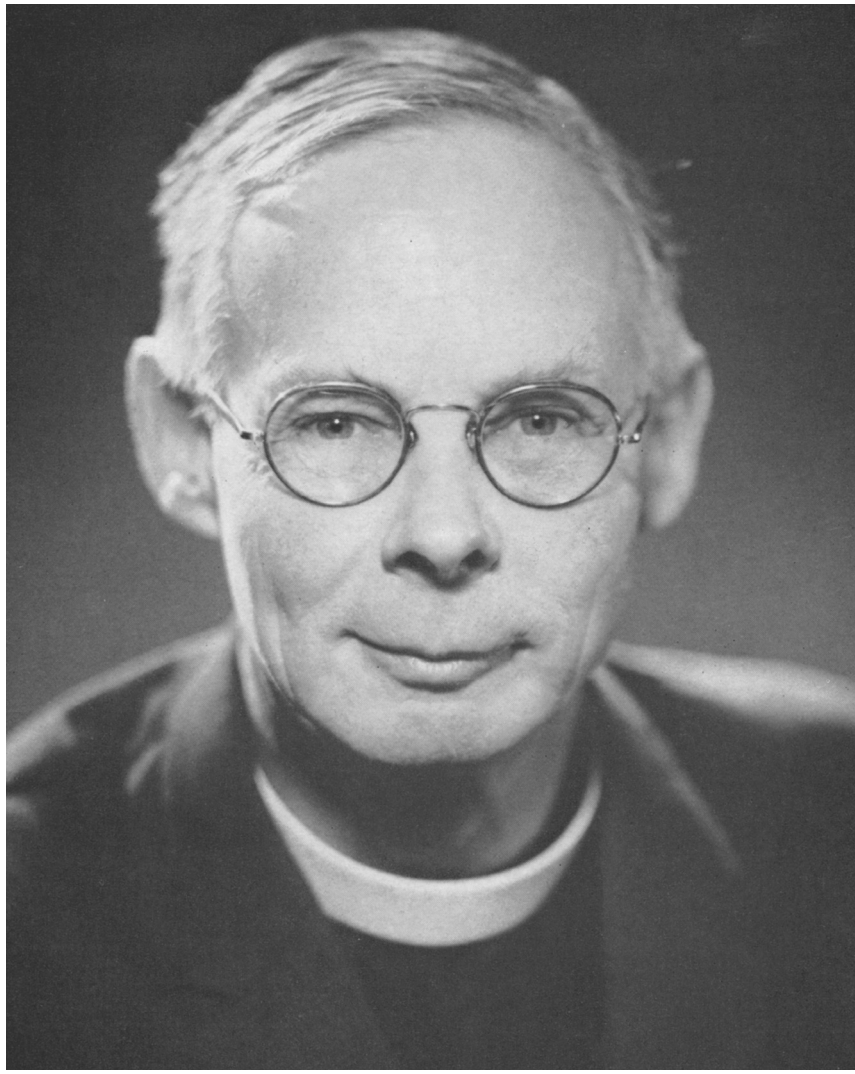

C. F. D. MOULE *Edward Leigh*

Charles Francis Digby Moule
1908–2007

C. F. D. MOULE was probably the most influential British New Testament scholar of his time. Slight, neat, and alert, he had a sparkle of thought and manner and a self-effacing kindness. His gentleness, modesty, wit and charm were rooted and constant, but on rare occasions he could flash out in righteous anger at some perceived injustice or discourtesy. His learning, sedulously hidden outside the context of teaching and research, was that of a lover of Greek and Latin, a Hebraist, and a student of the biblical books in their historical settings. Deep feeling for them as a guide led him both to daily biblical reading in Hebrew and Greek, and to probing criticism of New Testament expression and thought. His own agile thought and his sense for language united in the unforced elegance of his speech and writing.

His sunny, white-panelled rooms on the first floor in Clare College, Cambridge looked into the college court on the north side and over the lawn between King's College Chapel and the river on the south. This cheerful ambiance with its two outlooks matched the brightness of his welcome, and his insight into both human life and nature. Some of his books were in an inner study or den, but those in the large outer room included, in a case opposite the door, beautiful copies of works from the international biblical scholarship of the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Many of these had belonged to his scholarly father, H. W. Moule.[1] Charlie Moule was always up-to-date, with a fresh sympathy for new developments and

[1] On a group of these given by Charlie when he left Cambridge to his father's old college (Corpus), see 'C. F. D. Moule (1908–2007), his Family, and Corpus', *Letter of the Corpus Association*, 86 (2007), 64–7.

Proceedings of the British Academy, **161**, 281–310.

new life, as appeared if you saw him with kittens or children; but these older books and their family connections also form a clue to his personality.

I

Like his great-uncle the classical scholar C. W. Moule, Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, he was always known as Charlie. This usage happily inspired the university Orator in Cambridge (Professor James Diggle) to present him for an honorary DD as 'Carolum—immo Carolissimum—Franciscum Digby Moule'.[2] He was born on 3 December 1908 in Hangchow (Hangzhou), a city and port once praised by Marco Polo, where his father and mother both served as missionaries. Here Charlie's grandfather George Evans Moule (1828–1912) had his headquarters when serving as Bishop in Mid-China (1880–1906); he translated the Prayer-book into Chinese, and continued as a missionary until the year of his death. G. E. Moule was one of the eight sons of Henry Moule (1801–77), Vicar of Fordington near Dorchester. This remarkable brotherhood included C. W. Moule, mentioned already; Horace Moule, a mentor of the young Thomas Hardy; and Handley Moule, again an accomplished classicist, who became Norrisian Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, and Bishop of Durham.[3]

Charlie's father Henry William Moule (1871–1953) was the sixth child of George Evans and Adelaide Sarah Moule. Born in Hangchow, he went up to Cambridge in 1890 as a scholar of Corpus, gaining the Porson Prize for Greek verse and the Jeremie Septuagint Prize. He trained for ordination at Ridley Hall, the Cambridge theological college which was opened on Evangelical lines in 1881. So entwined is the Moule family history with that of the University of Cambridge that H. W. Moule simply passed from the tutelage of his uncle Charlie at Corpus to that of his uncle Handley, the first Principal of Ridley Hall. After ordination he returned to Hangchow as a missionary under the auspices of the Church Missionary Society (now the Church Mission Society), and in 1900 married Laura Clements Pope, who had come to China independently as one of the Society's missionaries.

[2] The oration is printed and translated in the *Cambridge University Reporter*, 118 (1987–8), 746–7 (issue of 15 June 1988).

[3] For a family tree see R. W. M. Lewis, *The Family of Moule of Melksham, Fordington, and Melbourne* (printed privately, 1938).

C. F. D. Moule, the youngest of their three children, was born in the same house as his father, and spent a happy if often solitary childhood in China. George, the second son, was four years and nearly ten months older than Charlie, and he followed his elder brother Edward to school in England in 1913, when Charlie was four; the First World War broke out in the following year. Meanwhile the young Charlie in Hangchow learned the three Rs from his mother, together with parts of the English Bible and the Prayer Book, and now and afterwards in England he began to gain from his father, as he later wrote, 'my earliest interest in Classics and . . . an example of exact scholarship which has always been inspiring if unattainable'.[4] He caught something of his father's delight not only in language and literature but also in drawing, painting, and natural history.

In 1920 the eleven-year-old followed Edward and George to school in Weymouth College (closed in 1940), in their ancestral Dorset; here in 1921 Edward, after leaving, taught in the Junior School, in which Charlie will still have been a pupil, before going up to university, and he would later become headmaster of the College.[5] Charlie found it a new and almost traumatic experience to mix with boys of his own age, but he was a day-boy to begin with, before becoming a boarder. In 1922 his parents returned to England because of a recurrence of his mother's tuberculosis, and settled at Damerham in Hampshire, where his father became Vicar. The young Charlie was also close to his uncle Arthur Christopher Moule (1873–1957), G. E. Moule's seventh and youngest child, who had returned to England from missionary service in China in 1908, and was Vicar of Trumpington from 1918. Charlie would later contrast his father, who was a fine scholar in the Classics, in Hebrew (with some Aramaic and Syriac), and in Chinese, but was never given to publication, with his uncle Arthur, who published a great deal and became Professor of Chinese at Cambridge (1933–8). (Some of H. W. Moule's New Testament suggestions were eventually put into print by Charlie.[6]) In 1927, once again following his two

[4] C. F. D. Moule, *An Idiom-Book of New Testament Greek* (2nd edn., Cambridge, 1959), p. viii. Two short unpublished autobiographical notes by Charlie sketch his early years; these have been deposited in the British Academy's Fellowship Archive.

[5] C. G. Falkner, *The Book of Records of Weymouth College* (3rd edn., Manchester, 1923), pp. 329, 333, 371; *Dedication of the War Memorial Panelling and Memorial Windows transferred from Weymouth College Chapel to the North Aisle of St. Aldhelm's Church, Radipole, Weymouth, October 8th 1949* (Weymouth, 1949), pp. 3, 33–4, 42.

[6] See C. F. D. Moule, *An Idiom-Book of New Testament Greek*, index s. Moule, H. W.; C. F. D. Moule, 'H. W. Moule on Acts 4:25', *Expository Times*, 65 (1953–4), 220–1. Outside this field, his father's reluctance to publish had been overcome in the case of H. W. Moule, *A Sound-Table of the*

brothers, Charlie was admitted as a scholar of Emmanuel College, Cambridge.

