

'So great
a cloud of
witnesses'

LIBRARIES & THEOLOGIES

Festschrift in honour of
Lawrence D McIntosh

Edited by
Philip Harvey and Lynn Pryor

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Melbourne:

Published jointly by the Uniting Church Theological
Hall and the Australian and New Zealand
Theological Library Association, 1995

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Published in 1995

Published jointly by the Uniting Church Theological Hall and the Australian and New Zealand Theological Library Association

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Pre-press and production by Sylvana A Scannapiego
Text and cover design by David Constable
Page make-up by Jesuit Publications

Cataloguing-in-Publication data from the Joint Theological Library

'So great a cloud of witnesses' : libraries and theologies : festschrift in honour of Lawrence D. McIntosh / edited by Philip Harvey and Lynn Pryor
p. cm.

ISBN 0-9587731-3-0

Includes bibliographic references.

1. Theological libraries - Australia. 2. Theological libraries - New Zealand.
3. Theology. 4. McIntosh, Lawrence, 1928- I. Harvey, Philip Arthur, 1955-
II. Pryor, Lynn. III. McIntosh, Lawrence, 1928-

027.67

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Acknowledgements

Thanks must go to the original editorial committee: Glenys Biddle, Helen Greenwood, Philip Harvey, Lynn Pryor and Kim Robinson. It was they who initiated the idea during a particularly raucous lunch at Gamberos in Lygon Street, following the Adelaide conference.

At the Joint Theological Library Ria McMahon did a superlative job of typing and correcting the articles on the computer. Her expertise saved the day on more than one occasion. Thanks should also be given to Pam McIntosh and Ian Breward who helped with the collation of Lawrence's CV and bibliographic history.

At Jesuit Publications the thoroughness and unbounded enthusiasm of Sylvana Scannapiego were infectious. Jack Otto and David Constable are also to be thanked for their work in pagemaking and design.

Thanks must also go to the following, who all made contributions toward the realization of the final product: Pam Carswell, Ray Cassin, Gillian Forwood, Morag Fraser, Brian Hubber, Carol O'Connor and Trevor Zweck.

Tribute

Davis McCaughey

Most users of libraries have experience of serendipity. You go looking for one book, and you find another, more interesting and probably casting fresh light on your theme. As surely as Adam Smith's merchant, while intending only his own gain is 'led by an invisible hand to promote an end which was no part of his intention', so the casual library user seems at times to be led 'by an invisible hand' to discover things to his advantage.

Users of the Joint Theological Library at Ormond College, know however, that the hand which has for many years guided them to works which it had been no part of their intention to consult was far from being invisible. There was a Dr. Serendipity presiding over the affairs of the Library, and his name was Lawrence McIntosh. Among the users of the Library over many years, old and young, there must be few if any, who have never received personal attention from Dr McIntosh, or whose range of reference and of reading has not been extended and their minds and spirits thereby enriched.

Ivan Illych, in his fascinating book *In the vineyard of the text* (Illych, 1993) provides a commentary to Hugh of St. Victor's *Didascalion* to trace the transition in the twelfth century from 'monastic texts (designed for oral, collective recitation) to scholastic works (texts organised for silent, contemplative, individual study)'. With the latter came changed punctuation, indentation, titles, headings and indexes. This last was aided if not by the discovery, then by the rediscovery of the alphabet. Each of these ways of reading and types of books had its own institutional setting: the monastic reader, chanting or mumbling the sacred text has the monastery for his (mostly his, not her) characteristic setting; the individual reader has the University with its Library, larger and more varied than the monastery's ark (arca) kept in the sacristy to store the chalices, vestments and other treasures for the liturgy in which books were also stored: only at the end of the eleventh century separate libraries (the archives) became common. Hugh prepares his readers for this transition, and is aware of the significance of each way of reading, and of the differences between two kinds of book. One finishes reading Illych, and behind him Hugh of St. Victor feeling that nothing must be lost: the virtues of the older ways of memorising and of reading must be taken up into the new dependence on chapter headings and indices.

Lawrence McIntosh has presided over a transition significant in the history of theological libraries in Australia. The bringing together of the libraries of the Jesuit Theological College and of the Ormond College Theological Hall had placed theological learning (and its chief tool, books) in an ecumenical setting. Before the Joint Theological Library was brought into being, recognition by Protestants of Catholic writing and by Roman Catholics of Protestant writing was little more than tokenism, or a glance over the shoulder at what the other was doing. There was, however, a second characteristic of the period during which Dr. McIntosh has been Librarian: it was a period in which the canon itself was called in question, and we were invited with a new seriousness to read more widely. By 'canon' in this setting is implied more than scripture. In theology and in Church life, we felt the impact of something which from the late 1960's has been apparent in many literary and artistic studies. In its extreme form, texts traditionally known as 'literature' have been regarded as no more necessary to be read than other expressions of the power of a particular gender or race or class.

Robert Alter quotes Terry Eagleton as 'proposing that a curricular move be made from literature to "discourse studies"', so that instructors would be free to teach Shakespeare, television scripts, government memoranda, comic books, and advertising copy in a single program as instances of the language of power.' (Alter, 1989) Similarly theological texts have been approached with what Paul Ricoeur calls 'the hermeneutics of suspicion'. There has been a shift from asking, *what* is being said? to the question, *who* is saying this and with what particular bias? At its worst, as in critical studies, students cease to read the actual text, but know how to talk about it. We recall a remark, allegedly made by Père De Vaux at an earlier stage of theological discourse: 'Hermeneutics is a way of talking about the Bible without having to go to the trouble of reading it.' In its less extreme form the theological curriculum has been widened, and the student of theology has been encouraged to read beyond the bounds of a quasi-canonical literature. (This reading beyond was in a previous generation encouraged by the requirement in some Churches that students of theology should first have a degree in another discipline).

There can be little doubt that the expansion of theological learning, ecumenically and culturally, has been a liberating experience - and one which is consistent with the great tradition of Christian theology. It has called for an immense expansion of holdings in a theological library, and calls upon students of theology to read more widely but without loss of depth, than was sometimes the case in a previous generation. 'Hugh encourages his readers to seek pleasure in everything they can learn. "Later you will realise that nothing has been superfluous. Stifling knowledge gives no joy...a skimpy knowledge is not a pleasant thing."' That present day Hugh of St. Victor, Lawrence McIntosh has set our feet on the right path of wider reading: he gives the impression of taking pleasure in everything his library has to offer, and would discourage a skimpy knowledge. 'Hugh,' says Illych elsewhere, 'distinguishes between the pilgrimage and the stroll...two ways of reading, two moments in

the same *lectio divina* (divine reading).’ To see Lawrence dash across the Library to secure the right book is to know that someone is about to be fed for the next stage in a pilgrimage. His suggestion that you are going to need this for a few weeks encourages the reader also to stroll. The virtue of the old monastic way was that it encouraged contemplation, at leisure. ‘My leisure is not spent in nurturing idleness’ says St. Augustine, ‘but in exploring wisdom’.

A third revolution through which Lawrence McIntosh has guided us has been that in information. Far more information has been available to us members of the human race than ever before, including information about what has been published and is available, where and when. This, like every new discovery, is two-edged. It has been an enormous boon for scholars in Australia to be able to learn almost instantly about work being done elsewhere, and to be in touch with other scholars almost immediately. The tyranny of distance has been defeated; and much of the credit must go to librarians such as the one we honour, for mastering these techniques without fear. The negative effect of this revolution is the confusion of information and knowledge, and the fascination with both at the expense of wisdom.

When, however, we have a librarian who knows that the new is not necessarily better or worse than the old, that what men and women have thought and said must be tested on its merits, and when we know that those merits are neither established nor destroyed by modern fashions of thought or methods of communication we are blest indeed. Thanks to Lawrence McIntosh, many students old and young may be a few steps along the road towards Augustine’s destination, wisdom. If so, we shall not altogether have lost touch with the old monastic notion of *lectio divina*, a holy and humble reading - whether in Church or in our studies which (in Illych’s words) ‘is always a liturgical act, *coram*, in the face of, someone - God, angels, or anyone within earshot’. For those of us who have been initiated into this pilgrimage, to give up reading would be like ceasing to pray; it would be a failure to put ourselves at the place where God might touch our minds and consciences. Thanks be to God for Lawrence McIntosh, who, without knowing it perhaps, has done just that.

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LIBRARIES

A decade of working together

THE ESTABLISHMENT AND EARLY HISTORY OF THE AUSTRALIAN AND NEW ZEALAND THEOLOGICAL LIBRARY ASSOCIATION

Trevor J Zweck

A letter from a neophyte librarian proved to be the catalyst which was to lead, within three years, to the formation of the Australian and New Zealand Theological Library Association (ANZTLA), with the writer of the letter as its first president. The concern of the letter was with standards of resources and services in theological libraries in Australia and New Zealand - a concern reflected in the early history of ANZTLA, which is the story of a largely frustrating attempt to lift standards in the face of the overwhelming obstacles of lack of staff and resources. In the whole panorama of theological librarianship in this part of the world, nothing is more glaringly obvious than the acute shortage of finance. This survey covers, in the main, the decade from 1983 to 1992, embracing three library consultations of the Australian and New Zealand Association of Theological Schools (ANZATS) and seven conferences of the Australian and New Zealand Theological Library Association and is written by the only person to have attended all ten meetings.

EARLY EFFORTS

The ANZATS Library Consultation held at St Francis College, Brisbane, in 1983 was a landmark in the history of theological librarianship in Australia and New Zealand, but it was not by any means the first meeting of librarians and people interested in librarianship in this part of the world. The first such meeting was held in Melbourne in 1978. The chief initiator of this consultation was Dr Robert Withycombe (St Mark's Library, Canberra), with the support of the New South Wales-based Association of Theological and Religious

Studies Libraries (ATRSL), formed in 1977 with Hans Arns as its President. Withycombe appears to have been the first to capture the vision of a body linking at least the theological libraries of Australia, if not indeed the whole of Australasia. High on the agenda of the one-day meeting at Chisholm College, La Trobe University, Bundoora, Vic., was 'the formation of a national association'. In the morning session, the 28 people in attendance held a nuts-and-bolts discussion of such issues as resource-sharing (interlibrary loans, union catalogues of periodicals, and duplicate exchanges), and parallel sessions for users of the Dewey and Pettee classifications. The afternoon session was given over to the principal issue of ways and means of fostering national cooperation among theological and religious studies libraries. During this session, the delegates from South Australia, Queensland, and Victoria broke into separate groups to consider the establishment of regional groups along the lines of the ATRSL in New South Wales. The hope at this stage was that each state with a sizeable group of theological libraries would form a regional association and that some sort of federation or combination of these regional groups would come into being to constitute the national association. All the states represented agreed to have local discussions to this end, but in the event only South Australia managed to establish a continuing group, initially the Association of Theological Libraries (South Australia). To further the national effort, it was agreed to hold another consultation in the following year, in conjunction with the joint annual conference of the Australian and New Zealand Association of Theological Schools, the Australian and New Zealand Society for Theological Studies, and the Australian Association for the Study of Religion. Edmund Perrin (United Theological College, Camden, NSW) was elected National Convenor and the NSW group was asked to consider making its journal, *Syndesmos*, a national one. The Library Assistance Scheme initiated by ANZATS in 1977 to disseminate cataloguing and classification data was subjected to frank evaluation and discontinued. Other topics covered in this historic consultation were methods of copying catalogue cards, use of the National Library of Australia card service, and a reader education survey of some theological and other libraries. (Arns 1978, p.5-6)

Immediately following the conference, The Association of Theological Libraries (South Australia) was formed on 14 September, 1978, and it has continued to meet regularly ever since, more recently as the South Australian chapter of ANZTLA. At least one meeting was held among Victorian libraries, but no continuing group eventuated at that stage. (Arns 1978)

The consultation planned for 24 August 1979, in Sydney, did eventuate, but it was attended only by Sydney librarians and failed to make any progress in the drive for a national association. The failure of two of the major Australian states to organise regional groups was seen as a decisive barrier to progress and the movement petered out for the time being. *Syndesmos*, which had had such promising beginnings under the editorial direction, first of Birgitta Sharpe, and then of Hans Arns, ceased publication with its fifth issue in May 1979. (Arns 1979)

NEW BEGINNINGS

All the foregoing was unknown to the author of the above-mentioned letter when he directed his concerns to the South Australian chapter of ANZATS in 1982. The letter was written on behalf of the Association of Theological Libraries (South Australia), of which the writer, the Reverend Trevor Zweck, was now the chairman. The South Australian librarians had resolved at their meeting on 10 June 1982 to seek the support of the local chapter of ANZATS to have the following two suggestions placed on the agenda of the ANZATS meeting to be held in Perth in August 1982:

- (1) That a schedule of standards for theological libraries be adopted;
- (2) That an overseas expert be invited to Australia to undertake a survey of theological libraries and to make recommendations for their improvement. (ATL(SA) 1982)

The correspondence met with a sympathetic response from the local chapter of ANZATS, which resolved to forward the letter to ANZATS, supporting the adoption of standards, but expressing reservations about the idea of inviting an overseas librarian. (ANZATS SA 1982) Meanwhile, the ANZATS executive had been endeavouring to arrange another library consultation, along the lines of the one held in 1978, but the very lack of cohesion and lack of leadership within the theological library community made planning difficult, and it was not until 1983 that it was possible to hold the consultation. In the event, it was Zweck's letter that determined the agenda and provided a focus and a rallying point for theological librarians, not only for the 1983 consultation, but for many years to come. The historic consultation was held at St Francis College, Milton, Qld, on 3 September 1983, with an attendance of forty librarians and heads of theological colleges. (Zweck 1983) It had been envisaged by the ANZATS executive that this meeting would be an opportunity, not primarily for librarians to talk with each other, but for 'librarians and teaching staff...together...to do some forward planning.' (Fullerton 1981, item 8) As it turned out, the papers at the consultation were all presented by librarians, one of whom was attending his first such meeting. The attention of the meeting was directed first of all to library standards, Hans Arns presenting a survey of conditions in theological libraries; though restricted in scope to several states of Australia, it was sufficient to alert delegates to the parlous condition of theological libraries in Australia and the need to take action to rectify the situation, if at all possible. This paper set the scene for Trevor Zweck to present his proposals regarding the adoption of a schedule of standards for theological libraries. The paper itself (Zweck 1984) proposed nothing particularly remarkable nor original, being heavily reliant on the prior experience of the American Theological Library Association and its possible application to the local situation; however, it struck such a chord with delegates at the consultation that it was received with a standing ovation. The meeting enthusiastically supported its proposals and resolved that a task force be established to develop them further and proceed with implementation. Their initial task

would be to draw up a set of policy standards and (it was envisaged) a set of guidelines for interpreting and applying the standards, together with an instrument and procedure for collecting and disseminating relevant statistical information. Special attention was drawn to the need to draw up specific collection development policies (using the categories established by the National Library of Australia for this purpose). Still more ambitious projects were decided on. Responding to a request from the ANZATS May council meeting of 1983 (ANZATS 1983), the meeting resolved to undertake a survey of theological libraries and other libraries with theological collections to identify special collections, major holdings, and areas of strength. Another resolution called for the establishment of a special collection of information on theological librarianship. There was also a request to develop ways and means (e.g. a workshop and/or a manual) to help unqualified staff become more professional in their work.

Along with such weighty matters affecting the future of theological libraries was included an introduction to the mystifying world of the new information technology which had recently made its entry to Australia. It came in the form of a session of searching on the DIALOG database, using facilities of the MIDAS telecommunications link. There was also a paper by Edmund Perrin on library buildings and equipment. (Zweck 1983)

Without doubt, this consultation was a watershed in the history of theological librarianship in Australia (and, eventually also, New Zealand). Delegates were not unaware of the significance of the events they had been privileged to experience, one principal being heard to exclaim, 'This is the first day in the future of theological libraries.' (Zweck 1983) Less effusively, but with equal perspicuity, the Secretary of ANZATS reported: '...some very important recommendations regarding standards and future developments in theological libraries were discussed.' (Fullerton 1983, item 6)

THE CRUCIAL DECISION

An enthusiastic beginning had been made; however, by the time of the 1984 consultation, twelve months later, little progress had been made by any of the 1983 resolutions. The ANZATS task force had not been appointed. Undeterred, the unappointed leaders of the library movement pressed on. It was becoming obvious, once again, that if the kind of program envisaged by the 1983 consultation was ever to eventuate, it would have to be implemented by an organisation bigger and more influential than an *ad hoc* task force. Thus, a lack of activity on the official level galvanised action on an informal basis and Zweck came to the 1984 consultation with a proposal for the establishment of a theological library association.

The consultation was held at the Baptist Theological College, Eastwood, NSW, 26 August 1984, with an attendance of 25, of whom only one was not a librarian. The main focus of attention (in the morning session) was union cataloguing, with Margaret Baggott (National Library of Australia) advocating involvement in the Australian Bibliographic Network as the best means of

Australian libraries gaining access to the collective resources of theological literature. Local libraries also shared their experiences of the CLANN network operating in the Sydney area.

In the business session (in the afternoon), Zweck presented a preliminary draft of a set of standards; it was discussed by the librarians and then tabled for reference to the ANZATS task force, which it was envisaged would still be appointed. The proposal for the establishment of a theological library association was endorsed with mixed feelings of enthusiasm and trepidation and forwarded to the Annual General Meeting of ANZATS, which was to be held two years later. The aforementioned and Professor Bruce Upham were appointed to head a delegation to ANZATS, armed with Zweck's proposal and a battery of consultation resolutions. The proposal pointed firstly to the precedent set by overseas groups of theological libraries; secondly it presented a rationale for an association rather than an ANZATS committee to do the work envisaged; and thirdly it proposed some possible aims and objectives, which subsequently became, in the main, the objectives of ANZTLA; and fourthly it contained a possible *modus operandi*. The arguments for an association rather than any other form of organisation ran as follows:

- (1) It would develop more effective leadership and better communication between members.
- (2) It would provide a more suitable point of contact with other library groups and associations, both within Australasia and overseas.
- (3) It could involve individuals and institutions outside of ANZATS.

The ANZATS meeting on 28 August 1984 received the delegation cordially. It had some hesitation about deciding right there and then 'to instigate the formation of an association of Australian and New Zealand libraries', as had been proposed, deciding rather 'to investigate the formation' of such an organisation, leaving it to the next meeting of the ANZATS Council (May 1985) to make the final decision. It was left to the ANZATS executive to undertake the investigation of the proposal, along with other proposals from the library consultation, including specific recommendations regarding the previously proposed task force on standards. (Zweck 1985)

ESTABLISHMENT OF ANZTLA

If the librarians were concerned about the tentative nature of the ANZATS decisions, they need not have worried; what would prove to be of greater concern would be some of the conditions which would be suggested for the proposed association. The May council meeting of ANZATS in 1985, at which the librarians were represented by Hans Arns, passed a five point resolution on the structure and operation of the proposed association, without formally resolving that the association be established. (ANZATS 1985, item 14)

- (1) The association would be named 'The Australian and New Zealand Association of Theological Libraries'.
- (2) It would have an executive consisting of a President and a Secretary/Treasurer, both of whom would be elected by the annual meeting, together with

one representative of the 'state' [sic!] in which the next meeting was to be held.

(3) The executive of the association would meet annually to plan that year's library consultation and to consult on cooperative projects in which libraries were currently engaged.

(4) A library bulletin would be published regularly.

(5) Member schools of ANZATS would be charged a supplementary fee to their annual ANZATS membership fee to be members of the library association.

From the outset, there was strong agreement on the part of both ANZATS and the proposed ANZATL that the two associations would work closely together; however, differences of opinion soon arose regarding the precise nature of the connection between the two. Although the relationship has always been harmonious, the conflict which developed at the outset was to lead within two years to the organisational separation of the two associations.

The idea of having the membership fees of ANZATS libraries collected from ANZATS schools together with their ANZATS membership fees passed on in bulk to the proposed ANZATL was intended to guarantee the involvement of the then 57 ANZATS libraries in the new association. This involvement would both provide stability for the new association and go a long way towards ensuring that the interests of ANZATS in the development of the libraries of its member schools would always be taken into consideration. The difficulty arose from the fact that ANZATS was not willing to support financially an association which included non-ANZATS members, while the librarians wanted to have an association which was open to all libraries and individuals involved in the study of theology and religion. The ANZATS representatives expressed the concern that a more broadly based organisation could come to be dominated by non-ANZATS libraries and librarians who might not only ignore the concerns of ANZATS for its members' libraries but might develop programs which would conflict with the ANZATS aims and objectives. At the same time, it was argued that ANZATS should not be expected to foot the bill for the library association if its interests were not guaranteed in the constitution. The librarians, for their part, contended that as long as ANZATS held the purse strings they would have control over the direction of the library association's policy and program.

To cement the bond between the two associations, a specific commitment to the aims and objectives of ANZATS 'insofar as they apply to libraries' was subsequently written into the constitution of the new association. The constitution also required that at least one member of the executive should be from the area in which the ANZATS executive was located, so that he/she could represent the library association at the meetings of the ANZATS executive and council. The new association committed itself also to hold its annual conference, where practicable, in association with the ANZATS annual conference; and it was envisaged that meetings of the executive of the proposed ANZATL would be held in conjunction with the May meeting of the ANZATS

council. As it turned out, the latter happened only once, both Hans Arns and Trevor Zweck representing the library association at the ANZATS May council meeting; thereafter, unfortunately, the May council meeting was discontinued for financial reasons.

The above-mentioned concerns had not yet been fully articulated when 22 librarians and eleven others met at Luther Seminary, North Adelaide on Tuesday, 27 August 1985, and made the historic decision to establish the 'Australian and New Zealand Theological Library Association'. The occasion was the 1985 ANZATS Library Consultation, which was to become the last consultation held under the auspices of ANZATS. At this stage, the only point of conflict between the new association and ANZATS was the name which the librarians chose to give it, following the pattern generally accepted in library circles rather than that proposed by the ANZATS council, which was patterned after the name of ANZATS itself. Elected to form the provisional executive of the new association were the three people who had had most to do with its establishment: Trevor Zweck (President), Hans Arns (Secretary/Treasurer), and Robert Withycombe (extra member of the executive).

The professional development segments of the program included a memorable keynote address by Dr Lawrence McIntosh (Joint Theological Library, Parkville, Vic.) on 'Professionalism in theological librarianship' and a major emphasis on the Australian Bibliographic Network (ABN). Encouragement to become involved in ABN was provided by Mr Bill Thorn, Assistant Director-General, Reference Services, National Library of Australia, and Dr Robert Withycombe, representing the first theological library to become a participant in ABN, St Mark's, Canberra, ACT. This was the first consultation to be held over two days, the aim being to include more professional development opportunities. On this occasion, the plan was to hold a full-day collection development workshop, led by Dr Gary Gorman, who was then a lecturer at Ballarat College of Advanced Education. The workshop was held, but was unfortunately curtailed, due to the intrusion of leftover business from the previous day, concerning the establishment of ANZTLA. As there had been no representative of ANZATS present when the decisions establishing ANZTLA were made, and the secretary was available on the second day, the extra session was arranged to endeavour to resolve the questions at issue between the ANZATS executive and the librarians. In the event, the attempt was unsuccessful and the two parties never did come to see eye to eye on the matters at issue between them. (Zweck 1985 b)

INAUGURAL CONFERENCE

The inaugural conference of ANZTLA was held at St Mark's Library, Canberra, ACT, 26-27 August 1986, with an attendance of 26, all of whom were librarians. They included two librarians from overseas, both of whom were temporarily located (for differing reasons) at Luther Seminary: Dr Don Huber of Columbus, Ohio and Mr Makis Dunni-ib of Lae, Papua New Guinea. The choice of date was an unfortunate one. It had been deemed impracticable to

hold the conference in conjunction with the annual ANZATS conference, as that was being held in New Zealand and it seemed necessary to hold the inaugural conference of ANZTLA in a central location in Australia to guarantee an acceptable level of participation. The choice of date (coinciding with the ANZATS meeting, though in a different place) was intended to express solidarity with ANZATS; unwittingly, of course, it excluded ANZATS members from participation, and there never has been a very significant representation of non-librarians at any of the conferences, other than for joint sessions of the two associations.

The main task confronting the interim executive, which would become the main task of the constituting meeting in 1986, was to draw up a constitution which would be acceptable to the ANZATS executive on the one hand and the librarians on the other. For both philosophical and practical reasons, they chose to pattern the new constitution on that of ANZATS. This would express solidarity with ANZATS and the experience of ANZATS over many years suggested the adapted constitution should prove to be eminently workable.

As indicated above, differences in thinking between the ANZATS executive and the librarians involved the name of the new organisation, but the really crucial sticking point was the question of membership - ANZATS wanting to restrict the association to ANZATS institutions and the librarians wanting it to be more broadly based. But there was a further question about membership on which the librarians themselves had yet to reach agreement: Was the association to consist of libraries or librarians - or, as it eventually turned out, a combination of both? The constituting meeting made seven other amendments to the constitution proposed by the interim executive, mainly sharpening up the wording of various clauses, but the membership question occupied several hours of the conference's time, including the lunchtime meeting of an *ad hoc* committee. Eventually, a lengthy amendment was adopted, subject to the approval of the ANZATS executive. It provided for four categories of membership:

- (1) Libraries of the member schools of ANZATS;
- (2) Libraries of other tertiary institutions offering courses in theological education or religious studies;
- (3) Institutions or organisations associated with theological education or religious studies;
- (4) Individuals interested in or concerned with theological education or religious studies.

(ANZTLA 1986, item 4).

These categories were clearly intended to open up membership in the association to institutions and individuals not specifically Christian and, indeed, specifically not Christian. Even at the present date, non-Christian institutions and individuals are noticeably absent from ANZTLA, but it was inevitable that the ANZATS executive, which had voiced its disapproval of

the inclusion of non-ANZATS Christian institutions, would disapprove of these even broader amendments to the constitution. The librarians contended that their work in the service of theological education brought them into constant contact with these categories of institutions and individuals and that such categories had already been involved in all of the ANZATS library consultations that had been held; and that, moreover, these libraries had a lot to offer the association which would be in keeping with the aims and objectives of ANZATS for its member libraries. A flurry of letters ensued between the President of ANZTLA and the Secretary of ANZATS. The stand of the ANZATS executive was expressed in the following terms in the Secretary's letter of 25 February 1987 :

The basis of our difficulty is that Anzats is an association of corporate bodies and the libraries (i.e. the libraries in which we are interested and wish to promote) are integral parts of those corporate bodies (schools), so that we find ourselves in a difficult constitutional bind when those libraries wish to step aside from Anzats by including libraries of other bodies. Clause vi.3 whereby members of your executive are not required to be from Anzats schools is another case in point. (Barnes 1987)

He went on to express quite clearly where the ANZATS executive stood in regard to the impasse which had developed, and, wittingly or unwittingly, predicted the manner in which matters would eventually work out:

As the minutes indicate, we have no wish to prevent individual librarians from forming an association to further their mutual interests. There may well be benefit for theological libraries to have interaction across a wider spectrum. Such may be the way ahead for your association, though our executive feels that if you move in this direction we cannot be responsible for collecting the \$10 levy from Anzats schools. (Barnes 1987).

The latter line of action was subsequently proposed by the President of ANZTLA when he and the Secretary met with the ANZATS executive at Hunter's Hill, NSW on 15 May 1987. The meeting accepted the proposal, effectively severing the organisational tie-up between the two associations. There was some concern on the part of ANZTLA as to whether the ANZATS libraries would continue to remain with the ANZTLA organisation. Membership fees were collected from these libraries in 1987 by ANZATS, thus automatically involving them all in the new association. When ANZTLA was left to sell itself to the constituency in 1988, it was a great relief to the organisers to note that virtually all of the ANZATS libraries were happy to renew their membership. To this day, these libraries have remained the backbone of the association, and have also been the greatest beneficiaries of it.

The constituting meeting in 1986 elected Trevor Zweck as its President and has continued to retain him in that office to the present time. Hans Arns was elected Secretary/Treasurer, which position he held till 1989. Kim Robinson (Moore Theological College, Newtown, NSW) was elected the first

editor of the bulletin which was to be established. Barbara Darling (Ridley College, Parkville, Vic) was elected as the extra member of the executive. It was also decided that the gathering of annual statistics should become a project of the association, and Edmund Perrin was elected the first Statistician. It had been decided already at the 1983 consultation that statistics should be collected and an unauthorised beginning had been initiated by Trevor Zweck and Gary Gorman in 1984. The work they had done would now become the basis of the continuing effort. (ANZTLA 1986).

The highlight of the professional development segments of the inaugural conference was a hard-hitting keynote address by Averill M.B. Edwards, Principal Librarian (Planning), National Library of Australia, on the topic, 'Theological librarians: an undervalued asset'. Gary Gorman led a workshop on collection development as a follow-up to his workshop in Adelaide. Marika Simpson (Canberra College of Advanced Education) led a workshop on user education, and Cheryl Pye (ABN) led one on standard subject headings. Some delegates took advantage of being in Canberra to visit the National Library, giving special attention to the rare book collection and to the operation of the Australian Bibliographic Network; others visited either the Canberra College of Advanced Education or the Australian National University. (Robinson 1987).

AUSTRALASIAN RELIGION INDEX

The second annual conference, held at Ridley College, Parkville, Vic with a record enrolment of 44, formally ended the organisational link with ANZATS; but it was significant for the inauguration of a project which would bring major benefits to ANZATS schools, as indeed to all researchers in religion and theology. The continued production of the *Australasian religion index* on a shoe-string budget and with a team of more than twenty volunteer indexers from across the length and breadth of Australia and New Zealand has been one of the truly remarkable achievements of ANZTLA and a major contribution to the world of theological bibliography. The idea was the brain-child of Fr Gary Gorman, now lecturing at what was to become the Charles Sturt University - Riverina, Wagga Wagga, NSW. Acting on his own initiative, he presented a carefully researched paper and specific proposals to the Ridley conference. He noted that there were more than 300 religious serials being published in Australia (apart from New Zealand), of which only nine were being indexed in *Religion index one*. He noted further the noticeable absence of specifically Australian research tools in the fields of theology and religion. The need was an obvious one, and the conference adopted the proposals with some trepidation, but with considerable enthusiasm. A pilot project, coordinated by Gorman, was set in motion and, on the basis of this trial venture, ANZTLA joined forces with the Centre for Library Studies (later to become the Centre for Information Studies), Wagga Wagga, NSW to make the publication of the index a permanent project of ANZTLA. The index now covers more than 60 theological journals published in Australia and New Zealand. It is published semi-annually, with an annual cumulation. The index provides an alphabeti-

cal listing by author, with subject and Biblical indexes leading back to the listings through a control number. It also includes a book review index.

The elections at the 1987 AGM produced a change in editorship of the *Newsletter* and commenced a partnership which was to last for six years and publish 17 issues. Mrs Lynn Pryor (Whitley College, Parkville, Vic) was elected Editor and Mr Philip Harvey (Joint Theological Library, Parkville, Vic) Assistant Editor. Rev Peter Mendham was elected as extra member of the executive and Trevor Zweck and Hans Arns re-elected President and Secretary respectively.

The keynote speaker that year was Mrs Fran Awcock, Director, Technical Services, State Library of Victoria, her topic being 'Technology and theological libraries'. Mr Hal Cain led a workshop on cataloguing, automation, and interlibrary loans, Mr Patrick Lambe (visiting from the United Kingdom) gave some insight into the Association of British Theological and Philosophical Libraries, and Mr Kim Robinson gave a report of his visit to the 1987 conference of the American Theological Library Association.

STANDARDS FINALISED

It had always been intended that ANZTLA would, whenever practicable, hold its conference in conjunction with the joint annual conference of the Australian and New Zealand Association of Theological Schools and the Australian and New Zealand Society for Theological Studies. This happened in Melbourne in 1987, the ANZTLA conference preceding the ANZATS/ANZSTS conference, the two groups coming together briefly in the dining room of Ridley College; however, in 1988 it proved possible to have an overlapping joint session, the ANZATS/ANZSTS conference on this occasion preceding that of ANZTLA. Held in Australia's bicentennial year, the conference featured Australian and New Zealand religious history. The joint session with ANZTLA was commenced by Dr John Henley (Melbourne College of Divinity) and Dr William Dumbrell (Moore Theological College) echoing one of the major concerns of the 1983 consultation on the need to provide adequate facilities and resources for theological research in Australia and New Zealand. These addresses paved the way for the ANZTLA keynote address, delivered by its President, Trevor Zweck on 'The future of theological libraries in Australia and New Zealand'. Not surprisingly, it highlighted the lack of both human and financial resources, outlining some proposals for improving the status of resources and services.

The 1988 conference was held at Burgmann College, Australian National University, Acton, ACT on 8-10 September with an enrolment of 22. Other professional development sessions featured an address on rare book collections by Margaret Dent, Rare Book Librarian, National Library of Australia and another on the antiquarian book trade by Brian Howes, a lecturer in library studies at what was then the Riverina-Murray Institute of Higher Education, Wagga Wagga. A visit to St Mark's Library presented the opportunity for some hands-on experience of both DIALOG and the ABN. Delegates also

had a choice of visits to the Chifley Library, Australian National University or the National Library of Australia.

As indicated above, one of the momentous decisions of this conference was the decision to proceed with the publication of the *Australasian religion index*. Equally significant however was the finalisation of the standards document which had been in gestation for five years. The task force envisaged by the 1983 consultation to produce this document had not yet been formed when the next consultation was held in 1984, but a draft set of standards was offered by Trevor Zweek. Following lengthy discussion and revision, this document was submitted to the ANZATS executive and was approved for distribution to ANZATS schools by the ANZATS May council meeting in 1985 (the same meeting that approved the formation of a library association). Another revision by Zweek was presented to the 1985 consultation, but had to take second place to the more urgent business of the establishment of ANZTLA. When the document was eventually sent out to ANZATS schools for comment, it was significant that the only response came from Lawrence McIntosh (a librarian specifically connected with no school). It was he who was given the task (at the inaugural conference in 1986) of undertaking a further revision. He presented a greatly expanded and very much improved document to the 1987 conference. It was referred to the ANZTLA chapters for further study and, with minor amendments, finally adopted by ANZTLA on 9 September 1988. They subsequently received endorsement by the Australian Library and Information Association (in 1989) and the New Zealand Library Association (in 1991). Thus was realised the concept which had given the initial impetus to the foundation of ANZTLA. The standards cover objectives, governance and administration, staffing, finance and budgeting, delivery of services, collections, facilities, instruction, associations, and cooperation.

Election time took on a special significance at this meeting, as it was necessary to put in place an administrative structure for the production of the *Australasian religion index*. It had been decided that the index would be published by the Centre for Information Studies, Wagga Wagga, NSW with Gary Gorman as Coordinating Editor. The meeting gratefully accepted the offer of Joint Theological Library to attend to the collating and primary editing of the data sheets from the voluntary indexers; thus it was inevitable that the Editorial Management Committee would be centred in Melbourne and Lawrence McIntosh was elected Convenor of the Committee and Philip Harvey, Convenor of the Technical sub-committee. An Editorial Board was also appointed, with representatives from all the states and New Zealand joining the representatives of the Centre to direct editorial policy. In other elections, Judith Bright was elected as extra member of the executive. (Pryor 1988).

THE NEW ZEALAND CONNECTION

1989 was the year in which the theological library movement came with full force to New Zealand. There had been one New Zealander (a non-librarian) at the 1983 consultation, but no New Zealand librarians had attended any of

the meetings until the 1985 consultation, at which ANZTLA was formed. They were few in number, but made their presence felt, delivering a passionate plea for the inclusion of New Zealand in any plans and projects involving theological libraries. Since then, there has been a solid representation of New Zealanders at all the ANZTLA conferences, and their needs and concerns have been impossible to ignore. In 1989 came their turn to host the conference. The ANZATS/ANZSTS conference was held in Perth, WA and it seemed unlikely that ANZTLA could plan a successful conference in Western Australia at that time, because of the distance most delegates would have to travel and because of a general absence of Western Australian librarians from theological library events to that date. Auckland thus presented a more attractive alternative.

So it came about that nine Australians and fourteen New Zealanders came together on the magnificent campus of the College of St John the Evangelist on 2-4 July for a truly memorable conference, important not only for the high-class professional input and social activities it provided, but particularly for the boost it gave to theological librarianship in The Land of the Long White Cloud. The organisers had managed to round up almost the full complement of theological librarians in the country and followed the conference itself with the formation of the New Zealand chapter.

The focus of the conference was on reference work. Rev Harold Pidwell (Baptist Theological College of New Zealand) presented a survey on reference from a user's point of view; Coral Riding (Auckland Public Library) brought a lifetime of astute library experience to her paper on the reference interview; Margaret Tibbles (Satis, Auckland) took up the highly specialised topic of telephone reference services (backed up by a John Cleese video); and Lawrence McIntosh presented a scholarly address on the evaluation of reference tools. There was an afternoon visit to the Sylvia Ashton-Warner Library, Auckland Teachers College, and (as a sign of things to come) a lunchtime visit to Kelly Tarlton's Underwater World.

The elections saw the retirement from office of the founding Secretary/Treasurer, Hans Arns, his place being taken by Mrs Val Canty (Parkin-Wesley Theological College, Wayville, SA), the present incumbent. Mrs Liz Jordan (Trinity Theological College, Auchenflower, Qld) was elected as extra member of the executive.

AULOTS

The *Australasian union list of serials in theological collections* (AULOTS) rates only a passing mention in the minutes of the 1990 annual meeting, with a resolution encouraging its distribution and use, but this brief mention belies the inestimable value that *Aulots* has been to theological librarianship and theological research. It had its origins in a union list of periodicals published in mimeograph format by Fr John O'Rourke (St Francis Xavier Seminary, Rostrevor, SA) in 1975. When a new edition was required, the task was picked up by Hans Arns; working with the aid of a computer, he edited the data sent

in on 5 x 3 cards and had it published in hardcover by the National Catholic Research Council, soon after the 1983 consultation. Reacting to the rapid growth of both libraries and serial collections, ANZTLA decided in 1987 to undertake a revision. Again, Hans Arns took up the challenge of compiling it; this time not simply on his own initiative, but at the mandate of ANZTLA. The first task was to create an interactive database from the data held from the earlier edition. Computer listings were compiled for all previously contributing libraries and sent out to them for updating. The resulting second edition was published by the Catholic Institute of Sydney in 1990. It contains locations and holdings information for 3339 periodicals in 85 collections in Australia and New Zealand. The value of such a research tool to theological libraries is obvious enough, but is especially important in the Australasian context, where the vast majority are not automated and have no access to the national bibliographic databases; however, *Aulots* has become a vitally important research tool for academic and research libraries, which are the beneficiaries of most of the interlibrary loan traffic of theological libraries.

The 1989 annual meeting had decided that a day should be added to the conference to allow delegates to 'take in something of the local environment'. Such an excursion might be purely for pleasure or it might be for professional development or possibly a combination of both. Queensland, 'beautiful one day, perfect the next' was an ideal location for the former; thus, delegates enjoyed a day tour to the north of Brisbane, viewing the spectacular Glasshouse Mountains and scaling the 'goat tracks' of the Blackall Ranges, returning to Brisbane by way of the beautiful Sunshine Coast.

Apart from the sightseeing however, there was plenty of emphasis on professional development. Held in the dove-shaped buildings of Pius XII Regional Seminary, Banyo, 5-8 July, following the 13th annual joint ANZATS/ANZSTS conference, the conference attracted an attendance of 36 and gave special attention to the practicalities of theological librarianship. The keynote address, by Rev Coralie Jenkin, Librarian, Country Fire Authority, Melbourne, was on cooperation and rationalisation; it introduced a theme which was to be taken up again: 'If libraries can do it, they can do it together'. Philip Harvey presented a thoughtful and perceptive paper on the problems of subject cataloguing for theological libraries. Concurrent classification workshops were held for users of both the Dewey and Pettee classifications. The latter were to become a regular feature of ANZTLA conferences. Other sessions took up a variety of practical issues, such as automation, cooperation, collection development, journal indexing, the uses of CD-ROM technology, the work of the Christian Research Association, directories of theological libraries, and the collection and use of statistics. An update on current developments in the American Theological Library Association was given by Rev Richard Mintel, one of only two Americans to attend an ANZTLA conference, both of them, curiously enough, from Trinity Lutheran Seminary, Columbus, Ohio. In one session, delegates were given the choice of visits to St Stephen's Cathedral,

Trinity Theological College and St Francis Theological College, or the Queensland Cultural Centre.

In the elections, Mrs Marcia Harrison was elected to the ARI Editorial Board as the first Western Australian to hold office in the association, Mrs Mara Goodall was elected extra member on the executive, and all other offices were re-elected. (Zweck 1990)

USER EDUCATION

User education in some form or other has always been an important aspect of theological librarianship, but the aim of the 1991 conference was to highlight the need for information literacy and to establish user education on a more scholarly and scientific basis. Held at Morling College, Eastwood, NSW, 5-8 July, the conference attracted a record attendance of 52 participants. In a double keynote session, Joyce Kirk (School of Information Studies, University of Technology-Kuring-gai) presented a paper on the topic 'Information literacy: what does it mean for user education?' and Robin Walsh, Reader Services Librarian, Macquarie University, spoke on 'The changing face of reader education'. Although the timing was purely coincidental, a conference with such an emphasis on user education was an appropriate occasion to introduce a proposal for a style manual for research and writing in the fields of theology and religion. It was to take several years to bring to fruition. Published in 1994 by the Centre for Information Studies in association with ANZATS and ANZTLA, it was written by Lawrence McIntosh and revised by a committee of representatives of the two associations. It recognises the need for a manual which is adapted to the literature of religion and theology and which takes into account a range of local circumstances, including the style preferences of both the Australian and New Zealand governments.

As the conference was held immediately prior to the ANZATS/ANZSTS conference, the opportunity was taken, for the second time, to hold a joint session with representatives of ANZATS. The focus was on faculty-librarian relationships, Lawrence McIntosh leading a discussion on such topics as the role of the library committee, the roles of librarians and lecturers in book selection, and the qualifications of librarians. In another section of the joint session, Hans Arns and Trevor Zweck presented papers on automation in theological libraries.

The leisure activity on this occasion included a visit to the oldest theological library in Australia. Beginning with a lunchtime visit to Kuring-gai Wildflower Garden, the bus trip continued to the northern beaches, returning by way of Manly, where delegates toured the magnificent buildings of St Patrick's College and its library. In other library visits, delegates had a choice of nearby Macquarie University Library, the new Centre for Ministry Library, North Parramatta, or the great Moore Theological Library, Newtown.

In the elections, Ms Helen Greenwood (St John's/Trinity Library, Auckland) succeeded Rev Coralie Jenkin as Statistician, and Mrs Wendy Davis (St

Barnabas College, Belair, SA) was elected to the executive, all other officers being re-elected. (Zweck 1991)

WORKING TOGETHER

Working together has always been the objective of ANZTLA, and never was the aim more clearly focused than at the seventh annual conference at historic Luther Campus, North Adelaide, SA, 26-29 June 1992, with a near-record attendance of 51. The theme was set by Mr Euan Miller, Director, State Records and Information Policy for the South Australian government, addressing the topic 'The third millennium - the place of theological libraries in the Australian and New Zealand theological community'. The theme was picked up by Ms Margaret Henty, Conspectus Officer, National Library of Australia, emphasising the role conspectus and the distributed national collection have to play in developing the facilities for nationwide cooperation. Gary Gorman had addressed the 1985 Adelaide consultation on the topic of collection development, and he was back in Adelaide again for this conference, speaking on the topic of collection evaluation, the necessary prerequisite to conspectus. These lectures on the theory of cooperation were backed up by two reports from the field.

Mrs Mara Goodall and Ms Gai Smith reported on the production of a cooperative collection development policy for the Sydney College of Divinity, the first such coordinated approach ever undertaken by theological libraries in this part of the world. This was followed by a report by Barbara Frame of cooperative collection development efforts among libraries with theological collections in the Dunedin area of New Zealand.

All this talk about working together was backed up in the business session of the conference with a tentative, but significant, endorsement of the Australian Bibliographic Network and the New Zealand Bibliographic Network as the preferred option for nationwide networking among theological libraries. St. Mark's Library, Canberra, had been many years ahead of all the rest in joining ABN as a full participant as early as 1984, but by the end of 1993 the number of participants had grown to five and the two Dunedin libraries, Knox College and Holy Cross Seminary, had become the first libraries to join the New Zealand Bibliographic Network. Another ten libraries were participating in ABN as search and products users.

In off-campus activities, delegates had a choice of visits to the Joan Brewer Library, University of South Australia, the diocesan Resource Centre and Catholic Church Archives, and the Mortlock Library (South Australian Archives). The program also included a bus tour to the beautiful Clare Valley, featuring visits to the Jesuit Monastery and St Aloysius Church, Sevenhill, Porlet Winery, and historical Martindale Hall.

The elections saw Mrs Margaret Griff (Catholic Diocese of Auckland, Ponsonby) elected to the executive for the ensuing year and all other officers re-elected. (Zweck 1992a).

PUBLICATIONS

As has been noted above, some of the most important activities of ANZTLA are reflected in publications of considerable importance to theological librarianship. The *ANZTLA newsletter* has been a valuable source of professional education and enrichment, as well as a frontline information service on the activities of the association, its member libraries, and librarianship in general. The *Australasian religion index* has established itself as an indispensable resource for theological research, providing a unique coverage of local theology and church history. The *Australasian union list of serials in theological collections* has likewise become an indispensable resource for the location of periodicals required for theological research. 1991 saw the appearance of another important resource and the beginning of work on yet another. *Collections of religion and theology in Australia and New Zealand*, is not, strictly speaking, a publication of ANZTLA, but it was produced with the encouragement of ANZTLA and is proving a valuable resource for its libraries. Compiled by Rev Coralie Jenkin and published by Auslib Press, it is a directory of more than 300 theological libraries and religious or theological collections in other libraries. Lawrence McIntosh's *ANZATS/ANZTLA style manual for writers of papers and theses in theology and religion* is also essentially a work of private authorship, but is published by ANZTLA in association with ANZATS. It adapts the prevailing thinking on style to the needs of theological research, taking the needs and requirements of the local situation into special consideration.

A DECADE OF ACHIEVEMENT

In his report to the Annual General Meeting in 1992, the President was able to point to a decade of significant achievement in cooperative activities among theological libraries in Australia and New Zealand; but he also pointed to some significant failures. In addition to the five publications just listed, he referred to the *ANZTLA standards for theological libraries* which is widely used as a guide and standard in the field. He could also point to three successful consultations and seven conferences which have provided valuable contacts between theological librarians and have contributed immeasurably to their professional development. In summary, he contended that

...it can surely be said that ANZTLA (with more than 120 members) has established itself as a body which is capable of focusing the concerns and aspirations of the theological library community, giving it a sense of purpose and level of cohesion which certainly did not exist a decade ago. (Zweck 1992b).

At the same time, the President pointed to some areas of significant failure, noting, in particular, that the fundamental problems facing theological libraries in Australia and New Zealand were the same as those of a decade before - chronic underfunding and understaffing, and, in many cases, a lack of adequate facilities and equipment. For the same reasons, the very profes-

sional agenda of ANZTLA (including the most up-to-date thinking on collection development, conspectus, and the distributed national collection) had had comparatively little impact on individual libraries. One had also to look no further than the same circumstances to find the reasons why theological libraries were also some of the last to introduce automation, the vast majority having still not achieved it. Beyond the shores of Australia and New Zealand, ANZTLA had had little impact on theological librarianship among its nearest neighbours, in Asia and the Pacific Islands. In calling for a more outgoing approach to theological librarianship, he unwittingly prefigured the most multicultural conference and the beginning of a new era of theological librarianship in Australia and New Zealand. (Zweck 1992b)

Theological librarianship has come a long way in Australia and New Zealand in the decade under review, due, in no small measure, to the influence of ANZTLA. The association has opened up the lines of communication between libraries, providing valuable points of contact and fostering a sense of the importance of theological librarianship as a profession. It has provided leadership and direction to individual libraries, providing librarians with a focal point for voicing their concerns and their aspirations. It has been a major agency of professional enrichment, through its conferences and its newsletter. Its publications are providing a vital service to the field of theological research and have won a position of respect in the wider library community. A decade of working together has won for ANZTLA an indispensable place in the theological community. While many challenges remain to be faced and many problems remain to be solved, ANZTLA has shown that it is capable of facing the issues and providing the leadership required by the theological library community.

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The history of a library

Andrew Hamilton

To the scholar's eye theological libraries are like trees. By studying the rings of their yearly growth, much can be inferred about the seasons of the church, society, economy and intellectual fashions.

The history of the Joint Theological Library is particularly interesting, because it grafts the collections of the theological halls of the Uniting Church and of the Society of Jesus, each of which has its own history. The recent history of the library, when it has so benefited from the professional direction of Dr. Lawrence McIntosh, illuminates recent trends in relationships between the churches and the place of theological scholarship within them.

In this article I would like first to review briefly the history of the two component collections, recount the steps by which the Joint Theological Library has taken its present shape, and finally reflect on the significance of this history.

1. THE BEGINNINGS OF THE COLLECTION.

The Uniting Church

The history of the Uniting Church Theological Hall library is substantially the history of the Ormond College Theological Hall library. Its matrix is theological education in the Presbyterian Church, although after the formation of the Uniting Church of Australia, many books from the theological libraries of the Methodist and Congregationalist churches were added to the collection.

By the middle of last century the Presbyterian church in Victoria had grown quickly enough to make clear the need for more ministers, and so to inspire proposals to establish a local theological college for their education.

In 1859 a committee reported to the Assembly on the issue, and seven years later Adam Cairns, one of the strongest supporters of the college, began teaching candidates in different manses in Melbourne. In 1871, the theological college found a more permanent home in the Assembly Hall in Collins Street. Adam Cairns' books formed the basis of the small library, which in 1877 was made available as a resource to ministers of the church.

In 1878 the Assembly took up an offer made earlier by the Government of ten acres of land for the construction of a university college. Due to the gener-

osity of Francis Ormond the college, modelled upon the main building of the University of Glasgow, was quickly built.

The Assembly believed that the institution would meet a double need: for a residential college housing students at Melbourne University (whose statutes forbade the teaching of theology), and for a theological school where future ministers of the church could reside and receive their theological education. The theological function largely explains the enthusiastic support which the college received from the church. This was shown, for example, in the strong public response to statements in *The Age* that theology should not be taught within the university colleges.

The intended relationship between the dual functions of the college also found expression in the plans made by the Assembly for the administration of the College. Originally the Assembly had hoped to attract to the college a professor of theology of such attainments that he could act as Principal of the Hall and President of the College, while a more junior assistant would be Master of the College. But as it could not find a suitable candidate for the double position, it appointed John MacFarland as Master, without elaborating in detail the relationship between Theological Hall and College. Under the splendid leadership of MacFarland, who had a close relationship with Lawrence Rentoul, Professor of the New Testament and the strongest personality among the teaching faculty, the dual functions of the college were fulfilled harmoniously. But the absence of written prescriptions and of institutions through which the relationship could be embodied contained the seeds of future tensions.

By 1883 the Hall library had grown to some 4,000 volumes, and was probably housed in Room K (now the Kaye Scott Room), also used as a classroom. The Theological Hall Committee, however, considered that the library was so inadequately funded that it met neither the students' needs nor the standards of Presbyterian theological scholarship. The content of the collection reflected the prevailing style of teaching, which relied heavily on the transmission of information by lectures and on text books of a systematic kind. Like most theological libraries of the time, it received few periodicals.

In 1922, a new Library, named in honour of John MacFarland, occupied what is now the College chapel. It housed the collections both of the theological hall and of the college, under the direction of the theological hall librarian who was also a member of the theological faculty. The strengths of the hall library, for the most part an undergraduate collection, lay in theology, biblical studies and texts, and in Scottish church history, biases which reflected both the church tradition and the scholarly interests of the librarians. Complaints about inadequate funding continued to be voiced.

After the Second World War, the interests and energy of the members of the teaching faculty influenced the development of the collection. Duncan MacNicol and Davis McCaughey introduced into their classes and their teaching the work of contemporary schools in the fields of New Testament and systematic theology, while about the same time George Yule, to whom I am

indebted for this history, built an excellent collection in Reformation history. The cooperation in teaching between the theological halls of Queens and Ormond, which long preceded the union of the churches, also allowed Colin Williams and Eric Osborn to contribute to the development of the library resources in the fields of systematic theology and patristics.

The expansion of the collection was matched by the development of library services. A proposal to build a new library, also named after John MacFarland, was made by the Theological Education Committee, taken up by the college, largely funded by collection within the church, and finally built to house both college and theological collections. It also provided a common room for the theological students.

At the same time a trained librarian was employed, and the theological collection which in 1907 had been catalogued according to the Dewey System, was recatalogued, using the Union Theological Seminary system.

The Society of Jesus

The history of the Jesuit Library is more recent, although its antecedents also date from the middle of the last century. The Australian Province of the Society of Jesus had had two foundations. First, the Austrian Jesuits came to South Australia in 1848, the Year of Revolutions. Their mission, which included a strong commitment to Aborigines, was centred in Norwood, but they also planned to set up a large college in Sevenhill in the Clare Valley, which would become a seminary where priests could be educated by the best standards of the time in the training of priests, and which would eventually become a home of scholarship. Some books from their own university of Innsbruck had made their way to Sevenhill, reflecting the turbulence of a time when the Jesuits were being expelled from many countries.

The Irish Province in turn sent Jesuits to Melbourne in 1865, and soon afterwards established works in Melbourne, Sydney and Adelaide. Candidates who joined the Society of Jesus in Australia went overseas to study the humanities, philosophy and theology. But when the Australian region moved towards independence by becoming a vice-province in 1931, John Fahey, the newly named vice-provincial, prepared to educate Australian Jesuits in Australia. He had Loyola College built as noviceship and as a site for studies in the humanities. Canisius College was also constructed in Sydney's market garden area of Pymble in order to house the students of philosophy. He hoped that Canisius would later become a fully equipped college for the teaching of philosophy and theology, and so obviate the need for Australian Jesuits to study theology overseas.

The Second World War, however, syncopated the timetable. Because students could no longer safely travel overseas, studies in philosophy and humanities were based at Loyola College, and small libraries in those areas established there. Theological studies were undertaken at Pymble, and the task of establishing a theological library under the most unfavourable conditions fell to John Phillips, who was later to take responsibility for the Central Catholic Library.

The building of all three collections - in humanities, philosophy and theology - was commenced in identical fashion. The librarians sent delegations to the other Jesuit houses of the Province to beg for books, and so by flattery or moral pressure to prise them loose from their owners. They also had a budget for buying books, exiguous as were all budgets in a financially straitened province. It could be stretched, however, by judicious buying at second hand sales. Fr. Phillips also armed himself with a Permit for Trading with the Enemy, but found the Enemy little inclined to trade, especially in theology.

After the war, the budget continued to be small and the library grew partly by serendipity. When visiting Ireland on sabbatical, for example, one of the faculty saw and bought the Migne sets of Latin and Greek Fathers at a cost of one pound per bound item. It proved a bargain, for in many cases two or three volumes had been bound together to form a single item.

As was the case at Ormond, a member of the theological faculty served as librarian, assisted by some of the students. The arrangement of the collection corresponded to the domestic style of teaching then favoured. The books were gathered according to subjects, but were not catalogued. In most subjects the students were given text books, while the principal other reference works were kept outside the teacher's door. For the other items in the collection, browsing and word of mouth formed effective enough means of retrieval in a college where teaching institution and home were coterminous. By 1965 the library held about 30,000 items, with particular strengths in biblical studies and in historical theology of the Roman Catholic tradition.

Reflections

There are many common themes in the development of the Presbyterian and Jesuit theological libraries. The first is the large gap between vision and the means of implementing it. It was a commonplace of speeches to Assembly that the Theological Hall should be endowed with a library which would be a rich storehouse of Christian literature and an inspiration for the nation. But this splendid vision had to be realised upon a budget of twenty pounds a year, supplanted by gifts.

The Jesuit collection, too, although seen as the foundation of what it was hoped would be a great theological college, was also limited by the paucity of funds, which affected the cataloguing and housing of the books, as well as the purchase of new items. In both cases, too, reliance on gifts and on serendipity for building the collections also made it difficult to ensure the quality and balance of the collection.

Secondly, the development of the collections can be correlated with the content and style of undergraduate teaching. In both institutions, teaching took place predominantly through lectures in which teachers summarized and evaluated contemporary scholarship, with the aid of systematic text books. The early Presbyterian curriculum was influenced by Calvinist scholasticism, while the Jesuit curriculum reflected the prevailing neo-scholasticism. Both lent themselves to the use of manuals or textbooks in which doctrine could be exposed systematically, with the support of select bibliographies.

A third feature common to both libraries was the reliance on the generosity of members of the teaching faculty who acted as librarians. This arrangement was advantageous in that the libraries were administered for the most part by people who cared about books and were familiar with the methods and demands of scholarship. The influence of the scholar-librarians also explains some of the peculiar strengths of each collection. But because these were amateur librarians, collection building and the ordering of the libraries developed anomalies and inconsistencies as one librarian yielded place to another.

A fourth aspect common to both libraries, although intangible, was the complex set of relationships between the vision of the church, its day to day priorities, the orientation of the theological college and the interests of the students. All of these were constantly changing, but they affected the place played by the library in the theological curriculum, the funding which was available to it and the emphases within the building of the collections.

Finally, a source of tension specific to the Theological Hall Library was the relationship between hall and college. While the interest of the College lay in establishing a general undergraduate collection which would allow free access to the students of the college to the library as a place of reference and of study, it was in the interests of the Hall to build an irreplaceable specialist collection of theology, where proper security and professional care were essential. Moreover, as the College became more secular in its orientation, and the composition of the student body at the Hall more diffuse, the effects of this diversity of interest could be exacerbated by the loose way in which the relationship between Hall and College had historically been defined.

2. TOWARDS A SHARED LIBRARY (1967-1975)

The Jesuit move to Melbourne

In 1969 the Jesuit Theological College moved to Melbourne, and over the next years slow steps towards developing a shared library were taken. The story of these years is of the generous hospitality of Ormond College and of the Theological Hall, and of significant change to the Jesuit library in its new environment. Hence the history of the Joint Library in these years is largely the history of the Jesuit struggle to order its library collection in Melbourne.

The move to Melbourne shaped but did not originate the Jesuit desire to order the collection in a more professional way. Even before the theological college left Pymble, plans to improve the library had been made, driven by changes in the teaching of theology and by competent and energetic administration of the library.

Like other theological colleges and seminaries within the Roman Catholic world, Canisius College had been affected by the changes of orientation introduced at Vatican II. In particular, the Council's concern to develop open and enquiring relationships with other churches and with the world outside the churches required forms of teaching theology which would prepare Jesuits for this environment. While the text books which had been in use were

manifestly inadequate for the new tasks, it was clear, too, that a more open style of teaching would demand a more sophisticated use of library resources.

The decision made in principle some years before to transfer the theological college to Melbourne had also drawn attention to the limitations of the library. The decision was initially based on the desire to allow more effective use of the Jesuits engaged in teaching theology. For besides the commitment to Canisius College, the Province was also responsible for administration and teaching in the diocesan seminaries in Melbourne.

These commitments to change created the opportunity for developing the library. But that the opportunity was seized was largely due to the energy of Jim Lyons, then a theological student at Pymble. He had cut his teeth in the humanities library of Campion College in Melbourne, the residence of Jesuits studying at the university, and despite his lack of professional qualifications in the area, combined a broad vision with a close grasp of detail. His ability to argue a well-costed and cogent case won him approval to put the Canisius College library on a professional basis. Jim's lack of attachment to money and consequent ability to treat it with total freedom often aroused anxiety in those who were persuaded by the professionalism and logic of his submissions, but who also bore financial responsibility for the consequences.

In 1966, Jim Lyons was encouraged to make the library a more effective resource for local and visiting scholars. His first step was to classify the collection, and after exhaustive consideration of the options, he decided wisely on the Union system. The projected cost of classification was considerable, and marked a greatly expanded commitment by the Province to the Library.

