ANDREWS UNIVERSITY SEMINARY STUDIES

The Journal of the Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary at Andrews University
4145 E. Campus Circle Drive, Berrien Springs, Michigan 49104-1550, USA

Editors:	Martin F. Hanna, Oliver M. Glanz
Editorial Assistants:	Nathaniel Gibbs, Karen C. Rodrigues
Copy Editors:	Bonnie Beres, Madeline Johnston, Rebecca Murdock, Jennifer Payne
Book Review Managers:	Dominic Bornand. Jônatas Ferreira
Circulation Manager:	Carina Prestes
Office Assistant:	Nathaniel Gibbs
Public Relation Manager:	Natalie Dorland

Managing Board: Jiří Moskala, Dean of the Seminary, chair; Martin F. Hanna, secretary; Alayne Thorpe, Dean of the School of Graduate Studies; Ron Knott, Director of Andrews University Press; P. Richard Choi; Richard M. Davidson; Oliver M. Glanz; Paul Gregor; John W. Reeve

Communications:	Phone:	(269) 471-6023
	Fax:	(269) 471-6202
	E-mail:	auss@andrews.edu
	Website:	www.andrews.edu/auss

As a refereed journal, *Andrews University Seminary Studies* (*AUSS*) provides a scholarly venue, within the context of biblical faith, for the presentation of research in the area of religious and biblical studies. *AUSS* publishes research articles, dissertation abstracts, and book reviews on the following topics: biblical archaeology and history of antiquity; Hebrew Bible and New Testament studies; church history of all periods; historical, biblical, systematic, and philosophical theology; ethics; world religions; and missions. Selected research articles on ministry and Christian education may also be included.

Guidelines for article authors and book reviewers may be found on our website at www.andrews.edu/auss. Queries to the editors in advance of writing are encouraged.

The opinions expressed in articles, book reviews, etc., are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the views of the editors or of the Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary.

Subscription Information: *Andrews University Seminary Studies* (*AUSS*) is published in Spring and Autumn. The subscription rates for 2019 are as follows:

Institutions	USD 42.00
Individuals	USD 24.00
Students/Retirees	USD 18.00

Price for Single Copy is USD 12.00.

Printed by Patterson Printing, Benton Harbor, Michigan

ANDREWS UNIVERSITY SEMINARY STUDIES

Volume 57 Spring 2019 Number 1

CONTENTS

EDITORIAL 5

ARTICLES

OLD TESTAMENT

GLANZ, OLIVER AND TORBEN BERGLAND. The Incoherence of YHWH in Jeremiah as an Opening for Hermeneutical Possibilities: Deconstructing Traditional Methodological Entanglements through Text-Linguistics and Psychology 7

NEW TESTAMENT

MCCOLLUM, JOEY. Biclustering Readings and Manuscripts via Non-negative Matrix Factorization, with Application to the Text of Jude 61

CHURCH HISTORY

BURTON, KEVIN. John Wesley Kelchner, Founder of the Temple Restoration Movement: A Freemason's Attempt to Build a World Chain of Solomon's Temples for Global Peace 91

HANKS HARWOOD, GINGER AND BEVERLY BEEM. "Study to Show Yourself Approved": Seventh-day Adventism's Legacy of Careful Biblical Scholarship 137

THEOLOGY AND CHRISTIAN PHILOSOPHY

HAMSTRA, DAVID J. The Christian Debate on Same-Sex Marriage and Taylor's Immanent and Transcendent Good: Lessons from Adventist Approaches 175

BOOK REVIEWS

Arnold, Brian J. *Justification in the Second Century* (DENIS FORTIN) 215

Berman, Joshua A. *Inconsistency in the Torah: Ancient Literary Convention and the Limits of Source Criticism*
(FELIPE MASOTTI) 218

Capes, David B., Rodney Reeves, and E. Randolph Richards. *Rediscovering Paul: An Introduction to His World, Letters and Theology*
(EDWIN SULLY PAYET) 222

Harwood, Adam, and Kevin E. Lawson, eds. *Infants and Children in the Church: Five Views on Theology and Ministry*
(TIMOTHY J. ARENA) 224

Levering, Matthew. *Engaging the Doctrine of the Holy Spirit: Love and Gift in the Trinity and the Church*
(GERARDO OUDRI) 229

Marandiuc, Natalia. *The Goodness of Home: Human and Divine Love and the Making of the Self*
(SARAH E. BURTON) 233

Schenk, Christine, CSJ. *Crispina and Her Sisters: Women and Authority in Early Christianity*
(CARINA O. PRESTES) 235

Shoemaker, Stephen J. *The Apocalypse of Empire: Imperial Eschatology in Late Antiquity and Early Islam*
(ANDRÉ REIS) 238

Siqueira, Reinaldo, and Alberto R. Timm, eds., *Pneumatologia: Pessoa e Obra do Espírito Santo*
(RODRIGO GALIZA) 242

Stuhlmacher, Peter. *Biblical Theology of the New Testament*
(IGOR LORENCIN) 247

Tucker, W. Dennis, Jr. *Jonah: A Handbook on the Hebrew Text.*
(ZDRAVKO STEFANOVIC) 250

Wood, Todd Charles, Darrel R. Falk. *The Fool and the Heretic: How Two Scientists Moved beyond Labels to a Christian Dialogue about Creation and Evolution.*
(GARY BURDICK) 252

BOOK NOTICES 255

The articles in this journal are indexed, abstracted, or listed in: *Elenchus of Biblica; Internationale Zeitschriftenschau für Bibelwissenschaft und Grenzgebiete; New Testament Abstracts; Index Theologicus/Zeitschrifteninhaltsdienst Theologie; Old Testament Abstracts; Orientalistische Literaturzeitung; Religion Index One, Periodicals; Religious and Theological Abstracts; Seventh-day Adventist Periodical Index; Theologische Zeitschrift; Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft.*

Copyright © 2019 by Andrews University Press ISSN 0003-2980

EDITORIAL

We announce with wistful hearts that, in 2019, Dr. John W. Reeve transitioned from serving as co-editor of *AUSS* to serving as director of the PhD/ThD program at the Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary. John, we wish you all the best. We thank you for your stellar service to *AUSS*. Also, we thank you just as much for all the quality time you spent with the editorial team as mentor, friend, and brother.

John engaged his editorial work with endless curiosity and immeasurable passion for excellent historical, biblical, and theological scholarship. During the many years of his work, these traits provided his energy and motivation in preparing materials for publication. At the same time, his extraordinary contributions were significantly motivated when Dr. Leonna G. Running, a former influential member of the editorial team of *AUSS*, said to him, "don't you dare to mess up his [Siegfried Horn's] journal!" This warning stuck with John throughout all his years as editor. When John visited Leonna shortly before her death, she took him by the arm a final time and whispered, "I know the journal is in good hands."

The journal has been in good hands indeed! John's editorial work flourished due to his impressive professional knowledge and his careful and purposeful investment of time and energy in extensive networking with scholars from around the world. Having accepted a position as assistant editor in 2003 and co-editor alongside Dr. Jerry Moon in 2005, John served in the editorial position on his own between 2009 and 2014, when Dr. Martin F. Hanna joined *AUSS* as co-editor. Producing 16 volumes of AUSS during 17 years as editor, John is the second longest serving editor in the history of our journal after Kenneth Strand who served for 3 years longer (1975–1994).

Additional good hands have become available to *AUSS* since the Seminary has appointed Dr. Oliver Glanz as the new co-editor of *AUSS*. Oliver is associate Professor of Old Testament at the seminary. Formerly he has worked at the Free University of Amsterdam and the Protestant University of the Netherlands as assistant professor of OT. With his degrees in philosophy, Bible translation, and OT and his research focus in the realm of digital humanities and hermeneutics we have a robust co-editor team for the future of *AUSS*. Welcome Oliver!

Also recently, we have had a major time of transition for the student participants on our editorial team. We are thankful for the outstanding service of Dominic Bornand (Book Review Manager), Lincoln Nogueira (Circulation Manager), and Danielle Barnand (Office Assistant) who have now transi-

tioned to other ministries. We are also thankful for the new members of our editorial team: Nathaniel Gibbs (Editorial Assistants), Jônatas Ferreira (Book Review Manager), Natalie Dorland (Public Relations Manager), and Carina Prestes (Circulation Manager).

In the current issue of *AUSS*, we are happy to share with you outstanding articles that address a wide variety of topics: Adventist hermeneutics (Beverly Beem and Ginger Hanks Harwood), interpreting Jeremiah (Oliver Glanz and Torben Bergland), same sex marriage (David Hamstra), the Temple Restoration Movement (Kevin Burton), and Textual Criticism (Joey McCollum). We also present several book reviews and book notices that will introduce you to additional recent research.

As you read this issue of our journal, may you grow in grace as you grow in knowledge.

MFH and *OMG*

Andrews University Seminary Studies, Vol. 57, No. 1, 7–59.
Copyright © 2019 Andrews University Seminary Studies

THE INCOHERENCE OF YHWH IN JEREMIAH AS AN OPENING FOR HERMENEUTICAL POSSIBILITIES: DECONSTRUCTING TRADITIONAL METHODOLOGICAL ENTANGLEMENTS THROUGH TEXT-LINGUISTICS AND PSYCHOLOGY

Oliver Glanz
Andrews University

Torben Bergland
Adventist Health Ministries

Abstract

This article pursues three objectives and is interdisciplinary in nature, bringing together the skill sets of biblical scholarship and psychology. First, it seeks to critically examine the hermeneutical frameworks brought to the reading of apparently incoherent texts in Jer 7 and 8:18–9:10. Why and how are scholars finding meaning in these texts when their exegetical procedures remain limited to the tools offered by traditional historical-critical and conservative historical-grammatical methods? We argue that fruitful theological analysis of Jeremiah's incoherent texts can be compromised when following the hermeneutics of either higher-critical or traditional evangelical schools. Second, we demonstrate that the prophetic text of Jeremiah contains many apparent contradictions and incoherencies that resist being superficially cohered. Here we concentrate on the "incoherent" image painted of YHWH in the book of Jeremiah. Third, we approach the apparent incoherencies of the literary character of YHWH with the psychological theory of affect consciousness and the general insights of psychodynamic therapy. We argue that YHWH's incoherency is not an irreconcilable problem for exegetical hermeneutics, but fertile theological soil. This soil, however, can only grow fruitful insights if one's hermeneutical tools develop beyond the traditional exegete's workbench. Therefore, this article seeks to compellingly demonstrate the usefulness of cognitive linguistics and psychology to a reading of Jeremiah's God.

Keywords: nature of God, text pragmatics, text linguistics, Biblical hermeneutics, Jeremiah, Temple Sermon, literary criticism, textual coherence, textual incoherence, methodology, Affect Consciousness, psychological theology, antithetical rhetoric

Introduction

"I love you—I love you not," "I love you—I love you not." Or, more radically, "I love you—I hate you," "I love you—I hate you." Much of Jeremiah reads like this. Without investigating the historic and literary contexts of Jeremiah's text, the reader can be puzzled by YHWH's speeches like these:

Table 1. Jeremiah 12:8 and 31:3 (NRSV)

Jeremiah 12:8	Jeremiah 31:3
My heritage has become to me like a lion in the forest; she has lifted up her voice against me—therefore I hate (שָׂנֵא) her.	The Lord appeared to him from far away. I have loved you (אהב) with an everlasting love (אַהֲבַת עוֹלָם); therefore I have continued my faithfulness (חֶסֶד) to you.

Additionally, even when the literary structure of Jeremiah's text is studied, these apparent contradictions do not always disappear. For example, in 3:1, YHWH explains that his people have received a divorce letter with no option for return due to their idolatry and adultery. However, within the same chain of oracles, YHWH invites Israel to return to the covenant relationship in 4:1.

Table 2. Jeremiah 3:1 and 4:1–2 (NRSV)

Jeremiah 3:1	Jeremiah 4:1–2
If a man divorces his wife and she goes from him and becomes another man's wife, will he return to her? Would not such a land be greatly polluted? You have played the whore with many lovers; and would you return to me? says the Lord.	If you return, O Israel, says the Lord, if you return to me, if you remove your abominations from my presence, and do not waver, and if you swear, "As the Lord lives!" in truth, in justice, and in uprightness, then nations shall be blessed by him, and by him they shall boast.

YHWH's romantic memories of the exodus in Jer 2 are another example. In verses 1–3, he characterizes the Israel-YHWH relationship as positive. YHWH shines as the ultimate lover; the desert journey in Exodus is nostalgically remembered as a rosy honeymoon. However, a few verses later, in verse 20, YHWH speaks of a relationship that has been problematic from "from the early days on" (מֵעוֹלָם).

Table 3. Jeremiah 2:1–3 and 2:20 (NRSV)

Jeremiah 2:1–3	Jeremiah 2:20
The word of the Lord came to me, saying:	For long ago (מֵעוֹלָם) you broke (שָׁבַרְתִּי)[1] your yoke and burst your

[1] Several times Jeremiah and Ezekiel use the 2nd sg. f. archaic verbal ending

Go and proclaim in the hearing of Jerusalem, Thus says the Lord: I remember the devotion of your youth, your love as a bride, how you followed me in the wilderness, in a land not sown.

Israel was holy to the Lord, the first fruits of his harvest. All who ate of it were held guilty; disaster came upon them, says the Lord.

bonds, and you said, "I will not serve!" On every high hill and under every green tree you sprawled and played the whore.

This antithetical memory of 2:20 later causes YHWH to turn into an angry lion (cf. 25:36–38),[2] a transformation that leads Amy Kalmanofsky to claim, "God, a direct horror monster, is a mighty force that threatens to shatter and then scatter his victims."[3] Conflicting statements, such as these examples from chapters 2–4, do seem to depict either a capricious God who could warrant Kalmanofsky's assertion or a thoughtless, piecemeal redactor. The issue is exacerbated when readers discover these are not isolated examples in the Jeremianic text.

The vacillations of chapters 2–4 are just two of dozens of apparent contradictions in Jeremiah's portrait of YHWH. This has led modern critics to conclude that the book of Jeremiah is unreadable. In 1914, Sigmund Mowinckel captured this frustration; "No man has yet been able to explain this phenomenon by rational means."[4] Almost a century later, little has changed.

---

which looks like the תִּי ending of the 1st sg. c. *qal*: שָׁבַרְתִּי (Jer 2:20), נִתַּקְתִּי (Jer 2:20), לִמַּדְתִּי (Jer 2:33), קָרָאתִי (Jer 3:4), דִּבַּרְתִּי (Jer 3:5), שָׁמַעְתִּי (Jer 4:19), דָּמִיתִי (Jer 6:2), הָלַכְתִּי (Jer 31:21), הִרְבֵּיתִי (Jer 46:11). For all cases, see: (https://shebanq.ancient-data.org/hebrew/query?version=2017&id=3331). See also, Wilhelm Gesenius, *Hebrew Grammar,* ed. Emil Kautzsch, trans. Arther E. Cowley, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1910), §44h; Paul Joüon and Takamitsu Muraoka, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, 3rd. ed., SubBi 27 (Rome: Gregorian & Biblical Press, 2011), §42f. Therefore, I interpret the תִּי ending *qal* forms in 2:20 as 2nd sg. f. rather than as 1st sg. c. This line of reasoning seems to be followed by the NRSV as well.

[2] In connection with the harsh language and metaphors of horror in chapter 25, Else K. Holt speaks of "fantasies of violence . . . culminating in the horrifying image of Yahweh as the young lion that has left its lair to ravage the flocks" ("King Nebuchadnezar of Babylon, My Servant, and the Cup of Wrath: Jeremiah's Fantasies and the Hope of Violence," in *Jeremiah (Dis)Placed: New Directions in Writing/Reading Jeremiah*, ed. Pete A. R. Diamond and Louis Stulman, LHBOTS 529 [New York: T&T Clark, 2011], 217–218).

[3] Amy Kalmanofsky, *Terror All Around: The Rhetoric of Horror in the Book of Jeremiah*, LHBOTS 390 (New York: T&T Clark, 2008), 45.

[4] Sigmund Mowinckel, *Zur Komposition des Buches Jeremia* (Kristiania: Dybwad, 1914), 4–5.

Robert P. Carroll writes, in the opening lines of his commentary, "The reader who is not confused by reading the book of Jeremiah has not understood it."[5] Though the frustration remains, the hermeneutical frameworks used to approach this literary confusion have changed. Different assumptions about text-genesis, text-teleology/functionality, and the reader's role have evolved over the last few decades.[6] These assumptions have changed exegetical methodologies and hermeneutical questions.

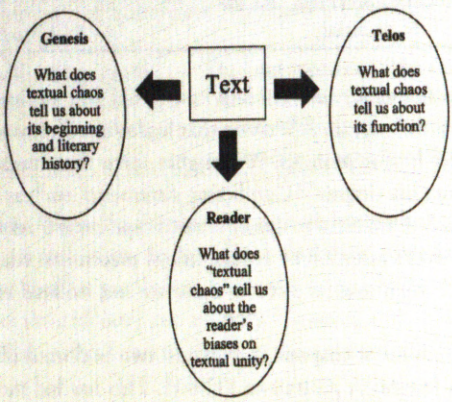


Figure 1. Three Approaches to "Textual Chaos"

[5] Robert P. Carroll, *Jeremiah*, T&T Clark Study Guides (London: T&T Clark, 2004), 9.

[6] Throughout the modern history of Jeremiah's interpretation, different frameworks have been applied to make sense out of these contradictions. First, the source-critical framework (e.g., Bernhard Duhm, *Das Buch Jeremia* [Tübingen, Leipzig: Mohr Siebeck, 1901]) sought the inconsistency at the very source of the literary production: The inconsistency was a product of the editor's archiving of contradictory sources. Second, the rhetorical-critical framework (Jack R. Lundbom, *Jeremiah: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, 3 vols. AB 21A–C [New York: Doubleday, 1999, 2004, 2004]) viewed the inconsistency, instead, product of the reader who navigates the tempests of Jeremiah, without the ability to see the demarcations within the oracles or decipher the literary skill that produced these texts. Third, with the more post-modern framework (e.g. Robert P. Carroll, *Jeremiah: A Commentary*. OTL [Philadelphia: Westminster, 1986]) the inconsistencies became text-anchored again as they reflected the actual currents within the book's tempestuous water. These "waves" represented the different and, at times, contradictory attitudes toward the national disaster found in the larger exilic/post-exilic community: Studying Jeremiah gives us access to a community in conflict. Fourth, with the twenty-first century and the application of trauma-studies as a framework of interpreting Jeremiah (e.g., Kathleen M. O'Connor, *Jeremiah: Pain and Promise* [Minneapolis: Fortress, 2011]), the effectiveness of Jeremiah's incoherence for a traumatized reader/listenership received attention. Here the question addressed is, "Why are Jeremiah's waters (still) flowing?"

There are two central methodological questions. First, "Who creates the textual chaos (reader vs. writer)?" Second, "What function does the chaos have (for both reader and writer)?"

Pursuing both questions, the present research has concluded that not all of Jeremiah's text is chaotic. Clear literary structures and textual organization are found. The extent of these structures and of the organization throughout the book are still a matter of debate. Present research also agrees that underneath, within, and on top of these organizational structures, the textual sequence is jarring. This shakes the reader and prevents a smooth reading.

With the postmodern liberation and the addition of sociology and cognitive literary studies to the exegetical toolbox, new functional dimensions of the text become accessible.[7] In particular, O'Connor's trauma studies have been opening new interpretative possibilities. With her work, the textual incoherence becomes both objective as well as subjective. In O'Connor's own words, "The book did more than give voice to the afflicted. It was and is a most effective instrument of survival and healing."[8] The objective incoherence of the text gives access to the subjective nature of a traumatized community functioning both on the level of text production as well as on the level of text reception.[9]

In our research, we explore the effects of another framework when applied to the interpretation of Jeremiah's bumpy text-road. While our approach is inspired by O'Connor's trauma framework, it does not seek to analyze the psycho-sociological condition of the people who have produced this text, or strived to ensure its continuity as an efficient instrument for coping and healing. Instead, it seeks to move *into* the text with a psychological mindset that

[7] O'Connor writes, "Trauma and disaster studies, and interdisciplinary conversation drawn from anthropology, sociology, cognitive psychology and literary criticism, provide another way to think about Jeremiah's literary turbulence. More than simply the result of an unwieldy editorial process, the book's proliferation of genre, image, viewpoint, and discordant temporal notations portray the chaotic realities of the book's implied audience." ("Terror All Around: Confusion as Meaning Making," in *Jeremiah (Dis)Placed*, 68). Furthermore, "because the literary parts of Jeremiah do not fit together, because interpretations vie with and contradict one another, because dates are not sequential, because images, narrative, and voices cascade in profusion upon the reader, and because it has no certain ending, the book of Jeremiah mimics what it depicts. The book replicates Judah's interpretative dilemma in the wake of the Babylonian assault upon its life. To understand the book, therefore, it may be valuable to consider what its confusing literary shape conveys, rather than searching for what happened to pre-disaster Jeremiah, or what Baruch wrote, or how Deuteronomistic thinking made its way into the text." (O'Connor, "Confusion as Meaning Making," 69–70).

[8] O'Connor, *Jeremiah*, 5.

[9] See also O'Connor, "Confusion as Meaning Making," 71.

analyzes YHWH as an actual participant *in* the text. Such an approach, we argue, reorients present hermeneutical frameworks so that they become more theologically fruitful.

Therefore, in this article we first want to showcase how the apparent inconsistencies in the Temple Sermon of Jeremiah 7 and the emotionally loaded verses of 8:18–9:10 are theoretically cohered by diverse scholars. By "theoretical coherence," we refer to the hermeneutical framework that is brought to the text, helping the scholar to make sense of either the coherence of the actual text, or the coherence of the "über"-text.[10] Second, we will show a set of typical apparent inconsistencies in Jeremiah's portrait of YHWH that were collected on the basis of text-phenomenological research in which text-grammar and text-linguistics define the starting point for textual analysis.[11] These collections are qualified by demonstrating the antithetical relationship between YHWH's anger and YHWH's compassion, mostly based on chapter 7 and 8:18–9:10.[12] Finally, we want to offer a psychological theoretical framework of interpretation that seeks to make sense of YHWH as a textual participant. In other words, we will present the antithetical nature of YHWH's attitudes, behavior, and emotions to the psychologist. In this last step, we are interested in a diagnosis of YHWH's profile.[13]

Samples of Apparent Inconsistencies and Sources of Theoretical Coherence

Jeremiah 7:1–15

The speech introduction in Jeremiah 7:1 opens two speeches of YHWH directed towards his prophet. Each speech starts with a command: first speech, עֲמֹד "stand" (v. 2), second speech, אַל־תִּתְפַּלֵּל "do not pray" (v. 16). Since YHWH commands Jeremiah to speak at the gate of the temple (v. 2), com-

[10] Oliver Glanz contributed this part to the study.

[11] For a detailed description of such a method, see 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), 37–126. In addition, it is important to note that, although our approach is critical of higher critical methods, it does not exclude their application by definition. Our method seeks to *order* methods into a meaningful sequence of processes rather than exclude certain methods. The sequence of methods chosen by individual scholars for their analytic operations is highly subjective and does, therefore, depend on each scholar's hermeneutical assumptions. What our approach suggests, however, is that whatever methodological sequence is chosen, the methodological starting point should always be a text-phenomenological analysis. This type of synchronal reading will best determine what type of diachronic questions and methods a particular text demands.

[12] Oliver Glanz contributed this part to the study.

[13] Torben Bergland contributed this part to the study.

mentators have generally nicknamed the following verses as the "Temple Sermon."[14] From a text-linguistic perspective, 7:3b–15 can be read as one single YHWH-speech.[15]

The Temple Sermon in chapter 7 has puzzled interpreters due to its apparent incoherence. The reading of the sermon shows roughly three sections: The first section can be entitled *Conditional Hope* (vv. 4–7). It contains a message of hope—if Judah changes, it will not be exiled (conditional prophecy). The second section is a discussion of *Judah's Immorality* (vv. 8–12). Its message clarifies what Judah does wrong. The final section, וְעַתָּה "and now," is an *Unconditional Verdict* (vv. 13–15) and reveals that Judah is to be exiled.

As a sermon, one would expect that the speech has a strategy that involves arguments in order to achieve its communicative goal. However, while verses 4–7 aim for a reunification of God and his people by means of repentance and reformation, verses 13–15 reveal a God who has already finalized his judgment over the people. The call for repentance is thus *ad absurdum*. In the final stage of the sermon, repentance, reformation, and possible re-unification are no longer possibilities. The question, then, is how the sermon can form a communicative unit. The table below shows how divided scholars are about the origin and *Sitz im Leben* of the different verses.

[14] From a text-linguistic perspective, however, the temple sermon does not end with verse 15, but continues in verses 20–25.

[15] See the appendix *Text-grammatical Observations on Jeremiah 7*. O'Connor takes a similar approach (*Jeremiah*, 95–96).

Table 4. Different Suggested Divisions of the Temple Sermon

Verses	Duhm	Skinner	Sharp	O'Connor	Longman-Tremper, Huey	Mackay	Holladay	Craigie	Longman
3b	deut. author uses ipsissima verba and adds his own material	later editor	Judean remnant (First voice)	(post) exilic traumatized people	earlier preaching	referring to past generations	Temple Sermon	Temple Sermon	First Oracle: major premise
4		ipsissima verba	Babylonian exiles (Second voice)						
5		later editor	Judean remnant (First voice)						
6									
7									
8			Babylonian exiles (Second voice)						Second Oracle: minor premise
9		ipsissima verba	Judean remnant (First voice)						
10									
11								Some text missing between v. 11 and v. 12 which would have provided a smooth transition to v. 13	
12									Third Oracle: conclusion
13	later editor		Babylonian exiles (Second voice)		later preaching	referring to current generation	Appendix after Jehoiakim's burning of the initial scroll	Temple Sermon	
14									
15									Later addition

One could organize the different hermeneutical approaches to the apparent textual incoherence into the following types:

Table 5. Different Hermeneutical Approaches to Apparent Textual Incoherence

(1) Incoherence as a product of text production			(2) Incoherence as a product of the "unskilled"/uninformed reader.
(1a) unintended	(1b) intended		
(vaticinium *ex* eventu)	(1bα)	(1bβ)	[vaticinium *ante* eventu]
	Vaticinium ex eventu	vaticinium ante eventu	The text itself is not incoherent. The text becomes smooth and coherent once the reader's skills have improved. The aesthetics of poetry and prose show clear and straight lines and rhymes. And the prophetic theology is straightforward and comprehensible.

Unintended Textual Incoherence (Category 1a: Duhm, Skinner, Sharp)

As the father of critical Jeremiah research, Duhm's approach to the Temple Sermon has strongly influenced Jeremiah scholarship in the modern age. In his general introduction to the Temple Sermon, he writes,

> Reading this speech reveals two things: first, that it contains a major foundational thought, which could not have been easily created by a later editor, and, secondly, that the execution [Glanz: of that major foundational thought] is very weak.[16]

He comments on the apparent disruption caused by verses 13–15,

> in the proposition of the initial clause of verse 13 the author completely forgets what he said in the beginning of the speech when it was said that if the Judeans were doing well, exile would not come; here the enumerated series of evil deeds in verse 9 is suddenly reason enough to declare the downfall a certain occurence."[17]

[16] Duhm, *Das Buch Jeremia*, 75. All quotes from authors who originally published in German are translated by Oliver Glanz.

[17] Duhm, *Das Buch Jeremia*, 78. His commentary on chapter 7 starts with the remark: "If one wanted to follow those editors . . . one would have to take chapters 7–10 as one sermon which the prophet would have preached at the temple. But the content of these chapters does not at all accord with this imposition, for it is nothing less than uniform, and by no means shows itself as a consistent sermon or even as a speech . . . The MT has sought to connect . . . these disparate pieces . . . but without achieving

Duhm's solution to the problem is predictable. He assumes the hand of a post-exilic writer behind the Temple Sermon. The final verses, then, reflect the fact of Jerusalem's fall and the Babylonian exile, with verse 3 being only "a turn of abstract rhetoric, which could not be missed in a proper sermon and which at best, the later readers could use for themselves."[18] According to Duhm, the prophet did not speak of exile during the reign of Jehoiakim. But later editors (Duhm calls them *Diaskeuasten*, *Bearbeiter* or *Ergänzer*) made exile a central theme, for obvious reasons, for a post-exilic audience. The textual incoherence then, becomes understandable when considering the sloppy work of the redactor(s).

A more elaborate explanation for the contradiction is later developed by John Skinner[19] and in more recent years by Carolyn J. Sharp.[20] Contrary to Duhm, Skinner argues that verse 3 and verses 5–7 represent the conditional promise of a later editor, while verse 4 and verses 9–15 represent the absolute prophetic threat of the prophet's ipsissima verba.[21] Sharp's work did particularly concentrate on the socio-theological assumptions reflected by the different sources that were patched into the Temple Sermon by a later editor.. Like Duhm and Skinner, Sharp also does not see a "well perceivable" literary unit. Rather, an "obvious" theological inconsistency is portrayed by the sermon.[22] In her view, while verses 3, 5–7 and 9–13a promise salvation under the condition that the call for repentance is answered positively, verses 4, 8, and 13b–15 do not hold any conditional prophecy, but merely the announcement of doom.

Sharp's analysis of these different and contrasting arguments in the text leads her to the conclusion that the strand of text that is critical toward the priests and prophets of Jerusalem, announcing inevitable doom, must originate from the Babylonian exiles (second voice). The strand of text that is criti-

---

a visible formal unity. Therefore, one cannot consider this speech, i.e. chapters 7–10, as containing formal unity nor content-unity. In actuality, the fact is that in these four chapters the editors have placed—not just one, but several—major interpolations between and within Jeremiah's poems. If the scholarly work is completed, and its results acknowledged, one should be able to detect the poems of Jeremiah amid this wondrous textual mixture and study the later editions separately; but, for now, we have to work our way through the mixtum compositum from verse to verse" (Duhm, *Das Buch Jeremia*, 74).

[18] Duhm, *Das Buch Jeremia*, 78.

[19] John Skinner, *Prophecy and Religion: Studies in the Life of Jeremiah, Cunningham Lectures* (Cambridge: University Press, 1922).

[20] Carolyn J. Sharp, *Prophecy and Ideology in Jeremiah: Struggles for Authority in the Deutero-Jeremianic Prose* (London: T&T Clark, 2003).

[21] Skinner, *Prophecy and Religion*, 170–171.

[22] Sharp, *Prophecy and Ideology*, 44–51.

cal toward the morality of the Judean people, offering conditional prophecies, must originate from the Judean remnant (first voice).

What these approaches have in common is that they interpret incoherence as reflective of either *different historical circumstances* (Duhm) or as reflective of *different social groups* (Skinner, Sharp). The possibility of an *in*coherent speaker (YHWH) or *in*coherent initial author is implicitly rejected.

Intended Textual Incoherence (Category 1bα: O'Connor)

For O'Connor, the Temple Sermon is a post-fall construct of a traumatized people offering "a strongly authoritative interpretation of the disaster."[23] She explains that Jeremiah's sermons "explain the nation's fall with confidence" and show how "adults try to create sense out of senseless experience. They 'look for causal links and explanations for how and why events occurred the way they did.'"[24] Therefore, according to O'Connor, the sermon assumes a Jerusalem that has fallen already. The reference to Shiloh is, therefore, not a view into the potential future, but a reference which:

> helps them see what has happened to them without explicitly dredging up their own horrifying experiences of destruction. Shiloh encodes the traumatic violence of the razed Jerusalem temple by conjuring in the mind's eye a catastrophe similar to it. When they look at Shiloh, they see the burned ruins of the Jerusalem temple from a distance, set in a parallel world drawn from the past.[25]

In contrast to Duhm, Skinner, and Sharp, O'Connor allows for emotional incoherence within a single entity. While single-entity-incoherence is a possibility for her, she does not speak of the potential incoherence within the speech of the actual speaker, YHWH. This is surprising, since she does allow for an incoherent YHWH in 8:23–9:3.[26]

"Conservative" Approaches to Textual Incoherence (category 1bβ: Longman III, Craigie, Huey, Mackay)

Tremper Longman III, a more evangelical scholar, follows the line of Calvin, who assumes time gaps between the contrasting verses.[27] Here the text would

[23] O'Connor, *Jeremiah*, 93.

[24] O'Connor, *Jeremiah*, 94.

[25] O'Connor, *Jeremiah*, 96

[26] See O'Connor, *Jeremiah*, 62–63.

[27] In Calvin's commentary, the intrinsic challenge of the temple-sermon is not visible, since he treats the three sections in the sequence as separate daily lectures: 26th lecture on Day X (vv. 1–4); 27th lecture on Day Y, following Day X (vv. 5–11); 28th lecture on Day Z, following Day Y (vv. 12–19). Each lecture progresses with references to "yesterday." Thus, the transition from earlier conditional prophecy to the later unconditional verdict receives a temporal nature. While "yesterday" YHWH called for

remain incoherent if the scholar would not read between the lines by adding text-external information. F. B. Huey Jr.'s work on Jeremiah explains that YHWH "had warned them," as verses 4–11 show, but "Now he was going to cast them from his presence," referring to verse 12–15.[28] Between the first part of the sermon (vv. 4–11) and the last part of the sermon (vv. 12–15) time has passed.[29] Consequently, the Temple Sermon is not a sermon, but consists

---

repentance, he no longer does so "today." A reading of Calvin's commentary therefore suggests that the move from call for repentance to the announcement of judgment comes after the "Prophet had indeed sufficiently explained himself" (John Calvin, *Commentaries on the Prophet Jeremiah and the Lamentations*, trans John Owen, 5 vols. Calvin's Commentaries [Edinburgh: Calvin Translation Society, 1850–1855], 1:381).

Calvin appears to sync his own daily lectures with Jeremiah's "daily preaching." This is made explicit when he starts commenting on verses 12–14: "The Prophet confirms by an example what he said yesterday" (*Jeremiah and Lamentations*, 1:378). Between the different sections of the sermon, time gaps are imagined. These assumed time gaps allow the reader to no longer see any incoherence in the text.

Likewise, Longman does not bring to the fore the apparent incoherence. Rather, he treats the whole passage as belonging to a conditional prophecy, even though the third part expresses a clear verdict. A more favorable reading of Longman could interpret his formulations, "however, it appears that the people are not responding to the word of the Lord" and "the people had plenty of warnings" as assuming time gaps between the three different parts of the temple sermon. See Tremper Longman III, *Jeremiah, Lamentations*, NIBCOT 14 (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2008), 72. Thus, Jeremiah had been preaching the conditional prophecy of doom (first part), but the people did not listen (second part), therefore—at a later moment—judgment became inevitable (third part).

[28] F. B. Huey, Jr., *Jeremiah, Lamentations*, NAC 16 (Nashville: Broadman & Holman, 1993), 107.

[29] What Calvin, Longman III, and Huey Jr. implicitly assume is made explicit in the work of John L. Mackay. He argues that the initial וְעַתָּה in verse 13 "may indicate the next stage in an argument, but more probably here a switch from the circumstances of the past to those of the present - 'but now'. The second word, ya'an, means 'because' (23:38; 35:17). So focusing on the current generation, not Israel of the past, 'because' you were doing all these things, declares the LORD, refers back to the offences listed in v. 9, and shows that the LORD reacted to their behavior, which had been against the norms of the covenant, not by immediate punishment but by repeated warnings" (John L. Mackay, *Jeremiah: An Introduction and Commentary*, 2 vols., Mentor Commentaries [Fearn: Mentor, 2004], 1:308).

Interestingly, Mackay acknowledges the tension between the texts and explains, "this seemingly unconditional announcement of destruction has often caused difficulties for those who felt it to be at variance with the message of vv. 5–7, where the possibility of repentance was set out, but there is no real tension between them once 18:7–8 is considered. Statements of judgment couched in seemingly absolute terms may, in fact, be made with an implicit condition and are designed to induce repentance. However, if the appropriate response is not forthcoming, then the situation

of two separate speeches given at two different times.

William A. Holladay also assumes a time gap when he concludes that verses 13–15 must be an appendix to the Temple Sermon "added by Jrm after the king burned the scroll."[30] Earlier in his writing, he explains that

> The assumption of the present study is that the temple sermon served to close off the first scroll which Jrm dictated to Baruch. . . . Yet the closing verses of the present passage (vv 13–15) imply that Yahweh's punishment is irrevocable; the possibility is then that vv 13–15 were appended at the time of the dictation of the second scroll, so that the original temple sermon closes with v 12.[31]

It is, however, important to emphasize that the text nowhere explicitly indicates a temporal distance between the different sections, nor does it differentiate between two different addresses (past generation vs. present generation). In contrast, verse 2 does not leave any doubt about the fact that the entire speech addresses the present generation, walking through the temple gates at the time of preaching.

Incoherence as the Product of the Unskilled/Uninformed Reader (Category 2: Lundbom)

Jack R. Lundbom's rhetorical critical approach has searched to uncover literary patterns that would show the unity of the passage. Lundbom sees three

---

becomes ominous." See Mackay, *Jeremiah*, 1:309.

The critical reader will, however, take this explanation as a contradiction to what Mackay explained a page earlier, when he argued that the conditional prophecy was preached to a previous generation, while the present generation received the message of judgment.

Peter C. Craigie's work on Jeremiah 7 appears to follow a somewhat different strategy. He argues that the sermon is likely abbreviated as it was originally a larger liturgic text, a so-called "torah of entrance" used for liturgies held at the temple entrance. See Peter C. Craigie, Page H. Kelley, and Joel F. Drinkard Jr., *Jeremiah 1–25*, WBC 26 (Dallas: Word, 1991), 119. Although Craigie does not explain what implications this assumption has for the text incoherence, the reader can assume that Craigie might imagine some text missing between verses 11 and 12. This missing text would make the shift to a verdict of judgment, smooth and reasonable. Thus, an original logic of the temple sermon is assumed, however, this logic gets lost in the process of abbreviating the message. Craigie defends the judgment verdict as being justified "because of their persistent refusal to heed warnings" (Craigie, Kelley, and Drinkard, *Jeremiah 1–25*, 122). In this approach, then, it is not imagined time-gaps, but imagined texts that guarantee the coherence of the temple-sermon.

[30] William L. Holladay, *Jeremiah 1: A Commentary on the Book of the Prophet Jeremiah, Chapters 1–25*, Hermeneia—A Critical and Historical Commentary on the Bible (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1986), 248.

[31] Holladay, *Jeremiah 1*, 236.

different oracles that are connected by means of an *inclusio*.[32] Lundbom argues for the coherence of this text on three different levels: First, the text represents a literary unit by containing the same topic (a conditional judgment prophecy). Second, the text establishes a literary unit by its three oracles that all have the form of an *inclusio*. Third, the text becomes a rational unit as it builds a syllogism out of its three oracles (First Oracle: major premise [general principle: vv. 3b–7], Second Oracle: minor premise [violation of principle: vv. 8–11], Third Oracle: conclusion [judgment: vv. 12–14]).

Interestingly, Lundbom's analysis does not allow him to integrate verse 15 into his literary unit and therefore he regards verse 15 as a later addition to a beautifully designed literary form.[33] In conclusion, for Lundbom, the Temple Sermon does not trouble the reader with a lack of theological coherence as long as one is aware that verses 3b–14 consist of a particular literary design. When a verse cannot be integrated into the general literary framework, Lundbom freely uses historical-critical explanations (cf. v. 15).

From a critical perspective, Lundbom's weakest point is his loosely defined *inclusios*, which allegedly demarcate the three oracles. None of the three oracles contain a pure *inclusio* in which the same phrase opens the very beginning and closes the very end of the oracle. Further, the single word that allegedly marks the *inclusio* in the second oracle ("behold!"/הִנֵּה in vv. 8 and

---

[32] See Jack R. Lundbom, *Jeremiah 1–20: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 21A (New York: Doubleday, 1999), 455–457. Lundbom's oracles follow the following structure:

First Oracle	(v. 3b) and I will let you dwell in this place (וְאַשְׁכִּנָה אֶתְכֶם בַּמָּקוֹם הַזֶּה)
	↓
	(v. 7a) then I will let you dwell in this place (וְשִׁכַּנְתִּי אֶתְכֶם בַּמָּקוֹם הַזֶּה)
Second Oracle	(v. 8a) Behold (הִנֵּה)
	↓
	(v. 11middle) Behold (הִנֵּה)
Third Oracle	(v. 12a) to my place that was in Shiloh (אֶל־מְקוֹמִי אֲשֶׁר בְּשִׁילֹה)
	↓
	(v. 14bc) to the place . . . as I did to Shiloh (וְלַמָּקוֹם . . . עָשִׂיתִי לְשִׁלֹה)

According to Lundbom, each oracle existed by itself, as each forms a unit within itself, but the three together lack the coherence necessary to approach them as one oracle (*Jeremiah 1–20*, 455). He then formulates the challenge in the following way, "The question of coherence is this: Can Oracle I be taken together with Oracle III? Oracles II and III yield a coherent thought, in that indictment may certainly lead to judgment. . . . But Oracle I gives the people a chance to "make good their ways and their doings," which, if they do it, will allow continued living in the land. . . . The audience then has a chance to reform in Oracle I; in Oracle III it is given no such chance." (*Jeremiah 1–20*, 458–459). Lundbom then suggests that Oracle I was "recycled from the prophet's earlier preaching during the years of the Reform" (*Jeremiah 1–20*, 459).

[33] See Lundbom, *Jeremiah 1–20*, 455–457. Lundbom argues that "The inclusion in Oracle III supports bracketing out v 15 as an addendum, whose purpose is to render a comparison between Judah and Ephraim."

11) is to be linguistically understood as a discourse marker standing at the beginning of a paragraph to open a new textual section, rather than functioning rhetorically as a closure to a textual unit. In addition, Lundbom's syllogism is speculative.[34] There are no explicit linguistic markers that indicate such a design or logic. If the Temple Sermon truly represents a typical, conditional prophecy (see ch. 18) the rhetoric of conditionality is broken by the language of verses 13–15 (I agree here with Sharp).

Summary

The aforementioned approaches all have in common that they implicitly reject the idea of an incoherent sermon as the product of one speaker (YHWH, the prophet), speaking in one moment of time, in one place. They seem to assume that obviously, the origin of the apparent incoherence must be sought elsewhere. The approaches differ in where they allocate the source for incoherence. For some scholars, the apparent incoherence is caused by one speaker who speaks in different moments of time (see Calvin, Holladay, Lundbom). For other scholars, the apparent incoherence is caused by different speakers in different locations (see Sharp). And yet, for others, the incoherence is a product of a traumatized people creating incoherent texts for coping purposes (see O'Connor).

[34] However, if one were to follow Sharp's logic consistently, we would see that theological inconsistency can even be found within Lundbom's three oracles. Here Lundbom, in turn, might disagree with Sharp, as Lundbom does not consider verse 4 to cause an interruption in the first oracle, nor verse 13b to produce an incoherence in the third oracle.

Jeremiah 8:18–9:10

Jeremiah 8:18–9:10 presents poetic texts that contain a roller coaster of emotions. The text shifts between sympathies and antipathies for Judah. Some verses express sympathy for the suffering, while others testify of strong antipathy for their wickedness. Conflicting emotions of love and hate change rapidly as Table 6 illustrates:

Table 6. Attitudes and Text-explicit Speaker Identification

Verses	Attitude towards the people	Explicit textual speaker
8:18–19a	Sympathy for (or sympathizes with) the suffering people	?
8:19b	accusation of the people	YHWH
8:21–23	Sympathy for (or sympathizes with) the suffering people	?
9:1–8	accusation of the people	YHWH
9:9–10	Sympathy for (or sympathizes with) the suffering people	YHWH

From a text-linguistic perspective, but also in line with the Masoretic text-divisions, 8:18–9:10 can be read as one single YHWH-speech.[35] With some exceptions (O'Connor, Stulman), such a reading attitude contradicts the perception of most modern scholars. In most commentaries, different speakers are identified with the specific emotions represented by the different verses. Table 7 shows how scholars differ in their identification of the speaker for 8:18–9:10.