The Moule family for the most part represented the Evangelical tradition in the Church of England, as Charlie himself would do, with all its dedication but in its most scholarly and winning forms. An Evangelical during most of Charlie's life was understood (he wrote) to be one who, 'whether conservative or not regarding the authority of the Bible, insisted that the Church of England was not only Catholic but reformed, who recognized the value of the Reformation (much though this is now questioned), and who tended to judge "catholicism" by the norms of the apostolic age as reflected in the New Testament'.[7] At Cambridge Corpus, which had been strongly Evangelical in ethos, was accordingly the college of Charlie's father and grandfather. The college ethos began to change, however, during H. W. Moule's time as an undergraduate, when his uncle ceased to be Tutor (1892); and this change may be one reason behind the choice of Emmanuel, with its own still flourishing Evangelical tradition, for his three sons after the First World War.[8]

The love and respect for classical learning which Charlie gained from his father was such that, as he later wrote, he assumed almost without discussion that this must be his main study. At Emmanuel he read then for the Classical Tripos (1927–31), as both his brothers had done, under the direction of L. H. G. Greenwood. He gained Firsts in Part I (with distinction in Greek verse) and Part II (with special merit in Literature). He was supported, as he wrote, 'by the sacrificial generosity of my far from affluent parents and the munificence of my mother's mother'.

He then spent three years studying Theology and training for Holy Orders in the Church of England at Ridley Hall. It was only at the end of his four undergraduate years that he was led to believe that he should do so, after he had failed to find other possibilities; but, as he put it, 'this vague start did, I believe, develop into a genuine "vocation"'. In this connection he says that Paul Gibson, Principal of Ridley Hall 1927–45, helped him 'to grasp the paramount value of persons and of personal relationship in the

Hangchow Dialect (Shao-Hsing, 1902; 2nd edn., Hangchow, 1908); the two places of publication correspond to successive mission postings.

[7] C. F. D. Moule, *Forgiveness and Reconciliation and other New Testament Themes* (London, 1998), p. 175, n.2.

[8] On the feeling against aspects of Evangelical influence which led to a change of Tutor in Corpus, and on the consequent break in the college's Evangelical connection, see J. P. T. Bury, *The College of Corpus Christi and the Blessed Virgin Mary: a History from 1822 to 1952* (Cambridge, 1952), pp. 84–5, 210.

Christian faith, and the meaning of personal commitment to God in Jesus Christ'.[9]

For the last of his three years of preparation (1933–4), after his admission to Deacon's orders, he was Curate of St Mark's, Cambridge and Tutor of Ridley Hall. He did not read for the Theological Tripos, but his theological progress and his efforts to gain financial support are marked by a distinguished series of university awards: the Evans Prize for knowledge of Greek and Latin patristic texts, the Jeremie Septuagint Prize (also won by his father), and the Crosse Scholarship.

By 1934 he had been invited by F. C. Burkitt to join his New Testament Seminar. This body of scholars collectively mirrored much of Burkitt's own great range, and brought New Testament work into connection with neighbouring disciplines, including Old Testament and Syriac studies (represented by F. S. Marsh, among others), rabbinics (Herbert Loewe, A. Lukyn Williams) and classics (F. M. Cornford). Charlie's uncle A. C. Moule was already a member. Charlie recalled the atmosphere of the Seminar in the Thirties, under Burkitt and then C. H. Dodd, as that of a pleasantly informal working group.[10] 'At these sessions it was always possible . . . to get up and rove round the room in order to pull out and consult a Wettstein (a copy of which was presented by A. C. Moule on 28 October 1936 [the second meeting of Dodd's Seminar]) or a reference book, the meeting place in the Divinity School being then still used as the Senior Library and lined—as, alas, it no longer is—with splendid books.'[11]

From 1934 Charlie was a curate in Rugby, and in 1935 Burkitt died and was succeeded by Dodd. Charlie came back to Cambridge in 1936 as Vice-Principal of Ridley Hall, once again as a colleague of Paul Gibson. This move opened an academic career which simply unfolded itself in response to successive demands. Charlie became Dean of Clare in 1944, replacing W. Telfer, who had become Ely Professor of Divinity; he was

[9] On Gibson and 'the puckish glint of humour in his eyes' see Max Warren, *Crowded Canvas* (London, 1974), pp. 94–5.

[10] The minute-books of the seminar from 1936 (the beginning of C. H. Dodd's chairmanship) to 1998 (Professor M. D. Hooker's retirement) are in the library of the Divinity Faculty, Cambridge. I am most grateful to the Librarian, Dr P. Dunstan, for facilitating access, and for consultation over the copy of Wettstein mentioned in the following footnote.

[11] C. F. D. Moule, 'G. M. Styler and the Cambridge New Testament Seminar', in W. Horbury & B. McNeil (eds.), *Suffering and Martyrdom in the New Testament: Studies presented to G. M. Styler by the Cambridge New Testament Seminar* (Cambridge, 1981, repr. 2008), pp. xi–xxi (xviii). Books from the Senior Library were moved when a Faculty library was formed for the use of senior and junior members alike. The copy of J. J. Wettstein's *Novum Testamentum Graecum* (2 vols., Amsterdam, 1751–2) presented by A. C. Moule can probably be identified with the copy now in this library, classmark L.306–7.

also made a Faculty Assistant Lecturer in Divinity. He was appointed a University Lecturer in Divinity in 1947, and Lady Margaret's Professor of Divinity in 1951. In this chair, which like other Cambridge chairs in Divinity was not then reserved for a particular specialism, he followed F. S. Marsh.

He soon had to take on leadership of the Cambridge New Testament teaching, for the Regius Professor, A. M. Ramsey, who had succeeded Charles Raven in 1950, left Cambridge at the end of the Long Vacation 1952 to become Bishop of Durham. Ramsey's New Testament teaching and chairmanship of the New Testament Seminar had helped to fill the gap left when C. H. Dodd retired from the Norris-Hulse chair of Divinity in 1949, to be succeeded by H. H. Farmer. The three chairs vacated in 1949–51 were thus filled successively by a philosopher of religion (Farmer), a theologian (Ramsey), and a New Testament scholar then perhaps known more for his philological than his historical and theological strengths.

II

In his inaugural lecture (23 May 1952) Charlie said that his research so far had been restricted to the language of the New Testament. He evidently brought under this heading some published work which also bore on exegesis and the early development of Christian tradition, baptism and the origins of the Christian ministry.[12] In any case, he also implicitly noted the scope of his New Testament teaching, and explicitly stated his concern for New Testament theology. His words attest his high standards as well as his modesty, but they are clear in expressing hope: 'though I recognize the vital importance of more widely theological studies, and would fain myself be a theologian if I could, I doubt if I can even attempt to claim the ability to share in something like research—as distinct from teaching—in any other field' [than that of the language of the New Testament].[13]

[12] C. F. D. Moule, 'Baptism with water and with the Holy Ghost', *Theology*, 48 (1945), 246–8; id., 'The origins of the Christian ministry', *The Churchman*, 62 (1948), 71–8, reprinted in M. A. C. Warren (ed.), *The Office of a Bishop: Four Essays* (London, 1948), pp. 7–14. Warren in his Foreword (see p. 5) picks out, as presenting the crux of the debate, Charlie's note (p. 9) of 'a radical cleavage, as between scholars who treat of the Ministry in terms which are primarily institutional and constitutional, and those who think first in terms of persons, not of "things"'; pp. 9–10 from this reprint were again reprinted in 'A Note on *apostolos*' (Appendix, Note ii) in C. F. D. Moule, *The Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon* (Cambridge, 1957), pp. 156–9.

[13] C. F. D. Moule, *The Language of the New Testament* (Cambridge, 1952), p. 4.

Charlie's gifts as a teacher and desire to be a New Testament theologian matched his awareness of the needs of a less specialised audience than the academic. He was a natural scholar, committed to the historical study of early Christian literature and thought, but at the same time (he would have found 'and' more natural than 'but') he sought to elucidate the bearing of New Testament theology on questions facing the church and individuals, and his own inquiring self. His writing was above all, as a French colleague put it, 'pensée engagée'.[14]

When he returned to Cambridge in 1936 he became one of a new constellation in the New Testament Seminar. Over the next few years it included C. H. Dodd in the chair; Wilfred Knox, then at work on his book *St Paul and the Church of the Gentiles* (Cambridge, 1940); Herbert Loewe, whose last book, *'Render unto Caesar': Religious and Political Loyalty in Palestine* (Cambridge, 1940) was on a New Testament as well as Jewish theme; Newton Flew, Principal of Wesley House, soon to publish his study of the origins of the church, *Jesus and his Church* (London, 1938); Noel Davey, about four years older than Charlie, the collaborator of Sir Edwyn Hoskyns in their famous *The Riddle of the New Testament* (London, 1931), and the editor of Hoskyns's posthumous *The Fourth Gospel* (London, 1940)—books viewed by Charlie with mixed assent and reserve; David Daube, later Regius Professor of Civil Law at Oxford, Charlie's almost exact contemporary, whose brilliant contributions were to be gathered in his *The New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism* (London, 1956); and W. D. Davies and C. K. Barrett, both younger than Charlie and both to be great names in the New Testament field.[15] A still younger member in the war years was J. A. T. Robinson, later Charlie's colleague, who exercised with C. H. Dodd something of the licensed freedom of speech of a favourite.[16] Charlie helped to attract other scholarly minds to New Testament study, notably that of Henry Chadwick, who entered Ridley Hall in 1942 and joined the Seminar in Lent Term 1943.

[14] E. Trocmé, 'Is there a Markan christology?', in B. Lindars & S. S. Smalley (eds.), *Christ and Spirit in the New Testament: Studies in Honour of Charles Francis Digby Moule* (Cambridge, 1973), pp. 3–13 (13).

[15] On Davey in these years see C. K. Barrett, 'Hoskyns and Davey', in C. K. Barrett, *Jesus and the Word, and other Essays* (Edinburgh, 1995), pp. 55–62.

[16] As recalled by Geoffrey Styler (Seminar minutes, 23 May 1995). Recollections from Charlie as well as W. D. Davies are probably incorporated in the vivid and more detailed account of Dodd's Seminar (noting the occasional 'sharp and critical comment' from the 'usually quiet and taciturn' Robinson) by F. W. Dillistone, *C. H. Dodd: Interpreter of the New Testament* (Cambridge, 1977), pp. 149–52.