At the same time he also gave thought to the future shape of the library, seeing it essentially as the central theological resource of the Province, of which other community collections would effectively be branch libraries. The holding, ordering and distribution of books would be centralized.

By 1967, the Province had bought a number of terrace houses in Royal Parade for a theological college. As it was assumed that these houses would be demolished in favour of a conventional, if modern, seminary, Jim Lyons accordingly drew up detailed plans for a library on the premises, which would hold 100,000 books, cater for 100 readers and have four full-time staff members. It would be a professionally administered domestic Jesuit library which would however be open to the wider theologically literate public.

Ecumenical contacts

Even before this proposal could be rejected on the grounds of cost, however, it was overtaken by events. It proved impossible to build before moving to Melbourne, for not all the terrace houses on the site had yet been bought.

Furthermore, after the site in Parkville was bought, the ecumenical possibilities of the move to Melbourne became apparent. To explore these possibilities a few of the students were encouraged to study for the Bachelor of Divinity Degree awarded by the Melbourne College of Divinity, who later became the first Roman Catholic students to take out the degree. At this time the prescriptions and bibliography of the degree largely reflected a conven-

tional Protestant theological framework. During 1968, too, a succession of student delegations was sent to Melbourne to meet staff and students at the Theological Hall and to attend lectures there. The results of these contacts were that the locals discovered the aliens to be human, the visitors found the natives friendly, and both parties increasingly saw as desirable ecumenical cooperation in teaching and studying.

Both these decisions—to move to Melbourne before a new college could be built and to explore ecumenical cooperation in the teaching and study of theology—affected the library. For now temporary accommodation would need to be found for it, while its future shape had to be considered in relationship to the collections of possible ecumenical partners.

As these new elements were being pondered, the immediate problem of proper storage and the longer term future of the library were given some resolution by the generosity of Davis McCaughey, then Master of Ormond College. He offered the Jesuits the use of class rooms in Ormond College for classes, some 1,600 feet of shelving in the MacFarland library and for the storage of Jesuit books, the use of Wyselaskie Hall, a large and - for most purposes - impracticable space. This generous gesture, which guaranteed the immediate future of the Jesuit collection, embodied Dr. McCaughey's own commitment to ecumenism. At this time he was taking a prominent part in the discussions which led to the formation of the Uniting Church.

At the same time, George Yule, who was then teaching Church History at the Theological Hall and was a strong protagonist of church union, proposed a larger ecumenical vision for the future library. He argued that a new college library, which Queens College was proposing to build, should include space for the theological collections of all interested parties and so be a national cultural resource.

The problem was to finance the venture. If it were to win support from the Universities Commission, it would need to be seen as more than a theological enterprise. So, its advocates tried to interest all the Melbourne theological colleges in it and to present it as an enterprise which would be of great cultural and civic as well as of religious value. But by the end of 1968 the grand design was dead. The Universities Commission did not see itself as free to make funds available to a theological library, most of the theological colleges wished to maintain their own libraries; no alternative sources of funding could be found.

Although it was abortive, this proposal was an important stage in the development of the Joint Library, for in their discussions both faculties had to explore ways of resolving the difficulties which faced the amalgamation of libraries. The most pressing of these difficulties was how to maintain the ownership, flexibility and integrity of the individual collections which would compose the joint library. The amalgamation of the medical libraries of Harvard and Boston proved to offer a helpful and detailed precedent for later arrangements between the Ormond and Jesuit theological collections.

The first years following the Jesuit move from Sydney, however, were occupied with the construction of a new style of life in changed circumstances.

As a result the ecumenical hopes for cooperative teaching continued to be no more than hopes. The immediate impetus to develop the library reflected more the desire to bring order out of chaos than the need to accommodate changed forms of teaching.

Apart from summer schools and classes in pastoral care which were important for beginning friendships with the students of the Hall, Jesuit students for the most part attended only Jesuit courses. Only the location of their classes at Ormond College was a declaration of ecumenical intentions. The Jesuit courses were supported by a small library at Jesuit Theological College where the central works of reference within each subject were held.

The ordering of the Jesuit library

In the meantime, Wyselaskie Hall had been refurbished at Jesuit expense as a temporary library, a concrete floor installed, and new shelving, new heating and lighting added. Since the structure proved too weak to accommodate a mezzanine floor, there was inadequate space to store all the books, which had arrived from Pymble in 440 large boxes.

The problem of space was exacerbated by Jim Lyons' energy in collecting many thousands of books from other community libraries in the Province. The initiative was timely, since many communities were renovating their libraries and wished to make their collections smaller and more modern. But the collection of these unwanted books simply transferred the problem of storage to Parkville, and for many years large boxes of books remained stored in Wyselaskie Hall and in rooms and garages in Royal Parade. The periodical assaults made on the boxes in an attempt to separate gold from dross, often displayed more enthusiasm than discernment, and led to subsequent periods of repentance. This alternation of moods saw books alternately regarded as idols to be preserved at all costs or as demons which needed to be exorcized.

The conditions under which the early librarians worked were depressing. The ancient grime and dust which Wyselaskie Hall had accumulated was augmented by the possums to which it gave a home. It was cold and dark, and the small piles of processed items seemed insignificant when set against the stacks of boxes containing unpacked books.

The task of producing order out of this chaos, of removing books from boxes and cataloguing them was undertaken with great patience and fortitude by Rev. Bill Goldsworthy, a Methodist minister, who was appointed librarian of the Jesuit collection from 1971 to 1975.

In giving a professional shape to the library, he faced the difficulties inherent in trying to wean readers from their attachment to a domestic library, where books relevant to their courses could be borrowed without formality at any time of day or night. His task was to lead them to appreciate the resources and constraints of a professional library which offered a wide range of bibliographical resources. In these years the ideal of a professional library was not always understood or appreciated by those who pined for the convenience of the domestic library. And even if the ideal was accepted, the reality necessarily fell far short of the ideal.

As the librarian worked perseveringly to order the collection, the relationship between the Jesuit collection and Ormond College was given a more formal shape by two agreements. When the Jesuits came to Melbourne it had been agreed that at the end of three years, it would be proper to make more formal arrangements with Ormond College. Accordingly, after an exchange of letters in 1971 and much painstaking discussion, the first financial agreement was signed, which committed the Jesuits to pay a fee for the use and maintenance of facilities within Ormond, and entitled them to use the MacFarland library and Wyselaskie Hall to house the collection.

The agreement was important, because it reasserted the Jesuit commitment to ecumenical cooperation in theological education and to the integration of the two library collections. The movement towards the amalgamation of the libraries was also urged by financial stringency. The wastefulness of independence was manifested graphically one day when a city bookshop received two lists of books for order, one from each collection. The two lists coincided exactly. After this agreement acquisitions ordered with the advice of the acquisitions advisers to each fund were collated, were then stamped to indicate their ownership, but were catalogued and shelved together.

The agreement of 1971 between the Jesuits and Ormond College included a commitment to revise it in 1974. This revision changed the basis of Jesuit financial support for the library from a rent for facilities which they used, to a contribution made through the Theological Hall for the staffing and maintenance of the library. The theological collections and the Ormond College collections continued to be housed together. Because Ormond College insisted reasonably that its own librarian, Miss Barbara McCrae should continue as librarian, financial constraints forced the Jesuits reluctantly to dispense with the services of Rev. Bill Goldsworthy, who had done so much to produce order out of the primeval chaos and squalor of the library.

In the negotiations, which were at times difficult, John Scullion and George Yule played leading parts. By this time Jim Lyons had begun postgraduate studies at Oxford, from which he was never to return. He died there of cancer, and his death was the occasion of an ecumenical gesture as large as Jim's own contribution to the Library. His supervisor, Maurice Wiles, completed the writing of Jim's thesis on the Cosmic Christ in Origen and Teilhard de Chardin, submitted it for examination, and saw it through to posthumous publication.

The formation of the United Faculty of Theology

In 1975 ecumenical cooperation in teaching became much more extensive than it had been previously. The catalyst was the revision of the constitution of the Melbourne College of Divinity, which allowed it to offer a taught degree, that of the Bachelor of Theology, in addition to the Bachelor of Divinity which was awarded on examination. This degree was offered within four associated teaching institutions in Melbourne, one of which, the United Faculty of Theology, was formed by the Ormond and Queens Theological Halls, the Trinity School of Theology and the Jesuit Theological College. While each of the constituent colleges could meet the requirements of its own church authorities by offer-

ing confessionally based courses, all subjects had to be approved for their academic standards both by the Senatus of the United Faculty of Theology and by the Board of Studies of the Melbourne College of Divinity. Within the UFT, courses taught and taken jointly by representatives of different traditions were encouraged.

The nascent United Faculty of Theology, like the other associated teaching institutions, soon attracted a considerable number of private students to join the candidates for ministry, drawn in part by the possibility of studying theology for a degree. It became evident that the theological colleges were not simply places of ministerial training, but a resource for the whole church.

This development affected the library in significant ways. First, it put under great pressure any residual understanding within the constituent colleges that theology was a domestic affair. Because ecumenical cooperation in teaching and studying became the rule rather than the exception, the distinction between college and community became more marked. Institutions like the Senatus and Councils in the different colleges grew in importance to handle academic business. The effect was to encourage the use of the library as a primary resource for learning and for the construction of bibliographies, and to discourage reliance on the smaller domestic libraries.

Secondly, the increasing importance of the library in the curriculum and the increase in the number of students taking theology put an increasing strain on the library, especially in terms of space, basic references and security. These pressures grew at a time when funding was limited, and while they were alleviated to some extent by avoiding duplication and by the fees which private and external students paid for borrowing from the library, these measures did little more than enable the library to meet the costs placed on it by increased demand.

Thirdly, the growth in the number of students, the formation of the Uniting Church, and the growing number of private students, also affected the library by making more apparent the divergence of interest between the university college and the theological college. For a college to offer hospitality to a homogeneous group of fifty or so students for Presbyterian ministry, many of whom had traditionally lived in the college, was very different from acting as the home for up to two hundred students from different traditions, including students for the Anglican, Catholic and Uniting Church ministry, as well as many more lay members of different churches.

Within the library itself, the university college collection called for different care than did the increasingly valuable and irreplaceable specialist resource which the theological collections had become. The latter required security, professional administration and collection-building, and the provision of bibliographical services to students and faculty. It had become increasingly difficult for a single librarian to manage both libraries and to ensure the conditions under which each library could flourish.

It was therefore a welcome and significant step in the development of the library when in 1981 the Ormond College collection was separated from the theological collection, with the students of Ormond College and ministerial

students from both Jesuit and Uniting Church retaining borrowing rights to both collections. While the theological collection remained upstairs in the MacFarland library, the college collection occupied what had been the theological students' common room. Another common room was made available to the theological students, which was however lost to them a few years later.

In the division of the library, the faculty and ministerial students of the Uniting Church, of Jesuit Theological College and of Ormond College retained the right to borrow from each collection. Barbara McCrae remained Librarian of the Ormond College Library, while Lawrence McIntosh was appointed Librarian of the Joint Theological Library.

3. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE LIBRARY 1981-

In the decade that Dr. McIntosh has had care of the collection, the library has grown and has met the needs of a more complex constituency. During these years the relics of the past have finally been reduced to order, and the library has been placed on a fully professional basis. As was the case in the beginnings of the library, its development has been shaped by limitations of funding and by its relationship to changing forms of teaching, scholarship and church life.

A professional library

The separation of the theological library from the Ormond College collection meant that the two librarians could now ensure the conditions appropriate for each collection and its readers. The security of the library and its professional rather than domestic character have been protected by keeping it locked when unattended by a trained librarian.

The division of items between college and theological libraries allowed anomalies in the systems of ordering and invoicing to be corrected. It also, however, inevitably led to some conflicting claims which were finally resolved in 1987. While the separation of the two collections reduced the sources of tension between university college and theological hall, the relationship remained occasionally tense. The divergence of interests found expression in the steady loss of space once available for the purposes of the theological library and theological hall.

The major unfinished business, however, was the large store of Jesuit books which either remained unordered in Wyselaskie Hall or were stored at Jesuit Theological College. Through the energy of previous librarians, Wyselaskie Hall had been partly ordered, and was used to store early runs of periodicals and duplicated material, as well as uncatalogued books. Earlier attempts to order these latter books had been disrupted successively by a flood and a burst water pipe, which had led them to be reshelfed in total disarray.

Over the next years Wyselaskie Hall was cleaned and possum-proofed, the literary collection removed to make room for the theological books stored at the Jesuit Theological College, and in 1983 the uncatalogued books were placed in alphabetical order. This enabled access to any item within the col-

lection either through the catalogue or by searching the shelves in Wyselaskie Hall. The initiative also created more shelf space by allowing duplicated works to be identified and withdrawn.

Both the Theological Hall and Jesuit collections contained a large number of early imprints (items printed before 1800), mostly uncatalogued, which complemented other UCA books on loan to the Baillieu Library and a substantial Jesuit collection at Campion College. In 1983, these works, over 1400 in all, were shelved in chronological order of printing, and catalogued as part of the Early Imprints Project undertaken by the National Library. The authors of the project hoped to catalogue and to make available on computer all the early imprints in Australasia. While limitation of funds prevented the project from being completed, the library has benefited by being left a record and preliminary classification of the rare books in the collection.

Lawrence McIntosh, too, built upon the work of the previous librarians in making the library more professional in its procedures and services. The remuneration of staff was placed under the conditions adopted by the Baillieu Library. These conditions included allowance for yearly promotion with its incremental increase in salary, set out provision for sick leave, long service leave, superannuation and annual holidays, and incorporated the increases in the national wage. Thus there was a clear objective base to the level of professional competence which the library could expect of its staff, and the remuneration which the staff could expect to receive.

The library, however, has continued to benefit enormously from, and indeed to rely on, the service of dedicated volunteers who have made possible many of the services which the library can offer. While it would be invidious to pick out individuals, the contribution of Pam Carswell cannot be overlooked. She had been librarian at the Central Catholic Library before its demise, and has since given her professional skills to the Joint Library.

One of the demands of a professional library is an adequate technology. This demand forms a broader dilemma which I shall discuss later, but is illustrated by the installation of a photocopier within the library. This has been an unqualified success in that it has met the demand for convenient access by students to references, and particularly to journal articles, has greatly contributed to the security of the collection, and has funded a great part of the administrative costs of the library. But the efficiency of the machine has generated increased use and so made increased demands upon staff time.

Collection building

The development of a collection building policy has remained a continuing task, and has in any case been forced by rapidly increasing costs. In 1985, for example, the cost of periodicals increased by an average of 37%, and made necessary a review of the current holdings.

It has also been important to identify the strengths and weaknesses of the collection and what could reasonably be expected of it. While in many theological areas the collection has provided only an adequate resource for under-

graduate teaching of subjects taken at the United Faculty, in some branches of biblical studies, church history and historical theology, the collection can support faculty research and postgraduate study. On the other hand, other areas which had not traditionally formed part of the taught curriculum, like missiology, homiletics and liturgy, are relatively weak.

While collection building policy has dictated how the limited resources available for acquisitions have been spent, the library has also grown by donations both from individuals and from other libraries. Where appropriate they have been added to the library, and when superfluous, they have been made available to other libraries or to students. This cooperation between libraries has enabled the library to make available to other theological libraries some valuable sets of duplicated periodicals.

Some larger donations from related libraries have been especially valuable. The distribution of the books of the Belloc House Library in 1990 and of the Campion College library in 1991 was of benefit to the joint library. Of particular value was the collection of Jesuit related material at Campion College, which has been incorporated into the library to form a rich resource for the study of Jesuit history. The library benefited, too, in 1989, when it received the library of the Ecumenical Liturgical Centre. This collection, begun by Harold Leatherland, provided the library with an excellent resource in an area in which it had not previously been strong.

More substantial additions to the library have been made through special purchase. The Love Fund of the Uniting Church, for example, has allowed for the occasional purchase of valuable works, like the Grove Dictionary of Music, which would be otherwise marginal to the collection. In 1991, too, the Jesuit funds were dedicated in part to the purchase of Professor Austin Gough's library of nineteenth century church history, which complemented an already strong collection in this area.

Cooperation in teaching

The changing patterns of undergraduate teaching and of postgraduate research have also affected the development of the library. Within the United Faculty of Theology, as in the other Melbourne theological colleges, increasingly sophisticated bibliographies have led to the development of a reserve collection and to programmes to assist students to make full use of the library resources. At the beginning of each year, for example, the library staff have guided new students around the collection and shown them how to use the library. Dr. McIntosh has also constructed bibliographical notes for each discipline to explain what reference tools are available and how they can best be used.

The establishment of the Melbourne College of Divinity and the increase in the number of students studying theology or religious studies in other tertiary institutions have also affected the library in other ways. The number of theological students in Melbourne has grown, and students from one institu-

tion have come to draw increasingly on the library resources of other institutions.

At the same time as undergraduate teaching of theology in Australia has expanded, more students have been drawn to study for postgraduate degrees. As a result the Joint Library has increasingly become a library of first resort for students and scholars around the country. The extent to which the library has been used by students and teachers within other institutions can be gauged by the number of registered borrowers and by the number of interlibrary loans requested of the library each year, which far outweigh those made by users of the library to other libraries.

The growth in the study of theology and in the interdependence of institutions has also encouraged cooperation between theological libraries. What I have said about the Joint Theological Library has been true of other libraries. As they have become more professionally administered, they have also been affected by increasing costs, and by the demand from a more diverse clientele for a wider range of professional services. The need to make the best use of limited resources by collaborating in acquisitions policies and in services has become patent.

The movement to greater professionalism and cooperation within the theological libraries of Australia began many years ago with meetings of theological librarians in Sydney, and by the first Library Consultation in 1978. It was held in conjunction with the meeting of the Australian and New Zealand Association of Theological Schools, and led to the formation of a regional group of theological librarians in Adelaide. In the following years, further consultations were held, and at a meeting in Adelaide in 1985 it was decided to form the Australian and New Zealand Theological Library Association (ANZTLA), which meets annually and publishes regular Newsletters. It has produced a directory with information on theological libraries, a set of standards for theological libraries and also a style manual. In 1987 the Victorian chapter of ANZTLA was formed, of which Philip Harvey, cataloguer for the Joint Theological Library since its inception, was the inaugural chairman.

Two tangible fruits of this cooperation between libraries are especially worth note. Under the editorship of Hans Arns, the first edition of the *Australasian union list of serials in Theological Collections* was published in 1983, and then revised in 1991. In 1988, too, the *Australasian Religion Index* began publication, and now appears twice each year, drawing largely on the time and energy of the library staff. It relies on volunteer indexers, and has already become an indispensable bibliographical tool. In these as in other ventures the staff members of the Joint Theological Library have played an important part.

In an increasingly professional library which has become the library of first recourse in many theological fields, the card catalogue seemed increasingly out of date and interconnection with the Australian Bibliographic Network an increasing necessity. The logic of library science, the advantages of

cooperation between libraries in cataloguing, and the increasing diversity, expertise and size of the public whom the library serves have all urged the adoption of contemporary information technology. Hence a decision to automate the library was taken in 1992. The first stage towards automation of the library was taken in 1993, and the second in 1994. This step, however, illustrates the tension between the increasingly professional shape of the library and the more sophisticated demands made upon it, and the continuing reality of limited funding and staffing.

In straitened times for the churches, the support and funding of the library both by the Uniting Church and the Society of Jesus have been most generous. But the efficiency of the library has been created by the generosity of a small staff in coping with large demands. In a library of more than one hundred thousand volumes, the day to day running of the library has fallen to a librarian, a cataloguer and an assistant, with part-time assistants. Library policy is made by the Board, which comprises representatives of the two traditions, who also assist the Librarian in other ways, especially with advice on acquisitions.

As a result of this lean staffing and of the generosity of the staff beyond the call of duty, out of a budget which has now reached some three hundred thousand dollars per annum, almost one half has been dedicated to acquisitions. In comparison, public libraries dedicate almost three quarters of the budget to administration and salaries.

4. THE FUTURE.

In this history of the Joint Theological Library I have identified several recurring themes: the limitations of funding, the relationship between the library and the forms of teaching and study within its constituency, and finally the relationship between the library and the concerns of the church and religious congregation which support it. These themes are interrelated, and their interplay will shape the future of the library.

It is likely that the demands made upon the library will continue to grow. All the churches have come to see the need for serious theological education for the laity. Moreover, the opportunities to study theology are also likely to increase, especially as the universities in Victoria have all offered ways in which theological subjects can be taken within their existing degrees or as part of combined degrees.

The growing number of undergraduate students and the increasing diversity of the places where theology can be taken are likely also to increase the interest in postgraduate degrees in theology. Indeed, it is a logical step for the Melbourne College of Divinity to establish a Postgraduate School. But if the postgraduate students were to rely on the library to support their research, its resources and services would need to continue to expand greatly.

Such expansion needs to be funded. At present the funding of the library is predominantly through its partners, the Uniting Church of Australia and the Society of Jesus in Australia. That funding is in historical terms very gen-

erous, and it is most unlikely that it can be maintained at its present level even in the intermediate term. For churches and religious bodies generally are supported by a declining financial base, and even though higher theological studies have been prized and generously funded by the two bodies, they must compete for resources with other priorities.

Within the churches generally, the library has been seen primarily as an essential element within ministerial education, and while their understanding of ministry extends beyond the ordained ministry, the availability of funds for theological libraries is tied fairly closely to the formation of the ordained ministry. The history of the library has demonstrated the commitment of both partners to the theological education of their candidates, and in the case of the Uniting Church in Victoria there is no reason to doubt that this commitment will continue to be focused on Ormond College.

For the Jesuits, too, the ecumenical dimension of theological education, made possible originally by the hospitality offered by Ormond College and the Theological Hall, has been and remains precious.

The Australian Jesuits, however, belong to an international body and also serve the Australasian Catholic Church. The future of Jesuit theological education therefore needs to be set within the double context of the Australian church and the international commitments of the Society of Jesus. Both contexts are complex, but two aspects deserve mention here. In the first place, the number of suitable male candidates for ordained ministry has declined sharply both in Australia and in many English speaking regions of the Society, so that in the further future the possibility of consolidating resources in fewer theological colleges in Australia and internationally may seem attractive.

Secondly, in recent years the Society of Jesus has emphasized the place which justice and culture have in the proclamation of the Gospel and in ministry. Both these emphases entail an international perspective on ministry and on education for it, and will shape theological education in ways that have yet to be defined.

Because the library and its funding are tied so closely to the education of Uniting Church ministers and of Jesuits, the factors which affect the future of their studies, will also affect the future of the library. Given inevitable financial pressures, if the Joint Theological Library continues to depend as heavily as it has done on the two partners, its future may well be one of orderly contraction and not of expansion.

If the demands made upon the library argue for expansion and the constraints upon the funding bodies argue rather for contraction, the resolution of the tension would seem to lie in finding alternative sources of funding. Three of many possible options merit mention.

In 1991 one possible way forward was opened, when the Library applied for and was granted tax-exempt status for donations. This makes possible future reliance on appeal to the public in order to support the library.

A second option is to extend the principle that the users of the library should pay for the services which it provides. While this principle is embod-

ied to some extent in borrowers' fees, its extension to the level which would be necessary if it were to cover library costs would be as odious as it is in other areas of public life. The cost of supporting a postgraduate collection, for example, is about \$100,000 each year, and if costs of this order were totally borne by students, the higher study of theology within the churches would be devastated.

A third way of ensuring that theological teaching and research in Melbourne can be properly supported by adequate library facilities is to pool the resources devoted to the many theological libraries in Melbourne, in order to avoid duplication and develop areas of specialization. Indeed, visitors have often expressed wonder that Melbourne can support four or five large institutes for the teaching of theology, and have urged the importance of rationalization and cooperation.

A grand proposal of a single theological library is unlikely to win much more support than it did in 1969, because libraries have traditionally been associated with the teaching of ministerial candidates. In the intermediate future, at least, many churches will wish their candidates to be educated within institutions which represent exclusively their own tradition, and to maintain their own libraries.

The three theological colleges in Melbourne in which Catholics participate, however, may come under considerable pressure. For all Catholic colleges and religious congregations have fewer students for ordained ministry than they did when the existing institutions were established. Moreover it is also possible that the recently established Australian Catholic University will eventually offer theology at a level appropriate for ministerial formation. It is not inconceivable, then, that there will be pressure to amalgamate. Such an outcome could conceivably make more resources available to support a specialist theological library.

When we reflect on the future of the library, we are inevitably led to speculation. But it remains sure that the future of the library, like its past, will be moulded by its relationship to the movements in the churches and in society which have shaped theological education in Australia.

Developing our collections cooperatively

SOME PRACTICAL
CONSIDERATIONS

Barbara Frame

Every librarian must dream, at least now and then, of the self-sufficient library: large enough to fulfil every request, no matter how trivial or how lofty, providing breadth and depth in every subject, representing every point of view in a fair and balanced way, funded well enough to keep up with the rate of publication, and staffed accordingly.

Such an ideal state of affairs has seldom been a reality, even during the relatively affluent years of the 1950s, 60s and 70s. In its day the myth perhaps performed the valuable function of stimulating the growth of local collections to support local research (Mosher 1985, p.22). But the institutions which we serve have not often been over-generously funded, and libraries have not always been as well provided for within the institution as they might have. During recent years they have taken at least their fair share of across-the-board cuts. Funding cuts to libraries may not be greatly noticed in the short term, and when, inevitably, the damage is eventually noticed it is usually too late for it to be repaired effectively.

Today, as theological publishing continues unabated, prices rise, library users become or appear to become ever more demanding, and our budgets continue to shrink in real if not dollar terms, the ideal can only seem increasingly remote. Librarians have a responsibility, both to their libraries and to their institutions, to expect cuts, when they are made, not to be disproportionate or unfair, and to protest vigorously if necessary. But, whatever degree of economic difficulty we find ourselves facing, we all need to explore budget-stretching measures in ways which are both creative and responsible.

For many years now, librarians have practised resource-sharing, developing and refining ways of making their collective resources available to all. In recent years there has been increasing discussion about not only sharing available materials, but about purposefully developing collections in a cooperative way so as to increase the total of materials available to be shared.

We all like to talk about the merits of cooperating: discussion of the subject usually produces a warm, comfortable, self-righteous glow. Unfortunately, the mechanisms of developing acceptable, workable cooperative collection development schemes are much more complex than those involved in resource sharing, and it is probably for this reason that such schemes are rarely translated from the plans for serials cancellation, weeding, and the storage of little-used materials.

The choice of suitable partners is obviously important if cooperative schemes are to prove beneficial to all concerned. In general, there should be at least rough parity of goals, collection size, and user population. Theological seminary libraries within the same city are obviously good candidates for cooperation, whereas a small unspecialised library would find it difficult to cooperate with a large research library without producing distorted or inappropriate results (Sloan 1991, p.71). It could be, however, that two seemingly dissimilar libraries decide to cooperate in one of two clearly defined areas common to both, such as pastoral studies or worship materials. It will be essential for each partner to have an established system for collection development (Rutstein 1985, p.7). This may seem obvious, but a library where book orders are routinely and unquestioningly made in response to academic staff recommendations, without much thought for overall development, is likely to have real problems in terms of its own independence and direction when it starts cooperating with others.

Cooperation may be bilateral, as when two libraries enter into an exclusive arrangement, or multilateral, involving three or more partners. Complications may arise if some libraries enter into more than one agreement, with attendant possibilities of conflicting obligations (Bril 1991, p.251). Unilateral cooperation sounds like a contradiction in terms, but it need not be: it is perfectly possible for a single library with access to a national database to shape its collection in such a way as to complement the collections of its neighbours (Hewitt and Shipman 1987, p.197).

Before any consideration at all can be given to drawing up agreements, it will be necessary for all parties to have clear and reliable information about the size and subject strengths and weaknesses of the libraries concerned. 'Cooperation cannot even begin until libraries are able to communicate with one another about their collections on both an item-by-item and a categorical basis' (Bennett 1984, p.260). *Conspectus* results, if available, will prove valuable here. If *Conspectus* is neither completed nor possible in the short term, a less exhaustive method of evaluation such as bibliographic checking or user survey may prove useful (see Lancaster 1988 or Lockett 1989). It will also be necessary to have clear understandings about special local conditions, particular needs, or idiosyncrasies.

Once the nature of existing collections has been clearly defined and well understood, serious thought can be given to deciding on the bases for future cooperation. Each library, obviously, will need to continue collecting in its

'core' area. In an academic library this will mean that it continues to provide the materials needed for undergraduate courses at the institution. It is the materials which are within the collecting scope of the libraries concerned, but peripheral to this 'core', which are susceptible to cooperative collection.

In a simple form, cooperative collection may mean just the avoidance of unnecessary duplication of individual titles. This will certainly make everyone's money go further, but if it is carried too far it may lead to the development of quite spotty and uncoordinated collections, and it is certainly not the way to build up good research collections. 'Unless this practice is undergirded by some other plan, or unless the collections involved already have a very high degree of complementary strength, the only apparent long-range result will be a non-duplication aggregation of books.' (Peterson 1978, p.86) It may also encourage librarians to avoid or delay the purchase of expensive materials in the hope that someone else will acquire them first.

Cooperation at this level is probably practised to some degree, informally, by most libraries, and is likely to be most noticeable where periodical subscriptions and standing orders for series are concerned.

A more complex but also more logical basis for cooperation is subject specialisation, with specifically assigned collecting responsibilities. It should be undertaken only after careful analysis of existing subject strengths and weaknesses, and after discussion with administrative and teaching staff about present and likely future teaching and research needs. In theological libraries some basis for this may already be present in existing strengths in denominational materials, and it may be possible to extend into subject specialisation along similar lines. Careful consideration must be given to the nature of subject breakdowns, keeping in mind library size and other relevant considerations. As Line (1988, p.177) points out, 'Subject boundaries are far from clear-cut, and gaps and overlaps inevitably occur.' This is especially true where libraries are using different classification schemes. It may be practical to define subjects as large areas, such as church history, or there may be good reasons to divide collecting responsibility into smaller units (Pankake 1985, p.97). In the case of church history this could mean a breakdown based on historical period, denomination, country, or other aspects.

As library budgets effectively shrink, expenditure on 'core' items, for which heavy use can reasonably be predicted, is likely to be proportionally greater, and there is probably no alternative to this. What suffers is the purchase of peripheral, foreign language, or research material. In this area frequency of use is not an indicator of value. Much of it may be seldom used, but access to it is vital to sound scholarship. It is often expensive and sometimes difficult to acquire, and as such is an obvious candidate for cooperative collection, especially within a subject framework.

Also not to be overlooked are 'historical' materials, whose value may be considered to have diminished because of usefulness in thought, social change, or scientific development, but which can still be considered important for

their historical value (Peterson 1978, p.84). Any cooperative plan needs to consider whether historical materials are to be acquired, on what basis, and by whom.

Cooperation on the basis of format also merits consideration, especially where relatively expensive equipment such as CD-ROM players or microform reader-printers are concerned: it may make sense for one library in a given area to own or at least house a particular piece of equipment and all the library materials relevant to it.

In deciding on which bases for cooperation best meet their needs, libraries will need to take their own particular needs into account, and it may well be that a combination of bases suits them best: for example, a decision to concentrate on just a few important subject areas, while avoiding unnecessary title duplication for the rest. For the nervous cooperating partners this could be a positive start which could be expanded as confidence developed.

Because so much is at stake in cooperative acquisitions projects - access to library materials, time, money, and even the reputations of libraries and librarians - verbal or informal collecting agreements simply will not do. Some form of written contract is necessary, and it should be as specific and as detailed as possible. It should be ratified at the highest level of the library administration, and at an appropriate level of the institutions concerned (Shearhouse 1977, p.115). Each participating library should have its own collection development policy with its cooperative responsibilities clearly written in.

The agreement should clearly state the goals and objectives of the cooperative scheme. It will need to cover not only future collecting but other related collection management issues such as preservation, weeding, and storage. It may be that in the light of the agreement some relocation of existing library materials, which may or may not involve actual ownership changes, will be seen as desirable. There may be a wish for some very expensive library materials to be purchased in the future by the consortium, and therefore jointly owned. There will probably be a need for each of the partners to make specific funding commitments to the area for which they are taking responsibility, and for the responsibilities of the staff in each library to be clearly delineated. There may be a requirement for libraries to consult their partners when planning serials cancellations.

Access to the collections also needs to be considered carefully if the shared pool of materials is to be truly available to all. Possibilities include reciprocal membership at all the libraries involved, improved document delivery systems, or the increased use of existing interlibrary loan schemes. Appropriate levels of bibliographic description, and mechanisms for shared access to bibliographic records, should be agreed upon.

The agreement should also provide for its own monitoring and review. It should specify which staff members are responsible for its implementation, and how often and under what conditions they should meet to discuss its progress. Ideally, it will not be so cumbersome and complicated as to be unworkable, and will have its own built-in flexibility. It should contain contin-

agency plans for expanding, contracting, or rearranging the terms of the agreement, and for remedying deficiencies in the agreement as and when they become apparent. It should also make provision for the eventuality of one or more of the partners, for economic or other reasons, finding themselves unable to continue.

Shared databases and bibliographic networks can greatly facilitate cooperative collection development. Their absence is a disadvantage, but need not be a total barrier. Libraries which are not automated can still share information and their collecting activities by exchanging lists and copies of orders placed, and by indicating a willingness to respond to telephone inquiries about their holdings or intentions. By planning automation jointly, rather than separately, they may be able to ensure the best possible common access in the future.

Most people who are not librarians have never heard of cooperative collection development, and they may find the notion that the library is no longer conducting its business in the traditional manner to be disturbing or even threatening. It is at this point that cooperation becomes not just a procedural or technical matter but a political one as well (Branin 1991, p.82). And, as in other political spheres, suspicion and hostility need to be defused effectively by the provision of relevant and comprehensible information, effective communication, sensitivity to needs and concerns no matter how they are expressed, and the building up of trust. Once non-librarians comprehend the reasons for the changes, and come eventually to enjoy the benefits, their alarm is likely to dissipate and perhaps even turn to appreciation.

Particular care is needed in relations with the institution, without whose goodwill no library can function smoothly. It is important for it to be clearly understood by those with power over funding that the objective of cooperation is to provide better service, not to save money. This point may have to be made firmly and repeatedly.

There are also questions of pride in the self-sufficiency that institutions like to assume has previously existed, and there may also be problems with lack of trust, particularly where cooperation with other religious denominations is concerned: ancient prejudices have a way of surfacing from time to time.

There is also a sense in which cooperation appears to contradict the spirit of the times. As academic institutions increasingly adopt the business world's competitiveness and market-oriented philosophy (Davinson 1989, p.21), ideas about cooperation and sharing may seem outdated and even quaint. It is up to librarians, whatever their private opinions of the prevailing ethos may be, to convince their employing bodies that cooperation means efficient use of existing resources, and that access to a wide range of materials is potentially more beneficial to the institution than possession of a smaller range of materials.

A great deal of thought must also be given to relationships with library users. Academic staff and students will need to be reassured that core teaching materials will continue to be available on site. Where materials covered

by the agreement are concerned, they are unlikely to understand instinctively that cooperation will produce an enlarged pool of available materials. They may agree with the scheme's objectives in principle, but initial practical difficulties may diminish their approval. 'Faculty members are noted for many things, but a desire to share their resources does not happen to be one of them' (Munn 1983, p.353). What they are likely to notice first are the negative effects: reduced local collecting in certain areas, accompanied by more frequent needs to obtain items from elsewhere. It will be necessary to assure them that where, previously, a single library tried to be responsive to their needs, this responsibility has now been assumed by a group of libraries. A joint library guide may make the new arrangement seem more understandable and accessible. (Mosher and Pankake 1983, p.428).

If the scheme is to succeed, good working relationships between the participating libraries will be crucial. It is 'at the basic level of human communication that cooperative collection development must succeed or fail' (Mosher 1987, p.30). Regular, productive communication will be essential, possibly in the form of regular scheduled meetings between the librarians or specified members of staff. Each partner will have to feel able to trust the other librarians' subject and collecting expertise, and there will need to be clear understandings about readership levels, individual collection development policies, and special lending policies. There may need to be mechanisms for making suggestions and recommendations in ways that cannot be perceived as threatening.

It is also important for the staff of each library, not just those involved in drawing up and implementing the agreement, to understand its nature and purpose, and for an appreciation of it to form part of the training of new staff.

'The issue before us is the quality of the research environment and the books and the other materials available to it' (Mosher 1985, p.27). Librarians will need to be bold, imaginative, and innovative in their approach to the provision of resources in the twenty-first century. They will need to develop, through good ideas and practical expertise, models for others to follow, recognising that, while the objective of providing the best possible access to the widest possible range of materials remains constant, the methods of collection, distribution, and delivery may need to adjust to suit changing times, materials, and needs.

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A directory of theological libraries and collections of theology

Coralie E J Jenkin

Collections of religion and theology in Australia and New Zealand (CORT) (Jenkin 1992) is a directory of theological libraries and collections of theology in libraries, although originally it was confined to Judaeo-Christian theological libraries and collections on Judaeo-Christian materials. It was written to assist people to locate and have access to collections of theological materials, therefore both theological libraries and collections of materials in libraries other than theological libraries were recorded. These include special collections in academic, college, public, special and state libraries and the national libraries of Australia and New Zealand.

Those libraries with collections of theology which were excluded from CORT were libraries in schools and churches because most have small collections with little or no unique material and limited access. Personal libraries were judged to be lacking public accessibility and therefore they, with other libraries which do not allow access by members of the public, were excluded because they fell outside the objectives. Archives were excluded from CORT because they can be located through Leo Ansell's *Register of church archives*, although some libraries which contain archives are listed in both books. To allow the widest possible representation of faiths in this book some exceptions were made to the guidelines. For example, the Armenian Apostolic Church (Chatswood, NSW), the Unitarian Church of South Australia (Norwood, South Australia) and Christian Science Reading Rooms which are attached to Christian Science Churches, were included because no other replies were received from libraries which held materials on these faiths.

CORT was written in response to the need for a current directory of collections of theological materials. Before the publication of CORT the most recent guide to theological libraries in Australia and New Zealand was Paul Drakeford's *The Australian & New Zealand Library Directory*. As this directory

was published in 1974 with materials collected from 1970 to 1971 it was out of date and therefore of limited value to people looking for collections of theology in the 1990s. Since it was published many new libraries had opened, and others closed, including the much lamented St Michael's House Library which was destroyed by bush fires on Ash Wednesday 1983 (Zweck 1983). An additional reason for a new directory was that while some theological libraries are listed in directories of academic libraries and others in directories of special libraries (a few appear in both) many smaller collections of theology are not listed in any library directory. Collections of theology in other libraries and especially collections on smaller faiths were difficult to locate. These concerns led to the belief that a new directory was needed.

In December 1987 the first step was taken in the preparation of CORT. Paul Drakeford, who was librarian at Ormond College at the time his directory was published and who by 1987 was Technical Services Librarian at Preston Institute of Technology, was interviewed. He agreed that a new directory was needed and gave invaluable advice on the project as well as permission to use copyright material. Paul Drakeford sent the questionnaire for his directory to ninety-five institutions in Australia and New Zealand during 1970-71. With the exception of the special collections of Christian theology held by the National Library of Australia, Drakeford included only Christian theological libraries and personal collections in his directory. In comparison, CORT included a wider range of libraries and collections but omitted personal libraries.

Following the interview with Paul Drakeford, the directories listed below were examined for the names of libraries and institutions which fell within the guidelines in order to create a database of libraries to be surveyed. Directories consulted included those of academic, special and public libraries to find the names of libraries with holdings of Judaean-Christian materials; directories of churches, church associations and courses of higher education were reviewed for the names of institutions teaching theology; directories of higher education were consulted for the names of universities in order to request a list of their residential colleges, some of which are church funded with libraries holding collections of theology. Members of the Australian and New Zealand Theological Library Association contributed names of libraries through first hand knowledge.

A particularly useful directory was *Guide to training for service* published annually in *On Being*, a journal closely associated with the Baptist Union of Victoria. This is a guide to institutions teaching courses in Christian theology in Australia, many of which have libraries that are not listed in other directories. ("Library: 500 [books] and growing!!!" was the entry for three consecutive years.)

The database grew rapidly as new libraries were discovered through these directories. This material was sorted into an ever-increasing number of files, while printed information about each library was pasted into folders, and each entry was indexed and cross-referenced. To control the information and

to allow cross-checking, automated files were created through a computer word-processing package. Letters were sent to institutions to gain answers to questions which arose from new information, for example, letters to find out whether libraries still existed when no recent information about them was available; letters to institutions which shared an address in order to establish whether their libraries had amalgamated; and letters to universities to request a list of their residential colleges.

Over a period of eighteen months a large database of libraries holding collections of Judaeo-Christian materials was created. Then a major change of direction took place. A number of people were consulted in order to discuss the fields of information to be used in CORT, which in turn would decide the contents of the proposed questionnaire to be sent to the libraries in the database. Among the people consulted were Lawrence McIntosh (Chief Librarian, Joint Theological Library) and Dietrich Borchardt (Chief Librarian (retired) La Trobe University) both of whom advocated the need for a directory which would encompass collections of materials on every faith practised in Australia and New Zealand. If these collections were to be included library directories would need to be checked again, this time for libraries which now fell within the scope of CORT; a survey would be necessary before a questionnaire could be prepared, in order to find other libraries with holdings of theology outside the Judaeo-Christian subject field because so few were listed in library directories; the number of libraries in the database would increase enormously, and the amount of work required and the length of time to complete the project would more than double. But the arguments were persuasive, and within twenty-four hours the subject of CORT had changed from being a guide to Judaeo-Christian theological libraries and collections of Judaeo-Christian materials to a guide to theological libraries and collections of theology in libraries. The guidelines for including types of libraries in or excluding them from CORT remained the same.

The inclusion of collections of materials on every faith forced the question of what constitutes a 'faith' or 'religion'. In order to achieve the book's objectives as well as to avoid the contentious and litigious issue of what constitutes a religion, a comprehensive understanding of religion, accepting what others defined as a faith, was adopted. Instead of defining 'religion' or 'faith' and measuring whether a collection or organisation fell within those definitions, groups which were defined as faiths by their inclusion in Ian Gillman's *Many faiths one nation* (1988) or Peter Donovan's *Beliefs and practices in New Zealand* (1985) were accepted as religious bodies for the purpose of the survey. Gillman's understanding of 'religion' is as follows:

The very term 'religion' needs some examination ... The appearance here [in Australia] after the Second World War of a variety of new faiths led in 1983 to the High Court of Australia basing a judgment on a definition of religion which is far wider than the one which had prevailed for so long ... The essentials of such an understanding are that a religion consists of a complex of beliefs and practices

which point to a set of values and an understanding of the meaning of existence: both beliefs and practices are expressed through relatedness to what is regarded as an ultimate reality (e.g. God, humanity, etc.); worked out in terms of responsible relationships with that reality, and with the cosmos and other living beings; such relationships involve both gifts to and demands upon us, expressed most often through social groups and the wider community. (Gillman 1988, p.5)

In addition to the faiths listed by Gillman and Donovan, organisations listed in the Yellow Pages of the telephone book under the heading 'churches' were accepted as religious bodies. Collections held by organisations other than religious bodies were included in CORT if the collection was claimed to be a subject specialty in an area the library described as a field of theology.

Directories were again checked, this time for the names of libraries with collections which fell outside the original scope of CORT but were now to be included. As these directories were being checked the automated indexes grew and became too cumbersome for a word-processor. A comprehensive computer programme with potential to be used in the publication of the proposed directory was written by Swinburne students Brad Cossar and Mardelina into which information about each library was entered. But because too many fields of information were used for each library it proved unsuitable for use in a publication. This was a useful, if lengthy, stage in the creation of CORT, the first decision-making exercise on fields to be used in the publication.

The survey now took place: letters were sent to more than a thousand organisations in Australia and New Zealand. These included letters to all addresses of all faiths listed in Gillman and Donovan; all orders listed in directories of the Catholic Church in Australia and New Zealand; and religious bodies listed under the heading 'Churches' in the telephone books of all capital cities in Australia and New Zealand.

Ian Gillman records forty-six faiths practised in Australia as well as discussing the place of religion in Australian life. The book was useful because it provided a current list of names and addresses of people to contact for further information on each faith and also because it clearly explains the history, beliefs and practices of each faith. Peter Donovan's directory was a useful aid to locating religious groups in New Zealand.

The second major group to which letters were sent were orders listed in directories of the Catholic Church in Australia and New Zealand. As most religious communities hold small collections for the use of their residents, the letters were sent to find out whether any of these communities held collections which were open to the public. The survey covered those few religious bodies listed under the heading 'Churches' in the telephone books of major cities in Australia and New Zealand which were not listed in any other directories. Letters were also sent to libraries which were the only one located pertaining to a particular faith in Australia or New Zealand, requesting information on other libraries of that faith.

Replies to the survey added numerous libraries to the database. But many organisations did not reply. Letters were not sent to remind people to respond because it was expected that many of these organisations would not have libraries which were open to the public.

By this stage the database contained the names of approximately eight hundred libraries in Australia and New Zealand, including those which were already known before the research began, discovered in the directories, named in replies to the survey and the previous letters of inquiry or contributed through first hand knowledge. Also public libraries which claimed a subject specialty in a field of religion (not all public libraries were included because few hold special collections of theology) and all university libraries because most hold collections of theology. The decision to include all university libraries meant coping with the massive changes taking place in the libraries of tertiary education institutions during the time of the research, especially those changes in universities in Australia caused by the Dawkins plan. During the time of this research the names and locations of many institutions changed, new universities and libraries formed, libraries amalgamated. Tertiary institutions were likened to dancers in a barn dance, changing partners several times before the music stopped, sometimes leaving them with a new partner; tertiary education was referred to as a 'growth sector' of the Australian economy. This resulted in many changes in the library world and difficulties in keeping track of institutions. Two results of the 'barn dance' which were significant to this research were the growth in the number of multi-campus universities, and the development of universities of technology, which were claimed to hold no collections of theology.

Following the compilation of the database the next step was to reconsider the fields of information required in CORT, which would determine the contents of the questionnaire. A search for information on fields to be used in a library directory located Ralph Reid's "Four-fifths format: the morphology of a library directory" (1988) in which he wrote that his search for information on this subject:

was conducted manually in *Lib lit*, *Lisa* (both back to 1972) and *Alisa* (1982+); and other sources used were citations in located articles, references included in existing library directories, and catalogues of international, Australian, British and US standards. The following types of information were searched for

- articles concerning the compilation, format standards, criteria for content data, and any other aspects of directory compilation;
- critiques of existing directories, particularly as related to content and format;
- existence of contemporary directories of which the contents could be analysed;
- existing standards relating to content criteria and format of library directories.

This search located only nine articles which had any bearing on the topic, and some of those only obliquely '...it is fair to say that there is a decided lack of discussion within the literature of the theory and practice of directory compilation'. (Reid 1988, p.11)

As this was a recent judgment based on a comprehensive literature search no further search for information on the compilation of directories was undertaken. Due to this lack of information, fields were chosen using as guides Reid's article and his unpublished *Special project report. Planning the collection and validation of data for a new edition of the publication Libraries of Sydney* (1984) as well as the fields used in other library directories, and the relevant standards - ANSI Z39.10-1971: American national standard for directories of libraries, archives, information and documentation centres, and their databases (International Standard ISO:2146 1988). Fields were chosen with a view to CORT's objective, to assist people locate, and have access to, collections of theological materials.

A test questionnaire was compiled, keeping the questions brief and clear with few explanatory notes as it was known that many people who would complete the questionnaires were not librarians. The test questionnaire was sent to fourteen libraries in the database, comprising a range of libraries of various types and sizes, representing a variety of faiths: Australian Catholic University, Christ Campus Library (Oakleigh, Victoria) - an academic library; Buddha House Library (Fullarton, South Australia) - a non-Judaeo-Christian theological library; the Catholic Family Welfare Bureau Library (Kew, Victoria) - a special library; Caulfield Public Libraries (Caulfield, Victoria) - a public library with a subject specialty in an area of religion; Churches of Christ Theological College Library (Mulgrave, Victoria) - a theological library whose librarian had a critical eye for questionnaires; College of St John the Evangelist (Auckland, New Zealand) - a major theological library in New Zealand; Great Synagogue Library (Sydney, New South Wales) - a Jewish theological library; the Joint Theological Library (Parkville, Victoria) - one of the largest theological libraries in Australia; Borchardt Library, La Trobe University (Bundoora, Victoria) - an academic library with a subject specialty in an area of theology; Redemptorist Seminary Library (Kew, Victoria) - the library of a Catholic order; Religious Society of Friends Library (Toorak, Victoria) - a small theological library which is not linked to an academic institution; State Library of Victoria - a state library with an important collection of theology; Tahlee Bible College Library (via Karuah, New South Wales) - a bible college library; Yarra Theological Library (Box Hill, Victoria) - a small theological library.

These questionnaires were all completed and promptly returned with many useful comments. Only minor revisions were required, then copies of the modified questionnaire, with a covering letter, were sent to approximately eight hundred libraries in Australia and New Zealand.

Questionnaires were completed and returned, some in less than a week while other people took more than six months to reply. Shortly after the closing date for replies letters were sent to more than three hundred 'black sheep' libraries to remind them to reply, followed by up to a dozen phone calls to each of those who had still not responded. (One respondent wrote 'I felt like the judge in the gospel: if I don't answer this woman she'll wear me out!!')

(Luke 18:2-8). But some libraries never sent replies. Thus, although the initial survey was based on a policy which aimed at a comprehensive understanding of religion in order to include in CORT the largest number of libraries so that the book's objectives could be achieved, the replies to the survey and the questionnaire determined the contents of the book and therefore the limitations to inclusiveness. From an initial survey of more than one thousand organisations questionnaires were sent to more than eight hundred libraries, and three hundred and three replies were received.

As the completed questionnaires were received they were collated, indexed, proof-read and, where possible, verified by comparing them with data collected earlier in the research. Discrepancies and errors were corrected or discussed with the respondents before changes were made. Because subject strengths listed in the replies could not be predicted question 16 'religion / theology subject strengths' did not request matching subjects to those on an authority list. Instead, using Library of Congress subject headings as a guide, an authority list was created from the replies and, where necessary, the terms used in responses were modified to correspond to those in the authority list which then became the basis of the computer-generated subject index to CORT.

There were few calls for assistance to complete the questionnaire, and only two questions were poorly answered. The first was *Question 16. Religion / Theology subject strengths. Up to four. In alphabetical order. Please note one of the following levels beside the subject: 1 Minimal. 2 Basic. 3 Instructional support. 4 Research. 5 Comprehensive.* The difficulty with this question was due to many respondents' lack of understanding of collection levels: the result was, regrettably, that collection levels could not be included in CORT. The second question which was poorly answered was number 23: *Does the library have access to ABN or NZBN? Yes / No. What type of user? ...* Some respondents commented on the users of their libraries because they assumed that the second part of the question referred to the type of people who used the library rather than to bibliographic network usage.

Unfortunately the wording of question 12, *Hours the library is open to the public*, may have led some people to decide not to reply to the questionnaire because they were afraid that 'open to the public' meant unrestricted use of the library by a limitless number of people, when, understandably, their students must be the first priority for the use of their resources. In hindsight, it would have been preferable to phrase the question *Hours the library is open* and omit *to the public*. Some libraries, after an initial refusal to reply to the questionnaire, were listed in CORT following a personal reassurance that libraries could place restrictions on public access. The following sentence was appended to the entries of those libraries which required notification of restricted access to be recorded:

Note: this library is not open to the public except for the purpose of research. Application should be made to the librarian for use of the library.

Also a note of warning was sounded in the preface:

Many of these libraries are only open to the public under certain conditions set by the libraries themselves. Theological libraries should be approached as privately owned libraries, that is, accessible only with the agreement of the owner; resources will be available for research only, not for loan, at times specified by a representative of the institution, and only if the user complies to all rules set by the institution. Many libraries were not listed in this directory because of their wariness of being 'open to the public'. I am very grateful to those libraries who allowed their libraries to be included, despite their doubts, and hope that their instructions will be heeded. (CORT 1992, p.3)

The major difficulty encountered during this research was that some institutions have libraries which they do not want made known to the public through inclusion in a library directory. Sometimes this attitude can be considered reasonable, for example, small monastic collections for the use of members of an Order are similar to personal libraries which the owners do not want to make available to strangers. Some librarians, as mentioned earlier, were alarmed by the use of the term 'open to the public' despite personal assurances of the constraints which could be placed on visitors. One librarian said that a copy of the questionnaire had been given to the church council responsible for the library because their approval was required before it could be completed; the librarian gave this reply to each subsequent telephone call and did not return the questionnaire; failure to gain permission to reply to the questionnaire may have been the reason for not receiving replies from some other libraries. Some university libraries did not respond to the survey, perhaps because the changes occurring in their libraries during the time of the research meant that they were unable easily to obtain accurate answers to the questions. But we can only conjecture why other institutions refused to give details of their libraries.

Only one 'dummy' reply was completed for a library which had not returned a questionnaire despite a number of letters and telephone calls. This was a major theological library listed in other library directories, which was understaffed and about which all the relevant information was known. Other dummy replies were not constructed, despite having sufficient information on some libraries, nor entries giving only the name and address of a library, because of uncertainty about whether the institutions wanted their libraries to be listed.

As the completed questionnaires were received and edited, instructions were written for the publisher including rules which were formulated for each field in order to standardize entries. The instructions also included a requirement that the libraries be listed in order of the name of the institution, rather than the name of the library, but with adequate indexes of all names and former names of libraries and institutions. An introduction was written, including the cautionary note on public access mentioned above. A foreword, written by Rev. Trevor Zweck, President of the Australian and New Zealand Theological Library Association, together with the introduction, completed questionnaires, index requirements - all names, places, faiths, subjects and special

collections - and instructions were sent to Alan Bundy of AUSLIB Press of Blackwood, South Australia, with whom negotiations for the publication of CORT had proceeded satisfactorily during the research. Replies were entered into a database by a librarian at AUSLIB Press. The computer generated the required indexes and CORT was published as agreed. AUSLIB Press was then responsible for the cataloguing-in-publication, advertising, sales and distribution of CORT.

The process which began with an interview of Paul Drakeford in December 1987, culminated in the completed questionnaires being sent to the publisher in August 1991, and publication of CORT in March 1992.

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Unusual collections

Marianne Dacy

In my time I have worked on projects a little out of the ordinary, or with rather unruly and specialised collections. Certainly this adds a little to the spice of life.

JERUSALEM

The first such collection was a library of Jewish and theological studies at Jerusalem, in Ratisbonne - a centre for Christian/Jewish studies. In addition, the collection was supplemented by many rare and quite unusual books, including an original David Roberts illustrated account of his travels in the Middle East in the 1850s. Students came from Africa, Germany, France, Brazil, Canada, America, England, Costa Rica and Egypt to stay at Ratisbonne, and use the resources. They participated in courses on Jewish prayer, the Desert Fathers and the Jewish background of the Gospels, or received help with the Talmud, Judaism, and with Hebrew which they were learning at a local *Ulpan* or at the Hebrew University.

The library supports these studies, as well as the classes some students were following at the Hebrew University. Books that grace the shelves are written in several languages, many of the Judaica books being in Hebrew and Aramaic. The library also has translations of these texts into German, French and English, and occasionally Spanish. Gradually, the collection has been built up by the Fathers of Sion, who owned Ratisbonne which, till 1948, had served as a vocational school for Jews and Arabs. In the late eighties, Ratisbonne was given over to the Vatican, on the condition that it would always remain a centre of Jewish-Christian studies. This meant that facilities in the centre could be upgraded, now that more finance was available.

Fr Joseph Stiasny, who has been in Jerusalem since before 1948, is largely responsible for the building up of the library's collection. Certainly it has a very good selection of Judaica, books on biblical subjects, history, geography of Israel and archaeology. It contains other works such as theology, but also treatises on the occult, black magic, novels (in several languages), philosophy, psychology and even a few stray archive papers pertaining to the trial of Adolph Eichmann. Some of the Judaica would be considered quite rare, having been acquired during the Turkish Mandate, or by Fr. Joseph, who has an

eye for a bargain, and an insatiable appetite for knowledge. There are a good number of periodicals, and a collection of pamphlets. Again, books on the Jewish background of Christianity abound, and church documents are very much in evidence. Reference works are also extensive, again in several languages. Although the collection would be considered rather small in comparison with the extensive holdings of many libraries, it nevertheless contains books in the field of Judaica not found elsewhere, even at the Hebrew University.

Over the years the volumes were collected and read, then as the collection grew, were assembled in various rooms all over the building. A decision was made in 1977 to move all these books into one area, and this was to be the new library. The only books not removed from their ensconced position in low lying wooden cupboards were the vast collection of paperback thrillers, by authors such as James Hadley Chase (in several languages) which remained in their privileged position in the common room.

In January 1977, I returned from Library School at the North London Polytechnic to organise this undisciplined collection (probably about 18000 books) into some semblance of order. It was a daunting exercise for a recent library graduate, but one for which I had been preparing myself, even so far as taking German classes at night. Cataloguing the large collection of Judaica has its own special set of problems, one of which is the dating. Many Hebrew books follow a quite complicated system of dating, which must be learnt. Although letters are given numerical values, there are variations in the method of calculation of the date. Some require the decoding of a Hebrew phrase, while others begin with the letter *tau*, the last letter of the alphabet, which is given the value of one thousand. Another traditional system of dating requires the consultation of a table in the *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, for this system dates from the Flood, so that 1993 is the year 5753 after the Flood. Other books cause problems where the publisher is omitted, and the date. I was to encounter these same problems back in Australia, when doing the occasional cataloguing of Hebrew books for the Fisher Library, at the University of Sydney.

When it came to actually organising the library, I needed to begin from the "ground up" in furnishing the library, as well as initiating the cataloguing and classification. Thus, we had special tables made for students immediately, and I added some cushions to brighten things a little. When our friend, a Bedouin trader who specialised in rugs, called again two were duly purchased. They cheered up the rather austere looking room, which was lined with grey metal shelves, and a few open wooden shelves at the entrance. An excursion into Jerusalem in search of some armchairs was successful, and this attracted my first reader, Fr. Joseph Buckley, who immediately took up a position next to the kerosene heater. I began work there in the winter, where towards the end of January it really can be quite chilly in the old stone buildings. I added a Devil's Ivy (which flourished in the Jerusalem climate), some posters: the room was beginning to resemble a place in which you would want to study (or read the Hebrew newspapers, if you found that relaxing).

My first action was to take all the books off the shelves and sort them into broad subject areas - Judaica (sources, commentaries), English Literature, Bible, History, Geography, Occult and the like. The Judaica sources - Mishnah, Talmud, and Midrash were left at the entrance area, and other reference books such as encyclopaedias and lectionaries were relegated to other wooden shelves against the back wall. In the annex I arranged the extra books - the novels, books on psychology, and philosophy - as well as another carpet and armchairs. As it would be some time before I caught up with the cataloguing and classification I colour-coded the books into subject areas. In a further annex I put the periodicals in alphabetical order. There were long runs of some of them, and others consisted of some ancient issues of quite unknown journals, which nevertheless were very interesting, and would be as gold to some scholars, as possibly we had the only issue that had survived the ravages of time and silverfish.

The kerosene heater really warmed the library, but also left a residue of black ash on the books, so that in moving the volumes, I disturbed a fine, grey ash. Within minutes my hands were the colour of soot, and I knew to wear a smock, or I would look like a chimney-sweep when I took the bus home. The bus passed the streets of Jerusalem, along the road past the markets of Mahane Jehuda, to Mount Hertzl and then down the very steep hill to Ein Karem. Many of the Israeli bus drivers drove down the hill as if the devil were after them, so it was wise to take a good grip. The road was being widened, but occasionally a vehicle went over the edge. In fact it happened a few days after my arrival in the country, but fortunately no-one was hurt. Towards the approach of winter, when the days were beginning to grow shorter, the last bus on Fridays would be earlier each week, as the Sabbath eve became earlier. At some stage I would inevitably misjudge the time, miss the last bus, and would walk home, a pleasant trek of one and a half hours.