[35] See the appendix under *Text-grammatical observations on Jeremiah 8:18–9:10.* O'Connor takes a similar approach in *Jeremiah*, 61–65.

Table 7. Different Speaker Identification by Different Scholars

Verses	Carroll	O'Connor	Stulman	Lundbom	Holladay	Fischer
8:18	Jerusalem (through Jeremiah)	YHWH	Jeremiah representing YHWH	Jeremiah	Jeremiah	human I (menschliches ich)
8:19a				people (through Jeremiah)		
8:19b						the people
8:19c	later addition			YHWH	YHWH	YHWH
8:20	Jerusalem (through Jeremiah)			people (through Jeremiah)		the people
8:21				Jerusalem (through Jeremiah)	Jeremiah	human I (menschliches ich)
8:22				Jeremiah	YHWH	
8:23 [9:1]a			YHWHb		Jeremiah	
9:1 [9:2]					YHWH	YHWH
9:2 [9:3]	Non-YHWH speaker. Later editor tries to make divine utterance out of it.			YHWH		
9:3 [9:4]		No comment in O'Connor's "Pain and Promise"	YHWH	Jeremiah		
9:4 [9:5]						
9:5 [9:6]				YHWH		
9:6 [9:7]						
9:7 [9:8]	Original non-YHWH speaker			Jeremiah		
9:8 [9:9]				YHWH		
9:9 [9:10]	Editorial conclusion	YHWH		Jeremiah		
9:10 [9:11]	Lamentation fragment of not identifiable speaker			YHWH		

[a]The references in brackets following those in the NRSV differ from the references in the BHS and GT.
[b]Louis Stulman writes, "God grieves over the destruction of Jerusalem. In uncontrollable sorrow, Yahweh wishes he could cry his eyes out for his poor people (9:1). God's mourning, however, is juxtaposed with rage. The people's corruption inflames Yahweh" (*Jeremiah*, AOTC [Nashville: Abingdon, 2005], 100).

As for the Temple Sermon, scholars categorize it in accordance with the theoretical framework each utilizes.

Unintended Textual Incoherence (Category 1a: Carroll)

Rudolf Smend's suggestion that the poetic "I" in the psalms does not refer to the poet but to the personified community has significantly influenced commentaries on Jeremiah 8:21–23.[36] This changed with Hermann Gunkel's work on the Pslams in 1929, as he suggested that that the "I" generally refers to the poet himself.[37] General scholarship moved back to the earlier assumption that the "I" referred to the poet himself.[38] With Carroll's work, this has changed again. After a lengthy introduction to the question of "Who is the speaker?," Carroll settles with Jeremiah as representative of the city. However, he stresses that there is no "oneness of feeling" and identity between the prophet and his people. Rather, the prophet is torn apart. The prophetic speaker shows sympathy for the people while wishing YHWH's judgment on them. With the presence of this ambivalence, it is surprising that, for Carroll, the speaker of 9:2 is not the speaker of 8:21–23, as this would support his idea of a conflicted Jeremiah. Beside the inner conflict of the prophet, Carroll also argues for the inner conflict of the people. YHWH, however, seems incapable of inner conflict.[39]

---

[36] Rudolf Smend, "Über Das Ich Der Psalmen," *ZAW* 8.1 (1888): 49–147.

[37] Hermann Gunkel, *Die Psalmen* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1929). A summarized discussion of the poetic "I" can be found in Gunkel's RGG entry on the Psalms (Gunkel, "*Die Psalmen*," RGG 4:1927–1949), translated later into English; Gunkel, *The Psalms: A Form-Critical Introduction*, Facets Books: Biblical series 19 (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1967). The section on the poetic "I" can be found on pages 15–17.

[38] See an overview of this development in Lundbom, *Jeremiah 1–20*, 529–530.

[39] Carroll answers his question, "But who is the speaker?" by suggesting that the "most likely speaker is the city (or the community speaking as the city) . . . . However, the city as speaker is but a metaphor; in reality somebody has to do the speaking. That somebody might be a priest, a prophet, or a poet. For this reason, a number of commentators treat the speaker as the prophet Jeremiah. Jeremiah speaks *as* the city." And further, "the personification of the city . . . in such poems does not mean that the speaker speaks his own feelings; he speaks of the city's responses to the disaster" (*Jeremiah*, 235–236).

Interestingly, Carroll's issue is not whether YHWH is speaking of somebody else, but to prevent a superficial identification of Jeremiah as speaker. He writes, "It is an illegitimate move to argue from these poems to the personal feelings of Jeremiah or to cite them as evidence for the oneness of feeling and identity between Jeremiah and his people. The many poems and statements critical of the community indicate quite clearly just how alienated that speaker felt from the community" (*Jeremiah*, 236).

This last remark is particularly interesting since it would describe well the at-

Intended Textual Incoherence (Category 1bα: Stulman, O'Connor, Fischer)

Stulman does not take a definite stance regarding the matter of speaker identification but writes:

> Jeremiah 8:18–9:3 sustains the chorus of suffering voices. The identity of the various speakers throughout the book is difficult to determine. The first appears to be Jeremiah who bewails Judah's desperate condition. He expresses great sorrow at the unfolding events. As a divine spokesperson, however, it is impossible to separate Jeremiah completely from Yahweh (8:18–22). . . . Jeremiah represents Yahweh in word and in deep emotions.[40]

Stulman differentiates himself from Holladay by quoting Fretheim, "Jeremiah's grief is an embodiment of God's grief"[41].[42] Thus, Stulman does not limit himself to the concept of "unity of emotion,"[43] separating the empathetic emotions of the suffering prophet from the exasperated emotions of YHWH. In Stulman's interpretation, this passage testifies to a YHWH—potentially embodied by his prophet—with conflicting emotions. It comes, therefore, logically when he writes "Nonetheless, by the end Yahweh himself enters the cacophony to express sympathy for the people (9:1–3)."[44]

O'Connor goes a step further (agreeing with our own analysis) when she considers YHWH as the speaker of 8:23–9:3. Therefore, verse 19b ("Is YHWH not in Zion? Is her king not in her?") and verse 20 ("The harvest has past; the summer is ended and we are not saved!") are the voice of the people of Zion quoted by YHWH in his own speech.[45] She writes:

---

titude of YHWH to his people. Carroll argues that the speaker of 8:21–23 is different from the speaker of 9:2. He explains that, "In this poem the speaker disparages the community of its social behavior . . . No setting is provided for the poem, so it may refer to any period in the community's existence, though commentators are keen to place it in the early period of Jehoiakim's reign" (*Jeremiah*, 238) and further, "the poem represents the community as an entity disintegrating under the force of its own corruption . . . A society characterized by such activities is one at war with itself; hence the speaker's wish to leave it and live in a shar in the desert" (*Jeremiah*, 238–239).

Carroll struggles with the same incoherence, but localizes it in the incoherence of the community. We would like to challenge such a reading and wonder whether Jeremiah did not localize it in YHWH. Carroll does likely not accept such localization as he seems to assume that the redactors regarded YHWH as a coherent entity, incapable of showing such incoherence.

[40] Stulman, *Jeremiah*, 99.

[41] Terence E. Fretheim, *Jeremiah*, Smyth and Helwys Bible Commentary (Macon: Smith & Helwys, 2002), 155.

[42] Stulman, *Jeremiah*, 99.

[43] On Holladay's "unity of emotion," see p. 27.

[44] Stulman, *Jeremiah*, 99.

[45] O'Connor, *Jeremiah*, 62.

> The reasons I think God is the implied speaker here are several. The primary user of the phrase "my people" is God in the book, and the speaker of the phrase "the Daughter of my people" also seems to be God. And since God is clearly the one who asks, "Why have they provoked me to anger?" in the very next verse (v 19), and because God laments, weeps, and grieves elsewhere, I think God wants to be weak here too. J.J.M. Roberts adds strength to my argument by providing a long list of ancient Near Eastern deities who weep over the fall of their cities. This means the prophetic convention of a weeping god that had a place in the literature of Israel's neighbors influences the poem.[46]

In addition to this argument, O'Connor suggests the purpose for this divine identification. She writes further:

> How utterly remarkable of Jeremiah to echo in a poem about God's inner being the people's own stunned, blunted condition. God's spirit is "leaden," dismay takes possession, as if god were in a state of stress, beyond recovery. "My heart is sick within me." Inner sickness and psychic numbing mirror the people's reality, set it outside them, and summon them to face it.[47]

In a very similar way—seeking to work as closely as possible with the assumption that the final text is a readable and meaningful text—Georg Fischer does not heavily rely in his interpretation on text-external hypothetical assumptions. He formulates carefully and conjunctively ("In der Annahme" and "lassen an Jeremia als Sprecher denken")[48] when identifying different speakers. Due to his high view of Jeremiah's textual quality he also identifies troubled emotions within YHWH and his prophet and does not seek to explain them away. He writes:

> This middle section [Jer 9:1–10] introduces a God who—close to despair . . . —seeks to leave his people (v. 1) and who is driven to weep due to the unbearable conditions (v. 9). A proverb says "feelings are not deceiving"; applying this proverb here, means that God's solidarity with even a sinful people and his compassion for them in even this distress is stronger than all of God's dissociation and judgments.[49]

"Conservative" Approaches to Textual Incoherence (Category 2)

Lundbom argues for the prophet as speaker of verse 18, the "assembly of my people" in verse 19ab (Jeremiah speaks here for the community), YHWH speaks in verse 19c (through Jeremiah), the assembly of Israel responds in verse 20 (again through Jeremiah), and finally, Jerusalem speaks in verse 21

---

[46] O'Connor, *Jeremiah*, 63–64.

[47] O'Connor, *Jeremiah*, 63–64.

[48] Georg Fischer, *Jeremia 1–25*, HThKAT (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 2005), 344, 347.

[49] Fischer, *Jeremia 1–25*, 349, see also 354.

(through Jeremiah).[50] Regarding 8:22–9:1[2], he explains, "Delimitation must again be determined by rhetorical criteria . . . The poem, as will be seen, begins at 8:22 and ends with 9:1[2]."[51] Lundbom, then, disconnects 8:21 from verse 22. He argues that "once . . . the speakers are correctly delineated, some very fine poetry emerges—nicely-structured and rhythmically a gem."[52] This decision, however, relies fully on what he regards to be a correct delineation—something that can be questioned, as shown in the matter of the Temple Sermon (7:1–15).

In contrast, Carroll argues that such an approach undermines the structure: "Others prefer to treat the addition as a response to the question, turning the poem from a monologue into a dialogue. . . . It explains the disaster as being due to idolatry but spoils the poem as a lament of the fallen city."[53] Thus, contrary to Lundbom, Carroll does not see several speakers, but just the city being represented by Jeremiah. The challenge for Carroll is 8:19c, as it does not fit his assumption of "one speaker." He resolves the dilemma with redaction; "A later hand has replied to the rhetorical question in verse 19 by adding an explanation for the disaster."[54]

Holladay makes an interesting decision on the basis of what he calls "unity of emotion."[55] In 8:18–23, he argues that for all cases where we have expression of intense emotions and sympathy for the people (vv. 18–19a, 21, 23), not YHWH, but Jeremiah, is speaking. This is a particularly difficult reading because YHWH speaks in verses 19b, 20, and 22 and the phrase "daughter of my people" (בַּת־עַמִּי) is used in both verses 19a–22 (Jeremiah is assumed to be the speaker) and verse 22 (YHWH is assumed to be the speaker). In Holladay's approach, then, there are two different speakers that claim to have "a people." Following his "unity of emotion" approach, he reads 8:18–23 as showcasing how YHWH has lost all sympathies for his stubborn people and "Jrm for his part is stunned by the collision course on which Yahwe and the people are bent; tears are the only appropriate response."[56] Because Holladay follows the "unity of emotion" framework, he also argues that 9:1 shows YHWH as a speaker in contrast to 8:23. He writes:

> Volz, Rudolph and . . . Bright have assumed that Jrm speaks in v 1 and have therefore amended those phrases in vv 2 and 5. But this procedure is unwarranted. Jrm speaks the contrary-to-fact wish in 8:23 out of grief for

[50] Lundbom, *Jeremiah 1–20*, 529.

[51] Lundbom, *Jeremiah 1–20*, 535.

[52] Lundbom, *Jeremiah 1–20*, 528.

[53] Carroll, *Jeremiah*, 236.

[54] Carroll, *Jeremiah*, 236.

[55] Holladay, *Jeremiah 1*, 289.

[56] Holladay, *Jeremiah 1*, 295.

his people. While Yahwe speaks the parallel contrary-to-fact wish in the present verse out of rejection of his people.[57]

Conclusion

The portrayal of the different approaches to the apparent textual incoherence in the Temple Sermon and Jer 8:18–9:10 allows for the following conclusion. With the exception of Stulman, Fischer, and particularly O'Connor, none of the analyzed scholars locate the phenomenon of incoherence in the textual depiction of YHWH. According to their interpretations, the phenomenon of incoherence is located everywhere except YHWH. It finds its place in a messy redaction process (see Duhm), in a society in conflict with itself (see Sharp), in a prophet torn between sympathy for his people and loyalty towards YHWH (see Carroll), and in a discourse established by diverse and contrasting speakers (see Lundbom, Holladay).

Some scholars operate with the frameworks of "unity of emotion" (see Holladay) or "oneness of feeling" (see Carroll) to identify conflicting voices and emotions, matching these voices and emotions to textual participants. Conflicting emotions are represented in the people and in Jeremiah, for example. Where participant identification is not possible, emotional conflicts or incoherent feelings represent the state of the people or Jeremiah, but never YHWH.[58]

In the methodologies explored, we notice the absence of consistency. Noting this absence, we observe the following methodological phenomena: First, the more loosely a rhetorical device is defined within a methodology, the less likely that it can function as a "controlling principle." Thus, rhetorical strategies cannot prove textual coherence unless the devices are strictly and concisely defined. Second, the more specifically the coherence of theological conceptions (or cognitive conceptions in general)[59] are defined within methodologies the more textual inconsistencies can be detected. Since one cannot arrive at inter-subjective agreement about cognitive conceptions, we also lack "controlling principles" on this level. Third, both historical-critical as well as conservative approaches to textual incoherence are highly speculative. To suggest different sources or redactions is methodologically no different than suggesting time-gaps or missing information (due to abbreviation efforts). In all cases, some type of lacking data is assumed.

---

[57] Holladay, *Jeremiah 1*, 299.

[58] Lundbom has made this very explicit in regard to 5:18—his image of God does not allow him to accept the apparent textual incoherence as a product of YHWH's own speech (see end of footnote 86). It seems that scholars only allow for a YHWH who communicates sovereignly, reasonably, and clearly.

[59] See e.g. Holladay's "emotional unity" (p. 27) and Carroll's "oneness of feeling" (p. 24 and footnote 39).

Due to the inconsistencies in these approaches, we have sought out a methodology guided by objective, consistent text-linguistic markers. Our study arrives at the conclusion that the grammar of the text shows a coherence that calls for a renewed approach to Jeremiah's image of YHWH. We will, therefore, explore the possibility that this grammatical coherence with disruptive logic is not primarily reflecting a chaotic writer (author, redactor, copyist), a chaotic community, or historical gaps, but reflecting YHWH as a textual character.[60]

We show, from a text-grammatical perspective (see *Appendix*), that 7:1–20 and 8:18–9:10 can be read as a grammatically coherent text. The reason why scholars have difficulty accepting the structures of these texts is their content and inner logic. Namely, the reader's image of God as incapable of emotional equivocating contradicts the way YHWH is presented by the text.

In the next section, we explicate apparent textual incoherencies that appear on the surface once a text-phenomenological reading is processed. In contrast to the aforementioned hermeneutical frameworks (categories 1a, 1bα, 1bβ, 2), we will not attempt to cohere the text on the basis of theoretical and speculative information, but seek a text-internal solution to the challenge (see the third section).

A Description of YHWH's Apparent Incoherence

We could assemble a long list of apparent inconsistencies in YHWH's behavior, attitudes, and emotions. However, rather than explaining these inconsistencies on the basis of altered historical situations (see ch. 18), we attempt to read the text, text-phenomenologically.[61] We rely only on explicit text-linguistic markers to inform us whether an apparent contradiction is of synchronic or diachronic nature. We remain within the borders of oracles when

[60] Regarding the temple sermon in chapter 7, we will, therefore, also include verse 16 as part of the same speech situation between YHWH (speaker) and Jrm (addressee) that is introduced in verse 1.

[61] See the approaches of Eep Talstra and Christof Hardmeier: Eep Talstra, "From the 'eclipse' to the 'Art' of Biblical Narrative: Reflections on Methods of Biblical Exegesis," in *Perspectives in the Study of the Old Testament and Early Judaism: A Symposium in Honour of Adams S. van Der Woude on the Occasion of His 70th Birthday*, eds. Florentino García Martínez and Ed Noort, VTSup 83 (Leiden: Brill, 1998), xi, 284; Eep Talstra, *Oude en Nieuwe lezers: Een inleiding in de Methoden van Uitleg van het Oude Testament* (Kampen: KoK, 2002); Christof Hardmeier, *Textwelten der Bibel entdecken: Grundlagen und Verfahren einer textpragmatischen Literaturwissenschaft der Bibel*, vol. 1, Textpragmatische Studien zur Hebräischen Bibel (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2003); 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), 13–44.

we collect antithetical data, though exceptions can be made when oracles are text-linguistically stitched together in such a way that they invite a synchronal reading. As an example: While the Temple Sermon is usually regarded to end in 7:15, a computer assisted analysis that only seeks text-linguistic markers suggests that the sermon extends until 8:13 (see *Appendix*). Thus, if we are not applying any other theoretical framework to the reading of 7:1–8:13, we have to assume that these verses are to be read as one synchronal unit.

Be My Prophet Versus Be My Prophet Not

Obviously, Jeremiah is called by YHWH to become his prophet (ch. 1). One of the central tasks of the prophet is to act as a mediator between YHWH and his people. The first part of the Temple Sermon relies on this understanding of the prophetic role (7:1–2). The prophet is to bring the covenant partner back to YHWH (vv. 3b–7). However, in verse 16 ("do not pray!"), the prophet is forbidden to mediate for his people ("be my prophet not"):

Table 8. Jeremiah 7:2 and 16

Verse	BHS	NRSV
7:2	עֲמֹד בְּשַׁעַר בֵּית יְהוָה וְקָרָאתָ שָּׁם אֶת־הַדָּבָר הַזֶּה וְאָמַרְתָּ שִׁמְעוּ דְבַר־יְהוָה כָּל־יְהוּדָה הַבָּאִים בַּשְּׁעָרִים הָאֵלֶּה לְהִשְׁתַּחֲוֹת לַיהוָה׃	Stand in the gate of the Lord's house, and proclaim there this word, and say, Hear the word of the Lord, all you people of Judah, you that enter these gates to worship the Lord.
7:16	וְאַתָּה אַל־תִּתְפַּלֵּל בְּעַד־הָעָם הַזֶּה וְאַל־תִּשָּׂא בַעֲדָם רִנָּה וּתְפִלָּה וְאַל־תִּפְגַּע־בִּי כִּי־אֵינֶנִּי שֹׁמֵעַ אֹתָךְ׃	As for you, do not pray (אַל־תִּתְפַּלֵּל) for this people, do not raise a cry or prayer on their behalf, and do not intercede with me, for I will not hear you.

From a text-linguistic perspective, nothing has changed about the historical situation between verses 3b–7 and 16. The reader is still engaging one of YHWH's speeches to his prophet (see the speech situation with Jeremiah being addressed by 2nd sg. m. forms in verses 2 and 16). Therefore, the cause for the shift cannot be attributed to the development of action or progress of time, but rather has to be perceived as an expression of contradiction in the sermon, itself. There is then an invitation of hope in returning to the covenant, in verse 13, where YHWH concludes suddenly and unexpectedly (וְעַתָּה) with judgment, and the command to cease prophetic mediation (v. 16).[62]

[62] Holladay reasons quite differently. While he makes a strong case for intercession being a central and integral part of the prophetic calling (he refers to 18:20[!]; 21:1–2; 37:3; 42:1–6, 20; 44:4; and Gen 20:7, 17; Num 11:2; 21:7; 1 Kgs 13:6; 2 Kgs 4:33; Amos 7:1–9), he seems to believe that a prohibition of being a prophet

They Listen Versus They Listen Not

Beside Jeremiah's sign acts, one of the major prophetic tools is the spoken word. YHWH commands his prophets to speak to the people so that they will hear (7:2, שמע). Speaking assumes hearing. According to YHWH's sermon, this hope in a people who are going to listen operates as the essential driving force behind his activity in the final years of Judah's kingdom (7:13, see also v. 25; 11:7; 25:3–4; 26:5; 29:19; 32:33; 35:14–15; 44:4). This שׁמע-assumption makes YHWH's declaration unexpected when he says the people will not listen (לֹא־שָׁמְעוּ) to what he is saying (7:28)—and still, YHWH gives Jeremiah instructions to preach. The reader then receives the impression that a contrast of expectations is created: They will listen versus they will not listen. The negative expectation is underlined when YHWH exchanges עַם ("people"

---

must be understood from the perspective of changing history. Holladay writes, "The chronology of Jrm's career proposed in the present study makes the situation plausible. Jrm was free to intercede for the people until he was convinced repentance was impossible, when the king burned the scroll. At that point Jrm understood himself to be an 'anti-Moses' figure" (*Jeremiah 1*, 253). The fact that the book of Jeremiah knows of the prophet Jeremiah interceding even in his later exilic career is explained in the following way "On the eve of the final fall of Jerusalem, however, when he was convinced there was a hopeful future for Judah (Jer 30:1–3), he could be released to intercede once more, only finally to revert to being the anti-Moses figure when forced to go down to Egypt with the refugees (44:24–27)." See *Jeremiah 1*, 253.

Carroll sees the prohibition for intercession as an editorial repetition (also present in 11:14 and 14:11) in order to "present the nation as beyond help" (*Jeremiah*, 212). Like Holladay, Carroll stresses that the editor assumed that intercession belongs to the fundamental functions of a prophet (*Jeremiah*, 213). However, he remains somewhat skeptical about such a popular understanding when writing, "There is probably much less to be said about the intercessory role of the prophet than is often imagined . . . Insofar as the prophets had such a role it was hardly a routine one, and may have been confined to the northern prophets" (*Jeremiah*, 213).

Carroll suggests a minimalist interpretation when stating that the prohibition is most likely "used in the tradition to underline the wickedness of the nation" (*Jeremiah*, 213). His doubt about the centrality of the intercessory role might explain why he does not see a contradiction in YHWH's command and his call for Jrm to be a prophet.

Lundbom takes a different approach to this contradiction. He argues that the repetitive negation with אַל indicates that the prohibition is only for the moment and would not mean "do not ever pray again" (*Jeremiah 1–20*, 474). He continues, "Yahweh knows that Jeremiah will pray again" (*Jeremiah 1–20*, 474) and explains, "the point seems to be that Jeremiah is pressing Yahweh more than he should. Yahweh does not want to relent, and Jeremiah's intersessions are made in the hope that he will. In 14:11–12 the prophet is told not to intercede for the people, but he continues to do so, telling Yahweh that the problem is with the false prophets (*Jeremiah 1–20*, 474).

He continues with comments on the statement "for I do not hear you" (8:16b): "The statement is ironic: Yahweh hears, but says he is not hearing, meaning he is not listening" (*Jeremiah 1–20*, 475). Lundbom does not further explain this irony.

see 7:12, 16, 23, 33) with גּוֹי ("nation").[63] As a non-listening people, Judah is no longer the chosen nation.

For the reader, a logical question develops from these observations: If YHWH knows that they will not listen, why, then, does he still speak? The close relationship between Jeremiah's preaching in 26:2–6 and chapter 7's Temple Sermon (same location, same logic, same vocabulary, same references [Shiloh]) suggests that 26:2–6 provides the actual historical account for Jeremiah's preaching of the Temple Sermon (ch. 7).[64] Interestingly, when Jeremiah is called to preach in chapter 26, YHWH does not seem to remember his earlier conclusion that the people will not listen (7:28).[65] In contrast, by using the word "perhaps" (אוּלַי) he expresses the hope that they will actually listen:

[63] Holladay argues that they are addressed in 7:28 as "one among many" instead of a chosen people (*Jeremiah 1*, 263).

[64] This is traditionally assumed by most major commentaries. John Bright states "as is all but universally agreed, this address [refers to 26:2] is the same as that already encountered in more extended form in vii 2–15, often referred to as the 'temple Sermon'." John Bright, *Jeremiah*, AB 21 (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1965), 171. See also: Lundbom, *Jeremiah 1–20*, 454; Jack R. Lundbom, *Jeremiah 21–36: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 21B (New York: Doubleday, 2004), 284; Holladay, *Jeremiah 1*, 240; William L. Holladay, *Jeremiah 2: A Commentary on the Book of the Prophet Jeremiah, Chapters 26–52,* Hermeneia—A Critical and Historical Commentary on the Bible (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1989), 103–104; Craigie, Kelley, and Drinkard, *Jeremiah 1–25*, 119; Gerald L. Keown, Pamela J. Scalise, and Thomas G. Smothers, *Jeremiah 26–52*, WBC 27 (Waco, TX: Word, 1995), 5, 13; J. A. Thompson, *The Book of Jeremiah*, NICOT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1980), 274–275. However, the above quoted statement by Bright is an overstatement. There are other approaches that see in chapter 26 just one of the many Temple-Sermon-like preachings of Jeremiah. Consequently, these approaches do not see that Jrm carries out YHWH's specific command of chapter 7 by realizing that particular Temple Sermon in Jer 26. See Longman III, *Jeremiah, Lamentations*, 179. A more nuanced and open approach is followed by Fischer, who works out the similarities and differences without stating a definite conclusion on how these chapters relate to each other historically. See Georg Fischer, *Jeremia 26–52*, HThKAT (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 2005), 25–27.

[65] It is important to note that the valence of שמע differs significantly between 7:28 and 26:2–3. While the construction of שמע + בְּקוֹל triggers the meaning "to obey," the construction without complement triggers the meaning "to hear" instead.

Table 9. Jeremiah 7:28 and 26:2–3

Verse	BHS	NRSV
7:28	וְאָמַרְתָּ אֲלֵיהֶם זֶה הַגּוֹי אֲשֶׁר לֹא־שָׁמְעוּ בְּקוֹל יְהוָה אֱלֹהָיו וְלֹא לָקְחוּ מוּסָר אָבְדָה הָאֱמוּנָה וְנִכְרְתָה מִפִּיהֶם׃	You shall say to them: This is the nation that did not obey the voice (לוֹא־שָׁמְעוּ בְּקוֹל) of the Lord their God, and did not accept discipline; truth has perished; it is cut off from their lips.
26:2–3	כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה עֲמֹד בַּחֲצַר בֵּית־יְהוָה וְדִבַּרְתָּ עַל־כָּל־עָרֵי יְהוּדָה הַבָּאִים לְהִשְׁתַּחֲוֹת בֵּית־יְהוָה אֵת כָּל־הַדְּבָרִים אֲשֶׁר צִוִּיתִיךָ לְדַבֵּר אֲלֵיהֶם אַל־תִּגְרַע דָּבָר׃	Thus says the Lord: Stand in the court of the Lord's house, and speak to all the cities of Judah that come to worship in the house of the Lord; speak to them all the words that I command you; do not hold back a word.
	אוּלַי יִשְׁמְעוּ וְיָשֻׁבוּ אִישׁ מִדַּרְכּוֹ הָרָעָה וְנִחַמְתִּי אֶל־הָרָעָה אֲשֶׁר אָנֹכִי חֹשֵׁב לַעֲשׂוֹת לָהֶם מִפְּנֵי רֹעַ מַעַלְלֵיהֶם׃	It may be (אוּלַי) that they will listen (יִשְׁמְעוּ), all of them, and will turn from their evil way, that I may change my mind about the disaster that I intend to bring on them because of their evil doings.

Thus, what YHWH stated earlier as a fact (7:28), he rejects as a static truth later (26:2–3, see also 36:1–3).[66] Also, with 7:28, the conclusion that the

[66] Lundbom translates the *qal* forms not as statements ("who do not listen") but as past tense ("they did not accept discipline" (*Jeremiah 1–20*, 484). Translating the form as past tense (also done by NRSV, NIV, NASB; however, KJV, NKJV, NAB translate present tense "who do not accept discipline") takes away the potential contradiction of the present. But this still does not solve the larger problem. Even if the *qal* tense should be translated as past tense, it includes the present state of the nations as simple through the independent nominal clause "this is the nation" (זֶה הַגּוֹי). The understanding of presence is further continued in 7:29, where the call for mourning is a direct response to the here and now of the nation's state. Thus, the problem remains, why speak to a people that does not hear? Lundbom's "problem" could be solved if one were to assume—like Carroll—that this is an editorial comment added later to the text. Lundbom's comments on 26:3 ("Perhaps they will listen") are few. Instead of discussing the contrast of expectation in 26:3 with the parallel account in 7:28, he relates YHWH's hope with chapter 18 and the explanation of conditional prophecy in the potter's house. (*Jeremiah 21–36*, 287). The oversight of this connection with chapter 7 is particularly surprising since Lundbom argues at length that these chapters are referring to the same historical event. He takes an extremely hard stance on this matter, asserting, for example, that Carroll's take on the connection between chapters 7 and 26 is "largely fantasy and cannot be taken with any seriousness" (Lundbom, *Jeremiah 21–36*, 284).

Holladay does not comment on this textual tension and remains silent on the particular connection between 7:28 ("they do/did not listen") and 26:3 ("perhaps they will listen"). Holladay is similar to Lundbom in this matter, arguing the temple

people do not listen does not stop YHWH from continuing with his address to the people in 8:4. In chapter 36, YHWH commands his prophet to resurrect the burned word once more, hoping it will be heard. As a general observation, whenever YHWH warns the prophet that the people won't listen to him, he then continues to send his prophet to speak to his people in hopes that they might (אוּלַי) listen.

They Provoke/Hurt Me Versus They Provoke/Hurt Me Not

Nowhere does Jeremiah's implied author argue that the people worshipped other gods with the primary intention to provoke (כעס) YHWH.[67] Idolatry was a means to success rather than a method to provoke YHWH. Wherever matters of idolatry are discussed, they appear to be related to matters of economy and politics, rather than YHWH-religion.[68] In 7:18, YHWH reads into the idolatry of the people that they worshipped other gods with the primary intention to offend, provoke, and hurt the feelings of YHWH (לְמַעַן הַכְעִסֵנִי). Consequently, from the reader's perspective, what was not meant personally by the people is taken personally by YHWH.[69]

---

sermon of chapters 7 and 26 should be read as referring to the same historical event (*Jeremiah 2*, 101–102).

Carroll takes 7:27–28 as an "editorial comment" and not as the word of YHWH (*Jeremiah*, 218). Since these verses are not spoken by YHWH, no contradictory behavior is present to discuss. Also, Carroll does not regard chapter 26 as the historical realization of the temple sermon of 7:1–15. He argues the temple sermon's tensions between conditional and absolute elements in the sermon (e.g., vv. 3–7, 8–15) are not so apparent in chapter 26, but may be discerned in verses 3–6 and 13 (contingent word) and verses 9, 11–12 (absolute word). But the editing of the story makes it impossible to separate out conditional from absolute elements because the Deuteronomistic schema of sending prophets, and their being rejected seals the fate of the city regardless of the response of one particular generation (*Jeremiah*, 515). Carroll does not register or discuss the אוּלַי-clause of 26:3.

[67] This has been supported by archaeological discoveries. Judah's syncretism did not abandon or reject YHWH worship but integrated it into the religious cults of other deities.

[68] Idolatry was much more an expression of them being greedy for gain (see בֹּצַע בָּצַע in 6:13; 8:10).

[69] Carroll states, "Such idolatrous cults provoke Yahweh to great anger, though v.19 suggests that any provocation . . . is caused to themselves (to their shame) . . . because people become like what they worship. Yet, it also does anger Yahweh, as the brief oracle in v. 20 asserts" (*Jeremiah*, 213–214).

As one can see, Carroll does not read verses 18–20 as showcasing an inner conflict in YHWH. He rather depicts a non-contradictory matching reality: YHWH is hurt (7:18), but the people are also hurt (v. 19). In contrast to: YHWH says that he is hurt (v. 18) but he also says that he is not hurt (v. 19). It is, then, decisive how one reads the question in verse 19a. We suggest reading this rather as an antithetical state-

Table 10. Jeremiah 7:18, 19, and 8:19

Verse	BHS	NRSV
7:18	הַבָּנִים מְלַקְּטִים עֵצִים וְהָאָבוֹת מְבַעֲרִים אֶת־הָאֵשׁ וְהַנָּשִׁים לָשׁוֹת בָּצֵק לַעֲשׂוֹת כַּוָּנִים לִמְלֶכֶת הַשָּׁמַיִם וְהַדְּ נְסִכִים לֵאלֹהִים אֲחֵרִים לְמַעַן הַכְעִנִי:	The children gather wood, the fathers kindle fire, and the women knead dough, to make cakes for the queen of heaven; and they pour out drink offerings to other gods, to provoke me to anger (לְמַעַן הַכְעִנִי).
7:19	הַאֹתִי הֵם מַכְעִים נְאֻם־יְהוָה הֲלוֹא אֹתָם לְמַעַן בֹּשֶׁת פְּנֵיהֶם:	Is it I whom they (הַאֹתִי הֵם מַכְעִים)? says the Lord. Is it not themselves, to their own hurt?
8:19	הִנֵּה־קוֹל שַׁוְעַת בַּת־עַמִּי מֵאֶרֶץ מַרְחַקִּים הַיהוָה אֵין בְּצִיּוֹן אִם־ מַלְכָּהּ אֵין בָּהּ מַדּוּעַ הִכְעִסוּנִי בִּפְסִלֵיהֶם בְּהַבְלֵי נֵכָר:	Hark, the cry of my poor people from far and wide in the land: "Is the Lord not in Zion? Is her King not in her?" ("Why have they provoked me to anger [מַדּוּעַ הִכְעִסוּנִי] with their images, with their foreign idols?")

ment: "Are they really hurting me?—[No!] Are they not rather [hurting] themselves" (הַאֹתִי הֵם מַכְעִים נְאֻם־יְהוָה הֲלוֹא אֹתָם).

Lundbom sees in verses 18–19 the rhetorical device of the *correctio* where an earlier strong statement ("they provoke me to anger") is then corrected by means of a negation (like: "no, they are not really provoking me"). But, interestingly, he does not follow such a reading. He writes, "Do people provoke Yahwe with Queen of Heaven worship? Of course they do! But they shame themselves in so doing, which is worse" (*Jeremiah 1–20*, 476).

Lundbom, then, takes the questions as two positive statements: First, the people provoke YHWH, and second, the people provoke themselves. Alternatively, as we suggest, one could take it as a positive and as a negative statement: First, the people provoke YHWH, and second, the people do *not* (הֲלוֹא) provoke YHWH, but themselves.

We assume that the reason why Lundbom does not follow the normal functioning of the *correctio* is because he earlier makes the statement that Deut 32:16, 21; 2 Kgs 21:6, 15; 22:17 and Jer 8:19; 11:17; 25:6 showcase that YHWH can be truly provoked to anger through idol worship. Negating this would be counterproductive for his efforts to argue against Kimhi, Peake, and McKane when writing that they "take the present passage too literally, attempting to explain how Yahweh does not get provoked. Kimhi even glosses over the people's provocation of Yahweh in Deut 32:21, calling it an anthropomorphism. But that is to miss the point. Yahweh is very much provoked. The people simply do worse by provoking themselves" (*Jeremiah 1–20*, 478).

We agree with Lundbom partially, but think that he misses the point of why Kimhi et al. put effort into arguing for an anthropomorphism (namely because of their ontological assumptions about the being of God). But such ontological disagreement should not lead to compromising the negation found in 7:19: YHWH claims that he was not hurt/provoked. Holladay reads verse 19 in the way we suggest. He argues that verse 19 creates contrast with the last clause of verse 18 "This verse [he refers to v. 19] brings an unexpected rhetorical flourish to the diction of v18. Whom are they really *offending*? Am I the one? . . . No, indeed; they are offending themselves (*Jeremiah 1*, 256).

Adding to the incoherence here, YHWH appears to argue childishly in the next verse (7:19): Although the people tried to hurt him, he did not feel hurt. Instead, they hurt themselves (הֲלוֹא אֹתָם). Ironically, a few verses later, in 8:19, YHWH emphasizes that Judah's idolatry did in fact hurt him (מַדּוּעַ הִכְעֻנִי).[70]

I Break My People Versus I Am Broken over the Breaking of My People

One could argue that in 8:21 YHWH's "incoherence" is not developed over a range of contradictory verses, but is established in one single clause: "Over the breaking of the daughter of my people I am broken" (עַל־שֶׁבֶר בַּת־עַמִּי הָשְׁבָּרְתִּי).[71] The double use of the root, שבר (to break), illustrates that the destruction of the people is parallel to the destruction of YHWH. The irony, however, is that the breaking of the people has been caused by YHWH himself. YHWH calls the prophet, in 19:10–11, to perform a sign act that would visualize this future truth. YHWH will break Judah and Jerusalem like a potter's pot.[72] That YHWH is a potential "breaker" of people is also highlighted in the prophet's urging that YHWH should break his adversaries (וּמִשְׁנֶה שִׁבָּרוֹן שָׁבְרֵם, see 17:18).

Table 11. Jeremiah 8:21, 19:10–11, and 17:18

Verse	BHS	NRSV/Glanz
8:21	עַל־שֶׁבֶר בַּת־עַמִּי הָשְׁבָּרְתִּי קָדַרְתִּי שַׁמָּה הֶחֱזָקָתְנִי׃	Over the breaking (עַל־שֶׁבֶר) of my poor people I am broken (הָשְׁבָּרְתִּי), I mourn, and dismay has taken hold of me. (Glanz)
19:10–11	וְשָׁבַרְתָּ הַבַּקְבֻּק לְעֵינֵי הָאֲנָשִׁים הַהֹלְכִים אוֹתָךְ׃	Then you shall break (וְשָׁבַרְתָּ) the jug in the sight of those who go with you,

[70] Carroll argues that 7:19 should be taken as an interpolation. As he writes, "The question in v. 19 by adding an explanation for the disaster. The people of Jerusalem have angered Yahweh by their graven images and foreign idols (in spite of 7.19 where it is implied that Yahweh is not provoked to anger by such matters but it is the people who suffer such provocation). This interpolation may have been influenced by 7.18–19 . . . , but if so, the glossator has not quite understood the point of 7.19" (*Jeremiah*, 236).

[71] The Greek Text does not have the same wordplay as it renders ἐπὶ συντρίμματι θυγατρὸς λαοῦ μου ἐσκοτώθην.

[72] BHS: אֶשְׁבֹּר אֶת־הָעָם הַזֶּה וְאֶת־הָעִיר הַזֹּאת כַּאֲשֶׁר יִשְׁבֹּר אֶת־כְּלִי הַיּוֹצֵר

	וְאָמַרְתָּ אֲלֵיהֶם כֹּה־אָמַר יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת כָּכָה אֶשְׁבֹּר אֶת־הָעָם הַזֶּה וְאֶת־הָעִיר הַזֹּאת כַּאֲשֶׁר יִשְׁבֹּר אֶת־כְּלִי הַיּוֹצֵר אֲשֶׁר לֹא־יוּכַל לְהֵרָפֵה עוֹד וּבְתֹפֶת יִקְבְּרוּ מֵאֵין מָקוֹם לִקְבּוֹר׃	and shall say to them: Thus says the LORD of hosts: So will I break (אֶשְׁבֹּר) this people and this city, as one breaks (יִשְׁבֹּר) a potter's vessel, so that it can never be mended. In Topheth they shall bury until there is no more room to bury. (NRSV)
17:18	יֵבֹשׁוּ רֹדְפַי וְאַל־אֵבֹשָׁה אֲנִי יֵחַתּוּ הֵמָּה וְאַל־אֵחַתָּה אֲנִי הָבִיא עֲלֵיהֶם יוֹם רָעָה וּמִשְׁנֶה שְׁבָרוֹן שָׁבְרֵם׃	Let my persecutors be shamed, but do not let me be shamed; let them be dismayed, but do not let me be dismayed; bring on them the day of disaster; break them (שָׁבְרֵם) with double breaking (וּמִשְׁנֶה שְׁבָרוֹן)! (Glanz)

In addition to the conflicting שבר-language, 8:21 holds another tension. The final clause of verse 21 brings YHWH's empathy for the broken people to a climax when YHWH says that "devastation (שַׁמָּה) has captured him" (חזק in *hiphil*). Jeremiah uses 42 times the word שַׁמָּה. With the exception of verse 21, it describes the devastation the city and people are going through (e.g., 19:8; 25:9) or the devastation the land is exposed to (e.g., 2:15; 5:30; 18:16; 25:11). By YHWH applying the word to his own experience and reality, he indicates that his suffering is identical to that of the people, city, and land. Similar to the שבר-language, the incoherence becomes obvious when the reader realizes that the author of שַׁמָּה (devastation) is YHWH himself. With 8:21, the horror YHWH has caused to the people causes him to be horrified. The author of horror, then, goes through horror himself.

This contrast is also found between 8:18 and verse 19b. While YHWH accuses Judah of hurting him, he weeps in the preceding verse, verse 18, that his heart is hurting because of the destruction the people go through (as response to v. 17).

I Want to Stay Versus I do Not Want to Stay

In 8:23, the speaker expresses his earnest wish to lament over his beloved people forever. Since no location for mourning (e.g., battlefield, graves) is mentioned, one cannot deduce from verse 23 that YHWH's lamenting takes place at a location where the dead corpses are found or buried. However, the dead occupy a mental space in the divine mourning. If not geographically, YHWH seeks at least mentally to be close to the absence of those lives he has sought to partner with.

Table 12. Jeremiah 8:23 and 9:1

Verse	BHS	NRSV
8:23[9:1]	מִי־יִתֵּן רֹאשִׁי מַיִם וְעֵינִי מְקוֹר דִּמְעָה וְאֶבְכֶּה יוֹמָם וָלָיְלָה אֵת חַלְלֵי בַת־עַמִּי׃	O that my head were a spring of water, and my eyes a fountain of tears, so that I might weep day and night for the slain of my poor people!
9:1[2]	מִי־יִתְּנֵנִי בְמִדְבָּר מְלוֹן אֹרְחִים וְאֶעֶזְבָה אֶת־עַמִּי וְאֵלְכָה מֵאִתָּם כִּי כֻלָּם מְנָאֲפִים עֲצֶרֶת בֹּגְדִים׃	O that I had in the desert a traveler's lodging place, that I might leave my people and go away from them! For they are all adulterers, a band of traitors.

However, as a direct antithesis, the speaker wishes to leave (geographically and mentally) his adulterous people as quickly as possible in 9:1 (BHS). This contrast is caught by the eye, as both 8:23 (BHS) and the following verse of 9:1 (BHS) start with the same question, tense, and predicate (מִי־יִתֵּן versus מִי־יִתְּנֵנִי). Elsewhere, I have shown that interrogatives can indicate a shift in speech situation (shift of speaker or shift of addressees).[73] Thus, 9:1 (BHS) could initiate the speaking of a different speaker. In this case, 8:23 (BHS) and 9:1 (BHS) would not need to be read as a contradiction within the same speech but a contrast between the speech of two different speakers. However, such interpretation is rather unlikely: First, in both verses, the same question is asked, "Who gives" (מִי + נתן). Second, in both verses the 1st sg. c. reference is identical and established by the same direct object "my people" (אֵת חַלְלֵי versus בַת־עַמִּי/אֶת־עַמִּי).