Meanwhile Charlie had begun the studies of language which would issue in his *An Idiom-Book of New Testament Greek* (Cambridge, 1953; 2nd edn., 1959). This work combined, however, with what was to be an abiding theme of his scholarship, inquiry into the growth of New Testament traditions before they reached their present literary form. Such study had been 'in the air' at least since M. Dibelius's *Die Formgeschichte des Evangeliums* (Tübingen, 1919), and kindred form-critical works by Rudolf Bultmann and others; but C. H. Dodd pursued it with an interest in the earliest Christian catechesis and apologetic which looked back to the pre-First World War writings of A. Seeberg and G. Klein on the primitive catechism, and to Rendel Harris on the collecting of biblical testimonia in the early church. Charlie shared Dodd's catechetical interest with scholars including Daube, Philip Carrington, E. G. Selwyn, and W. D. Davies, and it became central in his understanding of the gospels as historical narratives drawn up for the purposes of teaching and apologetic. This form-critically rooted interpretation stood in contrast with the view of the gospels as compositions representing communal religious conviction, *Gemeindetheologie*, and innocent of anything like historical or biographical concern, which typified the form-critics Dibelius and Bultmann and, nearer home, R. H. Lightfoot in Oxford.

Charlie was also fascinated, without losing his head as a critic, by the associated question of interaction between liturgy and literature in the early church, posed by such cultic interpreters of the gospels as G. Bertram. This theme was also pursued by Charlie's Oxford contemporary G. D. Kilpatrick and by his slightly younger contemporary in Dodd's Seminar, the gifted Alasdair Charles Macpherson—who rejected the view that the Johannine Passion is liturgically based, but urged that the discourses of John 13–17 reflected the prayer of a eucharistic president.[17]

One element in pre-canonical development, the combination of varying translations and interpretations of words of Jesus, was the subject of Charlie's early published note (1939) on Matt. 5:21–2 ('Raca' would have

[17] A. C. Macpherson, *The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel, with special reference to Chh. xiii–xix* (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Cambridge, 1940), summarised by Charlie at the Seminar meeting of 25 May 1955. He referred also to Macpherson's pre-war Seminar paper on this subject (8 March and 26 April 1939). The thesis is summarised in print in C. F. D. Moule, *Worship in the New Testament* (London, 1961), 67–8, and liturgical influence on the Fourth Gospel in the form envisaged by Macpherson is noted as not incompatible with recognition of an apologetic purpose as primary in C. F. D. Moule, 'The intention of the Evangelists', in A. J. B. Higgins (ed.), *New Testament Essays: Studies in Memory of T. W. Manson* (Manchester, 1959), pp. 165–79, reprinted in C. F. D. Moule, *The Phenomenon of the New Testament* (London, 1967), pp. 100–14 (113, n. 30). Macpherson was killed in action as a Pilot Officer in 1941.

been glossed by 'fool', 'judgment' by 'council', and all were ultimately but misleadingly worked into the gospel text).[18] His liturgical interest is attested in the late forties, but probably goes back further (see above, n. 16); and it combined with the catechetical approach in his suggestion that the New Testament vocabulary of spiritual sacrifice pointed to a collection of proof-texts on non-sacrificial worship.[19]

Charlie joined the Evangelical Fellowship for Theological Literature, founded in 1942, an impressive body of younger authors which came to include Henry Chadwick, G. W. H. Lampe, S. L. Greenslade, and F. W. Dillistone; the moving spirit was Max Warren (see above, n. 12), who had also been in Cambridge since 1936 as Vicar of Holy Trinity, but in 1942 became the General Secretary of the Church Missionary Society.[20] Similarly, Charlie was among the signatories of *The Fulness of Christ* (1950), a representative statement from Evangelicals in the Church of England compiled at the request of the Archbishop of Canterbury.[21]

Yet he had been claimed too for work on behalf of the church in general. In Cambridge he was a curate of Great St Mary's (1936–40), and outside he acquired a series of appointments as examining chaplain, charged on a bishop's behalf with the assessment and further training of ordinands and junior clergy. This series began in 1936 at the request of the Bishop of Coventry, Mervyn Haigh, his old diocesan at Rugby, and in the end took him north to Sheffield, east to Norwich, and west to Salisbury and Truro. For Charlie of course 'the church in general' was emphatically world-wide and missionary, and a fellowship of many different ecclesiastical bodies and traditions. In the 1960s his concern for reunion among Christians joined with his care for Ridley Hall in his support for the making of a (still flourishing) federation of theological colleges in Cambridge, with teaching shared between them. Part of this venture, carried out in connection with the unrealised 1968 Scheme for Anglican–Methodist Unity, was close

[18] C. F. D. Moule, 'Matthew 5:21, 22', *Expository Times*, 50 (1939), 189–90; he developed this suggestion in a communication to Dodd's Seminar on 27 Oct. 1943, against the view taken by the previous meeting that an ascending scale of offences is envisaged, and later in 'The Angry Word (Matt. 5:21 f.)', *Expository Times*, 81 (1969), 10–13 and in C. F. D. Moule, *The Birth of the New Testament* (3rd edn., revised and rewritten, London, 1981), p. 277.

[19] His note on spiritual sacrifices read at the Seminar on 28 Jan. 1948 developed into C. F. D. Moule, 'Sanctuary and Sacrifice in the Church of the New Testament', *Journal of Theological Studies*, NS 1 (1950), 29–41; at the Seminar meeting of 27 Oct. 1948 he asked if the narrative of healing at the pool of Siloam in John 9 is not designed to symbolise baptism as 'enlightenment' (*photismos*).

[20] Warren, *Crowded Canvas*, pp. 223–4.

[21] C. F. D. Moule, *Forgiveness and Reconciliation*, pp. 138–9, citing S. L. Allison *et al.*, *The Fulness of Christ* (London, 1950).

alliance between Ridley Hall and Westcott House, representing the Church of England, and Wesley House, representing Methodism.[22]

His own life had its share of sorrow and difficulty. Early in his time as Dean of Clare, in 1945, came the blow of his brother Edward's death from lung cancer. Writing on Lazarus in the Fourth Gospel many years later he recalled his repeated recollection of John 11:21 'Lord, if thou hadst been here, my brother had not died' at the time 'when I was feeling inconsolable grief for the loss of a brother in the prime of his life'.[23] He remained a proud and affectionate uncle to the children—Lovedy ('my one and only niece'), her twin Henry, Patrick, and Michael. Then near the beginning of his professorial years he had to undergo drastic and radical surgery.[24] Not long afterwards, his father died. When Hugh Montefiore suggested that, following Oscar Cullmann, death in Paul might be understood as already conquered in principle, so that it could now serve God's purpose, Charlie replied that the New Testament has a uniformly dark view of death, and never regards it as a kindly messenger (Seminar minutes, 14 May 1958). This riposte perhaps reflects, like his study of John 11, interaction between his experience and his reading.

As a non-residentiary Canon Theologian of Leicester (1955–76), where R. R. Williams (chaplain of Ridley Hall 1931–4) was bishop from 1953, Charlie gave himself, in lecturing, preaching and teaching, to the needs of a wider public. In his inaugural lecture he had remembered 'the titanic conflict with evil' in which Christians in China were then engaged, and he spoke and wrote in the service of missionary work.[25] He was deeply involved in another project which linked the universities and the church, the making of the *New English Bible* (1947–70), carried on under C. H. Dodd's oversight; Charlie served on the New Testament and Apocrypha panels of translators. His lecturing extended to Continental Europe, the Commonwealth, and the USA. On these and like occasions (not to speak of his regular visits to his widowed mother at Damerham) he was a frequent traveller, and his small upright figure, with a considerable suitcase, could often be seen walking the mile from Clare to

[22] See Charlie's sermon of 14 Jan. 1973, at the installation of new Principals of Ridley Hall and Westcott House, printed in *Westcott House, Wesley House, Ridley Hall: Three Sermons* [by A. M. Ramsey (Archbishop of Canterbury), E. G. Rupp (Principal of Wesley House), and C. F. D. Moule] (Cambridge, n.d., [1973]), pp. 6–7.

[23] C. F. D. Moule, 'The meaning of "Life" in the Gospel and Epistles of St John: a study in the story of Lazarus, John 11:1–44', *Theology*, 78 (1975), 114–25.

[24] C. F. D. Moule, quoted in Eric James, *A Life of Bishop John A. T. Robinson: Scholar, Pastor, Prophet* (London, 1987), p. 48.

[25] C. F. D. Moule, *The Language of the New Testament*, pp. 29–30.

Cambridge station. His radio and television contributions issued in at least one small masterpiece, the Radio 4 'Talks about the meaning of Holy Week' printed as *The Energy of God* (London, 1976).

In Cambridge itself his New Testament work was focused in the Seminar which he reconvened in January 1953, only after a typically scrupulous inquiry into the possibility that others might lead it. G. M. Styler, who had been Secretary of Dodd's Seminar and became a close colleague, was Secretary throughout Charlie's chairmanship (1953–76), and beyond. The new Chairman held together a body which continued to unite dons, clergy and ministers, and research students, and to show a range of expertise. Membership in the early years included Henry Chadwick, J. A. Emerton (later Regius Professor of Hebrew), the Septuagintalist Peter Walters (Katz), A. C. Bouquet (on Hellenism and Indian religion), and J. Stevenson, W. H. C. Frend, E. Amand de Mendieta, and Maurice Wiles on the early church; among New Testament specialists were J. N. Sanders, J. Y. Campbell, W. F. Flemington, J. A. T. Robinson, Hugh Montefiore, Barnabas Lindars (at that time preparing his *New Testament Apologetic* [London, 1961]), J. C. O'Neill, J. P. M. Sweet, S. S. Smalley, Margaret Thrall, and the tragically short-lived Barry Mackay. A new stage was marked in 1960 by the arrival in the Seminar of G. W. H. Lampe, whose great *Patristic Greek Lexicon* (Oxford, 1961) was then in course of publication, the philosopher of religion D. M. MacKinnon, and the New Testament scholar Ernst Bammel; they were joined in 1964 by D. E. Nineham (Regius Professor, 1964–9) and in 1965 by John Bowker. All these and other members formed an important part of the setting of Charlie's thought, but his writing was perhaps particularly closely linked thematically and in discussion with that of Chadwick, Robinson, Lampe and Bammel.