Problems of classification

Before I returned to take charge of the library I had decided the classification system I would use would be the modified Bliss System. This was being codified and updated by the lecturers at the North London Polytechnic and seemed a promising system to use. Only the main classification tables were ready, for all the rest was in preparation. Its virtues were extolled at great length in our lectures. The old stand-by system, Dewey was shown up to be rigid, complicated, and designed for ten equal areas of knowledge, and therefore not very flexible. Bliss, on the other hand was shown to be a *synthetic* type of classification system, where limitless combinations of categories could be made with the letters and numbers. Certainly, I ruled out using the Library of Congress System, as this is designed for very large collections and would be quite difficult to use, or so I believed. I did not even consider employing UDC. We used it continually at library school, but it was a system I found quite difficult to work out, as well as being rather rigid, and conservative in its categories. Others may well disagree. I also developed a strong dislike for Dewey. Ironi-

cally, in the library where I now work, at Sydney University, the system used is Dewey. After all these years I still have not overcome my inherent dislike of it. Long numbers end up on the spines of books, but in this age of computers, barcodes are even longer, so this disadvantage pales into insignificance. I believe that basically, there is no ideal classification system that can take into account the explosion of knowledge which our modern world is experiencing.

The choice of the Bliss Classification System was not so good in practice for the library at Ratisbonne was so highly specialised in Judaica and books on Jewish/Christian relations. It seems to me, in fact, that Bliss made no real concession to the topic Jewish-Christian studies: the nearest category was *ecumenism*. On the other hand, the various rabbinic sources each had been assigned a number in the text, and it was easy to classify this material, and biblical books were well covered. As the system is synthetic, I could create my own combinations of categories. One attempt in Jerusalem was made to devise a classification system for Jewish-Christian materials, but this does not seem to have gone any further, at least in that country. The area covers such topics as: Jesus and the Jews; The Pharisees in Christian tradition; The Church's relations with Judaism; The Pope and the Jews; The Holocaust in Christian Theology; Dialogue after Vatican II; The International Council of Christians and Jews; and The Jew in English Literature. However, if I had my time again, I would use the modified system for Judaica employed at the Hebrew University Library, a cataloguing precedent for a very large proportion of the books in the Ratisbonne library. Computerisation also changes things, and the purchase of a modem can mean on-line access to the catalogues of other libraries.

The Hebrew Union College library in Jerusalem uses Library of Congress, but I would prefer to avoid using this system as it is relatively rigid, and works best in large libraries. Since the turn of the century the prestigious collection at the Ecole Biblique has been classified with a unique system of its own, worked out by one of the early librarians. Though a synthetic classification system such as Bliss enables the user to combine categories, its weakness lies in the fact that the categories need to be defined in the system for less cumbersome use. Many of the categories I needed to employ were not spelt out by the system. No doubt it could be developed.

UNION LIST OF SERIALS IN AUSTRALASIAN COLLECTIONS

In August 1982, I was transferred back to Australia. Thus it was in October 1982 that I first made the acquaintance of Dr Lawrence McIntosh at the Joint Theological Library in Parkville. Under his tutelage I began to learn about information systems used in Australia. My own special task was to list the periodical collection that had been built up over the years, so this meant working in a store room, where back runs of theological journals reaching back

into the nineteenth century had been stored, in order to make room for material that would be used more often in the main library. The journals were dusty, and showed traces of having been visited by possums. Some had quite unusual titles such as *Brother Will's monthly* or had Latin titles like *Acta ex eis decerpta quae apud Sanctum Sedem geruntur* (1869-1965). The influence of the Uniting Church and Jesuits, two denominations which had amalgamated their libraries was thus clearly reflected in the titles of some of the journals, such as the two just mentioned.

In the meantime I heard that the Australian Catholic Research Council was looking for someone to compile a listing of the theological journals received by Theological Collections throughout Australia and New Zealand. The place of work was to be St. Patrick's College, Manly, where the librarian, Hans Arns, was to be the editor and co-ordinator of the project. A few weeks after putting in my application, I received a telephone call from Mary McClelland inviting me to Sydney to take up the position, which would keep me occupied for six months. In all, I worked six weeks with Dr. McIntosh. Thus, I packed my bags, arrived in Sydney, joined the community of the Sisters of Sion in Erskineville, and each day took the ferry to Manly. By May I had completed the listing from replies sent in by some libraries, or had gone myself to some locations in Melbourne and Queensland to do the listing. There were difficulties in interpretation of some of the lists, for journals would be quoted by different names. Journals also have a habit of changing their names, of reverting back to the original one, or of being irregular in their numbering system. They are taken over on occasion by different publishers, or several journals may bear the very same title. Very often the runs of journals were incomplete, and the starting date unknown, as it had not been listed in any other journal index. This required research into the originator of the journal, and some retrospective calculation of dates. Sometimes there were problems in incomplete details in the listings. Hans oversaw the work, and Maureen his wife bravely battled with a word processor to type the whole publication. It emerged as *Australasian union list of serials in theological collections* which was shortened to AULOTS. The original listing had been made in Adelaide by Father O'Rourke, but now it had expanded to cover eighty theological collections. A new expanded edition was published by Hans Arns in 1990.

ARCHIVE OF AUSTRALIAN JUDAICA

In April 1983, a few weeks before completing the AULOTS listing, I was visited by Jennifer Alison from the Fisher Library, who wished to see the work being done on this journal bibliography, in view of supplying some funding from AACOBS (Australian Advisory Council on Bibliographical Services) which assisted in bibliographical work. At the same time there was something else in mind, for Dr Alan Crown (Semitic Studies), Dr Neil Radford and herself had just been given an initial grant of \$10,000 to set up an Archive of Australian Judaica in the Fisher Library, at the University of Sydney. Within a few days of her visit I received a call from the Fisher Library, was interviewed

by Dr Crown, and duly commenced work on the Archive of Australian Judaica project on 4th July 1983.

The Archive was classified as a Special Collection within the precincts of the Rare Books Library. Translated into practice this meant that I was given a desk in the basement, in the inner sanctuary of the Library, just adjacent to the safe where extremely valuable tomes were locked from view, and were occasionally brought out for a viewing. Incunabula and rare volumes of Josephus and the Greek philosophers graced the shelves behind my allotted space. At this stage the Archive was but an idea, for my equipment was a typewriter (personally brought over in the afternoon by Dr Crown from the Semitic Studies Department), a diary from the New South Wales Jewish Board of Deputies with a list of addresses of the major Jewish organisations in New South Wales, an article on the Australian Jewish press by Percy Marks, which had been reprinted in the journal of the Australian Jewish Historical Society, and a notebook. There was a large empty space around me, for shelves had still to be installed, and a blank wall, which reflected in no small measure the state of my mind. This was a totally new experience and assignment.

My first task was to read the article, pinpoint the journals mentioned, and then try to find where they were held. My second task was to write to every organisation mentioned in the diary and ask to be placed on their mailing list to receive their journals, newsletters and annual reports. Replies came within a few days of sending out the letters, and the journal collection began to grow. Again, negotiations had already begun for the papers of a Jewish Holocaust survivor, who had died some years earlier, and my first letter was sent to his daughter, the next day. On Monday, July 25th I picked up the first consignment of his papers from his daughter, the first of many collections I have since gathered and catalogued. Another concern I had was to seek advice on the organisation of archives, and to read a few books on the subject. Dr. Peter Orlovitch from the University of New South Wales gave me a great deal of assistance, and in 1984 and 1985 a team of his students organised the larger collections of archives which had been lodged by the New South Wales Jewish Board of Deputies and others.

The next donation to the Archive was a collection of Zionist youth magazines of the 1940s. These were carefully listed, being unique examples of their kind, and now have been used as source material for a thesis. The third archive collection consisted of the papers and journals of the Young Men's Hebrew Association, donated by Maurice Isaacs, a prominent Sydney lawyer, who died three weeks after his visit to the Archive.

One structure which greatly facilitated the Archive's work, and made it known was the setting up of publication priorities. One month after the Archive was begun, a bulletin was issued, outlining the progress and aims. This was sent to departments within the University, to other universities in Australia and to academic Jewish institutions around the world, as well as persons who expressed interest in our aims. It is still published about twice a

year. In 1986, the yearly publication of the Archive's holdings was inaugurated, and this is also distributed widely. As well as giving publicity to the Archive, this has attracted donations of records.

The Archive of Australian Judaica was begun with the very definite aims of preserving the records of the Australian Jewish community, one of the oldest non-Christian ethnic minorities in Australia. About fourteen Jews are believed to have arrived with the First Fleet, but organised Jewish life began in Australia a little later. The earliest knowledge of a Jewish organisation is a Jewish burial group in 1817.

Reasons for creating the Archive of Australian Judaica

It had become increasingly clear that the records of the Australian Jewish community were gradually being eroded and lost with the passage of time. The urgent need was recognised to preserve records of organisations for which no definite provisions for preservation had been made and whose care depended on the whims of the secretary or former president. The need was especially urgent when that organisation was no longer extant. Time and again, a move to an apartment from a large house meant the destruction of archival records kept for years by individuals, as space was a problem. The same thing also tended to happen when organisations moved their headquarters. In some cases, the organisations concerned did not have official records, and the papers saved by various individuals represented the only surviving archives.

Thus, the Archive was created:

1. to serve as a research tool for scholars writing on any aspect of the history of Australian Jewry;
2. to allow researchers to study the social structure of the Australian Jewish community, both for its own sake and as a microcosm of Australian official and unofficial attitudes towards minorities;
3. to allow biographers to define, describe and write the life histories of important Jewish personalities and community leaders who have been active in the wider Australian community or in the Australian Jewish community, or in both areas;
4. to provide a bibliography of Australian Judaica in the form of on-line access to bibliographical data; and,
5. to preserve and safeguard the records of individuals and/or organisations that might otherwise be in jeopardy or be lost to organisations.

Collection aims of the Archive

The aim was to build up an Archive that contains:

1. Collections from individuals with both personal materials and papers from organisations with which they had been involved as members or as key workers.
2. The records, partial or whole, of the major Jewish organisations, some of which are now defunct.

3. Photographs of persons and places. To these have been added videos.
4. Tapes, including matters of concern to the Jewish community and personal reminiscences of activity within the community. These include tapes from Holocaust survivors.
5. Books. These are limited mostly to printings of the Yiddish press in Australia, and to relevant books about Australian Jewry of which the University library has copies already. Other material was added, which includes subject files designed to be used as a quick form of reference, and ephemera - dinner invitations, brochures and other material which is usually discarded, which does, however, reveal details and textures that cannot be found in reports and articles. The Archive also houses microfilms of records of Jewish organisations. Microfilms of journals are usually housed within the audio-visual section of the Fisher Library.

Users of the Archive

The Archive is designed for those requiring information on different aspects of Australian Jewish life, which also encompasses cross disciplinary fields such as anthropology, geography and sociology and includes

1. researchers who are writing theses for their higher degrees. Requests for information continue to arrive from New South Wales and interstate, and occasionally from overseas;
2. authors writing the history of Jewish organisations. In latter years, especially around the time of the Bicentenary of the arrival of the First Fleet in 1788, a large number of monographs on Australian Jewish history have been written, where many of the authors have used the Archive as a source of primary documentation;
3. individuals who need to check records preserved in the Archive, to illuminate a point; and,
4. creative writers writing articles, books, scripts, television documentaries about the Australian Jewish community, which include a recent documentary on immigrations entitled *Mission impossible*, made by Film Australia.

Requests for information arrive at times from the Hebrew University, Yad Vashem, America or Canada, and include documentation and bibliographical data. Co-operative filming of Australian Jewish newspapers is also one of the services offered by the Archive.

Bibliography

In 1986 an annotated bibliography of Australian Jewish journals was also published, and is being continually updated, although we have not been financial enough to have the second edition published to date. The first edition lists over three hundred journals, but now over four hundred have been identified. Undoubtedly, the numbers were boosted by a spate of short-lived journals in 1988, the Bi-Centenary Year. One problem is fragmentation of journals. Many runs are incomplete, but part of my work has been to search out owners of journals and the holdings in public libraries, and to have these micro-filmed, usually in a cost sharing venture. By now most of the nineteenth century

Australian Jewish journals have been filmed, as well as other major twentieth century papers.

Occasionally an article will mention a journal that once existed, and all but a few pages from the journal will appear in the papers donated by an individual. Even so, this often makes a description possible, as to size, style and number of pages, though one has to rely on the accuracy of the article for the length of the run.

Certainly journals act as barometers in assessing the climate of the times during which they are written, and the ideals of a particular group. In tracing out the history of certain periods, journals are essential source material, especially when the archives of the organisation no longer exist. The large newspaper clipping collections that were saved over the years by the NSW Jewish Board of Deputies have proved invaluable, though the indexing proved to be a very long process because of the detail required for maximum usefulness. Articles saved are from Australian newspapers and detail the arrival of Jewish refugees, immigration, Jewish communal events, anti-Semitism in Australia, visitors from Israel and various controversies.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF AUSTRALIAN JUDAICA

In 1987, a *Bibliography of Australian Judaica* was published. The idea had been brewing in the minds of several people for a very long time. Professor Alan Crown had collected data since early 1970, but the final thrust came when Dr Serge Liberman, a medical practitioner and also creative writer began collecting data on small cards. He was greatly encouraged in these endeavours by a great lady of Australian literature, Nancy Keesing. The final ingredient was Joy Ruth Young, who agreed to edit and check all the entries of this monumental work and to do the word processing. She worked at this task day and night for over two years with absolute dedication. Finally financial backing, essential to the whole project, was provided by the Mandelbaum Trust.

As Dr Liberman writes in his preface, comprehensiveness was his aim, but he also made some qualifications. Included in the bibliography are all traceable self-contained books, monographs, pamphlets and chapters from books which in some way pertain to Jews in Australia and New Zealand. This, in one stroke excludes countless articles relating to the subject that have appeared in a welter of journals published both at home and abroad, with the exception of relevant articles from the *Journal of the Australian Jewish Historical Society*. Also included are university theses, both published and unpublished. Liberman writes: "As a further qualification of the term comprehensiveness, while Jews have participated, often out of proportion to their numbers, in virtually all walks of Australian life, it has been deemed an impossible task, and futile in the context of this compilation, to include works written by Jews in fields having no specific bearing on some aspect of Judaica." (Liberman 1987, p.ii).

Two hundred copies of the bibliography were printed, and published by the Mandelbaum Trust, and within a few months were sold out. Preparations for a second edition were made but Joy Young's death occurred tragically in

April 1989. It was decided that a second edition would go ahead, and would be issued in memory of Joy. A donations fund was set up, and a large contribution towards the costs was made by Nancy Keesing. Dr Laura Gallou became the new editor, and also did the desk-top publishing, with Dr Liberman contributing eighty typewritten A4 pages of new entries. Finally the work was completed in 1991, and the launch took place in October of that year. The second edition was re-designed and re-edited, and the Union List section on periodicals, year books and annual reports was omitted, as this will be published as a separate work when funding allows. Copies of the second edition of the bibliography are currently available from the Semitic Studies Department of the University of Sydney.

Relationship between librarians and archivists

Librarians and archivists are certainly related professionally, but follow rather different methodologies in the organisation of material. As a librarian, when faced with an undisciplined pile of unsorted papers, my first instinct would be to place them in chronological order, or separate things into neat categories. However, I learnt very early that the original order of the originator of the papers (provenance) must be preserved, for usually some meaningful pattern exists. Thus, for example, someone may have been very active in a certain society, and will have gathered together correspondence, minutes, photos, invitation cards, and journals connected with the organisation. Often the material is widely dispersed, but the pattern established tells a great deal about the motives of the original owner of the collection. Close indexing deals with the question of order. Often papers originating from a certain organisation are scattered widely throughout the collection, especially if it is a large one, but indexing brings it together. Some papers then, may be centred around Zionism, and therefore be a mixture of categories. However, a collection on Zionism is meaningful, and if one were to separate out all the elements, its coherence and the significance of the collector's involvement would be lost.

Funding

An initial grant of \$10,000 from the Australian Research Grants Scheme (ARGS) allowed the establishment of the Archive of Australian Judaica, and the appointment of a part-time researcher in July 1983. Support for the project was provided for a further three years, and then the Mandelbaum Trust undertook to pay the part time salary of the archivist. Thus, any money for filming or publications must come from another source, and this is provided by the Friends of the Archive, who each year undertake to give a donation to the Archive. The University Library provides the housing and infrastructure for the Archive, and thus pays for photocopying, postage, phone calls and faxes, and other expenses incurred in the every day running. The present funding allows for the archivist to run the Archive for three days a week, but access to the collection is made possible five days a week through the Rare Books staff.

NEXT YEAR - JERUSALEM

On a private trip to Israel in 1991, I visited the Hebrew University Library, and spent some time in the Periodicals Section, at the request of Mrs Winer, with whom I had been corresponding for several years, about Australian Jewish periodicals. The Hebrew University Library collects Jewish journals from around the world, and occasionally buys films of journals we have succeeded in assembling from various owners. In the previous year, I had met with the archivist of the Abba Hillel Archives in Cleveland, and had also visited the Cleveland Jewish Archives. Cleveland has a Jewish population of about 70,000, approximately the same size as the Jewish community in the whole of Australia. Our collections from individuals and different organisations would amount to about seventy, whereas in this state there were over two hundred collections, a staff of at least four, and a good funding basis. We cannot really compare ourselves with America.

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Anglican Libraries in Australia

MOORE THEOLOGICAL COLLEGE LIBRARY (1840)

Kim Robinson

Moore College was established under the will of Thomas Moore in 1840 where provision was made for the foundation of a college for the education of young men of the Protestant persuasion. Moore had first arrived in the colony in 1791 and in 1796 returned and settled. He became master boat-builder for the colony and then settled in Liverpool as a farmer. On the death of his wife and stepson he resolved to bequeath his vast estates to the Church of England. His Liverpool estates were set aside for the founding of a theological college but the income derived was insufficient to set the college up at that time. In 1855 with the arrival of Frederic Barker (2nd Bishop of Sydney) it was considered an appropriate time to set up the college. Buildings were erected next to Moore's house for the college and students, with the house itself becoming the Principal's residence.

The college remained at Liverpool until 1889 when Alfred Barry, Barker's successor, thought that it was desirable to relocate it closer to the University and St. Paul's College and to the 'main centre of church life'. In August 1891 it was reopened at its present site. Since that time much rebuilding and property purchasing has occurred.

The library has formed an integral part of the life of the college from its beginnings. The collection grew mainly through material donated by staff, students and friends of the college. From the relocation of the college in Newtown until the late 1950s the collection was uncatalogued and housed in cabinets around the various lecture rooms. The archives hold a number of early loan registers which show some interesting records of who borrowed what (like the student who borrowed *Encyclopedia Britannica* for the long va-

cation). During the early 1960's the collection was finally author catalogued and in 1965 was moved into a newly built addition to the college dining hall. It stayed there, in an ever increasing state of congestion, until November-March 1981-2 when the first and second floors of the recently acquired Master Builders Association building were allocated for its use. In this new setting the two specialist collections of rare books and Australiana material were able to be brought under the one roof.

The holdings of the library are divided into five separate collections - the Main Library; the Lending Library; the Bishop Broughton Memorial Library; the Margaretta Mary Woodriff Memorial Library and the Samuel Marsden Archives.

The Main Library collection comprises the major part of the holdings. The coverage is theology and related areas of study, such as philosophy, psychology, language studies and history. The collection is particularly strong in the areas of biblical studies and Puritan and Reformation research. The library has the aim of being a research collection for theological study in a much wider context than the needs of the current students and therefore many of the major theological monographic series and much foreign language material is collected. The library currently subscribes to approximately 520 serials and also to most of the indexes and abstracts in the field of religion. In 1981 the college was given the library of the late Professor E.C.B. MacLaurin. This collection is kept separately as the E.C.B. MacLaurin Memorial Library and comprises approximately 2,000 volumes (both books and serials) in the area of Semitic studies.

The Lending Library is a collection of material which is already held in the main collection. Its aim is to be a small basic collection which will be suitable for the needs of parish clergy and laity.

The Bishop Broughton Memorial Library is the college's rare book collection and includes all of the pre-1840 imprints as well as later material of historical or association interests. The collection represents one of the most interesting and substantial groups of sixteenth to nineteenth century books on religion to be found anywhere in Australia. The collection is an amalgamation of books given to Moore College over the years, many of which formed the Sydney Diocesan Library which was transferred to the College in 1959. Included in the collection are a group of books which would form the oldest extant library in Australasia. Their bookplate reads:

This book was given, 1809, by the Associates of the Late Rev. Dr Bray, to the Lending Library of Port Jackson in the Colony of New South Wales and the Diocese of London Established by the Associates, 1809.

They were brought to Australia by Samuel Marsden in 1810. Also included are many books that were given as a result of an appeal in 1836 by Bishop Broughton for books for the colony. Among the donors were the Rev. A.P. Stanley, later Dean of Westminster Abbey; the Rev. Prof. E.B. Pusey; the Rev. F.W. Faber; several heads of Oxford Colleges and John Henry Newman.

There are two incunabula held - Saint Augustine *De Civitate Dei* Mainz 1473 printed by Peter Schoeffer and Saint Jerome *Liber Epistolarum Sancti Hieronymi* Basel 1497.

The first of a projected three volume catalogue of the holdings of the collection has been published which covers those books printed up to 1700.

The Margaretta Mary Woodriff Memorial Library houses the college's collection of Australiana. The basis of the collection is a bequest of Douglas Campbell Tilghman and is named in memory of his mother-in-law. To this bequest has been added the Australiana material already owned by the college. There are presently close on 15,000 titles held, with holdings of 60 serials. Unlike the other collections this is not solely a theological library but includes all aspects of Australian history, geography and society. There are many works of great interest for Australian studies including a copy of the first book printed for Australia, Richard Johnson's *Address to the inhabitants of New South Wales* (1792); Cook's *Voyages* (1785); Phillip's *Voyages and account of the establishment of the colonies of Port Jackson and Norfolk Island* (1790); Bligh's *Voyages to the South Seas* (1792) and Collins' *Account of the colony of New South Wales from 1788 to 1801* (1804). There is an interesting special collection included in this Australiana collection of the library of the Rev. Thomas Hattam Wilkinson. Wilkinson was rector of Canberra and a number of Sydney parishes during the 1840s to 1870s and the collection shows the interests of a clergyman of the last half of the nineteenth century.

Among the archival material held, apart from that relating to the college itself, is a collection of over a hundred sermons by Samuel Marsden, the second chaplain to the colony, and a collection of letters and papers of William Grant Broughton, the first Bishop of Sydney. Mission archives and personal papers of clergy and laity are also held in the Samuel Marsden Archives.

The library has a staff of two professional librarians, two library technicians and one clerical person.

The collection is classified according to the Dewey Decimal Classification system and has been subject catalogued since 1980. In 1991 the computerisation of the library was commenced. Dynix software was purchased and by 1994 all the collection was entered onto the system (some with only very brief entries of author, title and classification number). The library has computerised the cataloguing, acquisitions and circulation processes and has available an on-line public catalogue. It is anticipated that in mid 1995 there will be remote access through modems to the library database. As at May 1995 the library had a total of 130,899 volumes on the computer with 111,802 separate bibliographic entries. In March 1995 connection was established with the Australian Bibliographic Network and we are now able to enter our holdings onto the network as well as enter the large number of titles which are held by the library and not currently on the network database.

Since 1982 microform material has been added to the collection. Through donations from the Sydney Diocesan Educational and Book Society and the income from a donation to the College, which has been set aside for such

purchasing, an annual amount is devoted to material on microform. This has enabled the purchasing of a large number of journal titles, monographs, theses and archival material.

The library is funded by an allocation from the College Committee and through donations. Material is purchased both locally and from overseas suppliers. The library is fortunate in being the recipient of donations of books which often supply valuable additions to the collection.

As the use of the library by both college staff and students and also the general public increases one is thankful for the work done over close to one hundred and forty years in creating the valuable collection that exists today.

ST BARNABAS' THEOLOGICAL COLLEGE LIBRARY, ADELAIDE (1881)

Wendy Davis

The history of theological libraries in South Australia is somewhat chequered. Generally, Anglican bishops of the 19th and early 20th centuries preferred to import clergy from England rather than go to the trouble and expense of training "colonial" clergy (Hilliard p.59), however, in 1881 Bishop Augustus Short of Adelaide founded St Barnabas' College.

The college occupied a building opposite St Peter's Cathedral on King William Road, North Adelaide. It was the second diocesan theological college to open in Australia. (Hilliard p.34)

Until 1907 there was no resident warden or full time theological teacher at St Barnabas' College, and there were never more than two or three students in residence. (Hilliard p.57) The bishop at that time, Bishop Short, had a considerable library of his own and encouraged the growth of the Adelaide Diocesan Library, however for many years the library remained little more than a collection of books in a little-used room at the college.

The Anglican Church in South Australia, until the 1960s, was very much 'Prayer Book Catholic' in orientation (Hilliard p.59) and a library was not considered an essential part of theological education. After World War II, the Society of the Sacred Mission was asked to open a seminary in Adelaide. In 1947, the Society opened St Michael's House at Crafers. SSM introduced a five year course which was more moderate Anglo-Catholic, and more liberal in outlook than St Barnabas' College. The SSM course was much more scholarly and had a much higher academic standard than St Barnabas'. St Michael's accepted students from all over Australia with only a small quota accepted from South Australia. (Hilliard p.117) By this time numbers had dwindled to such an extent that in 1950 St Barnabas' College was closed.

In 1965, St Barnabas' College reopened at a new site in Belair, adjacent to Retreat House. Canon E.L. Randall was the first warden. He had an extensive

background in theological education in both England and Australia and he successfully revitalized Anglican theological education in South Australia. By 1985, almost a third of South Australian clergy had trained at St Barnabas' in the previous twenty years.

During the period 1950-1965 the library remained a pile of books in a dusty, unused room. However, under Canon Randall's guidance, the pile of books was turned into a library. In 1965, the library consisted largely of the holdings of the former Adelaide Diocesan Library (approx. 9,000 volumes). Then Canon Randall started buying up-to-date theological books and initiated about twenty journal subscriptions. The library was seen to be an integral part of theological education.

In 1978, SSM moved its college from St Michael's House, Crafers to St John's Priory, Halifax Street, Adelaide. The library, by then quite extensive, remained at St Michael's House. In 1979, St John's and St Barnabas' became foundation members of the Adelaide College of Divinity. (Hilliard p.151) The ACD is a consortium of Adelaide theological colleges which offers a degree course (B.Th.) under the auspices of the Flinders University of S.A., as well as its own diplomas.

On Ash Wednesday 1983 disaster struck. St Michael's House was destroyed by bushfire. Just about everything, including the library, was destroyed. The library had contained many valuable books, including a considerable number of rare books (pre-1800 publications) such as Prayer Books and Bibles that had come from England with the first South Australian and Australian white settlers. The bishops of the Province of South Australia decided to give St Barnabas' College Library \$10,000 in compensation for the loss of St Michael's Library. This money was a great boost for St Barnabas', but no amount could have adequately compensated for the loss of such a valuable historical library. SSM has not rebuilt St Michael's House but continues to have a small library at St John's Priory. This library is geared towards catering for the needs of current theological students.

St Barnabas College Library benefited in many ways from the tragic loss of St Michael's Library. Not only was there a great boost to library stock, but some of the money was used to buy much-needed shelving. It also indirectly resulted in the employment of the first librarian. Until 1984 the library was unstaffed. It was run by student volunteers with oversight by Canon Randall. That year Mrs Wendy Davis began work at St Barnabas' College Library. Mrs Davis was a trained librarian. She had previously worked at the Luther Seminary Library in North Adelaide, and so was able to bring with her considerable experience in theological libraries. Since then the library has grown through bequests, donations and purchases, into a collection of approximately 18,000 books and periodicals. The library currently subscribes to 42 journals and also receives a variety of Anglican newsletters and newspapers.

The primary purpose of the library is to support the educational objectives of St Barnabas' College. It is mainly used by St Barnabas and Adelaide College of Divinity students, although Anglican clergy and other interested

lay people are encouraged to use its resources. (Draft policy) The collection consists mostly of monographs and serials. There is a small collection of audio-visual material.

Rare books are not housed at St Barnabas' College. In 1986, 835 books were donated to the Flinders University Library. (Correspondence 1986) These included a large number of books bequeathed by Bishop Short. St Barnabas' Library does not have the facilities to maintain such a collection and it was decided that they would be better housed and more widely available to researchers at Flinders. In 1989 a further collection of 18th and 19th century editions of Greek and Latin classics were donated to Flinders University library. The books are housed together in closed stack. (Correspondence 1989)

The St Barnabas library has strong biblical, doctrinal theology and spirituality sections. It specialises in Anglican theology and history, particularly Australian. It also has a special collection of the works of 17th and 18th century Anglican Divines. The library is a member of the Australian Bibliographic Network and participates in inter-library loan.

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MOLLISON LIBRARY, TRINITY COLLEGE, MELBOURNE (1892)

James Grant

As early as December 1848, Bishop Perry established a lending library for the use of both clergy and laity of the Diocese of Melbourne. This was kept at the Bishop's Registry and comprised, principally, books presented by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge and by Bishop Perry together with the library of the first Archdeacon of Melbourne, Thomas Hart Davies, purchased on his return to England. This bookstock was augmented in 1874 by additional theological and historical volumes gifted by Bishop Perry after his return to England.

This was the normal pattern of diocesan libraries in Australia. However, in 1889 Miss Elizabeth Mollison of Kew endowed this library with a gift of \$4,000 as a memorial to her brother, Alexander Fullerton Mollison, a pioneer squatter and overlander. Her gift was made when planning for new diocesan offices in connection with the new Cathedral was just beginning, so space for a library was able to be included in the Cathedral Buildings.

In September 1892 the first Library Committee was appointed and on 1st January 1893 the first librarian (part-time) Mr W. F. Wyatt was appointed at a salary of forty pound per annum. Finally, on 29 May 1893 the A. F. Mollison Library was declared open, "for the use of the Clergy and Licensed Readers of the Diocese of Melbourne".

The next sixty years saw a period of quiet usefulness. A succession of part-time librarians, usually retired clergy of whom the most notable were J.C. Love, W. McKie and S.H. Smith, provided basic services. In 1931 the facilities of the Library were opened to all the Victorian dioceses, but usage was low. The endowment, which was barely adequate in 1893 was quite inadequate seventy years later. Few books could be bought, but haphazard additions came by gift and bequest. Fortunately, from the nineteen fifties, an annual grant was made by the Diocesan Book Society.

By the middle 'sixties the future of the Library hung in the balance. Covetous eyes were being cast on the space occupied by the Library, and the book stock was poorly catalogued, unattractively shelved and lacking in modern works. Drastic action was needed and this was forthcoming. An arrangement was negotiated with Trinity College whereby, while retaining its identity, library services were provided by the Leeper Library.

As a result, the last twenty-five years have seen the transformation of the Library. Building on its early holdings of standard English Divines the Mollison now holds a wide-ranging collection of Anglican theology, devotion, liturgy, history and biography. As well, the Library has pursued a policy of providing as comprehensive a collection as possible of publications on Australian Anglicanism and by Australian Anglicans. For some years the Library housed an embryonic collection of Melbourne archival material, notably an extensive collection of parish histories, but this was transferred to the Melbourne diocesan archives on their establishment in 1984.

Since its coming to Trinity, first Miss Mary Rusden and then Miss Jean Waller, have greatly extended the library's usefulness, especially within the academic and research communities. The low rate of usage by clergy and readers remains a concern, but the problem no longer resides in the Library, but in those for whom it was and is intended.

(For a more detailed history of the Mollison Library, see James Grant *The Mollisons and their library*. An address delivered ... on 29 May 1993.)

ST FRANCIS' COLLEGE LIBRARY, BRISBANE (1910)

Margaret M C Leditschke

The history of the library of St Francis' College is essentially part of the larger story of the evolution of the college. It is one of talented people making the most of limited resources, from the beginning to the present.

Queensland was separated as a state from New South Wales in 1859, and for the next forty years, in the time of Bishops Tufnell, Hale and Webber, nearly all the clergy for the Brisbane diocese came from overseas, mainly England. The desire for Australian-born clergy was voiced from early times and the difficulty of recruiting priests made the matter more pressing. An early move was made by the Rev Arthur Evan David, who came to the diocese in 1891 as an examining and mission chaplain. He became Archdeacon of Brisbane but was rector of All Saints', Wickham Terrace briefly from late 1896 until April, 1897. (Kissick 1937, p.79)

As Archdeacon he reports to Webber, in the 1987 *Diocese of Brisbane Year Book* (hereafter DYB), 'in the first place let me record the establishment under my own supervision of a theological college for the education and training of candidates for the ministry.' (DYB 1897, p.49) It began in his own house in Wickham Terrace, opposite All Saints' rectory, with three clergy and two students. The numbers increased and the rectory was leased from 1902 to 1905 by which time there were six students. They lived under a strict rule and spent much time visiting. The Cathedral Chapter funded this undertaking.

Webber felt that the establishment of the college should follow that of the University. Probably the greatest impetus to the formal founding of the college was the 1200 pounds left in Webber's will for the purchase of land. In 1906, the property known as Eton High School was purchased at Nundah. It was five miles north of the city and comprised ten acres. (DYB 1906, p.66) It was owned and run by the Sisters of the Society of the Sacred Advent who wished to move their school closer to the city. The building was repaired, painted and adapted for its new use and known as the Nundah Theological College. The Sisters' chapel remained.

Canon J.W.S. Tomlin was appointed as the first principal at the close of 1906. Although appointed while in England, he spent a number of years previously in the diocese, including a short time in charge of the Brisbane Theological College in David's absence. The latter regarded him as 'the most spiritual minded and valuable man as a parish priest in the Diocese' (Church Chronicle 1905) The first of eight students was A. Hassell.

The large wooden building had a shady front verandah, covered by the creeper *Bauhinia scandens*. The setting was rural with plentiful mango trees which were a great attraction to the flying foxes in the fruiting season. Kookaburras settled in the pepper tree (an evergreen of the genus *Schinus*) outside the chapel, adjacent to the main building. Students were housed in two long low sheds akin to shearers' quarters. (Micklethorn 1954) From the verandah opened several rooms, one of which was the library, which also served as the students' common room. The need for a library was foremost in the minds of the principal and students. Appeals brought books but many were very old. Some were kept but others were sold to finance more recent literature. The diocesan library formed a valuable nucleus. The tutorial system was used with visiting lecturers.

As many students were unable to finance their studies, an Ordination Fund was established, and this, with the help from S.P.C.K., meant that no

qualified applicants were turned away. Students took an internally-set entrance examination; tuition and board was 50 pounds per year and the course was expected to take three years. (Church Chronicle 1906, p.91) By the end of two years, students were expected to pass the Licentiate in Theology of the Australian College of Theology (A.C.T.) set up in 1891 by the general Synod of the Diocese of Australia and Tasmania. The Th.L approximated in standard to the Th.L of the University of Durham. Students were expected to conform to the discipline of the college, take their share of domestic work, be prepared to work where the Archbishop sent them in the five years after deaconing and not to marry in that time. In 1908, an order of postulants was formed, an acetylene gas plant for lighting was installed, and water was laid on to the buildings.

Tomlin, in 1910, suggested renaming the college as St Francis' College Nundah, Province of Queensland, after St Francis of Assisi. The first graduates of Nundah were ordained in this year, four as deacons and five as priests. By this time there were thirteen students from all parts of the province except New Guinea, 25 in the postulants' guild (DYB 1910, p.92) and the University of Queensland was newly established. Tomlin resigned for health reasons and Canon P.A. Micklem was appointed principal in 1911 and stayed until 1917. He was 'one of the ablest scholars to have come to the church in Queensland from England'. (Rayner 1962, p.328) Student numbers rose to nineteen during this time. A Vice-Principal was appointed and Canon Batty was a much valued visiting lecturer. Books were received in 1914 from the library of the late Archdeacon David. Other gifts included a 50 pound donation but there was no regular funding.

World War I impinged greatly on the college. In 1916, Micklem went as a chaplain on a troop ship to Egypt and on his return to Australia went to St James' Church, Sydney. By 1917, only two students remained. They were medically unfit and went to St John's College at Kangaroo Point. The rest had enlisted, mostly in the army medical corps. The college was closed in 1917 (DYB 1917, p.168) but re-opened in October 1919 with Canon W.C. Campling, who stayed until 1926, as third principal. The twenties were a time of consolidation. In 1921, eighty-four of the one hundred and sixteen clergy in the diocese were born and trained for the ministry in Australia. (Dimont 1939, p.58) In that year, some of Webber's books were given to the library. The 1925 Year Book records 'a library of 2000 useful books of a modern theological character and 700-800 books of history, biography and general literature.'

Canon W. Stevenson was the principal from 1927 to 1935. The 1929 Year Book reports the library as being fairly well stocked with standard material of previous generations but laments the lack of modern authorities. In that year, the standard of entry to the college was that of matriculation for the University of Queensland, preferably with Greek. It was felt desirable that students take a university degree before entering the college. There were appeals throughout the thirties for money for the library. In 1933, of sixteen students in residence, two were graduates of the University of Queensland. The de-

pression of the thirties was such that closure of the college was a possibility, but this was averted.

Reverend Harry Thomas, later Bishop Thomas, was principal. In 1936 Archbishop Wand proposed the removal of the college to the grounds of Bishopsbourne in Milton. He wished to have the students near him to share in their training and development. He hoped to decrease running costs and put students in new buildings. Not everyone saw this move as a desirable step. As usual, there was a shortage of men and money, but 1937 saw nineteen students started at Milton in two new wooden buildings. Although the sale of the land at Nundah did not yield as much money as hoped, a third new building containing the library was built in 1938, when eighteen students were in residence. These buildings were known as Main Wing.

World War II saw a decline from fourteen students in 1939 to a low of nine in 1943. Rev. Patrick Nelson was the principal from 1944 to 1951. A scholarly man, he guided the college to a series of academic successes and doubtless encouraged the purchase of recently published books. There were twenty-four students in 1944, of whom about nineteen were to serve in the Diocese of Brisbane. A student (Williams, Archdeacon D., 2 February 1993 : personal communication) remembers the library, about 9 metres by 5 metres, as being lined with shelves and well stocked, with some recent works. It was open at all times for student use but no firm direction was given as lecturers did not set regular assignments.

Canon Ivor Church came as the principal in 1952 and remained for thirty years. The post-war era saw a dramatic rise to thirty-four students in 1953. Some of these were older students returning and also included were young students being tutored to matriculation level (Church, 9 February 1993 : personal communication). The Halse Wing, opened in 1954, accommodated a further twelve students and part of Bishopsbourne was used for them. There were fifty-four students by 1959, half destined for Brisbane diocese. There was no regular library budget in the 50s, 60s and 70s with resultant gaps in the collection. The Friends of the College, formed under the aegis of Church in 1955, worked very hard for the college, the library and students from its inception until the present. The needs of the increased numbers led to a drive for a new building which was opened in 1960. Neville Lund was the architect of this brick structure. The library, of about five thousand items, moved into the upper storey and has remained there until the present. The college budget of 1959 showed 422 pounds spent on the library and 106 pounds in 1960, a drive for new acquisitions being occasioned by the new library.

The duties of librarian fell to successive vice-principals, who had heavy teaching loads as well. Rev. David Thawley was responsible for recommending many of the new SCM publications then appearing, as well as the purchase of journals (Noble, Rev. J. 27 January 1993 : personal communication). Users of the library have reason to be grateful to Dr. John Holt, an American who came as chaplain in 1964. He stayed several years and introduced the Dewey Decimal Classification System he had encountered at the General Theo-

logical Seminary in New York. It remains until the present. The work of Williams and Father Thomas Brown is also remembered. Church wisely initiated the collection and binding of journals on a regular basis from the 60s onwards.

The college had continued in its rather monastic mode from its founding. Archbishop Felix Arnott took note of the 1964 Downside report which recommended links with University courses. Students were encouraged to take a B.A. and Arnott stopped the training of non-matriculated students. In the year after, of forty students in residence, seven were married so the winds of change were blowing. By 1992, statistics note the differences in the sexes and whether ordinand or private students, but with no mention of marital status.

In 1975, Mr. Geoffrey Roscoe, a former director of Education in New Guinea, joined the library as a volunteer, aged seventy-five, while completing the Graduate Diploma of Library Science in its initial year at the Queensland Institute of Technology. He served for ten years, until his death in June 1985, using his great knowledge of life, languages, education and library skills to ensure the library met modern criteria. He divided the catalogue and set up a fully catalogued vertical file. From 1975 onwards, all items were fully catalogued with special emphasis on subject headings. The card catalogue thus increased greatly.

Mrs. Margaret Leditschke, originally a secondary school teacher and a Q.I.T. graduate in library science, joined him in 1979. With the help of a retired priest, Father Allan McFarland and later his wife Gladys, an excellent typist, the library moved forward on the backs of volunteer labour. The first check ever of stock, in 1982, revealed eleven thousand items, including bound journals. The collection did have strengths in the post-Reformation writers of the Church of England, but was otherwise spread over the range of Dewey, mostly in the 200s. From then on, great efforts were made to buy recent biblical commentaries to build a better collection. Funding was totally inadequate so this was a rather piecemeal endeavour.

Canon James Warner, one of few Australian born principals, served from 1982 until 1988. He and Church worked mightily in the formation of the Brisbane College of Theology, (B.C.T.) a consortium comprising the Roman Catholic college, (Pius XII), the Uniting Church college (Trinity) and the Anglican college, (St. Francis). Sadly, the other colleges in the early discussions did not join.

Student numbers had dropped, in 1982, to sixteen full-time students, sixteen part-time students and sixteen non-theological students studying at other tertiary institutions. A part-time training scheme had begun to supplement the numbers and meet the needs of external students. It was felt that the presence of non-theological students was beneficial, a sentiment not always echoed by the other students.

Margaret Leditschke was appointed librarian in late 1985, still as a volunteer. A separate reference section was established. The B.C.T. courses began in 1984. As more courses were added, published lists of required books were

made available to meet the needs of undergraduate students. Students changed from the A.C.T. system with one examination at the end of the year and few books, to continuous assessment with local lecturers sometimes recommending the use of parts of several books in one week for one subject. The librarian attempted to provide a reasonable selection of these. Welcome voluntary help in cataloguing was provided by Mrs Merrill Rylance from 1986 onwards as the number of books to be processed increased greatly.

The demands on the library grew with the co-operation between the B.C.T. colleges and their lecturers and students, with the increase of private students and the start of programs for the Distinctive Diaconate and Youth Ministry. The college policy was to direct students to pursue a Bachelor of Theology, to be awarded by the B.C.T. The first graduation was in 1987.

A new landmark was reached in 1987 when a part-time salary was paid to the librarian, who continued to supplement this with voluntary work. Major progress was achieved in January, 1993, when Miss Susan Lockeridge started as a full-time paid librarian, the first in the B.C.T. Recognition for such a need was voiced by Warner in 1987 and supported by Bishop George Browning in his time as principal.

The 1992 Yearbook records that there were twenty-four students in the priestly formation program. Three of the eighteen for Brisbane were women. Twenty-three diaconal students for Brisbane, including sixteen women, were studying with periodical residential stints in the college. There were four students for Brisbane in the Youth Ministry program of whom three were women. As a result, the college is full, despite new town houses providing extra accommodation on campus for students since 1990. There is no room for the non-theological students of the 1970s. As well, forty-two students enrolled through St. Francis' College to study privately through the B.C.T. In the 1993 graduation, the seventh, eleven St. Francis' students received their Bachelor of Theology degree.

The collection in 1992 had risen to nearly eighteen thousand monographs, over nine hundred bound journals and over five hundred vertical file items. The oversight of this collection and the needs of this growing body of people will be of great concern to the librarian and she can look forward to many challenges and rewards in the years ahead.

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LEON MORRIS LIBRARY, RIDLEY COLLEGE, MELBOURNE (1910)

Ruth Millard

Ridley College was founded in 1910 by a group of Anglicans to provide theological education in preparation for ordination or missionary service. Independent theological students have also been a part of Ridley since the college's inception. Ridley is an evangelical Anglican college, and its chief purpose is to equip people for Christian service in God's world. From an initial group of five students under one principal the college has grown so that in 1993 it had eight full-time academic staff, who are supported by other part-time lecturers, a chaplain, a bookshop staff, a librarian, and administrative and domestic staff. There are about 250 theological students, studying either full or part time.

From the outset the College provided residence to students at the University of Melbourne. This was formalized in 1965 when Ridley became an affiliated residential college. In 1972 Ridley became the first University of Melbourne college to accept women residential students.

Ridley was originally housed in "Norwood", a rented boarding house. In 1911 the college placed a deposit on its first property, "Kooringa", and moved in. Larger premises were soon necessary and in 1921 "Cumnock", located at 160 The Avenue, Parkville, was purchased. This building is still Ridley's home today, together with other adjoining buildings, which have been built or purchased over the years.

As a theological college, books have been an essential part of Ridley since the College began. Past principals helped augment the small reference library as the college grew. Various staff members added the responsibility of librarian to their other lecturing and academic responsibilities. Bishop John Wilson was one of the staff members responsible for the library in the 1960s, and it was he who made the decision to change the library classification system from Dewey to the Pettee system, the system of the Union Theological Seminary of New York. The present vice-principal, Dr David Williams followed John Wilson and Lloyd Bath as librarian in 1971. At this stage the library was largely housed in one large room of "Cumnock". The room had shelves piled high with books with a ladder to aid accessibility. There was seating for five or six people squeezed in between the shelves. Other books were stored in various rooms around the college. In September 1975, with the completion of the new dining hall and kitchen, the library was able to spread into a further four rooms of "Cumnock". This was a vast improvement, but the new shelves were rapidly filled by books retrieved from various parts of the college, by second-hand books donated to the college, and by an increasing number of newly purchased books.

In 1975 Barbara Darling, a teacher-librarian, commenced as a theological student at Ridley and worked as the library assistant with David Williams. In 1979 she was appointed librarian and lecturer in Australian Studies, a position in which she continued until 1989. Halvard Cain, who had previously worked in the library as a cataloguer was appointed as librarian in 1990, working four days a week. He held this position until the end of 1991, when Ruth Millard, a graduate of Ridley College, was appointed as full-time librarian. Following Barbara Darling's departure, Dr. John Pryor served as the academic staff member responsible for the library. This position is now held by the Reverend Lindsay Wilson. A small library committee, consisting of the principal, the vice-principal, one lecturer, one theological student and the librarian, has oversight of the library. The Ridley College Bookshop plays an important part in the development of the library, handling most of the orders for library books.

Plans for further building development at Ridley, including a new library, commenced in 1982. The new buildings were officially opened in July 1984. The new library, named the Leon Morris Library after a former principal of Ridley College, includes a mezzanine study area, and provides seating for about eighty. In addition to the main library area there are two offices, a seminar room and a photocopying room. Sufficient shelving for 45,000 books (twice the 1984 holdings) was installed.

The library collection presently consists of about 38,000 volumes. The strength of the collection lies in the area of biblical studies, but there are also significant holdings in patristics, church history, theology, ethics, pastoral ministry, missions and Australian society. There is a small collection of university reference and text books for the use of residential students, and a selection of fiction titles for recreational reading. The library holds current subscriptions to around 100 theological journals. Since the 1980s audio-cassettes have been added to the collection, many of which are recordings of lectures given at Ridley College.

In 1989 the library purchased a personal computer and began using Bibliofile software for orders, accessioning and cataloguing of library materials. Investigations into the full automation of the library are currently being undertaken.

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ST MARK'S NATIONAL MEMORIAL LIBRARY, CANBERRA (1956)

Robert S M Withycombe

St. Mark's Library opened in 1956. Located on the edge of the Parliamentary Triangle in the centre of the National Capital, on the national Anglican primary site, this Library reflected the bold aspirations of its post-war, reconstructionist founding visionaries. It was a place to meet, discuss and discover and decide. It was a place where the men and women, who were drawn into Canberra to address and shape Australia's post-war future, could be equipped to forge new answers to new questions, to nourish and inform their Christian possibilities for Australia's future welfare, and to do all this through the access which the Library gave to the best written and visual resources of their Christian past and present.

Therefore, from its opening, St. Mark's was to serve as a public library, and has continued to do so. No denominational or religious test is applied to readers or borrowers. In its staffing, holdings, supporters and activities, St. Mark's Library has always been more than Anglican, while being managed and partly supported through its founding Anglican Diocese of Canberra and Goulburn. This public and non-sectarian character is, however, only part of what makes St. Mark's Library distinctive.

The initial collection was comprised of the old Canberra and Goulburn Diocesan Library, and the extensive personal collection of Bishop E.H. Burgmann. These and smaller private collections were rapidly augmented by new and second-hand book purchasing in the UK in the late 1950s and 1960s. Through limited endowments, and the regular gifts of the Library's Friends, annual accessions thereafter have averaged over 1000 volumes. Its 200 current periodical titles are selected with an eye to National Library and National University Library holdings, and (like the collections as a whole) with a preference for Anglican, Australasian, and Asian Church-related materials. An early policy of mutual dependence and inter-library lending has since broadened through use of SALSAH (now ABN) and AULOTS.

St. Mark's Library relates to other wider public library networks - through the Library Association of Australia, the American Theological Library Association (ATLA), and the Australian Bibliographic Network (ABN). St. Mark's was the first theological library to join ABN (in 1985) and took a lead in the formation of the ANZTLA, whose 1986 inaugural Conference it hosted. (Present computerised facilities include the ATLA Religion Database on CD-ROM.)

For cataloguing a collection that focused on Christian religious traditions the Library adopted the Pettee system of the Union Theological Seminary, as had other major theological libraries in the United States of America. Unlike

the Library of Congress or the Dewey systems of cataloguing, it is not a system in widespread use, and applying it has required much creative adaptation, not least in association with other Pettee users in USA and Australia. But it is a system that (once mastered) has potential for giving a specialised collection ample space for its categories, and, given adequate author and subject entries on other data bases, does not necessarily deny access to the collection to other libraries and individual researchers.

In its holdings St. Mark's has always kept as a priority its strength of materials for the study of the Christian religious traditions in Australia, and of the forces which shape their practice. There are also special collections which reflect Australia's location and role: the arrival in 1978 of the Allan Tippet Collection greatly enlarged its missiology and Pacifica holdings; this latter strength was reinforced in 1991 by the incorporation of the Australian Board of Missions' Bishop Needham Library. (These materials well augment the collections of material on similar fields held in the adjacent National Library and National University's libraries.)

St. Mark's also maintains high levels of holdings for sustaining graduate teaching and research programmes in Biblical Studies, contemporary Theology, the sociology of Religion, Church and Religious History, Psychology of Religion and Pastoral Studies. There are also important holdings in Liturgics and in Rural Ministry Studies. The Library supports the SCD's cooperative collection development policies, which help identify collection strengths or weaknesses for its own development policies.

Use of the Library's facilities changed in the 1980s. Public use continued. *St. Mark's Review* has always, even before the Library's opening, included book-reviews of recent publications, advertising Library accessions and stimulating their use. The Library's seminars and classes, begun in the 1960s to discuss recent accessions and contemporary issues, grew (in the 1970s) to become regular courses in theology and Christian religious education for both laity and clergy, using the curricula and exams of the Melbourne College of Divinity and Australian College of Theology, whose recommended reading lists were incorporated into Library holdings. Clergy in-service training, held on site, provided further stimulus to wider collection development.

The College of Ministry, set up by the local Anglican diocese at Burgmann College in 1969, moved onto the St. Mark site in 1976. Easy access to St. Mark's Library was essential to its academic credibility and accreditation. Since the arrival of its first few students and single staff member, the College has grown to become a primary user of the collections, and the Library's collection development policies now closely reflect the needs of its staff and its undergraduate and postgraduate programmes. The amalgamation of the College of Ministry with the Library and its Institute of Theology in 1988-89 has reinforced this dominant usage.

Postal borrowing, fostered primarily to enable and encourage isolated and under-trained country and city clergy to sustain and develop mind and

spirit by their reading, was soon to be used by others, such as university libraries, Methodist Lay Readers, and by the Catholic Correspondence Course (run from Fivedock, Sydney). Books and tapes are still sent to readers (some of them College external students) throughout Australia and overseas; but, relatively, the volume of postal borrowing has diminished.

Yet St. Mark's Library was always more than a seminary library, with borrowing concessions for certain privileged laity. The original idiom which declared theology to be a public and lay concern, and which set up a Library in a public place to make that more possible, still thrives. It can be seen in the scope of St. Mark's Library's holdings, in the public lectures held on site, in the large number of persons doing courses at St. Mark's who are not ordination candidates, and in other such activities that physically surround the Library in the Institute of Public Theology; and, as always, it also lives on the editorial scope of the *St. Mark's Review*.

The value and usefulness of any library lies also in the quality of its staffing. Since the time of Mr Stan Davies (Secretary-Librarian, 1960-74), St. Mark's has been well served by a number of part-time librarians and volunteers, bringing to the Library's management the benefit of diverse experience gained elsewhere, and an admirable ability to cope with the constraints of limited resources (of time, money and space) and the insistent demands of administrators and users.

ANGLICAN INSTITUTE OF THEOLOGY, PERTH (1956)

Megan Allen

At present, the Library of the Anglican Institute of Theology is housed in St Stephen's Hall in Hollywood, close to the University of Western Australia and in particular close to the Ada Purnell Library which is housed in St Columba's College. It is envisaged that at the end of 1993 the main collection will move to Murdoch University to be included in their library.

The library services the resource needs of the theological students at Murdoch University, ordinands in training, local clergy, lay people and interested public. It houses not only those resources needed for theological students at Murdoch but also the former Perth Diocesan Library. This contains a significant collection of rarer bibliographic items. The total collection is about 18,000 items.

The nucleus of the collection was brought out from England in 1956 by Canon C.A. Pierce who came to be Warden of Wollaston. He brought with him not only his own significant collection but also the many books he received as donations, following an appeal in the United Kingdom.

From 1970 the collection was organised and supervised by the late Arch-deacon James Paice. It was transferred to the Sambell Centre West Perth in 1985 and shortly afterwards to its present location in St Stephen's Hall following a major reorganisation of theological education.

In 1985 the Perth College of Divinity was incorporated and affiliated with Murdoch University. Rev. Dr Ivan Head became the Director of the Anglican Institute of Theology. He not only organised the move but introduced the Union Classification (Pettee) and began to build up a significant academic collection.

During the 1980s the library was jointly administered with the Ada Purnell Library and Marcia Harrison acted as Librarian. There was then a period when A.I.T. was without a Librarian. Ruth Hunter-Brown was appointed in 1990 and from 1992 the position has been filled by Megan Allen.

Although the bulk of the collection will be transferred in the near future to Murdoch University, a small collection may remain to provide for diocesan requirements and projected new courses.

Ballarat, Madison, Melbourne

A PERSONAL JOURNEY

Des Brown

As I recall the people who shared my American journey, two Australian families come quickly to mind: the Peters of Ballarat, and the McIntosh family now in Melbourne. So linked have they been that I cannot tell the story of one without the other. At home and abroad, they have given me their continuing hospitality and support in my educational enterprise.

BALLARAT

Smythes Creek, May 1962

The early winter night rapidly closed on Adrian Commadeur and me, walking our bikes toward Ballarat. We had joined sixty other Redemptorist seminarians on a compulsory general excursion during the May holidays. As the location in the goldmining area near Smythesdale was only about ten miles away, we had set off confidently to return to the Redemptorist Monastery. A tiring headwind, however, forced us to walk when only halfway home; the cold and lonely road was bordered by paddocks carrying sheep.

Finishing the journey on foot would bring us back late indeed: we soon decided to knock at the first convenient house. Eventually we saw a light on the right; crossing the road, we knocked at the back door. It was opened, to admit us to the kitchen where we met the family: Gordon Peters, a sheep-farmer; his wife, Betty; and their daughters - Robyn, Wendy and MaryAnne. Having explained our predicament, we phoned the Monastery to retrieve us; in the meantime, gratefully accepting a cup of tea. Too soon Pat Corbett arrived in the old grey truck - about 7 pm.

Obviously that was not the end of the story; our initial meeting with the Peters was so brief that it called for a follow-up. Daylight would show that we had chanced on an impressive brick home in 'Glendale'; we were soon to appreciate more the family which had welcomed us.

Riding a bike back to Ballarat was something I had often done over the previous decade as a schoolboy or Redemptorist student, alone or with oth-

ers. Even when running late (not infrequently the case), I usually had some measure of control; this time, however, we were constrained to seek help. We soon viewed our encounter in religious terms. A Christmas poem I sent the Peters in 1963 included the words: 'I stand at the door and knock'. Later Betty Peters would write to us:

It just makes me look back to that Dark Night you came here together "lost" - & so much has happened since - that we have shared together - I'm sure Our Dear Lord gave us "you" to help us through all our joys & all our sorrows...

She wrote about March 1965, after Adrian and I had arrived on a hot Sunday afternoon when a north wind blew a grassfire in their direction. As it was stopped by the firefighters at the road in front of the house, we briefly said the Lord's Prayer within ... and later helped a little with the mopping-up (in clerical suits!).

Family visits outside the Monastery, 1962-1966

There were quite a few visits to the Peters during those four years in which I finished my studies in Wendouree, and later (1965) returned to teach sociology - before going abroad to study it myself! Adrian and I were the only Redemptorists involved at first, but some others joined about the time I left. Usually we came and went successfully by bike; but often Gordon collected us at the Monastery door. Needless to say, we were more formally dressed than at our introduction - in clericals.

These visits to the Peters family were not only congenial but exceptional; perhaps the prefect of students viewed them in a pastoral perspective also. Our initial encounter occurred in the final months of Gerard Bourke's tenure as prefect; Tom Cruice, his successor, continued the permission.

Redemptorist seminarians were then forbidden from visiting homes and families, even their own: during my seven years study in Wendouree, I went into the family home in Ripon St only twice - before the death of my grandmother in 1960, and after my ordination to the diaconate. Yet I had much more regular contact with my family (through their monthly trip to the Monastery parlour) than other students, especially those from interstate and overseas. Only thirty years later, it is difficult to imagine how cloistered we were in the seminary.

Were our innocent visits to 'Glendale' the thin end of the wedge? Visiting of homes by students - with or without official knowledge soon grew rapidly, especially with the facility provided by the car. Many controls have passed that were still in force in 1962.

Meeting non-Catholics

Our visiting was exceptional also in that it involved non-Catholics. My life prior to 1962 was spent almost entirely in a Catholic context - school, leisure, seminary (Ballarat boasted an impressive array of Catholic institutions). This was typical. The Peters were the first non-Catholic family with whom I be-

came acquainted; they were members of Wesley Methodist Church on Lydiard St.

Our encounter took place only a few months before the opening of the Second Vatican Council which was to encourage Catholics toward more favourable relations with other Christian churches. Adrian Commadeur remarked recently that this friendship opened an ecumenical orientation helpful for his later involvement in the charismatic movement. It certainly influenced my own activities in Australia and the United States: contacts in the sociology of religion and with the Interchurch Trade and Industry Mission in 1965; friendships at Columbia and Drew Universities, as well as Union Theological Seminary in 1985; the theological library association in Melbourne. Significant support on my journey in America and back home, has come from people who are not Catholics; this is all the more important as my reading about Protestant churches alerted me to new issues for Catholics - which could be threatening and confusing.

MADISON

Studies in the States, 1966-

Mid-August 1966 I left Ballarat for the United States. I planned to stop only a week in San Francisco; I was to stay a year. I expected to be away three years; it was seven years and four months before I returned to Australia.

Sound advice from a Redemptorist in San Francisco led to my studying undergraduate sociology at the (Jesuit) University of San Francisco; where I was able to live as a priest in Phelan Hall, a men's residence, for the academic year that commenced in September. This was San Francisco in the Sixties, with the hippies and observers coming to Haight-Ashbury, a short walk down the hill from USF. The Golden Gate glow still haloes the letter written from my Phelan Hall room to Robyn Peters; alas, there seems to have been little pain in exchanging Apollo Bay for San Francisco Bay!