The only explicit identification of the first-person references in this section is made with YHWH. Thus, the reader—without the directives of an external theoretical framework—will identify YHWH as the author of both wishes.[74]

O'Connor arrives at the same conclusion and writes regarding 8:23:

> There is no way to repair this unspeakable shattering. The only thing left to do is weep. And in one of the more moving poetic lines of the book, God longs to do so:
>
> > Who will make my head water and my eyes a fountain of tears, That I might weep day and night for the slain of the Daughter of my people? (8:22, Eng.) . . .
>
> Desire to grieve is so strong . . . God wishes to become waters. Only such a source would provide sufficient tears to grieve what has been lost and broken.[75]

[73] See Glanz, *Understanding Participant-Reference Shifts*, 246, 300, 304, 309–310.

[74] Holladay offers different datings for the different passages so that no apparent incoherence must be explained. For how commentators see the connections within 8:23–9:9, see the section entitled *Jeremiah* 8:18–9:10.

[75] O'Connor, *Jeremiah*, 64.

Since O'Connor also takes YHWH to be the speaker of the antithetical verses in 9:1–3, she concludes,

> Divine rage and grief are two aspects of the same broken relationship. In an act of theological license, Jeremiah's poem imagines numbness and seething anger in God's being, if I am right about the identity of the speaker. Distraught and unstable, God is like victims of traumatic violence.[76]

They Are Evildoers Versus They Are Victims

In 8:23–9:8, YHWH alternates between picturing his people as victims of war (8:21), which initiates laments of empathy, and describing his people as radical criminals (9:1–5) who deserve punishment (v. 8).

Table 13. Jeremiah 8:21 and 9:1–8

Verse	BHS	NRSV
8:21	עַל־שֶׁבֶר בַּת־עַמִּי הָשְׁבָּרְתִּי קָדַרְתִּי שַׁמָּה הֶחֱזָקָתְנִי׃	For the hurt (עַל־שֶׁבֶר) of my poor people I am hurt (הָשְׁבָּרְתִּי), I mourn, and dismay has taken hold of me.
9:1–8[2–9]	מִי־יִתְּנֵנִי בַמִּדְבָּר מְלוֹן אֹרְחִים וְאֶעֶזְבָה אֶת־עַמִּי וְאֵלְכָה מֵאִתָּם כִּי כֻלָּם מְנָאֲפִים עֲצֶרֶת בֹּגְדִים׃	O that I had in the desert a traveler's lodging place, that I might leave my people and go away from them! For they are all adulterers, a band of traitors.
	וַיִּדְרְכוּ אֶת־לְשׁוֹנָם קַשְׁתָּם שֶׁקֶר וְלֹא לֶאֱמוּנָה גָּבְרוּ בָאָרֶץ כִּי מֵרָעָה אֶל־רָעָה יָצָאוּ וְאֹתִי לֹא־יָדָעוּ נְאֻם־ יְהוָה׃	They bend their tongues like bows; they have grown strong in the land for falsehood, and not for truth; for they proceed from evil to evil, and they do not know me, says the LORD.
	אִישׁ מֵרֵעֵהוּ הִשָּׁמֵרוּ וְעַל־כָּל־אָח אַל־תִּבְטָחוּ כִּי כָל־אָח עָקוֹב יַעְקֹב וְכָל־רֵעַ רָכִיל יְהַלֵּךְ׃	Beware of your neighbors, and put no trust in any of your kin; for all your kin are supplanters, and every neighbor goes around like a slanderer.
	וְאִישׁ בְּרֵעֵהוּ יְהָתֵלּוּ וֶאֱמֶת לֹא יְדַבֵּרוּ לִמְּדוּ לְשׁוֹנָם דַּבֶּר־שֶׁקֶר הַעֲוֵה נִלְאוּ׃	They all deceive their neighbors, and no one speaks the truth; they have taught their tongues to speak lies; they commit iniquity and are too weary to repent.
	שִׁבְתְּךָ בְּתוֹךְ מִרְמָה בְּמִרְמָה מָאֲנוּ דַעַת־אוֹתִי נְאֻם־יְהוָה׃	Oppression upon oppression, deceit upon deceit! They refuse to know me, says the LORD.
	...	...

[76] O'Connor, *Jeremiah*, 65.

הַעַל־אֵלֶּה לֹא־אֶפְקֹד־בָּם	Shall I not punish them (לֹא־אֶפְקֹד־בָּם) for
נְאֻם־יְהוָה אִם בְּגוֹי אֲשֶׁר־	these things? says the LORD; and shall
כָּזֶה לֹא תִתְנַקֵּם נַפְשִׁי:	I not bring retribution on a nation (בְּגוֹי)
	such as this?

The alternation continues as the antipathy transforms into empathy for the judged in 9:9,[77] and then returns to antipathy in verse 10.

I Will Take Care of Them (Destruction) Versus I will Take Care of Them (Providence)

Tracing the *qal*-usage of the word פקד in Jeremiah reveals an additional "incoherence" in the speaking of YHWH. In the *qal* stem פקד can mean "to take care" in the positive or negative sense.[78] The meaning difference relies on the actual context, as it cannot be determined on the basis of valence behavior or syntax.[79] In 9:8, YHWH asks whether the immorality of his people would not require a divine care-taking (הַעַל־אֵלֶּה לֹא־אֶפְקֹד־בָּם) of them (the same question can be found in 5:29a). That פקד does not hold a positive meaning here becomes clear later in 9:24–25 (וּפָקַדְתִּי עַל־כָּל־מוּל בְּעָרְלָה; see also 5:29b; 6:6, 15; 11:22; 14:10; 21:14; 23:2, 34; 27:8; 29:32; 36:31; 44:13, 29). To "take care of" the house of Israel means to bring judgment over them. In later chapters, YHWH promises to once again take care of Judah. On these occasions, פקד means to watch over/protect (29:10, see also 32:5 [Carroll "to visit graciously"][80]). YHWH protects and takes care of Judah by taking care of Babylon and all other nations who have suppressed Judah (see 25:12; 27:8; 30:20; 46:25; 49:8; 50:18, 31; 51:44, 47, 52).[81]

---

[77] O'Connor agrees that it is YHWH who is weeping for the shattered people (*Jeremiah*, 65).

[78] In a positive sense, פקד + Obj can be used synonymously with זכר when YHWH remembers mankind to redeem them (Exod 4:31; Ruth 1:6; Pss 8:5; 65:10). In a negative sense, it is used for describing judgment and executing revenge (Exod 34:7). See also G. André, "פקד, Pagad" *TDOT* 12:50–63.

[79] In both cases פקד comes with a direct object as complement.

[80] Carroll, *Jeremiah*, 619.

[81] We find the same spectrum of meaning for פקד in regard to Jeremiah as prophet. In 15:15, we have the positive meaning to "watch over" or "take care of." The prophet urges YHWH to watch over him and take care of him. In contrast, Jeremiah is taken care of—in a negative sense—in 37:21 (וַיִּפְקְדוּ אֶת־יִרְמְיָהוּ).

Table 14. Jeremiah 9:8 and 29:10

Verse	BHS	NRSV
9:8[9]	הַעַל־אֵלֶּה לֹא־אֶפְקֹד־בָּם נְאֻם־יְהוָה אִם בְּגוֹי אֲשֶׁר־ כָּזֶה לֹא תִתְנַקֵּם נַפְשִׁי:	Shall I not punish (אֶפְקֹד) them for these things? says the LORD; and shall I not bring retribution on a nation such as this?
29:10	כִּי־כֹה אָמַר יְהוָה כִּי לְפִי מְלֹאת לְבָבֶל שִׁבְעִים שָׁנָה אֶפְקֹד אֶתְכֶם וְהֵקַמֹתִי עֲלֵי־ כֶם אֶת־דְּבָרִי הַטּוֹב לְהָשִׁיב אֶתְכֶם אֶל־הַמָּקוֹם הַזֶּה:	For thus says the LORD: Only when Babylon's seventy years are completed will I visit (אֶפְקֹד) you, and I will fulfill to you my promise and bring you back to this place.

Obviously, the hermeneutical frameworks discussed in the first section are what cohere these inconsistencies on the basis of text-external, theoretical assumptions.[82]

I Will Finish Them Versus I Will Finish Them Not

In 8:12b–14 and 17, YHWH makes strong statements planning to take care (פְּקֻדָּה) of his people. This care-taking is not seeking preservation, but eradication. YHWH plans to finish his people. As a result of his judgment, they will be completely destroyed. YHWH shocks the reader with the post-harvest image of a vine where no grapes are left and a fig tree that is without figs. With the repetitive use of the negation לֹא, a radical harvest is pictured. In verse 13, the infinitive absolute emphasizes this further. I will surely collect (all) of them (אָסֹף אֲסִיפֵם)! The response of the people in verse 14 shows that YHWH's words are taken as intentional and that even the cities cannot be protected from certain death.[83] The horrific imagery of YHWH going out to

[82] For Carroll, these references are not prophetic but post-reflective and do not paint a disruptive image of YHWH. Commenting on 29:10, he states, "Here the addition corrects the view that exile in Babylon is to be permanent" (*Jeremiah*, 553, see also 619). Holladay, however, sees no reason why this material should not be authentically prophetic (*Jeremiah 2*, 137, 139). At the same time, he solves the apparent contradiction historically by explaining how chapter 29 is a letter sent to the exiles (the negative version of פקד has taken place already) and chapter 32 is prophesied on the ruins of Jerusalem. Lundbom treats these sections similarly. "Older and also more recent attempts" of source critical and redaction critical attempts "to date portions of the chapter in the postexilic period" are without warrant (*Jeremiah 21–36*, 501). He sees Baruch as the faithful follower who was "entrusted with the safekeeping of the prophecy . . . it is just as clear that the chapter contains a structure that has gone unrecognized by those dividing it into sources" (*Jeremiah 21–36*, 501). Thus, the account is a faithful, contiguous passage. For 29:10, see Lundbom, *Jeremiah 21–36*, 359–360. Yet, for him, it seems there is a historical gap between positive and negative uses of פקד.

[83] Interestingly, the same word for collecting is used in 8:14 as in verse 13 (YHWH

finish his people is painted in starker terms in verse 14b. YHWH goes out to poison his people with toxic water and sends poisonous snakes whose lethal bites lead to an agonizing death with no antidote in sight (in contrast to Num 21:4-9). The language used is clear; there will be no survivors. YHWH will "finish them off," because his wrath is comprehensive in scope. After a short interruption in Jer 8:18–23,[84] 9:15 returns to the language of rage when YHWH declares that he will finish (כלה) them (כַּלּוֹתִי אוֹתָם, see the verbal form of כלה used also in 14:12; 16:4; 44:27). These strong pronouncements are contradicted when Jeremiah uses the nominal form of (כָּלָה) כלה in negated form, foretelling that he will "not finish them," literally, "And not I will finish [you]!" (לֹא־אֶעֱשֶׂה כָלָה).[85] This apparent inconsistency is not only found in those oracles that discuss the state and future of Judah. It can also be found in the oracles against the foreign nations where the antithetical statements are made within the same context:

speech). While in verse 13 YHWH collects the people, the people collect themselves in verse 14. In both cases, the collection leads to death and final eradication.

[84] See *Appendix* for same-speaker argumentation.

[85] See Jer 4:27; 5:10, 18; 30:11; 46:28; etc.

Table 15. Jeremiah 44:27, 28; 48:35, 47; and 49:37, 39

Verse	BHS	NRSV/Glanz
44:27	הִנְנִי שֹׁקֵד עֲלֵיהֶם לְרָעָה וְלֹא לְטוֹבָה וְתַמּוּ כָל־אִישׁ יְהוּדָה אֲשֶׁר בְּאֶרֶץ־ מִצְרַיִם בֶּחָרֶב וּבָרָעָב עַד־כְּלוֹתָם׃	I am going to watch over them for harm and not for good; all the people of Judah who are in the land of Egypt shall perish by the sword and by famine, until they are finished off (עַד־ כְּלוֹתָם). (Glanz)
44:28	וּפְלִיטֵי חֶרֶב יְשֻׁבוּן מִן־אֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם אֶרֶץ יְהוּדָה מְתֵי מִסְפָּר וְיָדְעוּ כָּל־שְׁאֵרִית יְהוּדָה הַבָּאִים לָאֶרֶץ־מִצְרַיִם לָגוּר שָׁם דְּבַר־מִי יָקוּם מִמֶּנִּי וּמֵהֶם׃	And those who escape the sword shall return from the land of Egypt to the land of Judah, few in number; and all the remnant of Judah, who have come to the land of Egypt to settle, shall know whose words will stand, mine or theirs! (NRSV)
48:35	וְהִשְׁבַּתִּי לְמוֹאָב נְאֻם־ יְהוָה מַעֲלֶה בָמָה וּמְקַטֵּיר לֵאלֹהָיו׃	And I will bring to an end in Moab (וְהִשְׁבַּתִּי לְמוֹאָב), says the Lord, those who offer sacrifice at a high place and make offerings to their gods. (NRSV)
48:47	וְשַׁבְתִּי שְׁבוּת־מוֹאָב בְּאַחֲרִית הַיָּמִים נְאֻם־יְהוָה עַד־הֵנָּה מִשְׁפַּט מוֹאָב׃	Yet I will restore the fortunes of Moab (וְשַׁבְתִּי שְׁבוּת־מוֹאָב) in the latter days, says the Lord. Thus far is the judgment on Moab. (NRSV)
49:37	וְהַחִתִּתִי אֶת־עֵילָם לִפְנֵי אֹיְבֵיהֶם וְלִפְנֵי מְבַקְשֵׁי נַפְשָׁם וְהֵבֵאתִי עֲלֵיהֶם| רָעָה אֶת־חֲרוֹן אַפִּי נְאֻם־ יְהוָה וְשִׁלַּחְתִּי אַחֲרֵיהֶם אֶת־הַחֶרֶב עַד כַּלּוֹתִי אוֹתָם׃	I will terrify Elam before their enemies, and before those who seek their life; I will bring disaster upon them, my fierce anger, says the Lord. I will send the sword after them, until I have finished them (עַד כַּלּוֹתִי אוֹתָם); (Glanz)
49:39	וְהָיָה בְּאַחֲרִית הַיָּמִים אָשׁוּב אֶת־שְׁבִית עֵילָם נְאֻם־יְהוָה׃	But in the latter days I will restore the fortunes (אָשׁוּב אֶת־שְׁבִית) of Elam, says the Lord. (NRSV)

Jeremiah proclaims to the Egyptian exiles in 44:27 that YHWH will hunt them down until he has finished them (עַד־כְּלוֹתָם) with sword and famine. However, the very next verse (v. 48), foretells that he will not finish them but return a remnant (שְׁאֵרִית יְהוּדָה) to the land of Judah.

In the oracles against Moab and Elam, YHWH predicts that he will make an end to them (Jer 48:35 [Moab]: וְהִשְׁבַּתִּי לְמוֹאָב; Jer 49:37 [Elam]: עַד כַּלּוֹתִי אוֹתָם). At the end of those oracles, YHWH predicts that he will, in the end, turn from their fate of final destruction (Jer 48:47 [Moab]: וְשַׁבְתִּי שְׁבוּת־מוֹאָב; Jer 49:39 [Elam]: אָשׁוּב אֶת־שְׁבִית עֵילָם).

Again, the hermeneutical frameworks discussed in the first section of this paper are what cohere these inconsistencies on the basis of text-external, theoretical assumptions.[86]

[86] If Holladay is right, and the foretelling of the new covenant in chapters 30–33 takes place after Judah and Jerusalem have fallen, YHWH stresses that he will not finish them (30:11: לֹא־אֶעֱשֶׂה כָלָה) after he "has finished" Judah and Jerusalem. Higher critical scholars read this contradiction similarly, however, from a *vaticinium ex eventu* perspective. The surviving Golah testifies that YHWH did not finish them, thus the claim "I will not finish them/you" is a product of (post)exilic times. Holladay et al. do not apply such an interpretation to the oracles against Moab and Elam. In 4:27, Holladay allows for Rudolph's suggestion to delete the negation (see Wilhelm Rudolph's suggestion in the critical apparatus of the BHS; also Wilhelm Rudolph, *Jeremia*, HAT 12 [Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1958], 32). As a general judgment, Holladay assumes that the phrase (with or without negation) "may have been a standard phrase." If that is the case, he adds that "part of the horror of the phrase may be that it is a 'near miss' on a phrase that the people would much prefer to have heard, a phrase into which the *M* in its vocalization slipped" (*Jeremiah 1*, 167). In 5:10, Holladay follows the advice of Rudolph once again, more consistently than Carroll, when he suggests the negation should be deleted (Holladay, *Jeremiah 1*, 186; see also Rudolph's suggestion in the apparatus of the BHW, and Rudolph, *Jeremia*, 34). Thus, no contradiction in YHWH's speaking can be recognized. Regarding 5:18, Holladay argues Jer 5:18, with its negation, is intended "to mitigate the terrible finality of vv 10–17. It reflects a text of v 10 without the negative now present: the terrible weight of Yahweh's judgment lay upon the people, and the question must have been severe whether the word of v 10 was the last word from Yahweh. There was, however, the counterbalancing perception that the people were not quite destroyed and the conviction that Yahweh did not intend them to be (a conviction reinforced by 30:11). This word of mitigation is inserted here as a current word from Yahweh. A setting early in the exilic period is appropriate" (*Jeremiah 1*, 190).

While Holladay suggests that 5:18 is a later insertion, he wants to make sure that this does not mean that it is inauthentic. "It is therefore not legitimate to argue the inauthenticity of v 19 (as Rudolph, Hyatt, and Bright do) because of the inauthenticity of v 18" (*Jeremiah 1*, 190). Thus, while both 5:10 (without negation, according to Holladay) and verse 18 are contradictory statements, they are both authentically prophetic with YHWH as author, but separated by time. This is how the otherwise apparent contradiction is solved. However, nowhere does verse 18 show a deictic marker that would suggest it as a later addition. The later addition only seems to be suggested on the basis that if it is not there, there would be a contradiction. For 30:11, Holladay sees a prophecy on the ruins of Jerusalem. This is in line with his understanding of 29:14, where the promise of restoration is given to the exiles and thus not before exile has taken place (*Jeremiah 2*, 142). When it comes to 48:47 and 49:39, he only refers back to the same phrase being used in 29:14. Since he argues that the promise of restoration is authentic in verse 14, we can assume that he would claim the same for the end of the oracle against Moab and Elam. However, no explicit discussion is found there. He does not address the contradictory statements in these oracles. If we would assume that Holladay treats the oracles against Moab and Elam in the same way as the oracles

against Judah, we would conclude that there is a time gap between 48:35/49:37 and 48:47/49:37 with the latter being a prophecy given during the exile of Moab and Elam. There is neither textual nor historical evidence to support such speculation.

For Carroll, "I will not make an end" is "from a later period which knew of a survival of the destruction" so there is no contradiction (for 4:27, see Carroll, *Jeremiah*, 170. For 5:10, see Carroll, *Jeremiah*, 181). While Carroll follows Rudolph's suggestion to delete the negation in 4:27 (since the negation would have been added by a later redactor and was not part of the more original text), Carroll does not do so for 5:10. Here, Carroll wants to see the voice of the survivors as an authentic text. (For a discussion, see also Holladay, *Jeremiah 1*, 186). In all this, Carroll acknowledges that the text contains tensions in its final form. These tensions are, however, explained diachronically and not synchronically as reflecting a people in interpretative conflict (or reflecting a traumatized people—as in O'Connor's approach). Carroll's approach is consistent, as the negations are always authored by the surviving remnant.

For 30:11, he argues again that the "I will not make a full end" is a post-destruction voice of one of the many traditions found in Jeremiah. Carroll argues that "hints of this belief can be found in Part I of the tradition (cf. 4.27b; 5:10, 18) and, although ambiguous, give rise to certain tensions within the text here. The different streams which feed the tradition provide the formal elements of these contradictions, but the communities which developed the traditions were no doubt able to resolve the difficulties to their own satisfaction" (*Jeremiah*, 579). This reasoning is not completely consistent since he argues for a deletion of the negation in 5:10, while embracing the negation in his comments on 30:11 as the voice of the surviving remnant.

Overall, his approach is as inconsistent as Holladay's since he does not apply his strategy to the oracles of Moab and Elam. Regarding both 49:39 and 48:47, Carroll argues that the "annihilation is reversed to some extent by the addition of a brief oracle" (*Jeremiah*, 814; see also 796). It is almost ironic that he unites these "different" oracles explaining, "Such an appendix indicates how rhetorical the language . . . is" (*Jeremiah*, 814). If this is a rhetoric of reversal, why not accept the antithetical statements as belonging to one and the same oracle? Once this is accepted, all the earlier negations, "and end I will not make," could belong to the very same rhetoric.

Lundbom does not follow Carroll with redaction-critical suggestions. In 4:27, instead of offering a definite reading, Lundbom chooses to survey the different corrected readings and suggestions, along with the problems that come with it. When he offers his own interpretation, he assumes the presence of the negation. Referring to texts like Exod 32:9, 14 and Deut 32:26–27 and Calvin's reading, he seems to prefer the rendering of the question, "Will you make a full end?" in the presence of a prophecy of judgment (*Jeremiah 1–20*, 361–362). Obviously, Lundbom hesitates to delete the negotiations. This is particularly evident in his treatment of Jer 5:18, where his theological ties guide his interpretative process. For verse 18, Lundbom struggles to find a best rendering. He is uncomfortable with a rendering that deletes the negation or stresses that the present judgment is not yet enough and more will come. He skeptically concludes that "to say that he [i.e. YHWH] intends to do the same in future days (and continue with his punishment) is too harsh to be credible" (*Jeremiah 1–20*, 397). The consequences of such a reading would be a contradiction in YHWH's speaking. Such a contradiction is not further explored. His approach is

Conclusion

With the exception of O'Connor, and at times Stulman, the listed incoherencies and apparent contradictions are generally not processed theologically by scholars. Essentially, these antithetical statements are neutralized by most higher-critical scholars and conservative scholars alike. They make these contradicting statements represent different historical situations (different times cause different divine/human speeches), different locations (exiles in Babylon "create" different divine voices than the remnant in Jerusalem), or the theological voices of different, disagreeing social entities. This agreement, across the hermeneutical spectrum, in harmonizing antithetical voices raises serious methodological questions. Although our approach differs (and disagrees on some a priori level) from O'Connor's trauma-framework of interpretations, we agree when she writes,

> I am suspicious of commentators who do not want a weeping God, a poetic character with human-like emotions. Perhaps such a God may not appear godly or macho enough. Perhaps a weeping deity is too vulnerable. But a weeping God, like an angry one, arises from human experience to name the One beyond every name.[87]

We, then, explore a different route for dealing with these apparent contradictions. Instead of removing the inconsistencies through a diversity of text-external assumptions (different times, different locations, different text-internal speakers, different authors/redactors, different social groups, traumatized

---

not consistent because for verse 10 and the oracles against Moab and Elam he allows for later additions. Regarding verse 10, Lundbom is not clear on whether to retain or delete the negation. With his reference to Calvin, he seems to allow for (prefer?) the idea that the negation is absent and that "Remnant theology comes later" (*Jeremiah 1–20*, 388). With regard to the oracles against Moab and Elam, 48:47/49:39, Lundbom accepts the possibility of the restoration at the end of the oracles as being a "later add-on" (*Jeremiah 37–52: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 21C [New York: Doubleday, 2004], 311). However, he stresses that such restoration promises are "integral to laments and judgment oracles. Dobbs-Allsopp . . . has shown that a concluding restoration word is common in the ancient Mesopotamian city laments" (*Jeremiah 37–52*, 311). If this is the case, we would have to assume that these contradictory statements are part of a general rhetoric and could therefore represent a unified oracle. Lundbom stresses this in 49:39, arguing explicitly against Holladay's suggestions that the verse should be omitted, because "restoration promises are known to be more integral to judgment oracles and laments than was formerly imagined" (*Jeremiah 37–52*, 363). Thus, the contradiction would not indicate different oracles or later add-ons, but authorial intent.

An excellent discussion of the hermeneutical biases at work can be found in Walter Brueggemann, *Like Fire in the Bones: Listening for the Prophetic Word in Jeremiah*, ed. Patrick D. Miller (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2006), 89–93.

[87] O'Connor, *Jeremiah*, 65.

people, etc.), we suggest that where a single speaker can be identified by text-grammatical and text-contextual factors, and where the text suggests a single space-time situation, that we, instead, keep the inconsistencies and locate them within the single speaker. Once such a decision is made, the single speaker, himself, becomes inconsistent. This results in the question of whether the presence of inconsistent speaking can be explained through psychological frameworks. In our case, we have dealt with apparently contradictory texts in which we argue for YHWH as the single speaker. Consequently, YHWH's speaking is psychologically analyzed in the final section of this article.

Psychological tools of interpretation must be utilized, since historical factors can no longer deliver explanations for textual incoherence. This, of course, applies only to those texts where textual analysis can argue for a single speaker, speaking within a single time-space situation. The application of psychological analytical tools could be considered to be just another text-external means for textual interpretation. However, there is a crucial difference between using analytical *tools* and using speculatively imported, text-external *historical facts*. We don't seek to import text-external and hypothetical facts (about potential speakers, potential historical situations, etc.), but to instead apply analytical tools for text-internal, assumed facts. Again, these text-internal assumptions need to be well argued for through text-linguistic and contextual analysis. That said, we do not say that hypotheses about text-external historical facts are always dangerous or never necessary for any interpretative endeavor. This would be far from true and a nonsensical claim. However, the scholar needs to be careful about where such import of hypothetical historical facts might actually break the actual consistency and communicative intention of a text. The clear distinction between interpretative *tools* and interpretative *materials* (text-internal claims about speakers/participants, times, locations and/or text-external hypothetical claims about speakers/participants, times, locations) is paramount.

Psychological Perspectives: Emotional Conflict and Complexity, Yet Mental and Relational Coherency?

"Who is wise enough to understand this?" (9:12) In psychotherapy, the key to understanding is listening in-depth, liberated from preconceived notions of the presenting patient and problem. Often what is presented may initially be quite confusing, contradictory, difficult to make sense of, and even overwhelming. With time though, after listening intently and getting to know the person speaking, patterns may become evident which help us untangle the complex reality, and understanding may emerge.

In Jeremiah, we are not just dealing with the voice of one patient. Rather, we are apparently dealing with the voices of at least three speakers: the people, Jeremiah, and YHWH. To further complicate things, it is not even clear who is speaking where. As we have seen, there is no scholarly consensus on who is

speaking at which point of the text. Even more, we are listening to highly impassioned speakers. So, our question is not only who is saying which things, but who is feeling what? And, how do we understand not only what is being said, but what is being felt?

As we have said, the texts have apparent incoherencies that interpreters have tried to explain and make cohere in various ways. Apart from Stulman and O'Connor, most scholars have attributed the apparent incoherencies to anything but YHWH. Yet, what happens if the apparent incoherencies *are* allocated to YHWH? Is it possible that the God heard speaking is a God in inner conflict, torn between conflicting emotions and desires, and that this is what the text seeks to communicate? Is it possible that YHWH is in inner conflict, and that this inner conflict is expressed by way of him making conflicting declarations, apparently contradicting himself? Does YHWH, by that standard, become "unhinged"? Is he an incoherent and emotionally unstable speaker who does not make any sense? Or, is it possible to understand YHWH as an impassioned speaker in internal conflict and great emotional distress as he relates to the people, yet mentally and relationally sound and coherent? Beyond that, what concept and image of YHWH is actually presented in Jeremiah, and to what extent does that image challenge the reader's image and concept of YHWH?

Considering the context of Jeremiah where YHWH as a speaker is struggling with the unfaithful people, does it make sense to expect "oneness of feeling" (Carroll) and "unity of emotion" (Holladay)? In real life, positive and negative emotions, though apparently contradictory, are not mutually exclusive categories. Rather, emotional experiences may be "mixed," as evidenced in popular language when we talk about having "mixed feelings" about something and affirmed by theories and research on emotions.[88] If we envision

[88] Raul Berrios, Peter Totterdell, and Stephen Kellett, "Eliciting Mixed Emotions: A Meta-Analysis Comparing Models, Types, and Measures," *Frontiers in Psychology* 6 (2015), https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC4397957/. Berrios et al. describe mixed emotions as "a multifaceted emotional experience, which involves the simultaneous experience of different combinations of opposing emotions." It is common to think of emotions as having positive or negative valence, often paired as opposites and mutually exclusive, such as happy-sad. Or, as in the case of more complex emotional experiences; love-hate, safety-fear, hope-despair, etc. We readily understand that more complex emotional experiences, such as love, can be a blend of positive emotions. Various positive emotions come together to create a more-or-less unified emotional experience. But we may struggle in understanding that, for example, love also may incorporate negative as well as positive emotions. Still, as in the case of feeling "in love," anyone who has had such an experience may recognize that, aside from the exhilarating positive emotions, there may also exist negative emotions such as fear, jealousy, worry, and sadness that go with it. Our language, though, has few, if any words, for describing states of emotion where emotions of positive and negative valence are mixed or blended; states where emotions of opposite valence may

the relation between YHWH and Judah as a real-life intimate relationship, it makes more sense from a psychological perspective to expect a highly complex emotional experience. The more distant a relationship, the easier it is to maintain emotional "unity" or "oneness" of positive or negative valence towards the other. At a distance, one does not deal with the fullness of the other, rather one deals with perceived aspects of the other. Perceived aspects may be accurate reflections of reality, but at a distance there is also a high chance of misperception, thus risking that one ends up dealing more with one's own projection on the other, rather than their true reality. However, the closer, the more intimate a relationship becomes, the more one sees (and hopefully acknowledges) the complexity of the other. With that, the emotional experience of the other becomes more complex, encompassing both positive and negative emotions.

The emotional experience in close relationships is multifaceted and at times internally contradictory, especially in times of relational conflict. When lovers quarrel, one can impassionedly say to the other "I hate you!" only to retract moments later with "I didn't mean it!" and then to move on to a passionate experience of love. "I hate you!" expresses a certain negative emotion that is dominant in that moment, yet it is not the whole truth about the emotions in the relationship. Rather, the passion of the "I hate you!" may actually be drawing its strength from the contrasting, and apparently contradictory "I love you!" Without the foundational "I love you!"-reality, the "I hate you!" would be a less potent threat. The "I hate you!" does not negate the "I love you!", rather it may paradoxically affirm it. Psychologically, they can coexist. As Elie Wiesel said, "The opposite of love is not hate, it's indifference."[89] "I love you!" and "I hate you!" are apparently contradictory statements, apparently incoherent, yet they may belong together as expressions of a complex emotional experience. In intimate real-life relationships, rather than expecting "unity" or "oneness" of emotion, we should expect inner conflict and complexity of emotion, especially when the relationship is strained and conflicted.

Therefore, if we allocate the apparently incoherent and contradictory statements and sentiments to one speaker, rather than multiple speakers, what might the purpose of this discourse be? Apart from the potential effects of

be co-activated and co-exist. In our language, and thus in our thinking, the closest we come is saying that we have "mixed feelings" or that we are "ambivalent." Still, not having words for such emotional states or experiences makes it difficult to verbalize and express them without alternately focusing on one or the other, positive or negative. Thus, with the limitations inherent in our language and thinking, a discourse on being in a state of mixed emotions may appear, itself, to be incoherent and inconsistent. Still, it is not the experience itself that is incoherent and inconsistent, rather it is our limited ability to express the complexity of it that can make it confusing.

[89] Eliezer Wiesel, *US News & World Report* (27 October 1986).

intermittent appeals and the threats it might have on the listener, what benefit might God, as the speaker, reap from the elaborate expressions of diverse emotion towards His people? If the speaker were to come to the psychotherapist with such strong emotions, the psychotherapist would listen and encourage the speaker to put whatever is felt into words without censure. According to Jonathan Shedler, "Psychodynamic therapy encourages exploration and discussion of the full range of a patient's emotions. The therapist helps the patient describe and put words to feelings, including contradictory feelings, feelings that are troubling or threatening, and feelings that the patient may not initially be able to recognize or acknowledge."[90]

The purpose, benefit, and outcome of such an exploration and discussion may be increased affect consciousness, through which a higher level of affect integration may be achieved. According to Ole André Solbakken et al.:

> Affect Consciousness (AC) is defined as the individual's capacity to consciously perceive, tolerate, reflect on, and express the experiences of basic affective activation. Affect integration, a concept referring to the functional and fluent integration of affect, cognition, and behavior, is assumed to be an important aspect of psychological health. The integration of affect, characterized by the capacity for utilizing one's affects for adaptive purposes . . . is assumed to protect against the development of psychopathology by ensuring appropriate responses.[91]

It seems to us that in the present texts, YHWH displays a high level of affect consciousness as he experiences and expresses diverse, intense, and contradictory feelings toward the people. As YHWH is expressing his strong emotion towards the people or the prophet, it would be reasonable to think that he is also reflecting, processing, and balancing said emotion, as well as integrating these feelings with his thinking about the people's future and his future actions toward them. Therefore, it should be no surprise that he might say something out loud, yet do something different. Having violent fantasies does not mean that he will act them out. When strong emotions are activated, a range of fantasies and impulses may be activated and, the more one speaks about them, the less likely one may be to act them out.

As YHWH's anger, disgust, and jealousy surge, he still remembers his love, compassion, and longing for the people. He is angry, yet their pain also pains him. It may be seen as a sign of sophisticated psychological ability and capacity that he can accommodate, tolerate, and put all these strong, complex, and contradictory feelings into words, expressing them to a listener. The more they are verbalized, expressed, and processed, the more the inclina-

---

[90] Jonathan Shedler, "The Efficacy of Psychodynamic Psychotherapy," *American Psychologist* 65.2 (2010): 98–109.

[91] Ole André Solbakken et al., "Assessment of Affect Integration: Validation of the Affect Consciousness Construct," *Journal of Personality Assessment* 93.3 (2011): 257–265.

tion and desire to act them out may be dissipated. Speaking about it, rather than acting on it, is a key strategy for managing anger and violent impulses. Speaking the emotions to a listener becomes therapeutic. Rather than seeing YHWH as "unhinged" (O'Connor), he may be seen as a model for how to speak transparently and therapeutically in the context of grave relational conflict. And, as long as there is someone speaking and someone listening, there is hope. It's when indifference sets in that communication dies, and with it, love and hate.

That the post-exilic community continued to transmit these speeches of YHWH indicates that they found value in them, and that they contributed to their understanding of YHWH and his relationship to them. Though the speeches have been perceived to be incoherent, an alternate reading and understanding might acknowledge that they reflect the troubled relationship between YHWH and his people. Though YHWH is not human, and we should be careful not to completely anthropomorphize him, it could be considered that such a relationship where YHWH still deeply and passionately cares, is bound to entail complexity of both positive and negative emotions. And that, though apparently contradictory, these emotions may be relationally coherent as long as they are not acted out destructively. Rather than being seen as incoherent and contradictory, these speeches may be seen as expressions of the deep passion and care of YHWH for his people.

APPENDIX

Text-grammatical Observations of Jeremiah 7

With Jeremiah 7:1, a major section within the book is opened. For the first time, the introduction of YHWH's word, as happening "to Jeremiah" (הַדָּבָר אֲשֶׁר הָיָה אֶל־יִרְמְיָהוּ), is heard. This speech introduction contains always references to space and/or time (e.g.: 11:1-2, 14:1, 18:1-2, 21:1, 27:1, etc.). While many previous oracles cannot be located regarding time, place and addresses, these ones can. The shift from general oracles (Jer 2-6) whose origin cannot be traced well towards oracles with geo-historical characteristics goes parallel with the shift from poetic speech (most of Jer 2-6) to prosaic speech (from Jer 7 on). The anchoring in space and/or time helps the reader to imagine the previous poetic oracles in their potential time-space context.

Jer 7:1-8:17 forms one literary unit that is held together by YHWH's explicit speaking to Jrm (cf. vv1-2, 16, 27).[92] However, within this larger speech other speeches are integrated (see table below). YHWH calls Jrm to speak as the divine representative to the people. These people-directed and divinely authored speeches are integrated in the larger YHWH-Jrm speech (see Table 1).

These speech embeddings are a challenge to any reading attempt. This is particularly because the 2P references can either refer to the people (embedded speech level) or to Jrm (highest speech level). With Jer 8:18 the speech situation changes. Any 2P address is absent and the divine "I" becomes central. The dialogical character of Jer 7:1-8:17, therefore, changes into a divine soliloquy that invites the reader to access the innermost world of thought and feeling of the creator God himself.

Here, the imperatives (taking impv., neg + juss., and *weqatal* forms, in 7:2, 16, 27) clarify that chapter 7 contains a command to be carried out. On the basis of the text-grammatical structure, we suggest that the so-called Temple Sermon consists of four parts (7:3–15; 7:21–26; 7:28; and 8:4–13) and is interrupted by voices that appear from outside of the sermon setting. The following table depicts this structure:

[92] Duhm goes even so far as to claim that Jer 7-10 are edited in such a way that these chapters were intended to form one single sermon (see Bernhard Duhm, *Das Buch Jeremia* [Tübingen, Leipzig: Mohr Siebeck, 1901], 74).

Table 1. Literary Structure and Speech Situations

Verses	Structural Elements	Speech Situation
7:1–3a	Introduction	YHWH => Jeremiah
7:3b–15	Sermon part A: the rhetoric of desperation	YHWH => Jeremiah => people
7:16–20	=> Outside-the-Sermon Voices	YHWH => Jeremiah
7:21–26	Sermon part B: from sermon to sarcasm to solitude	YHWH => Jeremiah => people
7:27	=> Outside-the-Sermon Voices	YHWH => Jeremiah
7:28	Sermon part C: This is the people!	YHWH => Jeremiah => people
7:29–8:3	=> YHWH's soliloquy: Divine Distancing	YHWH
8:4–13	Sermon part D: about loving lies and the corruption of education	YHWH => Jeremiah => people
8:14–17	=> Outside-the-Sermon Voices	People, YHWH, "a messenger"

The crucial verse for our purpose is 7:13. The clause opens with וְעַתָּה. The וְ-conjunction connects verse 13 smoothly to the previous verses and the עַתָּה initiates the formulation of a conclusion. It is made clear that the conclusion of judgment is based upon the previous verses by noting the causal reasoning triggered by יַעַן עֲשׂוֹתֵכֶם ("because of your deeds"). Within the YHWH speech no deictic markers are used to signify a time gap between verses 3b–12 and 13–15. In addition, no differentiation between the nation's generations are made as the 2nd pl. m. refers consistently to the present generation.

A computer-assisted, text-grammatical analysis considers the Temple Sermon to be a grammatically coherent textual unit. The graph below is the output by the syn04types program of the ETCBC research environment:

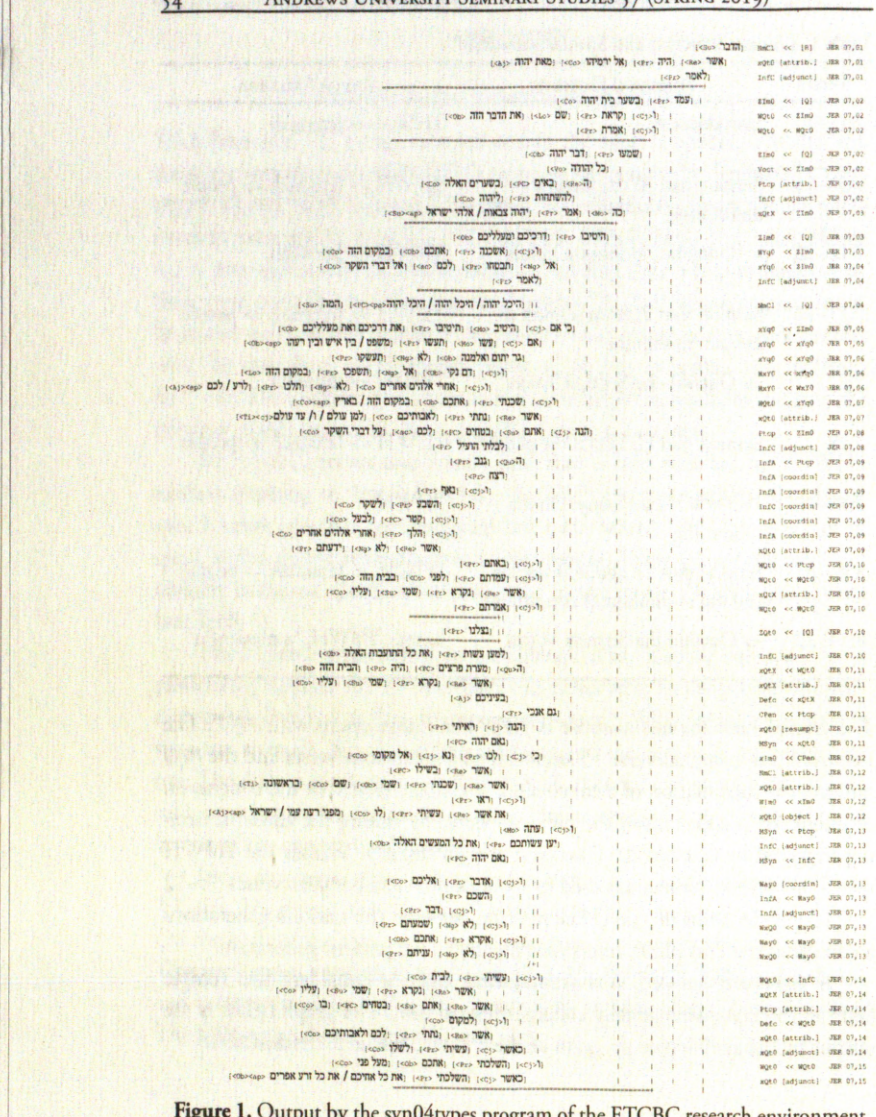


Figure 1. Output by the syn04types program of the ETCBC research environment for Jeremiah 7:1–15.

Text-Grammatical Observations of Jeremiah 8:18–9:10

The object of mourning is the "daughter of my people" (בַּת־עַמִּי). Throughout the Old Testament, this phrase achieves the highest concentration in these fifteen verses. It appears five times in 8:19, 21, 22, 23; 9:6.[93] The one mourning is in greatest depression, allowing no thought other than grief over the "daughter of my people" to take precedence. The question that commentators struggle with is the identity of the one mourning. There are two reasons for this confusion. First, the first-person speaker is not always identified. In Jer 8:19b (compare מַדּוּעַ הִכְעִסֻנִי with לְמַעַן הַכְעִסֵנִי in 7:18), 9:2, 5, 6, 8, and 10, the speaker can explicitly be identified as YHWH. For the remaining verses explicit speaker-identification is absent. Second, identifying all the first-person speakers with YHWH seems unlikely because of the varying attitudes toward the "daughter of my people" expressed by the various speakers throughout 8:18–9:10. The table below illustrates the problem and shows the shifting of attitudes:

Table 2. Attitudes and Speakers

Verses	Attitude towards the People	Speaker
8:18–19a	sympathy for the suffering people	?
8:19b	accusation of the people	YHWH
8:21–23	sympathy for the suffering people	?
9:1–8	accusation of the people	YHWH
9:9–10	sympathy for the suffering people	YHWH

If one follows the general scholarly suggestion, in which one entity/person authors sympathy and YHWH authors accusation, two different entities actually claim the "ownership" of the people, since both YHWH (9:6), and the under-defined first-person speaker (who shows sympathy in 8:18) both refer to Judah as "the daughter of my people". The linguistic structure, however, challenges this perspective. Jeremiah 8:18–9:10 presents itself as a text-grammatical unit due to the dominant presence of 1st sg. c. references. Whenever the text identifies the speaker explicitly, it always identifies YHWH and no one else. This grammatical coherence is only disturbed by the apparent psychological incoherence of the text (accusation vs. sympathy). If the grammatical indications were to dominate the identification of the speakers, YHWH would consequentially be the sole speaker of 8:18–9:10. If this is the case, the reader/listener encounters a YHWH with conflicting emotions. On the one hand, he is empathetic with the suffering people while, on the other hand, he

[93] Once in Isaiah, once in Ezekiel, five times in Lamentations, eight times in Jeremiah.

is deeply angry with their immorality.

