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BIBLE SOFTWARE ON THE WORKBENCH OF THE BIBLICAL SCHOLAR: ASSESSMENT AND PERSPECTIVE

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Abstract

This article pursues two objectives. First, it tries to explain why Bible software is still not accepted as an indispensable tool for textual analysis. Second, it suggests that modern Hebrew databases can truly impact the analytic methodology of biblical scholars and help to verify and falsify interpretative suggestions. To achieve these two objectives, I will first describe the role Bible software plays in today's scholarship. By contrasting the aids that Bible software offers with the analytic needs of biblical scholars, it is possible to show clearly what current electronic tools need if they are to play an essential methodological role in the analytic work of the scholar. The second part of the article will then illustrate, in some detail, what the Hebrew database of the Eep Talstra Centre of Bible and Computer (ETCBC) could offer today to the Old Testament scholar and how a future implementation into Bible software could deliver an electronic tool that becomes indispensable for Old Testament scholarship.

Keywords: Bible software, exegesis, Gen 20

Introduction

Database producers of biblical Hebrew and Greek often approach their texts and digital tools in a different way than most users of Bible software. While database producers search for linguistic patterns from the smallest units (phonology: sound units) up to the highest language structures (text-grammar: grammatical backbone of texts),[1] Bible software users predominantly use their databases as a digital extension of their analog tools (Hebrew/Greek texts, dictionaries, concordances, and grammars). Having been involved on both sides of the spectrum, I would like to demonstrate how the perspective of database producers, with their expertise in pattern recognition and data visualization,

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[1]There are many different grammatical devices that function on the level of text organization. One of the devices is grammatical congruency of textual participants. When one clause has "Abraham" as subject (e.g., Gen 20:1a "Abraham travelled towards the Negeb") and the subsequent clause utilizes a 3rd per. m. sg. pronoun "he" as subject (e.g., Gen 20:1b "And he lived between Kadesh and Shur") the grammatical congruency between "Abraham" and "he" establishes a meaningful sequence of two clauses. If a 3rd per. f. pl. pronoun would have been used (instead of a 3rd per. m. sg. pronoun) and no 3rd per. f. pl. participant was introduced by one of the previous clauses, then there would be no meaningful sequence between the two clauses, and we would not be able to speak of a "text."

could be beneficial for the research methodology and pedagogical strategies of the Bible software user.[2]

I will first start with a description of the status quo of Bible software usage. This will make the reader aware that the natural methodological limitations of analog tools have been transported into Bible software *products* and the general culture of Bible software *usage* (research and teaching). Second, I will look at the biblical scholar's most characteristic methodical procedures when analyzing the biblical text. This enables us to see what type of textual data he or she is looking for. Third, I will discuss how the digital mindset of the database producer could help to transcend the analog boundaries of today's Bible software and, more specifically, its usage in research and teaching. In my illustrations, I will focus on Old Testament scholarship and use the narrative in Gen 20 as an example.

The Present Bible Software Situation

In 1991, the first commercial version of Logos Bible Software was published, followed by BibleWorks in 1992 and Accordance in 1994.[3] The United Bible Society published their first non-commercial Bible-translation software in 1997.[4] Digitizing the biblical print medium had several advantages. First, it *saved* physical space, which allowed for the mobility of libraries. Second, it *sped* up the reading process by the utilization of links to biblical words with dictionary entries, which also lowered the bar for dealing with original languages. For example, with the linking of data sets, such as grammar, dictionary, and source text, the user no longer has to connect lexical information with concrete morphological realizations. Bible software users who are not able to read Hebrew and Greek are still able to look up the meanings of words in dictionaries without knowing different alphabets, spellings, or grammar (declinations, conjugations). Finally, it created the ability for users to *search* for words and word combinations, which basically enables a flexible electronic concordance. Classical, frequently used, and well trusted

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[2]I have been part of the Eep Talstra Centre of Bible and Computer (ETCBC) research group since 2006. See "Eep Talstra Center of Bible and Computer," *Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam*, 2018, http://www.godgeleerdheid.vu.nl/nl/onderzoek/instituten-en-centra/eep-talstra-centre-for-bible-and-computer/index.aspx. During that time, research in Hebrew text-grammar, and verbal valence was carried out.

[3]For Logos Bible Software, see "History," *Faithlife*, 2018, https://faithlife.com/history; for BibleWorks, see "About Us," *BibleWorks*, n.d., http://www.bibleworks.com/about.html, and for Accordance Bible Software, see "History," *OakTree*, n.d., https://www.accordancebible.com/History.

[4]See Clayton Grassick and Hart Wiens, "Paratext: User-Driven Development," *BT* 60.4 (2009): 234–240. The software can be downloaded for free at United Bible Societies and SIL International, "Home," *Paratext Scripture Translation Software*, 2016, http://pt8.paratext.org/.

concordances[5] became unnecessary since the Bible software is able to find the distribution of each single word in an instant.

Essential Skills Do Not Require Digital Tools

The abilities to save space, speed up reading, and search for words has improved the use of classical tools in research, such as primary Hebrew and Greek texts, grammars, and dictionaries. The "tradition of doing" has been boosted but not changed. While the process of textual analyses has sped up, the nature of the process remains unchanged.[6] This can be illustrated with the example that follows.

With the digitized Hebrew Bible, the user now has an electronic concordance; however, the analog restriction of looking up words only has not been essentially overcome by Bible software. While it is possible to search for specific word combinations—for example, a genitive construction (e.g., "house of David") or an attributive construction (e.g., "the great heavens")—there is no support for investigating specific language usage in context. In concrete spoken and written language expressions, words generally do not contain meaning in themselves. It is the orchestrated combination of words (language pragmatics and valence) that generates the meaning for each word.[7] For example, the dictionary definition of the word "bright" is not very helpful for understanding the different meanings that "bright" has in concrete linguistic expressions, such as the following: "Thomas has a bright idea," "The sun is very bright today," or "Look at the bright side!" In order to discover the specific meaning of the word "bright," one would need to find out whether the word was used in colloquial language (first or second person account, direct speech tenses) or formal language (third person account, narrating tense), what type of subject was paired with "bright" in the expression, what punctuation ended the expression, etc. The two-dimensionality of

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[5]The most popular concordances of the Hebrew Bible are Gerhard Lisowsky and Hans Peter Rüger, *Konkordanz zum Hebräischen Alten Testament* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2010); Solomon Mandelkern, *Veteris Testamenti Concordantiae Hebraicae Atque Chaldaicae* (Jerusalem: Schocken, 1937; repr., Brooklyn: Shalom Publication, 1988); Abraham Even-Shoshan, ed., *A New Concordance of the Old Testament Using the Hebrew and Aramaic Text*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1989).

[6]Stuart Douglas explains with caution, "The more of these sorts of works [he refers to concordances, lexica, grammars, and commentaries] you have via computer software, including online access, the faster your exegesis work can go because of the time saved in searching. On the other hand, speed is not always an advantage: searching through a book forces you to see things in context in a way that searching via search engines *prevents* you from doing" (Stuart Douglas, *Old Testament Exegesis: A Handbook for Students and Pastors*, 4th ed. [Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2009], 3).

[7]See Janet W. Dyk, Oliver Glanz, and Reinoud Oosting, "Analysing Valence Patterns in Biblical Hebrew: Theoretical Questions and Analytic Frameworks," *Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages* 40.1 (2014): 43–62; Oliver Glanz, Reinoud Oosting, and Janet W. Dyk, "Valence Patterns in Biblical Hebrew: Classical Philology and Linguistic Patterns," *Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages* 41.2 (2016): 31–55.

printed concordances did not equip the user to successfully ask these necessary questions, and unfortunately, the same problem still persists within the digital space of biblical software since the analog tools do not support the filtering of multidimensional linguistic expression.[8]

This shows how the digitization of biblical studies did not generally alter the exegetical methodology of the textual interpretive process.[9] Electronic tools did not change the way things are done methodologically. They simply altered the speed in which they are done.

This becomes obvious when we compare textbooks for exegesis and biblical Hebrew published over the last twenty years. Very few of them refer to Bible software as a necessary tool that has changed our understanding of biblical languages or the processes of exegesis.[10] Improvements in exegetical

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[8]David A. Michelson has stressed that only a small number of scholars—and I would like to add "Bible Software users and producers"—did "engage in critical reflection on how the information revolution has changed the parameters of their inquiry" (David A. Michelson, "Syriaca.org as a Test Case for Digitally Re-Sorting," in *Ancient Worlds in Digital Culture*, ed. Claire Clivaz, Paul Dilley, and David Hamidović, Digital Biblical Studies 1 [Leiden: Brill, 2016], 62).

[9]Some of the few exceptions are the works of C. Hardmeier, W. Richter and Talstra. Talstra's research group focused especially on a systematic, computer-assisted, bottom-up description of the Hebrew Old Testament text in which the formal characteristics of the text receive primacy over the functional characteristics. The database then became a tool to test interpretations of grammarians and exegetes. See Eep Talstra, *II Kön. 3: Etüden zur Textgrammatik* (Amsterdam: VU University Press, 1983).

[10]Most recent textbooks on exegesis list Bible software under the categories of "concordance" or "electronic concordance" without explaining their methodological role in the exegetical process. Uwe Becker introduces his reference to the Bible software products Accordance, BibleWorks, Logos, and the German Bible Society (Stuttgart Electronic Study Bible) by saying, "On the other side—and here their real value can be found—they contain powerful search function and replace, therefore, printed concordances. In this way, the original source texts can be searched for word relations, while these searches can be further specified with grammatical tags [markers] like person, conjugation, or stem. The reduced workload can be significant when compared to printed concordances." See Uwe Becker, *Exegese des Alten Testaments: Ein Methoden- und Arbeitsbuch,* 2nd ed., UTB 2664 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 176. Becker's description illustrates what I have mentioned in the opening section of this article. Helmut Utzschneider and Stefan Ark Nitsche list Accordance, BibleWorks, and the Stuttgart Electronic Study Bible under the category "Konkordanzen" together with Even-Shohsan, Mandelkern, Lisowsky, see Helmut Utzschneider and Stefan Ark Nitsche, *Arbeitsbuch literaturwissenschaftliche Bibelauslegung: Eine Methodenlehre zur Exegese des Alten Testaments*, 3rd ed. (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2001), 31. They do not provide any explanation about how to utilize the e-tools in a powerful way. J. C. Gretz treats the Bible software in the same way, see J. C. Gertz, ed., *Grundinformation Altes Testament: Eine Einführung in Literatur, Religion und Geschichte des Alten Testaments,* 4th ed., UTB 2745 (Göttingend: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2010), 534. This approach can also be found in textbooks for the English-speaking world. Douglas Stuart and Gordon D. Fee treat Bible software as a digital library that can contain lexica, dictionaries, scholarly texts, commentaries, and grammars. As

methodology and language understanding over the last twenty years have generally not been caused by the digital revolution but by the great accumula tion of primary and secondary sources in printed form and by the hermeneutic reflections influenced by postmodern language philosophy and linguistics.[11]

Therefore, the conclusion can be drawn that, while Bible software made our traditional practice of dealing with ancient Biblical texts easier, we do not necessarily have to incorporate it into the workflow of the biblical scholar. Consequently, Bible software only has a superficial impact on the outcomes of biblical research.[12] This is the reason why Bible software is usually not used in the classroom for learning grammar or exegesis. When Bible software is used in the modern classroom, it is mostly for displaying Hebrew or Greek source texts, similar to the use of overhead projectors in the twentieth-century classroom. This is another example of how the analog experience is very much present in the digitized world of the biblical scholar.

When commercial Bible software was initially developed, it was designed to digitally mirror the analog tools of theologians. With this imitation, the limitation of the "original" was transported as well: access to the graphical information of the sequence of words found in primary texts, analytic dic tionaries, grammars, and dictionaries. Since the different texts were linked digitally, information was made available in very helpful ways. For example, primary texts were connected with the morphology of analytic dictionaries, which, in turn, were matched with dictionary entries. However, the nature of that information was static, making it impossible to efficiently and critically engage with the digital data. For example, some Hebrew dictionaries show two entries for the verb גלה.[13] I-גלה has the meaning "reveal" and II-גלה has the meaning "deport." Other Hebrew dictionaries do not regard גלה as having two

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digital libraries, they can improve the speed of research but not necessarily the quality. Consequently, Bible software is not essential, but a welcomed luxury. See Douglas Stuart, *Old Testament Exegesis: A Handbook for Students and Pastors*, 4th ed. (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 2009), 3, 101, 108, 111, 168, 172; Gordon D. Fee, *New Testament Exegesis: A Handbook for Students and Pastors*, 3rd ed. (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 2002), 67, 157, 161. To some extent, Talstra's book on exegetical methodology is an exception. It clearly emphasizes the need for feature-rich, biblical e-tools if exegetical outcomes are to allow for better falsification and verification, see Eep Talstra, *Oude en Nieuwe lezers. Een inleiding in de Methoden van Uitleg van het Oude Testament* (Kampen: KoK, 2002). However, he does not introduce in detail how tools, such as the Stuttgart Electronic Study Bible, are to be utilized in a practical way.

[11]John J. Collins, *The Bible after Babel: Historical Criticism in a Postmodern Age* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005), 11–17, 27–39.

[12]Cf. Michelson, "Syriaca.org," 80. For a foundational discussion on the impact of digital resources on the humanities, see David Hamidović, "An Introduction to Emerging Digital Culture," in *Ancient Worlds in Digital Culture*, ed. Claire Clivaz, Paul Dilley, and David Hamidović, Digital Biblical Studies 1 (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 1–16.

[13]Compare C. Westermann and R. Albertz, "גלה," *TLOT* 315–319 with "גָּלָה, גּוֹלָה," *HALOT 1:183*. See also the discussion on this root in Kenneth J. Turner, *The Death of Deaths in the Death of Israel: Deuteronomy's Theology of Exile* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2010), 34–36.

homographs, but rather treat the meanings "reveal" and "deport" as belonging to the very same verbal root. As a user of Bible software, one would like to investigate the biblical text in order to find out which meanings a Hebrew verb might have under different conditions. The user's query will have to do more than just look up all occurrences of the word. Contextual questions need to be asked, such as, "Who is using the word?" "Who is revealed and what is revealed?" "Who is deported and who is deporting?" Unfortunately, these questions transcend the word boundary that came with the digitization of analog tools. Therefore, a critical investigation of dictionaries is as labor intensive as it was without Bible software.

In earlier versions of Bible software, the user had access to lexical and grammatical interpretation but not to primary data that could facilitate digitally supported independent studies that transcended linguistic word boundaries, taking into account more complex features, such as phrases, clauses, sentences, and text-grammar.

As a consequence, one can see that, with the growing sales of Bible software, many users developed biblical interpretation skills that were increasingly based upon lexical insights and not upon insights of contextual language use (see my earlier "bright" example). Educators had to warn users of Bible software that the "just-one-click-away-word-meaning" would not necessarily help them to understand a particular Bible passage.

These early electronic tools were not able to highlight the pragmatic nature of language beyond simple morphology. The rather subjective art of searching for keywords and rhetorical patterns was not balanced out with the search for language-pragmatic patterns and text-grammatical elements, generating reproducible, inter-subjective information. These language pragmatic patterns and text-grammatical elements are the grammatical features that help "build" a text (e.g., relative pronouns, such as "which," that introduce relative clauses).

In summary, we can say that what Bible software has improved (and changed) are the techniques for *publishing* texts, the techniques of *storing*, and the techniques of *distributing* texts. Both text producers (scribes) and text administrators (librarians) have greatly benefitted from modern electronic tools in their work.[14] However, in comparison, modern electronic tools in the form of Bible software hardly supported the analytic eye of the *scholar* (method). The core business, namely the craft of analyzing ancient texts, was only

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[14]A detailed description of changes that come with the digitization of media, as well as a discussion on promising improvements and critical trends in modern Bible software, can be found in Eep Talstra, "On Scrolls and Screens. Bible Reading between History and Industry," in *Critical Thinking and the Bible in the Age of New Media*, ed. Charles M. Ess (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2004), 291–309. Logos and other Bible software products focus much more on integrating new data than realizing the tool-suggestions of scholars. It seems that the market shares are defined by the quantity of e-resources offered by the different products and not by the quality of analytic tools by which e-resources can be searched linguistically. The market thinks in library terms and not by thinking in methodological terms (scholar's perspective). See also Michelson, "Syriaca.org," 62, 80.

insignificantly affected by electronic media. Referring to digital humanities in general, Van Rompay put it this way: "Admittedly, and impressive number of new texts have been published in the recent decade, but when it comes to the basic tools of language and literature, it is difficult to argue that the present-day student is much better off than her or his fellow students of eighty or one hundred years ago."[15]

Visualization of Inter-subjective Data of Primary Texts

While classical Bible software gave users digital access to the interpretations of different grammars, dictionaries, and commentaries, it did not substantially assist them in systematically investigating the data of primary texts on diverse linguistic levels (morphology, syntax, text-grammar). This kept them from being able to critically engage with traditional interpretations and arrive at new lexical, grammatical, and text-interpretive conclusions.[16]

With the postmodern critique of the historical critical method of textual analysis (*New Philology*),[17] it has become more and more important to analyze texts by focusing on their ability to communicate. While the subjectivity of the interpreter cannot be ignored, any interpretation needs to be grounded in reproducible observations in and about the text. It then is essential that any interpretation be based upon inter-subjective data, such as empiric data that is of binding character for any textual interpreter independent of his applied hermeneutic meta-theory.[18] Christof Hardmeier and Regine Hunziker-Rodewald put it this way:

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[15]Lucas Van Rompay, "Syriac Studies: The Challenges of the Coming Decade," *Hug* 10.1 (2007): 66.

[16]A good example is the verb קדש, "sanctify," in its Hebrew passive form (Exod 29:43; Lev 10:3; 22:32; Num 20:13; Isa 5:16; Ezek 20:41; 28:22, 25; 36:23; 38:16; 39:27). While most Bible translations translate the passive with "to be sanctified" (e.g., "the [sanctuary] will be sanctified by the LORD" [Exod 29:43]), they change their translation strategy at the moment where the LORD is subject of the passive קדש, translating "I (the LORD) vindicate my holiness/manifest my holiness." This inconsistent translation strategy is also reflected in common dictionaries (see "קָדוֹשׁ and קָדֵשׁ," *HALOT* 1066–1067 and "קָדֵשׁ," BDB 872). Unless a distributive syntactical oriented valence research that includes semantic values (e.g., of subjects [e.g., divine vs. non-divine]) is able to justify the different translation strategies of dictionaries and Bible translations, the translation of the passive קדש should be consistent and independent of theological preconceptions. In this way Ezekiel's predication of the LORD with the passive קדש will be recognized as outstanding ("I [i.e., the LORD] will be sanctified through you"). His "anti-traditional" usage of the passive קדש, then, requires exegetical explanations.

[17]See Matthew Restall, "A History of the New Philology and the New Philology in History," *Latin American Research Review* 38.1 (2003): 113–134.

[18]See Oliver Glanz and Christof Hardmeier, "Nachwort: Bibelstudium mit SESB—Grundlagen und Besonderheiten," in *Stuttgarter Elektronische Studienbibel: Handbuch*, ed. Bertram Salzmann (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft; Haarlem: Nederlands Bijbelgenootschap, 2009), 91–97; Talstra, *Oude en Nieuwe Lezers*, 91.

The purpose of a text-empirical exegesis is to be found in a methodically controlled observation and description of the textual track. And therefore, the linguistic signals that direct the communication-pragmatic construction of meaning and the specific operations that guide direct speech as well as narrative texts, have to receive all the attention. The methodical approach is primarily focused on the textual surface, wherein the subtly described specific language-shape operates as a starting point for the re-enactment of the textual meaning construction.[19]

If Bible software is to do more than just speed up *what* the classical exegete does anyway, it should contribute to further improvement of *how* exegetical methodology is done. Here, the linguistic pattern recognition focus of database producers will help to transcend the analog restrictions of the classical workflow. Before such an "update" is possible, however, we need to understand the types of questions and observations the scholar is confronted with. This will help to find out what type of patterns the scholar is looking for and in what way modern databases can assist the scholar with pattern recognition tools. I will therefore try to systematize the type of observations the scholar must make when dealing with the biblical text.

One could group the empirical data the scholar is looking for into the following six categories:

First, texts contain *participants* which are organized by the three-level person-related information-axis: 1st per. (sg. + pl.), 2nd per. (sg. + pl., f. + m.), and 3rd per. (sg. + pl., f. + m.).

Second, texts contain clauses organized by phrases that establish the grammatical relations of *syntax* (subject, object, predicate, etc.).

Third, texts are built by a sequence of clauses which are organized into a *text-grammatical hierarchy* on three different axes: (a) grammatical clause connections, such as subordination (e.g., [i] He went into the house, [ii-subord] because it was cold) or coordination (e.g., [i] He went into the house, [ii-coord] and he prepared supper); (b) textual domains, such as narrative texts or discursive text (e.g., direct speech); and (c) textual relief, such as foreground-background elements (e.g., [i-foreg] He went into the house, [ii-backg] after he had parked the car).

Fourth, texts possess *discursive dynamics*, such as interrogative clauses (How . . . ?), optative clauses (Could you . . .), and instructive clauses (Go . . . !), which reveal the type of relations the textual participants are having. Also, the distribution of textual participants over the different grammatical roles (subject, object, complement [e.g., indirect objects], adjunct) reveals much about their narrative functions.

Fifth, there are also *space- and time-markers in texts*. Texts relate to narrated space and time as markers of textual organization. Watching the spatial and temporal markers is therefore important.

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[19]My translation of Christof Hardmeier and Regine Hunziker-Rodewald, "Texttheorie und Texterschließung: Grundlagen einer empirisch-textpragmatischen Exegese," in *Lesarten Der Bibel: Untersuchungen zu einer Theorie der Exegese des Alten Testaments*, ed. Helmut Utzschneider and Erhard Blum (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2006), 16.

Sixth, *lemma distribution* is another significant aspect of texts. Texts are made up of words, and words receive their specific meanings in specific contexts of language use. The scholar is therefore searching for keywords, phraseological peculiarities, and the distribution of verbal lemmas with their particular valences.

All of the categories mentioned above are of an empirical nature and therefore function as inter-subjective references for any interpretative suggestion. Of course, much more information is needed in order to arrive at concrete interpretations of texts. That additional information is not located in the texts themselves, but comes from comparative primary data or theories about the writers' historical context or their state of knowledge. However, text-external information must correspond to the inter-subjective, text-internal data.

Genesis 20, the story of the patriarch Abraham, his wife Sarah, and king Abimelech, will be used as a case study. This chapter tells us that Abimelech is a gentleman who never would have intended to marry Sarah if he had known that Sarah was already married to Abraham. However, Abraham's fear and bias about the possible immorality of a king who might threaten him with death bring about a complex situation in which all parties suffer tremendous physical and emotional pain. As a textual example, Gen 20 will help to clarify the types of empirical observations the scholar could make and to investigate the extent to which Bible software could improve the process of information gathering, contributing to the interpretative tasks of the scholar.

Participant Data

Regarding the textual participants and syntactical organization of Gen 20, the most frequent actors (i.e., syntactical subjects [explicit nominalization] of predicates) in the narrative sections are Abimelech (six times),[20] Abraham (four times),[21] and God/*Elohim* (four times).[22] Sarah is the fourth dominant participant in the narration. However, she remains passive, as she appears only in the syntactical role of object (two times)[23] and complement (two times).[24] With a database that contains syntactical information (e.g., ETCBC database),[25] this participant-relevant information could be visualized. Several

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[20]Gen 20:2, 4, 8–10, 15. Abimelech also appears once in the object position (v. 17) and once in the complement position (v. 3). In both cases, *Elohim* fulfills the subject role.

[21]Gen 20:1–2, 11, 17. Abraham also appears three times in the complement position: Abimelech calls Abraham (v. 9), Abimelech speaks to Abraham (v. 10), and Abimelech gives gifts to Abraham (v. 14).

[22]Gen 20:2, 6, 13, 17. *Elohim* appears once in the complement position, where Abraham prays to God (v. 17).

[23]Gen 20:2, 14. In both cases, Abimelech is the subject.

[24]Gen 20:2, 16. In both cases, Sarah is marked as an addressee within a direct speech introduction.

[25]The ETCBC database has formerly been known as the Werkgroep Informatica Vrije Universiteit (WIVU) database. With the retirement of Eep Talstra, the WIVU

Bible software products do provide an option for visual filters; however, they are reduced to morphology (word-level information) and not syntactical units in combination with lemmas (e.g., Abraham as a subject). The functionality of the latter should not be a problem for Bible software that uses syntactically encoded databases. The third version of the Stuttgart Electronic Study Bible (using the ETCBC database), Logos 7 Bible Software (using the Andersen-Forbes database), Accordance 12 Bible Software (using the Holmstedt-Abegg or newly implemented ETCBC database), and Paratext 8 Source Language Tool (using the ETCBC database) allow users to mark syntactical units in combination with specific lemmas. However, such marking is only achievable via the formulation of a specific query. The appendix contains screenshots of the four discussed Bible software products. Each of them shows how the highlighting of Abraham in subject position is accomplished (**screenshots 1–3**, see appendix).

In order to avoid a series of single queries, I envision a toolbox that allows the user to mark all explicit subjects by color coding identical lemmas (e.g., Abraham [red]; Abimelech [blue]). Since references to subjects are not only established by nominalizations, the toolbox should also allow for colored marking of other forms of participant-references. With modern databases, participant-tracking features could be offered that would suggest the participant referenced by pronominalization (e.g., "he" in reference to Abraham) and finite verbs.[26] Herewith, participants could be identified visually when they are addressed by other grammatical means appart from nominalization (i.e., personal pronouns, demonstrative pronouns, etc.). **Table 1** shows the text-grammatical hierarchy of Gen 20:1–5 produced by the program "syn-04types." This program is part of the ETCBC infrastructure and calculates

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has been renamed as the Eep Talstra Centre of Bible and Computer (ETCBC). The ETCBC will continue to investigate the linguistic value of the Hebrew Bible and how it cross-references textual interpretation. The database has been implemented on different commercial and non-commercial platforms. Accordance Bible Software has offered the ETCBC database since 2016 as one of their resources. Logos Bible Software was the earliest adopter of the database, but has not updated it for almost ten years, thus making it of little use. The latest noncommercial implementation (and perhaps, for the average user, the most intuitive) can be found in the Source Language Tool of Paratext 8. Since 2014, the ETCBC database is readily available to the public at https://shebanq.ancient-data.org/. While SHEBANQ covers the need of researchers, the ETCBC has been successfully utilized on the Bible Online Learner, covering the needs of language instructors and learners. See "What Is Bible Online Learner?," *Bible Online Learner*, n.d., https://bibleol.3bmoodle.dk/.

[26]Within the present funded (Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research) "Data and Tradition" research project (see "Data and Tradition. The Hebrew Bible as a linguistic corpus and as a literary composition," *Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research*, 2018, https://www.nwo.nl/en/research-and-results/research-projects/i/54/5954.html), the ETCBC research group is developing a computer-assisted, participant-tracking tool. This will enrich the database with an additional layer that contains information about the grammatically possible references to textual participants by means of pronominalization and verbal forms.

each clause's dependent mother clause.[27] The following English example illustrates the procedure:

Table 1. English Text-grammatical Hierarchy Example

Sequence of Clause	Clause Dependencies	Text-grammatical Hierarchy
Cl-1: Tom woke up.	Cl-1 uses an imperfect tense and can therefore be classified as belonging to a narrative text (N).	Cl-1 = N Tom woke up.
Cl-2: And he went to the shower.	Cl-2 is dependent on Cl-1 as the identity of "he" depends on the participant "Tom" in cl-1.	Cl-1=N And he went to the shower.
Cl-3: And he dressed up.	Cl-3 is parallel to Cl-2 as it uses the same clause type and is in the same way dependent on Cl-1.	Cl-1=N And he dressed up.
Cl-4: To go to school.	Cl-4 is dependent on Cl-3 as it is an infinitive clause that gives the purpose to the action described in Cl-3.	Cl-1=N To go to school.
Cl-5: And he had breakfast.	Cl-5 is dependent parallel to Cl-3 as it uses the same clause type and is in the same way dependent on Cl-1.	Cl-1=N And he had breakfast.

The text-grammatical hierarchy in **figure 1** (below) shows the verse number in the first column (from right to left), the text-type (N=narrative, Q=quotation) in the second column, and the succession of clauses (CA1, CA2, etc.)[28] in the third column.

A possible visualization of the participants, Abimelech (dark grey) and Abraham (light grey), is presented in **figure 1**. The most important codes that will be used in the next paragraphs are the following: <Su> for subject, <Ob> for object, <Pr> for predicate, <Co> for complement, <PC> for predicate complement, <Is> for interjection, and <Aj> for adjunct.

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[27]For a description of the program and information about the integration of syn04types within the ETCBC program environment, see Cody Kingham, "ETCBC Data Creation," *ETCBC*, 3 April 2018, http://www.etcbc.nl/datacreation/.

[28]To be exact, each line does not show a clause, but a clause atom. In most cases, a clause atom is identical to a clause. However, the concept of clause atoms (CA) is necessary in order to properly describe the phenomenon of interrupted clauses (e.g., [CA1: Steve] [CA2: who lives in Germany] [CA3: was born in the USA]). The complex sentence in the example consists of two clauses. The first clause consists of CA1 and CA3. The second clause consists of CA2. The first clause is interrupted by the second clause, splitting the first clause into CA1 and CA3.

[<Lo> ארצה הנגב] [<Su> אברהם] [<Co> משם] [<Pr> ויסע] [<Cj> ו]   CA 1 N   GEN20,01
From there Abraham journeyed toward the region of the Negeb.

[<Co> בין קדש ובין שור] [<Pr> יישב] [<Cj> ו]   CA 2 N   GEN20,01
And he settled between Kadesh and Shur.

[<Co> בגרר] [<Pr> ויגר] [<Cj> ו]   CA 3 N   GEN20,01
And he dwelled in Gerar.

[<Co><ap> אל שרה / אשתו] [<Su> אברהם] [<Pr> ויאמר] [<Cj> ו]   CA 4 N   GEN20,02
And Abraham said to his wife.

=====
[<Su> הוא] [<PC> אחתי]   CA 5 NQ   GEN20,02
My sister is she.

=====
[<Su><ap> אבימלך / מלד גרר] [<Pr> וישלח] [<Cj> ו]   CA 6 N   GEN20,02
And Abimelech, king of Gerar, sent out.

[<Ob> את שרה] [<Pr> ויקח] [<Cj> ו]   CA 7 N   GEN20,02
And he took Sarah.

[<Aj> בחלום הלילה] [<Co> אל אבימלך] [<Su> אלהים] [<Pr> ויבא] [<Cj> ו]   CA 8 N   GEN20,03
And God came to Abimelech in a dream at night.

[<Co> לו] [<Pr> ויאמר] [<Cj> ו]   CA 9 N   GEN20,03
And he spoke to him.

=====
[<Aj> על האשה] [<PC> מת] [<Is> הנך]   CA10 NQ   GEN20,03
Behold, you will die becuase of the woman,

[<Pr> לקחת] [<Re> אשר]   CA11 NQ   GEN20,03
which you took.

[<PC> בעלת בעל] [<Su> הוא] [<Cj> ו]   CA12 NQ   GEN20,03
And she is a man's wife.

=====
[<Co> אליה] [<Pr> קרב] [<Ng> לא] [<Su> אבימלך] [<Cj> ו]   CA13 N   GEN20,04
And Abimelech had not approached her.

[<Pr> ויאמר] [<Cj> ו]   CA14 N   GEN20,04
And he spoke.

=====
[<Vo> אדני]   CA15 NQ   GEN20,04
My Lord,

[<Pr> תהרג] [<Ob> גוי גם צדיק] [<Qu> ה]   CA16 NQ   GEN20,04
Will you kill also an innocent nation?

[<Co> לי?] [<Pr> אמר] [<Su> הוא] [<Ng> לא] [<Qu> ה]   CA17 NQ   GEN20,05
Did he not say to me?:

=====
[<Su> הוא] [<PC> אחתי]   CA18 NQQ   GEN20,05
My sister is she.

=====
[<Su> היא גם הוא] [<Pr> אמרה] [<Cj> ו]   CA19 NQ   GEN20,05
And she also said:

=====
[<Su> הוא] [<PC> אחי]   CA20 NQQ   GEN20,05
He is my brother.

=====
[<Aj> נקם לבבי ובנקין כפי] [<Pr> עשיתי] [<Ob> זאת]   CA21 NQ   GEN20,05
In the the integrity of my heart and the innocence of my hand I have done this.

Figure 1. Text-grammatical Hierarchy of Genesis 20:1–5, Highlighting the Participants Abraham and Abimelech.

Besides tracking participants in a way that takes nominalization (e.g., "Abraham"), pronominalization (e.g., "he"), and suffixation into account, it is important for the discourse analysis to visualize the distribution of participants between the 1st per., 2nd per., and 3rd per. related markers. After the participant tracking feature is built into a database, it should not be a problem to visualize participants according to their distribution over person-related markers. In the case of Gen 20, it will help to see the contrast of Abraham's 1st per. (dark grey) and Abimelech's 1st per. distribution (light grey) in the textual hierarchy of the ETCBC database (see **fig. 2**). While Abimelech has five speeches with eight self-references, Abraham's two speeches contain a total of twelve self-references. This inter-subjective data can be used to make a strong argument for an interpretation that contends that Abraham's attitude and argumentation is self-centered.

```
[ו <Cj>] [יסע <Pr>] [משם <Co>] [אברהם <Su>] [ארצה הנגב <Lo>]    |     CA 1 N    GEN20,01
                        [ו <Cj>] [ישב <Pr>] [בין קדש ובין שור <Co>]    |     CA 2 N    GEN20,01
                                    [ו <Cj>] [יגר <Pr>] [בגרר <Co>]    |     CA 3 N    GEN20,01
[ו <Cj>] [יאמר <Pr>] [אברהם <Su>] [אל שרה / אשתו <Co>]    <ap><Co>    |     CA 4 N    GEN20,02
=================================================================+|    =====
                            [אחתי <PC>] [הוא <Su>] ||    CA 5 NQ   GEN20,02
                                    my sister...
=================================================================+|    =====

                                        [...]

                        [ו <Cj>] [יאמר <Pr>] |  |    CA14 N    GEN20,04
==========================================================+|  |  |    =====
                                    [אדני <Vo>] ||  |  |    CA15 NQ   GEN20,04
        [ה <Qu>] [גוי גם צדיק <Ob>] [תהרג <Pr>] |  ||  |  |    CA16 NQ   GEN20,04
    [ה <Qu>] [לא <Ng>] [הוא <Su>] [אמר <Pr>] [לי <Co>] ||  |  |    CA17 NQ   GEN20,05
...to me
==========================================================+|  |  ||  |  |    =====
                            [אחתי <PC>] [הוא <Su>] ||  |  ||  |  |    CA18 NQQ  GEN20,05
=====================================================+|  |  ||  |  |    =====
                    [ו <Cj>] [היא גם הוא <Su>] [אמרה <Pr>] ||  |  ||  |  |    CA19 NQ   GEN20,05
=====================================================+|  |  ||  |  |    =====
                            [אחי <PC>] [הוא <Su>] ||  |  ||  |  |    CA20 NQQ  GEN20,05
=====================================================+|  |  ||  |  |    =====
[בתם לבב / ובנקין כפי <Aj>] [עשיתי <Pr>] [זאת <Ob>] ||  |  |    CA21 NQ   GEN20,05
...my heart ... my hand ... I did...
==========================================================+|  |  |    =====

                                        [...]

                    [ו <Cj>] [יאמר <Pr>] [לו <Co>] |  |    CA43 N    GEN20,09
==================================================+|  |    =====
                    [מה <Qo>] [עשית <Pr>] [לנו <Co>] ||  |    CA44 NQ   GEN20,09
        [ו <Cj>] [מה <Qo>] [חטאתי <Pr>] [לך <Co>] ||  |    CA45 NQ   GEN20,09
...I did sin...
[כי <Cj>] [הבאת <Pr>] [עלי / ועל ממלכתי <Co>] [חטאה גדלה <Ob>] ||  |    CA46 NQ   GEN20,09
...over me ... over my kingdom...
                            [מעשים <Ob>] ||  |    CA47 NQ   GEN20,09
            [אשר <Re>] [לא <Ng>] [יעשו <Pr>] ||  |    CA48 NQ   GEN20,09
            [עשית <Pr>] [עמדי <Co>] ||  |    CA49 NQ   GEN20,09
...to me
==================================================+|  |    =====

                                        [...]

                [ו <Cj>] [יאמר <Pr>] [אברהם <Su>] |  |    CA53 N    GEN20,11
=====================================================+|    =====
                            [כי <Cj>] [אמרתי <Pr>] ||    CA54 NQ   GEN20,11
...I said
=====================================================+|    =====
    [רק <Mo>] [אין <Ng>] [יראת אלהים <Su>] [במקום הזה <PC>] ||  ||    CA55 NQQ  GEN20,11
            [ו <Cj>] [הרגוני <PO>] [על דבר אשתי <Aj>] ||  ||    CA56 NQQ  GEN20,11
...kill me ... my wife...
=====================================================+|  ||    =====
[ו <Cj>] [גם אמנה <Mo>] [אחתי / בת אבי <PC><ap>] [הוא <Su>] ||  ||    CA57 NQ   GEN20,12
...my sister ... my father...
        [אך <Mo>] [לא <Ng>] [בת אמי <PC>] |  |    ||    CA58 NQ   GEN20,12
...my mother...
------------------------------------------------- +    ||    -----
            [ו <Cj>] [תהי <Pr>] [לי <Co>] [לאשה <PC>] |    ||    CA59 NQN  GEN20,12
...for me...
                    [ו <Cj>] [יהי <Pr>] |    ||    CA60 NQN  GEN20,13
[כאשר <Cj>] [התעו <Pr>] [אתי <Ob>] [אלהים <Su>] [מבית אבי <Co>] ||    CA61 NQN  GEN20,13
...me ... my father...
            [ו <Cj>] [אמר <Pr>] [לה <Co>] |    ||    CA62 NQN  GEN20,13
...I said...
=====================================================+|  ||    =====
                    [זה <Su>] [חסדך <PC>] |    ||    CA63 NQNQ GEN20,13
        [אשר <Re>] [תעשי <Pr>] [עמדי <Co>] |    ||    CA64 NQNQ GEN20,13
...me...
                        [אל כל המקום <Lo>] |    ||    CA65 NQNQ GEN20,13
            [אשר <Re>] [נבוא <Pr>] [שמה <Lo>] |    ||    CA66 NQNQ GEN20,13
                        [אמרי <Pr>] [לי <Co>] |    ||    CA67 NQNQ GEN20,13
...to me
=====================================================+|  ||    =====
                            [אחי <PC>] [הוא <Su>] |    ||    CA68 NQNQQ GEN20,13
=====================================================+|    =====

                                        [...]

                    [ו <Cj>] [לשרה <Co>] [אמר <Pr>] |    CA75 N    GEN20,16
=====================================================+|    =====
    [הנה <Ij>] [נתתי <Pr>] [אלף כסף <Ob>] [לאחיך <Co>] ||    CA76 NQ   GEN20,16
...I give...
[הנה <Ij>] [הוא <Su>] [לך <Co>] [כסות עינים <PC>] [לכל <Co>] ||    CA77 NQ   GEN20,16
                        [אשר <Re>] [אתך <PC>] |    ||    CA78 NQ   GEN20,16
                    [ו <Cj>] [את כל <Ob>] ||    CA79 NQ   GEN20,16
                    [ו <Cj>] [נכחת <Pr>] ||    CA80 NQ   GEN20,16
=====================================================+|    =====
    [ו <Cj>] [יתפלל <Pr>] [אברהם <Su>] [אל האלהים <Co>]    CA81 N    GEN20,17
```

Figure 2. Textual Hierarchy of Genesis 20:1–18 by the ETCBC Database.

Text-grammatical Hierarchy

Once a text-grammatical hierarchy is available, the next step would be to analyze how our specific text relates to general patterns of language pragmatics. Thus, the questions that become important concern the way in which Hebrew narrative texts are normally constructed and the comparison of that to our selected passage. As a result, a pattern-sensitive Bible software should be able to inform the user that the discourse progression in verses 9–11 is unusual (see **fig. 3**).

[<Co> לאברהם] [<Su> אבימלך] [<Pr> ויקרא] [<Cj> ו]   CA42 N   GEN20,09
And Abimelech shouted to Abraham.

[<Co> לו] [<Pr> ויאמר] [<Cj> ו]   CA43 N   GEN20,09
And he spoke to him.

[<Co> לנו] [<Pr> עשית] [<Qo> מה] || | CA44 NQ   GEN20,09
What did you do to us?

[<Co> לך] [<Pr> חטאתי] [<Qo> מה] [<Cj> ו] | || | CA45 NQ   GEN20,09
And what did I sin against you,

[<Ob> חטאה גדלה] [<Co> עלי ועל ממלכתי] [<Pr> הבאת] [<Cj> כי] | || | CA46 NQ   GEN20,09
so that you brought upon me and upon my kingdom such great evil?

[<Ob> מעשים] || | CA47 NQ   GEN20,09
Things(actions),

[<Pr> יעשו] [<Ng> לא] [<Re> אשר] | || | CA48 NQ   GEN20,09
which are not to be done,

[<Co> עמדי] [<Pr> עשית] || | CA49 NQ   GEN20,09
you have done with me.

[<Co> אל אברהם] [<Su> אבימלך] [<Pr> ויאמר] [<Cj> ו]   CA50 N   GEN20,10
And Abimelech spoke to Abraham.

[<Pr> ראית] [<Qo> מה] || CA51 NQ   GEN20,10
What did you see,

[<Ob> את הדבר הזה] [<Pr> עשית] [<Cj> כי] || CA52 NQ   GEN20,10
that you did this thing?

[<Su> אברהם] [<Pr> ויאמר] [<Cj> ו]   CA53 N   GEN20,11
And Abraham spoke.

[<Pr> אמרתי] [<Cj> כי] || || CA54 NQ   GEN20,11
Because I said.

[<PC> במקום הזה] [<Su> יראת אלהים] [<Ng> אין] [<Mo> רק] || || CA55 NQQ   GEN20,11
Certainly there is not fear of God in this place.

[<Aj> על דבר אשתי] [<PO> הרגוני] [<Cj> ו] || || CA56 NQQ   GEN20,11

Figure 3. Discourse Progression in Genesis 20:9–11.

A direct speech introduction for Abimelech is in CA43 (וַיֹּאמֶר לוֹ, "and he said to him"), followed by his direct speech (CA44–49). Following the pragmatic norms of constructing biblical Hebrew discourse, the next וַיֹּאמֶר, "and he said," would introduce Abraham's answer to Abimelech's speech. However, this is not the case. Surprisingly, CA50 introduces anew a direct speech of Abimelech. It is only in verse 11 that Abraham responds to Abimelech. This unusual construction has been recognized by different scholars. Robert Alter infers from this phenomenon that, after verse 9, Abraham keeps silent, therefore, Abimelech continues to question Abraham, using the words מֶה, "what" (v. 9), and מֶה, "what" (v. 10).[29] These kinds of constructions that deviate from the general rule of language pragmatics should be recognized by computer-

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[29]"The repetition of the formula for introducing direct speech, with no intervening response from Abraham, is pointedly expressive. Abimelech vehemently castigates Abraham (with good reason), and Abraham stands silent, not knowing what to say. And so Abimelech repeats his upbraiding, in shorter form (v10)." See Robert Alter, *Genesis: Translation and Commentary* (New York: Norton, 1996), 94.

assisted programs of analysis. If a database that contains information about the standard rules of language pragmatics were incorporated into a Bible software, it could allow the user to see those cases with visualization features. This could be done by syntactical queries that search for rare patterns. An example of such a query is constructed with the ETCBC database on the SHEBANQ web service. Part of the query for Gen 20:9–11 is shown below:[30]

```
select all objects where
        [[clause domain = "N"
                [phrase function = Pred
                        [word
                                [word lex = "DBR["]
                                OR
                                [word lex = ">MR["]
                                OR
                                [word lex = "QR>["]
                        ]
                ]
                ..
                [phrase FOCUS function = Subj
                        [word AS samesubject]
                ]
                ..
                [phrase FOCUS function = Cmpl
                        [word AS samecomplement]
                ]
        ]
        [clause domain = "N"]* {0-1}
        [clause domain = "Q"]* {1-50}
        [clause domain = "N"
                [phrase function = Pred
                        [word
                                [word lex = "DBR["]
                                OR
                                [word lex = ">MR["]
                                OR
                                [word lex = "QR>["]
                        ]
                ]
                ..
                [phrase FOCUS function = Subj
                        [word lex = samesubject.lex]
                ]
                ..
                [phrase FOCUS function = Cmpl
                        [word lex = samecomplement.lex]
                ]
        ]]
```

---

[30]The query syntax and query results can be viewed at https://shebanq.ancient-data.org/hebrew/query?version=2017&id=491.

With this type of intuitive Bible software, the scholar cannot only be assisted in his or her analysis of words and morphological patterns but also in his or her analysis of actual language usage. The computer's ability to detect patterns on higher linguistic levels would help to control the user's interpretative process and to make him or her aware of textual peculiarities that only a well experienced scholar might notice.

Discursive Dynamics

When analyzing patterns of argumentation within a text, certain discursive dynamics need to be recognized. Though argumentation is sometimes subtle, mostly, it is anchored in empiric, linguistic data. Interrogative pronouns, optative particles, and other particles that draw attention (e.g., הִנֵּה, "behold") play a crucial role in the construction of the argumentative dynamics of a text. For example, **figure 4** shows how, by means of interrogation, a specific pattern is created between Abimelech and Abraham. CA44–46 reveals a pattern of movement in the argumentation from מָה, "what," to כִּי, "that," as does CA51–52. Detecting this pattern helps the reader to become aware of the tense emotional atmosphere in the text.


```
===============================================================+|  |    =====
                    [<Co> לנו] [<Pr> עשית] [<Qo> מה] ||  |   CA44 NQ   GEN20,09
                                    What did you do to us?
           [<Co> לך] [<Pr> חטאתי] [<Qo> מה] [<Cj> ו] |  |  ||  |   CA45 NQ   GEN20,09
                              And what did I sin against you,
 [<Ob> חטאה גדלה] [<Co> עלי ועל ממלכתי] [<Pr> הבאת] [<Cj> כי] |  ||  |   CA46 NQ   GEN20,09
     so that you brought upon me and upon my kingdom such great evil?
                                        [<Ob> מעשים] ||  |   CA47 NQ   GEN20,09
                                        Things (actions),
            [<Pr> יעשו] [<Ng> לא] [<Re> אשר] |  ||  |   CA48 NQ   GEN20,09
                                 which are not to be done,
                        [<Co> עמדי] [<Pr> עשית] ||  |   CA49 NQ   GEN20,09
                              you have done with me.
===============================================================+|  |    =====
        [<Co> אל אברהם] [<Su> אבימלך] [<Pr> יאמר] [<Cj> ו] |  |   CA50 N    GEN20,10
                          And Abimelech spoke to Abraham.
===============================================================+|  |    =====
                              [<Qo> מה] [<Pr> ראית] ||  |   CA51 NQ   GEN20,10
                                    What did you see,
               [<Ob> את הדבר הזה] [<Pr> עשית] [<Cj> כי] ||  |   CA52 NQ   GEN20,10
                              that you did this thing?
===============================================================+|  |    =====
```

Figure 4. Significant Particles in Genesis 20:9–10.

Additionally, the הִנֵּה, "behold," interjections trigger attention. They serve a similar function as they give a specific spin to the dynamics of Abimelech's speech to Sarah (see **fig. 5**). By means of הִנֵּה, the speaker of this passage tries to directly influence the participant who is being addressed.


```
==============================================================+|  |    =====
                   [<Pr> אמר] [<Co> לשרה] [<Cj> ו] |  |   CA75 N    GEN20,16
                          And to Sarah he said.
==============================================================+|  |    =====
   [<Co> לאחיך] [<Pr> נתתי] [<Ob> אלף כסף] [<Ij> הנה] ||  |   CA76 NQ   GEN20,16
       Behold, I have given your brother a thousand pieces of silver.
 [<Co> לכל] [<PC> כסות עינים] [<Su> הוא] [<Ij> הנה] ||  |   CA77 NQ   GEN20,16
Behold, it shall function for you as a covering of the eyes for all,
               [<Re> אשר] [<PC> אתך] ||  |   CA78 NQ   GEN20,16
                          who are with you
                   [<Ob> את כל] [<Cj> ו] ||  |   CA79 NQ   GEN20,16
                              and all
                [<Pr> נכחת] [<Cj> ו] ||  |   CA80 NQ   GEN20,16
                     And you are vindicated.
==============================================================+|  |    =====
```

Figure 5. Significant Interjections in Genesis 20:16.

Keeping in mind the pattern recognition tools of database producers, modern Bible software could profit not only from making lexical marking available to the user but also from visualization patterns found on the diverse linguistic levels. In addition, features that allow the user to visualize those textual markers that are responsible for the dialogical atmosphere (e.g., הִנֵּה, "behold!"; לוּלֵי, "surely!"; אֲהָהּ, "alas!"; interrogations; etc.) and argumentative strategy (e.g., אִם, "if"; כִּי, "because"; לָכֵן, "therefore") could greatly support the scholar's work. While the data and tools would be avaliable generally, the user should be allowed to manipulate and create his or her own list of markers, allowing for independence from a fixed set of markers, along with any potential theoretical assumptions that are attached to them. Database architecture that distinguishes between the description of form and the interpretation of function are foundational for future research. In this way, the theoretical assumptions that are heavily present in the interpretation of linguistic functions would not have to be adopted by the researcher who might prefer a different linguistic model. However, the availability of a formal data description would allow the researcher to test theories (i.e., data interpretations) based upon it. The ETCBC database has been developed with just such a distinction in mind and therefore has been able to serve as a research tool for numerous scholars who represent different linguistic approaches.[31]

Space and Time Markers

Space and time markers are also important because of their use in identifying the demarcation of textual units. Both of these kinds of markers serve to inform the reader when a new space and time contribute to the installation of a new scene in the narration. In verse 1, the clause וַיִּסַּע מִשָּׁם אַבְרָהָם, "from *there* Abraham journeyed," makes it clear that a new chapter in the grand narration of Genesis is opened (see **fig. 6**).

```
[<Lo> ארצה הנגב] [<Su> אברהם] [<Co> משם] [<Pr> יסע] [<Cj> ו]        CA 1 N        GEN20,01
From there Abraham journeyed toward the region of the Negeb.
                      [<Co> בין קדש ובין שור] [<Pr> ישב] [<Cj> ו] |  CA 2 N        GEN20,01
                      And he settled between Kadesh and Shur.
                               [<Co> בגרר] [<Pr> יגר] [<Cj> ו] |     CA 3 N        GEN20,01
                               And he dwelled in Gerar.
[<Co><ap> אל שרה / אשתו] [<Su> אברהם] [<Pr> יאמר] [<Cj> ו] |          CA 4 N        GEN20,02
                               And Abraham said to his wife.
```

Figure 6. Genesis 20:1 Introducing a New Chapter of the Grand Narration in Genesis.

A collection of typical space (e.g., שָׁם, "there"; פֹּה, "here"; city names; and locatives) and time (e.g., בֹּקֶר, "morning"; עֶרֶב, "evening"; עַתָּה, "now"; and עַד,

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[31]See a detailed discussion of the proposed database model in Oliver Glanz, *Understanding Participant-Reference Shifts in the Book of Jeremiah: A Study of Exegetical Method and Its Consequences for the Interpretation of Referential Incoherence*, SSN 60 (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 111–120. For a technical description see Crist-Jan Doedens, *Text Databases: One Database Model and Several Retrieval Languages,* Language and Computers (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1994).

"until") markers should be made available, allowing the scholar to automatically visualize these elements. In this way, the user is invited to look beyond the dictionary meaning of specific words and see them functioning on the level of discourse. Again, these lists of markers should be able to be manipulated by the user. An important role should be played by Reinier de Blois's (UBS) *Semantic Dictionary of Biblical Hebrew* (SDBH).[32] Plans have been made to integrate the SDBH into the ETCBC database. A first realization of this can be seen in the Source Language Tool of Paratext 8. Such an integration would also help the user both to understand better and explore further the interrelation between semantics and grammar in the context of valence.[33]

Lemma Distribution and Valence

While standard Bible software programs offer the user lexical information for Hebrew and Greek texts, the information is usually semantic and etymological. However, in order to come to grips with a text and its peculiarities, it is important to go beyond the lemma level and reach the phrase level, which reveals how concrete lemmas are actually used in a syntactic surrounding. Therefore, the scholar's interest is in finding out whether a specific formulation of a particular lemma within a particular syntactic surrounding is typical or exceptional. For the scholar to benefit from such insights, he or she would need to have access to a database that contains valence information (e.g., ETCBC database). **Figure 7** showcases the interpretative importance of valence information in Gen 20:2.

```
[<Su><ap> גרר מלך / אבימלך] [<Pr> ישלח] [<Cj> ו]    CA 6 N    GEN20,02
          And Abimelech, king of Gerar, sent out.
         [<Ob> שרה את] [<Pr> יקח] [<Cj> ו]    |    |    CA 7 N    GEN20,02
                    And he took Sarah.
```

Figure 7. Importance of Valence in Genesis 20:2.

Usually, the reader would rushover verse 2 without using the dictionary, since לקח, "take," belongs to the basic five hundred Hebrew words that are learned in introductory Hebrew classes. Therefore, chances are high that he or she would overlook the fact that there is something significant to be observed in the construction לקח + <Ob>, with the object being a female proper name. The most dominant valence pattern consists of the construction לקח + <Ob> and should be translated as "to take X." However, an inventory of the different valence patterns clarifies that when the <Ob> contains a proper female name, the construction is expanded by the complement לְ-אִשָּׁה, "as woman/wife,"

[32]Reinier de Blois, *Semantic Dictionary of Biblical Hebrew*, 4 February 2012, http://www.sdbh.org/.

[33]See a discussion of the issue in Dyk, Glanz, and Oosting, "Analysing Valence Patterns," and Glanz, Oosting, and Dyk, "Valence Patterns".

rendering the meaning "to take X as wife = to marry X".[34] The construction לקח + <Ob> (with female proper name) + לְ-אִשָּׁה <Co>, then, is the usual formulation used for describing the act of marrying. In the case of Gen 20:2, we do not find the construction we would expect, as the <Ob> contains a female proper name "Sarah." Due to this observation, one would need to discuss whether the text wants to indicate that Abimelech took Sarah by treating her as if she was an object without rights. At this point, the imagination of the reader has no limits. Did Abimelech rape her? Did he make a maidservant out of her? Or did he "take" her in order to marry her? But if that was the case, why is the construction not rendered in a mores straightforward way? The fact is that the text leaves it open to the reader to imagine what Abimelech intended to do with Sarah. At the end of the story, it seems clear that Abimelech married Sarah and had not touched her yet. Could it be that the text wants the reader to imitate the suspicion that Abraham had in thinking that Abimelech was not a God-fearing person? Whatever the answers are, the text contains underdetermined data that triggers exegetical questions that deserve attention.

If a modern Bible software program wants to assist the scholar in generating inter-subjective, empirical data of a given text that transcend the word

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[34]When executed with SHEBANQ, a query that looks for clauses containing לקח in predicate function (as finite verb, participle, or infinite construction) along with a single female proper name that is functioning as the object will result in fifteen cases (Gen 20:2; 24:61, 67; 25:20; 28:9; 34:26; Exod 6:20, 23; 18:2; 1 Sam 25:43; 1 Kgs 4:15; 16:31; Hos 1:3; Ruth 4:13; 2 Chr 11:18). See https://shebanq.ancient-data.org/hebrew/query?version=2017&id=493; https://shebanq.ancient-data.org/hebrew/query?version=2017&id=494. Of those fifteen cases, ten cases express the idea of marrying (Gen 24:67; 25:20; 28:9; Exod 6:20, 23; 1 Sam 25:43; 1 Kgs 4:15; 16:31; Ruth 4:13; 2 Chr 11:18). Of those ten cases, six consist of the construction לקח + <Ob> (female proper name) + לְ-אִשָּׁה (Gen 25:20; 28:9; Exod 6:20, 23; 1 Sam 25:43; 1Kgs 4:15). More cases could be listed if one takes into account those cases where the preposition לְ is omitted in the complementary אִשָּׁה phrase (e.g., 1 Kgs 16:31). In two of the four remaining cases (1 Kgs 16:31; 2 Chr 11:18), we find a double object construction in which the אִשָּׁה object functions like the לְ-אִשָּׁה as indirect object. This could therefore be considered as functionally identical. The remaining two cases (Gen 24:67; Ruth 4:13) have the construction לקח + <Ob> (female proper name). The לְ-אִשָּׁה complement is missing. However, directly after the לקח clause, a clause follows that contains the construction היה + Supp (functioning as complement) + לְ-אִשָּׁה (functioning as indirect object). Thus, all ten cases present or represent the valence pattern לקח + <Ob> (female proper name) + לְ-אִשָּׁה <Co> (to take X as wife = to marry X).

Finally, five cases remain which do not contain לְ-אִשָּׁה or any other אִשָּׁה construction (Gen 20:2; 24:61; 34:26; Exod 18:2; Hos 1:3). Of those cases three (Gen 24:61; 34:26; Exod 18:2) clearly do not bear the meaning of marriage. The servant of Abraham brings Rebekah to Isaac (Gen 24:61). Dinah is rescued from her brothers, that is they took her from Sichem (Gen 34:26). Jethro brings Zipporah to Moses (Exod 18:2). The two remaining cases are dubious: Gen 20:2 (the case discussed in this article) and Hos 1:3. Going through the narration of Gen 20, the reader finally understands that Abimelech did marry/intended to marry Sarah. A similar reading experience happens in Hosea where the reader is first left uncertain about Hosea's plans with Gomer, the prostitute, but finally understands that he really did marry Gomer.

boundary, a database would have to be implemented by which it is made possible for the reader to explicate relevant valence information (e.g., while hovering over a phrase with his or her cursor). In Gen 20:2, the program could inform the reader that, in most cases where לקח relates to an <Ob> that contains a female proper name, a <Co> in the form of לְ-אִשָּׁה is present.

Concrete Suggestions

We have seen how the eye of the exegete could receive much more support from modern Bible software if software vendors and their databases would try to give more attention to the methodological needs of biblical scholars. Much improvement has been achieved for the work of the librarian and scribe; however, it is time to enter the specific realm of the scholar who does not produce or store texts, but studies them.

Modern databases and Bible software could help to draw more attention to the inter-subjective empirical data of texts by providing excellent pattern recognition tools for the user. Creating visual colored codes for textual coherence, incoherence, and irregularity would help set boundaries for the subjective selection of data that fits one's own hermeneutic bias. Modern Bible software would then allow the scholar to focus much more on reproducible data observation and much less on only accessing textual interpretations in commentaries, grammars, and lexica. What we need would be an improvement on two levels: (1) the database and (2) the graphical user interface. In the following paragraphs, I will try to summarize my vision for future computer-assisted tools (e.g., Bible software and web-based services) that give attention to the exegetical processes activated when synchronic text analysis is performed.

Richer Databases

Regarding database content, the scholar would be greatly assisted if, in addition to morphological and lexical information, the following information was available:[35] (1) *syntactical information*: a text that is fully analyzed on the level of its grammatical relations (e.g., subject, predication, etc.);[36] (2) *valence information*: a text that contains a full analysis of verbal valence (e.g., core, complement [i.e., object, indirect object, etc.]); (3) *semantic roles/lexical sets*: a text that codes lemmas in such a way that they are grouped in lexical sets (e.g., proper person names, cardinals, verbs of moving, etc.) and semantic roles (e.g., animate or inanimate);[37] and (4) *text-grammatical information*:

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[35]The categories "grammatical relation," "valence," and "semantic roles" are taken from C. J. Sikkel, "Valency in the WIVU Database (Version 1.7)" (research paper, Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, 2010), 9–12.

[36]The latest version of Accordance (12.2.4.0) has integrated the ETCBC database in an excellent way. Grammatical relations on the clause level are well displayed and offer the user comprehensible vitalizations. A very similar strategy is followed by the Source Language Tool of Paratext 8.

[37]Again, the lists of lexical sets and semantic roles should be modifiable by the user (without changing the database).

displaying the text-grammatical hierarchy with its textual domains (narrative-discursive), its textual reliefs (foreground-background) and its formal relations (coordination-subordination).

It is, however, not just a matter of product (i.e., *what* kind of data needs to be added) but also and foremost a matter of production (i.e., *how* to add the requested data). The process of adding data related to syntax, valence, semantics, and text-grammar must follow a method that safeguards the consistency of the added analyses and thus guarantees the status of the data as inter-subjective and empirical.[38] The only way to guarantee a high level of consistency of the data is by utilizing the computer as a tool that assists and controls the human interpretation by resting on pattern recognition. Deep reflection about the database architecture would be required in order to uprade the computer from being simply a digital storage place to being an integral part of the production of data. A database model that follows a bottom-up approach is to be preferred. Such an approach deduces higher linguistic-level interpretations from the computer-assisted analysis of lower linguistic levels, which provides greater consistency of those higher linguistic-level interpretations.[39] This is of great importance because the added information can only become valuable for in-depth analyses of biblical texts if a high level of consistency can be guaranteed.[40]

Intelligent Graphical User Interfaces (GUI)

Since databases are available for the scholar, intelligent graphical user interfaces (GUI) and visualization options are needed. In the case of the ETCBC database, its implementation in present Bible software (particularly Logos 7) has been unfortunate.[41] A better integration would have allowed for more options of data-retrieval and visualizations (e.g., textual hierarchies). Because of market-strategic considerations of Bible software companies, not enough time was invested in developing good tools that allow the scholar to access relevant text-information that goes beyond morphology and basic syntax. This is particularly true for the latest versions of Logos Bible Software (versions 5, 6, and 7), which appear to no longer invest in tools that seek to serve the research-oriented user base (biblical scholars). Logos also made no commitments to update its linguistics databases for scholars in the next version (version 8).[42]

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[38]See Glanz and Hardmeier, "Nachwort," 91–97.

[39]See Doedens, *Text Databases*, 85–105. See also Kingham, "ETCBC Data Creation."

[40]See n31.

[41]However, the implementation done in Accordance 12 is promising. There are still some issues that need to be resolved (e.g., proper presentation of clause relationships), but Accordance 12 strives—in contrast to Logos 7—toward full display and searchability of all database functions and features. The best implementation of the ETCBC database within the framework of Bible software has been done by the non-commercial Paratext 8 platform and its Source-Language-Tools.

[42]This has been confirmed in e-mail correspondence between Logos, the German Bible Society, and me, as an ETCBC representative.

Having used Gen 20 as a case study, the following types of questions and query-commands should be possible for general exegetical analysis within specific sections of the software's GUI. I will organize central questions that an exegete might ask into five categories. Each category will show concrete query-commands followed by information about the status of command-realization in the most advanced Bible software products available in 2018 (Stuttgart Electronic Study Bible 3 [SESB3], Logos 7 Bible Software [LGS7], Accordance 12 Bible Software [ACRD12], and Paratext 8 Source-Language-Tool [P8SLT]). The appendix contains several screenshots which illustrate the results possible within the different software products. Finally, I will suggest a GUI that would allow for an organized handling of these standard exegetical questions.

Possible Query-commands on Syntax and Grammar

- "Show me which verbs have Abimelech as the subject." This feature is only partially available in SESB3, LGS7, ACRD12, P8SLT for those cases where Abimelech is explicitly mentioned.[43] Due to the lack of participant tracking analysis, a complete realization of the command is not possible.
- "Show whether Sarah appears in the subject position in Gen 20." This feature is only possible in SESB3, LGS7, ACRD12, P8SLT for those cases where Sarah is explicitly mentioned. This is not the case in Gen 20 and therefore she cannot be found by any commercial product yet. Present participant tracking research carried out by the ETCBC research group resulted in limited automatic participant detection.
- "Show all attributive clauses which have a mother clause containing Abraham in the object, subject, or complement position." While it is possible to find the mother clause of an attributive clause in SESB3 and P8SLT,[44] only SHEBANQ can find the mother clause containing Abraham as a proper name and is elaborated by means of an attributive clause.[45] LGS7 and ACRD12 are not able to find relevant constructions.[46]

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[43]The following results were generated by the different Bible software products when searching for cases in which Abimelech is the only subject of a predicate phrase: SESB3 with the ETCBC database generated seventeen occurrences in Genesis (the query construction and results can be revisited at https://shebanq.ancient-data.org/hebrew/query?version=2017&id=425). See **screenshot 3**. LGS7 with the Andersen-Forbes database generated sixteen occurrences in Genesis (strangely, the case in Gen 26:26 is not found by the query set up). See **screenshot 6**. ACRD12 with the ETCBC database generated seventeen occurrences in Genesis. See **screenshot 7**. P8SLT with the ETCBC database generated seventeen occurrences in Genesis. See **screenshot 8**.

[44]See **screenshot 9**.

[45]See https://shebanq.ancient-data.org/hebrew/query?version=4b&id=2666.

[46]While the LGS7 database does contain information about relative clauses, several query variations are not able to pull out the desired data. It seems that the query builder does not communicate well with the database. I assume that the reason this bug has not been fixed yet is simply because the majority of users are not aware of these dysfunctions since they generally use Bible software for word searches only. This has been confirmed by a Logos Bible Software lead programmer. Due to the missing ability

- "Show me where the discourse deviates from the general patterns of discourse structure." Such marking can be made available based on a set of complex syntax searches that have to be put together. Since the necessary information for successfully writing these queries is available in the ETCBC database (clause-types, clause-relations, and text-types), it is a matter of time and financing to make them available to Bible software users. The open-access SHEBANQ service is able to perform such queries.[47]

Possible Query-commands on Textual Organization[48]

- "Visualize the narrative and discursive text sections." This feature is only available in the SESB3[49] and SHEBANQ.[50]
- "Visualize foreground and background (i.e., visualize where progression of the narration and the progression of the discourse are interrupted)." This feature is not implemented in any Bible software. However, the ETCBC database does contain the necessary information for the development of such a feature.
- "Visualize the entire text-grammatical hierarchy of the relevant textual passage." This feature is not implemented in any Bible software. However, the ETCBC database does contain the necessary information for such a feature. Accordance is presently working on such implementation. SHEBANQ (see **fig. 8**), as well as Bible Online Learner (see **fig. 9**), allow for the text-grammatical display, although not in a fully satisfactory way.

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to define two clauses as belonging to one sentence, one cannot find relevant data in ACRD12. While ACRD12 does have the ETCBC database implemented, the clause relations are not yet correctly interpreted. Accordance programmers are still working on fixing this problem. In addition, the relation operators available in ACRD12 are all designed for clarifying the relation between words. This is a good example of how Bible software users are utilizing Bible software within the limits that come with analog tools (i.e., word boundaries).

[47]See https://shebanq.ancient-data.org/hebrew/query?version=2017&id=491.

[48]These questions are asked via a separate graphical box called "textual hierarchy."

[49]The SESB3 allows one to search for clauses that belong to the "narrative" or "discursive" text-type. While it is possible to search for verbal tenses that indicate narrative or discursive texts in both LGS7 and ACRD12, this is not sufficient, since it does not allow one to find embedding of discursive texts in narrative texts and vice versa. See **screenshot 10** which shows a search for two subsequent clauses that belong to two different text-types. In LGS7, one is able to search words (not clauses) that were tagged as discursive or narrative. However, the data does not seem to be analyzed correctly since the direct speech introduction (formulated in narrative tense "And Abraham spoke") is treated as part of the direct speech. See **screenshot 11**.

[50]Unfortunately, SHEBANQ does not allow for different color coding within the same query. Thus, every "FOCUS" element receives the same color. In order to color-differentiate between the different text domains, two queries have to be constructed: narrative domain marking (see https://shebanq.ancient-data.org/hebrew/query?version=2017&id=2667) and discursive domain marking (see https://shebanq.ancient-data.org/hebrew/query?version=2017&id=2668).

Figure 8. Visualization of Text-grammatical Hierarchy (SHEBANQ).

Figure 9. Visualization of Text-grammatical Hierarchy (Bible Online Learner).

- "Visualize the presence of temporal and spatial markers." This is currently not possible in any Bible software. However, since such a feature is based upon word lists, it would not be difficult to incorporate such a tool in today's Bible software products.

Possible Query-commands on Lemmas and Valence[51]

- "Show the valence patterns of לקח in which an object with a proper female name appears." In SESB3, LGS7, ACRD12, and P8SLT,[52] it is possible to search for a specific pattern, but it is not possible to display all valence patterns that come with a given verb. Such data is, however, easily retrievable with programs like val2csv used in the ETCBC research environment.
- "Show those clauses that belong to the text type 'direct speech' in which the 3rd per. participant is corresponding with the participant mentioned in the complement position of its direct speech introduction (utilizing a verb of speech)." This query should be asked via the syntax-search and requires participant tracking data. As a result, Gen 20:2 should show up. This query is not possible.
- "Searching for identical lemmas in different clauses." While this is possible in SHEBANQ,[53] LGS7 allows for searching different types of agreements (e.g., lexeme, gender, tense, etc.), but its execution is broken. Obviously, LGS7 does not regard this issue to be important enough to fix. ACRD12 is not able to define agreements between words when they are embedded in a syntactical structure. Again, residues of the analog mindset can be seen here. P8SLT is working on a new release that will allow for such searches.

Possible Query-commands on Participant Distribution[54]

- "Visualize the distribution of person-related markers." Not only personal pronouns (demonstrative, possessive, or personal) but also finite verbs (mark only the relevant afformative and preformative markers) should be encoded. This query is not possible.
- "List all involved participants in the form of their lexical identification (e.g., Abimelech, Abraham, and Sarah) and the number of times they are explicitly mentioned (e.g., Abimelech [six times], Abraham [four times], *Elohim* [four times])." This query is not possible.

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[51]These questions are asked via the syntax-search window.

[52]The SESB3 query below shows how it is possible to search for an object phrase that contains a person's name of feminine gender. The object phrase must connect with a predicate that has the word לקח. See **screenshot 4**. With LGS7, it is not possible to search for proper names, but one can search for human entities that have feminine gender. The query results therefore also include objects like "woman," "girl," or "maidservant." See **screenshot 13**. Since the implementation of the ETCBC database in ACRD12, powerful valence queries have become possible. See **screenshot 14**. However, some data feature relations are still not implemented correctly. For example, one cannot combine the noun class "proper name" with the gender "feminine." Thus, the above search will find both "X takes Abraham" and "X takes Sarah."

[53]See https://shebanq.ancient-data.org/hebrew/query?version=2017&id=2669.

[54]These questions are asked via a separate graphical box called "participant presence"; some of the questions can also be asked via the syntax-search.

- "Track participant X (e.g., Abimelech) and/or Y (Abraham) . . ." This feature is only available in SESB3, LGS7, ACRD12, and P8SLT when the participant is known and when explicit mention (nominalization and re-nominalization) of the proper name is realized in the text. To search for pronominalizations of that proper name and references to the participant by means of finite verbal forms is not possible.

Possible Query-commands on Discourse Dynamics[55]

- "Visualize all interrogations." This feature is only possible in SESB3, LGS7, ACRD12, and P8SLT when a dedicated query is formulated. SESB3 and LGS7 offer visual filters that allow selective highlighting of a collection of morphological sets. But these filters do not allow one to put together lists of words.
- "Visualize all interjections." This feature is only possible in SESB3, LGS7, ACRD12, and P8SLT when a dedicated query is formulated. SESB3 and LGS7 offer visual filters that allow selective highlighting of a collection of morphological sets. But these filters do not allow one to put together lists of words.
- "Add to the list of discursive dynamics the following words: אִם, 'if'; לָכֵן, 'therefore'; יַעַן, 'because'; כִּי, 'for'; and כֵּן, 'thus'; and name this list 'argumentative indications.'" SESB3 and LGS7 offer visual filters that allow selective highlighting of a collection of morphological sets. But these filters do not allow one to put together lists of words.
- "Visualize the grammatical function-distribution of participants (e.g., how often is Abraham the subject? how often is he the object? and how often is he the complement?)." This query is not possible.

A Possible Graphical User Interface

Figure 10 illustrates how the GUI could look if the above listed commands and command groupings were realized on the old Libronix software platform. Every element that is highlighted in the black border is still missing in present Bible software.

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[55]These questions are asked via a separate graphic box called "discourse dynamics." The questions can also be asked via the syntax-search.
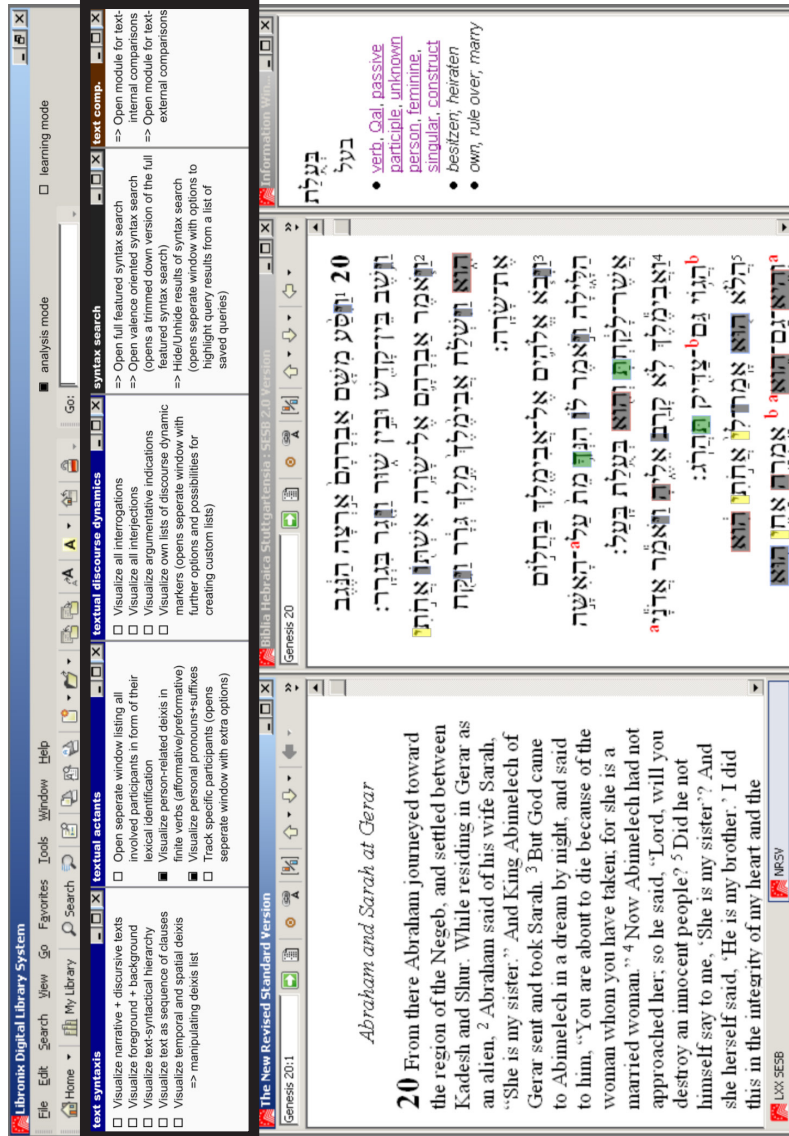
Figure 10. Possible GUI Realized on the Old Libronix Software Platform.