It is possible roughly to distinguish a more historical and critical (but also theological) phase of Seminar study and discussion in the 1950s and 1960s from a more theological (but also historical and critical) phase in the 1960s and 1970s. This shift reflects some movement in Charlie's own interests, although he always held history and theology together. The two phases correspond, respectively, to the differing emphases of his two books *The Birth of the New Testament* (London, 1962; 3rd edn., revised and rewritten, 1981) and *The Origin of Christology* (Cambridge, 1977). His suggested programmes related to his research, teaching and writing, but he also allowed room for as many other questions as the group might be led on to.

In the earlier phase Charlie soon sketched the view of the catechetical origins of Mark which remained characteristic of him. Vincent Taylor's

massive Marcan commentary had just appeared. Charlie endorsed Taylor's questioning of the assumptions, rather than the methods, of the most prominent form-critics, but he wanted to move beyond any contrast between historical criticism and theology, going on 'not . . . to a barren *Historismus* but to a readiness to wrestle with the historical problems which Christian theology involves, instead of shelving them'.[26] Charlie suggested that the gospel was written to answer catechumens when they should ask "How did these things happen?"' (Seminar minutes, 3 March 1954).

Among the subjects which followed were liturgical background, primitive elements in the Fourth Gospel, the Johannine Epistles (*inter alia*, the draft New English Bible version of I John was discussed), Revelation 1–3, the Pastoral Epistles, and Matthew. Charlie's lively share in current attention to new discoveries of texts and material remains is marked in sessions on the tomb of St Peter and the Coptic gospel of Thomas, and prolonged discussion of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament. When K. H. Rengstorf presented his view that these texts were from the library of the Jerusalem temple, 'the Chairman said that seldom had so interesting a bombshell been exploded in the Seminar', but he continued to think that the Manual of Discipline (Community Rule) must refer to a sectarian community.[27]

Specifically theological topics begin to predominate with discussion of eschatology in 1962. 'The Chairman . . . asked whether Paul arrived at an eschatology which would stand the test of time, and . . . whether he did so by stages of development' (Seminar minutes, 23 May 1962).[28] Miracles, christology, the death of Christ, the church described as body, Israel and temple, and the Holy Spirit were among the subjects studied thereafter. One historical question of this later phase was that of the earliest Christian–Jewish relationship. Jesus and part of his movement were being

[26] C. F. D. Moule, review of Vincent Taylor, *The Gospel according to St Mark* (London, 1952), in *Journal of Theological Studies*, NS 4 (1953), 68–73, communicated to the Seminar meeting of 18 Feb. 1953.

[27] Seminar minutes for 16 and 30 May 1956, 20 and 27 Jan. 1960, and 3 and 10 Feb. 1960; see H. Chadwick, 'St. Peter and St. Paul in Rome: the Problem of the Memoria Apostolorum ad Catacumbas', *Journal of Theological Studies*, NS 8 (1957), 31–52, and K. H. Rengstorf, *Hirbet Qumran und die Bibliothek vom Toten Meer* (Studia Delitzschiana 5, Stuttgart, 1960); a similar view was later sponsored by N. Golb, *Who Wrote the Dead Sea Scrolls?* (London, 1995).

[28] See C. F. D. Moule, 'The influence of circumstances on the use of eschatological terms', *Journal of Theological Studies*, NS 15 (1964), 1–15, and id., 'St Paul and "Dualism": the Pauline concept of Resurrection', *New Testament Studies*, 13 (1966), 106–23, reprinted in C. F. D. Moule, *Essays in New Testament Interpretation*, pp. 184–99, 200–21, respectively.

associated primarily with non-Christian forms of Judaism in the work of Paul Winter, S. G. F. Brandon, and Geza Vermes.[29] Charlie's responses restated aspects of the originality of Jesus as he perceived it, and of his argument for the historical value of the synoptic gospels and Acts.[30]

The lively accounts of the Seminar which Charlie wrote of course leave out the influence of his own personality and his stream of papers and notes.[31] Something of the flavour of these in their context is captured in the volume of Seminar papers from the second phase which he edited under the title *Miracles: Cambridge Studies in their Philosophy and History* (London, 1965). Here he sketched his own positive approach to the problem of miracle, with a characteristic refusal to dissociate any consistency found in the material world from the character of God revealed in Jesus.

In the chair he was sometimes moved to warmth in defence or rejection of a view, for instance in his patiently maintained argument that, in interpretation of the death of Christ, sacrificial language should be left behind in favour of other elements in the New Testament vocabulary.[32] He sought always for a statement in personal and organic rather than mechanical terms, and for an answer to the question *how* what Christ is and was affects us, which should as far as possible be practical and realistic rather than mythological. Thus with regard to atonement teaching, the last subject studied in his chairmanship, he laid emphasis on the great consequences to be expected if Christ lived in complete harmony with God in the context of human sin. He urged accordingly that the actual death of Christ was not necessary to atonement; 'if (*per impossibile*)

[29] P. Winter, *On the Trial of Jesus* (Studia Judaica, 1, Berlin, 1961; 2nd edn., ed. T. A. Burkill & G. Vermes, 1974); S. G. F. Brandon, *Jesus and the Zealots* (Manchester, 1967); G. Vermes, *Jesus the Jew* (London, 1973), including an interpretation of the gospel Son-of-man sayings as circumlocutory which implicitly questioned Charlie's view that Jesus here referred to the Danielic figure as a symbol of vindication.

[30] See Seminar minutes, 18 and 25 May 1971 (Charlie's view of the Son-of-man problem); C. F. D. Moule, 'Neglected features in the problem of "the Son of Man"', in J. Gnilka (ed.), *Neues Testament und Kirche: für Rudolf Schnackenburg* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1974), pp. 413–28; id., *The Origin of Christology*, pp. 14–17, 108–9; id., *The Birth of the New Testament* (3rd edn.), pp. 55–6, 72 n. 2, 129–30, 137–8; id., 'Some observations on *Tendenzkritik*', in E. Bammel & C. F. D. Moule (eds.), *Jesus and the Politics of his Day* (Cambridge, 1982), pp. 91–100.

[31] C. F. D. Moule in C. F. D. Moule (ed.), *Miracles: Cambridge Studies in their Philosophy and History* (London, 1965), pp. 3–4; id., 'G. M. Styler and the Cambridge New Testament Seminar'.

[32] J. C. O'Neill, 'Did Jesus teach that his death would be vicarious as well as typical?', in Horbury & McNeil (eds.), *Suffering and Martyrdom in the New Testament*, pp. 9–27 (9), recalling seminar discussion in 1968–9 and 1974–5.

Christ's obedience could have been total and absolute without his dying, this would have constituted atonement'.[33]

The series of overseas visitors welcomed to his Seminar ranges from his friend Gustav Stählin, John Knox, Oscar Cullmann, K. H. Rengstorf, mentioned already, and Christine Mohrmann to Jürgen Moltmann, Joseph Fitzmyer and Martin Hengel.[34] Charlie took a leading part in the international society for New Testament study, Studiorum Novi Testamenti Societas, formed in 1938; he was President in 1967–8. The society met in Cambridge at Ridley Hall in 1953 and at Corpus in 1966. He was also an Honorary Member of the USA-based Society of Biblical Literature.

Home and overseas research students who were his pupils include, among holders of chairs in Britain, the USA and Germany, J. D. G. Dunn, C. R. Holladay, G. N. Stanton, A. T. Lincoln, and A. J. M. Wedderburn. He left them free to form their own views and plans, gave total attention to their questions and work, and showed himself ready to consult them on scholarly problems. Typical of a number of pupils who never formally were so is R. J. Bauckham, who deeply valued Charlie's advice as he was moving academically from Tudor history into New Testament study.

Charlie's professorial lectures on the Theology and Ethics of the New Testament filled the great upper lecture-hall of Basil Champneys's Divinity School in St John's Street three times a week. He did not himself much care for this darkly impressive late-Victorian setting, and would have preferred to dissociate the subject from architecture which in the mid-twentieth century was still often viewed as old-fashioned rather than meritorious. (The move to a new building which was envisaged in the early 1960s took place in the end forty years later.) The first lecture in each term was introduced by a prayer, itself introduced so that no one should be taken by surprise. Controversies were signalled with brief, stimulating summary; thus, not long after James Barr had questioned claims for the distinctiveness of Hebrew thought in his *The Semantics of Biblical Language* (London, 1961), Charlie said that sharp distinctions between Hellenic and Hebraic thought may not be lightly made, but, where there are fundamental distinctions, St Paul is on the Hebraic side.

[33] C. F. D. Moule, summary of his own paper and of his response to questions (Seminar minutes, 11 March 1975, written on this occasion by the Chairman); see further *The Energy of God* (London, 1976) and 'The scope of the Death of Christ' and 'Preaching the Atonement', reprinted in C. F. D. Moule, *Forgiveness and Reconciliation*, pp. 3–18, 19–29 from *The Origin of Christology*, pp. 111–26 and *Epworth Review*, 10 (1983), 70–8, respectively.

[34] See the longer list (not necessarily exhaustive) in C. F. D. Moule, 'G. M. Styler and the Cambridge New Testament Seminar', p. xxi.