A textual comparison between the sections that have an under-defined first-person speaker, and other materials in Jeremiah, seems to also substantiate the assumption of YHWH as sole speaker, revealing two sides of his troubled self:

First, "daughter of my people" is used elsewhere by YHWH as the explicit speaker (see 4:11[94]; 9:6; 14:17). In evaluating all cases that appear outside of chapter 8 (4:11[95]; 6:26; 9:6; 14:17), the phrase is never used as part of the speech of the prophet or the people. It follows, then, that "daughter of my people" is part of YHWH's speech in all its appearances in chapter 8 (vv. 11, 19, 21–23).[96]

Second, "day and night" is elsewhere used in YHWH's speeches: 14:17; 16:13; 33:20; 33:25; 36:30.[97]

Third, a comparison between 8:18–19b and 4:19–22[98] shows similar language usage (e.g., "my heart"/לִבִּי) and the same intensity of mourning language:

Table 3. Jeremiah 8:18–19 and 4:19–22

Jeremiah 8:18–19 (Glanz)	Jeremiah 4:19–22 (NRSV)
[18] My joy is gone; grief is upon me; my heart (לִבִּי) is sick.	[19] My anguish, my anguish! I writhe in pain! Oh, the walls of my heart (לִבִּי)! My heart (לִבִּי) is beating wildly; I cannot keep silent; for I hear the sound of the trumpet, the alarm of war.
	[20] Disaster overtakes disaster, the whole land is laid waste. Suddenly my tents are destroyed, my curtains in a moment.

[94] See footnote 99.

[95] See footnote 99.

[96] If one assumes the same author/redactor(s) for the book of Jeremiah and Lamentation, further support is gained for identifying Jeremiah with the sympathizing speeches. This is because Lamentation uses the phrase "daughter of my people" five times while never presenting YHWH as the speaker of this phrase (Lam 2:11; 3:48; 4:3, 6, 10). However, since both Jeremiah and Lamentations' phrase consistency is often different, it becomes methodologically problematic if one assumes the same literary dynamics for both books. We, therefore, suggest accumulating book-internal arguments for the purpose of speaker identification.

[97] See https://shebanq.ancient-data.org/hebrew/query?version=2017&id=3333.

[98] YHWH is clearly speaker of 4:22. See also footnote 99.

[19] Behold, the cry for help of the daughter of my people from a distant land: "Is the Lord not in Zion? Is her King not in her?"	[21] How long must I see the standard, and hear the sound of the trumpet?
Why have they provoked me to anger with their carved images and with their foreign idols?	[22] "For my people are foolish, they do not know me; they are stupid children, they have no understanding. They are skilled in doing evil, but do not know how to do good."

In 4:19, YHWH is intensely empathizing with the people's wartorn condition.[99] Jeremiah 4:22 suddenly shifts into accusing them of apostasy and immorality. The same type of shift is visible in 8:18 and 19b.

Fourth, a comparison between 8:23 and 14:17 demonstrates identical vocabulary ("day and night," "tears," and "daughter of my people"), but, in verse 17, YHWH is clearly the author of the expressed sympathies towards his suffering people.[100]

[99] While we are aware of the challenges of speaker identification, we would suggest YHWH as the speaker of 4:19–22 based on the following line of argumentation: First, YHWH is explicitly identified as speaker in verse 17 (נְאֻם־יְהוָה). Second, YHWH's specific language is used in verse 22 (עַמִּי, and אוֹתִי לֹא יָדָעוּ [see 2:8]). Third, between verses 17 and 22 the first-person references continue without interruption, indicating—text-grammatically—that verses 17–22 are a cohesive speech. Fourth, besides YHWH, no other first-person participant is explicitly mentioned. Fifth, a challenge to a consistent YHWH-first-person identification appears in the expression "My anguish, my anguish" (מֵעַי מֵעַי, v. 19a) and "my tents" (אָהֳלַי, v. 20). However, in Jeremiah, a highly-emotional YHWH who can cry is not unknown (see 9:9; 14:17). Both Jeremiah and Ezekiel depict a YHWH who is moving and changing his address. He leaves the temple to reside with the exiles and seeks to travel through the desert (see 9:1 [BHS]). The "tent" metaphor could, therefore, refer to YHWH's dwelling place, the tabernacle of the Exodus (cf. 10:18–20; see also Fischer in *Jeremia 1-25*, 392). Alternatively, Fischer suggests that the tents refer to the homes of "Lady Jerusalem" (*Jeremia 1–25*, 222).

[100] The actual speech of 14:17 is introduced with וְאָמַרְתָּ אֲלֵיהֶם ("you shall say to them"). This speech introduction is used many times in Jeremiah. Almost all speeches that follow these introductions have in common that their first-person references refer explicitly to YHWH (see 3:12; 5:19; 13:13; 16:11; 19:3, 11; 23:33; 25:27; 26:4; 34:2; 35:13; 43:10).

Table 4. Jeremiah 8:23 and 14:17

Jeremiah 8:23 [BHS] (Glanz)	Jeremiah 14:17 (Glanz)
Who turns my head into waters, and my eye into a tear-fountain (דִּמְעָה), that I might weep day and night (יוֹמָם וָלַיְלָה) for the slain of the daughter of my people (בַּת־עַמִּי)!	You shall say to them this word: 'My eyes run down with tears (דִּמְעָה) night and day (יוֹמָם וָלַיְלָה), and not let them cease, for the virgin daughter of my people (בַּת־עַמִּי) is shattered with a great wound, with a very grievous blow.

These observations lead to the suggestion that all first-person forms found in 8:18–9:10 are to be identified with YHWH. Thus, we suggest that this textual unit is crafted in such a way as to provide a window into the emotional struggles of YHWH, himself, who appears to be both sympathizing with the judged as well as with the seeker of justice. God can utterly weep while still carrying out just judgment.

A computer assisted text-grammatical analysis considers the 8:23–9:10 to be a grammatically coherent textual unit. The graph below is the output by the syn04types program of the ETCBC research environment:

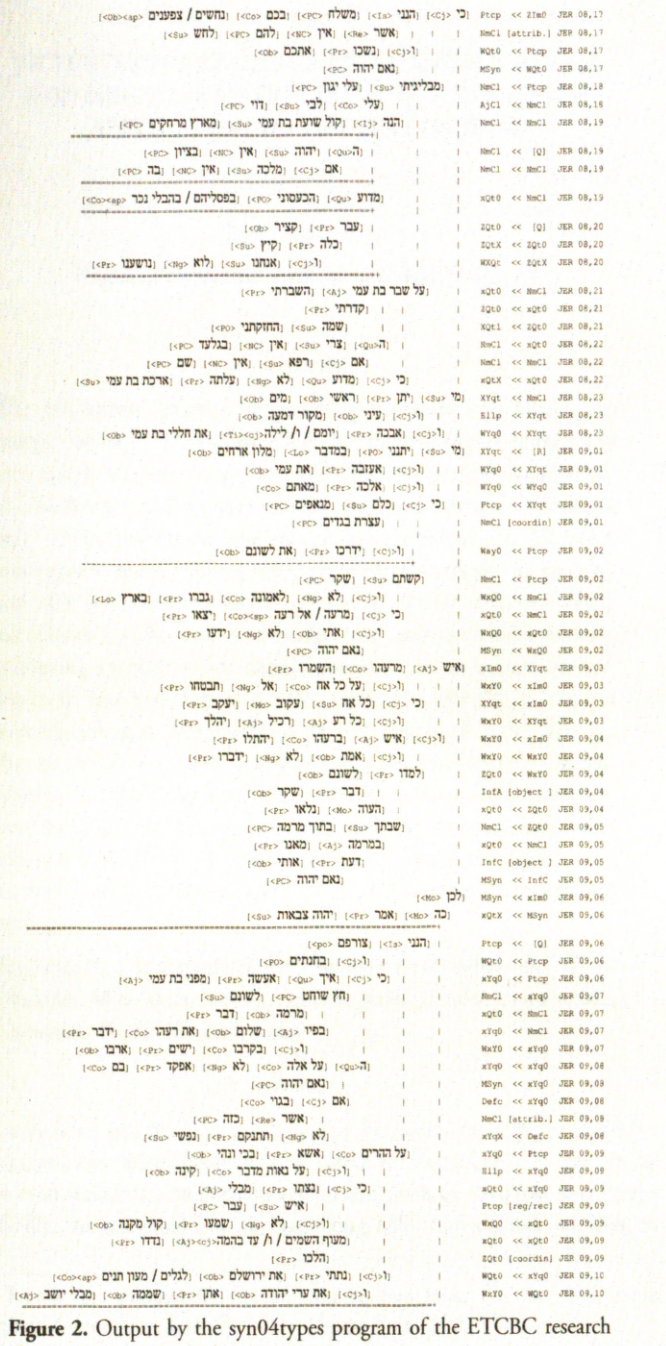


Figure 2. Output by the syn04types program of the ETCBC research environment for Jeremiah 8:17–9:10.

Andrews University Seminary Studies, Vol.57, No.1, 61–89.
Copyright © 2019 Andrews University Seminary Studies

BICLUSTERING READINGS AND MANUSCRIPTS VIA NON-NEGATIVE MATRIX FACTORIZATION, WITH APPLICATION TO THE TEXT OF JUDE

Joey McCollum

Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University

Abstract

The text-critical practice of grouping witnesses into families or *texttypes* often faces two obstacles: the methodological question of how exactly to isolate the groups, given the chicken-and-egg relationship between "good" group readings and "good" group manuscripts, and contamination in the manuscript tradition. I introduce *non-negative matrix factorization* (NMF) as a simple, automated, and efficient solution to both problems. Within minutes, NMF can cluster hundreds of manuscripts and readings simultaneously, producing an output that details potential contamination according to an easy-to-interpret mixture model. I apply this method to Wasserman's extensive collation of the Epistle of Jude, showing that the resulting clusters correspond to human-identified textual families and their characteristic readings correctly divide witnesses into their groups. Due to its demonstrated accuracy, versatility, and speed, NMF could replace prior state-of-the-art classification methods and find fruitful application in a number of text-critical settings.

Keywords: New Testament, textual criticism, text families, manuscript relations, MSS classification, non-negative matrix factorization, Claremont Profile Method, Jude

Introduction

The analysis of genealogical relationships between manuscripts (hereafter MSS) played a prominent role in New Testament (hereafter NT) text-critical theory even before it was popularized in the work of Westcott and Hort.[1] Specifically, the principal step of classifying MSS into distinct families, or

[1] Brooke Foss Westcott and Fenton John Anthony Hort, *The New Testament in the Original Greek. Vol. 1: Text* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1881).

texttypes, over a century-and-a-half earlier to the works of Mill, Bentley, and Bengel.[2] The underlying idea is that a large number of MSS can be reduced, on the basis of shared patterns or *profiles* of readings, to a smaller number of groups from which the textual critic can deduce a putative history of transmission.

The use of texttypes is not without obstacles, however. Deciding which MSS belong to which groups is already a nontrivial task, as it is intimately linked to the complementary task of assigning readings to groups. This connection has not always been obvious to textual critics; it has become apparent only through the shortcomings of methods that attempt to make either task depend entirely on the other. The earliest and simplest approaches to classifying MSS either ignored the relationship of readings to groups or postponed inferring it to a later stage,[3] but in practice, this was found insufficient. Most witnesses will agree on a majority of their readings, so weighing all readings equally only raises the question of just how different MSS need to be in order to to belong to different groups.[4] Later approaches, such as the Claremont Profile Method (CPM),[5] first grouped readings into profiles, and then attempted to classify MSS based on which profiles' readings they shared most. These approaches were more robust, but they left textual critics in another quandary. In order for readings to be assigned to groups, the

[2] Eldon Jay Epp, "Textual Clusters: Their Past and Future in New Testament Textual Criticism," in *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research: Essays on the Status Quaestionis*, ed. Bart D. Ehrman and Michael W. Holmes, 2nd ed., NTTSD 42 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 519–577, esp. 523–527.

[3] One of the earliest is the *quantitative method*, introduced in Ernest Cadman Colwell, "Method in Locating a Newly-Discovered Manuscript," in *Studies in Methodology in Textual Criticism of the New Testament*, NTTSD 9 (Leiden: Brill, 1969), 26–44; more recent studies exploring the same method, but with different similarity metrics and clustering rules, include J. C. Thorpe, "Multivariate Statistical Analysis for Manuscript Classification," *TC* 7 (2002) and Timothy J. Finney, "Mapping Textual Space," *TC* 15 (2010).

[4] See Gordon D. Fee, "The Text of John in Origen and Cyril of Alexandria: A Contribution to Methodology in the Recovery and Analysis of Patristic Citations," *Bib* 52.3 (1971): 357–394, esp. 364–365 and Bart D. Ehrman, "The Use of Group Profiles for the Classification of New Testament Documentary Evidence," *JBL* 106.3 (1987): 465–486, esp. 465–466. See Timothy J. Finney, "How to Discover Textual Groups," *Digital Studies / le Champ Numérique* 8.1 (2018): 7 for a statistical approach to establishing thresholds for dissimilarity.

[5] For introductory material, see Paul Robert McReynolds, "The Claremont Profile Method and the grouping of Byzantine New Testament Manuscripts" (PhD diss., Claremont Graduate School, 1969) and Frederik Wisse, *The Profile Method for the Classification and Evaluation of Manuscript Evidence, as Applied to the Continuous Greek Text of the Gospel of Luke*, SD 44 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982).

groups must already be established some other way, and if the only other way to do this was on the basis of MSS, then the whole process would beg the original question.[6] The root of the problem became a circular relationship: characteristic MSS of a given type are determined by which characteristic readings they have, and characteristic readings of a given type are determined by which characteristic MSS attest to them. The critical next step became the development of a method capable of solving both of these complementary problems simultaneously.

Even assuming a solution to the basic problem of isolating textual groups, traditional texttypes face another more robust threat. In constructing their genealogy of the NT text, Westcott and Hort overlooked the effects of *contamination*, or mixture of characteristic readings from different branches of transmission.[7] This oversight has proven to be problematic; as more MSS are discovered and studied, boundaries between the groups assigned to them become increasingly blurred.[8] Indeed, the problem of contamination among NT MSS has become so widely recognized that it has given rise to new text-critical methods, specifically tailored to account for it.[9]

---

[6] Indeed, the CPM has been criticized on the basis of its application with poorly-identified groups (W. Larry Richards. "A Critique of a New Testament Text-Critical Methodology: The Claremont Profile Method," *JBL* 96.4 [1977]: 555–566, esp. 562–565). Because of this, it is best used in conjunction with more quantitative methods (Ehrman, "Group Profiles," 469–471).

[7] Ernest Cadman Colwell, "Genealogical Method: Its Achievements and Its Limitations," *JBL* 66.2 (1947): 109–133, esp. 114–118.

[8] Epp, "Textual Clusters," 522.

[9] The most prominent of these is the *Coherence-Based Genealogical Method* (CBGM), and it has thus far been applied in the development of the *Editio Critica Maior* (ECM) for the General Epistles and Acts. The theoretical background for this method is detailed in Gerd Mink, "Problems of a Highly Contaminated Tradition: The New Testament. Stemmata of Variants as a Source of a Genealogy for Witnesses," in *Studies in Stemmatology II*, ed. Pieter van Reenen, August den Hollander, and Margot van Mulken (Amsterdam: John Benjamin, 2004), 13–85, and a student-friendly introduction can be found in Tommy Wasserman and Peter J. Gurry, *A New Approach to Textual Criticism: An Introduction to the Coherence-Based Genealogical Method*, RBS 80 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2017). Another approach to the problem of contamination is explored in Matthew Spencer, Klaus Wachtel, and Christopher J. Howe, "Representing Multiple Pathways of Textual Flow in the Greek Manuscripts of the Letter of James Using Reduced Median Networks," *Computers and the Humanities* 38.1 (2004): 1–14.

While the matter of contamination has cast a shadow over texttype theory,[10] texttypes have not been rejected universally.[11] Additionally, the assumptions of other methods introduce limitations that texttype-based methods do not face. Perhaps most importantly, the prudent reduction of witnesses and readings to genealogically-significant groups may be necessary to make genealogical approaches more tractable and effective.

In what follows, I will present *non-negative matrix factorization* (NMF) as a simple, fast, and fully-automated method for classifying MSS and readings simultaneously. It is pre-genealogical, in the sense that it does not infer any prior–posterior relationships among readings or texts. As such, it is intended, not to replace genealogical methods, but to assist them.[12] In the first section that follows, I introduce some basic concepts behind how a broader class of methods, including NMF, approaches the classification problem and how NMF, in particular, classifies both readings and MSS in the presence of contamination. In the section after that, I describe my application of NMF to a full collation of the Epistle of Jude. In the last section, I show that NMF yields intuitive results that correspond to human classifications in existing literature. Finally, I conclude with a brief discussion of NMF's promise in more involved applications.[13]

Theoretical Basis

To describe the methodology behind NMF, a useful place to start is with a similar, but slightly broader, method known as *factor analysis*. Factor analysis has enjoyed much recent attention in NT text-critical studies, seeing extensive development and use at Andrews University in particular.[14] A comparison

[10] Klaus Wachtel, "Towards a Redefinition of External Criteria: The Role of Coherence in Assessing the Origin of Variants," in *Textual Variation: Theological and Social Tendencies?* ed. H.A.G. Houghton and David C. Parker, Texts and Studies 6 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2008), 109–129, esp. 114.

[11] For a defense of its continued value, see Epp., "Textual Clusters."

[12] For more on this application, see the Conclusions section.

[13] The author would like to thank Stephen L. Brown for his feedback on this paper at every stage of its development, the referees for their thorough remarks and suggestions on the initially-submitted draft, and Brent Niedergall and Duncan Johnson for their comments on the second draft.

[14] A brief summary and assessment can be found in Thorpe, "Multivariate Statistical Analysis," 43–46. For a more comprehensive introduction, see Clinton S. Baldwin, "Factor Analysis: A New Method for Classifying New Testament Greek Manuscripts," *AUSS* 48.1 (2010): 29–53. For more specific applications to NT books and corpora, see Kenneth Keumsang Yoo, "The Classification of the Greek Manuscripts of 1 Peter with Special Emphasis on Methodology" (PhD diss., Andrews University, 2001) and Clinton S. Baldwin, "The So-Called Mixed Text: An Examination of the Non-Alexandrian and Non-Byzantine Text-Type in the Catholic Epistles"

of the two methods will provide some context for the underlying theory and advantages of NMF.

Factor analysis and NMF both rely on the same basic concepts to model and solve the problem of classifying MSS and readings. One key element is the *reading profile*, which I will define simply as *a set of readings from the collation with numerical weights assigned to them*. In factor analysis, these are called the *factors*. Intuitively, a reading's weight in a profile conveys how that reading is correlated to the group associated with that profile. Reading profiles in this context can be viewed as augmented forms of the group profiles used in the CPM. A specific advantage to this modification, as I will discuss shortly, is that the assignment of numerical weights to readings provides us with a mechanism of *combining* profiles in different ways. We can "mix" two reading profiles by adding the weights of their corresponding readings; we can "subtract" one profile from another by subtracting the weights of their corresponding readings, and we can "scale" a reading profile by multiplying all of its readings' weights by the same scaling factor. [15]

Factor analysis and NMF attempt to approximate every MS's text (i.e., its pattern of readings) using combinations of a small number of profiles, in which the profiles themselves are assigned weights to indicate how much textual material they contribute to the MS being approximated. The MSS that are predominantly described by the same profile can be understood as belonging to the cluster associated with it. Factor analysis and NMF iteratively adjust the weights of the readings in the profiles to ensure that the MSS' texts are covered as closely as possible and different clusters overlap as little as possible.

The main shortcoming of factor analysis is that in the presence of negative weights, its outputs become difficult to interpret. How exactly does a negatively-weighted reading relate to a group profile? What if a MS's text is approximated by a combination of profiles in which one profile is subtracted from another? What kind of contamination would this describe, if it can be said to describe contamination at all?

Non-negative matrix factorization, as its name suggests, avoids these ambiguities by adding the constraint that none of the weights assigned to readings or profiles can be negative. This change allows us to see combinations of readings or reading profiles as "sums of parts" or "mixtures of

(PhD diss., Andrews University, 2007).

[15] In the parlance of linear algebra, the mathematical expressions for these descriptions are called *linear combinations*. For example, in a collation with three variant readings r_1, r_2, and r_3, we would express the reading profile for cluster 1 as $F_1 = a_1 r_1 + a_2 r_2 + a_3 r_3$. The coefficients a_1, a_2, and a_3 are the weights assigned to the readings; they can be positive, negative, or zero. Meanwhile, if MS m_1 can be approximated using reading profiles 4 and 5, the corresponding expression is $m_1 \approx b_4 F_4 + b_5 F_5$, where b_4 and b_5 are weights assigned to the reading profiles.

components," which greatly facilitates the interpretation of outputs where contamination is involved.

As a consequence of its "sum of parts" model, NMF is also well-suited to identify common textual components shared by multiple textual groups. For example, multiple clusters associated with Byzantine subfamilies might have their own reading profiles with fewer distinctive readings, while their common Byzantine readings are assigned to a separate cluster's reading profile.[16] In situations like this, NMF may shed light on hierarchical structure in the MS data, in which ancestral material is inherited by later families.

Ever since it was first popularized, NMF has been applied to a variety of fields.[17] Applications most relevant to the one under discussion include classifying documents by their topics,[18] isolating gene expressions in DNA,[19] and determining mixture in human biological ancestry.[20] While I will summarize the basic principles behind NMF, I will do so primarily in terms of the present application, without delving too much into technical details.[21]

---

[16] The textual critic interpreting the cluster's output by NMF must therefore take care to distinguish between cases of shared ancestry and true instances of contamination. This is typically easy to spot: clusters representing common readings will not have "pure" representative MSS, but will instead share their most representative MSS with other clusters.

[17] See Suvrit Sra and Inderjit S. Dhillon, *Nonnegative Matrix Approximation: Algorithms and Applications*, technical report prepared for the Department of Computer Science, University of Texas at Austin (2006) for a detailed survey.

[18] Wei Xu, Xin Liu, and Yihong Gong, "Document Clustering Based on Non-negative Matrix Factorization," in Proceedings *of the 26th Annual International ACM SIGIR Conference on Research and Development in Information Retrieval* (New York: ACM, 2003), 267–273.

[19] See Jean-Philippe Brunet et al., "Metagenes and Molecular Pattern Discovery Using Matrix Factorization," *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America* 101.12 (2004): 4164–4169 and Karthik Devarajan, "Nonnegative Matrix Factorization: An Analytical and Interpretive Tool in Computational Biology," *PLoS Computational Biology* 4.7 (2008): 1–12.

[20] Eric Frichot et al., "Fast and Efficient Estimation of Individual Ancestry Coefficients," *Genetics* 196.4 (2014): 973–983.

[21] For an accessible introduction, see Daniel D. Lee and H. Sebastian Seung, "Learning the Parts of Objects by Non-negative Matrix Factorization," *Nature* 401 (1999): 788–791. For a more technical overview of the software implementation of NMF used for this project, see Marinka Žitnik and Blaž Zupan, "NIMFA: A Python Library for Nonnegative Matrix Factorization," *Journal of Machine Learning Research* 13 (2012): 849–853. For a mathematical description of the specific methods used in our implementation of NMF, see Chih-Jen Lin, "Projected Gradient Methods for Nonnegative Matrix Factorization," *Neural Computation* 19.10 (2007): 2756–2779.

Our text-critical application at hand lends itself well to NMF, as one of the most natural ways to think of a collation of MSS would be as different readings in a data table, or *matrix*: each column representing a MS, and each row representing a variant reading.[22] If a given reading were found in a given MS, then the entry in the corresponding row and column would be 1; otherwise, it would be 0.[23] For future reference, I will designate the number of readings (i.e., rows) as m and the number of MSS (i.e., columns) as n, and I will describe the resulting table as an $m \times n$ matrix (see Table 1.).

Table 1. Matrix Representation of Part of a Collation[a]

	03	35	88	1505	1739
Jude 1:4/45–58, δεσποτην και κυριον ημων ιησουν χριστον	1	0	0	0	1
Jude 1:4/45–58, δεσποτην θεον και κυριον ημων ιησουν χριστον	0	1	0	1	0
Jude 1:4/45–58, δεσποτην θεον και κυριον ιησουν χριστον	0	0	1	0	0
Jude 1:13/8, απαφριζοντα	0	0	0	1	1

[22] For the purposes of this study, I do not encode data at the granularity level of *variation units*, or collections of exclusive variant readings at a location in the text. While we conventionally would include the index of a variation unit containing a given reading in that reading's row label (e.g., u4-8r3, "unit 4 through 8, reading 3"), this would not affect how the data is processed. The distinction between readings in the same variation unit is maintained by the constraint that in a given MS (i.e., column), at most one reading (i.e., row) in each variation unit can have a value of 1.

[23] It should be clarified that a scribal omission of any text at a variation unit also counts as a "reading," and so an omission at a variation unit will also label a row in the collation matrix. Meanwhile, *lacunae* (gaps of content caused by missing portions of a page or other damage) do not receive rows in the matrix, as they do not represent any reading copied by a scribe.

There is more than one way to encode lacunae and uncertain readings. One is to set the cells to 0 for all readings in variation units where a given MS is lacunose. Another is to set these cells with fractional values so that the values for all readings in each lacunose variation unit add to 1, the intuition being that each fractional value represents the probability of a given reading having been present. The latter approach is more robust, as the choice of coefficients can be tailored for specific situations (e.g., if a reading is ambiguous but can be narrowed down to a subset of the available readings, or if the space taken up by a lacuna rules out some readings, but not others). However, for this paper, I chose to take the former approach, as it is simpler and more suited to showing the power of NMF in the absence of human intervention.

While NMF can be applied to MSS with any number of lacunae, highly fragmentary witnesses tend to contribute more "noise" than information. In the appendix, I will show how to classify these types of witnesses in post-processing.

Jude 1:13/8, επαφριζοντα	1	1	1	0	0
Jude 1:16/14–16, επιθυμιας εαυτων	0	1	0	0	1
Jude 1:16/14–16, επιθυμιας αυτων	1	0	1	1	0
Jude 1:25/3, omit	1	0	1	1	1
Jude 1:25/3, σοφω	0	1	0	0	0

[a]Variation units have alternately-highlighted rows. Variants readings, including the variation unit indices, appear as the row labels, and MS IDs appear as column labels.

To run NMF on an input collation matrix, we must specify the number of clusters (e.g., texttypes or families) that we want to infer using the collation data.[24] Throughout this paper, I will designate this number k. A small choice of k will produce coarse groupings (e.g., for $k = 3$, the clusters will likely be "Byzantine," "Alexandrian," and "everything else"), while a larger choice will yield finer and more accurate groupings. The textual critic using NMF must decide on an agreeable compromise between succinctness and accuracy when setting this parameter: too low a choice for k will oversimplify and fail to capture the MS data accurately, while too high a choice will make the resulting textual groupings less succinct and more complex.

The output of NMF is two smaller matrices, which I will identify by the conventional shorthand W and H.[25] The first matrix W is called the *basis* matrix, and it describes the relationships between readings and the reading profiles of inferred textual clusters. It has m rows for the variant readings in the collation and k columns for the group reading profiles. A reading with a higher weight in a profile can be viewed as more representative of that profile's group than other readings. The second matrix H is called the *mixture* matrix, and it represents the relationship between MSS and textual clusters. It has k rows for the underlying textual clusters and n columns for the MSS in the collation. The values in this matrix tell us which clusters' reading profiles, when combined, best approximate the set of readings found in each MS. A MS with a high mixture weight from one cluster can be viewed as a pure representative of that cluster, while a MS with lower weights, spread across multiple clusters, can be viewed as a witness with mixed textual components (see Table 2.).

[24] For exploratory tasks, we are unlikely to know this number ahead of time. For details on how to determine the best one, see section entitled "Classification of Readings."

[25] As its name suggests, NMF factors the original collation matrix into the matrix product of W and H. The product of the two matrices captures the process described in section 2: it approximates the MS collation data using only weighted combinations of group profiles of readings.

Table 2. NMF Output Matrices for the Collation data in Table 1 for $k = 3$ Clusters[a]

	Profile 1	Profile 2	Profile 3
Jude 1:4/45–58, δεσποτην και κυριον ημων ιησουν χριστον	0.2473	0.0000	0.6385
Jude 1:4/45–58, δεσποτην θεον και κυριον ημων ιησουν χριστον	0.0520	0.7389	0.4017
Jude 1:4/45–58, δεσποτην θεον και κυριον ιησουν χριστον	0.4057	0.0000	0.0000
Jude 1:13/8, απαφριζοντα	0.0000	0.0000	1.0164
Jude 1:13/8, επαφριζοντα	0.7549	0.7389	0.0000
Jude 1:16/14–16, επιθυμιας εαυτων	0.0000	0.7389	0.5996
Jude 1:16/14–16, επιθυμιας αυτων	0.8251	0.0000	0.2881
Jude 1:25/3, omit	0.7247	0.0000	0.9168
Jude 1:25/3, σοφω	0.0000	0.7389	0.0000

	03	35	88	1505	1739
Profile 1	1.1638	0.0000	1.3523	0.3871	0.0000
Profile 2	0.0000	1.3535	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
Profile 3	0.2029	0.0000	0.0000	0.7641	1.0992

[a]The top matrix (the *basis* matrix *W*) contains the weights of readings in each group's reading profile, with higher weights indicating precedence within the profile. The bottom matrix (the *mixture* matrix *H*) shows the makeup of each MS in terms of weighted contributions from different groups. In this example, MSS 03 and 88 are almost purely represented by Profile 1, as they share its most characteristic readings—ἐπαφρίζοντα at Jude 1:13/8, ἐπιθυμίας αὐτῶν at Jude 1:16/14–16, and omission at Jude 1:25/3.

How does NMF assign accurate weights to readings in its profiles (matrix *W*) and to profiles with a mixture that models the texts of MSS (matrix *H*)? In a nutshell, it starts with "guesses" for the weights in one matrix and then uses these to find the best weights for the other matrix. We can get a more practical idea of this by observing how a chain of more traditional methods is typically applied. To start, suppose we make an initial "guess" for the mixture matrix *H* by assigning MSS to clusters according to a simple approach like the quantitative method. This initial guess for *H* will not be particularly accurate, primarily because of its hard assignment of MSS to different clusters, with no mixture. But then suppose we use the CPM to determine group profiles of readings. Using the initial group assignments we just made in *H*, we can determine which readings are more or less representative of each cluster (based on agreement among the MSS in each cluster) and adjust the weights of these readings appropriately in *W*. At this point in the CPM, we

would refine our classifications of the MSS in *H* using the new weights for representative readings in *W*: MSS with more representative readings would arise as purer representatives of certain clusters, and MSS with readings from different groups would be recognized as mixed.

The guiding principle of NMF is that once accurate weights are known for one matrix, they can be used to refine the weights in the other. In other words, NMF uses the circular relationship between characteristic MSS and characteristic readings to its advantage. It adjusts weights for readings in their group profiles and weights for group mixture in MSS so that the original collation data can be estimated as accurately as possible using combinations of the inferred group reading profiles. Speaking in terms of existing methodology, we could say that it continually iterates the steps of the CPM, re-weighting characteristic group readings in their profiles based on the weights of the group MSS that attest to them, and then vice-versa, until the results no longer increase in accuracy.[26] This approach of iterative refinement is so powerful that, even if the initial guesses for the weights of *W* or *H* are completely random, NMF will typically climb up to a reasonable choice of weights before it can no longer improve them.

Application

Data

We applied NMF to Tommy Wasserman's comprehensive collation of Jude.[27] I considered this a good testing ground for several reasons. First, the size of the collation, which might be prohibitive for more complex, human-supervised methods, can be handled efficiently and automatically by NMF. Second, the collation covers virtually all readings and MSS.[28] We can, therefore, avoid

[26] One may wonder if the process thus described can get caught in an infinite loop. It turns out that this is impossible; for a mathematical proof of this, see L. Grippo and S. Sciandrone, "On the Convergence of the Block Nonlinear Gauss-Seidel Method under Convex Constraints," *Operations Research Letters* 26 (2000): 127–136.

It should be noted that while NMF will always reach a stopping point, the choice of weights it ends up with may not result in the most accurate approximation of the collation data. To find the set of weights that achieves the highest possible accuracy, NMF may need to be restarted many times with different starting points; see section entitled "How Many Groups?" for more details.

[27] Tommy Wasserman, *The Epistle of Jude: Its Text and Transmission*, ConBNT 43 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 2006); for the digital dataset, see Tommy Wasserman, "Transcription of the Manuscripts Containing the New Testament Letter of Jude," 2012, http://dx.doi.org/10.17026/dans-xcz-cqbr.

[28] Wasserman notes that his apparatus does not record the most frequent orthographic variants, such as instances of movable *nu*, final vowel elisions in prepositions and conjunctions, cases of itacism, and other common vowel interchanges (*The Epistle of Jude*, 129–130). This is actually good for our purposes, since such readings are

any existing biases associated with previous selections of "significant" readings and MSS, in order to verify whether NMF will come to the same conclusions independently. Third, to the best of my knowledge, no other application of this scale has been done with Wasserman's data. It is hoped that my work will spark continued research involving Wasserman's collation and encourage collations of equal scale elsewhere in the NT.[29]

Wasserman's collation covers 560 MSS, including 3 papyri and 38 lectionaries,[30] across 360 variation units. I encoded all unambiguous readings as described in section 2. The result was a 1346 × 560 matrix with 178,887 non-zero entries.

Because NMF attempts to partition the collation data into underlying groups that can be added and mixed together, highly lacunose MSS can negatively influence the process. To account for this, I treated all MSS with fewer than 300 readings as fragmentary and postponed their classification to a later step.[31] Filtering these out, we are left with a 1346 × 518 matrix with 172,932 non-zero entries. The excluded MSS and their classifications are listed in the appendix.

How Many Groups?

A natural question to arise from this process would be how many clusters NMF should fit to the data. The process of determining the right number is called *rank estimation*, and one of the most popular metrics used in this process is called the *cophenetic correlation coefficient*.[32] In terms of my application, this value measures the frequency with which NMF assigns the same MSS to the same groups over many runs with random initial choices of weights. If NMF's navigation of the solution space always leads it to the same solution or

polygenetic and are typically considered unimportant for MS classification (W. Larry Richards, *The Classification of the Greek Manuscripts of the Johannine Epistles* [Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1977], 27–28).

[29] For other such collations, see Michael Bruce Morrill, "A Complete Collation and Analysis of All Greek Manuscripts of John 18" (PhD. diss., University of Birmingham, 2012) and Matthew S. Solomon, "The Textual History of Philemon" (PhD diss., New Orleans Baptist Theological Seminary, 2014).

[30] This figure excludes correctors' hands, alternate readings, and commentary readings.

[31] I chose a threshold of 300 as a simple compromise to achieve sufficient information on readings for classification purposes and to avoid setting aside too many MSS for classification later.

[32] I will not elaborate on the technical details of this metric here. See J. P. Brunet et al., "Metagenes and Molecular Pattern Discovery Using Matrix Factorization," *Proceedings of the National Academy of* Sciences *of the United States in America* 101.12 (2004): 4164–4169 for an introduction.

small set of solutions (in which case the coefficient will be high), then we can have higher confidence that there is an underlying structure to the data that is accurately captured by k clusters. After repeating this process for all values of k we are interested in, the rule of thumb is to "select values of k where the magnitude of the cophenetic correlation coefficient begins to fall."[33] For data with a hierarchical structure, such as MSS with different tiers of common ancestry, multiple such values of k may be suitable for uncovering branches of the text at different granularities (e.g., several Byzantine subfamilies might emerge from what was previously a broadly Byzantine cluster).

Beside the cophenetic correlation coefficient, other factors may influence the decision of how many clusters are best. One is the *sparsity* of the matrices W and H; higher sparsity in the output matrix W (respectively, H) basically means that fewer readings (respectively, MSS) are assigned high weights for each group in each column (respectively, row), or, put more simply, that the groups have less overlap.[34] Other factors include how accurately W and H approximate the original data set and whether the choice of k clusters achieves an agreeable balance between detail and succinctness.

Implementation

For reasons of space, I will not detail our software implementation of NMF, nor the specifications of our hardware here. However, for those interested in reusing or adapting the code for similar work, I have made the collation dataset, code, and implementation details available for free at https://github.com/jjmccollum/jude-nmf.

Results

Table 3 gives summary statistics for the rank estimation and factorization results for $2 \leq k \leq 30$. In general, NMF isolated groups that explained over 95% of the variance in the observed data (in this case, readings in MSS), and it did so in about 2.5 minutes, on average.

---

[33] Brunet, "Metagenes and Molecular Pattern," 4165.

[34] For more technical detail, see Patrik O. Hoyer, "Non-negative Matrix Factorization with Sparseness Constraints," *Journal of Machine Learning Research* 5 (2004): ed. Peter Dayan, 1457–1469.

Table 3: Summary Statistics for NMF Results[a]

k	TIME	COPH	DIST	EVAR	*W*.SPAR	*H*.SPAR
2	0.7311	0.9970	9220.0095	0.9467	0.4967	0.7051
3	3.2303	0.9363	8741.7228	0.9494	0.4993	0.6385
4	4.2654	0.9335	8383.2904	0.9515	0.5015	0.6406
5	12.3092	0.9266	8127.9438	0.9530	0.5011	0.6594
6	17.0137	0.9381	7896.8484	0.9543	0.5019	0.6783
7	24.6415	0.9321	7694.5026	0.9555	0.5025	0.6862
8	28.7929	0.9311	7491.7511	0.9567	0.5020	0.7131
9	47.2967	0.9277	7336.0094	0.9576	0.5026	0.7250
10	44.2114	0.9314	7216.6958	0.9583	0.5121	0.6542
11	77.2047	0.9355	7060.6949	0.9592	0.5026	0.7365
12	77.1497	0.9354	6886.0044	0.9602	0.5038	0.7586
13	113.6054	0.9400	6761.8625	0.9609	0.5035	0.7682
14	139.0699	0.9343	6671.0795	0.9614	0.5238	0.7006
15	157.3397	0.9303	6567.2208	0.9620	0.5283	0.6976
16	133.7074	0.9268	6445.4954	0.9627	0.5319	0.7033
17	226.0826	0.9323	6380.0739	0.9631	0.5391	0.6682
18	302.9293	0.9259	6251.1086	0.9639	0.5272	0.7222
19	372.9483	0.9300	6176.3545	0.9643	0.5488	0.6816
20	291.5081	0.9304	6111.1190	0.9647	0.5408	0.6927
21	177.2737	0.9359	6021.3340	0.9652	0.5370	0.7007
22	300.1050	0.9356	5931.9671	0.9657	0.5435	0.7084
23	193.2883	0.9385	5845.8003	0.9662	0.5422	0.7127
24	237.4277	0.9410	5758.9796	0.9667	0.5435	0.7176
25	269.2819	0.9427	5708.4434	0.9670	0.5594	0.6736
26	274.7705	0.9428	5614.3632	0.9675	0.5487	0.7155
27	225.5836	0.9455	5536.6625	0.9680	0.5540	0.6941
28	216.4106	0.9483	5452.1027	0.9685	0.5718	0.6921
29	182.8073	0.9494	5385.8597	0.9689	0.5717	0.6917
30	179.8480	0.9520	5328.1415	0.9692	0.5695	0.6978

[a]Here, k indicates the rank (i.e., number of clusters) of the NMF run, TIME gives the running time in seconds for the best NMF run, COPH gives the value of the cophenetic correlation coefficient (see section "How Many Groups?" for details), DIST gives the error of NMF's approximation of the collation data, EVAR gives the proportion of explained variance, and *W*.SPAR and *H*.SPAR measure the sparseness of the output matrices *W* and *H*, respectively. Best ranks, according to the cophenetic correlation coefficient rule of thumb, are highlighted.

The numbers of clusters that provide the best fit, according to the rule of thumb, are 2, 6, 11, 13, 17, and 21. Because the factorization for 13 clusters had the highest *H* sparsity (i.e., best separation between MS groups), I chose to examine the NMF results for this number of groups in detail.

Classification of Manuscripts

In order to describe the textual groups represented by the clusters, it is instructive to look at their most representative readings and witnesses. In what follows, all MS numbers follow the Gregory-Aland numbering system.[35]

Cluster 1 appears to represent a large subfamily of the Byzantine texttype.[36] Its strongest representative is the tenth-century MS 920, which assigns this cluster a weight of 3.7179. Other strong tenth-century representatives include MSS 1871 (3.3434), 605 (1.7590), 1880 (1.2326), and 82 (1.1676). The only older cluster member is the ninth-century MS 1841 (1.7781). Notably, all of these older MSS, with the possible exception of 920, have nontrivial mixture contributions from cluster 11, which contains more familiar and probably older Byzantine witnesses. Apart from this, we do not recognize this specific family in the literature. Given its common, undistinctive readings and its size, cluster 1 is best described as a "general Byzantine" cluster. I will therefore designate it as "K."

Cluster 2 represents f^{1739}, a well-known textual family.[37] NMF identified the following MSS as members of this cluster: 323 (with weight 2.8466 for this cluster), 1241 (2.8002), 322 (2.7957), 1739 (2.8466), 1881 (2.5119), 2298 (2.4219), and 6 (1.7270).[38] This group has been identified independently in 1 Peter[39] and 2 Peter,[40] and in the General Epistles it has been shown to share important readings with the old Georgian versions.[41] Its namesake

[35] Kurt Aland et al., *Kurzgefasste Liste der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments*, ANT 1 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1994). The *Liste* can be consulted online at http://ntvmr.uni-muenster.de/liste.

[36] We can conclude that a cluster contains a MS if that MS's largest mixture contribution comes from that cluster.

[37] See Thomas C. Geer, Jr., Family 1739 in the Book of Acts, SBLMS 48 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1994) and Günther Zuntz, The Text of the Epistles: A Disquisition upon the Corpus Paulinum, Schweich Lectures of 1946 (London: British Academy, 1953).

[38] While NMF classifies majuscule 04 / C as Alexandrian (cluster 7) in Jude, it also shows it to have strong mixture (0.7604) with this cluster.

[39] See Yoo, "Classification," 112–116, who classifies majuscule 04 / C as belonging to this group in 1 Peter.

[40] Terry Dwain Robertson, "Relationships among the Non-Byzantine Manuscripts of 2 Peter," *AUSS* 39.1 (2001): 41–59, esp. 45–47.

[41] Christian-B. Amphoux and Dom B. Outtier, "Les Leçons des Versions Géorgi-

is a consistently-cited witness in NA[28]. Scholars have conjectured that its exemplar dates back as far as the fourth century.[42] Further evidence for the family's antiquity has been found in its close similarity to the text used by Origen.[43] The connection with Origen has led some to posit that f^{1739} represents the controversial "Caesarean" texttype in the General Epistles.[44] While the cluster is small, its members are remarkably cohesive, with the top three witnesses showing almost no mixture with any other cluster.

Cluster 3 represents the group of lectionaries. The existence of a distinct lectionary textual group has long been recognized,[45] but a thorough examination of this group in the General Epistles was delayed for some time. The first and perhaps most extensive work in this area was done by Junack.[46] Junack's work confirmed the existence of a large and cohesive textual family among the Byzantine lectionaries. At least in the context of Jude, our results, based on Wasserman's complete collation, should give additional weight to these findings. Our results also agree with Junack's identification of *l*596 as an exceptionally non-Byzantine lectionary; NMF classified this MS as a strong representative of the Alexandrian cluster (7), with a weight of 1.3997 for that cluster. This cluster also contains non-lectionary MSS, though they are lower on the list due to mixture.