If these graphic boxes were made available in addition to the existing syntax-search window, the user would be enabled to read the text in layers and visualize the different components of a text (syntax, text-grammar, textual participants, and discourse dynamics) whenever he or she was ready to do so.

Conclusion

I have tried to sketch the limitations of today's Bible software products by looking at them from the perspective of the analytic work of biblical scholars. I have argued that Bible software vendors need to give attention to the specific needs of researchers, if they want to serve as a modern tool on the exegetical workbench without present analog restrictions. In a modern digital world, the creative minds of Bible software producers should break through the limited methodologies of the analog world. What has been outlined in this article demands strong investment in further research, enabling fine database production. Only then can databases be delivered to the scholarly world and stimulate the data-controlled quality of interpretative outcomes. This can become a reality once more consistent, empiric, inter-subjective data is made into visual illustrations, allowing it to be utilized for verification and falsification purposes. Thus, observations (patterns or deviation from patterns) can be retrieved throughout the entire textual corpus very quickly and without much analog labor.

Apart from the content side of Bible software (databases), GUIs need to be designed by programmers who are well informed about the databases at hand and are familiar with the types of texts and questions with which the scholar is confronted. In this way, one can safeguard that the information contained in the databases becomes accessible to the scholar when using Bible software.

In the end, more attention needs to be given to educating students and scholars about how to work with such computer-assisted, research tools as I have described here. While programs themselves should offer learning experiences in language acquisition and text reception, we need textbooks for exegesis—Hebrew and Greek—showing how and why computer-assisted tools are to be integrated as an important tool for textual analysis and as a training companion for language acquisition and reading-skill development. Only then will modern electronic tools truly assist in exegesis, transcending the limitations of the analog workbench and stimulating the longheld Judeo-Christian tradition of methodological reflection.

APPENDIX
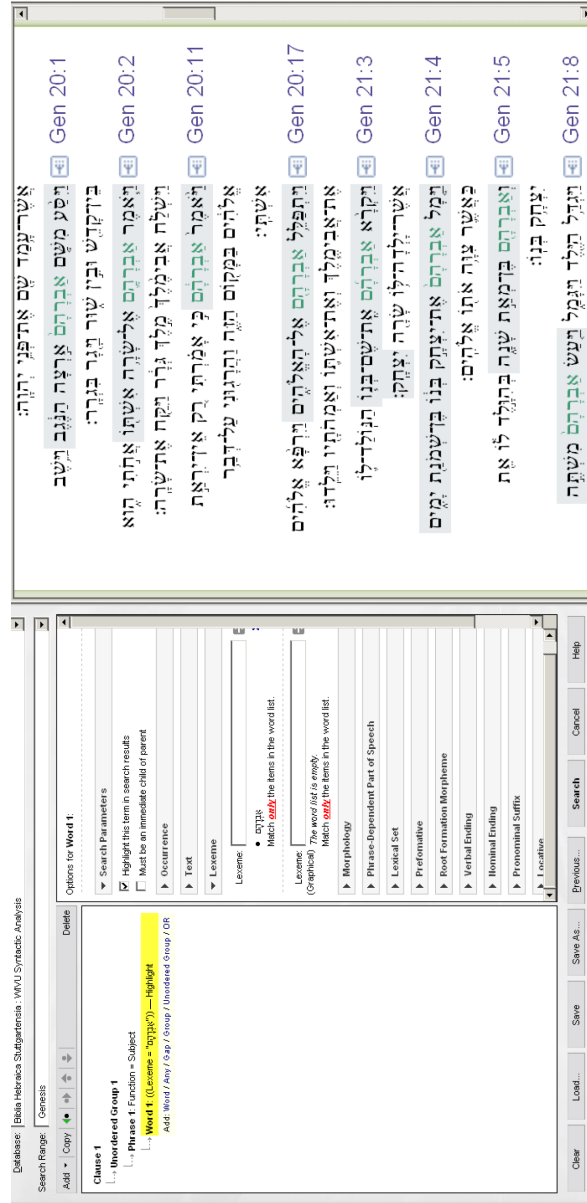
Screenshot 1. Stuttgart Electronic Study Bible 3.[1]

Screenshot 2. Logos 7 (Andersen-Forbes database).
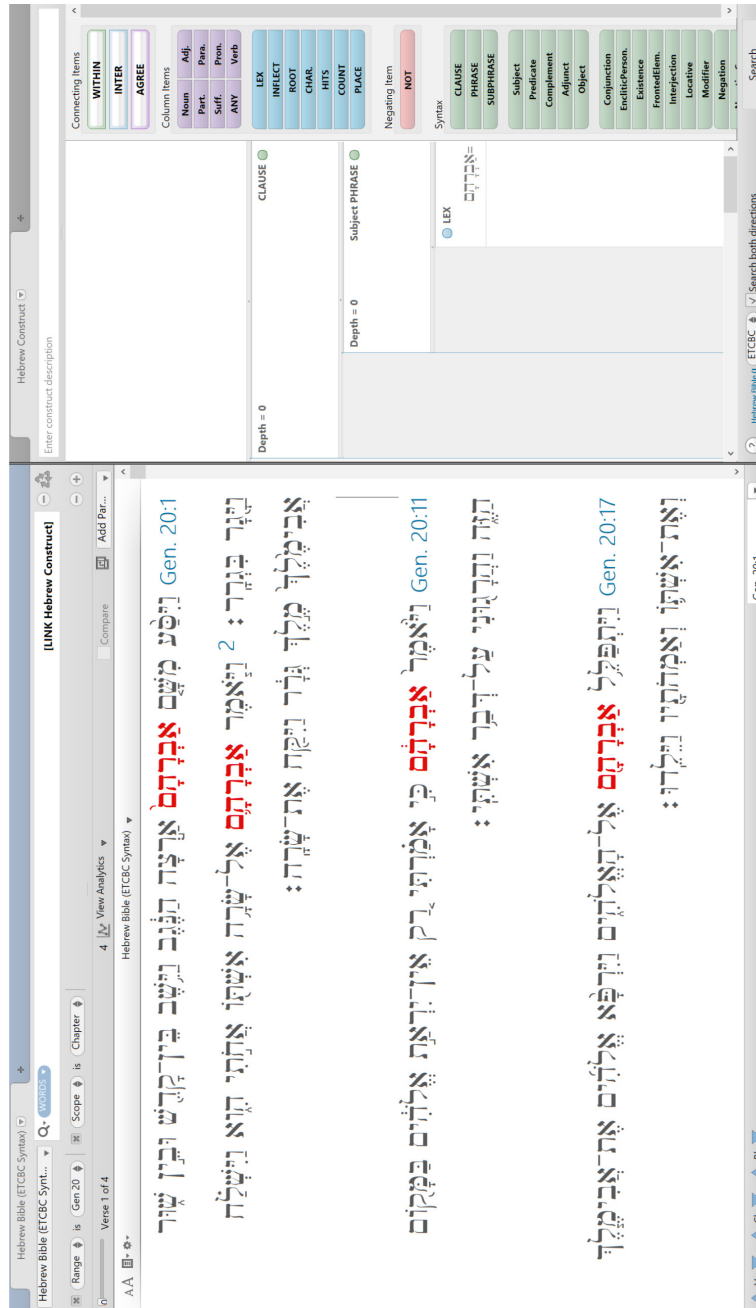
Screenshot 3. Accordance 12 (with ETCBC).

Screenshot 4. Paratext 8 Source-Language-Tool (with ETCBC).
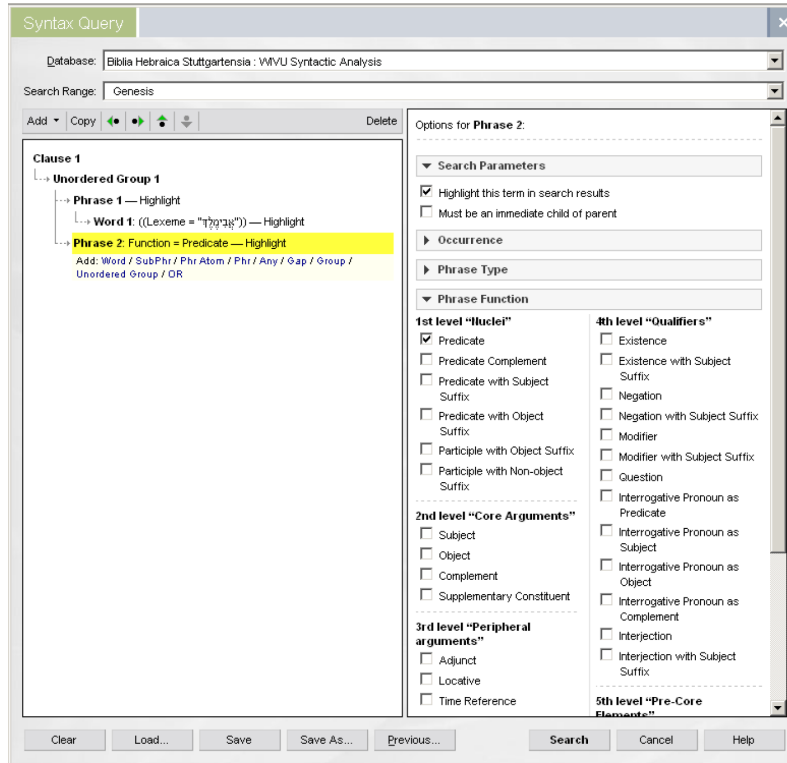
Screenshot 5. Verbs with Abimelech as Subject (SESB3 with the ETCBC Database).
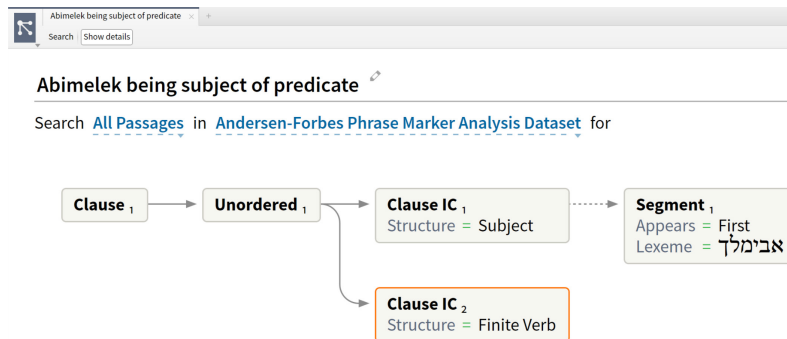
Screenshot 6. Verbs with Abimelech as Subject (LGS7 with the Andersen-Forbes Database).

Screenshot 7. Verbs with Abimelech as Subject (ACRD12 with the ETCBC Database).

Screenshot 8. Verbs with Abimelech as Subject (P8SLT with the ETCBC Database).
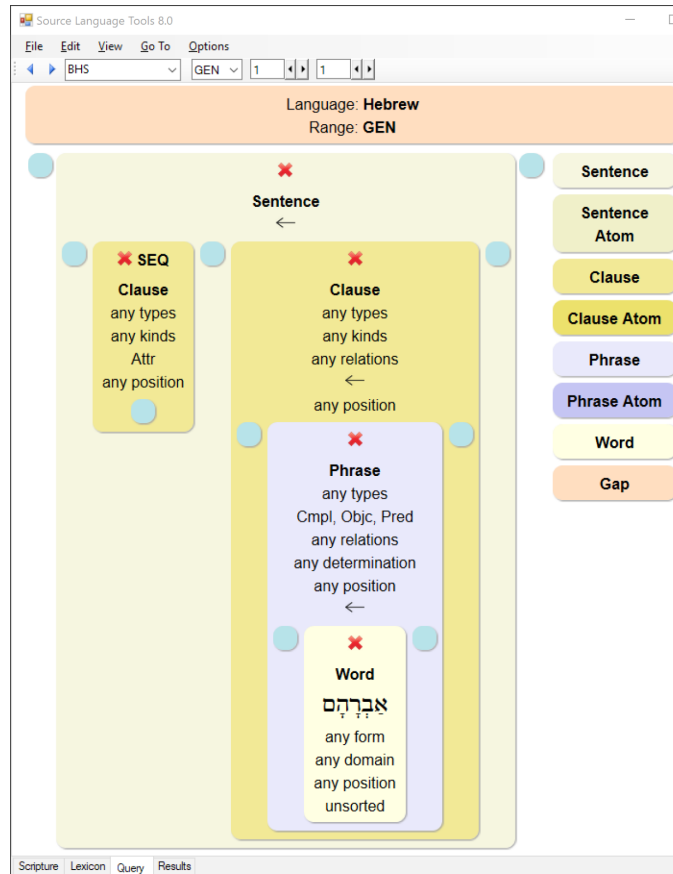
Screenshot 9. All Attributive Clauses Whose Mother Clause Contains Abraham in the Object, Subject, or Complement Position (P8SLT with the ETCBC Database).
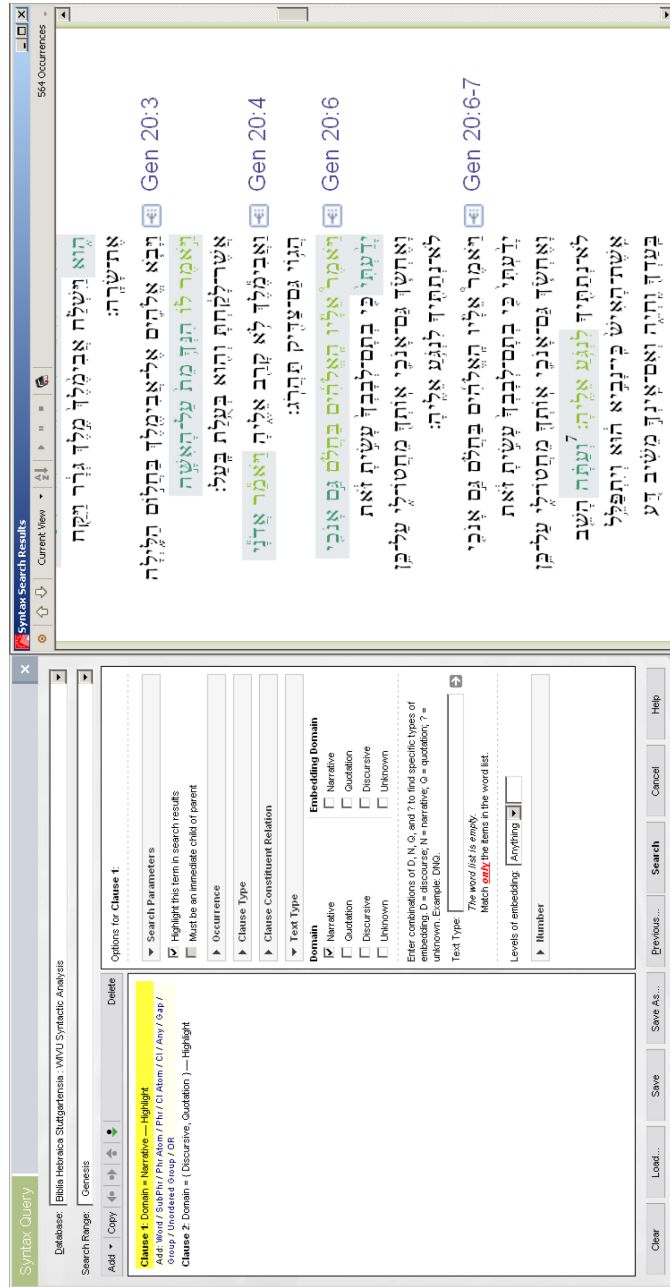
Screenshot 10. Visualize the Narrative and Discursive Text Sections (SESB3).

Screenshot 11. Visualize the Narrative and Discursive Text Sections (LGS7).

Screenshot 12. Valence Patterns of לקח in Which an Object with a Proper Female Name Appears (SESB3)

Screenshot 13. Valence Patterns of לקח in Which an Object with a Proper Female Name Appears (LGS7).
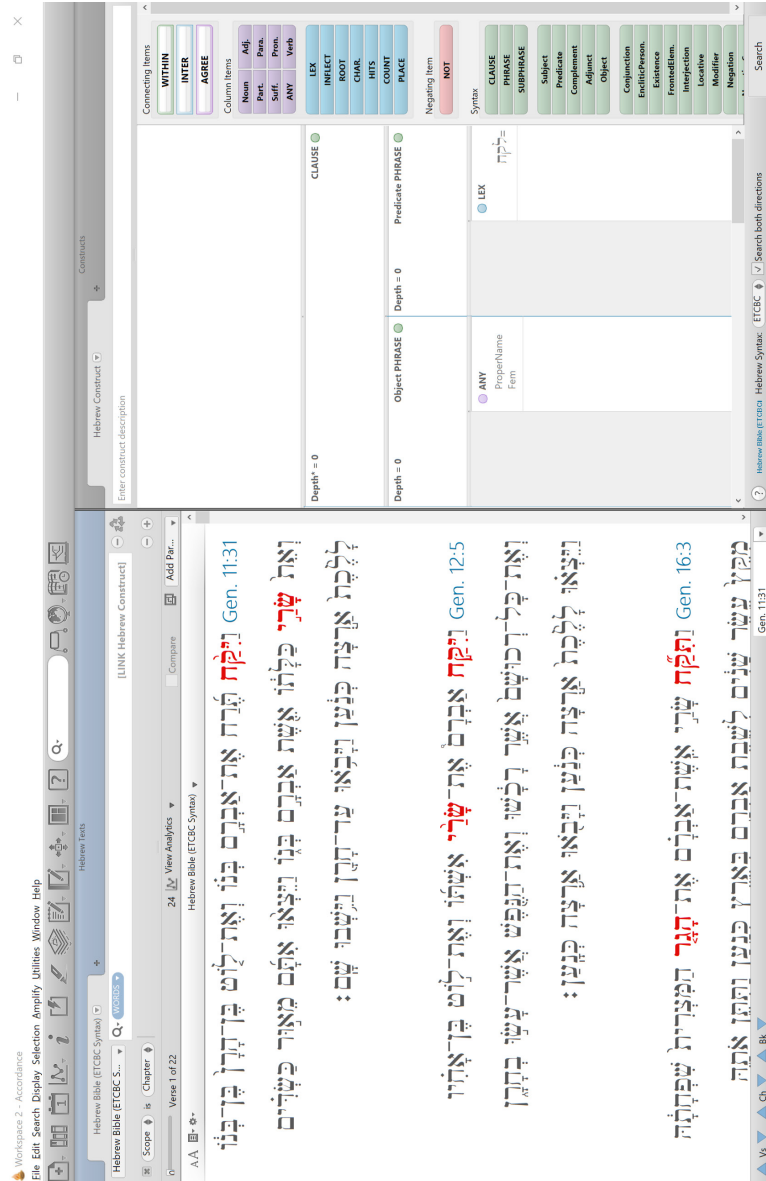
Screenshot 14. Valence Patterns of לקח in which an Object with a Proper Female Name Appears (ACRD12).

A PROPOSED SOLUTION TO "THE MOST LONG-LASTING SCHISM IN THE HISTORY OF THE JEWISH PEOPLE": A FRESH LOOK AT השבת IN LEVITICUS 23:11

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Abstract

The term "S/sabbath" in Lev 23:11 provides the temporal orientation in verses 9–22 for both the sheaf elevation ritual of verses 10–14, on the following day, and the new grain offering ritual (Festival of Weeks), seven weeks thereafter. However, identity of the S/sabbath itself is contextually indeterminable in chapter 23, and has been disputed throughout the centuries. The various theories, all based upon cessation of human labor, contend for either a weekly Sabbath linked to the festival, or one of the two festival days that prohibit all occupational work, or a "Sabbath week." Yet, none can demonstrably establish its claim as *the* specified S/sabbath over against the other theories. The only antecedent with requisite specificity for the term S/sabbath in verse 11 is derived from Exod 12:15, where the *hiphil* of the verb שבת mandates the "cessation of leaven," specifically on the first day of the festival (*Abib* 15). This proposal, versus either the weekly Sabbath theory or the Sabbath-week theory, is corroborated by the essentiality of the adjective תְּמִימֹת, "complete," modifying שֶׁבַע שַׁבָּתוֹת, "seven Sabbaths," in Lev 23:15, which is rendered superfluous in the weekly Sabbath-based theories.

Keywords: Sabbath, *shabbat*, ceremonial Sabbath, Sabbath week, wave sheaf, elevated sheaf, Festival of Unleavened Bread, *Shavuot*, Festival of Weeks, Pentecost, *omer*, *tamim*, Leviticus 23:11, Leviticus 23:15, Exodus 12:15.

Introduction

Ostensibly, the instruction of Lev 23:9–22 concerning the temporal orientation for the sheaf elevation rite and for the new grain offering seven weeks thereafter (the day of new grain offering constituting one of seven non-weekly מִקְרָא־קֹדֶשׁ, "holy convocations")[1] is imprecise. Strange indeed is

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[1]Jacob Milgrom notes that "the *ʿōmer* rite is not 'a sacred occasion' when 'laborious work' is prohibited. It thus does not qualify as a *mōʿēd* 'festival' and, hence, does not technically belong under the heading of v. 4" (*Leviticus 23–27*, AB 3B [New York: Doubleday, 2001], 1986).

This article does not address the issue as to whether the term מִקְרָא־קֹדֶשׁ refers to "holy convocation," as generally translated, or to either "sacred occasion" or "proclamation of holiness," as held by Milgrom and Roy Gane. See ibid., 1957–1959; Roy Gane, *Leviticus, Numbers*, NIV Application Commentary (Grand Rapids:

this apparent imprecision, in light of the specificity of all other מִקְרָא־קֹדֶשׁ in chapter 23,[2] wherein work is similarly prohibited,[3] and in view of the fact that the primary purpose of the chapter is to identify the מוֹעֵד, "appointed times," of YHWH (vv. 2, 4, 37, 44). Yet, a close reading of the passage, comparing the MT and LXX, sheds light that unveils the precision of the temporal orientation of verses 9–22, specifically identifying "the Sabbath" within the phrase מִמָּחֳרַת הַשַּׁבָּת, "on the day after the Sabbath," in verse 11b, which anchors the seven-week time period of verses 9–22.

Current Views of the Term השבת in Leviticus 23:11

As Jacob Milgrom notes, the competing interpretations of the expression מִמָּחֳרַת הַשַּׁבָּת, "on the day after the Sabbath," "gave rise to arguably the most long-lasting schism in the history of the Jewish people."[4] There are four historic interpretations of the term הַשַּׁבָּת in this phrase, two of which hold that it refers to the weekly Sabbath, either the one that occurs *during* the Feast of Unleavened Bread (Samaritans and Karaites) or the one occurring *after* the festival (Boethusians and Qumran), and two of which hold that it refers to the festal day of rest from laborious work, either the first day of the festival (Pharisees, Philo [*Spec. Leg.* 2.162], and Josephus [*Ant.* 3.10.5–6]) or the seventh day of the festival (Peshitta and modern Falashas).[5] Current scholarship

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Zondervan, 2004), 387–388. However, for the sake of consistency, I employ the common translation "holy convocation."

[2]The other appointed times of holy convocation, overtly specified, are the weekly Sabbath (v. 3), the first and seventh days of the Feast of Unleavened Bread (on the fifteenth and twenty-first days of the first month; vv. 7–8), the first day of the seventh month (v. 24), the tenth day of the seventh month (v. 27), and the first and eighth days of the Feast of Booths (the fifteenth and twenty-second days of the seventh month; vv. 34–36, 39).

[3]On the weekly Sabbath and *yôm hakkippurim,* מְלָאכָה, "all work," is prohibited without qualification (vv. 3, 31), whereas, for the other six non-weekly holy convocations, מְלֶאכֶת עֲבֹדָה, "all laborious work," is prohibited (vv. 7–8, 21, 25, 35–36).

[4]Milgrom, *Leviticus*, 2057. "The famous dispute between Pharisaic and sectarian law over the correct date for observing the Festival of Weeks . . . has become, perhaps more than any other issue, a symbol of the halakhic schisms of the Second Temple period" (David Henshke, "'The Day after the Sabbath' [Lev 23:15]: Traces and Origins of an Inter-Sectarian Polemic," *DSD* 15.2 [2008]: 225).

[5]Milgrom, *Leviticus*, 2057. Alternatively, Boethusians/Sadducees are categorized with Samaritans and Karaites in observing הַשַּׁבָּת as the weekly Sabbath that falls within the Festival of Unleavened Bread. See James C. VanderKam, "Weeks, Festival of," *ABD* 6:895–897; John E. Hartley, *Leviticus*, WBC 4 (Dallas: Word, 1992), 385–386 (following J. van Goudoever, *Biblical Calendars* [Leiden: Brill, 1961], 18–29); and E. Otto, "שֶׁבַע; שָׁבֻעוֹת," *TDOT* 14:336–367, esp. 366. Further, VanderKam, Hartley, and Otto point out that the book of Jubilees, in line with Qumran, implicitly holds that הַשַּׁבָּת is the weekly Sabbath that follows the end of the Festival of Unleavened Bread. In the festival calendar of the book of Jubilees, which was a solar calendar, the first month would begin on a Wednesday; consequently, הַשַּׁבָּת would fall on Saturday,

is split along three of these four lines.[6] To these interpretations, Milgrom adds his own: "*In vv. 11–16, it* [שַׁבָּת] *bears only one meaning, the sabbath-week, not the sabbath day.*"[7]

    Milgrom reaches this conclusion via his conjectured tri-layered history of the text, reflecting his perceived evolution of the rites involved.[8] In his view,

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Abib 25, and the Feast of Weeks on Sunday, *Sivan* 15.

    [6]Proponents of הַשַּׁבָּת as the weekly Sabbath falling within the seven-day festival include R. Laird Harris, "Leviticus," in *Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers*, EBC 2 (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1990), 625–626; Baruch A. Levine, *Leviticus* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1989), 158–159; Mark F. Rooker, *Leviticus*, NAC 3A (Nashville: Broadman & Holman, 2000), 286; Gordon J. Wenham, *The Book of Leviticus*, NICOT 3 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1979), 304. To this camp may be added Hartley, who states, "The sheaf is offered *during* the Feast of Unleavened Bread, but the exact day is disputed" (*Leviticus*, 391; emphasis added). Earlier, he states that the weekly Sabbath plays a role in determining the time for celebrating the Feast of Weeks (ibid., 372). Proponents of הַשַּׁבָּת as *Abib* 15, the first day of the festival, include K&D 2:439–442; Clyde M. Woods and Justin M. Rogers, *Leviticus-Numbers*, The College Press NIV Commentary, Old Testament Series (Joplin, MO: College Press, 2006), 138. Proponents of הַשַּׁבָּת as *Abib* 21, the last day of the festival, include Samuel E. Balentine, *Leviticus*, IBC (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1999), 176; Erhard S. Gerstenberger, *Leviticus*, OTL (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1996), 344; Otto, "שָׁבַע; שָׁבֻעוֹת," 14:365.

    [7]Milgrom, *Leviticus*, 2060; emphasis original.

    [8]Ibid., 1993–1996, 2054–2056. According to Milgrom, the earliest layer of verses 10aβ–21 (Pre-H₁) prescribed that each landowner brings his firstfruits of barley and wheat, fifty days apart, to his local sanctuary as an elevation offering; such offering involved neither a pilgrimage, a fixed date, nor a day of rest. Milgrom attributes the vast majority of verses 10aβ–21 to Pre-H₁.

    The second layer of verses 10aβ–21, which Milgrom attributes to an interpolator (Pre-H₂), fixed the date for the barley offering to the first Sunday that follows the week during which the harvest began. Milgrom asserts that Pre-H₂'s motive was to coordinate the individual offerings at a local sanctuary for a joint rite on the same day, since the crops in that localized area would mature at approximately the same time. Thus, Pre-H₂ tried to establish a mini-חַג for both grain offerings. Pre-H₂'s interpolation of verses 10–21 consists merely of the four phrases involving the term שַׁבָּת: מִמָּחֳרַת הַשַּׁבָּת, "on the day after the Sabbath," in verses 11 and 15a, שֶׁבַע שַׁבָּתוֹת תְּמִימֹת תִּהְיֶינָה, "there shall be seven complete Sabbaths," in verse 15b, and הַשְּׁבִיעִת תִּסְפְּרוּ עַד מִמָּחֳרַת הַשַּׁבָּת, "until the day after the seventh Sabbath, you shall count," in verse 16a. It is these four crux phrases that constitute the crux of analysis in this paper.

    The third layer of verses 10aβ–21 Milgrom attributes to H. This layer, consisting of the phrase חֻקַּת עוֹלָם לְדֹרֹתֵיכֶם בְּכֹל מֹשְׁבֹתֵיכֶם, "it is a perpetual statute throughout your generations in all your dwellings," in verse 14 and the majority of verses 18–21, supposedly "converts the hitherto individual grain offerings into public sacrifices operated by the regional sanctuary" (ibid., 1996). To do so, H borrows from P in Num 28–29, requiring that the wheat offering (Festival of Weeks) be observed as a sacred day (rest from laborious work); but H adds "that the Israelites remain at home ('in all your settlements,' [Lev 23:]21b), thereby implying that this day is not a *ḥag*" (ibid., 1995). Milgrom makes much of the term מוֹשְׁבֹתֵיכֶם; however, it need imply nothing more than a temporary dwelling location during a pilgrimage.

after the text attained its final form, the Sabbath of verse 11 was linked to the Feast of Unleavened Bread through tradition.[9] Without endorsing Milgrom's theory of the textual history, Gane accepts Milgrom's position that tradition provided the link between verses 9–22 and the Feast of Unleavened Bread,[10] but, unlike Milgrom, holds that the term שַׁבָּת in verse 11 refers to the weekly Sabbath, while the plural שַׁבָּתוֹת in verse 15 refers to "weeks."[11]

Critique of the Current Views of השבת *in Leviticus 23:11*

Unencumbered by Milgrom's protracted speculation as to the evolution of the text and of the rites prescribed, a simpler solution to the issue emerges. While the specified day for elevating the sheaf (מִמׇּחֳרַת הַשַּׁבָּת) cannot be identified solely from the speech unit in which this phrase is found (i.e., vv. 9–22), the text does provide sufficient characteristics concerning the Sabbath-in-

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See Exod 10:23; Lev 13:46. Further, Milgrom unpersuasively asserts that H "drops P's term for the pentacontal בְּשָׁבֻעֹתֵיכֶם 'in your Festival of *Weeks*' since it has no choice but to accept the (interpolated) text's term for weeks, שַׁבָּתוֹת" (ibid., 1995), without explaining why H is stuck with this term. Lastly, Milgrom holds that H abolished the individual farmer's offerings "on purely pragmatic grounds" (ibid.), since the farmer and his family were in the throes of the harvest season and could not be expected to make a pilgrimage—a refrain Milgrom often repeats. See ibid., 1991, 1992, and 1996. Yet, he inconsistently acknowledges the possibility of such a pilgrimage, being informed by his student, D. Stewart, "an erstwhile farmer," that there is an availing timeslot for a pilgrimage between the final two stages of ripeness: "fully ripe" (ripening of the first fruits) and "dead ripe" (ripening of the entire crop) (ibid., 1996).

[9]"It should also be apparent that this firstfruits offering had nothing to do with the approximately concurrent Festival of Unleavened Bread. *Later interpreters*, however, made this connection because they understood the word *šabbāt* to mean the sabbath day or the first day of the festival" (ibid., 1994; emphasis added). "It is Pre-H₂ that introduces the notion of *šabbāt* as the sabbath-week, which later Jewish groups mistook for the sabbath day, giving rise to schismatic differences on the relation between this sabbath and the proximate Feast of Unleavened Bread" (ibid., 2055).

[10]"By the Second Temple period, *tradition* had connected the elevation of the sheaf to the first part of the Festival of Unleavened Bread, and a fierce interpretive controversy raged over whether 'the day after the Sabbath' meant the first weekly Sabbath after Passover (Nisan 14) or the ceremonial Sabbath on the first day of Unleavened Bread, which always came on the [*sic*] Nisan 15 (vv. 6–7)" (Gane, *Leviticus*, 389; emphasis added). Like Milgrom, Gane holds that, according to the text, the sheaf elevation rite is temporally unaffiliated with the Feast of Unleavened Bread because the sheaf elevation is in a separate divine speech and because it is dependent upon "agricultural realities"—"the timing of elevating the sheaf is tied to the actual beginning of the harvest, the date of which can fluctuate" (ibid.). Thus, Gane concludes, "Whatever day the Israelites harvest the first sheaf (not including Sabbath, of course), the priest is to elevate it on the following first day of the week, which we call Sunday" (ibid.).

[11]Ibid., 389–390. Nevertheless, in the final analysis, Gane's position equates to that of Milgrom, in that the elevation of the first sheaf is independent of the Feast of Unleavened Bread and that both the sheaf elevation rite and the new grain offering occur on their respective Sundays.

quest, such that outside the speech unit, identification of the antecedent Sabbath clearly ensues, and it is this Sabbath, as opposed to tradition, that connects the sheaf elevation rite with the Feast of Unleavened Bread, *contra* Milgrom and Gane, as shown below.

Gane suggests that the Feast of Unleavened Bread is inapposite for purposes of timing the sheaf elevation rite, because the instructions regarding the Feast of Unleavened Bread are in a separate divine speech unit,[12] and because the timing of sheaf elevation depends upon "agricultural realities."[13] However, restricting the search for timing the sheaf elevation to verses 9–22 renders the timing absolutely indeterminable; therefore this restriction must be rejected.

Concerning his claim that the timing of sheaf elevation depends on agricultural factors rather than the Feast of Unleavened Bread, Gane asserts, "In verse 10 the timing of elevating the sheaf is tied to the actual beginning of harvest, the date of which can fluctuate."[14] Indeed, the elevation of the first sheaf is tied to the beginning of harvest. In fact, it is the very first act of harvest, as indicated by the phrase אֶת־עֹמֶר רֵאשִׁית קְצִירְכֶם, "the *first* sheaf of your harvesting," in verse 10b, and confirmed in Deut 16:9, discussed below. This rite specifically releases the barley produce for consumption as stated in Lev 23:14, and implicitly releases it for harvest. But simply knowing that the sheaf elevation rite commences harvest does not determine the date of the rite.

Gane suggests that the date for elevating the sheaf "must float according to agricultural realities,"[15] by which he means "the actual beginning of the harvest, the date of which can fluctuate."[16] Thus, the commencement of harvest is viewed as the primary determinant of the heretofore indeterminable date of elevating the sheaf, which verse 11 simply places after a weekly Sabbath. Consequently, the phrase מִמָּחֳרַת הַשַּׁבָּת in verse 11 functions merely as a *secondary* determinant, according to this approach, that is applicable only once the primary determinant—commencement of harvest—is known.

However, the "agricultural realities" that are propounded as the necessary factor for determining the timing of the sheaf elevation, independently from Passover/Feast of Unleavened Bread, are actually already accounted for through the determination of the first month, *Abib*, as instructed in Deut 16:1

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[12]Ibid., 389. Gane correctly avoids the hermeneutical blunder of assuming a connection between הַשַּׁבָּת and the Feast of Unleavened Bread, *in the first instance*, an assumption made by the traditional contending views. Instead, the characteristics of the antecedent of הַשַּׁבָּת (as control in the exegetical quest beyond the speech unit) must be garnered exclusively from the speech unit in which the term הַשַּׁבָּת occurs, verses 9–22. The assumption that הַשַּׁבָּת is correlated to the Feast of Unleavened Bread, simply because the feast occurs in the immediately prior speech unit, is a non sequitur, even though in the final analysis this correlation will be established.

[13]Ibid., 390.

[14]Ibid., 389.

[15]Ibid., 390.

[16]Ibid., 389.

("Observe the month *'ābîb* and do the Passover").[17] Since this determination was made in view of Passover, the agricultural realities having already been evaluated at the new moon for Pascal purposes need not be independently reevaluated for purposes of sheaf elevation, on a weekly basis thereafter,[18] —especially if the rite of sheaf elevation is correlated to Passover/Feast of Unleavened Bread. Accordingly, it does not follow that the date for elevating the sheaf "must float according to agricultural realities."

Finally, the position of Milgrom and Gane, which claims that barley harvest began during the week prior to the sheaf elevation, is problematic because of verse 9, which conjoins the commencement of harvest and the commencement of the seven-week counting. As Milgrom acknowledges,

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[17]As Milgrom notes, the determination of all calendrical times was entirely in human hands. See *Leviticus*, 1959, 1963. Hence, the determination of *Abib* involved human discretion. In contrast, the weekly Sabbath "is independent of the calendar; its occurrence has been predetermined by God" (ibid., 1964). The etymology of *Abib* indicates that determination of the first month was based upon agricultural realities, namely, when the barley was in the ear, as when YHWH's seventh plague destroyed Egypt's barley crop, which was אָבִיב "in the ear" (Exod 9:31). Milgrom notes that the name *Abib* derives from the expression לְמוֹעֵד חֹדֶשׁ הָאָבִיב, "at the fixed time of the month of the ripening grain," or "the month when the grain is easily hulled," in Exod 23:15 and 34:18. See ibid., 1965–1966.

The Rabbis found the mandate for intercalating a month in the lunar year in the command of Deut 16:1, "Observe the month *'ābîb* and do the Passover." "Here we are enjoined to intercalate a month in the lunar year if without such an intercalation the *'ābîb* season will not have arrived by the Passover (Mikhilta, Bo 2)" ("אביב," *Encyclopedia Talmudica* 1:69). The three rabbinic criteria for intercalating a month are the spring equinox, occurring on the sixteenth of *Nisan* or later; the barley not maturing; and the fruit of the trees not maturing (ibid., 70–71). I conjecture that the spring equinox, as a factor for determining whether to intercalate a month (and thus for determining the month of *Abib*), rose to prominence during the exile due to the influence of Babylon's fixation with astronomical calculations (hence, the rabbinic usage of the Babylonian name *Nisan* for the pre-exilic name *Abib*). Prior thereto, Israel's agrarian society relied predominantly upon the barley crop for such determination.

The term אָבִיב occurs only eight times in the Hebrew Bible: Exod 9:31; 13:4; 23:15; 34:18 (twice); Lev 2:14; Deut 16:1 (twice). In every instance save for Exod 9:31 and Lev 2:14, it is directly associated with Passover or the Feast of Unleavened Bread. The command to observe the month of אָבִיב in Deut 16:1, the observation of which is based upon the evidence of spring as revealed by the barley crop, is specifically connected as a precondition to the performance of Passover: "Observe the month *Abib so that* you do (וְעָשִׂיתָ) the Passover." I contend that the *vav*-consecutive here has a purposive nuance. Thus, the agricultural realities (i.e., the stage of barley ripening) are already factored in when the month of *Abib*, which commences the cultic calendar, is determined in view of performing Passover. Therefore, Israel's agricultural realities did not float independently of Passover/Feast of Unleavened Bread, as Gane suggests. On the contrary, they were the grounding temporal factor for it.

[18]Theoretically, according to Gane's approach, harvest and the sheaf elevation rite (floating independently based on harvest readiness) could predate Passover, even though Passover/Feast of Unleavened Bread is always mentioned as the lead-off cultic event, annually. See Exod 23:15; 34:18; Lev 23; Deut 16.

"Deuteronomy states explicitly that the seven-week counting begins *mēhāḥēl ḥermēš baqqāmâ* 'when the sickle is first put to the standing grain' (Deut 16:9)."[19] Since the sheaf elevation rite *also* occurs on the first day of the seven-week counting (Lev 23:15), harvesting would not commence during the prior week (*contra* Milgrom[20] and Gane[21]), and thus the commencement of harvest could not be the primary determinant for the date of the sheaf elevation rite.

In contrast to Milgrom and Gane, I submit that the term הַשַּׁבָּת in the phrase מִמָּחֳרַת הַשַּׁבָּת in verse 11 operates as the *primary* (indeed exclusive) determinant of the date for elevating the first sheaf. This is especially the case since הַשַּׁבָּת is articulated, thus anaphorically particularizing the Sabbath—"on the day after *the* Sabbath," rather than "on the day after a (weekly) Sabbath." Consequently, הַשַּׁבָּת of verse 11 determines when the harvest begins and the first sheaf is elevated, and not the other way around, where the beginning of harvest determines הַשַּׁבָּת.

In summary, because the speech unit containing the instructions for elevating the first sheaf does not identify, without external reference, the timing of the sheaf elevation rite; because the control characteristics of the antecedent of הַשַּׁבָּת garnered from the speech unit ultimately will show a connection with Passover/Festival of Unleavened Bread; because the primary determinant of the timing of the sheaf elevation rite is the phrase מִמָּחֳרַת הַשַּׁבָּת in verse 11 and not the commencement of harvest; because the status of the barley crop was already factored in, in the annual determination of the month of *Abib* with Passover in view; and because barley harvest would not commence during the week prior to the sheaf elevation rite in light of Deut 16:9; *therefore*, the "conjectured original practice" that Milgrom proposes, wherein the sheaf elevation rite has nothing to do with the Festival of Unleavened Bread,[22] must be rejected. To the contrary, in the final analysis, the sheaf elevation rite is correlated to the Festival of Unleavened Bread, via the term הַשַּׁבָּת in Lev 23:11.[23]

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[19]Milgrom, *Leviticus*, 2059. While Lev 23:10 does not identify the timing of elevating the sheaf, it does specify the sheaf to be elevated: "when you reap its [the land's] harvest, then you shall bring *the first sheaf of your harvest* [אֶת־עֹמֶר רֵאשִׁית קְצִירְכֶם] unto the priest." Milgrom notes that, here in verse 10, the term רֵאשִׁית "takes on the connotation 'first' in a temporal sense—the very first ʿōmer to be harvested" such that "the ʿōmer is not to be selected from the many sheaves that make up the first harvest, but must be the very first sheaf. As Deuteronomy puts it, *mēhāḥēl ḥermēš baqqāmâ* 'when the sickle is first put to the standing grain' (Deut 16:9)" (ibid., 1984).

[20]"An interpolator, Pre-H₂, sets the barley offering for the first Sunday after the week (ending with the sabbath) during which the harvest has begun" (ibid., 1994).

[21]"Whatever day the Israelites harvest the first sheaf (not including Sabbath, of course), the priest is to elevate it on the following first day of the week, which we call Sunday" (Gane, *Leviticus*, 389).

[22]Milgrom, *Leviticus*, 1989.

[23]Accordingly, Gane acknowledges (in a personal communication with me on 21 April 2016) that the commencement of harvest must *follow* the sheaf elevation rite and therefore cannot determine the timing of הַשַּׁבָּת.

In contrast to Milgrom, and without his restriction to the speech unit (vv. 9–22), all four historic interpretations of הַשַּׁבָּת assume a correlation with the Festival of Unleavened Bread. But the issue remains as to which holy convocation (מִקְרָא־קֹדֶשׁ)[24] associated with the Festival of Unleavened Bread in verses 1–8 is the antecedent of the term הַשַּׁבָּת in verse 11. Hitherto, none of the four historic interpretations, including the date proposed by the rabbinic interpretation (with which I agree), could be definitively established, due to the inadequacy of their respective rationales. Both the weekly Sabbath options (the Sabbath during and immediately following the festival) and the festal options (the first and seventh days of the festival) lack the requisite singularity in verses 1–8 to be the definite antecedent of the term הַשַּׁבָּת in verse 11. Further, the festal options, though pronounced מִקְרָאֵי קֹדֶשׁ, are not thereby deemed שַׁבָּתוֹת, while the weekly Sabbath options, though indeed שַׁבָּתוֹת, are not *explicitly* associated with the Festival of Unleavened Bread anywhere in the Hebrew Bible.[25]

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[24]One may assume that the antecedent of הַשַּׁבָּת is a מִקְרָא־קֹדֶשׁ in the previous speech unit, since the topic of verse 23 concerns the various appointed times that Israel is to proclaim, as indicated in the chapter's double introduction (vv. 2, 4) and its conclusion (vv. 37–38). Accordingly, the four options are either the weekly Sabbath (v. 3) during or immediately following the Festival of Unleavened Bread, or the first or seventh day of the festival (vv. 7–8).

[25]"[T]he origin of the great 'the day after the Sabbath' rift [between Pharisaic and sectarian law] is to be located, as in other cases, in the particular hermeneutical principles used for deriving the law from mutually exclusive or contradictory biblical verses: the Pharisees point of departure is Deuteronomy, and so they interpret the various verses in the preceding books accordingly; whereas the sect's point of departure is Leviticus" (Henshke, "'Day after the Sabbath,'" 238). Henshke assumes (as did the Pharisees and Qumran sect) that the biblical texts, Lev 23:15–16 (counting seven complete Sabbaths commencing on "the day after the Sabbath") and Deut 16:9–10 (counting seven weeks commencing when the cycle is put to the standing grain), are in conflict (ibid., 247), an assumption with which I fundamentally disagree. This perceived conflict results when the Sabbath in "the day after the Sabbath" is understood as a weekly Sabbath, and the day after as a Sunday (ibid., 239–241).

Beyond the assumption that הַשַּׁבָּת of Lev 23:11 is a weekly Sabbath, the sectarian position assumes, without biblical support, that הַשַּׁבָּת refers to the weekly Sabbath immediately following the festival. Instead, the sect was guided by *the Book of Jubilees*, which predetermined the date for the Feast of Weeks on the fifteenth day of the third month of the sect's own 364-day solar calendar, the date of which was always a Sunday (*Jub* 15:1; 44:4–5). Accordingly, the sheaf elevation rite, which occurred seven weeks prior, was bound to fall on the twenty-sixth day of the first month of the sect's calendar. This, of course, was also always a Sunday, namely the Sunday following the weekly Sabbath that immediately followed the Festival of Unleavened Bread (Milgrom, *Leviticus*, 2060–2061). Yet, such Sabbath was neither identified nor corroborated by biblical reference. As Milgrom correctly states, "If [הַשַּׁבָּת] refers to the weekly sabbath, an ambiguity arises: we do not know which one it is (*Sipra* Emor 12:4; *b. Menah.* 66a)" (ibid., 2057). Herein lies the pitfall of the weekly Sabbath view regarding הַשַּׁבָּת.

Identification of the Antecedent of השבת in Leviticus 23:11

One must search outside of verses 9–22 in order to determine the antecedent of the term הַשַּׁבָּת in verse 11, yet control for the search must be established from within the text. The critical characteristic for identifying the antecedent of הַשַּׁבָּת, garnered exclusively from the speech unit in which הַשַּׁבָּת occurs, consists of an explicitly specified שבת,[26] occurring on an annual basis at the commencement of harvest.[27] In the universe of biblical שבת instances, only two occur on an annual basis—the Day of Atonement and the cessation of leaven on the first day of the Festival of Unleavened Bread (Exod 12:15). The former cannot be the antecedent of הַשַּׁבָּת in Lev 23:11, because such does not occur at the commencement of harvest, leaving the cessation of leaven as the only eligible antecedent. It is also the only association of an explicit שבת, either as a verbal form or as the substantive cognate,[28] with the festival,[29]

[26]I submit that the articulated term הַשַּׁבָּת requires, as its antecedent, an explicitly identified cyclical occurrence of שבת on an annual basis (in a rather deictic manner), as opposed to an implicit or implied annual שבת (i.e., one derived by inference, such as the weekly Sabbath that occurs during or immediately following the Festival of Unleavened Bread), which, though it occurs of logical necessity, is never referenced as such in Scripture.

[27]From the arrangements of speech units in verse 23, we may also logically deduce that הַשַּׁבָּת occurs sometime in the first six months of the year, because the subsequent speech unit, verses 23–25, concerns the Festival of Trumpets on the first day of the seventh month. Further, because the sheaf elevation rite concerns a sheaf of barley, we may also safely conclude that it is associated with the month of *Abib*. See n17.

[28]Whether or not the direction of derivation can be linguistically established, theologically the substantive term שַׁבָּת derives from its previously employed verbal cognate, both for the weekly Sabbath (derived from God's cessation of work after six days) and the cessation of leaven here in Exod 12:15. In fact, both verbal meanings (ceasing from labor and ceasing from leaven) appear prior to the initial occurrence of the substantive term שַׁבָּת in 16:23. Thus, the semantic range of the verb was established in the biblical narrative before any theological substantivizing of the verb occurred.

[29]The verb שבת is *implicitly* associated with Passover/Festival of Unleavened Bread in Josh 5:12. That text chronicles the cessation (*qal* of שבת) of manna מִמָּחֳרַת, "on the morrow," which term, in the absolute case, refers to the full phrase מִמָּחֳרַת הַפֶּסַח, "on the morrow after Passover," in the previous verse. On this same day, the Israelites ate from the produce of the land (v. 11). In verse 12, the phrase בְּאָכְלָם מֵעֲבוּר הָאָרֶץ, "when they ate from the produce of the land," stands in apposition to the absolute term מִמָּחֳרַת. This instance of the verb שבת cannot be the referent of the term הַשַּׁבָּת in Lev 23:11 for obvious reasons: it occurred a generation after the institution of Passover/Festival of Unleavened Bread and the stipulations of chapter 23, and it was a non-recurring event, whereas verse 11 implies an annual cessation. There are no other associations of the verb שבת with Passover/Festival of Unleavened Bread in the Hebrew Bible.

Kleinig contends that Josh 5:10–12 is incorrectly adduced to support the rabbinic view that the term הַשַּׁבָּת in Lev 23:11 refers to the first day of the festival because, in his view, the eating of the produce occurred on the fifteenth, rather than the sixteenth, of *Abib*. See John W. Kleinig, *Leviticus*, ConcC (St. Louis: Concordia, 2003), 489. Although it can be established that the Israelites observed Passover on

and it is this sole instance (*hiphil* of שבת in Exod 12:15) that provides the requisite singularity/specificity as the antecedent of the term הַשַּׁבָּת in Lev 23:11: "Seven days you shall eat unleavened bread; only on the first day [אַךְ בַּיּוֹם הָרִאשׁוֹן] *you shall cause to cease* [תַּשְׁבִּיתוּ] leaven from your houses; for whoever eats anything leavened from the first day until the seventh day, that soul will be cut off from Israel."[30] Hence, the first day of the Festival of Unleavened Bread, *Abib* 15, is הַשַּׁבָּת in Lev 23:11, because (and, I submit, only because[31]) it is the day of *cessation* of leaven, a requisitely unique שבת, occurring on an annual basis, according to Exod 12:15.[32]

Abib 15 (cf. Exod 12:18, where the fourteenth day of the month בָּעֶרֶב demarcates the commencement of *Abib* 15), Kleinig's position is bolstered by Num 33:3b, the only other instance of the phrase מִמָּחֳרַת הַפֶּסַח, where it clearly refers to the morning of *Abib* 15. Yet, because מִמָּחֳרַת has the ambivalent meaning of either "the following morning (of the same day)" or "the following day," it is possible that the phrase מִמָּחֳרַת הַפֶּסַח means "on the day after Passover" (i.e., *Abib* 16), rather than "on the morning after Passover" (i.e., the morning of *Abib* 15), as in Num 33:3b. In light of Lev 23:14, which prohibits consumption of the new harvest until the sheaf elevation rite is performed, it is *probable* that the Israelites ate the produce of the land on *Abib* 16, and therefore, that the phrase מִמָּחֳרַת הַפֶּסַח means "on the day after Passover" (i.e., *Abib* 16), in contrast to its usage in Num 33:3. This conclusion, of course, presumes that Josh 5:11–12 comports with Lev 23:10–14 and that the fundamental proposition advanced in this article is correct: the cessation of leaven in Exod 12:15 on the first day of the Feast of Unleavened Bread is the antecedent of the term הַשַּׁבָּת in Lev 23:11, and therefore the sheaf elevation rite was performed on *Abib* 16, מִמָּחֳרַת הַשַּׁבָּת, "on the day following the Sabbath." In Lev 23:11, the *nomen regens* מִמָּחֳרַת definitely means the following day (*Abib* 16), rather than the morning of *Abib* 15, because the *nomen rectum* הַשַּׁבָּת is identified with the first day of the feast (*Abib* 15) via Exod 12:15, without restriction to the evening thereof.

[30]This is also the seminal text concerning the Feast of Unleavened Bread. The divine address in which it occurs (Exod 12:1–20) was spoken on the very commencement of Israel's calendrical implementation: "the beginning of months" (v. 2).

[31]Even though all work *of servitude* is prohibited, and a holy convocation is proclaimed on the first (and seventh) day of the Festival of Unleavened Bread (Lev 23:7–8), thus endowing it with Sabbath character (i.e., שַׁבָּתוֹן, cf. vv. 24, 39), this appointed time does not thereby constitute שַׁבָּת. By contrast, the weekly Sabbath and the Day of Atonement prohibit all work without qualification and are designated שַׁבַּת שַׁבָּתוֹן. Furthermore, even though the designation הַשַּׁבָּת in verses 11, 15—uniquely deriving its שַׁבָּת-status from the cessation of leaven in Exod 12:15—applies to the first day of the festival, this does not elevate the first day of the festival to the high status of שַׁבַּת שַׁבָּתוֹן.

[32]Technically, the term הַשַּׁבָּת in Lev 23:11 refers to the event—the cessation of leaven—but also encompasses the day of the event. It does not extend beyond *Abib* 15, even though leaven was prohibited throughout the entire seven-day festival (Exod 12:18–19) because the cessation (*hiphil* of שבת) in verse 15 was specifically enjoined on the first day only: "Seven days you shall eat unleavened bread; *only* on the first day you shall cause leaven to cease from your houses" (שִׁבְעַת יָמִים מַצּוֹת תֹּאכֵלוּ אַךְ בַּיּוֹם הָרִאשׁוֹן תַּשְׁבִּיתוּ שְּׂאֹר מִבָּתֵּיכֶם). Here, the asseverative particle אַךְ denotes the singularity of the day, as it does in Exod 31:13; Lev 23:27, 29. See Francis Brown, "אַךְ," *BDB* 36. It is the *event* of cessation assigned to the first day, not the

A comparison with the LXX supports this conclusion. In Lev 23:11, it translates the phrase מִמָּחֳרַת הַשַּׁבָּת, "on[33] the day after the Sabbath," as τῇ ἐπαύριον τῆς πρώτης, "on the morrow of the first," rendering πρώτης for שַׁבָּת. Here, the antecedent for the adjective πρώτης is the phrase ἡ ἡμέρα ἡ πρώτη, "the first day," in verse 7, which phrase also appears in Exod 12:15 and refers in both instances to the first day of the Festival of Unleavened Bread.[34]

Leviticus 23:15 repeats the phrase מִמָּחֳרַת הַשַּׁבָּת, but in this second instance, the LXX renders the less interpretive translation ἀπὸ τῆς ἐπαύριον τῶν σαββάτων, "from the morrow (day after) the Sabbath," rather than repeat τῇ ἐπαύριον τῆς πρώτης. This inconsistency produced no confusion, since the prepositional phrase ἀπὸ τῆς ἐπαύριον τῶν σαββάτων is appositionally defined by the following prepositional phrase ἀπὸ τῆς ἡμέρας ἧς ἂν προσενέγκητε τὸ δράγμα τοῦ ἐπιθέματος,[35] "from the day when you bring the sheaf of the heave-offering," such that τῶν σαββάτων of verse 15a is clearly identified with τῆς πρώτης of verse 11.

Response to Anticipated Objections

Having argued the cessation of leaven in Exod 12:15 as the only rationale with requisite specificity for the term הַשַּׁבָּת in Lev 23:11, four objections may be anticipated: (1) no attested usage of שַׁבָּת as "cessation of leaven;" (2) the usage of שַׁבָּת is restricted to "cessation of labor;" (3) in the same pericope, שַׁבָּת has two different senses ("*Abib* 15" in vv. 11, 15a and "week" in vv. 15b–16); and (4) שַׁבָּת in verse 15b means "Sabbath-week" and therefore הַשַּׁבָּת in verse 11 must refer to a weekly Sabbath.

As to the first objection, admittedly this is a unique usage of the term שַׁבָּת, but such may be expected on account of the demand for such temporal particularity—i.e., this "Sabbath" is a particularly unique Sabbath.[36]

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resultant *state* throughout the festival, that constitutes הַשַּׁבָּת in verse 11. Consequently, the day after הַשַּׁבָּת cannot be the twenty-second of *Abib*; rather, it must be the second day of the festival (*Abib* 16).

[33]Milgrom notes, "The prefixed preposition *min* can mean 'on' and is interchangeable with *beth* (Sarna 1959)" (*Leviticus*, 2056–2057).

[34]Nevertheless, while the LXX translators were intentionally precise about the meaning of הַשַּׁבָּת, the rationale for their translation cannot be proven—that is, *why* they understood הַשַּׁבָּת as referring to the first day of the festival.

[35]The LXX employs a word-for-word translation of the Hebrew מִיּוֹם הֲבִיאֲכֶם אֶת־עֹמֶר הַתְּנוּפָה.

[36]In a similarly "unattested" manner, the noun מִקְרָא, which occurs twenty-three times in the Hebrew Bible and is translated "convocation" (Milgrom and Gane contend for "proclamation"; see n1 above) in twenty-one instances and "summoning" in one other (Num 10:2), has the unique and unquestioned semantic of "reading" in Neh 8:8. As per Num 10:2, Joüon classifies the term מִקְרָא as an "Aramaising" infinitive (i.e., an infinitive with a preformative מ) "*to convene the assembly*," rather than a substantive; he similarly treats the term מַסַּע in the same verse. See Paul Joüon and Takamitsu Muraoka, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, 3rd ed., *SubBi* 27 (Rome: Gregorian & Biblical Press, 2011), 135.

Furthermore, 25:6 also demonstrates a singular employment of the term שַׁבָּת, where it refers to the uncultivated produce of the earth as food during the sabbatical year.[37] Hence, this objection cannot stand.

As to the second objection, the semantic range of שַׁבָּת is irrefutably expanded beyond its typical definition of "cessation of labor" or "weekly Sabbath" by its usage within the very same speech unit. Leviticus 23:15b designates the period of time to be counted which commences with the sheaf elevation rite: שֶׁבַע שַׁבָּתוֹת תְּמִימֹת תִּהְיֶינָה, "there shall be seven complete *šabbātōt*." The plural שַׁבָּתוֹת must refer to seven-day periods, rather than to weekly Sabbaths, else the adjective תְּמִימֹת which modifies it would be superfluous—the denotation of a weekly Sabbath as either complete or incomplete would be nonsensical. Additionally, it is clear from 25:8 (the only other verse in the Hebrew Bible where the phrase שֶׁבַע שַׁבָּתוֹת appears) that the phrase refers to seven weeks, rather than to seven Sabbaths.[38] In verse 8, the phrase appears twice in the context of years: שֶׁבַע שַׁבָּתֹת שָׁנִים, "seven *šabbātōt* of years." In the first instance in verse 8a, the phrase is appositionally defined as שֶׁבַע שָׁנִים שֶׁבַע פְּעָמִים, "seven years seven times." The chiastic relationship between these two phrases, therefore, defines one שַׁבָּת שָׁנִים as a period of seven years (שֶׁבַע שָׁנִים) rather than merely the seventh year:

A	"seven"	שֶׁבַע	A
B	"weeks of years"	שַׁבָּתֹת שָׁנִים	B
B'	"seven years"	שֶׁבַע שָׁנִים	B'
A'	"seven times"	שֶׁבַע פְּעָמִים	A'

In the second instance in verse 8b, the phrase appears in the construct chain יְמֵי שֶׁבַע שַׁבָּתֹת הַשָּׁנִים, "the time [literally, days] of seven *šabbātōt* of years," which is appositionally defined as forty-nine years. Thus, again, one שַׁבָּת שָׁנִים fits best as a *week* of years rather than merely the Sabbatical year. Therefore, the term שַׁבָּתוֹת, in the same phrase שֶׁבַע שַׁבָּתוֹת in verse 15 refers to "weeks" rather than "Sabbath days." Accordingly, the semantic range of שַׁבָּת is not restricted to "cessation of labor."

As to the third objection,[39] the Sabbatical theme, predicated upon the weekly Sabbath which commences the chapter (v. 3), runs throughout chapter 23 as a unifying motif of the מִקְרָאֵי קֹדֶשׁ appointed by YHWH, such that שַׁבָּת exhibits a semantic range encompassing multiple meanings: weekly Sabbath (v. 2), week (v. 15), and Day of Atonement (v. 32). It is of no

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[37]Milgrom, *Leviticus*, 2034. I am indebted to Gane for sharing this insight.

[38]Leviticus 23:15–16 and 25:8 (twice) are the only instances where שַׁבָּת is translated ἑβδομάς in the LXX and where the term clearly means weeks.

[39]Milgrom asserts, "[I]t is difficult to conceive that the author or interpolator would use *šabbāt* in the same pericope in two different senses: the sabbath day (vv. 11, 15a) and the sabbath week (vv 15b, 16)" (*Leviticus*, 2060). He constrains the meaning of שַׁבָּת to "Sabbath-week" in the second speech unit, verses 9–22, on the basis of his theorized evolution of the text, particularly as modified by the conjectured interpolator, Pre-H$_2$. See nn8–9, 20.

significance that the term bears two senses in one speech unit, when it demonstrably exhibits three meanings in the unified topic of the chapter. As noted above, in specifying a time period to be counted, verses 15–16 exhibit dual meanings of שַׁבָּת, which are highlighted by the LXX's translation.[40] Whereas in verse 15a, which designates the starting *point*, the term שַׁבָּת means "the (day of) cessation of leaven," in verse 15b, which designates the *duration*, שַׁבָּתוֹת means "weeks": שֶׁבַע שַׁבָּתוֹת תְּמִימֹת תִּהְיֶינָה, "there shall be seven complete weeks." Please add the following sentence at the end of this paragraph: It is the adjective תְּמִימֹת that signals this semantic transition of שַׁבָּת in verse 15.

As to the fourth objection, indeed, if שַׁבָּתוֹת in verse 15b means "Sabbath-weeks," הַשַּׁבָּת in verse 11 fits best referring to a weekly Sabbath. However, the term שַׁבָּתוֹת in verse 15b is not restricted to the standard "Sabbath-week," as Milgrom contends,[41] but rather functions as a terminological surrogate for שָׁבֻעוֹת, "weeks," which simply indicates a seven-day period, not necessarily terminating on the Sabbath.[42] This terminological surrogacy for שָׁבֻעוֹת is due to the modifying adjective תְּמִימֹת, "complete," which requires that the שַׁבָּתוֹת, "weeks," be complete. This requirement (and thus the term תְּמִימֹת) would be superfluous if שַׁבָּתוֹת strictly meant standard "sabbath-weeks," because they, perforce, would be complete.[43]

[40]The LXX phonetically approximates the term הַשַּׁבָּת as τῶν σαββάτων, "the Sabbath," in verse 15a, but interpretively renders the plural שֶׁבַע שַׁבָּתוֹת as ἑπτὰ ἑβδομάδας, "seven weeks," in verse 15b and the singular הַשַּׁבָּת הַשְּׁבִיעִת, "the seventh week," as τῆς ἐσχάτης ἑβδομάδος, "the last week," in verse 16a.

[41]Ibid., 2060. Gane holds that the term שַׁבָּתוֹת in verse 15b refers to "weeks," which he sees as buttressing the argument that הַשַּׁבָּת "earlier in the same verse refers to the weekly Sabbath rather than a yearly ceremonial rest day" (Gane, *Leviticus*, 390). Effectively, Gane agrees with Milgrom in regard to שַׁבָּתוֹת meaning "sabbath-weeks" (i.e., seven-day cycles ending with the Sabbath day) in verses 15b–16.

[42]In the LXX, the Greek ἑβδομάς, like the Hebrew שָׁבוּעַ and the English "week," indicates a period of seven days, not necessarily aligned with the Sabbath-week (i.e., not necessarily ending on the seventh-day Sabbath).

Leviticus 12:5 and Ezek 45:21 unambiguously demonstrate the usage of שָׁבוּעַ for a period of seven days that is not aligned with the Sabbath-week. Contrastingly, no instance of שָׁבוּעַ unambiguously demonstrates its usage for a Sabbath-week! In Lev 12:5, the two-week (שְׁבֻעַיִם) period of a woman's ritual impurity, communicable by touch, commences with the birth of her daughter—an event that obviously need not occur on a Sunday. In Ezek 45:21, the Passover is appositionally defined as a festival of a week of days (הַפֶּסַח חָג שְׁבֻעוֹת יָמִים). This week of days, being calendrically tied to the fifteenth of *Abib*, is not confined to the Sabbath-week.

Unlike the two unambiguous instances of שָׁבוּעַ (Lev 12:5; Ezek 45:21), there are no instances in the LXX of ἑβδομάς unambiguously referring to either a Sabbath-week or a period of seven days not aligned with the Sabbath-week. This is because the LXX translates the two unambiguous instances of שָׁבוּעַ as ἑπτὰ ἡμέρας, "seven days," rather than ἑβδομάς.

[43]If שַׁבָּתוֹת meant "Sabbath-ending-weeks" in verse 15b, the preceding day, the orienting הַשַּׁבָּת of verse 15a, would have to be a weekly Sabbath, since there would be no other way in which the seven Sabbath-weeks could fit the fifty-day timeframe, as

Only when the seven-day period does not align with the standard "Sabbath-week" (i.e., when the seven-day period does not begin on the first day of the standard Sabbath-week) can there be an "incomplete week," meaning, of course, an incomplete standard week. The presence of תְּמִימֹת in verse 15, which precludes an incomplete standard week from being reckoned as one of the שַׁבָּתוֹת, indicates the anticipation of incomplete standard weeks, which, in turn, indicates that the שַׁבָּתוֹת do not begin, as a matter of course, on the first day of the standard week.[44] Thus, the שַׁבָּתוֹת are not restricted to standard Sabbath-weeks. Effectively, to avoid superfluity, תְּמִימֹת requires that each week terminate seven days after its commencement, irrespective of the Sabbath (the terminus of the standard week).

The parallel phrase שֶׁבַע שַׁבָּתוֹת in 25:8 lacks the adjective תְּמִימֹת, which, if present, would be superfluous, since the "weekly" cycle of years always terminates with the sabbatical year (i.e., the weekly cycle of years in ch. 25 is, per se, a standard week of years) and thus, is always "complete." Again, by contrast, the necessary presence of תְּמִימֹת in 23:15 implies that the weeks are not, as a matter of course, standard Sabbath-weeks, and therefore do not automatically commence on the first day of the standard week.

Leviticus 25:30 and Josh 10:13 may be adduced as further evidence to show that the adjective תָּמִים, when modifying time, refers to a non-standard period. In fact, these are the only other instances in the Hebrew Bible where תָּמִים is a temporal modifier. In Lev 25:30, the phrase שָׁנָה תְמִימָה, "complete year," refers to the time period allotted for the right of redemption of a dwelling house within a walled town. The corresponding phrase in verse 29 (תֹּם שְׁנַת מִמְכָּרוֹ יָמִים, "the completion of a full year of/from its sale,")[45] indicates

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required by verses 15b–16a. Thus, the seven שַׁבָּתוֹת would automatically be complete, rendering the term תְּמִימֹת superfluous. Further, the term תְּמִימֹת must do more than merely alter the meaning of שַׁבָּתוֹת from "Sabbath days" to "Sabbath-weeks," because such an alteration would effectuate no change in terms of calculating the day of new grain offering, which is the ultimate objective of verses 15–16. That is, it makes no difference whether one is to count seven Sabbath days or seven Sabbath-weeks, because the day following either count is the same. Thus, again, the interpretation of שַׁבָּתוֹת as "Sabbath-weeks" renders the term תְּמִימֹת superfluous and must therefore be rejected.

[44]As a corollary, the term הַשַּׁבָּת of verse 15a cannot mean "weekly Sabbath" or "Sabbath-week," because the weeks referred to by the term שַׁבָּתוֹת in verse 15b, which commence the day after הַשַּׁבָּת, do not, as a matter of course, begin on the first day of the standard week. That is, if הַשַּׁבָּת of verse 15a meant "weekly Sabbath" or "Sabbath-week," the שַׁבָּתוֹת of verse 15b would align with the standard week and thus be "complete," rendering the term תְּמִימֹת superfluous. This corollary is the reverse of the fourth objection.

[45]The key term in this corresponding phrase is the plural יָמִים, literally "days," which means "full" when in apposition to a time period (e.g., שְׁנָתַיִם יָמִים, "two full years," [Gen 41:1; 2 Sam 13:23; 14:28; Jer 28:3, 11]; חֹדֶשׁ יָמִים, "a full month," [Gen 29:14]; יֶרַח יָמִים "a full month" [Deut 21:13; 2 Kgs 15:13]; שְׁלֹשָׁה שָׁבֻעִים יָמִים, "three full weeks," [Dan 10:2–3]). If the term יָמִים is an appositional element of the prepositional phrase עַד־תֹּם שְׁנַת מִמְכָּרוֹ יָמִים, "until the completion of a full year of/from its sale," then the two terms prior to and succeeding the prepositional phrase,

that שָׁנָה תְמִימָה does not refer to the standard (i.e., calendrical) year, but to an equivalent period that commences upon the house's sale, which may occur at any point within the calendrical year.

In Josh 10:13, in response to Joshua's petition for the extension of daylight, the sun stopped in the middle of the sky and did not proceed to set כְּיוֹם תָּמִים, "for about a whole day." Again, the time period modified by the adjective תָּמִים does not refer to the commencement and termination of the standard יוֹם (that is, sunset to sunset), but to an equivalent period commencing with Joshua's prayer and terminating with the procession of sunset, which period, by its very nature, was not aligned with the commencement and termination of the standard period (i.e., that day was doubly long).

Therefore, by comparison with Lev 25:30 and Josh 10:13, wherein the time period as modified by the adjective תָּמִים indicates a duration equivalent to the complete standard period, but not confined to the commencement and termination of that standard period, the phrase שֶׁבַע שַׁבָּתוֹת תְּמִימֹת in Lev 23:15 indicates a duration of seven complete weeks, which are not confined to the standard Sabbath-week.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the antecedent of הַשַּׁבָּת in verses 11 and 15a cannot be determined on the basis of chapter 23 alone. Instead, the term הַשַּׁבָּת of verse 11 requires, as its antecedent to be found elsewhere, an explicit annual incident of שבת, occurring at the commencement of harvest. In the totality of biblical שבת incidents, only two are explicitly annual: the Day of Atonement and the cessation of leaven. Since the former does not occur at the

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וְהָיְתָה גְּאֻלָּתוֹ, "then his redemption right will be," and תִּהְיֶה גְּאֻלָּתוֹ, "his redemption right shall be,"), respectively, constitute an *inclusio*, utilizing the perfect and imperfect verbal forms that share the prepositional phrase. The LXX translates the text in this manner: καὶ ἔσται ἡ λύτρωσις αὐτῆς ἕως πληρωθῇ ἐνιαυτὸς ἡμερῶν ἔσται ἡ λύτρωσις αὐτῆς, "and its redemption will be until a year of days be fulfilled will be its redemption." The LXX lacks a term corresponding to מִמְכָּרוֹ, "its sale."

Alternatively, the plural יָמִים can mean "one year" (e.g., Gen 40:4; Judg 17:10; 19:2; 1 Sam 27:7; 29:3; 1 Kgs 17:15). For יָמִים meaning "yearly," see 1 Sam 1:21; 2:19; 20:6. For מִיָּמִים יָמִימָה meaning "from year to year," see also Exod 13:10; Judg 11:40; 21:19; 1 Sam 1:3; 2:19. The MT places the *ʾatnaḥ* under the term מִמְכָּרוֹ so that יָמִים is treated as part of a separate clause: יָמִים תִּהְיֶה גְּאֻלָּתוֹ, "his right of redemption shall be one year." Milgrom translates it so (*Leviticus*, 2147).

Either way, as Milgrom correctly states in his comment on יָמִים in Lev 25:29, "A full year is meant, as specified in the previous phrase 'the end of a year of its sale' and in the following verse *šānâ tḥmîmâ* 'one full year' (v. 30) . . . that is, a full year and not to the end of the calendar year" (ibid., 2198). If Milgrom applied the same logic to שֶׁבַע שַׁבָּתוֹת תְּמִימֹת as he does to *šānâ tḥmîmâ*, he would not confine the "seven full weeks" of 23:15b to the standard Sabbath-week, since, in his view, "one full year" in 25:29 is not confined to the standard calendar year. However, he inconsistently and erroneously holds that "the week's completeness is stressed [in 23:15b by תְּמִימֹת] to make sure that the week ends with the Sabbath" (ibid., 2001). Ironically, as shown above, תְּמִימֹת stresses the very opposite point.

commencement of harvest, the term הַשַּׁבָּת of verse 11 must point to the initial instructions concerning the Festival of Unleavened Bread in Exod 12:15 as the only possible referent with requisite specificity: the mandated cessation (*hiphil* of שבת) of leaven on the first day of the festival. Consequently, the term שַׁבָּתוֹת of Lev 23:15b must refer to weeks that are not restricted to standard Sabbath-ending weeks. Independently, this definition of שַׁבָּתוֹת is established by the presumed essentiality of its modifying adjective תְּמִימֹת, along with other instances in which תָּמִים modifies temporal terms. Comparison of the same phrase in 25:8 as in 23:15, שֶׁבַע שַׁבָּתוֹת, collaterally establishes the meaning of שַׁבָּתוֹת as "weeks" rather than "weekly Sabbaths." It was noted that the term הַשַּׁבָּת of verse 15a cannot mean "weekly Sabbath" or "Sabbath-week," if, as argued, the weeks referred to by the term שַׁבָּתוֹת in verse 15b do not begin, as a matter of course, on the first day of the standard week. The LXX confirms these exegetical conclusions by translating the terms הַשַּׁבָּת in verse 11 and שַׁבָּתוֹת in verse 15b (along with הַשַּׁבָּת in v. 16a), with the more interpretative terms τῆς πρώτης, "the first [of the Festival of Unleavened Bread]" in verse 11 and ἑβδομάδας "weeks" in verse 15b (along with ἑβδομάδος "week" in v. 16a). While verses 11 and 15a could have employed יוֹם הָרִאשׁוֹן, "the first day," or "the fifteenth of *Abib*," instead of הַשַּׁבָּת, and while verses 15b–16 and 25:8 could have employed שָׁבֻעוֹת, "weeks," instead of שַׁבָּתוֹת, at the cost of explicit clarity comes the benefit of thematic unity, rooted in the Sabbath.