The lectures with their diverse audience of undergraduates, graduates, ordinands, research students, visiting scholars, clergy and many others were complemented by another institution highly characteristic of Charlie, his Tuesday evening discussion group on the New Testament, meant not for specialists but for a wide range of interested persons. Now the setting was formed by his own college rooms. Under the influence of his unobtrusive hospitality and didactic skill the participants would become a fellowship. His typed summaries of what might sometimes have seemed unpromising discussions (quelled on occasion by the dominant strokes of his grandfather clock) would allow illuminating insights to emerge. Those present came, in the words of one of them, now the Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr Rowan Williams), 'to discover that so much of what we were struggling and arguing about could be held within a calm and prayerful perspective, within the hugely bigger intellectual and spiritual world that Charlie lived in. And there was the sheer manner of the man: the unforced humility, the shy warmth—and sometimes, at the most unintentionally comic level, the way in which he would make it perfectly clear to you that someone or other's book wasn't really worth bothering with: "Of course, it's a monument of careful work by a first class scholar, with all kinds of suggestive aspects, and I *so* wish I could persuade myself that it was true . . ."'[35]

As a professor he was inhibited from all but a little undergraduate supervision, and he had handed on the pastoral duties of the Dean of Clare; but he remained a familiar figure in the college and, mainly early in the morning, in its riverside garden, which he dearly loved (he was almost a genius loci, said the university Orator). He shared the concerns and debates of the Governing Body through the upheavals of the late 1960s and early 1970s, and he went on taking a knowledgeable interest in all the members of the college and the domestic staff; he enjoyed going back to some direction of studies for the Tripos if the Dean was on leave. His college rooms were a place of hospitality, good talk, and good counsel; at the beginning of the academic year, for instance (and not only then), he would ask in the undergraduates on his staircase. As a host he extracted and imparted a great deal of pleasure from all kinds of entertainment, whether a dinner in his rooms or the blending of tea for an afternoon cup. When Charlie retired from his chair in 1976 he moved back to Ridley Hall for a further four years as an honorary member of the academic staff, again at the heart of pastoral care and common life.

[35] From the Archbishop's sermon at the service of memorial and thanksgiving for Professor Moule at Great St Mary's, Cambridge, 9 Feb. 2008.

In Clare he gave loyal friendship to the Chaplains and his successors as Dean. J. A. T. Robinson, Maurice Wiles, Mark Santer and Arthur Peacocke held the office while Charlie still lived in college. The relationship at its closest is seen in the case of John Robinson (Dean 1951–9), later famous as Bishop of Woolwich. He stemmed from a clerical, missionary and academic family recalling if not rivalling that of the Moules, and was eager like Charlie himself to interpret the New Testament for the contemporary church. In walks together they talked theology, 'John pressing a corporate, liturgical and political theology with which I was always far more in accord than I think he ever imagined.[36] John and I always swopped whatever we happened to be writing, and I think we reckoned that any piece that got by the other's scrutiny had a chance of surviving when it got into print. We lived across the landing from each other, and were always in and out of one another's dens.'[37]

In the post-war college and its fellowship a secular humanism, drawing at times on contemporary linguistic philosophy, was in tension with a Christianity fortified not only by biblical research but also by the existentialism which received a Christian interpretation from John Robinson, and independently from the refugee philosopher Paul Roubiczek (1898–1972, Fellow of Clare from 1961), who was also close to Charlie.[38] As he encountered this tension Charlie was himself sharing in post-war tendencies, including the consciously biblical theology to which John and he contributed. As will have become obvious, he distinguished Christian hope clearly from simple optimism; he took very seriously the gospel sense that, since the kingdom of God had overtaken us with the coming of Christ, evil was also intensified. 'The worst may well occur, indeed it has already occurred [in the crucifixion] and its results are continually bound to recur.'[39] Somewhat against his usual poetic preferences, he once cited T. S. Eliot on the Magi, who found the birth they had come so far to see more like a death; 'there is something mysteriously dark', he said, 'about the brightness of the Epiphany star'.[40] He fully recognised, accordingly, the absurd and the terrible in nature and history; the shrike was

[36] For the political aspect of Charlie's thought compare C. F. D. Moule, *The Meaning of Hope: a Biblical Exposition with Concordance* (London, 1953), p. 57: 'Christian hope is simply false to itself if it does not express itself at every stage in political and social action'.
[37] C. F. D. Moule, quoted in Eric James, *A Life of Bishop John A. T. Robinson*, pp. 48–9.
[38] Roubiczek's work is discussed by E. Heller in P. Roubiczek, *Across the Abyss: Diary Entries for the Year 1939–40* (Cambridge, 1982), pp. vii–xiv.
[39] C. F. D. Moule, *The Meaning of Hope*, pp. 21–2, 30–34.
[40] C. F. D. Moule in *Westcott House, Wesley House, Ridley Hall: Three Sermons*, p. 6.

always as present to his informed natural-historical consciousness as the wren. His union of faith and understanding also, however, had a more serene developmental element, again inspired by the New Testament, especially Romans 8, but less typical of the post-war years and perhaps to be linked with earlier aspects of his environment.

III

Charlie's early writing already evinces his characteristic tone and insight, and he followed the pattern of his father's studies and calling. Was his scholarly position given almost from boyhood? His formation as a scholar had indeed begun at home, but it seems to have gained its particular character especially in the decade from about 1930 to 1940, from his last years as an undergraduate reading Classics to his initial study of Theology and his early teaching.

His autobiographical notes sketch part of his development as follows. 'Although I had been brought up to read the Bible regularly and would always have called myself a Christian, it was not until I was training at Ridley Hall that I began to grasp how different biblical perspectives are from the Platonic (by which I had been enthralled)—"What has Athens to do with Jerusalem?"'[41] One can imagine him, perhaps, in his undergraduate years, as one of the hearers of F. M. Cornford, mentioned already, the poetic interpreter of Plato and Greek religion. Within the Divinity Faculty, a Platonic and mystical Christianity was represented by Alexander Nairne, the interpreter of Hebrews; but Charlie did not go in this direction.

Charlie's work did indeed, in an historically nuanced but definite fashion, distinguish Jerusalem from Athens. It is debatable, he wrote, how far the description '"Hellenistic" Jew' fits St Paul.[42] When he later outlined differences between the New Testament and Platonism he allowed only limited applicability, as the lecture already cited shows, to James Barr's critique of contrasts between them. He urged that even where New Testament writers verge on Platonism, they retain essentially biblical perspectives; thus the teleology of Hebrews means that 'this writer's Platonism is a Platonism of convenience, not a consistently held

[41] *Quid ergo Athenis et Hierosolymis?*, Tertullian, *Praescr*. vii, with an appeal to St Paul's warning against 'philosophy' (Col. 2:8) and his bad experience of it at Athens (Acts 17:16–34), and to Solomon's teaching of 'simplicity of heart' (Wisd. 1:1).

[42] C. F. D. Moule, *The Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon* (Cambridge, 1957), p. 4, n. 2.

philosophy'.[43] He agreed that New Testament thought should not be too swiftly docketed as Hebraic or Hellenic, but this agreement also reflected his view that often 'something quite original to Christianity is presented, which can be traced ... simply to Christ'—whom he regarded as teaching in the prophetic tradition, 'so far as he reached back at all and was not altogether forward-looking, new, and different'.[44]

At the end of his undergraduate career, Charlie once said, he also felt profoundly his move from the beauty of the classics to the relative roughness of biblical literature. This point is underlined by his evocation of the grace and depth of Virgil's Fourth Eclogue.[45] His aesthetic perceptions were as marked as his intellectual ardour. His own gifts as a stylist were no doubt remembered when he was later asked to draft the Latin epitaph of J. A. T. Robinson in Trinity College Chapel. Yet, if as an undergraduate he shared the young St Jerome's feeling on the stylistic disadvantage of the biblical corpus, he came afterwards to St Augustine's sense of the doctrinal disadvantage of the Platonists, despite all that they gave, when compared with the apostles.[46] 'The glory of the Christian faith is the incarnation.'[47]

It would be easy to associate his transition from Platonic to more biblical perspectives with broad tendencies of the 1930s towards what were perceived as distinctively biblical emphases. These tendencies appeared in the *Wörterbuch* edited by Gerhard Kittel, issued from 1932 onwards, in the work of Karl Barth (the English translation of his commentary on Romans was published in 1933), and at Cambridge in the vigorous New Testament teaching of Sir Edwyn Hoskyns, the translator of Barth's *Römerbrief*, and Noel Davey, at Corpus. It was perhaps then that the young Charlie was borrowing German books from the library of Newton Flew.[48] No doubt the climate of opinion contributed to Charlie's discovery of a contrast, and when Kittel lectured in Cambridge in 1937 Charlie

[43] C. F. D. Moule, 'The borderlands of ontology in the New Testament', in B. Hebblethwaite & S. Sutherland (eds.), *The Philosophical Frontiers of Christian Theology: Essays presented to D. M. MacKinnon* (Cambridge, 1982), pp. 1–11.

[44] C. F. D. Moule, *The Birth of the New Testament* (3rd edn.), pp. 8, 53.

[45] C. F. D. Moule, *The Meaning of Hope*, pp. 47–8.

[46] Jerome, *Ep.* xxii. 30 (if I started to read the Prophets, their uncouth style appalled me); Augustine, *Conf.* vii. 9, 13–14 (the books of the Platonists speak of the divine Word, 'but that the Word was made flesh and dwelt among us, I found not there'), quoted by C. F. D. Moule, 'The borderlands of ontology in the New Testament', p. 3.

[47] C. F. D. Moule, *Aspects of Christian Belief: some Brief Reflections* (unpublished paper, Oct. 2004), p. 13. I am most grateful to Professor C. R. Holladay for kindly making a copy available to me.

[48] G. S. Wakefield, *Robert Newton Flew, 1886–1962* (London, 1971), p. 18.

went to hear him; but he was not a disciple of Hoskyns or Davey, unlike A. M. Ramsey (inspired by Hoskyns's lectures just before Charlie's time) and unlike two British New Testament scholars who became Cambridge undergraduates after Charlie, C. F. Evans (taught by Hoskyns) in the following year and C. K. Barrett (taught by Davey) eight years after Charlie.

Charlie's Evangelical inheritance obviously differed from Hoskyns's Anglo-Catholicism, but his failure to warm to Hoskyns can hardly be expressed simply in these terms. Hoskyns mingled ardour in hailing the distinctiveness of New Testament language with moments of obscurity or seeming deficiency in scholarship (underlined by Cambridge critics like F. S. Marsh); he discerned a Jesus consciously controlled by Old Testament indications of the messianic destiny which would issue in the formation of the church; and his writings, for all their deep humanity and insight, could seem declaratory rather than explanatory.