Cluster 4 is the majority subgroup K^r, also known as f^{35}, as can be seen from the overlap between the top MSS in the mixture matrix and the list of collated MSS for 2 John–Jude in Pickering's edition.[47] This cluster is by far

---

ennes de l'Épître de Jacques," *Bib* 65.3 (1984): 365–376, esp. 372–373.

[42] Thomas C. Geer, Jr, "Codex 1739 in Acts and Its Relationship to Manuscripts 945 and 1891," *Bib* 69.1 (1988): 27–46, esp. 27.

[43] K. W. Kim, "Codices 1582, 1739, and Origen," *JBL* 69.2 (1950): 167–175, esp. 168–170. While the strongest connection between 1739 and Origen appears in Romans, notes in Jas 2:13 and 1 John 4:3 indicate a similar relationship in the General Epistles. In his conclusion, Kim goes on to suggest that GA 1582, a copy of the gospels apparently written by the same scribe as 1739 and also sharing many readings with Origen, was originally part of the same codex as 1739 (Kim, "Codices," 175). For additional discussion on 1582, see Amy S. Anderson, *The Textual Tradition of the Gospels: Family 1 in Matthew*, NTTST 32 (Leiden: Brill, 2004).

[44] Amphoux and Outtier, "Versions Géorgiennes," 374–375.

[45] Ernest Cadman Colwell, "Is There a Lectionary Text of the Gospels?" *HTR* 25.1 (1932): 73–84.

[46] Klaus Junack, "Zu den griechischen Lektionaren und ihrer Überlieferung der Katholischen Briefe," in Die alten Übersetzungen des Neuen Testaments: die Kirchenväterzitate und Lektionare: der gegenwärtige Stand ihrer Erforschung und ihre Bedeutung für die griechische Textgeschichte, ed. Kurt Aland, ANT 5 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1972), 498–591.

[47] *The Greek New Testament According to Family* 35, ed. Wilbur N. Pickering, 2nd

the largest, and it exhibits strong agreement among its purest representatives. However, despite this agreement, its only witnesses predating the eleventh century are the tenth-century MSS 457 (with a moderate weight of 0.8178 for this cluster), 1891 (0.7658), and 450 (0.4717). One possible reason for this is that the family originated later in the history of NT transmission. It has been suggested that it was "produced out of the K^x type with lectionary and liturgical interests in mind."[48] Of course, even if this is the case, the family surely predates the tenth century. Indeed, it just falls short of dominating the makeup of the ninth-century majuscule 020 / L^{ap}, which NMF assigned a K^r mixture weight of 0.4812 and an Alexandrian mixture weight of 0.4824.

Cluster 5 corresponds to f^{2138}. The group is small, and its leading representatives are the following: 1505 (weight 2.3894 for this cluster), 2495 (2.3642), 1611 (2.2124), 1292 (2.1500), 630 (1.9693), and 2200 (1.8282). These first six MSS consistently have small but noticeable mixture components from cluster 7 (Alexandrian), while five other MSS have largely Byzantine affinities and the remaining two have very strong mixtures? with cluster 6 (f^{453}). These subgroups of witnesses may represent localized branches of the family or different stages of its development. The f^{2138} group has been identified specifically in Jude through factor analysis,[49] and in the General Epistles, its core members have been shown to have a connection to the Harklean Syriac version.[50]

Cluster 6 undoubtedly represents f^{453}, another recognized group.[51] The earliest of its witnesses is the tenth-century MS 307 (weight 2.2161 for this cluster). Other notable group members include 321 (2.2676), 918 (2.2268), 453 (2.2054), 2197 (2.1783), and 2818 (2.0642). The aforementioned MSS, including 307, are all pure representatives of the group, with virtually no mixture from other clusters.[52]

---

ed. (Wilbur N. Pickering, 2015), 722.

[48] *The New Testament in the Original Greek: Byzantine Textform*, ed. Maurice A. Robinson and William G. Pierpont (Southborough, MA: Chilton, 2005), 557.

[49] It corresponds to group 3 in Baldwin, "The So-Called Mixed Text," 106.

[50] See Christian-B. Amphoux, "La Parenté Textuelle du sy^h et du Groupe 2138 dans l'Épître de Jacques," *Bib* 62.2 (1981): 259–271; Barbara Aland and Andreas Karl Juckel, *Das Neue Testament in syrischer* Überlieferung, vol. 1 ANTF 7 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1986); and Matthew Spencer, Klaus Wachtel, and Christopher J. Howe, "The Greek Vorlage of the Syra Harclensis: A Comparative Study on Method in Exploring Textual Genealogy," *TC* 7 (2002).

[51] Spencer, Wachtel, and Howe, "Greek Vorlage."

[52] This group was independently identified in the General Epistles through stemmatic methods by Spencer, Wachtel, and Howe, who noted that it "contains states of text that are thought to be important for the formation of the Byzantine text" (Spencer, Wachtel, and Howe, "Greek Vorlage").

Cluster 7 is clearly Alexandrian. Not surprisingly, its top representatives are 03 / B (weight 1.7075 for this cluster), $\mathfrak{P}^{72}$ (1.6416), 81 (1.5978), 5 (1.5827), 326 (1.5766), and 33 (1.5653). Majuscules 01 / 044 ,(1.3291) ℵ / Ψ (1.3074), 02 / A (1.3013), and 04 / C (0.8790) also fall under this cluster, but as the other columns of the mixture matrix show, these MSS also share some elements with other clusters.

Cluster 8 is von Soden's K^c Byzantine subgroup,[53] as can be seen from the presence of the following K^c MSS in the cluster: 390 (mixture weight 2.0269 for this cluster), 912 (1.9854), 234 (1.9735), 2085 (1.9573), 1753 (1.8504), 42 (1.8063), 996 (1.7051), 1594 (1.6357), 1405 (1.5897), 51 (1.3048), and 223 (1.2764).[54] The cluster as established by NMF has no witnesses from earlier than the tenth century, and of its purest representatives, the oldest is the eleventh-century MS 42.

Cluster 9 appears to represent a "commentary" text group. Of its strongest witnesses, the top MS, 606 (mixture weight 2.0461 for this cluster), belongs to von Soden's OΘδ group, with Pseudo-Oecumenius' commentary on Acts and the General Epistles and Theodoret's commentary on the Pauline epistles; MSS 454 (2.0119), 641 (2.0045), 103 (1.9162), 314 (1.6596), 250 (1.5903), 1862 (1.5384), and 327 (1.4548) belong to the O group, having only Pseudo-Oecumenius's commentary; MS 018 / K^{ap} (1.3648) belongs to the $A^{\pi p}$ group, with Andreas the Presbyter's commentary on Acts and the General Epistles.[55] The non-commentary MSS in the cluster could either represent copies of only the text from the commentary, or the text on which the commentary was based. The group appears to be a relatively old Byzantine group, with ninth-century MSS 1862 and 018 appearing as prominent representatives. As it lacks an existing siglum, I will designate it *Comm.*

Cluster 10 represents a particularly "Alexandrian" branch of the Byzantine texttype. Three notable MSS—the minuscule 1066 (weight 1.5542 for this cluster) and the closely-related majuscules 0142 (1.2691) and 056 (1.1165), all of which contain the Pseudo-Oecumenius commentary—are tenth-century witnesses to the text of this cluster. The text itself shares several Alexandrian readings, which implies that the text at least incorporated elements from an ancient tradition. In addition, the strongest representatives of the cluster, 1563 (1.9423), 1718 (1.8537), 1425 (1.8438), and 1359

[53] Hermann Freiherr von Soden, Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments in ihrer ältesten erreichbaren Textgestalt hergestellt auf Grund ihrer Textgeschichte, vol. 1 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1911): 1761.

[54] These MSS are von Soden's δ366, α366, δ365, α465, α395, α107, δ383, δ375, α555, δ364, and α186, respectively.

[55] Robert Waltz, *The Encyclopedia of New Testament Textual Criticism*, (available online at https://books.google.com/books/about/The_Encyclopedia_of_New_Testament_Textua.html?id=pefhAAAAQBAJ), 199–200.

(1.7900), all exhibit small elements of mixture from the Alexandrian cluster. If the underlying text had ever been widespread, few of its witnesses seem to have survived, as this cluster is small. Lacking an existing siglum, I will designate it f^{0142} after its oldest member.

Cluster 11 represents another of the older Byzantine subgroups. Its relative age is attested by the presence of the ninth-century MSS 1424 (weight 1.1035 for this cluster) and 049 (1.0603), both of which contain mixture from the *Comm* cluster. The prominence of MS 1780 (1.5711) may also be an indicator of an earlier text, as 1780 belongs to the older K^a family (also known as von Soden's I^x group or Family Π) elsewhere.[56] Similarly, MS 1175 (1.4728) is a major witness to this Byzantine subgroup, although it also contains some mixture from the K^c cluster. This adds some detail to the findings of Richards, who has shown that 1175 is Alexandrian in James–2 Peter and Byzantine in 1 John–Jude.[57] As 1424 and 1175 are consistently-cited witnesses throughout the NT in NA[28], this cluster may be of special interest to future research into the text they carry. Lacking an existing name for this group, I will refer to it as f^{1780}.

Cluster 12 contains several MSS associated with von Soden's I group. The MSS with the highest mixture weights for this cluster are 1843 (1.6896), 1869 (1.5543), 506 (1.5086), 1903 (1.4808), 489 (1.4778), 927 (1.4493), 203 (1.4455), 1868 (1.4379), 1729 (1.4229), and 1873 (1.3229). Given the moderate size of the cluster and the consistent von Soden classifications of its members, I will tentatively use von Soden's classification and label this cluster a "Western" branch of the Byzantine texttype in Jude.

Cluster 13 is a curious group consisting of just a few MSS. It appears to be closely related to the Alexandrian text, as many members of that cluster feature large mixture weights from this one. The top two MSS, 915 (weight 2.7366) and 88 (2.6297), agree on many readings in Jude. In the General Epistles, they and a few other MSS with high weights from this cluster—1846 (1.8525), 621 (0.7650), 442 (0.7624), and 1243 (0.5928)—read δι' ὕδατος καὶ πνεύματος καὶ αἵματος in 1 John 5:6. In 1 Corinthians, 88 and 915 attest to the placement of 14:34–35 at the end of the chapter, a transposi-

[56] See Silva Lake, *Family Π and the Codex Alexandrinus: The Text according to Mark*, SD 5 (London: Christophers, 1936); Jacob Geerlings, *Family Π in Luke*, SD 22 (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1962); Jacob Geerlings, *Family Π in John*, SD 23 (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1963); Russell N. Champlin, *Family Π in Matthew*, SD 24 (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1964); and Tommy Wasserman, "The Patmos Family of New Testament MSS and Its Allies in the Pericope of the Adulteress and Beyond," *TC* 7. However, while K^a / Family Π is a known family in the gospels, it does not appear to exist at all in the corpus of the General Epistles. Any relationship in Jude suggested by MS 1780, therefore, is speculative.

[57] W. Larry Richards, "Gregory 1175: Alexandrian or Byzantine in the Catholic Epistles?" *AUSS* 21.2 (1983): 155–168, esp. 157.

tion associated with Western witnesses.[58] This variant has led to much debate over whether or not these two witnesses have a common source in a localized Western text and whether or not they implicate 1 Cor 14:34–35 as an interpolation.[59] On the basis of these readings, one might conjecture that this small handful of witnesses attests to a "Western" text of Jude, but a cursory examination of its agreements and disagreements with the Latin text of Jude in the ECM[60] indicates that a strong Western connection is unlikely.[61] As this cluster seems unidentified in the literature, I will designate it f^{915} here.

There are a few observations to make here. First, NMF reveals a surprising number of Byzantine subgroups. In particular, the Byzantine texttype splits into the common group K, the lectionary group, the von Soden groups K^r and K^c, the commentary group, an Alexandrian-Byzantine group f^{0142}, an older Byzantine group f^{1780}, and a Western-Byzantine group corresponding to von Soden's I group. Based on reading patterns, the Byzantine MSS clearly do not form a monolithic group in Jude.

Second, NMF identifies smaller and subtler textual groups that are underrepresented or entirely excluded from the most popular critical apparatuses. Table 4 details the amount of representation each NMF cluster receives in the ECM's MS list and the NA^{28} consistently-cited witnesses list for Jude.[62] Naturally, the ECM, given its wider selection of data, offers a reasonable sampling from all the clusters identified by NMF, although it does noticeably favor Alexandrian witnesses. The NA^{28} apparatus in Jude clearly overrepresents the Alexandrian cluster, and while its *Byz* siglum may correctly cover Byzantine support at most variation units, it ignores much of the variety within or close to the Byzantine tradition, (*Lect*, K^r, K^c, and I) leaving the

[58] Gordon D. Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987), 699.

[59] See Curt Niccum, "The Voice of the Manuscripts on the Silence of Women: The External Evidence for 1 Cor 14.34–5," *NTS* 43.2 (1997): 242–255; Philip B. Payne, "MS. 88 as Evidence for a Text without 1 Cor 14.34–5," *NTS* 44.1 (1998): 152–158; Jennifer Shack, "A Text without 1 Corinthians 14.34–35? Not according to the Manuscript Evidence," *JGRChJ* 10 (2014): 90–112; and Philip B. Payne, "Vaticanus Distigme-obelos Symbols Marking Added Text, Including 1 Corinthians 14.34–5," *NTS* 63 (2017): 604–625.

[60] *Novum Testamentum Graecum Editio Critica* Maior *IV, Catholic Letters, Part 1: Text*, ed. Barbara Aland et al., 2nd ed. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2014).

[61] In Jude, f^{915} unambiguously disagrees with the Latin tradition more often than it agrees, and the only reasonably exclusive point of agreement between the two is the reading τρόπον ἐκπορνεύσασαι in Jude 7/24-28.

[62] See *Novum Testamentum Graecum Editio Critica Maior IV, Catholic Letters, Part 2: Supplementary Material*, ed. Barbara Aland et al., 2nd ed. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2014), 9 and *Novum Testamentum Graece*, ed. Barbara Aland et al., 28th ed. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2012), 66*.

reader uninformed when there are disagreements within the tradition, with the only information offered being the *Byz*^{pt} siglum. Given the precedent of human classifications of MSS before NA^{28}, this data highlights the need for tools like NMF in witness selection for critical editions.

Table 4. Distribution of ECM and NA^{28} Consistently-cited Witnesses in Jude among Clusters Identified by NMF[a]

Cluster ID	MSS	ECM Witnesses	NA28 Witnesses
K	102	11	1
f^{1739}	7	6	1
Lect	39	7	0
K^{r}	143	8	0
f^{2138}	13	10	2
f^{453}	18	11	1
Alex	35	34	14
K^{c}	23	2	0
Comm	25	2	0
f^{0142}	10	7	1
f^{1780}	50	9	1
I	45	7	0
f^{915}	8	8	1

[a]Witnesses which are too lacunose to be included for NMF are excluded, as is the *Byz* siglum.

Third, if we cross-reference our results with Wasserman's collation, we see that NMF assigns higher weights to more evenly-divided readings than it does to rarer readings exclusive to groups. This is to be expected, as NMF aims to minimize the number of misclassified readings.[63] It also dovetails with NMF's isolation of Byzantine subfamilies, which are better distinguished by patterns of readings than by individual readings. For this reason, a reading with a high weight may represent multiple clusters, and patterns of more common readings may identify clusters better than group-exclusive readings. While this approach may not cluster readings as sparsely as we would like, it can help us identify potentially-early divisions in the scribal tradition, helping us to determine where different families side in these splits. I will address

[63] Of course, we can encourage NMF to isolate more characteristic group readings by weighting readings or variation units in the collation matrix according to their genealogical significance, but since my focus in this paper is on the use of NMF as a tool for pre-genealogical analysis, I will restrict this discussion to this note.

the variation units containing the most characteristic group readings in the following section.

Classification of Readings

In what follows, I will use Wasserman's division of variation units to reference the readings in question. Support for readings will be denoted by the group sigla introduced in the previous section. If a cluster has a reading profile with an assigned weight at least twice the value of its weight for any other reading in the variation unit, I consider the cluster to support a given reading. If the cluster does not have a high enough weight for any one reading, then it will be classified as being split between the readings with the highest weights.

Variation Unit: Jude 1:1/4–8

Table 5. Jude 1:1/4–8

Variants	Witnesses
Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ δοῦλος	f^{1739}, K^{r}, f^{2138}, f^{453}, *Alex*, *Comm*^{pt}, f^{0142}, I, f^{915}
Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ δοῦλος	K, *Lect*, K^{c}, *Comm*^{pt}, f^{1780}

An application of the CPM found that this variation unit contained a primary reading for one group identified by factor analysis in Variation Unit: Jude.[64] The transposition that occurs here is a common one throughout the Pauline and General Epistles. The order Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ has the earliest and most diverse support, while Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ finds its support among families that have close ties to the Byzantine text. The Robinson-Pierpont edition (RP) is probably correct in adopting Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ for its text, but the Byzantine support for Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ might merit it a place in the margin of that edition.

Variation Unit: Jude 1:4/48–58

Table 6. Jude 1:4/48–58

Variants	Witnesses
δεσπότην καὶ κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν	f^{1739}, *Lect*, f^{453}, *Alex*^{pt}, f^{0142}
δεσπότην θεὸν καὶ κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν	K, K^{r}, f^{2138}, *Alex*^{pt}, *Comm*^{pt}, f^{1780}, I
θεὸν καὶ δεσπότην τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν	K^{c}
δεσπότην καὶ θεὸν καὶ κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν	*Comm*^{pt}
δεσπότην θεὸν καὶ κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν	f^{915}

[64] Baldwin, "The So-Called Mixed Text," 124, 240 (unit 2). Baldwin's group A2 reads Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ.

Part of this variant (the inclusion or omission of θεὸν) has been shown to contain a primary reading for a group identified by factor analysis in Jude.[65] Although the various readings in this unit are separated primarily by minor additions and omissions, Wasserman rightly points out that many of these changes were probably not accidental. Indeed, changes involving words like θεὸν and καὶ were likely prompted by "the question (of) whether the whole phrase refers to Jesus Christ, or if the first part refers (only) to God."[66] The ambiguity is preserved in the reading of f^{1739} *et al.*, and, to some extent, the reading found in some of the commentary cluster. The two Byzantine readings and the reading of f^{915} clarify the phrase in different ways, with the more widespread Byzantine reading and the f^{915} reading making a distinction between God and Jesus, while the K^c reading treats Jesus as the sole referent.

Variation Unit: Jude 1:5/12–20

Table 7. Jude 1:5/12–20

Variants	Witnesses
πάντα, ὅτι ὁ κύριος ἅπαξ	f^{2138}
ἅπαξ πάντα, ὅτι Ἰησοῦς	Alexpt
πάντα, ὅτι Ἰησοῦς ἅπαξ	f^{1739}, f^{915} pt
πάντα, ὅτι ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἅπαξ	f^{915} pt
ἅπαξ πάντα, ὅτι ὁ θεὸς	Alexpt
πάντα, ὅτι ὁ θεὸς ἅπαξ	Alexpt, f^{915} pt
ὑμᾶς ἅπαξ τοῦτο, ὅτι ὁ κύριος	K, Lect, K^r, Alexpt, K^c, f^{1780}, I
ὑμᾶς τοῦτο ἅπαξ, ὅτι ὁ κύριος	Comm
ἅπαξ τοῦτο, ὅτι ὁ κύριος	f^{453}, f^{0142}

Part of this variant (the inclusion or omission of ὑμᾶς) has been shown to contain a primary reading for a group identified by factor analysis in Jude.[67] Wasserman describes this variant as "one of the textually most difficult passages in Jude, and in the whole NT."[68] His decision to adopt ὑμᾶς ἅπαξ πάντα, ὅτι ὁ κύριος, a composite reading not found in any surviving Greek witness, attests to the thorny nature of this textual problem. As NMF identifies, this variation unit divides the textual tradition both between, and within,

[65] Baldwin, "The So-Called Mixed Text," 124, 244 (unit 34). Baldwin's group B3 adds θεὸν.

[66] The Epistle of Jude, 251.

[67] Baldwin, "The So-Called Mixed Text," 124, 244–245 (unit 59). Baldwin's group A1 adds ὑμᾶς.

[68] The Epistle of Jude, 255.

several branches. The most widely-attested reading is ὑμᾶς ἅπαξ τοῦτο, ὅτι ὁ κύριος, thanks to its support from several Byzantine subfamilies. The remaining Byzantine-related groups read ἅπαξ τοῦτο, ὅτι ὁ κύριος, which differs from the first reading only in the absence of ὑμᾶς.

While the variants involving word order and the presence or absence of ὑμᾶς are more common, and therefore less significant genealogically, the variants involving the choice between πάντα and τοῦτο and the subject of the clause introduced here are more significant. When these considerations are taken into account, the differences between the readings with Byzantine and Byzantine-related support (all of which feature τοῦτο and ὁ κύριος) become minor variations on one widely-accepted reading. The support for τοῦτο over πάντα in part of the Alexandrian cluster is likely an indication of contamination, as the rest of the cluster supports readings with πάντα.

Variation Unit: Jude 1:9/24–28

Table 8. Jude 1:9/24–28

Variants	Witnesses
τοῦ Μωϋσέως σώματος	K, f^{453}, *Alex*, K^{c}, f^{0142}, f^{1780}, $f^{915\,pt}$
τοῦ Μωσέως σώματος	f^{1739}, *Lect*, K^{r}, f^{2138}, *Comm*, I, $f^{915\,pt}$

This variant has been shown to contain a primary reading for a group identified by factor analysis in Jude.[69] This variant is orthographic in nature, and as the even division of NMF-assigned support indicates, both spellings of Moses's name likely arose in more than one stream of transmission independently. Even the Byzantine groups are divided here, as the margin of Robinson-Pierpont (RP) correctly notes.

Variation Unit: Jude 1:12/42–46

Table 9. Jude 1:12/42–46

Variants	Witnesses
δὶς ἀποθανόντα, ἐκριζωθέντα	K, f^{1739}, K^{r}, f^{2138}, *Alex*, K^{c}, *Comm*, f^{0142}, f^{1780}, f^{915}
δὶς ἀποθανόντα, καὶ ἐκριζωθέντα	*Lect*, f^{453}, I

[69] Baldwin, "The So-Called Mixed Text," 124, 247 (unit 124). Baldwin's group A1 reads Μεωϋσέως, but this is likely a typographical error; existing transcriptions and images of the witnesses listed in support of this reading have Μωϋσέως (up to minor orthographic variation). Baldwin appears to have split the witnesses to Μωϋσέως into two separate groups.

As the variation unit concerns the last two items in a list of qualities, the addition of a final καὶ would not be uncommon among scribes. This variation could very well have arisen independently on separate occasions.

Variation Unit: Jude 1:13/30–34

Table 10. Jude 1:13/30–34

Variants	Witnesses
εἰς αἰῶνα τετήρηται	$f^{1739\,pt}$, K^{r}, f^{2138}, f^{453}, *Alex*, K^{c}, f^{0142}, $f^{1780\,pt}$, I^{pt}, f^{915}
εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τετήρηται	K, *Lect*, *Comm*, $f^{1780\,pt}$, I^{pt}
εἰς αἰῶνας τετήρηται	$f^{1739\,pt}$

This variant has been shown to contain a primary reading for a group identified by factor analysis in Jude.[70] All of the variant readings in this unit differ in only small ways (the addition or omission of an article or a single letter), but these differences have an effect on the stylistic smoothness of the phrase. It is worth noting that the reading εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τετήρηται has decent support from clusters with Byzantine connections. RP is probably correct in adopting εἰς αἰῶνα τετήρηται for its text, but εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τετήρηται might be good to include in the margin.

Variation Unit: Jude 1:15/14–18

Table 11. Jude 1:15/14–18

Variants	Witnesses
πάντας τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς	*Lect*, f^{2138}, f^{453}, *Alex*
πάντας τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς αὐτῶν	K, K^{r}, K^{c}, *Comm*, f^{1780}, I, f^{915}
πάντας ἀσεβεῖς	f^{1739}
N/A (omits in an overlapping variation unit)	f^{0142}

Part of this variant (the inclusion or omission of αὐτῶν) has been shown to contain a primary reading for a group identified by factor analysis in Jude.[71] The NA[27] and NA[28] reading πᾶσαν ψυχὴν is supported by only 3 Greek witnesses; it is not listed here because NMF classifies it as a weak reading (with weight 0.0498) in the Alexandrian profile. The most characteristic reading of this cluster (and of three other clusters) is πάντας τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς,

[70] Baldwin, "The So-Called Mixed Text," 124, 253 (unit 193). Baldwin's group A1 reads εἰς αἰῶνα.

[71] Baldwin, "The So-Called Mixed Text," 124, 255–256 (unit 220). Baldwin's group B3 adds αὐτῶν.

the reading preferred by Wasserman.[72] According to NMF, the most representative readings for the clusters that have any reading at all here are slight variations on the same idea. Most of the Byzantine clusters and some of the less-Byzantine clusters are agreed on the more expansive reading πάντας τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς αὐτῶν. Meanwhile, following the pattern we have observed up to this point, f^{1739} is isolated in supporting a much simpler construction.

Variation Unit: Jude 1:16/14–16

Table 12. Jude 1:16/14–16

Variants	Witnesses
ἐπιθυμίας ἑαυτῶν	f^{1739}, *Lect*, K^r, f^{1780}, I, $f^{915\,pt}$
ἐπιθυμίας αὐτῶν	K, f^{2138}, f^{453}, *Alex*, K^c, *Comm*, f^{0142}, $f^{915\,pt}$

This variant has been shown to contain primary readings for multiple groups identified by factor analysis in Jude.[73] As the readings and their external support suggest, the history of this variant is likely a complicated one. The Byzantine clusters are sharply divided on this issue, as the RP margin correctly notes, and the non-Byzantine clusters are also scattered. The situation suggests that both readings likely arose multiple times independently, a conclusion supported by the reasonable transcriptional probability of the one-letter change from αὐτῶν and ἑαυτῶν and vice-versa.

Variation Unit: Jude 1:25/10–20

Table 13. Jude 1:25/10–20

Variants	Witnesses
διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν	f^{1739}, f^{2138}, f^{453}, *Alex*, I^{pt}, f^{915}
om.	K, *Lect*, K^r, K^c, *Comm*, f^{0142}, f^{1780}, I^{pt}

This variant has been shown to contain primary readings for multiple groups identified by factor analysis in Jude.[74] In a reversal of the situation usually associated with the Byzantine text, the Byzantine clusters omit what seems like a common doxological expansion to the text, while the non-Byzantine clusters include it.

[72] The Epistle of Jude, 301–304.

[73] Baldwin, "The So-Called Mixed Text," 125, 257 (unit 242). Baldwin's groups A4, B1, and B3 read ἑαυτῶν, ἑαυτῶν, and αὐτῶν, respectively.

[74] Baldwin, "The So-Called Mixed Text," 125, 267–268 (unit 313). Baldwin's groups A1 and B2 add, and M omits.

Variation Unit: Jude 1:25/32–38

Table 14. Jude 1:25/32–38

Variants	Witnesses
πρὸ παντὸς τοῦ αἰῶνος	$f^{2138\,pt}$, *Alex*, $f^{0142\,pt}$
πρὸ παντὸς αἰῶνος	f^{1739}, $f^{2138\,pt}$, f^{453}, f^{915}
om.	K, *Lect*, K^r, K^c, *Comm*, $f^{0142\,pt}$, f^{1780}, I

This variant has been shown to contain primary readings for multiple groups identified by factor analysis in Jude.[75] This variant effectively repeats the situation of the previous one: the Byzantine clusters (with the partial exception of the f^{0142} group) omit the longer phrase, while the non-Byzantine clusters include it, up to smaller variations.

Summary

In this paper, I have shown how non-negative matrix factorization, or NMF, can efficiently classify both MSS and readings in a collation, even in the presence of contamination. Specifically, because NMF models the classification problem in terms of additive mixture between weighted profiles of readings, it simplifies the process for users to identify common ancestral textual components and potential cases of contamination in its output tables.

On the practical side, I have demonstrated that NMF is able to factor a complete collation matrix of 518 MSS of Jude in minutes. Using NMF, we are able to classify many previously-unclassified MSS and verify several existing group classifications. Our classifications included the small, but well-known groups f^{1739}, f^{2138}, and f^{453}. Distinct textual families for lectionaries and commentaries were isolated. Well-known Alexandrian MSS classified in the same group were found, and a less-documented group f^{915} that exhibits notable textual peculiarities elsewhere in the NT was isolated. Clusters that offer empirical justification for von Soden's K^r and K^c groups, as well as for numerous branches of the Byzantine text were identified. In addition, the discussion of determinative readings identified by NMF verified the choices for the textual and marginal readings of Jude in the RP Byzantine text and proposed additional marginal readings based on the readings of the identified Byzantine subgroups.

Conclusions

NMF has tremendous potential as a tool for fast, automated, texttype-based classification, and it should be implemented in further studies. The weights that populate NMF's output classification tables furnish an instant guide to

[75] Baldwin, "The So-Called Mixed Text," 125, 268 (unit 314). Baldwin's groups A1 and B2 support the longest reading.

pure and mixed witnesses, which can be of tremendous use in witness and variation unit selection for the construction of future critical texts of the NT. Applied to complete collations or to collations with a high volume of MSS (e.g., *Text und Textwert*), NMF can distill massive datasets to more tractable ones with minimal loss of information. Because datasets of this size are present and multiplying in the INTF's Virtual Manuscript Room (VMR),[76] an NMF module would be a fitting addition to this collaborative research environment.

While NMF is not meant to make inferences regarding prior and posterior textual relationships, it could potentially facilitate more complex genealogical methods like the Coherence-Based Genealogical Method (CBGM) by giving simple and easy-to-interpret indications of pre-genealogical coherence and contamination. Checking for contamination in a MS is as easy as looking at its column in the mixture matrix (*H*). To estimate pre-genealogical coherence for a given variant reading, one can simply check whether any group's reading profile closely splits the weight assigned to a given reading with another reading in the same variation unit.

NMF should be implemented in future text-critical applications and improved with continued research. In light of the present work reported in this article, we can hope to find MS classifications from NMF examined further and perhaps used as starting points for new research on the complex textual history of the NT. It certainly deserves our greatest effort.

[76] Accessible at http://ntvmr.uni-muenster.de/.

APPENDIX

Classification of Lacunose Manuscripts

As explained earlier, in the process of data selection, I regarded the texts of correctors and witnesses with fewer than three hundred readings as fragmentary and therefore secondary to our application. Because of their age, most papyri and majuscules are so lacunose that they must be excluded in this way. This leaves us with an unfortunate situation, in which we have nothing to say about the MSS in which we are most interested.

Thankfully, a simple solution is available. Once NMF on the primary set of witnesses has produced a basis matrix W for reading profiles, we can use this matrix to classify the secondary witnesses by whatever readings they do have, as we would in the confirmatory step of the CPM. While mathematical details are beyond the scope of this discussion, it will suffice to say that freely-available software libraries can handle this task within seconds.[77]

For the sake of space, I will not list the mixture weights of all secondary MSS. The weights of GA 2138 and the consistently-cited NA[28] witnesses $\mathfrak{P}^{74}$, $\mathfrak{P}^{78}$, 025, and 1852 are summarized below.

The Papyrus $\mathfrak{P}^{74}$

The papyrus $\mathfrak{P}^{74}$ has positive weights for the following groups: 0.0061 for f^{1739}, 0.0247 for f^{2138}, 0.0010 for *Alex*, 0.0057 for K^{c}, 0.0002 for *Comm*, 0.0423 for f^{0142}, 0.0040 for f^{1780}, 0.0124 for I, and 0.0122 for f^{915}. The precise textual complexion of this witness is elusive, in part because of its extremely fragmentary state and in part because where the MS's readings can be deduced, they are assigned low weights by NMF (meaning they are not important to any group's reading profile). Indeed, one of the only places where $\mathfrak{P}^{74}$'s reading is unambiguous is in Jude 1:12/16, where it reads σπιλάδες with virtually all other MSS.

The Papyrus $\mathfrak{P}^{78}$

This papyrus fares significantly better, and with surprising results: its positive mixture weights are 0.0015 for *Lect*, 0.1274 for f^{2138}, 0.0174 for *Comm*, 0.0311 for f^{0142}, 0.0012 for f^{1780}, and 0.0237 for f^{915}. The high weight for f^{2138} comes from the reading ἐπέχουσαι in Jude 1:7/50. Without further readings available, we can only conjecture a genealogical relationship between this witness and the family in question.

[77] Implementation details and code can be found at https://github.com/jjmccollum/jude-nmf.

The Majuscle 025 / P

This majuscule has even better results: 0.3062 for *Lect*, 0.1884 for K^r, 0.1320 for f^{0142}, and 0.2126 for f^{1780}. Given the groups that best fit its extant readings, we can confidently classify this as a broadly Byzantine witness, but it is difficult to tell whether the nearly equal mixture from the clusters involved is due to contamination or simply because the gaps in the witness prevent a more certain classification.

The Minuscle 1852

In contrast, we can confidently declare MS 1852 to be anything but Byzantine: it has positive group weights of 0.2790 from f^{1739}, 0.5953 from f^{2138}, 0.6042 from *Alex*, and 0.3392 from f^{915}. Again, it is unclear whether the mixture observed here is real or only apparent due to the lacunose nature of the MS.

The Minuscle 2138

As we would expect, this minuscule is strongly classified as a member of the cluster bearing its name: it has mixture weights of 0.1631 from f^{1739}, 1.9754 from f^{2138}, 0.0854 from *Alex*, and 0.0192 from K^c. The strength of the classification is helped by the fact that 2138 falls just below the threshold of minimum extant readings, being extant in 282 variation units.

Andrews University Seminary Studies, Vol. 57, No. 1, 91–136.
Copyright © 2019 Andrews University Seminary Studies

JOHN WESLEY KELCHNER, FOUNDER OF THE TEMPLE RESTORATION MOVEMENT: A FREEMASON'S ATTEMPT TO BUILD A WORLD CHAIN OF SOLOMON'S TEMPLES FOR GLOBAL PEACE

Kevin M. Burton
Southern Adventist University

Abstract

John Wesley Kelchner (1866–1942) was a visionary promoter, elocutionist, and entertainer in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Freemasons regarded him as an authority on sacred space and a leading expert on the architecture and design of the tabernacle of Moses and King Solomon's temple. An active promoter of American Orientalism, Kelchner began his career as a Seventh-day Adventist minister who spent tens of thousands of dollars to build an elaborate model of the wilderness tabernacle. He traveled throughout the United States of America, attracting thousands of spectators to local churches, art galleries, and World's Fairs that featured his models, paintings and drawings, and electrical effects shows. After going bankrupt and leaving the Adventist Church, he remerged as the self-proclaimed founder of the "Temple Restoration Movement"—a movement of freemasons who sought to permanently rebuild Solomon's temple in seven principal cities around the world as symbols of universal peace and religious freedom. Though millions of dollars in funding were secured, large sections of land donated, and architectural plans completed, Kelchner's temples were never built. Nevertheless, his work was promoted in numerous publications, including a number of Masonic Bibles, and he continues to influence numerous people (especially freemasons) to this day. This microhistory is focused on Kelchner's life and work, but also contributes to broader studies on American religion, freemasonry, American Orientalism, Seventh-day Adventism, world peace movements, biblical model-building, and temple restoration.

Keywords: Christianity, Protestantism, Seventh-day Adventism, Freemasonry, Fraternalism, Orientalism, World Peace, Religious Liberty, King Solomon, Moses, Sanctuary, Tabernacle, Temple, John Wesley Kelchner

Introduction

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, a freemason named John Wesley Kelchner ("pronounced Kelkner"[1]) recognized the power associated with Jerusalem and its prominence as a sacred center for the world's monotheistic religions. Inspired by the Holy City and its historical significance, Kelchner sought to establish world peace and religious freedom by building Solomon's temple outside of Jerusalem through a worldwide temple restoration project.[2] He began his career as a Seventh-day Adventist minister who made an elaborate model of the wilderness sanctuary using the same materials as Moses—gold, silver, bronze, and acacia wood. This work prepared Kelchner for his role as a temple restorationist after he left the denomination. This more elaborate project never materialized, but he successfully implanted his vision within the American consciousness and impacted many people (freemasons most directly) during his lifetime and into the present. His work inspired several twentieth century architects to include his ideas in their "architectural" or "completed" structures. Many of his models, drawings, and paintings are on display in museums, private collections, and archives, and the images he created were included in numerous periodicals, books, and Masonic Bibles—some of which remain in print. As William D. Moore has stated, "Kelchner's temple, although a house never built with hands, has assumed a very real form within the imagination of the fraternity."[3] Beyond freemasonry, Kelchner is the ideological forefather of present-day temple restorationists who have built, or plan to build, Solomon's temple outside of Jerusalem.

This article is primarily biographical, but it provides a window into the world beyond. It illustrates the Orientalist mindset that many Americans had prior to World War II and some of their creative attempts to reimagine the Holy Land as a place of peace. Naomi Rosenblatt states, "It is inaccurate to assume that the United States was completely removed from all involvement with the Middle East, and that it was untouched by Orientalist thinking." Rather, by the mid-nineteenth century "a material Orientalism," inspired by "the Arab lands of the Middle East," had begun "to emerge as a distinct

[1] "The Boys Were Ready for Him," *Topeka (KS) Daily Capital* 12.91 (6 April 1890): 2, col. 6.

[2] Kelchner's worldwide temple restoration project differs from Zionism in several ways. First, Jews and Christians have desired for centuries that the Third Temple be built in Jerusalem, but Zionists have not sought to build Solomon's temple elsewhere. Second, Zionists do not advocate the same type of world peace and religious freedom that Kelchner imagined.

[3] William D. Moore, "Solomon's Temple in America? Biblical Scholar's Dream was to Build a Full-scale Replica at Philadelphia in 1926," *The Northern Light* 24.3 (1993): 9.

aesthetic" promoted in American retail.[4] In addition, David Weir suggests that "the 'Oriental' becomes the fantasy mechanism" that enables Americans to "overcome something objectionable—either in themselves or in the American culture of which they are a part—in order to attain some freer, more genuine form of artistic expression." Weir argues that "the Orient Other of the American imagination, then, is a source not so much of exoticism as of authenticity." This "reaction formation," according to Weir, was limited to the Far East. "The Near East," he wrote, "could never offer the kind of spiritual and aesthetic satisfaction that came to be associated with the Far East, for the very good reason that the Near East was overrun by pagan infidels."[5] Kelchner, however, did not view the Near East as reprehensible. Rather, his life and work illustrate that the Middle East also provided a "fantasy mechanism" for many Americans prior to World War II. Kelchner himself used this "mechanism" in his worldwide temple restoration project as a means to "overcome something objectionable" in his own past—his multiple failed business ventures and tainted reputation.

Kelchner has not yet received much scholarly attention, but some authors have briefly acknowledged him in their publications since the 1970s.[6] Though several writers have recognized that Kelchner was an influential person, his life and work have never been reconstructed and this article addresses many unanswered questions about his elaborate sanctuary model and temple-building plan for world peace and religious tolerance.

This article is primarily based upon sources written during Kelchner's lifetime. I have utilized letters and manuscripts found in archives, genealogical records from online repositories, numerous articles in newspapers and journals, tracts and booklets, and materials only available in private collections. Secondary materials are also used when possible and I have relied on the work of several current historians for the purpose of situating Kelchner and his temple building scheme in historical context. Though it would be worthwhile, I have not thoroughly examined or analyzed the numerous blueprints

[4] Naomi Rosenblatt, "Orientalism in American Popular Culture," *Penn History Review* 16.2 (2009): 52–53.

[5] David Weir, *American Orient: Imagining the East from the Colonial Era through the Twentieth Century* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2011), 4.

[6] Alison Sky and Michelle Stone, *Unbuilt America: Forgotten Architecture in the United States from Thomas Jefferson to the Space Age* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1976; repr., New York: Abbeville, 1983), 128–131; John E. Tuhy, *Sam Hill: The Prince of Castle Nowhere* (Portland, OR: Timber, 1983; repr., Goldendale, WA: Maryhill Museum of Art, 1991), 257–258; Moore, "Solomon's Temple in America?," 8–9; Robert M. Craig, *Atlanta Architecture: Art Deco to Modern Classic, 1929–1959* (Gretna, LA: Pelican, 1995), 68–69; David M. Hamilton, "Tabernacle Model," Mishkan Ministries, http://www.mishkanministries.org/1904worldfair.php.

and architectural drawings that are available.[7] Finally, this article sets the stage for further comparative work between Kelchner and others who constructed models of the Mosaic tabernacle and attempted to build (some with success) Solomon's temple in various locations.

Early Life and Inspiration: 1866–1892

John Wesley Kelchner, the fourth of ten children, was born on 3 August 1866, in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, to John H. Kelchner and Christina Whitmeyer.[8] J. H. Kelchner owned a modest farm, but transitioned into the meat business as a butcher around 1880.[9] John Wesley was about fourteen at this time and he continued to work in this profession with his father and brothers for nearly a decade.[10] The Kelchners were devout Christians and members of the Church of the United Brethren in Christ.[11] As a youth, John Wesley was enamored with the Bible and when he was a young teenager he "spent

[7] Photographs, Reproductions, and Blueprints of Architectural Designs and Plans for Buildings and Other Structures [191 items], Unprocessed in PR 06 CN 033 [P&P], Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress, Washington, DC; Photocopies of paintings, elevation drawings, models, and floor plans depicting the theoretical restoration of the Temple of Solomon in Jerusalem and the Tabernacle of Israel before Mt. Sinai [37 photographic prints], LOT 4668 (F) [P&P], Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress, Washington, DC; Albert E. Flanagan Architectural Drawings and Art, 1913–1950 [39 prints; 32 drawings; 11 photographs; 1 printed article; 1 sketchbook], Avery Architectural and Fine Arts Library, Columbia University, New York, New York.

[8] U.S. Passport Applications, 2 January 1906–31 March 1925, Issued 22 March 1912, Certificate 68627 (stamped), John W. Kelchner, https://www.ancestry.com/interactive/1174/USM1490_155-0331/990376;

Pennsylvania Death Certificates, 1906–1964, Filed 24 August 1934, File No. 75135 (stamped), Christanna [sic] Kelchner, https://www.ancestry.com/interactive/5164/42342_1220705235_0646-03077/3478476; O. H. Bentley, ed., *History of Wichita and Sedgwick County Kansas, Past and Present: Including an Account of the Cities, Towns and Villages of the County*, 2 vols. (Chicago: Cooper, 1910), 2:821.

[9] 1870 U.S. Census, Dauphin County, Pennsylvania, town of Upper Swatara, 12 (penned), line 36, John Kelchner, https://www.ancestry.com/interactive/7163/4278555_00498/9907917; 1880 U.S. Census, Lebanon County, Pennsylvania, town of Londonderry, 44 (penned), line 10, John Kelchner, https://www.ancestry.com/interactive/6742/4244372-00513/37365864; Bentley, *History of Wichita*, 2:821; "Palmyra Items," *Lebanon (PA) Courier and Semi-Weekly Report* 68.33 (12 November 1902): 5, col. 7.

[10] Cf. "A Runaway and Upset," *Lebanon (PA) Daily News* 17.59 (16 November 1888): 1, col. 7.