THE JOHANNINE *COMMA* (1 JOHN 5:7–8): THE STATUS OF ITS TEXTUAL HISTORY AND THEOLOGICAL USAGE IN ENGLISH, GREEK, AND LATIN

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Abstract

This article presents a *status quaestionis* on the origin, transmission, and theological use of the Johannine *comma,* a section of 1 John 5:7–8, especially within English scholarly literature. Used as a Trinitarian proof text in the Middle Ages and late-Reformation England, this variant in 1 John 5 has been relegated to a mere side note in recent biblical scholarship. This article also contrasts the arguments of theologians from the time of Erasmus and the King James Bible with modern biblical scholarship. Though it is clear in English discussions that the *comma* is not in the early Greek manuscripts, the origin of this variant has not been well explored in Anglophone biblical literature. Thus, this article also aims to examine the evidence for the probable origin of the *comma* within third-century Latin Christianity. The article ends by highlighting some implications regarding the use of the *comma* for doctrinal purposes.

Keywords: 1 John 5, Trinity, *Comma*, Textual Criticism, Bible Versions, Walter Thiele, Erasmus, Cyprian.

Introduction

The word *comma* comes from the Greek, meaning a cut-off piece, or, when applied to texts, it means a short clause. The Johannine *comma* is a contentious phrase found in 1 John 5:7–8 in some Bible versions but not in others. The KJV renders it, "For there are three that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost: and these three are one. And there are three that bear witness in earth, the Spirit, and the water, and the blood: and these three agree in one." The Bible versions that do not have the *comma*, for example, the NIV, render the passage as, "For there are three that testify: the Spirit and the water and the blood; and the three are in agreement." Were it not for its theological content, the *comma* would just be one of many variants of no particular importance that exist in the New Testament books.[1] However,

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[1]For a list and discussion of variant texts of the New Testament, see Bruce M. Metzger, *The Text of the New Testament: Its Transmission, Corruption, and Restoration*, enl. 3rd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992); Bruce M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament,* 2nd ed. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft; New York: United Bible Societies, 1994).

the doctrinal debates about the Godhead in Christian history propelled this manuscript variant into the limelight.

Although much good information about the *comma* is available in English, some ambiguities remain. No published source is up to date with the latest text-critical findings as presented on the Internet by Daniel B. Wallace.[2] Currently, the most complete discussion of manuscripts containing the *comma* is found in an open-source article on *Wikipedia*, which does not meet academic standards and does not consistently give adequate references to support its claims.[3] This present article includes a review of the usage of the *comma* in theological materials and biblical commentaries in English, summarizing the *status quaestionis* of the probable origins and history of this variant reading of 1 John 5:7–8. The material gathered here can be used as an aid to those who interact with Christians that consider the *comma* normative for doctrine within Trinitarian debates.

Background

In seventeenth-century England, two popular preachers used the *comma* to bolster their argumentation against anti-Trinitarians. Benjamin Needler (1620–1682) and John Goodwin (1594–1665) not only used the KJV rendition of the passage, but accused critics of the *comma* of tampering with the text and removing a legitimate part of Scripture.[4] This was the spirit of the time. Perspectives on the *comma* have changed, and most English expositions of 1 John 5:7–8 today do not refer to the Trinity. Similarly, expositions on the Trinity do not use the *comma* as support for their theological point of view. Thus, if a pastor today is assigned to teach his congregation concerning the Christian doctrine of the Trinity, and he or she depends on recent theological dictionary articles[5] and books in English (from the twentieth and

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[2]Daniel B. Wallace, "The *Comma Johanneum* in an Overlooked Manuscript," 2 July 2010, http://www.csntm.org/tcnotes/archive/TheCommaJohanneumInAn OverlookedManuscript.

[3]"*Comma Johanneum*," *Wikipedia*, 21 May 2018, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/ Comma_Johanneum.

[4]See Paul Chang-Ha Lim, *Mystery Unveiled: The Crisis of the Trinity in Early Modern England*, OSHT (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012). More will be said on Needler and Goodwin later in the article.

[5]E.g., C. Draina, "Trinity, Holy (in the Bible)," *ER* 14:201–202; D. Larry Gregg, "Trinity," *EDB* 1336–1337; C. F. H. Henry, "Trinity," *The Zondervan Encyclopedia of the Bible* 5:939–941; O. Kirn, "Trinity, Doctrine of the," *The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge* 12:18–22; C. Plantinga Jr., "Trinity," *ISBE* 4:914–921; Philip A. Rolnick, "Trinity," *The Encyclopedia of Christianity* 5:540–546; Geoffrey Wainwright, "Trinity," *Dictionary for Theological Interpretation of the Bible* 815–818. We found only one article about the Trinity that mentions (briefly) the existence of the *comma* and dismisses it as "not an authentic part of the NT" (F. F. Bruce, "Trinity," *IDB* 4:711). One should be mindful that there is a dictionary article specifically about the *comma* in the *ABD*. See Carroll D. Osburn, "Johannine Comma," *ABD* 3:882–883.

twenty-first centuries) on systematic theology,[6] New Testament theology,[7] or the history of doctrine,[8] the lecture most likely would not contain the passage

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[6]E.g., E. Calvin Beisner, *God in Three Persons* (Wheaton, IL: Tyndale House, 1984); Millard J. Erickson, *Christian Theology*, 3rd ed. (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2013), 291–315; Wayne A. Grudem, *Systematic Theology: An Introduction to Biblical Doctrine* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1994), 226–261; Norman R. Gulley, *God as Trinity*, vol. 2 of *Systematic Theology*, 4 vols. (Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 2011); R. P. C. Hanson, *The Attractiveness of God: Essays in Christian Doctrine* (London: SPCK, 1973); Charles Hodge, *Systematic Theology*, 3 vols. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1952), 1:442–448; Albert C. Knudson, *The Doctrine of God* (New York: Abingdon, 1930); William J. La Due, *The Trinity Guide to the Trinity* (Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 2003); Declan Marmion and Rik Van Nieuwenhove, *An Introduction to the Trinity*, Introduction to Religion (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011); Alister E. McGrath, *Understanding the Trinity* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1988); David L. Miller, *Three Faces of God: Traces of the Trinity in Literature and Life* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1986); Jürgen Moltmann, *History and the Triune God: Contributions to Trinitarian Theology* (New York: Crossroad, 1992); Thomas C. Oden, *Classic Christianity: A Systematic Theology* (New York: HarperOne, 2009), 41–45, 105–124; Richard J. Plantinga, Thomas R. Thompson, and Matthew D. Lundberg, *An Introduction to Christian Theology*, Introduction to Religion (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 109–146; Paul Tillich, *Systematic Theology*, 3 vols. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967), 1:211–289; Thomas F. Torrance, *The Christian Doctrine of God: One Being Three Persons*, Cornerstone Series (London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2016).

[7]Here are some works from a variety of perspectives that do not mention the *comma* at all in their books. The pages referenced below indicate the section(s) in which one would expect to find a discussion on the matter. Rudolf Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament*, trans. K. Grobel, 2 vols. (New York: Scribner, 1951–1955), 1:22–25; James D. G. Dunn, *Christology in the Making: A New Testament Inquiry into the Origins of the Doctrine of the Incarnation* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1980); idem, *New Testament Theology: An Introduction*, Library of Biblical Theology (Nashville: Abingdon, 2009), 41–70; Philip Francis Esler, *New Testament Theology: Communion and Community* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2005), 60–62; George Eldon Ladd, *A Theology of the New Testament*, rev. ed. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993), 79–89, 657–665; Donald Guthrie, *New Testament Theology* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1981), 75–115; I. Howard Marshall, "Johannine Epistles," in *Theological Interpretation of the New Testament: A Book-by-book Survey,* ed. Kevin J. Vanhoozer, Daniel J. Treier, and N. T. Wright (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2008), 270; I. Howard Marshall, *New Testament Theology: Many Witnesses, One Gospel* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2004), 529–547; Frank Thielman, *Theology of the New Testament: A Canonical and Synthetic Approach* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2005), 536–555. Some introductions to the New Testament refer to the *comma* but do so as a note to textual criticism, affirming that the text is irrelevant for learning the theology of 1 John. In this case, like the biblical commentaries, the *comma* is not used as part of the discussion on the message of the book. E.g., David Arthur DeSilva, *An Introduction to the New Testament: Contexts, Methods, and Ministry Formation* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2004), 303.

[8]E.g., Khaled Anatolios, *Retrieving Nicaea: The Development and Meaning of Trinitarian Doctrine* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2011); Lewis Ayres, *Nicaea and*

of 1 John 5:7–8. In the same vein, if the same pastor were asked to preach on this passage, and the sermon preparation depended on biblical commentaries, the Trinity would not be the central point. What has changed in Christianity between the seventeenth and twenty-first centuries? The major influence on the shift of attitude toward this particular biblical text was the development of textual criticism, along with more reliable information about the different manuscripts of the Bible. Now, very few scholarly works, if any, adopt the *comma* as authentic.

Erasmus and the Debate of Scriptural Origins

In the sixteenth century, Desiderius Erasmus (of Rotterdam) published his editions of the Greek New Testament.[9] Based on a variety of known manuscripts, his first two editions of the New Testament did not contain the *comma* in 1 John 5:7–8. Critics of his work very quickly accused him of anti-Trinitarianism and sloppy editing. He responded to Edward Lee in a letter, saying that he did not find any Greek manuscript that differed from the text of the Greek New Testament that he had published. It has been purported that Erasmus later wrote that if he could be shown one Greek manuscript with the variant, he would include it in his next edition (though it is doubtful that Erasmus ever made such a promise).[10] Shortly afterward, around 1520, a *Codex* from Britain came to light, which did contain the variant; it became known as *Codex Britannicus* or *Montfortianus*.[11] Therefore, whether or not Erasmus actually saw the manuscript or promised to include the *comma*, the fact is that he did include it (in its entirety) in his next edition, which was published in 1522. What concerns us here is the theological argumentation and interpretations of 1 John 5:7–8 and the variant of this text.

Grantley McDonald provides a good summary of the arguments between Erasmus and the inquisitors concerning the *comma*. The Spanish inquisitors

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its Legacy: An Approach to Fourth-Century Trinitarian Theology (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004); Matthew W. Bates, *The Birth of the Trinity: Jesus, God, and Spirit in New Testament and Early Christian Interpretations of the Old Testament* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015); R. P. C. Hanson, *The Search for the Christian Doctrine of God: The Arian Controversy, 318–381* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2005).

[9]The actual title of Erasmus's publication of the Greek New Testament was *Novum Instrumentum Omne*. For a detailed discussion, see Daniel B. Wallace, "Erasmus and the Book that Changed the World Five Hundred Years Ago," *Unio Cum Christo* 2.2 (2016): 29–48.

[10]Henk Jan de Jonge and Grantley McDonald have rejected this as myth. For one example of the story of the promise to include the *comma*, see Marc A. Schindler, "The Johannine Comma: Bad Translation, Bad Theology," *Di* 29.3 (1996): 163. For the latest discussion on this issue, see Grantley Robert McDonald, *Biblical Criticism in Early Modern Europe: Erasmus, the Johannine Comma, and the Trinitarian Debate* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 150–151; idem, "Erasmus and the Johannine Comma (I John 5.7–8)," *BT* 67.1 (2016): 49–50; H. J. de Jonge, "Erasmus and the Comma Johanneum," *ETL* 56.4 (1980): 381–389.

[11]McDonald, *Biblical Criticism*, 33–37. McDonald assumes and gives evidence for Erasmus probably seeing *Codex Britannicus*, but this does not prove that he actually saw it.

of Valladolid accused Erasmus of threatening the notion of scriptural canon by omitting the *comma* from his editions of the Greek New Testament. However, the accusers were not at all in agreement in all particulars. Some agreed with Erasmus that the passage was not well attested in early Greek manuscripts, and that the *comma* itself was not sufficient to prove the doctrine of the Trinity, thus requiring support from other biblical passages. Others were adamant in their position that the doctrinal usage of the *comma* by the church conferred canonicity (authority) to this passage, despite the lack of manuscript tradition. The major assumption of this later argument was that whatever the church transmitted was the correct text. Any variation was seen as a deviation from orthodoxy.[12] Thus, "Erasmus had implicitly raised the question whether canonical books might contain uncanonical elements. He had also questioned the source of canonicity: does it lie in the consensus of the manuscript tradition or in the long usage of the church?"[13]

Interestingly, Erasmus and the inquisitors agreed upon one thing: the *comma,* in itself, did not solve the problem of heresy concerning the Trinity. Take, for example, Peter Lombard and Thomas Aquinas, who both had to infuse the passage with Trinitarian meaning even when the inclusion of the *comma* was well attested in the biblical tradition of their time. On the other hand, Erasmus, Martin Luther, John Calvin, and Theodore Beza, who eventually accepted the *comma* with reservations,[14] gave different explanations than the Trinitarian reading of the scholastics. The controversial issue was the meaning of oneness in the phrase "these three are one." While Aquinas and Lombard affirmed that the text referred to ontological unity between three persons, the aforementioned theologians of the Protestant Reformation interpreted the language of unity in this passage to mean one, single testimony about Jesus; thus, on their view, it did not articulate essential sameness of the three divine beings. Therefore, they used the *comma* christologically rather than in connection with the Trinity. During the Reformation, then, the tradition regarding the interpretation of this passage took a turn.

Conversely, Tertullian and Cyprian of Carthage certainly used the words "these three are one," and they applied them to the Trinity. Similarly, as we already noted, Lombard and Aquinas applied "there are three that testify in heaven" to the Trinity. The comma probably took its many forms, with its inclusion of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, from this kind of theological reading. Demonstrating this further, when Erasmus answered his accuser, Jacobus Stunica, one of the editors of the *Complutensian Polyglot* Bible from Spain (which included the *comma*), he reported that the manuscript brought from England did not include the phrase "these three are one" in the text of

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[12]McDonald, "Erasmus," 51–53. For a fuller discussion, see his latest book, *Biblical Criticism*.

[13]McDonald, "Erasmus," 51.

[14]See discussion on Ezra Abbot, "I John 5, v.7 and Martin Luther's German Bible," in *The Authorship of the Fourth Gospel and Other Critical Essays,* ed. Ezra Abbot (Boston: Ellis, 1888), 458–463.

1 John 5, and yet contained the *comma*.[15] Again, however, it is not clear as to whether or not Erasmus actually saw the *Codex*. This report is important not only because it shows that there were a variety of readings of these verses but also because the focus of the author(s) of *Codex Britannicus* was not the language of the unity of the three—as it was in the writings of Tertullian, Cyprian, Lombard, and Aquinas—but the reference to the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.

A Matter of Perspective

From the time of Erasmus onward, there was a plurality of interpretations and versions of 1 John 5:7–8. English Bibles were produced both with and without the *comma*.[16] For example, the Douay–Rheims Bible (1582) and a critical edition of the New Testament by William Bowyer (1699–1777)[17] do not consider it authentic. Meanwhile, the translations of Tyndale and the KJV, as well as the earlier translation of the Vulgate by Wycliffe and his team, have the *comma* in the text.

Preachers, who lived after the time of Erasmus, were also divided in their reading of 1 John 5. It can be seen in their sermonic usage of the *comma* that the differing opinions about 1 John 5:7–8 were more a matter of how to read the text than about the textual evidence for some of its words. An already mentioned example of this is the two preachers, Needler and Goodwin, who, in seventeenth century England, vehemently attacked the positions of John Biddle and those like him who did not use 1 John 5 as they did. Needler and Goodwin argued strongly that not only was the *comma* original but also that it taught Trinitarian orthodoxy—a unity of essence between three divine beings. However, Biddle, a Protestant scholar from Oxford who taught in Gloucester, was of the belief that the *comma* was spurious and that the language of unity, "these three are one," was about consent in witness and not about divine ontology.[18] Goodwin attacked Roman Catholics, Socinians, and

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[15]McDonald, "Erasmus," 49.

[16]English versions which included the *comma* are as follows: Tyndale (1525/1535), Great Bible (1539/1540), Geneva Bible (1560/1562), Bishop's Bible (1568/1602), and KJV (1611/1863). Additionally, here are some versions without the *comma*: Rheims (1582), RV (1881), ASV (1901), and RSV (1946/1960). They are all placed in parallel columns in one single volume in *The New Testament Octapla: Eight English Versions of the New Testament,* ed. Luther A. Weigler (New York: Thomas Nelson, 1962), 1366–1369.

[17]Bruce M. Metzger and Bart D. Ehrman, *The Text of the New Testament: Its Transmission, Corruption, and Restoration*, 4th ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 162. While the Douay-Rheims Bible does not have the *comma* in the text, the version produced by Bowyer has it in brackets like other questionable passages (Matt 6:13; John 7:53–8:11), since he esteemed it dubious for lack of good manuscript evidence.

[18]Lim, *Mystery Unveiled*, 38–39, 55–60. Lim explains how Biddle read the writings of the Church Fathers, such as Tertullian and Cyprian, who used the language of unity from 1 John 5 in application to the Godhead yet not in a Trinitarian fashion. This supports the point that the text, in itself, did not produce just one reading.

Arians in addition to Biddle, accusing them of twisting the biblical text and jeopardizing the truth.[19] Interestingly, both parties accused one another of tampering with the text. Notice that the same accusation brought by Goodwin against Roman Catholics was used years before by Spanish inquisitors against Erasmus. However, the Douay-Rheims Bible, which was produced by Roman Catholics after Erasmus, renders it without the *comma*. Here we see the complex history of Christian usage of 1 John 5:7–8. Paul Lim describes this British debate as an "unbridgeable gap" between the different perspectives that can only be understood when one considers "the metaphysical presuppositions that guided, if not governed, their scriptural hermeneutics."[20]

Further examples may suffice to show the similarity of the debates about the *comma* in later England and the United States of America. John Wesley, in his *Explanatory Notes on the New Testament*, defends the usage of the *comma* for Trinitarian purposes.[21] Meanwhile, Jonathan Edwards,[22] the famous preacher of the First Great Awakening, and Ellen G. White,[23] a leader of Seventh-day Adventism, wrote about God in a Trinitarian framework without the use of 1 John 5:7–8 to make their argument. As in many denominations, Seventh-day Adventism shows a diversity of usage regarding this biblical passage throughout its history. For example, in some early Adventist periodicals the *comma* is found within descriptions of the beliefs of Seventh Day Baptists, who used it as a proof text for the Trinity.[24] Some early Adventist authors used

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[19]Ibid., 168. It is important to understand that the reference to Arians here and throughout history is loosely applied and is not clear as to what it exactly means in the discussion about the doctrine of God. What is clear is that Goodwin is using it in a pejorative way. About Arianism as a catchword for heresy, see J. Rebecca Lyman, "Arius and Arians," in *Oxford Handbook of Early Christian Studies,* ed. Susan Ashbrook Harvey and David G. Hunter (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 237–257.

[20]Lim, *Mystery Unveiled,* 163.

[21]John Wesley, *Explanatory Notes upon the New Testament* (London: Epworth, 1948), 917–918. Wesley's idea is that John had the Trinity in mind when he elaborated on the three witnesses to Christ's earthly ministry. The same argument is made by the British Catholic scholar, Ronald Arbuthnott Knox. Interestingly, Knox does not ascertain the apostolic authenticity of the *comma*, but presents it as "what was in John's mind." See *The Later Epistles and the Apocalypse,* A New Testament Commentary for English Readers 3 (New York: Sheed & Ward, 1956), 170–171.

[22]For Edwards's texts on the Trinity with comments, see Steven M. Studebaker and Robert W. Caldwell III, *The Trinitarian Theology of Jonathan Edwards: Text, Context, and Application* (Burlington, VT; Farnham, Surrey, UK: Ashgate, 2012).

[23]A search of 1 John 5 and the phrase "these three are one" in the Ellen G. White Writings web-based software (www.egwwritings.org) produced no results of her using the passage of 1 John 5:7 or 8. In her well known statement about Christ's divinity in *The Desire of Ages* (Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press, 1898), 530, she did use 1 John 5:12, but not the previous verses.

[24]E.g., "The Lectures of Eld. D. P. Hall," *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald* 6.23 (20 February 1855): 180; "A General History of the German Seventh-day Baptists," *The Adventist Review and Sabbath Herald* 9.15 (12 February 1857): 123.

the words "these three are one" to counterargue a particular understanding of the unity between Jesus and God.[25] Other articles employed the same language of unity from 1 John 5 to present a view of divine and ecclesiological unity.[26] Yet another set of articles utilized the same language of unity for anthropological purposes[27] or referred to 1 John 5:7–8 without the *comma* to explain baptism and the divine witness to Jesus as the Christ.[28] The current, standard understanding of the *comma* among Adventist scholars can be illustrated by Angel Rodriguez, who, after a discussion of textual criticism, concludes, "The Trinity is a biblical doctrine, and you can preach about it. But you should not use this text."[29]

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[25]E.g., "The Trinity," *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald* 9.19 (12 March 1857): 146; D. W. Hull, "Bible Doctrine of the Divinity of Christ," *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald* 14.25 (10 November 1859): 194. Hull's article is the only one found in nineteenth-century Adventist periodicals that mentions the *comma* as a gloss, citing Adam Clarke. See also Thomas M. Preble, *The Two Adams* (n.p., 1864?). In chapter four, on the divinity of Jesus, Preble wrote, "Because it is said of Christ that he and his Father are one; it does not mean that Jesus was his own Father! And because they are one in attributes or power; they are not one, numerically! for there are three that bear record in heaven, and these three are one—these three agree in one! 1 John 5:7, 8. Although the Father and the Son are one, it is equally true that Jesus spoke understandingly when he said, 'My Father is greater than I!' Why is the Father greater than the Son? Because the Father 'made' the Son; and yet Jesus said, 'The Son can do nothing of himself, but what he seeth the Father do.' All the power, therefore, that the Son possesses, was given him by his Father" (ibid., 18–19). The language of unity related to the Godhead is also used by John. N. Andrews, when describing the beliefs of the Catholic Inquisitors against the Cathars. Here, there could be an indirect attack on the Trinitarian understanding of Roman Christians, since the beliefs attributed to the Cathars are similar to Seventh-day Adventists during his time. See John N. Andrews, "Traces of the Sabbath During the Dark Ages," *The Adventist Review and Sabbath Herald* 19.24 (1862): 185.

[26]E.g., [Alonzo T. Jones], "Editorial Note," *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald* 76.2 (10 January 1899): 24. Merlin Burt, Director of the Center for Adventist Research, has suggested to us in conversation that the author is most probably A. T. Jones.

[27]"As to man's nature, I premise, that my views and Bro. Cornell's are not at all alike. I believe and maintain—I have always done so—that man is a Trinity in unity—soul, body and spirit. These three are one—not one in substance, but three. One in that sense that they are inseparably identified in the man" (S. A. Taft, "Communication from Eld. S. A. Taft," *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald* 12.19 [30 September 1858]: 145).

[28]E.g., Ellet J. Waggoner "Notes on the International Sunday-School Lessons. The Source of Power. Zechariah 4:1–14," *The Present Truth* 15 (7 September 1899): 36; idem, *The Glad Tidings* (Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press, 1900), 154.

[29]Ángel Manuel Rodríguez, "1 John 5:7," 14 May 1998, https://adventist biblicalresearch.org/materials/bible-nt-texts/1-john-57. See also Francis D. Nichol, ed. "The First Epistle General of John," in *Philippians to Revelation*, Seventh-day Adventist Bible Commentary 7 (Washington, DC: Review & Herald, 1980), 675; Denis Fortin, "God, the Trinity, and Adventism: An Introduction to the Issues," *JATS* 17.1 (2006): 5.

These examples demonstrate the diversity of ways in which Christian interpreters have employed the language of 1 John 5:7–8, with and without the *comma*. This multiplicity of views is not confined to any one particular Christian denomination. As discussed below, most English Bible commentaries or Christian theologies of the last two centuries do not interpret the passage in a Trinitarian way. However, there are still those who read it as a Trinitarian text and are accused by non-Trinitarians of misusing Scripture.[30]

Bible Commentaries and the Johannine Comma

As stated earlier in the article, if a pastor was asked to preach on 1 John 5:7–8 today, and the sermon preparation depended on recent Bible commentaries, the Trinity would not be the central point. Most of the data of recent Bible commentaries do not include the *comma* as part of their readings of 1 John 5. Importantly, the Bible versions used by Bible commentators do not adopt the variant. Therefore, the *comma* is typically addressed only in a side note, if it is even mentioned.[31]

What is of interest to us here is the argumentation that Bible commentators utilize regarding the manuscript attestation of the *comma* in Greek and Latin and their dates. Both of these text-critical data are employed as indicators of a probable origin of this reading. A review of this data reveals that there is no consensus on the earliest date of the *comma* in Greek. Furthermore, the Latin origin of the *comma* is discussed only by a few commentators.

Of the consulted commentaries that assert that the *comma* was a gloss to the Greek text, all of them present the late Greek manuscript attestation as evidence for this assertion. However, they often disagree about or misinterpret the evidence that indicates the actual age (how early or late) of this Greek variant. In the commentaries, the earliest dates assigned to the first

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[30]One recent example of a defender of the Trinitarian reading of the *comma* and its authenticity is Michael Maynard, *A History of the Debate Over 1 John 5:7–8* (Tempe, AZ: Comma, 1995). For one example of anti-Trinitarian accusations, see Ken Allen, "The Trinity—Fact or Fiction?," n.d., http://www.auburn.edu/~allenkc/trinity.html. It is noteworthy to see that the United Church of God, a Christian denomination that is not Trinitarian, in their official statements on their website do not refer to 1 John 5 in their criticism of Trinitarian misusage of Scriptures. See United Church of God, "What about Passages that 'Prove' the Trinity?" n.d., https://www.ucg.org/bible-study-tools/booklets/is-god-a-trinity/what-about-passages-that-prove-the-trinity). So, again, in contemporary times, we see multiple perspectives on the issue.

[31]The following two commentaries do not mention the *comma* at all: Gerald Bray, ed., *James, 1–2 Peter, 1–3 John, Jude,* ACCS 11 (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2000), 223–224; Alan England Brooke, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Johannine Epistles*, ICC 42 (New York: Scribner, 1912), 137–138. The absence in the first commentary is noteworthy for our purposes because it contains collections of early Christian interpreters of the Bible. This suggests that, early in the history of Christian interpretation, the *comma* was not an issue, as is explored below. An additional commentary just remarks that the *comma* is "obviously a late gloss with no merit." So no further explanation is given. See Glenn W. Barker, "I John," *The Expositor's Bible Commentary* 12 (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1981), 353.

available biblical manuscript in Greek with the *comma* span five centuries. Some commentaries affirm that the earliest Greek manuscript evidence is from the sixteenth century,[32] while others claim it is from the fifteenth,[33] fourteenth,[34] thirteenth,[35] and as early as the twelfth century.[36] Most of them do not explain the variants themselves[37] but refer to or depend upon the works

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[32]See Henry Alford, *The Epistles of St. John and St. Jude and the Revelation*, 2 vols., The Greek Testament 4 (Cambridge: Rivingtons, Deighton, Bell, 1866), 2:503; Gary M. Burge, *The Letters of John: From Biblical Text to Contemporary Life*, The NIV Application Commentary (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1996), 203.

[33]See "The First Epistle General of John," 675; Daniel L. Akin, *1, 2, 3 John*, NAC 38 (Nashville: Broadman & Holman, 2001), 198; Robert W. Yarbrough, *1–3 John*, BECNT (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2008), 293.

[34]See Karen H. Jobes, *1, 2, and 3 John*, Zondervan Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2014), 222; George R. Knight, *Exploring the Letters of John & Jude: A Devotional Commentary* (Hagerstown, MD: Review & Herald, 2009), 159; I. Howard Marshall, *The Epistles of John*, NICNT 16 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1978), 236; Ekkehardt Mueller, *The Letters of John* (Nampa, ID: Pacific Press, 2009), 85; Bruce G. Schuchard, *1–3 John*, ConcC (Saint Louis: Concordia, 2012), 512.

[35]See Gary W. Derickson, *1, 2, & 3 John*, Evangelical Exegetical Commentary (Bellingham, WA: Lexham, 2014), 513.

[36]See Stephen S. Smalley, *1, 2, and 3 John*, WBC 51 (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2008), 260.

[37]Marshall is an exception and gives two lists of Greek biblical manuscripts (*The Epistles of John*, 236). The first list is from the first edition of Metzger's *A Textual Commentary*, published in 1971: MSS 61, 88mg, 629, 635mg. Please note that "635mg" was apparently a typographical error in Metzger's first edition (635, without mg) that in his later work (idem, 2nd ed., 1994) is corrected to "636v.r." Unfortunately, Marshall followed Metzger's typo, causing more confusion. Also note that "mg" is used to designate a marginal reading, that is, a reading which is not included as the text of Scripture but is written in the margin of the manuscript, either at the time the manuscript was copied or later and "without being identified as either a correction or an alternative reading" (NA28, 59*). In comparison, a superscript vl stands for the Latin *varia lectio*, which designates an alternative reading identified in the manuscript itself. Thus, the difference between an mg and a vl is the identification in the manuscript itself of the purpose for the gloss. In this article, we adopt the Latin abbreviation, vl, used by Nestle-Aland instead of the anglicized vr (variant reading) used by Bruce Metzger.
The second list Marshall gives is from the critical apparatus of *The Greek New Testament* from UBS[3]: MSS 61, 88mg, 429mg, 629, 636mg, 918. Although not a commentary, Osburn's article ("Johannine Comma," 3:882–883) is helpful at this point. Osburn also gives two lists of Greek biblical manuscripts: the first list attesting the *comma* in the text (MSS 61, 629, 918 and 2318) and the second list consisting of references in the margin (MSS 88, 221, 429, 635 and 636) (ibid.). Again, the inclusion of manuscript 635 is apparently residual from the typo in Metzger's first edition of *Text of the New Testament* as copied by Marshall (*The Epistles of John*, 236). Metzger clarifies that manuscript 636 includes the *comma* in a marginal reading, not 635 (*A Textual Commentary,* 2nd ed., 648).

of Raymond Edward Brown,[38] Bruce Metzger,[39] Rudolf Schnackenburg,[40] Georg Strecker,[41] and/or Brooke Foss Westcott.[42] These latter works[43] are the best scholarly and most up-to-date discussions in English about the manuscript history of the Johannine *comma*. To them we turn next.

Regarding the earliest evidence of the *comma* in a Greek manuscript of 1 John, all five of these authors (Brown, Metzger, Schnackenburg, Strecker, and Westcott) cite MS 629 (*Codex Ottobonianus*). This manuscript is dated no earlier than the fourteenth century (for the other manuscript evidences, see **tab. 1**).[44] There is dubious or incomplete information given by Brown, Metzger, and Strecker regarding the date of another manuscript which contains the *comma* as a marginal addition. Manuscript 221[vl] (from the Bodleian Library of Oxford) is listed by all three of them and dated to the tenth century. The addition of the *comma* in the margin, however, is not dated by any of these works.[45] Clearly, it must be after the origin of the manuscript in the tenth

[38]Raymond Edward Brown, *The Epistles of John*, AB 30 (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1982). Brown recognizes that his information about manuscripts is from Metzger, *A Textual Commentary*, 776n3. It is important to notice that, even though Brown used the first edition of Metzger's list with the typo of MSS 635, he corrects this type to MS 636, unlike Marshall.

[39]Metzger, *Text of the New Testament*, 2nd ed., 101. In this edition, there is no list of manuscripts provided. See also idem, *A Textual Commentary*, 715–716. For the list of manuscripts that contain the *comma* to which the others refer, see idem, 2nd ed., 647–648.

[40]Rudolf Schnackenburg, *The Johannine Epistles*, trans. Reginald Fuller and Ilse Fuller (New York: Crossroad, 1992).

[41]Georg Strecker, *The Johannine Letters: A Commentary on 1, 2, and 3 John*, trans. Linda M. Maloney, Hermeneia—A Critical and Historical Commentary on the Bible (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1996).

[42]Brooke Foss Westcott, *The Epistles of St. John: The Greek Text with Notes and Essays* (London: Macmillan, 1883); idem, 3rd ed. (Cambridge; London: Macmillan, 1892).

[43]The five authors (excluding Schnackenburg) are also the only references given in the important work of Roger L. Omanson. See *A Textual Guide to the Greek New Testament: An Adaptation of Bruce M. Metzger´s Textual Commentary for Needs of Translators* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2006). On the back of the cover page it is explained that this is "intended to be used with the fourth edition of the United Bible Societies' Greek New Testament."

[44]Brown, Strecker, and Westcott give a range between the fourteenth and fifteenth century (Brown, *The Epistles of John,* 776; Strecker, *The Johannine Letters*, 189; and Westcott, *The Epistles of St. John*, 3rd ed., 207), while Metzger suggests a range from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century (Metzger, *Text of the New Testament*, 3rd ed., 101–102). It is worth noticing that Westcott only gives this single Greek biblical manuscript (MS 629) as evidence in his discussion (Westcott, *The Epistles of St. John*, 3rd ed., 207), and this is the only Greek biblical manuscript before Erasmus which has the *comma* in the text instead of as a marginal note.

[45]This is also the situation in other works on textual criticism, such as Kurt Aland, *Kurzgefasste Liste der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments*, rev. and enl. ed.,

century, but exactly how long after has not been argued in print.[46] One is left wondering whether the date could be established by studying the actual manuscript. Thus, there is the slight possibility that MS 221 could actually contain the earliest Greek biblical manuscript appearance of the *comma*, earlier than the fourteenth century MS 629, but merely as a marginal variant.

Table 1. Biblical Manuscripts that Attest the Johannine *Comma* in 1 John 5:7–8[a]

MSS No.	Name/Place	Date	Discussions
61	*Codex Montfortianus* or *Britannicus* from Dublin, Ireland (used by Erasmus in his 1522 edition, which includes the *comma*)	sixteenth century MS	Brown, Metzger, Schnackenburg, and Strecker
88[vl]	*Codex Regius* of Naples, Italy	eleventh to fourteenth century MS with a marginal gloss from sixteenth or seventeenth century	Metzger (2002)[b]—eleventh or fourteenth century MS with sixteenth century gloss; Metzger (1992) and Schnackenburg—twelfth century MS with seventeenth century gloss; Brown and Strecker—twelfth century MS with sixteenth century gloss
221[vl]	Bodleian Library of Oxford	tenth century MS with a marginal gloss that needs dating[c]	Brown, Metzger, and Strecker
429[vl]	*Codex Wolfenbüttel* from Germany	sixteenth century MS with undated gloss[d]	Brown, Metzger, and Strecker

ANTF 1 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1994), 60. We consulted the New Testament Virtual Manuscript Room at the Institute für neutestamentliche Textforschung from the Muenster database (http://ntvmr.uni-muenster.de/liste?docID=30221&pageID=30), the references to MS 221 in J. K. Elliott's Bibliography of Greek New Testament Manuscripts at the Université de Lausanne's *BiBIL* (https://bibil.unil.ch/bibil/public/indexAdvancedSearch.action?replay=true), and those in the book, idem, *A Bibliography of Greek New Testament Manuscripts*, 3rd ed., NovTSup 160 (Leiden: Brill, 2015).

[46]In the *Wikipedia* article, "*Comma Johanneum*," the gloss on MS 221 is dated to the fifteenth or sixteenth century, but unfortunately neither reference nor argument are given to justify this conclusion.

629	*Codex Ottobonianus* from the Vatican	fourteenth to sixteenth century MS	Metzger (1964, 1968, 1992)[e] and Schnackenburg— fourteenth or sixteenth century; Brown, Strecker, and Westcott (1892)—fourteenth or fifteenth century
636[vl]	Naples, Italy	fifteenth or sixteenth century with undated gloss[f]	Metzger—sixteenth century; Brown and Strecker—fifteenth century
918	Escorial from Spain	sixteenth century	Brown, Metzger, and Strecker
2318	Bucharest, Romania	eighteenth century	Brown, Metzger, and Strecker
2473[g]	Athens, Greece	seventeenth century[h]	Not mentioned by Brown, Metzger, Schnackenburg, Strecker, or Westcott
177[vl]	Munich, Germany	eleventh century MS with marginal gloss from sixteenth century	Not mentioned by Brown, Metzger, Schnackenburg, Strecker, or Westcott, but listed in *Wikipedia* and commented on by Wallace[i]
	Codex Ravianus or *Berolinensis*	sixteenth century	Brown, Schnackenburg—copy of *Complutensian Polyglot* Bible

[a]Out of the eleven manuscripts listed in this table, the following critical texts omit the last three of the table: *Novum Testamentum Graece* (1974), *Novum Testamentum Graece* (2004), and *The Greek New Testament* (2014). Although Metzger refers to all eight found in *The Greek New Testament* 4th edition (2001) apparatus, he, in his commentary, only comments on seven of them. MS 629, the only one Westcott refers to as evidence for the *comma*, is missing in Metzger's commentary (*A Textual Commentary*, 2nd ed., 647–648).

[b]Metzger, *Text of the New Testament*, 101, dated the manuscript to the twelfth century with a gloss from the seventeenth century.

[c]The *Wikipedia* article, "*Comma Johanneum*," dated this gloss as from the fifteenth or sixteenth century, but gives neither rationale nor reference for this gloss date.

[d]The *Wikipedia* article, "*Comma Johanneum*," dated this manuscript to the fourteenth century and the gloss to the sixteenth century, without rationale or reference for the gloss date.

[e]In all of the editions of Metzger, *Text of the New Testament*, 101, the manuscript is dated to the fifteenth or sixteenth century.

[f] The *Wikipedia* article, "*Comma Johanneum*," dated both the manuscript and the gloss to the sixteenth century, again without rationale or reference except for a hyperlink to the *Wikipedia* article, "Minuscule 636," which dated the manuscript to the fifteenth century.

[g]This manuscript evidence is mentioned by *The Greek New Testament* (2014) and the *Wikipedia* article.

[h]Aland dated this manuscript to 1634 (*Kurzgefasste Liste*, 190). The *Wikipedia* article, "*Comma Johanneum*," dated this manuscript to the eighteenth century, but gives neither rationale nor reference.

[i]Daniel B. Wallace, "The *Comma Johanneum* in an Overlooked Manuscript," 2 July 2010, www.csntm.org/tcnotes/archive/TheCommaJohanneuminanOverlookedManuscript.

Thus, based on the extant Greek biblical manuscripts, the *comma* appears in Greek no earlier than the fourteenth century in the text—or potentially the tenth century as a marginal variant, assuming that the dating of MS 221 is correct. Beyond the biblical manuscript evidence of **table 1**, the earliest Greek attestation of the *comma* in full is from the thirteenth century. The *comma* is included within a Greek translation, from Latin, of the deeds of the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215.[47] This indicates that the Church in the West considered the *comma* doctrinally authoritative in this period. One could argue that this translation should be included with the Latin evidence of the *comma*, which we consider later in this article. The fact that this is the earliest Greek evidence for the *comma* is a reminder that this version of the text is absent in the writings of the Greek Fathers, even in these early Trinitarian debates where this text could have been used as a powerful argument for or against orthodox belief. This point is emphasized by almost all those who write about the *comma*.[48] Considering the Greek evidence, it is no surprise that most recent commentaries give no credence to this variant reading of 1 John 5:7–8.

Concerning this Greek manuscript evidence, Brown and Strecker point out that in Arabic, Armenian, Coptic, Ethiopic, Slavonic (Slavic), and Syriac the variant reading has not been found in any extant manuscript "up to the 1500s."[49] While the language of Strecker leaves open the possibility that there could be the attestation of the *comma* after the sixteenth century, Brown clarifies in a note that, in Coptic and Ethiopic, the variant is completely absent.[50] Be that as it may, outside of the Latin documents and the single undated marginal variant in MS 221, the available data indicate that the *comma* is non-existent in any documents before the thirteenth century and in any biblical manuscript before the fourteenth century. This shows a discrepancy among biblical commentators who suggest that the earliest Greek reference to the *comma* is from the twelfth century (too early) or the fifteenth or sixteenth centuries (too late). Regardless of the dates of the Greek manuscripts or marginal variants, Brown summarizes well the state of the matter: "the key to the Comma lies in the history of the Latin Bible in Spain."[51] It is to Spain and the Latin world of ancient Christianity that we turn now.

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[47]Brown, *The Epistles of John,* 777; Westcott, *Epistles of St. John*, 196; idem, 3rd ed., 206. Most likely, when Derickson refers to the thirteenth century, he has this material evidence in mind. See n35 above.

[48]See also comment in n30 above about the presence of the *comma* in early Christianity.

[49]Strecker, *The Johannine Letters*, 189; Brown, *The Epistles of John,* 777.

[50]Regarding 1 John 5:7–8, the critical apparati of the two most used Greek New Testaments, UBS[5] and NA[28], list only variants from Greek and a selection of Latin that contains the *comma.*

[51]Brown, *The Epistles of John,* 776. See similar comment in Schnackenburg, *The Johannine Epistles,* 46.

The Latin "Origins" of the Johannine Comma

It is important to highlight initially that the history of the *comma* in Latin is given little attention in English literature.[52] There are several reasons for such a dismissal of the Latin history of the *comma*. First, there are relatively few studies on textual criticism of the Old Latin in comparison with the abundance of text-critical studies about the New Testament in Greek. Second, the standard reference works on the topic[53] have not been translated from German, and many scholars do not refer to them in their discussions of the *comma*.[54] Third, after the printing of Erasmus's Greek New Testament, which was followed by a century of active translation of the Bible into English that culminated with the inclusion of the *comma* by the translators of the KJV (which became the most used English translation of the Bible), it is the Greek history of the *comma* that has shaped the conversation about its validity in the English-speaking world. Thus, it is not surprising that the Latin and earlier history of the *comma* is almost ignored in biblical commentaries written in English.

According to the evidence given by those who discuss the appearance of the *comma* in Latin sources*,* the earliest biblical manuscripts available to us that attest to the *comma* in full are from no earlier than the sixth century.

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[52]Here is a list of commentaries that discuss (most of them briefly) the Latin manuscripts containing the *comma*: Alford, *Epistles of St. John*, 503–505; Akin, *1, 2, 3 John*, 198–199; Brown, *The Epistles of John*, 778–786; Philip Wesley Comfort and Wendell C. Hawley, "1–3 John," in *Gospel of John and 1–3 John*, Cornerstone Biblical Commentary 13 (Carol Stream, IL: Tyndale, 2007), 368–369; Derickson, *1, 2, & 3 John*, 513; Jobes, *1, 2, and 3 John*, 223; Peter Rhea Jones, *1, 2 & 3 John*, SHBC 29b (Macon, GA: Smyth & Helwys, 2009), 215; Marshall, *The Epistles of John*, 236–237; Metzger, *A Textual Commentary*, 2nd ed., 647; Schnackenburg, *The Johannine Epistles*, 45–46, 237; Schuchard, *1–3 John*, 511–512; Smalley, *1, 2, and 3 John*, 273; Strecker, *The Johannine Letters*, 189–190; Yarbrough, *1–3 John*, 284; Westcott, *Epistles of St. John*, 193–196; idem., 3rd ed., 202–206.

[53]See Walter Thiele, "Beobachtungen zum Comma Iohanneum (I Joh 5.7f)," *ZNW* 50 (1959): 61–73; ibid., *Epistulae Catholicae,* vol. 26.1 of *Vetus Latina: Die Reste der Altlateinischen Bibel* (Freiburg: Herder, 1969); Augustinus Bludau, "Das Comma Johanneum (I Joh. 5,7) in den orientalischen Übersetzungen und Bibeldrucken," *OrChr* 3 (1903): 126–147; idem, "Das Comma Johanneum (I Joh. 5,7) in dem Glaubensbekenntnis von Karthago vom Jahre 484," *TGl* 11 (1919): 9–15; idem, "Das Comma Johanneum bei Tertullian und Cyprian," *TQ* 101 (1920): 1–28.

[54]Of the commentaries that discuss the Latin history of the *comma* (see n52 above), only Brown, Schnackenburg, and Strecker refer to Thiele and Bludau. Notice that, of these three, only Brown is originally written in English; the other two commentaries are translations from German. Marshall refers only to Thiele but dismisses the importance of his discussion of the Latin history for establishing the origin of the *comma*, since the epistle was written in Greek (*The Epistles of John*, 237). On the other hand, Osburn refers just to Bludau and not to Thiele ("Johannine Comma," 3:883). Many of the commentaries refer to Schnackenburg and Strecker, whose works were both originally written in German. They both discuss Thiele, and point to a probable origin of the *comma* prior to Priscillian, who wrote in the fourth century (see below). However, most anglophone commentators ignore the Latin debate entirely.

Here, as in the Greek history of the variant, the dates given are not the same, yet at least these dates are closer in comparison to the dates given for the Greek evidence. In Latin, they range from the sixth[55] to the seventh[56] and eighth centuries.[57] The major issue here of dating the *comma* in Latin as early as the sixth century or later is the inclusion of *Codex Fuldensis* as a witness to this variant.

The earliest attestation of the *comma* in Latin biblical manuscripts, recognized by Westcott, does not include the *comma* variant as part of the actual text of Scripture. Westcott includes the following two sixth century manuscripts:[58] *Codex Fuldensis*, which has the *comma* in its prologue, and *Codex Frisingensis*, which has it in the margin. Meanwhile, Brown[59] and Metzger do not include either of them as evidence for the *comma* since these manuscripts do not include the *comma* as part of the biblical text. What is not disputed here is that, as early as the sixth century, the *comma* was known by those who copied biblical manuscripts and was considered either an optional reading or as a comment. The fact that the *comma* was not in the text of 1 John also indicates that these sixth century scribes did not think it appropriate to include it as part of the Bible. But this opinion was not unanimous in early Latin Christianity.

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[55]Metzger, *A Textual Commentary*, 647; Westcott, *Epistles of St. John*, 193; idem, 3rd ed., 202). Westcott gives *Codex Fris* (abbreviation of *Frisingensis*) of Munich, which he dated between sixth and seventh centuries (ibid., 205). Metzger cites no manuscript, but only names a century, the sixth century (*A Textual Commentary*, 2nd ed., 647).

[56]Akin, *1, 2, 3 John*, 198; Brown, *The Epistles of John*, 779; Derickson, *1, 2, & 3 John*, 513; Schnackenburg, *The Johannine Epistles*, 45. It is important to highlight that Schnackenburg gives no date to the oldest Latin biblical MSS that contains the *comma*; he just states that it is a palimpsest from Lyon, which is dated by Strecker and Brown. See also Strecker, *The Johannine Letters*, 189. Brown and Strecker are the only ones who give a list of manuscript names and centuries as follows: Palimpsest of Leon from Spain (seventh), *Codex Theodulphianus* and Sangellense (St. Gallen) MSS (eighth/ninth), Fragment of Freising (ninth), *Codex Cavensis* (ninth), *Codex Complutensis* (tenth) and *Codex Toletanus* (tenth). It should be noted that all of them are from Spain or Spain-related. Strecker notes that, outside of Spain, biblical evidence of the *comma* occurs only after the tenth century (ibid.).

[57]Jobes, *1, 2, and 3 John*, 223; Metzger, *Text of the New Testament*, 102; Smalley, *1, 2, and 3 John*, 273. One should notice the language used by Metzger and Jobes. Both of them wrote that the *comma* is absent in the manuscripts of Latin Bibles "earlier than 800." Does this mean that there is a manuscript from the year 800? If not, this would mean that the earliest evidence is from the ninth and not the eighth century. Compare this to the language used by Derickson, for example, who says that the *comma* appears "after AD 600" (*1, 2, & 3 John*, 513). This could create a difference of almost two hundred years for those who advocate for the seventh or eighth century as the earliest evidence.

[58]Westcott, *The Epistles of St. John,* 195. He dates *Codex Fuldensis* to 546 CE and *Frisingensis* to sixth or seventh centuries.

[59]Brown does mention *Fuldensis* except to say that the *comma* is "absent" (*The Epistles of John,* 779).

In *Liber Apologeticus*, a work from the fourth century, its author, Priscillian of Avila, saw the *comma* as Scripture. Priscillian's clause, "*Sicut Iohannes ait,*" "About it [the Trinity] John said,"[60] could reasonably be assumed to be referring to a Johannine quotation from Scripture. This points toward the conclusion that Priscillian was using a biblical manuscript that already contained the *comma*.[61] The scholarly consensus is that *Liber Apologeticus* is the first extant reference to the complete *comma*.[62] However, assumptions are not proof. We do not actually have an extant Latin biblical manuscript before Priscillian's time that contains the *comma*. To explain the origin of the *comma* in relation to Priscillian, the commentaries present two potential, but theoretical, trajectories. The first theory suggests that Priscillian, or someone close to him, possibly Bishop Instantius,[63] created the *comma*, and it was subsequently added to biblical manuscripts.[64] This would cast the *comma* as a fourth

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[60]The quote in full is as follows: "Sicut Iohannes ait: tria sunt quae testimonium dicunt in terra: aqua, caro et sanguis et haec tria in unum sunt, et tria sunt quae testimonium dicunt in caelo: pater, uerbum et spiritus et haec tria unum sunt in Christ Iesu." The Latin text is from Priscillian Avila's *Liber Apologeticus* or "Tractate I" found in Marco Conti, ed., *Priscillian of Avila: The Complete Works,* OECT (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 34.

[61]This possibility of a biblical text containing the *comma*, which predates the author who quotes it in his writings, is also recognized by those who do not accept that the *comma* predates Priscillian. For example, Comfort and Hawley wrote that the *comma* "showed up in the writings of Latin Fathers in North Africa and Italy (*as part of the text of the epistle*) from the fifth century onward" ("1–3 John," 369; emphasis added). Alford also mentions that Vigilius (fifth century) may have had it as part of his biblical text, since he quotes from it (*Epistles of St. John,* 505). It should be noted that Alford brings Vigilius as the earliest Latin evidence since his commentary was published in 1866, some twenty years before the manuscript of *Liber Apologeticus* was available. It was discovered in 1885 and published in 1886. For more on this work and Priscillian of Avila, see Conti, *Priscillian of Avila*, 6–13; M. Simonetti, "Priscillian—Priscillianism," *Encyclopedia of Ancient Christianity* 3:309.

[62]Brown, *The Epistles of John*, 781; Comfort and Hawley, "1–3 John," 369; Derickson, *1, 2, & 3 John*, 513; Jones, *1, 2 & 3 John*, 215; Marshall, *The Epistles of John*, 236; Metzger, *A Textual Commentary*, 2nd ed., 647; Osburn, "Johannine Comma," 3:882; Schnackenburg, *The Johannine Epistles*, 45; Schuchard, *1–3 John*, 512; Smalley, *1, 2, and 3 John*, 273; Strecker, *The Johannine Letters*, 189; Westcott, *Epistles of St. John*, 2nd ed., 203. In the first edition of 1882, before the discovery of the folio of Priscillian, Westcott gave Vigilius Thapsus a date from c. 490. See Westcott, *Epistles of St. John*, 194.

[63]Conti is of the opinion that *Liber Apologeticus* (*Tractate* I) is original, written by Priscillian, while others think that this work was produced by some one very close to Priscillian, reflecting his thought, such as Bishop Instantius. See the debate in Conti, *Priscillian of Avila*, 7–10, 14. It is important to notice here that Priscillian was not considered orthodox in his belief about God and was condemned as a heretic by some Christian leaders of orthodox communities. This is telling because the *comma* was not necessarily a proof-text for the orthodox view on the Trinity.

[64]Explicitly, in Comfort and Hawley, "1–3 John," 367; Schuchard, *1–3 John*, 512. They remark that the *comma* spread in Latin after *Liber Apologeticus,* first in writings

century invention. In contrast, the second theory has Priscillian or Instantius reproducing an earlier biblical manuscript that contained a form of the *comma*. This would suggest that the *comma* predates the fourth century.[65] If the second theory is plausible, then the origins of the *comma* could be very early, as proposed by Walter Thiele.[66]

Now, in order to ascertain the possible origin of the *comma*, a discussion of the usage of Scripture in Christian North Africa is required. Interestingly, only three commentaries address this issue in the context of the *comma*: Brown, Schnackenburg, and Strecker.[67] These authors use the works of Teofilo Ayuso Marazuela, Augustinus Bludau, and Thiele,[68] mostly in German, as the main sources in discussing the issue of Latin biblical versions of 1 John 5 in North Africa. It can be supposed that North Africa is the source of the *comma* based on the simple fact that Tertullian, Cyprian, and Augustine of Hippo use the language of 1 John 5:6–8 to present Trinitarian concepts (see **tab. 2**).

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of Latin interpreters (Comfort and Hawley "1–3 John," 369) and then later in biblical manuscripts (Schuchard, *1–3 John*, 512). Implicitly in Derickson, *1, 2, & 3 John,* 513.

[65]Brown, *The Epistles of John*, 582, 783; Marshall, *The Epistles of John*, 236; Osburn, "Johannine Comma," 3:882–883; Strecker, *The Johannine Letters*, 190; Yarbrough, *1–3 John*, 284; Schnackenburg, *The Johannine Epistles*, 46; Smalley, *1, 2, and 3 John*, 273. In contrast to the first theory, the authors in this footnote remark that the first appearance of the *comma* could have been from expansion of biblical text in North Africa around the third century, and it definitely appears in full in Spain by the fourth century, from which environment Priscillian was influenced. Jones and Westcott could be included in this group, but their analysis is not precise on the matter. Jones remarks that the first reference is found in Priscillian and that "perhaps the words began as a comment on the margin of the text only to be inserted eventually into the actual text" (Jones, *1, 2 & 3 John*, 215). Which text? It seems plausible that he is referring to the biblical text used by Priscillian, thus, prior to him. This is coherent with the source he uses, namely Osburn ("Johannine Comma," 3:882–883). In addition, Westcott recognizes that in North Africa in the time of Cyprian (third century) it would be "natural . . . to form a distinct gloss on v. 7 according" to a Trinitarian reading of John 10:30 and 1 John 5:6–8 (Westcott, *The Epistles of St. John*, 194).

[66]Thiele, "Beobachtungen zum Comma Iohanneum," 71–73.

[67]See nn52, 54 above.

[68]Teofilo Ayuso Marazuela, "El 'Comma Joaneo,'" *Bib* 28 (1947): 83–112, 216–235; idem, *Bib* 29 (1948): 52–76. For Bludau and Thiele, see n53 above**.**

Table 2. Variants of the Latin Johannine *Comma*

Date	Author	Place	Text
c. 215	Tertullian	North Africa	Ita connexus Patris in Filio, et Filii in Paracleto, tres efficit cohaerentes, alterum ex altero, qui tres unum sint, non unus. Quomodo dictum est: Ego et Pater unum sumus [John 10:30].
c. 250	Cyprian (T and C)	North Africa	Dicit Dominus: Ego et Pater unum sumus. Et iterum de Patre et Filio et Spiritu sancto scriptum est: Et hi tres unum sunt.
IV	Priscillian (C)	Spain	Sicut Iohannes ait: *tria* sunt *quae* testimonium dicunt in terra: *aqua*, caro et sanguis et *haec tria* in unum sunt, et *tria sunt quae testimonium dicunt in caelo*: pater, *uerbum* et spiritus et *haec* tria unum sunt in Christo Iesu.
IV–V	Augustine	North Africa	Sane falli te nolo in Epistola Joannis apostolic ubi ait: *Tres sunt testes; spiritus, et aqua, et sanguis; et tres unum sunt* [I John v, 8] . . . si vero ea, quae his significate sunt, velimus inquirere, non absurd occurrit ipsa Trinitas, qui unus, solus verus, summus est Deus, Pater et Filius et Spiritus sanctus, de quibus verissimo dici potuit, *Tres sunt testes, et tres unum sunt* . . .
III–IV	K	North Africa and Spain	*tres* testimonium perhibent spiritus et aqua et sanguis et *isti tres* in unum sunt pater et *filius* et spiritus *sanctus* et tres unum sunt.
III–V	C	North Africa	*tres* sunt *qui* testimonium dicunt in terra spiritus et aqua et sanguis et *isti tres* unum sunt in Christo Iesu et tres sunt qui testimonium dicunt *in caelo* pater *verbum* et spiritus et hi tres unum sunt.
IV–VI	T	North Africa and Italy	*tres* sunt qui testificantur in terra spiritus et aqua et sanguis et tres sunt qui testificatur *in caelo* pater et *filius* et spiritus *sanctus* et *hi* tres unum sunt.
IV–V	V	Italy	tres sunt qui testimonium dant spiritus et aqua et sanguis et tres unum sunt.

| XIV–XVI | ? | Vatican | Quia tres sunt qui testimonium dant in celo, pater, verbum, et spiritus sanctus, et hi tres unum sunt. Et tres sunt qui testimonium dant in terra, spiritus, aqua et sanguis. |

Note: The biblical reconstructions are based primarily on the critical edition of the *Vetus Latina* by Thiele, *Epistulae Catholicae*, 361–365. The following explanation, based on the prologue of Thiele's work, about the text-types of 1 John (or original sources), indicates from where the variant reading is reconstructed. The text-types are based presumably from *all* the readings available of 1 John 5:6–8 in Latin. Text-type K is based primarily on Cyprian and other documents from North Africa. Text-type C is prior to T and V and is also based mostly on Cyprian (third century), but also taken from Tyconius (fourth century), Augustine (fourth to fifth century), and Optatus (fourth century). Text-type T is mostly based on texts from Italy, such as those of Epiphanius (fourth to fifth centuries) and Cassiodorus (sixth century), and also from North Africa, such as those of Augustine (fourth through fifth centuries), Fulgentius Ferrandus (sixth century), and Facundus (sixth century). Based on the widespread use in North Africa in the fourth through fifth centuries, it is plausible that this type was preferred in North Africa. Text-type V includes the variants of the Vulgate, similar to Greek manuscripts and *Codex Alexandrinus*. Major witnesses are Jerome (fourth through fifth centuries) and Caelestius (fourth through fifth centuries), a "Pelagian" from Rome who interacted with North Africa Christians against Augustinian views. V is mostly based on the Vulgate of Jerome, but it is different in some places. The differences between the Greek and Old Latin are fixed in this type, and large texts of V were already deleted in T, except for the *comma*, which is in T and not in V. Text-type V changes with time and presents mistakes (ibid., 80–87). For the primary references of the non-biblical documents, we used different versions for the Latin. The primary reference and translation for Priscillian is from *Liber Apologeticus* (Tractates 1) in Conti, *Priscillian of Avila*, 34–35. For Cyprian, Tertullian, and Augustine the primary references are from *Patrologia Latina* (PL) and the *Corpus Christianorum Series Latina* (CCSL). The English translations are from the *Ante-Nicene Fathers* (ANF) and *The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* (NPNF). See Tertullian, *Against Praxeas* 25.1 (ANF 3.621, PL 2:221); Cyprian, *On the Unity of the Church* 6 (ANF 5.423; PL 4:519 or CCSL 3:254); Augustine, *Contra Maximinum* (NPNF1 7.526; PL 42:794–795).

Of these three Latin Fathers, Cyprian presents the most challenging example. In Cyprian's elucidation concerning the Trinity, he uses the formula *scriptum est*, meaning "it is written," to refer to the last phrase of 1 John 5:8, "and these three are one." What does this indicate?

On the one hand, since the phrase applied to Cyprian's Trinity elucidation is the same phrase found in 1 John 5 and applied to the Spirit, the water, and the blood in verse 8a, it could be a simple reference to the text and a reapplication of it to the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. Along these lines, there are biblical commentators[69] who see this as merely an allegorical expansion of the text of 1 John 5 (without the *comma*) or simply a loose usage of this phrase for a dogmatic purpose, similar to the way that Tertullian and Augustine used it (see **tab. 2** for texts). To put it another way, these commentators see the thought process of what would eventually become the *comma* in third-century

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[69]Marazuela and Bludau are followed by Brown, *The Epistles of John*, 784 and Strecker, *The Johannine Letters*, 188, 190.

North Africa but do not view it as existing before Cyprian.[70] In support of this argument, they point out that major tractates on the Trinity in Latin, even those quoting Cyprian on the topic, did not use the *comma.* Furthermore, they assert that the biblical manuscripts would only have it centuries after Priscillian. Thus, according to this line of reasoning, the later inclusion of the *comma* in biblical manuscripts was a product of Trinitarian readings in North Africa between the third and fourth centuries. The argument continues, claiming that such Trinitarian readings probably started with Tertullian and Cyprian and were later added to the margins of biblical manuscripts. Then, with time, they were inserted into the main text of 1 John 5. Brown also suggests the possibility that the invasion of Vandal Arians in North Africa created a situation in which Trinitarian theologians used this kind of reading more frequently. Brown, therefore, concludes that the kind of reading that is found in Cyprian is in accordance with the "patristic tendency to invoke any scriptural group of three as symbolic of or applicable to the Trinity."[71]

On the other hand, Thiele sees in Cyprian's statement a direct reference to the *comma* or an existing biblical manuscript which contained this variant. His main argument concerns the known additions to the Old Latin versions (*Vetus Latina*) of the Greek New Testament. These include Cyprian's usage of 1 John, which attests an expanded version of the text compared with the extant Greek versions that were contemporaneous to Cyprian.[72] According to Thiele, when the Latin text was later accommodated to the Greek versions, these probable additions were mostly removed. Thus, the *comma* would be an exception, since it remained in the later manuscripts of the Vulgate even though it was not part of the Jerome's Vulgate translation in the fifth century. Therefore, Thiele speculates that some of the so-called "additions" within the Old Latin biblical manuscripts could actually be original phrases which were lost or "removed" from the Greek in the transmission of 1 John. He suggests the possibility of a third or even second century version of the *comma,*[73] though such is unattested. Marshall and Schnackenburg concur

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[70]H. A. G. Houghton, *The Latin New Testament: A Guide to Its Early History, Texts, and Manuscripts* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 178–179. In his brief commentary on the *comma*, Houghton states that its origins as a biblical text appeared "possibly as a gloss at the ned of the fourth century" (ibid., 178). He also dismisses Thiele's arugment about Cyprian's usage of an actual biblical text.

[71]Brown, *The Epistles of John*, 784. See also Michael Graves, *The Inspiration and Interpretation of Scripture: What the Early Church Can Teach Us* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2014), 25. For one example of Trinitarian reading of Scripture, see Rodrigo Galiza, "Philological Problems In Isaiah 6: An Investigation of the Dead Sea Scrolls Evidence," (paper presented at the Eighth Annual Andrews University Celebration of Research & Creative Scholarship, Berrien Springs, MI, 4 November 2016), http://digitalcommons.andrews.edu/cor/2016/Breakout/6/.

[72]See evidence given in Brooke, *Johannine Epistles*, 197–223; Brown, *The Epistles of John,* 130; Westcott, *Epistles of St. John*, 194.

[73]Thiele, "Beobachtungen zum Comma Iohanneum," 72–73. Yarbrough, in his commentary of 1 John, is open to a Trinitarian understanding of the passage being

on the point that the date of origin of the *comma* in North Africa cannot be fully ascertained.[74]

In our estimation, it is very improbable that some variation of the *comma* was already in existence in Greek around the third century. The two most compelling arguments against Thiele's thesis are the absence of any Greek manuscript with the *comma* prior to the late Middle Ages, and, most importantly, the absence of it in the Trinitarian debates in the early Christian centuries. It is unlikely that the Greek text of 1 John included the *comma*, but it somehow disappeared from the Greek, was maintained only in theological memory, was transmitted in some circles of Latin manuscripts for more than one thousand years, and, afterward, re-appeared in the East. This complex historical reconstruction from Thiele seems very improbable.

The Johannine Comma *in the Tradition of Latin Christianity*

Despite our disagreement with Thiele's conclusion of the *comma* as existing previously in Greek, his work on the Latin history of the *comma* is very helpful. This is due to his collection of theological uses of this biblical passage in the Latin world. Established on the data gathered in Thiele's critical edition of the *Vetus Latina*, which is based primarily on how Christians used biblical texts in their writings rather than on actual extant biblical manuscripts, there is a possibility that many Latin biblical variants of the whole chapter of 1 John 5 were in existence around the third century.[75] As the comparison of *Codex Fuldensis* with Priscillian's *Liber Apologeticus* demonstrates (more examples could be mentioned here), there was no unanimous Latin reading of 1 John 5:7–8 throughout history from the third century and beyond.[76] Though it is clear that the language of unity, as found in 1 John 5:8, was used by some

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intended by John himself but without the explicit mention of the Trinity as it is found in the *comma*. He writes, "In citing three witnesses, John may have been . . . moved by the insight that just as the threefold Father, Son and Spirit constitutes God's heavenly self-disclosure, so there are three foundational underpinnings to Christ's earthly self-disclosure" (*1–3 John,* 284). Therefore, he concludes, this theological association may explain later Christian expansion of the text found in Latin Christianity in the third century (ibid.). Thus, he is suggesting that a Trinitarian reading of 1 John 5 is as early as the author of the epistle.

[74]Marshall, *The Epistles of John,* 236; Schnackenburg, *The Johannine Epistles,* 46.

[75]This is because the language of Cyprian and the evidence gathered by Thiele is ambiguous as to whether the language of the *comma* about the Father, Son and Holy Spirit was in a biblical manuscript that was available in North Africa around the third century but is no longer extant. This is an important question that needs to be addressed but is beyond the intention of this article. Our suggestion is that future studies should explain the usage of the Latin preposition *de* in Cyprian's *Unit. eccl. 6*, in the context of Trinitarian debates of the period. See **table 2**.

[76]From the time of Cyprian, many sources have used 1 John 5:7–8 in North Africa and Southwest Europe with and without the *comma* in many variations. For all the variant readings from the third century on, see Thiele, *Epistulae Catholicae*, 361–365. For some of these readings, see **table 1**.

authors—such as Tertullian, Cyprian, and Augustine—it is not explicitly clear whether or not they were quoting an existing biblical manuscript that contained a variant suggestive of the *comma,* as Priscillian did. What *has* been established is that there are more Latin biblical manuscripts that render 1 John 5 without any version of the *comma* than those that contain it before the ninth century. Additionally, the fact that the majority of Christian documents that deal with the topic of the Trinity before the ninth century do not use the language of the *comma* should be factored into this equation. By the late Middle Ages, the *comma* became authoritative and its rendition in theological treatises became standard in Latin, or Western, Christianity.

Two examples might suffice to show that the rendition of 1 John 5:7–8 which includes the *comma* was widespread in late Medieval Christianity: the writings of Lombard and Aquinas. Both of these scholastic theologians used the *comma* in their articulations of the doctrine of the Trinity. Since Lombard and Aquinas were the main synthesizers and school masters of theology in the late Middle Ages,[77] they are good reference points to estimate how Christian theologians read 1 John 5:7–8 at that time.

Lombard's influential systematic work on Christian thought, *The Sentences*, quotes the *comma* in his argumentation for the Trinity.[78] However, he recognizes that the text, in itself, is not a definitive and unquestionable proof for the orthodox view of the Trinity. Priscillian, for example, who we noted as using the *comma*, was believed to be a Sabellian or modalist—someone who thought the three manifestations of God (Father, Son, and Holy Spirit) were different modes of the same being, not distinct persons. In contrast, the defenders of Trinitarian orthodoxy, such as the three Cappadocian Fathers (i.e., Basil the Great, Gregory of Nyssa, and Gregory of Nazianzus), did not use it. Therefore, Lombard, in order to explain his concept of the unity of God in three distinct persons against that of other views about God, not only uses John 10:30 and 1 John 5:7—as did Tertullian (with the difference that Tertullian used only one phrase from 1 John, "these three are one")—but also understood these passages to mean the following:

> When we answer three persons—we say as follows: It is indubitably true that no one other thing is to be found there which those three are, except essence: for those three are one thing, that is, divine essence . . . . But since the Catholic faith professed there to be three, as John says in the canonical Epistle: *There are three who give witness in heaven*, the question arose about what those three might be.[79]

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[77]Marcia L. Colish, *Peter Lombard*, Brill's Studies in Intellectual History 41.1–2 (New York: Brill, 1994), 1.2; Jean-Pierre Torrell, *Aquinas's Summa: Background, Structure, & Reception*, trans. Benedict M. Guevin (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2005), 86–105.

[78]E.g., Peter Lombard, *The Sentences,* 1.2.5.3, 1.21.3.2, 1.25.2.4. The translation used here is from Peter Lombard, *The Sentences*, trans. Giulio Sinalo, 4 vols. (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2007–2010), 1:18, 121, 137.

[79]Lombard, *The Sentences,* 1.25.2.4; emphasis original.

Despite the rendering of 1 John 5 with the *comma* in the time of Lombard, there were still questions about how one should understand the being of God and the characteristic of unity or oneness. Again, the *comma* was not definitive evidence for what became orthodox Trinitarianism because the text could be used (and was used) otherwise.[80] Aquinas also faced the same problem and gave a similar answer: "To ask, What? is to refer to essence. But, as Augustine says in the same place, when we read *There are three who bear witness in heaven, the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, and it is asked, 'three what?,' the answer is, 'Three persons.'* Therefore 'person' signifies the essence."[81]

Both Lombard and Aquinas depended heavily on Augustine; however, we cannot find the *comma* in Augustine's writings as Aquinas referenced him. As noticed by recent editors of the *Summa*, here Aquinas "is probably telescoping words from Peter Lombard."[82] In other words, the above statements from Aquinas were his traditional (Trinitarian) readings of Augustine and Scriptures via Lombard. The text of 1 John 5 was read in Trinitarian terms because this was the spirit of the time. Thus, by the time of the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 (the time of the earliest known Greek appearance of the *comma*), this reading was standard in Latin and remained so until the sixteenth century, when Erasmus raised the question of its authenticity with his printed editions of the Greek New Testament.

Summary

This article surveyed the current state of the question of the textual variant in 1 John 5:7–8, known as the Johannine *comma*, within recent scholarly works in English, as well as its probable origins and transmission in Latin and its late appearance within Greek theological literature and biblical manuscripts. According to the data available, the earliest biblical manuscript in Greek that contains the *comma* in the text is dated no earlier than the fourteenth century. It is possible to see a tenth-century presence of the *comma* within the margin of a biblical manuscript only if the marginal variant in MSS 221 is dated to the same century as the manuscript itself. In Latin, however, the existence of this variant reading dates back to the third or fourth century. It is in the Latin history of this text that the probable origin of the *comma* is to be found, yet very few works in English discuss the actual origin of the *comma* or its history in Latin.

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[80]As Schnackenburg concludes after reviewing the transmission of the *comma,* the text *per se* "does not have the kind of dogmatic significance that has been attributed to it" (*The Johannine Epistles,* 46). But by the time of Lombard and Aquinas, the late Middle Ages, the text did have dogmatic significance for most theologians.

[81]Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae* Ia question 29 article 4. The translation used here is from Ceslaus Velecky, ed., *St Thomas Aquinas Summa Theologiae: Latin Text and English Translation, Introductions, Notes, Appendices and Glossaries*, 60 vols, (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964–1966), 6:57; emphasis original. See also ibid., Ia 30 article 2, (ibid., 6:69), and Ia 36 article 1.3, (ibid., 7:53).

[82]Ibid.*,* 6:56.

It is without question that the first extant manifestation of the *comma* in its full form is from Priscillian's *Liber Apologeticus*, which was written in the fourth century. It is also known that, in the middle of the third century, Cyprian used the language "these three are one" in a Trinitarian way and with a form of scriptural reference. Two main theories have been proposed to explain how the *comma* originated, and their conclusions raise important questions about the validity of this biblical text. All of the arguments of both theories center around the text of Cyprian.

According to Thiele, Cyprian's text suggests that there was a version of the *comma* already in his times. In other words, the *comma* should be dated to the third century or before. However, Brown and others suggest that Cyprian's text can only attest to a theological Trinitarian reading of 1 John 5:7–8 and nothing more. This is because the language of unity, as found in 1 John 5:8, has been applied to the Trinity in Latin theological contexts since the third century. When writers, such as Tertullian, Cyprian, and Augustine, used the theological phrase, "these three are one," there is no clear indication that they were getting that phrase from a manuscript of Scripture. In the case of Cyprian, when he used a normal formula for introducing Scripture, "it is written," he could easily be applying the unity language of the text of 1 John 5:8 to his theological context of the Trinity, thus effectively creating the *comma*. Given that there is neither any biblical manuscript evidence for the *comma* before Cyprian in either Greek or Latin nor is there any theological discussion using the language of the *comma* before Cyprian, it seems probable that Cyprian created the *comma*. Even after Cyprian, there is no theological use of the language of the *comma* in Greek before the thirteenth century, suggesting a Latin origin. If we allow for the view that Priscillian was quoting the *comma* as Scripture in his fourth century *Liber Apologeticus,* then either Cyprian created the *comma*, and it somehow found its way into some manuscripts of Latin Scripture before Priscillian, or Cyprian found the *comma* in one of the many variable Old Latin manuscripts of 1 John, which is no longer extant. Therefore, we are left with actual evidence that Cyprian may have created the *comma* or an argument from silence that he is the first to quote the *comma* from a hypothetical manuscript. If one applies the principle of Ocham's razor to this question, the simplest answer is that Cyprian created the Johannine *comma*. Either way, the majority of Latin theological documents and biblical manuscripts do not use the *comma* until the ninth century, after which it becomes the standard reading in Latin.