All these points were foreign to the approach soon to be manifest in Charlie's work. Charlie was not less ardent, he was not less willing than Hoskyns to identify a distinctively Jewish and early Christian Greek, and like Hoskyns he stressed the Hebraic character of biblical tradition and the continuities between Jesus and the church; but he treated New Testament vocabulary with the most delicate scholarly care, he envisaged freer and more creative thought and scriptural interpretation in the historical Jesus, and he rose to his own spirited eloquence through a lucid argument full of sweet reasonableness.[49] His writings on Christology also suggest that he continued to feel the attraction of the broadly evolutionary ways of thought against which Barth and Hoskyns reacted. When in 1981 C. F. Evans gave a lecture on Hoskyns, with a treatment of his Johannine commentary, Charlie wrote 'I have read Christopher Evans' lecture with intense interest. Though I was never a Hoskyns "fan" and never heard a single lecture from him, I can appreciate something of what Christopher shows him to have been getting at, and find what I can understand of it exciting. My own wicked suspicion, though, is that St Paul does, far more profoundly than St John, what Hoskyns was concerned to do!'[50]

[49] See C. F. D. Moule, 'Revised reviews: Hoskyns and Davey, *The Riddle of the New Testament*', *Theology*, 64 (1961), 144–6; for his view that Jesus's life and work, rather than any Old Testament interpretation followed by him (the traces of which are slighter than is often thought), led to the understanding of his ministry as redemptive, see C. F. D. Moule, 'From defendant to judge—and deliverer', *Bulletin of Studiorum Novi Testamenti Societas*, 3 (1952–3), 40–53, reprinted in id., *The Phenomenon of the New Testament*, pp. 82–99.

Scholars with whom Charlie's work shows more kinship, and whom he might have felt as more congenial influences in the 1930s, include F. C. Burkitt, C. H. Dodd, and Charles Raven. Charlie's recognition of the Semitic aspects of the New Testament (perhaps also owing something to his father), his liturgical interests, his perception of historical concern and value in the synoptic gospels, and his abiding differentiation of the Fourth Gospel in this respect, all form points of contact with Burkitt, although appeal to him is not prominent in Charlie's work.[51]

C. H. Dodd was a personal influence at least from Michaelmas Term 1936. His *The Bible and the Greeks* (London, 1935) had highlighted the Greek Jewish literary setting of the New Testament. Charlie ultimately read the proofs of his *Historical Tradition in the Fourth Gospel* (Cambridge, 1963), and became his literary executor. Like Dodd, Charlie participated in the biblical theology movement of the 1940s and 1950s without showing any tendency to be 'more biblical than the Bible'. He was close to Dodd on the symbolic character of apocalyptic literature (as opposed to the view that its visions of the end were meant and taken literally) and on the possibility of attaining historical knowledge of Jesus. Charlie's recognition of distinctive perspectives in the Bible was coupled with an insistence that the biblical books and their authors were not inspired in any special sense; the divine spirit might indeed work in a personal relationship with us through our reading of them, but they were inspiring rather than inspired, and revelation was never divorced from human discovery.[52] This treatment too develops thought found in C. H. Dodd.[53] Charlie followed Dodd in many lines of research, notably catechism, testimonia, form-critically perceived links beween the church and Jesus, and development in Pauline thought; but he differed from him in concentration on

[50] Letter from C. F. D. Moule to the present writer, 30 Nov. 1981; see C. F. Evans, 'Crucifixion-Resurrection: some reflections on Sir Edwyn Hoskyns as theologian', *Epworth Review*, 10.1 (1983), 70–6; 10.2 (1983), 79–86. The lecture marked the posthumous publication of E. C. Hoskyns & F. N. Davey, *Crucifixion-Resurrection* (London, 1981).

[51] Burkitt's pamphlet *Eucharist and Sacrifice* (Cambridge, 1927) is called 'a sixpenn'orth of wisdom greater than many more costly volumes' in C. F. D. Moule, *The Sacrifice of Christ* (London, 1956), p. 57. Burkitt's *The Gospel History and its Transmission* (Edinburgh, 1906) came to be connected with the emphasis on the gospel solely as 'history' which Charlie wanted to avoid—and on the other hand Burkitt held that the earliest catechesis had no historical interest and was not linked with gospel origins.

[52] C. F. D. Moule, 'The Holy Spirit and Scripture', reprinted in Moule, *Forgiveness and Reconciliation*, pp. 211–24 from *Epworth Review*, 8.2 (May, 1981), 66–74.

[53] C. H. Dodd, *The Authority of the Bible* (London, 1929; revised edn., London, 1960), pp. 26–8, 270–1.

Paul rather than John, and Dodd kept nearer than Charlie to Hellenic emphases, especially in treating Johannine thought and realised eschatology.

Charles Raven (1885–1964) stands beside Paul Gibson as an influence. He drew the New Testament together with evolutionary thinking in the natural sciences. When he returned to Cambridge in 1932 as Regius Professor of Divinity, his books *The Creator Spirit* (London, 1927) and *Jesus and the Gospel of Love* (London, 1931) had recently appeared. He was close to Gibson, Max Warren and Ridley Hall, where he preached and later on took summer Quiet Days.[54] Sharing the emphasis on personal values which was widespread in British theology and also important for Charlie, he held that the worth of personality and of personal relationship was uniquely attested in the personhood of the historic Jesus. Raven's interpretation of St Paul on 'the eager expectation of the created universe' in terms of an emergent evolution (he deplored Barthian dislike of such rapprochement) displays a movement of the children of God towards the likeness of God's Son (Rom. 8:18–28) which makes one think of Charlie's language of development and growth.[55] Raven championed symbolic understanding of apocalypses.[56] He pressed his readers to recognise that Jesus has been understood to be alive not as an adored memory but as a living presence, and that this outcome was congruous with his personal character, but not satisfactorily explained by comparison with the cults of the Greek and Roman world.[57] Charlie did not mention Raven in these connections (so far as I can see), but these themes all reappear in his work, and the last-named was central. In his refusal simply to acquiesce in the existence of war Charlie was close to both Raven and Dodd.[58] Later Charlie deeply admired Raven's study of *John Ray: Naturalist* (Cambridge, 1940), and helped Raven's own biographer, F. W. Dillistone.[59] The phrase 'the energy of God' used by Charlie for the divine 'life-force' which he envisaged in the human response to suffering is Pauline (Col. 2:12); but it may also owe something to Raven's use of

[54] F. W. Dillistone, *Charles Raven: Naturalist, Historian, Theologian* (London, 1975), pp. 195–6 (perhaps resting on Charlie's own recollections).
[55] C. E. Raven, *The Creator Spirit* (London, 1928), pp. 81–8, 107–31, 252; id., *Jesus and the Gospel of Love* (London, 1931), pp. 264–321; Dillistone, *Charles Raven*, pp. 130, 201–2, 238.
[56] Raven, *Jesus and the Gospel of Love*, pp. 240–4.
[57] Ibid., pp. 254–62.
[58] C. F. D. Moule, *The Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon*, p. 12; Dillistone, *Charles Raven*, pp. 211–37.
[59] A reference from Charlie to J. Dupont, *Gnosis* (Paris, 1949) is gratefully acknowledged in Raven's last New Testament work, *St Paul and the Gospel of Jesus: a Study of the Basis of Christian Ethics* (London, 1961), p. 68, n. 4.

'energy' for the creative and reparative work of the Holy Spirit, in his adaptation of Bergson's description of an *élan vital*.[60]

IV

Whatever influences may be postulated, Charlie was above all original and independent. For example, he was unfashionably ready to see irregularities in the process, which he also illustrated, whereby sayings and parables of Jesus were reinterpreted in the early church. There were one or two instances, he believed, such as the parable of the Sower in Mark 4:1–20, in which, against the general opinion, explanation could be attributed in substance to Jesus himself. 'If the fortress itself' (he wrote) 'is completely unmoved by the blast of my pop-gun, it will be something if I have managed to blow off bits of its façade here and there.' He then took aim at the positions of scholars varying as widely as D. E. Nineham, Joachim Jeremias, and C. H. Dodd.[61] In this case he would have had many opponents in Britain, but would no doubt have been regarded in Germany as typically British. He always quoted irrespective of fashion the poetry and novels which spoke to him, from Alice Meynell, Masefield and Housman to Phyllis Bottome (and the quotations were for use as well as adornment).[62] He likewise maintained, with awareness, where appropriate, of his minority position ('this won't be found *dringend*', he would say with a smile), the views which he had reached after careful thought.

His first major published work was the *Idiom-Book* (1953; see above, n. 4). He had been asked, probably in the later 1930s, to produce a grammar or syntax of New Testament Greek, with a view to assisting theological students in the Faculty. In the event he wrote what he called 'a syntactical companion to the interpretation of the New Testament', to

[60] C. F. D. Moule, *The Energy of God* (London, 1976), pp. 13–18; Dillistone, *Charles Raven*, pp. 87–8, quoting C. E. Raven, 'The Holy Spirit', in C. H. S. Matthews (ed.), *Faith and Freedom* (London, 1918); for Raven's differences from as well as admiration for Bergson see Raven, *The Creator Spirit*, pp. 64–6, 107–8; id., *Teilhard de Chardin, Scientist and Seer* (London, 1962), pp. 37–40.

[61] C. F. D. Moule, 'Mark 4:1–20 Yet once more', in E. E. Ellis & M. Wilcox (eds.), *Neotestamentica et Semitica: Studies in Honour of Principal Matthew Black* (Edinburgh, 1969), pp. 95–113; for this argument in a broader context, C. F. D. Moule, *The Birth of the New Testament* (3rd edn.), pp. 110–17.