[11] "Deaths: John Kelchner," *Lebanon (PA) Daily News* 31.43 (3 November 1902): 4, col. 1; "Church Directory: Adventists," *Salt Lake City (UT) Herald* (28 August 1892): 3, col. 2.

an entire evening with the Second Book of Chronicles." He awoke the next morning with his "head full of the Temple and its wonders." During a break from work the next day he took a nap and had a remarkable dream. He later recalled,

> I could see it in all its glory, rising terrace on terrace, with its gold, silver and brass flashing in the sunlight . . . So compelling was the vision that I could hardly wake when my father's hand shook me. That was the beginning of my quest for the Temple. All that afternoon, under the hot sun of the hayfield, I thought about my dream and what it might mean. By the time the sun set that evening I had made up my mind. I decided that I would give my life to securing a complete restoration of the Temple. How or where I could not then say, but from that time on I had only one object in life.[12]

Though Kelchner might have embellished this experience, surviving documentation demonstrates that he spent most of his life attempting to reconstruct Solomon's temple.

Kelchner's dream was also a product of pre–World War II American Orientalism. Sumiko Higashi notes that, "During the second half of the nineteenth century, Americans expressed a fascination with travel in their enthusiasm for museum and world's fair exhibits, postal cards, magic lantern slides, stereographs, panoramas and dioramas, Hale's Tours, actuality footage, and so forth."[13] The Holy Land also inspired architectural projects and in the "age of burgeoning consumerism, American vendors and businessmen took advantage of the aesthetics of Orientalism in order to encourage consumer spending and indulgence."[14] As a young boy, Kelchner viewed and/or purchased many of these material objects, which bolstered his fascination with biblical descriptions of sacred spaces.

Kelchner did not lose sight of his dream. In 1887, he moved with three of his brothers from the culturally rich northeast to settle in the budding Midwest. The brothers put down stakes in the booming town of Wichita, Kansas, and opened a meat market in the city center.[15] Though Kelchner's

---

[12] Rose Lee, "Solomon's Temple to Rise in New Glory: Will be Erected at the Philadelphia Exposition, Fulfilling the Vision of a Student of Its Architecture," *New York Times, Magazine Section* 64.24697 (6 September 1925): SM4–SM5; cf. "Solomon's Temple Sesquicentennial Exhibit Feature: Reproduction at Philadelphia Exposition Is Realization of Architect's Boyhood Dream," *Newark (NJ) Jewish Chronicle* 10.6 (13 November 1925): 5, col. 1.

[13] Sumiko Higashi, *Cecil B. DeMille and American Culture: The Silent Era* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 90.

[14] Rosenblatt, "Orientalism," 51.

[15] Bentley, *History of Wichita*, 2:821; F. A. North, *Third Annual Directory of the City of Wichita for 1887 Including a List of Fourteen Thousand Five Hundred Names of the Inhabitants, together with a List of the House Numbers of Householders, Classified Business Directory, Church and Society Directory and Map of Wichita* (Wichita, KS:

work remained the same, this period was transformative. Along with his older brother, William, Kelchner was probably initiated into the freemason fraternity in the late 1880s or early 1890s.[16] He enrolled in a four-year program at Fairmount College (now Wichita State University) apparently as a student of theology. Though he knew German beforehand, he reportedly took courses in "Hebrew, Latin, Greek and modern languages in order that he might be able to study in the original what had been written regarding the Temple."[17]

Kelchner's dream also guided his extra-curricular activities. He was a member of the musical department and the Hesperian Literary Society and he strengthened his presentation skills as he engaged in debates, delivered lectures, read essays, and performed in comic operettas and a male quartet.[18] Kelchner recognized the importance of pageantry in reimagining biblical life. While attending college, he emerged as an independent entertainer and developed skills that enabled him to envision elaborate reenactments. By this time, he had risen to his full stature of 5 feet, 4.5 inches, but with his slicked-back brown hair, bluish-grey eyes, stylish suits, wit, and charisma,[19] Kelchner rose to greater heights.

Eagle Job Office and Bindery, 1887), 214; "Real Estate Transfers," *Wichita (KS) Daily Beacon* 8.48 (19 May 1887): 4, col. 2.

[16] "The Churches," Wichita (KS) Daily Eagle 11.96 (7 September 1889): 8, col. 3; cf. Bentley, *History of Wichita*, 2:821–822. Kelchner was familiar with fraternities from childhood. His father, John H. Kelchner, was a charter member and officer of the Kittatinning Lodge of the Ancient Order of United Workmen. "Lebanon Twenty Years Ago: Events Which Transpired in this Town in 1875," *Lebanon (PA) Daily News* 23.115 (23 January 1895): 1, col. 7.

[17] Lee, "Solomon's Temple," 4–5.

[18] See "[The Hesperian Society]," *Wichita (KS) Daily Eagle* 11.121 (6 October 1889): 6, col. 2; "[The Hesperian Society]," *Wichita (KS) Daily Eagle* 12.19 (8 December 1889): 6, col. 4; "Wichita University Literary," *Wichita (KS) Daily Eagle* 11.139 (27 October 1889): 5, col. 2; "[Musical Department Program]," *Wichita (KS) Daily Eagle* 12.97 (9 March 1890): 6, col. 3; "Wichita University," *Wichita (KS) Daily Eagle* 13.19 (10 June 1890): 5, col. 3.

[19] U.S. Passport Applications, Issued 22 March 1912, Certificate 68627 (stamped), John W. Kelchner; U.S. Passport Applications, 2 January 1906–31 March 1925, Issued 14 December 1914, Certificate 45881 (stamped), John W. Kelchner, https://www.ancestry.com/interactive/1174/USM1490_229-0046/1588823.

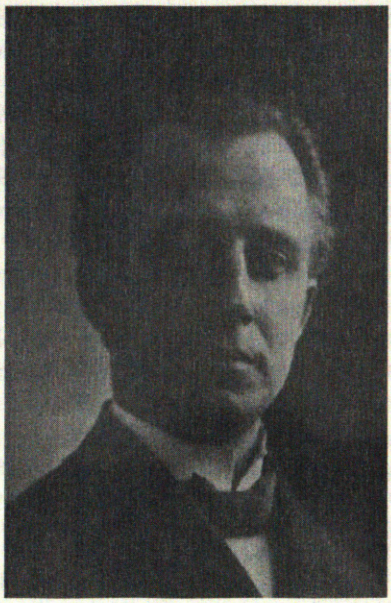


Figure 1. John Wesley Kelchner, circa 1896
(Photo Credit: Missouri History Museum)

Promotion was key to his success. In March 1890, Kelchner was presented to the public as "[t]he celebrated elocutionist"[20] and praised by "many flattering testimonials of success."[21] He was later criticized, however, because he "failed to materialize" at a performance in Medicine Lodge, Kansas. One paper therefore demeaned him as the "alleged elocutionist and reader."[22] Such criticism foreshadowed the complexity of his career as an entertainer and promoter.

Kelchner matriculated from Fairmount College in about 1892. Around this time he became a member of the Seventh-day Adventist Church.[23] He

[20] "J. Wesley Kelchner," *Medicine Lodge (KS) Cresset* 12.3 (21 March 1890): 3, col. 3.

[21] "[Mr. J. W. Kelchner]," *McPherson (KS) Daily Republican* 4.40 (25 March 1890): 3, col. 1.

[22] "[J. Wesley Kelchner]," *Medicine Lodge (KS) Barber County Index* 10.44 (26 March 1890): 3, col. 2; "[J. Wesley Kelchner]," *Medicine Lodge (KS) Cresset* 12.4 (28 March 1890): 3, col. 2; cf. "The Boys Were Ready," 2, col. 6.

[23] The date and circumstances of Kelchner's conversion are unknown. In August 1892, he is referred to as "Rev. J. Wesley Kelchner . . . of the U. B. church in Christ," but is preaching "in the Adventist tent" in Salt Lake City, Utah ("Church Directory: Adventists," 3, col. 2). Over the next three months Kelchner preached exclusively in Adventist churches, yet is not specifically referred to as a member until December

acquired the title of "reverend" for his preaching and between 1892 and 1896 he served as an itinerant minister in Utah, Nevada, California, Georgia, Michigan, and Iowa.[24] At the beginning of this period, on 18 January 1893, Kelchner married Mae Evelyn Irwin,[25] and between 1894 and 1897 three children were added to the family: Myrtle Ruelle Kelchner (born 1894), John W. Kelchner (born 1895), and Irene R. Kelchner (born 1897).

Kelchner was an instant success as a preacher. In September 1892, he began to lecture in the Reno, Nevada, Adventist church.[26] Within less than a month, a local paper praised him as "a thorough master of biblical lore," capable of handling "his subjects in a manner which is both interesting and instructive." Attendance "increased every evening"[27] and Kelchner's meeting location was moved to "the corner room of McKissick's Opera House" so that

---

1892 ("Free Lecture," *Reno (NV) Evening Gazette* 34.63 [15 December 1892]: 1, col. 5). Naturally, these newspapers do not provide a reliable account of Kelchner's conversion and it is certainly possible that Kelchner became an Adventist prior to 1892 (i.e., the Salt Lake City *Herald* could be incorrect). Though the precise circumstances regarding his conversion are unknown, it is likely that Kelchner was attracted to Adventism by the denomination's unique teaching on the earthly and heavenly sanctuaries. See Richard M. Davidson, "Sanctuary, Doctrine of the," *The Ellen G. White Encyclopedia*, 2nd ed., 1130–1133.

[24] W. H. McKee, "The Atlanta Institute," *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald* 71.9 (27 February 1894) 140; "Field Notes," *Signs of the Times* 20.15 (12 February 1894): 237; "Field Notes," *Signs of the Times* 20.31 (11 June 1894): 492; O. A. Olsen, "The Movements of Laborers," *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald* 71.94 (12 June 1894): 379; Matthew Larson, J. W. Kelchner, and Wm. Guthrie, "Iowa," *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald* 71.31 (31 July 1894): 491; M. Larson, J. W. Kelchner, and W. Guthrie, "Iowa," *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald* 71.41 (16 October 1894), 652; E. G. Olsen and C. W. Smouse, "Iowa Conference Proceedings," *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald* 72.28 (9 July 1895), 445; Elder J. W. Kelchner, "The Happy People," *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald* 72.37 (10 September 1895), 579–580; Thos. H. Jeys, "Obituary: Hamilton," *The Workers' Bulletin* 11.11 (19 September 1899), 43. The following letters are available at the General Conference Archives, General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, Silver Spring, Maryland: Letter, J. W. Kelchner to L. T. Nicola (1 March 1894); Letter, L. T. Nicola to J. W. Kelchner (2 March 1894); Letter, J. W. Kelchner to L. T. Nicola (19 March 1894); Letter, J. W. Kelchner to L. T. Nicola (24 October 1894); Letter, J. W. Kelchner to L. T. Nicola (30 October 1894); Letter, J. W. Kelchner to L. T. Nicola (11 November 1894); Letter, J. W. Kelchner to L. T. Nicola (18 November 1894); Letter, J. W. Kelchner to L. T. Nicola (3 December 1894).

[25] "Brevities," *Reno (NV) Evening Gazette* 34.94 (23 January 1893): 3, col. 3.

[26] "Brevities," *Reno (NV) Evening Gazette* 33.144 (19 September 1892): 3, col. 4.

[27] "Religious Lectures," *Reno (NV) Evening Gazette* 34.8(10 October 1892): 3, col. 3.

more people could attend.[28] He preached on a variety of topics in late 1892 and early 1893,[29] but two sermons related specifically to his lifework: "The Tabernacle of Israel in the Wilderness" and "The Sanctuary," (the latter being based on Rev 4 and 5).[30]

The Model of the Wilderness Tabernacle: 1892–1899

Kelchner began to study the tabernacle of Israel in about 1892[31] when evangelistic meetings were popularly known as "tabernacle meetings."[32] Simply designating a building a tabernacle had limited significance, however, because these structures and spaces were not reproductions of the Old Testament prototype. The book of Exodus describes some of the architectural details of the earthly tabernacle patterned after the one believed to be present in heaven. Since these specifics are provided in the Bible, numerous Christians have sought to accurately reconstruct miniature (and life-size) models of this sacred space.[33] Kelchner, though not the first, successfully built one of the

---

[28] "Series of Lectures," *Reno (NV) Evening Gazette* 34.51 (1 December 1892): 1, col. 2.

[29] Some of his topics included: "The Church as It Was and as It Is" ("Brevities," *Reno (NV) Evening Gazette* 34.4 [5 October 1892]: 3, col. 3); "Man's Nature and Destiny" ("Brevities," *Reno (NV) Evening Gazette* 34.5 [6 October 1892]: 3, col. 3); "Our Lord's Great Property" ("Religious Lectures," 3, col. 3); "Prophetic History of the World" ("Brevities," *Reno (NV) Evening Gazette* 34.10 [12 October 1892]: 3, col. 3); "Increase of Knowledge" ("Brevities," *Reno (NV) Evening Gazette* 34.12 [14 October 1892]: 3, col. 3); "Spiritualism" and "Mark of Apostasy" ("Brevities," *Reno (NV) Gazette-Journal* 34.13 [15 October 1892]: 3, col. 4); "A Remarkable Symbol" ("Brevities," *Weekly Reno Nevada State Journal* 22.47 [15 October 1892]: 6, col. 5); "The Fiery Ordeal" ("Brevities," *Reno (NV) Evening Gazette* 34.61 [13 December 1892]: 6, col. 3); "Traveler's Tale, or 'The Pitcairn'" ("Free Lecture," *Reno (NV) Evening Gazette* 34.63 [15 December 1892]: 1, col. 5); and "Present Truth" ("'Present Truth'," *Reno (NV) Evening Gazette* 34.75 [30 December 1892]: 3, col. 2).

[30] "Brevities," *Reno (NV) Evening Gazette* 34.3 [4 October 1892]: 3, col. 3; "Lecture," *Reno (NV) Evening Gazette* 34.134 [10 March 1893]: 1, col. 5.

[31] "Like the Tabernacle: A Costly Reproduction of the Children of Israel's Famous Creation: Kelchner's Four Years' Work: An Elaborate Model of the Remarkable Structure That Was Put Together in Sinai," *San Francisco (CA) Call* 79.154 (2 May 1896): 16, col. 3.

[32] Ann Taves, *Fits, Trances, and Visions: Experiencing Religion and Explaining Experience from Wesley to James* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), 238.

[33] Some of the most well known include: William Whiston (Steven C. Bullock, *Revolutionary Brotherhood: Freemasonry and the Transformation of the American Social Order, 1730–1840* [Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996], 20); Phillip Whyman ("Model of the Tabernacle," *Sydney [Australia] Morning Herald* 54.8902 [3 December 1866]: 5, col. 1); Conrad Schick ("Art Notes," New York Herald 37.295

most impressive models of the tabernacle ever produced.[34] This enabled him to present himself as a second Moses.[35]

Though the Bible provided an inspirational blueprint, Kelchner also relied upon James Strong's recently published, *The Tabernacle of Israel in the Desert*.[36] During the early 1890s, Kelchner sought to take "advantage of the criticisms passed on his work" and resolved "to spare neither time nor money" to build a one-eleventh scale model of the tabernacle. He experimented with different dyes to get the cloth to be the precise shade he wanted. He also consulted several of "the leading architects and painters in the East . . . in order to secure perfect harmony of detail in the construction." He used the same materials that Moses used, and while it was easy to acquire the gold, silver, brass, and acacia wood, other items were difficult to procure. Kelchner apparently "sent minute instructions to the Orient," along with "paintings and sketches . . . made by artists in Chicago and New York," and upon receiving these instructions, "Arabian women wove the rugs and the curtains, and their skilled fingers traced out the embroideries, which, being only one-eleventh of the original size, were almost infinitesimal." Kelchner employed expert ivory carvers and woodworkers to produce the tabernacle pieces and hired professional jewelers to overlay the objects with gold and silver.[37] In total, Kelchner's model was 16 feet long, 8 feet wide, and 30 inches tall, weighed at least 800 pounds (with added accompaniments, the total weight reached one ton), and

---

[21 October 1872]: 18, col. 5); J. S. Ostrander ("Rev. J. S. Ostrander on Sunday-school Teaching," *Nashville [TN] Daily American* 2.498 [4 April 1877]: 4, col. 3); W. W. Wythe (Burke O. Long, *Imagining the Holy Land: Maps, Models, and Fantasy Travels* [Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003], 19); H. P. Welton ("The Jewish Tabernacle: Explained by Rev. H. P. Welton as the Type of Christianity," *Rochester [NY] Democrat and Chronicle* 48.210 [28 July 1880]: 4, col. 5); W. E. Stephens ("Religious Notes," *St. Louis [MO] Post-Dispatch* 30.135 [5 November 1881]: 6, col. 4); and Carlos A. Butler ("City News," *Indianapolis [IN] News* 18.154 [6 June 1887]: 4, col. 2).

[34] Many of Kelchner's contemporaries praised his work and made statements such as: "This is the most elaborate, large and costly model of the tabernacle ever constructed" ("Like the Tabernacle," 16, col. 3).

[35] Cf. A. J. Holman Co., "King Solomon's Temple and Citadel," n.p., n.d., [1], Box 556, Folder 10, Collection 2233, New York World's Fair 1939 and 1940 Incorporated Records: 1935–1945, New York Public Library, Manuscripts and Archives Division, Stephen A. Schwarzman Building, New York, New York.

[36] James Strong, *The Tabernacle of Israel in the Desert: A Companion Volume to the Portfolio of Plates* (Providence, RI: Harris & Jones, 1888), 1–2.

[37] "Just as Moses Made It: A Seventh-Day Adventist Preacher Reconstructs the Tabernacle: Overlaid with Pure Gold: Tapestries and Drinking-Cups Made in Arabia—One-Eleventh the Original Size," *San Francisco (CA) Call* 79.132 (10 April 1896): 9, col. 1.

was reportedly built by some thirty-six artisans. (The number rising to fifty after some repairs were made in mid-1897). The 1,700 handcrafted pieces[38] included large items such as the altar of burnt offering, the laver, the seven golden candlesticks, the table of showbread, the altar of incense, and the ark of the covenant with the ten commandments tucked away inside, as well as all of the smaller vessels, such as "flesh-hooks, knives, bowls, shovels and baskets for offering"[39] and priestly garments.[40]

Kelchner went to greater lengths to recreate the authentic setting. Though his model was completed in the spring of 1896, he packed it up and travelled to California to meet with Wilbur A. Reasor, a respected "portrait and figure painter" known for being "[w]holly realistic in subject and in treatment."[41] Reasor had "devoted three years of work abroad to studying Scriptural painting" and Kelchner believed that he could successfully paint a panoramic backdrop for his model that featured Mount Sinai with the multitude of Israel camped around it. In April, Reasor completed his painting "from photographs made in the Holy Land."[42] The final product was 12 feet tall and 32 feet long[43] and blended proportionally with Kelchner's physical model. Kelchner added stones for texture at its base so that when the painting was situated behind the model, it was difficult to determine where the two-dimensional painting ended and the three-dimensional tabernacle began. This illusion created a viable snapshot of historical imagination in miniature form.

---

[38] *Kelchner's Celebrated Model* [Exhibition Circular] (Battle Creek, MI: Review & Herald, 1897), 1; identifier: A2401, Missouri History Museum Archives, St. Louis, Missouri; "Like the Tabernacle," 16, col. 3; "The Endeavorers Exhibition of Professor Kelchner's Model Last Evening for the Benefit of the Organization," *San Francisco (CA) Call* 80.31 (1 July 1896): 16, col. 2.

[39] "Pacific Grove Assembly: Dr. Kelchner Lectures on 'The Tabernacle of Israel' to Chautauquans: Exhibits a True Reproduction of the Sacred Structure of the Holy Land," *San Francisco (CA) Call* 80.44 (14 July 1896): 4, col. 5.

[40] *Kelchner's Celebrated Model*, 1.

[41] Calista Halsey Patchin, "The Art Collection of the Des Moines Women's Club," *The Midwestern* 3.8 (April 1909): 54; "The National Academy of Design's Spring Exhibition," *The Month* 1.5 (May 1897): 526.

[42] "Just as Moses," 9, col. 1. One of Reasor's paintings, "Old Man and Sleeping Child," is on display at the Des Moines Women's Club, 1501 Woodland Ave., Des Moines, Iowa, 50309.

[43] "Israel's Tabernacle: Professor Kelchner's Interesting Exhibition Last Night," *Sacramento (CA) Record-Union* 92.81 (10 November 1896): 4, col. 3.

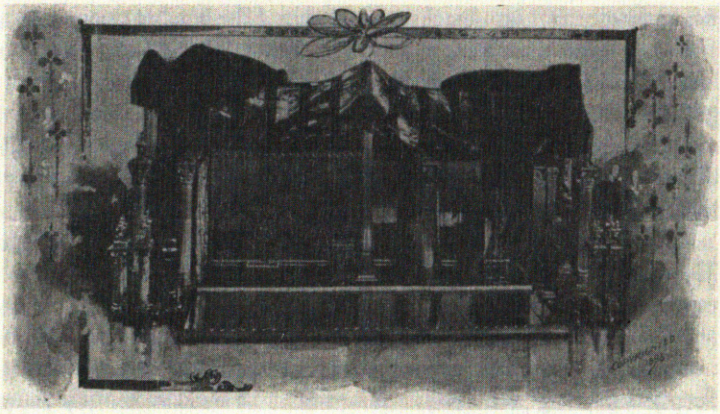


Figure 2. An interior view of John Wesley Kelchner's "Mosaic Tabernacle of Israel" (Photo Credit: Missouri History Museum).

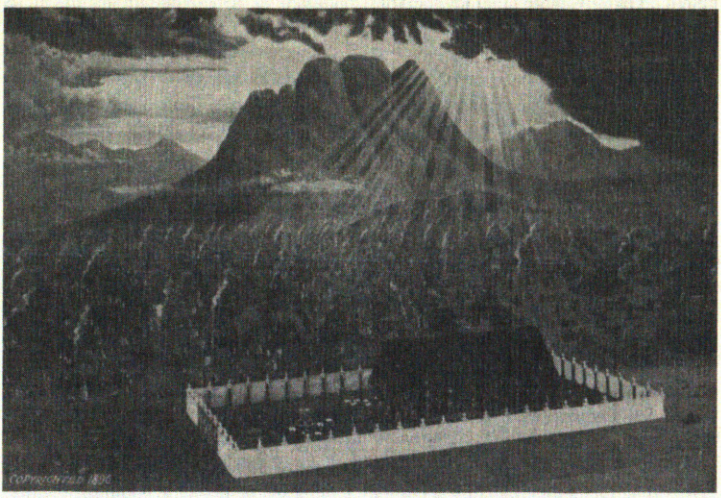


Figure 3. John Wesley Kelchner's "Mosaic Tabernacle of Israel" standing before Wilbur A. Reasor's "Panorama of the Encampment of Israel at Sinai" (Photo Credit: Missouri History Museum).

Figure 4. Wilbur A. Reasor's painting, "Mt. Sinai and the Millions of Israel in Camp." (Photo Credit: Missouri History Museum).

Figure 5. Close-up of some objects and vessels from John Wesley Kelchner's sanctuary standing before Wilbur A. Reasor's painting. You can see the rocks placed at the base of the painting, which make it difficult to distinguish between the 2-dimensional painting and the 3-dimensional objects. (Photo Credit: Kevin Burton)

In mid-to-late 1897, Kelchner added a final special feature to enliven this static snapshot—a grand electrical effects show.[44] Kelchner hired James Whiting Johnson, an inventor and electrical engineer for the Chicago office of the General Electric Company, to operate a special electrical apparatus that accompanied Kelchner's tabernacle model.[45] This electrical apparatus provided "wonderful and pleasing effects from the specially designed arc and focusing lamps" that cast "different color lights" upon the tabernacle and painting.[46] Since electric lights were still a new phenomenon, this tabernacle show was cutting edge.

When Kelchner was on tour he promoted himself as a "professor," despite lacking credentials or higher educational teaching experience. He initially travelled throughout California, Washington, Oregon, and Idaho, but in 1897 he ventured further east, visiting Colorado, Michigan, and Indiana. Kelchner was lauded as a great success at each location and his model was praised for its ostensible authenticity. One "prominent pastor of Seattle" reported, "I was charmed with the accuracy of his [Kelchner's] delineation. The work on close inspection showed the strictest fidelity to the original."[47] According to the *Los Angeles Herald*, Kelchner's celebrated model was "pronounced by the press and the great Chautauquas as the most magnificent and literal reproduction the world ever saw."[48]

Americans praised Kelchner's model because an authentic reproduction of this caliber possessed transcendental power. Tangible representations of biblical buildings are capacitation tools for religious imagination because "[p]

---

[44] It is evident that Kelchner's circular was printed in Battle Creek, Michigan, in the late summer or early fall of 1897 for the following reasons: first, the circular provides a press endorsement from Denver, Colorado (Kelchner was there in late May and early June 1897; see narrative below for sources); second, Kelchner traveled to Battle Creek in August 1897 and presumably arranged to have his circular printed at that time (T. "Our Workers and Their Work," *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald* 74.34 [24 August 1897]: 544); third, only the performances after this time refer to Kelchner's electrical effects (cf. "Kelchner's Celebrated Model," *Elkhart [IN] Daily Review* [3 March 1898]: 3, col. 4; "Mt. Sinai and the Israelites: Magnificent Panorama and Instructive Lecture by Prof. Kelchner," *South-Bend (IN) Saturday Tribune* [5 March 1898]: 4, col. 2).

[45] "In Memoriam: James Whiting Johnson," *General Electric Review* 16.3 (March 1913): 205; James W. Johnson, Pencil-Sharpening Machine, US Patent 564,202, filed 21 May 1895, and issued 21 July 1896.

[46] *Kelchner's Celebrated Model*, 3.

[47] "The Tabernacle Tonight: Professor Kelchner Will Explain It at Unity Auditorium," *Olympia (WA) Daily Olympian* 6.293 (9 March 1897): 3, cols. 2–3.

[48] "A Rare Entertainment: The Celebrated Model of 'the Tabernacle of Israel,'" *Los Angeles (CA) Herald* 26.49 (18 November 1896): 5, cols. 2–3.

hysical models make the invisible visible."[49] Models enable viewers to locate themselves in space through "the brain's perceptual ability to define space through its own method of miniaturization."[50] Therefore, though miniature models are too small for physical habitation, they function somewhat like Wayne Szalinski's shrinking machine: viewers can either shrink themselves down to size to place themselves within the tiny space, or blow the model up so that they can move within it unencumbered by claustrophobia.

Miniature models also enable viewers to transcend time. Ranulph Glanville explains that models of newly conceived structures give the viewers and designers the "apparent ability to time-travel by talking of the as yet unmade as if already built."[51] Conversely, models that depict historical structures also function like Mr. Peabody's WABAC Machine by projecting a viewer backward in time, enabling the traveler to become a part of the ancient era in which the structure was originally erected.

Kelchner's audiences craved such transcendental experiences. One reporter argued that viewing his tabernacle was more worthwhile than traveling to Palestine, which had neither tabernacle nor temple. "A trip to the Holy Land," he wrote, "affords less instruction and information with regard to this ancient sanctuary of Israel."[52] Viewers placed themselves within Kelchner's model to get beyond the constraints of time and space. A writer for the *Los Angeles Herald* claimed that "the beholder almost felt himself transported to the historic wilderness and standing before the very Sinai itself."[53] Similarly, the *Sacramento Record-Union* claimed that "Professor Kelchner carries his auditors back to the Holy Land and in a most pleasing and instructive manner describes the Temple and the scenes and incidents of its day."[54]

Though most seemed enamored with Kelchner and his show, some analyzed his creation more critically, particularly the tabernacle's columns and capitals. Judge Roger S. Greene of Seattle, Washington, stated, "Doubtless where we have no definite description of the parts, he has drawn on his imagi-

---

[49] Megan Werner, *Model Making* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2011), 12.

[50] Karen Lange, "Models and Virtual Space: Imagined Materiality," in *Proceedings of the 85th ACSA Annual Meeting and Technology Conference: "Architecture: Material and Imagined,"* ed. Lawrence W. Speck (Washington, DC: Association of Collegiate Schools of Architecture, 1997), 525.

[51] Ranulph Glanville, "Intention and the User," in *Persistent Modelling: Extending the Role of Architectural Representation*, ed. Phil Ayres (New York: Routledge, 2012), 43.

[52] "A Rare Entertainment," 5, cols. 2–3.

[53] "Orange County: An Exhibition Interesting to Bible Students—Local Notes," *Los Angeles (CA) Herald* 26.64 (3 December 1896): 7, col. 2.

[54] "Israel's Tabernacle," 4, col. 3.

nation, such as in the capitals of the columns, etc." In spite of this, Greene added, "But I think he has been exceedingly accurate."[55] Similarly, the *San Francisco Call* wrote, "Mr. Kelchner has been able to get his proportions and plans all right, but the ornamental designs had to be left to the imagination, and that explains the strange presence of Corinthian capitals on columns that were reared some thousands of years before Corinth was."[56] Though Kelchner did not make the same mistake in his plans for Solomon's temple, he likely chose Greek columns for his tabernacle because Isaac Newton claimed that the Greeks borrowed from Jewish architecture via the Egyptians (it was believed that the Israelite slaves in Egypt also designed the buildings they reportedly built). In this sense, "Greek" columns were not considered Greek at all—they were Jewish. Kelchner likely considered Newton an authority since his work was preserved in masonic lore.[57]

Kelchner faced more difficult challenges than nominal criticism. On 5 December 1896, his tabernacle was on display in the First Methodist Episcopal Church in San Diego when an oil heater exploded and set the building on fire. After clearing the room, firemen began to hurriedly remove Kelchner's model. After this ordeal, Kelchner realized that many pieces from his model were missing or "ruined by the water and rough usage." In particular, Reasor's oil painting was "absolutely ruined by the water and smoke."[58] Undeterred, Kelchner quickly ordered materials from overseas to repair his model[59] and found a new artist to replace the destroyed painting. Kelchner wanted the new painting to be bigger and Andrew Putnam Hill produced an oil painting 16 feet in height by 40 feet in length from photographs of Reasor's original. This 425-pound backdrop was advertised as "One of the Largest and Finest Oil Paintings ever seen in America."[60] In spite of this setback, Kelchner was again on tour by mid-January 1897.[61]

---

[55] "Amusements: Prof. Kelchner's Lecture," *Seattle (WA) Post-Intelligencer* 31.168 (2 March 1897): 5, col. 3.

[56] "Like the Tabernacle," 16, col. 3.

[57] Bullock, *Revolutionary Brotherhood*, 20–21.

[58] "Fire in a San Diego Church," *San Francisco (CA) Call* 81.6 (6 December 1896): 6, cols. 5–6; "The Tabernacle Scorched: The Model in a Conflagration at San Diego," *San Bernardino (CA) County Sun* 5.88 (11 December 1896,): 3, col. 4.

[59] "Shipping Intelligence: Consignees," *San Francisco (CA) Call* 81.10 (10 December 1896): 12, col. 7.

[60] Kelchner's Celebrated Model, 4.

[61] "Y.M.C.A. Notes," Salem (OR) Daily Capital Journal 9.25 (19 January 1897): 7, col. 2.

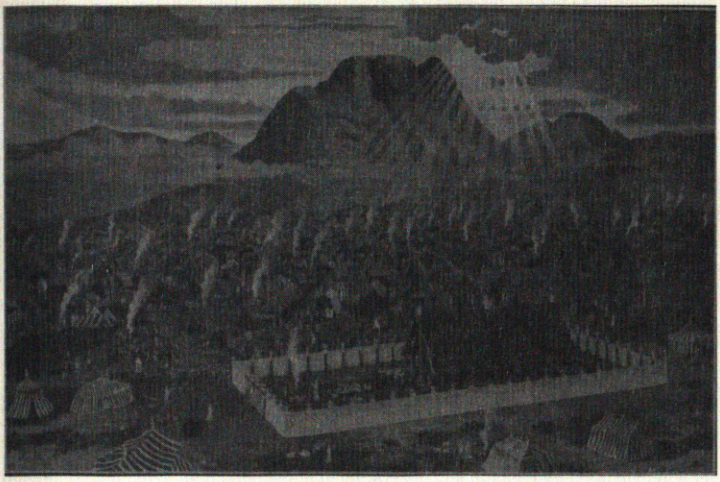


Figure 6. John Wesley Kelchner's "Mosaic Tabernacle of Israel" standing before A. P. Hill's "Mt. Sinai, and the Millions of Israel in Camp." Notice the similarities and differences with Wilbur A. Reasor's original artwork (Photo Credits: Kevin Burton).

Kelchner estimated his losses at USD 5,000, not including lost income from future shows.[62] His initial estimate of tabernacle construction costs totaled USD 15,000,[63] but after he purchased the electrical apparatus the figure rose to USD 19,200 (roughly equivalent to USD 585,000 in 2019).[64] Kelchner apparently relied upon credit for the necessary capital, and though he was handsomely paid for his performances (in some cases, about USD 50 per day[65]), he did not repay his creditors on time. On 3 June 1897, when the tabernacle was set up in Denver, local law enforcement confiscated it because Kelchner owed D. C. Barker, one of the artisans who worked on the model, "several hundred dollars."[66] Though Kelchner reclaimed his property a few days later,[67] he continued to carry a large debt and faced many other angry creditors in the remaining years of his life.

[62] "The Tabernacle Scorched," 3, col. 4.

[63] "The Endeavorers," 16, col. 2.

[64] Kelchner's Celebrated Model, 1.

[65] Cf. "The Tabernacle Scorched," 3, col. 4.

[66] "Tabernacle of Israel," *Denver (CO) Post* (3 June 1897): 5, col. 2.

[67] "An Interesting Lecture: Prof. Kelchner's Lecture Last Night in the Christian Church—Another to be Given Tonight," *Colorado Springs (CO) Gazette* 26.5972 (8 June 1897): 7, col. 4.

In the spring of 1898, Kelchner approached the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists about his financial predicament. On 4 May, the General Conference Executive Committee discussed Kelchner's tabernacle and some wanted it to "be owned and controlled by the General Conference." The "sanctuary question" was "one of the leading" components of Adventist theology and administrators believed that there was "no better thing to illustrate this subject, and to bring it before the thousands, than by use of this model." However, America faced a financial depression in the 1890s, and the denomination decided that it could not afford the model. Nevertheless, the church officers encouraged Kelchner to organize "a stock company" to help relieve himself from financial embarrassment.[68]

Kelchner did go into business a short time later, though for the Adventist Church rather than himself. He initially returned to his ministerial labors, serving as canvassing supervisor in New York,[69] but a short time later, on 8 February 1899, he incorporated the Central City Good Health Company in Syracuse, New York, "to sell health foods and products."[70] Kelchner was president and general manager and within three months he had filled a four-story building (plus a basement) "with an immense stock of foods," a printing press, and had "employed a large force of help."[71] The company was founded upon credit and was immediately in financial trouble. In response to this crisis, Kelchner severed his connections and skipped town "to avoid his creditors." In September, the company was brought to court for failing to pay its debts and was dissolved shortly thereafter.[72] Shamed among his peers,

---

[68] General Conference Committee, "General Conference Committee Minutes for 1898," 424–425, http://documents.adventistarchives.org/Minutes/GCC/GCC1898.pdf.

[69] A. E. Place, "South Onondaga," *The Indicator* 8.30 (27 July 1898): 2; "Our State Agent," *The Indicator* 8.40 (19 October 1898): 2; J. W. Kelchner, "Report of Work," *The Indicator* 8.40 (19 October 1898): 3; "[Note]," *Good Health* 33.11 (November 1898): 749; G. B. Thompson, "State Agent," *The Indicator* 8.43 (9 November 1898): 2; M. M. Pruden, *Bard's & Co.'s Classified Business Directory of Western New York Embracing the following Towns: Buffalo, Rochester, Syracuse, Auburn, Niagara Falls, Dunkirk, Lockport, Brockport, Batavia, Canandaigua, Seneca Falls, Geneva, Erie, PA, Etc., for the Years 1898–1899* (New York: Bards, 1898), 340.

[70] "Stock Companies: New Certificates of Incorporation Filed a[t] Albany Yesterday," *Rochester (NY) Democrat and Chronicle* (15 February 1899): 5, col. 5.

[71] "Good Health Company: A Seventh Day Adventist Enterprise Makes an Assignment," *Rome (NY) Daily Sentinel* 18 (10 June 1899): 1.

[72] "Robinson Accounting: Recalls Good Health Company Failure in 1899," *Syracuse (NY) Journal* 58.131 (2 June 1902): 3, col. 2; "Items," *The Indicator* 9.23 (14 June 1899): 4; "Kelchner Was Too Previous: So It Seems From Allegations Made in a Replevy Action Brought Against Good Health Company," *Syracuse (NY) Evening Telegram*43.39 (21 September 1899): 8, col. 5.

Kelchner left the Seventh-day Adventist Church at this time.[73]

The 1904 World's Fair and First Attempt to Build Solomon's Temple: 1900–1905

Between 1900 and 1901, Kelchner moved around as a traveling salesman,[74] but soon found another opportunity to fulfill his lifelong dream of reconstructing Solomon's temple—the forthcoming 1904 World's Fair in St. Louis. With the aid of financial investors, Kelchner reportedly expended some USD 130,000 (about USD 3.7 million in 2019) on "models, paintings and designs" to be used for the purpose of reconstructing Solomon's temple.[75] In early 1902, he incorporated a second business, the Oriental Exposition Company and was made general manager. At this time, funds for building masonic temples were often raised through selling bonds,[76] and Kelchner's business was incorporated for the purpose of raising USD 2,500,000 (about USD 70.6 million in 2019).[77] According to the *Wilkes-Barre Record*, this new company was "made up mainly of New York capitalists, who have become associated to execute the plans of Professor J. W. Kelchner."[78]

---

[73] Adventist administrators lost track of Kelchner and tried to locate him, though not necessarily for financial reasons. "[Addresses Wanted]," *The Workers' Bulletin* 12.38 (26 March 1901): 152; Augustin J. Bourdeau, "Addresses Wanted," *Pacific Union Recorder* 2.14 (12 February 1903): 16.

[74] 1900 U.S. Census, Middlesex County, Massachusetts, town of Cambridge, 306 (printed), line 43, John Kelchner, https://www.ancestry.com/interactive/7602/4113842_00463/6140710.

[75] "Jewish Temple for Fair: New York Syndicate Will Reproduce King Solomon's Structure in Exposition Grounds," *Omaha (NE) Daily Bee* (12 January 1903): 6, col. 3.

[76] William D. Moore, *Masonic Temples: Freemasonry, Ritual Architecture, and Masculine Archetypes* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2006), 141.

[77] "Wanted—Help—Males," *Brooklyn (NY) Daily Eagle* 62.165 (15 June 1902): 24, col. 3; "New Companies Chartered: New Jersey," *Philadelphia (PA) Times* 28.9702 (27 April 1902): 16, col. 6; "Prof. J. W. Kelchner, General Manager Oriental Exposition Company," *World's Fair Bulletin* 4.3 (January 1903): 36. In January 1903, the Oriental Exposition Company was also incorporated in Delaware "with a capital stock of $1,000,000." "Certificates of Incorporation: Reproductions of Solomon's Temple and Tabernacle of the Jews to Be Exhibited," *Wilmington (DE) Evening Journal* 37.27 (31 January 1903): 1, col. 5.

[78] "King Solomon's Temple: Famous Structure to Be Reproduced at St. Louis Fair," *Wilkes-Barre (PA) Record* (13 January 1903): 5, col. 6.

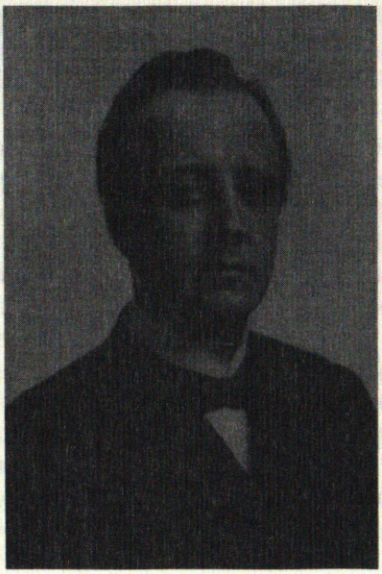


Figure 7. John Wesley Kelchner, circa 1903 (Photo Credit: Kevin Burton).

According to the *World's Fair Bulletin*, the Oriental Exposition Company was organized to build "the grandest exhibit at the grandest and largest World's Fair in the history of the world."[79] It would feature seven exhibits, not to mention several Middle Eastern restaurants and oriental factories with Arabian artisans that made and sold their wares or authentic foods from the biblical lands. First, a life-sized replica of Solomon's temple was to be built. Architect Isaac Stacker Taylor was in charge of designing the building based upon the models, paintings, and designs that Kelchner had commissioned. The building was to be 400 feet by 800 feet and include a 325,000 square-foot great court, as well as a 170-foot tower. This structure would cost about USD 500,000 (roughly equivalent to USD 14,200,000 in 2019).

Second, the main exhibition hall would be 200 feet wide by 300 feet long and would house Kelchner's model of the tabernacle of Israel. Third, a cyclorama was to be built, 800 feet long and 60 feet high that would depict 6,000,000 Israelites with their tents at the base of Mount Sinai. Kelchner also planned to use electric effects to simulate "the rising and setting of the sun and moon, the shining of the stars and moving clouds,"[80] and "the transform-

[79] "The Work of the Oriental Exposition Company," *World's Fair Bulletin* 4.3 (January 1903): 38.

[80] "The Temple of Solomon: The Architectural Glory of Ancient Israel to Be

ing of the pillar of cloud hovering by day over the tabernacle into a pillar of fire by night."[81] The most spectacular feature was the electric show depicting God's gift of "the Law on Mt. Sinai, amidst the thundering and lightning, the quaking and burning of the mountain, [and] the over-shadowing clouds and the bright illumination"—a presentation intended to cause the audience to "fear and tremble."[82]

A fourth hall would be built with "a mammoth stage" and seating for over 8,000 people. About 500 live actors would be hired to perform "historical spectacles," dressed in period clothing, and accompanied by a "chorus of 2,000 women and a band of 200 pieces" as they performed plays depicting Abraham's life in Canaan, Israel enslaved in Egypt, the annihilation of Pharaoh's army in the Red Sea, the battle of Jericho, King David ruling in Jerusalem, the Queen of Sheba's visit to King Solomon, and Nebuchadnezzar's destruction of Jerusalem.

A fifth exhibit would feature Mt. Nebo, which visitors could climb and stand atop to gaze upon "the Promised Land restored in its Edenic beauty."[83] The Mediterranean Sea would be recreated in a sixth exhibit, so that visitors could travel by boat to the place where Jonah was swallowed by a whale. This drama was to be "perfectly illustrated by modern inventions and appliances" so as to form "a complete picture of the actual scenes." Finally, there would be two galleries featuring paintings and biblical artwork from Genesis through Revelation that would cover a space 800 feet long and 12 feet high.[84]

These grandiose plans never came to fruition due to a lack of time and resources. Though the Oriental Exposition Company failed to deliver, the Jerusalem Exhibit Company successfully recreated Jerusalem in St. Louis. Kelchner had a small exhibit within the walls of the "Holy City" that was comprised of his tabernacle model, large oil painting, and accompanying electrical show, along with several new features, including a model of Solomon's temple, W. E. Stephen's ten square-foot replica of the ancient city of Jerusalem, and a cyclorama of Solomon's temple. These models were brought to life with numerous paintings, drawings, stereopticon pictures, "dissolving views, moving pictures, and lectures [that] illustrated the various customs of the Israelites."[85]

Reproduced At the World's Fair," *Woodville (MS) Republican* 77.34 (17 January 1903): 1, col. 4.

[81] "Progress of the World's Fair," *Brick* 18.3 (1 March 1903): 122.

[82] "Oriental Exposition Company," 38.

[83] "The Temple of Solomon," 1, col. 4.

[84] "Oriental Exposition Company," 39.