Conclusions

If Brown is correct in saying that the *comma* originated in a theological reading of Scripture rather than from the author of 1 John, which is the stronger possibly than that of Thiele's thesis, then what are the implications of this debate for theology and the life of the church?

First, the *comma* is a theologically neutral text. It can and has been used by both Trinitarians and non-Trinitarians alike. Priscillian, the first obvious user of the whole *comma,* was himself condemned as a modalist and was

using the *comma* to promote his non-Trinitarian theology. Even if the text was originally written by the author of 1 John, and we think it was not, it cannot be ascertained that this is a definitive proof of the doctrine of the Trinity. As our survey shows, some non-Trinitarians use it, while many Trinitarians of old and of recent times do not use this passage in their articulation of the Trinity. The doctrine of the Trinity does not depend on this passage nor on any isolated passage but on the reading of the whole of Scripture.

Second, this study indicates that even though the Scriptures were greatly valued and handed down with careful intentionality, some texts of the Bible were changed in this process of transmission. The apparent harmonization of the Gospels, the smoothing of rough texts, and, as may be the case in 1 John 5, the theological enrichment of the text suggest that, for many Christians in history, the belief in the Bible as sacred text did not entail an absolute fixed text.[83] This same attitude was evident among the Israelites during the time of Jesus (second temple period).[84] This means that traditions shaped biblical texts and that Scripture was used dogmatically, for teaching purposes, as 2 Tim 3:16 suggests. The consequences of this history, of how Christians have used Scripture, need to be kept in mind when Christians today discuss how one should use Scripture in the church. Here we limit our comments to the usage of the *comma* in 1 John 5:7–8.

Our assessment is that, even though the language of the *comma* has been found useful for doctrinal purposes (teaching), as by Tertullian and Cyprian, the evidence strongly suggests that the words of the full *comma* originated in Latin. If so, they could have never been a part of the original Greek of 1 John. Furthermore, it looks as if the *comma* may well have been created as a theological argument, later finding its way into the text of 1 John. Therefore, it would seem tautological to use words of a theological argument, later than the text itself, as a theological prooftext. Not only was the *comma*

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[83]Ellen G. White agreed, stating, "Some look to us gravely and say, 'Don't you think there might have been some mistake in the copyist or in the translators?' This is all probable, and the mind that is so narrow that it will hesitate and stumble over this possibility or probability would be just as ready to stumble over the mysteries of the Inspired Word, because their feeble minds cannot see through the purposes of God. Yes, they would just as easily stumble over plain facts that the common mind will accept, and discern the Divine, and to which God's utterance is plain and beautiful, full of marrow and fatness. All the mistakes will not cause trouble to one soul, or cause any feet to stumble, that would not manufacture difficulties from the plainest revealed truth" (*Selected Messages*, 3 vols. [Washington, DC: Review & Herald, 1958, 1980], 1:16). For a recent treatment on the different ways Seventh-day Adventists understood revelation and inspiration, see Denis Kaiser, "Trust and Doubt: Perceptions of Divine Inspiration in Seventh-day Adventist History (1880–1930)," (PhD diss., Andrews University, 2017); Alberto R. Timm, "Adventist Views on Inspiration: Part 3," *Perspective Digest* 14.1 (2009): 44–56.

[84]See, for example, John J. Collins, *Scriptures and Sectarianism: Essays on the Dead Sea Scrolls*, WUNT 332 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014); Sidnie White Crawford, *Rewriting Scripture in Second Temple Times*, Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2008).

probably created as a theological argument, but it has been used to argue for a variety of conceptualizations of the Godhead, including modalism, as we have demonstrated. As both tautological and ambiguous, it seems logical to refrain from using the *comma* in debates on the doctrine of the Trinity.

Recommendations for a Way Forward

No *status quaestionis* is complete without recommendations for what could come next in scholarship that would benefit the status under consideration. For the Johannine *comma*, the immediate need in regard to the Greek texts is a more complete dating analysis of the marginal variants. This is especially needed for the marginal variant of the *comma* in MS 221. It seems improbable that this marginal variant of the *comma* is nearly as old as the tenth-century manuscript, but, until it is dated conclusively, it remains possible for it to be the earliest Greek witness to the *comma*.

The greatest needs regarding the Latin witnesses are more difficult to fulfill. There is a need to update and expand the research of the Old Latin done by Thiele. Though we disagree with his conclusions concerning the *comma*, Thiele's raw data is very useful both within the few manuscripts of the Old Latin Scripture that are extant, as well as within the fragments of Scripture gleaned from the early Christian Latin writers. An expansion is needed along the lines of what Bart Ehrman has been doing with the efforts to understand the Greek texts and text types behind the biblical quotations and allusions in the early Christian Greek writers. Also, more work is needed on the textual critical history of the Latin Vulgate.[85] Of course, as translations, the Latin editions of the NT balance the desire to be true to the meaning and readings of the Greek text with the aim of providing a critical record of the history of the NT text in Latin. In regard to the Johannine *comma*, neither of the two most current critical texts of the Latin NT, Nestle-Aland[86] and Weber-Gryson,[87] contain the *comma* in the text of 1 John 5:7–8, but they give scant evidence concerning the *comma* as a variant. Additional study of the history of the text is what would further benefit the question of the *comma*. A manuscript-by-manuscript inspection as to the text of 1 John 5:7–8 cannot be derived from the critical editions as printed. There is generally more text-critical information available in print for the Greek NT than for the Latin NT.

When more work is accomplished on the history of the Latin text of 1 John and a more complete analysis of the dating of the marginal variant readings in the Greek manuscripts of 1 John is conducted, then there may need to be another *status quaestionis* on the *comma* to update what has been provided here.

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[85]See Houghton, *The Latin New Testament*. This is one of the few most-up-to-date works in English on the subject.

[86]Eberhard Nestle, ed., *Nestle-Aland Novum Testamentum Latine: textum Vaticanum cum apparatu critico ex editionibus et libris manu scriptis collecto imprimendum curavit* (Stuttgart: Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1961).

[87]Robert Weber and Roger Gryson, eds., *Biblia Sacra Iuxta Vulgatam Versionem* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2007).

PERICOPE ADULTERAE: A MOST PERPLEXING PASSAGE

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Abstract

The account of the woman caught in adultery, traditionally found in John's Gospel, is full of encouragement to sinners in need of forgiveness. Nevertheless, due to its textual history, this story—referred to as the *Pericope Adulterae*—is considered by many scholars to be an interpolation. The textual history is one of the most intriguing of any biblical passage. This article reviews that history, examines possible reasons for the passage's inclusion or exclusion from John's Gospel, engages discussion on the issue of its canonicity, and gives suggestions for how today's pastors might relate to the story in their preaching.

Keywords: Pericope Adulterae, adulteress, textual history, canon, textual criticism

Introduction

The story of the woman caught in adultery, found in John 7:52–8:11, contains a beautiful and powerful portrayal of the gospel. It has no doubt encouraged countless believers from the time it was first written. Despite the power in the story, it is unquestionably one of the most controverted texts in the New Testament (NT). Unfortunately, when a conversation begins regarding the textual variations connected with this account, emotions become involved and if the apostolic authorship is questioned and its place in the canon threatened, then, no matter the reasoning or the evidence, the theological pull frequently derails a calm discussion. Fears of releasing a river of unbelief that will sweep away precious truth and create a whirlpool of doubt arise. It is as though the beauty of the gospel portrayed in the account creates an almost irresistible wave that overwhelms any attempt at a calm exploration of its origins and place in the canon.

Nevertheless, the *Pericope Adulterae* (*PA*) has the most unique textual history of any NT passage, and though many scholars have attempted to unravel the knot created by its background, they have only succeeded in making it tighter.[1] Much has been written on the passage, with views ranging

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[1]On 25–26 April 2014, the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary in Wake Forest, NC, hosted a conference devoted to discerning the origins of this pericope. A new volume in the Library of New Testament Studies series contains several papers that were presented during that conference. Several papers argue against one another, with no unanimous (although there is a majority) consent in relation to how the passage found its way into the NT. See David Alan Black and Jacob N. Cerone, eds.,

from removing it completely from all newer translations, to urging its full acceptance. Understanding how this passage fits in the canon, and within the life of the church, is a legitimate conversation, yet not one easily navigated. The tangled threads of the background of the pericope are not easily loosened.

For the pastor, the questions often revolve around how to relate the passage to the congregation. Should it be preached or skipped over? Does the congregation need a lesson in textual criticism? How can believers be assured of the veracity of the Word of God when the translation being used brackets the text or relegates it to a footnote? It is my intention in this article to give a brief overview of the textual issues, explore select issues relating the pericope to the canon, and discuss how the passage might be handled in the local church setting.

Historical Veracity

Many scholars, whether they think the passage was written by John or not, conclude that the story faithfully records an actual event in the life of Christ. John David Punch highlights an array of commentators who, over the course of the last 120 years, have made this observation.[2] If this assumption is sustained, then the historicity and truth claims are secured, even if the account is considered an interpolation. As George Beasley-Murray notes, there is, "no reason to doubt its substantial truth."[3] The passage is quite in harmony with the character of Christ as unfolded in the Gospels.

In his commentary, B. F. Westcott emphatically states, "It is beyond doubt an authentic fragment of apostolic tradition."[4] Carl B. Bridges, who considers the story an interpolation, notes that the passage meets the form-critical standard of dissimilarity, which points to its historical authenticity. That is, the passage does not appear to have a source in first-century Judaism (Jesus's lenient treatment of the woman is in opposition to the expectations of the Jewish people in Jesus's day), nor does it fit in with the early church's emphasis on sexual purity.[5] This criterion of double dissimilarity indicates the

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The Pericope of the Adulteress in Contemporary Research, LNTS 551 (New York: Bloomsbury, 2016).

[2]John David Punch, "The Piously Offensive *Pericope Adulterae"* in ibid., 7–31.

[3]George Beasley-Murray, *John*, WBC 36, 2nd ed. (Nashville: Nelson, 1999), 143. This observation does not settle the question as to whether the passage is original with John, nor is this its intention. The disconnect between the attitude of the early church and its discipline, and this passage could be seen as an argument for the later insertion of the passage. As with many of the arguments revolving on the pericope, this is also two-edged. The disconnect could lead to the conclusion that the story was excised.

[4]B. F. Westcott, *The Gospel According to St. John: The Authorized Version with Introduction and Notes* (London: Murray, 1896), 125, https://archive.org/stream/gospelaccording13unkngoog#page/n226/mode/2up/search/genuineness.

[5]Carl B. Bridges, "The Canonical Status of the *Pericope Adulterae* (John 7:53–8:11)," *Stone-Campbell Journal* 11 (2008): 216.

high probability that the event actually occurred.[6] Noted Greek scholar Bruce M. Metzger declares that the story has all the "earmarks of historical veracity."[7]

Gary Burge points to three aspects that support the authenticity of the passage. These are: Jesus's refusal to be embroiled in the debate over how the death penalty should be carried out and critique of those who would condemn a sinner; Christ's unequivocal stand against the representatives of the Torah; and his unconditional forgiveness of the woman, based solely on his authority. Burge then concludes that the passage represents a "unit of oral tradition," historically accurate, but not included in the Gospels.[8] Its historical authenticity has been recognized by believers throughout the centuries. As Jennifer Knust notes, the story was considered authoritative and reflective of an actual event, and thus considered "gospel" even when it was not found in "a Gospel book."[9]

External Evidence

Granting that the passage discusses an actual event in the life of Christ, the next area of inquiry is, was it originally part of John's Gospel or was it added later in the transmission process? In seeking an answer to this question, both the external evidence (history of the MS transmission) and the internal evidence (vocabulary, thematic connections to the entire book) need to be thoughtfully considered. A majority of scholars and commentary authors support the idea that the passage is an interpolation into the Gospel of John. The external textual evidence is intriguing and many pages have been spent exploring its details. Below is a summary to help outline what is known about the textual background of this story. This condensed overview, with further information in the footnotes, will demonstrate the intriguing nature of the textual history.[10]

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[6]Craig Blomberg, "Jesus, Sinners, and Table Fellowship," *BBR* 19.1 (2009): 37–38.

[7]Bruce M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament,* 2nd ed. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft; New York: United Bible Societies, 1994), 189.

[8]Gary Burge, "A Specific Problem in the New Testament Text and Canon: The Woman Caught in Adultery (John 7:53–8:11)," *JETS* 27.2 (1984): 145.

[9]Jennifer Knust, "Jesus, an Adulteress, and the Development of Christian Scripture" in *A Tall Order: Writing the Social History of the Ancient World: Essays in Honor of William V. Harris*, ed. Jean-Jacques Aubert and Zsuzsanna Várhelyi, Beiträge zur Altertumskunde 216 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2005), 62.

[10]There are many in-depth discussions on this point. See William Lawrence Petersen, "ΟΥΔΕ ΕΓΩ ΣΕ [ΚΑΤΑ]ΚΡΙΝΩ John 8:11, The Protevangelium Iacobi and the History of the *Pericope Adulterae*" in *Patristic and Text-Critical Studies: The Collected Essays of William L. Petersen*, ed. Jan Krans and Joseph Verheyden, NTTSD 40 (Leiden: Brill 2012), 302–308. This article was originally published in NovTsup 89 (1997): 203–221. See also Chris Keith, "Recent and Previous Research on the Pericope Adulterae (*John 7:53–8:11)*" *CurBR* 6.3 (2008): 377–404; Burge, "A Specific Problem," 142–143.

The passage is omitted from the earliest extant MSS;[11] first found in Codex Bezae (D), a fifth century MS;[12] omitted by the earliest versions: Syriac, Sahidic, Bohairic, Armenian, and Georgian;[13] referred to in the *Didascalia Apostolorum*, a third century treatise on church order, penance, and the bishops' role;[14] ignored by the vast majority of Greek commentators who do not discuss it;[15] referenced by a few early works;[16] supported by Western

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[11]Notably $\mathfrak{P}^{66}$ (usually dated to around 200 CE), which includes diagonal strokes in the text to illustrate word order variations that the scribe was aware of, but does not indicate any awareness of the pericope; $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$ (mid-third-century), Sinaiticus (ℵ) and Vaticanus (B) both of which are fourth century and are of the Alexandrian text-type, do not contain it. L and Δ also lack the passage, but indicate the copyist's awareness of the account by leaving a blank space following John 7:52. While the space is not large enough to hold the story, at least this indicates the scribe knew of it. See Frederick H. A. Scrivener, *Six Lectures on the Text of the New Testament and the Ancient Manuscripts* (London: Bell, 1875), 160.

[12]This is a diglot codex, including both Greek and Latin text. It is generally considered to have significant interpolations. On the other hand, the text type found in D has its origins in the middle of the second century. See Stanley E. Porter, *How We Got the New Testament* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2013), 46. No other extant Greek MS contains the story until the ninth century.

[13]Petersen, "ΟΥΔΕ ΕΓΩ ΣΕ [ΚΑΤΑ]ΚΡΙΝΩ," 305.

[14]In a setting to encourage bishops to act with mercy, the *Didascalia Apostolorum* apparently refers to the pericope with the following words: "Have the elders condemned thee, my daughter? She saith to him: Nay, Lord. And he said unto her: Go thy way, neither do I condemn thee" (*Did. apost.*, 2.24). This is clearly a reference to the pericope, although it does not specifically reference John's Gospel. This leaves the origin of the reference unclear.

[15]For example, Origen, in his commentary on John, moves from his discussion of John 7 to John 8 with no comment on the passage. See Origen, *Origen: Commentary on the Gospel According to John, Books 12–32*, trans. Ronald Heine, FC 89 (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1993), 166–169. Also, it is apparent that Origen never references the pericope, but does cite John 7:52 and 8:12. See Bart D. Ehrman, Gordon D. Fee, and Michael W. Holmes, eds., *The Text of the Fourth Gospel in the Writings of Origen, Volume I*, NTGF 3 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992), 189–190. Similarly, Tertullian, in his discussion of adultery and judicial responses, does not refer to the *PA* either (*Pud.* 4–5). See Burge, "Specific Problem," 142.

[16]The earliest clear patristic reference is found in a commentary on Ecclesiastes by Didymus the Blind, a fourth century Alexandrian Father (Didymus, *Comm. Eccl.* 223.7). See Knust "An Adulteress," 66. Didymus writes that the account was found in "certain gospels." It is unclear whether he meant certain copies of the Gospel of John or certain Gospel books, which might include both John and the *Gospel According to the Hebrews*. The editors of his commentary prefer the former, arguing that he found the story in some, but not all, of the copies of John. Bart Ehrman argues for the latter. See Knust "An Adulteress," 73; Bart D. Ehrman, *Studies in the Textual Criticism of the New Testament*, NTTS 33 (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 199–207. Tommy Wasserman also argues that Didymus meant the latter. See "The Strange Case of the Missing Adulteress" in *Pericope of the Adulteress*, 34–35). Despite this disputed reference, it is clear that Didymus knew the story, and that it was found in certain Gospels.

patristic writers, such as Ambrose, Pacian of Barcelona, and Ambrosiaster;[17] acknowledged in many MSS either by its unusual nature—whether absent or present in the manuscript—or by marginal indicators;[18] acknowledged by Jerome[19] and Augustine[20] as appearing in some MSS and not others; found in various locations in the MS tradition;[21] and placed by Erasmus in his Greek

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Papias of Hierapolis, a second century bishop, may have also referred to the *PA*. Eusebius comments that Papias knew of a story concerning a woman accused of "sins" before the Lord (Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 3.39.17). Whether this refers to the *PA*, or a conflation of stories, or a different woman altogether (perhaps the woman in Luke 7) is open to discussion. It is also unclear whether Papias was referring to *The Gospel of Hebrews* when referencing the pericope.

Additionally, The *Protevangelium Iacobi*, a second century work alludes to the passage. See Petersen, "ΟΥΔΕ ΕΓΩ ΣΕ [ΚΑΤΑ]ΚΡΙΝΩ," 313.

[17]Burge, "Specific Problems," 143.

[18]Asterisks or obeli are placed in the margins, indicating that the scribe either knew of its existence (if missing from the copy he worked with) or questioned its authenticity (if found in the MS). See Chris Keith, "The Initial Location of the *Pericope Adulterae* in Fourfold Tradition," *NovT* 51.3 (2009): 17. David C. Parker, *The Living Text of the Gospels* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 96. There is an *umlaut* in Vaticanus (B) at this point in the Gospel of John, suggesting the scribe at least knew of the passage and the textual differences. See Bridges "The Canonical Status," 213.

[19]In 383 CE, Jerome presented to Damasus I, the bishop of Rome, a Latin translation of the Gospels that he had been commissioned to produce. This eventually became part of the Vulgate and includes the *PA*. Jerome states that he found the pericope in many Greek and Latin codices. See Burge, "Specific Problem," 143. See also M. V. Pereira, "A Textual Analysis of the Passage About the Adulteress," 19, http://www.trinitybiblechurch.org/resources/articles/file/16-a-textual-analysis-of-the-passage-about-the-adulteress?tmpl=component.

[20]Augustine, though supporting it, knew of its textual difficulties. See Knust, "An Adulteress," 65.

[21]The majority of texts have it in the traditional location; however, it does occur after John 7:36 or 44, and at the end of the Gospel of John. In the MSS tradition *f*[13], it appears in two different locations, Luke 21:38 and 24:53 (Burge, "Specific Problem," 143). This placement in the Gospel of Luke has been attributed to how the pericope was treated in the lectionaries. See Chris Keith, *The Pericope Adulterae*, *the Gospel of John and the Literacy of Jesus*, NTTSD 38 (Leiden; Boston: Brill 2009), 138. Keith summarizes his argument by saying, "It is clear that several of the alternative manuscript locations for PA are due to lectionary influence" (ibid., 139). Others have argued for a Lukan source of the story. See Kyle R. Hughes, "The Lucan Special Material and the Tradition History of the *Pericope Adulterae*," *NovT* 55.3 (2013): 232–257. Keith argues that Lukan authenticity is implausible ("Recent and Previous Research," 384). Caution must be urged against taking this late evidence very seriously. At the same time, the *PA* is found in alternative locations. The vast majority of MSS (some 1,350 MSS and 1,000 lectionaries) treat the passage as a normal part of John's Gospel. Therefore, the handful of MSS that diverge in its placement of the passage, should be weighed against the great majority from the same period.

NT, despite his awareness of the textual history, because of its long reception by the church.[22]

In sum, it is recognized that the *PA* is ancient, probably historical, and yet is not found in the oldest extant MSS. According to the testimony of Augustine and Jerome, in the fourth century the pericope was found in some Greek MSS, but missing in others. Therefore, while the oldest copy extant only reaches to the fifth century, at the latest it was in the MS tradition in the fourth century. It also is found in different locations in certain MSS, and does not become regularly attested in the Greek textual tradition until the ninth century. These factors have led some scholars to describe the passage as a pericope seeking a resting place. Unquestionably, the diversity of MS locations for the passage is unmatched by any other text.

Petersen calls it a "floating logion" due to the variety of locations in which it is found.[23] Andreas Köstenberger describes it as a "floating narrative in search of a home."[24] This description gives the impression that the traditional location of the pericope is uncertain and that scribes were attempting to find a place to insert the passage. However, this is clearly misleading and must be counterbalanced by the fact that the traditional location is the one that best explains the others. This overstated misrepresentation should be laid to rest.

Chris Keith demonstrates that the current location of the *PA* is also the place where it first entered the MS tradition.[25] This was the 'home' of the narrative. He argues three points: the traditional location for the story is the majority location; it is the earliest demonstrable location;[26] and that the late alternative locations are at least partially due to the lectionary influence.[27] The first two are incontrovertible, the third has been debated.

Keith cites several authors, including van Lopik, Colwell, Metzger, and Wikgren, who have recognized that the lectionary system has influenced non-lectionary texts.[28] Van Lopik argues that the location of the passage in f^{13} "is a blatant example of the influence" of the lectionary system. The *PA* was read on 8 October (during the feast of St. Pelagia), which follows the reading

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[22]Desiderius Erasmus, *Paraphrase on John*, trans. Jane E. Philips, vol. 46 of *Collected Works of Erasmus,* New Testament Scholarship (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 286. See also idem, *Controversies*, ed. Jane E. Philips, trans. Erika Rummel, vol. 72 of *Collected Works of Erasmus,* New Testament Scholarship (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), 215–216.

[23]Petersen, "ΟΥΔΕ ΕΓΩ ΣΕ [ΚΑΤΑ]ΚΡΙΝΩ," 302.

[24]Andreas Köstenberger, *Encountering John: The Gospel in Historical, Literary, and Theological Perspective*, Encountering Biblical Studies (Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 1999), 260. This description is clearly misleading given the overwhelming number of MSS locating the story in the traditional place that are contemporaneous with the handful of MSS that place it in an alternative location.

[25]Keith, *Literacy of Jesus*, 119–120.

[26]Ibid.

[27]Ibid., 131.

[28]Ibid., 135.

of 7 October, which contained Luke 21:12–19. Thus, the placement of the *PA* at this point in Luke's Gospel, van Lopik contends, is a clear result of the lectionary connection.[29] Tommy Wasserman agrees noting that f^{13} and several lectionaries move the *PA* to Matt 26:39, which is "most certainly due to lectionary influence."[30] A few of the MSS in f^{13} have the passage placed both in Luke 22:43–44 and Matt 26:39. Duplication of a passage in different locations is "characteristic of lectionary influence."[31]

While the description that the *PA* is a text searching for a home is overstated, nevertheless, this does not diminish its unusual textual history. For this reason, the external evidence has led the majority of scholars to consider that the passage is not original to John's Gospel.

Internal Evidence

In addition to the extraordinary textual background, there are several internal arguments that are called upon to question the authenticity of the passage. Three main ones are: issues related to linguistics; the absence of John's familiar dichotomies; and the difference between the way this woman is portrayed and others in John, who are described as followers of Christ. Internal evidence, by its very nature, is often subjective. The lack of dichotomies could simply be the result of the subject matter. Likewise, the portrayal of the woman may not fit the paradigm in this Gospel, but that could be attributed to the circumstances at hand, especially if the historical nature of the account is accepted, as it is by many commentators.

However, a more forceful argument is often made based on the linguistic differences between the *PA* and the rest of John's Gospel. The passage contains a number of words that are not present elsewhere in John. For example, the phrase, "scribes and Pharisees" appears nowhere else in John, but is frequent in the Synoptics. There are fifteen words in this section that are not found in the rest of John's Gospel.[32] This, in addition to the large number of variants within the passage, leads many scholars to reject Johannine authorship.[33]

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[29]T. van Lopik, "Once Again: Floating Words, Their Significance for Textual Criticism," *NTS* 41.2 (1995): 291, as quoted in Keith, *Literacy of Jesus*, 137.

[30]Wasserman, "Strange Case," 52.

[31]Ibid., 52. Wasserman cites Colwell and Metzger in ibid., 52n66.

[32]Keith, "Recent and Previous Research," 380. Other lists include seven, thirteen, or fourteen words, but Keith's seems to be the most thorough.

[33]However, it must be recognized that this is a very small sample to determine authorship. By some estimates, ten thousand words are needed, yet the pericope contains less than two hundred words, in some measure tempering this argument. See Alan F. Johnson, "A Stylistic Trait of the Fourth Gospel in the *Pericope Adulterae*?" *BETS* 9.2 (1966): 91–96, esp. 93. Johnson refers back to Bruce M. Metzger, "A Reconsideration of Certain Arguments Against the Pauline Authorship of the Pastoral Epistles," *ExpTim* 70.3 (1958): 93–94. Metzger refers to G. Udny Yule, *The Statistical Study of Literary Vocabulary* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1944), 281.

This argument must be balanced against other passages in John's Gospel that demonstrate a significant use of unique words. This occurs in sections of the text that are considered authentic. For example, John 1:14–27 has eleven unique expressions, 2:5–17 has nineteen, and 6:3–14 has thirteen.[34] Additionally, twice as many of John's habitual expressions are found in the pericope than in 2:13–17.[35] The *PA* is, therefore, not so unusual in this regard, thus mitigating the previous observation.

Often overlooked is the fact that the passage does contain a uniquely Johannine expression. John frequently utilizes short explanatory phrases throughout his narrative. These interpretative expressions help the reader understand what is occurring in the storyline. For example, in the conversation regarding the multiplying of bread for the multitude, there is a narrative explanation that Jesus was about to test Philip (6:6). The expression τοῦτο δὲ ἔλεγεν πειράζων contains three distinct aspects. They are the conjunction δε, the demonstrative pronoun τοῦτο, and the verb 'to speak' (ἔλεγεν).[36] Similar phrases are found scattered ten times throughout the Gospel (6:71; 7:39, 11:13, 51; 12:6, 33; 13:11, 28; 21:19). The *PA* contains one of these expressions that explains the motivation behind the accusations against the woman (8:6). The writer tells us that this was done to test Jesus (τοῦτο δὲ ἔλεγον πειράζοντες). The usage of the three introductory elements is either a literary thread indicating a common author behind this section and the rest of the book, or a subtle scribal interpolation in an attempt to make it appear as though it is authentic.[37]

It is also commonly argued that the *PA* interrupts the narrative flow of John 7 and 8. Noted textual critic and scholar Daniel B. Wallace overstates the case when he writes that the passage "seriously disrupts the flow of the argument."[38] As Punch observes, there is no clear discussion on "*how* it breaks the flow."[39] To the contrary, evidence can be marshalled to show that the passage does fit the context. For example, there is the third person aorist found in 7:52–53 (ἀπεκρίθησαν and ἐπορεύθησαν), the fact that the pericope heightens the issues over Jesus as a teacher, and the theme of judgment found in both John 7 and 8. Additionally, the narrative sets the temple as the background before (7:14), during (8:2), and after (20) the incident. The absence of the disciples throughout the flow of this section of the narrative also indicates a structural unity.[40]

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[34]John David Punch, *The Pericope Adulterae: Theories of Insertion and Omission* (PhD diss., Radboud University Nijmegen, 2010), 159–160.

[35]Johnson, "Stylistic Trait," 93.

[36]Ibid., 95.

[37]Ibid., 96.

[38]Daniel B. Wallace, "The Gospel of John: Introduction, Argument, Outline," *New Testament Introductions and Outlines*, 28 June 2004, https://bible.org/seriespage/4-gospel-john-introduction-argument-outline.

[39]Punch, "Piously Offensive," 9.

[40]Keith, *Previous Research*, 381. Keith also references several scholars, who recognize these points, while not necessarily arguing for Johannine authenticity.

Keith, although supporting the idea that the pericope is an insertion into the text, argues that the literary style fits within the book of John and is the work of a clever interpolator.[41] Instead of being a disruptive section within narrative, the passage contributes to the context and highlights important themes running through the storyline. Keith highlights four major areas of resonance between the pericope and John. These are Jesus's superiority to Moses (5:47; 6:32; 8:6, 8), the use of double *entendres* (7:15; 8:6, 8), Jesus being judge and judged (3:17–19; 7:24, 50; 8:11), and the emphasis on writing in John (7:15; 8:6, 8; 19:19–22; 20:30). Keith demonstrates that the passage fits the context, and, while this might be seen as evidence for it being written by John, he concludes that it is the work of a skillful interpolator.[42]

J. P. Heil identifies several linguistic, thematic, and stylistic links that argue strongly for the *PA* being an integral part of the Gospel of John. Heil emphasizes that there is a linguistic linkage highlighted by the recurrent use of Jesus *teaching in the temple* (7:14; 8:2); the narrative aside mentioned above (6:6; 8:6); the command to sin no longer (5:14; 8:11) and repeated mention of *throwing stones*, first in relation to the woman, and then in relation to Christ (8:7, 59).

Heil also identifies several literary links including the larger narrative plot to seek and kill or arrest Jesus (7:1, 11, 25; 8:7–9), the thematic connection to Christ as one greater than Moses (7:15, 19, 50–51; 8:3–5), and the idea of judging/condemning so prevalent in the book (7:24, 51; 8:11, 26). While Heil recognizes many of the ideas mentioned by Keith, he comes to a different conclusion regarding the origin of the passage, believing that it is integral to the entire narrative.[43]

The subjective nature of the internal evidence is demonstrated by the fact that scholars, such as Heil and Keith, can both agree that the story fits the larger context of John, and yet they come to opposite conclusions as to its authorship. Thus, the internal evidence is subjective; arguments can be made on both sides, indicating that it is not completely decisive.

Interpolation or Omission?

Due predominately to the extremely unusual textual history, most scholars consider the passage an interpolation. This naturally raises the question, why was it inserted? Conversely, for those who believe it is authentic, the question becomes, why was it removed? Given the paucity of existing ancient MSS, it is impossible to answer these questions definitively, and the historical

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[41]Chris Keith, "The *Pericope Adulterae:* A Theory of Attentive Insertion" in *Pericope of the Adulteress*, 89–113 (93, 96, 102).

[42]Keith, *Literacy of Jesus*, 190–201. Naturally, this evidence could point to it either being a skillful interpolation or original with John. Keith chooses the former due to the external evidence.

[43]See J. P. Heil "The Story of Jesus and the Adulteress (John 7:53–8:11) Reconsidered," *Bib* 72 (1991): 182–191; idem, "A Rejoinder to 'Reconsider "The Story of Jesus and the Adulteress (John 7:53–8:11) Reconsidered,"'" *EgT* 25.3 (1994): 361–366.

knot remains firmly tied. Judging the passage as either an interpolation or an omission creates difficulties that are not encountered with any other passage of Scripture. As Larry Hurtado states, there is "nothing comparable to the putative excision or insertion of the PA."[44] There are three well-thought-out theories that attempt to explain the unusual background of the text. Two argue for its insertion, the other for its excision. Keith has developed the most thorough theory of insertion in his several works.

In contrast to the "floating narrative" searching for a home offered by Köstenberger and others, Keith builds a rational argument to explain why the passage settled in this part of John's Gospel. His thesis is that the passage was inserted into a section of John, in which questions were already being raised regarding Jesus's literacy (7:15). The pericope demonstrates that Jesus could both read and write, and this served as a polemic against the wider accusations that Christians were uneducated. Keith demonstrates that the ancient world criticized Christianity due to the illiteracy of its followers.[45] He postulates that the pericope was inserted in the third century as a part of a larger trend to portray Jesus as a wise, elite, literate teacher.[46] This is, after all, the "sole claim within the canonical or non-canonical Jesus tradition" that Jesus actually could write.[47]

To support his argument, Keith explores the use of καταγράφω (8:6) and γράφω (8:8) in the story. Keith connects the imagery of Jesus's writing with that of Moses. Specifically, "Jesus' lack of condemnation of the woman . . . derives from the same scribal authority that originally authored the Decalogue."[48] Connecting with the larger themes in the narrative, Jesus's writing is seen to be greater than that of Moses. Keith's works contain the most thought-through discussion on why the passage was inserted in the traditional location, engaging with the socio-historical context. Keith also recognizes one of the weaknesses of his argument, which is that no patristic writers ever use the passage to support Jesus's literacy.[49]

Another theory that supports the passage as an insertion is that of Burge.[50] He suggests that the passage is an authentic text that originated from the oral traditions used to construct the Gospels. Seeing the passage as conveying an antique and authentic description of an event in the life of Christ, he raises the question as to why it was not included in the written Gospels. He argues that the passage's temporary disappearance for 350 years is based on the ethos and sexual mores of early Christianity. The apparently easy way of forgiveness found in the story ran counter to the insistence on penance and sexual purity

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[44]Larry Hurtado, "The *Pericope Adulterae:* Where From Here," in *Pericope of the Adulteress*, 153.

[45]Keith, *Literacy of Jesus*, 223–227.

[46]Ibid., 249.

[47]Ibid., 25.

[48]Idem, *Jesus' Literacy: Scribal Culture and the Teacher from Galilee*, LNTS 413 (London: T&T Clark, 2011), 153.

[49]Keith, *Literacy of Jesus*, 250.

[50]Burge, "Specific Problem," 146–147.

so characteristic of the age. Burge contends that it was not until the Church was firmly established and bishops were admonished to demonstrate mercy that the experience of the woman caught in adultery could be used as a model for penitence. However, this suggestion, although widespread and utilized as evidence of the suppression of the passage, fails to comport to the historic use of the passage. This will be more fully explained below in the discussion on the suppression theory.

The third theory suggested to explain the passage's extraordinary background is the suppression theory.[51] It was first offered by Augustine, who believed it was omitted from John's Gospel because the story was offensive to standards of high purity and might give license to women to sin.[52] This is particularly interesting, as Augustine himself "imposed strict codes of sexual avoidance on himself and his own clergy."[53] In other words, Augustine's strong sexual boundaries (he once expelled a clergyman for speaking with a nun at an inappropriate time)[54] would have inclined him to accept a MS that did not contain the *PA*. However, he argued for its inclusion, despite his own sexual mores. This might be considered as support for his observations.

Unfortunately for this idea, the earliest references to the *PA* give no hint of discomfort of the kind that Augustine suggests. The *Protevangelium Iacobi*, an apocryphal second century work, makes a distinct allusion to the pericope. This work describes the suspicion that arose when Mary was found pregnant. Both she and Joseph were given a test to determine their innocence, which included drinking poison. Being unharmed the priest recognized their virtue and pronounced to them, "Neither do I condemn you."[55] The similarity of the expression is noted below.

Table 1. Textual Comparison of *Provtevangelium Iacobi* 16.1 and John 8:11

Reference	Text
Protev. Iac. 16.1	οὐδὲ ἐγὼ [κατά] κρίνω
John 8:11	οὐδὲ ἐγὼ σε [κατά] κρίνω

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[51]John David Punch, *The Pericope Adulterae: Theories of Insertion and Omission: An Academic Essay in Theology* (Saarbrücken: LAP, 2012), 356–359.

[52]Augustine said it was suppressed because it might encourage sexual license (*De adulterinis coniugiss* 7.6). See also Knust, "An Adulteress," 61.

[53]Peter Brown, *The Body and Society: Men, Women and Sexual Renunciation in Early Christianity* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008), 396.

[54]See ibid.

[55]Whether the author received the phrase from a copy of the Gospel of John, or another source is an open question. Yet, it shows familiarity with the pericope and the basic contours of the story. This is the oldest reference to the woman caught in adultery. See Petersen, "ΟΥΔΕ ΕΓΩ ΣΕ [ΚΑΤΑ]ΚΡΙΝΩ," 321–322.

This phrase appears to be a reference to Jesus's words, currently found only in 8:11, and is cited in a manner that indicates that the story was well known and authoritative. This allusion is not made with any sense of embarrassment or awkwardness of the implications of the *PA*.[56] Rather, it is very likely that the author referred to the pericope, in order to legitimize his own story and was not at all uncomfortable with the lack of penance or the imagined sexual license the passage promotes.[57]

If this earliest reference to the incident indicates no discomfort, but rather an authoritative use of the passage, it is implausible that Augustine's reason for its exclusion is valid. Given the way the story is used in *Protevangelium Iacobi*, deliberate "exclusion of the sort Augustine imagined seems unlikely."[58] On the other hand, while Keith's theory is suggestive for inclusion, it is not overwhelmingly compelling.

If John did not originally pen it as part of his Gospel, did a later redactor, perhaps part of a Johannine community, insert it? Or, as Keith contends, was it inserted in a strategic place for polemical reasons? Or if John did originally write it, what could explain its absence in the MS tradition? An excision of this type could not have been done accidentally. What would be the reason for the passage's exclusion? Unfortunately, without further discoveries of ancient texts that might shed more light on the pericope, the definitive answer to these questions escapes us. What is obvious is that there is an intentionality about either the passage's excision or insertion. After exploring the textual history of the narrative, as well as the apparent reference to it in the *Protevangelium*, Petersen concludes there is still a great lack of clarity.

Petersen highlights the difficulty of unraveling this textual knot by referring to another passage in the *Protevangelium*. In addition to referring to the words "Neither do I condemn you," there is a second connection within the work to the Gospel of John. The story also contains a digital examination of Mary's hymen, which is reflective of Thomas's desire to place a finger in Jesus's wound. Once again, there is a parallelism in the expressions used. These two allusions contribute to an argument that if the *PA* was not original to John, it was certainly added very early. The origins for both of the allusions are found only in John.[59]

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[56] Knust, "Adulteress," 69, 71.

[57] Ibid., 79.

[58] Ibid., 67. Knust suggests that Augustine was actually using this reason as a polemic against those who disagreed with his position on divorce (ibid., 65).

[59] See Petersen, "ΟΥΔΕ ΕΓΩ ΣΕ [ΚΑΤΑ]ΚΡΙΝΩ," 322.

Table 2. Textual Comparison of *Provtevangelium Iacobi* 19.19 and John 20:25

Reference	Text
Protev. Iac. 19.19	ἐαν μη βάλω τον δάκτθλόν μου
John 20:25	ἐαν μη . . . βάλω τον δάκτθλόν μου

Using form-critical criteria, Petersen concludes that this is not a random event. He argues that the author of the *Protevangelium* knew of and used John's Gospel.[60] This fact adds to the difficulty of discerning the origins of the *PA*. Since the author of the *Protevangelium* depended on John for one textual allusion, does this indicate that he depended on John for the phrases now only found in the *PA*? Or is there a common source for both the *Protevangelium* and John, such as the *Gospel according to the Hebrews*?[61] After exploring these possibilities, Petersen rightly states that the more one "delves into the puzzle of the origins of the pa, the more one sees how difficult it is to cut the knot cleanly."[62] The difficulty one encounters in the history of the *PA* appropriately introduces the issue as to how the passage should be treated today.

Canonicity

Although a majority of scholars consider the passage an interpolation, there is no unanimity of thought into how the *PA* should be related to the canon. This is evidenced by modern translations continuing to place the pericope in the text (although with either a different font, brackets, italics or by means of a footnote) unlike other questionable passages that have been removed (such as 1 John 5:7–8). Wallace argues strongly against this "tradition of timidity" that exists among translators. Based on a concern for a pursuit of truth and strengthening the faith of believers, Wallace contends that the *PA* should find no place in the canon, have no part in a translation, nor be part of a pastor's preaching.[63]

However, for theological reasons rather than text-critical ones, the majority of the Christian world continues to view the *PA* as canonical. The Roman Catholic Church, on the strength of the decisions and statements of the Council of Trent, considers that the text of the Vulgate contains the canon for the church.[64] Texts used by the Greek Orthodox Church, as well as

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[60]Ibid., 321.

[61]Ibid., 322–324.

[62]Ibid., 327.

[63]Daniel B. Wallace, "My Favorite Passage that's Not in the Bible," 24 June 2008, https://bible.org/article/my-favorite-passage-thats-not-bible.

[64]Bridges, "The Canonical Status," 217. *The Council of Trent: The Canons and Decrees of the Sacred and Oecumenical Council of Trent*, ed. and trans. J. Waterworth (London: Dolman, 1848), n.p., http://history.hanover.edu/texts/trent/trentall.html.

the Russian Orthodox and the Ukrainian Churches, all include the pericope without discussion.[65] Similarly, those Protestant Christians, who believe the Majority Text is a superior text—whether based on textual concerns or other reasons—consider the passage canonical.[66] Nevertheless, this determination will not suffice for those scholars who urge that only the closest approximation to the original autograph should be canonical.[67] This tension is not new, but reflects a situation that has existed through the history of Christianity, a point to which more consideration will be given momentarily.

While a full discussion on issues related to the forming of the NT canon is beyond the scope of this article, highlighting certain perspectives and canonical models is important, specifically as they relate to the *PA*. What are the criteria by which a passage of Scripture is determined to be canonical? If that question can be answered clearly, then those criteria can be applied to the passage under consideration. However, as with other aspects of the *PA*, there are opposing ideas pulling on opposite ends of the knot.

The fundamental question focuses on the question, "what is a canonical reading?" Answers to this question vary greatly. Brevard Childs's understanding is that the canon is related to a particular community of faith, and that the final form of a text represents its canonical form.[68] Childs is not primarily interested in the literary development of a text, that is the various layers uncovered by the tools of historical criticism, but in the text's final form.[69] From this perspective, an argument can clearly be made for considering the passage as canonical. On the other end would lie Wallace's and Köstenberger's text-critical concern of discerning as close as possible the original text of the NT and letting that be the guide for making canonical decisions.

Armin D. Baum identifies three different models used to determine canonicity. These are the ecclesiastical approach, the pneumatological approach, and the historical-theological criteria.[70] An example of the first is the decision of the Council of Trent to declare that the Vulgate is the canonical

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[65]Bridges, "The Canonical Status," 218.

[66]Maurice A. Robinson, "New Testament Textual Criticism: The Case for Byzantine Priority," *TC: A Journal of Biblical Textual Criticism* 6 (2001): n.p., http://rosetta.reltech.org/TC/vol06/Robinson2001.html; Bruce M. Metzger and Bart D. Ehrman describe the case for Byzantine priority—though they do not accept it (*The Text of the New Testament: Its Transmission, Corruption, and Restoration*, 4th ed. [New York: Oxford, 2005], 218–222). See also Bridges, "The Canonical Status," 219.

[67]Robert W. Funk, "The Once and Future New Testament," in *The Canon Debate*, ed. Lee Martin McDonald and James A. Sanders (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2002), 546. Bart D. Ehrman, *Misquoting Jesus: The Story Behind Who Changed the Bible and Why* (San Francisco: Harper Books, 2005), 62.

[68]Brevard S. Childs, *Biblical Theology in Crisis* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1970), 149–219.

[69]Idem, *The New Testament as Canon: An Introduction* (London: SCM, 1984), 40–43.

[70]Armin D. Baum, "Does the Pericope Adulterae (John 7:53–8:11) have Canonical Authority? An Interconfessional Approach," *BBR* 24.2 (2014): 163–178.

version of Scripture. In this view, the church decides what is canonical or not. From this perspective, the *PA* is canonical for those communities that have an ecclesiastical text.[71]

The pneumatological approach was developed by John Calvin[72] and supported by Karl Barth.[73] It argues that the work of the Holy Spirit endorses what is canonical, and that the influence of the Spirit is superior to reason, but supported by reasoned arguments.[74] Considered as a passage through which the Holy Spirit has worked in the lives of many, the story of the woman would clearly be canonical.[75] It is of interest, however, that when Calvin argued for the *PA*'s use and acceptance, he did not do so based on the role of the Spirit, but on its long history of usage within the church.[76]

The historical-theological approach was followed by Luther, and this most closely follows the criteria that helped shape the canon when Christianity first wrestled with these issues. For Luther, two fundamental historical criteria were a book's apostolic authorship and reception into the church. Two theological criteria utilized were its orthodoxy and elevation of the Christ.[77] Without question, the *PA* is both orthodox and points to Christ's prominence, and by these criteria would be considered canonical. Therefore, if the approaches outlined by Baum were the sum total of canonical perspectives, arguments could be made for accepting the passage into the canon. It has been accepted by an ecclesiastical text, the Holy Spirit has changed lives through the passage, and it is an orthodox teaching that elevates Christ. However, this is too simple an answer to a complex issue.

Michael J. Kruger takes the discussion of canonical criteria further and explores what is the "canonical worldview" behind different models. The first

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[71]Baum, "Canonical Authority," 165.

[72]See John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, ed. John T. McNeill, trans. Ford Lewis Battles, 2 vols. (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1960), 1.8.1. There Calvin argues that it is "easy to perceive something divine in the sacred Scriptures" due to the impact they have on the mind and heart. Other writers do not have this impact, due to their lack of the influence of the Holy Spirit.

[73]See Karl Barth, *Church Dogmatics* 1.2.3.20. Barth recognizes that, while questions concerning the canon might arise, these need to be settled by an appeal to the Spirit, and it should be expected that the Spirit would witness to the Church.

[74]Baum, "Canonical Authority," 167–168.

[75]Burge, "Specific Problem," 148.

[76]Baum, "Canonical Authority," 169.

[77]Ibid., 171. This is seen in Luther's 1522 preface to the Epistle of St. James, as well as that to Jude. In referring to Jude, he recognizes that it was rejected by some fathers from the canon. James, he contends, does not teach the gospel, and thus should not be considered authoritative. He is widely quoted as saying, "What does not teach Christ is not apostolic," regardless of who teaches it (*Martin Luther: Selections from His Writings*, trans. John Dillenburger [New York: Anchor Books, 2004], 36). He follows this by saying, "what does teach Christ is apostolic, even if Judas . . . or Herod does it" (ibid.).

two categories he explores are identified as the "community determined" or "historically determined."[78]

An example of the community-determined model would be the Roman Catholic decision mentioned above, that the text of the Vulgate is the authoritative canon for the church, by virtue of the decision of the Church. It is the authority of the Church that solves the problem of what comprises the canon. As Hans Küng writes, "Without the Church, there would be no New Testament."[79] On a different part of the theological spectrum, but still within this model of canonicity, would be the position of those who view the canon as a human construct. One perspective within this view would be that the twenty-seven books of the NT were simply those chosen by the theological winners of a very diverse early Christian milieu, in which there was no real orthodoxy. As James Barr notes, when the canon was formed, all the other writings which did not receive such status were consigned to oblivion. Canonical status was given to certain texts and this status we respect, because others made that choice. "The decision to collect a group of chosen books and form a 'Scripture' are all human decisions."[80] One view of Christianity became dominant, and it chose what books were acceptable and what were heretical.[81] The two examples here are widely separated theologically, but they both identify the community as determining what is canonical, and this is a fundamental aspect of this canonical worldview.[82]

The historically determined model attempts to establish the canon by exploring the historical merits of the various books. Here the emphasis is on the origins of a book or its component parts. Once again, this model can be used along a wide theological spectrum, resulting in either a "canon within the canon," in which parts of books are considered canonical, or full acceptance

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[78]Michael J. Kruger, *Canon Revisited: Establishing the Origins and Authority of the New Testament Books* (Wheaton, IL: Crossway, 2012), 28–29. Kruger recognizes that it is very difficult to categorize scholarly approaches, and that there is frequently overlap within the models. However, his concern is to clarify on what grounds someone considers a book canonical, and also to recognize that there is some generalization taking place in his discussion. Despite these caveats, he makes an important contribution to the topic.

[79]Hans Küng, *The Council in Action: Theological Reflections on the Second Vatican Council*, trans. C. Hastings (New York: Sheed & Ward, 1963), 187.

[80]James Barr, *The Bible in the Modern World* (New York: Harper & Row, 1973), 120. See also ibid., 116, 118.

[81]For the origins of this concept, see Walter Bauer, *Orthodoxy and Heresy in Earliest Christianity*, ed. Robert Kraft and Gerhard Krodel, trans. Paul J. Achtemeier (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1971), xxi–xxv, 149–158.

[82]Kruger has a fuller discussion of the examples mentioned, as well as an evaluation of each perspective (*Canon Revisited*, 29–66). Kruger also discusses Child's canonical-critical model and Barth's existential/neo-orthodox model as examples of community defined canon. The four models vary greatly but share a common thread: the community determines what is the canon.

of the twenty-seven books in the NT.[83] Luther's stance, mentioned above, would be an example of this model.[84] Certain criteria—frequently apostolicity, orthodoxy, and antiquity—are used to measure what books would be included in the canon.[85] Apostolicity is clearly a frequent and dominant criteria used in this model. It has been viewed as the "central criterion" that gives rise to the others. For some, the question as to what books form the canon is essentially a question as to which books have apostolic authority.[86]

Using the same model, but once more on a different part of the theological spectrum, would be those scholars who pursue, by standard higher critical investigation, the core message of the NT. These researchers try to assess which texts are the earliest layers of the traditions, attempting to get to the "real Jesus."[87] A clear weakness with this view is that now the Scripture is subject to external criteria that individuals have chosen to use in order to determine its veracity. Kruger argues that, even among those who would hold to a high view of Scripture, the idea of an external criteria that the church used to differentiate between canonical and non-canonical books is misleading. This would result in a situation similar to the historically conditioned model, in which an outside standard determines what is, or is not, canonical.[88] Kruger attempts to outline a canonical model that is not based on an externally imposed standard.

Kruger's final model is described as the *self-authenticating canon.* This model attempts to ground the validity of the canon within the content of the canon itself.[89] In this view, the canon itself provides the criteria necessary to determine which books should be considered canonical. The danger of circular reasoning is evident, as the question is being asked of the NT, "how can one know which books are canonical?" Kruger acknowledges this weakness, while at the same time pointing out that other epistemological systems face the same charge. For example, how could one examine the reliability of the rational faculties without utilizing and presupposing their reliability? One can ask the question of Scripture, "What books belong in the canon?" The answer

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[83]Once again, there is a fuller discussion and evaluation in ibid., 67–87.

[84]Although Luther's treatment of James, Hebrews, and Revelation might also place him in the "canon within the canon" perspective. Either way, he was using criteria to determine what was canonical.

[85]Metzger suggests apostolicity, usage, and the rule of faith (*The Canon of the New Testament* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992], 251–254). F. F. Bruce enumerates several criteria for canonicity. These include apostolicity, historicity, orthodoxy, and catholicity (*The Canon of Scripture* [Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1988], 255–269).

[86]C. Stephen Evans, "Canonicity, Apostolicity, and Biblical Authority: Some Kierkegaardian Reflections," in Craig G. Bartholomew et al., eds., *Canon and Biblical Interpretation*, Scripture and Hermeneutics Series 7 (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2006), 150, 153. This would also include those books written by authors who were closely connected to the apostles, such as Mark or Luke.

[87]Kruger, *Canon Revisited*, 69.

[88]Ibid., 80.

[89]Ibid., 89.

given in Scripture is not an inspired table of contents, but rather an epistemic environment that gives guidance to answer the question.[90]

Within this scripturally formed environment there are three components that give direction in the formation of the canon.[91] The first is providential exposure. For the church to identity what books are canonical, it must have interaction with candidates for inclusion. The missing letters of Paul to the Corinthians or to Laodicea have providentially been lost, thus naturally excluding them from the process.

The second component within this scripturally formed environment is attributes of canonicity. These criteria are similar to those discerned under other models, the difference here being that Scripture itself is seen as the basis for these benchmarks. These attributes are apostolic origins,[92] corporate reception (that is, reception by the church as a whole),[93] and divine qualities.

The third component of this scripturally formed environment that gives direction in the formation of the canon is the testimony of the Holy Spirit. The Holy Spirit testifies to the truthfulness of the criteria, helping the believer to see their validity.

All of these characteristics are derived from Scripture itself, providing self-authenticating criteria. Naturally, which model and criteria a scholar emphasizes will impact their conclusion regarding the passage under consideration, and whether it can be seen as canonical.

Köstenberger exemplifies this fact. He explicitly denies that the story of the woman should have a place in the canon and his reason is the questionable textual background. Köstenberger insists that, despite the historical authenticity of the passage, it "should not be regarded as part of the Christian canon." It should be "omitted from preaching in the churches" and not included in the main text of Bible translations.[94] To include it would be to neglect issues "such as canonicity, inspiration, and biblical authority."[95] Here, Köstenberger appears to be applying a historically determined model of canonicity and rejects the *PA*. F. F. Bruce, using the same model, comes to a different conclusion.

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[90]Ibid., 91–94.

[91]Ibid., 94. Kruger develops these concepts throughout the rest of his volume.

[92]Apostolic authority does not mean that the apostles wrote every canonical book. It includes the idea that canonical writings carry an authoritative message and come from the apostolic era.

[93]The difference between this perspective and the position of Roman Catholic Church is that the latter considers the church's reception of a book as the ground for the canonical authority. That is, it is the church's authority that makes the book canonical. Kruger's argument is that the church's reception of a book is a result of the "*self-authenticating nature of Scripture*." Kruger also recognizes that there is not an absolute unity within the church regarding canonicity, but that there is a dominant unity. Naturally, this raises the question, what is a 'dominant' unity? See ibid., 103–106.

[94]Andreas Köstenberger, *John*, BECNT 4 (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2004), 248.

[95]Ibid., 249n10.

He argues that it is "eminently worthy of being treated as canonical" due to its historical nature, and the truth of the gospel contained in the account.[96]

Consideration of canonical models potentially tightens the knot in the *PA* debate. While questions of textual criticism and canonicity are distinct, they are closely related. Following Kruger, as the early church responded to the self-authentication within Scripture, the church did not insist on a particular version of the canonical books. The same conclusion can be derived from the community-determined model. The original text "was apparently not of primary importance" to those involved in recognizing (or determining) the authoritative books that would comprise the canon. There was no effort to establish a standard text in the first centuries of Christianity.[97]

It was the *book itself* that was considered canonical, not necessarily the individual readings within it. The church fathers were aware of textual differences, frequently alleging that these discrepancies were the work of heretics. Nevertheless, there is no record of any discussion among the Fathers as to whether or not a form of the text was canonical, even with the presence of variants. For example, Eusebius and Jerome both discussed which text of the Gospel of Mark was preferable, those copies with or without the longer ending. Yet, neither of them suggested that one text was not canonical.[98] "In effect, the manuscript an individual church possessed was canonical; a neighboring church may have had" a different form of the same books.[99]

This recognition that the early church did not standardize the texts that were considered canonical is supported by Metzger. "In short it appears that the question of canonicity pertains to the documents qua document, and not to one particular form or version."[100] "The category of 'canonical' appears to have been broad enough to include all variant readings . . . that emerged" during the transmission of the NT "while apostolic tradition was a living entity."[101] Christianity accepts a "wide variety of contemporary versions as the canonical New Testament" even though the versions differ—some containing John 7:53–8:11 and others omitting it.[102] In this perspective, a document's canonical status was not dependent upon it being a particular text type. Thus, even contested parts of the text, such as the *PA*, were considered part of the canon, "as far as some early churches were concerned," particularly in those

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[96]Bruce, *Canon*, 288–289.

[97]Kent D. Clarke, "Original Text or Canonical Text" in *Translating the Bible, Problems and Progress*, ed. Stanley E. Porter and Richard S. Hess, JSNTSup 173 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1999), 299.

[98]Metzger, *Canon*, 269.

[99]J. K. Elliot, "Manuscripts, the Codex and the Canon," *JSNT* 19.63 (1997): 112–113.

[100]Meztger, *Canon*, 270.

[101]Ibid., 269.

[102]Ibid., 269–270.

regions in which the Byzantine text type predominated.[103] Or, as Kent D. Clarke writes, the "original textual form or the exact textual form of the New Testament was not a priority for the finalization of the canon."[104] It was the larger literary units, not the particular text, that was considered canonical.

This perspective could be used to argue for the canonicity of the *PA*. It has, after all, been considered as part of the canon since it first appeared in John and was accepted in a number of different faith communities, fulfilling the criteria, to some extent, of corporate reception. Yet, further reflection gives pause to this conclusion. While the canonization process did not prescribe a particular text, neither did it stabilize the text. In other words, the fact that, as the church recognized which books were canonical, it did not demand a specific text type illustrates the point that the text was treated as fluid at that time. Clarke points out that "there is not one single canonical text but a diversity of canonical texts; nor is there one final ecclesiastical form of text." The question at issue is, can changes, whether interpolations or omissions to a biblical text, be legitimatized by the canonization process? Clarke argues that the answer is no, and that these decisions must be made on the basis of text-critical studies. These studies have largely weighed against the *PA* being considered as original to the Gospel of John.[105] Therefore, it is not the canonization process that adjudicates between the competing text types, this is the domain of textual criticism. Nevertheless, this perspective presupposes a community-based model of canon, in which the church decides which books are canonical. One could argue differently, namely a large segment of the church has accepted the controverted passage as canonical, and that decision should be determinative.

However, Clarke does put forth a strong argument that will clearly be embraced by those who give priority to the work of textual criticism. Clarke raises the question as to why a textual addition should be considered canonical, even if a certain community considers the passage part of their canon, if it was not part of the original autograph.[106] If the attempt to reconstruct an original text was abandoned, at what point would scholars stop accepting additions to the text?[107] Despite the ancient character and apparent historicity of the *PA*, it should not be part of the canon if it fails to pass the criterion of apostolic authority, a criterion that arises even among different models. From a canonical perspective, the book of John has been accepted. It now becomes a text critical question as to what is the best representation of John. Burge concludes that the *PA* cannot be part of the canon if it was not written by an inspired, authoritative author,[108] failing to pass the inherent scriptural criteria of apostolic origins.

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[103]Eldon Jay Epp, "Issues in the Interrelation of the New Testament Textual Criticism and Canon," in *The Canon Debate*, 513.

[104]Clarke, "Original Text," 304.

[105]Ibid., 309–310.

[106]Ibid., 310.

[107]Ibid., 317.

[108]Burge, "Specific Problem," 148.

From the stance of the textual critic, additions to the text (and this would include the *PA* if it is viewed as an interpolation) would not be considered canonical. From the perspective of a community using a canonical text that includes the passage, it already is canonical by virtue of being part of the text. Hence, the knot becomes more firmly tied.

If one accepts the position that the text-critical issues are determinative for inclusion in the canon, then the aim to find the original text should bear sway. It also needs to be recognized that this conclusion has not always prevailed within Christianity. Early Christianity thrived despite a situation in which different communities had different versions of canonical books. Notwithstanding a "nonuniform scriptural basis," the church was able to develop sound answers to deep theological questions, such as the relation of the Godhead.[109] Large segments of modern Christianity continue to exist with a "nonuniform scriptural basis," as indicated by the great popularity of the KJV, in an age when new translations are multiplying prolifically,[110] as well as by the fact that no critical edition of the Greek NT has been declared an authorized ecclesiastical text, nor does one appear to be on the horizon.

For many scholars, the textual question regarding the *PA* has been resolved with the conclusion that it is unquestionably an interpolation. On this basis of several canonical models, it should not be included in modern translations of the text. This has become the fate of other questionable passages that were determined to be insertions. The external evidence is clear regarding the passage; however, as indicated above, the internal evidence is not as strong as is often presented. As Keith's works demonstrate, the passage fits well within the setting. Thus, linguistic style should not be seen as determinate for literary origins.[111] Heil also concludes, after examining the literary aspects of the text, that the *PA* fits within the narrative context. Based on this, he suggests that perhaps the external evidence should be reexamined.[112] While this reconsideration is taking place, and in light of the large acceptance of the *PA* by a majority of Christianity, it would seem prudent to refrain from demanding the passage's removal from all new versions, including notes, and banishing it from a preacher's material. This path would be more ecumenical in nature, as well as being more in harmony with the Church's historic approach to canonical texts. However, before a final adjudication of the passage can be made, a broad consensus needs to be formed on exactly which canonical model and criteria are to be used in determining the fate of the pericope.

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[109]Baum, "Canonical Authority," 177.

[110]The KJV was recently identified as the most popular translation. See Sarah Eekhoff Zylstra, "The Most Popular and Fastest Growing Bible Translation Isn't What You Think It Is," *Christianity Today* 58.2 (2014): n.p., http://www.christianitytoday.com/gleanings/2014/march/most-popular-and-fastest-growing-bible-translation-niv-kjv.html.

[111]Keith, "Attentive Insertion," 103.

[112]Heil, "Story of Jesus," 182–191. See also Wallace, "Reconsidering 'The Story of the Jesus and the Adulteress Reconsidered,'" *NTS* 39.2 (1993): 290–296; Heil, "A Rejoinder," 361–366.

Pastoral Concerns

Given this background, how should the pastor relate to the account? As noted above, many advocate for its total removal from new Bible editions. However, until such an edition is printed and becomes popular, the pastor will need to think through how to relate to the passage. Two opposite positions would be to either continue to preach it, ignoring any textual difficulties, or discount the passage altogether. Neither of these positions will best serve the interests of the congregation. To preach from the passage without acknowledging its background in some measure may inadvertently create a situation of distrust when the parishioner learns of its contested position in the Bible. This is exactly Wallace's concern, namely that church members might lose faith when confronted with questions over the accuracy of their Bible. While the pastor may think the average church member has no interest in the historical transmission of the Bible, Bart Ehrman's best-selling book, *Misquoting Jesus*, demonstrates that this is not true. Therefore, while it is not recommended that the preacher run through all the MS evidence during his or her sermon, short explanations can be given to help the members realize that there are still unanswered questions.

Since the *PA* is widely considered to be historical, the passage can also be preached in reference to other texts. For example, it can be used as an illustration of freedom from condemnation, as other true stories are used to illustrate Bible principles. Some may counter this usage of the passage by arguing that pastors shouldn't use the Johannine *comma* (1 John 5:7, KJV), since it is not original nor inspired, even though it teaches a truth.[113] To this I would reply that the two passages are very different. The *PA* is widely considered to be a historical account that took place in the life of Jesus, even if it was not recorded by John. It is referenced in a positive manner by the early *Protevangelium Iacobi*. This is not the case for the Johannine *comma*, which finds its earliest attestation in the eighth century in a Latin text. The earliest Greek text in which it is found is in the fifteenth century (apparently influenced by the Vulgate); and it was never referenced by the Church Fathers, despite the many polemics against Arianism.[114] To the contrary, as Knust argues, the *PA* was always gospel "to a community of Christians somewhere."[115] The most ancient Christians appreciated the story and its lessons, despite its textual history.

Furthermore, the approach to utilize the passage, despite its textual background has long been a perspective embraced by scholars who are deeply committed to the integrity of God's word. For example, Calvin wrote the

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[113]For a discussion of Erasmus's inclusion of the *comma* in his work, see Joseph M. Levine, "Erasmus and the Problem of the Johannine Comma," *JHI* 58.4 (1997): 573–596.

[114]Margalit Finkelberg, "The Original Versus the Received Text with Special Emphasis on the Case of the *Comma Johanneum*," *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 21.3 (2014): 193. It is recognized that it was probably inserted into the Latin text around the fifth century.

[115]Knust, "Adulteress," 75.

following concerning the passage: "But as it has always been received by the Latin Churches, and is found in many old Greek manuscripts, and contains nothing unworthy of an Apostolic Spirit, there is no reason why we should refuse to apply it to our advantage."[116] It is in this light that S. Lewis Johnson recognized the textual history, yet was still comfortable preaching the passage. "[I]t nevertheless is probably an authentic account of an incident in our Lord's life. . . . So I am treating it as if it were an authentic account of the Lord Jesus Christ's ministry, although it is unlikely that it really belongs specifically to the Gospel of John itself."[117] Either ignoring the passage or its interesting background both appear to be unwarranted.[118]

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[116]John Calvin, *Commentary on the Gospel according to John*, trans. William Pringle, 2 vols., Calvin's Commentaries 34–35 (Edinburgh: Calvin Translation Society, 1847), 34:319.

[117]S. Lewis Johnson, "The Woman Taken in Adultery, or Misery and Mercy," *SLJ Institute*, http://sljinstitute.net/gospel-of-john/the-woman-taken-in-adultery-or-misery-and-mercy-2/.

[118]While perhaps not a concern for the broader scholarly community, some might have an interest in the relationship between the insights of Ellen G. White, a respected and influential voice within Seventh-day Adventism, and the passage under consideration. White clearly recognized that textual discrepancies existed and that some of these were intentional. See Ellen G. White, *Early Writings* (Washington, DC: Review & Herald, 1945), 220. This is certainly the case with the passage under consideration. In her influential treatment on the life of Christ, *The Desire of Ages*, she records the events found in the *PA* and treats them as part of John's larger narrative (*The Desire of Ages* [Mountain View, CA, 1898], 460–462). She also identifies what Jesus wrote with his finger, stating that he revealed the "guilty secrets" and "hidden iniquity" of the woman's accusers. The ninth century Constantinopolitan Codex Nanianus of the Gospels (U 030), includes, within the text, the detail that Christ wrote the sins of these accusers. See Jennifer Knust and Tommy Wasserman, "Earth Accuses Earth: Tracing What Jesus Wrote on the Ground," *HTR* 103.4 (2014): 408. However, while we have a textual variation that supports White's insight, this does not indicate that John originally wrote it. The textual evidence is too strong against such a conclusion. While the two examples are different in scope and detail, they together illustrate a principle. Simply because White describes an event as taking place does not mean that her writings should be used to determinately settle textual questions. Her inclusion of the content of what Jesus wrote, paralleled by a ninth century text, is not the basis for making text critical decisions. White was not writing as a textual critic, but as one who wanted to share the story of Christ's life. In a similar vein, one can examine the way in which she wrote *The Great Controversy* (Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press, 1911). In the introduction to the book, she stated that she experienced the Spirit of God opening to her mind events both past and future. In describing historical events, she selected and grouped events, in order to highlight how God brought testing truths at different times in earth's history. In some places she utilized a historian's thoughts and words, as they provided a good presentation of the topic. She was also open to these historical references being corrected if the need should arise. This turned out to be the case in a few instances. When the book was being reprinted in 1911, White asked her co-worker, W. W. Prescott to read through the book and recommend any changes he thought necessary. He responded with over one hundred suggestions, which were reviewed by White and her staff, accepting some and rejecting others.

As John clearly stated, if everything Jesus did was written down, there would not be enough room to contain the accounts (John 21:25). Recognizing the historical nature of the *PA*, its impact on the life of the church, and its transformative power in the lives of church members, the pastor should distinctly proclaim the truth that the story unfolds. "Neither do I condemn you, go and sin no more" is a message that needs to be continually repeated, despite the fact that all of the issues related to the account are not fully resolved.

See Arthur L. White, "W. W. Prescott and the 1911 Edition of *The Great Controversy*," Ellen G. White Estate, 3 February 1981, http://www.whiteestate.org/issues/GC-Prescott.html. In this instance, White demonstrated that, when dealing with historical matters, she did not consider herself a historian, and was willing to adjust her writings as necessary. Textual criticism is surely a separate discipline, but it is not unreasonable to assume that she would recognize her limitations in this area of specialty and, therefore, would not want her writings to be used to determine such disputes.

"HOW THE WEST WAS WON": CHRISTIAN EXPANSION BEFORE AND AFTER THE PROTESTANT REFORMATION

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Abstract

It is certainly more than a truism to say that Protestant Reformation theology has impacted Christian faith and practice in a myriad of ways, including giving rise to a vibrant Protestant missiology. Yet, what remains relatively unexplored in the context of the Reformation and Christian mission is the impact of Reformation political theology on empire-building; specifically, the connection between Protestant mission and the extension of European political hegemony over distant lands, which began in the early modern period. This study attempts to show first that the Reformation reframing of the relationship between church and state failed to challenge the "theology of empire" inherent in Roman Catholicism, and second, that Protestant imperial expansion was equally buttressed by a religious ideology which assumed an equivalence between colonization and the fulfillment of the Great Commission. In the case of Christian expansion into the Americas both before and after the Reformation, the results were disastrous for indigenous peoples and their cultures. This assessment calls for a rethinking of Christianity's historical relationship to empire, its modes of propagation in the modern period, and the nature of its mission in the twenty-first century.

Keywords: Protestant Reformation, imperialism, mission, Roman Empire, Protestantism, Luther, missionary, American Indian, indigenous, natives

Introduction

It is certainly more than a truism to say that Protestant Reformation theology has impacted Christian faith and practice in a myriad of ways, including giving rise to a vibrant Protestant missiology. Yet, what remains relatively unexplored in the context of the Reformation and Christian mission in North American scholarship is the impact of Reformation political theology on empire-building; specifically, the connection between Protestant mission and the extension of European political hegemony over distant lands, which began in the early modern period.[1] Indeed, very few studies have endeavored to investigate how

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[1]Earlier versions of this article were presented in April 2017 at the West Coast Religion Teachers Conference at Walla Walla University in College Place, WA, and in November 2017 at the annual meeting of the Adventist Society for Religious Studies

Reformation political theology facilitated the maintenance of an often tacit, yet durable, partnership between state and church in the common purpose of political and religious expansion.[2]

A deeper examination of the issues reveals, however, that the propagation of Protestant Christianity across the global frontier, for the greater measure of the "age of Reformation"—not unlike its Roman Catholic counterpart—was coterminous with, and made possible *only* by Western geo-political expansion. This expansion, moreover, was accompanied by the violence of conquests, population holocausts, and the expropriation of indigenous lands—some of the inevitable inconveniences of empire-building.

This study attempts to show first, that the Reformation reframing of the relationship between church and state, seen especially in the political philosophies of Martin Luther and John Calvin, failed to challenge the "theology of empire" inherent in Roman Catholicism, and second, that Protestant imperial expansion was equally buttressed by a religious ideology which assumed an equivalence between colonization and the fulfillment of the Great Commission.[3] Drawing upon Christian expansion in the ancient Roman Empire as the exemplar, in this article I compare Spanish Catholic and English Protestant expansion into the Americas in order to demonstrate that both forms of Christian colonization were anchored by the same ideological moorings and proved equally disastrous for native populations.

The Ancient Model: Roman Imperialism and Christian Expansion

The year 312 CE is of high significance in Western Christian history because it marked not only the year of Constantine's vision and "conversion," but also, as Peter Brown has remarked, the culmination of the "conversion of Christianity" itself.[4] It was this Constantinian *renovatio*, above all else,

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[2]See the valuable analysis in Carla G. Pestana, *Protestant Empire: Religion and the Making of the British Atlantic World* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), 33–65.

[3]If this thesis holds true, then Christian imperialism in the modern period proves to be little different from other iterations of religious imperialism, such as the great Islamic expansions which occurred from the middle of the first millennium CE. For a detailed comparison of Christian and Muslim imperialisms, see Sohail H. Hashmi, *Just Wars, Holy Wars, and Jihads: Christian, Jewish, Muslim Encounters and Exchanges* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012); Eleanor Harvey Tejirian and Reeva S. Simon, *Conflict, Conquest, and Conversion: Two Thousand Years of Christian Missions in the Middle East* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012).

[4]Peter Brown, *The World of Late Antiquity: AD 150–750,* Library of World Civilization (London: Thames & Hudson, 1971), 82.

says Joseph Bryant, "which ultimately 'prepared' the Church for its fateful partnership in the affairs of empire."[5]

Perhaps the most noteworthy aspect of Constantine's vision was the Greek phrase τούτῳ νίκα, "by this, conquer"—that is, by the symbol of the cross.[6] Though many of his contemporaries saw him as the embodiment of the New Testament Paul—a man whose visionary encounter with Christ marked the most significant turning point in his life—Constantine would come to represent, at once, two oppositional characterizations to later generations. For Christians he becomes the great Benefactor of the faith, while for "pagans" he is an adversary and a destroyer of Rome's ancient traditions.[7] While the image of the real Constantine no doubt lies somewhere between these two opposing views,[8] it is clear that his re-formation of the Roman order, meant, *inter alia*, the introduction and normalization of coercive measures in Christian

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[5]Joseph M. Bryant, "The Sect-Church Dynamic and Christian Expansion in the Roman Empire: Persecution, Penitential Discipline, and Schism in Sociological Perspective," *British Journal of Sociology* 44.2 (1993): 304. Cf. Michael Azkoul, "Sacerdotium et Imperium: The Constantinian *Renovatio* according to the Greek Fathers," *TS* 32.3 (1971): 431–464.

[6]Cf. Oliver Nicholson, "Constantine's Vision of the Cross," *VC* 54.3 (2000): 309–323; E. H. Brookes, "The Conversion of Constantine and the Establishment," *Theoria: A Journal of Social and Political Theory* 35 (1970): 31–34.

[7]A history of controversy surrounds the life and legacy of Constantine. Perhaps no historical account has contributed more to the image of Constantine as both a model of probity, virtue, and beneficence, and as a persecutor of traditional religions than the *Vita Constantini* (*Life of Constantine*) written by Constantine's contemporary Eusebius, Bishop of Caesarea. On the one hand, Eusebius aggrandizes the character, piety, and accomplishments of Constantine (e.g., *Vit. Const.* 1.39–43), while at the same time omitting or minimizing historical facts which might otherwise bring the emperor into disrepute. For Eusebius, Constantine is the exemplary emperor who not only benefits the Church through his generosity, but he also does so by suppressing pagan religious practices and destroying pagan temples (e.g., ibid*.,* 2.44–61; 3.1.5; 4.23). Though Eusebius exaggerates even on this latter point, before the end of the fourth century a more sinister portrait of Constantine would emerge in some circles: for many, he becomes a symbol of tyranny and oppression, and the destroyer of Rome's ancient religious traditions. For an assessment of Eusebius's view of Constantine and of Constantine's legacy more generally, see Timothy D. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981), 261–275; Scott Bradbury, "Constantine and the Problem of Anti-Pagan Legislation in the Fourth Century," *CP* 89.2 (1994): 120–139.