[62] The Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr Rowan Williams), as cited above, n. 35, noted as particularly bold and effective the claim that experience of Christ as living makes it possible 'to turn A. E. Housman's bitterly ironic "Easter Hymn" into a genuine invocation'; see C. F. D. Moule, *The Christology of the New Testament*, pp. 125–6.

enable some opinion to be formed on matters of exegesis which involve syntax, not a scientific treatise but 'an amateur's collection of specimens'.[63] The phrase typically combined modesty with the language of a naturalist. 'Professor Moule's "specimens" live', said a reviewer.[64] Charlie used ruefully to recall his hours verifying his references at the Divinity School, and telling the custodian (A. C. Cobbold), a towering figure of a man who is central in stories of this era, how much he wished he could write more quickly. Yet the *Idiom-Book* emerged from these birthpangs with an energy and charm seen in its stylistic comments. The style of Hebrews 'has glitter if not warmth', the author of the Apocalypse 'is capable of horrifying grammatical blunders and patently Semitic idioms, but is not thereby prevented from achieving extraordinary power and sometimes a quite unearthly beauty'; while 'St Paul's Epistles surge along with the fervid heat of a very agile mind and a highly-strung temperament, thinking and feeling as an Aramaean, but thoroughly familiar with the vocabulary of the Greek world'.[65]

The question whether there is such a thing as a biblical, Jewish or Christian Greek, despite continuities between the New Testament and the 'secular' Greek of the papyri, Charlie answered with his characteristic double emphasis on Jewish influence and Christian distinctiveness; we must not allow the papyri 'to blind us to the fact that Biblical Greek still does retain certain peculiarities, due in part to Semitic influence . . . and in part to the moulding influence of the Christian experience, which did in some measure create an idiom and vocabulary of its own'.[66]

Language came together with history and thought in the fullest manifestation of Charlie's skill as a commentator, his terse, rich and vivid *Colossians and Philemon* (1957). Here Pauline christology is already connected with the problem of Christian origins; just as Jesus will have been original in his ideas of his calling, and not simply shaped by a given Old Testament pattern, so 'St Paul's conception of Christ is not derived from a Jewish conception of Messiah, but from the actual Jesus'.[67] Later, however, Charlie would say that New Testament students give too much

[63] C. F. D. Moule, *An Idiom-Book of New Testament Greek*, p. vii.
[64] H. G. Meecham in *New Testament Studies*, 1 (1954), 62–5, with the verdict 'It is much more than its author modestly claims'.
[65] C. F. D. Moule, *An Idiom-Book of New Testament Greek*, p. 3; a comparable but slightly different short survey was later given in id., *The Birth of the New Testament* (3rd edn., revised and rewritten, London, 1981), pp. 212–13.
[66] C. F. D. Moule, *An Idiom-Book of New Testament Greek*, p. 196.
[67] C. F. D. Moule, *The Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon*, pp. 3–5 (a sketch of the origin of Christology which anticipates much in the later book).

time to writing commentaries. In any case, he often put exegetical suggestions into notes and reviews. Thus it was in connection with A. M. Ramsey on the Transfiguration that he presented his interpretation of II Cor. 3:18 'as from the Lord the Spirit': 'as one would expect when the Lord [not the Lord Jesus, but the God of the Exodus narrative quoted by Paul] is among us as Spirit'.[68] This view implies a crucial qualification of Wilhelm Bousset's contention that in Paul Christ and Spirit begin to merge. It was also put forward by J. D. G. Dunn, and Charlie himself restated it.[69]

Sensitivity to the needs of a wider audience permeates discussion of concern to biblical scholars in many of his most characteristic short books. Romans 8 is central in the wonderfully fresh and varied *Meaning of Hope* (1953), based on lectures given, no doubt at the instigation of Max Warren, at a Summer School of the Church Missionary Society. The tenderness and insight of the portrait of St Paul in *A Chosen Vessel* (London, 1961), the second part of a reader's companion to the Acts of the Apostles begun with *Christ's Messengers* (London, 1957), make one regret that Charlie never wrote the book on Paul's life and thought together for which he was uniquely qualified; these two short studies appeared in a series edited by Bishop Stephen Neill for the International Missionary Council.

Charlie's liturgical interest led eventually to *Worship in the New Testament* (Ecumenical Studies in Worship, 9, London, 1961 and reprints; reprinted again in two parts, Bramcote, Notts., 1977, 1978), with its group of kindred notes and articles.[70] These form together a kind of liturgical supplement to *The Birth of the New Testament*, published in the following

[68] C. F. D. Moule, review of A. M. Ramsey, *The Glory of God and the Transfiguration of Christ* (London, 1949), in *Journal of Theological Studies*, 50 (1949), 209–11.

[69] J. D. G. Dunn, '2 Corinthians iii. 17—"the Lord is the Spirit"', *Journal of Theological Studies*, NS 21 (1970), 309–20; C. F. D. Moule, '2 Cor. 3:18b, Καθάπερ ἀπὸ Κυρίου πνεύματος', in H. Baltensweiler & B. Reicke (eds.), *Neues Testament und Geschichte: historisches Geschehen und Deutung im Neuen Testament, Oscar Cullmann zum 70. Geburtstag* (Zürich, 1972), pp. 231–7, reprinted in C. F. D. Moule, *Essays in New Testament Interpretation* (Cambridge, 1982), pp. 227–34; C. F. D. Moule, *The Holy Spirit* (London, 1978), 26; cf. W. Bousset, *Kyrios Christos* (2nd edn., repr. Göttingen, 1926), p. 113.

[70] C. F. D. Moule, 'A note on Didache ix.4', *Journal of Theological Studies*, NS 6 (1955), 240–3 (this prayer was used as a grace at the Sunday breakfast following Holy Communion at Clare in John Robinson's time); C. F. D. Moule, 'The judgment theme in the Sacraments', in W. D. Davies & D. Daube (eds.), *The Background of the New Testament and its Eschatology: Studies in Honour of C. H. Dodd* (Cambridge, 1956), pp. 464–81; id., 'The nature and purpose of I Peter', *New Testament Studies*, 3 (1956), 1–11; id., 'The influence of circumstances on the use of Christological terms', *Journal of Theological Studies*, NS 10 (1959), 247–63; id., 'A reconsideration of the context of *Maranatha*', *New Testament Studies*, 6 (1960), 307–10.

year and including a chapter on worship which in part draws on the earlier book. Charlie declines to 'find liturgy everywhere' in the New Testament, but brings out the range of data for the early Christian share in Jewish worship and for baptismal rites, fellowship meals, and non-sacramental worship, emphasising that for early Christians all life had become 'cultus' in a new sense. *The Sacrifice of Christ* (London, 1956), reprinted in *Forgiveness and Reconciliation*, pp. 135–76, was a profound contribution to mutual understanding between different traditions in the church, especially the Evangelical and Catholic traditions in the Church of England, on the subject of the Eucharist and the work of Christ.[71] Charlie's critique of the use of sacrificial language reappeared in the eloquent 1962 paper 'The sacrifice of the People of God', and the seminar discussions noted above.[72]

His understanding of Christ's work was also bound up with his conviction that retribution should play no part in punishment, and his delicate, authentic analyses of the process of forgiving and being forgiven.[73] Then the place of nature in his thought stands out, again in connection with Romans 8, in the lecture *Man and Nature in the New Testament* (1964); these 'reflections on biblical ecology' now seem ahead of their time.[74] Finally, his insistence on the union of Christ with God in the creation and consummation of the energy of God's creative and reconciling love, operative throughout time and space, stamped *The Energy of God* (1976).[75]

Nearest to his heart, however, was his unified historical and theological

[71] Without over-emphasising personal aspects of the general question being addressed, one may note that a description of A. C. Moule as an old-fashioned high churchman (in a letter of 1 July 2008 from Canon J. A. Fitch), and his sponsorship in China by the relatively high-church Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, suggest some contrast with the Evangelicalism of H. W. Moule and Charlie himself.

[72] C. F. D. Moule, 'The sacrifice of the People of God', reprinted from D. M. Paton (ed.), *The Parish Communion Today* (London, 1962) in C. F. D. Moule, *Essays in New Testament Interpretation*, pp. 287–97.

[73] See among others 'Punishment and reconciliation: an attempt to delimit their scope in New Testament thought', *Svensk Exegetisk Årsbok*, 30 (1965), 21–36, and '. . . As we forgive: a note on the distinction between deserts and capacity in the understanding of forgiveness', in E. Bammel, C. K. Barrett & W. D. Davies (eds.), *Donum Gentilicium: New Testament Studies in Honour of D. Daube* (Oxford, 1978), pp. 68–77, reprinted in C. F. D. Moule, *Essays in New Testament Interpretation*, 235–49, 278–86, respectively; also C. F. D. Moule, *Forgiveness and Reconciliation*, pp. 30–47.

[74] *Man and Nature in the New Testament: Some Reflections on Biblical Ecology* (Ethel M. Wood Lecture, London, 1964).

[75] See also C. F. D. Moule, 'Introduction', in Horbury & McNeil (eds.), *Suffering and Martyrdom in the New Testament*, pp. 1–8 (6–8).

inquiry into Christian origins. As he wrote in his last published summary of his approach (1998),

> the conventional rationalization which tries to account for the genesis of these convictions [about Christ] by the process of apotheosis or divinization is unconvincing: the alleged parallels do not actually match. It is positively more plausible to postulate an origin in the nature of Jesus himself. This proposal means that historians of Christian beginnings find themselves, paradoxically, driven by historical evidence to plant a bewildered footstep beyond the frontier of their own discipline and in the area of dogma.[76]

This theme is central in *The Birth of the New Testament* (London, 1962; the completely rewritten third edition of 1981 was known while Charlie was travailing with it as the *Rebirth*) and *The Origin of Christology* (Cambridge, 1977), with its complement *The Holy Spirit* (London, 1978). They are linked by *The Phenomenon of the New Testament* (London, 1967). Here a lively survey of the weaknesses of 'conventional rationalization' (Charlie would wryly say that the views of the then Fellows of Clare on Christian origins were all represented) accompanies a display of New Testament phenomena, including Pauline incorporative language, which can suggest that historical rigour would lead rather to a Christian account of Christ.

The *Birth*, 'not quite like any other book ever written about the New Testament' (N. T. Wright), is probably Charlie's greatest work.[77] Alive with detail over a vast range, it builds up an impression of the Christian venture in liturgy, self-explanation and defence, and displays the world of translations, sources, scriptural interpretations and prophecies found beneath the surface of the New Testament. It also presents one pillar of Charlie's argument on Christian origins, the importance of historical explanation for the early church itself, and shows the impact on the New Testament of devotion to Jesus Christ held together with confession of one God.

