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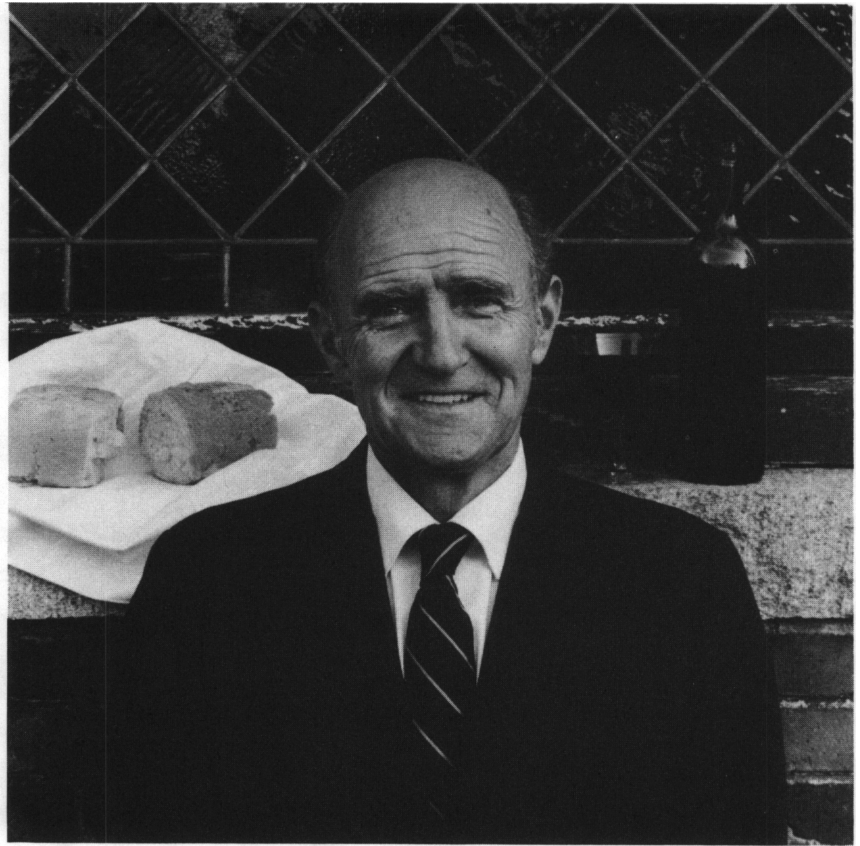
Dikran Y. Hadidian

General Editor

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**THE DIVINE DRAMA IN HISTORY AND LITURGY**

Essays presented to Horton Davies  
on his Retirement from Princeton University



Photograph by Philip M. Davies



# **THE DIVINE DRAMA IN HISTORY AND LITURGY**

**Essays presented to Horton Davies  
on his Retirement from Princeton University**

Edited by  
John E. Booty



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Essays in honor of Horton Davies on his retirement from Princeton University  
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## CONTENTS

Preface - <i>John Booty</i>	vii
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### Art

1. Images of Deluge and Apocalypse: The Recent Work of Robert Morris	
<i>Hugh M. Davies and Sally Yard</i>	3

### History

2. The Image of Saintliness in Puritan Hagiography, 1650-1700	
<i>Dewey D. Wallace, Jr.</i>	23
3. History and Historians of Port-Royal	
<i>F. Ellen Weaver</i>	45
4. Early American Methodist Ministerial Education	
<i>Robert C. Monk</i>	63
5. William Palmer's <b>Narrative of Events: The First History of the "Tracts for the Times"</b>	
<i>William Seth Adams</i>	81
6. Religion in the Writing of American History: Retrospective on the Seventies	
<i>John F. Wilson</i>	107

### **Liturgy and Worship**

- |  |                          |     |
|--|--------------------------|-----|
| 7. Christian Worship: Human and Divine Transcendence of Time                               |                          |     |
|  | <i>John Marsh</i>        | 123 |
| 8. Hooker's Understanding of the Presence of Christ in the Eucharist                       |                          |     |
|  | <i>John E. Booty</i>     | 131 |
| 9. Worship and Discipline: Context of Independent Church Order in the Westminster Assembly |                          |     |
|  | <i>Robert S. Paul</i>    | 149 |
| 10. Some Notes on the use of the Lectionary in the Reformed Tradition                      |                          |     |
|  | <i>Howard G. Hageman</i> | 163 |
| 11. Presbyterian Worship in Twentieth Century America                                      |                          |     |
|  | <i>Julius Melton</i>     | 179 |

### **The Ecumenical Movement**

- |   |                              |     |
|---|------------------------------|-----|
| 12. Biblical Exegesis and the Ecumenical Movement                             |                              |     |
|   | <i>G. B. Caird</i>           | 203 |
| 13. A Pioneer Contribution to Ecumenical Theological Training in South Africa |                              |     |
|   | <i>L. A. Hewson</i>          | 219 |
| A Chronology of Horton Davies   | - <i>Christine D. Wade</i>   | 237 |
| Selected Bibliography   | - <i>Marie-Hélène Davies</i> | 239 |

## PREFACE

With this volume of essays we honor Horton Davies on the occasion of his retirement as Henry W. Putnam Professor of the History of Christianity at Princeton University. It is just and right that he be so honored. My own liveliest impressions of the man as I have come to know him over more than twenty-five years includes an appreciation of the scholar who first gained recognition through his widely acclaimed **The Worship of the English Puritans** (1948) and went on to write five substantial volumes on **Worship and Theology in England** from the Reformation to 1960 (1961-1975). His mastery of the voluminous literature, his insistence upon the interconnection of liturgy, theology, art and architecture, his ability to explain and describe complex ideas and events clearly and to synthesize fairly, along with his brilliant mastery of the English language, have put all of those concerned with the subject matter of his magnum opus in his debt. But I would also note here, and equally, the teacher presiding over a graduate seminar with firmness and charity, calling forth the best that his students had to offer, as well as lecturing on the Middle Ages to a class of undergraduates. He is a gifted teacher with unusual ability to make difficult, seemingly dull matters interesting and even entertaining. His treatment in that classroom of medieval thought from Augustine to Occam has stayed with me over the years and has helped to inform my own teaching. Then too, I recall that it was Horton Davies who opened my eyes to the relevance of art to the understanding of ecclesiastical history and of theology in general. It was through his eyes that I first saw Sir Jacob Epstein's Christ in Majesty, the great, controversial figure that looms over the interior of Llandaff Cathedral in Horton Davies' native Wales, and went on to be deeply moved and forever affected by Epstein's Lazarus at New College, Oxford. Horton Davies is a man of catholic interests, as those who know him readily attest. He possesses an ecumenical spirit, as deep and as genuine as any I have yet encountered. Under his tutelage many of us learned to respect widely differing traditions and to view our own more objectively and appreciatively. This I count as a great good. Finally, I would note that this eminent scholar--the greatest expert on Puritan worship--is a warm and kindly man.