[8]While Constantine undoubtedly privileged Christianity, he was also ruthless towards "heretics" and other Christian dissidents. Far from summarily destroying traditional religious practices, Constantine appears to have been more tolerable to pagan religions than has often been assumed. For a more nuanced evaluation of Constantine's relationship to Christianity and Paganism, see John Curran, "Constantine and the Ancient Cults of Rome: The Legal Evidence," *GR* 43.1 (1996): 68–80. See also the essays in Edward L. Smither, ed., *Rethinking Constantine: History, Theology and Legacy* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2014); and Charles M. Odahl, *Constantine and the Christian Empire*, 2nd ed., Roman Imperial Biographies (New York: Routledge, 2013).

proselytization.[9] The violence which Christians once suffered under the Roman yoke would become, from Constantine forward, a major implement in the conversion of non-Christians.

Constantine's vision was nothing short of a universal Roman-Christian Empire; the mission of Caesar and that of Christ had become convergent.[10] As Anthony Pagden remarks, with Constantine's conversion, "the ancient dream of universality transformed the pagan ambition to civilize the world into the analogous objective to convert literally all its inhabitants to Christianity."[11] The conversion of nearly half the population of the Roman Empire to the Christian faith by the end of the fourth century was, to a great extent, the result of coercive measures employed by Christian emperors, ecclesiastical hierarchies, and laity alike.[12] In due course, the Roman Empire and the Christian faith would become synonymous; by the middle of the first millennium CE, to be Roman was to be Christian and to be Christian was to be Roman.[13] Thus, the "triumph of Christianity"[14] and the reiteration of the cross as a symbol of violence and domination adumbrated the partnership of sword and crucifix, of confiscation and conversion, that would mark the course of Christian history.

With the conversion of Constantine the Great, the kingdom of God had effectively been taken from the Jews and given to another—imperial Rome and its successors—in perpetuity. Under Christendom, it appeared a new Israelite theocracy was constituted: in the Caesars, the kings of Israel were reified, and in the papal ecclesiology, a new priesthood ordained. There were no shortage of theologians in the Patristic period, no less in the age of European expansion, who accepted implicitly and sought to justify the belief that God had entrusted to the Roman Empire and its successors the fulfillment of the Great Commission by force of arms, and that the kingdom of God would be ushered

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[9]See, Ramsay MacMullen, *Christianity and Paganism in the Fourth to Eighth Centuries* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 1–31; idem, *Christianizing the Roman Empire: A.D. 100–400* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), 86–101; H. A. Drake, "Lambs into Lions: Explaining Early Christian Intolerance," *Past & Present* 153.1 (1996): 3–36; idem, "Intolerance, Religious Violence, and Political Legitimacy in Late Antiquity," *JAAR* 79.1 (2011): 196, 220.

[10]Cf. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 275. According to MacMullen, from Constantine onwards, "The two forces, ecclesiastical and imperial, have been seen working together, sometimes the one at the behest of the other, sometimes contrariwise, but always in agreement about the one essential, to rid God's world of nonbelievers" (*Christianity and Paganism*, 30).

[11]Anthony Pagden, *Lords of All the World: Ideologies of Empire in Spain, Britain and France c. 1500–c. 1800* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 29.

[12]Bryant, "Sect-Church Dynamic," 304. Cf. MacMullen, *Christianizing the Roman Empire*, 86, 89; Drake, "Religious Violence," 195–196.

[13]Cf. Tejirian and Simon, *Conflict, Conquest, and Conversion*, xi.

[14]The oxymoron of this juxtaposition is self-evident.

in under the imperial aegis of Rome.[15] Thus, when Augustine argued that God had committed "to the Romans the task of uniting the world prior to the coming of Christ," he echoed the sentiments of many of his contemporaries.[16]

The expectation of a universal Christian empire provided an essential ideological basis for Christian expansion in the modern period, as Catholic and Protestant states competed to outdo one another for imperial possessions in far-flung territories.[17] In effect, the desire to spread respective brands of the Christian faith to the ends of the earth became a major impulse behind the greatest imperial expansion the world has ever witnessed. Consequently, internecine conflicts between the main divisions of Christianity were a defining feature of the European quest for worldwide dominion.[18]

Significantly, Christian imperialism in the modern period continually looked for analogy and legitimation in the ancient Roman model. As Pagden underscores,

> [T]he theoretical roots of the modern European overseas empires reached back into the empires of the Ancient World. It was, above all, Rome which provided the ideologues of the colonial systems of Spain, Britain and France with the language and political models they required, for the *Imperium romanum* has always had a unique place in the political imagination of Western Europe.[19]

To be sure, the legacy of Rome in the conception of British expansion was always somewhat of a quandary, as the morality of "empire" was never a

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[15]Cf. Michael Walzer, "The Triumph of Just War Theory (and the Dangers of Success)," *Social Research* 69.4 (2002): 926.

[16]Pagden, *Lords of All*, 30. For the prevalence of the same ideology in the early modern context, see Arthur H. Williamson, "An Empire to End Empire: The Dynamic of Early Modern British Expansion," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 68.1–2 (2005): 227–256.

[17]The "Age of Discovery" is generally considered to extend from the fifteenth through the seventeenth centuries. Though one of many catalysts for overseas exploration, religious motivations were an indispensable reason for global discovery. This was particularly so in view of the Muslim threat to Eastern Europe, which intensified after the fall of Constantinople in 1453 to the Ottoman Turks. Following the close of the Silk Road by the Turks, European nations were forced to find alternate routes to the lucrative eastern trade. The quest for new trade routes was a major impetus that drove global exploration and eventuated in the "discovery" of the Western Hemisphere. For an overview of this period, see David Arnold, *The Age of Discovery, 1400–1600*, 2nd ed., Lancaster Pamphlets (London: Routledge, 2002).

[18]Cf. Pestana, *Protestant Empire*, 12; Susan Juster and Linda Gregerson, "Introduction," in *Empires of God: Religious Encounters in the Early Modern Atlantic*, ed. Susan Juster and Linda Gregerson (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), 2–3; Ward Churchill, "Perversions of Justice: Examining the Doctrine of US Rights to Occupancy in North America," *Historical Reflections/Réflexions Historiques* 21.2 (1995): 321.

[19]Pagden, *Lords of All*, 11.

settled question.[20] Nevertheless, despite the moral disquiet in some circles, the exemplar of Rome became firmly fixed in the British imperial imagination.

The New Roman Empire and Catholic Expansionism

Las Casas and the "Black Legend"

It was in 1492 that Christopher Columbus made his fateful voyage to the Americas and, according to his son Fernando, "*took possession* of it in the name of the Catholic Sovereigns with appropriate ceremony and words," becoming the first European to set foot in the New World.[21] But, less than two decades later, a population catastrophe was well underway in the recently expropriated territories. The social reformer and contemporary of Luther, Bartolomé de Las Casas, was among the few to challenge Spanish self-proclaimed sovereignty over the Western Hemisphere. Throughout his long career, Las Casas would make numerous appearances before the Spanish court. He lobbied for more humane treatment of the indigenous peoples of the Carribean and camp-agained vociferously against what he called the destruction of the Indies" by Spanish conquistadors—conquerors.

Las Casas published numerous works that indicted Spanish cruelty in the Americas, giving rise to what became known as the "Black Legend." His most famous pamphlet, *A Very Brief Account of the Destruction of the Indies*, described the horrific violence perpetrated against the natives, which, as he says, he witnessed with his own eyes.[22] According to Las Casas, the natives are docile as sheep, while the Spanish, like wolves, lions, and tigers, have done nothing more than "tear them to pieces, kill them, martyr them, afflict them, torment them, and destroy them by strange sorts of cruelties."[23]

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[20]The complexities in early British Protestant imperial expansion are explored in Norman Vance, "Anxieties of Empire and the Moral Tradition: Rome and Britain," *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 18.2 (2011): 246–261. See further Christopher Hodgkins, *Reforming Empire: Protestant Colonialism and Conscience in British Literature* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2002); Louis B. Wright, *Religion and Empire: The Alliance Between Piety and Commerce in English Expansion, 1558–1625* (New York: Octagon Books, 1976).

[21]Fernando Colòn, *The Life of the Admiral Christopher Columbus by His Son Ferdinand*, trans. Benjamin Keen (New Brunkswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1959), 59, as cited in Patricia Seed, "Taking Possession and Reading Texts: Establishing the Authority of Overseas Empires," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 49.2 (1992): 183; emphasis added.

[22]See Robert Ellsberg, "Las Casas' Discovery," *America* 207.13 (2012): 12–17. Cf. Daniel Castro, *Another Face of Empire: Bartolomé de Las Casas, Indigenous Rights, and Ecclesiastical Imperialism*, Latin America Otherwise (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007), 105–114; Daniel R. Brunstetter, "Sepúlveda, Las Casas, and the Other: Exploring the Tension between Moral Universalism and Alterity," *The Review of Politics* 72.3 (2010): 409–435.

[23]Bartolomé de Las Casas, *The Spanish Colonie, or Briefe Chronicle of the Acts and Gestes of the Spaniards in the West Indies, called the New World*, trans. by M. M. S. (London: Brome, 1583), A1–A3. An excerpt of this work reprinted in Ania Loomba

In Columbus's own account of his first voyage, he reported that he found in the Americas "very many islands inhabited by countless people";[24] and Amerigo Vespucci, writing to the Spanish court some ten years later, said, "I have found a continent in the southern section, with more towns and animals than Europe, Asia or Africa."[25] But within a few short decades, according to Las Casas, that vast population was being threatened with extinction:

> We are able to yield a good and certain account that there is within the space of the said 40 years, by those said tyrannies and devilish doing of the Spaniards, done to death unjustly and tyrannously more than twelve millions of souls, men, women, and children. And I verily do believe and think not to mistake therein, that there are dead more than fifteen millions of souls.[26]

While the population density of the Americas prior to the arrival of the Spanish is not known with certitude (current estimates range from 75–145 million),[27] what is clear is that a veritable population catastrophe occurred thereafter, the precipitous "reduction of native populations by up to 90 percent in some regions and complete depopulation in others."[28] By 1535, on the Island of Hispaniola, one of the first to be discovered by Columbus, there

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and Jonathan Burton, *Race in Early Modern England: A Documentary Companion* (New York: Macmillan, 2007), 111–113. Cf. Patricia Seed, "'Are These Not Also Men?': The Indians' Humanity and Capacity for Spanish Civilisation," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 25.3 (1993): 629–652.

[24]Consuelo Varela, *Textos y documentos completes: Relaciones de viajes, cartas y memorials* (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1982), 140, as cited in Luis N. Rivera, *A Violent Evangelism: The Political and Religious Conquest of the Americas* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1992), 4.

[25]Amerigo Vespucci, *Mundus Novus* (Augsburg: Johann Otmar, 1504), in Henry Vignaud, *Americ Vespuce, 1451–1512* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1917), 305, as cited in Rivera, *A Violent Evangelism*, 6–7.

[26]Loomba and Burton, *Early Modern England*, 112.

[27]See, David E. Stannard, *American Holocaust: The Conquest of the New World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 266–268.

[28]Wolfgang Gabbert, "The Longue Durée of Colonial Violence in Latin America," *Historical Social Research/Historische Sozialforschung* 37.3 (2012): 255. Wilbur R. Jacobs writes, "[W]e must now accept the fact that the dismal story of Indian depopulation after 1492 is a demographic disaster with no known parallel in world history" ("The Tip of an Iceberg: Pre-Columbian Indian Demography and Some Implications for Revisionism," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 31.1 [1974]: 128). Scholars continue to debate whether wars or diseases played the greater role in the catastrophic decline of native numbers. For a representative discussion on the subject, see further David S. Reher, "Reflections on the Fate of the Indigenous Populations of America," *Population and Development Review* 37.1 (2011): 172–177; Massimo Livi Bacci, "The Demise of the American Indios," *Population and Development Review* 37.1 (2011): 161–165; idem, "The Depopulation of Hispanic America After the Conquest," *Population and Development Review* 32.2 (2006): 199–232; William M. Denevan, "Estimating the Aboriginal Population of Latin America in 1492: Methodological Synthesis," *Publication Series (Conference of Latin Americanist Geographers)* 5.1 (1976): 125–132.

was no further need for missionary activity among the Taino Indians, as all of the roughly three million indigenous inhabitants, according to Las Casas's estimate, were completely wiped out by Spanish depredation and diseases.[29] Las Casas was convinced that the "Spanish conquerors of the Americas were driven by their quest for God, gold, and glory."[30] As Cortés famously declared in 1521 on the cusp of the Spanish conquest of the Aztec capital: "The main reason for which we came to these parts is to extol and preach faith in Christ, although that is accompanied by honor and profit. . . . Let us go forth, serving God, honoring our nation, giving growth to our king, and let us become rich ourselves; for the Mexican enterprise is for all these purposes."[31]

Papal Donation and Imperial Legitimation

The justifications for Spanish right to rule the Indies were many, but the most important and enduring, as Luis Rivera reminds us, "was the language related to God—*theology*—that served to rationalize avarice and ambition. . . . It was religion that attempted to sacralize political dominion and economic exploitation."[32] The papal bull *Inter caetera*, issued by Pope Alexander VI in May 1493, epitomized this legitimation of political ambition by religious edict. In this historic document, the pope, writing to the Spanish monarchs, proclaimed: "[A]ll the mainlands and isles found or to be found, discovered or to be discovered . . . by the authority of Almighty God, granted unto us in Saint Peter, and by the office which we bear on earth as Vicar of Christ, we give, grant, and assign . . . to you, your heirs and successors."[33] The bull

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[29]Cf. Gabbert, "Colonial Violence," 255; Ben Kiernan, *Blood and Soil: A World History of Genocide and Extermination from Sparta to Darfur* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 75–77; Jacobs, "Tip of an Iceberg," 127. Stannard, following the Berkeley School, estimates the pre-contact population of Hispaniola at eight million. See *American Holocaust*, 72, 74–75, 266–268.

[30]Rivera, *A Violent Evangelism*, xv, 259.

[31]Joaquín F. Pacheco, Francisco de Cárdenas, and Luís Torres de Mendoza, eds., *Colección de documentos inéditos relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y organización de las antiguas posesiones españolas de América y Oceanía, sacados de los Archivos del Reino y muy especialmente del de Indias*, 31 vols. (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1864–1884), 26:21–22, as cited in Rivera, *A Violent Evangelism*, 262.

[32]Ibid., xv. Cf. Robert Craig, "Christianity and Empire: A Case Study of American Protestant Colonialism and Native Americans," *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 21.2 (1997): 1–5.

[33]Alexander VI, *Inter caetera*, in *European Treaties Bearing on the History of the United States and Its Dependencies to 1648,* ed. Frances G. Davenport (Washington, DC: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1917), 62. The full English text is in ibid., 61–63. The full Latin text can be found in ibid., 59–61. See also Marin Fernàndez de Navarrete, *Collección de los viages y descubrimientos que hicieron por mar los españoles, desde fines del s. XV*, 2 vols. (Buenos Aires: Editorial Guarania, 1945), 2:45, as cited in Rivera, *A Violent Evangelism*, 12, 23–26. Cf. Seed, "Taking Possession," 200–202; V. Y. Mudimbe, *The Idea of Africa*, African Systems of Thought (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994), 32–38; Castro, *Another Face of Empire*, 22–23.

makes clear that the papal designations as God's representative on earth and as the Vicar of Christ grant him the authority over all temporal powers and domains and, as such, the right to "give, grant, and assign" any possession on earth as he wills it. The bull further granted to the Spanish sovereigns the full and exclusive right to convert the native inhabitants to the "true faith."[34] Throughout much of the sixteenth century, the Spanish crown would appeal repeatedly to the papal donation for legitimation of their right to the newly discovered and expropriated lands.

Official doctrine, deriving from at least the thirteenth century, had declared that papal authority extended "not only over Christians but also over infidels since the faculty received by Christ from the Father was absolute . . . and [since] all honor and principality and dominion and jurisdiction have been taken away from the infidels and transposed to the faithful."[35] Christians, by virtue of being Christians, were endowed with the universal right to take possession of all newly discovered lands "heretofore not subject to the actual temporal domination of any Christian lord."[36] In lands discovered by Catholic Christians, dispossession would be achieved in part through systematic wars of extermination, in addition to the destructive force of Old World diseases; and conversion would be relentlessly pursued by the priests of zealous religious orders.[37]

In the lengthy *Requerimiento*, a document Spaniards were required to read to native leaders prior to taking control of their lands, the following sentiments are observed:

> I beg and require of you . . . to recognize the church as lady and superior of the universe and to acknowledge the Supreme Pontiff, called Pope, in her name, and the king and queen . . . as lords and superiors . . . if you do not do it . . . then *with the help of God* I will undertake powerful actions against you. I will make war on you everywhere and in every way that I can. I will subject you to the yoke of obedience of the church and of your Highnesses. I will take you personally and your wives and children, and make slaves of you, and as such sell you off . . . and *I will take away your property* and cause you all the evil and harm I can.[38]

Notably, the document demands the recognition of the pope and political sovereigns as overlords and finds sanction from God himself. In principle, the *Requerimiento* stipulates voluntary submission to subjection, conversion, and colonization, or forced submission by war and conquest in the name of God,

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[34]Rivera, *A Violent Evangelism*, 25; Castro, *Another Face of Empire*, 9, 21–23.

[35]Rivera, *A Violent Evangelism*, 27. Rivera quotes Cardinal Enrique de Segusa of Osita. The papal bull of 1493 was only one in a series of declarations from at least the thirteenth century which sought to define the relationship between the "faithful" and "infidels." See further Churchill, "Perversions of Justice," 321–324.

[36]Alexander VI, *Inter caetera*, 62. Cf. de Navarrette, *Collección*, 2:45, as cited in Rivera, *A Violent Evangelism*, 12; Castro, *Another Face of Empire*, 22–23.

[37]See Stannard, *American Holocaust*, 57–95.

[38]Lewis Hanke, "The 'Requerimiento' and Its Interpreters," *Revista de Historia de América* 1 (1938): 24–26; emphasis added. Seed, "Taking Possession," 203–204.

the pope, and the Christian sovereigns. The Spanish were good on the threats stipulated; in the face of native resistance or delay in compliance, the result would be war, enslavement, and expropriation.

Most peculiar, however, as Lewis Hanke points out, this document was rarely ever read to natives directly, and, when it was, it was incomprehensible to indigenous peoples who understood neither the language nor the legal pretensions of the Spaniards. Often, it was muttered on approaching ships or at night over a village of unsuspecting indigenes, before commencing the slaughter.[39] What remains clear from all dealings of Catholic Spaniards with "infidels" is that Christian mission went hand-in-hand with imperial takeover of indigenous lands and sovereignty.

The Church-State Nexus: The Political Theologies of
Martin Luther and John Calvin

Martin Luther himself had denounced papal pretensions to universal sovereignty as deriving from Satan. As David Whitford writes, Luther "became convinced that the papacy," as the full embodiment of Antichrist, "had neglected its true calling and had maliciously attempted to despoil the Roman Empire."[40] Significantly, what Luther condemned was the papal usurpation of temporal authority and its design to overthrow the Roman Empire; he never ventured to question the historical relationship between the Christian religion and the Roman Empire—that is, the legitimacy of the Roman Empire as a *Christian* state. The conception of Christendom as a religious-political union was a postulate which was never in question by the magisterial reformers. Rather, what was at stake for Luther, Calvin, and those who followed in their "magisterial" tradition was the question of how best to (re)define the relationship between the political and religious organs of the Christian state; and their answers were invariably influenced by Augustine's framing of this relationship over a millennium before.[41]

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[39]Lewis Hanke, *The Spanish Struggle for Justice in the Conquest of America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1949), 33–34, as cited in Seed, "Taking Possession," 204.

[40]David M. Whitford, "The Papal Antichrist: Martin Luther and the Underappreciated Influence of Lorenzo Valla," *Renaissance Quarterly* 61.1 (2008): 50.

[41]Augustine was born in 354 CE and lived and wrote at a time when the Christian Church had ceased to be persecuted, but had become the legally "established" religion of the Roman Empire. In his *City of God*, written nearly a century after Constantine's death, Augustine formulated the concept of the "two cities"—one heavenly the other earthly—as a means of describing, at least in part, the nature of the relationship between the Church and the State. Augustine envisioned the Roman Empire as a Christian theocracy where both the civil and religious arms of the Empire were divinely constituted and mutually inclined. But they were also distinct in nature and function and were ordained to different provinces, one spiritual, the other temporal, and therefore, in principle, should not come into conflict. Yet Augustine also maintained that the civil government was to be under the tutelage of the religious, even defending the Church's precepts and employing civil power to convert or punish heretical

As far as Luther was concerned, the Roman Empire was God's instrument, the scope of his kingdom on earth, which was now under threat by the usurping antichristian papacy. In order to save Christendom from papal tyranny, on the one hand, Luther distinguished sharply between the province of the church and that of the state: the church and the state are separate and distinct, each with its respective sphere of authority, and neither is to encroach on the rights of the other.[42] Yet, on the other hand, and departing significantly from Augustine, Luther advocated an Erastian relationship between the church and the state wherein the state would exercise "supreme and absolute authority over the Church," a model reminiscent of the Caesaropapism of the now defunct Eastern Roman Empire.[43] In Luther's Erastian view, most pronounced in his *Address to the Nobility of German Nation* written in 1520 and summarized by Duncan B. Forrester, "the secular government may organize the external polity of the Church as seems most convenient to it . . . and the temporal authorities, if Christian, may even be recognized as 'bishops' with authority over the external affairs of the visible Church."[44] It is this latter view which, in principle, came to define the relationship between church and state in the Reformed tradition.

Like Luther, John Calvin's political theory also resembles Augustine's in its fundamentals. Calvin advanced the separation of church and state based on the differences in their character and function—the former ruling in the spiritual arena, while the latter is master of the temporal sphere. But Joseph Gatis draws attention to the fact that Calvin did not envision a separation between *religion* and the state.[45] Calvin maintained that both entities—church and state—were divinely instituted; consequently, both are religious in nature.

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dissidents. On this basis, papal arrogation of supreme authority over spiritual and temporal matters during the medieval period was consistently sustained, justifiably so or not, by recourse to Augustine's political philosophy. See further, Robert W. Dyson, *St Augustine of Hippo: The Christian Transformation of Political Philosophy*, Continuum Studies in Philosophy 5 (London: Continuum, 2007), 142–179; Frederick W. Loetscher, "St. Augustine's Conception of the State," *CH* 4.1 (1935): 16–42; Ronald Christenson, "The Political Theory of Persecution: Augustine and Hobbes," *Midwest Journal of Political Science* 12.3 (1968): 419–438.

[42]Jesse Couenhoven, "Law and Gospel, or the Law of the Gospel? Karl Barth's Political Theology Compared with Luther and Calvin," *Journal of Religious Ethics* 30.2 (2002): 183–184.

[43]James Wood, "Christianity and the State," *JAAR* 35.3 (1967): 263. The Erastian principle describes a relationship between church and state in which the former serves the interest of the latter. Erastus (1524–1583) believed that the church was an arm of the state and should be subordinated to its purposes. See further, G. Joseph Gatis, "The Political Theory of John Calvin," *BSac* 153.612 (1996): 452.

[44]Duncan B. Forrester, "Martin Luther and John Calvin," in *History of Political Philosophy*, ed. Leo Strauss and Joseph Cropsey (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1963), 287. Cf. Wood, "Christianity and the State," 263.

[45]Gatis, "John Calvin," 449.

Therefore, the relationship between the two should be mutually reinforcing.[46] Calvin envisioned a Christian republic that was essentially theocratic, where God ruled through both the civil and religious government.[47]

Consequently, Calvin maintained that the civil government should actively support and defend the jurisprudence of the church: "[T]his office is specially assigned them by God, and indeed it is right that they [civil magistrates] exert themselves in asserting and defending the honour of him whose vicegerents they are, and by whose favour they rule."[48] While Calvin's view involves reciprocity between church and state, and it is therefore neither Erastian nor "ecclesiocratic,"[49] in effect, his church-state approach is not consequentially different from that of Catholicism. In Calvin's Geneva, it is the civil magistrate that enforces the church's confession and punishes heretics.[50] In Tudor and Stuart England, strongly influenced by Calvinist theology, the duty of the crown was "to *conserve and maintain* the Church . . . in the unity of the True religion, and in the Bond of Peace."[51] This, of course, meant (contrary to what Calvin prescribed) that within its dominion the English Crown exercised supremacy over the established church. Thus, in the long run, both Calvin's and Luther's political philosophies may have had the unintended consequence of "making the state a watchman over the church."[52]

Even before Calvin had published his momentous *Institutes of the Christian Religion* in 1536, both in Germany and England, the civil government had already assumed authority in ecclesiastical matters. The Act of Supremacy of 1534, for example, declared Henry VIII the "Supreme head of the Church of England."[53] While Calvin condemned Henry VIII's assertion of spiritual authority as "blasphemous," and denounced the civil authorities of Germany for the same reason,[54] the power vacuum created in the wake of a diminished

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[46]Ibid., 449, 451.

[47]Ibid., 449, 453.

[48]John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, ed. John T. McNeill, trans. Ford Lewis Battles, 2 vols. (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1960), 4.20.9. This view is reflected in a host of Reformation writers such as the Scottish reformers, John Knox, Christopher Goodman, and John Ponet. See further, Gatis, "John Calvin," 454–455, 462–463.

[49]Ibid., 452.

[50]Eberhard Busch, "Church and Politics in the Reformed Tradition," in James E. Bradley and Richard A. Muller, eds., *Church, Word, and Spirit* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987), 179. Cf. Couenhoven, "Political Theology," 186; Gatis, "John Calvin," 450.

[51]Preamble of the *Thirty Nine Articles of Religion*, 1562, as cited in Charles W. Prior, "Ecclesiology and Political Thought in England, 1580–c. 1630," *The Historical Journal* 48.4 (2005): 862; emphasis original.

[52]Couenhoven, "Political Theology," 186.

[53]Though briefly repealed in 1555, since 1559 this act has defined the office of the British monarch.

[54]Cf. Gatis, "John Calvin," 452, 455.

Roman Catholic influence certainly paved the way for Protestant states to assert control over the established churches. The assertion and exercise of both ecclesiastical and political authority by Protestant civil hierarchies was but another chapter in the age-long drama in which Christendom's priests and princes vied for supremacy.

Thus, while Luther contested the church-sponsored state model of governing the Roman Empire and Calvin advanced a reciprocal, egalitarian relationship between church and state, what resulted from the Protestant Reformation was, in fact, a state-sponsored church model of governance, with the union of *empire* and *religion* remaining firmly in place. The Reformation's inversion of the church-state dialectic did not alter the historical paradigm of the Christian kingdom—*Christendom*—which began with Constantine.

As Protestant empires looked beyond their borders following on the heels of Catholic global expansion, the two-pronged nature of the kingdom of God remained firmly fixed in the collective consciousness of colonial explorers and missionary pioneers alike. As Roy Pearce underscores, "For the Pilgrim as for the Puritan, religion and empire, christianization and civilization, divine order and natural order, were known to be one."[55] Not only so, but the religion of Christ which had given a priori legitimation for Catholic seizure of heathen lands, now provided justification for the establishment of a Protestant kingdom of God on distant shores and the consequential dispossession of the native inhabitants. Here again, Christian mission and the extension of European political hegemony were simultaneously advanced by the Protestant movement.

Protestant Expansionism and the Western Frontier

The belated arrival of Protestants to the New World brought with it the polemics of Las Casas's *Black Legend*, which had been waging between English Protestants and Spanish Catholics for almost a century.[56] From Las Casas's writings, every good Protestant knew of the countless tyrannies of the Spanish against the natives, and "popery," which had supported Spanish avarice, was denounced with relish. English Protestants not only used Las Casas's *Very Brief Account* as a rallying call for colonization,[57] but also imagined their incipient colonial venture to be more humanitarian, and thus morally superior to

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[55]Roy H. Pearce, "The 'Ruines of Mankind': The Indian and the Puritan Mind," *JHI* 13.2 (1952): 202. Juster and Gregerson write, "whichever direction one draws the causal and affiliative links, religion and empire were the constitutive forces of nation building, economic expansion, and identity formation in the early modern era" (*Empires of God*, 3).

[56]Gabbert, "Colonial Violence," 254–255; E. Shaskan Bumas, "The Cannibal Butcher Shop: Protestant Uses of Las Casas's 'Brevísima relación' in Europe and the American Colonies," *Early American Literature* 35.2 (2000): 107–136; Hodgkins, *Reforming Empire*, 55–112.

[57]Bumas writes, "From its first English translation in 1583, *Very Brief Account* was used as a call for English colonization, and later a justification of that colonization" ("The Cannibal Butcher Shop," 107). See further Hodgkins, *Reforming Empire*, 54–76.

that of their Spanish counterpart.[58] As Katherine Quinsey writes, "British colonial enterprise of the late sixteenth century was fueled by Protestant religious imperatives, blurring economic and spiritual motives, but with the common aim of proving themselves Not-Spanish, Not-Catholic—Protestant British saviors of oppressed natives, exemplars of moderation and tolerance."[59]

Aspirations of tolerance were not to last, however, as Protestants adopted many of the strategies of their Catholic rivals. Like the papal bulls which aimed to legitimize Spanish hegemony over the New World, English sovereigns, as head of church and state, issued charters known as letters patents, authorizing their respective representatives to take possession of indigenous lands. In 1578, in the first English attempt at New World settlement, Queen Elizabeth I issued a letters patent to Sir Humphrey Gilbert, authorizing him to "discover . . . such remote, barbarous, and heathen lands, countreis, and territories not possessed by any Christian prince or people nor inhabited by Christian people and the same to have, holde, occupy and enjoy . . . all the soyle [soil] of all such lands, countreis and territories . . . and all Cities, Castles, Towns and Villages, and places in the same."[60] Upon arriving in Newfoundland four years later, Gilbert appropriately took possession of the region by authority of the English monarch. A cursory examination of the patent to Gilbert reveals its unmistakable similarity to Alexander's *inter Caetera* of 1493.[61] Inasmuch as the pope asserted his authority to "give, grant, and

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[58]By the turn of the twentieth-century, however, when British Protestantism had carved out a world empire consisting of some "400 million culturally and racially diverse people"—an empire upon which "the sun never sets"—the idealism of a benign Christian imperialism had long proven to be deeply misguided. See Sarah J. Butler, *Britain and Its Empire in the Shadow of Rome: The Reception of Rome in Socio-political Debate from the 1850s to the 1920s*, Cultural Memory and History in Antiquity (London: Bloomsbury, 2012), 1; Matthew Jennings, *New Worlds of Violence: Cultures and Conquests in the Early American Southeast* (Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 2011), xi.

[59]Katherine M. Quinsey, "'No Christians Thirst for Gold!': Religion and Colonialism in Pope," *Historical Reflections/Réflexions Historiques* 32.3 (2006): 562–563. The Rev. John Eliot of New England was among the major proponents of a British colonization which stood in contradistinction to that of the Spanish. In differentiating British Protestantism in New England, Eliot wrote: "The Southern Colonies of the Spanish Nation have sent home from this American Continent, much Gold and Silver, as the Fruit and End of their Discoveries and Transplantations: That (we confess) is a scarce Commodity in this Colder Climate [. . . but this Bible represents] Fruits of our poor Endeavours to Plant and Propagate the Gospel here; which upon a true account, is as much better than Gold, as the Souls of men are more worth then the whole World. This is a Nobler Fruit (and indeed in the Counsels of All-disposing Providence, was an higher intended End) of *Columbus* his Adventure" (Preface of John Eliot's Algonquin Bible, as cited in Bumas, "The Cannibal Butcher Shop," 110). Cf. Hodgkins, *Reforming Empire*, 55–76.

[60]Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation*, 16 vols., ed. Edmund Goldsmid (Edinburgh: E. & G. Godsmid, 1885–1890), 8:17–23, as cited in Seed, "Taking Possession," 185–186.

[61]Ibid., 189, 201.

assign . . . to you, your heirs and successors [that is, to the Spanish]," so, too, Elizabeth asserted her authority to "graunt, and declare, that all such contries so hereafter to be possessed and inhabited . . . shall be of the allegiance to us, our heires, and successours."[62] Her patent, as Patricia Seed has noted, mirrors the papal bull in "form and substance."[63]

In discussing the nature of Elizabeth's patent, Seed notes the total lack of acknowledgement of indigenous agency—a deliberate *elision*, as she puts it—as it is the "soyle" [soil] of the land that is designated to be held, occupied, and enjoyed. No mention is made of the inhabitants of the land, except, as in Alexander's papal bull, where the said territories may already be "possessed by any Christian prince or people."[64] Thus, the idea that native "infidels" possessed no sovereign right to the lands they inhabited is tacitly but palpably demonstrated by Elizabeth's patent. As Seed states, "It was the Christian (European) *prince* who had a right to the land. And the dominion of the Christian sovereign was justified simply by his or her possession of Christianity, not by the desire to spread it."[65] In short, for the British sovereigns, the possession of the Christian religion itself authorized the expropriation of indigenous lands. Just as in church-state Catholic imperial expansion, so in Protestant state-church colonial aggression, religion functioned to "legitimate the power of the state."[66]

Inherent in this legitimation was the assumption of a God-given, and thus superior, Christian religion, whose expansion into the Americas was, to quote John L. O'Sullivan, a nineteenth century editor of the *Democratic Review*, "the fulfillment of our manifest destiny to overspread the continent allotted by Providence for the free development of our yearly multiplying millions."[67] And as the multiplying millions of newcomers became more palpable on the continent, visions of a continental European takeover led increasingly to the corollary rhetoric of the demise and/or extermination of the autochthonous population. As one anonymous voice wrote in the *American Whig Review* in 1846:

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[62]Ibid., 189. The Oath of Citizenship which every naturalized citizen of Canada is required to swear still reflects the intent and wording of this original patent: "I swear (or affirm) that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth the Second, Queen of Canada, her Heirs and Successors, and that I will faithfully observe the laws of Canada and fulfill my duties as a Canadian citizen" ("Oath of Canadian Citizenship," http://www.edu.gov.mb.ca/k12/cur/socstud/foundation_gr9/blms/9-2-4e.pdf).

[63]Seed, "Taking Possession," 201.

[64]Ibid., 186. Cf. Castro, *Another Face of Empire*, 23.

[65]Seed, "Taking Possession," 189; emphasis original.

[66]Ibid., 189. Rivera writes that for European colonial powers, "The Christian religion becomes the official ideology for imperial expansion" (*A Violent Evangelism*, 25).

[67]John L. O'Sullivan, "Annexation," *Democratic Review* 17 (1845): 5–6, as cited in Roger Cushing Aikin, "Paintings of Manifest Destiny: Mapping the Nation," *American Art* 14.3 (2000): 78. See also Fred M. Kimmey, "Christianity and Indian Lands," *Ethnohistory* 7.1 (1960): 44–60. For a more recent assessment of the moral right of the United States to occupancy in North America, see Churchill, "Perversions of Justice," 319–351.

"We are Anglo-Saxon Americans; it was our 'destiny' to possess and to rule this continent—we were bound to do it! We were a chosen people, and this was our allotted inheritance, and we must drive out all other nations before us!"[68]

In the face of American westward progress, such sentiments were very common. In 1857, for example, Massachusetts politician Caleb Cushing, a strong advocate of westward expansion, exulted in the inevitability of American progress when he stated the following: "It happens that men, nations, races, may, must, will perish before us. That is inevitable. There can be no change for the better save at the expense of that which is. Out of decay springs fresh life."[69] And no less than John Quincy Adams had declared earlier in 1811, "The whole continent of North America appears to be destined by Divine Providence to be peopled by *one* nation, speaking *one* language, professing *one* general system of religion and political principles, and accustomed to *one* general tenor of social usages and customs."[70] And Thomas Jefferson even

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[68]"Our Relations with Mexico," *American Review: A Whig Journal* 4 (1846): 14, as cited in Reginald Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny: The Origins of American Racial Anglo-Saxonism* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006), 236–237. Well into the twentieth-century, the expansion of European Christianity was predicated on ideologies of a universal *corpus Christianum* mandated by Providence and imbued with visions of a New Israel conquering indigenous Canaanites. Nowhere else was this European-Israelite casuistry more clearly articulated and demonstrated than in the annexation of the "New World" by Christian empires; and, in the case of American society, its expansion into the western frontier. For English Protestants, planting the Gospel in foreign lands meant "planting colonies of godly people," even if this meant, ultimately, the extermination of the indigenous inhabitants. See further Paul Stevens, "'Leviticus Thinking' and the Rhetoric of Early Modern Colonialism," *Criticism* 35.3 (1993): 44–61. According to Stevens, "There is hardly any early modern colonizing text in English that does not . . . appeal to the authority of the master narrative of Israel in Canaan" (ibid., 453). Cf. Steven T. Newcomb, *Pagans in the Promised Land: Decoding the Doctrine of Christian Discovery* (Golden, CO: Fulcrum, 2008); Ofri Ilany, "From Divine Commandment to Political Act: The Eighteenth-Century Polemic on the Extermination of the Canaanites," *JHI* 73.3 (2012): 443–445; Alfred A. Cave, "Canaanites in a Promised Land: The American Indian and the Providential Theory of Empire," *American Indian Quarterly* 12.4 (1988): 277–297; Williamson, "Empire to End Empire," 227–256. For a good discussion of colonialism as differentiated from imperialism, see Ronald J. Horvath, "A Definition of Colonialism," *Current Anthropology* 13.1 (1972): 45–57.

[69]"Honorable Caleb Cushing's Welcome Home—Demise of the Boston *Times*," *New York Times*, 24 April 1857, as cited in John M. Belohlavek, "Race, Progress and Destiny: Caleb Cushing and the Quest for American Empire," in *Manifest Destiny and Empire: American Antebellum Expansionism*, ed. Robert W. Johannsen, Sam W. Haynes, and Christopher M. Morris, Walter Prescott Webb Memorial Lectures 31 (Arlington, TX: Texas A & M University Press, 1997), 21.

[70]John Quincy Adams to John Adams, 31 August 1811, St. Petersburg, in *Writings of John Quincy Adams*, 7 vols., ed. Worthington C. Ford (New York: Macmillan, 1913–1917), 4:209, as cited in Samuel Flagg Bemis, *John Quincy Adams and the Foundations of American Foreign Policy* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1956), 182; emphasis added. Cf. Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny*, 87.

earlier had entertained visions of an "extensive" American "empire of liberty" covering "the whole northern, if not the southern continent, with a people speaking the same language, governed in similar forms, and by similar laws."[71]

Such lofty visions of a singular Protestant empire on western shores nonetheless overshadowed the grim reality of the means of its accomplishment: Protestant continental dominion would ultimately be grasped at the expense of the indigenous population.

Population Catastrophe in North America

Until quite recently, American historians have habitually characterized North America as a "pristine wilderness" with relatively few inhabitants; this view still prevails in public discourses. In more recent studies, however, the early twentieth-century anthropological estimates of one to two million pre-Columbian Indians have been radically revised to suggest that as many as eighteen million indigenous people inhabited the continent prior to the arrival of Europeans, with up to twelve to fifteen million living in the borders of the present United States.[72] By comparison, in 1620 at the founding of the first permanent English settlement in present-day Massachusetts, Old England had a population of about five million.[73]

Lenore Stiffarm and Phil Lane outline, in great detail, the motivations behind the historically low estimates of the indigenous population of North America, indicating that by 1900 the attrition rate of the total native population rested firmly in the upper ninetieth percentile, by most estimates.[74]

[71]See Robert J. Miller, *Native America, Discovered and Conquered: Thomas Jefferson, Lewis & Clark, and Manifest Destiny* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2008), 79–80. For similar sentiments characterizing American westward expansion, see Shane Mountjoy, *Manifest Destiny: Westward Expansion*, Milestones in American History (New York: Chelsea House, 2009).

[72]See especially Lenore A. Stiffarm and Phil Lane, Jr., "The Demography of Native North America: A Question of American Indian Survival," in *The State of Native America: Genocide, Colonization, and Resistance*, ed. M. Annette Jaimes, Race and Resistance (Boston: South End, 1992), 23–53. Stannard writes, "One after another [scholars] have confirmed the general principle that the populations of individual locales were much higher in pre-Columbian times than heretofore suspected" (*American Holocaust*, 266–268). Cf. Henry F. Dobyns, *Their Number Become Thinned: Native American Population Dynamics in Eastern North America*, Native American Historic Demography (Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 1983). Russell Thornton conservatively suggests that roughly seven million native Indians resided in pre-contact North America. See *American Indian Holocaust and Survival: A Population History Since 1492*, The Civilization of the American Indian 186 (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1990), 36, 133. See also John D. Daniels, "The Indian Population of North America in 1492," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 49.2 (1992): 310; Churchill, "Perversions of Justice," 335–336, esp. 335n56.

[73]Stannard, *American Holocaust*, 223. Jacobs writes, "There is even the possibility that in the late fifteenth century the Western Hemisphere may have had a greater population than Western Europe" ("Tip of an Iceberg," 123–124).

[74]Stiffarm and Lane, "Native North America," 23–25, 28–31, 37. Stiffarm and

More than forty years ago, historian Francis Jennings concluded much the same when he challenged the oft-repeated thesis of a sparsely populated American wilderness:

> European explorers and invaders discovered an *inhabited land*. Had it been a pristine wilderness then, it would possibly still be so today, for neither the technology nor the social organization of Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries had the capacity to maintain, of its own resources, outpost colonies thousands of miles from home. . . . They did not settle a virgin land. *They invaded and displaced a resident population.*[75]

Behind the population displacement in North America lies a dismal account of wars and diseases, which were unleashed against indigenous peoples over the course of several centuries.

War and Disease

From the moment British Protestants began to colonize the lands which provided rich supplies of fur and other exports by way of the lucrative trade with native peoples, the demand for ever greater tracts of land for agricultural production intensified conflicts with indigenous populations. The land drive quickly materialized into a deliberate strategy of dispossession, which, in turn, became linked to genocidal policies.[76]

Lane argue further that the tendency to minimize pre-colonial indigenous population amounts to nothing less than a deliberate distortion to justify "Euroamerican hegemony over the continent," and to avoid the moral dissonance vis-à-vis the founding of American Christian civilization and the demise of a sizable native population (ibid., 23–25). See further Lilian Friedberg, "Dare to Compare: Americanizing the Holocaust," *The American Indian Quarterly* 24.3 (2000): 12, 18–21; Stannard, *American Holocaust*, 266–268; Ward Churchill, *A Little Matter of Genocide: Holocaust and Denial in the Americas, 1492 to the Present* (San Francisco: City Lights, 2006), 1–18.

[75]Francis Jennings, *The Invasion of America: Indians, Colonialism, and the Cant of Conquest*, Norton Library Paperpack (New York: Norton, 1976), 15, as cited in Stiffarm and Lane, "Native North America," 23–24; emphasis added. Cf. Jacobs, "Tip of an Iceberg," 128.

[76]The question of "genocide" as a fitting description of the demise of native populations in the Americas, Australia, and elsewhere is now settled among serious genocide scholarship. For example, Stannard notes that "The destruction of the Indians of the Americas was, far and away, the most massive act of *genocide* in the history of the world" (*American Holocaust*, x; emphasis added). Stannard, of course, is referring to the destruction of native populations in all the Americas—including North America. See further Gregory D. Smithers, "Rethinking Genocide in North America," in *The Oxford Handbook of Genocide Studies*, ed. Donald Bloxham and A. Dirk Moses, Oxford Handbooks (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 330; Andrew Woolford, Jeff Benvenuto, and Alexander L. Hinton, eds., *Colonial Genocide in Indigenous North America* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2014); Raymond Evans, "'Crime without a Name': Colonialism and the Case for 'Indigenocide,'" in *Empire, Colony, Genocide: Conquest, Occupation, and Subaltern Resistance in World History*, ed. A. Dirk Moses, War and Genocide 12 (New York: Berghahn, 2011), 133–147; Churchill, *Matter of Genocide*, 97–128; Friedberg, "Dare to Compare,"

Ironically, the devastation of native population by Catholic Spaniards which British Protestants had decried so vehemently, and which in part served to legitimize their own colonizing enterprise, would repeat itself in North America. In comparing British imperial expansion into North America to that of the Spanish further south, historian David Stannard writes, "[T]he British wasted little time in exterminating the indigenous people. The English and later the Americans, in fact, destroyed at least as high a percentage of the Indians they encountered as earlier had the Spanish, probably higher; it was only their means and motivation that contrasted with those of the conquistadors."[77] Similarly, Ben Kiernan's assessment of U.S. settler policies is worth quoting at length:

> U.S. policies toward Indians did not mandate genocide, but it was practiced when considered necessary. Its frequency increased with the spread and intensity of war, expansion, and agrarianism. . . . Repeatedly, American tactics included threatening genocide, offering bounties for Indian scalps, and exacting massively disproportionate revenge for Indian atrocities. Seizure of Indian lands often meant massacring their inhabitants, and settlers' extensive and later intensive cultivation of these lands rarely allowed Indian survivors a subsistence, provoking bitter resistance, sometimes to the end, resulting in genocide.[78]

Colonial wars against native Indian tribes continued for nearly four centuries. Not until 1890 when most of the indigenous tribes had been reduced to bare numbers were the so-called Indian Wars ended by the American government.[79]

The numerous wars of extermination across the entire spectrum of settler colonies of North America led George Washington's first Secretary of War, Henry Knox, to report to the president in 1790, "It is a melancholy reflection, that our modes of population have been even more destructive to the Indian natives than the conduct of the conquerors of Mexico and Peru. The evidence of this is the *utter extirpation of nearly all the Indians* in the most populous parts of the Union."[80] Still, by an incredible twist of logic, the devastation of indigenous populations in colonial America was overwhelmingly interpreted as evidence of divine favour for the benefit of the spread of Christian civilization.

As early as 1620, James I of England issued a patent for the Plymouth colony in which he celebrated the demise of native populations by smallpox as Providential favour to the English:

> Within this late yeares there hath by God's Visitation rained a Wonderful Plague . . . to the utter Destruction, Devastacion and Depopulation of the

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353–380; Carroll P. Kakel, *The American West and the Nazi East: A Comparative and Interpretive Perspective* (New York: Macmillan, 2014); Michael Freeman, "Puritans and Pequots: The Question of Genocide," *The New England Quarterly* 68.2 (1995): 278–293.

[77]Stannard, *American Holocaust*, 222–223.

[78]Kiernan, *Blood and Soil*, 309.

[79]Stiffarm and Lane, "Native North America," 36.

[80]Kiernan, *Blood and Soil*, 248; emphasis added.

whole Territorye, so that there is not left for many Leagues together in a Manner any [person] that doe claim or challenge . . . the appointed time has come in which the Almighty God in his great Goodness and Bountie towards Us and our People hath thought fitt and determined that those large and goodly Territoryes, deserted as it were by their naturall inhabitants should be possessed and enjoyed.[81]

Like Elizabeth's patent before, James envisions the lands of the natives to be "possessed and enjoyed," firmly believing that the destruction of the indigenes was attributable to the unleashing of God's "wonderful plague."[82] In the face of indigenous death by disease, this sentiment was common among colonial settlers, such as in 1629, when John Winthrop, one of the leaders of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, declared that "God hath consumed the Natives *with* a great plague in those parts soe as there be few inhabitants left."[83] Also, in 1634, Winthrop was exultant that almost no one in the English settlement had died from recent outbreaks of diseases, whereas "for the natives, they are nearly all dead of the smallpox, *as the Lord hath cleared our title to what we possess.*"[84] The massive loss of Indian lives in general or the fact that the devastation was the result of European-introduced diseases was of no concern for James I or Winthrop; what mattered was the deserted lands *to be possessed.*[85]

James's celebration of the demise of the natives of New England might be overlooked if only for the fact that, at least initially, many Old World diseases had been unwittingly introduced among the Indians by the newcomers. But such celebratory overtones take on quite a different meaning in light of documented cases where European diseases were deliberately introduced among Indian populations for precisely the purpose of "clearing the land." Or, at a minimum, introduced pathogens greatly assisted colonial settlers in overcoming weakened and decimated indigenous peoples.

Lillian Friedberg, for instance, has indicated that "there is evidence to suggest that the introduction of diseases to the Native populations of North America was anything but an incidental by-product of 'westward expansion.'"[86]

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[81]Ebenezer Hazard, *Historical Collections; Consisting of State Papers, and Other Authentic Documents; Intended as Materials for an* [*sic*] *History of the United States of America*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia: T. Dobson, 1792–1794) 1:105, as cited in Seed, "Taking Possession," 208.

[82]Cf. Stannard, *American Holocaust*, 109.

[83]John Winthrop, "Reasons to Be Considered for Justifying the Undertakers of the Intended Plantation in New England and for Encouraging such Whose Hearts God Shall Move to Join with Them in It," in *Envisioning America: English Plans for the Colonization of North America 1580–1640*, ed. Peter C. Mancall (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 1995), 137. Cf. Smithers, "Rethinking Genocide," 329.

[84]John Winthrop to Sir Nathaniel Rich, 22 May 1634, in *Letters from New England*, ed. Everett Emerson (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 1976), 155–156, as cited in Stannard, *American Holocaust*, 109; emphasis added. Cf. Kiernan, *Blood and Soil*, 227.

[85]Cf. Seed, "Taking Possession," 208.

[86]Friedberg, "Dare to Compare," 359.

To the contrary, the direction of Lord Jeffrey Amherst to Colonel Henry Bouquet in 1763 regarding the distribution of smallpox-infected blankets to the Ottawa and Lenape peoples may indicate the not-so-uncommon practice of utilizing germs as weapons of mass destruction by colonial settlers: "You will do well to Inoculate the Indians by means of Blankets as well as to try Every other method that can serve to extirpate this Execrable Race."[87] The report came back to Amherst ten days later: "[W]e gave them two Blankets and an Handkerchief out of the Small Pox Hospital. I hope it will have the desired effect."[88]

The devastation which followed of as much as a hundred thousand Indians in the Ohio River Valley by smallpox around this time indicates that the "desired effect" may well have been achieved.[89] With the help of a devastating biological agent and a ruthless "take no prisoners" policy, Amherst was well aided in his military campaign to extirpate what he called "the vilest race of beings that ever infested the earth, and whose riddance from it must be esteemed a meritorious act, for the good of mankind."[90] The same tactic is documented to have been used against the Mandans in South Dakota between 1836 and 1840, as well as potentially other instances.[91] As Friedberg concludes, "the annihilation of the Indian population by way of disease was neither arbitrary nor incidental to the aims of the European settler population and its government."[92]

Yet, as European colonists saw it, the Indians had been duly compensated for the loss of their lives, land, and independence by the two great gifts of Europe: civilization and Christianity. The 1823 landmark ruling of the U.S. Supreme Court in *Johnson v. M'Intosh* sums up this premise most astutely. In advancing his final decision regarding land possession rights in the United States, Justice Marshall summarized a crucial logic behind his ruling:

> On the discovery of this immense continent, the great nations of Europe were eager to appropriate to themselves so much of it as they could respectively acquire. Its vast extent offered an ample field to the ambition and enterprise of all; and the character and religion of its inhabitants afforded an apology for considering them as a people over whom *the superior genius of Europe* might claim an ascendancy. The potentates of the old world found no difficulty in *convincing themselves* that they made *ample compensation* to the inhabitants of the new, by bestowing on them *civilization and Christianity*, in exchange for unlimited independence.[93]

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[87]Ben Kiernan, *Blood and Soil*, 245; Friedberg, "Dare to Compare," 359; Stiffarm and Lane, "Native North America," 31–34; Churchill, *Matter of Genocide*, 154.

[88]Kiernan, *Blood and Soil*, 245.

[89]Stiffarm and Lane, "Native North America," 32; Kiernan, *Blood and Soil*, 245.

[90]Ibid.

[91]Stiffarm and Lane, "Native North America," 32–33.

[92]Friedberg, "Dare to Compare," 359.

[93]*Johnson v. M'Intosh*, 21 U.S. (8 Wheat.), 573, as cited in Robert J. Miller, "Christianity, American Indians, and the Doctrine of Discovery," in *Remembering Jamestown: Hard Questions about Christian Mission*, ed. Amos Yong and Barbara

The pairing of *civilization* and *Christianity* in Justice Marshall's ruling reveals in clear terms the convergence of *empire* and *religion* in Protestant continental takeover. It is evident, however, that the "compensation" to which Justice Marshall refers was far from a fair exchange, for the Indians neither solicited nor desired Europe's civilization or Christianity.

Yet an instrumental, but often overlooked, link in the civilizing and Christianizing endeavour was the Protestant mission. Missionaries lived and laboured among the Indians and extended great efforts to convert the natives to the Christian faith. Despite their good intentions, however, Protestant missions were part of a web of forces that coordinated the destruction of Native American peoples and their cultures.

Protestant Missions

Among early English settlers, conversion of native peoples was among the ostensible justifications for colonization, and one which was genuinely pursued in many quarters. Indeed, missionary efforts, such as the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, organized in Virginia in 1701, were established for the purpose of converting indigenous peoples to the Christian faith.[94] Missionary societies built churches and established schools for education in religious and civil matters. Many such efforts were characterized by a genuine, sacrificial, if often misguided, effort to "uplift" the heathen Indians from "savagery."[95]

John Eliot, a Puritan clergyman and a leading figure in seventeenth century New England, was one of many such conscientious individuals who established schools and churches for the benefit of Indian communities.[96] Yet, even for Eliot, as for those who came after him, the civilizing mission preceded that of the Christianizing. Eliot believed that the natives "should first be Civilized, by being brought from their scattered and wild course of Life, unto civil Cohabitation and Government, before they could . . . be betrusted with the sacred Ordinances of Jesus Christ."[97]

Brown Zikmund (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2010), 61; emphasis added. Cf. Blake A. Watson, *Buying America from the Indians:* Johnson v. McIntosh *and the History of Native Land Rights* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2012), 272–295; Newcomb, *Promised Land,* 73–87.

[94]Cf. Gerald J. Goodwin, "Christianity, Civilization and the Savage: The Anglican Mission to the American Indian," *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church* 42.2 (1973): 94–95.

[95]Cf. Goodwin, "Civilization and the Savage," 93; Tink Tinker, "The Romance and Tragedy of Christian Mission among American Indians" in *Remembering Jamestown*, 20–21; Robert J. Miller, "Christianity, American Indians, and the Doctrine of Discovery," in *Remembering Jamestown*, 58–59.

[96]See Norman E. Tanis, "Education in John Eliot's Indian Utopias, 1646–1675," *History of Education Quarterly* 10.3 (1970): 308–323.

[97]John Eliot, *A Late and Further Manifestation of the Progress of the Gospel amongst the Indians in New-England* (London: M. Simmons, 1655), 1–2, as cited in Joshua D. Bellin, "Apostle of Removal: John Eliot in the Nineteenth Century," *The New*

The goal of the civilizing mission, as Eliot believed it, was to transplant hunter-gathering Indians into settled societies of farmers and ranchers with English manners and customs and short hair—in a word, to remake them as Englishmen.[98] To this end, he founded towns of "Praying Indians" far removed from Indian tribal communal structures and way of life, as well as from the "contamination" of white settlement. Still, the good intentions of Eliot and others were overshadowed by the cultural destruction which resulted from such practices, no less than from colonial wars, and Draconian means employed to remove indigenous peoples from areas of white settlement.[99] Of the fourteen Christian Indian towns planted by Eliot, only four remained following King Phillip's war of 1675.[100] "Before his death in 1690," Norman Tanis opines, "John Eliot saw that his work had failed completely."[101] Indeed, according to a Massachusetts committee report in 1848, Eliot's Praying Indians were said to be "practically extinct."[102] And the remnants of other New England Indian tribes familiar to Eliot in the seventeenth century were already confined to reservations before the eighteenth century.[103]

Other efforts at conversion were not as conscientious as Eliot's, as many such aims were achieved under the threat of war. In the 1650s, the Narragansett Indians, who were allied with the English at the time, reported to Roger Williams of the Massachusetts Bay colony that they were fearful of being "forced from their religion, and for not changing their religion, be invaded by war."[104] The Wampanoag Indians were also fearful that they too would be "forced to be Christian Indians."[105] Both tribes were decimated by war in the 1670s.

From the perspective of Native Americans, missionaries, however well intentioned, were emissaries of Euro-American colonialism, active participants with government in the destructive process of what George Tinker calls "cultural genocide."[106] For missionaries like Alfred Riggs, who worked among the Dakota people in the nineteenth century, "the present policy of the Government even the U.S. agencies are in a sense missionary enterprises" in much the same way as Protestant missions "among the Indians have been

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England Quarterly 69.1 (1996): 5.

[98]Cf. Juan A. Ortega y Medina, "An Analysis of the Missionary Methods of the Puritans," *The Americas* 14.2 (1957): 128; Craig, "Protestant Colonialism," 15–16.

[99]Cf. Bellin, "Apostle of Removal," 3, 5; Tanis, "Indian Utopias," 320–321.

[100]Ibid., 320.

[101]Ibid., 321.

[102]Bellin, "Apostle of Removal," 3.

[103]Ibid.

[104]Kiernan, *Blood and Soil*, 236.

[105]Ibid.

[106]Tinker, *Missionary Conquest*, 4–8. Cf. Craig, "Protestant Colonialism," 22, 29.

recognized as official agencies for the civilization of the wild peoples the Government holds as its wards."[107]

To this end, missionaries supported government-instituted removal agendas and served to pacify native resistance in light of such policies.[108] Among the Dakota people, for instance, missionaries praised the confinement of indigenous tribes to "reservations"—or what in Robert Craig's opinion amounts to nothing less than concentration camps—as such policies greatly assisted their civilizing and evangelizing work.[109] The banning of indigenous languages, tribal names, religious traditions, and cultural practices and the enforcement of Christianity as the official religion on reservations were all supported by the majority of missionary insiders laboring among Indian communities. In Craig's words, "[I]ndigenous people were systematically robbed of their language, culture and traditions—all in the name of progress, civilization and Christianity."[110] The irony of all of this, as Craig sees it, is that "Protestant missionaries in particular believed that what they were doing was on behalf of and for the benefit of indigenous people."[111]

In the end, however, one cannot separate American empire-building from the Christian religion. Rather than a disinterested effort to convert native peoples in colonial and national America, the hallmarks of Euro-American interactions with indigenous peoples were displacement and dispossession.[112] As it turns out, the "west" was won for Christianity largely through political and religious conquest.[113]

Conclusion

In view of the evidence presented in the foregoing, it is reasonable to conclude that Protestant political theology, as it relates to empire-building, is comparable to that of Catholicism. In the Western Hemisphere, both anticipated the appropriation of indigenous lands, and, to that end, both effected the destruction of Native American peoples and their cultures. It may be correct to say that the Protestant Reformation has given rise to a vibrant and distinct Protestant missiology. But standing in tension with this thesis is the

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[107]Ibid., 22.

[108]Ibid., 13.

[109]Ibid., 13, 30.

[110]Ibid., 28, 30. Moreover, the blight of residential schools in the United States and Canada, which in part were intended to 'kill the Indian and save the man," are well documented. For examples, see Ward Churchill, *Kill the Indian, Save the Man: The Genocidal Impact of American Indian Residential Schools* (San Francisco: City Lights, 2005); Jeremy Patzer, "Residential School Harm and Colonial Dispossession: What's the Connection?" in *Colonial Genocide*, 166–185; Alexander S. Dawson, "Histories and Memories of the Indian Boarding Schools in Mexico, Canada, and the United States," *Latin American Perspectives* 39.5 (2012): 80–99.

[111]Craig, "Protestant Colonialism," 30.

[112]Cf. Stannard, *American Holocaust*, 105, 112.

[113]Cf. Tinker, *Missionary Conquest*, 9; Rivera, *A Violent Evangelism*, 199–234.

argument that the propagation of the Christian faith, both before and after the Reformation, was undertaken in tandem with European political expansion, was achieved largely by force of arms, and resulted in untold injury to indigenous peoples and their cultures. When forced to confront this past, what defense can be posited against the charge that the Christian religion, not unlike other expressions of religious imperialism (both ancient and modern), has been propagated largely through conquest? In this respect, how has Christian propagation proven to be different from, say, Islam, which incontrovertibly reached its farthest extent through military expansion? I have argued here that the history of Christianity's entrance into the Americas has invited, rather than refuted, such a comparison.[114]

From this perspective, then, the Reformation, which challenged papal supremacy over temporal authority and transformed, yet again, the relationship between the ecclesiastical and the political organs of Christendom, did little to disrupt the historical dalliance between Christianity and Western imperial ambitions. Briefly stated, the Reformation *failed* to alter the relationship between European imperialism and Christian mission. Rather, as the most potent ideology of the Western imperial project, the Christian religion provided moral authorization for conquest and unrestrained ambition.

The assessment of Christian expansion in the Reformation era presented herein problematizes the synonymy between Christianity's raisons d'etre and imperial agendas, and calls for a rethinking of Christianity's historical relationship to empire, its modes of propagation in the modern period, and the nature of its mission in the twenty-first century. A reformation which undoes the Constantinian *renovatio* by disentangling the Christian mission from imperial aspirations, and one which restores the antithesis between the Church and the world, is yet to be realized among the followers of Jesus of Nazareth.

It is important for evangelicals and all Protestants, including Seventh-day Adventists, if we are to truly comprehend the Gospel Commission, to be both cognizant and honest regarding the uglier aspects of the history of Christian propagation, and, in light of this, reimagine what the proclamation of the *good news* really entails from the social location of a truly disestablished Christianity. For while some very limited (and long overdue) attempts have been made by secular authorities to address some of the historical grievances of the indigenous peoples of this continent,[115] the Christian churches in North America, variously "denominationalized," still have "somehow avoided recognition of their participation in this history of destruction and oppression."[116] Seventh-day Adventists, in particular, whose self-identity is

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[114]For the comparison of Christianity and Islam in the context of Christian mission in the Middle East, see again Harvey and Simon, *Conflict, Conquest, and Conversion*, 1–44.

[115]The recent Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRC), established in 1996 by the Canadian government is such an example. See "TRC Findings," *Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada*, http://www.trc.ca/websites/trcinstitution/index.php?p=890.

[116]Tinker, *Missionary Conquest*, 9.

wrapped up in a narrative of pilgrims discovering a "sparsely populated wilderness," which provides refuge for the woman fleeing persecution from the Old World (Rev 12), would do well to reevaluate this narrative in light of the history of oppression of the indigenous peoples of this continent.

As a final thought, how significant is it that the relationship between Christianity and empire—specifically, the correlation between Christian mission and the extension of European political control over vast tracts of the earth in the modern period—finds no emphasis in the fine points of Seventh-day Adventist eschatology? Has the greatest imperial expansion, which has taken place in world history and has so profoundly shaped the geopolitical dynamics of the modern world, found no expression in the prophetic vision? As ardent students of Bible prophecy, it may be time for the exegetical lenses of Seventh-day Adventists to move beyond the narrow confines of a "papal Rome" in their prophetic interpretations in order to see the broader framework and history—the *longue durée*—of the *Roman Empire* in its ancient and modern imperial expressions, even if it means seeing *ourselves* in that image. For as historian Neville Morley reminds us, "the Roman Empire is still ruling us*,* and we need to understand our rulers and their system to liberate ourselves."[117] For now, Christian mission remains in the service of empire; the final break still awaits another Luther.

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[117]Neville Morley, *The Roman Empire: Roots of Imperialism* (London: Pluto, 2010), 13.

ARE THERE RANKS IN THE TRINITY?

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This article is a modified version of the lecture given by Millard J. Erickson for the plenary session of the 14th Annual Seminary Scholarship Symposium on 8 February 2018, at the Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary, Andrews University, in Berrien Springs, Michigan.

I have only been to the Pentagon (the headquarters of the Department of Defense of the United States) once, to the office of the Chief of chaplains. As our host escorted us to his office, we met and passed numerous persons in the corridors. The thought occurred to me, "My wife would love this place." It is not that my wife is a great advocate of the military, although she appreciates all that the men and women in uniform do to protect US citizens. Rather, she believes that there should be a law requiring everyone to wear a nametag at all times. There, in the Pentagon, I could tell at a glance not only what a person's name was, but also how important that person was, for each one's uniform displayed both the wearer's name, as well as an insignia denoting his or her rank. As any who have served in the military know, rank is very important, because it also is an indication of relative authority. A sergeant is subordinate to a lieutenant, who, in turn, is subordinate to a captain, and so on, all the way up to the general of the army.

The question we are considering in this article is whether the triune Godhead has within it ranks denoting differing authority, and whether such ranks, if they exist, are permanent and necessary. In approximately the past quarter century, this question has become the subject of increasing debate among conservative Christians. Two basic positions have formed.

Statement of the Two Basic Positions

One of these positions, which we will initially term simply "View A," says that such distinctions of rank are present in the Trinity, and that they are eternal, necessary, and irreversible. Thus, the Father is "the supreme member of the Trinity," and the Son and the Holy Spirit are everywhere and always subordinate to Him.[1] The Father's will is supreme, and the Son and the Spirit carry out that will. There is no alteration of this pattern, so the Father never carries out the will of the Son.[2] This view insists that there is no difference in

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[1]Bruce A. Ware, *Father, Son, and Holy Spirit: Relationships, Roles, and Relevance* (Wheaton, IL: Crossway, 2005), 46.

[2]Ibid., 8.

the essence, nature, substance, or being of the three.[3] Each of them is eternally deity, to the same extent and in the same way as each of the others. It is with respect to their relative authority that the distinctions take place.

The other view, "View B," also holds that the nature or essence of the three persons is exactly the same.[4] It also agrees that, for a period of time, one or two of the members of the Trinity was subordinate in authority to the Father.[5] This subordination, however, was temporary, for the purpose of carrying out a particular task. When that role was completed, that person returned to a status of equal authority with the Father. In eternity past and eternity future, there was and is no differentiation of authority among the three persons.[6]

We need now to move beyond these generic designations of "A" and "B" to something more descriptive. Some have termed them "complementarian" and "egalitarian," respectively.[7] However, I find the use of these terms not to be helpful. For one thing, this tends to correlate the views of the members of the Trinity with views of the relationship between male and female, particularly within marriage. I think it is unwise to attempt to connect the contrasting views in the one area with those in the other. Such an approach is especially used by those who believe that the husband is the final authority within a marriage, and who use 1 Cor 11:3 to attempt to establish that connection: "But I want you to realize that the head of every man is Christ, and the head of the woman is man, and the head of Christ is God." Apart from the interpretative problems of the passage, such a connection seems to me to be illegitimate, and that is true of both sides of the issue.

The second problem, however, is that this is an inaccurate application of the terms. Even though different roles are performed by the different persons of the Trinity, the cooption of the term by one view seems improper. For the most part, those of the second view do not insist that each of the persons performs exactly the same role as each of the others. The issue, then, is not whether the persons complement each other in their actions, but whether the complementation is vertical or horizontal. The use of these terms to designate the two views confuses the issue of whether their roles are different, with whether one role is superior to the other. If the idea of complementation is to be used, the two should probably be designated as hierarchical complementarian and egalitarian complementarian.

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[3]Ibid., 43.

[4]Philip Cary, "The New Evangelical Subordinationism: Reading Inequality into the Trinity," in *The New Evangelical Subordinationism? Perspectives on the Equality of God the Father and God the Son*, ed. Dennis W. Jowers and H. Wayne House (Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2012), 5.

[5]Kevin Giles, "The Trinity without Tiers," in *New Evangelical Subordinationism*, 269n23.

[6]Gilbert Bilezikian, "Hermeneutical Bungee-Jumping: Subordination in the Godhead," *JETS* 40.1 (1997): 59.

[7]Wayne Grudem, *Countering the Claims of Evangelical Feminism: Biblical Responses to the Key Questions* (Colorado Springs, CO: Multnomah, 2006), 13–15.

Those who like firm labels have attached more technical terms, such as "Eternal Functional Subordination" (EFS), to the views.[8] I personally have used the terms "Gradational Authority" for the former and "Equivalent Authority" for the latter, attempting to make them not merely designators, but denotators, and to avoid trying to gain an advantage by stipulation.[9] These terms have not received wide acceptance and, despite my good intentions, one commentator thought "these terms have a mischievous intention."[10] In another attempt to avoid the sort of postmodern stipulative definition that is currently so common in academic discourse, I will here refer to the two views respectively as the eternal subordination view and the temporary subordination view, emphasizing the issue of subordination and noting that both sides insist that the subordination is functional, not essential. That does have the disadvantage of putting the emphasis on the negative, rather than on the positive elements of each view. The term "submission" is more positive and emphasizes the Son's initiative. Because the term "subordination" is so widely used, however, it will be employed herein.

The Arguments for Each View

We turn now to specific arguments advanced by the proponents of each of these positions. In the process, a more complete exposition of each view will also emerge.

The Eternal Subordination View

A number of different considerations are advanced within this position:

(1) The terminology of Father and Son are among the most often used titles for the first two persons of the Trinty in Scripture. Proponents of the eternal subordination view, such as Wayne A. Grudem, contend that the biblical names Father and Son are permanent, intentionally assigned, and indicative of the nature of the relationship between the two. Just as human fathers possess superior authority over their sons, so must the heavenly Father have such superiority over the Son, Jesus. The frequent use of such designators indicates this authority.[11]

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[8]Thomas McCall, *Which Trinity? Whose Monotheism? Philosophical and Systematic Theologians on the Metaphysics of Trinitarian Theology* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010), 175.

[9]Millard J. Erickson, *Who's Tampering with the Trinity? An Assessment of the Subordination Debate* (Grand Rapids: Kregel, 2009), 21.

[10]John Ploughman, "Millard Erickson and the Trinity—Gradational? (1)," *Faith: Theology: Culture*, 11 June 2009, https://johnploughman.wordpress.com/2009/06/11/millard-erickson-and-the-trinity-gradational-1/.

[11]Wayne A. Grudem, *Systematic Theology: An Introduction to Biblical Doctrine* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1994), 249–250.

(2) Expressions of *taxis* or ordering in the statement of the names, such as the baptismal formula in Matt 28:19, are understood as indicating different levels of authority.[12]

(3) In Scripture there are passages in which the Son declares that he has come to do the Father's will. For this view, these indicate the priority of the Father in relationship to the Son. These are not simply restricted to the Son's work while on earth, for they seem to indicate that his very coming was because of the Father's will, and to do that will.[13]

(4) Passages that speak of the Father as the subject of creation, predestination to salvation, providence, and other crucial divine works are used as indicators of the supreme authority of the Father.[14]

(5) Those who hold the eternal subordination view argue for the necessity of this sort of subordination to the differentiation of persons. If it were not the case that the Son is subordinate to the Father, then there would be no distinct persons, but rather simply person A, person A, and person A. In that case, the Trinity would not exist.[15]

(6) Passages describing the periods before and after Jesus's ministry on earth are utilized in such a way that the relationship of superiority and subordination is said to be not merely during that finite time period, but also eternal. Of these, the most powerful is 1 Cor 15:24–28.[16]

(7) References to the Son as sitting on the right hand of the Father, not only now but in the eternity before his becoming incarnate and in that which will follow his return and the final judgment, are used to show the Father as possessing authority over the Son.[17]

(8) Historical arguments are made that this is the traditional view of the church. The eternal subordinationists cite early church theologians, the ecumenical councils and creeds, as well as later confessions of faith, as evidence for their position.[18]

(9) Proponents of this view also use theological arguments. For example, they assert that divine immutability would prevent such a change in the relationship between Father and Son as the temporary subordination view claims.[19] As noted above, such a structure of the Trinity is considered necessary to differentiation of the persons.

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[12]Ware, *Father, Son, and Holy Spirit,* 72.

[13]Ibid*.,* 77–78.

[14]Wayne A. Grudem, "Biblical Evidence for the Eternal Submission of the Son to the Father," in *New Evangelical Subordinationism,* 232–235.

[15]Idem, *Systematic Theology,* 251.

[16]Ibid.

[17]Idem, *Evangelical Feminism and Biblical Truth: An Analysis of More Than 100 Disputed Questions* (Wheaton, IL: Crossway, 2012), 410–414.

[18]Idem, "Biblical Evidence," 248–251.

[19]Idem, *Systematic Theology,* 250.

(10) The gradationist authority view claims that distortive implications follow from the opposing view. For instance, the equivalent authority view comes very close to modalism, the idea that the three persons in Scripture are actually three manifestations or revelations of one person, and to patripassianism, the view that the Father suffered on the cross.[20]

The Temporary Subordination View

The adherents of this view also cite a variety of arguments:

(1) Regarding the term "Son," contrary to the view just presented, many of these theologians contend that the primary meaning of the term in Scripture is not derivation or subordination, but similarity.[21]

(2) Variation in the order of the names, as they are listed throughout Scripture, are seen as evidence of equality.[22]

(3) References to the Son initiating some of the works attributed to God are said to demonstrate his equal authority with the Father. These include choosing persons, even for eternal salvation (Matt 11:27; John 13:18a; 15:19; 5:21), sending the Holy Spirit (15:26; 16:7), judging the world (Matt 25:31–32; 2 Cor 5:10), and several other functions.[23]

(4) Texts such as Phil 2:4–11 and Heb 5:8 are viewed as asserting that Jesus acquired or learned special obedience to the Father or that obedience began with his incarnation and ended with his ascension.[24]

(5) References to the Son becoming the Son of the Father, such as Acts 13:33 and Heb 1:5, are seen as being in a temporal rather than eternal, context.[25]

(6) Proponents of this view point out ontological implications of the eternal subordination postion. If the subordination of the Father to the Son is eternal and necessary, so that it could not have been otherwise, then this logically entails that the subordination must be of nature, rather than merely of function.[26]

(7) Regarding petitionary prayer, if the Father is the one who decides, wills, and acts, and the Son carries out that will, then it is logical to address such prayers to the Father alone. This concept, explicitly endorsed by Ware[27] but rejected by Grudem,[28] seems to follow logically from the conception of relative authority espoused. According to the temporary subordination view, such a concept runs contrary to New Testament prayers directed to the Lord

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[20]Idem, "Biblical Evidence," 258–259.