Drew University, 1968-1973

Betty Peters wrote to me (12 June 1968) in San Francisco whither I had returned to holiday after my first year in New York:

We have a farewell here (21st) for Dr and Mrs McIntosh (Dr of Philosophy) who are going back to Drew University (as Lecturer) on June 26th. (They) have been members of Wesley Church. They are Australian but he studied in America at Drew for five years and then came back here for two years - teaching at Ballarat College. A very clever and charming personality. They are flying back. Do call on them if you are ever there at Drew University. (They are living in a home on campus.) Will tell them about you.

Tons of love from us all. Do take care. Betty Peters.

Betty played a large part in taking care of me through putting me in touch with the McIntosh family (6 November 1968):

Now you are back in New York do try & go over & spend an evening with Dr McIntosh & family (our dear friends). 10 Campus Drive, Madison. New Jersey 07940.

I have often told them all about you. You would really find them such interesting Australians. He is a lecturer at the University there (Theology Dept.) & in charge of all the Library.

Promptly I followed Betty's advice, writing to Dr McIntosh who replied immediately:

November 25th, 1968

Dear Father Brown,

I was delighted to receive your letter. Among all people, we found that it was hardest to say farewell to the Peters family. We had a letter from them during the week in which Betty mentioned your name. They are all well, apart from examination flutters.

This note is really designed to invite you to Drew if you can spare the time to relax for a while. We would very much like to meet you, and you may find this old campus of interest ... I well understand the pressures involved in graduate work, but when you do lift your head, we would be most happy to have you spend some time with us.

With best wishes for a rewarding year,
Sincerely,
Lawrence D. McIntosh

PS. Madison is easily reached by train.

In September I had moved from Resurrection parish in Harlem to Saint Margaret of Cortona, Riverdale, in the Bronx. Monsignor James Richardson, my new pastor, insisted that his (four) priests wear clerical dress, which was the norm in the Archdiocese of New York. That I was venturing into unknown territory, probably also influenced the fact that I appeared on the Drew campus wearing clerical black. Lawrence welcomed me, and suggested: "Now that you have shown the flag, you might like to change into something more comfortable."

My first stay with the McIntosh family took place the Friday after Thanksgiving which is toward the end of November. My Christmas letter recounted it to the people in Smythes Creek:

December 5, 1968

Dear Gordon, Betty, Robyn, Wendy, MaryAnne,
Not forgetting Mrs Peters, snr, the Smiths, Youngs, and sundry others - including

whoever comes these days from the Monastery. Greetings for Christmas and the New Year.

The news is that last Friday afternoon I made the two and a half hour trip from this rectory to Drew University to stay overnight and most of the following day with the McIntosh family. You know better than I, they are a very likeable and hospitable family. It was a pity that I inflicted on them my rather heavy cold, and doubtless the real threat of the Hong Kong flu - though they said they have been injected against everything. They fill rather thoroughly part of the third-storey loft of a former stable. Do not be alarmed by this: the building is presentable, apparently solid, and - within - bright and homely. However, the steep flight of stairs inside which leads up to their entrance, could easily serve to hold off the Persian host, if defended by one Leonidas etc. The campus is picturesque, and what I saw of the university - library, scienceblock, etc. - impressive. Much of it was closed for the Thanksgiving vacation, and most of the students were home. As you would expect, we spent most of the time discussing the state of things in the Church, which probably helped neither my voice nor the McIntosh impression of the situation in the Catholic Church. However, we shall continue the discussion at another meeting.

Thanks for making the introductions, Betty. I am happy to have now made the acquaintance of the family. It was amusing too, to find myself sleeping under a Ballarat College pennant, surrounded by VFL footballers (not one of them Essendon, though). The world is not so large, after all.

AN AUSTRALIAN FAMILY

The trip from Riverdale involved bus and subway to Hoboken (across the Hudson River from Manhattan) where I took the 'weary' Erie Lackawanna commuter railroad the thirty miles west to Madison (the venerable carriages made me wonder if the train was going rather to the Far West). Drew University was not far from the station.

The McIntosh family themselves were not new to Drew, having lived there (1960-66) while Lawrence was doing his doctoral thesis on John Wesley. Thereupon, he and Pam, now with five children, returned to Australia. He was senior history master and librarian at Ballarat College during 1966-68, when they met the Peters. In 1968 Drew invited him back to take charge of the theological library; Drew, a Methodist university, has a notable school of theology.

Pam was the first of the family I met after climbing 'the steep flight of stairs' - in the cramped kitchen. She directed me out to the campus, where the historic meeting with Dr McIntosh took place on the way to the library. We returned to the house where I changed into 'something more comfortable', and the children soon crammed in: Timothy, Fiona, Kathryn, David and Jennifer. Tim, the eldest, was entering his teens; Jenny, the youngest, was about to start school. David graciously yielded his single room to me when I stayed; for a St Pat's old boy who had led the war-cry on those dark days in 1954

when our First XVIII lost the football to Ballarat College for the first time in fifty years, 'it was amusing to find myself sleeping under a Ballarat College pennant'.

'We spent most of the time discussing the state of things in the Church': by late 1968, controversies had erupted about many issues, including birth control and celibacy, priesthood, religious life and the seminary. Even the Monastery in Ballarat was feeling the vibrations. Our activities, however, were not solely about serious matters; in the spirit of Lawrence's invitation, we played games and watched television. By day I explored the spacious campus with its fine buildings and the statue of Bishop Asbury, the circuit-riding Methodist preacher.

My description of the Aussies abroad displaying symbols of home and barracking for one another, may have been more true of the footballers ('the Galahs'?) than of myself, for I was restrained in such display. Less so, the McIntoshes: Pam later wrote (October 1974) that the children still regarded Australia as home, even after twelve years in America. I did not stay quite that long, and had the occasional company of several confreres from home: nonetheless, -I was living mainly with Americans - which I was pleased to do for it provided an excellent chance to discover the local scene and make friends. Hence my few Australian contacts - notably the Redemptorists and the McIntoshes - were crucial for renewing our links with home, especially in a world where even the Church was changing.

I was a regular visitor for Thanksgiving (which I also celebrated in the rectory and with the Doyle family in the Bronx). After some years, the McIntoshes - growing in stature - were very happy to shift into a larger house on the campus; in the open space adjoining, Tim displayed his quarterbacking prowess. The nearby trees were appropriately showing their fall colours in October 1973 when I took photos of the family and their house, prior to leaving for Australia (with a green Drew pennant).

IN AMERICA CIRCA 1970

In a letter to Robyn dated February 19, 1969 I wrote:

I made my first visit to Washington two weeks ago: a business trip primarily, but I had a look through the White House and visited the Kennedy graves. This is a solemn spot: on the hillside, surrounded by (leafless) trees, is the patio with its rectangle of rough brown stones, Irish sod between them, and on them three plain black tablets giving the names and dates of John F. Kennedy and his two infant children. A few feet outside the surrounding hedge is the plain white cross presently marking the grave of Robert. On the curving balustrade of a lower patio are inscribed six familiar quotations from the Inaugural Address. With the trees leafless, the sun shining, and the air clear and cold, I could look from the grave across the Potomac to the Lincoln Memorial, the White House, the obelisk that is the Washington Monument, and the Capitol. The spot must be seldom without some visitor.

The trip to Washington led, in the summer of 1969, to the Greyhound bus odyssey that showed me much of America between New York and San Francisco. In other ways too, I was discovering new worlds: in my first year at Columbia, I took a course on 'the church in mission' at neighbouring Union Theological Seminary, joining a number of Catholic priests and religious venturing into this Protestant school of theology. Such experiences were part of my education, going beyond familiar situations and boundaries.

In these enterprises I was helped by the presence of others with similar backgrounds and interests; I have mentioned other Redemptorists and American friends. The people at Drew were well placed to assist me: the McIntoshes were established in the American university and theological school. They also introduced me to resident scholars, such as Will Herberg, and visiting lecturers: we heard Lewis Feuer on the conflict of generations; also Robert Bellah and others on civil religion (Michael Mason), my confrere, was there; also Ruth and Steve Doyle (from the Bronx).

These conversations and speakers fostered a reflection which must develop as we make some answers to such questions as: how did we come through those times? what did we do? what learn? 'We have survived the wilds of New York', Lawrence remarked last July, suggesting that after this we can overcome anything.

Books and the library

My wide-ranging courses and researches rapidly accumulated books in my room, even after I had sent some back to Ballarat from Riverdale. Having been an assistant in the seminary library, I knew its social science holdings were meagre. Events, too, called for understanding: which meant frequent sorties to bookstores, notably the Strand on Broadway. Plunging into its 'eight miles of books' entailed both stresses and satisfactions. If this search threatened me with a labyrinth in which to become confused and confined, the Drew library contrasted in its order, clarity and reward. (Lawrence was delighted to find an unknown letter from John Henry Newman in the file of an American with the same surname.) I remember feeling awed by the library, doubtless recalling the small, crammed rooms at the Monastery.

Lawrence was doing his M.S. at Columbia's School of Library Science (completed with Honors, 1972); sometimes we met for lunch at Butler library. The conversation might turn to research. In March 1969 he explained the Methodist use of revival preaching - in connection with my exploring a possible thesis on parish missions. Later on, we discussed my proposals on celibacy. This sociological research was my focus at that time; the challenge of organising the books yet lay ahead.

MELBOURNE

'Return' to Ballarat

Finally I returned home for Christmas 1973, shortly before the January wedding of Adrian and Anne Commadeur (Adrian had decided not to go on to

the priesthood; he and Anne have since linked Vatican II theology of marriage with fostering children in their East Keilor home.)

Betty and Gordon Peters now lived in Ballarat near the Arch of Victory. However, I did not return to Ballarat myself. In 1972 my parents had shifted to Melbourne to be nearer their children and grandchildren; the Redemptorist seminary had also moved to join several other religious orders in the Yarra Theological Union. In 1974 I came to the seminary community in Kew.

Before long, I caught up with some of the Peters; Robyn was then living in Melbourne. I spent a long weekend, probably early the next year, with the family in Ballarat: Betty took Wendy's young children to feed the swans at Lake Wendouree; while Robyn introduced me to Sovereign Hill, recently developed. When back in Ballarat over the intervening years, I have called on Betty and Gordon at Kismet, their giftshop in Bridge Mall. Last year I dropped in on Robyn and her family, living at their nursery at Haddon, not far from Smythes Creek. A generation has passed since 1962.

Returning from abroad, I too perceived a familiar background in a different light. When the eclipse of the sun occurred in October 1976, I wrote of the 'eclipse' of the Monastery: the departure of the seminary, even of myself and others overseas, had largely emptied it. This was a loss for Ballarat as well. Yet it was people there who furnished the forces that launched me on my American mission.

It has been important to make some 'return' to Ballarat. Visits have helped express this. This essay is a report on the mission to which the Peters contributed. In 1987 Father Jim Griffin, with whom I had been in Riverdale, brought a hundred visitors from California and New York to Saint Patrick's Cathedral and Sovereign Hill in Ballarat. They were not simply recalling the Americans who built the original New York Bakery and United States Hotel on the gold-fields, but returning a more recent expedition from Ballarat.

The theological library in Melbourne, 1974

At the Kew house I added my numerous boxes to the library books already lining the corridors. I was soon asked to take care of the Redemptorist library. While not a professional librarian, I could meet to some extent the demands of management (this was then typical of seminary librarians). Thus I shared some of the difficulties for people working in theological libraries; these felt the need for greater cooperation, but efforts through the 1970s had limited success.

As their older children neared the completion of high school, Pam and Lawrence McIntosh were keen to find a suitable position back in Australia. They returned some years later than I - to Adelaide. There I called on them in Findon when coming back from a Redemptorist parish mission in Mount Isa in September 1979. They shifted to Melbourne in 1982 when Lawrence assumed charge of the Joint Theological Library, combining the libraries of the Uniting Church and the Jesuits. Established a few years previously, the JTL has become a conspicuous model of library cooperation. Lawrence also played a leading role in the establishment of the Australian and New Zealand Theo-

logical Library Association during the 1980s. For myself, mainly working alone, this association has brought assistance and direction - for instance, in consolidating our periodical holdings.

It has chiefly been at local and national meetings of the association that Lawrence and I have met over the past decade (when hosting these, he has dispensed a hospitality reminiscent of Drew). We have also shared advice and periodicals. Thus the theological library has constituted an unanticipated opportunity for us to continue the friendship and support begun in Madison. We have returned to Australia - Lawrence with Pam and the children - to be involved in other areas as well as the library. The latter, however, has been the field in which (admittedly in a rather different fashion) we have deployed skills and resources gained in the U.S.A. Some progress has been made in the organisation and better use of theological libraries; much yet remains. It is important to record these achievements in this rather hidden area; imperative to recognise the friendships that transcend the complexities of libraries.

BALLARAT AND BEYOND

Connections

Thirty years have passed since the night Adrian and I knocked on the Peters' door at Smythes Creek, where we found a welcome that will last a lifetime. Events shared in Ballarat led to correspondence while I was in the States; Betty put the McIntoshes and myself in touch. Here, too, the springtime of our friendship was my visits to Drew; our contacts since have been more limited. The principal happenings in our association occupy the decade 1962-1973 (the 'Sixties'!), but ensuing developments have given continuity to that 'seminal' decade. They enable me not only to trace the connection back through Melbourne and Madison to Ballarat, but to perceive some meaning in those mysterious encounters.

'Ballarat and beyond' implies I was going to Ballarat that night, and farther (though I did not know it, having hardly been away from Victoria prior to 1966). That ride is not the only journey in which I have been lost and vulnerable at times; in America it would be much more true that 'the night is dark, and I am far from home' (John Henry Newman, 'Lead, kindly Light'). On the 'New York frontier' - there is some affinity with John Neumann (after ordination in New York in 1836, he went to the Niagara frontier; joined the Redemptorists; became bishop of Philadelphia; and was canonised!) I would appreciate the hospitality of the McIntoshes and many others who followed the Peters' lead. Often there is a pattern:

- (a) 'Coming in from the cold' (need; danger; a stranger; etc) to make contact in a remarkable, mysterious way with people ...
- (b) Who welcome me into a warm home; show hospitality and friendship; establish close ties, communion.
- (c) With their help I continue the journey, the enterprise - whether to Ballarat or with studies or in ecumenical relationships -

(d) and make some 'return' to say thanks (reconnaissance), making some contribution, e.g. with the library.

This is a pattern familiar in human myths and stories; while mission and hospitality are two dimensions of the Christian life.

Hospitality

I have spoken of the Peters' reception of us when seminarians' contacts with families were restrained. Whereas I had come from the Monastery to visit the Peters in the country, I later travelled from a New York parish to stay with the McIntoshes at Drew University. For five of my six years at Columbia, Pam, Lawrence and the children gave me the company of an Australian family, growing and vigorous, when distance restricted my involvement in family life, my own in particular. Their home (not Catholic, not clerical!) afforded me an alternative to the structured worlds of rectory and classroom, and a base for the long distance student amid the buffeting pressures (for which I have found an apt image in the 'Maid of the Mist' confronting Niagara).

Enterprise

With a lot of help from my friends, I was enabled to complete a journey that proved to be an Australian-American undertaking. It was also a religious enterprise: I belonged to the Catholic priesthood and the Redemptorist congregation which sent me to study and supported me throughout. This narrative makes clear, though, that crucial assistance came from families (the Browns, Peters and others); their members did not go overseas themselves but endured the long wait for my return! People who are not Catholics have made this an ecumenical venture; for me, they have been 'witnesses', signals indicating the track to follow.

Reconnaissance

This is the account of friendships spanning years and places somewhat separated. It fills in some details of our adventures, while outlining the broad picture. If we soon saw our initial meeting in religious terms, this is more reasonable when we gain a wider view: the connections are mysterious; the experiences powerful; and the graces saving. My railway background evokes the image of the signalman: guiding the train along the right track; changing the points in good time; and taking care it does not jump the points through undue speed!

A cataloguer fallen among Catholics

Pam Carswell

The cataloguer, as it happened, was herself a Catholic but had never worked in a Catholic setting or had more than the occasional encounter with specifically Catholic material. Certainly I had never had to think about the problems besetting librarians in Australian Catholic institutions of the nineteen forties and fifties, when the *Index librorum prohibitorum* was still in force. Scarcely any of us in those days had even seen the *Index*. Some knew enough to make sure that they never did. A Catholic in second year philosophy at Melbourne University, for instance, would have found that he needed ecclesiastical permission to read most of his textbooks: Hobbes, Descartes, Hume, Rousseau's *Social contract*, Locke's *Essay concerning human understanding*, Kant's *Critique of pure reason* ... or, in his leisure moments, the essays of Montaigne, Gibbons' *Decline and fall*, Sterne's *Sentimental journey*, *Les Misérables*, *Madame Bovary*, some of Pascal, most of Voltaire and anything whatsoever written by Zola, D'Annunzio, Maeterlinck or Anatole France. For the devout, the scrupulous, it was simply better not to know.

However, Catholic librarians couldn't plead ignorance in these matters. The librarian in charge of the Melbourne Central Catholic Library from the early forties to and beyond the abolition of the *Index* in 1966 worked, I am told, 'with the *Index* at her elbow'. She had to. The library was accountable to the Archbishop and there was no shortage of vigilantes who knew a dangerous book when they saw one, and who, when they saw one on the shelves of the Central Catholic Library hastened to report the fact to the Cathedral. Even though few, if any, of these 'sightings' were to be found in the *Index* there was always that awful possibility. Meanwhile, a book didn't have to be on the *Index* to be deemed dangerous.

The nineteen forties, it may be remembered, was the era of the *nouvelle theologie*; the theologians associated with it had incurred Rome's deep displeasure and were, in varying degrees, under a cloud. Melbourne Catholics read about it in the *Advocate*. Few of these Catholics would have read or necessarily even heard of Bouillard or Charlier or Chenu, but Danielou, Congar, de Lubac were familiar names, if no more. Karl Rahner's was a familiar name

too, and it wasn't long before the Advocate informed its readers that Rahner had so alarmed the pope that he had been silenced - which no doubt pleased those who had found him impenetrable.

It is one of the curiosities of the time that Leonard Feeney S.J., one of the most popular American writers of the forties, was excommunicated in 1949 for insisting that *extra ecclesiam nulla salus* - no salvation outside the Church - meant exactly what it said. Anyone who has read the relevant decree of the Council of Florence will find it difficult not to agree with him. Nonetheless, his books were duly removed from the shelves of the Central Catholic Library; the only one I remember was the delightful *Fish on Friday*, but there were many others.

Only the middle-aged and - I was going to say 'worse', meaning elderly, can recall the flavour of pre-conciliar Catholicism in Australia. We were all conservatives then, all ultramontanists, unquestioning in matters of doctrine. If you couldn't meet the stringent requirements of being a 'practising Catholic' (no divorce, no 'birth control', no meat on Friday, compulsory Sunday Mass, compulsory annual confession) you simply stopped practising, with varying degrees of guilt. You became a 'lapsed Catholic', openly referred to as such.

Practising Catholics, as I said, had to be careful about what they read. So far as the laity were concerned, the Church was content to leave this to the individual conscience on the reasonable assumption that conscience had been 'properly formed' in the course of the individual's compulsory Catholic schooling. In cases of doubt, one asked a priest. The priest himself, either of his own accord or under instructions from the bishop, would occasionally warn against this or that dangerous publication from the pulpit. Episcopal warnings or prohibitions were also disseminated in the diocesan press.

The clergy, unlike the laity, were expected to have the *Index* within easy reach. But the source they were much more likely to consult on the question of dangerous and forbidden books was one of the standard manuals of moral theology to be found in the presbytery.

Like the *Anglo-American cataloguing rules*, the priest's manual of moral theology is designed to provide guidelines for every situation which could conceivably arise in the field of its concern. A typical manual of the fifties was Herbert Jones' *Moral theology*. Originally published in German in 1929, this had gone into many editions and was now available in French, Italian, Polish, Dutch, Portuguese and Spanish. In 1956 the 16th German edition was 'Englished and adapted to the laws and customs of the United States of America' and ipso facto Australia. Notwithstanding its 610 pages and 800 sections, most of these considerably subdivided (section 711,3 on multiple consanguinity resorted in desperation to diagrams), the manual was in a handy pocket sized format and familiar to many Australian priests. What, then, does it have to say about dangerous and forbidden books?

'A forbidden book', it says, 'is one which, without due permission, may not be published, read, retained, sold, translated, or in any manner whatsoever communicated to others' (Jones, p.271). 'Reading a book', it hurries to

explain, 'does not mean listening to its being read; wherefore, a professor may read significant passages from a forbidden book to his students before he refutes them'. Surprisingly, no mention is made of the morality of listening to *Madame Bovary*, say, or *Les misérables* over the radio, with no-one there to refute the significant passages.

Section 401, 2 is quite long. It lists the kinds of books which are forbidden and so spells out the principles underlying the *Index librorum prohibitorum*. Forbidden, then, are books which 'defend errors proscribed by the Holy See'. Is this retrospective? It doesn't say. But applied retrospectively it could surely pose problems for the historically minded Catholic librarian. Forbidden also are 'books which, with avowed intention, treat of, describe or teach lewd or obscene matters, such as the methods of birth control'. Forbidden are 'books of non-Catholics which professedly treat of religion unless it is clear that they contain nothing contrary to Catholic faith'. Clear to whom? It doesn't elaborate. Books which 'avowedly defame the ecclesiastical hierarchy' are forbidden, as one might expect. But there is a curious rider to the effect that just one pope could be fair game. So perhaps a projected history of the papacy could skirt the difficulty by appearing in a series of one-pope monographs. No doubt subsequent editions of Jones' *Moral theology* took care of loopholes as they appeared.

After listing these and several other categories of forbidden reading, the manual notes that cardinals, bishops and the major superiors of 'a clerical exempt religious community' (I don't know what this means but I'm quite sure it would include the Society of Jesus) can read what they like. For the rest of us 'the violation of the laws on the prohibition of books is in itself a grave sin', with varying degrees of turpitude. 'If the book is very obscene even half a page may be sufficient to constitute a mortal sin, whereas, if the book is not very dangerous, even the reading of thirty pages may not be gravely sinful.' (Jones, p.274).

A minefield. No wonder the confessionals were busy on Saturday nights. And here's one for the Catholic librarian: 'To retain forbidden books is a mortal sin if one keeps them for more than a month'. In other words, withdraw that forbidden, or even probably forbidden, book without delay, not only because someone might spot it on the shelves and ring the Cathedral but more importantly because of the danger to one's immortal soul.

We really did think like that. We left moral theology manuals to the clergy and would have laughed at the language, but the language was familiar and we took the substance seriously enough. The Church was there to distinguish truth from error, to protect us from the one and keep us in the other; the old dictum 'error has no rights' seemed eminently sensible. And what of Catholic librarians did they think like that too? I assumed at the time that they did. I came to librarianship in middle age and by that time the Church in council had decided that everyone has a right to 'freedom or immunity from coercion in religious matters' and a concomitant right to engage in 'free inquiry' (*Dignitatis Humanae*, 1965). The *Index* was abolished the year before I qualified.

Meanwhile, Chrissie Misell had been running the Central Catholic Library for over twenty years, virtually single-handed. She was acquisitions and orders librarian, reference librarian, cataloguer, public relations officer, filing clerk and typist, all of these in the course of a typical working day. Chrissie was cast in the same mould as those dedicated teaching nuns who, right up to the middle of the century, formed the basis of the Catholic educational system. Like the nuns, she had no professional training. Training for professional qualifications in librarianship was available in the thirties and forties, as evidenced in my own experience, by the highly trained librarians working in government wartime departments. Chrissie had a degree and would have taken full advantage of such training. She was working for the Church, and perhaps one can't really blame the Melbourne archdiocese for failing to see that librarianship involves anything that can't be picked up by someone of moderate intelligence in a few weeks. The attitude is still common today. Anyhow, there was a three-month crash course in librarianship available at what was then the Public Library of Victoria; Chrissie was urged to do that and the Church paid for it.

After that, she was on her own, with an early Dewey, whatever cataloguing rules were in use then, whatever subject list she decided on (Sears, perhaps, or was that still in the future? Some ancestor of the American Catholic Library Association list of subject headings? No matter, Chrissie got very creative in subject cataloguing as the years went by), and, of course, the *Index librorum prohibitorum*.

In time, later editions of Dewey appeared and increasingly adequate - and correspondingly complicated - cataloguing rules from the American Library Association, all of which she acquired and adopted. But one person can do only so much. By 1983, Chrissie had been cataloguing and classifying books without any kind of professional feedback for nearly forty years. Anyone walking in on this situation with professional library qualifications, over a decade's cataloguing experience in a tertiary institution where all the tools of professional librarianship are lining the walls and one's work is subject to daily peer assessment, where the cataloguers are purposely insulated from the distractions of actual contact with the library's clientele - such an intruder could only marvel that the CCL catalogue, for all its anomalies and sometimes bizarre eccentricities, remained as serviceable as it did.

Less than five years before she died, Chrissie started grooming her successor. She had selected a bright lad from the staff of the bookshop associated with and supporting the library and, commendably, sent him off to enrol in a library technician's course in one of the Colleges of Advanced Education. X was somewhere to the right of the Blessed Josemaria Escriva de Balaguer, but then like many of her generation of Catholics, so in some ways was Chrissie, and when it came to explaining the responsibilities and duties of a Catholic librarian in the delicate matter of censorship, she found in X a receptive pupil.

'It is not the function of the library to disseminate error', I heard her say once. What I didn't suspect at the time were the positive measures taken to see that error was contained. It was contained in two tall steel filing cabinets,

privately referred to as Hell and Purgatory. Purgatory held books deemed to be dangerous: perhaps because the author had been summoned to Rome to explain himself; perhaps the book in question was an earlier work by the same author before he came under suspicion, innocuous maybe, but again possibly bearing the seeds of error. In Hell, of course, were such obvious candidates as Kung, Schillebeeckx, Leonardo Boff, but both Hell and Purgatory housed an assortment of books which either Chrissie or, later, X judged to be dangerous to faith and morals, to be lent only to those who in Chrissie's (or X's) estimate had reached a certain level of spiritual maturity. You had to be pretty spiritually mature to secure the release of a book from Hell. X at the time was 21 years old. It should be added that most of the books in question were on sale in the Central Catholic Bookshop on the floor below or, if out of stock, could be ordered: a kind of intellectual Upstairs Downstairs situation in reverse. The library subscribed to the *National Catholic reporter* but it was considered too radical to be put on display with the other periodicals and was kept in Father's Office, a division of Hell.

Chrissie retired in 1983, and a couple of years later X resigned. Father Phillips, now nearing the end of his long directorship of the Central Catholic Library and Bookshop, appointed a new librarian who was entirely innocent of any knowledge of librarianship save continuing what he had picked up at the Swinburne Institute in the course of his continuing part-time studies for a degree in psychology. But by this time I had already indicated that I would like to do what I could in the way of cataloguing incoming books and Father Phillips, I think, took a bet.

It was an unpromising situation, which on the face of it could not have been expected to last. I was long retired from librarianship and already yesterday's cataloguer, ignorant of and resistant to automation. He on the other hand was clever, uncommonly self-confident and not the sort of young man who would readily concede superiority in any field to a woman, certainly not to one approaching seventy. We eyed each other and resolved to tread carefully.

Initial tensions were greatly eased by my floundering incapacity in the face of the elaborate circulation system that Chrissie had devised. Tony Allen mastered it in roughly half an hour. I never mastered it and, when he wasn't there, had to be helped by the borrowers. 'No, it's this card you stamp, dear', they'd say, or 'No, the date goes there'. On one such occasion, trying to salvage dignity, I laughed and said 'I'm sorry, actually I'm a bit retarded...' and the woman leant towards me, eyes soft with compassion. 'I don't think you're very retarded, dear', she said gently, and I could imagine her telling her husband about it afterwards: 'So sensible of them to tell her to come right out with it -'

As I say, Tony found the circulation system transparently simple and set out to improve it - i.e. put it even further beyond my grasp. Another area where he excelled was in customer service. I detested the public. For the first eight months, I catalogued at a table within feet of where Tony presided at the

circulation/reference desk and I found the subscribers an unmitigated pest. 'Busy, dear?' they would say over my shoulder or 'It's good to keep busy, isn't it?' meaning 'at your age'.

Tony, on the contrary, was infinitely patient with young and old, the brash and the timid, and loved dealing with requests, especially 'reference' questions, the retrieval of information from the library's resources. He was, in short, a natural reference librarian. I just wanted to be left alone and in August 1986 Father Phillips turned over to me the little enclosed office on that floor which he used from time to time, and which he must have missed.

Some months before this, when the Librarian and I rather unexpectedly found that we were enjoying ourselves and that the unlikely partnership seemed likely to continue, I had an idea and asked him to think about it. The CCL, like the State Library up the road, had a dictionary catalogue, i.e. authors, titles and subjects (atheism, cookery, polar bears and so on) were all interfiled. I was used to the so-called divided catalogue, where authors and titles were filed in one set of catalogue drawers and subjects in another, making for greater ease and simplicity in use. The CCL catalogue, now over sixty years old, was particularly confusing for the reader and called for advanced filing expertise on the part of the librarian. I had also felt for some time that incorporating my cataloguing in this monument to the past was like dropping freshly laundered shirts into the dirty linen basket - a bit of professional hubris that at least with Tony there was no need to conceal.

My idea was to dismantle the catalogue, divide it into separate author/title and subject catalogues and, in the process, recatalogue the Dewey 100s and 200s, i.e. philosophy, psychology and religion, as needed. 'Just an idea', I said, 'but do think about it'. Tony thought about it for less than a minute and next day we started dividing the catalogue. This took us just two months, from mid-October to mid-December, 1985, at which point I began recataloguing the core of the collection, an operation which ended exactly two years later on December 14, 1987.

Someone gave me a line-a-day UNICEF diary. Perhaps it was its undemanding nature - a mere line a day - which made me 'keep' it, as they say, all through 1986. The entries are of necessity laconic. 'Finished 100s. Started 200s' the diary records on January 2. The 100s were pretty straightforward and there weren't all that many shelves of philosophy and psychology. But it had already become evident that merely tinkering with the existing catalogue cards was wasteful of time and energy, and we decided to recatalogue every title and throw out the old cards as we went along.

I say 'we'. I did the cataloguing and typed the cards, typically from three to six to a title, though often more. Tony brought me the books, withdrew the old cards from the catalogue, typed the new classification spine labels and new author/title cards inserted into each book, filed the new cards (according to the simplified filing rules recently issued by the American Library Association), reshelfed the newly catalogued volumes and (his idea) photocopied all the main entry cards so that we might, without the bother of typing extra

cards, build a shelf-list catalogue, an amenity which the library had hitherto lacked.

The bookshop on the ground floor, which had originally been an adjunct to the library but which now was the senior partner, had long been the principal source of the library's acquisitions and for some years had been under increasingly liberal management. In other words, it was ordering multiple copies of many of the titles making the theological headlines, Catholic and Protestant. We raided it for new books, photocopied the reviews and plastered them all over the walls of the library, hoping to draw more of the library's clientele into the postconciliar age and to attract a new class of reader - as indeed we did. United Faculty of Theology and Yarra Theological Union students, for instance, found we had books on their reading lists that in their own libraries, including the august Joint Theological Library just a few tramstops away in Parkville, were only available on two-hour or overnight loan.

These new books had, of course, to be processed and bound, i.e. neatly swathed in protective plastic, a task at which once again Tony excelled. I, who am congenitally incapable of wrapping a book or anything else into an acceptable brown paper parcel, once again could only admire.

Meanwhile, the recataloguing proceeded steadily. '215s' notes the diary on January 22, then 'Started 220s', that is to say the Bible and all its parts. On February 18 'End of 221. Start Genesis 222.1 & 222.11.' 'Start Joshua 222.2', 'Nehemiah 222.8', then on February 25 'Into prophetic books', followed by 'Maccabees' and on March 1 a sour entry 'Too busy to catalogue. Flaming public' and three days later an exultant 'Left the O.T. On with the New!'

All this has a hey-nonny-no air about it which doesn't reflect the difficulties encountered on the way. I don't think I had ever catalogued a Bible before in any of its versions, or any book of the Bible, or any commentary or exegetical or hermeneutical work on the Bible, nor when I started had I so much as heard of redaction criticism, reader-response criticism. However, I knew enough to have done a bit of preliminary weeding.

We withdrew from the shelves and banished to the stacks every work of Catholic biblical criticism published before 1943. This was the year of Pius XII's encyclical *Divino afflante Spiritu*, which finally freed Catholic biblical scholars from earlier encyclicals and from the directives of the 1903 and 1907 Biblical Commissions, permitting them for the first time to use the methods of historical criticism which Protestant biblical scholarship had used for so long and to such effect. 'By 1955', observed the eminent Catholic Old Testament scholar John L. McKenzie, 'the change was clear; [Catholic] biblical scholars used methods condemned in earlier pontificates to reach conclusions condemned in earlier pontificates'. He added 'We who are old enough to remember when Protestants did not take Catholic scholarship seriously are uncomfortable with the memory. We are not uncomfortable because the Protestants were unfair; we are uncomfortable because they were fair'. (McKenzie, 81)

There was no point in cataloguing dead wood. The diary continues through the year: 'Paul's epistles - and Paul's epistles', it complains in April. Every so often the outside world is glimpsed: 'Tony has baby', is one cryptic entry, followed by 'This has been the longest week since the world began', no doubt reflecting my struggles with the circulation system during the Librarian's paternity leave. There are curt references to public transport strikes. The papal visit towards the end of the year is recorded: 'Pope arrived Melbourne', 'Pope left'. There's no mention of it in the diary, but I remember acquiring a papal periscope. These were on sale in anticipation of the Pope's visit to enable people to see high over the heads of the welcoming crowds. I had another end in view. The partitions enclosing my office reached only three-quarters of the way to the ceiling, and with the aid of the periscope I could inspect anyone approaching and threatening to disturb me. But unless I heard them coming before they heard me typing, this wasn't really much help - whoever it was knew someone was in the office and, if I pretended otherwise, were as likely as not to open the door. Also, the top of the periscope did tend to catch the eye as it moved from side to side trying to locate its prey, and Tony was unhappy. 'Does nothing for the library's image', he said, and I had to agree.

Meanwhile, when subscribers coming up the stairs didn't immediately see the Librarian, they continued to follow the sound of the typewriter and knock on my door. In desperation, I abandoned the periscope and bought a handbell, placing it well away from the office. The subscribers were supposed to ring the bell if they wanted anything, and Tony was supposed to hear it, even if - as often happened - he was looking for something in the stacks on the floor above.

Either no-one used the bell or it was drowned by the noise of the Elizabeth Street traffic. So I spent \$30 on a very loud electric bell which Tony, with his usual efficiency, installed. I also bought three large brass arrows, at \$2 each, for pointing to the button on the wall which sounded the bell. The public saw neither the arrows nor the bell and continued to follow the sound of the typewriter. I bought more arrows and three notices, one saying ENQUIRIES, one saying PLEASE RING and one for the very obtuse saying BELL. The public saw nothing. In all, I had spent nearly \$60 on bell and appurtenances in a vain attempt to shield the cataloguer from distractions.

Late April 1986 saw the end of the Bible, the apocrypha and pseudepigrapha and the beginning of the much more congenial (to me) 230s: systematic theology. The diary says little during the first few weeks of this but has some forceful comments during the considerable period it took me to catalogue the 232.917s: the apparitions and miracles of the Blessed Virgin. Post-conciliar Catholicism is, or was, much cooler in its Mariology than was the era reflected in this section of the CCL. Here were shelves of books on the Blessed Virgin, including shelves labelled FAT, LOU, MED representing Our Lady of Fatima, Our Lady of Lourdes, Our Lady of Medjugorje, valuable space which, I felt, could be better used. But I had to catalogue them. This was, I

suppose, the most popular part of the collection and in time even I learnt to be gentle with the people who came into the library asking if we had 'anything on Our Lady' or 'anything on Medjugorje'. I even found myself assuring a Medjugorje devotee, distressed by the Church's refusal to give its official sanction to the cult, that the Church could well, in the end, come round to her view. As, of course, it did.

'Finished FAT!' 'Finished LOU!' - gleeful entries in mid-June, followed a couple of weeks later by a relieved 'End of Mary'. July 14 has me wondering whether to class the Devil in dogmatic theology as a Spiritual Being (235) or in the rather down-market number for the occult, back in the 140s, I think? 'Finished death', the diary observes calmly, a day later. I find this less arresting than the claim a few lines on that the Ignatian spiritual exercises were started and finished in the space of a day - but I speak as one sadder and wiser.

And so the recataloguing went on, not nearly as smoothly and painlessly as the diary might suggest. I bought another line-a-day diary for 1987. It wasn't until January of that year that I at last acquired the 8th edition of the *Library of Congress list of subject headings* - an unexpected gift from an old habitat, La Trobe University Library. These great red familiar volumes were a godsend. The CCL had a current edition of the *Anglo-American cataloguing rules* and a recent edition of Dewey, but the only subject list was a very early version published by the American Catholic Library Association, designed for a theological milieu which in the conciliar and post-conciliar years had changed to a previously unimaginable degree. A subscription to the Library of Congress list, with its quarterly supplements of additions and corrections, was prohibitively expensive and I had, for the past year, been using the one at the State Library a couple of blocks away, together with the other tools such as the *Library of Congress catalogue*, the *British Library catalogue*, the *British national bibliography* and the *Bibliothèque nationale*. To have LCSH at one's elbow was luxury indeed, greatly reducing the need for time-consuming trips to the State Library.

'Knee-deep in popes', notes the diary in February. In March, it's bothered by Dewey's sharp distinction between 'Mass' and 'Lord's supper/Eucharist' [NOTE: these are two distinct headings in old Dewey.] and predicts that the distinction would disappear in a future edition (it did). The entries for the whole of 1987 are punctuated by references to train strikes and the hassles of getting to and from work. September was a sombre month, in which first Father Phillips died and then, a few days later, Chrissie. I owed much to Father Phillips, as did the entire library/bookshop complex. Chrissie had been ill for some time, and so emotionally bound to the CCL that one felt the shock of Father Phillips' death was a precipitating factor in her own.

As I said, the recataloguing project ended on December 14, exactly two years after we embarked on it. Much of the time, I experienced those two years as a slow walk through a church I had half forgotten. One of the features of that church which has all but disappeared (save for a few well-insulated

pockets in the ecclesiastical bureaucracy) was what can only be described as a spiritual class system: bishops were spiritually superior to priests; priests lived on a spiritually superior plane to that of laymen; the virginal state was superior to the married state, just as the widowed state, according to one book I catalogued, was spiritually superior to the not-yet widowed state ('clear incitement to murder' observes the diary).

Symptomatic of this mentality was the remarkable deference extended by the laity to their priests, encouraging the latter to write far too many books on subjects about which they knew far less than their readers: *How to make a success of your marriage*, *How to talk to your teenage daughter*, *Sanctity in the kitchen*, and so on. I had no scruples about putting most of this at 242, Devotional literature.

In a way, I was glad to come to the end of the walk, although I felt unexpectedly nostalgic for that vanished age of certainties, when the 'professors' of Jones' *Moral theology* were permitted to read out condemned propositions to the class prior to refuting them.

Tony resigned at the end of the year, having decided on full-time study to complete his degree. I hung on for much of the following year for something to do, feeling increasingly useless, and eventually resigned in August - but not before a first encounter with Lawrence McIntosh. Lawrence visited the bookshop from time to time and one day in February came up to the library. He returned once or twice, and on one of these occasions invited me to visit his own library, with the promise of coffee.

I didn't take up the invitation until September, after I'd left the CCL, and very nearly didn't take it up at all. I knew about the Joint Theological Library. I felt that to so much as set foot inside it now would be foolish masochism, prompting thoughts such as 'If only I'd played my cards better, if only I were younger, if only I could have worked here...!' And so it proved. As soon as I got inside I turned to go downstairs again and into the street. But no-one enters JTL unobserved. Over coffee, Lawrence asked me if I'd be interested in cataloguing the rare books collection. On September 28, the diary is uncharacteristically subdued: 'First day JTL. I think I have hit Paradise'.

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The religion collection of the State Library of Victoria

Lynn Pryor and Philip Harvey

Up the steep iron spiral staircase, through a few stacks, round a corner and up another flight of stairs, we find ourselves standing in a relatively small room of the State Library of Victoria. It is filled to overflowing with the religion collection. Piles of books line the floor, unable to fit on the packed shelves. Is this an area of the State collection seldom visited?

Our interest is in materials added to this section of the library in the latter half of the nineteenth century and until the beginning of the First World War. We set out to discover the strengths of the Dewey 200s : what special collections were held? What works of particular note had been acquired? And were there any significant gaps in this section?

When Sir Redmond Barry advertised in 1853 for lists of works that might be required for the newly proposed Melbourne Public Library he got exactly no response from the public. Undeterred, Barry prepared his own lists. He sent the lists to the Agent-General in London, and these lists formed the basis of the library collection.

Of the twenty headings Barry worked from, 'Religion' and 'Christianity' are conspicuous by their absence. What does appear is 'Bibles, etc.' 'which has 35 subheadings (including many translations), Josephus, the Veda and the Koran.' (Letterbooks) Without any evident written buying policy in this area we must infer intentions from elsewhere.

The Trustees, when opening the Reading Room in 1859, were at pains to assure the government that the Library's activities proved 'incontrovertibly that our fellow-citizens are not so wholly engrossed by the occupations incident to the attainment of material wealth, as to remain insensible to such refined indulgence as the prudence of our rulers has placed within reach...' (1880 catalogue, p.xiii) The wild grabbing of the goldrushes is firmly in the minds of the Trustees, who see the purpose of the Library as one at odds with, if dependent upon, the new wealth of the colony and the greed that procured it.

They go further. 'The Library is filled with the presence of those august sages who have enunciated the immutable precepts on which depend the social, moral, and religious welfare of the human race.' (1880 catalogue, p.xii) The florid rhetoric amplifies the moral purpose the Trustees clearly saw in their library. What the Trustees meant by 'august sages' and 'immutable precepts' is never spelt out, but their benevolent and optimistic view of the Library as a place of moral example, moral uplift and moral protection is emphatic. And they are certain that the Library must represent religion, because of its role as a humanist ideal. Without going so far as to say the Library itself has a religious purpose, they do acknowledge its supportive potential. This underlying belief in moral improvement, and the Library as a moral institution, is put to the test though when considering the materials actually purchased. It is not that inappropriate titles were imported, but rather that we question who would use them and to what purpose.

David McVilley has observed that 'by 1881 the collection was already one of the great collections of the world.' (McVilley, p.62) While this remark refers to the whole collection of the Melbourne Public Library, as it was then known, can we apply the same judgement to the religious materials collected during the first decades of the Library?

McVilley has discerned four main themes to be the basis of Barry's ideas which served to formulate his principles. The Library should 'play a vital role in the cultural, moral, economic and political life of the colony.' (McVilley, p.57) In summary, the collection was 'intended...to stimulate "intellectual culture" and to elevate the general public taste...to appreciate "the pure, the beautiful, and the true".' (McVilley, p.57) The people should be 'able to pursue "substantial aims, not [the] gross pleasures which enslave the senses".' (McVilley, p.58) While the religion section might have little, if any, influence on the economic life of society, it might well have some impact on its political and civic awareness. From Barry's perspective: '...the greatest dangers to freedom arise from the prevalence of ignorance and vice, ...Provision must be made for the cultivation and expansion of the public mind.' (McVilley, p.58)

Close examination of the collection soon reveals concentration of acquisition in areas of particular interest, much of which reflect Barry's ideas. The society of the period under scrutiny clearly accepted the Bible as at least one major influence in the formation and development of the cultural, moral and possibly political philosophies of the young colony. Barry ordered sets of the greats as a way of covering the areas of knowledge he proposed to represent. This is the first pattern of his buying in religion. Collected works of Luther, Calvin, Erasmus and Baxter are ordered, and many vast titles, including *Migne*, *Clark's Foreign Theological Library*, *the Biblical Cabinet*, *the Ante-Nicene Library* and *the Parker Society*. But there is only a scattering of Thomas Aquinas in French, no Ignatius Loyola, none of many of the great reformers. When we look for material that supports these sets or helps fill gaps it is virtually non-existent.

Asserts McVilly: 'The Library in its first twenty-four years reflected the values of the nineteenth century English ruling classes, with utilitarianism and evangelism being the most obvious influences.' (McVilly, p.32) The Trustees are clear that what they wish to produce is a British institution (1880 catalogue, p.xiii), yet in achieving the objectives of those twin activities the religious collections as outlined are neither especially utilitarian or devotedly evangelising. If anything, the policy is one of trusting big brother in London.

BIBLICAL STUDIES

There are numerous Bible dictionaries and encyclopaedias published around the middle of the nineteenth century. And no theological collection would be considered complete without *Cruden's Concordance*. It is telling that even though publication date was 1867, this volume did not appear on the shelves until 1888. Following on from these are several significant Bible commentary sets, both one-volume publications covering the whole Bible and multi-volume sets treating individual books. Significant to note are the complete fifty volume set of *The Expositor's Bible*, published 1890s; thirty-eight volumes of the *International Critical Commentary* series published by T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, some pre-1900s, and continuing to the 1930s; a thirty-three volume set by Alex McLaren, *Exposition of Holy Scripture*, published 1906; the *Pulpit Commentaries* (49 volumes); an Adam Clarke set, 13 volumes, published 1856; and the well-known nine volume set of Matthew Henry commentaries. Of general interest is the full set of *Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges*, widely used as a set text for theological students of the period.

This whole biblical section contains very few works dealing with critical analysis of the Bible. Significant early works which are included in the collection are two five volume sets of Horne's *Introduction to the critical study and knowledge of Holy Scripture* (London, 1856), and a two volume work of Samuel Davidson, *A treatise on biblical criticism*, (Edinburgh : A. & C. Black, 1852). Serious study of both Hebrew and Greek biblical texts was well catered for in the provision of Kittel's *Biblica Hebraica*, including the two volume German-Hebrew text published in London (1840), and the French-Hebrew text of 1859. A later acquisition (1905) was C.D. Ginsburg's *Introduction to the Massoretico-critical edition of the Hebrew Bible* (London : Trinitarian Biblical Society, 1897).

Very little critical material was available to the New Testament scholar of the period until the early years of the twentieth century. A few notable exceptions include Tischendorf's *Novum Testamentum Graece* (1859, acquired 1864), and his *Novum Testamentum ex Sinaitico Codice* (Leipzig, 1865, acquired 1867). An exact copy of the *Bezae Codex Cantabrigiensis*, the celebrated uncial Graeco-Latin manuscript of the four Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles, edited by F.H. Scrivener and published in 1864, was acquired in 1874. Other codices are also held in the collection.

It is not until later in the century that it would seem that, with the development of local denominational training of clergy, an upsurge of interest in

biblical studies influenced the acquisition policies. While a considerable volume of general biblical materials was acquired in the early years of the Library's existence, -e.g. introductions to the Old and New Testaments - the prolificacy of publication of comprehensive commentaries created an influx of these materials to the collection. As well as those already mentioned, the public access catalogue shows holdings of thirty-six titles of Calvin's commentaries, at least twenty-five of these acquired before the turn of the century. As well as the *International critical commentary* T. & T. Clark also published those of Keil and Delitzsch.

Some of the acquisitions of the first decade of the twentieth century are texts which people engaged in theological training were required to use, both basic texts and supplementary. In this period fifteen volumes of works by Edwin A. Abbott, including *Indices to the Diatessaron*, and *A guide to Greek and Hebrew Scripture*, (London : A. & C. Black, 1900-7) were included in new acquisitions, as was the series *The Crown Theological Library*. Other significant series added at this time were McLaren (1906) and the *Pulpit commentary* (1901-1910).

THEOLOGY

It is evident that while works on systematic, dogmatic and philosophical theology are by no means absent, there is a particular emphasis on the life of Jesus. Monographs, as well as books of essays and sermons, deal with this topic. The works of well-reputed writers such as A.M. Fairbairn, F.W. Farrer, B.F. Westcott, and James Orr enhance the collection. The student of systematic theology will find no shortage of materials on the nature of God, the work of the Holy Spirit, justification by faith, life after death and future punishment.

Important theological publications of the nineteenth century are represented : the thirteen volumes of *The whole works of John Lightfoot*, edited by John Rogers Pitman (London, 1825) was acquired in 1872; Thomas Aquinas' *Summa Theologica*, seventeen volumes in 1877; 23 volumes of Wyclif's *Latin works* (London, 1883); the nineteen volumes of Schleiermacher's *Sammliche Werke* (Berlin, 1843). Also the works of John Owen (24 vols.), John Newton (18 vols.), William Paley (9 vols.). If not complete, the series published under the title *The Library of Anglo-Catholic theology* is well represented, as are Parker Society publications. The works of Grindel, Bradford, Cranmer, Tyndale, John Hooper (1843, acquired 1874) also appear. Yet developments in continental and American theology are seriously unrepresented. Put simply, current material was not given priority while the past was emphasised unduly.

Perusal of the Dewey 238 shelves reveals an interesting collection dealing with Christian creeds, confessions of faith and catechisms. The bias of the acquisition policy is most evident, with such items as *An introduction to the theology of the Church of England* by T.P. Boulton (London, 1875), Thomas H. Britten's *The sacramental articles of the Church of England* (London, 1851) and

numerous other works on the Thirty-nine Articles and the theology of the Church of England. All these were added over a period of more than thirty years.

The Church of Scotland is also well represented with such works as Alexander F. Mitchell's *The Westminster Assembly*, the Baird Lecture of 1882, published in London 1883, and *Confessions of the Church of Scotland*, a later acquisition published in Edinburgh, 1907.

General treatises on the history and doctrine of the Christian creeds also feature prominently on the shelves, particularly Philip Schaff's *The creeds of the Greek and Latin churches* (3 vols. published 1878 but not acquired until 1900); E.S. Ffoulkes' *The Athanasian Creed* (1872), J.R. Lumby's *The history of the creeds* (1880) and C.A. Swainson's *The Nicene and Apostolic Creeds* (1875), these last three acquired 1877 and 1883. A notable donation to this subject area is a second two volume set of *The Catechism of the Council of Trent* by J. Donovan (Dublin, 1829). The donor is recorded as M. O'Shannassy. Gifts made by O'Shannassy in other areas, e.g. moral theology, indicate a concern on the part of this gentleman to address a bias displayed by those responsible for selection and acquisition of library materials.

CHURCH HISTORY

In the latter half of the nineteenth century, church history appears not to have featured prominently in the interests of either acquisitions librarians or library users. Philip Schaff is evident with his twelve volume *The history of the church* (1889, already on the shelves by 1890). Mr O'Shannassy again features as a generous donor. In 1888 he contributed a three volume *A history of Christianity* by H. H. Milman (London, 1863); also the five volume set *The history of the church of Christ* (London 1816). At some time during the 70s *Neander's general church history* (Edinburgh 1851) from Clark's Foreign Theological Library was acquired.

Reformation history is conspicuously absent. The five volume *Annales Monastici*, edited by H. R. Luard (London 1864) were acquired in 1869 and twenty volumes of D'Aubigne's *Histoire de la Reformation* (1841) in 1894.

Denominational and regional church history covers the church in England, in Scotland and also Ireland. John Spottiswoode's three volume *History of the Church of Scotland*, first published 1665 and reprinted in Edinburgh 1851, and the two volume *Spottiswoode miscellany* (1844) were added to the shelves in the 70s; also Godkin's *Religious history of Ireland* (1873), and Lanigan's four volume *Ecclesiastical history of Ireland* (Dublin 1829). *An ecclesiastical history of Ireland*, 2 vols. (Dublin 1829) was another presentation of O'Shannassy in 1888. Apart from a few items on the history of the Puritans and records of the Reformation, church history in Britain is not significantly represented.

With the development and expansion of Christian missionary activity, particularly in the Pacific region, the collection of mission histories and reports grew considerably. Holdings include a two volume *History of Catholic missions* (French text); *Home & Foreign Missionary Record* [Free Church of Scot-

land] June 1843-June 1850; *Canton's History of the British and Foreign Bible Society*; *A history of the Church Missionary Society* by E. Stock (London 1899); *Reports of the London Missionary Society*, as well as eight volumes of the *LMS Chronicle* 1871-78.

Of particular note here is the considerable volume of material on the history and missions of the Jesuits. From 1877 until the end of the century we see added W.C. Cartwright *The Jesuits: their constitution and teaching* (London 1876) as well as a six volume French text of Jesuit history. Other writings of Jesuit history are included. Over the period from 1879 to 1888 were acquired H. Foley's *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus* (8 vols. published London). Probably the most significant discovery in this area are the 73 volumes edited by Reuben Gold Thwaites *Travels and explorations of the Jesuit missionaries in New France 1610-1791*. This vast work was published in Cleveland, 1896 by the Burows Brothers.

SPECIAL COLLECTIONS

Bible translations.

In 1862 the British and Foreign Bible Society made a significant donation to the public collection: more than fifty volumes of translations of the Bible into languages from all around the world, some published as early as the 1830s and 40s.

Redmond Barry's drive to have every Bible here is well-documented. The Society was in its heyday and presented the Library with copious translations. The usage that many of these obscure languages had in a colonial town like Melbourne would have been zero. It was such extravagant buying without heed for the needs (or language) of the users, without seeming awareness of the realities of real usage, that inspired Barry's critics. 'Sir Redmond Barry...was accused of bibliomania, "Gibbon-mania", "Bible-mania", "Shakespeare-mania" and neglecting modern science and modern literature.' (From the Age, 27 January 1879, quoted in McVilley, p.46)

Again, supporting apparatus for the Bibles such as reference tools and reading guides are very thin on the shelves. He bought rare early Bibles, the earliest versions being a 1540 Cranmer, a 1551 'Treacle Bible', a 1560 'Geneva', a 1561-62 'Whig Bible', and a 'Breeches Bible' of 1595.

Lecture Series.

An interesting feature of the religion collection are the various series acquired during this period. The Gifford Lectures began in 1888, a series delivered at Scottish universities. A representative collection of these lectures is included in a substantial section containing works on natural theology, theism, atheism, knowledge of God.

In 1780 the Rev John Bampton founded a series of lectures to be read biennially before the University of Oxford. The set of Bampton lectures, 115 volumes, appears to be somewhat incomplete, the earliest being 1783 and

1789. There is a gap until 1801, thereafter alternate years until 1936. The acquisition dates vary and in most cases do not immediately follow the publication date.

The Hibbert Lectures, delivered under the auspices of the Hibbert Trust, began in 1878. The aims of the Trust were 'anti-Trinitarian'. It was established for the 'spread of Christianity in its most simple and intelligible form', and also 'the unfettered exercise of the right of private judgment in matters of religion.' The liberal perspective of the lectures fitted well with the scope of Barry's concepts of the purpose of the collection. The published lectures were added between 1878 and 1894.

Some significant publishers series are scattered throughout the collection, some in the biblical section and others in theology. For example, T. & T. Clark published an important series entitled *Clark's foreign theological library*. Holdings in the Old Testament section alone range from vol. 23, Keil's *Introduction to the Old Testament* (1869, acquired 1870), to vol. 44, fourth series, G.F. Oehler's *Theology of the Old Testament* (1874, acquired 1875). Found elsewhere are a four volume *Biblical commentary on the Gospels*, 1857; and Hengstenberg's *History of the Kingdom of God* (2 vols.).

We have already observed the presence of the *Library of Anglo-Catholic theology*, published between 1844 and 1870.

Sermons.

The late nineteenth century appears to be a period when sermons were published prolifically. Though the collection here is not vast, it is not insignificant. Redmond Barry himself is recorded as having donated some of the volumes present, an indication no doubt of his determination that the Public Library had a responsibility to contribute to the moral fibre of the young colony. Several prominent names are found among the authors : John Donne, John Keble, Charles Kingsley, Hugh Latimer, F.D. Maurice, John Henry Newman, E.B. Pusey, Charles Spurgeon. Though the publication dates of these works span the whole half century, the 1890s and 1900s are a time when sermons were a popular acquisition. Indeed, these materials were in great demand and often used to an extreme. We note Kirsop: 'mutilators...would seem to have been not infrequently men of the cloth.' (1991, p.54) His footnote (p.59) remarks: 'The Trustees' reports after 1871 deplore losses and mutilations, notably volumes of sermons.'

Pamphlets.

Sermons were also published in pamphlet form and many of these are to be found among the more than 300 "in-house" bound volumes of theological and religious pamphlets at Dewey 204. These cover a wide variety of subjects, discussing all manner of issues - synod addresses and reports, essays and treatises, correspondence between theologians, sermons and exhortations delivered at ordination and induction services, and so forth. This is the only

part of the collection under review that differs from the principle of the ideal British library. It has a shape and a purpose all of its own.

Much of the material in these volumes is inaccessible to library users and other researchers, as there is no indexing of individual items contained in each volume. The catalogue indicates holdings simply as "Theology Pamphlets" or "Pamphlets, Theological". A handwritten page of contents stands at the front of some volumes, but the reader consulting the catalogue does not have access to this information. Adequate cataloguing of these materials would make accessible a wealth of religious and theological thinking and expression, for theological students and researchers not only in Melbourne but throughout Australia.

For present-day historians and scholars of Australian religious history this is the most important and significant section of the whole collection. As an expression of the intellectual life of the colonies it is invaluable.

Australian Denominational Newspapers and Magazines.

The Dewey 200s in the La Trobe collection have considerable holdings of locally published church periodicals: journals, newspapers, magazines. Almost every denomination must have been represented in the colony at the time, and each one produced its own newspaper. As well as these publications there are also significant numbers of non-denominational and interdenominational works, not necessarily local, e.g. *The British and Foreign Evangelical Review*, *The Evangelist*, *Expository Times*.

GAPS IN THE COLLECTION

We have observed what appear to be the strengths of the religion collection of the period under review. Students of Bible and theology are well-catered for. There is reasonable cover of church history. The special collections indicate an interest in specific subject areas on the part of either the library users or those responsible for the acquisitions policy. There are however significant areas where holdings are extremely weak if not lacking altogether.

The sets are there more for the knowledge they symbolize than for any believable or perceived use most of them would get. Barry's ideal for the Library appears to be not so much one of learning for learning's sake, as fulfilment of 'the full appreciation of the pure, the beautiful and the true.' (Minutes of the Trustees, 24 May, 1859) Beyond the sets it becomes difficult to see any buying pattern or deliberate acquisitions policy in the modern sense. He appears to have left the buying up to the British and European agents.

While the Gifford lectures may have created some interest in natural theology, there appear to be almost no works dealing with theosophy, the philosophy of religion, or rational theology; creation, the relationship of science and religion; the problem of evil. It would seem strange surely that at a time when Darwin's name was on the lips of many, there seems to be little representation of creation, evolution, and related topics.

It would probably be rare today not to find in a theological collection some materials pertaining to social theology, and relations between church and state. Yet a hundred years ago, in spite of Redmond Barry's statement concerning the responsibility of the library to influence the moral education of society, there are very few acquisitions in this area.

In this period of acquisition the only Jewish material added to the holdings were the 26 volumes of the Talmud, 14 volumes of the Mishnah, and the serial *Jewish quarterly*. Likewise, materials on comparative religion; there is almost nothing on religions other than Christianity. And associated with this thought is the observation that there seem to be no publications concerning Australian Aborigines and their religious beliefs, even though many Christian missions were established throughout the land - albeit often with little success - working among the Aborigines.

There is no doubt that much was accomplished by Barry and those who supported his policies. One who appears to have assisted in the encouragement of local writing and publishing was George Robertson, who not only engaged in the importing of published materials, but also published locally. He believed that 'a Melbourne professor should be able to publish in the 1860s in his own city' (Kirsop 1991, p.49) From observation very little religious material in the state collection was published locally by Robertson. While the facility may have been available, most works were produced in Britain and so were necessarily imported from that source. Even material originating in America is almost non-existent.