To know him as teacher and adviser was for many of us to know him as colleague and friend, demanding when necessary, but always supportive.

This volume contains a few tokens of appreciation from amongst the great numbers of students, advisees, colleagues and friends who wish Horton Davies well at this turning point in his life. The essays represent some of the most prominent of his many interests, beginning with art. His son, Hugh M. Davies, of the La Jolla Museum of Contemporary Art in California, together with his daughter-in-law Sally Yard, discuss Robert Morris's depictions of nuclear holocaust as found in the artist's Fire Storm drawings and in his Jornada del Muerto, created for the Hirshhorn Museum. These works were influenced by Leonardo da Vinci's Deluge drawings and by the biblical themes of deluge and apocalypse. Morris makes clear, however, that the horror he depicts is the work of man, not God.

The selection of essays on historical subjects begins with a close examination of eight biographies whereby Dewey Wallace, of George Washington University, tests the hypothesis "that there emerged from 1650-1700 a Puritan hagiographical literature which drew on the old while it crystallized the new," imitating the traditional lives of the saints while highly regarding those virtues associated with Protestantism or modern sensibility. That such a literature evolved at all among those who decried traditional hagiography is remarkable and testifies to the necessity for "holy persons" to "concretize" the ideals of the Puritan religious community and to serve as signs of God in the midst of that community. Ellen Weaver, of The University of Notre Dame, recites with care the history of the histories and historians of the Jansenist monastery of Port-Royal and of Mere Angelique, from the seventeenth century to the twentieth. She shows that most of the historians were sympathetic to Port-Royal and that most were women, from the nun-historiographer of the movement, Angelique de Saint-Jean Arnauld d'Andilly, the niece of Mere Angelique, to Professor Weaver herself. It is of interest to this editor that several English women, including Hannah More, are involved in the story. Robert Monk, of McMurry College in Texas, explores the education of American lay ministers in the growing Methodist Church during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, in the light of John Wesley's insistence on well-educated lay persons and of the difficulties involved in obtaining an adequate education in early America. Monk describes how itinerating preachers struggled to find books and to read them. Emphasis falls chiefly upon Francis Asbury and the evidence found in Asbury's Journal and Letters concerning the books he read. William Seth Adams, of The Episcopal Theological School of the Southwest in Texas, presents a detailed description and analysis of William Palmer's **Narrative of Events** and in the process provides an interesting and different perspective

on the Oxford Movement and the **Tracts for the Times**. The anti-Roman bias of Palmer is clearly indicated as well as his rather naive attitude toward John Henry Newman. John F. Wilson, of Princeton University, surveys writings on religion in America produced during the 1970's, from Sydney Ahlstrom's **A Religious History of the American People** (1972) to Catherine Albanese's **America, Religion and Religions** (1981). Professor Wilson is impressed by the variety and by an "increasing reliance upon a cultural framework for interpreting religion." In contrast to earlier writings, less attention was paid "to specifically intellectual history or to studies controlled by institutions." The essay provides a valuable bibliographical survey.

The section on liturgy and worship begins with a helpful essay by John Marsh, sometime Principal of Mansfield College, Oxford, on time in relation to biblical and liturgical understandings. His conclusions have to do with the suggestion "that human beings are able, within their inescapable confinement in time, actually to transcend time's passage as they hold communion with God who is infinite and eternal, holding in his timeless being the whole story of the universe." In my essay I explore the judicious Mr. Hooker's doctrine of Christ's presence in the Eucharist. Hooker was at odds with the Puritans on many things, and they with him, but he shared much with them, too. He was not altogether appreciative of Calvin, but I have concluded that his eucharistic doctrine was fundamentally in tune with Calvin's. Robert S. Paul, of Austin Presbyterian Theological Seminary in Texas, writes of Puritans--independents and presbyterians--in the Westminster Assembly severely divided on the issue of the exercise of discipline (coercive power) with or without the participation of the worshipping community. He concludes: "the Independents were trying to ensure that church discipline should never be removed from the context of a regularly worshipping community, and that mutual ministry to each other in the community committed to the gospel cannot be divorced from the Word and Sacraments through which the gospel is proclaimed." Howard Hageman, of the New Brunswick Theological Seminary in New Jersey, explores evidence indicating that some Reformed Churches in Europe and America used the lectionary contrary to the practice of Zwinglian and Calvinist Reformed Churches where the lectio continua prevailed. This leads him to conclude that there was a third type of Reformed Church, centered in Germany, sometimes called Melancthonian, in which the lectionary was accepted and in use. Julius Melton, of Davidson College in North Carolina, reviews liturgical revision within American Presbyterianism in this century and in particular as found in the recent **Worshipbook** and the **Book of Common Worship**, "the two service books presently in use in the church," and the draft "Service for the Lord's Day," a trial use. One of the major issues discussed has to do with inclusive language, admittedly an important issue in liturgical reform in this last quarter of the twentieth century.