[85] David R. Francis, *The Universal Exposition of 1904* (St. Louis: Louisiana Purchase Exposition Company, 1913), 600–601; *What to See in Jerusalem* [Exhibition

Though Kelchner did not rebuild Solomon's temple in 1904, many of the nearly 20 million patrons of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition[86] enjoyed his models, sat spellbound through his electrical shows, and were enraptured by his moving pictures—all within the walls of the "Jerusalem, St. Louis, U. S. A." Live actors, furnished by the Jerusalem Exhibit Company, further romanticized the setting, as about 1,000 residents from the real Jerusalem inhabited the "transplanted" city. "Among these people . . . [were] Mohammedans, Jews and Christians, each worshipping after his own fashion and living his own life here in the reproduced city, just as he lives and worships at home."[87] Though Kelchner did not produce these entertainments, the Jerusalem exhibit recreated a scene and atmosphere so believable that visitors were "carried into the past over three thousand years, to mingle and converse with the ancients." Kelchner was convinced that such an experience appealed "to the religious sentiment of all people, all races, all creeds and all nationalities." His confidence was based upon the assumption that the "believer and atheist, woman or man, the young or the aged, rich or poor, all deeply long to behold with their own eyes the venerable edifices of which they have read in the Bible."[88] The 1904 World's Fair provided further inspiration for Kelchner, who realized (if he had not beforehand) that Solomon's temple could be marketed as a grand symbol of world peace and religious freedom.[89]

Business Failures and Further Temple Planning: 1906–1919

Kelchner was a poor business manager and the Oriental Exposition Company—like all of his other businesses before and after 1904—ultimately failed. Kelchner lost his tabernacle model after the 1904 World's Fair[90] and in 1906

Circular], (St. Louis: Jerusalem Exhibit Company, 1904), 4, a copy of this item is located in David M. Hamilton's private collection near Mobile, Alabama; Ruth Kark, "Jerusalem in New England," *Ariel* 69 (1987): 53; Edmund Philibert, diary entry 12 November 1904, identifier: A1212, Philibert Family Papers, 1852–1930, Missouri History Museum Archives, St. Louis, Missouri. Burke O. Long mentions some of these details, but credits David Heagle, one of Kelchner's lecturers, with producing these "unrivaled entertainment[s]." Long, *Imagining the Holy Land*, 52.

[86] Long, *Imagining the Holy Land*, 49.

[87] Robertus Love, "Jerusalem Reproduced at the World's Fair," *The Sunday Call Magazine, Supplement to the San Francisco (CA) Call* (10 January 1904): 12, cols. 1–7.

[88] "Oriental Exposition Company," 38–39.

[89] Kelchner was already thinking globally at this stage as he advertised that after the World's Fair he would take all of his designs, models, and paintings and display them in "all large cities of the world." "[Advertisement: The Oriental Exposition Company]," *St. Louis (MO) Post-Dispatch* 55.346 (2 August 1903): 33, cols. 1–3.

[90] According to David M. Hamilton, "After the 1904 Exhibition . . . *The Tabernacle* and *The City of Jerusalem* were allegedly given to Washington University [in St.

the Oriental Exposition Company was voided for "nonpayment of taxes."[91] Over the next nine years, his management skills did not improve. In the spring of 1907, the Kelchners moved to Rockford, Illinois,[92] and by the end of the year a local paper reported, "Mr. Kelchner came to Rockford almost a stranger and has started two or three companies, each of which is now on the highway to success."[93] Yet, this assessment was far too optimistic. Kelchner's business dealings between 1906 and 1915 were quite complex, yet these activities illustrate his career as a businessman and ultimately help explain his failure to build Solomon's temple.

Kelchner moved to Rockford because he was the largest stockholder of the Pioneer Steel Company. He also served as its vice president and general manager in 1907 and 1908.[94] In April 1908, he optimistically promised to raise the capital to USD 3,000,000 (nearly USD 85 million in 2019 currency),[95] but resigned a few months later.[96] At the same time, Kelchner managed a few other businesses. On 1 August 1907, Kelchner purchased the Rockford Malleable Iron Works from Duncan Forbes & Son.[97] A few

---

Louis]. When in 1927, [the models] were presented to Dr. D. Pieper, President of Concordia Seminary at the time, being deemed more practical for a Theological Institution. What remains of the exhibit is now privately owned." [David M. Hamilton], "The World's Greatest Fair: A History of the Model," n.p., n.d., 2. This document is located in David M. Hamilton's private collection near Mobile, Alabama.

[91] R. M. Smythe, ed., *Obsolete American Securities and Corporations*, vol. 2 (New York: Smythe, 1911), 790.

[92] "[Note]," *Rockford (IL) Republic* (22 March 1907): 8, col. 6.

[93] "Weyburn Company Has Election: Directors and Officers are Chosen at Meeting: R. S. Tuttle President: J. W. Kelchner Who Was in Control of Unincorporated Company Disposes of Interests to New Corporation," *Rockford (IL) Morning Star* (19 December 1907): 5, col. 4.

[94] "Pioneer Steel Co. Plant May Be Sold: J. W. Kelchner Has a Very Flattering Offer for Holdings: Says Process Sought: Tests Made at Big Plants Show the Quality of the Home Product Is Superior to Anything of the Kind on Market," *Rockford (IL) Morning Star* (15 September 1908): 8, col. 2; "Pioneer Steel Co. Dissolves: Certificate of Dissolution Filed by President J. W. Kelchner," *Rockford (IL) Morning Star* (15 September 1907): 6, col. 3; "Old Officers Re-Elected," *Rockford (IL) Morning Star* (22 February 1908): 3, col. 3.

[95] "Pioneer to Have Larger Capital: Soft Center Steel Company Will Increase Business: Kelchner Is Sanguine: Says He Will Make Capital $3,000,000 and Plant Will Be Enlarged to Care for Demands of the Trade," *Rockford (IL) Morning Star* (1 April 1908): 6, col. 4.

[96] "Kelchner Out of Pioneer Steel Co.: Resigns as Manager of Local Corporation—J. B. Whitehead Succeeds Him," *Rockford (IL) Daily Register-Gazette* (24 September 1908): 3, col. 5.

[97] "In the Long Ago," *Rockford (IL) Republic* 28.7406 (1 August 1917): 10, col. 5.

weeks earlier, he also purchased the insolvent L. A. Weyburn Company and added USD 50,000 (about USD 1.5 million in 2019) to the working capital.[98] Kelchner served as the president and general manager,[99] but divided the organization into separate entities: one that retained the former name and another that became the Rockford Wholesale Hardware Company.[100] Kelchner soon sold out his shares in the Weyburn Company in December 1907,[101] and in February 1908, he sold Rockford Wholesale to Kelly, Maus and Company.[102] Kelchner moved to Chicago and around 1910 worked as a promoter for a mining company (perhaps the Chicago, Wilmington & Vermillion Coal Company).[103] He moved on to become the treasurer and general manager of East Moline Sash & Door Works in Moline, Illinois,[104] and briefly entered the toy automobile industry in 1911.[105]

---

[98] "Weyburn Co. is Bought: J. W. Kelchner Had the Wherewithal This Morning with Which to Purchase the Insolvent L. A. Weyburn Shops—$5,000 to Be Added to the Working Capital and Two Separate Establishments Started," *Rockford (IL) Republic* (24 July 1907): 7, col. 3.

[99] "New Company Choses [*sic*] Officers: Weyburn Manufacturing Co. Members Meet: Petition for Charter: Capitalization of Company $200,000—Has Model Plant on Waterpower and Already Has Filled Many Orders—Large Contracts," *Rockford (IL) Morning Star* 13 November 1907): 6, col. 4.

[100] "A Great Jobbing Plant in Rockford: The Growth of the City as a Jobbing Center Demonstrated by the Rockford Wholesale Hardware Company, Whose Warehouses at the Water Power Contain an Immense Stock of Heavy Hardware, Received in Car Load Lots—Expert Knowledge of Hardware and Enterprise in the Management—Remodeling of the Old Forbes Plant for the Weyburn Manufacturing Company," *Rockford (IL) Republic* (17 October 1907): 1, col. 7.

[101] "Weyburn Company Has Election," 5, col. 4.

[102] "Wholesale Hardware Co. Sold: J. W. Kelchner Disposes of Big Local Business to Kelly, Maus & Company, One of the Biggest Heavy Hardware Houses in the Country—They Will Increase the Already Large Stock Business," *Rockford (IL) Republic* (4 February 1908): 1, col. 5; cf. "A Monster New Iron Store: J. W. Kelchner Leases His Buildings on South Main Street to the Rockford Iron-Store Company—A Concern Backed by Detroit Capitalists—Will Have an Immense Stock Here within a Few Days," *Rockford (IL) Republic* (7 April 1908): 1, col. 3.

[103] 1910 U.S. Census, Cook County, Illinois, town of Chicago, 8B (penned), line 87, John W. Kelchner, https://www.ancestry.com/interactive/7884/31111_4328142-00459/4583325.

[104] R. L. Polk & Co., *R. L. Polk and Co.'s 1911 Moline City Directory, Containing an Alphabetically Arranged List of Business Firms and Private Citizens; Street and Avenue and Householders' Guide; Miscellaneous Directory; City and County Offices; Churches and Religious Societies, Colleges, and Schools; Public Parks and Buildings; Banks, Secret, Benevolent, Trade and Social Organizations, Etc.* (Moline, IL: Polk, 1911), 562.

[105] "Kelchner in Toy Auto Trade: Located in Chicago but May Decide to Find

Kelchner lived a fairly opulent life during this period. He owned an automobile[106] and purchased a gas range stove as the technology became popular in America.[107] He was a member of several fraternities and clubs, including the Rockford Country Club,[108] the Shriners,[109] and the Hamilton Club of Chicago.[110] Kelchner also travelled to Europe three times in 1912 alone,[111] and reportedly hosted numerous "lavish entertainments" for select guests when at home.[112]

All of Kelchner's dubious business dealings and extravagant expenditures soon caught up with him and it was revealed that he was "living on credit."[113] In March 1914, he fled his Chicago home while his landlords were away in New York. When they returned to collect rent, the landlords found that the apartment had been robbed and was badly damaged. Kelchner had walked off with the "shades, refrigerator, stoves, and a statue of elephants" and left only a few personal effects, such as a picture of himself and a letter from his mother.

Another Site," *Rockford (IL) Morning Star* (14 September 1911): 2, col. 4.

[106] "J. W. Kelchner, Jr., Killed in Auto Accident on the Bismarck Road Thursday," *Lebanon (PA) Daily News* 44.368 (8 September 1916): 1, cols. 1–2.

[107] "Is Your Name Here?: About 6000 Families Now Cook with Gas. Below Are the Names of 700 Families Who Bought Gas Ranges This Year. If this Great Number of Your Neighbors Find Fuel Gas So Profitable, Why Isn't It a Good Thing for You?," *Rockford (IL) Morning Star* (25 August 1907): 20, col. 5.

[108] "Accept Bid for New Locker House: Board of Directors of Country Club Award Contract: Eleven New Members: Club Is in Flourishing Condition, Thirty Members Having Been Elected This Year—Formal Opening May 18," *Rockford (IL) Morning Star* (30 April 1907): 5, col. 4.

[109] "Shriners Hosts to Novice Band," *Rockford (IL) Morning Star* (4 November 1909): 5, cols. 2–5.

[110] *Hamilton Club of Chicago* (Chicago: Hamilton Club of Chicago, 1913), 75.

[111] New York Passenger Lists, 1820–1957, Sailing Vessel: S. S. Adriatic, Arrival in New York: 27 April 1912, Passenger: John W. Kelchner, 24 line 8, https://www.ancestry.com/interactive/7488/NYT715_1848-0444/4011431633; New York Passenger Lists, 1820–1957, Sailing Vessel: S. S. Mauretania, Arrival in New York: 28 June 1912, Passenger: John W. Kelchner, 155, line 18, https://www.ancestry.com/interactive/7488/NYT715_1889-0732/4009207198; New York Passenger Lists, 1820–1957, Sailing Vessel: S. S. Celtic, Arrival in New York: 30 November 1912, Passenger John W. Kelchner, 115, line 17, https://www.ancestry.com/interactive/7488/NYT715_1983-0988/4041641156; "Mr. Kelchner in City: Promoter of Steel Industry Returns to Rockford: Pleasure Trip," *Rockford (IL) Morning Star* (30 July 1912): 5, col. 1.

[112] "Pastor-Financier Skips Out: John W. Ketchner [sic] Leaves Rented Residence Partly Wrecked: Lavish Parties Revealed: Letter from Ill Mother Makes a Request for Money," *Chicago (IL) Daily Tribune* 73.73 (27 March 1914): 3, col. 6.

[113] "$800,000 Goes in War Deals: Bankrupt Promoter, Living on Credit, Got Only Promises," *New York (NY) Sun* 83.74 (13 November 1915): 8, col. 2.

The apartment was left in disarray with several broken windows, a cracked ceiling, and damaged fittings.[114]

Shortly thereafter, Kelchner apparently tried to flee the country. At nearly 48, he was too old to join the military, but after World War I broke out, he found a way of escape through an attempted "war venture." He became a general agent for the International Ordnance Company (now International Ordnance Technologies) and planned to sell weapons and ammunition in England, France, Italy, Germany, Russia, and Japan.[115] Not surprisingly, this plan failed and Kelchner was located and brought to trial by his creditors.[116]

In the fall of 1915, Kelchner filed for personal bankruptcy, with debts exceeding USD 800,000 (equating to roughly USD 20.1 million in 2019). For several days in November, some "115 creditors, from New Jersey to San Francisco," including "servants, tradespeople, doctors, lawyers, merchants, club owners, educational institutions, banks, and others" crowded into the courtroom for Kelchner's hearings. His assets totaled "barely $100,"[117] which indicates that by this time he had relinquished any remaining models, paintings, or drawings that he might still have possessed after the 1904 World's Fair.

Kelchner disappeared from public life for nearly a decade after going bankrupt. Aside from holding various day jobs,[118] he fought to reclaim his lost lifestyle and fulfill his lifelong dream of reconstructing Solomon's temple. He presumably studied various works on the subject during this period and went through "the archives of the world's greatest libraries and museums."[119]

---

[114] "Pastor-Financier Skips Out," 3, col. 6; cf. "Bits of News," *Chicago (IL) Day Book* 3.152 (27 March 1914): 30, col. 2; "Publication Notice," *Rock Island (IL) Argus and Daily Union* 63.257 (14 August 1914): 11, col. 6.

[115] U.S. Passport Applications, 2 January 1906–31 March 1925, Issued 14 December 1914, Certificate 45881 (stamped), John W. Kelchner, https://www.ancestry.com/interactive/1174/USM1490_229-0046.

[116] Cf. "Publication Notice," 11, col. 6; "Legal: Publication Notice," *Rock Island (IL) Argus and Daily Union* 64.34 (27 November 1914): 13, col. 2.

[117] "Army of Creditors Across Continent," *Wilmington (NC) Evening Dispatch* 21 (4 November 1915): 2, col. 4; "$800,000 Goes in War Deals," 8, col. 2.

[118] In 1916 Kelchner worked as an agent "for the self-starting appliances of the Ford automobile" ("J. W. Kelchner, Jr., Killed," 1, cols. 1–2). In 1918 he worked as a commercial traveler (*Richmond's Nineteenth Annual Directory of Yonkers, Westchester County, N. Y., 1918, Containing a General Directory Together with a Complete Business Directory, a Map of the City, Also a Directory of the Streets, Avenues and Parks with an Appendix of Useful Information* [Yonkers, NY: Richmond, 1918], 484).

[119] "To Re-Build Solomon's Temple in America: Grandeur and Magnificence of the Jerusalem of Old Testament Days Now Being Re-Created Here at Cost of $5,000,000," *Detroit (MI) Free Press* 89.241 (25 May 1924): 56; "Solomon and Coolidge," *Brattleboro (VT) Daily Reformer* 13.144 (18 August 1925): 2, cols. 3.

Juan Bautista Villalpando made "the first full-scale reconstruction of the divine archetype" and produced an important Latin work, titled, *Ezechielem Explanationes et Apparatus Vrbis Templi Hierosolymitani* (1604). Kelchner was apparently aware that Villalpando's interpretation of the biblical cubit was too large and that his reconstruction exceeded the site on Mt. Moriah.[120] He attempted to avoid this mistake and "made several trips to Jerusalem"[121] to study "the site of the Temple and its surrounding."[122] Kelchner later claimed the title "archaeologist" for his assessment and measurements of the Temple Mount.

Kelchner apparently found Villalpando's work helpful on at least one point. Isaac Newton accepted Villalpando's assumption "that Ezekiel's vision of the Temple was the same plan as Solomon's Temple."[123] Kelchner accepted this interpretation as well, which explains the central prominence of the 240-foot tall "eleven-tiered ziggurat" in his diagrams that rose from "the main building of temple."[124]

Though Kelchner relied upon a variety of sources, including the Talmud, he wanted the public to know that "above all the Biblical description of Solomon's Temple was taken as the authority by which all other information and conjectures were checked and to which they were regarded as only supplementary."[125] Though he was motivated by his Christian faith, Kelchner also admitted, "Masonry is one of the several very great factors whose sympathetic attitude has spurred me onward during all these years."[126] By 1920, Kelchner had finished his research and was ready to make a second attempt at building Solomon's temple.

---

[120] Tessa Morrison, *Isaac Newton's Temple of Solomon and His Reconstruction of Sacred Architecture* (Basel, Switzerland: Birkhäuser, 2011), 51.

[121] "Re-Build Solomon's Temple," 56.

[122] Eugene Clute, "Dr. John Wesley Kelchner's Restoration of King Solomon's Temple and Citadel, Helmle and Corbett, Architects," *Pencil Points* 6 (November 1925): 71; cf. "Solomon's Temple Sesquicentennial," 1, col. 4; 5, col. 1.

[123] Morrison, *Newton's Temple of Solomon*, 52, 77; "Solomon's Temple for Philadelphia: $3,000,000 for Reproduction in Sesqui-Centennial Exposition: J. W. Kelchner Gives 60 Acres for Site," *Asbury Park (NJ) Press* 39.188 (11 August 1925): 5, col. 1.

[124] "Solomon's Temple Sesquicentennial," 5, col. 1.

[125] Clute, "Kelchner's Restoration," 71; "Solomon's Temple Sesquicentennial," 5, col. 1.

[126] Carrol Baker Dotson, "Kelchner Expects to Finish the Job Begun by King Solomon 3,000 Years Ago: An Interview with the Founder of the Temple Restoration Movement," *New York Masonic Outlook* 2.2 (October 1925): 52.

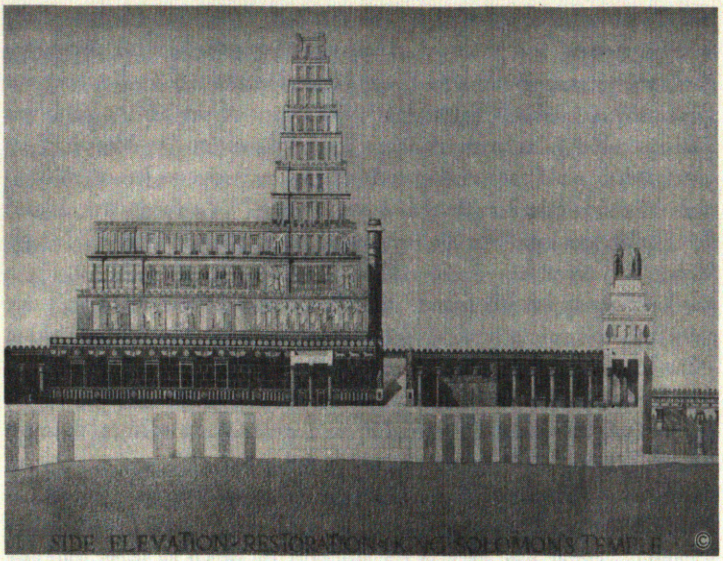


Figure 8. Restoration of King Solomon's Temple by John Wesley Kelchner showing the side elevation of the House of God and Sacred Court. The 240-foot ziggurat pictured here was inspired by the depiction of the temple in Ezekiel (Photo Credit: Kevin Burton)

A World Chain of King Solomon's Temples: 1920–1942

The Roaring Twenties was an ideal decade for Kelchner to attempt constructing a "World Chain of Solomon's Temples."[127] The economy was booming and Americans witnessed an age of big business and prosperity.[128] Freemasons took advantage of the affluent economy. According to Moore, the mid-1920s was "the apex of a sixty-year growth period during which freemasonic structures became ubiquitous features of the built American landscape."[129] Kelchner capitalized on this opportune moment and was able to garner support, primarily among his masonic brothers, and organize a small army of crusaders who were inspired by his lifelong dream and who were determined to build temples around the world.

By 1920, Kelchner had risen from his financial bankruptcy and by mid-decade reappeared before the public with a new identity. Identity reformation required calculated effort, however, and Kelchner bent the truth regarding his

[127] Tuhy, *Sam Hill*, 257.

[128] Glenn Porter, *The Rise of Big Business, 1860–1920*, 3rd ed., The American History Series (Wheeling, IL: Harlan Davidson, 2006), 93–94.

[129] Moore, *Masonic Temples*, xiii.

past in order to transcend it. In October 1925, he claimed that his "early years were devoted to banking" and that he had "succeeded conspicuously."[130] In spite of this boast, surviving evidence does not corroborate his claim. Rather, Kelchner worked much of his adult life as a businessman and promoter—moreover, he repeatedly failed in this vocation. Since he reemerged as a world peace advocate, it is not surprising that he did not mention that a weapons manufacturing company had temporarily employed him. Kelchner also bolstered his new identity by taking the title, "doctor," even though he only received four years of college education.[131] Significantly, none of his contemporaries openly questioned his integrity or called his bluff. Kelchner appropriated the Orient as a fantasy mechanism and overcame his objectionable past by mesmerizing the American public with his utopian dream. He therefore reemerged in the mid-1920s as the "founder of the Temple restoration movement,"[132] and significantly, at least from the masonic perspective, became a new Solomon.[133]

Kelchner never aspired to be an architect or builder—he was the visionary mastermind that produced workable plans. In the 1910s, he discussed his plans with various architects, but "most of them regarded the Temple of Solomon as too nearly a myth to be taken seriously." In about 1920, he met a fellow masonic brother and well-known architect named Harvey Wiley Corbett. After studying Kelchner's plans for several months, Corbett agreed to help him build a full-size structure.[134] Corbett was educated at the University of California and the École nationale supérieure des Beaux-Arts in Paris,[135] had been president of the American Institute of Architects, and currently headed the architecture program at Columbia University. As Moore states, Corbett "was eminently qualified for the undertaking."[136]

Corbett caught the vision and gathered a team of architects to work

---

[130] Dotson, "Kelchner Expects," 52.

[131] 1940 U.S. Census, Westchester County, New York, town of Greenburgh, 9B (penned), line 44, John Kelchner, accessed May 22, 2017, https://www.ancestry.com/interactive/2442/m-t0627-02803-00941/12279680.

[132] "To Show Glory of Solomon: Temple and Citadel to Be Restored for Sesqui Exposition: Land Presented by Mayor Kendrick," *Wilmington (DE) Evening Journal* 38.52 (10 August 1925): 8, col. 1.

[133] The A. J. Holman Bible Company stated, "Solomon 'sent and fetched Hiram out of Tyre' who was filled with wisdom and understanding, and was a cunningly skilled workman, so did John Wesley Kelchner labor with these experts, and together they dropped out of the Twentieth Century back into the years 1011–1004 B.C." A. J. Holman Co, "King Solomon's Temple and Citadel," n.p., n.d., 1.

[134] Lee, "Solomon's Temple," 4–5; Dotson, "Kelchner Expects," 52.

[135] Sky and Stone, *Unbuilt America*, 73.

[136] Moore, "Solomon's Temple in America?," 8; Lee, "Solomon's Temple," 4–5.

on the project, including Frank Helmle, Birch Burdette Long, Hugh Ferris, Taber Sears, William Bell Dinsmore, James Monroe Hewlett, and others.[137] Over the next few years, these men prepared architectural drawings, graphic illustrations, and several large paintings to be used to build Solomon's temple and promote the project. In 1923, Albert Wesley Hilt created a new scale model of Solomon's temple that was about six or seven feet tall so that the full-size structure could be readily visualized in three-dimensional form.[138]

On 7 April 1924, Kelchner hosted a private "dinner conference" and presented these items to Philadelphia Mayor W. Freeland Kendrick and the members of the city council and proposed that Solomon's temple and citadel be rebuilt for the 1926 Sesquicentennial Exposition.[139] Kelchner wanted to build a temporary temple in Philadelphia[140] because of the forthcoming World's Fair and perhaps because the city also had historical significance to freemasons. The city affirmed the fraternity's chief aim—brotherly love—in its very name and was home to America's first organized masonic lodge[141] and the Shriners first mosque.[142]

Before the Philadelphia project progressed, Kelchner moved forward in two other locations. In May 1924, the public learned that New York was also a target city. This was Kelchner's hometown[143] and the site he chose for the first permanent temple.[144] A year later, Kelchner's team purchased a tract of land in Atlantic City, New Jersey, for USD 2,000,000 (about USD 29.1 million in 2019), but this was not part of Kelchner's worldwide vision for very long and the project in New Jersey was quickly abandoned.[145]

---

[137] Clute, "Kelchner's Restoration," 69, 71; "Masonic Murals Viewed at Temple: J. Monroe Hewlett Explains Symbolic Paintings to Art Students," *Brooklyn (NY) Daily Eagle* 85.330 (29 November 1925): 18, col. 3.

[138] "Solomon's Temple Model Displayed at Fair," *The Pennsylvania Freemason* 11.4 (November 1964): 8; Letter, Miss L. T. Wood to World's Fair Committee (23 June 1937), Box 556, Folder 10, Collection 2233, New York World's Fair 1939 and 1940 Incorporated Records: 1935–1945, New York Public Library, Manuscripts and Archives Division, Stephen A. Schwarzman Building, New York, New York.

[139] "Dinner Conference on Sesqui Program: J. W. Kelchner, Architect, Is Host to Mayor and Other City Officials: Definite Plans Hoped for by Annual Meeting of Association in May," *Philadelphia (PA) Inquirer* 190.99 (8 April 1924): 6, cols. 4–5.

[140] "Solomon's Temple Sesquicentennial," 5, col. 1.

[141] Bullock, *Revolutionary Brotherhood*, 46.

[142] Moore, *Masonic Temples*, 95–96.

[143] 1930 U.S. Census, New York County, New York, town of New York, 13B (penned), line 85, John W. Kelchner, https://www.ancestry.com/interactive/6224/4638839_00916/42358063.

[144] "Re-Build Solomon's Temple," 56.

[145] "2,000,000 Atlantic City Deal Sets New Record," *Wilmington (DE) Every*

On 10 August 1925, the Philadelphia venture was officially initiated. Mayor Kendrick performed his "first official act as president of the sesqui-Centennial International Exposition" by making a "formal presentation" of 60 acres of land "for the restoration of King Solomon's Temple and citadel."[146] Kendrick stated before "hundreds of Philadelphians, including many prominent members of the Masonic fraternity,"[147] that it would be "the most outstanding example of the educational and cultural objectives of the sesqui-centennial."[148] Judge John M. Patterson accepted the land on behalf of Kelchner (who was sick and unable to attend) and read Kelchner's acceptance speech, which explained "that the restored Temple would be the expression of a new world peace movement. 'First built . . . in a time of peace for the purpose of perfecting a peace, this temple is to be re-created in time of peace for the purpose of achieving a permanent concord through more complete understanding.'"[149] As Patterson spoke, "airplanes hovered over the big crowd and dropped greetings" and messages to the crowd below about the "great World Peace Programme."[150]

Though the temple in Philadelphia would rise first, the prime locations for Solomon's temple were New York, Washington, DC, London, Paris, Berlin, Madrid, and Tokyo. Already in 1925, certain "educators and scientists" who knew of Kelchner's research had "already made overtures" in London, Paris, and Berlin.[151] Since the Philadelphia temple was planned as a temporary structure, a total of seven permanent temples were to rise around the world—a perfect number according to biblical reckoning and, likely, intentional.

According to Kelchner, the primary mission of this movement was to build temples "as world symbols of universal peace—the physical embodiments of a plan of spiritual unity throughout the world—battlements of faith and idealism against war."[152] The Great War, which had ended less than a

---

Evening 58.113 (11 May 1925): 13, col. 2.

[146] "Glory of Solomon," 8, col. 1.

[147] "Huge Sesqui Tract Given to Masons: Big Crowd Present as City Turns Over Land for $3,000,000 Exhibit: Replica of King Solomon's Temple to Be Built as Monument to Peace," *Philadelphia (PA) Inquirer* 193.42 (11 August 1925): 5, col. 1.

[148] "Solomon's Temple for Philadelphia," 5, col. 1.

[149] "Glory of Solomon," 8, col. 1.

[150] "Huge Sesqui Tract," 3, col. 1.

[151] Dotson, "Kelchner Expects," 52.

[152] "Solomon's Temple, as Peace Symbol, to Be Reproduced in World Capitals: Movement for Erection of Great Structures, One in Washington, Is Led by Samuel Hill, Associate of Empire Builder in Northwest," *Washington, D.C. Sunday Star, Magazine Section*, part 5 1084.29825 (27 December 1925): 3, cols. 1–4.

decade earlier, was fought with a sense of optimism—it was also idealistically known as the War to End All Wars. After the war ended in 1918, many freemasons, such as Kelchner, equated the Allied victory with King David's conquests in ancient Palestine. As Kelchner related, "Solomon's Temple was built during the period of peace and prosperity which followed the turbulent days of war under King David and it is fitting that the reconstruction of the Temple at Philadelphia is to stand as a symbol of world peace to all who come to this International Exposition."[153] Since the world was thought to be at peace, it was time to build temples of peace to prevent "another world war."[154]

Kelchner's temples were to be symbols of world peace and sacred spaces that inspired worldwide religious freedom. These buildings were not considered replicas; rather, they were to be a "*reconstruction* of the great Temple which Solomon erected on the heights of Mount Moriah."[155] Kelchner and his team of architects claimed that they had actually reconstructed Solomon's blueprints and could rebuild the temple with all its precise details. Harvey Wiley Corbett stated during the luncheon that followed Mayor Kendrick's presentation of land, "Gentlemen, when we have completed our work, you will behold *exactly* the spectacle that King Solomon gazed upon when he had finished his temple."[156] This was significant for religious reasons, primarily because "the monotheistic principle of one God might be presented with as much majesty as possible to the multitudes of idolatrous believers in polytheism."[157] Kelchner believed that the world was "in exactly the same spiritual condition in which Solomon found the tribes of Israel" and that humanity had degenerated because people had "wandered from the worship of the true God." Degeneracy could be prevented if Solomon's temple was reconstructed in its exact form to show mankind "the loss of their ancient heritage."[158] Notably, the concept of a lost heritage was fundamental to freemasonry: the fraternity originated in the early eighteenth-century in response to the Enlightenment and sought to answer disputes "about the origins of religion and civilization."[159]

---

[153] Clute, "Kelchner's Restoration," 71.

[154] "Huge Sesqui Tract," 3, col. 1.

[155] Emphasis is mine. Clute, "Kelchner's Restoration," 71.

[156] Emphasis is mine. Dotson, "Kelchner Expects," 48.

[157] Emphasis is mine. Clute, "Kelchner's Restoration," 71.

[158] "Peace Symbol," 3, cols. 1–4.

[159] Bullock, *Revolutionary Brotherhood*, 19. As with Newton before him, Kelchner and his cohort believed that "the Temple of Solomon, which replicated the Tabernacle of Moses, embodied the perfection of the original religion within its structure, which had been inherited from the time of Noah." Morrison, *Isaac Newton's Temple of Solomon*, 11.

Kelchner's plan was inspired by a blend of freemason and Protestant Christian beliefs, which he made evident through the building architecture and pageantry. Authenticity was absolutely crucial and Kelchner learned from the mistakes he made in his tabernacle design—Greek and Roman elements were not present. According to Corbett, "In the final design there will be found the trace of every type of construction known at the time of King Solomon: influences of Assyria, Babylonia and Egypt all blended into a magnificent and harmonious structure."[160] Kelchner explained the layout as follows:

> the temple as a unit consisted of a series of terraces round about Mount Moriah, the highest point of which was crowned by the Great Porch, the Holy and Most Holy Places. The inner court of the temple must have been on the second terrace, in the middle of the western half of the great court. It was about 400 by 200 feet in size, surrounded by a cloistered colonnade supporting a beautiful entablature of cedar beams and stones.[161]

All of the sacred artifacts would be reproduced in the structure as well, including the bronze altar and sea, the table of showbread, the golden menorah, the altar of incense, and the Ark of the Covenant.

Kelchner also planned to rebuild the ancient city of Jerusalem. His temple would be near King Solomon's Palace, the Queen's Palace, the High Priest's Palace, the House of the Forest of Lebanon, the House of the Captain of the Host, the Porch of Pillars, King David's Tower, Solomon's Pool, the Imperial Harem, and the dwellings of the temple and court attendants. All of these structures would be protected by a high wall that surrounded Mount Moriah and encompassed the "formidable citadel."[162]

---

[160] "Peace Symbol," 3, cols. 1–4.

[161] Lee, "Solomon's Temple," 4–5.

[162] "Solomon's Temple Sesquicentennial" 5, col. 1.

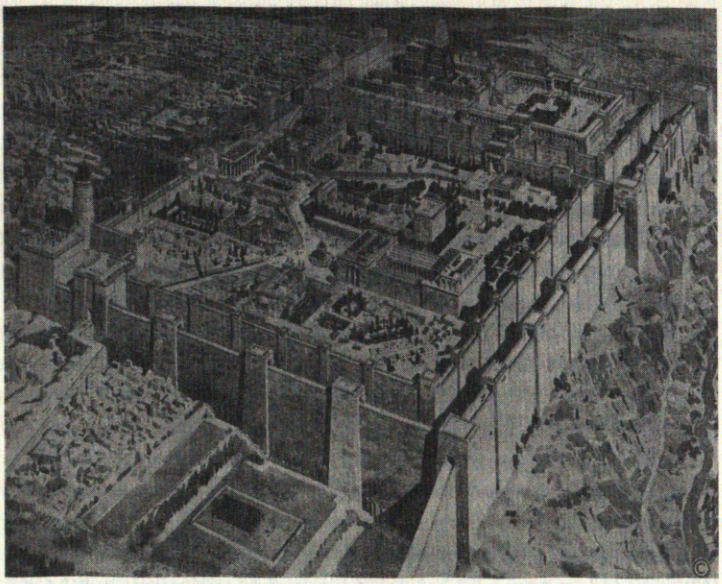


Figure 9. "Bird's-Eye View" of King Solomon's Temple, Palace, and Citadel. Restoration by John Wesley Kelchner (Photo Credits: Kevin Burton).

Most people apparently believed that Kelchner's work was highly accurate to their imagination of the biblical descriptions.[163] There were two important features not shown in any published images, however, that had no biblical origin. First, "an inner shrine in which the Masonic order will meet in convention" would be built in the heart of the temple.[164] Second, Kelchner planned to build a freemasonic lodge "below the Temple" so that all visitors could descend down the steps and behold "the insignia of all the fraternal orders in America."[165] In America at this time, temples and lodges were typically built above street level to separate the profane from the sacred. By placing a masonic lodge on the ground level, as the foundation to Solomon's temple, Kelchner likely meant to signify two things: first, that this architectural hierarchy emphasized the pure and eternal sacredness of Solomon's

[163] Cf. "The First Authentic Pictures of King Solomon's Gorgeous Temple and Citadel," in *The Holy Bible the Great Light in Masonry: Containing the Old and New Testament According to the Authorized or King James' Version, together with Illuminated Frontispiece, Presentation and Record Pages and Helps to the Masonic Student* (Philadelphia: Holman, 1925), 17; Clute, "Kelchner's Restoration," 69; "Our Magazine Review: Pencil Points," *The Charette* 5.12 (December 1925): 14.

[164] "Huge Sesqui Tract," 3, col. 1.

[165] Lee, "Solomon's Temple," 4–5.

temple—a space even more sacred than the already sacred lodge; and second, that when one climbed up from the lodge room below they would reenact the most sacred masonic myth—the ascent of Hiram Abiff who "climbed to the temple's sanctum sanctorum each day to pray."[166]

Pageantry was an important part of Kelchner's agenda. The restored citadel was "to be a theatre of colorful pageantry."[167] Most prominently, about 2,300 actors would be "dressed in the vestments of Semitic priests," to perform "their ritual duties in the Holy Place and the Holy of Holies." Visitors who entered took the roll of worshipers. Guests would "be compelled to remove their shoes before entering, and [would] be given soft sandals, whose tread will not interfere with the chants that will be sung by the priests."[168] Once inside, visitors would be covered "with gowns thrown over their clothing" so that they could "walk like new Solomons in all their glory through streets lined with magnificent buildings."[169]

The pageantry was meant to be instructive and in it authentic setting was considered "one of the greatest undertakings yet conceived by man to revive a great educational interest in the Bible."[170] Kelchner believed that biblical history and prophecy pointed toward eventual peace and stated in an interview that each temple would be "a theatre for the promotion of world peace" that would "portray the drama of civilization, from the Ur of the Chaldees down, step by step, to our own times; emphasizing all the way the strides made through peace, and the retarding of progress through strife."[171] Most events were to focus on this theme, including the assemblies of the "Peace Forum."[172] In these gatherings, activists would replace actors and use the temples as a place to hold meeting for "the prevention of war." According to Kelchner, Solomon's temple was "a permanent and tangible symbol of the abstract conception of universal peace" and within this sacred space the world's leaders would voluntarily perform the ritual act of laying down their arms as a gesture of peace on earth, good will to men.[173]

---

[166] Moore, *Masonic Temples*, 25–27.

[167] "To Show Glory," 8, col. 1.

[168] "Solomon's Temple Sesquicentennial," 5, col. 1.

[169] "Plans a Reproduction of Solomon's Temple: Architect Outlines Huge Project to Create Its Magnificence on a 47-Acre Plot," *New York Times* 77.25500 (18 November 1927): 20, cols. 7–8.

[170] "Re-Build Solomon's Temple," 56.

[171] Dotson, "Kelchner Expects," 52.

[172] "Building Plans for Sesqui-Centennial Exposition at Philadelphia Cut Down—Resignation of Two Directing Officials," *The Commercial and Financial Chronicle* 121.3149 (31 October 1925), 2114.

[173] "Peace Symbol," 3, cols. 1–4.

A final performance was reserved for the final day of the Exposition in Philadelphia."[174] A "system of pipes" was to be hidden within the walls of the temple so that the destruction of the temple could be simulated. Once the building was emptied of people, "volumes of gas" would be forced through the pipes, which would "envelope the structure to its full height presenting, in conjunction with other means, an impressive spectacle of the destruction of the Temple."[175] Yet when the clouds of smoke dissipated, "the building [would] be seen to be miraculously intact, standing as firmly as it will stand" for future generations to behold.[176] This would give viewers the impression that the temple was indestructible—a lasting monument of the kingdom of God described by the prophet Ezekiel.

This colossal undertaking, with its pomp and pageantry, was extremely ambitious and prohibitively expensive. Unlike his tabernacle model, Kelchner realized that it would be impossible to utilize the same materials that Solomon did. Rather, "very inexpensive materials" were to substitute for "the gold and precious stones and rare woods." Nevertheless, Kelchner's temple in New York was estimated at about USD 5,000,000 (which was roughly equivalent to USD 72 million in 2019)[177] while the temporary Philadelphia temple would cost about USD 3,000,000 (about USD 43.2 million in 2019).[178] If each temple cost approximately USD 5 million, then that portion of the enterprise alone would require about USD 40 million—well over half a billion dollars in 2019.

When Kelchner first announced that Solomon's temple would be built in New York, the *Detroit Free Press* cautiously stated, "American millionaires have a long way to go" in building such a structure.[179] Though a "syndicate of New York financiers" underwrote "the first few millions,"[180] Kelchner's world-wide scheme required more than just a few million. In order to accomplish the Philadelphia project, these men organized a new stock company, known as Temples and Citadels, Incorporated, in 1925, with J. W. Kelchner as presi-

---

[174] "Solomon's Temple Sesquicentennial," 5, col. 1.

[175] Clute, "Kelchner's Restoration," 69, 71.

[176] Lee, "Solomon's Temple," 4–5.

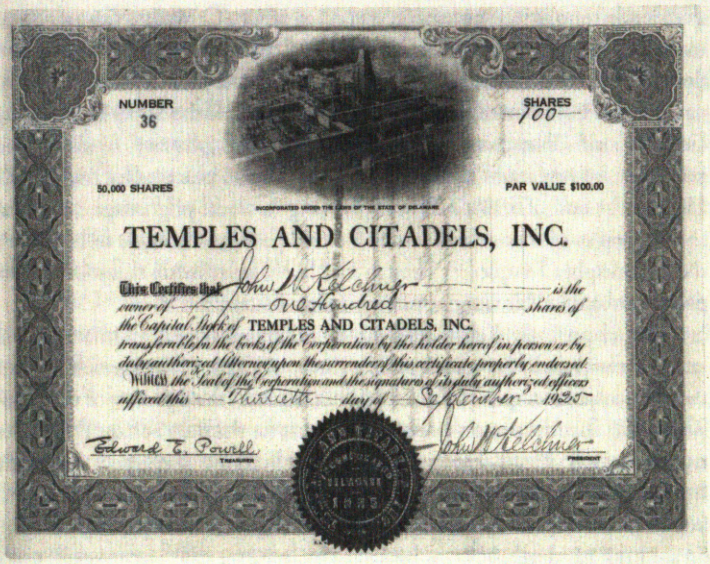
[177] "Re-Build Solomon's Temple," 56.

[178] "To Show Glory," 8, col. 1.

[179] "Re-Build Solomon's Temple," 56. In addition to this skepticism, Kelchner had a few other critics. Some disbelieved the accuracy of his interpretation of biblical measurements, others did not like biblical stories being made a spectacle, and a few wondered if the project would offend the Jews. J. J. D., "Solomon's Temple," *New York Times* 75.24720 (29 September 1925): 26, col. 6; Joseph S. Silkman, "Protests Temple as a Show," *New York Times* 75.24746 (25 October 1925): 14, col. 6.

[180] "Peace Symbol," 3, cols. 1–4.

dent and Edward E. Powell as treasurer. In September, Kelchner personally invested USD 10,000 (about USD 146,000 in 2019) into this company.[181]


NUMBER 36

SHARES 100

50,000 SHARES

PAR VALUE $100.00

INCORPORATED UNDER THE LAWS OF THE STATE OF DELAWARE

TEMPLES AND CITADELS, INC.

This Certifies that John W. Kelchner is the owner of One Hundred shares of the Capital Stock of TEMPLES AND CITADELS, INC. transferable on the books of the Corporation by the holder hereof in person or by duly authorized Attorney upon the surrender of this certificate properly endorsed. WITNESS the Seal of the Corporation and the signatures of its duly authorized officers affixed this Thirtieth day of September 1925

Edward E. Powell TREASURER

John W. Kelchner PRESIDENT

DELAWARE 1925

Figure 10. Temple and Citadel, Inc. stock certificate made out to John W. Kelchner on September 13, 1925, for the purchase of 100 shares. Kelchner is also listed as the corporation's president (Photo Credits: Kevin Burton).

Other fundraising efforts took place. In 1924, Kelchner was writing a book to be titled, "My Dream," that would be sold to raise money for the project.[182] Though Kelchner never published his autobiography, he did write two influential articles (including sixteen pictures of Solomon's temple and the Mosaic tabernacle) for a new masonic edition of the King James Bible, which the A. J. Holman Company published in 1925.[183] This Bible was initially published as a way to raise awareness (and presumably money) for Kelchner's temple building project. Freemasons revered this Bible as "the great light in Masonry" and a copy of it was sealed within a copper box along

[181] Temples and Citadels, Inc. Stock Certificate, 30 September 1925, John W. Kelchner, Certificate Number 36. This item is part of the author's private collection.

[182] "Re-Build Solomon's Temple," 56.

