic liturgical camp' (263) from a young and impressionable age. Boisvert has now left the Roman Catholic Church and joined the Anglican Church but he has clearly taken with him what he calls the outrageous seductions of St Peter Julian Eymard's devotions to the Eucharistic body and of the chaste and admirable teenager, St Dominic Savio (264).

Whilst there is much that is good, if not exceptional, about this collection and the editors' vision in addressing love and desire in these gendered church contexts to be commended, it has to be said that it is disappointingly muted about the love and desire of gay and trans women in the churches. Lesbians are sometimes mentioned in passing but there are few women of note in the collection apart from Elisabeth Ohlson Wallin, a Swedish artist who created the exhibition 'Ecce Homo' portraying Jesus in the company of homosexuals and transpeople; Boisvert's references to the queer feminist theologian, Marcella Althaus Reid; but little else. However, arguably if we are fully to engage with theological questions about love and desire we need to move out of single categories and engage with the whole range of intersectional concerns, returning to what Althaus Reid identified as "the margins of the margins" where a true marginal God refuses to leave' (*From Feminist Theology to Indecent Theology*, 2004, 9). We need to avoid being co-opted by any form of the 'centre'.

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