The final part of the book concerns the ecumenical movement. G. B. Caird, of The Queen's College, Oxford, contends that people continue to read the Bible "with the spectacles of their own tradition" in spite of their overt commitment to ecumenism. He discusses present difficulties "in the way of mutual understanding," points at which modern "New Testament scholarship had unwittingly provided escape routes for those who find travel on the main highway too heady for their comfort," and fallacies, pure and simple. L. A. Hewson, of Rhodes University College, Grahamstown, South Africa, tells of the gradual development of ecumenical theological education in South Africa, culminating in the arrival of Horton Davies who developed the first divinity program at Rhodes University College. The subject of this tribute is portrayed in this enlightening essay as one wholly committed to ecumenism, "not unduly perturbed by being termed an 'Ecumaniac.' " And thus we come to the end, quite suitably with praise for the one we honor concerning an episode in his life, long past but not to be forgotten.

We are indebted to Philip M. Davies for the photographic portrait of his father, reproduced here as the frontispiece, to Dr. Gordon Wiles for his portrait of Horton Davies, to Christine Wade for the chronology of her father, and to Marie-Helene Davies for the Select Bibliography of her husband's writings. I wish to thank Russell Sherman, my research assistant, for his assistance and to salute, on behalf of all of the many friends of Horton Davies, Dikran Y. Hadidian, General Editor of Pickwick Publications, for taking the initiative in this project.

John Booty  
The University of the South  
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**ART**

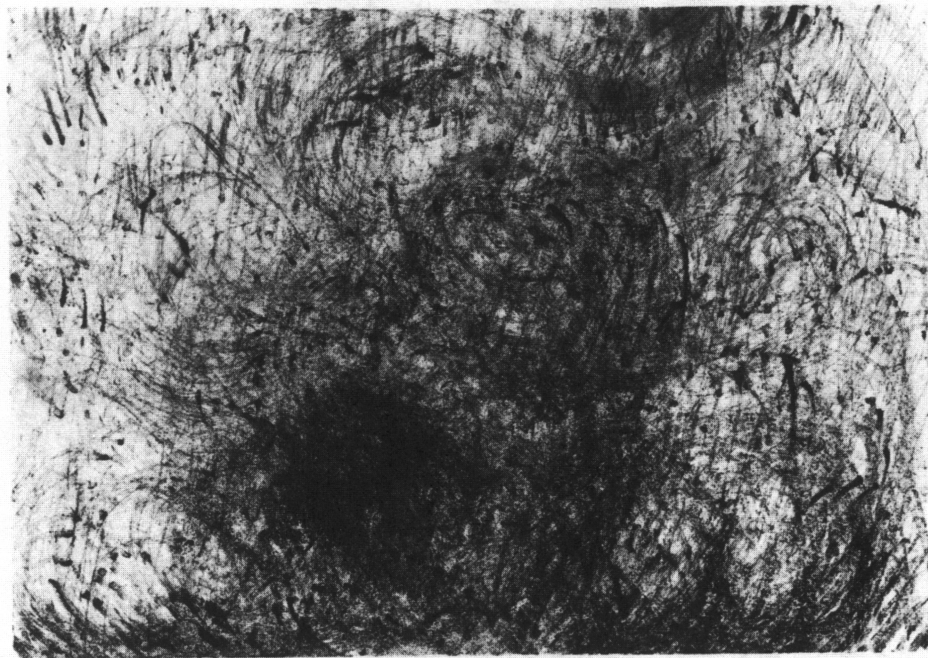


## IMAGES OF DELUGE AND APOCALYPSE: THE RECENT WORK OF ROBERT MORRIS

Hugh M. Davies and Sally E. Yard

In our century artists have invoked religious themes as they have sought to express the human suffering of disaster and war. Picasso's Guernica of 1937, triggered by the bombing of the Basque town of that name during the Spanish Civil War, reads like a latter-day Massacre of the Innocents. The terror of Germany under Hitler was reflected in the raw turmoil of George Grosz's Rider of the Apocalypse (I was always present) of 1942, in the dissonance of Marc Chagall's White Crucifixion of 1938, and in the severity of Jacob Epstein's Ecce Homo of 1935. Käthe Kollwitz in the late teens and late 1930's conceived as Pietas the mother and child imagery which preoccupied her throughout her career. During the years after World War II Francis Bacon, Salvador Dalí, and Graham Sutherland produced substantial paintings of the Crucifixion tinged by the anguish of recent history. In the face of the Vietnam war, Nancy Spero created an extended series of drawings, including a Crucifixion entitled Christ and the Bomb of 1967.

More recently the possibility of cataclysmic nuclear war has prompted a range of images focusing on biblical subjects. The cross of Alex Gray's Nuclear Crucifixion of 1980, for example, is embedded in the looming form of a mushroom cloud. Like Picasso and Sutherland, Gray was powerfully affected by Matthias Grünewald's Isenheim altarpiece of c. 1510-15. As he had reflected, the Nuclear Crucifixion is perhaps unusual among contemporary works in containing the seeds of renewal. [1] Whereas such religious subject matter as the Crucifixion in the past generally was explored to convey internal conviction, it now functions more often as an iconographically void armature lending pathos by association to contemporary depictions of brutality and inhumanity. Peter Gourfain's Noah's Ark, designed as a banner for the anti-nuclear



**Figure 1** Robert Morris, Untitled (Fire Storm series)  
Ink, charcoal, graphite and black pigment on paper, 38 x 50 inches

arms march held in New York in June of 1982, proclaims bluntly in large letters that "We're all in the same boat." A concentrated body of work made by Robert Morris during the past few years, including the Fire Storm series of 1982 and Jornada del Muerto (from "The Natural History of Los Alamos") of 1981, merges dark visions of the decimation of the earth by atomic bomb with the biblical imagery of Deluge and Apocalypse.

In the Untitled drawings of Morris' Fire Storm series a charred palette of black and white evokes the searing force of an atomic blast, while swirling patterns of line suggest the consuming onslaught of elements with a momentum beyond control. In the texts which are incorporated in the lower margins of several of these drawings Morris acknowledges their inspiration in the Deluge drawings done in the last years of Leonardo da Vinci's life, and links the Old Testament imagery of the Deluge to that of the devastation wrought by the Atomic bomb dropped on Hiroshima on August 6, 1945.