This impact is the topic of *The Origin of Christology.* The Darwinian echo in the title recalls Charlie's love of natural history and inclination towards genetic terms. It leads, however, into what has become a famous interpretation of the growth of christology as development rather than evolution. On this view christology developed, unfolding what was always implicit in the personality and character of Jesus; it did not evolve, in

[76] C. F. D. Moule, *Forgiveness and Reconciliation*, p. x.
[77] N. T. Wright in S. C. Neill & N. T. Wright, *The Interpretation of the New Testament 1861–1986* (2nd edn., Oxford, 1988), pp. 275–6.

response to pressures from Jewish messianism or non-Jewish religions and cults. The distinction between these two approaches cannot be absolute, but the neglected 'developmental' model better suits, it is suggested, early Christian perception of a continuity between the exalted Lord Jesus honoured in the church, and the earthly figure depicted in the synoptic gospels.

A hinge in the argument was Jesus's use of the term '*the* Son of man'. Following interpretations by T. W. Manson and C. H. Dodd, Charlie took this as a reference to the Danielic figure, understood by Jesus as a symbol of the people of God, ultimately to be vindicated with Jesus himself at their centre. Charlie added that the Greek definite article was significant as indicating the Son of Man who is known from the vision in Daniel; in reply to critics such as Geza Vermes, who doubted the Danielic connection and viewed 'son of man' as a circumlocution for 'I', he urged that the same determination of the phrase could have been conveyed in Aramaic.[78] This symbol would then hint already at a corporate aspect of Christ. It could be brought together with the Pauline incorporative language (not to be overpressed, but signifying a mode of thought), in which Christ is understood as more than individual.[79]

The book accordingly showed that much explained commonly in an 'evolutionary' manner was also patient of a 'developmental' explanation, which returned attention to the historical figure of Jesus. Overseas, as Charlie notes, this general direction had also been taken by Oscar Cullmann, and was now being followed by Martin Hengel. The book's deliberate concentration on the massive theme of the nature and influence of Jesus, who is envisaged with Charlie's characteristic emphasis on the newness and creativity of the life as well as the teaching, raises the question whether justice is now done to the possibility of other influences. Despite this question, perhaps no one can fail to benefit from Charlie's demonstration that the influence of Jesus can explain coherently many diverse aspects of New Testament Christology, and his challenge to easy assumptions about pressures from outside. The illuminating and inspiring quality of the whole was recognised in the award of the Collins Theological Book Prize.

[78] For the statement in *The Origin of Christology* in its context in Charlie's work see above, n. 30.
[79] Compare C. F. D. Moule, *The Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon*, p. 7, on this Pauline language as 'a most startling witness to [Christ's] divine status'), as well as *The Phenomenon of the New Testament*, discussed above.

V

At the end of the Michaelmas Term 1980 Charlie retired from Cambridge to Pevensey in Sussex, living next-door to Stanley Betts, who had been a Chaplain of Clare while Charlie was Dean. Here he took a full part in local life, preaching in the parish church as required and assisting in bible study. He brought friends from Pevensey to Cambridge, and would regularly return to stay in Clare or Emmanuel, where he had deeply appreciated election as an Honorary Fellow (1972).

His successor Professor Morna Hooker, and after her from 1998 Professor Graham Stanton, could lure him back to the New Testament Seminar. Particularly piquant were his discussion (13 October 1981) of J. D. G. Dunn's *Christology in the Making* (he hailed its support for British dissent from Bousset's pagan derivation of 'high' Christology, but doubted its denial that Paul envisaged the pre-existence of Christ), and his debate with Professor Hooker (27 November 1990) on the Pauline phrase *pistis Christou* (he defended the interpretation 'faith in Christ' rather than, as his successor urged, 'faith exercised by Christ').[80] Among other meetings which he attended were celebrations of his seventy-fifth and ninetieth birthdays.

After the move to Pevensey he was reluctant to publish, but his early years there saw the appearance of the 'Re-Birth' (1981), his *Essays in New Testament Interpretation* (1982), brought together with the encouragement of Professor Stanton, and *Jesus and the Politics of His Day* (1984), edited with Ernst Bammel (see above, n. 30). In 1998, again encouraged by Professor Stanton, he brought out the further selection of essays entitled *Forgiveness and Reconciliation*, with some new material. In 2004 came the unpublished reflections already cited, on *Aspects of Christian Belief*.

Perhaps the only luxury he had allowed himself as a professor was the employment of a secretary, paid for out of his own stipend. His correspondence was vast, and after he moved to Ridley Hall in 1976 he began to face the mail-mountain on his own. This task formed a major occupation to the end of his life. His handwriting, however, was one gift not taken booty by the years. Examples from the year of his death differ only slightly from a page written in 1938. The appearance of his firm, clear and

[80] For the 1981 paper compare C. F. D. Moule, review of J. D. G. Dunn, *Christology in the Making. An Inquiry into the Origins of the Doctrine of the Incarnation* (London, 1980), in *Journal of Theological Studies*, NS 33 (1982), 258–63.

graceful hand on an envelope cheered friends and former pupils all over the world. He shared all the concerns communicated to him, he saw with the insight of affection into the minds of friends who wrote to him, and he read and criticised all work submitted to him, with his own blend of incisiveness and encouragement. Max Warren was typical of many correspondents when he called him 'a friend who has also been for many years my revered teacher in the New Testament'.[81] Dr N. T. Wright, Bishop of Durham and a scholar whose historical and theological treatment of Christian origins often recalls Charlie's emphases, has related how, when his own teacher G. B. Caird died in 1984, he asked Charlie to 'adopt' him, so that he could submit work and ideas for discussion; the correspondence lasted until Charlie's death.[82]

Honours which came to Charlie in these years continued a series which had begun in the 1950s. His honorary doctorate of divinity from St Andrews (1958) was followed, in the year of his eightieth birthday, by another from Cambridge (1988) (see above, n. 2). Elected a Fellow of the British Academy in 1966, Charlie received the Burkitt Medal for Biblical Studies in 1970. He was presented with Festschriften in 1968, at sixty (a small tribute from younger members of the Seminar, on the trial of Jesus), and in 1973, at sixty-five (a great assembly of essays on Christ and Spirit); in retrospect it seems fitting that the books represent, respectively, the historical and doctrinal concerns which he held together.[83] He was appointed CBE in 1985.

His independence precludes any easy classification of him as a scholar. The prosaic title 'liberal Evangelical' is not incorrect, but his liberalism was no superficial attempt to adapt the New Testament to the present-day west. Charlie read the Hebrew Bible as well as the Greek Testament each day, and persistently emphasised the distinctive Hebraic and Christian character of New Testament language and thought. Yet he treated these biblical books with the liberty of a pious Greek reader of the poets in antiquity, refusing to be guided by anything that seemed unworthy of the deity. Such elements he thought could be found in the Old Testament more often than the New, but he likewise held that even the New Testament writings did not always reach up to the Pauline heights at their noblest.

[81] Warren, *Crowded Canvas*, p. 120.
[82] N. T. Wright, lecture on 'New Testament Scholarship and Christian Discipleship' (the first C. F. D. Moule Memorial Lecture at Ridley Hall, Cambridge), 5 June 2008.
[83] E. Bammel (ed.), *The Trial of Jesus: Cambridge Studies in Honour of C. F. D. Moule* (London, 1970); Lindars & Smalley (eds.), *Christ and Spirit in the New Testament: Studies in Honour of Charles Francis Digby Moule* (see above, n. 14).

The apostolic authors appeared as his contemporaries and instructors (here he was comparable with his contemporaries G. B. Caird and G. W. H. Lampe), whereas their distance was being emphasised from differing points of view in much biblical study of his time. His sense for liturgy and the church included a concern for the individual, and a deeply Evangelical awareness of the priority of grace and the centrality of Jesus Christ. His concern for the unity of the divine energy in creation and redemption brought out the cosmic scope of New Testament thought in a Raven-like manner, but it was combined with a deep awareness of evil and suffering, and his eloquence was grounded in the most discriminating historical exegesis. His aims, but not his results, converged with those of his admired friend, G. W. H. Lampe. In Lampe's theology of New Testament intimations of God as spirit (dedicated to the memory of Raven) incarnation gave way to inspiration. This did not do justice, Charlie believed, to the historical figure of Christ or the Christian experience reflected in the New Testament.[84]

In 2003 his difficulties with balance brought a move back to Dorset, to care provided at the Old Vicarage at Leigh, within reach of two of his nephews and their families. He was deaf, and afflictions including arthritis made him in the end virtually wheel-chair-bound, but his mind and handwriting kept their old clarity. On his wall hung a text which he had chosen, written out in magnificent Hebrew calligraphy by his old friend Henry Hart, the opening verses of Ps. 139 'Lord, thou hast searched me out and known me'. In 2004, thinking again over the Pauline language of death and life with Christ, he wrote 'it would seem that, in these great tides of devotion, it is right for us to swing at anchor on the great, basic verities—a situation referred to so memorably in Heb. 6:19 f. Is it not firm anchorage enough for us to know that if God continues to own us, we are alive?'[85] He died on Sunday, 30 September 2007, less than three months before his ninety-ninth birthday.[86]

WILLIAM HORBURY
Fellow of the Academy

[84] C. F. D. Moule, 'Geoffrey William Hugo Lampe, 1912–1980', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 67 (1981), 399–409.

[85] C. F. D. Moule, *Aspects of Christian Belief*, p. 5; for earlier thoughts on the 'anchor' in Hebrews see *The Meaning of Hope*, pp. 26–7 ('if ever the use of mixed metaphors requires defence, here [in Hebrews 6:17–20] is the ammunition with which to defend it').

[86] I am most grateful to Charlie's nephew, Mr H. C. Moule, for kindly allowing me to consult him and for taking much trouble to answer questions.