[21]Benjamin B. Warfield, "Trinity," *ISBE* 5:3020.

[22]Kevin Giles, *Jesus and the Father: Modern Evangelicals Reinvent the Doctrine of the Trinity* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2006), 109–110.

[23]Ibid., 124.

[24]Bilezikian, "Hermeneutical Bungee-Jumping," 60.

[25]Erickson, *Tampering with the Trinity*, 118.

[26]McCall, *Which Trinity*, 177–182.

[27]Ware, *Father, Son, and Holy Spirit,* 18.

[28]Grudem, *Systematic Theology*, 381.

Jesus by Stephen (Acts 7:59–60), Paul (2 Cor 12:8–9), and the early church (Rev 22:20). These appear to be genuine prayers, which were not, at least in the biblical text, rejected or corrected.[29]

(8) This view asserts that statements in the history of the Christian tradition, which are claimed to bear on this issue, are difficult to interpret because they were written in different cultural contexts and were not always consistent, sometimes even within the same statements. Nevertheless, there are several indications by different theologians, as well as ecumenical creeds, that favor the idea of equality of authority.[30]

(9) This view references texts indicating unitary action of the persons to demontrate equality. Both numerous biblical texts and historical thinkers, such as Augustine and Calvin, seem to indicate that the actions of each of the members of the Trinity, while primarily attributed to one person, are actually in varying ways and degrees, actions of the three persons jointly.[31]

(10) The equivalent authority view asserts that there are dangerous theological consequences of eternal subordination. The emphasis of the eternal subordination view on the separation of actions, authority, and wills of the three persons, implies tritheism, the doctrine that these are three separate beings, rather than a three in one.[32]

The Basis for Choosing a View

The argument has continued for some time now, at an accelerated pace and, at times, with a heightened intensity. Both sides of the debate claim that the arguments establish their own view as true. Little progress appears to have been made toward a resolution. As I have suggested elsewhere, whether or not the subordination is eternal, the debate over it threatens to become so.[33] How do we go about attempting to choose between two such sharply differing views? Both are thoroughly developed, documented, and argued. What is necessary is a set of criteria for evaluating any hypothesis. While methodology is more fully developed in the fields of natural science, any assertion or collection of assertions requires some methodology and criteria, if one believes that there is such a thing as objective truth, and is seeking to determine it.

One preliminary observation is in order. We should not expect to find all of the evidence aligned behind one of the alternatives, and none behind the other. This expectation assumes an epistemological absolutism that is hardly realistic. All of us humans have limitations to our knowledge and understanding. Only God is omniscient. We also have our biases and blind spots. We suffer from "confirmation bias," the tendency to be more positively

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[29]Erickson, *Tampering with the Trinity*, 228–230.

[30]Giles, "The Nicene and Reformed Doctrine of the Trinity," *Priscilla Papers* 32.3 (2017): 4–7.

[31]Erickson, *Tampering with the Trinity*, 32–38.

[32]Giles, "Trinity without Tiers," 284.

[33]Erickson, "Language, Logic, and Trinity: A Critical Examination of the Eternal Subordinationist View of the Trinity," *Priscilla Papers* 31.3 (2017), 8.

impressed by considerations that support what we already believe than those that contradict it. When I teach a critical thinking course, I have the students engage in certain exercises to "de-subjectivize" themselves. Even so, we should expect that not all of the evidence will appear to support just one alternative, and as Christians who believe in the noetic effects not only of finitude (Isa 55:8–9) but also of original sin (1 Cor 13:12; 2 Cor 4:5), this should not be surprising. The dangers with epistemological absolutism are two-fold. On the one hand, there is the tendency to conclude, if one finds one weakness in an opposing view, that one has thereby refuted the view. Conversely, there will be an attempt to rebut every charge of a flaw in the case for one's own view, often resulting in tenuous and far-fetched interpretations of the data. Rather, the aim should be to ascertain which view has, on balance, the greater weight of support and follow that view. However, one must continue to evaluate the data and be prepared to change one's view if the balance changes. This means evaluating how strong or conclusive is the evidence for a view—a consideration with which anyone who has ever taken a statistics course is familiar.

<div align="center">Internal Criteria</div>

In practice, we usually evaluate by using two types of criteria: internal and external. In the case of life-views, there may also be pragmatic criteria, but the other two types are especially relevant here. Internal criteria deal with how a view relates to itself; external criteria pertain to its relationship to considerations outside of the theory itself.[34]

There are two aspects to internal criteria. The first is consistency. Does a proposition avoid denying what it is asserting? This is a negative test, because an internally consistent assertion or set of them can be false, but a self-contradiction cannot be true. Now, you may say, "But I can believe contradictory truths," or "consistency is a mark of small minds," but you cannot communicate contradictions, because the hearer or reader does not know which proposition to believe. I have an American Philosophical Association T-shirt. On the front it says, "The sentence on the back of this shirt is false." On the back is written, "The sentence on the front of this shirt is true." Now if the sentence on the back is indeed false, then the sentence on the front is not true, in which case, it is not true that the sentence on the back is false, and by inference the sentence on the front of the shirt is true, making the sentence on the back false, as a result of which the sentence on the front is not false, and so forth. You do see the point. This is sometimes called "the liar's paradox," or, as one philosopher called it, "charley-horse between the ears."[35] If I tell you, "I never tell the truth," what are you to make of it?

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[34] For elaboration of these criteria, see Charles W. Morris, *Writings on the General Theory of Signs*, Approaches to Semiotics 16 (The Hague: Mouton, 1971). Morris's work is an adaptation and interpretation of the thought of Charles Saunders Peirce. For a modified form of Morris's scheme, see Frederick Ferre, *Language, Logic and God* (New York: Harper & Row, 1961), 146–166.

[35] Gordon Haddon Clark, *The Atonement*, Trinity Paper 17 (Jefferson, MD: Trinity Foundation, 1987), 32.

There is one other very important concept connected with this idea of consistency. I call it the issue of autoreferentiality. By that I mean the question of whether a criterion applied to all other views is applied to one's own. I am constantly impressed, but not surprised, at how often this happens. It was found in Ludwig Wittgenstein's concept of meaning,[36] and proved to be the Achilles Heel of Logical Positivism, to say nothing of the sociologists of knowledge who analyzed all species of knowledge using the epistemological categories of sociology, but who stuttered and fumbled when asked about the implications of their theory for that theory itself.[37]

The other aspect of internal criteria is coherence. Any number of sentences may be internally consistent, but have no relationship to one another. Coherence systems are made up of propositions that support and enhance one another. There is almost an aesthetic quality to coherent systems.

It is important, in wrestling with evaluation, to note that a theory must meet its own criteria, as well as criteria that apply to all theories of its type, but not necessarily fit the requirements of a rival theory. Yet this is one of the most common logical errors I see in theological and other academic debates. One cannot fault another view for failing to meet one's criterion unless it is also integral to that view, or is a universal criterion. Actually, most fallacies of this type take place not at the point of evaluation but at the point of interpretation, where another's thought is read through one's own categories so that one finds internal contradictions in the other's thought. This is why we must so carefully understand ourselves and our own views.

External Criteria

To be true, however, a theory must not merely be internally consistent and coherent. Many works of fiction fulfill those criteria. Library holdings are divided into two sections, fiction and non-fiction, and it is this relationship to objective reality that differentiates them. Because we are seeking to determine which of these mutually exclusive theories is true, we must inquire about the relationship between the assertions of each system and the world of reality.

The first of these external criteria is applicability. Put popularly, does this ring true to what I can know? That may be empirical sensory data. Or it may be the biblical text, if that is what the theory is attempting to account for. In the latter case, does it explain the biblical passages it appeals to with a minimum of distortion? Is its explanation a natural one, and a simpler one than alternative explanations? This is the scientific principle of parsimony, or to use the earlier philosophical version, the Law of Occam's Razor. The geocentric theory of the universe ultimately failed because it had to continue to add epicycles until the theory collapsed under its own weight, as compared

[36]Ludwig Wittgenstein, *Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1922), 108.

[37]Peter J. Berger and Thomas Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1966), 12–13; Robert Bierstadt, introduction to *The Social Determination of Knowledge*, by Judith Willer (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1971), 2.

to the heliocentric theory that explained the same phenomena with fewer concepts. In our present inquiry, we will ask whether the exegesis of the passages appealed to by each hypothesis gives a more natural rendition of those passages than the other does. Of course, a sophisticated exegesis is not necessarily a literal or acultural rendition of the Scripture, so this principle must not be applied simplistically. Nonetheless, a theory must account for what it attempts to account for.

The other external dimension is that of adequacy. Some accounts of specific experiences describe that particular experience well, but scarcely serve as a satisfactory account for the whole range of experiences that we have. Similarly, certain theories can account well for certain biblical passages and certain doctrines but not others. So, in this case, the theory that is to be preferred is the one that can deal with the broader gamut of biblical teaching.

The Burden of Proof

We are now faced with the choice of which of these two views has more support and, therefore, which one we should adopt. At this point, I would usually go into great detail in examining the respective arguments, but limitations of space prevent that here. I have, however, attempted to do that in print elsewhere.[38] Here I will attempt something more modest, and such an option does exist. I have pointed out that both views agree that the Scripture teaches that during his time of earthly ministry, the Son was subordinate to the Father and carried out the Father's will. The eternal subordination view, however, adds something more to that area of common agreement: that the subordination was eternal and was inherent in the very nature of the Trinity. As such, the burden of proof rests upon those who contend that true understanding of the Trinity goes beyond the common agreement. The issue becomes this: Is there adequate basis for affirming that the subordination of the Son to the Father is eternal and not merely temporary? We may then concentrate on examining their arguments.

Biblical Considerations

The eternal subordinationists cite certain biblical data that support the idea of eternal subordination. One of these is the terms "Son" and "Father." This, claims Grudem, is an evidence that the terminology is intended to convey that the relationship between these two members of the Trinity is the same as that between earthly fathers and sons, namely, that the father has authority over the son.[39]

There are several problems with this contention, however. One is the question of whether the names "Father" and "Son" were used in eternity past. Did the two address one another, using language, with these names? Interestingly, Ware and Grudem have criticized open theists for failing to recognize anthropomorphisms as such, yet they seem to have done the same

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[38]See Erickson, *Tampering with the Trinity.*

[39]See Grudem, *Systematic Theology*, 249–250.

here.[40] Further, if one takes the analogy in a literal fashion, is not the authority relationship of human fathers and sons a temporary and changeable matter, in which the child outgrows the parent and may at some point become the guardian of the parent? Beyond that, however, is a problem of circularity. How do we know that the Father is superior in authority to the Son? We know that because of the use of those terms and the fact that human fathers have authority over their sons. How do we know the latter assertion, however? Here the eternal susbordinationists appeal to New Testament texts like 1 Cor 11:3, "But I want you to realize that the head of every man is Christ, and the head of the woman is man, and the head of Christ is God." This is then extended to children in the family, through several additional texts, such as Eph 3:14–15, "For this reason I kneel before the Father, from whom every family in heaven and on earth derives its name." In other words, we know that the proper relationship of son to father in human society is because of the relationship of the heavenly Father and Son, and we understand the relationship of Father to Son in the Trinity because these terms mean the authority of fathers over their sons in human families. This is circularity, and of a very tight variety at that.

The terminology also involves other problems. For one thing, the act of begetting, or of the Father becoming the Father of the Son, seems to be applied to temporal points. Psalm 2:7 says, "You are my Son; today I have become your Father," and this is quoted twice in the New Testament, in Acts 13:33 and Heb 1:5. In the Acts passage, it is related especially to the resurrection and enthronement of Jesus. For the Father to say to the Son at some point in earthly history, "You are my Son; today I have become your Father," poses a problem for the neat appeal to the use of these terms as evidence of an eternal relationship.

Another troublesome passage is the majestic attribution of names to the Messiah, in Isa 9:6, "And he will be called Wonderful Counselor, Mighty God, Everlasting Father, Prince of Peace." The passage, widely recognized as referring to the Messiah, calls him "Everlasting Father." Not only is the name "Father" applied to him, but also the adjective "Everlasting" is added to it.

The eternal subordinationists argue for the supremacy of the Father's authority on the basis of the priority of the Father's name in Matt 28:19.[41] It should be noted, however, that this order varies. In fact, Giles has compiled a table showing that when Paul lists the three persons together, the Son is mentioned first in sixteen cases, the Spirit first in nine, and the Father in only six.[42] Other pertinent New Testament passages are 1 Pet 1:2, where the order is Father, Spirit, and Jesus Christ, and Jude 20–21, where the order is Holy Spirit, God, and Lord Jesus Christ. It should also be noted that, whereas Jesus's statements and John's writings predominantly use the terminology of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, Paul actually preferred the names, God, Lord, and Spirit.[43]

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[40]E.g., Bruce A. Ware, *God's Lesser Glory: The Diminished God of Open Theism* (Wheaton, IL: Crossway, 2000), 73–90.

[41]Ware, *Father, Son, and Holy Spirit,* 72.

[42]Giles, *Jesus and the Father*, 109–110.

[43]Warfield, "Trinity," 5:3019.

Surveying these considerations, I conclude that the biblical terminology of Father and Son that is applied to the first two members of the Trinity cannot be used to establish a permanent and eternal authority of the former over the latter. As B. B. Warfield wrote a century ago in his typical measured fashion, "If in their conviction the very essence of the Trinity was embodied in this order, should we not anticipate that there should appear in their numerous allusions to the Trinity some suggestion of this conviction?"[44] He also says of Paul, "It remains remarkable, nevertheless, if the very essence of the Trinity were thought of by him as resident in the terms 'Father,' 'Son,' that in his numerous allusions to the Trinity in the Godhead he never betrays any sense of this."[45]

Beyond these considerations, there are several passages that present direct contradiction to the eternal subordination model. We have noted two of these earlier. One is Phil 2:6–8: "who being in very nature God, did not consider equality with God something to be grasped, but made himself nothing [literally "emptied himself"], taking the very nature of a servant, being made in human likeness. And being found in appearance as a man, he humbled himself and became obedient unto death—even death on a cross!" It appears from this passage that the obedience that he displayed during his earthly residence was something that was not previously present in the eternity before.[46] It was not death to which he became obedient, but that was the extent of his obedience. Grudem contends that it was his honor and glory that the Son surrendered,[47] but that is not mentioned in the passage. It was the very nature—μορφή of God and the μορφή of a servant—that was involved, and equality was the issue. This interpretation seems to be eisegetical. The same problem is found with Heb 5:8: "Although he was a son, he learned obedience from what he suffered." Here, the Son is said to have learned or acquired something that was not true of him previously. Grudem contends that the passage does not say that this was the first time that the Son had learned obedience, and he is correct. Note, however, that this is an argument from silence. It seems to assume that we are justified in believing anything that the passage does not explicitly reject, a view whose implications are far reaching, to say the least.

We should note that there are also passages that are problematic for the temporary subordination view, probably the most significant of which is 1 Cor 15:24–28, which seems to teach that the Son will in the eternity future be subject to the will of the Father. Calvin taught that the passage was asserting that the incarnate Son will at the end turn over the Kingdom to the eternal Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.[48] This is a plausible interpretation, especially if

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[44]Ibid., 5:3020.

[45]Ibid.

[46]Bilezikian, *Community 101: Reclaiming the Local Church as a Community of Oneness* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1997), 194.

[47]Grudem, *Evangelical Feminism,* 409.

[48]John Calvin, *Commentary on the Epistles of Paul the Apostle to the Corinthians*, trans. William Pringle, 2 vols., Calvin's Commentaries 39–40 (Edinburgh: Calvin Translation Society, 1848–1849), 40:32–33.

one attempts to reconcile the passage with other pertinent considerations. In my judgment, however, it is not as simple and likely an interpretation of the passage as is the contention that the Son will turn over the Kingdom to the Father and will be eternally subordinate to him. Bear in mind, however, that our goal is to find the view with the fewest and least serious difficulties.

Philosophical Issues

There are philosophical problems with the eternal subordination model. The insistence that without one member of the Trinity being subordinate to another they would be indistinguishable assumes the identity of indiscernibles, a conception that is problematic, and would eliminate the possibility of identical twins, for example.[49] More serious is the problem of essence. Both Grudem and Ware insist that the authority of the Father over the Son is eternal and necessary. It could not have been otherwise. If that is the case, however, then the Son's subordination is necessary, not contingent, as it would be if it depended on his coming to earth as the God-man, with a fully human body and psyche. But if a subject possesses a predicate necessarily rather than contingently, then that predicate is essential, not accidental. That means that the Father has an essential predicate that the Son does not have, and vice versa. They are different in essence.[50]

Theological Issues

There also are significant theological problems with the eternal subordination view. For one thing, the incarnation is diminished. In this view, Jesus gave up less (namely equal authority) in the incarnation than he would have if the temporary subordination view is true. Similarly, the glorification is reduced, for what he reassumes is not equality of authority with the Father. Of course, there is no theological virtue in adding something that Scripture does not teach, but it is worth noting that the glory of Christ is diminished. Further, as we shall see, there is such a strong separation of the persons that tritheism is a real danger.

The Alternative: Temporary Subordination

But what of the other view, that of temporary subordination? Does it fare any better? Bear in mind that if the burden of proof rests on the affirmative (the assertion that the subordination of the Son extends backward and forward from the earthly ministry of Christ into eternity), then the temporary subordination view need not prove that it is positively true. Yet, it must deal with the problems raised against it by the eternal subordination view. As John Baillie's professor once wrote on a paper that Baille had submitted to him, which had criticized a certain theory, "Every theory has its difficulties, but you

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[49]Max Black, "The Identity of Indiscernibles," *Mind* 61.242 (1952): 153–164.

[50]McCall, *Which Trinity*, 188.

have not considered whether any other theory has less [*sic*] difficulties than the one you have criticized."[51]

The Problem: Initiative of the Father

While many of the texts that are offered as criticism of temporary subordinationism have been rebutted above, we must still address the issue of certain initiatives and actions attributed to the Father that seem to indicate a greater authority than that of the Son. Is there a way through this theological thicket that is consistent and coherent and accounts for more of the relevant facts with less distortion than any of the other hypotheses? I believe there is. The eternal subordinationists cite several of these actions: predestining some to salvation, sending the Son into the world, judging sins, etc. This seems to suggest a position of supremacy for him. The assumption is that if these are attributed to him, then he alone is the actor.

There is an alternative to this explanation, however. We may note two suggestions from historical theology. The first is a quotation from Augustine:

> He [the Spirit] will not therefore depart when the Father and the Son come, but will be in the same abode with them eternally, because neither will He come without them, nor they without Him. But in order to intimate the Trinity some things are separately affirmed, the Persons being also each severally named; and yet are not to be understood as though the other Persons were excluded, on account of the unity of the same Trinity and the One substance and Godhead of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit. (Augustine, *Trin.* 1.9.19)

Augustine expresses the same idea several times in this work. A similar thought is found in the following from John Calvin: "Therefore, our most merciful God, when he willed that we be redeemed, made Himself our Redeemer in the person of his only-begotten Son."[52] This seems to affirm that the Father was the redeemer, as much as was the Son.

Suppose then, that we inquire whether the actions attributed to one member of the Trinity should be considered the work of that person alone, or rather of all the members of the Trinity jointly, with one of the persons being the prime actor of that particular act. Examining several such works with this model in mind, proves illuminating.

Choosing of Persons for Eternal Life

The Father: "who have been chosen according to the foreknowledge of the Father, through the sanctifying work of the Spirit, for obedience to Jesus Christ and sprinkling of his blood" (1 Pet 1:2).

The Son: "For just as the Father raises the dead and gives them life, even so the Son gives life to those to whom he is pleased to give it" (John 5:21).

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[51]John Baillie, *Invitation to Pilgrimage* (New York: Scribners, 1942), 15.

[52]John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, ed. John T. McNeill, trans. Ford Lewis Battles, 2 vols. (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1960), 2.12.2. The entire chapter is germane to this consideration.

Sending of the Holy Spirit

The Father: "But the Counselor, the Holy Spirit, whom the Father will send in my name, will teach you all things and will remind you of everything I have said to you" (14:26; cf. 14;16).

The Son: "When the Counselor comes, whom I will send to you from the Father, the Spirit of truth who goes out from the Father, he will testify about me" (15:26; cf. 16:7).

Access to the Father

The Son: "I am the way, and the truth and the life. No one comes to the Father except through me" (14:6).

The Spirit: "For through him we both [Jews and Gentiles] have access to the Father by one Spirit" (Eph 2:18).

Judging of the World

Father: "Why, then do you judge your brother? Or why do you look down on your brother? For we will all stand before God's judgment seat" (Rom 14:10).

Son: "For we must all appear before the judgment seat of Christ, that each one may receive that which is due him for the things done in the body, whether good or bad" (2 Cor 5:10).[53]

Intercession

Son: "Therefore he is able to save completely those who come to God through him, because he always lives to intercede for them" (Heb. 7:25; cf. Rom 8:34).

Spirit: "In the same way, the Spirit helps us in our weakness. We do not know what we ought to pray for, but the Spirit himself intercedes for us with groans that words cannot utter" (Rom 8:26–27).

Indwelling of the Believer

Son: "To them God has chosen to make known among the Gentiles the glorious riches of this mystery, which is Christ in you, the hope of glory" (Col 1:27).

Spirit: "Do you not know that your body is a temple of the Holy Spirit, who is in you, whom you have received from God?" (1 Cor 6:19).

Son and Spirit together: "The world cannot accept him [the Spirit], because it neither sees him nor knows him. But you know him, for he lives with you and will be in you. I will not leave you as orphans; I will come to you. Before long, the world will not see me anymore, but you will see me. Because I live, you also will live. On that day you will realize that I am in my Father, and you are in me, and I am in you'" (John 14:17–20).

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[53]See also the judgment scene in Matt 25:31–32.

Father also: "Jesus replied, 'If anyone loves me, he will obey my teaching. My Father will love him, and we will come to him and make our home with him'" (14:23; cf. 1 Cor 3:16–17).

Giving of Life

Father and Son: "For just as the Father raises the dead and gives them life, even so the Son gives life to whom he is pleased to give it" (John 5:21).[54]

The Spirit: "The Spirit gives life; the flesh counts for nothing. The words I have spoken to you are spirit and they are life" (6:63).[55]

Love

Father: "For God so loved the world, that he gave his one and only Son, that whoever believes in him shall not perish but have eternal life" (3:16).

Son: "As the Father has loved me, so I have loved you" (15:9).[56]

It appears, then, that the approach of Augustine and Calvin is helpful in resolving the apparent contradictions in the shared divine actions. Note that this approach resolves many, although not all, of the passages appealed to by the eternal subordination view and troublesome to the temporary subordination view.

The Charge of Deviant Doctrinal Implications

The eternal subordinationists have made two theological charges against those who propose the temporary subordination view. One is that this implies modalism, the idea that there is one person in the Godhead, who successively manifests himself as Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.[57] This, however, seems misplaced. The eternal subordination view does not assert that there is only one person performing differing functions. Rather, they insist that there are three persons, who act as a unity, with one person taking the primary part in a given action. To use a sports analogy, we are talking about a team, in which linemen block for the quarterback, who throws a pass, caught by the wide receiver. The quarterback does not block the pass rushers, throw a pass, then run down the field and catch his own pass. The point, rather, is that all eleven men are playing their respective roles in running the same play.

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[54]Note also John 10:28–30, where the giving of life by the Father and by the Son is described in identical terms.

[55]There are numerous other gifts that are given by each of the three.

[56]It would, of course, be possible to divide the objects of love, so that the Father loves the whole human race, but the Son loves only those who become his followers. That the love of the Father and of the Son coincide is supported by Paul in Rom 8:35–39: "Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? . . . [nothing] in all creation will be able to separate us from the love of God that is in Christ Jesus our Lord."

[57]Grudem, "Biblical Evidence," 258.

The other is the charge that the temporary subordinationist view comes close to patripassianism.[58] The idea that each person participates in each of the actions means that the Father suffers on the cross, the ancient heresy of patripassianism, and a corollary of modalism.[59] This, however, is not at all what is involved in the temporary subordination view. The Son was the one who was crucified, not the Father. The Father does not suffer in the same sense in which the Son does. Rather, there is a sympathetic suffering and thus a participation in the suffering. The charge of patripassianism seems itself to stem from viewing the issue from the perspective of the impassibility of God, now recognized by many evangelicals to have been influenced by Greek philosophy.[60]

Conclusion

It is my judgment that, when all the evidence has been weighed, the temporary subordination view accounts better for more of the relevant evidence with less distortion, and suffers from fewer difficulties, than does the view of eternal subordination. Until such time as the balance of evidence shifts, I must continue to adhere to the former view.

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[58]Ibid., 257.

[59]J. N. D. Kelly, *Early Christian Doctrines* (New York: Harper & Row, 1960), 120.

[60]John S. Feinberg, *No One Like Him: The Doctrine of God*, Foundations of Evangelical Theology (Wheaton, IL: Crossway, 2001), 149.

BOOK REVIEWS

Alexander, T. Desmond. *Exodus*. ApOTC 2. Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2017. xx + 764 pp. Hardcover. USD 45.00.

Thomas Desmond Alexander is the Director of Postgraduate Studies and a senior lecturer in biblical studies at Union Theological College in Belfast, Ireland. His expertise in the areas of the Pentateuch and biblical theology is well-articulated in the number of books and articles that he has authored and co-edited. Alexander's most recent undertaking in the Pentateuch is his *Exodus* commentary in the Apollos Old Testament commentary series. It complemented his previous work on this same book in the Teach the Text commentary series. The latter provides guidance on teaching the book of Exodus, while the former focuses on the exhaustive explanation of the text in its original language. This current work displays Alexander's habitual close reading of the Scriptures. It also portrays his knowledge in matters related to the study of the Old Testament and ancient Near Eastern literature. Hence, Alexander is well-versed and acquainted with the challenges confronting any major endeavor on the book of Exodus.

This *Exodus* commentary gives precedence in communicating the "theological significance" of the book of Exodus to pastors, teachers, and students of the Bible (ix). Contextual interpretation of Exodus through its immediate "literary context" (4), as well as through the larger "context of the Old Testament story that runs from Genesis to Kings" (6), makes this goal achievable. Hence, Alexander advances this study from the discourse-oriented approach, accentuating the significance of the final form of the text (xi) to "honor the genius of the one who gave the book of Exodus its definite form" (16). In such fashion, this commentary follows the like of the commentaries of "Jacob (1992), Houtman (1993; 1996; 2000), and Dohmen (2004; 2015)" (ibid). The author also operates in a position that "the book of Exodus carries an authority that is of divine origin, being more than simply the product of a human author" (xi). These presuppositions, final form, and divine derivation of the book, lead to the appreciation of the book as a congruent and cohesive piece of literature with a divinely-given purpose.

Alexander's Exodus commentary contains two major sections, (a) Introduction, and (b) Text and Commentary, which is followed by the Bibliography, an index of Scriptural references, an index of authors, and an index of subjects. The introductory section is divided into eleven sub-sections: first, "The Exodus Story;" second, "The Literary Context of Exodus;" third, "Exodus and the Rest of the Old Testament;" fourth, "Exodus and the New Testament;" fifth, "The Structure of Exodus;" sixth, "Authorship and Date of Composition;" seventh, "Source-oriented and Discourse-oriented Approaches;" eighth, "Exodus and History;" ninth, "The Route of the Exodus;" tenth, "The Text of Exodus;" and finally, "Translating Exodus." Alexander discusses these sub-sections concisely, yet informatively, in thirty-two pages. The reader gets acquainted with related issues concerning the interpretation of Exodus from the beginning, preparing one to encounter

the much-detailed and penetrating exegetical analysis of the original text within 642 pages.

The most significant sub-sections that I believe give credibility to this commentary are the selected sources, history, and the approach. These are expected from any commentary that seeks to be faithful to the original language of the text. Alexander's selection of sources is commendable. He prioritizes the Masoretic Text above the Septuagint and the Samaritan Pentateuch manuscripts as his primary source for the original language of Exodus (30). However, throughout the commentary, the author frequently makes references, not only to these two above, but also to other sources, such as the Targum Jonathan, Targum Onqelos, Peshitta, Vulgate, and others. The bibliography of fifty-eight pages shows that the author also draws from selected secondary sources. However, the Masoretic Text remains the primary source of inspiration.

It's evident that priority is given to the history of the book of Exodus in the author's dialogue with archaeologists and their findings, which support the reality of the exodus and aim to determine its dating. Here, the author provides possibilities with scriptural and archaeological evidences for the reader's decision. Alexander opted for the fifteenth century dating, rather than the thirteenth century date that most modern commentators believe (16–30). This stance indicates the author's firm stance on the importance of the literary context for interpretation.

From the outset, Alexander gives priority to the final form of the text. He chooses to use the discourse-oriented approach rather than the source-oriented method (11–16). Hence, the literary context becomes "the controlling factor in determining the meaning of the text" (15). In this approach, the author, rather than accepting the Mosaic authorship as traditionally believed, refers to the author of the book as an "individual responsible for shaping the MT of Exodus as we now know it" (14). Here, the author speculates about the possibility of multiple authors sharing the same storyline, but their materials were put together and redrafted by this particular individual. One may ask if Alexander's notion reflects the critics' source argument that he seems to refute.

The Commentary's main and largest section is formatted accordingly to fulfill the purpose. In the first part, the author analyses the original text by providing a new translation with textual notes, then discusses the literary form, structure, and the background of the passage, and the detailed comments on various elements of the exegetical examination. In the second and final part, he identifies the development of messages in the passage throughout the entire Scriptures and discusses their relevance to the church today.

Alexander's dealing with the first sub-section of this central part of the commentary is praiseworthy. Like other commentators, he first lays aside already existing English versions of the Bible. He provides new translations to enable "the reader to recognize the use of specific words, the repetition of words and phrases and the presence of other stylistic or structural devices" (32). These nuances of the Hebrew text are often misconstrued in most

modern translations of Scriptures, which critics often point out, thus devaluing the coherencies of Exodus.

Second, in the discussion of forms and structures of various passages Alexander maintains open interaction with the critics. This inclusion of critics' opinions is not because of any value to the understanding the text, but to alert the "readers against the exaggerated claims of critics" (13). Thus, the instability of the Documentary Hypothesis Theory with its source-oriented approach is exposed. For example, the critics' reconstructions of events that constitute the narrative of Exodus 1–2 are shown to be based on hypothetical and illogical arguments (34–35). This may help students of the Bible to be aware and equipped to meet the challenges of critiques placed on the interpretation of Exodus. This will bring them to appreciate the text when understood in its proper context.

The third sub-section of this main section, "Comment," is perhaps the main strength of this commentary. Alexander vigorously engages in the exegetical analysis of the original text and gives extensive comments on the significance of the verses. He includes excursuses on, "The Strengthening of Pharaoh's Heart" (163–171) and "The Passover and the Festival of Unleavened Bread" (216–222), which provide another significant feature of the exegetical part of this commentary. Issues that critics often use to question the loving character of God and the validity of the events of the exodus are treated extensively. Here, I believe Alexander should have included some more controversial topics, such as the plagues (Exod 7:8–11:10), angel of the Lord (Exod 3:2; 23:20–23), and several others. Nevertheless, these exclusions do not devalue the sound treatment of the topics within this section.

Alexander does not shy away from difficult passages in Exodus, but he utilizes the text itself to determine the meanings of these passages. For example, in the case of Pharaoh's hardening of his heart in chapters 7–11. Here, the author seems to allude to God as the one masterminding the hardening of Pharaoh's heart, which would have violated the king's freewill to decide. Alexander refers to three different Hebrew verbs that translate into "harden,"—verbs which are not clearly articulated in English translations (163). These verbs highlight the fact that "YHWH never overrides the free will of Pharaoh" but rather "YHWH's actions enable Pharaoh to be true to his conviction" (171). Hence, Alexander interprets that the hardening of Pharaoh's heart was caused by his own rebellious heart. Here the author does a good job in allowing Scripture to interpret Scripture, rather than overlooking the verses, or pursuing outside sources for interpretation.

The final part of this main section shows the trajectory of the messages within various passages throughout the Old and New Testaments, a section entitled "Explanation." This section is imperative because it, not only gives evidence on the complementary nature of the two testaments, but brings home the relevance of Exodus's message to the modern audience.

One issue was the subjective nature of the selection of a few texts to highlight this growth of messages within the Scripture. Alexander applies them to today's context in a way that does not seem to do justice to what

the entirety of Scripture says about these messages or themes. For example, in Alexander's explanation of the seventh-day Sabbath of the Decalogue in the context of God's covenant, he states, "There is no reason to assume that the Sabbath obligation is binding upon those who are not under the Sinai covenant" (432). This statement seems to question, not only the role of the law in the context of the new covenant, but the eschatological nature of the Sabbath alluded to by the Old Testament prophets. I believe that the totality of Scripture must be consulted when these themes are discussed to ascertain their correct applications. Minute shortcomings such as this one still do not diminish the value that this section contributes to the purpose of the commentary.

In general, Alexander's recent contribution to the understanding of the book of Exodus is very appreciated. It is a work of high quality and a must-own commentary for every preacher, teacher, and student of the Bible who wants to remain faithful to the original text of God's Word in their theology.

Berrien Springs, Michigan   Kolia Afamasaga

Bates, Matthew W. *Salvation by Allegiance Alone: Rethinking Faith, Works, and the Gospel of Jesus the King*. Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2017. xvi + 234 pp. Softcover. USD 24.99.

Matthew W. Bates teaches theology at Quincy University (Quincy, IL). He has previously written books on a variety of biblical and theological topics. In this book, Bates argues that the English word "faith" is of limited value when discussing eternal salvation in our present cultural climate. "Belief" is also inadequate, he says, because in contemporary idiom it suggests that we are saved merely by having the right facts squeezed into our brains (213). Another incomplete presentation of the gospel message implies that Christian discipleship is optional.

According to the author, "faith" and "belief" in Christian discourse today serve as overarching terms to describe what brings about eternal salvation. But the two concepts have lost the qualities of the original Greek term πίστις, qualities such as reliability, confidence, assurance, fidelity, faithfulness, commitment, and pledged loyalty. This has a misleading effect, so Bates proposes that English-speaking Christians should cease to speak of "salvation by faith" or of "faith in Jesus" when summarizing Christian salvation (3).

All too often, faith and works are pitted against one another as opposite paths to salvation. One that is successful (faith), and one that fails (works). The two are considered to be mutually exclusive paths to salvation. This distorts the gospel in the light of many biblical statements (cf. Jas 2:26). Bates claims that Jesus's answer to the rich young ruler, "You know the commandments" (Mark 10:19) is something of an embarrassment for the contemporary church.

Much of today's scholarship is committed to a hard faith/law antithesis. Πίστις, says Bates, is not the polar opposite of works; rather πίστις, as ongoing allegiance, is the fundamental framework into which works must fit as part of our salvation (109). In Matt 7:21–23, Jesus contrasts the person who

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does the will of the Father to workers of lawlessness, making it clear that allegiance includes obedient action.

In addition to identifying current problems in the church regarding salvation, the author also proposes some changes that he believes will provide a solution to those problems. The following five changes seem to be of most importance to Bates:

First, though πίστις in the Bible has a large semantic domain, faith in Jesus is best described as "allegiance" to him as king (77). Believing certain facts about Jesus is required only as a minimal starting point in the process of salvation. Giving intellectual assent to certain facts about Jesus's story is a "necessary," but not "sufficient" condition for salvation.

Second, the gospel is not self-centered because its core message is the story about Jesus. The full gospel keeps the focus squarely on Christ rather than on the self. The gospel story of Jesus integrates and serves as climax to a larger Christian metanarrative. A good story is more compelling than analyzing a list of propositions and beliefs.

Third, the gospel needs to be publicly announced and proclaimed as the good news about the enthronement of Jesus, the cosmic king. In Philippi, when Paul and Silas told the jailor, "*Pisteuson* upon the Lord Jesus, and you will be saved" (Acts 16:31), they exhorted the jailor to transfer his ultimate allegiance from the emperor to the enthroned Jesus (88–89).

Fourth, there is only one path to final salvation, the path of discipleship. Contemporary Christian culture tends to make a separation between personal salvation and discipleship. Allegiance is where these two qualities meet and embrace. Christ's invitation to begin the journey of salvation can never be anything less than a call to discipleship, for nothing less will result in final salvation.

Fifth, a line must be drawn between a "salvation culture" and a "gospel culture." In a salvation culture, Jesus's cross is what saves us, not his resurrection or lordship. In a gospel culture, Christ is recognized as king, and allegiance to Jesus as king forges a union with him. The church must move away from a "salvation culture" toward a "gospel culture" that centers upon allegiance alone to Jesus, who is the enthroned king (213).

There are several insights found in Bates's book that are worth mentioning in this review. The author notices that one ancient translation renders Hab 2:4 as, "But the righteous one will live by my *pistis*," referring to God's own faithfulness rather than human faith in God (42). Bates argues that there is one basic gospel. Originally, there was no gospel "of" Mark or Matthew, rather the Gospel "according to" Mark or Matthew (51). Commenting on the relationship between faith and law, the author says, "Far from being at loggerheads, the rendering of *pistis* … and submission to the law of Christ amount to nearly the same thing—to give *pistis* means to enact allegiance to the king by obeying his law" (87). Moreover, to be allegiant to Jesus means "becoming the gospel" for the sake of others (109).

Some of the most insightful comments that the author makes have to do with the ultimate destiny of the saved. He says that, contrary to widespread

cultural assumptions and much popular Christian teaching, the final goal of salvation in the Christian story is not the individual soul reaching heaven. Heaven is discussed very little in the Bible and is best regarded as a temporary abode with God in anticipation of the more glorious next act in the divine drama: The second coming of Jesus the king, which will transform heaven and earth (143). Bates reasons that at the end of the salvation story we do not find humans in heaven; rather we discover they are city-dwellers still on earth. The original garden has become a magnificent city, so the progress of life and culture has somehow been taken up into God's redemptive work (132). He concludes that final salvation is not about the individual soul going to heaven after death; it is about resurrection into new creation (163).

Can Bates's work be improved? I would say yes. One would probably wish to learn more on this topic from the point of view of the Old Testament. While the Hebrew word אֱמוּנָה is mentioned in this book, it is definitely eclipsed by the repeated references to πίστις. Where the Greek word πίστις is discussed, I expected to find the word "trust" (3). Then, the author says that there is only one true gospel and this one gospel is attested by Paul, a statement that could lead to a narrow view of the topic of faith and works in the early church (101). With all due respect to Paul, is not Jesus the true founder of Christianity? What about the other prominent New Testament writers, like Peter, John, and Jude? We need to listen more to what they had to say on this vital topic. Bates does quote verses from James, but only sporadically.

The author mentions three Pauline passages that best summarize the concept of the "gospel" (30). They are Rom 1:1–5; 16–17; and 1 Cor 15:1–5. I believe that adding Titus 2:11–15 would greatly enhance the book's thesis. Lastly, the author says that God's new creation includes the elements of the old creation (133). If this is a correct observation (and I believe that it is!) then the word "renewed" would be preferable to the word "new."

In spite of my suggestions for improvement listed above, I would recommend this book to all who study and proclaim the messages of the Bible.

Adventist University of Health Sciences   Zdravko Stefanovic
Orlando, Florida

Bieberstein, Klaus. *A Brief History of Jerusalem: From the Earliest Settlement to the Destruction of the City in AD 70.* ADPV 47. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2017. x + 181 pp. Hardcover. EUR 48.00.

To amend Qohelet's (12:12) timeless observation: "For the making of books on Jerusalem, there is no end." Indeed, Jerusalem's exceedingly complex archaeological history aptly reflects the city's exceptionally rich religious and frequently transitory geo-political legacy. Conducting informed archaeological research in Jerusalem requires understanding the minutiae in the context of the entire city and its environs; a most formidable task. Because the data bank is immense, the archaeology of Jerusalem comprises an entire sub-discipline of historical research that nearly demands specialization. Indeed, it would come as no surprise if the number of active scholars that display mastery over all of

cultural assumptions and much popular Christian teaching, the final goal of salvation in the Christian story is not the individual soul reaching heaven. Heaven is discussed very little in the Bible and is best regarded as a temporary abode with God in anticipation of the more glorious next act in the divine drama: The second coming of Jesus the king, which will transform heaven and earth (143). Bates reasons that at the end of the salvation story we do not find humans in heaven; rather we discover they are city-dwellers still on earth. The original garden has become a magnificent city, so the progress of life and culture has somehow been taken up into God's redemptive work (132). He concludes that final salvation is not about the individual soul going to heaven after death; it is about resurrection into new creation (163).

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Jerusalem's archaeological intricacies could safely be numbered on one hand. Similarly, the published bibliographies on Jerusalem dare not claim anything approaching comprehensiveness. Moreover, semi-popular, archaeologically-based treatments of Jerusalem's history, however authoritative they appear when first published, often reveal the truth behind the oft-quoted statement that today's archaeological "facts" are, in fact, tomorrow's footnotes to earlier errors. All this is to say that the book under review, which offers a summarized 134-page history of Jerusalem until its 70 CE destruction, faces a particularly daunting challenge. In actuality, no truly detailed, comprehensive history of ancient Jerusalem has been published since the authoritative work of J. Simons and the two-volume masterpiece of L.-H. Vincent and M.-A. Steve appeared over sixty years ago. While Bieberstein's book makes no promise to fill such a large lacuna, his admirable efforts at culling many (but not all) of the frivolous claims and studies, while presenting the most important finds and the prevalent views of current scholarship regarding the city, is appreciated. The author's numerous references to German publications also provide a window into continental scholarship for English readers.

The book follows an architectural history of Jerusalem up to the early Ottoman Period (Klaus Bieberstein and Hanswulf Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem: Grundzüge der Baugeschichte vom Chalkolithikum bis zur Frühzeit der osmanischen Herrschaft*. TAVO [Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1994]). The book's seven chapters focus on Jerusalem's location, names, history of research, Jerusalem's earliest settlement, two longer chapters on Jerusalem during the Bronze Age and Iron Age, and an all-too-brief final chapter treating Jerusalem during the Persian, Hellenistic, and early Roman periods. While unsolved mysteries and vigorous debate surround nearly every era of Jerusalem's history, the earlier periods provide the most controversy and my comments will focus on them.

The two treatments of Jerusalem's geographical context and names are welcome, albeit very brief, additions to the book. Bieberstein's explanation of the term "Zion" follows G. Fohrer (and many other scholars) by connecting the word with the enigmatic היצ "to wither." A. F. Rainey repeatedly argued (e.g., A. F. Rainey, "Zion," *ISBE* 4:1198–1200) that the etymology of Zion more likely relates to the Syriac *ḥehyôn*, (fortified tower). The survey of archaeological research does recount the higher profile digs, but many of Jerusalem's greatest discoveries come from the dozens of small-scale excavations around the city. Two examples include G. Barkay's work at the Ketef Hinnom necropolis, which unearthed two amulets inscribed with the oldest biblical text yet known, as well as his Temple Mount debris-sifting project that netted important epigraphic and other discoveries. While Bieberstein treats the amulets later in the book (91–92), he fails to mention the tenth century BCE pottery discovered in Temple Mount soil (48–50), as well as its significance for supporting the veracity of 1 Kgs 6–7.

As noted above, as excavations continue at an increasing rate in and around Jerusalem, any text describing its past inevitably needs constant revision. To illustrate this fact, excavations directed by R. Reich and E. Shukron in 2004 unearthed a massive extramural tower and two parallel

walls protecting access to the Gihon Spring. The two archaeologists dated this impressive structure to the Middle Bronze Age, based upon associated pottery and apparent architectural parallels (e.g., R. Reich, *Excavating the City of David: Where Jerusalem's History Began* [Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2011], 252–261). Bieberstein rightly includes this dramatic find in his explanatory description of Jerusalem's early history and follows their interpretation (24–37). However, a recent study published by J. Regev, J. Uziel, N. Szanton, and E. Boaretto ("Absolute Dating of the Gihon Spring Fortifications, Jerusalem," *Radiocarbon* 59.4 [2017]: 1171–1193), utilizing radiocarbon testing of soil beneath the structure, points to a much later Iron Age IIA (late ninth century BCE) dating, ostensibly contradicting the supposedly secure conclusions of Reich and Shukron and forcing authors and publishers to reluctantly revise (once again) their accounts, maps, and drawings depicting Jerusalem during the second and first millennium BCE. Finally, in Bieberstein's informed discussion of Jerusalem's royal necropolis (85–92), he cites A. Kloner's view that the mysterious Garden of Uzza (2 Kgs 21:18, 26; 2 Chr 36:8 [LXX]) should be equated with the monumental tomb complex unearthed on the grounds of the *École Biblique et Archéologique Française*. Nonetheless, Bieberstein omits a probable candidate for this royal cemetery; namely the summit of the Western Hill (modern Mount Zion), either near Herod's Palace or beneath the Cenacle. Aside from his brief treatment of the "Jesus Tomb" in Talpiyot (132), and placing the trial of Jesus at the western entrance to Herod's palace in the upper city (following, most recently, S. Gibson and J. Tabor), Bieberstein does not discuss other locations relating to the passion of Jesus Christ. He views them as a construction of a fourth-century-or-later Christian tradition (126). Hence, he circumvents any discussion over locating the two most famous events in Jerusalem's history. And so it goes. Jerusalem's topography and history are already encumbered with queries, corresponding suggested or dogmatic solutions, and sharp disputes. Whether treated here or not, these debates will continue in scholarly journals and books, as well as in public discourses.

Examining Jerusalem's fragmentary archaeological evidence is much like looking at a glass as half empty or half full. Scholars often interpret the same data in different ways. In addition, the nearly continuous occupation of the city often completely erases earlier strata, making especially tenuous arguments wholly based on silence (the absence of evidence). Bieberstein's historical assessment of the biblical account, while balanced in some instances, is often highly skeptical. The volume is nevertheless a useful reference and succeeds in presenting a well-researched and reasonably inclusive summary of the historical and archaeological sources regarding Jerusalem. Presenting at least two sides when addressing Jerusalem's many controversial issues, as well as an inclination to leave certain questions open, would enhance the book, giving the lay reader the option to adopt the author's conclusions or choose one of (usually) several others.

Andrews University   Jeffrey P. Hudon

Blidstein, Moshe. *Purity, Community, and Ritual in Early Christian Literature.* Oxford Studies in the Abrahamic Religions. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017. 294 pp. Hardcover. USD 100.00.

Blidstein traces how early Christian interpreters of Scriptures, represented by the Greek literature up to the third century, used the language of purity to articulate their identity. This is the third book, out of four so far published, of the Oxford Studies in the Abrahamic Religions edited by Guy Stroumsa. The series promises to publish monographs on Judaism, Christianity, and Islam from a comparative approach. This particular volume on Christianity is on purity, and there might be a reason for that, other than the fact that Stroumsa (editor of the series) was the advisor of this PhD dissertation turned into a book. Since Mary Douglas's *Purity and Danger* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1966), the interest of biblical scholars and historians of Judaism and Christianity in purity has increased greatly. Prior to the recent and more nuanced studies on purity that take into account anthropology and socio-linguistics, the dominant view was that purity categories were obsolete remnants of a past of religious superstition. In the specific case of the relation between Christianity and Hebrew religiosity, the latter was a religious system of ritualism and physical relation with the divine that used purity as an important religious category, while the former was one of morality and interior spirituality in which purity was irrelevant. This idea, though still advocated today by some, has been challenged by studies like this one. By tracing the development of purity language in the first three centuries of Christianity in the East, Blidstein has aptly demonstrated that this simplification does not represent well the many complex and nuanced views about purity in early Christianity. One thing is clear from this study, Christianity was as much a religion of rituals and physical contact with the holy as Judaism was a religion of morality and interior spirituality. Hence, the dichotomy between physical and ethical, ritual and moral, should not be used as a general description that separates the religious expression of Christians and Jews and how they used purity language, at least not in these formative years.

The work selects four themes prominent in Christian purity discourse: sexuality, corpse defilement, diet, and baptism. Blidstein shows that, in some cases, many Christians would be polemical against Jewish and pagan practices regarding corpse defilement, while in others they would uphold notions of sexual purity and impurity articulated in the Hebrew Bible and adopted by many Greco-Roman groups. Thus, the book is divided into four parts: First, "Purity in Its Context," with two chapters on the present scholarly context and the cultural background (Hebrew and Greco-Roman) on purity; second, "Breaking with the Past," where he shows two major themes where one can see a clear departure in Christian discourse on purity from Judaism, diet, and corpse pollution; third, "Roots of a New Paradigm," with three chapters discussing baptism as purification, sacrifice and defilement of sin, and sexual impurity where one can see both similarities and different approaches to purity in comparison with Ancient Judaism; and fourth, "New Configurations," closing the book with an analysis of how Jewish-Christian communities

handled purity, how Origen tried a synthesis on purity, and Blidstein's summary reflections on the whole work.

The major contribution of this study is to propose that "bodily and moral purity are two sides of the same coin" (31). Therefore, purity and impurity should be understood as a cultural language that is multivalent and applicable to different situations. Behaviors, as well as artifacts, described as pure/impure, were understood and handled differently by Christians with the same goal in mind, to distinguish the holy from the not holy. This goes beyond issues of morality and physicality, but also includes them. In the first chapter, entitled "Introducing Purity Discourses," Blidstein explains that he will not adopt Klawans's popular division of sin and impurity, set forth in *Impurity and Sin in Ancient Judaism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000). The main reason for such rejection is that Blidstein does not always see this dichotomy clearly set by early Christian texts, and, I would add, in the Hebrew Bible itself. Surely most examples portray a clear differentiation between impurity and sin, but not in all cases (e.g., idolatry in Lev 20, where the language of impurity describes a non-bodily moral behavior). Blidstein seems to see purity as a language game that is malleable and can be applied to different contexts with the same goal in mind, to create categories of separation.

Although Wittgenstein is not used by Blidstein, such use could have fit his purpose and conclusions well in terms of his nuanced view of purity as a cultural language. Blidstein does suggest the ideological framework of *truce* and *battle* as more descriptive of what the purity language is doing in particular cases. In a truce discourse, purity/impurity are "statuses, rather than forces . . . considered as normal" and only problematic in particular circumstances (11). Meanwhile, in a battle framework, purity/impurity "are seen as two opposing, active forces" personified by holy and unholy (demonic) beings, and therefore mutually exclusive. In this latter case, impurity is evil. This is why he is more sympathetic to the language of David P. Wright's *The Disposal of Impurity* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987) of allowed and prohibited impurities, than to Klawans's dichotomy between morality and impurity. I think he has made a good case for identifying purity/impurity as a language game, which is already hinted by Klawans in his introduction and conclusion (viii–ix, 162). From a historical perspective, Blidstein's categories of battle and truce accounts for more nuances than Klawans's categories of sin and impurity since different early Christian authors used the terminology related to purity differently. But there is still more to be done in the discussion on purity/impurity from a philosophy of language perspective.

The delimitation and purpose of the work are clear: to work with Greek and Syriac Christian authors up to Origen in the third century. However, he does include some Latin and Greek sources up to the fourth century (e.g., 108), which I do not see as a problem if he would have done more of this kind of footnote reference in all cases. Connected to this, I think Blidstein should have given at least a list with references to the primary texts dealing with purity discourse delimited by period and geography (East, up to the third century), so the reader could have a way to evaluate his historical

analysis. He does explain that he decided to leave out many texts that contain words such as ἀγνεία, καθαρός, μιαρός, or ἀκάθαρτος because they are of no "religious motivation or significance" (9). He might be right, but there is no way to evaluate this claim from his work. Without the references, the impression is that he might have left something out that might be pertinent to the discussion. Beside the point that it would be nice to have more primary texts quoted and cited, Blidstein did a good synthesis of the issues. His summary statements at the end of each section are clear and very helpful and his conclusions are perceptive of the nuances of historical and linguistic forces playing in each text analyzed. He is very judicious in his conclusions, being careful not to state more than the evidence seems to indicate. However, I think that he should have expressed more of his opinion in some cases, giving suggestions about some debated matters.

Overall, Blidstein's *oeuvre* synthetizes ideas clearly and is a helpful work in the continuous debate about purity in Christianity. Regarding style, I think he occasionally could have improved the transition from one section to another. The highlight of the book is the notion that purity and impurity need to be understood as a discourse shaped by cultural assumptions. In the case of the early Christian usage of purity ideas, this language needs to be understood in its own right, taking into account the presupposition each author had about holiness, artifacts, and body (anthropology). Consequently, Christianity should not be understood as going against purity or in favor of adopting wholesale the purity system articulated in the Hebrew Bible. But, particular authors adapted it to their own purpose and shaped it according to their anthropological, ritual, and eschatological frame of reference. This nuanced view of purity as a language adapted to historical realities and closely tied to primordial definitions about body, self, and the sacred is also in operation in Rabbinic Judaism, as Mira Balberg's study demonstrates (*Purity, Body, and Self in Early Rabbinic Literature* [Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014]). Balberg has taken the contributions of cultural studies on the body more seriously than Blidstein, but both works are part of a recent trend of reflection on purity that is much more nuanced and perceptive about cultural dimensions than previous studies.

Despite the noticeable improvement in studies on purity in early Christianity, more still needs to be done on understanding purity in relation to differing definitions of sacred space. As studies such as Blidstein's have pointed out, as the notion of *loca sancta* shifts, the impurity system also transforms because impurity is related to holiness. Thus, since Christians identified the body as a possible dwelling of God (sacred), anthropological ideas play a major role in understanding particular discourses of impurity.

Berrien Springs, Michigan   Rodrigo Galiza

Campbell, Michael W., and Nikolaus Satelmajer, eds. *Here We Stand: Luther, the Reformation, and Seventh-day Adventism*. Nampa, ID: Pacific Press, 2017. 320 pp. Softcover. USD 19.99.

Many books have been written on Martin Luther and the Protestant Reformation. What is fascinating about this book is the particular Seventh-day Adventist perspective. It represents not just another history of Luther, as described by Adventist researchers, but intends to compare various aspects of Luther and his theology with Adventist beliefs. The volume is edited by Michael W. Campbell, professor of church history and systematic theology at the Adventist International Institute of Advanced Studies (AIIAS) in the Philippines, and Nikolaus Satelmajer, retired pastor, church administrator, and former editor of *Ministry* magazine. It contains twenty-seven essays on the broad field of "Luther, the Reformation, and Seventh-day Adventism," authored by twenty-eight contributors.

The book consists of four parts, which cover topics reaching from "A Comparison of Luther and the Adventist Understanding of *Sola Scriptura*," "Ellen White's Portrait of Martin Luther," and "The Decalogue in Luther and Adventism" through the understanding of righteousness by faith, the Lord's supper, the state of the dead, the Sabbath, ecclesiology, education, missiological lessons, the signs of the times, the antichrist, Islam, Luther's legacy in music, and the current state of the Reformation.

After a foreword by George R. Knight (Emeritus, Andrews University, USA) and an introduction by the two editors, Campbell and Satelmajer, the first part of the book, which discusses the historical foundations of the Reformation, follows with contributions by the Lutheran theologians Martin J. Lohrmann (Wartburg Theological Seminary, USA) and Timothy J. Wengert (Lutheran Theological Seminary, USA). Other contributors of this first part were Remwil R. Tornalejo (AIIAS), Mxolisi Michael Sokupa (Associate Director of the Ellen G. White Estate, USA), Darius Jankiewicz (Andrews University), Joel Klimkewicz (PhD candidate at Andrews University), John C. Peckham (Andrews University), and Denis Kaiser (Andrews University).

The second part examines the echoes of Luther in Adventist theology. Chapters are contributed by Alberto R. Timm (Associate Director of the Ellen G. White Estate), Jiří Moskala (Andrews University), Woodrow W. Whidden II (Emeritus, Andrews University), Michael W. Campbell, Trevor O'Reggio (Andrews University), Sergio Beccera (Universidad Adventista del Plata, Argentina), Reinder Bruinsma (retired pastor, teacher, and administrator, Netherlands), Heidi Campbell (AIIAS), Abner P. Dizon (AIIAS), and Sigve K. Tonstad (Loma Linda University, USA).

The third part discusses eschatology and politics with contributions made by Daniel Heinz (Director of the European Archives for Seventh-day Adventist History, Friedensau, Germany), who recently edited *So komm noch diese Stunde! Luthers Reformation aus Sicht der Siebenten-Tags-Adventisten* (Lüneburg: Advent-Verlag, 2016)—which was reviewed in *AUSS* 55.2 [2017]: 322–324, as well as Lisa Clark Diller (Southern Adventist University, USA), Dennis Pettibone (Emeritus, Southern Adventist University), Douglas

Morgan (Washington Adventist University, USA), Nikolaus Satelmajer, and Richard W. Müller (retired pastor, professor, administrator, Germany). The final part addresses the dialogue and legacy of the Reformation to which Daniel Wildemann (Advent-Verlag, Germany), Nikolaus Satelmayer, Dan Shultz (retired music professor at Union College, USA and Walla Walla University, USA), and Denis Fortin (Andrews University, USA) contributed.

Almost thirty-five years after Walter Emmerson's *The Reformation and the Advent Movement* (Washington, DC: Review & Herald, 1983), this recent volume is, together with the above-mentioned and very similar work of Daniel Heinz, advancing to the position of the most profound research on Adventism and the Reformation. It covers many more subjects in deeper scientific research than ever before in the Seventh-day Adventist Church.

The literature chosen as the foundation for the various essays consists of large numbers of well selected primary and secondary sources, to which are added various insights from the works of Ellen G. White. Every topic clearly leads to the general aim of an evaluation from specific Adventist viewpoints to current Adventist perspectives. The basic outline of this book helps the reader to first gain a solid understanding of the historical realities of the Reformation in order to prepare the way for a comparison of Luther with Adventist theology with a special emphasis on eschatology and politics.

The number and comparative shortness of the essays make the reading interesting and diverse. The assessment of the current state of the Reformation measured by the differences between the churches in the past and the ecumenical achievements of the last few decades presents an especially interesting overview for the general readership. What is missing, though the title of the last essay suggests it, is an estimation of the future development of the relationship between Protestantism and the Roman Catholic Church. The papal declaration in the encyclical letter *Ut Unum Sint* of John Paul II (1995) presents concrete steps to be taken in the future for reunifying the Protestant and Roman Catholic churches; in light of recent developments, a discussion of this document could have been a valuable contribution. Furthermore, a discussion of the *Charta Oecumenica* (2001), which was signed by the European Council of Churches and the Roman Catholic episcopal conference and contains major steps to move forward in the ecumenical dialogue and joint worship in Europe, would also have been an interesting addition to the book in light of the most recent trends in the United States of America (the "declaration on the way" of ELCA on the agreements with the Roman Catholic Church in 2016). The scope, thus, would have been broadened to offer insights in the ecumenical achievements in the core countries of the Reformation in central Europe.

Altogether, the book focuses on doctrinal aspects rather than on current ecclesiological and ecumenical trends, which could have been measured by original (historic) Protestant intentions. As I perceive it, the missing emphasis on current trends that part ways with the original Reformation ideals is this book's only weakness. However, perhaps this is due to a wrong expectation

of a reader who is concerned with the profound pro-Roman-Catholic orientation of modern Protestantism.

The style of writing is adequate for a scientific, as well as a rather general readership. The many footnotes clearly differentiate between the main lines of reasoning (in the main text) and minor thoughts or marginal discussions (in the footnotes). The given sources assist the reader in finding more literature on subjects of interest and invite one to validate the arguments made in each chapter in light of original Reformation documents.

Overall, this book is a very commendable work, covering the most important topics of Adventist doctrinal issues and granting deeper insights into some rather unknown facets of Luther's theology (e.g., Luther's understanding of predestination and his closeness to Calvin's perception; Luther and images or music).

Seminar Schloss Bogenhofen   René Gehring
St. Peter/Hart, Austria

Clivaz, Claire, Paul Dilley, and David Hamidović, eds. *Ancient Worlds in Digital Culture*. Digital Biblical Studies 1. Leiden: Brill, 2016. x + 255 pp. Hardcover. USD 125.00.

Ancient Worlds in Digital Culture provides helpful initial exposure to anyone seeking to be introduced to the challenges of Digital Humanities (DH). Those who expect a systematic guide that leads the reader through the methodology of DH, their challenges, and research outcomes will be disappointed. However, the book seeks to make available the different voices of different DH researchers. It covers a broad scope of praxis, from biblical scholarship to imaging technology, liturgy studies to general DH methodology. The introduction is excellent—a well-written description of the basic challenges DH currently face from established scholarly disciplines. The author introduces the reader to the issue of DH being nothing more than a marginal sécant (1). The commonly held attitude within academia towards DH being neither well-versed in the field of Computer Sciences, nor in the respective fields of humanities, however, indicates a misunderstanding of DH and a misconception of the core issues that constitute the fabric of the history of humanities (see Rens Bod, *A New History of the Humanities: The Search for Principles and Patterns from Antiquity to the Present* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014]). The author explains that, "What is most important, to my mind, is not the tools themselves but the human analysis of the potentiality of the tools according to the proposed research. Otherwise, the risk is to have scholars considering themselves as DHers just because they use new tools" (4).

The first chapter begins with an overview on the origins, issues, and fields where DH are active. This beginning chapter is one of the most helpful chapters for readers who want to better understand the phenomenon of DH and seek a framework that allows them to conceptualize DH as a tool, and as part of a new culture intending to enrich the humanities.

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The second chapter describes the shift from analog texts to digital texts, however, the focus is much more on the digitization of analog media and the benefits that come with it. The author highlights that philological analysis can now be carried out with the benefits of zooming into the pixels of ancient fabric, performing searches, and comparing a variety of ancient texts easily, on one computer screen. These advantages allow for better production of critical *apparati*. Surprisingly absent in this section is a focus on digital research that enables asking different type of questions—a feature only possible through DH. There is no doubt that databases of ancient manuscripts allow us to extrapolate data and ask old questions with new tools, allowing for better insights and potentially helping to verify or falsify different theories. The added value of DH, then, lies in its development of a digital culture that enables community-annotations, thus enhancing the democratic dimension of scholarship.

The third chapter shares how DH allow us to re-conceptualize NT textual criticism. The real difference is that all the data available is no longer affected by traditional "blind spots" (37–38, the author refers to the forgotten $\mathfrak{P}^{126}$ and its consequences), which limit the study of textual archetypes and the classification of what is to be regarded as canonical (cf. 43, 45, 49). After a discussion of Michel Foucault's contribution to textual interpretation, the author points out that "One of the most important gifts of digital culture is to make us more conscious of the presence of the 'printed culture glasses' with which we are reading all the data of Antiquity" (51). According to him, the concept of textual categories (e.g., canonical vs. apocryphal) no longer "matter[s] in a digital framework" (51, 53).

In chapter four, the reader will find an interesting test case in which the "rubber" of the more abstract reflections of chapter three "meets the road." Most importantly, the chapter focuses on the central questions that would have to be answered in order for DH to have a legitimate role within academia. First, do DH "have . . . a superficial or deep impact on research?"; second, are we just speeding up the process of analog research with the integration of DH or are we, in fact, changing methods and enabling new result categories (60)? The author seeks to answer these questions by reflection on the methods and results of the syriaca.org project (The Syriac Reference Portal). There is no doubt that widespread availability has been one of the great advantages made possible through DH, however, "more availability," both in the sense of more materials and in the sense of "more accessibility," has increased the problem of "finding relevant information" (61). Making more data available, then, does not yet mean that DH has improved the quality of research outcomes.

In chapter five, a transition happens from DH and their relations to biblical studies to ancient Greek literature studies. The analogy is drawn between the production of the great Homeric epics and the contributions of DH for the modern world seeking retrieving insights for the modern art of data production from the ancient art of data collection (cf. 102–103). The description of, and reflection on, the principle of economy that is worked out by the art of Greek poetry is the most helpful part here. In contrast to

the modern need for footnoting, "with a more complex and more performant structure than is sometimes recognized, the language of the singers of ancient Greece was a tool of appropriation and or re-appropriation but it also limited the accumulation of redundant knowledge. There was no referencing of the song whose information was absorbed and surpassed" (105). Central here is the limitation of redundant knowledge accumulation, something that is, per definition, at odds with the mechanisms of DH. The pressing question for the relevance of DH is, how far will search engines be able to filter out the noise of redundancy and bring the researcher closer to distinct and qualitative data?

With chapter six, the book returns to biblical studies (NT) and revisits some of the crucial questions and observations of chapter three. Obviously, NT studies have been dominated by matters of textual criticism. The authors show how DH have allowed the Institut für neutestamentliche Textforschung (Münster), the International Greek New Testament Project, and the Institut für Septuaginta- und biblische Textforschung (Wuppertal) to collaborate in much more efficient ways (111, 115). Those who have visited and consulted the New Testament Virtual Manuscript Room can witness the truly meaningful benefits for NT scholars around the world. Chapter six further explains how DH have allowed us to develop a digital library that comes with strong collaboration features and the ability to store annotations. From a research-method perspective, the development of algorithms helps to take over some of the analytic processes of the human eye, particularly when manuscripts are to be compared for the production of a critical apparatus (114, 118–119). A particularly appealing part of the program is that the researcher is not forced to accept all the assumptions of the institutions that produce the algorithms (which inform, to a great extent, the content of the critical apparatus). Rather, one is allowed to manipulate the data according to one's own organizing principle, thus verifying or falsifying one's own text-critical theories (120, 124).

Chapter seven continues in the field of NT studies, but shows how DH have enabled the scholar to digitize and visualize maps of St Paul's journeys. This allows for quicker access to the differences within cartography. The focus here is much more on visualization for pedagogical purposes. The actual factor of digitization for reshaping the fundamental ways in which research is carried out is not really addressed. This is also because digitization of cartography is not likely to influence methods and outcomes as flexible algorithms in text-critical studies.

Chapter eight provides an overview of the Thesaurus Gregorianus DH project. The project aims at providing a synopsis of all major Gregorian antiphones, melody, and lyric manuscripts. The synopsis includes deep annotations containing information about Bible allusions, quotations, lemmatical coding, and more. As such, it offers a rich resource for different disciplines, ranging from musicology, literature, theology, liturgy, textual criticism, and culture studies (169).

The most tech savvy part of the book is found in chapter nine. The author discusses modern imaging technologies and their benefit for DH. In doing so, he reflects particularly on Reflectance Transformation Imaging (RTI) and

how this technology has majorly improved the quality of photos of original written artifacts. For DH researchers the most interesting section is likely where WebRTI and Linked Open Data are discussed (191–193). One thing is to offer better quality images of original ancient texts; another is to make these images available for the scholarly community without harming the rights of libraries and the institutions that host the artifacts (191).

In chapter ten, the reader will be exposed to the typical problems one faces when digitally categorizing and digitizing ancient manuscripts. The samples discussed are the Qumran scrolls and how they relate to the *Community Rule*. How do physical criteria (text material, cave number, etc.) and interpretative criteria (textual clusters, textual variants, versions, editions, etc.) relate to each other? (201–202) It becomes clear that a traditional analog publication is unable to deliver the nuanced level of information that scholars have brought to the fore. Only a sophisticated digital publication is adequate and can represent, in a systematic way, the findings of scholarship (e.g., 207–209).

How does a digital culture influence the public reception of scholarly work? This is the core question of chapter eleven. Although the question is not asked initially, the chapter concludes by inquiring about the changed dynamics between web availability of primary sources and their use among those who embrace pseudo-science. The discussion of the Islamic Tahrif is what leads to this discussion, a discipline that seeks to falsify Christian doctrine by reflecting its incoherence with the Christian Bible-Canon, and—as a later development—aims to show the intrinsic textual fallacies of the biblical canon, similar to higher textual-criticism. After discussing the "original" Tahrif, the author proceeds by showing how the Tahrif discipline developed in the digital age, and how it helped pseudo-scholarship emerge (221). This chapter very concretely illustrates the potential dangers of DH.

The final chapter (twelve) illustrates how central rabbinic resources like the Midrash, the Talmud, and the Tosefta have benefited from DH. The author describes the movement from ancient manuscripts to print editions, and the movement from print edition to digitization. The challenges described are similar, if not identical, to the challenges described in earlier chapters. This illustrates that, although DH exercises take place in different fields of research, DH face similar problems.

While *Ancient World in Digital Culture* does not answer, nor is intended to answer, the central questions that gather around DH practices, it does allow for an organic experience of, and exposure to, the different scholarly fields that benefit from DH, demonstrating its challenges and blessings. The quality of the book, therefore, lies much more in providing a diverse collection of snapshots of DH practices rather than a didactic design that teaches the reader principles, relations to the different sciences of humanities, and DH processes. A book accomplishing the latter is still missing and much needed, particularly after having read *Ancient Worlds in Digital Culture*.

Andrews University   Oliver Glanz

Eve, Eric. *Writing the Gospels: Composition and Memory.* London: SPCK, 2016. xiv + 172 pp. Softcover. GBP 14.99.

Eric Eve is a theology fellow and tutor at Harris Manchester College, Oxford, where he specializes in New Testament theology. His previous book, titled *Behind the Gospels: Understanding the Oral Tradition* (London: SCPK, 2013), focused on the traditions that may have informed the authors of the Gospel as they wrote. In it, Eve focuses on the concepts of tradition, memory, and orality in the world of antiquity, for the purpose of making readers aware of anachronistic assumptions that may be held within classical form criticism.

Eve's latest book deals with compositional techniques of the Evangelists and is a contribution to composition criticism, providing an alternative to the dominant source criticism. It is an outgrowth of current orality, memory, and performance studies in the area of the New Testament. Eve emphasizes the use of the writers' own memory in the context of oral culture, as well as the collective memory of early Christianity which produced reputation-building accounts of Jesus as the community's hero, serving also to contribute to the community's identity. This book does not give final answers regarding the writing of the Gospels, but it broadens the readers' horizons and makes them aware of certain assumptions found in contemporary literature.

In his first chapter, Eve considers the process of reading and writing in New Testament times, quoting authors such as Hurtado, Botha, Gamble, Johnston, and Winsbury, among others. In the world of the first-century CE, oral performance was more valued than authorship. Publishing a text would mean performing it publically; thus, reliance on one's memory was more valued than reliance on written texts. A living witness who could perform orally, being questioned and cross-examined, had greater value for ordinary illiterate people who rarely had access to writings and regarded them as a sign of nobility and suspicion. Pointing to these insights, Eve makes a noteworthy effort to bring us nearer to the culture and circumstances of the Gospel writers.

In chapter two, Eve poses the question as to why one would write a Gospel at all? Interacting with Horsley, Kelber, Bauckham, Thatcher, and others, Eve points to several substantial reasons for writing, derived from the needs and situation of Christian believers in the first century. He sees the purpose of the Gospels as creating community identity. Thus, he asserts that the Gospels have both a formative and normative function; formatively, providing the story of origin of the Christian faith, and, normatively, guidance for the present situation. Therein, the Evangelists are promoting their specific answers, which solidify collective memory and strengthen communal identity.

With his third chapter, Eve comes to the question of the Evangelists' raw material. The primary assumption of source criticism is that Matthew copied certain parts of Mark's manuscript, however that is anachronistic, as shown in dialogue with Gregory, Rodriguez, and Finnegan. In ancient times, people relied more on memory and knew their written sources by heart. Oral tradition should be assumed as the modus operandi of the day, demonstrated by public performances including facial expressions, gestures, intonation, pacing, pausing, and similar oral techniques. A Gospel writer would not only be

influenced by writings, but even more so by oral performances of traditional material concerning Jesus, provided by eyewitnesses. Eve reminds the reader that everything a Gospel writer included had to be in harmony with existing Christians' collective memory, since none of the Evangelists would have been remembering in isolation.

Chapter four discusses three different models of composition thought to be available at that time: the authorial, the oral, and the scribal. Eve suggests that these are rather ideal types and that the Gospel writers may have been using different models or a mixture of the three. In any case, they would heavily rely on their own memory, as well as on collective memory. Authorship at that time was more of a collective effort than an individualistic project. Composition in performance before an audience would not have been unusual, and it entailed responsibility toward the collective memory of the audience.

In chapter five, Eve discusses memory and writing. After explaining how memory works through scripts and frames, Eve addressed, in chapter six, collective memory, being in conversation with Schwartz, Kirk, Thatcher, and Rodriguez, among others. Accordingly, the story of Jesus had to be told in the way that he was remembered and at the same time give orientation for the needs of the present, helping to form the community's identity. Once the Gospels were written, they would promote the reputation of Jesus and contribute to the collective memory of the church. With these observations on building a reputation, a community's identity, and collective memory, Eve offers a well-rounded account of possible general circumstances and challenges of the Christian communities by the time of the writing of the Gospels.

In chapter seven, Eve discusses the relationships between the Gospels, which is classically solved by source criticism through the literary relationships between them. With his discussion of composition, memory, and orality, it becomes clear that oral transmission and performance need to be taken into account if the discussion is not to be limited to our print-culture ideals. Eve does not want to deny any use of written sources, but he broadens the picture to fit the customs and circumstances of the first century, in which memory played a significant role in the composition of texts.

In Eve's conclusions of how the Gospels came about, he suggests a middle way between written culture and the overstatement of oral culture. He argues for a scribal model which takes into account the continuous interface between writing, speech, and memory, as well as the interchange of individual and communal composition. His default assumption for the Evangelists' use of previously-written material is usage largely through memory, promoting the reputation of Jesus as a community hero and shaping the identity of communities.

In my opinion, Eve has done a good job of exposing the reader to the broader context of the first century. In his chapters, Eve is constantly referring to various scholars and including differing opinions, thus engaging a wide variety of researchers without dismissing or purposely overlooking the alternatives. If the aim is a well-rounded account of the Gospel's beginnings, my

impression is that Eve has succeeded in offering a broad set of issues and topics which are important to consider.

Eve successfully brings into public discussion some major issues of current orality, memory, and performance studies, thus popularizing these fields of study and giving some necessary correctives to source and redaction criticisms. I believe Eve does well in protecting us from assumptions of our own print culture, which can heavily distort the picture of the first-century situation. This book is essential for students engaging in Gospel studies who want to familiarize themselves with a broad variety of current literature and relevant approaches, as well as for general readers who wish to be broadly informed about the circumstances and possibilities of the Gospel writing process.

Theologische Hochschule Friedensau   Igor Lorencin
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Fuller, Randall. *The Book That Changed America: How Darwin's Theory of Evolution Ignited a Nation*. New York: Viking, 2017. x + 294 pp. Hardcover. USD 27.00.