Barry and those who followed him seem to have had a resistance to buying in specialist areas, if not overlooking subjects completely. Different interpretations can be put on this. The first is that a public library, even one as comprehensive as Barry's, will always search for the general first, the specialist second. Then there is the possibility that issues of the day may well have been regarded as transitory or not of sufficient weight to warrant detailed buying of all the literature. A third and more important interpretation is the prevalent sectarianism of colonial Victoria. The synopsis of the classification of books (1880 catalogue, p.xlv) divides into four - Catholic and Eastern, Church of England, Hebraic, and Protestant. Barry treads a cautious line between these camps, not seeking to favour any one. The divisions themselves depict well the reality of religious practice in the colony. It is evident from the folding map of Queens Hall found at the back of volume two of the *1880 Catalogue* that these four divisions, plus Bible, were how the collection was shelved. These divisions also intimate at a further reality which remains unspoken in any of the literature, which is that each of the churches (and the synagogue) may well have had their own private collections of specialist material to be used for research, training and reference. The full extent of private libraries can never be fully measured; it can safely be assumed that circulation of books amongst the clergy and laity was an ongoing activity that bypassed the State collection, but which activity was well-known to the librarians. The pamphlet collection is testimony to debate on special religious subjects that could not

possibly have been generated with the resources of the State Library alone. The formation of university and college libraries later in the century is a clue to the slow buying in Religion in the State Library itself. A fourth interpretation is that the Library's aim of being a practical resource and a lending library for science and mechanics' institutes effectively overrode academic and humanities priorities. The travelling libraries of the colony became a major policy initiative, yet the amount of religious material circulated was meagre.

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Ten tasks

Philip Harvey

CHECKING

Put aside the common, practised ways of reading, for here there is no time to relax with a good book. Wait until the weekend to read cover to cover, for in this job a new habit of reading is developed. In the distance, an incalculable length either close or remote, is the answer to the reference question. To narrow the question so that the real desire of the inquirer is known, must be the repeated task of the librarian. An airy enquiry about Shakespeare can be reduced to 'incarnadine' without embarrassment. To familiarise oneself with all the reference books at one's disposal should be a primary requirement. The ability to read indexes, map legends, cross reference styles, micropedia, macropedia, footnotes, glossaries, appendices, derivations, initials, abbreviations and every form of bibliography may start as an interest and talent but should be trained into a skill. To remain dissatisfied until every possible resource has been consulted for leads and answers, becomes second nature. To reach the required specifics can demand an utter exhaustiveness. A fretful question about directions may be singled out as 'Emmaus' with patience. Now to answer all questions needs more than just general knowledge, and only fools think they know everything. The skill is learning where information may be found, that you may direct the inquirer that way. Such reading is concentrated, a kind of shorthand of the mind, that picks out exactly what is needful, leading the inquirer then to make their own more quantitative search. It is impossible to know what goes on inside someone else's head, but by close scrutiny of the outward and vocal signs the librarian can hope to make some qualitative and precise advance. A vague certainty about the right term may crystalize into *le mot juste* after concentrated work. Another form of this habit of reading develops when ordering. The constant inflow of slim, glossy publishers' catalogues and agents' booklets, not to mention booksellers' quarterlies and handwritten lists from close advisers, all put the onus on the librarian to select and differentiate. There is simply not the time to expend on every packed listing. Authors, titles and themes meet in the mind with the very non-abstract epitomes of library priorities and budget expectations. One's own likes and dislikes take a back-seat; the needs of the institution guide the

close and repeatedly brief scan of these copious copies. Suddenly a preeminent critic's single word of praise can draw instant approval. Acquisitions increase as the eye, habituated to certain criteria, moves without wavering across the hundreds of small pages, each one designed to claim equal attention. A third example of this habit of reading is practised daily in the cataloguing room. To ascertain fairly rapidly what is fundamental and central to a book while ignoring what is peripheral or secondary, is something done repeatedly. Some librarians, like some academics, lose all interest and love of reading due to a lifetime of treating it as part of the job. Some stop reading altogether, restricting their time to reading less and less of more and more. Perhaps it is by reminding oneself that different habits of reading are going on that this fruitless and dejected end may be avoided. Anyway, the cataloguer takes the book, observes the meaning not only of words and images, but also the shape, the colour, the condition. Keywords are combed for. The cataloguer has the gall to be certain of the author's intentions; these are taken into account. Questions of the relativity of the text are largely put aside, there just isn't the time. To assign call numbers, subject headings, authorised details and so forth calls for a reading that is a concentration of minutes, checks of different hues and complexions that, through the hours, compose a pattern of greater and greater subject complexity.

CIRCULATING

The arteries move quickly, newness and freshness being their properties. With vivacity and anticipation the likely reader grabs hold of the book before anyone else can get to it. Such people are the secret dream of many authors, readers who desire these words before all other words, readers who would even like to believe they are the first and only receivers of these words. With a quiet sense of excitement they allow the book to be wanded before walking off through heat or cold to their own abode, there to initiate a channel, perhaps even a dialogue, with the author. How casual the borrowers appear as they push forward their chosen items for the librarian to process, how unreadable and ordinary their expression as they depart the library. Such a matter-of-fact transaction. Yet within the deliberate student, the avid reader, the intense scholar there wells new possibility. A theorem is waiting to rise in the mind, an image of creation and the society is just around the corner of the next chapter, a proverb could link together the formerly disparate or irreconcilable. An original approach could be engendered from the ostensibly serendipitous, a clue to the knotty essay question is now within sight, a document could revolutionise previous perceptions of the other documents. Every kind of reading practice is available and permitted in a free society. There is light skimming, often to no greater purpose than adjusting to print or checking for a name. There is systematic line-following, done more to satisfy the task at hand or to say it has been done than for any satisfaction it may otherwise bring. There is every form of pleasurable reading, from the mad hopping over the text in amazement that such a gathering of words exists, through the slow careful

appraisal of every word in the pursuit of some new view, through to the unstoppable fascination with a text that finds the lightbulb still burning at three in the morning. There is the scholarly exactitude that ultimately aids in correctly connecting one range of words with another in the constant vision and revision of theses. Borrowing is one place where the public and the private meet. The heat and push of public discussion meets the intimacy and reflection of the private reader. The librarian has already done their task; they turn away to the next task, unaware of the delight, the challenge, the difference the result of borrowing may have in the expressionless borrowers. The veins move more slowly however. In some cases, exceeding sluggish. There is the borrower who cannot do without their book, who is so certain the book was written for them and only them there is obviously no point in returning it. There are those who cannot do without the book until after the examinations, it being obvious the practical solution to passing is to have the book at all times, even under the pillow at night. Certain scholars regard the importance of the borrowed book to be such, it is obviously safer and more likely to be used within the walls of their private study. None of this is very obvious to the librarian, who must stand their ground and endure unfair comparisons with the hound of heaven. The extended loan, the summertime loan, the special loan - these can extend into the decade loan or even the lifetime loan if one is not careful. How easily the book falls behind the wardrobe or is mangled by the well-meaning family dog. People find it easier to take than to return; the first is a free gift, the second can be a time-consuming drudge. Yet excuses do not prevail upon the librarian, who has heard them all before. Somewhere there is another reader waiting, just as avid, deliberate in their intention to discover the unknown which could be awaiting them on that shelf in the brightly lit library.

CLASSIFYING

The best laid plans of classifiers are constantly tested because the classes so neatly boxed into a classifier's decimal grid will implode and explode with a worldly unpredictability. The very energies and properties that justify a subject to be classed are the causes that will expand the subject beyond any set the classifier can hope to contain it in. Furthermore, classes have an uncontrollable interest and desire to interact with one another. They know better than to mind their own business. Even in that most established of disciplines, theology, the interdisciplinary drive creates new possibilities for the student and new headaches for the classifier. Where even the most comprehensive and detailed classification schemes must be prepared for flux, the flexibility of the classifier is paramount. None of this is spelt out at the start, yet these truths are really the preface to all subsequent pigeonholing. Picking up the number schemes is, by comparison, as easy as an emu hunt. The London Library in St James Square (founded by and for the use of Thomas Carlyle, who found the British Museum cramped his style) is classed alphabetically

by title, with cats jostling cameras and champagne and cosmology. Then there is the library in Jerusalem where the woman found that no two books placed adjacent on the shelves were on the same subject. Nevertheless, there was a catalogue. Enquiring further she learnt that the books began at One and went through to the latest accession number, regardless of subject, year, author or any other distinguishing characteristic. This would not have pleased the Encyclopaedists, nor anyone who wanted to find the most if not everything on their subject in one dynamic swoop. The woman had then to do twice the work of card-checking and number-taking she was used to, in order to find the materials normally there in any library at the one spot. Except for those obvious works that can be judged by their cover, that is where the cover says Trinity and indeed it is all about the Trinity, the classifier is for a brief while drifting with the author toward some uncharted fixed point that can be called the main subject. This star may or may not be in the manual, but once located it is the point for all further deliberation concerning this book. The cerebral drifting with the author through new subject realms can be rewarding and instructive, it can also be baffling and multidirectional. Advice may need to be sought, reference sources ransacked, hint following hint to some obfuscatory answer. It is generally believed that a classifier has not been wholly broken into the craft until it takes them an entire day of reading and pursuit to catalogue one book, where that book is an absolute challenge. But a number, a class, is found for each work. One has only to visit different libraries to notice that classifiers drift with their authors toward quite different stars on occasion. The numbers in the manual may correspond, but no two classifiers can agree sometimes on precisely the main subject. Or even on what the subject is at all, some times. As well as drifting with the author, the classifier also must have a sense of change. The centrality of ideas and movements will change, even tempting some to believe that everything is just relative. Being aware that what is being classed is much more than an object that riffles when thumbed, the classifier is always sensitive to what is being presented and knows that belonging is of prime importance whether the work be one of gravity or grace, affinity or elusiveness, sublimity or ephemerality. The number given will be the best available number. It will be the number that best helps locate the work. For what are all these efforts but a way of getting the reader quickly and conveniently to the author who you trust will get the reader quickly and conveniently to that star.

DOWNLOADING

Time was, the record could be put down on most palpable paper with most tangible ink. Time was, the record description fitted the small scale rectangles that could line up in a catalogue drawer. That the record now exists in electric impulses and can be read and altered behind glass creates a sense of fragility and remove. That the record can stretch from here to the extremities, including complete contents notes and abstracts in its tail, causes one to ask anew,

where is the knowledge that is lost in information? However, for small mercies let us be thankful. We should have been ready for the screens to move in, having sat for years in front of the idiot box. We should not be offended or puzzled by the presence of these monitors (or, more ominously, terminals) in our own space of work. The rooms of our lives have found ways of containing these objects until they are as usual as the desk or armchair. Already, to notice anything different in the room means having to look very hard indeed. Some people hypothesize that the computer will soon be as daily and invisible in our course of business as the ballpoint or telephone. Like those things, we have certainly developed a dependence that may subtly alter the way we see ourselves store and recall information. Will it make us more lazy? Will it overwhelm or undermine our own innate remembrance? Will the whole ingenious international network of computers become overloaded with information that we can neither practically use nor want to have at our fingertips? Are they simply to be seen for what they are, the most efficient and diminutive storage cabinets yet invented? The swiftest means to a more descriptive end. And though the means has changed demonstrably, it is curious how the conversation has followed its own original and necessitous routes. The technical talk about bytes, disks and systems is elevated to a higher form, yet the purpose the computer achieves is the chief object of our concentration, and the conversations around that purpose are as familiar as any from the days of the roneo machine or stylus nib. From the second the work station flips into action early in the morning to the dusk-charged hour when communication with another city via wires must halt, the main problem is not placing holdings on data bases or plumbing for obscure titles through supersearch techniques, it is haggling over the niceties of a uniform title, it is correcting the results of cataloguing rules that can finish up having the Soviet Union in diplomatic relations with the Byzantine Empire. None of this is superfluous action, none of this time could be better spent. Indeed, one reality a national database reminds its users of frequently is the possibility for human error. Far from the computer tying up all ends and delivering the foolproof system rapidly, it is most likely to show every style of cataloguing from the comprehensively perfect through the creatively nebulous to the consistently gibberish. The task of straightening and extending an existing record (as well as creating new records *ab ovo*) takes hours; requesting the record takes a jiffy. When the moment comes to download onto our local system it feels more like the closing of the old catalogue drawers after long whiles filing. The digits signify the lengths of information charging down the line to be processed at our end. The digits revolve in a clockwork fashion, with the precision that is to be expected. But what is passing before our eyes? Not our own ingenuity, or our time, or our labour even come to that. The digits are more like the sign of our utter dependence, our vaguely formed trust in artificial energy. 'At the touch of a button' no longer has a charm for us, or a newness: the phrase means a daily task. The machine is a service, it is also a game, a toy, a means, a necessity, a temperament.

FILING

Those crisp cards with their compacted information typed so straight and clear, went down into the crafted drawers to be speared into place with a rod and were left there for eternity. Hour upon hour was spent reliving the alphabet with each insertion of a card before or after its companion. Week after week was passed in the perpetual task of maintaining *e* after *c* and before *i*. Yes, that's it. Forgotten time goes down there into the files. Which could as well be true of book collations, tax returns, telephone checks, every arrangement of the childhood chant going over and over until it is exactly right. We live mindlessly through the hours of *c* hooking onto *d*, *m* rolling toward *n*, *w* marching straight toward *x*. Someone's science may be so advanced it can only be explained to someone not yet born via diagrams, but then they have to file it away like the rest of us. The schoolchild whose name begins with *a* will always have to be attentive while the one whose name starts with *y* knows they can sit around for half the day. Recurrently one could be confronted with 'Victoria, Queen', 'Victoria University of Technology', 'Victoria - Economic conditions', 'Victoria. Constitution', 'Victoria and Albert Museum', 'Victoria and Albert: a biography', 'Victoria, Stephanie Jean', 'Victoria Cross', 'Victoria cross and bothered', 'Victoria Falls - History', 'Victoria falls apart', having then to get them in the correct order. What actually happens in a filing committee, though? What do they talk about? Do they sit in alphabetic order and have tea towards the end? Are the umlaut and the thorn and the tilde enough to keep people talking for sixty minutes? Was Maximus just Confessor or was he articted from the word go? There will be enough variation to keep the legal-minded attentive until *z* or midnight, whichever comes first. But those crisp cards have started to look worn and overruled already. Your signature on the back of the cards looks so final, yet already the revolution has arrived. The program of the computer only requires you to type the letters in the correct order. It will do the rest. It even shows you when you have typed the same name differently, scrolling them out like a sin list. You could be the child who must do your spelling again because you got 'receive' wrong. How could that be? Assiduous detailed work turns to deciduous unavailed past as you gaze keenly into the black face of the all-filing, never-failing one. As a syntactical exercise filing was like the plodding weight lifts before the basketball game of letterwriting, note taking, etc. The sheer insistence of the letters in their right order could not be shirked. And the letters themselves, so dogged and definite, so erstwhile and epiphanic, so final and firm, so gorbliney and given, so heavy and hard, so irreplaceable and instrumental, were as daily as the sun and felt about as old. Inescapable. It was as though no other symbol would ever intrude. And day after day the playful routine was maintained, without a thought that those cards also will look cute as copperplate, seventeenth century as a serif. Not that you go looking for the good old days, or have the slightest savouring of a final pack of cards that will need sorting. You are already confronted with a new brand of antiquity, its methods puls-

ing back at you in your ergonomic environment until the cows come home. But somewhere down at the end of all the wiring and glass screens someone who doesn't have an anonymous face must still have to be filing the alphabet for all they are worth, in a world where *q* follows *p* like night follows day.

PUNCTUATING

News of the death of the grave, not to mention acute eclipse, has been seriously exaggerated. The Academicians in Paris say one thing, but in everyday editing the words are firmly determined to keep their hats on. And even though the computer takes slow strides toward incorporating them into its binary omnipotence, there is little indication as to whether diacritics are being superseded or not. The umlaut continues to hover near, yet so many machines and humans either cannot or will not bother with them. Elongating names and words with the appropriate vowel only seems to prolong the uncertainty of what to do with umlauts. The common diphthong has gone west, but there is no agreement about the spelling of 'mediaeval' and library systems must program the variations as keyword synonyms. The possessive apostrophe will always be a learning curve for someone, but no one much now seems to know when quote marks should be single or double. This last quandary has been self-perpetuating, with many writers choosing their preferred style and going with it. Quote marks are treated as interchangeable, a state of affairs that may be due in part to the power of computers to instantly italicize, make bold or turn into some wild new font, the quoted words in question. Indeed, the skill of graphics to dramatise or present a text has changed the way we read off the page; how this could effect the punctuation of those new to language is impossible to say, though it has helped to loosen the standard forms. It is the semi-colon has suffered an unsteady demise. There seems to be an uncertainty about where and how to use it. The afterthoughts of many a sentence are tacked on with the aid of semi-colons, but all too often they are treated like more impressive commas, breaking up information that would read more smoothly if left to a minimum of controls. There has been a corresponding ascendancy of the colon. Noticeably in library cataloguing the colon, the slash and the dash have been adopted to do all sorts of things normally solvable with a full stop. Records full of colons sail past one with all their portholes blazing; others held together with only dashes and slashes read more like Keats writing letters from Scotland on an especially manic afternoon. But at least the rules are clear. Coming down to the base line reveals other changes. The humble comma is alive and well, serving the shifts of thought, emotion and emphasis with its usual unassuming dexterity. It has had a long life, surviving the vagaries of the fashionable asterisk and ambiguous dash or hyphen. Some do like to scatter commas about like grass seed, wherever there seems to be a bare gap. Others are so tentative or sparing with their commas that the sentence can threaten to turn into a spineless unrelated length. Yet how marvellous is the power of the comma when used with even a little skill. It can, when used effectively, have much more manoeuvrability than the stout

full stop. Still the full stop holds its own, keeps the great mass of language from losing its way, is a sign that there is much more sanity in the world than is sometimes believed. Rarely is the exclamation mark spotted in an academic library. It juts out in a title like an eyesore or clown in the crowd. Much more frequent is the serpentine question mark. It dangles there at the end of the sentence, asking with a seeming innocence. Yet what might be at the end of all those question marks may never be known. Every day these small marks of bracketing, highlighting, directing and concluding occupy our full attention. Where to add, where to subtract, where to replace one with another. The Japanese haiku masters conceded the need for punctuation, they who spent so much time learning to distance themselves from the illusion. For their knowledge necessarily recognized connection, the beginning with the end, their own existence with the world around. They drew a joining mark in ink.

RETypING

The squiggled pages of study and thought are set out on the table. Boxes full of sentences are written in another biro and arrowed to some dangling full stop. Headings and subheadings will sort out this expression which, in its present state, is a truer representation of the way the thought patterns emerged and were applied. The exhausting fact of thought is that it only goes so far; thereafter might come added spurts of insight, but then that is half the problem, the improper mix of spurts and insights. Only so far will the thought go. Then it has to be organised into a block. Only then may the next response (so much thought is not new, but reaction to what came before) have a world to germinate in. The sheets of crossings and recrossings and crossings-out and pencillings-in are set out on the formal top. To type it once is no trouble, it is a pleasure. Skimmingly one rushes out the sentences. They were hard won, many of them, and took more time than just the period of their composition. Yet now, how easy to tap out the twenty-six letters without even thinking at all what one was thinking. There is a school that claims no work is ready for correction and improvement until it has been typed. The strict law of the letter, the straight up and down of print, presents the eye with fuzziness that would not be appreciated let alone noticed in rough draft. The typewriter (and also, the processor, the computer) act as an assistant, they alert one to excesses and recesses. Back goes the finished page, then the next, to the critical response of the tutored printerly eye. Typos pop up, peppering what was, in one's own estimation, a perfection. The cleaning and correcting go on, and with this, the time begins to add more chunks on to and into the imperfection. Nothing will stop this renaissance of responses. What naif could have only got thus far with the words when the meanings were always there to expand and develop deeper meanings? Retyping will be an even greater task. It will be not just the job that had to be done, not just the clarification of all that further annotation, it will be the setting out of the definitive moment in the process of making. It will be done with that strange combination of speeding excitement and glad delicacy, of the sort a fisherman enjoys when bringing in

the hoped-for, the combination a chef experiences when the course is ready to serve. Retyping this time will involve looking hard at the words to see them as they should be, rather than as the series of tests one worked with to get sense, idea and feel into a lucid (though not always lucent) state.

SHELVING

That the stretch of the fingers may be required day after day to lift and stack bricks should come as no surprise. That the hands could be involved for a lifetime kneading balls of dough, setting them out on long trays, then pulling the finished loaves from the oven is the most understandable of actions. That whatever is done may have, in its daily ordinarieness, a meaning that reaches beyond the mundane and merely procedural is a need we ourselves meet in our own daily awareness. How easy it is to look elsewhere for a more instantaneous gratification, how human to want something beyond what in reality is only one more form of the daily repetition of work. Books opened out like the wings of an arctic bird are a pleasure. The superb sight of an illustrious illustration on opposite pages can be left standing for weeks or months. The open book is the most satisfactory sight, spread there before the gaze of the keen reader. Or left open on a lectern or stand for the admiration of all, its celtic wrought patterns, its picture of the city where the only light was sun and candle, its image of a man who wrote all night to save the day. Books left sitting on tables and floors have a certain fascination, the randomness or occasion can raise many questions. What else is there that has yet to be learnt or appreciated more fully and more deeply? How much has been put into this usual object? How might I or the world be affected by that block of leaves? Books tossed on chairs or pushed into cupboards seem to have lost some intrinsic value they deserve by right. They beckon to be retrieved, reread. These books look unkept, even unkempt. Large heavy tomes pushed against the door to keep the thing fast seem neither here nor there, their information long out of date, their purpose a glum weight like a white elephant. Books in towering piles seem to be going somewhere, they await a new direction. And if the new direction is not immediately to a reader, then at a certain moment it will inevitably be a shelf. Instantaneous gratification is a passing phase, while the repetition of shelving is something so rarely considered it is hard to explain why it can still cause content. Who needs a work-out when you can stretch, bend, lift, flex for hours on end? The tall can test their back muscles by constant crouching for a lowly shelf; the petite can scale the upper ledges like monkeys in attempts to return the items to their "proper place". Gravity has a great deal to do with most of our activities. Flight, dream, music, wine - they all have in common the human desire to rise, however temporarily, from the unarguable pull of the earth. And what is the act of shelving but, in one sense, a bid to raise the things we have collected above the hardness of the world. Erasmus out walking one day is said to have wept with joy when he saw a page of printed text fluttering in the mud. The chance for someone to read remained. Sometimes dour ones look at libraries and think of knowl-

edge locked up and faces gloomy. The naively metaphorical see a barn full of paper. The economically rational only read the credit column, thus missing even the text let alone the meaning. Yet the possibility exists for knowledge to open and instruct. Words formed from the combination of wit and sensibility, research and reflection, indwelling and vocabulary, have the chance to reach, inspire and change the like-minded and the unexpecting. There is the need for replenishment, explanation, exposition, revelation, mystery. These things can be met by this most daily of activities. For the thousandth nay millionth time the outstretched fingers grip the bound volumes and push them gently back into their "proper place". How certain they stand, their backs erect and in some order, like the authors who wrote them and would stand behind the books themselves, there in the prescribed place.

STAMPING

Aborigines are not used to dealing with books. Books are anti-social, and by extension libraries are places to be avoided because they encourage the unfriendly behaviour of keeping quiet and looking at a page rather than talking and playing. Books are not for the nomadic by custom. Books signify some element of stationary and enclosed existence in those who use them. Books are rooms, safety zones, talismans of a certainty. And even after the pages have been pressed with the lettering and images, after the names and effects have been inlaid with ink on cover and interior, we continue the life history of every book by stamping. That the full meaning is left to the author's words and publisher's presentation should never be accepted as final. The clunky line of the accession number is the first unique identifier. Already the book has been taken from anonymity; it belongs. Next comes the distinctive library stamp, its purple or black shape instantly recognizable to those who need to know. Carelessly, carefully, the mark is pressed onto flyleaves, title verso, chapter ends. On thick cloth paper the mark soaks straight in and remains indelible. On glossy art paper it glistens wetly, leaving unsightly birthmarks on a Mantegna or Michelangelo if the pages are shut too fast. The library stamp itself bespeaks time and place. Nineteenth century stamps, ornate and latinate, are redolent of pride and certainty. They will imitate a colophon, make gestures with the outline of a dolphin or oaktree, name a city or an institution not readily expected. Twentieth century stamps can be great plaques filled with all sorts of out-of-date telephone numbers and amalgamations. Some are so official, giving only name and place in block letters, the regimental order leaves one cold, or asking who it was that could bring such a practical exactitude to even this daily exercise. In every case a new meaning is given to the work in hand, lends to the book the added dimension of being required, ordered, accepted and used. It gains the same resonances as having a signature in the front, greetings and wishes listed: the text is added to, such simple additions lending subtly to the way the main text may be enjoyed or even interpreted. Then there is the date stamp. A great straggle of fortnights trudges down the date due slip of the set text. A gaspless skipping of fortnights trips down the

date due slip of the favourite novel. A contented march of fortnights troops down the slip of the critical reading. A single day might stand out at the top of the slip in the rare item that actually made a difference. Here too the history of the book can be read in a very real if statistical way. Here the author meets their future in a clipped and exacting series of statements. The changes of necessity and fashion can be read in the inclusive dates of many old or second-hand books, living out their own public history in the most clear-cut points. And here too the book joins with that pressing illusion of the safe room and city expectation, time. The date due stamp is utterly at odds with the semi-nomadic. All the time time is pressed by each of us upon the other, in a jaunty or efficient fashion often, but always in a definite fashion. Nobody with a book is allowed to forget it. There are other stamps too, the paid stamp, the shelflist stamp, the cancelled stamp. How joyless this last stamp can look, its application over old ownership stamps a dead hand. And yet for the true searcher the sight of the cancelled stamp can be very bliss, the book now released into a new life where it may find a true home. There are rooms, and in them the pleasure and drive to print and stamp, reprint and restamp, is seemingly insatiable.

TRANSLATING

German is the hardest. Compound words are given further leases of life in portmanteau expressions, in some cases sounding suspiciously like the invention of the author under investigation. Unlike Americans, who enjoy inventing new jargon terms in English to suit their own specialist ends, the Germans seem genuine in making centipedal keywords that are the one way of saying what they mean. Alas, compilers of dictionaries are wisely conservative, refusing to include new fangled terms every time they reach the title page. As a result one must translate words that have in themselves the resonances of a thesis. To go any further, say into the subtitle, is to start pursuing subordinate clauses, that, in the true German classic fashion, are not only centipedal but centrifugal to an English reader. French, by comparison, is lucid almost to the point of simplicity. The feat for the translator is not that the word won't be in the dictionary, rather that the word will not only have five definitions but the author may intend all five definitions to have subtle reverberations in the way she or he employs *la parole* or *le mot* in this context. The innate reliance the English-language user has for synonyms comes to the surface, even the user who prefers a spade to be a spade. The fluidity of Italian can deceive the hasty translator into believing everything is as it flows. Contemporary coinages though, mainly from *inglese*, are much more readily adopted and absorbed by the Italians than by the French. So even if recognizable words taken from Italian into English may turn out to be 'false friends', words taken from English into Italian can glide the translator toward a sensible translation. Spanish, and its pretty cousin Portuguese, seem caught in a time warp. That the rudiments of expression are graspable whether the words were written four years ago, or four hundred, suggests languages more con-

servative than French. This may be the conjecture of one without basic working knowledge of either, yet the comprehensibility of the Iberian tongues is rarely jarred by some oddity of modernity, even when coming from Latin America. The mother of these last four, Latin, is well into her dotage, despite regular newsbreaks of mortality. As a task for the translator, it is hard to know what to make of a language that says in exactly the same words what it has been saying for centuries. Modern adoptions and adaptations made by the Vatican and others read more like the inventions of a parlour game than words that have a hope of breathing. Fortunately the cataloguer need only be concerned with the austere and august language of papal decrees, mediaeval, patristic and liturgical texts. Russian will say things squarely. Transliteration can be a test at times, though, especially when the Library of Congress insists on us using Roman equivalents that bear no resemblance to the normal international standards. This can end in a great deal of confusion and cross-references. The sacred language of Greek asks for deeper analysis. Outside of the liturgy and the Fathers, most modern material considers single words, the ramifications of which theologians can argue for years. The cataloguer must be attentive to these beauties. Likewise Hebrew, its cogent meanings there to be learnt, can from time to time trouble the busy translator with appearances that say much more than any dictionary definition can hope to summarize. In both of which, and out of all of which, one can say firmly at the conclusion of a long day of foreign language, Amen.

THEOLOGIES

In the depths of the sea

PLUNGING INTO THE
WORD

Peter Steele

'In the depths of the sea I shall find the land'. This gnomic saying of the poet George Barker's could have many applications — ethical, societal, heuristic, and so forth. It is in the first instance a truism of topography. Dry off all the oceanic waters, and there you have it — the ultracontinent beside which each of the existing continents looks small. At that naturalistic level, Barker's dictum is already suggestive. The deep seas impress us as alien and menacing, the haunt of creatures with which we have no truck, a zone as unindulgent of human entry as space itself. 'Altus', in Latin, can mean either 'high' or 'deep': the altitudes of the ocean do not look benign.

And yet, could we make the breakthrough, we would have the freedom of Terra Oceanica, a country recognizably like the supramarine territories in which we live at present, yet entirely 'othered' by its context. To live there, we would need to be transformed or transfigured, always showing the trace of what we had been, and always adapting creatively to our new conditions of being. We would have, in a sense different from Freud's, 'oceanic feelings'. There would be about us, at least from time to time, some of that awareness of being magicked into novelty which is described in T.H. White's *The once and future king*, where the boy Wart is changed by Merlin now into a fish, now into a bird.

These things are said in parable. For many hundreds of years it has been a recurring notion of imaginative writers and their dependents that poetry, in the broad sense of the word, inducts us into another country. 'Countries of the mind', 'the golden world', 'the green world' — such expressions acknowledge that certain writings give us access, if we will accept it, to milieux of vision and realization not otherwise available to us. Sometimes the stress has fallen heavily on the degree of other-ing involved in the process, as if all that art had to say were indeed said in play; on this view of things, poetry might be engrossing, but it would always and everywhere be non-committal — 'the

poet nothing affirmeth, and therefore never lieth', as Sidney puts it. Sometimes the commentators have stressed, rather, analogies and continuities not only with the world palpably to hand — the apple in the greengrocer's box and the apple to Adam's lips — but with the deeds and tasks of that world — the ethos of making a living and the ethos of furious Achilles. Either version of what happens in the making or the reception of poetry tends to lose in plausibility whatever it gains in simplicity. The main problem with the dogmatic is that it is hard to believe it, unless one is amongst those called by Montaigne '*ces ergoistes*'.

Poets themselves may revolve these weighty matters, either because they happen themselves also to be theoreticians of a sort, or because they find that the experience of making is one which constantly gets them out of their depth. Christopher Smart says, in *Jubilate Agno*, 'For in my nature I quested for beauty, but God, God hath sent me to sea for pearls'; the going to sea for pearls, the diving for the pearls of the imagination, heightens that alertness to strangeness which set the voyage in train in the first place. When, last year, I woke one morning and turned on the radio to hear the announcer say, 'Unfortunately, yesterday was the Last Day', I wrote a poem which began, 'Damned if I know whether to feel like Donne/ Or like the White Rabbit'. The '*what's going on here?*' feeling, overt or muted, is at the origin of certain kinds of writing, pervades it, and is a large part of its issue: is, as the Aristotelians would say, its efficient, final, and formal causes. The material cause, the *matière* being handled, may be of great consequence, but it has to take its chances, and its place, along with the other causes.

The great context in which our sense of strangeness is fostered is the context of plurality. Dealing with one thing at a time is not too extending: I put the spoon into the boiled egg and I am unprovoked. But if the news is on, the toast sunning itself, the kettle huffing away, the rain stippling the window-pane, then the ante of attention has been upped. Much poetry takes the avenue of plurality to the land of strangeness. Here, for instance, is a simple, not-so-simple, poem by William Stafford (1977, p.97):

LONG DISTANCE

Sometimes when you watch the fire
ashes glow and gray
the way the sun turned cold on spires
in winter in the town back home
so far away.

Sometimes on the telephone
the one you hear goes far
and ghostly voices whisper in.
You think they are from other wires.
You think they are.

Stafford has dozens of poems which have an air of having 'just happened.' One of the *Rules of Golf* is that 'dew is not a loose impediment', and Stafford's practice is to make poems look as if they are a kind of dew in the mind or on the page. This is sleight of the art, of course. There is nothing merely climatic about the way his rhyming works, about the way times and places are related, about nearing and distancing, about thinking and being, about the wordplay between title and poem which the poem itself tautens. Stafford has a poem prompted by Chaucer's 'The lyf so short, the craft so long to lerne', but he is adept at putting life and the craft at one. My point at present, though, is that in 'Long distance', the experience shared is one of unexpected scale and scope — of depthing.

A poet may get a sense for this kind of thing from wherever a ballplayer gets a sense for speed and distance, but the betting is that he or she will not long practice the art without having gone to school to the earlier maestros or maestre. I do not know, for instance, whether Stafford listened hard to Emily Dickinson and to Frost, but it would be surprising if he had not done so, and his poems look as if he has. The temple or atelier for such activities is, of course, the library. It may be neon-bright, ticking over with technology, or it may be a dusty jumble of sixteenth-century theological polemic and sanitary reports on the Russo-Japanese war, but it always offers openings into plurality. There is an invisible ocean of alternatives filling a library from floor to ceiling.

Our own time has seen writers of distinction who were also librarians, Borges and Larkin among them. But in pursuit of my theme I turn for a while to a different partisan of change, Randall Jarrell. Jarrell was himself a Consultant to the Library of Congress; more significantly, perhaps, he was the sort of person God must have had in mind when facilitating the invention of books in the first place. Jarrell loved many books as if they were extensions of his own personality, which indeed is what they came to be. (If he was a good lover, he was also a good hater, and he was for a while the most feared literary reviewer in America: had he been confronted about this, he would, I am sure, have claimed simply to be a stoker of the bonfire of the vanities.)

When Jarrell wrote poems, or criticism, or letters, or his virtuoso novel *Pictures from an Institution*, there was a seamless weave between reading and living. In 1954 he grew a beard — not at that time an obvious thing to do — and he wrote to Robert Penn Warren, 'When I look in the mirror it's just as if the fairies had stolen me away and left Odysseus in my place'. In his introduction to *The man who loved children*, he wrote,

"The commonest and most nearly fundamental principle of organization, in serial arts like music and literature, is simply that of repetition; it organizes their notes or words very much as habit organizes our lives. Christina Stead particularly depends on repetition, and particularly understands the place of habit in our lives. If she admits that the proverb is true — *Heaven gives us habits to take the place of happiness* — she also admits that the habits *are* happiness of a sort, and

that most happiness, after all, is happiness of a sort; she could say with Yeats that in Eden's Garden 'no pleasing habit ends.'" (Jarrell 1970, p.29)

In his urbane jeremiad, 'The obscurity of the poet', he says,

"When a person says accusingly that he can't understand Eliot, his tone implies that most of his happiest hours are spent at the fireside among worn copies of the *Agamemnon*, *Phèdre*, and the Symbolic Books of William Blake; and it is melancholy to find, as one commonly will, that for months at a time he can be found pushing eagerly through the pages of *Gone with the wind* or *Forever amber*, where *with head, hands, wings, or feet this poor fiend pursues his way, and swims, or sinks, or wades, or creeps, or flies*; that all his happiest memories of Shakespeare seem to come from a high school production of *As you like it* in which he played the wrestler Charles; and that he has, by some obscure process of free association, combined James Russell, Amy, and Robert Lowell into one majestic whole: a bearded cigar-smoking ambassador to the Vatican who, after accompanying Theodore Roosevelt on his first African expedition, came home to dictate on his deathbed the 'Concord Hymn'. Many a man, because Ezra Pound is too obscure for him, has shut for ever the pages of *Paradise lost*; or so one would gather, from the theory and practice such people combine." (Jarrell 1973, p.21)

Earlier, I called Jarrell a 'partisan of change'. The need to be changed, the hope to be changed — this is a swaying, almost an obsessive, theme in his poetry. The conclusions of many of his poems are give-aways in this regard. 'The marchen' ends, 'Had you not learned — have we not learned, from tales/ Neither of beasts nor kingdoms nor their Lord,/ But of our own hearts, the realm of death —/ Neither to rule nor die? to change, to change!' 'The woman at the Washington Zoo' ends, 'You know what I was,/ You see what I am: change me, change me!' 'The Elementary scene' ends, 'I float above the small limbs like their dream: / I, I the future that mends everything.' This avidity for alteration, in the hope that change will mean improvement, is not the whole story, since Jarrell has as well a horror of mortality's dark witchery. But it is characteristic of him, as well as relevant to my theme, that his 'The Carnegie Library, Juvenile Division' (1969, p.99), should end like this:

We learned from you so much about so many things
But never what we were; and yet you made us that.
We found in you the knowledge for a life
But not the will to use it in our lives
That were always, somehow, so different from the books'.
We learn from you to understand, but not to change.

This is not remarkable poetry; in fact it suffers from the prosiness which was Jarrell's tertian ague — though not when he was writing prose. What is remarkable is this characterisation, earlier in the same poem, of making one's

habitation, even if temporarily, in the country of otherness to which books may be the doors:

Here under the waves' roof, where the seals are men;
In the rhymes' twilight, where the old cup ticks
Its gnawing lesson; where the beasts loom in the green
Furred darkness of the marchen: country the child thought life
And wished for and crept to out of his own life —
Must you still isle such, raiders from a world
That you so long ago lost heart to represent?
The child tugs the strap tight round four books
To leave the cavern. And the cut-out ornaments
In colors harsh and general as names,
The dolls' scarred furniture, too small
For anything but pity, like the child —
Surely you recognize in these the hole
That widens from the middle of a field
To that one country where the poor see gold?
The woodman dances home, rich, rich; but a shade glides
Into the bright strange sunlight of the world
He owned once; the thaler blur out like a tear,
He knocks like a stranger and a stranger speaks,
And he sees, brass on the knocker, the gnome's joyless smile.

This is not poetry which licences escapism — the library as the thinking person's Luna Park, so to speak. The first poem in Jarrell's *Complete poems* is called 'A girl in a library', and it is pure indulgence of the nineteen-year-old asleep among the books. The present poem is more alert to, and pained by, the insufficiencies of even so sufficient a thing as a library. He says, near the end of the essay on Stead's book, 'a novel is a prose narrative of some length that has something wrong with it', and the sense of 'something wrong' obtrudes itself into most of what he writes. 'Must you still isle such, raiders from a world/ That you so long ago lost heart to represent?' is a grave enough question, and that the passage should issue in 'the gnome's joyless smile' tells us something about the intent of the whole. 'Knowledge, even when it is power, is still not consolation', Jarrell says in *Pictures from an institution*. It is a world-liner saying than the Baconian dictum which prompted it, it has a Virgilian poignancy to it, and it might have found a place in this poem.

And yet the passage is a spell-binder. It beguiles, it pronounces a charm. The medley of musicality, telling imagery, inserted questions, and syntactical variety is itself a form of powerful knowledgeability, and a form of consolation. Jarrell has learned, again in part from Frost, but from a variety of other sources as well, how to offer nouns, adjectives, verbs and the rest of them as a plenum, notably molten and mutable. Alliteration helps this, as does line-

run, as does what Donald Davie calls the 'articulate energy' of the syntax. To look at the verbs alone— 'ticks...loom...wished...crept...isle...lost heart...represent...tugs' — is to be alerted to the shifts of sensitive wit informing the lines. If a form of language is a form of life, such nuanced language is a nuanced life of the imagination.

With Jarrell in the library, one becomes aware of two things, or two aspects of the one thing: that where books are denotative, minds are connotative; and that while we have it in us to be the transformers of the library, as responsive recipients, there is no inevitability about this. As to the first, and in spite of obvious objections about revision and redaction and edition, the books are like the definitions of words in a dictionary — there you have them, for what they are worth. The readerly activity — what might be called *lectio humana* — supplies association, intellectual confrereship, reverberation. But books, as we have long been told, are in the hands of fate, and the most deserving of them cannot command competence in its readers: whereupon, as Auden used to like to quote from Lichtenberg, 'a book is a mirror: if an ass peers into it, you can't expect an apostle to look out.' Jarrell was no ass, and books, after he had been at them, often had an apostolic, though joy-filled look; but he did not expect this to happen every time, and he was up to confessing passing asininities when that seemed called for.

For some of us, our debts to libraries are both intimate and boundless. It is hard for us to imagine not only what our lives would have been like, but almost who we would have been, had we not been able to get at them. They need not have been the *Bibliothèque Nationale* or even some municipal collection: they may have consisted of a sacred shelf-ful, things palmed and fingered as, in other cultures, basket or sextant, arquebus or trephine might be, all of them potent with invoked meaning and implied destination. There could of course be a lot of unthinking selfishness in this. I remember Daniel Berrigan's writing in the '60s, when first he was being jailed, that to find himself bookless made him aware that we easily take a supermarketeeering attitude to libraries. I also remember realizing, more recently, during a visit to Pakistan, how decisively having a command of the dashes and curlicues that make up our written words can dictate the food one will eat, the drink one may have, the respect or contempt with which one will be regarded, and the length one will live. The motto of Oxford University is '*Dominus Illuminatio Mea*' — 'The Lord is my enlightenment'. True indeed: but the proclamation has a battered look on the truncheons in the Ashmolean Museum. All instruments of learning, including libraries, have one look when they are turned to the light, another when they are turned to the darkness. The personal library of Heinrich Himmler consisted of three sections: The history of torture; Freemasons and Jews; and chicken-farming. That Himmler was a failed chicken-farmer was the least of his infirmities.

One of my erstwhile colleagues used to say that being a university administrator was no occupation for a grown man. He was not then, and he never will be, a grown man, which may account for the top-lofty air of his

claim. To dismiss out of hand the notion that being a haunter of libraries is no occupation for a grown person would be rash, though: the bookworm may never turn. Howard Nemerov, conscious of this, wrote once, splendidly, that 'the ivory tower should always be carved from the horn of Behemoth', and it would be agreeable, if implausible, to think that this has been brought off over the ages. The library's cocoon is to be spun and to be cherished only on the condition of other cocoons — that it sponsors a vivacity which it cannot contain.

That said, though, libraries, whether they are free-standing or are elements in larger institutions, are at risk, as the brooding, potentially tumultuous presence of the mind is always at risk. Hannah Arendt points out, in *The origins of totalitarianism*, that in that comparative rarity, the totalitarian state, creativity of thought must be quelled, not because it is explicitly disaffected, but because, being innovative, it always threatens in principle to subvert petrification. (Jarrell, who adored Arendt, and who transmuted both her and her husband in *Pictures from an institution*, understood that implicitly. So did Auden, who both drew on Arendt's insights in the writing of his own poetry, and proposed marriage to her when she was widowed. For a variety of reasons, nothing came of this.)

Naked will is the ugliest of the enemies of intellect. Borges begins his short prose piece entitled 'The wall and the books' by saying, 'I read not long ago that the man who ordered the building of the almost infinite Chinese Wall was the first Emperor, Shih Huang Ti, who also decreed the burning of all the books that had been written before his time.' (Borges 1973, p.3) The telling words here are 'I read'. The emperor's blood-tainted ensemble of dirt and masonry can still be seen from the moon, but its cultural meaning can still be spied only with the aid of books.

Our times are dire enough, but they are not yet bereft of people who see that we must, both for our own honour and in order to keep faith with our predecessors as with our successors, go on resuming the yield of book-upon-book. After all, it has been self-upon-self that has given rise to the sequence of the generations — bondings, telling donations, fruitful receptivities. Because human history is overwhelmingly the history of anonymity, we become used to thinking that life is largely a matter of replication, of quasi-cloning. Statistics play Siren to us, and we forget that the harmonies of the Sirens masked lethal intent. The fact is that the history of writing, at any rate in the West, is a history of largely unsaluted flamboyance — of inventive procreativity. Milton's notion that a good book was the precious lifeblood of a master-spirit may be unappealing to some today because of its overtones of domination, and certainly I cannot imagine that it would have been agreeable to be Friday on a desert island if Milton were Robinson Crusoe; but the man was, to put it mildly, on to something. He knew, none better, that to have certain books by heart and at heart was to become the generator of new powers.

In illustration of this general point, I instance Ben Belitt. He is not everybody's poet, but for some of us he is a necessary one. This is the way he goes.

VOYAGE OF THE BEAGLE

*'If, as the poets say, life is a dream, I am
sure in a voyage these are the visions
which best serve to pass away the long
night.'*

*'Love of the chase is an inherent delight
in man.'* — Charles Darwin

Hunting the old divinity of species
like Adam, he entered the peaceable kingdom
and saw at Galapagos a Chinese universe
supported by tortoises like an emperor's bibelot.

In his string-bag, over the chart tables, ear to the
ocean's floor, vomiting hardtack and gall,
he palpated the breathing of plates and the jostling
of continents, knowing nothing was finished —
Creation's sixth Day, John's seven churches,
the conversions and the martyrdoms of Paul,
awaited their huntsman-interpreter — the bola's arc
flung from the fist of a Patagonian horseman
while the species still worked in the dark.

And gathered the delicate evidence on Alice's
tea-table in a dream of enormity
diminishing into the infinitesimal: first,
the bleeding of marble and waterspouts,
the clouds of Magellan, the moving and shaking of birds,
the Malthusian savage computing his global migrations
in surds and quadratic equations, Friday's
footprint vanishing into the rain forest; then,
a 'rattling of stones' at the surf line, the lace-
makers knotting the atolls with fungus and coral,
the locusts of Luzan, the flea:

till all was Edenic diversity. The animal
mystery opened the way to the thirteen
mutations of spiders and mice, the finches'
metamorphoses, seventy-times-seven, including
the species named Charles, the eternal turned into
the heterogeneous, the hunted lay down with the hunter.

And the beached hypochondriac, indoors with the bread and the wine
of his pharmacopeia, opened a page of his journal.

(for Fred Burkhardt)

This is the poetry of a dialectical spirit. Whether or not it likes 'issues', it takes issue, at many points. It is hungry for originality even when it is most engrossed by the world's elaborate givens. Belitt has spent a long lifetime meditating various forms of transformation, conspicuously those of translation, of poetry itself, and of dissent and affirmation. Two prose passages indicate something of his habitual intent. From *Imitations* (p.66):

"Indeed, Babel is always with us. The moralist will say, for example: Translation is a long discipline of self-denial, a matter of fidelity or betrayal: traduttore, traditore. The vitalist will say: Translation is a matter of life and death, merely: the life of the original or the death of it. The poet will say: Translation is either the composition of a new poem in the language of the translator, or the systematic liquidation of a masterpiece from the language of the original. The epistemologist will say: Translation is an illusion of the original forced upon the translator at every turn because he has begun by substituting his own language and occasion for that of the poet and must fabricate his reality as he goes. The Sibyl sees all and says: Translation is the truth of the original in the only language capable of rendering it 'in truth': the original language untouched by translation."

From *Literature and belief: three 'spiritual exercises'* (p.28):

"What, then, is the importance of literature for belief? In the first place, literature offers the believer a medium — linguistic, graphic, sonal, mimetic, symbolic — to which he can retire with all his doubts and contradictions intact, and bring them into expressive play. He can come to his art 'ready like a strong man to run a race;' or he can come to it rocking, retching, and wrestling. In either case his medium will accept him without the forfeit of a single anxiety or certainty, and deliver him from the empirical life of contingency to the compositional life of the artifact. Like Praise, of which it is certainly a form, it will remove the artificer from the event with the entirety of its passion, and accomplish its autonomy at all costs. If it is important that two alternatives be kept in contradiction, to the immediate dismay of the intelligence, literature will keep them at bay while life rages for solutions. If the artist is beguiled to compromise with events, while his real misgivings lie sealed away in abandoned areas of his sensibility, his art will pursue him there and wait for an answer. If his mind is seemingly ready with all the wit of the ages, while his consent delays and denies, the resources of literature are there to disclose his confusions and give the lie to his bravado. In short, it is possible through the medium of literature for the artist to function with maximum fullness at two levels of awareness, as the vessel of a double disclosure: the beliefs which his will imposes on the appearance of things through the semiotic fiction of his medium, and the unruly intuitions which explode out of his psychic life."

As these passages will suggest, Belitt is incapable of superficiality or of the perfunctory. If the great mountaineer wanted to climb Everest 'because it is there', God presumably made Everest because it wasn't there. Belitt writes thoughtfully so that something may truly be *there*. This is a comparatively rare aspiration, and a rarer accomplishment. But in its quest for originality, it is no

more dismissive of what is already to hand than God is dismissive of the Matterhorn; so far as we are concerned, Everest exists in part allusively. When Belitt writes 'Voyage of the *Beagle*', he is in a couple of senses taking on Darwin, and the Bible.

Lord Zuckerman, in a simple encyclopedia on animal life, writes, 'Once we get to the Vertebrata everything is plain sailing'. This is news to some of us, though one sees what he means. There is a sense in which the great imaginative divide is between those who think that once we get to anything conceivable everything is plain sailing, and those who do not. Belitt does not. The commonsense view of things is that there is a commonsense view of things: but this is not, as the philosophers say, immediately evident. Belitt works out of the conviction that nobody is the authority on the world, nobody has the world as intellectual property. This is a profoundly un-political, un-economic, and of course un-dogmatic view of things. It runs counter to the de-facto philistinism which is the working assumption of most people, including many artists. It is an attitude of the thunderstruck — the sort of thing Borges found in Chesterton, and Chesterton in Francis of Assisi, and Francis, apparently, in birds, fire, and naked humanity.

Which does not mean that it is necessarily naive. Belitt is no more simply a collector of items and references than Darwin was simply a collector of specimens and categories. What one finds, typically, in his writing is a passionate engagement with a triple process — that of the world at large, that of the mind responding to it, and that of language as it denominates both of these. First, the world. His poems abound in specific items — the tortoises, the hard-tack, the coral, the flea — which are, however, not there as adornment nor as an earnest that the poet is in touch with 'the actual', but which all ask to be 'placed', to be 'pitched'. In contemporary China, if you make an enquiry on the telephone, you will be asked first not who you are but where you are — meaning, in which defining group you are to be located. What is to be made of you will depend significantly upon that. Belitt wants to know, not sociologically and not zoologically but ontologically, what is the status of any reality, and above all of any process. It would be an instance of the philistinism I have mentioned already for someone to provide an existing category: it is a critically important part of the poem's own venture to be, or become, the category. When, in his epigraph, Belitt quotes Darwin's 'Love of the chase is an inherent delight in man', he is alerting us not just to his topic but to his own activity. The first word of the poem is 'Hunting', the last, 'journal'. Reality is being hunted into the poem's journal — a word which happily blends definition with the unfinished.

Next, the mind. Hans Urs von Balthasar points out in his *Theo-drama* that to represent is both to hide and to disclose. Such, always, are the mind's fortunes: we proceed, like it or not, *componendo et dividendo*. Belitt's topic is often, as here, the drama of the mind engaged in representation. Darwin is his heroic type, Darwin *agonistes*, his body issuing its protests, in vomit and hypochondria, at what it is driven to do, and his mind labouring in milieux in

which it could be accomplished, but in which it could not be at home: the huntsman-interpreter, moving in a dream of enormity, could never have the solacing proficiency of the Patagonian horseman.

Hopkins said that the mind has mountains, Gavin de Beer that whenever Darwin, on his travels, saw a mountain he always tried to climb it. Donne thought that truth was on a huge hill, and that the seeker 'aboute must, and aboute must go'. Belitt's Darwin is one whose intellectual exposedness is like the exposedness of the world itself. The marble and the waterspouts bleed, demiurgic lacemakers knot the atolls with fungus and coral, species mutate and metamorphose; in all this the human diviner, orientated but also disconcerted by the Bible's first and last words, himself a species among species, tries to find his way. Darwin, for Belitt, is an exemplary spectacle — as, elsewhere, are Thoreau, Machado, Keats, Shakespeare — but he is also a tutelary presence. Beagles hunt, Darwins hunt, Belitts hunt — the *Beagle* becomes totem and congener, Darwin the shadower of the present pursuit.

And then there was language. The clue here is the Adam of the first stanza. 'The world was all before them, where to choose / Their place of rest', Milton says of the first questers as they leave Eden, and when Adam enters the world of our inhabiting he goes as a namer still. 'Whatsoever Adam called every living creature, that was the name thereof' — a scientist's motto in its own way, it is always and everywhere a poet's, too. There is a story about James Joyce to the effect that, visited for lunch by an acquaintance, he remarked that he had been working all the morning on a sentence. 'You are looking for the *mot juste*?' 'Oh no, I have all the words. I am looking for the order.' There is a philistine way of reading that, of course, but essentially it speaks of what Auden attributed to Henry James — nuance and scruple. We know that things microscopically small can have consequences of a continental scope; poetry of finesse works on similar assumptions.

Any poem of Belitt's will show what a raider he has been of the wordhoard, as here with 'divinity', 'bibelot', 'hardtack', 'bola', 'fist', 'surds', 'heterogeneous', 'bread' and 'wine': he goes after these things as Paul Klee goes after ellipse and angle. But we miss almost everything about Belitt's art unless we notice what is there to be seen in the prose, too. Look again at the passages above, and it will be plain that even the most happily-chosen of lexical elements takes effect because of the field of intellectual and imaginative force in which it is held. If that is true of *prosus*, whose business it is to keep straight on, it is all the truer in *versus*, which reduplicates itself in creative contrariety.

There are some poets the virtue of whose writing is that it constantly reinvigorates the force of the words 'and' and 'but'. In Latin, '*atque*' means 'and moreover', '*atqui*', 'but anyhow'; they are congenially contrasted bedfellows. A Donne, a Pope, an Auden writes in such a way that one element beds another, countering its distinctiveness with an alternative and chiming distinctiveness. In the first four lines of Belitt's poem, 'Hunting' is held tense between threat and desire: 'divinity' can be both the discipline and its object:

'Adam' is our old forefather, sundry American Adams, and the red earth in quest of its new specific being: 'the peaceable kingdom' is Isaiah's dream, another nineteenth-century visionary's painting, and the animal realm: 'a Chinese universe' is multilayered, unitary, alien, and self-sufficient: the 'tortoises' are natural, are artistic, and evoke a metaphysical void: 'an emperor's bibelot' is a glance at 'Sailing to Byzantium' and a possible model for the divinity and its earth-toy.

None of these tones and overtones are irrelevant to the insights and questions being orchestrated, and all depend intimately, for their most telling force, upon the location as well as the selection of the words.

There is much more to be said about Belitt, but this is not the place for it. I offer what is here to make the point about literature's self-possession through the possession of the other, the earlier, the not-yet, and the perhaps-not-to-be. Belitt's own *New and selected poems* is, as it happens, called *Possessions*, and its epigraph is his own *cri* of a question, 'If nothing is ever reborn,/ what have we ever possessed?' It is yet another declaration of vulnerability, but placed as it is, it also undertakes to make for rebirth. That, as I take it, is the implicit undertaking of all those committed to creativity. They know that their art is intertextual, just as their selves are intergenerational. They are book-bred, as well as book-breeding. And they know that although anyone may own a copy of a book, nobody owns the book itself: the thing, the process, the promise, is part of the fabric of the world — and nobody, certainly not the God who made it be itself, owns that.

About all this, I leave the last word to my betters. In *The government of the tongue*, Seamus Heaney, who is himself part of the debt which he goes on paying to the past, writes, of Mandelstam on Dante:

"Dante, in other words, is often studied as the great example of a poet whose tongue is governed by an orthodoxy or system, whose free expressiveness is under the strict control of a universe of rules, from the rules of metre to the commandments of the church. Now, enter Mandelstam. Nothing, he implies, could be further from the truth. The three-edged stanza is formed from within, like a crystal, not cut on the outside like a stone. The poem is not governed by external conventions and impositions but follows the laws of its own need. Its composition had all the spontaneity of a chain reaction, of an event in nature:

We must try to imagine, therefore, how bees might have worked at this thirteen-thousand-faceted form, bees endowed with the brilliant stereometric instinct, who attracted bees in greater and greater numbers as they were required ... Their cooperation expands and grows more complicated as they participate in the process of forming the combs, by means of which space virtually emerges out of itself.

This is extraordinarily alive and persuasive, one felicity in a work of disconcertingly abundant genius, the greatest paean I know to the power which poetic imagination wields." (Heaney p.84)

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What makes a good commentary?

Nigel Watson

In seeking to answer the question, 'What makes a good commentary?' I cannot help thinking how much simpler it would be to answer, 'What makes a good theological librarian?' The latter question is open to a very simple yet entirely adequate answer, 'A good theological librarian is a librarian like Lawrence McIntosh.' For myself, to begin to think about commentaries is inevitably to be reminded of the monumental work that Lawrence has done during his time at the Joint Theological Library, not only in keeping the Library well stocked with the latest theological literature but also in continually alerting all of us, both teachers and students, to any new publication that might be of value to us in whatever project we were pursuing at the time.

A SWELLING STREAM

Nevertheless, the question, 'What makes a good commentary?' is well worth considering, first of all and most obviously because of the cataract of new commentaries that shows no sign of abating but rather of swelling still further. It is worth recalling some of the series, either on the New Testament or on the Bible as a whole, which are currently in course of publication : the Anchor Bible, the New International Critical Commentary, the Hermeneia series, the Word Biblical Commentary, the TPI New Testament commentaries, the New International Commentary on the New Testament, the Augsburg Commentary on the New Testament, the Proclamation commentaries and the Epworth commentaries. At the same time, free-standing commentaries also continue to be published.

Because of the increasing proliferation of books and articles, the task of writing a commentary, any commentary, is becoming harder and harder. In the preface to his valuable devotional commentary on the Fourth Gospel, *The Light has come*, Lesslie Newbigin remarks that, in writing that book, he chiefly relied upon ten studies, which he then lists. All of them are reputable works of scholarship. In all, they contain well over 6,000 pages of print. Yet, as Newbigin himself observes (1982, p.x), they represent only a minute fraction

of the contemporary literature on the Gospel. Admirable though his coverage of the literature was, Newbigin evidently did not include in his regular reading what is perhaps the most scholarly recent commentary of all, that of Schnackenburg, whose three volumes run to 1,700 pages.

Again, the most scholarly commentary on 1 Corinthians must surely be that of Gordon Fee in the NICNT series. Fee tells us, in the preface to that volume, that he worked on it, on average, twelve hours a day, six days a week, for fourteen months. (1987, pp.xi ff.) It is indeed an excellent commentary, magisterial in its coverage of the literature and sound in its judgment. It runs to 976 pages. Volume 1 of the New ICC *Matthew* by W.D.Davies and Dale C. Allison, covering chapters 1-7, runs to 731 pages. Volume 2, covering chapters 8-18, to 807 pages. Both Davies & Allison's commentary and Dunn's are awe-inspiring in their coverage of the literature.

Since even biblical specialists admit that they are not able to keep up with all the literature in their area of specialisation, it becomes even more urgent for all of us who study the Bible, whether specialists or not, to have some idea of what makes a good commentary, so that our reading, which can never be exhaustive, may at least be as fruitful as possible.

INADEQUATE CRITERIA

Before I suggest some positive criteria, it is worth clearing away some inadequate ones. First of all, length is not necessarily a measure of inspiration. This was brought home to me when I was working on my own commentary on 2 Corinthians. Some of the commentaries which I was consulting regularly were very detailed. Furnish's (Anchor Bible) runs to 621 pages, Martin's (Word) to 527. Others were of much more modest proportions. The relevant part of Lang's commentary on 1 and 2 Corinthians (NTD) runs to 119 pages, while the commentary by Klauck (Neue Echter Bibel) runs to 107 pages.

But length is not everything. For myself, one of the best ways of measuring the value of a serious book is to count up how many pages of notes I have taken. It was while I was working on 2 Cor. 12: 1-10, the passage which deals with Paul's 'thorn in the flesh', that I was made most aware of the lack of any necessary correlation between the length of a commentary and its usefulness. On the passage in question Furnish had written twenty-eight pages, from which I compiled two-and-three-quarter pages of notes. From Martin's thirty-one pages I took a little over a page of notes. Lang's discussion of the passage, on the other hand, which ran only to six pages, inspired me to take a good page of notes, while Klauck's, which ran to no more than five, yielded a page and a half. I would not wish to question the value of the two longer commentaries that I have mentioned, those of Furnish and Martin, especially that of Furnish, but it would appear that, in commenting on the passage in question, Klauck was saying more that was worth saying than Martin, and in one sixth of the space.