Essentially abstract, derived as they are from the similarly abstract images of Leonardo, the Fire Storm drawings are chilling in the absence of any intimation that a divine design underlies the strife and tumult of which they speak. Leonardo's images of the Deluge were decidedly more abstract than most that had preceded them. Departing from the depiction of mountains collapsing, overwhelmed by wind and water, Leonardo went on to focus on the essential forces of wind and water themselves. Compositionally related to the small studies of the Renaissance artist-scientist, Morris's works draw vehemence and gestural immediacy from their substantially larger scale. Morris's juxtaposition of texts is incisive, the matter-of-fact accounts of the fire storm which destroyed Hiroshima startlingly close to Leonardo's descriptions of Deluge.

One drawing (Figure 1) is inflected by the imprint of fingers pulled across its surface, literally revealing the hand of the artist and recalling Morris's Blind Time drawings of 1973. [2] Pencilled beneath these whirling marks are three texts, which in juxtaposition gather poignancy and force. The first voice is that of Leonardo, whose remarks are excerpted from a notebook passage dealing with "A Deluge and the Representation of it in Painting": [3]

But it will perhaps seem to you that you have cause to censure me for having represented the different courses taken in the air by the movement of the wind, whereas the wind is not of itself visible in the air; to this I reply that it is not the movement of the wind itself but the movement of the things carried by it which alone is visible in the air.

The insights of Leonardo's notebooks assume a macabre pertinence beside the ghastly realities described in the text drawn from **Hiroshima and Nagasaki -- The Physical, Medical, and Social Effects of the Atomic Bombings** produced by The Committee for the Compilation of Materials on Damage Caused by the Atomic Bombs in Hiroshima and Nagasaki: [4]

. . . conflagration broke out 50 minutes after the explosion and a fire storm started to blow. From 11 a.m. to 3 p.m. a violent whirlwind blew locally from the center toward the northern part of the city. In a conflagration the minute particles of carbon produced by fire are blown up with the cold air, where water vapor is formed. Between 9 a.m. and 4 p.m. "black rain" containing radioactivity poured down over a large area from north of the hypocenter to the west.

Here, confirming Leonardo's conclusions, the wind grows darkly visible "in the air," carrying the deadly ingredients of a poisonous rain. The dispassionate tone of the "narrator" who speaks of Hiroshima intensifies the horror of the facts. A third voice, that of the artist as he recalls his own detached vantage point in 1945, is introduced in this drawing: "Thirty seven years ago the hands that have traced spiralling currents of air and the nails that have here marked the path of a black rain turned the pages of a photo magazine to trace in idle curiosity the shape of a strange cloud over a distant city."

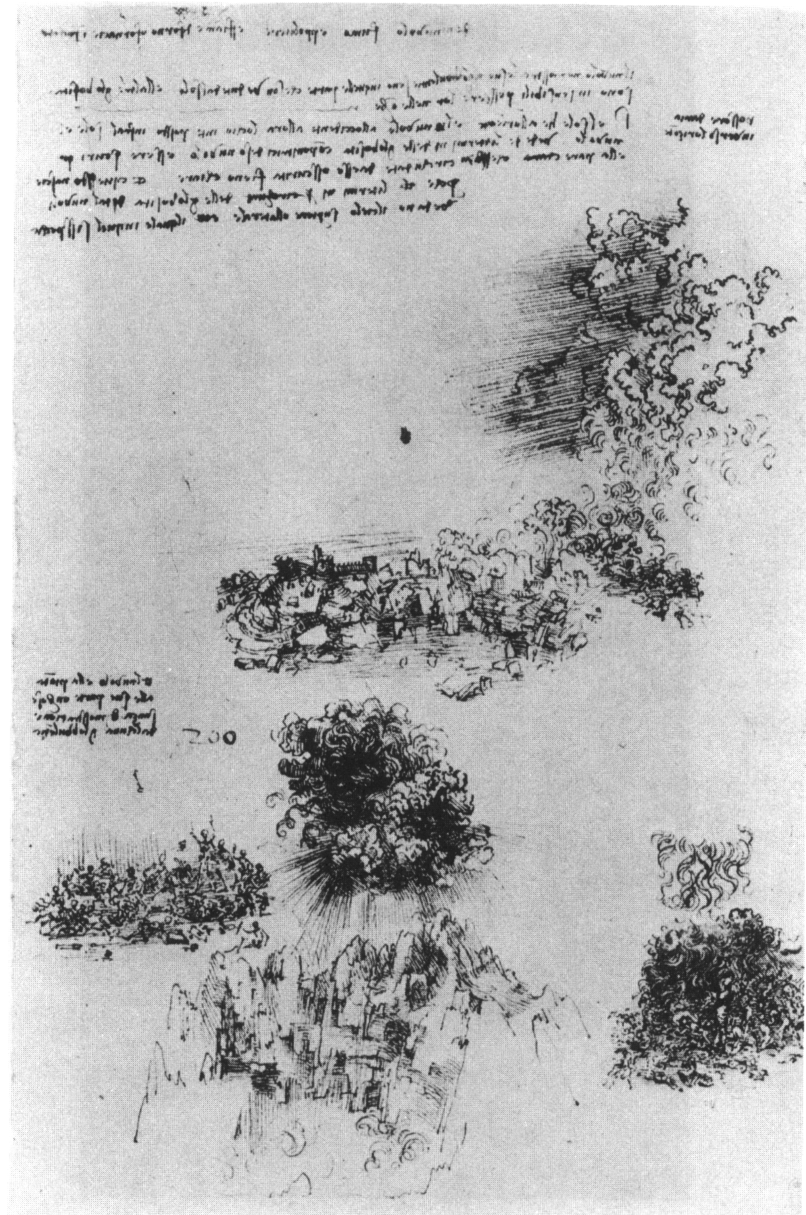
In another work of the series (Figure 2) Morris includes skeletal figures akin to those in a drawing of Destruction Rained from Heaven on Earth by Leonardo (Figure 3). But Morris's forms gain confrontational force by their virtually life-size scale, and evoke the burnt remains of those too close to ground zero when the atomic bomb known as "Little Boy" [5] was dropped from the B-29 Enola Gay. Whereas Leonardo's image contains the suggestion of a Last Judgment and redemption, [6] Morris's offers at best the hope of some sort of survival. So the first text beneath this image reads:

There is no record of those who were instantly incinerated or of those buried under the ruins or of those who plunged into the rivers and were carried away or of those swept into the inferno of the tornado winds of the fire storm. Nor is there any record of those who crossed the Miyuki Bridge that morning, although Kinzo Nishida recalled the sight of a naked man standing by the river holding his eyeball in his hand.