Darwin's theory of evolution had a powerful impact on science, philosophy, religion, politics, the arts, race relations, slavery, the Civil War, and just about every other aspect of life in the United States of America during the nineteenth century. That is the premise of Randall Fuller in *The Book That Changed America: How Darwin's Theory of Evolution Ignited a Nation*. Fuller writes as one who believes in evolution and its positive impact. Nonetheless, creationists can learn much about the far-reaching impact of Darwinism from this book.

Randall Fuller is Chapman Professor of English at the University of Tulsa, and has published a number of works, including *From Battlefields Rising: How the Civil War Transformed American Literature*, for which he was awarded Phi Beta Kappa's Christian Gauss Award for best literary criticism.

Darwin's *On the Origin of Species* was published in 1859, just two years before the American Civil War began. Fuller traces the book's influence on key thinkers of the time and impact on the major issues of the day. These key thinkers include the botanist Asa Gray, the social reformer Charles Loring Brace, the abolitionist Franklin Sanborn, and the philosopher Henry David Thoreau.

In this short review, I will touch on only a few of the important intellectual arenas that were radically changed by Darwinism. One obvious area is religion and science. In 1859, many understood the study of nature as a quest to better understand God, who had created everything. Evolution created a pathway for embracing the rampant materialism of that day, and removing God from human understanding of the universe. Some eventually jettisoned the idea of God, and began to see nature as self-generating and self-sustaining. Others, like Gray, struggled to retain belief in God and yet accept much of the new theory.

According to Fuller, many abolitionists grasped Darwinism immediately as a way to combat slavery. Some creationists of the time taught that God had created each human race (Black, White, Indian, etc.) distinct from

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According to Fuller, many abolitionists grasped Darwinism immediately as a way to combat slavery. Some creationists of the time taught that God had created each human race (Black, White, Indian, etc.) distinct from

the others. Some used this polygenic approach as a justification for slavery. Abolitionists like Sanborn saw Darwinism as affirming that all humans came from the same source, and therefore were equal and should be treated equally. But Charles Brace "quickly realized that the theory of natural selection could be used against black people as easily as it could be used on their behalf . . . . One 'important fallacy,' he cautioned, '. . . is that *no two very different races can live together, side by side, without the more powerful destroying the weak*'" (198; emphasis original). In other words, natural selection dictated that either the superior Whites must rule the inferior Blacks (slavery), or the Whites would end up destroying the Blacks. Darwinism seemed to preclude peaceful and equal co-existence. Thus, after the Emancipation Proclamation, many abolitionists disengaged from the fight, and did little to combat the inequities and abuses that followed emancipation.

The idea of natural selection also impacted the conflict between the North and South, indicating that war was unavoidable, and that progress could only be made if one side or the other was destroyed and forced to align with the tenets of the other. This caused some to see the Civil War as inevitable, and perhaps created a capacity to accept large numbers of casualties.

This book is not primarily an apologetic work seeking to convince the reader of the veracity of macro-evolution, although the author does assume this. Rather, it describes how Darwin's theory changed the way many people in the United States of America thought and behaved. This is true whether one believes in Darwinism or not. So creationists should read this book, not for the purpose of arguing creation versus evolution, or theism versus atheism, but rather as a history of thought and its results.

Ideas have consequences. Fuller's book effectively helps us see the deep effects on thinking that a major new perspective can have. Christians should evaluate new ideas and anticipate their impact on faith and thought, no matter how popular the idea may be. As a creationist, I do not accept macro-evolution nor the atheism that often attends it. But the benefit of Fuller's book for me is that it helps me understand how ideas move beyond the abstract to affect real life behavior, and thus engender serious consequences. It also reinforces the need to evaluate the results of a theory or idea before accepting it as truth. I recommend this book to all who seek to think deeply about faith and reason, and the real life results of both.

Andrews University   DAVID PENNO

Gallusz, Laszlo. *The Throne Motif in the Book of Revelation: Profiles from the History of Interpretation*. LNTS 487. London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2015. xxii + 396 pp. Softcover. USD 39.95.

Laszlo Gallusz is currently a visiting lecturer in the area of New Testament at the Theological Seminary in Belgrade, Serbia. He is the author of two scholarly articles on the book of Revelation and a popular book titled *Seven Prayers of Jesus Christ* which was published both in Serbian and English. This volume

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under review is a revised version of his doctoral dissertation completed in 2011 at Karoli Gaspar University of the Reformed Church in Budapest, Hungary.

The primary focus of this monograph is the motif of the throne of God in Revelation. This monograph is a first attempt to provide an exhaustive scholarly study on this focal subject of the last book of the New Testament. The thesis of the book is that the throne motif constitutes the major interpretive key to the complex structure and theology of Revelation (10). The organization of the book follows the standard dissertation format. It begins with the introduction, which consists of the statement of the problem, justification for the study, and the purpose and thesis of the study. Then the author specifies, concisely, the five-step methodological outline of his approach to the study of the throne motif in Revelation: first, he sets up an adequate definition of motif and its study; second, he undertakes background analysis to show that the throne motif was not born in a vacuum; third, he provides a textual analysis of the passages in which the components of the throne motif are found; fourth, he seeks to establish the deep structure of the motif; and, finally, he examines the function of the motif within the book as a literary whole.

In Part One of the book, the author traces the throne motif by focusing exclusively on the representation of the divine throne in the Hebrew sanctuary and the description of God's throne in heaven in the Old Testament, the Jewish second-temple apocalyptic writings (including the Qumran writings), and Greco-Roman sources. He concludes that the basic concept of the throne motif in the examined sources is of an emblem of power and rulership.

In Part Two, he moves on to examine the three major texts of Revelation dealing with the throne of God (Rev 4–5; 7:9–13; 22). In this section, the throne room vision of chapters 4–5 receives particular attention. He sees these two chapters as central to the theological meaning of the throne-of-God motif in the whole book. I was particularly interested in his contextual and theological treatment of these two chapters, due to the fact that I have been involved in studying this section of Revelation for over twenty years. However, it comes as a surprise that some throne passages, in particular 20:11–15, where the throne occupies a central place as the seat of judgment from which the final judgment is dispersed, is not examined in this chapter alongside the other three throne-of-God texts. The examination of the throne scene in 20:11–15 would, in particular, broaden the spectrum of meaning of the throne-of-God motif in the last book of the Bible, particularly since Gallusz acknowledges the judgment aspect of the throne of God in Revelation (306–312).

In the rest of the second part of the book, Gallusz examines other thrones mentioned in Revelation, namely the thrones of God's allies, as well as the thrones of God's adversaries—Satan and the sea beast in Rev 13.

In Part Three, the author deals with the place of the throne-of-God motif texts within the overall literary structure of the book. Gallusz adopts the sevenfold structure of Revelation, consisting of introductory sanctuary scenes that precede each vision, each one characterized by the throne motif—either a throne scene or an announcement of God's reign. The author concludes that the throne motif appears to be central to the structure of the book, which

comes to a climax in the final vision (21:1–22:5). He argues that Revelation's throne motif is composed of four sub-motifs: the throne of God, the throne of the Lamb, the throne of God's allies, and the throne of God's adversaries (268–269). These throne sub-motifs are integrated into the larger picture of the throne-of-God motif. He argues that, "God's throne is central within this network, while the other thrones draw their significance from it" (269). Consequently, he proposes that the two throne references in the seven messages to the seven churches—the throne of Satan (2:13) that stands in opposition to God, the Lamb, and their allies (3:21)—point to what appears to be the central theme of the book: the two opposing realities of the divine and diabolic forces. He sees the Zion celebration in Rev 14:1–5 as "the center of Revelation's center," which points to the Cosmic Conflict as the central theological theme of the entire book.

The final section of the book, Part Four, provides the analysis of the rhetorical effect of the throne motif within the social context of first century Asia Minor. Gallusz states that the motif is used to oppose "the imperial view of reality by projecting an alternative cosmology from the transcendent point of view" (298). The basis of John's rhetorical strategy lies in picturing the cosmos in which the whole created order is oriented towards the throne of God, the sole power center of the universe. "Such a picture of reality struck at the heart of Roman propaganda, but on the wider scale it countered the initiatives of God's arch-enemy against the divine government" (334). In such a way, "John's throne theology, as the cornerstone of his rhetorical strategy, is the basic device used in the settling of the more compelling issue of evil, which lies at the background of the cosmic conflict" (ibid.).

The closing chapter explains the contribution of the throne motif study to the theology of the book of Revelation. Gallusz holds that in dealing with the theology of Revelation, it is important to remember that Revelation was intended to be a prophetic/pastoral response to a particular historical situation, rather than a theological treatise. He analyzes the theology of the throne of God in light of two questions: the question of God and the question of history. Within such a context, the throne motif points to God's sovereign kingship, God's authority to disperse judgment, and God's grace. The chapter concludes with a description of the throne of God and the question of history within the cosmic conflict and the triumph of God's kingdom.

Gallusz's work proves to be the most comprehensive study of the throne motif in the book of Revelation to date. In addition, it is a significant scholarly contribution to the study of this subject, which is long overdue in apocalyptic studies. While drawing significantly from scholarly sources, his monograph does not duplicate other books. While academic, it is written in plain language that will certainly appeal even to non-academic yet informed readers who are interested in the subject of God's throne in the last book of the Bible. The arguments are clearly articulated and well documented in the footnote section. The author demonstrates an impressive facility with the primary and secondary sources—the list of bibliographical entries occupies thirty-four

pages. This monograph will be a great scholarly source on the subject of the throne-of-God motif in the book of Revelation for many years to come.

I can now make a few suggestions to the author for further studies. In chapter one, the author examines the Old Testament background of the throne motif in Revelation. In doing this, the author focuses exclusively on the representation of the divine throne in the Hebrew sanctuary and temple in Jerusalem, and on the description of the throne of God in heaven. I find this exclusive focus on the throne-of-God motifs to be one-sided. Here, the author fails to follow his second methodological step (15), which states that the throne motif was not born in a vacuum. If this is the case with regard to the throne motif in Revelation, the same is true regarding the throne of God in the Old Testament, which was not born in a vacuum due to the fact that the throne as a symbol of ruling authority was an oriental institution. Therefore, it comes as a surprise that Gallusz does not pay any attention to the Near Eastern concept of the divine throne, which was rooted in the throne of earthly rulers.

Furthermore, the general concept of God's throne in the New Testament, as well as in Revelation in particular, is rooted in the motif of the Davidic throne and kingship in the Old Testament. The Old Testament promise regarding the throne of David (cf. 2 Sam 7:14–17) plays a major role in the Jewish messianic expectation, as well as in the messianic texts in the New Testament (cf. Luke 1:32–33; Acts 2:29–36), which is clearly reflected in the reference to Christ the Lamb as the "Root of David" (Rev 5:5; 22:16). Hence, while Gallusz argues that the throne motif in Revelation is not written in a vacuum, the failure to consider the throne of God in Revelation in the context of the Jewish expectation of the Messianic figure to sit on the throne of David deprives his research of the fuller significance of the throne-of-God motif in Revelation.

Lastly, as Gallusz's monograph claims to be a comprehensive study of the throne-of-God motif in Revelation, it comes as a surprise that no attention is given to the concept of the double throne, which is a particular feature of God's throne in the book of Revelation (3:21; 22:4). The theological significance of the double throne motif is rooted in the messianic Psalm 110:1. Unfortunately, this topic has been neglected by scholarship in Revelation. As far as I know, only David Aune pays significant attention to the concept of the double throne in Greco-Roman sources and Revelation in his magisterial commentary on Revelation (*Revelation 1–5*, WBC 52A [Dallas: Word Books, 1977], 269). Due to the significance of the double throne concept in Revelation—as the Lamb and the Father share the single throne (Rev 3:21; 22:4)—no study of the throne motif in the book may be complete without addressing this pertinent topic.

In spite of the above concerns, Gallusz's study fills a long-standing need for a scholarly examination of the throne motif in the Apocalypse of John. It will provide an excellent scholarly resource and will no doubt find a place on the shelves of serious students of this very important subject.

Andrews University   Ranko Stefanovic

Giles, Kevin. *The Rise and Fall of the Complementarian Doctrine of the Trinity.*
Eugene, OR: Cascade, 2017. 128 pp. Softcover. USD 18.00.

With the publishing of his *Systematic Theology: An Introduction to Biblical Doctrine* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1994), Wayne A. Grudem (PhD in New Testament, University of Cambridge) popularized a hierarchical view of the Trinity among complementarian evangelical and Reformed Christians to support their social agenda—the permanent, functional subordination of women to men in the family, church, and society. In short, Grudem argues that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit are equal in essence, but the Son and the Holy Spirit are subordinated eternally in role, function, and authority to the Father (and the Holy Spirit similarly to the Son). Likewise, God created men and women equal in essence, but women are permanently subordinated in role, function, and authority to men. It is in response to this so-called "complementarian doctrine of the Trinity" that Kevin Giles writes his newest book, *The Rise and Fall of the Complementarian Doctrine of the Trinity.*

Kevin Giles (ThD in New Testament, Australian College of Theology) is a native Australian, who has served as an Anglican parish minister for more than forty years. Though primarily a ministry practitioner, he is a theologian in his own right and has been heavily involved in scholarship. A plethora of published books, articles, and book reviews—both scholarly and popular—bear his name. His earlier writings focused on ecclesiology in general (*What on Earth Is the Church? An Exploration in New Testament Theology* [Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1995; repr. Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2005]) and, particularly, church leadership (*Patterns of Ministry Among the First Christians* [Melbourne, Australia: Collins Dove, 1989]; *Patterns of Ministry Among the First Christians*, rev. and enl. 2nd ed. [Eugene, OR: Cascade, 2017]). However, the contemporary question regarding gender and church leadership more particularly compelled him, as an egalitarian, to make a biblical case for gender equality in print (*Women and Their Ministry: A Case for Equal Ministries in the Church Today* [East Malvern, Victoria, Australia: Dove Communications, 1977]; *Created Woman* [Canberra, Australia: Acorn, 1985]; *Better Together: Equality in Christ* [Brunswick East, Australia: Acorn, 2010]; and coedited with Denise Cooper-Clarke, *Women and Men: One in Christ* [Melbourne, Australia: Christians for Biblical Equality Melbourne, 2016]). Also, due to the recent "turn to the Trinity" in the gender debate between complementarians and egalitarians, Giles has conducted in-depth research on the doctrine of the Trinity. He has written a handful of books—including this newest one that is being reviewed here—and articles, which argue against the complementarian doctrine of the Trinity, and defend the classical doctrine of the Trinity enshrined in the Nicene-Constantinopolitan creed (*The Trinity & Subordinationism: The Doctrine of God and the Contemporary Gender Debate* [Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2002]; *Jesus and the Father: Modern Evangelicals Reinvent the Doctrine of the Trinity* [Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2006]; *The Eternal Generation of the Son: Maintaining Orthodoxy in Trinitarian Theology* [Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2012]).

In *The Rise and Fall of the Complementarian Doctrine of the Trinity*, Giles offers a history of the key events, persons, and publications that led to the formulation (1977), popularization (1994), and the subsequent rejection (2016) of the complementarian doctrine of the Trinity among evangelical and Reformed theologians (chs. 1–2). In chapter three, he argues against what he believes to be the primary explanation for why this doctrine came to be in the first place—namely a wrong understanding of how to "do" evangelical theology properly. Some basic hermeneutical principles are recommended to his readers before he launches into chapter four, in which he provides an example for how he believes theology should be "done." This example is his account of the development of the classical doctrine of the Trinity in Christian history. The book concludes, in its final chapter, with some suggestions for how to move forward in the gender discussion now that the complementarian doctrine of the Trinity has "risen" and "fallen."

Giles should be affirmed for providing a very helpful record of the history of the "turn to the Trinity" in the gender debate among evangelical and Reformed Christians that gives context to the ongoing contemporary discussion. Based on my own research on the topic (see Matthew L. Tinkham Jr., "Neo-subordinationism: The Alien Argumentation in the Gender Debate," *AUSS* 55.2 [2017]: 237–290), it appears that Giles's book gives an accurate account of the rise of the complementarian doctrine of the Trinity. As Giles asserts, George W. Knight III does seem to be the one to have first formulated this novel doctrine with his book, *The New Testament Teaching on the Role Relationship of Men and Women* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1977). The doctrine gained little influence, however, until Wayne A. Grudem and Bruce A. Ware (PhD, Fuller Theological Seminary) promulgated their development of it in *Systematic Theology* (1994) and *Father, Son, and Holy Spirit: Relationships, Roles, and Relevance* (Wheaton, IL: Crossway, 2005), respectively. Afterward, the doctrine did indeed spread like wildfire throughout the evangelical and Reformed community, as Giles carefully recounts.

While there may be some scriptural validity to the idea that the relationality of God is imaged in humanity, and thus the reciprocal love and equality of the Godhead should be a model for human relationships in general (see Gen 1:26–28 and the use of אֶחָד [*'eḥād*], "one," in Deut 6:4 and Gen 2:24; Tinkham Jr., "Neo-subordinationism," 289–290; Charles Sherlock, *The Doctrine of Humanity*, Contours of Christian Theology [Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1996], 26–72; contra Giles, *Rise and Fall*, 110), one can also appreciate Giles's desire to remove the Trinity entirely from the discussion of gender relations (45, 110; see Tinkham Jr., "Neo-subordinationism," 290). It is theologically dangerous for both complementarians and egalitarians to read their social agendas into the being of God; this amounts to "theological projection" (Giles, *Rise and Fall*, 12). To put it the way that Giles states it, "[T]he minute the doctrine of the Trinity and the relationship of the sexes get mixed up, good theology goes out the door" (23). But more than this, "[i]n doing so we end up with a God we have imagined, not the God revealed in Scripture" (ibid.). This in effect, then, is a case of idolatry, the

creating of a human-made god in our own image (see Tinkham Jr., "Neo-subordinationism," 290).

Additionally, Giles's fourth chapter provides a succinct, well-articulated, and historically accurate account of the development of the classical view of the Trinity that is considered by many evangelicals and Reformed theologians to be the orthodox teaching. One may disagree with Giles about how well this doctrine actually corresponds to the teaching of the Trinity found in the biblical canon. Nevertheless, his explication of the classical doctrine of the Trinity is helpful for understanding how it developed historically and how it is expressed today by those who affirm it.

Though Giles's new book has these and other strengths worthy of affirmation, no human work is perfect. This one in particular has a few areas of weakness, a couple of which will be highlighted here. To begin, it should be noted that there is sufficient evidence to say that Giles's supposed "fall" of the complementarian doctrine of the Trinity in June 2016 may not be as definitive as he makes it out to be in the book. Undoubtedly, the summer of 2016 was an important time for the evangelical and Reformed scholarly community regarding the complementarian doctrine of the Trinity. A theological "civil war"—as Giles calls it—indeed erupted in the blogosphere in June 2016 and the months that followed, during which many complementarians stated their objections to the hierarchically ordered Trinity of Grudem and Ware. In chapter two, Giles helpfully recounts this "civil war," as well as other succeeding events that led to the supposed demise of Grudem and Ware's doctrine of the Trinity. In summary, he writes, "It seems that today there are very few evangelical or Reformed supporters of the complementarian hierarchically ordered doctrine of the Trinity" (*Rise and Fall*, 50). This statement may be true in regard to the scholarly community, which seems to have mostly parted ways with Grudem and Ware over the Trinity, rejecting a hierarchically ordered Trinity and affirming the classical Trinitarian doctrine of the ecumenical creeds.

However, this statement is certainly untrue among seminary students and lay church members. Firstly, Grudem's *Systematic Theology* continues to be a very important textbook for seminary students who are preparing for ministry. I have personally heard evangelical seminary students present papers at the annual meetings of the Evangelical Theological Society (ETS) after June 2016 that promoted Grudem and Ware's hierarchically ordered Trinity. Secondly, Grudem and Ware's "literalistic" approach to Scripture has deeply influenced many lay members to adopt his doctrine of the Trinity, since such a hermeneutical approach purports to simply and plainly take the Bible as it reads. I can bear witness to lay members outside of and within my own faith tradition that cling tightly to the hierarchical Trinity of Grudem and Ware. Anecdotally, I remember a lay member that attended an ETS session just last year (November 2017), who made an argument in favor of Grudem and Ware's Trinity in a comment to the panel of presenters of that session. All this is to say that, while a hierarchical Trinity has lost sway among evangelical and Reformed theologians, it certainly is "alive and well" among seminary

students and lay members. Thus, more work needs to be done to educate them regarding the biblical view of the Trinity that affirms the full equality of the Father, Son, and Spirit ontologically and functionally in eternity.

By far the greatest weakness of the book, in my view, is Giles's incorrect identification of the primary reason for the rise of Grudem and Ware's hierarchical doctrine of the Trinity. Giles and I can agree that some of "the complementarian theologians got the doctrine of the Trinity wrong because they had a wrong understanding of how evangelical theology is 'done'" (67). The primary reason for the rise of Grudem and Ware's doctrine of the Trinity does appear to be due to an insufficient hermeneutical and methodological approach to interpreting Scripture.

But what exactly is the problem with their approach? Giles suggests that Grudem and Ware's neglect of allowing the ancient creedal confessions of Christianity to shape their theological conclusions about the Trinity causes them to step off the path of theological and biblical orthodoxy (67–68). For Giles, then, "This is a call to return to the creedal and confessional basis of the doctrine of the Trinity as criterion on which to evaluate . . . alternatives" (31). Thus, his fourth chapter is utilized to propose a *prima Scriptura* approach (which in actual practice turns out to be a *prima communitas* approach) in which "the collective [exegetical and theological] wisdom of the whole Christian community, past and the present" ("tradition 1," as he calls it), is utilized as a "'source' of theology" to "*prescribe* how Scripture is to be read" (76, 71, 75; emphasis added). This approach, he believes, is in step with the Protestant Reformation's understanding of *sola Scriptura* (75) and should replace or, at the least, redefine the *sola Scriptura* approach, as it is understood by modern evangelicals, because such an approach is said to be insufficient for resolving theological disputes (76, 71–74). Setting up a "straw man," he then caricatures *sola Scriptura* as "*solo scripture*" (75). Therefore, for Giles, if Grudem and Ware had only employed his proposed *prima Scriptura* herme-neutic, instead of a *sola Scriptura* hermeneutic, their doctrine of the Trinity would have never come to be.

However, as John C. Peckham persuasively demonstrates in his book, *Canonical Theology: The Biblical Canon, Sola Scriptura, and Theological Method* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2016), interpreting Scripture through the "lens" of the early Christian creeds and tradition is simply inadequate to prevent devi-ant theological views from arising. The reason for this is because the creeds and tradition themselves must also be interpreted, and have been interpreted in various and diverse ways (as exemplified by this present debate over the Trinity between complementarians and egalitarians, both of whom rigor-ously claim to be in alignment with the tradition). Peckham compellingly argues that a *sola*, *prima*, *tota*, and *analogia Scriptura* approach, properly understood (see ibid., 140–165), along with a canonical-theological meth-odology—that is grounded upon solid exegesis of Scripture (that correctly utilizes the historical-grammatical method) and employs the practice of *epoché* (bracketing) as much as is possible in sinful human flesh—is alone sufficient and authoritative for adjudicating controversies, such as the one addressed

here regarding the doctrine of the Trinity. Such an approach—in Peckham's view, as well as in mine—is preferable to the inadequate communitarian approaches of those, like Giles, who instead insist on turning to extra-biblical materials—the creeds of the Christian counsels and the writings of the early church fathers who lived in the first five centuries CE (e.g., Tertullian, Origen, Athanasius, the Capadocian fathers, Augustine, etc.)—for theological answers (see ibid., 166–195).

Thus, as I understand it, the real hermeneutical and methodological problem behind the rise of Grudem and Ware's doctrine of the Trinity is not a *sola Scriptura* approach to biblical interpretation or forgetting to consult the Christian creeds and tradition as they constructed their Trinitarian doctrine (which they evidentially did by the many references and appeals to the tradition in their writings on the Trinity) but the employment of an approach to Scripture that can be characterized as excessively "literalistic." In general, their approach seems not to apply properly the analytical tools of the historical-grammatical method to their reading of Trinitarian texts in Scripture, nor to "bracket" appropriately the presuppositions that they bring to their reading (in this case, their social-cultural perspective that leads them to read the titles "Father" and "Son" not exegetically and canonically, but "literalistically" in harmony with their contemporary, complementarian understanding of those terms [see Grudem, *Systematic Theology*, 249]).

In the particular case of their doctrine of the Trinity, Grudem and Ware, among other hermeneutical errors, appear to radicalize Rahner's Rule (i.e., "*The 'economic' Trinity is the 'immanent' Trinity and the 'immanent' Trinity is the 'economic' Trinity*" [Karl Rahner, *The Trinity*, trans. Joseph Donceel, Milestones in Catholic Theology (New York: Crossroad, 1997), 22; emphasis original]). They "literalistically" read the unique experiences and actions of submission in the Trinitarian economy into the eternal life and being of the triune God and his immanent intra-Trinitarian relations (though they do this selectively, seemingly in order to support their theological agenda; e.g., Ware recognizes the submission of the Son to the Spirit during his incarnate ministry, but chooses not to read this into the immanent life of God seemingly because to do so would contradict his thesis [see Ware, *Father, Son, and Holy Spirit*, 88–94]). This "literalistic" reading neglects the consistent practice of what is known as "partitive exegesis" properly employed (the task of determining whether what is said in a particular biblical passage about the Son in his incarnation pertains primarily to his *divine* nature or to his *human* nature in the unfolding plan of redemption). Furthermore, it apparently fails to realize the *analogical* nature of human language in "God-talk," at least in the issue at hand. In my view, this is what should have been the focus of Giles's critique, rather than caricaturing the *sola Scriptura* approach and chastising that caricature.

Despite the aforementioned shortcomings, Giles's new book is highly recommended to anyone who has an interest in understanding the history of the "turn to the Trinity" in the gender debate, both among evangelical and Reformed Christians.

Berrien Springs, Michigan   Matthew L. Tinkham Jr.

Goldstein, Clifford. *Baptizing the Devil: Evolution and the Seduction of Christianity*. Nampa, ID: Pacific Press, 2017. 256 pp. Hardcover. USD 24.99.

Clifford Goldstein's latest book, *Baptizing the Devil*, argues that since scientific insights are "influenced by inescapable subjectivity . . . Christians shouldn't compromise such a foundational belief as origins just because science, or rather the claims of some scientists, teach something contrary" (16). Goldstein successfully surveys a number of philosophical problems, for example the problem of induction which emphasizes the limits of scientific knowledge, and communicates its essential ideas to a popular audience. He writes as an experienced author and editor, artfully weaving in numerous quotes from scientists and philosophers, along with engaging anecdotes and illustrations. Throughout, Goldstein maintains a provocative tone that is similar, yet more polemical, than his former titles, such as *God, Gödel, and Grace* (Nampa, ID: Pacific Press, 2003) and will be familiar to those who follow his regular column "Cliff's Edge" in the *Adventist Review*.

There has been a recent wave of popular books emphasizing the limits and contingency of scientific knowledge, such as E. Brian Davies, *Why Beliefs Matter: Reflections on the Nature of Science* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014) and Noson S. Yanofsky, *The Outer Limits of Reason: What Science, Mathematics, and Logic Cannot Tell Us* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2016). This theme gives focus to *Baptizing the Devil*, but also drives a one-sided analysis. For instance, while Goldstein offers anti-realist critiques that apply well to theoretical objects, such as strings and the multiverse—purposed, undetectable entities that lack scientific consensus—he fails to balance these critiques with scientific, philosophical, or theological defenses of realism. Skeptical questions, such as "Who can be sure that raw observation reveals anything but the brain's own subjective construction of what's out there?" (131), are left unresolved. While the author has described himself as a critical realist, the reader fails to find an adequate defense of this position, perhaps instead be leading one to embrace a far more radical anti-realism perspective than the author intended.

Goldstein's critique of scientific knowledge is in service of the book's purpose to warn Christians against dancing with Darwin. Often brief musings are interjected to remind the reader of this central concern. On one occasion, he asks, "If a host of questions remain about whether the color red, for example, is real, how dogmatically should we accept what science tells us about how tortoises supposedly evolved their hard shells millions of year ago?" (54). The veil of time is suggested as reason to be particularly skeptical about events that purportedly happened millions or billions of years ago, "events that from this side of such a vast chronological divide can be merely speculated about" (69). This argument, though, is left undeveloped and is not invoked throughout most of the book.

The reader is assured that science does "reveal insights into reality" (16), but no criteria is given to determine when science is, indeed, giving reliable information. Moreover, the author's stated confidence in science is in tension

with his extended critiques against the scientific method, and our ability to discriminate between science and pseudosciences such as astrology. Ultimately, having not focused his work on the particulars of universal common descent, Goldstein's defense against theistic evolution may be read as a case for epistemological skepticism toward the entire subject of science.

It is surprising that Goldstein does not attempt to recover greater confidence in the findings of the natural sciences. After all, as Peter Harr ison has argued in *The Bible, Protestantism, and the Rise of the Natural Sciences* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), the conviction that we can study and understand nature comes out of the Protestant hermeneutic and its insistence on a historical reading of the Genesis creation account. Moreover, the postmodern critiques that *Baptizing the Devil* employs to depict scientific findings as theory-laden and culturally contingent are ultimately hostile to Christianity. The position that "Words are mere arbitrary signs that, at their core, have little relationship to the reality they point to" (189) threatens not only the authority of science, but also the authority of scripture. Goldstein briefly recognizes this weakness, but since such critiques make up a significant part of the work, his writings would benefit from further reflection on how the Christian should regard them.

This is not to say, however, that Goldstein's assemblage of critiques is without merit. Similar to David Berlinski *The Devil's Delusion: Atheism and Its Scientific Pretensions* (New York: Basic, 2010)*, Baptizing the Devil* offers a compelling demonstration of the overreach of new atheist scientist celebrities such as Richard Dawkins, who portray scientific progress as having made belief in God an outdated hypothesis. Goldstein quotes mathematician John Lennox, who observes that they commit "a very elementary category mistake when they argue that because we understand a mechanism that accounts for a particular phenomenon there is no agent that designed the mechanism" (177). Holding to an agent explanation that involves divine activity does not compete with a naturalistic scientific explanation, so there is no need to believe that scientific discovery leads to an ontological naturalism that denies the existence of God.

Goldstein is too quick to represent ontological naturalism as broadly advocated for by "the scientific authorities" (176). Rather, the *Religion Among Scientists in International Context Study* has found that professional scientists tend to recognize that questions about the existence of God are outside the scope of science and that even atheist scientists tend to look unfavorably upon Richard Dawkins for his misrepresentation of the boundaries of science (cf. David R. Johnson, Elaine Howard Ecklund, Di Di, and Kirstin R. W. Matthews. "Responding to Richard: Celebrity and [Mis]Representation of Science," *Public Understanding of Science* [2016]: 1–15).

Moreover, while Goldstein engages with an impressive range of material, often elegantly, some important topics are inadequately presented. For instance*, Baptizing the Devil* cites Gödel's incompleteness theorems, claiming they demonstrated that knowledge "of even simple mathematics remains incomplete, and so one can never be certain that the axioms of

arithmetic will not contradict each other" (146). The reader should be informed that there are multiple proofs of the consistency of the axioms of arithmetic. And while it is true that Gödel showed that no such consistency result can be derived from the axioms of arithmetic alone, such a proof would be worthless anyway, for it would assume the consistency of the system that it sought to prove consistent. Rather than undermine our confidence in the consistency of arithmetic or suggest that "formal mathematical proof comes to an end" (146), Gödel's work is an insight into the incredible richness of mathematics, demonstrating the inexhaustibility of mathematical discovery. Unfortunately, such misrepresentations of Gödel's work are commonplace, as chronicled in Torkel Franzén, *Gödel's Theorem: An Incomplete Guide to Its Use and Abuse* (Natick, MA: Peters, 2005). But, the handful of such technical misstatements in *Baptizing the Devil* should be regarded charitably in light of the book's intended popular audience and survey nature.

A particular strength of *Baptizing the Devil* is its analysis of historical episodes that have often been employed as evidence of inherent hostility between Christianity and science. For instance, the opening chapters contain an engaging account of Galileo's conflict with the Roman Catholic Church. Goldstein argues compellingly that the tension arose not from a commitment to Scripture, but from Augustinian influence that colored the Church's reading of the biblical text. This episode, then, serves as a powerful warning against biblical interpretation being dictated by prevailing scientific doctrine.

Goldstein also argues that the geocentric understanding of the cosmos is not addressed in the Bible, showing that those passages that speak of a fixed earth and moving sun are either "metaphors in a poem" (32) or speaking in the language of appearance. He also explains that a passage can have a theological purpose rather than a physiological or cosmological one. Additionally, he shows that any fears that the abandoning of the geocentric view would compromise the gospel were unsubstantiated.

This analysis closely parallels arguments that are used to advocate for readings of the Genesis creation account that are accommodating of the evolutionary model. Deborah and Loren Haarsma consider several such arguments in *Origins: Christian Perspectives on Creation, Evolution, and Intelligent Design* (Grand Rapids: Faith Alive, 2011). Goldstein, however, judges theistic evolution to be irreconcilable with Scripture. He devotes the final chapters of *Baptizing the Devil* to critiquing the inherent philosophical and theological problems that follow from uncritically embracing the evolutionary model, including objections over theodicy, free will, God's relationship with creation, and the nature of resurrection and new creation. These critiques effectively show that reading the evolutionary model into Scripture comes at the heavy cost of necessary reinterpretation of "the Cross, the reliability of Scripture, the origin of sin and death, the character of God, and the unique nature of humanity" (232).

Baptizing the Devil is to be commended for emphasizing the important role philosophical reflections should have in the church's thinking and teaching on origins. A greater emphasis on the positive history between Christianity and science could have helped frame the debate and moderated what may

be perceived as anti-scientific rhetoric. Though, rather than understand Goldstein to be devaluing the scientific enterprise at large, one can read his work as showcasing the absurdity of substituting scientific knowledge for the word of God, be it by scientist celebrities or Christian theologians. Whatever one makes of the polemical nature of *Baptizing the Devil*, one hopes it will encourage church members to appreciate and pursue scientific study with the conviction that "the more science reveals about nature the more it reveals about the God who created that nature to begin with" (179).

Andrews University   Anthony Bosman

Goudzwaard, Bob, and Craig G. Bartholomew. *Beyond the Modern Age: An Archaeology of Contemporary Culture*. Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2017. xii + 313 pp. Softcover. USD 30.00.

An archaeology of *Beyond the Modern Age* might identify its source in the classroom where Craig Bartholomew had invited Bob Goudzwaard to teach a course that had him "rushing down to the library each evening after the class to find books by the authors discussed in that evening's lecture!" (ix).

Through questionnaires prompting the reader to explore their own sense of tension between the exalted promise and profound cynicism of life in late modernity, the authors attempt to foster a similar classroom mind-space, allowing the reader to bracket basic assumptions about public life and the common good, for the sake of more truly understanding how we got here and formulating a Christian answer toward where we ought to go. Goudzwaard, professor emeritus of Economics and Social Philosophy at Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam, with "considerable experience in the ecumenical movement" (x), and Bartholomew, a theologian and professor of Philosophy at Redeemer University College (Hamilton, Ontario, Canada), work toward that very end, engaging with a wide range of disciplines through the ideas of well-known (and also perhaps less well-known) thinkers. *Beyond the Modern Age* encapsulates their work to uncover and critique the origins of modern existence (pt. 1), reconstruct a viable social theory that accounts for political theology (pt. 2), and point toward the practical implications of the same (pt. 3). While the book is lacking in some ways, due to the scope of their ambition, what the authors are able to assemble in just over 280 pages is impressive both in terms of breadth and organization.

The first chapter introduces modernity as it would feel in distinction to the lived experience of a fourteenth-century Italian tradesman. This historical distancing is directed toward the narration—via the ideas of Max Weber, Karl Polanyi, and Umberto Eco—of the emergence of modernity in a tragic tone. It is presented as the overturning of a meaningful, socio-religio-economic-politically integrated way of life for a comprehensive, but conflicted, "worldview that tries to combine personal or individual freedom with the maxim of achieving more income or wealth for all" (34). The "malaises" (Charles Taylor) and contradictions inherent in this "classical" modern worldview will be more fully explored in the fourth chapter, but for now, they are hinted at in

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order to problematize the optimism that defines the first modern worldview in distinction to those that follow.

In chapter two we are introduced to two critical modern worldviews: (a) a "structural-critical" lineage of German philosophy, running from G. F. Hegel to Jürgen Habermas via Karl Marx and the Frankfurt School; and (b) a "cultural-critical" cluster with roots in Romanticism, represented by a quartet of Jewish philosophers: Martin Buber, Hannah Arendt, Walter Benjamin, and Emmanuel Levinas. These critical worldviews are respectively critiqued in chapter four as being unable to seek freedom outside of the restrictive social structures of modernity, and as offering no concrete solutions to a disempowered modern consciousness beyond mere moralizing. The third chapter moves from critique of modernity to disillusionment with the modern phenomenon of ideologies in the postmodern thought of French philosophers Jean Baudrillard, Michel Foucault, and Jacques Derrida. Postmodernism comes under critique as well in this chapter, for being incapable of offering a way for subjects to escape "the power of technological, financial, and economic objects" (88).

Part two opens with the hope of a renewal and reform of the modern project, based on the transcendent "Meaning from the Outside" (ch. 5). Peter Berger and Philip Jenkins are marshalled to reaffirm the vitality of religion globally, while José Casanova and Ross Douthat propose "healthy" models for reintegrating religion and public life (113). Chapters six and seven are occupied with the lifeworks of Philip Rieff and René Girard.

Rieff's unrelenting declamation of the modern immanentism and its consequences supplies, not only a theory of modern humanity as insufficiently restrained, but also the paradigm of a research program that could sustain Christian mission to the West at a worldview level. In order to accomplish this: "A sociology that takes religions seriously, a detailed engagement with the major thinkers of the day . . . a theory of how culture works, the role of religion in culture-making and so on are all required" (139). Girard's theory of memetic violence is first theologized, via an exegesis of desire in the Ten Commandments and Proverbs. It is then applied to highlight the danger that Dionysian, globalized "market consumerism" poses to modern humanitarian advances grounded in Christian sympathy for the victim (165).

In chapter eight, the Dutch Reformed theologian and polymath, Abraham Kuyper, in whose tradition the authors have already situated their thought (144; see Craig Bartholomew, *Contours of the Kuyperian Tradition: A Systematic Introduction* [Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2017]), is recommended for his "nuanced vocabulary of pluralism" (181). Does the death of God in modern life, as announced by Nietzsche, mean that religion may join the public square only insofar as its values can be translated into secular terms (John Rawls)? Or, as Lenn E. Goodman argues, should it be allowed a distinctly religious public voice on pluralistic grounds? The authors' Kuyperian tradition allows religion to be strongly advocated within a delimited public "sphere" with the support of the state, on account of the state's interest in fostering religious pluralism. Chapter nine goes on to apply Kuyper's "preferential option for the poor" to the challenge of global poverty,

as elucidated by Pope John Paul II and Naomi Klein, using Peter Brown's study on wealth in the early church to recover an "economy of care" tradition (207; see Bob Goudzwaard and Harry de Lange, *Beyond Poverty and Affluence: Towards a Canadian Economy of Care*, trans. and ed. Mark Vander Vennen [Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994]).

The penultimate chapter sketches the outlines of how modernity can be "transcended" by opening itself up to a pluralism that accepts meaning from "beyond the human intellect" (223–224). This would allow modernity to break its vicious feedback loop between problems and proposed solutions by accepting limits to economic growth. Viewing the economy less as machine, and more as organism, would reprioritize care and enable greater accountability. Chapter ten concludes with a call to address climate change on the global level and to found cooperative businesses and neo-monastic communities (Alasdair MacIntyre, Morris Berman) on the local level.

While experienced scholars will find *Beyond the Modern Age* to have an engaging thesis and stimulating engagement with contemporary thought, its natural audience is in the post-secondary classroom, where it originated. It could be equally well received by church study groups, or interested clergy and lay professionals seeking to engage more deeply in public life. The authors have written a readable introduction to a wide range of multi-disciplinary scholarship, all while carefully making connections that foreground its relevance for their proposed project.

A recommendation of this volume as an introduction, however, needs to come with caveats related to the goals of the project. These are caveats and not critiques, because one can hardly expect the authors to have engaged all of the following kinds of issues and kept the book to a readable length. The first caveat has to do with lacunae that inevitably arise when engaging with this breadth of scholarship. For example, Foucault is portrayed as a thoroughly postmodern thinker; that is, unable to see a way out of the systems of power he assiduously identified (74, 89). This ignores Foucault's later Hadotian turn toward spiritual practice, which would move him into the cultural-critical camp according to the authors' taxonomy. Thus, *Beyond the Modern Age* should be received as an introduction to the ideas of great thinkers in their relevance for the authors' Kuyperian program, and not as a comprehensive introduction to the thinkers' intellectual history or major themes.

Readers should also maintain awareness of the alternatives to the Kuyperian model for Christian engagement in public life, which are not present in this volume. One might well ask how thinkers from the Black church "prophetic" or Anabaptist "separatist" traditions (as identified in J. Bryan Benestad et al., *Five Views on the Church and Politics*, ed. Amy E. Black [Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2015]) would tell the story differently. Critics of modernism in the Anabaptist tradition might have a less pessimistic take on the degree to which classical modernity's privatization of religion is "anti-religion" (33), and a less optimistic view of where re-founding public life on the transcendent might take us. Note that John Howard Yoder and Stanley Hauerwas are not in the index of authors.

A prophetic Black voice like James Cone's might raise serious questions about whether an archaeology of race-based slavery and apartheid, which penetrates only to the level of ideology and is conceived as an alien influence layered over theological tradition by modernism, has excavated deeply enough to be worthy of the name (65, 108). For ought not repentance from such atrocities involve shaking the dogmatic/confessional systems complicit in them to their core, in order to root out and reform any theology found to have countenanced such injustice? Note that "racism" is absent from the subject index.

Keeping these two caveats in mind, *Beyond the Modern Age* stands as a testament to the ongoing vitality of the Kuyperian tradition, from which other streams stand to be enriched. For it seems to be no accident that Bob Goudzwaard and Craig Bartholomew were able to produce scholarship of such scope, structure, succinctness, and pertinence out of their shared intellectual heritage. And for that vision of "a type of Christianity that is committed to the inherent relevance of Christ and the good news to all of life as God has made it," we can be grateful (117).

Berrien Springs, Michigan   David J. Hamstra

Green, Gene L., Stephen T. Pardue, and Khiok-Khng Yeo, eds. *The Spirit over the Earth: Pneumatology in the Majority World*. Majority World Theology. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2016. v + 195 pp. Softcover. USD 20.00.

The Spirit over the Earth: Pneumatology in the Majority World is a collection of eight essays on the role of the Holy Spirit from the perspective of different Christian faith communities and the larger cultural and religious contexts in which those faith communities bear witness. The book is part of the Majority World Theology series which seeks to remedy the lack of theological resources reflecting the perspectives of Christians from the majority world where most Christians now live.

The editors of this book make a landmark contribution to the field of theology in terms of its depth and the scholarly collaboration between selected majority world theologians. The book offers a concise and excellent overview of the various Christian traditions on the person and role of the Holy Spirit, and explains how all of these traditions find their roots in the Eastern Orthodox tradition.

The Spirit over the Earth is a powerful reminder that all theology is contextual. One's socially-constructed perspective on life always shapes one's reading, interpretation, and application of Scripture. It would therefore be naïve to think that a human being could approach Scripture from a totally neutral or absolutely objective point of view. Because there is no pure form of theology, the exegesis of the context in which the biblical text is to be applied cannot be ignored as separate from the process of doing theology. This requires that biblical scholars make an effort to rigorously exegete their intended readers' social location with the same rigor they apply to the exegesis of biblical texts. Only then can their contributions be both equipped to answer questions raised

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The editors of this book make a landmark contribution to the field of theology in terms of its depth and the scholarly collaboration between selected majority world theologians. The book offers a concise and excellent overview of the various Christian traditions on the person and role of the Holy Spirit, and explains how all of these traditions find their roots in the Eastern Orthodox tradition.

The Spirit over the Earth is a powerful reminder that all theology is contextual. One's socially-constructed perspective on life always shapes one's reading, interpretation, and application of Scripture. It would therefore be naïve to think that a human being could approach Scripture from a totally neutral or absolutely objective point of view. Because there is no pure form of theology, the exegesis of the context in which the biblical text is to be applied cannot be ignored as separate from the process of doing theology. This requires that biblical scholars make an effort to rigorously exegete their intended readers' social location with the same rigor they apply to the exegesis of biblical texts. Only then can their contributions be both equipped to answer questions raised

by their intended audiences, and effective in confronting said audiences with God's revelation in a way that readers can respond to favorably and intelligently.

The book is also helpful in pointing out that Western theological perspectives are not always equipped to effectively address theological issues confronting believers around the world. From this perspective, this book directly challenges the long-held assumption that Western Christianity and its theology are "the *locus theologicus,* the universal norm, the seat of orthodox faith" (146). Orthodoxy and original scholarship in the majority world, if firmly grounded in the word of God, are in no way inferior to those of the West. Rather than competing over the seal of theological orthodoxy, biblical scholars from various parts of the world are called to acknowledge their need for one another.

Since the Bible teaches that the Spirit of God is active everywhere in creation, the book raises the following thought-provoking question: "Is the Spirit at work among people of other faiths and cultures?" While Christians are divided in their perspectives on this pressing existential question, a balanced approach is recommended, which, on one hand, affirms "the distinctiveness of the Christ-centered presence and activity of the Spirit within the community of faith," and seeks, on the other hand, to explore "Christocentric criteria for identifying and discerning the Spirit's work in the world in the midst of people of other faiths and no faith" (36). Because no single religious group can boast of a sole monopoly of the Holy Spirit, there is no room for religious or denominational narrow-mindedness as to the magnitude of the Holy Spirit's work.

One other important insight from *The Spirit over the Earth* is the idea that the gifts of the Holy Spirit are not limited to those listed in Rom 12:3–8; 1 Cor 12–14; Eph 4:7–16; and 1 Pet 4:10–11. The core purpose of spiritual gifts is the equipping of God's "people for works of service, so that the body of Christ may be built up until we all reach unity in the faith and in the knowledge of the Son of God and become mature, attaining to the whole measure of the fullness of Christ" (Eph 4:12). Therefore, the Holy Spirit may choose to equip believers in a special way for a task in their generation or context that was not a necessary task in previous generations (106–107). Personally, I view the fact that the Holy Spirit distributes spiritual gifts to believers, just as he determines (1 Cor. 12:11), both as a call for humility to acknowledge the sovereignty of the Holy Spirit in matters of the distribution of spiritual gifts to believers and as a warning not to interfere with his ministry in any person's life. However, it is always important that the body of Christ follows the biblical command to evaluate the claim of a person to a particular spiritual gift (1 John 4:1).

My major concern in reading and reflecting on *The Spirit over the Earth* came when Wei Hua advocates, in chapter four, that the Chinese customs of the commemorating rites of the ancestors and Confucius "should be acknowledged and absorbed into the Christian faith through the fulfilling and transforming work of the Holy Spirit" (79). It is absolutely baffling to me that he argues that once a person receives the Holy Spirit, pagan customs are no longer obstacles to their Christian faith (90). It is bewildering that Wei sees a direct parallel between Chinese traditional practices and the biblical commandment

to honor one's father and mother (94) on the ground that "the objects of Chinese commemorating rites are not powerful gods, but deceased relatives and loved ones, including fathers, mothers, and Confucius," and that "unlike religion and idolatry, the purpose of the Chinese commemorating rites is not to pursue any supernatural power, but to express thanksgiving to ancestors and to pay secular respect to Confucius" (91). How could this form of worship, or reverence as Wei calls it, in which participants display offerings and burn incense and candles in front of their ancestors' memorial tablets (90) not be equated with idolatry and the death-related practices (Lev 19:28; 20:6, 27; Deut 14:1–2; 18:10–13) that God prohibited the Israelites from practicing? These texts speak against any practice involved in ancestral worship. In general, mourning and remembering the dead were not forbidden for the Israelites. What was forbidden was the connection of these practices with pagan idolatrous rites. Although divination and ancestral worship were common practices in the nations surrounding Israel, the Israelites were not to consult the occult world because they were given a better revelation by God. The same prohibition is also applicable to Christians of all eras and socio-cultural and religious contexts. Any spiritual attempt to establish contact with the dead is deemed an abomination by God (18:10–13). Wei's sympathetic connection of Chinese commemorating rites of the ancestors to biblical commands such as Exodus 20:12 minimizes change in the lives of converts, whereas the Word of God challenges people individually and corporately to turn from their unbiblical practices. Wei's perspective is very susceptible to opening the door to syncretism as Chinese Christians continue to maintain beliefs and practices that stand in conflict with the Word of God. Faithfulness to biblical principles should never be overshadowed by any form of sensitivity to local traditions and religious practices.

Since the church was, and still is, being established through the agency of the Holy Spirit wherever the gospel is preached, a biblically-based perspective on pneumatology is as important as ecclesiology (3). This makes *The Spirit over the Earth,* in spite of some weaknesses, full of insights, well worth the read, and a valuable theological resource for ministers, teachers, and intercultural missionaries.

Andrews University   BOUBAKAR SANOU

Jaillard, Dominique, and Christophe Nihan, eds. *Writing Laws in Antiquity/ L'écriture du droit dans l'Antiquité.* BZABR 19. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2017. 170 pp. Hardcover. EUR 58.00.

Writing Laws in Antiquity consists of seven essays, which were originally presented at a conference in Lausanne, Switzerland, in 2011, entitled "Codes de lois et lois sacrées: la redaction et la codification des lois en Grèce et dans l'Israël ancient" [Law Codes and Sacred Laws: The Redaction and Codification of Laws in Greece and Ancient Israel]. The purpose of this conference was a comparison of "the creation and the transmission of legal collections in ancient Greece and in the ancient Near East, including Mesopotamia, Egypt and

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Israel" (9). The book is divided in two parts. Part one, entitled "Codes, Codification and Legislators," consists of four essays. Three of them are written in French and one in English. The second part, entitled "Writing Ritual Norms: Meaning and Functions," includes three essays, one in French and two in English.

The organization of the book reflects the distinctive approach taken at the conference, based on two methodological insights. First, the conference intentionally focused on differences between the legal traditions of the examined ancient cultures. This stands in contrast to many recent studies which examined possible "mutual influences between Greek and ancient near Eastern laws" (10). Taking this approach, the goal was "to question . . . some problematic generalizations in the study of ancient laws; and to illuminate the specifics of the social structures and institutional processes involved in the writing of laws in each culture" (11). Second, the conference "sought to integrate, or reintegrate, the case of the so-called 'sacred laws' in Greece in the discussion of ancient legal collections" (11). The term "sacred laws" refers to a body of legal inscriptions primarily dealing with rituals of different Greek cities. Scholarship has often treated the sacred laws separately from the other legal material, due to its differences in genre, matter, and social function. Whereas this may be understandable to a modern mind, it does "not necessarily correspond to the practices of ancient societies, in which rituals and (more generally) 'religion' were embedded in virtually all aspects and dimensions of the life of the city" (11).

The first essay, by Sophie Démare-Lafont, addresses the codification of laws in Mesopotamia. She points out that scholars hesitate to use the term "code" or "codification" for the Mesopotamian law collections, since codes should have a prologue, a body of laws, and an epilogue. Therefore, only three legal collections of Mesopotamia properly deserve the label of a "code": the Code Ur-Nammu, the Code of Lipit-Istar, and the Code of Hammurabi (21–22). Elaborating further on the process of "codification," Démare-Lafont observes that all Mesopotamian legal collections contain hints to collecting, organizing, and publishing activity regarding the legal material. In addition, she argues that the Mesopotamian legal collections are compilations of existing laws, rather than a result of legal reforms (27–28). She mentions that none of these collections was understood as exhaustive. However, they functioned as types of theorems, on which a decision could be taken regarding a particular case (28–29). Finally, she argues that each region used its own local body of laws. In case those local laws were not able to solve the issue at hand, the legal principles of these codes were applied (29–31).

The second essay, by Françoise Ruzé, elaborates on the codification of laws in Archaic Greece. She points out that the early available sources such as the tradition of the lawgivers (Zaleucos, Charondas, and Solon), or inscriptions (Gortyn Code in Crete, etc.) indicate a codification, to a certain extent. Laws were grouped around certain topics, such as rights of citizens, economy, or family (37). Greek legal collections, similar to the Mesopotamian law collections, should also be understood as partial. Taking a closer look at the circumstances leading to putting laws in written form, Ruzé observes that it

often took place in times of social conflict (e. g., Solon's legal reform), with the intention to stabilize the social relations.

Gary N. Knoppers compares and contrasts Greek lawgivers with Moses. Applying a critical lens to both and treating them as semi-historical figures, he discusses fascinating parallels (63–69), such as the acquirement of their position as lawgivers, their interactions with divinity, their authoritative and authorial behavior, as well as their achievement in creating a law code that was still associated with their person way beyond their lifetime. However, Knoppers also acknowledges the clear differences in nature between the Torah and other Greek bodies of law. For example, the Torah's inclusion of narrative elements besides legal material, and the depiction of many crises which "lead to the promulgation of new laws or to the adjustment of older laws," (70) made the Torah unique. He ends his essay with a call to further compare Moses with traditions of lawgivers beyond the border of Ancient Greece.

Sandra Lippert's essay concludes the first part by addressing the codification of Egyptian law. Scholarship generally argues that Egyptians avoided creating a law code, since they feared limiting the King's freedom. However, Darius I commanded his Satrap to compile the available Egyptian law. By doing so, he initiated a process of codification of Egyptian law over six generations of legislator kings. Lippert's discussion builds on a reference by Diodorus Siculus. However, she further analyzes various sources, which prove not only the historicity of Darius I's action, but also provide information regarding particular content of this Egyptian law code.

In the beginning of the second part, which focuses on "sacred laws," Pierre Brulé addresses the *hiéra* "sacred" and *hosia* "profane" laws in classical sources, as discussed in the deliberative assemblies in Athens and other Greek cities. Based on these sources, Brulé concludes that it is not possible to set the two in a clear relation. However, the assemblies usually first discussed the sacred issues and later, the profane. Brulé further analyzes the proportion of sacred decrees versus profane degrees and concludes that in the case of Athens, only 5% of the decrees dealt with sacred issues. However, these kinds of decrees were often published.

Anselm C. Hagedorn's essay elaborates on differences regarding the sacredness of the laws in the Hebrew Bible and the written laws in Greece, in particular the Gortyn Code of Crete. Although the Hebrew Bible contains only a few references to YHWH's writing activity regarding laws, the Torah was perceived as a divine law and closely associated with the person of Moses. Hagedorn states that "an understanding of the legal core of Deuteronomy that is removed from either YHWH or Moses is impossible" (121). Thus, biblical law is a religious law. Regarding Greek law, Hagedorn concludes that "we do not find any legal material that was stipulated by a deity" (124) and further, "the laws from Gortyn can function without any divine legislation and are not traced back to a mythical figure of a lawgiver from a distant past" (130).

The final essay by Jan-Mathieu Carbon and Vinciane Pirenne-Delforge investigates the codification of sacred laws in Ancient Greece. They discuss the use of different terminology used in the sacred law collection, namely

patria, "unrecorded or ancestral customs"; *nomoi*, "instructions for rituals"; and *psephismata,* "dynamic decrees seeking to augment or revitalize existing cultic norms" (142). They observe that these terms were used interchangeably, which complicates drawing conclusions on a potential codification of sacred laws. However, analyzing the phrase "*hieros nomos*" in the given body of literature, they conclude that in certain cases, "*hieroi nomoi* were, to a certain degree, formalized and codified as 'sacred laws'." But they also point out that these codes were very diverse in regards to their "structure, terminology and categorization," due to "the lack of uniformity that characterized Greek polytheism, but also because of the heterogeneity of the various city-states and sanctuaries" (152). They conclude their essay suggesting renaming the collection of "sacred laws" using the term "Greek ritual norms." This label would give more justice to the diversity of the material dealt with.

Writing Laws in Antiquity comes with an excellent three-part introduction, written by the editors. In the first part, they introduce the distinctive approach taken in this book. By focusing on the differences, rather than commonalities, regarding the written law in antique societies, the book was predestined to make a new contribution to the current discussion. In the second part, the editors summarize every article in one paragraph. This is especially helpful since four out of the seven essays are written in French. In the third part, the editors synthesize the three major contributions of this collection: (a) the re-evaluation of the relationship between the written and unwritten law; (b) the re-evaluation of the relationship between written laws and structures of authority in antique societies; and (c) the re-evaluation of the relationship between written laws and ancient religion. The common tenor of all the essays is the fundamental critique on present scholarship for oversimplifying issues related to written laws in ancient cultures.

Reading the book, I located a few areas which could be improved. First, the essays in the book are fairly unrelated to each other, especially the four articles in the first part, which deal with the same issue in four different cultures. While, on several occasions, the authors refer to the close contact between these ancient societies, each author stays within the borders of the discussed society. The editors' attempt to synthesize the content of the contributors in the third part of the introduction addresses common issues researchers will face in studying each society. However, how the differences regarding the written laws came to exist, despite the close contact of these cultures and the mutual influence they had on each other, remains untouched.

Second, I wish that the editors had added a chapter on written law in the Roman society to the first part of the book. This would complete the book regarding written laws in ancient cultures, making it more relevant for New Testament scholarship, which deals with a culture influenced by Roman society. Especially, in regard to Paul's preference to work within Roman colonies.

Finally, throughout the book, the authors use the term "unwritten law" for customs and norms which were known in ancient societies. They argue that those unwritten laws coexisted with the ones actually documented. On the other hand, scholarly literature also uses the term "unwritten law" as a

technical term in reference to natural law. It would have been beneficial to at least clarify how the term "unwritten law" is used in this book. In addition, the omission of any reference to the Greco-Roman concept of natural law is puzzling, since natural law was also a major factor in shaping ancient written laws.

Despite those shortcomings, the quality of each essay is undisputed. Any reader of this book should be aware that the language of the articles is often technical and the issues discussed are very specific and complex. Therefore, a certain familiarity with the subject matter is a prerequisite to actually benefitting from *Writing Laws in Antiquity.*

Berrien Springs, Michigan   Dominic Bornand

Laansma, Jon C., and Randall X. Gauthier. *The Handy Guide to Difficult and Irregular Greek Verbs: Aids for Readers of the Greek New Testament.* The Handy Guide Series. Grand Rapids: Kregel, 2017. 80 pp. Softcover. USD 13.99.

The Handy Guide to Difficult and Irregular Greek Verbs is a cooperation of Jon C. Laansma and Randall X. Gauthier. Laansma holds a position as an associate professor at Wheaton College for Ancient Languages and New Testament (backcover). Besides Koine Greek, his past publications point to his expertise in the Letter to the Hebrews. Gauthier serves as a research fellow with the Department of Hebrew at the University of the Free State in South Africa (ibid.). His publications indicate his expertise in Septuagint studies, where he specializes in the Greek versions of the Psalms.

The Handy Guide to Difficult and Irregular Greek Verbs is the second volume in Kregel's *The Handy Guide Series.* Douglas S. Huffman serves as the series editor and the author of the first 112-page-long volume, (*The Handy Guide to New Testament Greek: Grammar, Syntax, and Diagramming.* The Handy Guide Series [Grand Rapids: Kregel Academic, 2012]). With this series, the publisher seeks to enable ambitious students of Koine Greek to fluently read the Greek New Testament. Kregel decided to match the size of the volumes with the size of the printed version of the Greek New Testament (USB[5] and NA[28]). This neat feature allows one to always carry the *Handy Guide(s)* together with a hard copy of the Greek New Testament. Having easy access to the printed version is an essential part of the publisher's philosophy to reach fluency in reading the Greek New Testament. Laansma and Gauthier state in the introduction that, "After a year or two of elementary Greek grammar, the best thing a student can do is read, read, read. Turn off all parsing aids and close all interlinears. With a text and a print dictionary in hand, read, read, read" (13).

In the Preface, the authors point to the key contribution of this publication, which is "a list of difficult verb forms (second–sixth principal parts) in order of frequency of occurrence; the frequencies represent counts of all of the verbs (simplex + compounds) that share the same stem" (11). This contribution will help the student give priority of learning to those difficult and irregular verbs which appear most frequently. Since those are the verbs which play a major factor in preventing a smooth

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reading experience, this feature of the book is a valuable tool in enhancing the student's reading experience.

The book is divided into two parts. The first part is titled "Frequency List of Difficult and Irregular Principal Parts" (20–26). It starts out by providing a numerical code for the six principal parts of Greek (21): the first principal part is present and imperfect (all voices), the second principal part is future active and middle, the third principal part is aorist active and middle; the fourth principal part is perfect and pluperfect active; the fifth principal part is perfect and pluperfect middle and passive, and the sixth principal part is aorist and future passive. This system allows Laansma and Gauthier to abbreviate the parsing information in their list. The list contains difficult or irregular verb forms which occur ten times or more in the Greek New Testament. The authors divide the list into ten blocks of about ten to twenty-five entries, probably with the intention of facilitating memorization. The blocks are in descending order of frequency. Each entry contains as much information as a student needs to be familiar with, and be able to recognize, any inflected form of this particular stem in the Greek New Testament.

The second part is titled "Alphabetical List of Verbs with Their Compounds" (27–56). This part lists all seventy-two verbs, already mentioned in the first part, in alphabetical order. For each verb, Laansma and Gauthier added "*all* the PPs [principal parts] of" the verbs (27). Thus, in case a certain principal part of a verb does not appear in the New Testament, they supply it. This makes *The Handy Guide to Difficult and Irregular Greek Verbs* a valuable resource for those students who read Koine Greek beyond the limits of the New Testament. For those principal parts which appear in the New Testament, and thus also in the list of the first part, the authors add a cross-reference. This helps to quickly find out about the frequency of a certain difficult or irregular verb form. Finally, they provide "all the NT's compound forms of each verb . . . underneath it in descending order of frequency" (ibid.). With its seventy-two entries of simplex verbs and the added compound verbs to each entry, this part becomes a comprehensive source for those dealing with difficult and irregular verbs.

At the end of the book, the editors add two appendices. The first is a collection of tables containing the conjugation of εἰμί, -εῖμι, and -ἵημι (57–64). Here again, Laansma and Gauthier decide to complete the tables with the forms that do not appear in the New Testament. The second appendix, titled "The Perfect and Pluperfect Indicative and the Optative Mood," deals with three morphological elements, which tend to be neglected in beginning courses (65–70). However, instead of a "thorough introduction" to these morphological elements, the authors intend only to give "a few tips that might aid reading" (65).

The book ends with a selected bibliography (71–72) and an alphabetical index of all the verbs mentioned in Part One and Part Two (73–80). By compiling the selected bibliography, the authors refer to five valuable reading helps for the Greek New Testament. Laansma and Gauthier also go beyond the limits of the New Testament in their selected bibliography. They point

to five resources that assist readers of the Septuagint, the church fathers, and other Hellenistic literature, and to two resources that may support those who face the challenges of reading classical literature.

This book definitely deserves its place among the tools that enable students to fluently read the Greek New Testament. By exclusively addressing the difficult and irregular verbs, the authors fill an important gap. Their constant effort to go beyond the limits of the New Testament is praiseworthy and much appreciated. There is not much to be criticized on *The Handy Guide to Difficult and Irregular Greek Verbs*. However, I do question the value of using a numerical code for the six principal parts instead of providing the complete parsing information for each entry. Since it is not something everybody is familiar with, the user of this book basically has the option of either learning them by heart and remembering them, or constantly looking up their definitions (21) before he or she is able to make use of the entire entry. Apart from this, the handy guide will benefit not only the ambitious student who envisions fluently reading the Greek New Testament, but also course instructors. Max Lee, for example, states, "I plan on using the *Handy Guide* for writing my quizzes so I don't test students on a form of the irregular verb which seldom appears in the New Testament" (2). Thus, this book is a welcome contribution among the tools regarding the Greek New Testament. It is exciting to guess where Kregel will head next with this series.

Berrien Springs, Michigan   Dominic Bornand

Metaxas, Eric. *Martin Luther: The Man Who Rediscovered God and Changed the World*. New York: Viking, 2017. xiii + 480 pp. Hardcover. USD 30.00.

Eric Metaxas's biography of Martin Luther during this period of reflection on the five hundredth anniversary of Protestant Reformation is a masterpiece of historic writing and is reminiscent of his epic biography on Dietrich Bonhoeffer. In many ways, this work reflects some of the qualities of the subject—Martin Luther. It is bold, breathtaking, audacious, magisterial, uncompromising, myth-shattering, and dramatic. It is a welcome addition to many other biographies on the great Protestant reformer.

This remarkable biography tells the story of a courageous man who spoke truth to power, shaking the very foundations of Western Christianity and shattering the monopoly of Roman Catholicism, thus creating the brave new world of Protestantism and changing the course of history forever. His faith and courage would give rise to the ideas of individual freedom, personal responsibility, equality, and liberty which constitute many of the great values that underline our culture today.

As Metaxas points out, the story was inevitable,

> Perhaps the most remarkable aspect of Luther's story was not a man born— or later inclined—to tilt at papal windmills. In fact until 1520 he was as vigorous a champion of the church as anyone who had ever lived. He desired desperately to help Rome elude the fate it ended up experiencing. In fact, in a case of extreme irony—so much so that one might think of Oedipus—he

to five resources that assist readers of the Septuagint, the church fathers, and other Hellenistic literature, and to two resources that may support those who face the challenges of reading classical literature.

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This remarkable biography tells the story of a courageous man who spoke truth to power, shaking the very foundations of Western Christianity and shattering the monopoly of Roman Catholicism, thus creating the brave new world of Protestantism and changing the course of history forever. His faith and courage would give rise to the ideas of individual freedom, personal responsibility, equality, and liberty which constitute many of the great values that underline our culture today.

As Metaxas points out, the story was inevitable,

> Perhaps the most remarkable aspect of Luther's story was not a man born— or later inclined—to tilt at papal windmills. In fact until 1520 he was as vigorous a champion of the church as anyone who had ever lived. He desired desperately to help Rome elude the fate it ended up experiencing. In fact, in a case of extreme irony—so much so that one might think of Oedipus—he

became the very man who brought about everything he had hoped to avoid. As his story illustrates, it was a sublime and ridiculous decoction of forces that created the perfect storm that burst over the European continent creating what we now call the Reformation and the future (2).

Metaxas follows the life of Luther chronologically across twenty chapters, covering familiar grounds that are well known to Luther scholars. But reading these familiar events from the creative pen of Metaxas makes them new and exciting. Perhaps, it is because Metaxas has a dramatic flair for writing epic biographies and this one fits the bill. He places Luther firmly in his time, yet at the same time casts him as a truly revolutionary figure who transcended his time and set in motion forces that are still in operation today.

Metaxas presents Luther as a deeply passionate man who rediscovered the gospel – the catalyst that gave him a sense of passion and divine purpose. Luther felt that this discovery placed him under a divine mandate that he could not shake. His discovery alarmed the church hierarchy and caused them to try to silence him. But every attempt made to silence Luther only emboldened him, which finally culminated in that epic moment in history when he uttered the memorable words at the Diet of Worms that would inspire generations for the next five hundred years.

> Unless I am convinced by the testimony of the Holy Scriptures or by clear reason—for I do not trust in Pope nor councils alone, since it is well known that they often contradicted themselves—I am bound to the Scriptures I have quoted and my conscience is captive to the Word of God. I cannot and will not retract anything since it is neither safe nor right to go against conscience. I cannot do otherwise. Here I stand. God help me. Amen (216).

The author writes the Luther story, not like any other human history, but discerning elements in the drama that suggest perhaps a divine hand, orchestrating the course of the events that were out of Luther's control. Luther, himself, eventually recognized that he was part of something greater. Metaxas noted that Luther felt that the attacks against him were not just coming from humans, but also demons. He was subjected to various health problems, some of which he felt were directed by demons. One of the major issues was the feeling of *Anfechtung*—the sense of depression and despair that would engulf him from time to time. For Luther, this was not normal and, while after his discovery of the gospel he experienced less of it, it never completely left him. He saw himself as a special target of those dark forces because of the special assignment God had placed on him.

Metaxas writes, not simply as a historian, but a master storyteller, weaving important details into many well-known incidents in Luther's life that added color and drama to the events. One example of this is Metaxas's use of Fredrick's dream which he had the day before Luther nailed his ninety-five theses on the door of the Wittenberg castle church. The dream described this mysterious monk who would change the world. Excerpts from the dream are quoted below.

> I again fell asleep, and then dreamed that Almighty God sent me a monk, who was a true son of the Apostle Paul. All the saints accompanied him

> by order of God, in order to bear testimony before me, and to declare that he did not come to contrive any plot, but that all that he did was according to the will of God. They asked me to have the goodness graciously to permit him to write something on the door of the church of the Castle of Wittenberg. This I granted through my chancellor (450).

> The pen which he used was so large that its end reached as far as Rome, where it pierced the ears of a lion that was crouching there, and caused the Triple Crown upon the head of the Pope to shake (ibid.).

> Then I dreamed that all the princes of the Empire, and we among them, hastened to Rome, and strove, one after another, to break the pen; but the more we tried the stiffer it became, sounding as if it had been made of iron. We at length desisted. I then asked the monk (for I was sometimes at Rome, and sometimes at Wittenberg) where he got this pen, and why it was so strong. 'The pen," replied he, "belonged to an old goose of Bohemia, a hundred years old." (ibid.).

No one reading this would doubt that Martin Luther was this monk.

One of the themes the author highlights was Luther's desire for martyrdom, which he considered an honor and privilege, but which he never experienced. Why was Luther not killed when so many others before him and some of his contemporaries met untimely deaths? The author offered no reasonable explanations. Luther was, of course, protected by Prince Fredrick. The Emperor was distracted by his wars with France and the Turks and did not want to alienate the German princes. Whatever the reasons were, Luther was spared for a special purpose, the divine hand was definitely at work in his preservation.

There are many lessons that I learn from Luther's life, but there are two of them Metaxas highlights that draw my attention: the first is that through the life of Luther there is something deeper and more important than merely winning. "If we must win by the sword—or by any kind of force-then my victory is Pyrrhic and worthless. I must not only win but win the right way. I must not only aver the truth but do so in a way that honors the truth" (442). Secondly, Luther did not merely open a door in which people were free to rebel against their leaders, but individuals were now obliged to take personal responsibility for themselves before God and help those around them to do the same. "Freedom with God with the possibility of growth and death was better than the safe fetters of childhood" (445–446).

While Metaxas's presentation of Luther was generally quite positive, he was not afraid to deal with the faults of this great man. Luther was a man of great contradictions. His great virtues were sometimes matched with equally great faults. He was dogmatic, uncompromising, irascible, super sensitive to criticism, and always eager to fire back at whatever darts were thrown at him. His language was at times crass, crude, and even cruel. His words inspired the peasants to revolt, although it was never his intent and when they did, he encouraged the nobles to slaughter them. In his early evangelic life, he praised Judaism and the Jews and hoped for their conversion to Christianity. When this did not happen, he turned against the Jews, advocating their removal from Saxony. Unfortunately, Luther's words would be used as justification

for the destruction of the Jewish people during World War II. He used vile language to describe the papacy and was as uncharitable to Erasmus, one of his early allies. Metaxas makes no attempts to whitewash Luther's faults or explain them away. Yet, even in the midst of Luther's contradictions we find comfort because we see ourselves, for even though many of us may strive for consistency we discover, to our chagrin, that we too are a bundle of contradictions. This biography is well worth your time and I hope it will stir your soul with similar courage and faith as that of the great reformer.

Andrews University   Trevor O'Reggio

Miller, Nicholas P. *500 Years of Protest and Liberty: From Martin Luther to Modern Civil Rights*. Nampa, ID: Pacific Press, 2017. 192 pp. Softcover. USD 24.99.

Nicholas P. Miller is Professor of Church History and director of the International Religious Liberty Institute at Andrews University (USA). *500 Years of Protest and Liberty* commemorates the quincentenarian anniversary of the Protestant Reformation by offering a compilation of articles exploring core Protestant values, which underlie modern civil rights, especially in the United States. As with his thoroughly researched book, *The Religious Roots of the First Amendment* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), this volume also deals with the positive role that Protestant thought has played in developing the modern concept of religious liberty. In addition, it poses the highly relevant question as to whether America's newly proclaimed greatness (referring to Trump's "Make America Great Again") is a logical conclusion of Martin Luther's reformation.

500 Years of Protest and Liberty is a compilation of articles written predominantly for *Liberty* magazine. It contains twenty-six chapters that are preceded by a preface and an overview. The chapters are structured into four sections and followed by a conclusion. The first part consists of five chapters and delineates how the European backgrounds of the Protestant doctrine of the priesthood of all believers helped shape the rise of religious liberty in the United States. Here, Miller outlines the reception of Luther's early views on religious freedom and exemplifies three Protestant church-state arrangements, while distinguishing the model that particularly shaped the U.S. constitution.

The second part of the book looks at the main factors contributing to the disestablishment of North American churches, especially in the eighteenth and nineteenth century. Its four chapters examine the disestablishment movement during, and between, the First and Second Great Awakening periods. Miller also discusses the historical role of the federal government in protecting civil rights in the states, as well as the current tendency of implementing and promoting local religious practices on the state level.

Following this, part three covers eight chapters that shift the focus to twentieth-century religious liberty challenges. Here, Miller explores the two current predominant views on the separation of church and state, while emphasizing that both views—the secularist and the religious right—are prone

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current predominant views on the separation of church and state, while
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to suppressing minority religious rights and undermining the actual intent of the framers of the First Amendment. Miller deals with topics such as the federal Religious Freedom Restoration Act (RFRA), as well as its replacement through RFRA II. He discusses the clashes between secularism and religious freedom, while also relating to its effects in the treatment of marginalized religious movements. In addition, Miller cuts to the kind of impact times of crisis can have on the restriction of liberties.