If the length of a commentary is not a reliable measure of its usefulness, neither is its date. Of course, one expects a commentary published, say, in

1992 to take account of works published as late as 1990, if not in 1991, yet there are commentaries from previous decades, previous centuries and even previous millennia which still repay careful study. In writing my own commentary on 2 Corinthians for the Epworth series, I regularly found that of James Denney well worth consulting, even though it was published in 1894.

Again, Lightfoot's commentary on Galatians was published in 1887, yet, in spite of the recent spate of commentaries on Galatians, I can think of none which discusses the question raised by Gal. 2: 3-5, viz. was Titus circumcised or was he not?, with a conciseness and trenchancy to equal his. I cite two sentences : 'Taking into account the narrative in the Acts, both the occasion and the person were most inopportune for such a concession... No act could be conceived more fatal to the interests of St Paul's clients at such a moment, or less likely to have been permitted by him.' (Lightfoot, 1887, p.104)

Apropos of Galatians, no commentator worth his or her salt would ignore the commentaries of Luther or Calvin, to say nothing of that of Chrysostom.

If then neither length nor recent date is a reliable measure of the usefulness of a commentary, what is? What does make a good commentary? To ask this question is to raise far-reaching questions about the meaning of exegesis and indeed about the meaning of meaning. I have struggled with these questions in my first book, *Striking home*. (1987) The position I arrived at was, to put it briefly, that while the first task of the interpreter is to try to ascertain the meaning which the original author was seeking to communicate to the readers in view, the meaning of any text, still more, the biblical text, is too rich to be defined in terms of authorial intention alone. In other words, the author should have the first word but not the last word. The implication of this position, spelt out at some length in chapter 2 of *Striking home*, is that we need to distinguish a number of levels or strands of meaning in a biblical text.

STRANDS OF MEANING

- AUTHORIAL INTENTION

Thus there is first of all the level of authorial intention. In *Striking home* I have argued that this notion of authorial intention is a complex one, and that a distinction can usefully be made between Conscious Authorial Intention, Barely Conscious Intention, which I have also described as Unattended Meaning, and Subconscious Intention. By Conscious Authorial Intention I understand that meaning or perception or vision which the author was consciously seeking to communicate to the readers he or she primarily had in mind. By Barely Conscious Intention I understand any strand of meaning which is unlikely to have been in the forefront of the author's mind but which he or she would have been glad to acknowledge, had it been brought to their attention. By Subconscious Intention I mean any strand of meaning which the author might well have repudiated, had he or she learned of it being attributed to them, but which nevertheless seems to be present in the text.

As for Barely Conscious Intention or Unattended Meaning, in *Striking home* I cited as an example Paul's fourfold use of 'us' and 'our' in Gal. 1: 3f. as a turn of phrase which is unlikely to be the result of careful deliberation yet which is still indicative of his desire not to exclude the Galatians, for all their folly, from the community of faith and love. (Watson, 1987, p.35) The occurrence of the word 'brethren' at the end of the final verse of the letter could be held to be equally revealing.

Another instance would be the various patterns of *inclusio* and chiasmus and the like that are detected by some scholars in different writings. The triads which Davies and Allison (1988, pp.62-72) find all through Matthew's Gospel, particularly in the Sermon on the Mount, are a good example.

The detection of subconscious intention in a biblical text is more difficult, since we have no direct access to the author. In dealing with a contemporary author, we can interview him. We can ask her what her book is all about. He or she may write an autobiography or keep a journal. In all these ways we have a direct access to an author's conscious intentions which is denied to us, when we are dealing with a biblical author like Paul. Our only access to Paul's meaning in, say, Romans, is the text itself. To use the terminology developed by Reception Theory, we do not have direct access to the actual author, only to the implied author. We therefore cannot point to any discrepancy between any statement of his *about* the intent of the writing in question and what he appears to be saying *through* it. Nevertheless, there are passages, I believe, where the text itself exhibits internal tensions that are best explained by postulating a conflict between the author's conscious and subconscious intentions. The author, in other words, is arguing against himself, subverting his own text. Elsewhere I have argued, following a lead given by John Knox (1962, p.66), that Rom. 7: 14-25 can well be regarded as an example of such a passage. (Watson 1988, pp.47-49)

INTERPRETATION IN THE LIGHT OF LITERARY AND SOCIAL CONVENTIONS

The discernment of what I have called Subconscious Intention is only possible when one reads a passage in the light of its wider context. There are other ways again in which reading a passage in a wider context results in the perception of a deeper level of meaning. To begin with, a passage may shine in a new light, when it is read against the background of the literary and social conventions of the writer's own time. It is at this point that I consider that Structuralist criticism has made its most important contribution to biblical studies.

The essay of Roland Barthes, 'The struggle with the angel' (1977, p.125-41) is still the best example of the application of such criticism that I know of. The story of Jacob's struggle with the angel in Genesis 32 is surely one of the most mysterious stories in the Bible, the sort of story that sends a tingle down the spine. Why is this so? Barthes argues that the reader is constrained to read

the story as if it were a normal folk-tale but then finds that the conventions of such tales are being overturned. The originator of the quest and the opponent turn out, in the moment of disclosure, to be one and the same. The effect on the reader is a surrealistic sense of disorientation. In this account of Barthes' work, I am indebted to John Barton's *Reading the Old Testament*. (1984, pp.116-119)

WIDER AUTHORIAL CONTEXT

A passage can also acquire a new depth of meaning, when it is read in the light of the writing as a whole or in the light of the author's total output.

In an essay I contributed to the *Festschrift* for Eduard Schweizer (Watson 1983) I have tried to show that 2 Corinthians 1: 9b acquires an altogether new depth in the light of Paul's thought as a whole. In the RSV this half-verse reads: '...but that was to make us rely not on ourselves but on God who raises the dead.' For one thing, this fragment of a verse sums up, with great clarity, the fundamental conviction which comes to expression not only in Romans and Galatians, in Paul's teaching about justification by grace through faith, but also in his teaching about true wisdom in the Corinthian epistles, the fundamental conviction that 'Salvation is of the Lord.'

At the same time, this half-verse reflects many other components of Paul's thought. In the article referred to, I find no fewer than ten further components of Paul's thought which I believe are all implicit in, or at least suggested by, 2 Cor. 1: 9b. For example, this half-verse illustrates the point that Paul's religion is not just an affair of the head but of the heart, an orientation of the person as a whole, an act of hazarding one's whole existence. Again, there is in the half-verse, and in the whole sentence of which it is a part, a striking but altogether typical balance between the past, the present and the future. The half-verse also illustrates the profound theocentricity at the heart of Paul's theology. Paul's ultimate trust rests in the one who raises the dead, who alone is God.

CANONICAL CONTEXT

A passage may be invested with still further depths of meaning, when it is read in the light of the Bible as a whole. It is at this point that I consider that Brevard Childs has made his most significant contribution with his method of canonical criticism, whatever may be the legitimate criticisms to which he has exposed himself by the way he has applied his method and particularly by the elastic way in which he defines the term 'canon'. (For a critique of Childs on this point see especially James Barr's *Canon, authority, criticism*, pp.146f.) Childs argues that each of the biblical writings carries, so to speak, an introductory rubric, to the effect that it is a work which has continued to address communities of faith and therefore deserves to be read with most serious attention and in the expectation that it will continue to do so. He also insists that it is inadequate to read any biblical book in isolation. Rather it is to be read along with the other biblical witnesses in all their variety. The essential rightness of this connection is confirmed for me by the way in which a

biblical passage again and again shines in a new light, when it is read in counterpoint with other biblical voices.

There is an excellent example of canonical criticism in an article of Walter Brueggemann's, 'The crisis and promise of presence in Israel. ' (1979) Brueggemann places side by side, on one hand, Yahweh's response to Moses' request in Exodus 33 to know God as he is known and even to see God's glory and, on the other, Paul's response in 1 Corinthians to Corinthian aspirations to walk by faith and not by sight. 'Moses wants to know, but he is not given to know... Yahweh insists that Moses (and Israel) must walk utterly by faith. Yahweh is the only knower. Moses is given to know nothing beyond the promise unencumbered by visible assurances... The one who asked to see is driven back to a request simply to know. But he is in fact not given to know either.

He is known. And that is enough... Paul's opponents, like the Mosaic community, wanted to leave nothing to God, wanted to see, wanted to penetrate, to walk finally by sight and not by faith... It is in response to that claim that Paul offers *agape* as an alternative to knowledge (see especially 1 Cor. 8: 2-3; cf. 13: 12)'. (Brueggemann 1979, pp.50, 52, 60, 67f.) Through Brueggemann's exposition, which sets Exodus 33 side by side with 1 Corinthians 8, each passage shines in a new light, with a new depth and a new authority.

With canonical criticism is readily associated *Sachkritik*, that is, criticism of a particular formulation of the gospel, even a biblical formulation, in the light of one's understanding of the gospel as a whole. The commonest English rendering of this German term seems to be Content Criticism.

THE VOICE OF THE MILIEU

In what I have said so far, I have been concerned with the meaning intended by the author, albeit at various levels of consciousness and, it may be, illumined by the reading of the passage within a wider context. But it is also open to us to ask whether the text in question has been shaped by social structures and economic forces of which the author was not aware. One of the main concerns of both Materialistic Exegesis and Feminist Exegesis is to pursue precisely that question. I suggest that this dimension of meaning could be called *the voice of the milieu*. (For a useful introduction to Materialist Exegesis see Christopher Rowland, 'Materialist interpretation.'; for Feminist Exegesis see Sandra Marie Schneiders, *The revelatory text*. (pp.180-86.)

READER RESPONSE CRITICISM

The strands of meaning that we have been concerned with so far have been defined primarily in terms of the author, the author's intentions, the author's setting. Recent exegetes, however, have been more and more concerned with the role of the reader in interpretation. This emphasis is not wholly new. In the preface to her classic work, *The study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, Beryl Smalley (1983, p.vii) stresses the way in which in the Middle Ages the reader as well as the writer of a text was held to be responsible for the production of meaning. The reader of a text, whether biblical or classical, was expected to

be more active and less passive than his modern counterpart. He took less interest in the mind of the author and more in the author's product; he put his own meaning into it. The text was more alive than its author to him. In the years since that preface was written, scholarly interest has focused more and more on meaning as the result of a dialogue between the reader and the text. But the meaning perceived by the readers in their dialogue with the text may be at variance with the author's intention. In my article on Reception Theory (1988, pp.53-55), already referred to, I suggest that the conflicts between Paul and the Corinthian community were exacerbated by a degree of mutual misunderstanding - misunderstanding on Paul's part of what exactly the Corinthians believed and hoped for, misunderstanding on their part of what Paul meant by the 'resurrection of the body'.

At the same time, particularly in the course of centuries of reading and interpretation, the text may well come to be understood in ways that go far beyond anything envisaged by the author. I cite as an example the plethora of interpretations of the Sermon on the Mount that have been held at different times throughout Christian history. Some interpreters of the sermon have understood it as a new moral code which is to be literally fulfilled. Some have seen it as intended to convince readers of sin and so prepare them for the gospel of God's grace. Some have seen it as meant only for exceptional Christians. Some have seen it as applying only to a spiritual regime, not to the worldly regime in which Christians live as citizens. Some have understood it as an ethic for an interim, some as an ethic of disposition, the individual precepts of which are not to be taken literally. Some have seen it as representing an order of grace whose demands have been fulfilled only by Jesus. (For valuable surveys of these different types of exegesis see Robert A. Guelich, *The Sermon on the Mount*, pp.14-22, and Georg Strecker, *The Sermon on the Mount*, pp.15-23.)

EFFECTIVE-HISTORY

In the light of the foregoing discussion, our list of levels or strands of meaning needs to be extended to take account of the history of a text's interpretation, what is called in German *Wirkungsgeschichte*, in English, Effective-History. Within this category a distinction can usefully be made between the Immediate Reception of a text and its Subsequent Reception.

SHINING IN A NEW LIGHT

In a previous section I have spoken of how, in the course of centuries, a text may come to be understood in ways that go far beyond anything envisaged by the author. This phenomenon should not be understood as due solely to the wilfulness and perversity of subsequent readers in ignoring the author's clear signals as to how the text should be read. It is rather a sign of the text's richness. All great literature abounds in images, metaphors and symbols which are not reducible without remainder to a simple statement. It is surely a mark

of an inspired author that he or she is able to grasp intuitively the aptness of this image in this context without consciously apprehending the fullness of meaning which it is capable of conveying. For many contemporary scholars the meaning of a text for its original author is less important than the way in which it has been taken up into the imagination of later readers and endowed with ever-accumulating layers of significance. Furthermore, a passage may shine in a new light and disclose new depths of meaning through being read in a new life-setting. In *Striking home* (1987, pp.72-74; cf. also pp.36-38) I cite as an example of this phenomenon the way in which the parables spoke with new force to the changing needs and circumstances of the early church and I argue that this is a sign of their richness and vitality.

Here is another example, this time from Revelation. In chapter 16 we read how a loud voice from the temple commands the seven angels to pour out on the earth the seven bowls of the wrath of God. As each bowl is poured out, calamities occur which have an uncomfortably contemporary ring. Some humans are afflicted with foul and painful sores. The sea becomes like the blood of a corpse, and every living thing in the sea dies. The springs of water become blood. Finally something happens to the atmosphere. It is as if a covering is withdrawn. There is no relief from the scorching sunlight. Our own time is terrifyingly rich in such catastrophes, which are presented here as the outworking of the wrath of God.

I observed at the outset that the question, 'What makes a good commentary?' raises far-reaching questions about the meaning of exegesis and the meaning of meaning. The exploration of those questions has led us to distinguish a number of levels or strands of meaning in a biblical text or indeed in any text of literary significance. If all the different ways of reading a text which we have identified can legitimately be described as levels or strands of meaning of the text in question, it surely follows that one of the marks of a good commentator will be a sensitivity to those different levels. This is not to say that a good commentator is one who deliberately considers every passage from, say, twelve different points of view. However, when I try to recall those passages of exegesis that I have read over the years that struck me at the time, and still strike me, as being particularly illuminating, I find again and again that they are passages in which the commentator has paid particular attention, among other things, to the richness of meaning and resonance that a text acquires when read in a wider context. In the space that remains I shall mention three examples.

THE PAUL OF ACTS - THE PAUL OF THE LETTERS

My first example is a comment by Ernst Haenchen (1971, p.433), in his commentary on Acts, on Luke's account of the visit of Paul and Barnabas to Lystra in Acts 14: 8-20. Haenchen concedes that Luke does not portray Paul's mission as one continuous triumphal procession. He does foreshadow Paul's travail in the story of his call (9: 16), and does not suppress the persecutions at

Antioch and Iconium or the stoning at Lystra. But then Haenchen adds this remark: 'Yet it is not the power of Christ in the weakness of Paul that he portrays, but the power of the Lord in the power of his disciple.'

Why do I find this an arresting comment? First of all, it sums up very vividly, yet without exaggeration, the total impression made by the portrait of Paul in the book of the Acts as a whole - Paul, the ever-triumphing leader, equal to every occasion, undismayed, indefatigable. At the same time, there is in Haenchen's statement an implicit allusion to a passage in Paul's letters - his account of his 'thorn in the flesh', and God's answer to his plea to be rid of it, in 2 Cor. 12:9:

"My grace is sufficient for you, for power is made perfect in weakness." In formulating the contrast: 'not the power of Christ in the weakness of Paul but the power of the Lord in the power of his disciple', Haenchen has laid his finger on the way in which the Paul of Acts differs most sharply from the Paul of the letters - on the one hand, the indomitable leader; on the other, the Paul who could write, 'I came to you in weakness and in fear and in much trembling' (1 Cor. 2:3). He has, so to speak, stood back from the text and encapsulated in a single sentence the essence of the Paul of the Acts and the Paul of the letters. What is more, it is a sentence which stimulates further reflection. It reminds me of the contrast which Bonhoeffer draws (1967, pp.197f.), in what is probably his most famous poem, between his two *personae*. On the one hand, there was the person whom others perceived, who would step from his cell's confinement 'calmly, cheerfully, firmly, like a squire from his country-house.' And, on the other hand, there was the person whom Bonhoeffer felt himself to be - 'restless and longing and sick, like a bird in a cage.' So here we have an exegetical comment which not only uncovers a greater depth in the text than Luke can possibly have thought of but also contains in itself a depth of meaning of which Haenchen himself can hardly have been aware.

'BUT HE WAS SPEAKING OF THE TEMPLE OF HIS BODY'

My second example comes from Lesslie Newbigin's comment, in his exposition of the Fourth Gospel, *The Light has come* (1982), on the saying of Jesus about the destruction of the temple. In John this is found not, as in the synoptics, in the context of the passion narrative but in 2: 19-22. The main differences between the wording of the saying in John and the wording in the synoptics are these. First, whereas in the synoptics Jesus makes a double prediction: 'I will destroy this temple... I will build another...', in John we have an imperative followed by a prediction: 'Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up.' Second, whereas in the synoptics Jesus declares that he will *build* another temple, in John he uses the verb which could be used of the raising up of a body, as well as the restoration of a building. These two differences make it possible for John to add the comment in v. 21 that Jesus 'was speaking of the temple of his body.' Thus, as Newbigin says, 'The ironic imperative

("Go ahead and destroy this temple") has a double meaning: it refers both to Herod's great buildings which would in fact be destroyed, and to the body of Jesus which would be nailed to a cross.'

Newbigin then makes the further observation that this double reference rests upon a real interlocking of events on two levels, historical and theological. As for the historical level, the rejection of Jesus was the expression of a messianism which could lead eventually to the Jewish revolt and the destruction of the temple. In that sense the destruction of the physical body of Jesus in one with the destruction of the temple as a building. As for the interlocking at the theological level, 'The Temple is the place of sacrifice... But with the death of Jesus the one true sacrifice is offered and there is no more need for the blood of sheep and oxen. The Temple is the place of God's tabernacling where his glory dwells. But in Jesus the word of God has come to tabernacle among us and we have seen his glory (1:14). The flesh and blood of Jesus, this man, is the temple where God dwells in the fullness of grace and truth.' (Newbigin 1982, p.33) In other words, the death and resurrection of Jesus are the means by which the old order represented by the temple is done away with. The destruction and raising of the body of Jesus are one with the abrogation of the old temple and the raising up of a new temple, a new community worshipping God in spirit and truth.

What Newbigin has done in this exposition, which I have partly restated in my own words, is to show how the identification which John has Jesus make between the temple and his body is, both historically and theologically, profoundly apt. But this aptness only becomes apparent, when one considers the incident, as Newbigin has done, within the context both of the gospel as a whole and of the destruction of Jerusalem, which is alluded to by the evangelists, even though it falls outside the events which they are describing directly. This is another example of a commentator discovering a new depth in a passage by viewing it in the context not only of the book of which it is part but of the whole Bible.

'NOT OF LETTER BUT OF SPIRIT'

My third example of exposition which I have found particularly illuminating comes from James Denney's commentary on 2 Corinthians, which I mentioned at the beginning as being of lasting value, even though it was published in 1894. The comments I have in mind form part of Denney's exposition of 2 Cor. 3: 4-6. To appreciate their force, we need to look briefly at the context and emphasis of the verses to which they refer.

The main point of Paul's argument in this chapter is to claim that he and his associates are ministers of the new covenant, as a counter to the taunts of his opponents that anyone whose presence and oratory were as unimpressive as his, and who had had persecution heaped upon him as he had, was not fit to be considered an apostle of the Lord of glory. On the contrary, Paul insists, the new covenant of which we are ministers is invested with glory (vv. 7-11). Not only do we see with unveiled faces the glory of the Lord as though re-

flected in a mirror, 'we are being transformed into his likeness with ever-increasing glory' (v. 18, REB). To establish this point, Paul draws an elaborate contrast between the old covenant, its agent or minister, Moses, and its recipients, the people of Israel, on the one hand; and, on the other, the new covenant, its ministers, Paul and others, and its recipients, believers in Christ. Verses 7-11 are in the form of an *a fortiori* argument, thus: if the ministry of the old covenant was attended by glory, how much richer in glory must be the ministry of the new! This form of argument clearly implies that the ministry of the old covenant is by no means devoid of glory. Indeed, there is a sense in which Moses is presented as a precursor of the new covenant people, insofar as he, alone among the Israelites, is able to contemplate the divine glory with unveiled face.

At the same time, however, in elaborating this *a fortiori* argument, Paul represents the relationship of the old covenant to the new as one of sharp antithesis. The old covenant is a covenant of the letter which kills, the new covenant a covenant of the Spirit, who gives life (v. 6). The ministry of the old covenant is a ministry of condemnation, that of the new a ministry of justification (v. 9). The ministry of the old covenant is destined to pass away, whereas that of the new is destined to endure (v. 11). I cannot but find these antitheses too stark. What, I wonder, would the response of the author of Ps. 119 have been to Paul's description of the covenant inaugurated through Moses as a covenant of the letter which kills? For the psalmist, the law is a unique revelation of the faithfulness and righteousness of God. He would gladly spend his days extolling its praises (see especially vv. 137-52).

Such criticisms as these, of course, are by no means new. They have been made repeatedly by Jewish scholars, as well as by Christian scholars with expertise in Judaism. (The most influential voice of protest has been that of E.P. Sanders, particularly in *Paul and Palestinian Judaism*) In Paul's defence, on the other hand, it should be remembered that the opponents against whom his strictures are primarily directed in Galatians and 2 Corinthians are not Jews but either Judaisers who would have all Christians circumcised and keep the law of Moses, or Jewish-Christian who are exploiting their own Jewish connections in order to denigrate Paul. I would also maintain that Paul's strictures amount to not unfair comment on certain intertestamental or post-biblical Jewish writings like the Psalms of Solomon. (I have discussed 2 Corinthians 3, and the problems which it raises, more fully in my commentary on 2 Corinthians, pp.24-38. For a valuable recent treatment of the chapter, see N. T. Wright, *The climax of the covenant*, pp.175-92).

My primary concern at the moment, however, is not the rightness or wrongness of Paul's strictures on the old covenant and the law but the value of James Denney's comments on those strictures. I shall now quote the salient parts of his exposition. 'Paul here sets the old and the new in unrelieved opposition to each other... He speaks as if the old covenant and the new had nothing in common, as if the new had merely negative relation to the old.

And he characterises the old dispensation as one of letter, and the new as one of spirit... The contrast is made absolute. There is no 'spirit' in the old at all; there is no 'letter' in the new... But it is obvious, when we think of it, that this antithesis does not exhaust the relations of the two. It is not the whole truth about the earlier dispensation to say that, while the new is spiritual, it is not. The religion of the Old Testament was not mere legalism; if it had been, the Old Testament would be for us an unprofitable and almost an unintelligible book. Had he lived to a time like ours, when the Gospel also has been embodied in a book, instead of using 'letter' and 'spirit' as mutually exclusive, he would have admitted, as we do, that both ideas apply, in some sense, to both dispensations, and that it is possible to take the old and the new alike either in the letter or in the spirit.' (Denney 1894, pp.117-119)

For my part, I found these words of Denney immensely liberating. They freed me to articulate criticisms of Paul which hitherto had been no more than dormant in my mind. As a result, I would now argue that Christians are not immune from the danger of letting their understanding of God's will become a 'letter that kills' rather than a revelation that empowers, indeed, that this is a temptation to which all religious people are exposed, and the more exposed the more seriously are they intent on doing God's will.

What then has Denney done in the passage which I have quoted that has given his comments such liberating force? Clearly he has done a great deal more than simply analyse Paul's argument or correlate Paul's argument in this passage with similar passages in other letters of his. He has reflected on the passage in the light of the total biblical witness and he has ventured to raise the question of the truth and adequacy of what Paul has written. In other words, he has engaged, at one and the same time, in canonical criticism and content criticism. This is an outstanding example of exegesis that sets the passage in question in a wider context.

CONCLUSION

That is something that each of these three commentators has succeeded in doing. The wider context in which Haenchen sets Acts 14: 8-20 is that of the Pauline corpus. The context in which Newbigin sets John 2: 18-22 is that of the history lying between the events recorded in the text and the writing of the text. The context in which Denney sets 2 Corinthians 3 is that of the gospel itself. I can only hope and pray that the Holy Spirit will inspire more commentators to reflect on the texts they are expounding within such broad contexts. And may the Spirit continue to raise up librarians like Lawrence McIntosh to lead us to the fruits of their labours!

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'The quest for the Messiah' revisited

John Painter

INTRODUCTION

Because *The Quest for the Messiah* (Painter 1991, 1993) was a multi-faceted study addressing a number of comprehensive and related questions, the literary aspects of the study were not always clearly stated because of the focus on compositional and community history. *Quest* sought to hold together the historical and literary elements by arguing that the literary creation of the Gospel was an appropriate response to the historical situation of Jesus and the early Christian movement. In this contribution in honour of Dr Lawrence McIntosh the focus is on the literary contribution of the Gospel in its historical context.

1. Messianic Expectations

In first century Judaism the quest for the Messiah was alive, providing the evangelist with the motivation to present Jesus in terms of this quest. Yet no one messianic view dominated first century Judaism. This is the main point of the set of studies entitled *Judaisms and their messiahs at the turn of the Christian era*. (Neusner 1988) The diversity of views is precisely what made the quest so vigorous and competitive. Different groups asserted that their form of the messianic hope was authentic, thus preparing the way for the quest for the Messiah as portrayed by John. John presents Jesus as the fulfilment of the quest and at the same time transforms the understanding of Jewish messiahship into Christian christology because the Johannine criteria of authenticity guide his quest. That the Jewish context was still a living influence on John is indicated by the fact that he alone of the New Testament writers uses the Greek transliteration of the Semitic "Messiah" and notes that the Greek translation is *Christos*, 1.41; 4.25. Nevertheless John's christology is a transformation of any of the known messianic expectations and is appropriately referred to as christology, indicating a Christian phenomenon. The Greek

form came to signify Christian views while the Semitic form continued to express Jewish expectations. In John's time the terms continued as linguistic synonyms although the Greek form was already becoming identified as a Christian marker. Within early Christianity there was an attempt to clarify christology in relation to messianic views, generally by asserting that the particular christology was the fulfilment of the messianic hope of Jewish scripture but the quest for the Messiah soon found expression in competing christologies and evidence of this is found in the Johannine epistles.

While it is widely recognised that the Jewish scriptures have little to say about the Messiah and that the early Christian use of these scriptures to "prove" that Jesus is the Messiah is more a matter of *eiseesis* than *exegesis*, the proclamation of Jesus as Messiah presupposes the widespread relevance of messianic expectations in first century Judaism. Had this not been the case the entry of messianic expectations into post-Mishnaic Jewish writings is unthinkable in the light of the focus on messiahship in Christianity. Only because messiahship was important to Judaism was the tradition retained even if for a while after the Jewish War there was a suspicion of messianic movements (Josephus) and a focus on reconstruction in the present rather than a hope for the future (Mishnah). The fragmentary evidence from first century "Palestinian" Judaism cannot be expected to provide a full picture of the situation and the evidence coming from the time after the Jewish War and the emergence of Christianity cannot be expected to reflect accurately the situation before the War.

2. Pronouncement Stories

John has taken up the diverse messianic expectations of his day and made them the basis for his presentation of Jesus in terms of the quest for the Messiah. In his overall presentation of Jesus as the Messiah/Christ he has taken up and shaped traditions into quest stories. This *genre* of story is clearly recognisable in some instances, making more credible the presence of the same *genre* in other cases where it might not otherwise have been recognised. Recognition of this *genre* in John is a consequence of research on the Synoptic pronouncement stories and the Graeco-Roman *chreiai*. Tannehill analysed the Synoptic pronouncement stories into six sub-types (Semeia 1981) of which we are particularly concerned with quest stories. (Tannehill named these sub-types "correction", "commendation", "objection", "quest", "inquiry" and "description".)

Pronouncement stories have two parts, the setting and the pronouncement response. The two parts are closely related but the name of the sub-type relates *directly* to the setting or the response. The names "correction" and "commendation" are derived from the character of the pronouncement while "inquiry" and "quest" focus on the setting. Because the two parts of the story complement each other the name is appropriate to the whole story.

Current work on the pronouncement stories has shown that the *chreiai*, of which the pronouncement stories are examples, were used to develop rhetorical and writing skills. The point of drawing attention to the use of the

genre in John is *not* to argue that it provides evidence of oral tradition, though that *might* sometimes be the case. Rather the point is that the evangelist has made use of this *genre* as a writer who has learned to manipulate it to his own ends and his use of it is an example of his rhetorical skills. (Painter 1989, 1991, p.129, 1993, p.163) (Some critics have responded as if the argument concerned oral tradition and form-criticism. Most recently M.W.G. Stibbe (1993, p.121) has been critical of "the more speculative form-critical method upon which he [Painter] so clearly depends." Can he have read the same book! There it was written, "That it was the evangelist who shaped the tradition into quest and rejection stories is to be seen in the way he has reshaped traditional call stories into quest stories (1.35-2.11)", and what follows reinforces this point. (Painter 1991, p.130, 1993, p.165)

The pronouncement story (or *chreia*) is most clearly recognised in its concise and discrete form. But the point of the rhetorical exercises was to develop skills to make possible the embroidery of the basic *genre* in a multiplicity of ways. Consequently we should expect to find complex constructions on the basis of the basic *genre*. In John 1—4 the most complex example of the quest story is to be found in John 4.4–42. It is not a concise and discrete example of the *genre*. (Stibbe says: "He describes Jn 4.4-42 as a 'quest story' when it is clearly an ironic betrothal type-scene" (1993, p.121) The "betrothal story", as outlined by Robert Alter, was discussed in *Quest* (Painter 1991, p.165-66, 1993, p.200-1). Were all "well stories" in ancient culture "betrothal stories" and do they constitute such a genre? This seems hardly likely. The "well stories" discussed manifest quest motifs and could be understood generally in these terms (though not related to the *chreiai*) because stories concerning the quest for life and important aspects of it are universal. The interpretation of Jesus' encounter with the Samaritan woman as a betrothal story is fanciful. Can it be "*clearly* an ironic betrothal type-scene"? But this discursive narrative is not the place to begin our discussion. In what follows a clear and concise outline of the evidence for recognising the quest stories in John is given. Finally, a discussion of the significance of the theme of quest for John is briefly undertaken.

II. QUEST STORIES AND THE QUEST THEME

1. The Anatomy of Quest Stories

Precedence is given to discrete quest stories while noting evidence of the wider influence of the quest theme which has deeply influenced the narrative structure of the Gospel. The anatomy of the quest story can be set out as follows:

1. A quester approaches with an implied or explicit request for help.
2. The quest dominates the story, holding the episodes together.
3. The quester is important and not a mere foil for Jesus as the opponent frequently is in objection/rejection stories.
4. The quest story is longer than other pronouncement stories (cf. Mark 2.1-12) because there are difficulties that must be overcome if the quest is to be successful. These difficulties or objections are important because it is by means of

them that the storyteller may wish to change the audience's attitudes. This is certainly true of the quest story of chapter 6, see especially 6.27,32.

5. "The story concerns a person in quest of something important to human well-being". (*Semeia*, p.9)

6. The pronouncement by Jesus holds the key to the resolution of the quest.

7. The success or failure of the quest must be indicated.

8. In John what is important to human well-being at a physical level becomes the symbol of well-being at a spiritual level and this has a bearing on some of the Johannine quest stories (see 4.10; 6.27) though it is not essential to the anatomy as such. In these cases the quest is transformed by redirection from ordinary water and bread to life-giving water and bread, indeed, bread from heaven. It is fundamental to John's symbolic discourse that the material world, with its sources of life, cannot satisfy the human quest for life though it can and does point beyond itself to the transcendent source of all life.

In his review of the first edition of *Quest* K. Grayston wrote "*Quest* corresponds to the frequent Johannine use of *zētein*" (1993, p.111). This totally ignores the literary analysis of the anatomy of a quest story and partially ignores the thematic complex of "following", "seeking" and "finding" which signals quest in John

2. *The two Cana Signs*

The two best examples of such concise and discrete quest stories are the two Cana stories of John 2.1–11; 4.46–54 which are both miracle stories and as such form the sub-category of miracle-quest stories. In many ways they are typical miracle stories. (Bultmann 1963, p.209–43)

1). The circumstances are noted. There was no wine and the boy was at the point of death.

2). The means of overcoming the wine shortage and healing are specified. Jesus' instruction to the servants and his life-giving word, "Go, your son lives!", are portrayed as the instruments of overcoming the problem (2.7–8) and healing (4.50).

3). The evidence of the wine miracle and the healing is given in some detail and there is a stress on the resulting belief consequent on the miracles. (See 2.11 and 4.50–53. Having returned home and having discovered and made known the exact correspondence in time of the word of Jesus and the actual healing of his son, he and all the members of his household also came to believe.)

But they are not a straightforward miracle stories. This is noted by F. J. Moloney (1993, p.189–90) who (following Bultmann) sets out the shape of the typical miracle story and his own analysis of the two Johannine Cana stories. The typical miracle story is set out as follows:

1. Problem stated; 2. Request made (Not all miracles involve a request. Those that do might well be classified as miracle quest stories); 3. Manner of miracle is described; 4. Successful outcome announced; 5. Response of wonder described.

Moloney also gives a five point structure for the two Johannine stories: 1. Problem (2.3; 4.46); 2. Request (2.3; 4.47); 3. Rebuke (2.4; 4.48); 4. Reaction (2.5; 4.50); 5. Consequences (2.6–11; 4.51–53).

In particular what distinguishes the stories in John from the "normal" pattern of miracle story is the rebuke of Jesus. This constitutes the objection which is essential to the structure of the quest story. The request is not essential to the anatomy of a miracle story though it is essential to a miracle quest story.

3. *The First Cana Sign*

The first sign at Cana of Galilee (2.11) has all the marks of a miracle quest story.

1. The mother of Jesus, the quester in this story, came to Jesus with the statement, "They have no wine" which the story makes clear implied request. That this is no idle gossip and Jesus is expected to act is shown by his mother's instructions to the servants.

2. The quest for more wine holds the story together.

3. The quester is important in her own right, not merely foil to Jesus and her story resurfaces in a later scene (19.25–27).

4. The objection to the quest is expressed in Jesus' response.

a). He addresses his mother as "Woman", which, while not abrupt or rude in itself (see 4.21), is an extraordinary form of address of a son to his mother. This is reinforced by the remainder of Jesus' words to his mother.

b). "What is there between us?"

c). "My hour has not yet come".

All of this appears to be a definitive, if bewildering, refusal to act. Certainly the response constitutes an objection, a problem to be overcome if the quest is to succeed.

5. But does the quest for wine qualify as a quest for something important for human well being? At this level the story has constituted a problem because Jesus appears to be called on to deal with something trivial and hardly important for human well being. This assessment might fail to grasp the significance of the wedding banquet in the Jewish culture of the time. Further, the provision of the wine, in true Johannine style, is made to point beyond itself to manifest the glory of Jesus. There is also a symbolic contrast between the old wine of Judaism and the new wine of the kingdom. This is the first in a sequence of contrasts which continue with old and new Temples (2.13–22; old and new birth, 3.1–15).

6. The pronouncement of Jesus holds the key to the resolution of the quest. In this instance the solution is not in his word to his mother, which only expresses the obstacle to success. This was overcome by the mother of Jesus who persisted in spite of rebuke and told the servants to obey the instructions of Jesus. Jesus tells the servants to fill the water pots and to draw from them and take what they had drawn to the *architriklinos*, 2.7–8.

7. The success of the quest is attested by the *architriklinos*, who, as an inde-

pendent witness, ignorant of the way the wine has been provided, confirms the provision of good wine.

8. The interpretation of the miracle goes beyond the provision of wine to appeal to the revelation of the glory of Jesus and the consequent belief of the disciples.

4. The Second Cana Sign

The second Cana sign (4.46–54) also has all the marks of the miracle quest story.

1. Circumstances bring Jesus back to Cana of Galilee and provide the opportunity for the *basilikos*. (In each of the Cana miracles there is an official with a title that remains somewhat enigmatic today, *architriklinos* and *basilikos*, an additional element linking these two narratives.) The *basilikos* takes the initiative and makes a direct approach to Jesus and an explicit request. He asked Jesus to come down and heal his son, who was about to die.

2. Certainly the quest dominates the story from beginning to end. It is the focus of each episode.

3. The quester remains important even though the objection threatens to make him a foil for Jesus. The objection (4.48) seems out of place because the request already marks out the *basilikos* as a believer and his continuing story not only traces the course of his quest, it takes account of his household.

4. The objection of Jesus (4.48) extends the length of the story because, to overcome it the *basilikos* must reiterate and persist in his request. The objection, like that expressed by Jesus to his mother in 2.4 is somewhat enigmatic and perhaps seems out of place. In normal terms *this request* appears to express faith rather than to demand a miracle as a basis for faith. Even so, faith in a new way is a consequence of the performance of this sign.

5. The sign is a response to an individual need and certainly concerns an issue of human well being. It is the life of the son of the *basilikos* that is at stake and this is a matter of concern for both of them.

6. Certainly the pronouncement of Jesus holds the key. This is made clear by:

a). The words themselves, "Go, your son lives", 4.50.

b). The way those words are recalled, 4.53 and echoed in the report of the servants, 4.51.

c). The double stress on belief makes clear that it was consequent to the word of Jesus, 4.50, 53. In the first instance the *basilikos* believed Jesus' word when he first said, "Go, your son lives". Then, when he learned that the healing took place at the moment Jesus said, "Your son lives", he believed and so did his whole household, 4.53.

7. The story goes out of its way to make clear, not only that the boy was healed but that the *basilikos* believed and so did his whole household.

8. Because the focus of the story moves from the life-saving word of Jesus, that saves the son of the *basilikos* from physical death, to the belief of the *basilikos* and his household, the life-saving word becomes the life-giving word of Jesus to that whole household.

5. Connecting the Signs

The evangelist has gone out of his way to ensure that the reader is aware of the connection of the two signs so that they form an *inclusio*. The *inclusio* formed by the explicit linking of the two miracle stories (2.1–11; 4.46–54) in 4.46, 54 is commonly noted. (Moloney 1978) This *inclusio* is of the evangelist's making. He mentions the location of the marriage in Cana of Galilee (2.1), and the conclusion (2.11) notes "this beginning of signs", again mentioning Cana of Galilee. The second Cana sign is introduced by reference to Jesus' return "to Cana of Galilee where he made the water into wine" (4.46), and concludes (4.54) by referring to "the second sign Jesus did coming out of Judaea into Galilee". The *inclusio* is reinforced by the recognition that in these two stories we have the only two concise and discrete miracle quest stories in John. Thus we have an *inclusio* of the evangelist's making on the theme of the quest using the only two miracle stories in John without any dialogues or discourse attached such as we find in chapters 5; 6; 9 and 11. The evangelist has incorporated these miracle quest stories into an overarching framework by explicitly relating them to each other as the first and second Cana signs. The *inclusio* implies that the whole section is concentrated on the theme of quest.

III. QUEST MOTIFS

Not only does the first Cana sign form an *inclusio* with the second, it forms a conclusion to the narrative sequences begun with 1.19. The scenes are linked by a succession of days which continues to include 2.1–11. (See the linking of days by the use of "On the next day..." (1.29, 35, 43) and "On the third day..." (2.1).) The sequence of events there recorded leads up to the narration of the belief of the disciples, who have attached themselves to Jesus in that course of events, 2.11. Given that the two Cana signs are miracle quest stories the reader might well suspect that the first Cana sign forms a bridge with earlier material that also gives expression to the theme of quest.

The two Cana signs are specifically related to each other by their numbering and other comments by the narrator but they are not an essential sequence of events in the same way as the sequence of scenes narrated in 1.19–2.11. Apart from 2.1–11 this is not a series of discrete stories but a series of scenes. While 2.1–11 can stand by itself, the evangelist has linked it to the sequence of 1.19–51 by the temporal connection in 2.1 and the conclusion of 2.11 is appropriate to the whole sequence.

1. Beginning with an Inquiry Story

The first scene is an inquiry story, 1.19–28: Inquirers from Jerusalem. The first scene appears to open with the spontaneous witness of John, who we learn, in the course of the narrative (through the question "Why do you baptise?" and the concluding summary concerning "where John was baptising") is John the Baptist though he is named only John in this Gospel. The spontaneous nature of the witness is suggested by the opening words "This is the witness of John".

The reader soon discovers that the witness was given in response to an *inquiry*.

The inquiry story is more or less self contained in that no loose ends are left by the time the scene has concluded and the narrator apparently concludes the course of events with the summary statement of 1.28, "These things took place in Bethany beyond the Jordan, where John was baptising". But this apparent conclusion turns out to be a transition and the first scene becomes the basis for the second (1.29–34) in which John's answer to the inquiry is completed. Strangely, by the second scene the inquirers have disappeared and the full answer is given only to the reader. On the one hand the second scene is for the reader. On the other, it manifests the fulfilment of John's quest for which an audience within the narrative is not necessary. This should alert the reader, if the prologue has not already done so, to the way the Gospel is oriented to the needs of the reader. The role of the narrator relates the significance of the action in the story to the situation and needs of the reader. In conclusion the narrator tells the reader, "These things were written that you may come to believe that Jesus is the Christ..." (20.31). But it is unusual for characters within the story to address the reader directly as John does here in 1.29–34. Elsewhere the words of John become addressed to the reader in 3.31–36, where the disciples of John, whose question he originally had begun to answer, have disappeared from the scene and John addresses only the reader. In this instance the voice of John has taken on the role of the narrator. The same phenomenon is apparent in 3.16–21 where the voice of Jesus becomes the voice of the narrator because Nicodemus, whose question Jesus began answering from 3.10–14, has vanished from the scene leaving the reader alone with Jesus. In these instances both John and Jesus speak in the idiom of the evangelist and give expression to significant themes of the Gospel.

At this point it is important to distinguish the inquiry story from the quest story and to show how, in the first chapter of the Gospel, the one leads into the other. In an inquiry story, as distinct from a quest story, the following are important.

1. An inquirer approaches with an inquiry. What is important is the inquiry.
2. The answer to the inquiry is also important.
3. The response of the inquirer is of no consequence and inquiry stories often fail to take account of what happens to the inquirer. The focus remains on the inquiry itself and the answer that is given to it.

The inquiry is addressed to John and his response is important enough to be described as his witness. The inquiry is addressed in two stages (1.19–23 and 1.24–28) and the inquirers are described twice: first as priests and levites sent by the Jews of Jerusalem (1.19–23) and then as of or from the Pharisees (1.24–28). Though this double introduction corresponds to two sets of questions, the reader understands that the same group is in view (1.19 and 1.24).

The first set of inquiries comprises a series of three questions addressed to John, the first of which asks, "Who are you?" This question was provoked by John's activity of baptising, 1.25. Following the Prologue this inquiry opens

the narrative of the Gospel. It is that important because it reveals the character of the situation in which Jesus is about to appear and is clarified by the answer given by John. His answer brings to light the specific point of what appears to be a rather innocuous question, "Who are you?" The answer to this question is not "John" but, "I am not the Christ" (1.19 and see 1.25), an answer introduced with great solemnity, "He confessed and did not deny, and he confessed". Thus the unspoken point of the inquiry concerns the Christ. The reader encounters the Greek translation *Christos* before meeting the transliteration of the Semitic *Messias* which, once given, is explained in terms of the translation *Christos*, 1.41. Why the explanation is not given at the first use is not clear though it may be because the first use in the narrative concerning Jesus who, according to the Gospel, is the Messiah is in 1.41. That John's activity should raise this question implies that messianic expectations were alive in the Jewish life out of which the inquiry came.

John's response to the question "who are you?" was "I am not the Christ", which was followed in quick succession by two further questions: "What then, are you Elijah?" to which he answered "I am not!" and "Are you the prophet?" to which he answered "No!" These answers left the questioners no wiser about who John was so they repeated the opening question, "Who are you?" Having rejected the expected answers John now gives the only one he finds satisfactory. "I am a voice crying in the desert, Make straight the way of the Lord as Isaiah the prophet said."

The first stage of the witness of John finishes on a positive note, identifying himself as the *voice* preparing the way of the Lord, which is a fair description of one who is understood to be a witness. The positive part of this witness directs the inquirers away from himself to the Lord whose way he prepares.

The second stage of the inquiry commences with a new introduction of the inquirers (1.24) who now have a new question (1.25). It is not now "Who are you?" but "Why do you baptise if you are not the Christ, or Elijah, or the prophet" but only a voice? This question invites a comparison between John and the one to whom he bears witness which is continued in the next scene (1.29–34), but the answer given to the inquirers at this point is somewhat enigmatic. John characterises his own baptism as, "I baptise with water". No mention is yet made of the other baptism. This must await the second scene. The present scene is tightly connected with the next because the evangelist has inserted between the traditional sayings, "I baptise with water" (1.26) and "he is the one who baptises with the Holy Spirit" (1.33) the contrast between the witness and the one to whom the witness is borne. Part of this contrast is given in the present scene but it is continued in the next where we learn that the witness has the task of revealing one who is already present but unknown, unrecognised (1.27) even by the witness until the appropriate sign is given (1.31–33). Here John contrasts himself with the coming one who comes after him, the hidden one who is already present, the straps of whose sandals he is not worthy to loose, 1.26–27. It is not yet clear why John baptises so the final question of the inquirers has not been adequately answered.

In this first scene the witness denies any messianic status for himself and positively announces the superiority of the coming one who is already present but unrecognised even by the witness. This first scene is brought to a conclusion by words from the narrator, "These things took place in Bethany beyond the Jordan, where John was baptising".

2. *John's Quest and the Hidden Messiah*

The second scene (1.29-34): The baptism of John and his quest. John himself is now revealed as a quester. The initial inquirers have disappeared. What has happened to them is not important. They have raised the question of the Christ and John has denied that he is the Christ drawing attention to the hidden coming one who is already present but unrecognised, thus introducing the theme of the hidden Messiah. They have raised the question concerning why he baptises. John has related his baptism to the hidden one who is present but the relevance of the baptism to the hidden one is not yet clear, 1.26-27.

The second scene opens when John sees Jesus approaching. After his initial witness to Jesus John acts as narrator telling the story retrospectively. His point of view provides a response to the inquirers' final question, "Why do you baptise?" He tells that the one who sent him to baptise with water provided a sign by means of which the hidden coming one would be revealed, 1.26, 31-34. The description of the sign assumes that the reader knows the tradition of the baptism of Jesus by John during which, according to the Synoptics, the sign described by John occurred. Acceptance of this point of view makes sense of John's assertion:

And I did not know him but I came baptising with water that he might be revealed to Israel. ... I saw the Spirit descending as a dove from heaven and it remained upon him. And I did not know him but the one who sent me to baptise with water, he said to me, "Upon whomsoever you see the Spirit descending and abiding upon him, this is the one who baptises with the Holy Spirit." (1.31-33)

Thus we learn that John is not only a witness to Jesus with his words, his activity of baptising was purposed to reveal Jesus as the Messiah. Having received the sign John's quest for the Messiah has been fulfilled and he announces that Jesus is this one and characterises him as the lamb of God, the one who, though appearing on the scene after him, has priority over him, the one who baptises with the Holy Spirit, the Son of God. The evangelist gathers up a complex range of titles and descriptions, enriching the readers concept of Messiah, thus providing a guide to the reader in the quest for the Messiah. There is no audience within the narrative for this witness. It is unlikely that we are to think of Jesus as the audience. The evangelist gives no hint that he thinks that Jesus needed to be informed of his messianic status by John. Certainly the reader is the audience for whom this witness is intended although we must also understand it as the evidence that John's quest for the Messiah has been fulfilled. This second scene is a more or less complete and discrete

quest story though it builds on the first scene and becomes the basis for the third.

John's quest is also described as his mission. It is to reveal the hidden Messiah. That the Messiah, is not known, recognised, is stressed three times, 1.26, 31, 33. The inquirers do not know who he is (1.26), nor does John (1.31, 33) and it is his task to reveal the Messiah to Israel. This triple stress on the hidden one who is not known brings to light the obstacle that is to be overcome by John if his quest is to succeed, if he is to discover the Messiah himself and then fulfil his mission by revealing him to Israel. To overcome the difficulty the one who sent him to baptise has announced the sign, in the form of a quoted pronouncement, "Upon whomsoever you see the Spirit descending and remaining, this person is the one who baptises with the holy Spirit." The promised sign will reveal the coming one who, we now learn, will baptise with the holy Spirit. Through John's baptising activity, in which the sign occurs, he recognises Jesus as the one and the success of his mission/quest is announced in his final words of witness, "I have seen (the sign) and have born witness that this is the Son of God." In these words we have an instance where John speaks in the idiom of the evangelist.

3. John's Mission to reveal the Messiah and the Quest of the Disciples

The third scene on the third day of the sequence (1.35–42): Repeated witness before two disciples leads to the quest of the disciples. John's witness is now given to an audience within the narrative. The witness is given in an abbreviated form because it is a repetition and the reader knows what is involved, having read 1.29–34 which, it is assumed, the audience knows also. We are told that the two disciples heard the witness, *followed* (*ēkolouthēsan*) Jesus and were asked by him, "What are you *seeking* (*zēteite*)?" (The initiative of *following* is stressed three times (1.37,38,40). The narrator not only says that they *followed* Jesus but also informs the reader that Jesus saw them *following*, and again, that Andrew was one of the two who *followed* Jesus.)

Zēteín is used 34 times in John, 14 times in Matthew, 10 times in Mark, 25 times in Luke, 10 times in Acts and a total of 117 times in the New Testament. The use of the verb *zēteín* is significant in John. The most frequent use concerns seeking Jesus, which signals the *quest* theme, 1.38; 6.24,26; 7.11,34,36; 8.21; 11.56; 13.33; 18.4,7,8; 20.15. Next are the references to the attempts (seeking) to kill Jesus, 5.18; 7.1,19,20,25,30; 8.37,40; 10.39; 11.8. In the Synoptics there is the seeking for a sign (Mark 8.11–12; seeking to arrest or kill Jesus, Mark 11.18; 12.12; 14.1,11. Also important is the Q saying, "seek and you will find" (Matthew 7.7–8; Luke 11.9–10). The quest for the pearl of great price also uses the verb to seek, Matthew 13.45. The theme of the quest is illustrated here and its prominence cannot be doubted in John. (Painter 1991, p.149 n.53; 1993 p.183 n.53)

In other words, Jesus recognised the *following* as an expression of their quest and asked what they were seeking. They asked where he dwelt at which he invited them to *come* and *see*. The verbs are a present imperative and a future indicative providing a command (come) and a promise (you will see). They must come if they are to see. This constitutes the problem or condition to be overcome if their quest was to be successful. We are told that they came and saw where he dwelt. Obviously the sense of where Jesus dwells carries some ambiguity because having seen, one of the two, Andrew, goes and announces to his brother Simon, "We have found the Messiah", and the narrator adds "which is translated Christ". The saying reveals the nature of the quest. It is the quest for the Messiah. In the New Testament only in John is the Semitic *Messiah* used. Its use is a clue to the identity of author and intended readers, as is the supply of the Greek translation *Christos*, which is probably a late addition to prepare the Gospel for non-Jewish readers.

This saying ("We have found the Messiah") declares the success of the quest in what is to become a refrain, "we have found...". The plural indicates that Andrew includes his companion in his affirmation. Andrew led Simon to Jesus, suggesting that Simon accepted this view. Jesus then pronounced to Simon the words "You are Simon ... you will be called Kephas" and the narrator adds, "which is translated Peter". The use of the verb to find (*heuriskō*) in 1.41, 43, 45 is significant. It is used a total of 19 times, elsewhere in 2.14; 5.14; 6.25; 7.34-36; 9.35; 10.9; 11.17; 12.14; 18.38; 19.4,6; 21.6, of which 6.25; 7.34-36; 10.9 and 21.6 are important for this theme. The complex of motifs (following, seeking, finding) signals the Johannine quest theme. It is especially important in the evangelist's treatment of the quest of the crowd in John 6. (Painter 1991, p.150 n.57, 1993, p.184 n.57)

The fourth scene (43-51): the fulfilled quest continues. Probably Philip was the other disciple who followed Jesus. He now finds Nathanael and announces to him, "We have found the one of whom Moses wrote in the Law and the prophets, Jesus of Nazareth." Thus the announcement of the successful quest is carried over from the third to the fourth scene and the "We have found..." joins Philip with Andrew as one of the two who had found Jesus as a result of John's witness in the third scene. But Nathanael proves to be a sceptical quester and only through his own encounter with Jesus does he accept that Jesus is the Messiah (1.49). Jesus himself changes the idiom from that of kingly Messiah (1.49) as confessed by Nathanael to take in reference to the exalted heavenly Son of Man, 1.51.

In the first scene the inquiry began with reference to the Christ (Messiah) but the introduction of a variety of other titles, culminating in the reference to the exalted heavenly Son of Man, has led to an exploration of the understanding of messiahship. Through the story told in this Gospel the reader is led on a quest for an adequate understanding of the Messiah. It is fair to say that, in the end, the Johannine Christ is some distance from any other known Jewish understanding of the Messiah. The reader is led on this quest as the story moves to its conclusion in 20.30-31.

4. The Hidden Messiah

The quest for the Messiah is set in relation to the theme of the hidden Messiah. It was first introduced in 1.26 and reiterated in 1.31,33. There the Baptist stresses that "the coming one" remains hidden, although he is already present. He remains unknown until he is revealed by a prearranged sign. This theme is illuminated by a tradition made known to us by Justin (*Dialogue with Trypho*, 8.4 and cf. 110.1) where Trypho says:

Even if the Messiah is already born and in existence somewhere, he is nevertheless unknown; even he himself does not know about himself nor does he have any kind of power until Elijah comes and anoints him and reveals him to all.

Against this background the Baptist's denial (in this Gospel) that he is Elijah is strange and might suggest that the evangelist knew the tradition in another form. But because he narrates the role of John in revealing Jesus this seems unlikely. Trypho says that even the Messiah does not know himself until he is revealed. This might seem to run contrary to the contrast Jesus makes in 7.25-29 where he compares the supposed knowledge the Jerusalemites claim to have of his origin with their ignorance of his relation to and mission from the Father, of which he knows himself. But it is not this that distinguishes the portrayal of Jesus in this Gospel from the tradition in Justin because (according to 1.26,31,33) Jesus had already been anointed and revealed to all and his words need not mean that he had this knowledge before he was revealed. (Contrary to Ashton 1991, p.305) The Baptist thus fulfils the role of Elijah and it is through him that all may believe, 1.6-7. Where this Gospel differs from the tradition in Justin is that even after Jesus has been revealed he remains hidden because the witness (the Baptist) was rejected. The theme of hiddenness re-emerges in the context of the theme of rejection of Jesus and his witness.

The theme of *seeking* to kill or arrest Jesus runs through chapters 7-8. In the context of the plot to kill Jesus the theme of hiddenness and openness/revelation is developed, 7.4,10,26-27,28-29. In both 5.18 and 7.1 the evangelist has written "the Jews were seeking to kill him". Given that we have here the first and second references to the quest of the Jews to kill Jesus the exact repetition of wording is significant. It signals a resumption. Narrative time has stood still between 5.18 and 7.1. Now (7.1) Jesus' *evasive* action takes account of the continuing attempt to kill him and introduces another element in his hiddenness.

The use of *zētein* in the formulation of the quest to kill Jesus is no accident. (See 5.18; 7.1,19,20,25,30; 8.37,40; 10.39; 11.8) As we have seen, the verbs to *seek* and *find* are frequently used in John, often in conjunction and signalling quest. Given that in the dialogues of Jn 7-8 Jesus takes up the theme of seeking and finding, (see 7.17-18,34-36; 8.21-22,50,54) it is certain that the theme is significant when it occurs in the narrative. Consequently we should be alert to the twin motifs of seeking and finding and not finding which are concen-

trated in John 7 and 8, especially Jn 7. (*Zētein* is used 11 times in John 7 and 5 times in John 8 and *heureskein* is used 3 times in John 7. Though *heureskein* is not used in John 8.21-22 it is implied that the Jews who will seek Jesus and cannot go where he is going will not find him, especially as this is a repeated theme from 7.34-36 where *heureskein* is used.)

Hiddenness is one of the reasons why the Messiah must be sought and even this has twofold implications. The Messiah is hidden until he is revealed. This was true of Jesus until he was revealed through the baptism by John. Even then there are times in the story when Jesus, though known, is hidden because he has taken *evasive* action from those who would arrest or kill him. Within this narrative framework Jesus discussed the way he would be sought and not found. This language takes its point of departure from the narrative situation where hiddenness is a consequence of his *evasiveness* but moves into the area of the *elusiveness* of the Messiah.

Earlier I wrote concerning this theme:

The title, *The Quest for the Messiah*, has the virtue of highlighting the elusiveness of the Messiah. The Messiah must be sought. This is as true for the contemporary student who must seek to discern the concept or concepts of messiahship that are presupposed as it is for the questers in the story. It is not only the question of "who is the Messiah?", but also, "what is he like?" (Painter 1991, p.7, 1993, p.9)

This theme had been expressed in earlier papers and articles and was dealt with at a number of levels. (Painter 1988, 1989, Stibbe 1991) Jews were seeking the Messiah but he was elusive because he was hidden. This, however, was a temporary elusiveness because the Messiah was to be revealed. John is portrayed as a quester for this elusive Messiah. Through the prearranged sign revealed to John, he revealed the hidden Messiah. Consequently this element of elusiveness was temporary and was removed for those who accepted the witness of John such as the two disciples who heard his witness and affirmed, "We have found the Messiah", 1.41. For others, especially the opponents of Jesus, he remained elusive though perhaps here the word *evasive* better describes the situation, see chapters 7—8. Until his time had come Jesus kept himself out of their grasp.

Another aspect of this theme is that Jesus remains elusive even for those who have found him. When Nathanael confessed "Rabbi, you are the Son of God, you are the king of Israel" (1.49) the reader readily accepts that he has found the Messiah. But Jesus held out before him the future vision of the exalted, heavenly Son of Man who is an enigmatic figure complicating the Johannine understanding of the Messiah. Thus, although Nathanael found Jesus he had yet to come to terms with his messiahship which remained elusive to him and beyond his grasp.

In this Gospel elusiveness remains until the *exaltation* of Jesus (the Son of Man), (John 12.31-34 which should be related to the promised vision to Nathanael in 1.51) which can also be spoken of as his glorification, (John 12.16) or his resurrection (John 2.22) because the understanding of his Messiahship

is modified by his fate, his death, resurrection and return to the Father. A distinctively Johannine emphasis is on the teaching and revealing role of the Paraclete/Spirit of Truth who instructs the believers in all of the truth only after the departure of Jesus. (See John 14.15-17, 25-26; 16.7-15)

The elusiveness of Jesus is portrayed as continuing for the disciples even after they had found the Messiah. This is given distinctive treatment in the farewell discourses where Jesus tells the disciples that in a little while they will not see him and then in a little while they will see him again, 16.16. A discussion between the puzzled disciples and Jesus on this theme follows in 16.17-24. It is a rough parallel of the theme dealt with in relation to the opponents of Jesus in terms of seeking and not finding (7.33-36; 8.21-22). Now, in relation to the disciples, the terms of not seeing and then seeing have replaced seeking and not finding. For the disciples the crisis of "not seeing" is temporary whereas not finding is terminal for the opponents. For the disciples "not seeing" is brought to a temporary conclusion by the resurrection of Jesus but more adequately by the coming of the Spirit/Paraclete. Yet while the Gospel's portrayal of the Jesus claims to be definitive, being written from the perspective of the risen, exalted, glorified Jesus and with the benefit of the teaching of the Spirit/Paraclete, there is a sense that the elusiveness of the Messiah remains. The teaching role of the Spirit/Paraclete is not done once and for all but goes on into the future, 16.12-15.