The Miyuki Bridge, located 2500 yards from the hypocenter of the explosion, was one of the relief stations to which people "es-



**Figure 2** Robert Morris, Untitled (Fire Storm series)  
Ink, charcoal, graphite and black pigment on paper, 76 x 150 inches



**Figure 3** Leonardo da Vinci  
Destruction Rained from Heaven on Earth, c. 1511-12  
 Pen over black chalk on paper, 11-13/16 x 8 inches  
 Royal Library, Windsor Castle



caped" on August 6. The eighty-two year old Kinzo Nishida's horrifying memory was recalled in 1974, thirty years after the bomb exploded in Hiroshima, and was included in the book **Unforgettable Fire: Pictures Drawn by Atomic Bomb Survivors**. [7]

In contrast to this first text, which speaks of obliteration and the absence of any record, the second text is a testament to survival:

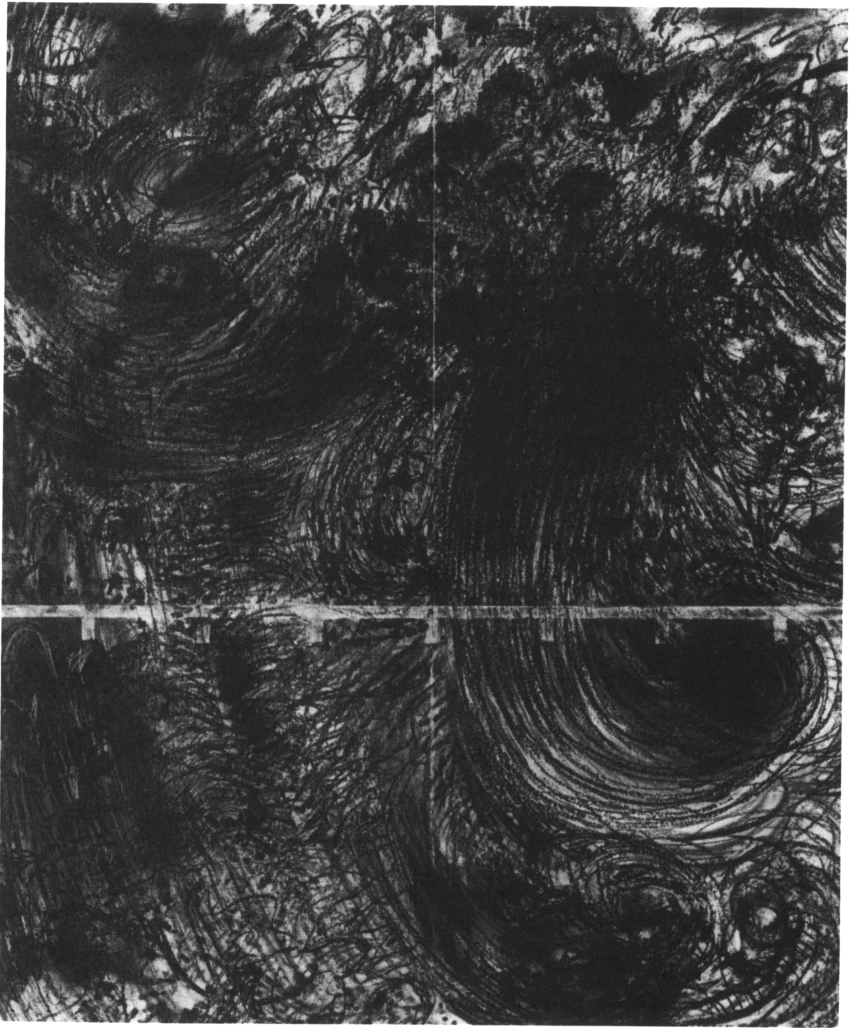
By 11 a.m. the ashes that had been swept upward into high black clouds began to fall as a sticky black rain. The clouds drifted toward the northwest and the rain continued until about 3 p.m. The rivers were black as Chinese ink. All that day survivors filed over the bridge toward the suburbs. Some burnt beyond recognition, sat on the pavement and begged for water. In the following days small paper signs appeared in the ruins. Each bore a name and the words, "I have survived."

The theme of survival is reiterated in a drawing with the pencil caption "The Miyuki Bridge" (Figure 4). Its curling, lively forms echo their source, acknowledged in a notation in the lower margin, "After a Deluge Drawing by Leonardo" (Figure 5), and share a dark buoyancy with the clouds photographed as they burst upward after the explosion of the atomic bomb (Figure 6). [8] The text records:

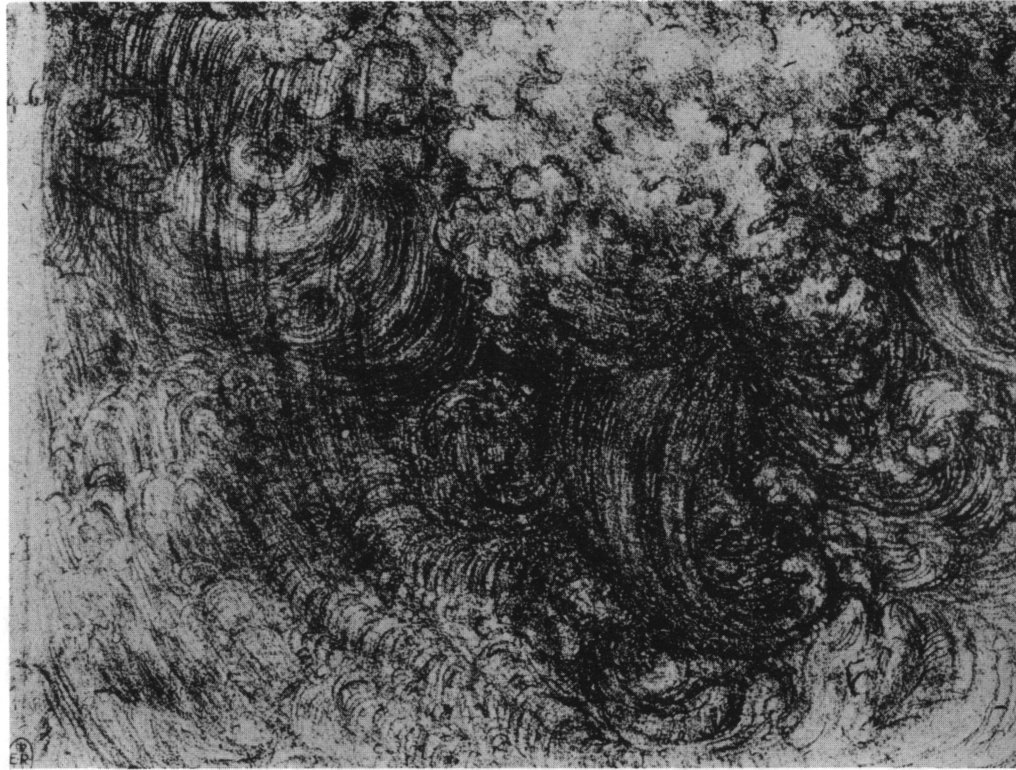
In the first hours after the fire storm they gathered by the Miyuki Bridge. They begged for water. Many were burnt so badly that they could not bend their limbs. In the days that followed small boards appeared tied to the railings. Each bore a single name with the words, "I am alive." But the survivors at the Miyuki Bridge became outcasts in later years. No one wanted to remember their pain.

A dark center, echoing the frenzied vortices of the paintings of the Italian Futurists Boccioni and Balla, gapes as though to consume the light and line which surround it, in another drawing of the Fire Storm series (Figure 7). The prints of hands and fingers--details which identify the dead and the living--are visible in the lighter areas surrounding this ominous center and conjure visions of the clawing motion of a life-and-death struggle, as well as documenting the creative process of the artist. In the text beneath this the blunt facts presented by The Committee for the Compilation of Damage again gain resonance linked as they are to a more visionary passage by Leonardo. The Committee records:

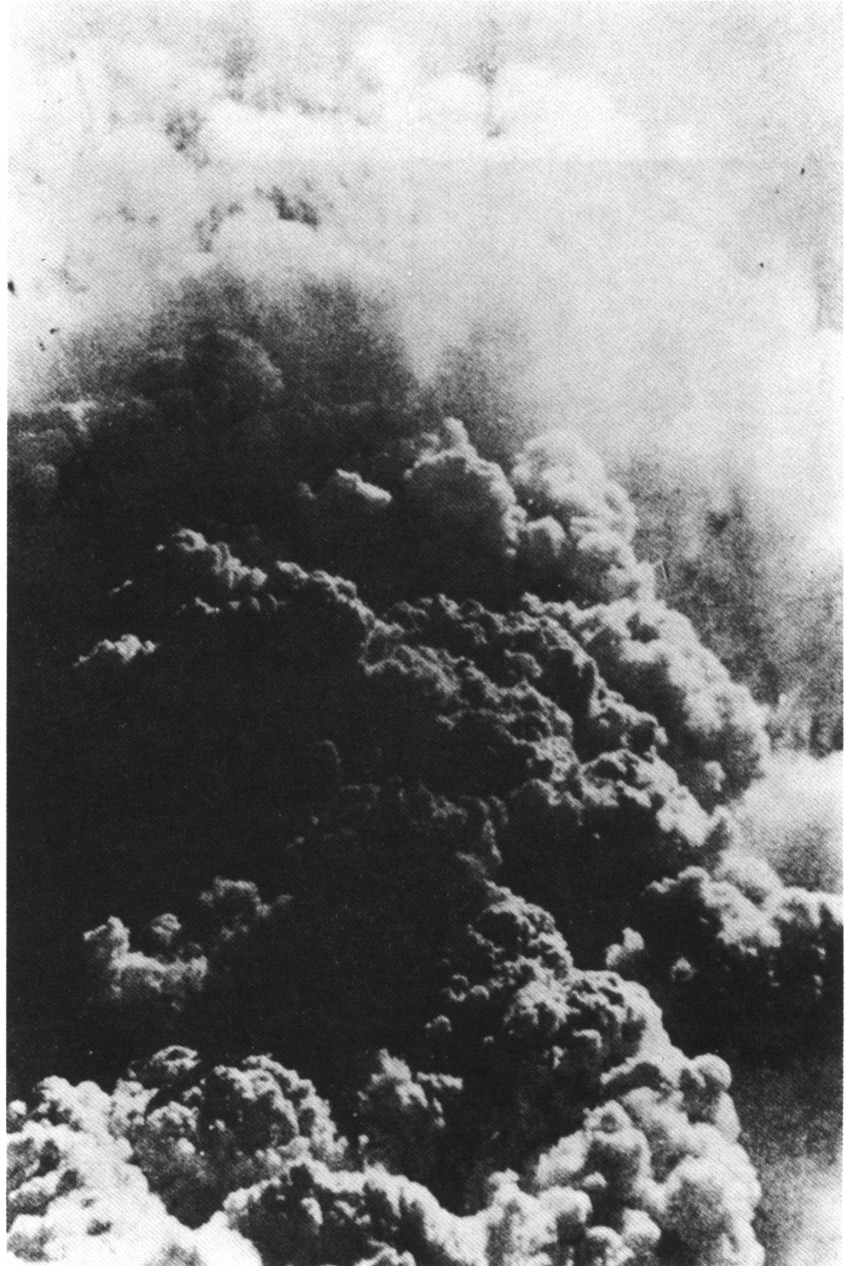
A conflagration broke out and then a fire storm began to blow. Between 11 a.m. and 3 p.m., when the fire