Finally, part four addresses specific legal issues in church and state. In nine chapters, Miller points out the following current issues: religious freedom and home-schooling; the payment of damage costs resulting from a case concerning a Jehovah's Witness who refused a blood transfusion; the public funding of religious educational institutions; the public financial support of theology students; the state involvement in religious practices; the question of whether commercial enterprises deserve religious liberty protections; and the contest between religious freedom and LGBT rights.

Miller introduces his book by providing an overview of his argument. In this, he demonstrates how current civil rights can be linked to early Protestant teachings, though centuries apart. He shows how Martin Luther, in his Ninety-Five Theses, was driven by similar concerns to Martin Luther King, Jr., 450 years later in his Riverside Church speech. While King's arguments address the corrosive effects of Western capitalism on the universal brotherhood of humankind, Luther implicitly blamed the corruption of the church for its negative effects on the priesthood of all believers. Both reformers emphasized the equality of the individual before God as a central argument for certain inalienable liberties. This, according to Miller, is "the greatest parallel between the two men" (19).

Though Luther's concept of the priesthood of all believers was still in its developmental stage in 1517, it was soon to challenge future ecclesiastical and secular law. Such was the power of the concept of the equality of all people before God. Thomas Kaufmann, president of the German *Verein für Reformationsgeschichte*, described this idea as "a Copernican revolution in the history of religious organizational notions," claiming it to be of "eminent political importance" (original: "Diese egalistische Tendenz stellt eine kopernikanische Wende in der Geschichte religiöser Organisationsvorstellungen dar. Ihr kommt auch eine eminent politische Bedeutung zu." See Thomas Kaufmann, "Luthers kopernikanische Wende," *Frankfurter Allgemeine*, 27 October 2013, http://www.faz.net/aktuell/politik/die-gegenwart/reformationstag-luthers-kopernikanische-wende-12636264.html. Translation by B. Hoffmann). Miller demonstrates the revolutionary nature of this concept by showing how Protestant dissenters who embraced this theme were instrumental in fostering its adoption in the constitution. A unique concept of religious liberty in the United States is the result.

Chapter three is remarkable for its exploration of three dominant church-state views, which were current at the time America was being colonized. Miller succinctly demonstrates that the view John Locke postulated had a major impact on dissenting Protestantism and the U.S. Constitution.

In contrast to other church-state views, Locke accepted the sovereignty of God while also emphasizing inalienable rights of the individual above those of church and state.

Miller calls the other two views present during colonial times the "medieval model" and the "skeptical model" (48). In opposition to the Lockean model, both these views do not emphasize the equality of the individual before God. The medieval model, later also endorsed by the Protestant Lawyer Samuel Pufendorf, represented a magisterial kind of Protestantism in America. This view minimizes the importance of the individual by placing all his rights not merely under God, but also under the influence of the church and state as well. The third view, the "skeptical model," represented by the French philosopher Pierre Bayle, accorded any person—be it a magistrate or a subject—a weak ability to know truth. In this view, the state is committed to skepticism and thus the protector of the human conscience, while in this system the rights of the individual are not as secure as in the Lockean model. Religious claims are treated similarly to convictions in other areas. Miller points out the weakness of this system as being capable of diluting religious liberty claims.

He draws parallels to the present day and finds that the skeptical model is similar to church-state views expressed by the present Democratic Party. On the other hand, members of the Republican Party seem to be attracted to the medieval model. In this sense, both sides find themselves articulating an extreme, while a balanced Lockean view clearly is missing today.

Deducing historical lessons and making them relevant for current religious liberty challenges is one of Miller's distinguishing characteristics. Altogether, two sections of Miller's book are dedicated to recent and current-day issues concerning religious liberty. In these sections, Miller demonstrates the importance of the preceding historical lessons and provides insights that can be applied by legislators facing conflicts in areas such as the public funding of religious institutions, LGBT rights, and home schooling. He even addresses recent religious liberty issues in the Federal Republic of Germany. All of this makes his book, not only worthwhile for people seeking to understand the original intent of the U.S. Constitution, but also an inspiration for European lawyers and researchers of legal history.

Miller draws his book to a close by asking: "What is it that makes America truly great?" (184). He finds that the Trump administration demonstrates too little of the dissenting, free-church Protestant outlook which defined the constitutional founding of the United States. He contends that Trump promotes a magisterial, state-church-oriented Protestantism, "combined with a healthy dose of unfettered capitalism, a hawkish American militarism, and a nationalistic, xenophobic, populism" (187). This, Miller suggests, will not promote greatness. At this point, however, Miller provides the reader with too few examples to support his argument. Specific actions undertaken by the Trump administration to promote the magisterial state-church model of Protestantism are missing in this volume. Such examples would have made Miller's conclusion more credible.

Nevertheless, Miller's conclusion is coherent. He argues that America's greatness does not lie in its economic, military, intellectual, or technological accomplishments, but "in its civil and religious freedoms, extending to all men and women the dignity that comes with being made in God's image, and being endowed by that Creator with inalienable rights to life and liberty" (190). Miller argues that the denial of this heritage will result in the decline and ruin of America's greatness.

Many nations, as well as churches, are confronted with populist ideas which can tempt them to become offenders of civil and religious liberties. That is why historical research in this area has never been more important than now. Once again, Miller makes this point clear by providing a compilation on the history of civil and religious liberties, while uncovering prevalent fallacies. For this reason, this book constitutes a valuable resource. Lawyers, historians, and theologians will especially be inspired by his brilliant illustrations.

Berne, Switzerland   Benjamin Hoffmann

Powell, Kara, Jake Mulder, and Brad Griffin. *Growing Young: Six Essential Strategies to Help Young People Discover and Love Your Church*. Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 2016. 330 pp. Hardcover. USD 19.99.

Growing Young is a collective work from three authors. The work is birthed out of the Fuller Youth Institute (FYI), a research institute in Pasadena, California, on the campus of Fuller Theological Seminary. Lead author and executive director of FYI, Dr. Kara Powell, is a defining voice in the field of youth and emerging adult studies, earning her a place among *Christianity Today*'s "50 Women You Should Know." Jake Mulder is a PhD student and the director of strategic initiatives at FYI, where he coordinates new research and develops resources. Brad Griffin is the director of FYI, where he develops research-based materials for youth workers and parents.

Growing Young points to several realities in the Christian church. First, young people are different psychosocially than other generations were. Second, churches are rapidly growing older in the average age of the attendee, while the absence of younger generations is becoming more apparent. Finally, Christianity's impact on society is waning. The reality of the Christian Church might seem bleak, but as the authors point out, not every church is undergoing these changes.

Growing Young is the most comprehensive and collaborative study on churches that are thriving with young people. It was conducted over a four-year period, in three phases, with some 259 churches. The churches studied are known as exemplars, because of their effectiveness in reaching young people ages fifteen to twenty-nine missionally, creatively, and numerically. Their research quality comes from the diversity of churches represented, and these churches represent most major Christian denominations and regional demographics throughout the United States of America, including major races and ethnic backgrounds, and various church sizes.

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After analyzing the data, six essential strategies were deduced: First, unlock keychain leadership. Second, empathize with today's young people. Third, take Jesus's message seriously. Fourth, fuel a warm community. Fifth, prioritize young people (and families) everywhere, and sixth, be the best neighbors. The remainder of the book fleshes out these essential strategies in detail, offering practical approaches for implementing each strategy. In the effort to support churches desiring to "grow young," FYI has included church assessments and resources on their website: www.churchesgrowingyoung.com.

In the book, the authors point to the first strategy for church leaders: understanding the keys of power they possess, and being willing to get these keys into the hands of young people. Churches who grow young demonstrate a strong environment of empowering, training, and releasing young people to lead and serve. According to the data collected, both young people and adults rated effective and warm church leadership as a stronger reason to remain in church than even worship style or preaching.

The second strategy revealed that life for the average young person has drastically changed. The authors suggest that the church needs to step into the current generation's lives, feeling what they are experiencing, by utilizing empathy.

For the third strategy, churches that take Jesus's message seriously would be described as those who follow Jesus in earnest; taking in the broken and restoring them to wholeness; inviting people to follow a life of discipleship and sacrifice; and embodying God's unconditional love (128–129). Exemplar churches in the fourth strategy were described as authentic, hospitable, caring, welcoming, and accepting.

The fifth strategy is the tangible and institutional commitment to young people by resourcing and attention. Exemplar churches place prioritization on young people, via budgets, personnel, space, time, programming, and empowering their youth to lead in positions with real power. The final strategy recognizes that young people hunger to restore the world around them, here and now, as opposed to waiting for peace and restoration in heaven. "These churches train and infuse their young people with an integrated discipleship that enables them to thrive in our complex world" so that they may "neighbor well" (237) wherever they work, live, and do life.

Growing Young highlighted valuable data for leaders who want to position themselves to more effectively engage younger generations. Personally, I was encouraged when the authors found that young people are not looking for a church with superstar pastors, a great location, a modern building, a particular style of worship, or even hip innovation, instead they want warmth. Warmth does not cost much money, but can have huge dividends.

What I found most challenging was that young people want to be accepted for who they are before they believe the church's core beliefs. This indicated a yearning so deep that compromise looms, unless churches can start self-identifying as warm families, and not simply concrete and mortar, lined with pages of doctrine on the walls.

This study also brought out a more significant awareness that church should not simply be about the study of God, but also include the study of how people develop or grow. Church leaders must recognize the incredible intentionality required to engage young people in these changing times, the same old methods will not suffice. The question is, do leaders and members want to have this level of intentionality, and are they prepared for what it takes? Secondly, leaders need to begin the difficult work of creating a church culture that attracts, empowers, and spiritually builds up both young people and adults alike—which is no small feat, but necessary. This is seminal research in the field of church growth and ministry and should be given high priority.

Evaluating strategy three, "taking Jesus's message seriously," the author's indicated that effective churches spent "less time talking about abstract beliefs and more time about Jesus" (136). What does this mean for a denomination with fundamental beliefs that are all vital? This shift communicates making Jesus the center of all doctrinal tenets, so it can be said, "Jesus found this belief really important." A young person's more urgent desire is for community, a "home," which can outweigh their initial desire for doctrinal belief. Can the mass exodus of young people be indicative of the church's misappropriation of doctrine over warmth? The opposite is also true. Simply because a community is warm, inviting, and authentic does not mean it is the safest space for a young person over the span of their spiritual life. These considerations are in line with what psychosocial dynamics say about young people today, that they are willing to initially overlook beliefs in order to meet their more urgent need for belonging. However, how can churches meet this need while maintaining doctrinal purity?

There are several methodological musings that one should consider in evaluating *Growing Young*. In phase two, the racial diversity in the interview of the 535 individuals was 73% Caucasian. The remaining racial breakdown was 6% Asian, 6% Black, 6% Hispanic. The data was highly reliant upon the Caucasian member's church experience, which may not be accurate for other racial groups' church experiences. Secondly, the "strategies" were, for the most part, not based on a blind study, invovling observation of the exemplar churches. Eight conclusions were agreed upon from the researcher's literature review prior to the study. While a hypothesis prior to a scientific experiment is in line with proper protocol, it has the potential to lead its research subjects to confirm the researcher's hypotheses.

Growing Young falls into the larger chorus of church leaders and resources asserting "the youth will save the church, if only we can keep them." While such sentiment carries truth, it under-emphasizes the greater divine mark and mystery that God will save his church. Andrew Root, in *Faith Formation in a Secular Age: Responding to the Church's Obsession with Youthfulness*, accentuates the prophetic call of Bonhoeffer's lesser known work "Theses on Youth Work." Bonhoeffer utters a prophetic cry to our time that "the spirit of youth is not the Holy Spirit and the future of the church is not youth itself but rather the Lord Jesus Christ." The work of the Holy Spirit has been at work in believers

young and old for millennia. The question is, "Are we relying on the wrong savior (youthfulness) and have we gotten in the way of the Holy Spirit?"

Decline in church attendance overall, along with aging congregations, are very real concerns for churches in America, including the Seventh-day Adventist denomination. The greater concern is that young people, if not absent, are not well represented in local churches, particularly apart from university and metropolitan settings. Though, worldwide, young people between the ages of sixteen to forty in the Seventh-day Adventist Church make up more than half the membership, in the North American Division (NAD) 18.54% are below the age of forty. The median age is fifty-one in the NAD, while worldwide it is thirty-two. The research speaks for itself; implementing any one of these strategies from *Growing Young* in the local church setting will bolster the future of the church in the NAD. While the data was not collected from Seventh-day Adventist congregations, one of the positive points of the study is the diversity of denominations, church affiliates, and regions of the United States of America that were utilized. Therefore, its benefit can be delineated and easily contextualized for an Adventist context, which has started with the *Growing Young Adventists* movement.

The format of the book itself is easy enough for a broad audience, and is geared to pastors and church leaders. I would highly encourage church leaders to, not only read this book, but gather a group to analyze each of these six strategies in light of their own church (utilizing the online assessment tool). *Growing Young* is meant to encourage struggling churches with strategies to go beyond their discouraging reality, learning from positive outcomes from thriving congregations.

Little Rock, Arkansas   Filip Milosavljevic

Pressler, Carolyn. *Numbers*. AOTC. Nashville: Abingdon, 2017. xviii + 323 pp. Softcover. USD 39.99.

While *Numbers* is a title that evokes the theological importance of the two censuses which indicate the failure of the first generation of Israel and the divine faithfulness towards the second, it is the Hebrew title that conveys the main thrust of the book: God's people are on the way to Canaan *in the wilderness* (במדבר). The book of Numbers collects the most important glimpses of this wilderness journey. Carolyn Pressler thoughtfully examines such glimpses in the newest release of the Abingdon Old Testament Commentaries series (AOTC). The work reflects the teaching and research of the author, a professor of biblical interpretation at United Theological Seminary of the Twin Cities (Minneapolis-Saint Paul) and an ordained minister in the United Church of Christ. Pressler's personal interest in the Hebrew Bible, feminist and liberationist biblical interpretation, and gender and biblical law is evident throughout the pages of this commentary.

The book is divided into two parts. In the first part, the author provides a short introduction (1–8) to Numbers where she discusses authorship, composition and dating, as well as the issue of historicity and context

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Pressler, Carolyn. *Numbers*. AOTC. Nashville: Abingdon, 2017. xviii + 323 pp. Softcover. USD 39.99.

While *Numbers* is a title that evokes the theological importance of the two censuses which indicate the failure of the first generation of Israel and the divine faithfulness towards the second, it is the Hebrew title that conveys the main thrust of the book: God's people are on the way to Canaan *in the wilderness* (במדבר). The book of Numbers collects the most important glimpses of this wilderness journey. Carolyn Pressler thoughtfully examines such glimpses in the newest release of the Abingdon Old Testament Commentaries series (AOTC). The work reflects the teaching and research of the author, a professor of biblical interpretation at United Theological Seminary of the Twin Cities (Minneapolis-Saint Paul) and an ordained minister in the United Church of Christ. Pressler's personal interest in the Hebrew Bible, feminist and liberationist biblical interpretation, and gender and biblical law is evident throughout the pages of this commentary.

The book is divided into two parts. In the first part, the author provides a short introduction (1–8) to Numbers where she discusses authorship, composition and dating, as well as the issue of historicity and context

for the reading. In the second part, the reader can find the commentary itself, which is divided into several literary sections. Each section begins with a short introduction where the author summarizes the main point to be explored followed by a literary analysis of the unit where the author presents her view on structure and composition. She takes into account her understanding of the long historical process involved in the formation of the text. Pressler locates its culmination in the Persian period, when a redactor shaped the final form of the Hebrew text of Numbers, which, according to her, is part the "legend of origins" of Israel as a people (4). Following the literary analysis, the reader finds the exegetical analysis, where Pressler carries out a discussion of the main elements of the passage. Finally, each section contains a theological and ethical analysis of the unit. Here, the author proposes a contemporary application of the text and deals with some of the "unpalatable" practices found in the book, such as holy war (198).

The present commentary follows the editorial intention of the series to provide an "aid in the study of Scripture" and to "provoke a deeper understanding of the Bible in all its many facets" (xi). The work is aimed at reaching not only theological students and pastors, but also "upper-level college and university students, and those responsible for teaching in congregational settings" (xi).

In a certain sense, the book succeeds in reaching a wide range of readers. On the one hand, those who have professional background in biblical studies will benefit from Pressler's insightful analysis of Numbers. She examines the biblical data from an interdisciplinary perspective (e.g., anthropology and archaeology), taking into account the history of interpretation from the primitive rabbinic exegesis to the recent emerging reinterpretations such as feminist, post-colonial, and liberationist readings. One important point that a more informed reader could miss is the lack of source identification. Phrases like "some commentators," (208) "other scholars," (108) or "broadly scholarly agreement" (222) permeate the work without explicit mention of any representative sources. On the other hand, those who do not have expertise in this area of knowledge may also enjoy reading this book. In fact, the readability of the commentary is one of its most evident strengths. While the author's analysis is based on the original language, the commentary does not require training in Hebrew. The Hebrew words are transliterated and the author sets apart complicated discussion about linguistic and textual issues. The language is accessible and pleasant, revealing the skill of Pressler as a writer. At the same time, the theological applications are sensible to the current social and political circumstances in the United States, making the work quite relevant.

The critical perspective of the commentary is coherent with the editorial line of the series. This is clear from her definition of Israel's historiography, which, according to her, "refers not to 'what happened' but to the way in which a people understands and recounts its past" (112). In her hermeneutic of suspicion, the author seeks to be attentive to the way in which a passage "reflects the conscious or unconscious biases and interests" (164) of that passage, which are almost always "self-serving" (164). As the stories of Numbers are no more

than "wilderness tales," the author does not have difficulty understanding most of the book's content as a result of a "priestly agenda" (154), whose guild of professionals sought to establish its legitimacy during the reconstruction of the Persian period, mostly through "cautionary tales," a term which the author often resorts to in dealing with passages referring to God's punishment. Thus, it is expected that, in many cases, only a *priestology* (rather than a theology) of the text is offered. In other words, only the perspective of a "self-serving" priesthood is available. In this case, the text needs to be deconstructed so that it may reveal the real "theology" behind it (e.g., 47, 98, 145, 156, 164). Having in mind the disjunction between history and record, the pervasive influence of "male authors and redactors" (43) with a strong "patriarchal bias" (105), and the effect of a priestly guild filled with an ambitious desire for power, it would not be an overstatement to affirm that discerning any theological statement from the text in its canonical form is quite unfeasible.

Another major characteristic of the commentary is the emphasis on source criticism. In fact, one could state that Pressler's book is a good example of how Wellhausen's documentary hypothesis stays alive in spite of the advancement in literary studies of biblical and ancient Near Eastern texts that has recently led to an appreciation of the text in its final form. Conjectures on the different layers of traditions (e.g., 141) and sources (e.g., pre-P source) present in the final form of the text are spread throughout her analysis. The assumption that the text is a result of centuries of development and is formed by competitive sources trying to push a particular agenda not only lacks historical evidence but also runs against the literary evidence and the clear claim of the text. Such presupposition directly affects her work in several ways. First, the speculative nature of identifying the distinct levels and sources in the text makes a great deal of her commentary a scholarly historical guess. Second, the author is unable to see the macro literary structure of the book and, consequently, the masterful narrative strategies which impact the message of the book. Finally, in dealing with apparent contradictions in the text (e.g., Num 16–17), the author merely assumes the inability of the ancient editor to eliminate "contradictions in the story that cannot be reconciled" (141) from the final canonical text.

By way of conclusion, the importance of the book in the context of scholarly research should be emphasized. In several points, her commentary illustrates how the interpreter should engage with the text, both in terms of the past being attentive to its original context and in terms of the present being sensible to the contemporary challenges that demand a biblical response. The book is quite provocative and its reading invites those who consider the Mosaic authorship, the unity of the final canonical form, and the accurate historicity of Numbers as more than mere "doctrines of faith," (3) to cope with the challenges raised by this new release. In this context, the reading of Pressler's commentary is not only recommend but almost indispensable.

Berrien Springs, Michigan   Jônatas de Mattos Leal

Thompson, Andrew. *Jesus of Arabia: Christ Through Middle Eastern Eyes*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2018. xxxix + 199 pp. Hardcover. USD 32.00.

Andrew Thompson is an Anglican priest who has worked in Abu Dhabi and other places in the Middle East for more than two decades. In this book, he attempts to explain the Arab culture to Western expatriates, hence the foreword to the book, written by the Minister of Culture, Youth, and Community Development in the United Arab Emirates. This statesman makes a good point when he says that "an understanding that our life on earth is not our ultimate existence unites faiths" (ix).

After an introduction, the book is divided into five parts, the first of which focuses on family, honor, and hospitality. The second part deals with religion, the third with the topic of women, the fourth with language, and the fifth contains the conclusion. The four appendices are titled as follows: "Corruption of Scriptures," "Islamic View of the Crucifixion," "The Identity of Christ," and "The Bible on Arabs and Arabia." At the end of the book there is a bibliography as well as an index of topics and names.

In the very beginning of the book, Thompson confesses that he grew up believing that Jesus was an Englishman who looked like a white person from the West. Later on, through his life and work, the author came to the conclusion that Jesus was "a child of the Middle East" (xvi). His learning process went hand-in-hand with another important discovery, namely that the Arab Muslims have a deep respect for Jesus and they love him. These, and other similar discoveries, have led him to a firm belief that the most important point Christians have in common with Arab Muslims is Jesus (xiv).

Thompson reminds his readers that "the Bible is a Middle Eastern book and it has a great deal to say which is relevant to Middle Easterners today as well as the rest of the world" (xxix). The lifestyle of the nomads and villagers dwelling on the edge of the desert will find parallels across the centuries from biblical times to the present. Among the nomads in particular, there is a sacred code of hospitality rooted in the harsh environment of the desert. A stranger can approach a Bedouin camp and, once accepted, he can expect to receive hospitality for up to three days. This leads to the conclusion that hospitality may be the single most important law of the desert.

One strong feature of Thompson's book is the fact that many quotes are used from the Bible, the Qur'an, the writings of Ibn Al Tayyib (an eleventh-century commentator on the Arabic Bible), then Geoffrey Parrinder's *Jesus in the Qur'an* (Oxford: Oneworld, 1965), and *The Muslim Jesus: Sayings and Stories in Islamic Literature,* ed. and trans. Tarif Khalidi, Convergences: Inventories of the Present 28 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001), and other authoritative texts on the subject. The author is fond of the writings of Kenneth Bailey, who spent sixty years in the Middle East and studied ancient, medieval, and modern Oriental sources, especially the Arabic Bible. The following sentence demonstrates Thompson's great respect for Bailey and his outstanding work: "This book is my hopelessly inadequate tribute to him" (xvii).

Thompson acknowledges that there are many difficult questions that the Arabs have about Christians: A struggle to understand the doctrine of the Trinity; the two natures of Christ; along with the lifestyle in the West that is far removed from the original message of Jesus. On the other hand, Muslims and Christians are united in the belief that the birth of Jesus was a special act of God. Thus, in the Qur'an, Jesus is called "son of Mary" but not the son of Joseph (*Ibn Yusuf*). Yet, the Qur'an is quick to deny that Jesus's birth was the result of a sexual union.

There are many things that I appreciated when reading Thompson's book, yet, due to the scope of this review, I can only mention a few: First, Jesus can be a good bridge across the divide between Christians and Muslims. Second, it is important to understand the shame and honor culture so commonly found in the Bible and among the Arabs. Third, there can be no productive dialogue without mutual respect. The author states that his book is *not* a narrative of the Jesus of orthodox Christian faith and history. Nor is it an apologetic work intended to "convert" people. Thompson says that he intended this book to "spark a conversation or a dialogue" about what Jesus means to both Christians and Arab Muslims (xxxii).

I also would like to submit a few constructive suggestions for consideration. Thompson rightly says that Jesus is the best point of contact between Christians and Muslims, but he could have added the topic of prayer as another good way of rapprochement between the two faiths. I like what the author says about the Arab love for their camels (especially the mention of "camel beauty contests"), yet the reader may want to learn more about life in the desert. After all, three of the world's great monotheistic religions originated in the desert. I also expected to read more about Abraham, who lived in tents, the father of all the faithful people of the book. Finally, it would be good to include Barbara M. Bowen's book *Strange Scriptures that Perplex the Western Mind* (Whitefish, MT: Kessinger, 2010) in the Bibliography and perhaps in the Introduction to the section "Biblical Culture and Arabian Culture" (xxxii-xxxiii). Moreover, regarding the Jewish customs in the time of Jesus, the author could mention popular works by Brad H. Young.

In concluding this review, I would like to propose that Thomson's work is a stimulating reflection available to those readers who are interested in interfaith dialogues between the monotheistic religions. Moreover, the book is highly recommended to all who are interested in religious topics.

Adventist University of Health Sciences   ZDRAVKO STEFANOVIC
Orlando, Florida

Thompson, Jonathan A., ed. *The Enduring Legacy of Ellen G. White and Social Justice*. Nampa, ID: Pacific Press, 2017. 168 pp. Softcover. USD 24.99.

Publication of this volume marks a watershed in Seventh-day Adventism's stance toward the theme of social justice. For most of the twentieth century, Adventist publications treated church-based activism for social justice with suspicion—at best. Especially from the 1920s to 1970s, in an approximate

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parallel with the Fundamentalist movement, social justice was seen as the agenda of a liberal, politicized Christianity that had abandoned biblical authority and the rallying point for ecumenical unity to leverage the power of the state against dissenters. Furthermore, the very idealism of social justice seemed to give it a seductive power that threatened to distract the church from its eschatological mission of winning individual souls for eternal salvation and lead to preoccupation with futile efforts to transform human society into the kingdom of God. Passages from Ellen White's writings were relentlessly invoked to reinforce the point that Christ never tried to reform the social-political order of his day and neither should his church.

But now, entirely against that long dominant grain, this new volume, which assembles presentations made at a symposium held at Oakwood University in October 2015, not only affirms social justice as central to the work of the Seventh-day Adventist Church, but claims the legacy of Ellen White in doing so. It presents an Ellen White, who, as Vanderbilt University religious studies professor Lewis V. Baldwin puts it in the foreword, "never separated personal salvation from social salvation" (12).

With the possible exception of E. E. Cleveland, *The Middle Wall* (Washington, DC: Review & Herald, 1969), *The Enduring Legacy of Ellen G. White and Social Justice* is, to this reviewer's knowledge, the first full volume from a denominational publishing house in America to embrace Adventist action for social justice as its explicit and central theme. (In 2014, the Signs Publishing Company in Australia published *Do Justice: Our Call to Faithful Living*, edited by Nathan Brown and Joanna Durby).

Chapters by Jonathan Thompson and Calvin Rock make the overall case for flipping the script on Ellen White from individualistic, other-worldly pietist to visionary social reformer. For Thompson, who served as the Oakwood University Branch Office of the Ellen G. White Estate, *The Enduring Legacy of Ellen G. White and Social Justice* ended up being a personal final legacy. He passed away in March 2017, before, unhappily, the book came off the press, but not before organizing the 2015 symposium on Ellen White and Social Justice, and then moving the book toward publication as editor.

Thompson argued that at certain historical "tipping points," when injustice reached such a level that God intervened on the side of the oppressed, Ellen White, in line with the biblical prophets, gave emphatic voice to the divine mandate for social justice. For Ellen White, the most notable tipping points came during the abolitionist movement in the run-up to the Civil War, and the socio-economic oppression of Blacks under White supremacist rule in the South after Reconstruction. In "the drama of unarmed blacks killed on just about a weekly basis," Thompson saw a similar "tipping point" (103) developing in 2015, and with it a challenge for Adventists to take up their prophet's legacy.

Rock, a former president of Oakwood and vice-president of the General Conference, boldly argues for a large measure of congruity between Ellen White's work and the themes of the Black theology movement that took shape in the late 1960s. A look at the themes that Rock highlights will, at the

same time, afford opportunity to note relevant perspectives brought by other contributors to the volume.

Rock contends that Ellen White's writings reflect Black theology's insistence that theology must be done from the perspective of the "concrete human situation" of the oppressed. He sees in her writings a "prevailing concern for human welfare in the concrete, everyday caldron of real-life existence," evidenced by her "disdain for social caste . . . and social inequality" (41). He cites the "broad array" of specific social ills that she addressed, including "slavery, Jim Crow, intemperance, child labor, gender discrimination, economic disadvantage, family dissolution, [and] the abuses of organized capital and labor," and points out that she urged Christians to use the power of the vote against such evils (41).

Ciro Sepulveda, who served as chair of Oakwood's History Department for thirteen years, shows how Ellen White's prophetic ministry identified with the interests of another sector on the margins of society—immigrants. He argues that Ellen White shaped Adventist culture in a way that "made it a magnet for migrants" (114).

"Civil disobedience" is another theme Rock cites as placing Ellen White in kinship with Black theology. Her admonition against obeying the draconian federal Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 is her most remarkable call to place loyalty to God's law above even the highest human law, though Rock identifies several other instances in which her writings affirm the principle. The chapter by Norman Miles, adapted from a chapel presentation to Oakwood students, paints a vivid picture of the historical context of Ellen White's response to the Fugitive Slave Act. Miles, a historian who taught at the Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary for seventeen years before returning to full-time ministry and conference administration, clarifies that Ellen White was urging upon Adventists the necessity of "conscientious objection" against complicity with an unjust law, in comparison to a Gandhi-style campaign to bring social change through non-violent civil disobedience. Yet, the two concepts seem to bridge naturally, so that it does not require a great stretch to see the compatibility here with Black theology that Rock suggests.

Rock finds further resonance with Black theology in Ellen White's insistence, especially in the *Southern Work*, that reparations—programmatic efforts to redress the effects of centuries of enslavement and degrading exploitation in order to level the socio-economic playing field—are due African Americans. Moreover, says Rock, Ellen White shares with Black theology an emphasis on "God's special regard for the poor" (44). This regard takes the form not only of particular care for their struggles, but also personal identification with them in Jesus of Nazareth, a humble, lower-class Galilean.

Finally, Rock points out that both Ellen White and Black theology see a typological connection between Israel's exodus from bondage in Egypt and Black enslavement and emancipation in America. In both instances, God not only identifies with, but intervenes to free, the oppressed. Ellen White makes the connection explicit in *Southern Work*, 42. (Rock is also careful to distance Ellen White from excesses he sees in some expressions of Black theology that

would tend to make the non-Black and non-poor somehow lesser on God's scale of human worth).

In one of the volume's most cogent and provocative chapters, Keith Augustus Burton further probes Ellen White's writings on the theme of justice for the poor. Burton, a New Testament scholar and current director of the Center for Adventist-Muslim Relations at Oakwood University, evaluates the alignment of Ellen White's work, the "lesser light," with the "greater light"—the Bible, but more particularly the scriptural "testimony of Jesus."

Burton locates the "testimony of Jesus" in neither traditional Adventist understandings of apocalyptic prophecy, nor in soteriological abstractions, but in Jesus's own testimony about his mission in Luke 4:16–20—his "liberating manifesto" of social justice (70–71). Burton lays out abundant evidence in support of his contention that Ellen White shared the "sensitivity towards wealth inequality" that Jesus expressed in his inaugural sermon. He highlights the candor of "her indictment against the capitalist barons, who increase their wealth by exploiting others" and her guidance for aiding the poor in a way that empowers them for action and honors their dignity, rather than simply giving charity (73–74).

Burton believes that Ellen White undervalued the historic contribution of labor unions to helping American workers toward fairer wages and protections against exploitation. While recognizing a mixture of good and bad in the historical record of organized labor, he suggests that she "threw out the proverbial baby with the bathwater" in her absolute stricture against joining labor unions. Yet, he notes that even this prohibition comes, ironically, as part of a prophetic lament against the "oppression of the poor that rich men may hoard wealth" (76). Apparently, she saw unions as part of a sinister agenda that would have the consequence of further depriving the poor, even to the point of starvation.

In view of the formidable weight of evidence presented in this volume showing Ellen White's deep and far-ranging social concern, how is it that she has been so pervasively portrayed as an opponent of involvement in social issues? Rock attributes this in part to oft-quoted passages commenting on the fact that neither Jesus nor Paul attempted to reform the social injustices of the Roman Empire through direct confrontation. Ellen White's own course of action, Rock argues, shows recognition that the American democratic political context allows for, even requires, a more activist approach, and puts her in harmony with Black theology's claim that the overriding question "is not what did Jesus and Paul do then, but what would they do now" (42).

Eschatology is the seedbed for another influential root of the misapprehension of Ellen White's societal relevance. Rock does not here address this issue, but it comes up in Oakwood theology professor Russell Seay's analysis of Ellen White's social strategy in comparison with that of African American leaders W.E.B. DuBois, Booker T. Washington, and Martin Luther King, Jr. Seay regards Ellen White as favoring Washington's combination of accommodating an unjust social order while focusing on individual uplift and attributes this leaning, in part, to her premillennial eschatology.

Her "view of Jesus Christ's imminent return, make[s] sensible the strategy to 'save as many souls' as possible without being overly concerned with the structures of oppression," writes Seay (57).

Martin Luther King, Jr., on the other hand, favored the "self-determinist" assertion of equal rights advocated by W.E.B. DuBois in opposition to Washington in the classic segregation-era debate over Black social strategy. Seay observes that King's more optimistic, post-millennial eschatology, his belief "that it is possible for humanity to bring about the 'beloved community'" contributed to an emphasis on "correcting the social structures that perpetuate the cycle of racism, classism, and militarism" (57).

Seay calls for "a better synthesis of Washington and DuBois and Ellen and Martin" that would "combine the pre-millennial urgency with the post-millennial social activism in order to remain essentially Adventist but also relevant in our contemporary context" (57). Two leading exemplars of a younger generation of "woke" Adventist pastors, Charles Wesley Knight of the Oakwood religion faculty and Jaime Kowlessar of City Temple church in Dallas, Texas, similarly challenge the church to a new level in confronting injustice in the structures of society.

With their emphasis on social "structures," the contributors to *The Enduring Legacy of Ellen G. White and Social Justice* have put a critical theological and missiological issue on the table for the spiritual heirs of Ellen White. However, much remains for them, and others who will arise to the challenge, to do. The book does present abundant evidence for Ellen White as a prophet who spoke out against injustice in society, who urged Adventists to social benevolence as part of their involvement in God's plan for human restoration in preparation for the coming of a redeemed and restored world, and who sometimes called for use of the ballot in support of such efforts. More work needs to be done, however, to clarify the connection between Ellen White and a new engagement with structural social change worked out in the arena of legislation, public policy, and electoral politics.

Seay's constructive proposal points one way forward. It is premised, though, on the view that, due to her premillennialist outlook and historical context, Ellen White's writings have little useful guidance for the church on dealing with social structures. Other theological sources would be needed to construct the creative synthesis he envisions for contemporary Adventism. And, in fact, Kowlessar and Knight make their cases for addressing social injustice at the structural level, essentially without reference to Ellen White (though their homiletic presentations make no claim to fully-developed academic analysis and should not be critiqued as such).

Another possibility might involve further exploration of Ellen White's legacy for resources helpful in developing a broader vision of Adventism's relevance for social justice. The long-term or indirect societal impact of prioritizing the formation of alternative structures for education and health care might be one avenue worth further exploration. The chapter by Mervyn Warren, who has provided decades of leadership for the school in numerous capacities including Dean of Religion, Provost, and Interim President,

suggests something along this line in characterizing Oakwood itself as "exhibit A for social justice by Seventh-day Adventists as perceived by Ellen White" (36). Is it merely historical irony that the incalculable contribution that Oakwood has made to African American economic and social advancement in its one-hundred-and-twenty years would not have happened without Ellen White's eschatological urgency? Or, is there a purpose here that Adventists might further clarify and apply today in a way that would more fully meet the prophetic mandate to "do justice and love mercy?"

Already too long, the review cannot close without at least mentioning other riches contained in this relatively slender volume: religion professor Ifeoma I. Kwesi's searing, yet somehow still hopeful autobiographical reflections on her journey through intersecting oppressions as Black, female, and gifted for ministry in the Adventist church; English professor Ramona L. Hyman's evocations from Ellen White's landmark 1891 exhortation, "Our Duty to the Colored People," through the lens of literary theory; the careful groundwork on the role and function of Ellen White's prophetic authority laid down by Craig Newborn, the first director of the Ellen G. White Estate branch office at Oakwood; the spirited call to action for social justice in a sermon-based chapter by Carlton P. Byrd, pastor of the Oakwood University Church and speaker-director of the *Breath of Life* telecast; and the general endorsement of the whole project implied by inclusion of a sermon by North American Division president Daniel Jackson—inspiring, if only remotely connected with, the book's theme.

The Enduring Legacy of Ellen White and Social Justice leaves its own legacy, one that includes a question: Will the new moment and the new possibilities the book represents fade as a temporary blip of interest, or will they find fulfillment through creative, faithful responses of those who believe that the book's central thrust points us in the right direction?

Washington Adventist University   Douglas Morgan
Takoma Park, Maryland

Treloar, Geoffrey R. *The Disruption of Evangelicalism: The Age of Torrey, Mott, McPherson and Hammond*. A History of Evangelicalism 4. Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2017. xiv + 334 pp. Hardcover. USD 35.00.

This monograph is the latest of five volumes in the History of Evangelicalism series from InterVarsity Press. This particular volume is an especially valuable contribution and builds upon the scholarship from other previously published volumes in the series. The author, Geoffrey Treloar, teaches at the Australian College of Theology and brings a rich global perspective which makes this volume the richest of the five volumes in the series in this respect.

Treloar argues that the "disruptive" event that interrupted Evangelicalism from approximately the turn of the nineteenth century (c. 1900) up to the verge of World War II (c. 1940) was World War I (1914–1918). "[T]he Great War was largely if not solely responsible for the disruption of evangelicalism" (285). This book is therefore divided into three parts: the

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Treloar argues that the "disruptive" event that interrupted Evangelicalism from approximately the turn of the nineteenth century (c. 1900) up to the verge of World War II (c. 1940) was World War I (1914–1918). "[T]he Great War was largely if not solely responsible for the disruption of evangelicalism" (285). This book is therefore divided into three parts: the

"*Fin de siècle* (c.1900–1914)" covering chapters one to five; "Evangelicals at War (1914–18)" encompassing chapters six to eight; and "Evangelicalism at the Crossroads (1919–c.1940)," which includes chapters nine to twelve. The book concludes with a brief "Epilogue" (278–286).

The author builds upon other volumes in the series using the Bebbington quadrilateral to help define evangelicalism. Instead of emphasizing the polarization that occurred, he suggests instead that a much more nuanced "spectrum model" (viii, 14) is more appropriate to discuss the "seemingly endless variety within evangelicalism" (2). "This has meant that the transitional nature of evangelicalism during this era has gone unappreciated at the cost of overlooking its fluidity and complexity" (14). Those "modernizing moderate evangelicals" have been little studied, the author argues, with the best example being American Presbyterianism. This "spectrum model" is a significant contribution of this book and, in this respect, is unique in comparison to previous volumes in the series. I find it particularly useful for better understanding the relationship of Seventh-day Adventists to the same religious groups described in this book. At the 1919 Bible Conference, for example, Adventist leaders viewed themselves as being in harmony with the developing Fundamentalist impulse, and this "spectrum model" provides a helpful interpretative window that needs to be explored in conjunction with the development of Seventh-day Adventist theology. It certainly seems that individuals such as W. W. Prescott, a self-styled "progressive," would almost certainly resonate with Treloar's description of "modernizing moderate evangelicals." Adventist "liberals" were never modernists. This does, however, mean that they should be categorized as more moderate Fundamentalists within this "spectrum."

Treloar takes the Bebbington quadrilateral in a creative new direction. He argues that within the four evangelical characteristics (conversionism, activism, biblicism, and crucicentrism) the first two and latter two serve in a sort of axis that tilts back and forth over time. The conversionist-activist axis was dominant before the war, what he likes to call the *fin de siècle* evangelicalism (1895–1914). Afterward, the biblicist-crucicentrix axis was predominant (1919–1940) (9). "The legacy of the war to evangelicalism was heightened activism and significantly weakened conversionism" (172). Although not a major focus of this volume, he does suggest in the epilogue that during World War II this tilt shifted back to the conversionist-activist axis as evangelicals became part of the effort to win the war (281–283). This thesis will no doubt be much more contested, as the quest to define both evangelicalism and fundamentalism remains rather elusive. Such an interpretative motif often overlooks the role of doctrine. Furthermore, the Fundamentalist impulse always remained fluid, making such an interpretative axis less than convincing at times.

Another important interpretative theme was the failure of interwar evangelicals to restore Christian civilization. I was repeatedly left wondering: Were evangelicals with a Fundamentalist impulse really this naïve? This theme could have been more thoroughly explored, even as it was hinted at repeatedly throughout the book. The loss of cultural authority was clearly a significant motivation, and I wish it had been developed more fully in this volume.

While it is clear the mainstream culture was moving away from a Christian civilization, the perpetual question for *fin de siècle* evangelicals remained essentially about how to reassert their cultural dominance (174).

The real contribution and strength of the book is its focus on global Christianity. Fundamentalism was immensely varied. Comparisons between variations in the United States, Canada, Great Britain, Australia, and New Zealand created useful points of contrast. Canada, for example, exhibited a much more moderate, and less self-assured, version of evangelicalism. Those with a proclivity toward militant Fundamentalism tended to migrate south across the border, or, at least drum up support during American preaching tours. Canadian Fundamentalism remained weak and never were a homogenous lot. In this way, national variations and permutations augmented distinctive denominational features and varieties (185–187).

This book is essential reading for anyone interested in the story of evangelicalism. While many books have been written about World War I, particularly as related to religion, this book offers a surprisingly fresh and cogent analysis that builds upon the latest research about evangelicalism, most notably through creative uses of the Bebbington quadrilateral, as a valuable contribution about evangelicalism in its own right.

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Wilkins, Steve, ed. *Christian Ethics: Four Views.* Spectrum: Multiview Book. Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2017. iv + 221 pp. Softcover. USD 21.00.

Christian Ethics: Four Views is one of the latest offerings from IVP Academic in their series called "Spectrum: Multiview Books." The volume is edited and introduced by Steve Wilkens, professor of philosophy and ethics at Azuza Pacific University. The four main contributors are as follows: First, representing Virtue Ethic is Brad J. Kallenberg, professor of theology and ethics at the University of Dayton (Ohio). Second, representing Natural Law Ethics is Claire Brown Peterson, associate professor of philosophy at Asbury University in Wilmore, Kentucky. Third, representing Divine Command Theory is John Hare, Noah Porter Professor of Philosophical Theology at Yale University. Fourth, representing Prophetic Ethics is Peter Goodwin Heltzel, associate professor of systematic theology at New York Theological Seminary.

Wilkens launches the book with an introductory chapter orienting the reader to the forthcoming discussion. This chapter is essential reading, especially for those not highly trained in ethical theory. Wilkens notes that a major area of discussion within Christianity is the argument over which are the God-ordained sources of moral knowledge: Scripture? Reason? History? Church Tradition? Some combination? Other questions probe the area of human ability, especially how much or how little human moral abilities are impacted by sin. Wilkens surveys the basic roots—both philosophical and

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theological—of each ethical theory, giving the reader the necessary background to better grasp the forthcoming essays and responses. All four presenters appear to depend on this introduction to supply presuppositions otherwise not stated in their own essays.

In his presentation of Virtue Ethics, Brad Kallenberg contends that ethics is less about a code of conduct for given situations, and more about who you are—moral character. Forming the right character based on habitual virtues will guide the individual in specific situations. Since the inculcation of virtuous habits is paramount, Kallenberg makes heavy use of physical training and behaviorist methods for forming habits of virtue. In particular, a Christian virtue ethics would focus on how one's habits contribute to the Christian communal goal of shaping that community's life to be like Christ, though exactly what this means is left unexplored. Kallenberg illustrates his ethics through an analysis of how social media can inculcate habits of covetousness which undermine Christian virtue.

Natural Law theorist, Claire Brown Peterson, expresses significant agreement with Kallenberg but criticizes his position for not supplying the "why" behind virtue ethics. She asserts that Natural Law Ethics fills that need. For her, morality is grounded in our *telos*, that is, our ideal nature as made by our Creator. Moral good is the embodied living out of our ideal humanity as designed by God. Peterson cites Rom 2:14 as evidence God has written this natural law into all humans, which makes this morality universal, not just for Christians. Unlike Aristotle and Aquinas, who envisioned moral good as fulfilling the rationality of our nature by living rationally, Peterson sees moral good as implementing our design to live in community and interdependence, which fosters human flourishing and thriving.

John Hare contends that morality is grounded in divine commands. Specifically, he contends that the "ought" only comes by divine command. There are many goods in life that are optional for humans, but out of that larger set of goods, God has commanded only a subset to be obligatory. While Hare briefly cites Ps 119 and God's law, asserting that God's law is relevant to Christians, he offers no practical guidance on how one knows what God's laws command. This is partly because Hare seems to use his allotted space mostly for raising potential objections to his theory, then refuting them, and partly because he frames much of his argument through the lenses of Immanuel Kant and Duns Scotus. Finally, he argues that the doctrine of divine design, which is central to natural law, shows it is actually rooted in a divine command.

Peter Goodwin Heltzel presents a form of Prophetic Ethics. Heltzel's ethics are heavily tied to the American political scene, especially in matters related to current movements questing for "social justice." He advocates an "innovative" interpretational approach to Scripture loosely based on a few Old Testament passages decrying oppression of the poor and other marginalized groups. He also casts Christ as a political activist leading a revolutionary movement against both the Jewish and Roman systems of oppression. Heltzel criticizes the other views for focusing primarily on personal morality while ignoring social sins and societal problems. By contrast, Heltzesl depicts sin

primarily as a structural problem in society, with little focus on personal sin. Christianity becomes primarily, if not solely, about implementing the kingdom of God—as understood through the social justice paradigm—into our current society and politics.

This book does an admirable job of accomplishing its apparent purposes, namely to introduce the reader to four differing approaches to ethics within Christianity, along with the associated debates. Wilkens's introductory chapter is especially apt at orienting the reader to the large traditions behind each theory represented. Furthermore, each author is exemplary in treating the other views with Christian respect and courtesy, while raising significant questions for consideration.

One possible weakness, however, is that all four of the main authors—especially in their interactions with Heltzel—come across as being politically progressive or liberal in their approach to societal issues. This seems to result in a measure of group-think, which may minimize some of the tough issues and questions others might raise. Heltzel, for example, chastises virtue ethicist Stanley Hauerwas for arguing that the church should not be involved in politics because the church is to be an alternative community of virtue distinct from general society. How much better might this book be if Hauerwas could have interacted with Heltzel rather than Kallenberg. Additionally, the book seems to have no truly "conservative" or Evangelical voice in the mix. What if an evangelical, such as Albert Mohler, was part of the discussion? Such differences in perspective would significantly enrich this volume.

Kallenberg's depiction of virtue ethics is to be commended for recognizing the importance of intentionally forming moral habits and character through training processes. In situations where moral codes may not give clear direction, who one is in their character will do much to guide that individual through the decision-making process. Kallenberg is also to be commended for raising questions about how social media negatively impacts Christian character formation. One key weakness is that Kallenberg's description of character formation seems highly behaviorist, without consideration for the doctrine of human depravity due to sin. As such, his ethics seem unintentionally favorable to a Pelagian perspective.

Peterson rightly contends that there is a strong relationship between virtue ethics and Natural Law Theory (NLT). For her, NLT provides the undergirding rationale for why we need to develop certain habits and character traits. Peterson invokes divine design as the foundation of morality. Morality is living in a way that fulfills the ideal design for human life intended by God. While Peterson recognizes that sin has perverted that ideal design, the doctrine of human depravity has little impact on her optimism about human ability to deduce moral guidance through knowledge of our *telos*. Peterson also contends that that belief in God is not necessary to rationally recognize inherent objective goods and evils, and thus morality can operate independently of belief in deity. This may be challenged, for atheistic evolution rejects any concept of design in nature, yet divine design is claimed as a core foundation for Peterson's NLT. A number of thinkers, however, have noted that if there

is no divine design, then morality is reduced to socially constructed norms established by whomever holds power.

Hare correctly contends that the divine design needed for NLT is a form of divine command. Thus, every moral obligation is grounded in a divine directive. Exactly how the divine commands are known is not made clear except, perhaps, though a brief defense of the need for biblical law. Codes like the Ten Commandments, however, are not directly mentioned. The deficiency in addressing how divine commands are received and known by humans may be partly explained by another weakness, namely, that Hare devotes most of his chapter to building and defending the philosophical plausibility of Divine Command Theory and to refuting corollary objections.

Hare makes a significant contribution, however, by addressing the Euthyphro Dilemma from Plato's *Dialogues*. This dilemma has been a major criticism leveled against morality based in divine commands. It charges that divine commands must be arbitrary (i.e., there is no objective, evidential means of knowing good and evil) or that God must be subject to a standard of morality which is higher than himself (God is not absolutely sovereign). Those leveling this charge usually advocate for the latter option, and allege that good and evil are determined consequentially without need of divine aid. Hare wisely avoids the typical Christian response that God is by nature good, therefore whatever He commands is good, because opponents will charge that this shifts the arbitrary issue back one step without solving the problem, while others contend the point is a form of circular reasoning. Instead, Hare exegetes Socrates's conversation with Euthyphro, contending that Socrates never proved the assumptions he led Euthyphro to embrace. Thus, the argument is logically deficient due to the premises being unproven.

Heltzel's presentation of prophetic ethics differed significantly from the first three, being much less philosophical and much more biographical and homiletical. Kallenberg rightly criticizes Heltzel's lack of exegetical and philosophical rigor, saying, "Apparently prophetic ethics needs there to be in place skilled (aka virtuous) scholars who have devoted their lives to the study of ancient languages and texts . . . in order to guide those who today would put ancient texts into practice" (199–200).

Heltzel is to be commended for drawing our attention to social evils, but he does so by minimizing the concept of personal sin to such a degree that it plays no role in his argument. Sin becomes centered in socio-political structures, seeming to cast the marginalized as sinless victims. By depicting Prophetic Ethics as seeking to implement the Kingdom of God into human political structures, adherents of this view are left with only a small leap away from concluding that those presently marginalized are morally superior to those in power over them. Once such moral superiority is claimed, the emerging moral elite seem likely to seek to enforce their moral vision through political power, much as Catholics and Protestants persecuted and killed each other during the Reformation. Heltzel rightly laments the corruption of Christianity through alliance with political power structures, yet he proposes an alternative form of partnership which risks the same dangers. The doctrine

of human depravity would suggest that a change in social systems driven by the church will merely change the nature of the systemic sinfulness but cannot remove it. Furthermore, Heltzel offers no engagement with Jesus's prediction about the future fate of his followers. Rather than envisioning his disciples as social activists seeking justice, Jesus predicted they would be marginalized and persecuted by society (John 15:18–16:4; Matt 10:16–25). How might Heltzel reconcile such texts with his ethical model?

Does this mean Christians should not influence societal structures? Heltzel must be aware of historical movements led by individual Christians who influenced societal structures while avoiding the toxic alchemy that blends the church with politics. The nineteenth-century animal welfare movement in Europe provides such an example. Furthermore, John Wesley transformed British politics, not by organizing political action but by mass conversions to Christ, which happened to change voting patterns. These alternatives may address some of the concerns of prophetic ethics, but are not addressed by Heltzel.

This book is worthwhile reading and will stimulate thoughtful reactions across multiple theological perspectives. It challenges the reader to consider new and diverse perspectives in a respectful, congenial fashion, and makes a good addition to one's library.

Southern Adventist University   Stephen Bauer
Collegedale, Tennessee

Yarbro Collins, Adela, ed. *New Perspectives on the Book of Revelation*. BETL 291. Leuven: Peeters, 2017. ix + 644 pp. Softcover. USD 123.00.

The essays in this volume originate from the sixty-fourth Colloquium Biblicum Lovaniense, which was held in Leuven on 23–25 July 2015. They assess the current state of research on the book of Revelation and explored some new approaches and perspectives seeking to move forward the scholarly study of the last book of the New Testament canon. In addition to the introduction, written by Adela Yarbro Collins, the work comprises twenty-six essays, of which fourteen were main papers at the colloquium. The volume is a polyglot collection with eighteen English, five German, and three French contributions organized into two parts: the main papers and seminars and the short papers. Interestingly, some of the "short" papers, such as those of Michael Labahn and Gerd J. Steyn, are significantly longer than a number of the main papers. Also, several essays in the second group deserve the epithet of "main" contribution, since by raising new questions and utilizing new approaches they address promising prospects for furthering academic discussions on Revelation.

The main papers were written mostly by renowned scholars, well established in the research of the book of Revelation. Some of them have authored commentaries or notable monographs on Revelation, such as Adela Yarbro Collins, Steven J. Friesen, Martin Karrer, Thomas Witulski, Jacques Descreux, Craig R. Koester, and Judith L. Kovacs. A number of short papers came from the younger generation of scholars, who recently carried out doctoral research on the book of Revelation or in other areas having potential for

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shedding some light on interpretive problems arising in the book. The international character of the work also needs to be acknowledged as a strength. In addition to American and Western European scholars from Germany, Netherlands, Belgium, Switzerland, France, and Spain, valuable insights also appear from researchers at academic institutions in Russia, South Africa, and the Philippines.

Eight of the fourteen main papers deal with hermeneutical and theological questions, while the rest focus on interpretive problems arising in specific visions. The focus given to hermeneutical and theological issues is due to the fact that misinterpretation of the book has been, and still is, the result of ignoring the character of the book of Revelation. A number of the main papers carefully and thoroughly ascertain the state of research by providing an overview of the scholarly discussion and clarifying issues that have surfaced as major foci while also advancing the investigation. For example, Adela Yarbro Collins assesses the use of Scripture in the book of Revelation, and John J. Collins addresses the question of the book's genre. Both areas of study, which are of critical hermeneutical importance for interpreting the work, have received a tremendous amount of scholarly attention in recent decades and will continue to attract interest. Significantly, Adela Yarbro Collins suggests refining terminology in the discussion by proposing the use of "Scripture" (which she defines as "authoritative sacred books") instead of "Old Testament" as a more appropriate expression for the extant biblical literature John alludes to several hundred times in the book of Revelation. She also cautions against the narrow view of limiting the interpretation of Revelation to the study of the use of Scripture, because relating the work to the culture of first-century Asia Minor is necessary for responsible interpretation. John J. Collins contributes to the discussion on genre by arguing that the predominant genre of Revelation is apocalypse (although the book is also a prophecy and a pastoral letter) and relates this insight to the "motivational structure" of the book. Namely, Revelation is a type of literature presenting an "alternative world," which functions as an apocalyptic work prompting the people of God to steadfastness and endurance in the face of crisis. In his paper on "Violence in Revelation," Jan Willem van Henten, emphasizes the importance of defining the concept of violence clearly when investigating the question that has attracted significant interest in the last three decades of Revelation studies. He suggests that focusing on physical harm is insufficient, because pestering, verbal abuse, negative stereotyping, and various kinds of discriminations also qualify as non-physical violent behavior. Van Henten sees Revelation's absolute claim to the truth as a major problem and points to the violent implications of the stereotyping of others in the book. His argument indicates the need for further research in this area, which would elucidate the relationship between Revelation's doom scenarios and its non-violent Lamb Christology.

Steven J. Friesen, in his contribution entitled "A Useful Apocalypse: Domestication and Destabilization in the Second Century," notes patterns of redirecting Revelation's political and economic "wildness" in four second-century sources (Irenaeus's *Adversus haereses*; Justin Martyr's *Dialogue with*

Trypho; two fragments from Papias, Irenaeus, and the *Apocalypse of Peter*; Clement of Alexandria's *Quis dives salvetur*). He argues that the objective of "repurposing" Revelation was to serve the early Christian authors' agenda: institutional legitimation. Friesen holds that Revelation should be freed with its wild potential from the "domestication" to which its interpreters confined it by taming the dangers this book holds. While Friesen is correct regarding the explosive potential Revelation holds for lifting up divine transcendence in the face of all human authority, he limits the book's "wildness" to the political and economic critique of the first century imperial context. It would be illuminating to go somewhat deeper by investigating further. For example, he could include hermeneutical procedures in early Christian prophetic interpretation, and exegetical evidence in the writings of interpreters for putting the coming of the Antichrist in the future without relating it to the first-century context. The contribution of Craig R. Koester in this volume is remarkable. He points out, in his discussion of the Beast from the Land (Rev 13:11–18), that the scale of crisis depicted in the book does not correspond directly to the readers' social situation. He argues that it is uncertain how clear the connections between Revelation 13:11–18 and the first-century context would have been to the original readers. He suggests correctly that the images the texts evoke should be informed by what the readers know from other contexts: not only the Greco-Roman traditions, but also other parts of Revelation and Jewish scripture and tradition. The difficulties interpreters of the second and third century faced by trying to correlate Revelation's imagery with social realities seems to provide an ample reason for rethinking the extent of the influence of the imperial concepts on the interpretation of Revelation's visions.

A number of authors focus on exploring theological aspects of particular texts or topics. Judith L. Kovacs, in her theological interpretation of the millennial kingdom, draws from Irenaeus and Augustine and identifies five different purposes of the millennium, which is a fine contribution to the discussion on the text in Rev 20:1–6, receiving an enormous amount of attention in the past. Tobias Nicklas, traces the portrayals of the human beings in Revelation and sketches their main features. He reaches the conclusion that the primary feature of the human being is mortality and demonstrates that Revelation does not have the concept of an immortal soul. He also notes the relational dimension of the human being, who is capable of making choices in relation to God, but also against him. In their papers, Konrad Huber and Michael Sommer examine Revelation from the perspective of spatial categories. This promising approach merits more attention because of the intense dynamics between heaven and earth, which both authors correctly recognize. However, in further studies on spatial categories, it would be worth giving close attention to the function of the heavenly temple as a major concept in Revelation's unfolding drama, and to examine the impact of the concept on the development of Revelation's theological themes. Enrico Norelli explores the concept of time in Revelation and concludes that the main elements for the construction of time are found in 1:1–3 and 22:6–12; therefore, he analyses the parallels between the two passages. It is well known that the prologue and the epilogue of the

book are replete with language of imminence, which surfaces also at other places throughout the book. For temporal studies of Revelation, giving close attention to the language of imminence and its theological function would be a promising enterprise.

Questions of the grammar and text of Revelation continue to be discussed. Joseph Verheyden contributes an extensive discussion on the purely grammatical approach to John's strange Greek. Martin Karrer deals with the problem of establishing the text of Revelation and provides information on issues regarding the preparation of the *editio critica maior* project, which has been undertaken in Wuppertal since 2011. This edition seeks to establish not only the earliest text of Revelation, but also contain variants which reveal aspects of the history of theology that have influenced the text.

In a number of essays published in this volume, new approaches are utilized, which offer various ways for moving forward. The studies on social ethics by Beate Kowalski and on emotion-psychological aspects of the wrath of God by Michael Labahn, demonstrate how approaches from the humanities enhance understanding of the interpretive issues. Alexander E. Stewart explores *argumentum ad baculum* ("argument to the stick") in John's argumentative strategy. He concludes that John's threats are being used in an appropriate argumentative context in which divine threat would be expected. While the essay is erudite, the impression is that it is not complete enough (the author acknowledges in the conclusion the need for further research on a number of important aspects of the topic). One particularly rewarding essay is that of Marilou S. Ibita, who utilizes the Normativity of the Future approach in reading messages to two churches in Revelation (2:8–11; 3:7–13). This approach "aims to explore the revelatory character of the biblical text and the kind of future(s) it suggests" (487). In her contribution, Lourdes García Ureňa, reads Revelation as a chromatic story by giving attention to the colors as an important literary strategy in sketching the unfolding of the drama of Revelation, a book in which visions are imbued with colors. The study of John's chromatic spectrum has promising potential for exploring how John wrote theological meaning into the story-line, but the study of García Ureňa focuses more on the nature of the chromatic spectrum and the dynamic of the use of colors throughout the book, rather than the theological significance of them. The conclusions of her fine research on the language of color, therefore, need to be carried forward in a new enquiry focusing on the theological meaning of colors and the significance of their interplay.

Several studies in the volume focus on particular aspects of noteworthy interpretive problems, which have a long and rich history of interpretation, such as the riders of the Apocalypse (Jacques Descreux and Thomas Witulski), the woman and the dragon (Régis Burnet), the mark of the beast (Craig R. Koester), the heavenly books (Veronika Androsova), the one hundred and forty-four thousand (Gert J. Steyn), and Babylon (Eliza Rosenberg). Contributions on issues in feminist interpretation (Olivia Stewart Lester and Eliza Rosenberg) and ecological reading (Maricel S. Ibita and Carmelo B. Sorita) are also part of the collection. Interestingly, no essays on Armageddon

and the end of the world or on the reception of Revelation in contemporary media are found in this volume. In the wake of the Apocalypse in the current generation, dealing with these topics is timely now more than ever. Also, it is somewhat surprising that there is no contribution on the structure of Revelation, which is a difficult and divisive issue because of the complex movements that take place throughout the book.

Altogether, this is an excellent collection of essays, which addresses many issues, even though it is not a comprehensive guide on the state of research in Revelation studies. It would be of particular value for all students and scholars conducting in-depth research on various aspects of Revelation. On par with major commentaries, this volume should be regularly consulted. Unfortunately, its expense makes it unaffordable for individuals, but it would be a worthy investment for university libraries and collections.

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BOOK NOTICES

Danielle M. Barnard, Dominic Bornand, and Matthew L. Tinkham Jr.

Inclusion of a book in this section does not preclude it from being subsequently reviewed. Those interested in reviewing one of the books below in a future issue of *AUSS* may send a request by e-mail to auss@andrews.edu.

Bartlett, David L. *Christology in the New Testament*. Core Biblical Studies. Nashville: Abingdon, 2017. xii + 170 pp. Softcover. USD 29.99.

This book introduces the reader to the nature and works of Christ as presented by the NT writers, noting the major, unique contributions of each NT author, especially those of the four evangelists. The author takes the reader on a brief journey through the NT, exploring the key titles, hymns, prayers, practical exhortations, parables, and narratives about Jesus in order to highlight the major christological teachings therein. The most useful feature of the book is its sections on "further reading" (included at the end of each chapter) that identify significant scholarly works on NT Christology.

M. L. T. Jr.

Biles, Deron J., ed. *Pastoral Ministry.* A Treasury of Baptist Theology. Nashville: Broadman & Holman, 2017. xviii + 203 pp. Softcover. USD 29.99.

The ten essays in this edited volume are written by professors of Christian ministry who are affiliated with Baptist seminaries or by pastors who are involved in the leadership of the Baptist church. The book builds on the biblical analogy of the shepherd.

Each essay sheds light on a specific aspect of Christian ministry, drawing insights from the biblical imagery of the shepherd.

D. B.

Carroll, John T. *The Holy Spirit in the New Testament*. Core Biblical Studies. Nashville: Abingdon, 2018. xviii + 178 pp. Softcover. USD 29.99.

This book is a "gateway" text for NT Pneumatology. Via a "literary close reading" of πνεῦμα texts, Carroll leads the reader on a journey through precursor texts, such as the Tanak (ch. 2) and Second Temple Jewish writings (ch. 3), and the key literary sets of NT writings (chs. 4–8). The final chapter surveys some of the many pneumatological trajectories and themes that have emerged from interpretation of the NT throughout the ages of church history. The end of each chapter provides "further reading" resources that assist the reader in identifying the most significant scholarly works on NT Pneumatology to date.

M. L. T. Jr.

Chester, Tim. *Bible Matters: Making Sense of Scripture.* Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2017. vi + 192 pp. Softcover. USD 16.00.

This book was written for the purpose of motivating Christians to read the Bible on a daily basis. Chester stresses that the reader of the Bible hears God's voice and encounters God's presence. The first half of the book focuses on God's act of speaking through the Bible, whereas the second part deals with characteristics of the Bible, such as its relationality, intentionality, sufficiency, reliability, and accessibility.

D. B.

Chou, Abner. *The Hermeneutics of the Biblical Writers: Learning to Interpret Scripture from the Prophets and Apostles.* Grand Rapids: Kregel, 2018. 251 pp. Softcover. USD 23.99.

In the quest for an appropriate biblical hermeneutic, Chou analyzes the hermeneutic of the biblical prophets and the apostles. He argues that the biblical writers reused existing Scripture, utilizing the same methodology, which he calls a hermeneutic of obedience. The continuity between the prophets and the apostles leads the author to the conclusion that contemporary readers of Scripture should follow in their footsteps interpretively by adopting their same hermeneutic.

D. B.

Conway, Colleen M. *John and the Johannine Letters.* Core Biblical Studies. Nashville: Abingdon, 2017. xii + 188 pp. Softcover. USD 29.99.

Conway introduces the reader to how scholars read John's Gospel

and his Epistles. Besides exploring questions regarding historical puzzles, literary design, theological concepts, and the ideology of the Johannine literature, the author also explores the different methods that biblical scholars use to interpret these texts.

D. B.

Cosgrove, Mark. *The Brain, the Mind, and the Person Within: The Enduring Mystery of the Soul.* Grand Rapids: Kregel. 180 pp. Softcover. USD 18.99.

In this book, Cosgrove, a professor of psychology, challenges claims made by scientists and skeptics who frame their neuroscientific findings in a way that contradicts the Christian worldview. In his view, the essence and the function of the brain cohere with biblical teaching. Besides this, the book also discusses brain-related issues, such as free will, "God spots," personality, and life after death.

D. B.

Curtis, Edward M. *Interpreting the Wisdom Books: An Exegetical Handbook.* Handbooks for Old Testament Exegesis. Grand Rapids: Kregel, 2017. 204 pp. Softcover. USD 21.99.

Curtis intends to assist pastors, scholars, and students in accessing the theological and ethical treasures that the biblical wisdom literature stores. In six chapters, the book introduces the reader to the art of interpreting this unique body of biblical literature, assists the interpreter in all the necessary exegetical

steps, and finally guides the reader on the path from text to sermon.

D. B.

Emerson, Matthew Y. *The Story of Scripture: An Introduction to Biblical Theology*. Hobbs College Library. Nashville: Broadman & Holman, 2018. xvi + 95 pp. Hardcover. USD 19.99.

The author suggests that the four major biblical themes—creation, fall, redemption, and new creation—form a metanarrative of the sixty-six canonical books. After an introduction to biblical theology, Emerson discusses these four themes throughout Genesis, the rest of the OT, and the NT in three different chapters. He argues for a cohesive story that is centered on Jesus. In an additional chapter, other biblical themes—including covenant, kingdom, creation, and mission—are discussed. The concluding chapter addresses areas of practical application for biblical theology, such as preaching, teaching, counseling, doctrine, and Christian life.

D. B.

Glynn, John. *Best Bible Books: New Testament Resources.* Edited by Michael H. Burer. Grand Rapids: Kregel, 2018. 318 pp. Softcover. USD 27.99.

This book is considered the eleventh edition of John Glynn's *Commentary and Reference Survey*. Prolific NT scholars review and rate hundreds of NT resources, including introductions, commentaries, dictionaries, reference works, etc. In addition, they give

advice for building a "must-have" reference library for laypersons, religion students, and pastors. This is definitely a wise investment for any person aiming to build a personal library in NT studies or seeking guidance in approaching the vast amount of available resources.

D. B.

Hildreth, D. Scott. *Together on God's Mission: How Southern Baptists Cooperate to Fulfill the Great Commission*. Nashville: Broadman & Holman, 2018. xv + 87 pp. Softcover. USD 14.99.

This book gives a clarion call to Southern Baptists to reconnect with their denominational identity. In three parts, Hildreth guides readers through a brief history of the development of the Southern Baptist Convention (all centered around the principle of cooperation); biblically connects this cooperative identity as the means through which Southern Baptists fulfill God's mission; and encourages Southern Baptists, young and old, to support the denomination's cooperative efforts.

D. M. B.

Longman III, Tremper, and John H. Walton. *The Lost World of the Flood: Mythology, Theology, and the Deluge Debate*. The Lost World Series 5. Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2018. x + 189 pp. Softcover. USD 18.00.

The latest addition to the Lost Worlds Series challenges readers' perceptions and understandings of the biblical flood narrative. Through a series of logical propositions

that engage questions of biblical interpretation, Ancient Near East history, biblical theology, and science, Walton and Tremper hope to bring greater nuance to the conversations surrounding this relevant and controversial topic.

D. M. B.

Miles, Todd L. *Superheroes Can't Save You: Epic Examples of Historic Heresies*. Nashville: Broadman & Holman, 2018. xiv + 194 pp. Hardcover. USD 19.99.

Professor of theology at Western Seminary in Portland, Oregon, Todd L. Miles, provides a creative and popular introductory textbook on Christology. He engagingly discusses and biblically evaluates seven of the major christological heresies of church history (namely Docetism, liberalism, modalism, Arianism, adoptionism, Apollinarianism, and Eutychianism). To generate contemporary interest in Christology, he utilizes the present fascination in pop-culture with DC and Marvel superheroes as his pedagogical springboard, illustratively matching up one superhero with each of the seven heresies (Superman, Batman, Ant-Man, Thor, Green Lantern, The Incredible Hulk, and Spiderman, respectively). Every chapter contains five parts that are followed by discussion questions and suggestions for further study: (a) an introduction to the superhero, (b) a discussion of the heresy that the particular superhero illustrates, (c) an application of who currently commits the heresy and how it is relevant today, (d) an exploration of what the

Bible says about the heresy, and (e) a rationale for the importance of rejecting the heresy and upholding the biblical teaching about Christ. This book can be of service to pastors and teachers as a pedagogical resource; some theology professors might even consider using it as an undergraduate textbook.

M. L. T. Jr.

Nogalski, James D. *Introduction to the Hebrew Prophets*. Nashville: Abingdon, 2018. xx + 288 pp. Softcover. USD 29.99.

This introductory text focuses its attention only on the latter prophets (Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel) and the minor prophets. In addressing the typical introductory questions of these prophetic books, Nogalski gives special consideration to the formation of these texts. He argues that they are the result of generations of composers and that they represent, in their final form, the work of communities and not that of just one individual.

D. B.

Pace, R. Scott. *Preaching by the Book: Developing and Delivering Text-Driven Sermons*. Hobbs College Library. Nashville: Broadman & Holman, 2018. xvi + 123 pp. Hardcover. USD 19.99.

Reminding the reader of the beauty, as well as the deep responsibility of preaching God's word, Scott proposes a seven-step methodology that offers the reader a systematic approach for preparing sermons that are faithful to and driven by the biblical text. The book is

designed for those beginning to explore their gifts in preaching and for seasoned pastors who plan to refine their gospel proclamation.

D. B.

Price, Randall, and H. Wayne House. *Zondervan Handbook of Biblical Archaeology*. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2017. 408 pp. Hardcover. USD 42.99.

This book serves as an archeological resource for the pastor, the scholar, and the layperson. It is a thorough introduction to the study of biblical archeology, which provides a framework for its sequential sections that survey significant archeological research and discoveries in connection with the OT, NT, and intertestamental period. Its photos, maps, and charts provide helpful visual aids throughout.

D. M. B.

Putman, David, and Ed Stetzer. *Breaking the Missional Code: Your Church Can Become a Missionary in Your Community.* Nashville: Broadman & Holman, 2018. 244 pp. Softcover. USD 14.99.

What is unique about the most "successful" churches in North America? According to Putman and Stetzer, successful churches have broken the missional code. This book takes readers through the steps to breaking the code and shows them how to apply missiological principles in their ministries. This is the softcover version of the previously published hardcover (2006).

D. M. B.

Senesi, Dino. *Sending Well: A Field Guide to Great Church Planter Coaching.* Nashville: Broadman & Holman, 2017. xvi + 282 pp. Softcover. USD 16.99.

Seasoned church-planting coach Dino Senesi provides practical guidance for those who mentor church planters or who train church-planting coaches. Divided into three sections, this book will systematically show coaches and trainers how to build, develop, and deliver high quality coaching to every church planter in North America.

D. M. B.

Sweeney, Marvin A. *The Pentateuch*. Core Biblical Studies. Nashville: Abingdon, 2017. xxx + 144 pp. Softcover. USD 29.99.

The author of this beginner introduction to the Pentateuch discusses the literary structure and the central themes of each book of the Torah, while interacting with up-to-date scholarship. In Sweeney's reading of the Pentateuch, source criticism plays an integral role.

D. B.

Torrance, Andrew B., and Thomas H. McCall, eds. *Knowing Creation.* Perspectives from Theology, Philosophy, and Science 1. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2018. 352 pp. Softcover. USD 36.99.

This volume is a compilation of interdisciplinary perspectives on understanding creation. Among the contributors are scholars from the fields of theology, biblical studies,

philosophy, and science. This volume encourages the reader to consider how to engage in more constructive conversations about faith and science.

D. M. B.

Torrance, Andrew B., and Thomas H. McCall, eds. *Christ and the Created Order*. Perspectives from Theology, Philosophy, and Science 2. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2018. 304 pp. Softcover. USD 36.99.

How does Christology connect with creation? This second volume of the new series, Perspectives from Theology, Philosophy, and Science, deepens the conversation of the first volume, *Knowing Creation*, with interdisciplinary perspectives on the relationship between creation and the person of Christ. Theologians, biblical scholars, philosophers, and scientists challenge the reader to deeply consider the impact of Christology on understanding the natural created order.

D. M. B.

Wax, Tervin K. *Eschatological Discipleship: Leading Christians to Understand Their Historical and Cultural Context.* Nashville: Broadman & Holman, 2018. xii + 269 pp. Softcover. USD 29.99.

In this book, Trevin K. Wax argues that eschatology and discipleship have been divorced from one another for far too long. His work attempts to bridge the two together again, restoring a biblical understanding of discipleship that

is holistic, contextualized, and, thus, "eschatological." This enables followers of Jesus to face their current contextual challenges "in the light of God's coming kingdom" (2). To accomplish this task, Wax defines for the reader the key terms he uses throughout the book (ch. 1) and explores relevant foundational teachings of the OT and NT (chs. 2–4). The next part of the book introduces the reader to "rival eschatologies" in North America (ch. 5), such as the Enlightenment, the sexual revolution, and consumerism, and the subsequent three chapters (chs. 6–8) demonstrate how eschatological discipleship equips Christ-followers to counter them. The book concludes with a survey of three common formulations of evangelical discipleship and explores how adding an eschatological component would benefit each of them.

M. L. T. Jr.