While the Gospel of John tells a story the narrative of which goes only as far as the resurrection appearances of Jesus it prospects the future work of the Spirit/Paraclete and was in fact written at a time when that had long (perhaps for more than fifty years) been a factor of the life of the believing community. Yet the quest for the Messiah remained an ongoing quest. The Gospel was written to provide a guide to those along the way. Even for those who accepted this guide, the Messiah remained elusive and bitter differences emerged within the Johannine community, which was torn asunder by those who found that their quest had led them in irreconcilable directions. The quest for the Messiah had become a quest for an authentic christology and this quest continues to our day. One reason why the quest continues is because this Gospel does not handle messianic ideas in predictable ways but moves them in unexpected directions. For this reason the Johannine Jesus is, not only for the original readers but also for us today, an elusive Messiah.

IV. CONCLUSION

The evangelist was responsible for the development of many traditions into quest stories because he perceived the turmoil of human life as a quest and Jesus as the fulfilment of the quest of all who were searching. The impression of the widespread searching could also be taken as an historical and cultural comment relating to the time and place of the evangelist. It was especially true of urban *diaspora* Judaism after 70 CE which was in search of an identity. At the same time the evangelist depicts the quest as a consequence of the unfulfilled nature of human life apart from the revelation of God brought by

Jesus. According to Rudolf Bultmann (1971, p.61-62, 182, 378-80, 530-32), it is a fundamental assumption of the evangelist that the universal quest for life has God as its goal, and that the quester meets the goal of the search in the revealer. Because of this the revealer presents himself in the *ego eimi* revelatory formula in which he identifies himself with whatever it is for which the people are searching. If this perception is true to the evangelist's point of view it is significant that quest stories should be an important feature of the Gospel. (Painter 1987, p.120-26) Because human life is unfulfilled Jesus was able to present himself as the fulfilment of the human quest. This is the force of the "I am" sayings. Naturally it is the evangelist who presents Jesus in this way even when he does so using the words of Jesus and in his conclusion has brought together the quest for the Messiah and the quest for life, 20.31. The diversity of questers portrayed (the Baptist; disciples of the Baptist and their associates; the mother of Jesus; Nicodemus, a Pharisee, a ruler; Samaritans; a nobleman; a Galilean crowd; Mary and Martha; Greeks, Mary Magdalene) seeking Jesus reveals the universality of the quest, that all are questers until they come to Jesus.

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EZ30 : witness to the past - challenge to the future

Robert A Anderson

AN OLD PROBLEM AND A NEW DISCIPLINE

Tucked away in a corner, so to speak, of any theological library is a small but growing section, EZ30 in the Pettee classification, and 261.26 in the Dewey. It stands at the end of the increasingly lengthy segment on Judaism and just before the world of the New Testament stakes out its major share of shelf space. As yet, it is by no means a large holding. By any standard it is inconspicuous and yet it has an importance, however minimally recognized, that far exceeds its numbers. The majority of the works lodged in it are new, as new in substance as they are in age. But it stands at the meeting point of two ancient world faiths, Judaism and Christianity. In this it has a distinction and a purpose quite other than any other section in the library. It separates the two faiths which, more than any others, are bound conceptually by many bonds but which are even more deeply divided by a long history of distrust and animosity.

It is the argument of this essay that the new-found pursuit and discipline of Jewish Christian relations is of such consequence that it impinges upon every aspect of the theological endeavour. In a sense it stands in judgment on the past, focusing not only upon that long history of estrangement but upon why the attitudes that engendered such a relationship became and remained an accepted part of Christian theological dissertation and proclamation. So also it stands in judgment on the future, on the post-Holocaust future, and calls in question every word and every sentence that would seek to suggest that the Christian past does not have to be reckoned with. The author would make so bold as to assert that, far from being no more than the novel and esoteric interest of the few, the issues that are being raised under the general rubric of Jewish Christian relations are of fundamental importance not only to the continuing self-understanding of the church but to its integrity as a body which proclaims the love and mercy of God.

The above claim would lack substance if it were merely some personal whim. But that is not the case. There is an increasing number of scholars around the world, not least in western Europe and North America, who would have

little difficulty in offering their support. What, perhaps, is more significant is that during the last four decades, and particularly in the last twenty or so years, there has appeared an impressive number of authoritative church declarations, submissions and statements which focus upon Jewish Christian relations and which stress the centrality of the issues raised therein. These appear in a number of readily accessible collections, all located in EZ30 or its equivalent. In 1977 the first of these appeared with the title *Stepping stones to further Jewish-Christian relations* edited by Helga Croner and this she followed up in 1985 with its successor, *More stepping stones to Jewish-Christian relations*. In 1988 the World Council of Churches' Consultation on the Church and the Jewish People produced *The theology of the churches and the Jewish people: statements by the World Council of Churches and its member churches*. The most comprehensive collection is that edited by Rolf Rendtorff and H. Henrix, *Die Kirchen und das Judentum. Dokumente von 1945 bis 1985*, which also appeared in 1988.

One of the difficulties in handling these various church statements is that it is not always clear just what status they enjoy or were meant to enjoy within the church that produced them. There is no difficulty in this respect so far as the Roman Catholic documents are concerned, whether they are from Vatican or diocesan sources. However, the same may not be said so far as the Protestant contributions are concerned. Lack of binding ecclesial authority would suggest that in most cases, if not all, their main purpose was to give instruction in the issues, provide some general guidance, and foster and aid discussion. This certainly points to a limited status but it must be noted that these, no less than their Roman Catholic counterparts, were the work of persons appointed to carry out the task and were, in many cases, the products of years of consultation and composition. The imprimatur they possess is that of considered and purposeful scholarship.

The agenda for these statements more or less writes itself. There are a number of issues which are, upon any reckoning, both unavoidable and necessary, among them the need for Judaism to be defined in its own terms, the relationship between the two biblical testaments, the place of Jesus within the Judaism of his day and his attitude towards the Torah (Law), the continuing Christian disparagement of the Pharisees, the responsibility for the death of Jesus, Christian anti-Judaism, and Christian culpability, at least in part, for the dissemination of anti-Semitism and its horrific culmination, the Holocaust. All of these, and others, beg for attention and treatment. For the moment there are two only to which I shall allude, namely, the uniqueness of the Christian Jewish relationship and the role of Christians in the denigration of Jews and Judaism.

There is often an experienced difficulty in convincing one's fellow theological educators that the relationship of Christianity to Judaism is quite other than that of Christianity to any other religion. The church statements reflect no such ambivalence. Indeed, on this point, most are clear beyond any equivocation. The following excerpts are typical:

"For Christians, Judaism can never be one religion among others... A right understanding of the relationship with Judaism is, therefore, fundamental to Christianity's own self-understanding." (Lambeth 1988 paragraph 13)

"Because of the unique relations that exist between Christianity and Judaism ... the Jews and Judaism should not occupy an occasional and marginal place in catechesis; their presence there is essential and should be organically integrated." (Notes on the correct way 1985)

"The relations between Jews and Christians have unique characteristics because of the ways in which Christianity historically emerged out of Judaism." (Ecumenical considerations 1982)

"In particular, the dialogue between the Christian Church and the Jewish people must reflect the unique relationship, theological and historical, that exists between us. Christianity emerged out of Judaism." (Christians and Jews today 1985)

The statement of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.), issued in 1987, goes beyond the recognition of what might be seen as a relationship of merely past historical interest when it calls for "a new understanding by the church that its own identity is intimately related to the continuing identity of the Jewish people." (Theological understanding 1987)

What might at first appear to be a radical if not romantic claim is seen to be anything but that when read in the light of Paul's embryonic but important attempt in Romans 9 to 11 to come to terms with the continuing faithfulness of God.

That throughout the centuries of their common existence Christianity has spawned a virulent and harmful animosity towards Judaism and its adherents is a commonly advanced confession within the ecclesiastical documents. Again a few examples only may suffice to make the point.

Anti-Jewish sentiment and action by Christians began in New Testament times ... In subsequent centuries, after the occasions for the original hostility had long since passed, the church misused portions of the New Testament as proof texts to justify a heightened animosity towards Jews. (Theological understanding 1987)

That particular statement goes on to speak of the "teaching of contempt" which labelled Jews as "Christ-killers" and a "deicide race" and reminds its readers that, for Jews, Holy Week became a "time of terror". Something similar is found in the following excerpt:

"From the Jewish point of view the ill-treatment of Jews by Christians, their defamation and outlawing down to physical extermination over 1,700 years have weighed heavily upon every attempt at a rapprochement on the part of Christians." (Reflections on the problem 1977 p.iii)

The sense of Christian guilt which features in the majority of the statements is well summarized in these words:

"Christians must also become aware of that history in which they have deeply alienated the Jews. It is undeniable that Christian people have both initiated and acquiesced in persecution. Whole generations of Christians have looked with contempt upon this people who were condemned to remain wanderers on the earth on the false charge of deicide. Christians ought to acknowledge with repentance and sorrow their part in this tragic history of estrangement." (Statement on inter-religious dialogue 1972 p.2)

It might be expected that Lutherans should write and speak in these forceful terms and it might well be argued that few others have such need, especially those removed so far from the worst excesses of European anti-Semitism. But a further and more reasoned appraisal would conclude that anti-Judaism with its attendant disparagement of Jews is so deeply embedded within the Christian proclamation that it travels widely and well. It is as little thwarted by oceans as it is by denominational division.

JEWS AND THE THEOLOGIANS

Gavin Langmuir makes the point, and it is well taken, that it is not the Church nor the Christian faith that has denigrated Jews but Christians, not all Christians, but, nevertheless Christians as persons. (Langmuir 1992 , p.77-8) With that in mind it might be apt to put the question: Do those who behave and who have behaved in that way represent only an aberrant and popular expression of Christianity or can there be numbered among them the doctors and theologians of the church? More pointedly, is it possible that the voice of authority and learning is more denunciatory of Judaism than that of the congregation as it was, say, in Chrysostom's Antioch of old?

There is little doubt that, in early times as in later, Christian theological explication has presented Judaism in ways which reflect the fundamental thesis that God has rejected his so-called ancient people in favour of a new community of believers, the church. Very seldom, until recent times, has there been any forthright denial on the part of Christian theologians of this supersessionist position. It is this stance, fashioned and forged in the midst of the polemic engendered by the claims and counter-claims as well as the political and social setting of a nascent church and a reviving Judaism, that has defined and governed the relations between Christians and Jews throughout almost all of their common history. The record of this relationship would suggest that once the lines were drawn in this manner there was no turning back. The roles played by the church's theologians vary from mild criticism, to overt hostility, to vituperous denunciation of a people depicted as enemies of God.

It would serve little purpose to attempt to classify the theologians according to the above-stated categories. Nevertheless, some overview, albeit a brief one, is necessary if the point is to be made with any recognizable degree

of persuasion. But the first major question is : where does one begin? To that my response would have to be : with the New Testament writers, certainly with some of them. The discussion as to whether or not the New Testament is anti-Semitic hinges very much upon the sense in which the term is to be used.

The difficulties that attend it would suggest that some other appellation may be more suitable. Certainly it may be said that anti-Judaism as such pervades the writings of the New Testament. Indeed it would have been remarkable if Christian literature emanating from that period of intense rivalry between church and synagogue had lacked that particular trait. Given, say, the situation of the struggling Matthean community, "a somewhat beleaguered minority 'sect' cut off from its roots", (Stanton 1992, p.157) facing the intransigence, if not the outright opposition, of a long-established and highly visible Jewish community, it is understandable that there is in that gospel a heightened polemic against those who emerged after the catastrophe of 70 C.E. as the leaders of a reconstructed Judaism, the Pharisees. But when does religious controversy change to vilification? Of what consequence is it that the latter should be given dominical status as it is in Matthew chapter 23 or, say, in the ascription of demonic origin to "the Jews" in John 8 : 43, 44? Is there not here something more than anti-Judaism, say, for want of a better term, anti-Jewism?

Again, it serves little purpose to give an exhaustive cataloguing of those New Testament texts that come within one category or the other, anti-Judaism or anti-Jewism. They are there, both types, and not only are they part of the definitive sacred literature of the church, they offer themselves for uncritical use by those who accept them for what they are, namely, a part of the canon. Produced as they were by such a reliable firm with an impeccable reputation, it is little wonder that they should have enjoyed the retail value they undoubtedly have over the centuries.

In addition to the type of highly provocative texts already referred to, those that suggested Jesus' prophesying of the destruction of Jerusalem and its temple, such as Matt 22:7; 23:37-9; 24:15; Mk 13:14; Lu 19:41-4; 21:20-4 and Acts 6:14, were pressed into good service by successive generations of early theologians. The tragedy of the year 70 C.E., together with the banning of Jews from Jerusalem following the Bar-Kokhba War of 132-5 C.E., provided ample proof of the divine judgement upon Judaism and the rejection of the Jewish people.

The views of such formidable figures as Justin Martyr, Hilary, Melito of Sardis and Tertullian are well summarized in these words of Origen: "It accordingly behoved the city where Jesus underwent these sufferings to perish utterly, and the Jewish nation to be overthrown, and the invitation to happiness offered them by God to pass to others" (Origen. *Contra Celsum* 4,22)

The father of ecclesiastical historiography, Eusebius of Caesarea, some little time later remarks: "It was indeed proper that in the very week (i.e. Passover) in which they had brought the Saviour and Benefactor of mankind, God's

Christ, to his passion, they should be shut up as if in a prison and suffer the destruction that came upon them by the judgement of God." (Eusebius 1965, p.112)

The vehemence of much of the early theological writings, not least the abusive tirades of John Chrysostom, might well have inflamed Christian animosity towards Jews to the point of genocide. That this did not occur may have been because of the "Augustinian formula" which played no small part in restraining physical violence against Jews until other factors in eleventh century Europe began to dictate a different and more threatening course. Augustine's interpretation of Psalm 59 (58) verse 11 may not be the model of exegetical perspicacity but its effectiveness is beyond question.

Slay them not, lest my people forget:
make them totter by thy power, and
bring them down,
O Lord, our shield! (Augustine 1326C)

For Augustine, "my people" are transmuted into those who profess Christ and the erstwhile enemies of the Psalmist and ancient Israel are the Jews themselves, of his time and of all time. In their wretched state of divinely ordained degradation, forced to wander the earth as was Cain of old, they witness to their own rejection and to the triumph of the Christian gospel. But they must be kept alive - "slay them not" - if their true vocation is to be performed. The doctrine of supersessionism is still firmly in place, but so too are the superseded.

Theologians of the sixteenth century, in the midst of reforming vigour and counter - reforming ardour, were not so restrained. Reference has to be made here to the anti-Jewish fulminations of Martin Luther in his scurrilous tractate *On the Jews and their lies*. Whilst it is reasonable, as Heiko Oberman (1981, p.267) asserts, that Luther's attitude towards Jews should not be scrutinized apart from those of his contemporaries, it is nevertheless highly reprehensible for a theologian in any circumstance to lament that "we are at fault in not slaying them". Seldom is this, the most despicable of his outbursts, referred to even by Luther's most severe critics.

But the Protestant Reformer's anti-Jewish animus was more than matched by that of his chief Roman Catholic opponent, Johannes Eck, whose work, *Against the defence of the Jews*, was designed to exacerbate popular anti-Jewish feeling and action. These and many other examples may be given to demonstrate that anti-Jewish invective together with the questionable doctrines that gave rise to it were kept alive and transmitted by theologians of the church. That may be said notwithstanding the fact that other theological voices, albeit few in number, were present from time to time, among them, of course, some of the so-called Christian Hebraists of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.

Has the general picture altered in more recent times? The period since the Enlightenment has witnessed the rise of biblical criticism, the rapid expan-

sion of Christianity and of the Jewish community far beyond the confines of Europe, the emergence of European nationalism and its consequences, as well as the changing fortunes and face of Christianity intellectually, politically and socially. These conditions of modernity, to name a few only, rule out any simple answer to the question. Yet, one would have expected that some of the above-mentioned factors might have conspired to bring about some demonstrable and permanent alteration to the Christian theological attitude to Judaism at a pace greater than has been the case.

In an article published in 1921 George Foote Moore scrutinized the writings of major Christian scholars on Judaism. (Moore 1921) What he discovered in those of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was that there was, by and large, a ready acceptance of the positions espoused by earlier generations of scholars. In other words, despite the contributions of the modern scholars themselves, there was little or no movement away from inherited attitudes. The original Schürer volumes, as learned a work as one could hope, is a case in point. For all its scholarship it presents itself as a requiem to "late" Judaism. The sequel to Moore's article is Charlotte Klein's *Anti-Judaism in Christian theology* which appeared in the original German edition in 1975 and in English translation in 1978. This too is an examination of the work of major Christian theologians, mainly in the German-speaking world, from the twenties to the early seventies. The scholars who occupy the scene here are those whose works line the shelves of theological libraries and of theologians' studies. To a large degree they are the theological contributions that have nurtured the last generation or two of theological educators world-wide. Klein examined the writings of such notable savants as Dibelius, Noth, Bartsch, Joachim Jeremias, Fohrer, Gunther Borkamm, Goppelt, Bultmann and many others of like calibre and influence.

What Klein discovered - and her work is closely documented - was that on matters such as the place of Judaism within the divine purpose, the teaching of the Pharisees, the role of the Law and even Jewish culpability for the death of Jesus, it was the traditional positions that were being paraded by these leading scholars in their respective fields. For example, without equivocation, Martin Noth was able to declare that in the post-exilic period the law became "a power in its own right" and that the Jewish people, though unaware of their changed status, ceased to be in covenant partnership with God. Their end had been anticipated in the destruction of the First Temple in 587 B.C.E. (Noth 1966). A similar caricature of post-exilic Judaism is presented by Rudolf Bultmann. The religion deteriorated, there was "scarcely any national life left", and God had become "a distant God enthroned in heaven". (Bultmann 1952 p.12-35) Like Noth, Bultmann was content to accept the traditional Christian theological view of Judaism and to transmit it for the consumption of those who found little reason for controverting the words of such noted authorities.

Klein might well have filled volume after volume in her investigation of the works of leading scholars. She could, for example, have taken up the highly

derogatory assertion of Ernst Käsemann that in *Romans* Paul, by confronting Israel, strikes at "the hidden Jew in all of us", the exemplar of that type of faith which by making demands upon God ceases to serve not the true God but an illusion. (Käsemann 1980)

Most of the authors examined by Klein are French or German. In the closing chapter a few works from English-speaking scholars receive brief attention and her verdict is that, by and large, these do not exhibit the degree of anti-Judaism that is present in European scholarship. Her examples, throughout the exercise, are drawn mainly from the writings of systematic theologians and biblical scholars. Perhaps, by way of providing some balance, reference should be made to a non-European scholar who is neither a systematic theologian nor a biblical exegete, namely, the noted British church historian, W.H.C. Frend. There is a decidedly anti-Judaistic if not anti-Jewish element in Frend's work. Were it not for his reputation and influence this could readily have been passed over without comment but Frend continues to be regarded as an authoritative figure, and rightly so, for there is no questioning the measure of his general scholarship. His observations, often no more than assumptions, on the Jewish persecution of the early church are beginning to be seen as less than convincing but the clearest example of gross parvanimity is to be found in his treatment of the subject of Jewish martyrdom. With the overall tenor of his work there can be no quarrel but the provocative claim that Jewish martyrdom was "something of a *Hamlet* without the Prince" betrays not the hand of a serious historian but that of a Christian propagandist. The judgement upon martyrdom in Judaism is first found in an article published in 1958 (Frend 1958) and is found again in a series of essays which appeared in 1965. (Frend 1965) Frend is determined to make his point. Jewish martyrdom was merely "in hope and anticipation", "a 'good work' in the Pharisaic sense", and no more than an expression of nationalism. The Prince, of course, is readily identifiable. At best Frend's judgement is insensitive; at worst, offensive.

Two scholars whose vehemently anti-Jewish writings may be singled out for particular attention are Walter Grundmann and Gerhard Kittel, both noted figures in the field of New Testament studies. The former, a pupil of Kittel and, particularly of Adolf Schlatter, early in his career argued stridently for an Aryanized Jesus and so it is not surprising that, when the Deutsche Christen began to assert themselves, they found in Grundmann a willing mentor. Throughout the war he was a leading figure in the attempt to give theological credence to the aims of Nazism and was one of the directors of the notoriously anti-Semitic "Institute for the Study of Jewish influences on German Christian Life" established, quite fittingly, in the famous Wartburg. Grundmann in the post-war era has gone on to make his wonted contribution to New Testament studies and even the relatively recent publicity concerning his war-time activities has done little or nothing to thwart his career. The same fate was not to befall Kittel.

In his *Die Judenfrage*, written in the fateful year, 1933, Kittel set out four options for dealing with Jews. The first of these, and one of the three discussed by him, was extermination. This he rejected, not because of its heinousness and gross obscenity, but on the grounds of expediency. It had been tried before and had not worked! Only after he was severely taken to task for this statement did Kittel modify it by asserting that recourse to extermination was, in fact, unchristian. He too offered his not inconsiderable talents to the cause of Nazism and, along with many other scholars, including renowned theologians, took a leading role in fostering its anti-Semitism. Unlike Grundmann, Kittel did not advocate the abandonment of the Old Testament. What he attempted was to drive a wedge between it and Judaism, a position adumbrated by a number of the early church fathers, and to assert the fundamentally anti-Jewish nature of Christianity.

The point in referring to this unhappy event is not so much to placard the contribution of Gerhard Kittel as to draw attention to its outcome. He had been, since 1932, the principal editor of the *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament* (*Theological Wordbook of the New Testament*) the purpose of which was to be the definitive work in its field and this it had in part accomplished. Kittel's pro-Nazi activities had not gone unnoticed by the Allies and with their advance in 1945 he was arrested and imprisoned. His appointment at Tübingen University was never again taken up and he died in 1948. Even more disturbing than Kittel's own pro-Nazi proclivities is the clamour made by certain leading British and American New Testament scholars for his release in order that he might continue his major editorial activity. Is this an exercise in Christian forgiveness and charity or merely one more example of the way in which the Christian theological mind has become so inured to anti-Judaism that it has ceased to function sensitively and critically?

Of course this is not the whole story. Even much earlier in this century in addition to the efforts of G.F. Moore there were those of Conrad Moehlman in the United States and James Parkes in the United Kingdom. It was the latter, English clergyman and church historian, who, more than any other, focused attention on the plight of European Jewry in the thirties and forties. However, for a long time, Parkes was a lonely figure. A paper entitled "Jews and Christians in the Constantinian Empire" presented to the first meeting, in 1962, of the Ecclesiastical History Society of which he was a founding member received less than deserved attention. This was the fate also of his major work, *The conflict of the Church and the Synagogue*, rejected by Oxford University Press but published by Soncino Press in 1934. The apotheosis of Parkes' contributions was no doubt the delivery of papers at the 1991 Summer meeting and 1992 Winter meeting of the Society by both Jewish and Christian scholars. A major addition to EZ30 is the collection, *Christianity and Judaism*, edited by Diana Wood. By and large Britain has lagged behind North America and, to some extent, behind the Netherlands and Germany in the area of co-operation between scholars of the two faiths.

THE CHALLENGE TO TODAY'S THEOLOGIANS

If there is one aspect of Christian self-understanding that may be said to be responsible for the tenacity of theological anti-Judaism it is the notion that the church has dispossessed Israel as the people of God. What is now referred to as supersessionism, an attitude that may be traced in part to the New Testament and certainly to some patristic authors, has had a perduring effect. Only now is it beginning to be seriously and resolutely questioned. Nowhere has this occurred more openly than in a number of the recent church statements. One that drew heavy criticism from some members of the Bonn theological faculty was the 1980 declaration of the Synod of the Evangelical Church of the Rhineland (FRG). Its relevant paragraph reads:

"We believe the permanent election of the Jewish people as the people of God and realize that through Jesus Christ the church is taken into the covenant of God with his people... We believe that in their respective calling Jews and Christians are witnesses of God before the world and before each other. Therefore we are convinced that the church may not express its witness towards the Jewish people as it does its mission to the peoples of the world."

Similarly forthright is the statement promulgated by the Baden Provincial Synod of the German Evangelical Church some four years later:

"We believe in God's faithfulness. He has chosen his people Israel and he stands by the election. Therefore we must contradict when it is said that Israel has been rejected by God. Nor is the election of Israel cancelled by the election of the Church out of Jews and Gentiles."

One of the post-Vatican II major Roman Catholic declarations on Jewish Christian relations, "Notes on the correct way to present the Jews and Judaism in Preaching and Catechesis in the Roman Catholic Church" (June 1985), makes the point that "the permanence of Israel... is an historical fact and a sign to be interpreted within God's design". This position was anticipated in the Guidelines of the (RC) Archdiocese of Galveston-Houston where it is asserted that "...it must always be made clear that God did not terminate his special relationship to the chosen people with the advent of Christianity". Papal pronouncements in recent years have confirmed the official status of this position within the world-wide communion of the Roman Catholic Church.

No less adamant in its rejection of supersessionism is the pronouncement of the 1987 General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church (USA):

"We affirm that both the church and the Jewish people are elected by God for witness to the world, and that the relationship of the church to contemporary Jews is based on that gracious and irrevocable election of both."

If these and the many similar declarations (admittedly of varying status) are to be any more than empty ecclesiastical asides their content will have to be taken seriously by all theologians whatever their fields of study. There are

implications for all, not least the so-called classical or traditional disciplines of biblical studies, church history and systematic theology.

Some of the positions now adopted by the various churches were anticipated by scholars but these were few in number. Doubtless also there was a great deal of scholarly participation in the preparation of the ecclesiastical documents but, by and large, the writings of the doctors of the church have not reflected the recent advances in the area of Jewish Christian relations. This judgement is confirmed by Bernard Brusak in a recent article in which he examines the way in which responsibility for the death of Jesus is dealt with in the christologies of a number of European and American (both North and South) theologians, including such shapers of opinion as Pannenberg, Schillebeeckx, Kasper, Küng, Meier and Sobrino. He notes that in the period since Vatican II there is ample evidence in the work of both Roman Catholic and Protestant scholars of the "persistence of previous patterns of thinking". (Brusak 1991)

What is required on the part of theologians across all the major disciplines is a conscious and pronounced effort to counter the misunderstanding and misrepresentation of the past and to present Christian doctrine and teaching in a way that ceases to do so at the expense of Judaism.

For Old Testament scholars this will mean, among other things, an end to the imposition upon the text of a hermeneutic designed to suit the needs of Christian dogma, not least in the area of messianism. No serious scholar today accepts even the most sophisticated "fulfilment" pattern yet the traces of it still linger. Never before have the rich resources of Jewish scholarship been available to Christian scholars. There is no longer any excuse for specialists in the New Testament to content themselves with the use of outdated material, no matter how illustrious its source. The changed circumstances are perhaps best exemplified in the difference between the original Schürer and its modern revised successor. (Schurer 1973) The apologetic and polemic of the church's definitive literature must no longer be allowed to inform Christian self-understanding.

Eusebius has cast a long shadow over ecclesiastical historiography. Among the purported aims of his own *Ecclesiastical history* was to set forth:

"The calamities that immediately after their conspiracy against our Saviour overwhelmed the entire Jewish race." (Eusebius 31)

Judging by the way in which Jews and Judaism were "written out" of the record by "history's winners", in this Eusebius was singularly successful. A glance at the indexes of the works of major scholars will be sufficient to prove the point. For this reason the change of direction signalled by the Ecclesiastical Society's recent publication is as welcome as it was overdue.

If supersessionism is to be abandoned - as many of the church statements suggest it should - systematic theologians have some major tasks ahead of them, not least in the area of christology. A Judaism understood in its own terms and no longer seen as a convenient and comfortable theological con-

struct presents the theologian with a major challenge. So too does the Holocaust which may not be dismissed as merely one instance of genocide among many. There are a number of reasons to support that assertion, not the least of which is the fact that the attempted extermination of a whole people was deliberately and painstakingly engineered within the most theologically sophisticated land in Christendom and carried out midst the silence of the churches. Is the hostility towards Jews which has been so much a part of European history, at least, endemic to this within the Christian faith? Supersessionism raises the question of the faithfulness of God. Anti-Judaism poses the issue of the faithfulness of the church.

CONCLUSION

It is the argument within this article that Christian theologians, down through the centuries, have contributed in no small way to the creation and perpetuation of a derogatory and damaging image of Judaism which has, in turn, haunted the Jewish people and has led to persecution and murder, sometimes on massive scales. To the extent that the theological endeavour is part of the problem it must also be part of the solution. It is no longer possible, certainly not acceptable, for Christian scholars simply to say that it happened at another time and in another place. We are quick to claim and to proclaim universality when it suits us. It is thoroughly reprehensible to eschew that same universality when it does not work in our favour.

Some scholars have been aware of these issues and challenges for many years. Among them is Lawrence McIntosh. It is because of his theological perceptiveness that there has been built up within The Joint Theological Library in Melbourne a superb collection of works not only in EZ30 but in related classifications. By contributing to this collection of essays published in his honour I hope that, in some small measure, I have been able to express to him my admiration and my gratitude.

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Athens, Jerusalem, Alexandria and Libraries

Eric Osborn

'What has Athens to do with Jerusalem?' asked Tertullian. He wanted the answer 'nothing' because his opponents at the time were perpetually mobile Sceptics. In his more reflective moments, he saw Athens and Jerusalem as sharing many good things, as well as a common fallibility. Wisdom was in Christ crucified and neither Jew nor Greek could see this. Here he appears to deny common ground and to condemn those who try to bring the two together.

W.S. Gilbert said 'things are seldom what they seem'. Tertullian, despite his overt claim, is linking Greek and Christian thought together, not pushing them apart; among the results of his move, we may list European civilisation and the Joint Theological Library with its librarian. Tertullian's chief argument (faith as criterion of truth) was central to Stoicism, and had been earlier appropriated by Clement of Alexandria, twelve hundred miles by sea, west from Carthage. By this time Clement may have been in Caesarea, where he fled in 202 during persecution. It was a pity to leave the library at Alexandria because that was where Athens and Jerusalem had come together; but Caesarea had the nearest good library. At Alexandria, the most famous library of antiquity had been founded (probably) under Ptolemy I and extended (certainly) by Ptolemy II. During its long history, Eratosthenes and Aristarchus were among its directors and its staff included Callimachus and Apollonius. It was burnt by Julius Caesar (Plutarch, *Caes* 49). George Bernard Shaw, in his play 'Caesar and Cleopatra', makes Caesar defend himself against the charge of barbarism by reference to his own literary activities. Caesar seems to know that 2000 years later, readers would learn through him that Gaul was (like most things) divided into three parts. Such is the selective permanence of learning and that is why libraries can also be formidable places.

Fortunately Caesar's barbarism did not have total effect. Certainly some store houses of corn and books were destroyed (Dio Cass 42.38); but the library was augmented when Mark Antony captured the great library at

Pergamum and presented its two hundred thousand volumes to Cleopatra. Two hundred years after the fire, the most learned of all early Christian writers, Clement, lived in Alexandria. He cited all the Greek philosophers especially Plato and Heraclitus whom he and the Stoics admired. He quoted all the Greek dramatists and poets, and was the first person to refer to the New Testament as a set of writings. He cited the Old Testament 3200 times and the New Testament 5000 times. Clement's prolific citations set the library warning bells a-ringing. Does he try too hard to be a learned part of his contemporary scene? Less perceptive readers have seen him as a compiler. Learning and libraries can be put to two uses. Erudition can confirm contemporary clichés or it can destroy them. For us today as for the Sceptical tradition of Clement's and Tertullian's time, the clichés are relativist: 'Texts have no rights, no aims, no interests' (Morgan 1988, p.7) and 'That is your interpretation'. Both claims are self-refuting, like the time-honoured paradox: 'All men are liars'. The second is inconsistent with a relativist position which will only allow the assertion 'I interpret that as your interpretation'. There always have been learned (and unlearned) people who have been happy to travel hopelessly and arrive nowhere.

In contrast, Clement used his erudition to destroy the clichés and prejudices of his day. He claimed that truth had come together in a new way, and that it could be logically defended. Ancient Hebrews had joined belief in God to moral responsibility; Greeks joined logic to ethics. Clement put the three together with the claim that 'God wills that we should live rationally and well' (Stromateis.5.16) (Stromateis hereafter abbreviated str.); God was first principle of being, goodness and truth. Athens and Jerusalem had come together to stay.

There was one fundamental incompatibility. For philosophers like Celsus, belief was the feeble act of a slave mind, far removed from scientific knowledge, and Christians were always saying 'Only believe!' (cels. 1.9). For Christians belief was the only way to God.

Clement proposed at least eight arguments.

1. Preconception and hope

Faith may be derided by the Greeks; but they recognise its logical importance as a preconception of anticipation. Faith (Heb.11:1) gives substance to our hopes (str.2.2.8).

Epicurus supposes faith to be a preconception of the mind. He explains this preconception as attention directed to something clear and a clear concept of something. He declares that no one can make an inquiry, confront a problem, have an opinion and indeed make a refutation without a preconception (str.2.4.16). The need for preconceptions, Clement indicates, was also seen by Isaiah from whom there could be no understanding without faith (7:9) and Heraclitus who wrote 'Except one hopes for what is beyond hope, he will not find it, for it will remain impossible to examine and to understand'. The place of preconception was accepted by most Hellenistic philosophers.

2. *Assent and choice*

For Zeno, the process of knowledge consisted in giving assent to the truth of impressions. He compared assent with grasping something in one's hand. Faith is the assent of godliness, or responding affirmatively to God (str.2.2.8). The scriptural injunction to believe is an invitation to assent or choose. We willingly choose life and believe God (str.2.4.12), remembering (Hebrews 11) the faith of Abel, Enoch, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Sarah, as well as Joseph and Moses (str.2.6.27).

Both Platonists and Stoics say that assent is our free choice (str.2.12.54). So all opinion, judgement, conjecture and learning comes down to assent which is faith (str.2.12.55).

3. *Believing is seeing*

Faith is the evidence of things not seen (Heb.11:1). Moses endured as seeing him who is invisible (Heb.11:27). He who hopes, as he who believes, sees with his mind both mental objects and future things. What is just, good, true is seen with the mind and not with the eyes (str.5.3.16).

4. *Listening to God in scripture*

Faith is possible because God has spoken in scripture, where we hear his voice. The power of scripture is, like the call of the Sirens, beyond all human power; it compels hearers, almost against their wills, to receive its words (str.2.2.9).

Plato (*Timaeus* 41 de) says that truth may be learnt only from God or from the offspring of God. We are confident because we possess divine oracles and learn the truth from the Son of God (str.6.15.123).

Pythagoreans found, in their master's voice, a sufficient cause for faith. As lovers of truth we believe a more credible master, our saviour and God (str.2.5.24).

5. *The ultimate premiss*

The first-principle of things are never proved; the first principle or cause of all things is known by faith alone. (For Aristotle, a first principle is also a cause, a beginning and a starting-point. See *Metaphysics* 1003b23-24 and 1013a17.) The first cause was not known to Greeks like Thales or Anaxagoras, since their accounts are plainly wrong. Since no one can know and teach first principles we must call no man our master on earth (str.2.3.13). Wisdom, which begins from the fear of the Lord, the grace and word of God is faith. Indemonstrable first-principles had been central to the logic of Aristotle. 'There cannot be demonstration of everything alike: the process would go on to infinity so that there would still be no demonstration' (*Metaphysics*.1006a6).

6. *Criterion and judging*

The quest for a canon or criterion of truth dominated hellenistic philosophy. (Osborn 1989) Zeno (not Aristotle as Clement claims) says that the judgement

which declares something to be true is faith. (Cicero, Acad,1,43). Faith, then, is the criterion of and superior to knowledge (str.2.4.15).

No source in Aristotle can be found and the Stoic origin of the argument is confirmed by Cicero (Acad.1.41f.) who attributes it to Zeno.

7. Faith, knowledge and love

Those who believe and do not want to think, are like vigneronns who refuse to cultivate and farm their vines, but wish to pick grapes immediately (str.1.9.43). Faith progresses towards knowledge by a process of dialectic. Faith is not just concerned with starting; it has to go on. The true dialectic, which is philosophy mixed with truth, ascends and descends (str.1.28.177).

Faith is a virtue, the royal wisdom described by Plato in Euthydemus and Politicus. Only the wise man is king and ruler according to Plato and the Stoics (str. 2.4.19). Faith is the mother of virtues (str. 2.5 23).

Faith and knowledge are inseparably joined, as are the father and the son (str.5.1.1). Faith saves men and removes mountains (str.5.2.1.); like a grain of mustard, it stimulates the soul to growth and greatness, so that the words about things above rest on it (str.5.2.1).

Faith is perfect (paed.1.6.25-52). It lacks nothing and goes from promise to enlightened knowledge to final rest. All who have abandoned carnal lusts are equal and spiritual in the presence of their Lord. They have been baptised by one spirit into one body (1 Cor.12.13).

8. Power and stability

Faith is divine power (cf.1 Cor 2.5) and the strength of truth. It can move mountains (str.2.11.48). Faith, said Paul, is the power of God, which alone can save (str.5.1.9). It gives stability to the mature Christian (the true gnostic), while human wisdom is erratic (str.2.11.51).

Clement's account of faith determines his account of truth which has two tendencies. The first tendency is to call the elements of Christian doctrine true and everything else false. (Osborn 1957 p.113-121). This is the truth of faith; it determines his and Tertullian's account of heresy (str.7.15-18, 89-111). Truth is unique, sharply distinguished from opinion and from images. Guessing at truth or likeness to truth is one thing and the real thing is another (str.1.7.38). Truth is very powerful, dispelling darkness with its light and delivering the lost from deception (prot.2.1.4.8). 'Truth is invincible, but false opinion dissolves' (str.7.16.105). Clement showed his confidence in truth by the way in which he used excerpts from Theodotus and other Gnostics. Truth comes from God through him who said 'I am the truth'. 'For human speech is essentially weak and unable to declare God... The only wisdom then is that taught but God and this wisdom is ours. On it depend all the sources of wisdom which aim at the truth' (str.6.11.91). Truth is found in the church's teaching, canon, confession or tradition, which is one, apostolic, from the Lord, divine and kingly. (Osborn, 1957 p.118 f.) The canon or rule of faith is the essential truth or kerygma. The canon of the church includes the rule of faith and the rule of

church practice. Clement does not list for us the contents of the rule of faith in the way Tertullian does or the more extended way which Origen disastrously attempts.

Clement has a second tendency in his account of truth. When he speaks of philosophy, truth is inclusive and all embracing. 'The way of truth is one; but into it, as into an everflowing river, flow little streams from every side' (str.1.5.29). Philosophy is 'an investigation concerning truth and the nature of things and this is the truth of which the Lord himself said: I am the truth' (str.1.5.32). He selected the good things which had been said: 'And philosophy - I do not speak of the Stoic or Platonic or Aristotelian philosophy, but whatever has been well said by each of these sects, which teaches righteousness with reverent understanding - this eclectic whole I call philosophy' (str.1.7.37). The different philosophers had dismembered truth and claimed their own part as the whole. The parts are brought together in the logos who is perfect truth (str.1.13.57). Of supreme importance is the place which Clement gives to logic. Philosophy is inevitable because in order to prove it superfluous we should have to argue or do philosophy (str.6.18.16). It does not add to the truth of faith; but it protects it.

TERTULLIAN'S CRITERION.

When Tertullian said 'What has Athens to do with Jerusalem?', he set in train the final acceptance, not the rejection of Greek culture. (When he said 'it is credible, because it is inappropriate' he was arguing for the wisdom of the cross and not renouncing argument.) The relation between Athens and Jerusalem was not defined by the perennial fideism which has taken Tertullian's words for a slogan. After all, Tertullian is the most improbable fideist; no one has argued so irrepressibly. Much work has been done to reveal the extent to which Tertullian is marked by classical culture. (The major work, which is both encyclopedic and convincing, is J.C. Frédoille, *Tertullien et la conversion de la culture antique* (1972). He is a Stoic in logic as in ethics and metaphysics (spirit is body). Philosophy points the way to God (marc 2.27.6; virg 11.6), immortality (test.4.1-8) and even resurrection (test.4.9-11). Philosophers and Christians agree on many points (ap. 14.7; 22.5) Seneca, Presocratics and even Lucretius are cited with approval. (Osborn 1981, p.105 f.). Christianity is the 'better philosophy' (pall.6). He condemns the curiosity of heretics but commends Hadrian as an 'explorer of all curiosities' (ap.5.7). His own curiosity goes beyond elementary simplicity (res.2.11), is insatiable and ever-present.

In the Stoic criterion, the rule by which all truth could be known, Athens had reached the peak of its philosophical quest; but for Tertullian, it could not give content to this rule which must come from a hill outside Jerusalem. Much Hellenistic philosophy is directed against the infinite regress of Sceptics. What Tertullian dislikes about the Gnostics and sceptical Sophists is their endless wandering; he may be called a 'Christian Sophist' because he uses many techniques of Sophists (Barnes 1971 p.211-32). For him, everything begins from the rule of faith as the Stoic criterion of truth. Clement's sixth argument, cited

above, is attributed by Cicero to Zeno (Acad.1.41.f.) in an extended form which sets out these claims:

1. Assent is a voluntary act.
2. Only those sensible presentations, which possess clarity and are recognisable presentations, are worthy of faith (*fides*).
3. Recognisable sensation is knowledge (*scientia*), irremovable by reasoning. All other sensation is ignorance (*inscientia*).
4. The move to knowledge from ignorance is comprehension, and it alone is credible (Acad.1.42).
5. Hence Zeno granted *fides* also to the senses, because a grasp achieved by sense was true and *fidelis*, it let go nothing which was capable of being its object, and nature had given a canon (or criterion) and a first principle of itself. Clement's summary is brief: the judgement concerning the truth of a presentation decides whether it is faithful and this verdict is reached by faith, using faith's own criterion.

The criterion (or rule) of faith is the point at which Tertullian assimilates Greek philosophy into Christian theology.

DISCIPLINE OF REASON

The pretended rejection of Athens occurs within an extended argument against heresies and since Tertullian is dedicated to argument, we must set out the main steps. Today heresy is not an attractive subject, because it is so long since we have seen a proper heretic and the rare accusation of heresy is more frequently made on trivial or political grounds. Further, the twentieth century flight from authority (Stout 1981) believes that heretics were losers and losers must be right. 'And when the One Great Scorer comes, To write against your name, it matters not how well you played, Provided you lost the game!' Regrettably, second century writers commonly talk and argue about truth in the context of heresy. If we want to know what they thought about truth and reason, we have to read their disputation with heresy.

(i) Heretics are no surprise (1) (References are to the *Prescription against heretics*); we were told to expect them (Mt.7:15 and 24:4, 11, 24; 1 Th 3:1-3 and 2 Pet 22.1). They subvert some, but they give others the chance of gaining approval through the successful trial of their faith. Those who are worried by the extent of heresy should remember that its existence was divinely determined. It would be much more unsettling if there were no heresies and the decree of God had been proved wrong.

(ii) Heresy is like a fever which simply exists and does harm because that is the reason for its existence (2). A heresy may topple the weak man but it cannot stand against strong faith. Humans are prone to be toppled. If heresy claims the odd bishop, dean, widow, or even martyr, that does not discredit the rule of faith, for the rule tests and is not tested by persons. Only the Christian is wise, faithful, superior and defines himself by persevering to the end (3).

(iii) We have been warned about heresy and apostasy; we must *prove all things* and hold fast to what is good (4). Paul saw heresies, dissension and schism as

evil, but, like all temptations, they were a way to higher things for those who overcome (5). We do not need to condemn heretics. They are self-condemned (tit.3:10 F.) because they have freely chosen that for which they are condemned (6).

Philosophy is the material of the world's wisdom, which interprets God's nature and dispensation with too much speed and not enough thought (7). Behind the scenes, the ultimate cause of heresy is philosophy. Valentinus' aeons and forms come from Plato, Marcion's tranquil God is a Stoic, the Epicureans produced a soul which is mortal, for Zeno God was made of matter and for Heraclitus, God was fire. Heretics and philosophers forever argue about and propose successive answers for the same questions: the origin and purpose of evil, the source of man and the manner of his origin. Valentinus goes furthest with his question of God's origin, which he finds in the thought and abortion of a Gnostic aeon. Tertullian's objections against his philosophers concentrate on the lines of their rapid inconsistency and the awful interminability. Dialectics build up and then pull down. They are evasive, wildly conjectural, harsh in argument, troublesome, infinitely retractable, and inconclusive. They produce endless genealogies (1 Tim 1:4) by means of the bureaucratic fallacy which introduces p to relate x and y, then q to relate x and p, then r to relate to y, useless questions (Tit: 3.9) cancerous words (2 Tim 2:17) and vain deceit (Col: 2:8).

This is why there must be separation between Athens and Jerusalem, academy and church, heretics and Christians (7). The porch of Solomon, where Christian preaching began, is marked by simplicity of heart (Wisd.1:1). There can be no Christian smorgasbord of Stoicism, Platonism and dialectics, no precious curiosity after possession of Christ Jesus, no interminable inquiry after the gospel. 'Nihil ultra credere' sums it all up.

What then, are we then to make of the command of Christ: 'Seek and you will find' (8)? This means for Christians that there is a proper curiosity in contrast to the nit-picking scrupulosity of heretics. The command was spoken at the beginning of Christ's ministry when there was still doubt as to who he was. (This claim is interesting because historical exegesis was unusual in Tertullian's day.) There is one definite thing taught by Christ, which should be sought. We should seek in order to find, find in order to believe. Seeking must continue until the fullness of Christ is reached (9). 'No one should be ashamed of progress; for even in Christ knowledge goes through different stages' (pud.1.11-12).

We should follow the discipline of reason, which shows that the command has *three parts*: matter, time and limit. These point to the three questions and their answers: What must we seek? (Christ's teaching), when must we seek? (until Christ's teaching is found). and how long must we seek? (until what is found is believed). The only purpose of seeking is to find and the only purpose of finding is to believe (*finis quaerendi, statio credendi*). Faith sets its own limit and there is no further point in seeking. If this limit is not accepted

then sect after sect offers its invitation. 'Then I shall be nowhere and still be encountering the command "Seek and ye shall find", just as if I had no resting-place, as if I had never found what Christ had taught, what it is proper to seek, what must be believed'. (10) The man without faith deserts nothing when he wanders away; his endless seeking, knocking and asking, is the pathetic plight of one who has nothing to lose (11).

(vi) Where are we to seek? Not among the secrets, but 'in that which is our own'. No slave looks for food from a stranger or an enemy of his master. No soldier expects bounty from a hostile king unless he is a deserter. In the Gospels, the woman looks for lost silver in her own house, the man with a midnight visitor knocks at his neighbour's door, the importunate widow appealed to a severe but not hostile judge. We do not look for instruction from our destroyer or light from darkness. We seek from those who are our own, concerning that which is our own.

(vii) Inquiry is possible only if we follow the rule of faith, our criterion. This rule which we defend and profess, has been taught by Christ (13). There are no questions about it (except those which the heresies raise). So long as we hold on to the rule of faith we may seek and discuss as much as we wish. We may even ask a teacher who has the gift of knowledge; but faith does not depend on skill at exegesis of the scriptures. 'To know nothing contrary to the rule is to know everything' (14).

(viii) Heretics should not be allowed to argue from the scripture which does not belong to them (15). This is the main 'prescription' or restraining argument aimed at excluding heretics. Argument over scripture produces only disorder of stomach or brain (*ut aut stomachi quis ineat eversionem aut cerebri*) (16). Heretics mutilate the text of scripture or worse still pervert its meaning by logical error, which combines and selects irrationally, plays on ambiguity and gets nowhere, until critical questions are asked (19). The discipline of reason asks these critical questions: 'Among whom belongs that very faith which the scriptures possess? From what original source and through whom, and when, and to whom, has been handed down that discipline by which men become Christians?' Where there is true Christian rule and faith, there are true scripture, true exposition and all Christian traditions (19).

Tertullian now moves to historical arguments which support the divine origin of the rule of criterion. It has come down in an unbroken unity from Christ, through the apostles and their successors, who all derive from one rule, one tradition and one mystery (22). We hold communion with apostolic churches because our doctrine is entirely the same and 'this is the testimony of truth'. Gnostics had got to the argument from succession first and used it to justify their unique and special revelation. Tertullian therefore insists that all the apostles knew all the truth (there were no favourites), there was no division or priority between Peter and Paul. Since their day, even among friends, there could have been no new rule of faith (26) because they had the whole truth. The unanimity of tradition proved its truth and the priority of true doc-

trine over heresies. There are two tests of apostolicity; historical (who stands in the succession?) and logical (who holds true doctrine?) (34).

The priority of our rule and doctrine is proved by the list of apostolic churches, which have the thrones of the apostles, and their authentic writings so that they present their voice and face. The church of Rome stands out with its doctrines of a creator God, his son who was born of a virgin, the resurrection of the flesh and the unity of law, prophets, evangelists and apostles. On historical grounds, heretics have no right to use the scriptures, since Tertullian has the title deeds from the original owner.

(xi) Logic is as important as history and is now easier proved. Logic and the church go together. Heretics pervert scripture, either by cutting bits out (like Marcion) or twisting the truth it contains, like Valentinus, who removed the proper meaning of every particular word. Coherence is destroyed as, like writers who 'stitch into one piece, patchwork fashion, works of their own from lines of Homer' they produce a motley text (39). Scripture, with its many verses, is easily mishandled in this way; one might even say that God made scripture readily falsifiable, because he had said 'there must be heresies'. (This is the kind of argument where Tertullian's dialectical exuberance lands him in trouble.)

(xii) The devil also played his part. He produced idolatry and heresy (40) by imitation of the truth. In idolatry he copies the sacraments of baptism and Eucharist, and the appointment of priests. In the rites of Numa Pompilius he imitated the *morositas* of the Jewish law. In heresy, the devil adapts to a rival creed the very documents which concern divine things, and which belong to Christian saints, changing their interpretations to his interpretation, their words to his words and their parables to his parables. Heresy and idolatry have marked similarities because they come from the same devil.

(xiii) Heretics lack not only the discipline of reason, but any form of discipline. Frivolous and worldly, they lack seriousness and they respect no authority. Their meretricious finery inflates all in opposition to one truth and in conceit of a shared perfection. Because they have no distinction within their communities, there is chaos among catechumens and women, easy promotion and bewildering mobility from one office to another.

In the administration of the word (42) they are keener to subvert Christians than to convert pagans, to pull down rather than to raise up. Once they have demolished the law of Moses and the divine creator they have nothing left to talk about. They have no schism because everyone is already divided from everyone else and they wander homeless in the world (42).

(xiv) Heretics mix with magicians, mountebanks, astrologers, philosophers, because they are dedicated to *curiositas* under the motto of 'Seek and find'. Their faith and doctrine are reflected in their conduct and discipline. Where there is no fear of God, there exists no God, truth or discipline. Where there is a fear of God, there is the beginning of wisdom and *gravitas honesta*, while diligence, carefulness are matched by an ordered ministry and community,

by a church which is united and belongs to God. So the discipline of reason leads to truth and preparation for judgement (44). The same gospel is the rule which runs from Alpha to Omega and never changes. The judge whom all must face is not going to withdraw his original doctrines in order to spare those who must stand before him.

(xv) Tertullian sums up by saying that this treatise is a preface and a general refutation of all heresies, without using the scriptural argument. It makes formal objections which are clear, just and necessary (*certis et justis et necessariis praescriptionibus*). It is a logical defence which claims a criterion of divine truth. Cicero had mocked the Epicurean rule because it must have fallen from heaven, if its claims were to be respected (*de finibus* 1.1961 ff.) Christians claimed that their rule and Gospel had come from heaven but that the incarnate logos required rather than precluded the discipline of reason. Hellenistic philosophy denied the possibility of argument if there were no starting point for argument. Tertullian claims that the gospel presents such a rule and there was no excuse which might justify the evasion of serious and persistent thought. He belies his own rhetoric: Athens and Jerusalem need one another.

CONCLUSION

‘What has Athens to do with Jerusalem?’ It all depends what part of Athens you are talking about. If you mean the conclusions which Athens reached in its metaphysics, the answer is ‘not very much’. Clement was able to select the right kind of philosophy from different schools into an eclectic whole which he called ‘philosophy’. Even Tertullian called Seneca ‘*saepe noster*’. On the other hand, philosophy might include the everflowing stream of sceptical sophistry which was equally repellent to the rest of Athens and the whole of Jerusalem. Here the method, not the conclusions, was a common enemy. However, if by philosophy you meant the practice of argument, as when Clement claims the necessity of philosophy because you would have to argue to prove it superfluous, then all early Christian thinkers were disciples of Athens. Indeed Christian theology came into existence and European thought began because of the practice of argument, which was learnt from Athens. In the twentieth century, which has looked at arguments rather than conclusions the key distinction has emerged. Theologians, like Pannenberg, for example, who learnt their philosophy as Idealist metaphysics, will always have difficulty in seeing the point. (Indeed, F.C.Baur, from within the Idealist tradition, had to regard Gnostic theosophy as a form of metaphysics, a view which today we would find seriously misleading.)

The chief threat to Christian theology was Gnostic theosophy and the best protection lay in Greek argument. Time and again the Platonic-Aristotelian-Stoic tradition supplied what was needed. The Australian soldier in the 1939-45 war was not a religious man; but there was one prayer that was heard in the army, day after day. It was a cheerful and cynical prayer of thanksgiving: ‘Thank God we’ve got a Navy!’ When we look at the origins of Christian

theology in the second century, and consider the theosophical maunderings of Gnostics as an awful alternative, we may note a first prayer of Christian Jerusalem: 'Thank God for Athens!'

Clement and Tertullian used their libraries well and made intelligent response to the philosophy of their time. They neither left Jerusalem behind nor neglected the logical discipline of Athens. We return to Alexandria's library. Callimachus once cared for the books there. The first half of his name presents difficulties; but liquid consonants are interchangeable (*adelphos* is now *aderphos*) and 'k' (Kallimachus) could not be closer to 'l'. Therefore I gratefully dedicate this essay to Lawrence McIntosh under the name by which he was called when young: 'Ad Larrimachum'.

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Religion and the electronic media in Australia

Paul Collins

The relationship between the mainstream churches and the media in Australia has been, at best, an ambivalent one. Many church people complain that they are not well treated by the media, and most journalists tend to dismiss the churches as irrelevant and of decreasing importance in our society. Generally, the annoyance of the churches is confronted by journalistic apathy, unless, of course, the issue has something to do with sex or that other media perennial, the decline in church attendance!

Over the last seven years I have had a unique opportunity to observe this odd exchange. Both as a producer and presenter on ABC radio and television and as Specialist Editor-Religion for ABC Radio, I have had a chance to see at close quarters how the Christian churches and communities of Australia interact with and actually use the electronic media. It is not one of the churches great success stories - but then it is not one of the media's best performances either.

The source of the media's failure in this interchange is easy to discover: sheer ignorance of what it is talking about. Most journalists know little or nothing about religion, even when they have been educated in church schools! There are very few specialist religious journalists in Australia, and most of these are employed by the ABC. And the only daily newspaper that takes religion seriously at the present moment is *The Australian*. While I want to focus largely on the electronic media in this, it is worth noting that *The Age* and the *Sydney Morning Herald* have dropped their religious writers and most of the other daily newspapers in Australia (with the exception of the Melbourne *Herald Sun*) rarely, if ever, had them. Nevertheless, there is an increasing interest in religious issues in the wider community and this is reflected in the number of stories about the church, religion and how people make sense of their lives. This interest, however, is often unfocussed, naive, and usually homes in on the peripheral, esoteric or experiential rather than on the intellectual, cultural and theological traditions of the churches. Also the church and church people's past and present failures will continue to be subjected to

excessive and often unfair and ill-informed media scrutiny. But the Christian churches cannot use journalistic ignorance as an excuse for failing to take the media seriously. The sad fact is that most church people misunderstand the role of radio and television in our society. The fundamental reason for this misunderstanding is theological. The churches have largely failed to come to grips with contemporary Australian society. Despite intermittent protestations, statements and actions to the contrary, the mainstream churches and Australian theologians generally over the last thirty or so years seem to have lost confidence in their ability to engage with our culture and have partially retreated into a self-imposed sub-culture. To a considerable extent they have left much of the running in areas of the evolution of ethical standards, social reform and the development of new cultural forms to people from secular and non-religious backgrounds. This has become particularly clear since the time of the Whitlam Labor government and it has continued on through the following two decades.

This is not to say that the churches have done nothing: programs such as Action for World Development, many of the initiatives of the Uniting Church, the research work of the Brotherhood of Saint Lawrence, the Catholic Bishops' Wealth Inquiry and the recent work of the Australian Catholic Social Welfare Commission under Father David Cappo have had creative and interesting results. However, despite these good initiatives, I would argue that there has been a large scale withdrawal on the part of the churches from engagement with ethical, cultural and social issues in the wider society.

The initial moment of this retreat is fairly easy to determine in the case of the Catholic Church: it comes as a remote by-product of the Labor split of the 1950s, and more immediately from the massive internal dislocation that resulted from the Second Vatican Council (1962-1965). Among the mainstream Protestant churches the precise point of the beginning of the retreat is a little more difficult to pinpoint. I suspect that it is a by-product of the loss of specific church identity that has resulted indirectly from the ecumenical movement. To explain this: in the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth century each of the Protestant churches acted as a focus for the different ethnic groups that migrated from the United Kingdom; Presbyterianism was a focus for the Scots, Methodism provided a home for the English working class and the Welsh and Cornish, Anglicanism was the church of the English establishment and Catholicism provided a focus for the Irish. Ecumenism has broken down these clear church divisions, especially among Protestants. The Uniting Church is a prime example of what has happened. As an ecumenical amalgam of three church, religious and ethnic traditions, it seems to even the sympathetic observer that the Uniting Church has no focus. It lacks a tradition and a history. Its theological stance is clear; one cannot say the same for its religious identity.

The more direct cause of the Protestant retreat from societal engagement seems to coincide with the spread of the effects of the "death of God" theology and the consequences of the theological glorification of secularism by

writers such as Harvey Cox. Among more conservative Protestants it is also partially the by-product of constantly declining congregational numbers. The small group retreats into itself; a sectarian, exclusivist stance develops, which is over and against the outside world which is perceived as alien and threatening.

Actually, as applied to the Australian situation, Harvey Cox was paradoxically partly right: the notion of secularism is important here as one of the sustaining myths of Australian society and this myth has had a perverse importance for the Christian churches. However, before examining the myth of secularism and its significance, an important distinction needs to be made between secularism and secularisation. While sociologically the word "secularisation" comes loaded with definitional difficulties, Australia has clearly undergone a process of secularisation, in the sense that there is a clear division between the sacred and secular realms, there is no established religion, there is a clear freedom to practise any religion or no religion and our civil polity is independent of any specific religious faith. In this sense Australia is a secular country.

But in actual fact the term "secularism" in Australia means something more than modern secularisation. It refers to an explicit attitude to life and culture and it has almost religious connotations for those who espouse it. Australian secularism has a history and its own myth. It finds its origins among writers - especially in the early days of the *Bulletin* - and educationalists in the second half of the nineteenth century. It even has a "secular saint" - Henry Lawson. However, it has always only represented the view of a small minority of Australians. For, as I will argue later, Australians are a far more spiritual and even religious group than they are generally given credit for being. Nevertheless, the myth of Australian secularism continues to be a powerful and pervasive one in our society.

Australian Christianity has an odd relationship to our homegrown version of secularism. The churches have unwittingly colluded in the myth by giving secularism a role as the powerful enemy of Christian values and spirituality. At the same time the churches and their leaders have provided themselves with an excuse for their own inaction in dealing more creatively with Australian society; they have justified their retreat into a sub-culture by blaming secularism for their own failure to be more proactive in the task of participating in the development of Australian culture and ethical values. Often archbishops and church leaders blame "secular liberalism" for the supposed decline in family and community values. Never once do they confront their own failure to participate actively in the public media dialogue whereby these very values are debated and decided.

Radio and television are often viewed by Christians as the ultimate and most pernicious expression of a peculiarly homegrown Australian form of secularism. Television especially is blamed for the erosion of values and the propagation of debased attitudes toward sexuality and violence. More generally, the ABC - and up until recently the Fairfax press - have often been ac-

cused of being staffed by hot-beds of "secular liberals" who constantly have it "in" for religion and especially for the churches. While there may have been some truth to this a decade ago with regard to the ABC, there is no truth to it at present. So why does the church fail so badly in its relationship to the electronic media? The answer is simple: the churches have failed theologically to come to grips with the urbanised nature of Australian culture and the process whereby ethics and values are sorted out in a democratic society.