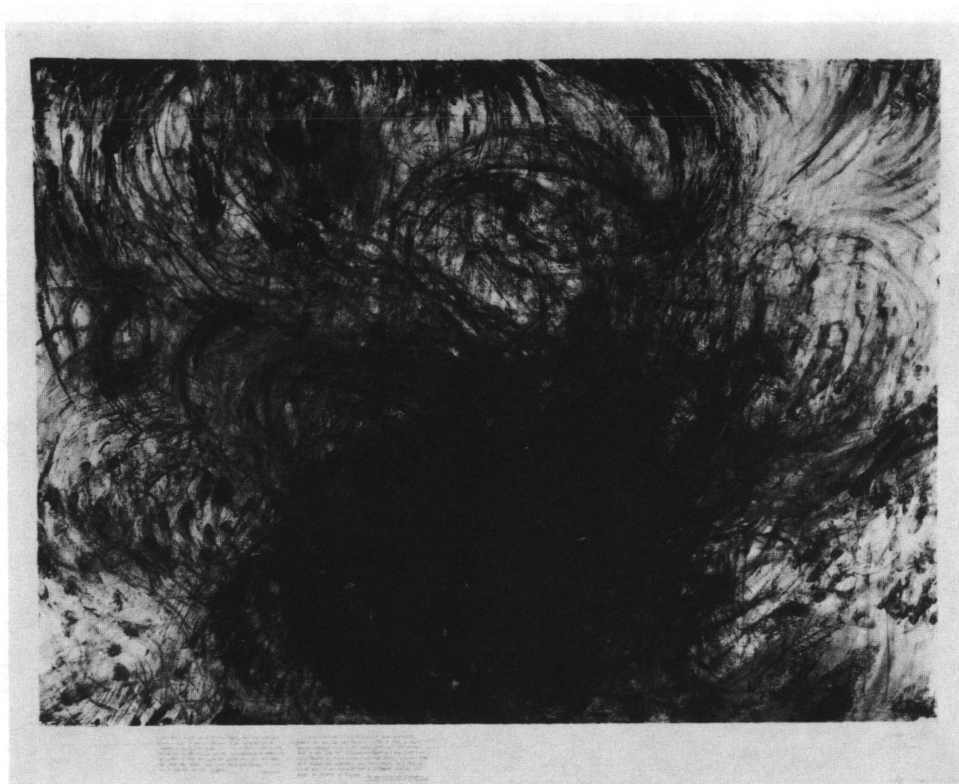
**Figure 4** Robert Morris, *Untitled (Fire Storm series)*  
Ink, charcoal, graphite and black pigment on paper, 76 x 83 inches



**Figure 5** Leonardo da Vinci, Deluge,  
Black chalk on paper, 6-3/16 x 8-1/4 inches Royal Library, Windsor Castle



**Figure 6** Photograph of clouds bursting upward after the explosion of the atomic bomb in Hiroshima, August 6, 1945



**Figure 7** Robert Morris, Untitled (Fire Storm series)  
Ink, charcoal, graphite and black pigment on paper, 38 x 50 inches

reached its peak, a strong tornado developed locally in the central part toward the northern half of the city. The whirlwind developed near the front. Rumbling of thunder was heard between 10 and 11 a.m. Black clouds and smoke moved toward the northwest; and since there was a fall of "black rain," it was assumed that a southeast wind of 1 to 3 meters per second was blowing.

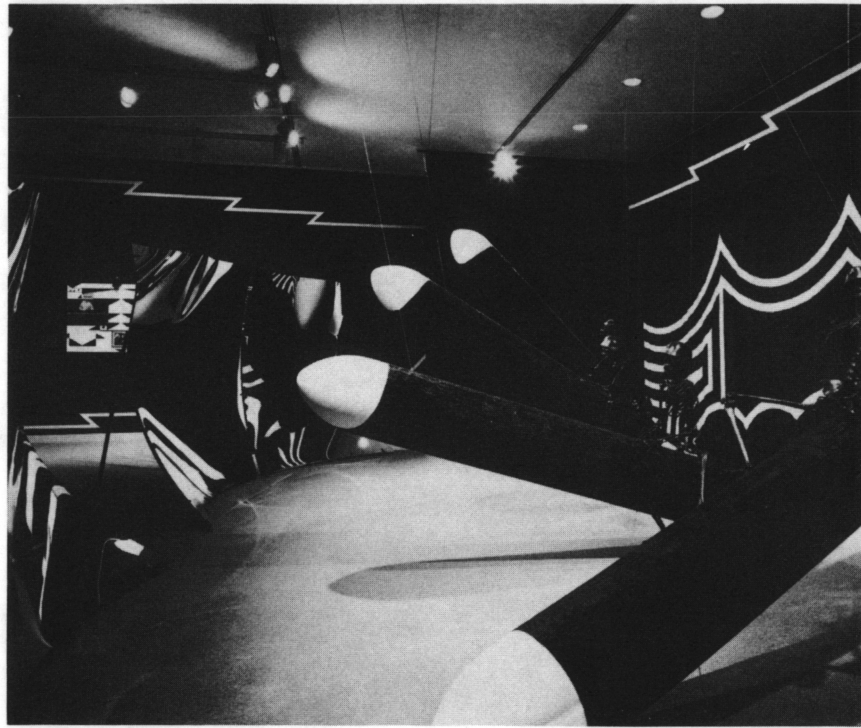
In contrast to the muted emotion of the Committee's reconstruction of the events, Leonardo observes, in a lively, dramatic discussion of the portrayal of Deluge:

How many might you have seen stopping their ears with their hands in order to shut out the loud uproar caused through the darkened air by the fury of the winds mingled together with the rain, the thunder of the heavens and the raging of the thunderbolts. Others were not content to shut their eyes, but placing their hands over them, one above the other, would cover them more tightly in order not to see the pitiless slaughter . . .