The Christian theological spectrum in Australia runs from the Protestant-Evangelical end to the Catholic-Anglican-Orthodox end. However, these days it is impossible to tell which is the rightwing aspect of this spectrum and which is the left; it all depends on your perspective and often probably varies from issue to issue. These two theological and ecclesiastical constellations bridge across church and denominational boundaries and therefore the definitions "Protestant" and "Catholic" have to be used rather loosely these days. While I think that both ends of the Christian spectrum fail in their theological engagement with the culture and specifically with the media, the way in which they express this failure is, in fact, quite different. Many Catholics seem scared stiff of the electronic media and its clerical representatives (and the media usually only recognises priests and bishops as the "real" representatives of the church) are often inadequate in their performance on television and radio. With some exceptions, this inadequacy seems to increase with the elevation of the hierarchy. On the other hand, the Protestant-Evangelical churches tend to approach the media with some confidence and sometimes with technical competence. But, in my view, the effectiveness of the Protestant approach is seriously limited by an inadequate theology of cultural engagement and by the rhetoric that is used and the image that is projected.

Let us examine these theological issues in more detail. I said that Catholic theology has a reasonably adequate understanding of cultural engagement. This springs from the fact that the Catholic tradition generally takes the world more seriously and has a less disjunctive approach to the intersection of nature and grace than elements in the Protestant tradition. Karl Rahner, for instance, argues that it is of the intrinsic nature of being human that we are oriented to God's grace and that grace is the totally pervasive, yet mainly unconscious context of our lives. (See Rahner's fine book *Nature and Grace* (1963) and *Foundations of Christian Faith* (1978) pp 116-137). In Rahner's view, nature exists immersed in a sea of grace which pervades everyone and everything, everywhere. In this context the role of Christian proclamation is to bring the compatibility of grace and nature to consciousness.

As a result of the belief in the pervasive presence of God's grace, the world is not seen as evil but as a place where the intersection of God's goodness and human need occurs. Catholic theology has also developed the idea that there is an interaction between the best elements of culture and the activity of God's grace. The Catholic tradition is profoundly incarnational in the sense that the world is seen as the locus of salvific grace and the place where the individual discovers the sheer gratuity of God's love. Since God's word comes to us in

human form people need to be prepared so that they will be able to hear the word of God when it is proclaimed. The Catholic tradition assumes that grace does not work in a psychological and cultural vacuum and that the ground must be prepared before the seed is sown. In this context it would be the task of the churches and religious people to participate in wider national cultural discussion about purpose, meaning and ethics as we sort our on-going relationship to this specific milieu - for God is at work everywhere. The flip side of this is that, given that grace pervades the world, Christianity might well learn something from culture and actually grow and develop as a result of the encounter with culture.

In other words, it is theologically vitally important that religion be, and be seen to be, part of the mainstream cultural discussion along with science, politics, economics, literature, art and other intellectual disciplines. This is why it is so essential that religion remain an institutional part of the output of Australia's major cultural organisation - the ABC. A similar importance attaches to the presence of religion and theology as an institutional part of Australian secular university campuses. The formation of specifically Catholic universities seems to me to be a real retreat from a commitment to the secular world.

So, generally, the Catholic end of the Christian spectrum has a reasonably strong theology of engagement with culture. But, in fact, there is a dark side to this. Catholic hierarchs are actually quite alienated from a democratic and highly urbanised society like Australia. The reason for this is that in its present form the Catholic Church - and to a great or lesser extent the Anglican and Orthodox churches - are basically organised along authoritarian and hierarchical lines. This model is distinctly alien to Australian notions of egalitarianism and free speech. The hierarchical mentality presupposes that it actually "knows the Truth" (with a capital "T"), that it possesses access to the knowledge of what is right and what is wrong and that its fundamental task is to teach. No matter how egalitarian and accessible Catholic church leaders try to be, they are actually stymied in their interactions with this democratic society by their unconscious hierarchicalism. This creates real difficulties in a society which assumes that there is a plurality of values, that there is no absolute "Truth" and that ethical, moral and issues about life, ethics and meaning need to be debated. It is through this debate that some measure of consensus is reached in a democratic society.

The key medium for this debate in Australia is the media. And the Catholic Church particularly has a very bad record in its relationship with the Australian media. Where Catholics - and especially clerics - fall down is in their actual performance in the media. Here hierarchicalism works very much against them. Hierarchs find it difficult to admit that there may be other opinions that have equal cogency to their own. If you think you have "absolute" truth it is hard to enter into dialogue with lesser mortals and their fallible opinions! Also, clerics have very little sense of performance in the electronic media.

Unfortunately, the media is often construed as the enemy, always trying to get at the church or the bishops. As I said, most Australian journalists know virtually nothing about religion and the unsophisticated attitude of some church spokesmen (among Roman Catholics they are almost always men; it is the Anglicans who largely employ women as spokespersons) tends to reinforce the negative impression of irrelevance that most journalists have of the church. Many of them are quite surprised if they find that the church has a reasonable point of view and something sensible to say. If this can be presented in a way appropriate to the medium, then they will listen.

Turning to the Protestant-Evangelical interaction with radio and television the picture is somewhat different. Because the Protestant churches are more synodal and egalitarian in structure, they are less stymied by hierarchicalism. They are generally more at home with a democratic way of doing things. There seems to be a more practical approach to the media and a greater sense of what modern communication is about. Because there is a strong tradition of preaching, there is also an understanding that the Word of God needs to be proclaimed.

However, I do not think that Protestantism succeeds any better than Catholicism in dealing with radio and television. I think that the real problem lies in the theological sphere, in the disjunction between nature and grace that is typical of much modern Protestant theology. I am thinking, for example, of the kind of Augustinianism that one finds, for instance, in much of the writings of Karl Barth. The assumption is that the proclamation of the biblical word is sufficient. The disjunction between God's word and the world is absolute. The world has nothing to offer; it is the word alone that will save. While I am aware many consider that Barthianism has had its day and that the Neo-Barthians are only a small group, the pervasive and unconscious influence of this great theologian should not be under-estimated. It is a little bit like hierarchicalism among the Catholics. Its potency arises from the unconscious assumptions that influence the way in which we think and act. Because of the influence of this Augustinian-Barthian type of Protestant theology which denigrates nature at the expense of grace, there is no real sense of pre-evangelisation among many Protestants, of participating in the dialogue with the culture in order to develop new approaches to human existence, ethics and the world itself.

The mere mouthing of biblical texts also cuts off any possibility of discussion and dialogue; it is merely another form of speaking *from* authority, rather than, as the gospel recommends, *with* authority. Protestants easily fall into a primitive biblicism, just as Catholics can be naively hierarchical. Neither the Bible nor the church hierarchy has the answer to everything. One sees this unsophisticated biblicism in the way in which some younger, inexperienced evangelicals will actually try to say direct biblical texts on air in talk-back programs. The naive assumption is that the mere mouthing of the text will be salvific for the listeners. But genuine theology is about the development of

doctrine and belief. We never have the final answer, the exhaustive definition, the complete truth.

There are also real difficulties in the use of the biblical word itself in communication. The assumption that the biblical language and rhetoric "will work" without attention to context and preparation, seems to me to be quite simplistic. Just to proclaim and apply the biblical word without developing a receptive milieu and without facing the complex communication problem involved in using language from a past age seems to me to be deeply problematic. I am often befuddled - and annoyed - by the assumption of some Protestant evangelicals that the mere proclamation of the word, usually quoted out of context, will lead to conversion and commitment.

And I would also question whether the modern electronic media is the place for the kind of faith proclamation that leads to conversion. It is often said that if Saint Paul were alive today "he'd be on TV". Well, if he was I think he would be a very frustrated chap! I do not think television and radio are the places for kerygma, for the call to faith commitment. In this context Rahner has also commented that the electronic media - especially television - is not the appropriate place for the broadcast of the worship of the church. While I do not necessarily agree with this view, I think it is worth examining carefully. For it is only within the context of the community of faith that worship makes sense. There is a real sense in which the "arcana Dei", as the early church called the liturgy, ought not be revealed to those who do not believe.

Here I am not just referring to the broadcast of what used to be called "divine service", I am also referring to programs that are directly evangelical in purpose. At most, radio and television is the place for pre-evangelisation, in the sense of entering into dialogue with the world in order to both speak and hear. It is pre-evangelisation in the sense that it places religion in the media along with current affairs, science, art, literature, drama and all the other human realities. It says that religion is part of life; it is not a sectarian activity. However, the type of proclamation that leads to faith and commitment needs a more personal form of communication. In my view the so-called "electronic church" is not genuinely Christian in any real sense. For a church to be a church the basic requirements are faith through encounter with God and other people, community and a willingness to become part of a world of wider social demands. The Christian task in the electronic media is altogether more modest than this.

The Australian churches generally fail in their interaction with the electronic media. While there is a general admission of this failure, there is still a tendency among some Christians to blame this failure on the media itself, or onto the presumed secularism of the consumers of the media. But I have already 'argued' that hard core secular liberals are only a small minority in Australia and even among them there is an increasing interest in religion. My colleague, Philip Adams, for instance, never stops talking about religion! In fact, among many people today there is a widespread concern about spiritu-

ality and religion. This is the only explanation that can be offered for the success of Caroline Jones' program *The Search for Meaning*.

In a recent article the Catholic philosopher Max Charlesworth commented:

Many Australians still take religion seriously, even though their modes of religious belief and practice may be very different from what they were in the past... There is a very large, if diffuse interest in religion and spirituality in so-called secular Australia... I think this interest in religion, or better, spirituality, is more personal and less "social gospel" in orientation than in the 1920s and 1970s, but it is real none the less. (1993)

Among Australians there is a strong desire to find some sense of meaning in life and to discover the human values that can underpin ethical attitudes. Some of this finds expression through commitment to the church and to traditional faith and religiosity, but it is more likely to manifest itself in ways that do not conform to conventional Christianity. This interest can range from the self-engrossed narcissism of the personal-improvement movement, right through to the radical asceticism of some of the committed ecologists. Following this trend, radio and television are also interested in religious issues, often admittedly from a quite superficial perspective, but there is an increasing willingness to discuss issues which only five years ago were taboo. Thus, in my view, it is high time we jettisoned the myth of "secular" Australia and admitted that this is a fairly religious country.

There is also a great interest shown in what the churches have to say about the major contemporary ethical and social issues, such as the role and position of women, and rights and justice for Aborigines, unemployment, the distribution of wealth, and the environment. In fact, I suspect that non-church going people really do listen to what the church leaders have to say about social justice and ecological issues. The one area where the church is simply *not* believed is in its pronouncements on sex; there is widespread scepticism about teaching in this area and, in fact, I suspect that even practising Christians have always been a bit sceptical of the church teaching on sex.

The churches do not seem to have realised the possibilities involved in this new situation of real interest in religion and spirituality and they apparently lack the theological and professional wherewithal to respond to it. I personally find it quite depressing to see such a creative opportunity lost. So what needs to happen?

Training people to work in and with the media is only part of the problem. The real change has to occur at a deeper level as the Christian communities in Australia rediscover the basic importance of dialogue with the wider world in the on-going process of the formation of our culture. The church must re-enter the popular cultural discussion about the real issues that affect our society. In order to be able to achieve this, church people will have to learn to take the world seriously and actually enter into a democratic discussion which assumes respect for what the other interlocutor has to say. Church

spokespersons have to abandon their hierarchicalism and actually enter into genuine dialogue.

Otherwise the church will fail to be what it really should be in Australia - "a leaven in the midst".

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Religious and/or human identification

THE PROBLEM OF FAITH
AND ETHICS TODAY

Michael D Ryan

THE POST-LIBERAL ERA OF AMERICAN POLITICS AND RELIGION

Now that Bill Clinton is President of the United States, representing a new generation of Americans come to the seat of power, there is some point in reflecting on the moral and political climate in the United States of the last twenty years, if only to hope that Mr. Clinton's new ethics policy for members of his transition team has marked an upward turn from the "dirty business as usual" in American political life. Meanwhile, in the halls of academe and in professional journals the very idea of universal religious ethics is being seriously questioned, posing a challenge for those, such as Stanley Hauerwas, who, giving up any claim to universality, would still offer a Christian ethic. (Hauerwas 1983, p.60-61) In other circles, where the Nazi genocide of the Jews has cast its shadow, the whole western liberal tradition of human rights has been written off as demonstrably irrelevant when the political chips are down. Here the very idea of *any* meaningful, viable ethics is questioned. Thus one comes to define our time as "post-modern" in ethical, as well as in political and theological terms.

President Nixon ushered in the post-liberal era of American politics by sponsoring the political tricks and shenanigans culminating in the Watergate break-in. President Reagan set the tone of post-liberal politics both on the campaign trail and in the White House. Liberal and ethical concerns about legality and moral obligations to nations such as Nicaragua and Libya, with whom we are officially at peace, were set aside in the pursuit of the national interest *as defined by Reagan*. Oliver North was clearly following the unwritten, but very evident, political maxim of Ronald Reagan: national interest comes before morality. President Bush ran a smashing campaign in the post-liberal vein of Ronald Reagan, denouncing his opponent, Michael Dukakis,

as "liberal, liberal, liberal," so proclaiming self-interest before justice as the moral norm and winning the White House in perhaps the most powerful shirt-tail effect in American political history.

All this was supported by the great wave of emotional, chauvinistic nationalism, fired by the blows dealt to American pride: the military defeat of American forces in Vietnam by a Vietnamese peasant army, the disgrace of Watergate, and the humiliation of America by Iran during the hostage crisis, which was extended until 1991 by the Iranian inspired terrorists of Lebanon. President Reagan whipped up that emotional nationalism to fever pitch, and President Bush, playing the precarious game of riding out that tiger, led the nation and her allies into the Gulf War and an empty victory that has not only left Saddam Hussein in power, but has been the occasion for a new arms build-up in the region, leaving it as dangerous as ever. The U.S., using the war as a show case, has had the lion's share of the military hardware sales.

All this was possible because of the collapse of the Soviet Union and the break up of the Soviet military with the formation of new break-away republics. It should have come as no surprise that this collapse was followed by outbursts of militant nationalism among the many ethnic groups that were held in check by Soviet political and military power, and that the United States under George Bush followed a policy of letting these militant nationalisms run their course, even when it meant brutal atrocities and major military operations against defenceless civilian populations. With the election of Bill Clinton American nationalism has turned inward, seeking pride of nation in terms of domestic peace and economic wellbeing. The primary goal of the Clinton administration is to overcome the deep divisions created by 12 years of Reaganomics, and to unify our people in the common cause of overcoming American racial and economic Apartheid, the lines of which are most readily discernible in the residential areas of our cities between those who have, and those who do not have, adequate health-care insurance.

In the meantime many Americans have experienced emotional turmoil as they found their religious faith at odds with national loyalty as defined by Reagan and Bush. It is still a problem when and where the aims and the purposes of one are found in conflict with the other. Clearly this is a problem for all religious communities in the world, but especially for Jewish, Christian, and Islamic communities where this tension arises in their quest for religious authenticity in the face of nationalistic fervour among their compatriots. As I see it, it is at once a religious and an ethical, which is to say, a basic human problem. What is at stake is not simply the possibility of a Jewish or a Christian or Islamic ethics, but of ethics itself, which in my view means that it is the problem of the very possibility of being genuinely human in our time. If we can no longer assume a viable, functioning morality in our society; if we, who live with the horrors of Auschwitz impressed upon our consciousness, can no longer count on operative moral values as a basic condition of our life together, then we must concede that we do not really belong to a human society, but rather to a barbarian arrangement dominated by the lust for wealth and

power. It is St Augustine's *civitas terrene*, the earthly city, governed by the love of self, even to the contempt of God. (Augustine 1948, p.274)

I say this to indicate how little progress we have made in analysing the human predicament since his day. What it really means is that the task of forming, reforming or maintaining moral community belongs to each new generation. Unfortunately the morality of the parents, unlike their sins, is not simply passed on to the next generation, but must be critically accepted, i.e., examined with moral sensibility by the next generation and then acted upon. If one decides in advance that Jewish ethics or Christian ethics or ethics in general are no longer possible or meaningful, then one has yielded to barbarism at the outset.

A profound appreciation of this problem lay at the heart of Professor Will Herberg's work, *Protestant, Catholic, Jew*. (1956, p.272-74). In his course on "Religion in America", he illustrated it with a story about the Roman Catholic historian Christopher Dawson, who in a lecture to an audience in a Roman Catholic women's college asked them, "Are you Catholics who happen to be Americans? or Americans who happen to be Catholics?"

The overwhelming oral response from the audience was "Americans who happen to be Catholics!" It simply took the breath away from their teachers, nuns for the most part, who were working very hard to cultivate the former identification. Will's comment on the story was, "The nuns taught for one or two daytime hours, but the culture works on you while you are asleep." I think that it is important in this context to recognize that what Jews take to be the "problem of assimilation" is also a problem for Christians. Professor Gordon Harland in his course on "Life and Thought of the Church" during his Drew years posed the problem for future Protestant ministers by telling them to ask their congregations, who typically have an American flag displayed prominently in the sanctuaries of their churches, "Which do you do? Do you judge the flag by the cross? or the cross by the flag?"

Admittedly, in those years before the Vietnam War it never occurred to most American Christians to think of any conflict at all between being a Christian and being an American. As Herberg well documented in his book, being a Protestant, a Catholic or a Jew were three ways of being an American. When the ravages of the Vietnam War were brought home to Americans by way of television, and when the war became for many Americans a morally questionable enterprise, many Christians began to think of themselves as "world citizens" first and as "Americans" second. (LeFevre 1976, p.57) It was precisely this stance that prompted the reaction of the bumper sticker, "America, Love it or Leave it!" What perhaps a minority of Americans experienced as a violation of conscience, the majority have sought to justify with patriotic devotion.

For those of us who related our religious faith and our politics with a disquieting, but definite, fusion of the biblical demands for justice for the poor, as represented by the prophet Amos, and the politics of justice and compassion represented by American political liberalism, it seems that the Reagan-

Bush years represented a kind of transvaluation of values in American political life away from social responsibility and towards blatant class and racial self-interest, wrapping itself in the American flag. Americans were told that the ethics of political liberalism are bankrupt, that its policies are wrong, because the intended goals are not achievable. They simply do not work. Such talk clearly threw us into what I call an "identification crisis".

The prevailing interpretation of the national agenda and mission as represented by Presidents Reagan and Bush was an assault on the synthesis between faith and morality that served many of us as the basis for our religious and our national identification. We felt that we were being asked to trade in our biblically-based ethics for a new American individualistic, technological and capitalistic pragmatism, one that transfers the decision-making from the public arena, where the poor and those who are discriminated against have a voice, to the private sphere, and that to the corporate boardrooms of America. [Were they indeed Bush's thousand points of light?] In view of the failure of corporate America to act in the public interest in such vital matters as water and air pollution, we feel that we have a right to be skeptical about their ability to act as the social conscience for the whole nation.

Our response to the charge that the ethics and politics of social justice do not work, is that they cannot be faulted as premises, because they have not been adequately applied. The validity of a moral premise or posture cannot depend upon any particular attempts to translate that premise into practice. The translations might be informed by a number of unwise considerations and assessments of the situation, which render the practice incapable of producing the desired results. The validity of the moral premise rests upon the intention to act morally, or responsibly, or, if one is dealing with political structures, to govern morally or responsibly. Take away the intention and the concern to act morally, responsibly, to other human beings in the social and political situation and you have already undermined human community.

The dimension of the problem that I wish to explore here is that of moral intentionality, one that at its root comes before moral logic as its basis in the human spirit. Why does one even ask the questions, "What is the good? How can I act responsibly to persons both within and without my community?"

THE GROUNDS OF MORAL INTENTIONALITY

At the root of moral intentionality is the human act of identification with the community from which one draws meaning and values for living. This act is the primary community-creating activity. Without it there is no community to be morally formed or reformed. This act of identification is the personal equation in community building, which is to say that the premise and the terms for that identification can be as personal and as unique as one's thumb print. It is the human self coming out of the isolation of pure (Kantian) self-consciousness and taking, not simply receiving, part, a share, a role in the life of a community. The act is a passage from individual particularity to community solidarity.

Of course, this act can be cultivated and ritually suggested as in the beautiful passages of the Jewish Passover Seder, but when it happens, the individual casts his/her personal lot with the community. Symbolically this occurs in Judaism with the reading of the Torah at a Bar or Bath Mitzvah, and in Christianity at confirmation. What I am suggesting here is that it is more than a rite of passage. It is claiming a community to live with, to grow old with, to die with. If Martin Buber could say "All real living is meeting", (1958, p.11) then in the act of community identification, we have the self-definitive meeting or encounter. What in the parlance of contemporary psychology is rendered in static terms as one's "identity", is here expressed dynamically as an act of human identification, one that is repeated in word and deed with each passing day, as the ritual prayers of Judaism so well illustrate, as do communion services and the Lenten observances of Christians.

It is obvious that I am referring here to the "religious act of identification" as the bonding element of a community of faith. Whatever the Bible may say about God's activity in calling forth and creating a priestly people as the revealed ground of the possibility for any such act of identification, without that act on the part of living believers, there is no community of faith. But in our contemporary world, which is more and more being characterized as "post-modern", which is to say "post-liberal" in many quarters, the act of religious identification happens sometimes in, sometimes with, sometimes over and under, an act of human identification with a nation as a citizen. The question is: How do the acts of religious and national identification occur in the same human spirit?

As I said above, the act of religious identification can be as personal and as unique as your thumb print. The same is true of the act of identification with the nation as a citizen.. No matter what the legal definition of a citizen is, the act of identifying with the nation carries a number of features that render it, too, a move from individual particularity to a sense of national solidarity.

The citizens of the United States think of themselves as "Americans", which Canadians find a bit of an affront, if not amusing, because it suggests that there are no other "Americans" on the continent. Then there is the identification with the State of their birth or of their residence. One is a Californian, a Kansan, a Dakotan by birth or by choice. This act of identification is then qualified by one's understanding of the founding charters of the nation, The Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, usually as interpreted by one's political party, if one is a voting citizen. The various acts of citizen identification with the nation by voters tend to be categorized simplistically in terms of "right-wing, center, or left-wing Republican or Democrat", or in terms of one of the tiny splinter parties and groups, such as an "A.D.A. Democrat" or that diminishing breed "Dixiecrat".

It should be obvious by now that the acts of national identification are as varied as the acts of religious identification that in Judaism tend to be grouped in terms of orthodox, orthodox chasidic, conservative, and reformed Judaism, and in Christianity in terms of the various denominations, all with a spectrum of identifications running the gamut from fundamentalist and conserva-

tive to neo-orthodox, liberal, or charismatic. The acts of identification are always nuanced and particular in their point of departure in the reflective or non-reflective acceptance by the individual of the community of faith and its religious heritage, and so in the terms by which one comes to identify with the community of faith. One may recite the traditional words of identification with a religious community, but when one does so as a responsible adult, one has one's reasons for saying them, one's reasons for remaining with the community, even and, especially, in times of crisis.

The quality and the strength of one's identification with either the religious community or with the nation can be assessed in terms of the sense of responsibility that one assumes as a member of the community. Here the act of identification becomes the effective ground for moral intentionality, for moral reasoning and activity as a member of the community. Of course, in both spheres there are many voices to tell you what your responsibility is as a Jew, as a Christian, as an American citizen, but you, if you are going to be truly responsible, that is to say, assume knowingly your role and participation in the community, you must sort out all of this moral advice and make your activity count for what you take to be the meaning and the values of your community.

THE RELATION OF FAITH AND MORALITY

If you will grant that the act of human identification with community is the basis and ground for morality, even if you choose to think that the possibility and occasion for such an act is given by God, either as propositional revelation or as a gift of the Spirit of God or of God's Wisdom, then you will be able to appreciate why I am prepared to say that there are indeed such ways of being responsible out of such an act that deserve to be called "Jewish ethics", "Christian ethics", "Buddhist ethics", "Islamic ethics". In his book, *Earth in the balance: human ecology and the human spirit*, (1992) Senator—now Vice President—Al Gore finds that the "central concepts of Islam taught by the Qu'ran—*tawheed* (unity), *khalifa* (trusteeship), and *akhrah* (accountability) — also serve as the pillars of the Islamic environmental ethic". Surely these principles also provide a basis for Islamic ethics vis à vis all the peoples who are part of Allah's created order. Indeed, the ethical question becomes most acute when one finds oneself confronted as a member of a community of faith by a person or persons who are not members of the community of faith. It is here that the quality and character of one's act of identification with the religious community can be discerned in its purely moral, that is to say, human to human dimension.

I wish to argue that the quality of the moral dimension in the act of religious identification is discernible in the way that one relates to those who are outside the community of faith. Is there a basis in your act of identification with the community of faith for a religious-community-transcending act of identification with all human beings everywhere? By "religious-community-transcending act of human identification" I do not mean that one leaves one's religious community behind, but that one's identification with the religious

community serves as the basis for the way that one identifies as a human being with other human beings in the world. By moral dimension I do not mean the dictionary definition of ethics, as "the principles of right conduct", (Webster 1968, p.455) but rather the sense of obligation to all other human beings that one has, because the terms of identification with the community of faith have entailed an act of identification with all other human beings.

Take this dimension out of the act of religious identification and you have a religious community that is turned in on itself, without a basis for relating morally to those outside the community. Note, I do not say that this basis is itself a universal in the sense of Immanuel Kant or Hermann Cohen, but that it is an act of human identification that begins in individual particularity and moves through solidarity with the again particular religious community to a sense of identification with all human beings.

The moral dimension is not, strictly speaking, a universal — which entails for me a metaphysical conundrum — but rather a self- and religious community transcending act of human identification with all peoples everywhere. The basis and the terms of this act of identification will be as varied and as nuanced as the community acts that serve as the point of departure. It is in this sense that I think of Jewish ethics, Christian ethics, and Islamic ethics. It is the way that these communities of faith provide the basis and the impetus for such an act of human identification.

Once the identification with the community has furnished the basis for identifying with all human beings everywhere, then one may proceed to moral reasoning for the sake of moral practice, both for the individual and the community. Without repeating the whole analysis for the act of identification with the nation as a citizen, may I suggest to you that there is also a possible moral dimension in that act as well. The very possibility of meaningful international relations depends entirely upon the quality of the moral dimension of the particular acts of identification with nations on the part of their citizenry. Is the nation an end in itself? Or does the nation by virtue of its location, history, and power have a moral role to play in the world community?

In view of recent world history, in view of German National Socialism, in view of the rising militant nationalisms generating terrorism and counter-terrorism, nationalism — even and especially American nationalism during these last twelve years — is morally suspect, to say the very least. But, let it be said that not all nationalism lacks a moral dimension, although it seems too easily suppressed and repressed by the irrational and immoral dimensions that nationalisms generate. Rabbi Jacob Agus put it just right in his last book, *Jewish identity in an age of ideologies*, where he describes the tension between religion and nationalism in the human spirit:

Nationalistic philosophers ignore the fact that the sentiments of tribalism are quite capable of strangulating a living faith as well as vitalizing it. In the combination of nationalism and religion, the demonic and the divine are intertwined. There is no telling whether the resulting mixture will promote a narcissistic self-deification or an idealistic temper of dedication to universal values. In the case of Judaism,

the sentiments of nationality and religion, rooted in the same soil have been refined by the prophetic spirit and spiritualized by several millennia of struggle against ethnic pride and prejudice. Hence, the Conservatives contended, we may well utilize our rituals and laws to reinforce our faith, without awakening the slumbering ghosts of ethnic separation and self-glorification. (Agus 1978, p.57)

In view of the violence in our world that is generated sometimes by fervent nationalism, sometimes by a combination of religion and nationalism, it behooves us to look again at the moral dimension of religious faith, and to evaluate the quality of faith by moral standards. The great Christian theologian Karl Barth wrote disparagingly of the Christian rationalists of the 18th century, who conceived the basic problem of theology in terms of its "moralization". Barth called it "*Verbuergerlichung*" or "bourgeoisification". (Barth 1952, p.71)

But like it or not, after reflecting on the horrendous contribution that Christian theology made to the climate of opinion that generated the Holocaust, we must acknowledge that the moral evaluation of theology is important, that *what* we believe, and *how* we believe it, and to *what end* we believe it, *are not morally indifferent matters*.

As for the content of our faith, the *what* of it, is it basically life-affirming? Does it have within it a clear basis for acknowledging not merely the rights, but also the value of other religious communities? Or is self-affirmation so much a part of the dynamic of the religious community that when it comes to acknowledging the claims of other religious groups, especially in communities where our own religion is in the majority, the rights of the minorities are neglected or ignored?

I put these questions because in view of the role of religion in fuelling conflict and hatred in our world. Is it not time to affirm traditional religion in a manner that *defuses* conflict, that promotes peace and good will, rather than the opposite? I personally believe that it is a failure of religious thought, a theological failure, if you will, not to find a basis in each and every living faith for identifying across all differences, and then calling for appropriate ethical action with regard to all other communities, religious and non-religious in the social and political context.

The doctrine of creation and the Laws of Noah provide such a foundation in Judaism, which played a prominent role in forming the attitude of Jewish thinkers towards non-Jews from Maimonides to Moses Mendelssohn to virtually all of the religious Jewish communities today. (Agus 1978 p.8, 104, 238, 378) These Laws contain six prohibitions: against idolatry, blaspheming the name of God, murder, thievery, adultery, eating flesh cut from a living animal, and a single positive commandment to seek justice. I understand that it is orthodox Jewish teaching that the gentiles who keep these laws are saved, so that one does not have to be a Jew to be saved.

Christians have tended to view their solidarity with all other human beings in terms of human sin and depravity understood as a consequence of the fall of Adam. The result has been to view the rest of humanity as unredeemed,

although Roman Catholic theology developed a more nuanced approach, which held that there are the "covenanted mercies" of God that are communicated through the Roman Catholic Church and "uncovenanted mercies" whereby God blesses and redeems those who have never heard of the Christ. (Weigel 1960, p.76-77)

More recently, in the last 30 years, the parable of the last judgment in Matthew 25:31-46 has begun to play a role in Christian self-understanding similar to that of the Laws of Noah in Judaism. Here the Lord of the last judgment refers to persons who are naked, sick, and in prison, who are hungry and thirsty as "the least of his brethren", without a religious test. So, the thinking is, if the Lord of the last judgment identifies across all social and cultural and religious differences with all persons in need, how can the Church do any less?

And how do we believe what we believe about our God, and about our community in its servant relation to God? I think that the crucial moral test for the religious community today, be it Christian, Jewish, Islamic, Hindu or otherwise, is this: Is your faith of such a nature that for the sake of it you would employ nuclear weapons, anti-personnel bombs, poison gas or other weapons of destruction? Knowing the destructive power of nuclear weapons and the impact on civilian populations of all modern anti-personnel weapons, how can you claim that the possession of such weapons, much less their use, in any way serves your God? Is it not a demonic, idolatrously held faith that places its own political realm before the universal basis of one's faith — that is the Sacred, the Holy, that for the sake of which all human beings are to be treated with respect?

Is not precisely this relation to all other human beings the "what for?" of the faith, of the covenant, so that through the people of the covenant, in the words of the Torah, "all of the families of the earth might be blessed". (Gen. 12:3). Jacob Agus lifts this passage up as evidence of the universal dimension of Jewish faith. (Agus 1978, p.53)

Elie Wiesel once said "Judaism is the celebration of life!" Perhaps, one should hasten to add, "of life as the gift of God". This is to say that "God-given life", "God-given well being, God-given shalom" is at once the basis and the goal, the alpha and the omega of faith. Therefore, we proceed from faith to faith, even as we seek in obedience to be a blessing to others with our acts, with our deeds.

Among the books that I inherited from Will Herberg was his copy of the *Pirke Aboth* (The Sayings of the Fathers), in Hebrew with English translation. It was clearly something that he meditated upon. I myself was impressed by two sayings that are strikingly alike, yet strikingly different:

Simeon the Just was of the survivors of the Great Synagogue. He used to say: — Upon three things the world standeth; upon Torah, upon Worship and upon the showing of kindness. (Herford 1945, p.22) [Deeds of chesed.]

Here is the voice of Jewish faith, devotion and obedience to God. But then later on one also reads,

Rabban Shimon Ben Gamliel said: Upon three things the world stands, on Truth, on Judgment and on Peace. As it is said: — Truth and judgement of peace judge ye in your gates (Zech. VIII.16) (Herford, p.37)

Are these two statements to be judged as contradictory? I don't think so. For the Jewish soul they are one and the same, but the second statement points to the human dimension, what human beings must do to find their way to well-being, to Shalom. One must seek truth, that is, the God-created nature of all beings in their relation to God and to one another. One must exercise discriminate judgment, one must separate out the things that make for violence, for disruption and follow the things that make for peace, for Shalom. This is indeed a powerful expression of the moral dimension of Jewish faith. It is a basis for living within the community of faith and for relating to those outside the community. On this little saying one could build an individual life, but it could also serve as the guide for social and political policy.

PASSOVER THOUGHTS

Here we are, you and I,
Found among the living.
How many times
In this last year,
In this last month,
Without our knowing it,
The Angel of Death passed over us?

The point is not to be
Frozen by the prospect
Of dying soon,
Without a chance
To make it big,
And leave our signature
On subsequent time right after us.

You and I, here and now,
Found among the living
Are breathing souls
In time and space
Mortal, yet free
To gather memories
From yesteryear's store just before us.

We have a chance to take
Pieces and fragments
Of having lived,
And fashion them,
And make our days and years
A work of art for the joy of it.

So take the pieces of your past,
Blend them with possibilities
Of your present,
Fuse them with love,
Courage and care,
And be a messenger and
Bearer of life for
The living of these days.

Michael D. Ryan (Ryan 1982, p.11)

EVER-BEYOND

God defined
Becomes finite,
Framed, enshrined,
And captive of
My finite mind;
But the Almighty
Moves infinite
And unframed;
The Maker of
Everything
I've named.

What I've defined
Is definite
And knowable,
Framed and confined;
While here
In the
Ever-beyond
God moves undefined
Forever infinite;
Within my seeking
And beyond my sight.

James R. Rhodes (Rhodes 1982, p.87)

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Many Ministries

AN UNRESOLVED
ECUMENICAL ISSUE

John N Collins

A practising vicar, Simon Parke, combined with journalist Martin Wroe and advertiser Adrian Reith to produce *The church-English dictionary: the alpha to omega of churchspeak*. They even employed the services of a cartoonist. So their dictionary is funny. Or so it seems at first. And then we realise that the dictionary is also telling us that churches are not doing very well.

Take this on *Evensong* : Formerly a service in the Church of England, now more of an announcement.

Or this on *Nicene Creed* : The only fourth-century invention we're still using.

I came across the book on what was for me a special occasion in 1992. It was among exhibits at a small consultation at Ormond College ancillary to the biennial national conference in Melbourne of the Australian Council of Churches. Presenting a paper on the history of the Faith and Order Commission of the World Council of Churches was Dr Gunther Gassmann, its current director, and I had arranged leave from my high school to attend.

I went to this trouble to spend this short time in the company of Dr Gassmann because I share his deep interests in what ministry can do for churches and what the churches can do ecumenically for ministry. Nonetheless, in the course of his address on the history of this issue in Faith and Order, my mind kept going back to what I had read in the dictionary. What I had read there was all that really needed to be said about where today's thinking about ministry is taking the churches. As well it illustrated the problem which ministry has newly become in ecumenical circles and in individual churches. Here are the entries in the dictionary:

ministry : anything a Christian does.
ministry, my: what I want to do
ministry, your : whatever I want you to do.
minister, to : serve, care for; occasionally seen in above.

Yes. We laugh. But haven't they got it right! And when they add that the noun *minister* is a *confusing word for a non-conformist vicar* they are saying that

the minister is wondering these days why he or she has been commissioned or ordained. In fact across the denominations many ministers are no longer comfortable identifying themselves with the kind of person Philip J. Murnion of the Roman Catholic National Pastoral Life Center in New York has described as "a kind of *tertium quid*, a curious third person singular" in between God and the rest of the baptized (1992, p.53). Even Pope John Paul II did not shy away in *Pastores dabo vobis* from acknowledging that a crisis exists in the priest's sense of his identity (1992, §11).

A bizarre illustration of how far some feel the need to go in order to put the ordained member in an authentically contextualized relationship with other baptized members of the church is the argument that the rite of ordination ought to be revised in order to reflect the contemporary perception that "the principal order of ministry in the Church" is brought into being not by ordination but by baptism (Adams 1992, p.338). "What a revolutionary notion!" adds the author. And it is this revolution which occasions this critical comment on the notion as discussed or, more likely, taken for granted in the contemporary plethora of books about ministry.

1963-1993 : SHIFTING GROUND

The revolution is not exactly new, however. It has been stirring and effecting change in ecumenical circles for thirty years. At the Fourth World Conference on Faith and Order in Montreal in 1963 the report of the section considering the church's ministry noted how the subject of ministry had not been on the agenda for twenty-five years but that a change had at last come about which would enable discussion between churches in this area to resume (Rodger 1964, p.61). Pointing out that in an earlier era "the word *ministry* referred exclusively to the full-time professional service of the Church", the report emphasised:

That time is past. A recovery of a true doctrine of the laity has brought with it the recognition that ministry is the responsibility of the whole body and not only of those who are ordained. (Rodger 1964 p.62).

The report did not use the word *revolutionary* but did add the opinion: "This recovery is one of the most important facts of recent church history..." And, like the writer of 1992, the report located the important shift in a new estimation of what baptism brings to the recipient:

The special responsibility committed to the minister in the Church is the equipment of the other members in the work of ministry that they may carry out the responsibility committed to them in baptism. (p.67).

From 1963 to 1993 this principle, which has at once both a wholly ecclesial and a wholly ministerial import, has become deeply embedded within theology of church, of baptism, and of ecumenism, just as it is also one of the sustaining principles which members of the upcoming Fifth World Conference on Faith and Order were asked to work by when they gathered in Santiago de Compostela in

August 1993. Thus we read in the Dublin Text, which is the conference's draft Working Paper.

There is important ecumenical convergence concerning the fact that *ecclesial ministry* should be approached in terms of our shared baptism and the calling to service of the whole people of God: all have received gifts of the Holy Spirit, and therefore all are ministers. It is in this context that the ordained ministry must be envisaged. (Faith and Order Commission 1992, §44)

Some of the literature canvassing such views about baptismal and charismatic rights to ministry will be brought to readers' attention in the course of this paper. The interest of these views to the present writer should be clear from the title of his recent book - and the contrary argument which this title implies - *Are all Christians ministers?* The publisher's blurb states that the answer which the book provides to the question is "an unfashionable *No!*" and claims that "to answer otherwise is to disturb a foundational principle of church" (Collins 1992). The argument of that book cannot be repeated in the space of these few pages, especially as the book itself struggles to convey an idea of the relevance and weight of the research into the original Christian notion of ministry which its predecessor, a much larger and detailed linguistic study, *Diakonia: re-interpreting the ancient sources* sought to establish at length (Collins 1990). Instead of arguing against the baptismal principle of ministry, accordingly, our present objective is rather to illustrate the pervasiveness of that principle and to suggest that, in spite of that powerful and politically supported consensus, churches are still, in 1993, within grasp of the contrary principle on which their own historical identities were founded and which holds out to them the hope of reconstituting their identities for a life in the twenty-first century after the ravages of the last half of the twentieth.

A clear indicator of how deeply a new ministerial principle has undercut the theological plateau on which the historical understanding of ministry stood until the middle of the twentieth century is in the contrast between the Lutheran stance as illustrated in, say, the responses of Lutheran churches to the Lima statement *Baptism, Ministry, Eucharist* (Faith and Order Commission 1982-1990) and an earlier statement purporting to represent the thought of Luther, which E. Wolf presented to the theological committee charged with preparation for the Faith and Order Conference on the ministry and the sacraments at Edinburgh in 1937. Difficult as history shows the delineation of a clear theology of ministry to have been within the Lutheran experience (Haendler 1981; Harrisville 1987; Trexler 1991; ECLA 1991), Wolf evidenced no hesitation about what the main instruments of Lutheran theology intended about the distinction between ministers and non-ministers in the church. Ministers are called out from the universal priesthood, which all Christians enjoy by virtue of baptism, into the state of a special office; in his own words:

The ministry is, in a strict sense, office (*diakonia, ministerium*) ... The character of publicity (*ministerium publicum*), which belongs to the office as office, distinguishes the ministerial office from the universal priesthood... (Wolf 1937, p.440).

No sign here of Faith and Order's current invocation of the charismatic character of ministry by force of which, according to its latest position paper, *All Christians are ministers* (Faith and Order Commission 1992, §44).

RIGHT THINKING

In *A gathered church* the English poet Donald Davie quoted some succinct thoughts of Sybil Wingate about attitudes to change on the part of "the great religious Establishments, Roman, Orthodox or Anglican." Her thoughts are pertinent here in the light of the change this modern concept of ministry has brought into thinking about church and in the light of the hardening lines now shaping between, broadly, these same "religious establishments" and the non-episcopal reformed churches. Wingate remarked in 1959:

Establishment Christianity, like the humorist, is broadly content with things as they are, and does not want a basic change. Revolutionary Christianity, like the satirist, is fighting a revolutionary war. (Davie 1978, p.101).

Of course these days churchmen - and they are still largely churchmen - are too circumspect to speak openly of hostile attitudes to each other's principles of ministry. (That was not always the case, as fiery exchanges testified at the Third World Conference on Faith and Order at Edinburgh in 1937.) In responses from scores of churches to the laboriously developed ecumenical document *Baptism, Eucharist, Ministry*, nonetheless, intransigencies on ministerial principle are easily traced through the six volumes (1986-88) and are duly registered in the report of 1990. By way of illustration, in relation to the revolutionary notion of a universal baptismal right to ministry, the Romanian Orthodox Church reported what it perceived in the document as "contradictory formulations", "ambiguity", and "confusion between *ministry* as sacerdoce [sic: in reference to an ordained priesthood] and *ministry* as service".

Unwillingness on the part of the Romanian Orthodox Church to embrace equalities between the ministry of the baptised and the ministry of the ordained is in this instance less a resistance to change than part of an assertion of its traditional theology of ministry. A similar tradition found expression in the Vatican's response to the earlier bilaterally agreed Canterbury Statement on ministry produced by the first Anglican-Roman Catholic International Commission; constantly at issue in official Roman Catholic evaluations of ecumenically crafted statements on ministry is "the distinction between the ministerial priesthood of Christ and the common priesthood of the baptised" (Vercauteren 1992, p.160). In the often repeated terms of the Second Vatican Council the difference between these ministries is one of essence and not just of degree. Theologians may not have been successful in clarifying this statement for us but there is no doubt that the formula enshrines a conviction that ordination is for an important and indeed basic purpose in the church and that the formula clearly enunciates a distinct role for the ordained over against those who have been baptised but have not been ordained.

How powerfully this distinction is upheld in the Roman discipline is once again amply apparent in the emphasis given to the distinctive formation of priests by John Paul II in the post-synodal exhortation *I will give you shepherds* which the pontiff devoted to the Roman synod of 1990 on the formation of priests. Over half of the longish document is devoted to the special character of the role of the ordained priest. The favoured distinctive mark of the ordained is that, within their role, they are said to be acting "in the person of Christ" in a way which baptism does not equip other Christians to act. So strong is this insistence that we have in certain recent writings a reappearance of the ponderous term "ontology", which is used to assert that ordained Christians have inherent powers emanating from spiritual endowments beyond the reach of those who have not been ordained. Roman Catholic writers like Galot (1985), Greshake (1989), Dunn (1990), and Nichols (1990) affirm this position by resorting to medieval theories of a special priestly character infused through sacramental ordination. This terminology is carefully preserved in most official Roman statements even since Vatican II (Baum 1988, p.152), and makes easy pickings for theologians who feel the need to establish that "the Catholic priest ... is, quite objectively, holier than a lay Christian" because by ordination his "very nature is modified" (Haas 1990, p.123, 133). The antithesis of ontology is the notion of ministry itself as merely a function, and a typical conservative evaluation of the state of the theology of Roman Catholic priesthood will evaluate this notion in the following terms:

A Catholic understanding of ordination as a sacrament includes a recognition that function implies ontology. The word "ministry", on the other hand, reminds the ordained that they have a task to perform, responsibilities to fulfil, a service to offer. It is in relation to this that the ontology of ministry has to be understood. (Donovan 1992, p.139)

LOOKING LEFT

No one who has a perception of what this term "ministry" has normally come to stand for in contemporary theology would be satisfied with such insistent ontologising of ministry which would make of it something out of the reach of the ordinary baptised Christian. The modern history of the term demonstrates that it burst into ecclesiology precisely because its values were ontology-free. The term was valued because it had come to be seen as expressing values about service within the Christian community and by the Christian community to society beyond. The character of the service was Christ-like, after the manner of him who came to serve (the proof text here being Mark 10:45), was not only within the capability of every disciple but was a service to which every disciple was obliged by the calling received in baptism, and was of a univocal quality across the board, from the nameless widow to the high ecclesiastic. Its name was the Greek word from the earliest Christian writings, *diakonia*. The intriguing story of its provenance I have told in several places (Collins 1984, p.30-31; 1990, p.5-45; 1991, p.238-240; 1992, p.86-88), so that our main interest here is to see how modern theology has

forged a powerful link between this diakonia and that other more enduring and currently resurgent idea we call charism or spiritual gift. Together, as charismatic ministry, these notions present a formidable and moving front to the staid historical forms of elitist ministries and hierarchical orders.

When a newly enlivened Christian, perhaps a pew Christian of an earlier decade, hears of the giftedness of the church and reflects on a theologian's dictum that "Spirit leads to ministry", she or he is likely to be deeply affected by the further elucidation that "Ministry is not an institutional product of the church but a realisation of the pneumatic life of the community present in structure, diversity and unity." (O'Meara 1983, p.61, 67). Thus does ministry joined to charism break out of clerical ranks and break down the traditional form of churches to the extent that "the church in its external form is not a divine given, but is subject to the ongoing decisions of its ministers", namely, the baptised ministers, who "will have to learn not to invest themselves, their time or energy, in structures that are clearly obsolete" but rather leave institutional structures "to rot and crumble" (Rademacher 1991, p.113, 228). More mildly, when "Catholics began to recognise charism as a call to ministry ... [the] long-standing distinction between the clergy (as those who minister) and the laity (as religious consumers) began to weaken." (Whitehead & Whitehead 1988, p.10) Where once "charismatic ministry was more and more absorbed into hierarchical ministry, eventually vanishing almost entirely", it is now at last "again rampant" in the church. (Lawler 1990, p.32) Since "church ministry belongs to all Christians" (Nolan 1992, p.144), some make impassioned calls to the clergy for "a long and difficult process of conversion" (Parent 1989, p.189), and even popes are advised to legitimise and temper the exercise of their authority by giving authentic expression to their own charism (O'Grady 1991, p.124).

The impact of such thinking is yet to find expression in institutional form, but the enormous numbers of once "religious consumers" who are reading theology and engaging themselves in local and national issues of church are emboldened by these widely proliferating concepts to acknowledge their "charisms" and their involvement in "ministry". The message has come to them of a sudden this last decade and from a quarter familiar to theologians. While German and English scholars of late last century debated the stages by which the early churches grew into the Constantinian church, a powerful impetus emerged from the dominant consensus to sanction a charismatic character for ministry (von Campenhausen 1969; Schweizer 1961); thus, on the ground of charism, Kasemann urged that "all the baptised are 'office-bearers'" (1960, p.80) and, as a consequence, stand as a challenge to the modern churches to embody the reality "that all responsibility and every kind of ministry in the community should be grounded on baptism" (1960, p.93).

AIMLESS CENTRE

In some writings of a catholic provenance one notes the discretion with which such matters are introduced into historical accounts of ministry's development (Bernier 1992; Nardoni 1992) or into theoretical discussion of ministry's

nature (McBrien 1987; Putney 1989; Drilling 1991; Rausch 1992; Donovan 1992), often with an acknowledgement of the convenient balancing of one aspect of church against another by Avery Dulles (1978). By contrast, a singular but determined challenge has been directed at the Protestant consensus in Burtchaell's detailed review of its making where, having questioned its validity, he proceeds to put in its place his own hypothetical reconstruction of how the forms of early church originated. In brief, this was by simple transition, with some modifications, from the forms of the synagogue. Unfortunately, the transition from his treatment of the historians to his own historical investigation is unconvincing; such has been his effort to give an account of the hits and misses of 19th and 20th century historians of early Christianity that we expect an investigation of no less a calibre into the transition from synagogue to church. This is not forthcoming, however, so that the hypothesis stumbles along on probabilities (1992, p.261-262, by way of illustration). Further, the inspiration to look for a hypothetical alternative to that of the Protestant consensus seems to stem from a recognisably Roman Catholic desire to escape the implications for church of today of a church of yesteryear which may have been "spontaneous in ministries" (p.179).

A characteristic of Burtchaell's critique of some of his predecessors is a disregard for what he calls "nomenclature studies" (p.153) or linguistic analyses of early titles of operatives in the churches, where he suspects conclusions are too easily drawn (p.82, n.33). While one can agree that certain assumptions need further testing, one notes that in his own treatment of the category called "The Servant" his study limps badly for lack of any attempt to distinguish the discrete literary characteristics and social functions involved with the three terms *doulos*, *diakonos*, *hyperetes* (p.317). Were he to advance an enquiry here, he would find scant support for the view that a historical relationship ever existed between synagogue and Christian diaconate (Collins 1990, p.235-244).

COLLAPSED TERMINOLOGY

If the contemporary scholar considers that the linguistic lode of early church organisation has been worked out, not so the Roman Catholic Dutch Bishops' Conference which issued a Pastoral Letter on Word, Sacrament, Ministry and Ordination In Christ's Name on the same day, interestingly, as John Paul II issued *Pastores dabo vobis*. Theirs is a document which clearly illustrates the difficulties created for administrators of ministerial responsibilities by the collapse of the terminology of ministry into the sort of double Dutch, if one may so speak, represented in the Wroe/Reith/Parke dictionary: ministry is anything a Christian does. While the humorists have here exposed the inadequacy of current terminology at its most absurd level, they are undoubtedly reminding us of a very serious ambiguity which pops up to obscure the meaning of many an official statement on ministry.

The statement of the Dutch bishops has an added significance in that the Roman Catholic experience of ministry in The Netherlands has been - accord-

ing to how one views ministry - novel, disturbing, exhilarating, confusing. The Netherlands has been after all the home of Edward Schillebeeckx whose views on ministry in *The church with a human face* and other writings drew the fire of the Vatican Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith in 1986. Tensions between members of the country's small hierarchy were notorious in the 1980s, occasioning mediation and directives from the pope himself, and a significant source of the tensions was innovatory practices of a ministerial kind.

Our interest is heightened, accordingly, when Dutch bishops still feel the need in 1992 to address "new questions [that] have arisen regarding Word, sacrament, ministry and ordination" (§1). But even they are caught up in the ambiguities bedevilling talk of ministry. Thus they note that "When the 'diversity of ministries' lies at the basis of the structure of the Church, we need not be surprised that there is a certain tension between the mission of all the baptized and the mission of the ordained." (§2.8) Here they lay bare a perception which, if true, would be an alarming situation for church, namely, that ministry actually creates a structural problem for church. They lay bare, too, in their own use of language (the English translation is their own) how the tension arises from a confusion of terms. Attributing their perspective on ministry to the Second Vatican Council, they write, "ministry in the Church is above all a service, service to the Word of God, service to the community of a particular Church, service to the worldwide Church, service to fellow ministers, service to society."

What sort of ministry can this be? How do we identify distinctive ministerial roles when *ministry is a service to fellow ministers*? Who is exercising which ministry? This linguistic conundrum has been around in ecumenical circles these thirty years. In a recent symposium Silke-Petra Bergjan (1993, p.14) put the question once again succinctly:

What the special content, which makes the difference between the ministry and the tasks of all Christians, actually *is*, remains open.

The Dutch bishops, like many others, do nothing to help us answer the question when they identify the service they speak of with the Greek word from the early Christian lexicon, *diakonia*.

UPBUILDING MINISTRY

This word *diakonia*, is of course the word I put under the linguistic microscope in recent years (Collins 1990) The semantic profile delivered by this exercise appeared as a surprising disclosure of an idea from an exotic culture (Neyrey 1991; Wright 1992; Grayston 1992), and some (Radcliffe 1992; Tavard 1992; Putney 1992,1993) are wondering how to build this idea into the contemporary framework of ministry. That, however, might be the wrong approach when the idea arises from the very word by which early Christians expressed their overriding perception of ministry. Put another way, what early Christians expressed about ministry by way of *diakonia* is what we should still recognize as ministry today. Instead of building *diakonia* into our frame-

work of ministry, should we not undertake to conform our framework of ministry to the ancient diakonia?

What difference would this make? In brief, it would no longer be possible to make jokes about ministry being *anything a Christian does*. Ministry would once again be recognizable as the prerogative of those accepted by the church for the special and exclusive role of bearing the responsibility of the word and mystery of the gospel, both as preached and as entered into by ritual and celebration. We would understand at once why the elaborations of our rituals of ordination developed. The rituals would be seen as a proclamation of the distinctiveness of the role of the ordained as compared to the responsibilities of the baptized. To draw attention to this turnaround in the way we ought to be evaluating ministry, service, diakonia, I chose for my current book the title *Are all Christians ministers?*

The answer implied in the question put in this title is, of course, "No!" and a large part of the book aims to soften the blow this answer will be to those caught up in the worldwide drift of a universal baptismal right to ministry. The book sketches the shift in biblical interpretation from a particularized view of ministry to the current dominant generalized view, and lays out the sources of the Christian tradition of church and ministry which we need to go to if we intend to do with ministry what the Christians of the formative period of church did. If we go that way, we could well have the opportunity, as one writer (Radcliffe 1992, p.866) has excitingly observed, of extending the tradition in ways that may astonish us. A moment's reflection takes us to questions of women in every ordained ministry across the ecumenical board, of part-time and short-term ministries, of ministries by married men and women (where celibacy had previously been a qualification), and of ministries shared between one denominational community and another.

All that is as may be. The original study of *diakonia* in 1990, for example, concluded by urging that to bring modern ministry into line with the ancient *diakonia* would require collaboration between theologians. To what degree this is likely to happen in this era of theological specialisation we are yet to see. In the meantime, however, I am reminded of the difficulties of establishing inroads into the prevailing consensus when I observe the substantial article on *ministry* in volume 4 of the new *Anchor Bible dictionary*.

PREVAILING WISDOM

The Anchor Bible commentary series has been a major publishing event over many years drawing on contributions from the world's leading biblical scholars. The multi-volume accompanying dictionary will be equally prestigious and will enjoy a library shelf-life in schools of theology and ministry well into the twenty-first century. And its article on *Ministry in the Early Church* has been written by the doyen - one almost said the high priest - of scholars in the ministry of the early church. This is Eduard Schweizer, the English version of whose work *Church order in the New Testament* was published in 1961 and has been regularly reprinted. This study set the parameters within which discus-

sion of *ministry/diakonia* has since largely been conducted and, one must add, put up the unresolvable conundrum of who is the minister among Christians when all Christians are ministers.

One can only wonder how many candidates for ministry and pastoral work around the globe will be copying into their research assignments over the next decades views about the equality of ministries among early Christians like the following from the new dictionary:

The total (eschatological) newness of a service without institutional hierarchies ... was so striking that it became impossible to speak of the honour or the exemplary model of an 'official' ministry apart from that of any other person in the church.

This talk of *service without institutional hierarchies* is intended to be descriptive of the original *diakonia* of the first Christians, and it arises from certain linguistic judgements about the meaning of and the values attaching to the ancient Greek word *diakonia*. These Schweizer treated in detail in his book and they surface here when he speaks about early Christians of diverse backgrounds all making a "spontaneous" use of "a secular term ... to describe any ministry in the Church, be it a special one or one done by all the members"; such "secular" ministry in the church "was exactly what a slave would do for his lord, i.e., a simple, worldly service". Thus, from the influential theologian, the linguistic ground on which the satirist stands in calling ministry *anything a Christian does*.

What happens to our evaluation of ministry, especially in respect of its connections with the official ministries of ordained members of a church, when the linguistic evaluations of *diakonia* in Schweizer's work and in all derivative work are shown to be questionable? My own extensive critique of this low-pitched and universalistic view of ministry in the book *Diakonia* exposed the many difficulties that view faces from a linguistic standpoint. When we add to that critique the re-conceptualization of *diakonia* presented there, and begin to envisage an original Christian ministry of high prerogatives, challenging responsibilities, and restricted membership, we can suspect that something may have gone drastically wrong in the way we have been doing the ecumenical theology of ministry these last forty years.

Further, if, in addition to refurbishing the notion of ministry in the light of the original *diakonia* of the Greek churches, we are also able to show that its most powerful proponent, Paul, distinguished this ministry / *diakonia* from the rest of the charismata which he acknowledged to exist among members of a Christian community, then we are able to walk away from debates about the charismatic nature of ministry (Collins 1992, p.120-136; 1993). We can and must assert that ministry is indeed charismatic, but by force of the language in which Paul chose to speak of ministry we must conclude that this particular charism is special to some only in the church (Collins 1992, p.120-136; 1993).

The exponents of higher views of ministry have been looking in vain these last years for a theological underpinning of the kind of ordained ministry

which their hierarchical churches have received from their traditions. It would be good to hasten the day when such an estimation of ministry might be put to the test. Whether we are confronting, as in the Fourth Conference of the Latin American Bishops' Council at Santo Domingo in October 1992, "a new evangelizing strategy" for the vast conglomeration of churches in the South American continent, or the equally grand "Strategy for Ministry" of the General Synod of the Church of England in 1993, or whether we are involved in the implementation of the radical programme called *Never-ending story*, which is advocating in the numerically tiny diocese of Townsville in the tropical north of Australia the abandonment of geographical parishes in favour of small Christian communities, there will unavoidably be, as the latter document observes, a specific theology of ministry which will be determining what we do. Until Christians get that specific theology right, they may as well carry on doing anything they want to do and call it ministry.

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Curriculum vitae and bibliography

LAWRENCE D MCINTOSH

PERSONAL DETAILS

Date of birth:	19 April, 1928
Place of birth:	Golden Square, Bendigo, Victoria.

ACADEMIC QUALIFICATIONS

BA	University of Melbourne, 1954
BD (summa cum laude)	Drew University, New Jersey, 1962
MS (Hons)	Columbia University, New York; School of Library Service, 1972
PhD	Drew University, New Jersey, 1966.

ACADEMIC AWARDS

1960-1966	Fulbright Award
1964-1965	Dempster Graduate Fellowship
1965-1966	Rockefeller Doctoral Fellowship
1971-1972	Columbia University Scholarship.

PROFESSIONAL CAREER

1948-1953	University studies and ministerial training, Queen's College, University of Melbourne
1954-1956	Methodist appointment, Canterbury Circuit, Victoria
1956-1960	Australian Broadcasting Commission, Religious Broadcasts, Melbourne
1960-1966	Graduate studies, Drew University, New Jersey
1966-1968	Senior History Master, Ballarat College
1968-1974	Theological Librarian, Drew University Library
1971-1974	Assistant Director, Drew University Library.

Faculty status: Associate Professor with teaching responsibilities in Bibliography and research methodology; Eighteenth-century English historical, philosophical and theological studies, particularly relating to the Wesleys and the rise and developments of Methodism.

1975-1981	Chief Librarian, Adelaide College of the Arts and Education
1982-1995	Librarian, Joint Theological Library.

PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATIONS AND RESPONSIBILITIES

1977-1981	Member of the Australian Advisory Council on Bibliographical Services (AACOBS)
1980-1981	Member of the Standing Committee of AACOBS
1980-1982	Member of the AACOBS Working Party on Bibliography.
1974- .	Associate of the Australian Library and Information Association
1985- .	Member of the Australian and New Zealand Theological Library Association.

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Published jointly by the Uniting Church Theological Hall and the Australia and New Zealand Theological Library Association.