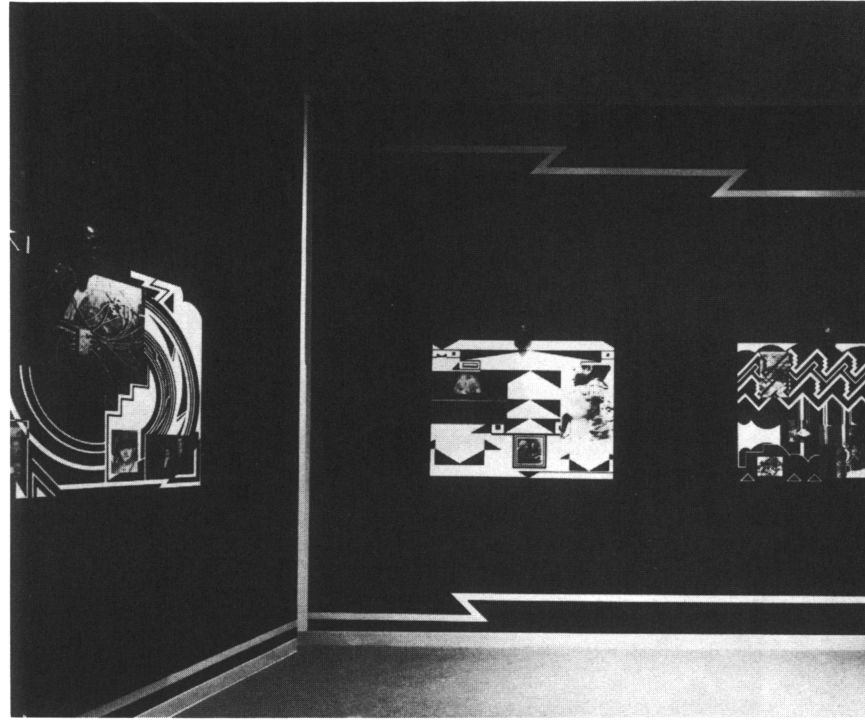
As though to render this bleak scenario the work of man and not of God, Morris's ellipsis eliminates the final clause of Leonardo's description, which concludes "pitiless slaughter made of the human race by the wrath of God." [9]

The juxtaposition of Leonardo's Deluge drawings with images of atomic bomb blast had occurred before in Morris's work, in a major installation created in 1981 for the Hirshhorn Museum and entitled Jornada del Muerto (from "The Natural History of Los Alamos") (Figures 8, 9, 10). As Howard Fox has observed, Jornada del Muerto, "which means journey, or day's journey, or a day's work of death, is the traditional name of the parched desert valley south of Los Alamos where the bomb was first tested." [10] In Jornada del Muerto the apocalyptic references are amplified by the inclusion of Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse in modern guise, the horses of another era's battles replaced by the missiles of today's.

The installation is organized in "layers" which confront and surround the viewer. Presiding over the space, each astride an elongated bomblike form, are four skeletons. Painted black and attired only in military helmets, they recall the figure of Death in Ernst Barlach's Magdeburg Memorial. The conflation of imagery, of horseman and bomb, calls up the maniacal last ride of Slim Pickens in the movie Dr. Strangelove. [11] Behind the skeletal riders is an eerie backdrop: mimicking their ribs, white lines on a black ground describe the stylized mushroom cloud. The four macabre figures are seen in ghoulish distortion in the warped curving mirrors toward which they are aimed. Beyond

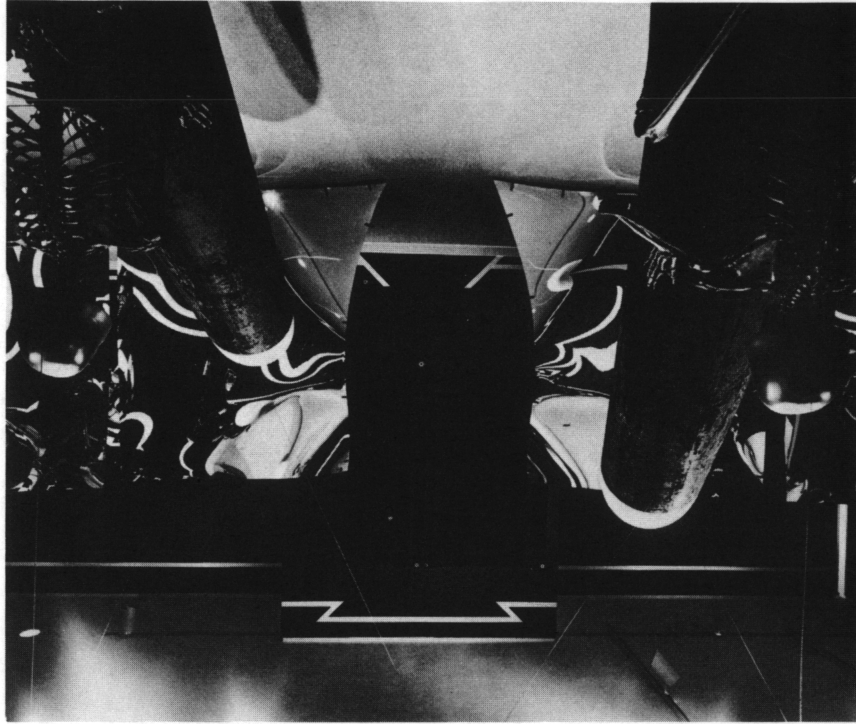


**Figure 8** Robert Morris, *Jornada del Muerto* (from "The Natural History of Los Alamos"), 1981  
Installation at Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden, 1982  
Nylon, felt, paint, photomechanical reproduction, mirrors, steel, human skeletons  
Overall dimensions of site approximately 28 x 35 feet



**Figure 9** Robert Morris, *Jornada del Muerto* (from "The Natural History of Los Alamos"), 1981  
 Installation at Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden, 1982  
 Nylon, felt, paint, photomechanical reproduction, mirrors, steel, human skeletons  
 Overall dimensions of site approximately 28 x 35 feet





**Figure 10** Robert Morris, *Jornada del Muerto* (from "The Natural History of Los Alamos"), 1981  
Installation at Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden, 1982  
Nylon, felt, paint, photomechanical reproduction, mirrors, steel, human skeletons  
Overall dimensions of site approximately 28 x 35 feet