[183] John Wesley Kelchner, "King Solomon's Temple Palace and Citadel," in *The Holy Bible the Great Light in Masonry*, 3–10; John Wesley Kelchner, "The Tabernacle," in *The Holy Bible the Great Light in Masonry*, 11–16.

with other venerated tokens and placed within the cornerstone of the new Scottish Rite Temple built on Broad and Race streets in downtown Philadelphia in 1925–1926.[184]

A building committee comprised of many influential persons supported the temple restoration movement, including Henry C. Walker (former Senator and Lieutenant Governor of New York), David E. Mitchell (former president of the Lebanon Theological Seminary), Colonel John D. Rose, Lieutenant Colonel E. E. Powell, and Ellis Soper (president of the Soper Engineering Company of Chattanooga, Tennessee). Kelchner's primary financier and promoter, however, was multimillionaire and world peace advocate, Samuel Hill. At the end of 1925, Hill was planning "a world pilgrimage, to appeal to the peoples of the earth to join in a world peace conference, to be held in the Philadelphia Temple."[185] Though Hill likely never made this journey, the project did gain a fair amount of international attention.[186]

Not surprisingly, Kelchner's temple building movement ultimately failed and he never rebuilt Solomon's temple. In April 1926, it was announced that the Philadelphia temple would not be built because "the directors of the exposition [felt] that the project would be too great for the time at hand."[187] Other reports vaguely stated that "a series of complications developed that made it impossible for the project to go through."[188] The Philadelphia failure did not halt Kelchner, however, and he held onto his worldwide temple building dream until his death.

In November 1927, Corbett lectured at the Roerich Museum and outlined the plan to erect Solomon's temple on a 47-acre plot of land in New

---

[184] "Masons Lay Stone with Ancient Rite; Rain Halts Turnout," *Philadelphia (PA) Inquirer* 193.117 (25 October 1925): 14, cols. 5–8.

[185] "Peace Symbol," 3, cols. 1–4.

[186] According to one report, "Interest in the restoration of the Temple is international and communications have been received from religious and fraternal organizations in all parts of the world. These realize the importance of the work to all mankind." "King Solomon's Temple to Be Restored in Detail at Philadelphia Exposition," *Kingsport (TN) Times* 10.201 (2 September 1925): 6, cols. 6–7. Several non-American newspapers also wrote about the project in their papers. "King Solomon's Temple," *Sydney (Australia) Hebrew Standard* 29.27 (2 January 1925): 11, col. 1; "Construction Army Waits Springs to Finish $60,000,000 Wonderland for Sesqui-Centennial Exposition," *Ottawa (Canada) Journal* 41.67 (27 February 1926): 23, cols. 3–6; "Around the World," *Signs of the Times (Australia)* 41.12 (22 March 1926): 16; "Solomon's Temple: Restoration Plan," *Ipswich Queensland (Australia) Times* 67.12757 (11 June 1927): 10, col. 3.

[187] "Solomon's Temple Will Not Be Built," *Milwaukee Wisconsin Jewish Chronicle* 16.5 (9 April 1926): 5, col. 3.

[188] Moore, "Solomon's Temple in America?," 9.

York.[189] This renewed effort never got off the ground, however. In October 1929, the stock market crashed and a decade of great depression began. This financial downturn prohibited Kelchner's next attempt to build Solomon's temple for the 1933–1934 World's Fair in Chicago.[190] He did host an exhibit called King Solomon's Temple, but it was not a reproduction of the temple itself. The façade was decorated as Solomon's temple, but the building's interior functioned as an exhibit hall for the pictures and model of Solomon's temple prepared for full-scale reproduction.[191] Kelchner himself lectured on these artifacts "to each group of visitors" as they walked around and admired the items.[192] As an added bonus, a "Freak Animal Show" took place there every day from 11 a.m. to midnight, perhaps illustrating King Solomon's wisdom and ability to speak "of beasts, and of fowl, and of creeping things, and of fishes" (1 Kgs 4:33, KJV).[193]

After 1934, Kelchner made a final attempt to rebuild Solomon's temple. He submitted a proposal for the 1939–1940 New York World's Fair and requested "a plot 200 x 400 ft." for his "Restoration and Exhibit." Kelchner boasted, "I have started a unique and gigantic world movement, ambitious and startling in conception, which will arrest the attention of thoughtful peoples in every nation." He then outlined his proposal and claimed that his reconstruction would "bring about a pleasant atmosphere, making all feel that after all we are one Great Family, preparing the soil of influence for a universal Peace Movement." His proposal was rejected in 1938, however, because his "gigantic world movement" was too small to financially support itself, his

[189] "Reproduction of Solomon's Temple," 20, cols. 7–8.

[190] Cf. Executive Committee of A Century of Progress, "Digest Acts and Doings," Meeting Minutes for 30 September 1930 and 4 December 1931, http://www.amdigital.co.uk/m-products/product/worlds-fairs/.

[191] A Century of Progress, *Official Guide: Book of the Fair, 1933* (Chicago: A Century of Progress Administration Building, 1933), 208; "Looking Back Thirty Centuries," in *Official World's Fair Weekly: How to Enjoy This Week at the Fair, Week Ending Aug. 5*, ed. Ronald Miller (Chicago: A Century of Progress International Exposition Administration Building, 1933), 6; John Wesley Kelchner, "Restoration of King Solomon's Temple and Citadel," http://www.amdigital.co.uk/m-products/product/worlds-fairs/; [John Wesley Kelchner], *Unequalled for 3,000 Years: Reproduction of King Solomon's Temple and Citadel* (Chicago: A Century of Progress Exposition, 1933), 1–16. The last item is available at the University of Chicago Library, Special Collections, Rare Books, Call Number T501.H1U54 1933.

[192] Letter, Miss L. T. Wood to World's Fair Committee (23 June 1937).

[193] "Promotion Stories: Month of October 1–8 Inc. 1934 Exposition"; "Promotion Stories: Month of October 9–15 Inc. 1934 Exposition"; "Promotion Stories: Month of October 16–24 Inc. 1934 Exposition"; "Promotion Stories: Month of October 25–31 Inc. 1934 Exposition." The following documents are available through Adam Matthew, http://www.amdigital.co.uk/m-products/product/worlds-fairs/.

display at the 1933–1934 World's Fair in Chicago "did not make money," and the organizers of the World's Fair saw through his rhetoric and realized that the project was "too ambitious [of an] idea" and "too extravagant."[194]

Kelchner was 73 when this fair began and he spent much of the time in the hospital.[195] He only lived two more years and on 19 May 1942, he passed away virtually unnoticed and was laid to rest in Ferncliff Cemetery in Hartsdale, New York, three days later.[196] Though Kelchner now rested in peace, the world was again at war—an upsetting end for a man who devoted the latter part of his life to promoting world peace.

John Wesley Kelchner's Influence and Legacy

Kelchner passed away quietly, but he was influential during his lifetime and he was not forgotten after his death. Kelchner's temple plans inspired other architectural and artistic works to be created. According to Robert M. Craig, some Shriners were inspired by his work and utilized similar architecture designs for several buildings in Los Angeles and Atlanta in the 1920s.[197] Similarly, James Monroe Hewlett painted some murals for the Brooklyn Masonic Temple in the 1920s and acknowledged that he was "greatly aided by the archaeological researches and drawings of Mr. John Wesley Kelchner and Messrs. Helmle and Corbett."[198] Several publications also featured images or drawings of Kelchner's wilderness tabernacle, including a volume in Walter Scott Athearn's popular *Master's Library* series and numerous Seventh-day Adventist periodicals, tracts, and books—including a *Signs of the Times* article

[194] Letter, John Wesley Kelchner to Department of Concessions, (29 June 1937); Letter, John Wesley Kelchner to All Peoples of this World, (about 1937); Letter, John Krimskey to [Maurice Mermey], (9 December 1937); Letter, John Krimsky to [Maurice Mermey], (4 January 1938); Letter, Maurice Mermey to General Manager, (17 May 1938); Letter, Maurice Mermey to John Wesley Kelchner, (26 May 1938). These letters are located in New York World's Fair 1939 and 1940 Incorporated Records: 1935–1945, Collection 2233, Box 556, Folder 10, New York Public Library, Manuscripts and Archives Division, Stephen A. Schwarzman Building, New York, New York.

[195] 1940 U.S. Census, Greenburgh County, New York, town of Westchester, 9B (penned), line 44, John Kelchner, https://www.ancestry.com/interactive/2442/m-t0627-02803-00941.

[196] "Death Notices: Kelchner," *Yonkers (NY) Herald Statesman* 62.95 (21 May 1942): 2, col. 1.

[197] Craig, *Atlanta Architecture*, 68–69.

[198] J. Monroe Hewlett, "The Builders: In the Lodge Rooms of the Brooklyn Masonic Temple," The American Magazine of Art 18.6 (June 1927): 296; cf. Amanda Gruen, "The Brooklyn Masonic Temple: Findings Through Research and Analysis," (2014). http://www.academia.edu/11746924/Brooklyn_Masonic_Temple_Findings_through_Research_and_Analysis.

by church prophetess and co-founder, Ellen G. White.[199]

A lantern slide show, titled, "The Evolution and Restoration of King Solomon's Temple" was created in the mid-1920s in conjunction with Kelchner's plan to rebuild Solomon's temple. Several freemasons narrated this show at various lodges in New York during the 1920s and it has been periodically presented ever since that time.[200] Grand Treasurer RW Peter A. Flihan, III, narrated the most recent show at the Chancellor Robert R. Livingston Masonic Library of the Grand Lodge of New York on 15 December 2016.[201]

Much of Kelchner's work has been preserved and displayed. Though he was not alive to witness it, the 1964–1965 New York World's Fair displayed his model of King Solomon's temple.[202] This model and the magnificent paintings that accompanied it have been preserved and can be viewed in the Masonic Library and Museum of Pennsylvania. Similarly, the Library of Congress and the Avery Architectural and Fine Arts Library at Columbia University have collected and preserved the numerous architectural drawings for the temple restoration. David M. Hamilton has restored what remains of Kelchner's tabernacle model, which can be viewed at his private museum near Mobile, Alabama.

---

[199] E. G. White, "The Only True Mediator," *Signs of the Times* 25.26 (28 June 1899): 1; "[Cover Page]," *Signs of the Times* 31.43 (25 October 1905): 1; E. J. Hibbard, "Man's Sin and Saviour," *Signs of the Times* 37.34 (30 August 1910): 3; Loretta V. Robinson, "The Gospel in Type and Antitype," *Signs of the Times* 38.24 (20 June 1911): 3; Loretta V. Robinson, "The Gospel in Type and Antitype," *Signs of the Times*, 38.25 (27 June 1911): 3; Walter Scott Athearn, ed. *Everyday Life in Old Judea*, The Master Library 6 (Cleveland: Foundation Press, 1923), 415; Alonzo L. Baker, *All the World Under One Flag: A Study of Ch. 2, 7, 8, and 9 of the Book of the Prophet Daniel in the Light of the Present Conditions of Human History* (Warburton, Victoria, Australia: Signs Publishing Company, 1930), 72.

[200] "With Brooklyn Masons," *The Brooklyn (NY) Daily Eagle* 87.133 (14 May 1927): 11, col. 1; "With Brooklyn Masons," *The Brooklyn (NY) Daily Eagle* 87.154 (4 June 1927): 4, col. 2; "With Brooklyn Masons," *The Brooklyn (NY) Daily Eagle* 88.132 (12 May 1928): 9, col. 2.

[201] "'Restoration of King Solomon's Temple'," *The Magpie Mason*, (19 November 2016), http://themagpiemason.blogspot.com/2016/11/restoration-of-king-solomons-temple.html. Flihan's presentation of the 1926 lantern slide show can be viewed on YouTube.com: "The Restoration of King Solomon's Temple: A Magic Lantern Show," (31 October 2017), https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rfMeCI9FKQA.

[202] "Solomon's Temple Model Displayed at Fair," 8.

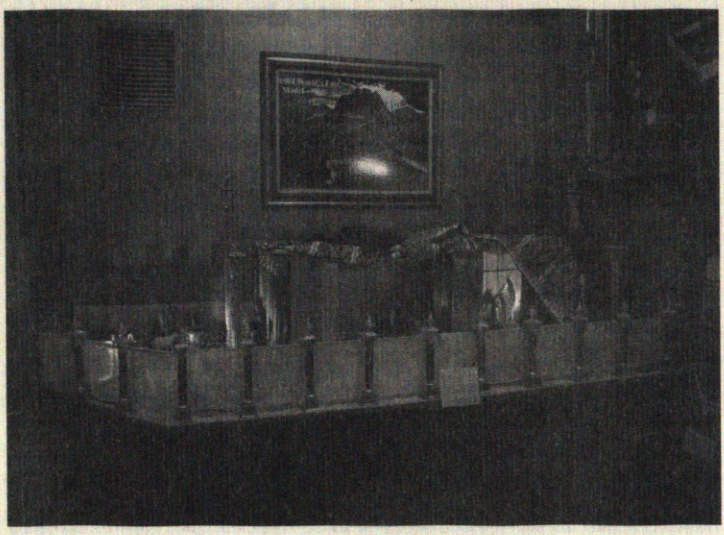


Figure 11. Kelchner's "Mosaic Tabernacle of Israel" as it appears today in David M. Hamilton's private collection. None of the textiles have survived and many of the sanctuary objects are no longer extant. The items that did survive were badly damaged and Hamilton restored the remaining objects (Photo Credit: Kevin Burton)

A number of popular books, websites, and blogs acknowledge Kelchner and his work. Masonic sources pay tribute to a beloved brother from yesteryear, while anti-freemason and conspiracy theory writings present him as a prime exemplar of the fraternity's supposed dubiousness.[203] Most of these websites

[203] Here is a representative sampling.

Books: Tim Dedopulos, *La Hermandad: Claves y Secretos de la Masonería* (Barcelona: Robin, 2006), 62; Stanislaus von Moos, *Le Corbusier: Elements of a Synthesis* (Rotterdam: 010, 2009), 345n12; Michael Haag, *The Rough Guide to the Lost Symbol* (London: Rough Guides, 2009), 42; Wilhelm Hofmann, ed., *Stadt als Erfahrungsraum der Politik: Beiträge zur kulturellen Konstruktion urbaner Politik* (Münster: LIT, 2011), 299; David W. Daniels, *Should a Christian Be a Mason?* (Ontario: Chick, 2011), 20; Adam Parfrey and Craig Heimbichner, *Ritual America: Secret Brotherhoods and Their Influence on American Society: A Visual Guide* (Los Angeles: Feral House, 2012), 109; Leo Lyon Zagami, *Confessions of an Illuminati: The Time of Revelation and Tribulation Leading up to 2020*, vol. 2 (San Francisco: Consortium of Collective Consciousness, 2016), 19.

Websites and blogs: "Uni-Church," *Mystery of Iniquity*, https://mysteryoftheinquity.wordpress.com/2014/08/01/uni-church/; "Freemasons, the Third Temple, and the Antichrist," *His Heavenly Armies*, 1 January 2015, http://hisheavenlyarmies.com/freemasons-the-third-temple-and-the-antichrist/; "King Solomon's Temple," *Grand Lodge of British Columbia and Yukon*, 30 October 2007, http://freemasonry.bcy.ca/

cite Kelchner's work in the 1925 A. J. Holman masonic edition of the King James Bible, known by its alternate title, *The Great Light in Masonry*. Kelchner has influenced thousands of Americans through his articles and images published in this Bible, which remained in print at least into the 1980s.[204] Several other Bibles included Kelchner's work as well. In 1932, the A. J. Holman Company published an updated *Self-Pronouncing Edition* of the King James Bible, which featured an article about Kelchner, titled, "The First Authentic Restoration of King Solomon's Temple and Citadel," as well as the images and drawings he commissioned. This family-size Bible was reprinted several times.[205] A. J. Holman also published a pocket-sized "Kelchner version" of the *Eastern Star Bible*, with Kelchner's name embossed in gold on the spine beneath the words, "Holy Bible."[206] More recently, Heirloom Bible Publishers produced the *Masonic Deluxe Edition* of the King James Bible in 1994. This Bible also features Kelchner's temple and tabernacle illustrations and is still in print. These Bibles are a testament to Kelchner's lasting influence, especially within his fraternity.

---

history/temple/kelchner.html; "Biblical History of King Solomon's Temple: The Origin of the Phoenix as a Symbol of Phoenixmasonry," Phoenix Masonry, http://www.phoenixmasonry.org/historypage.htm; "Babylon Rising," The Jesuit Vatican New World Order, 14 December 2012, http://vaticannewworldorder.blogspot.com/2012/12/babylon-rising-joseph-herrin-02-04-2012.html; "Fervent Masonic Desire to Rebuild Solomon's Temple Is the Driving Force Behind the Events of the Mid-East Today. Once Completed, End Times' Prophecy Will Be Fulfilled!," Cutting Edge, http://www.cuttingedge.org/news/n1643.cfm; "Dragon Flood – Part Three – A History of Deception," Parables, 10 September 2012, http://parablesblog.blogspot.com/2012/09/dragon-flood-part-three-history-of.html.

[204] The Bible itself received its first copyright in 1924, but the first edition to include Kelchner's work was the 1925 edition. The Bible was revised several times and many new copyrights were issued between 1929 and 1968. All editions of these Bibles include a presentation page with a blank area to write in the person's initiation date. I have seen dozens of copies of these Bibles on ebay.com, amazon.com, and abebooks.com with this page filled out, from the 1920s through the 1980s. It is possible that these Bibles were sold beyond that time, but I have not found any with filled-in presentation pages after the 1980s.

[205] "The First Authentic Restoration of King Solomon's Temple and Citadel" in *Self-Pronouncing Edition [of] the Holy Bible Containing Old and New Testaments Translated out of the Original Tongues with Marginal References* (Philadelphia: Holman, 1932), 16–48; Library of Congress Copyright Office, *Catalogue of Copyright Entries, Part 1, Books, Group 1, for the Year 1932*, vol. 29 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1933), 2243. The author has a copy of this Bible published in the late 1940s in his personal collection. The 1932 edition is available in the Mack Library Special Collections at Bob Jones University, call number: 220.5203 B471m.

[206] The author has a copy of this Bible in his collection.

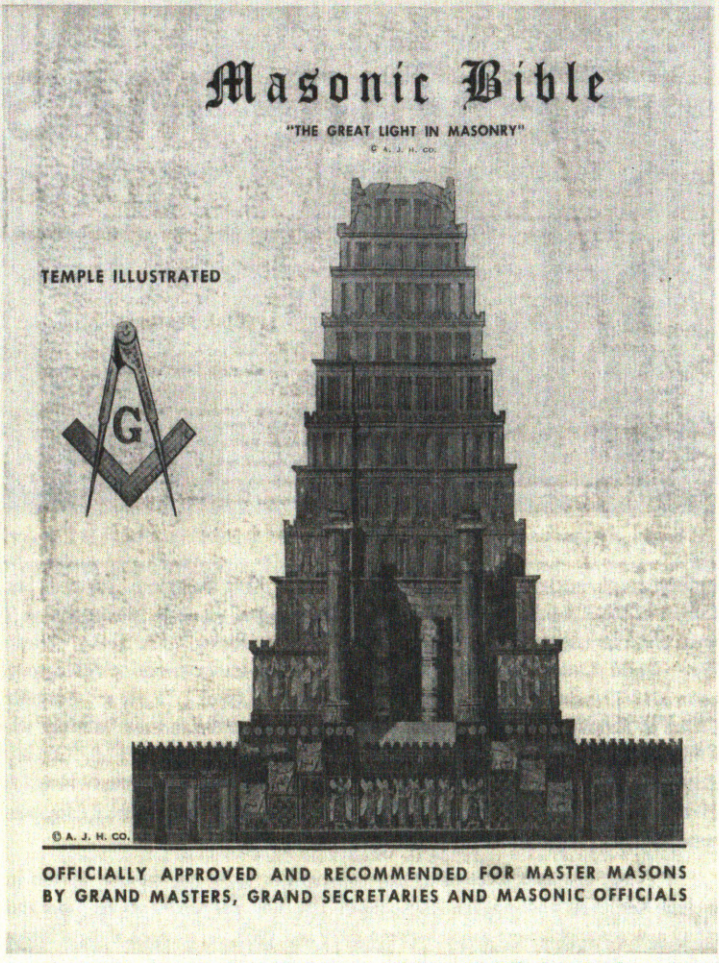


Figure 12. Advertisement for A. J. Holman Co. "The Great Light in Masonry" King James Version Bible, circa 1940s. This document is part of the author's private collection (Photo Credit: Kevin Burton).

Conclusion

John Wesley Kelchner was an energetic visionary, inspired by his Christian and masonic beliefs. Though he was highly creative, he was not a skilled businessman. In spite of his shortcomings, Kelchner intuitively tapped into a deep longing that many Americans had for an imagined Holy Land of peace. He believed that Solomon's temple was the perfect representation of this place—a holy temple, situated in a holy city, governed by a holy king, loyal to a holy

God. Apparently, numerous Americans—predominantly freemasons—agreed with Kelchner and were willing to support his unique vision in spirit and in finance.

Kelchner presented himself as a Bible scholar, and that is how freemasons continue to imagine the man.[207] It is evident, however, that Kelchner was influenced by other sources in addition to the Bible. He was enraptured by the founding myth of his brotherhood—the building of Solomon's temple as told in masonic lore—and sought to rise through the ranks of his fraternity to acquire the coveted status of a new Solomon. Kelchner overcame his objectionable past by surrounding himself with numerous architects that took on the role of a new Hiram of Tyre, ready and able to reconstruct Solomon's long-lost temple. His new identity was affirmed in all of the drawings and paintings shown in various masonic Bibles, which include the following caption: "Restoration by John Wesley Kelchner." In this way Kelchner transcended his undesired past and reinvented himself as an idolized masonic exemplar.

Perceived authenticity was key to Kelchner's success and in a sense, he created a form of time travel. To build a historical model is to create an "imagination station" that projects someone backward in time, or forward into the future. Numerous observers commented on Kelchner's models in this manner, which demonstrates their joy in mental transportations that enabled them to connect with a spiritual heritage interwoven with a chain of biblical events that began with an ancient past.[208]

Kelchner fought to establish peace and tranquility on earth. His peace agenda, however lofty, was characteristic of early twentieth-century American life and his imagination was influenced by nationalist ideals. One source specified that the Philadelphia temple was to open on 4 July 1926—the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the most sacred day on an American calendar.[209] Motivated by conceptions of sacred and patriotic time and space, Kelchner's peace temples were to favor American fraternities—the insignia of each order was to be displayed in the very lodge built into the temples' foundations. Like the reconstruction in St. Louis in 1904, Kelchner wanted Jerusalem to be made in America, governed by democracy and freedom.

Kelchner conceived of religious freedom in a manner inclusive of the monotheistic religions of the world—Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. Those who did not believe in the existence of God and those who had faith in a plurality of gods were necessarily excluded. Christianity was also privileged as the fullest embodiment of true religion and it is within this hierarchical arrangement that Kelchner desired religious liberty.

Many have followed in Kelchner's footsteps and have dreamed and/or

---

[207] Moore, "Solomon's Temple in America?," 8–9.

[208] Cf. Long, *Imagining the Holy Land*, 32.

[209] "Solomon's Temple Sesquicentennial," 1, col. 4.

erected models and full-scale replicas of sacred artifacts and places in the Bible. Visitors flock to the Creation Museum in Petersburg, Kentucky, to see Noah's Ark or to Eureka Springs, Arkansas, to travel through the recreated Holy Land. Others have successfully erected Solomon's temple. It was rebuilt in the Holy Land Experience theme park in Orlando, Florida, which opened in 2001, and in 2014 the Temple of Solomon was inaugurated in São Paulo, Brazil, as the headquarters of the evangelical Universal Church of the Kingdom of God (UCKG). The UCKG, founded in 1977, now claims over 8 million members in 180 countries worldwide and is currently raising money to erect a second Solomon's Temple in New Zealand.[210] Though these dreamers and builders may not have been directly influenced by Kelchner, he was their ideological forefather with the vision to rebuild Solomon's temple outside of Jerusalem.

[210] Cinthia Meibach, "Temple of Solomon," Universal Church of the Kingdom of God (UCKG), http://www.uckg.co.nz/templo-of-solamon.aspx.

Andrews University Seminary Studies, Vol. 57, No. 1, 137–174.
Copyright © 2019 Andrews University Seminary Studies

"STUDY TO SHOW YOURSELF APPROVED": SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTISM'S LEGACY OF CAREFUL BIBLICAL SCHOLARSHIP

GINGER HANKS HARWOOD
La Sierra University (Ret.)

BEVERLY BEEM
Walla Walla University (Ret.)

Abstract

This article, based largely on the writings of early Adventist leaders, examines the sources of Adventist hermeneutics primarily as they are revealed through the articles of the *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald* and the writings of Ellen G. White. It briefly surveys the interpretative methods of William Miller, recognizing the influence that his contemporary cultural setting had upon him, and identifying major practices that characterized early Adventist biblical interpretation. The article's focus is on the hermeneutical practices of the nineteenth-century Sabbatarian/Seventh-day Adventist spokespersons and the importance they gave to honest inquiry, the role of reason and revelation, and the practices of contextualization and harmonization in what they deemed adequate Bible study. It also reflects briefly on their understanding of divine and human roles in the production of Scripture, their understanding of inspiration and progressive revelation, and the importance of individual study and the freedom of conscience in the interpretation of Scripture. These principles have shaped the Adventist community and separated it from some other conservative Christian circles in their approach to scriptural interpretation. Most notably, early Adventist hermeneutical practices have been markedly distinct from those employed by groups caught up in the waves of fundamentalism that have become popular from the nineteenth century to the present.

Keywords: hermeneutics, fundamentalism, William Miller, Early Adventism, progressive revelation, inspiration

Introduction

The research reported in this article was conducted in order to ascertain the hermeneutical principles of the early Sabbatarian Adventist movement, identifying their sources, and placing them within their contemporary setting.

William Miller's utilization of interpretive methods is briefly described,[1] with an analysis of the influence that his cultural and theological setting had upon him.[2] It is demonstrated that the hermeneutical principles of Adventists, initially appropriated from the Millerite movement, were enhanced as the group pressed forward, all the while discovering that they needed to provide a fuller description of their interpretive practices. This article is heavily dependent on articles printed in the *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald* (*AR*), produced by the early leaders of the Seventh-day Adventist Church, and supplemented by other published writings of James and Ellen White. Finally, in order to demonstrate the firm establishment of Adventist hermeneutical principles, (adopted from their Millerite experience, refined to their context, and then assimilated to the group culture), the article includes some brief references to statements on hermeneutics made by prominent twentieth-century Adventist leaders.

---

[1] While this study looks at Seventh-day Adventist hermeneutical principles, and their continuity with practices utilized by William Miller and other leaders in the Second Advent Movement, this is not to ignore the fact that Miller and his contemporaries were products of their own time and the religious/cultural milieu in which they operated. Significant research on the movement and its relationship to its cultural base appears in a multitude of scholarly studies. Readers interested in a broader view of the context may wish to review texts covering the Second Great Awakening, Restorationism, Millenarianism, and the impact of Jacksonian democracy on American thought. Helpful examples of these writings include: Ruth Alden Doan, *The Miller Heresy, Millennialism, and American Culture* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1987); Jerome L. Clark's three volume series on *1844*, 3 vols. (Nashville: Southern Publishing Association, 1968). See also Bernard M. G. Reardon, *Religious Thought in the Nineteenth Century: Illustrated from Writers of the Period* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966); Ernest R. Sandeen, *The Roots of Fundamentalism: British and American Millenarianism, 1800–1930* (Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 1978; repr., Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2008); Bryan W. Ball, *The English Connection: The Puritan Roots of Seventh-day Adventist Belief*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Clarke, 2014); and Whitney R. Cross, *The Burned-over District: The Social and Intellectual History of Enthusiastic Religion in Western New York, 1800–1850* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1950). For overviews more specific to Adventism, see George R. Knight, *Millennial Fever and the End of the World: A Study of Millerite Adventism* (Boise, ID: Pacific Press, 1993); George R. Knight, *William Miller and the Rise of Adventism* (Nampa, ID: Pacific Press, 2010); Edwin Scott Gaustad, ed., *The Rise of Adventism: Religion and Society in Mid-Nineteenth-Century America* (New York: Harper & Row, 1974); Everett N. Dick, *William Miller and the Advent Crisis* (Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 1994); and Douglas Morgan, *Adventism and The American Republic: The Public Involvement of a Major Apocalyptic Movement* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2001); Edwin Scott Gaustad, *The Great Awakening in New England* (New York: Harper, 1957).

[2] A very helpful review of the significant literature on this topic is provided by Denis Kaiser, "Trust and Doubt: Perceptions of Divine Inspiration in Seventh-day Adventist History (1880–1930)" (PhD diss., Andrews University, 2016).

Most specifically, this article traces the importance of honest inquiry, the role of reason and revelation, and the practices of contextualization and harmonization as essential steps in adequate Bible study. It also briefly reflects on the Adventist pioneers eventual formulation of the connection of these practices with their understandings of the divine and human roles in the transmission and understanding of Scripture, along with the importance of freedom of religious conscience, and the nature of progressive revelation and inspiration. The careful praxis that they refined during the nineteenth century shaped the Adventist community and its study of the Bible and separated it from the hermeneutical practices that later became associated with a fundamentalist hermeneutic.[3] This article concludes with a brief

[3] Fundamentalism, the roots of which can be traced back into the nineteenth century or even to Puritan ideology, began its serious rise during the 1880s and crystallized during the earliest part of the twentieth century. According to James Davison Hunter, this was a shift from general Christian assumptions of *sola Scriptura* that had characterized American Protestantism, and the common acceptance of the Bible as reliable on all points, functioning as the ultimate authority and guide to Christian life. By the closing decades of the nineteenth century, dramatic changes in the cultural milieu and the rise of scientism resulted in a split in Protestantism according to their position on the new "scientific" information: some responded by an accommodation with science, while others rejected it as a plot to destroy the very fundamentals of their faith. Conservative Christians felt threatened by a host of scientific approaches to the explanation of the created world, and the steady encroachment on the acceptance of biblical explanations for the natural, social, and legal arrangements viewed by these Christians as God-ordained. At this point, they sought to "resist the cultural pressures of the emerging secular order principally through a deliberate effort to reassert and defend the theological boundaries of the historic faith." James Davison Hunter, *Evangelicalism: The Coming Generation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 20, 56–58. Particularly galling was the German introduction of the historical-critical method of Bible study, which subjected biblical accounts to scientific scrutiny, raising questions about accepted Christian beliefs surrounding miracles, the virgin birth, the historicity of the biblical accounts of the flood, the conquest of Canaan, and even the authenticity of the accounts of Jesus's life, teachings, and the meaning of his death. The results of this approach led to confusion among Christians as to the authority of the Bible as the reliable guide to morality. In reaction, the rising fundamentalist movement embraced biblical inerrancy and infallibility, and promoted a literalistic, proof-texting approach to the Bible. "At the heart of the defense and maintenance of conservative Protestantism in the past century has been the tenacious insistence on the intrinsic faultlessness of the Bible as the Word of God. . . . Inerrancy as a formal doctrine, however, really did not become part of the folk religion of Protestantism until the late 1800s. . . . The doctrine of inerrancy came to mean that the statements and teachings of the Bible . . . are completely without error of any kind; the Bible is absolutely and exclusively true. . . . Finally, though not designed as a historical and scientific text, where it makes historical and scientific statements, it is again entirely accurate and true. . . . Part and parcel of the doctrine of inerrancy has been a particular hermeneutic, or method of interpreting the biblical literature. The method

discussion of implications for the future of Christian hermeneutics, generally, and Seventh-day Adventist hermeneutics, in particular.

Early Adventist Hermeneutics

Seventh-day Adventists, whose pioneers were part of the nineteenth-century "Advent Near" movement led by William Miller, inherited from him a distinct approach to the biblical text. Miller came to his conclusions based on his study of Scripture. It was Miller's careful consideration of principles of biblical interpretation, and their eschatological applications, that drew the attention and respect of, first, his neighbors and then, multitudes of clergy and laity alike.

William Miller arrived on the religious stage during the Second Great Awakening (c. 1790–1840s), a period in which the Bible was generally held in high regard as the revelation of God's will for human behavior–a view he embraced completely. Yet, Miller differed from other great preachers of the age by his lack of charismatic presence or methods in the meetings he held.[4] He kept the lectures focused on the text rather than the speaker. Unlike

---

is essentially literalistic, meaning that the Bible should be interpreted at face value whenever possible" (Hunter, *Evangelicalism*, 20–22). Such an approach to the Bible created a very superficial method of Bible study with the result of misunderstanding the author's points or arguments in any particular biblical book or on any particular subject. For an adequate understanding of fundamentalism and the identified sources of Hunter's summary of fundamentalism and its origins, see the studies offered by outstanding scholars, such as George M. Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture*, 2nd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006); Ernest R. Sandeen, *The Roots of Fundamentalism: British and American Millenarianism, 1800–1930* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008). Robert T. Handy, *A Christian America: Protestant Hopes and Historical Realities*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984); Martin E. Marty, *Righteous Empire: The Protestant Experience in America*, Harper Torchbooks, TB 1931 (New York: HarperCollins, 1977); James Davison Hunter, *American Evangelicalism: Conservative Religion and the Quandary of Modernity* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1983). For a closer look at the role various churches played in the establishment of the doctrine of biblical inerrancy and infallibility, with special emphasis on Princeton Seminary as the nineteenth-century stronghold of these conservative ideas, see Sydney E. Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973), 805–824. After stating that a new rigidity was imposing itself in Presbyterian and other conservative circles around the question of the inerrancy and infallibility of Scripture, Ahlstrom identifies the five key points that emerged as the heart of the fundamentalist movement: the inerrant, inspired Bible, the Virgin Birth, the "Satisfaction Theory" of the Atonement, the Resurrection, and the miracles of Jesus (814).

[4] This is not to say that William Miller did not have an emotional impact on his audience. His sincerity, careful study, and earnest appeal to be ready for the soon

others, he did not rely on dynamic sermons or emotional appeals to captivate and convince his audiences. He neither charmed nor intimidated his listeners into accepting his ideas, shunning typical forms of group manipulation such as appeal to fears, hope of reward, or any claims to unquestionable authority. Instead, he presented his views through a calm and carefully reasoned presentation of the Scriptures which he thought illuminated the topic. His approach was scholarly and asked that individuals suspend previously held ideas or convictions as they examined the text together. While it was obvious that he was a farmer and did not belong to the elite circles of prominent clergy or trained theologians, many listeners were struck by the years he had devoted to intense study of the Scripture prophecies and his desire to share his conclusions in an organized and rational manner.[5]

It is worth noting that many of his presentations were billed and referred to as lectures rather than sermons. At the same time, the meetings he held and the lectures he gave were shaped by the message that Christ's return was near and that people needed to be ready to stand before their Creator. This added a spiritual intensity to the study sessions, as eternal life was at stake. While his presentations were carefully reasoned, based on diligent study, and designed to appeal strictly to the intellect, the subject matter pointed the participants to the present, and even urgent, necessity of dealing with the spiritual aspect of their lives.[6]

---

appearance of Christ all tended to create an atmosphere of solemnity and deep consideration of religious and spiritual matters. See footnote 6 for Ellen White's comment on this point.

[5] George Knight offers a collection of remarks on William Miller as a person, preacher/lecturer, and biblical student, all gathered from newspaper editorials that appeared in the various New England towns after he had given his series on the "Advent Near." See George R. Knight, *William Miller and the Rise of Adventism* (Nampa, ID: Pacific Press, 2010), 40–42. Everett N. Dick also offers a wealth of quotations from the periodicals of the time in *William Miller and the Advent Crisis* (Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 1994), 10–16. For earlier reflections on the subject of William Miller's impressions on his listeners and critics and his caring for them, see Isaac C. Wellcome, *History of the Second Advent Message and Mission, Doctrine and People* (Yarmouth, ME: Isaac C. Wellcome, 1874), 75; and Sylvester Bliss, *Memoirs of William Miller, Generally Known as a Lecturer on the Propecies, and the Second Coming of Christ* (Boston: Joshua V. Himes, 1853), 206, 217, see also 125. James White drew from Bliss's book in his account of the life of William Miller, *Sketches of the Christian Life and Public Labors of William Miller, Gathered from His Memoir by the Late Sylvester Bliss, and from Other Sources* (Battle Creek, MI: Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Association, 1875). Adventistarchives.org/books/LWM1875.

[6] Ellen G. White, later describing the meetings, noted that, "No wild excitement attended the meetings, but a deep solemnity pervaded the minds of those who heard. . . . Mr. Miller traced down the prophecies with an exactness that struck conviction to the hearts of his hearers. He dwelt upon the prophetic periods, and brought

William Miller's Method of Bible Study

As he expounded his beliefs concerning the Second Advent, William Miller transferred more than a knowledge of doctrine to those who embraced his thought: he also modeled a process for biblical study. His account of his own personal Bible study served as a paradigm for his followers:

> I determined to lay aside all my presuppositions, to thoroughly compare Scripture with Scripture, and to pursue its study in a regular and methodical manner. I commenced with Genesis, and read verse by verse, proceeding no faster than the meaning of the several passages should be so unfolded as to leave me free from embarrassment respecting any mysticisms or contradictions. Whenever I found anything obscure, my practice was to compare it with all collateral passages; and, by the help of Cruden [Cruden's Concordence], I examined all the texts of Scripture in which were found any of the prominent words contained in any obscure portion. Then, by letting every word have its proper bearing on the subject of the text, if my view of it harmonized with every collateral passage in the Bible, it ceased to be a difficulty.[7]

His description of method contained several points eventually adopted by the Seventh-day Adventist Church. The steps included the following: (1) laying aside preconceptions concerning meaning of a text or biblical teaching on a particular subject; (2) comparing Scripture to Scripture; (3) intentional pursuit of each topic in a regular and methodical manner; (4) word study, and (5) harmonizing all collateral texts.[8] Underlying his methodology was the assumption that diligent study and application of human reason can together reveal the meaning of Scripture, as long as truth is more important to an individual than tradition or personal prejudice.[9] In keeping with the Scottish

---

many proofs to strengthen his position. Then his solemn and powerful appeals and admonitions to those who were unprepared, held the crowds as if spellbound." Ellen G. White, *Life Sketches of Ellen G. White; Being a Narrative of Her Experience to 1881 as Written by Herself, with a Sketch of Her Subsequent Labors and of Her Last Sickness Compiled from Original Sources*, Christian Home Library (Oakland, CA: Pacific Press, 1915), 20.

[7] Bliss, *Memoirs of William Miller*, 69. William Miller, *Wm. Miller's Apology and Defence* (Boston: Joshua V. Himes, August, 1845), 6, quoted in James White, *William Miller*, 47–48.

[8] For Miller's full list of rules of biblical interpretation, see "Rules of Interpretation," in *Views of the Prophecies and Prophetic Chronology, Selected from Manuscripts of William Miller with a Memoir of His Life*, ed. Joshua V. Himes (Boston: Joshua V. Himes, 1842), 20–24.

[9] As Douglas Morgan has noted, "In the tradition of Common Sense Realism so influential in America, Miller believed that the human mind could directly apprehend the message of the Bible, undistorted by the interposition of subjective structures of the mind itself or cultural variables. One of the most crucial ramifications of this

Common Sense Realism that was the prevalent attitude toward Scriptural interpretation at that time, the role of the intellect and the power of reason was central in the method he modeled for discovering Bible knowledge and truth. In this method, wooden literalism, a practice of pulling out a single verse from the midst of a larger argument and utilizing it as the final arbiter of God's pronouncement on a subject, or even doing so with a collection of "proof texts," was replaced by a comparison of collateral texts, with the purpose of creating an interpretation larger than that supplied by looking at the surface meaning of particular texts.

William Miller's procedure extended beyond these techniques employed for individual Bible study. He modeled two additional steps necessary in gaining biblical knowledge: (1) the willingness to present the insights garnered through study to other believers for confirmation or rebuttal, and (2) the readiness to be instructed by others' interpretations of the same material.[10] These last two steps moved the search for understanding from private investigation and reflection, to the community arena, where intellect was set against intellect to inspect the evidence used and to judge the logic of the analyses and conclusions that were reached. These steps provided the basis for Christians from various denominations to engage in the joint project of searching the Scriptures. A series of Advent Conferences (some fifteen in all) were called and held between 1840 and 1842, under the spreading influence and organizing talent of Christian Connexion minister Joshua V. Himes,[11] for the purpose of extended examination of Miller's views and the pooling

point for understanding Seventh-day Adventist thought is that apocalyptic imagery, no matter how cryptic it may appear, could be understood if one worked at it hard enough" (*Adventism*, 21).

[10] The call to attend a "general conference" of those interested in reviewing Miller's views on the imminent return of Christ included the following advisement: "The object of the Conference will not be to form a new organization in the faith of Christ; nor to assail others of our brethren who differ from us in regard to the period and manner of the advent; but to discuss the whole subject faithfully and fairly, in the exercise of that spirit of Christ in which it will be safe immediately to meet him at the judgment seat." Wellcome, *Second Advent* Message, 177. Ironically, Miller himself was ill and unable to attend this first conference, which was chaired by Henry Dana Ward, a congregational minister with a master's degree from Harvard. The possible upside of this was that it placed other clergy and lay leaders at the forefront of the movement, relieving part of the burden for William Miller, and lending these leaders' reputation, spheres of influence, and credibility to the movement. For a later example of Miller's willingness to change a personal opinion in deference to another's conclusions, see footnote 12, which references his eventual capitulation to Samuel Snow's date for Christ's return on 22 October 1844.

[11] For a brief overview of the role played by Himes in the creation of the movement, see Everett N. Dick, "The Millerite Movement, 1830–1845," in *Adventism in America: A History*, ed. Gary Land (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1986), 1–35.

of corporate perceptions on the prophetic Scriptures that referred to Christ's Advent. Recognized clergy and leaders from several denominations chaired the conferences, as well as the "Advent Near" camp meetings from 1842 to 1844.[12] Clergy and laity assembled to review the Scriptures and study the Jewish calendar and ceremony, struggling with difficult passages and responding with further disciplined study. Since Miller saw religious belief as a subject of study, needing to be accountable to rational investigation, he believed that scriptural "truth" could be pursued in a public forum where the close application of intellect served as the common ground for individuals with widely divergent beliefs on any particular topic.[13] The key to their progress was their concentration on a single topic: "the Advent Near of Jesus Christ and all the Scriptures that addressed the issue of his return."

This invitation for Christians to study doctrines together carried over into early Sabbatarian Adventism, as demonstrated in the Sabbath Conferences held by the tiny band of adherents during 1848–1849. Later, after the Seventh-day Adventist Church was formally organized in 1863 and had moved past the "shut-door"[14] understanding that the time to choose salvation

[12] The setting of 22 October 1844 as the date of Christ's return was based on the study and interpretation of Advent believer Samuel Snow, not William Miller. Miller was slow to embrace the idea, but became convinced shortly before the set date. For an account of this incident, see George R. Knight, *A Brief History of Seventh-day Adventism*, Adventist Heritage Series (Hagerstown, MD: Review & Herald, 1999), 22–24.

[13] With regard to Miller's success in promoting his views, Knight has pointed out how Miller's approach coincided neatly with the current religious sentiment and trend of the "restorationist imperative to get back to the New Testament by bypassing human interpretations. It also linked up with the Jacksonian faith in the ability of the common man to understand the Bible without the aid of experts" (*Millennial Fever*, 40–41).

[14] The notion that the door to salvation had been shut to all who had not responded to the call to prepare for the Second Advent before 22 October 1844 was originally promoted by William Miller. He saw the parable of the ten virgins, five of whom were not ready for the bridegroom to arrive and subsequently found the door to the wedding banquet shut to them, as an allegory of what was then the current situation. The message had gone out to prepare to meet the Lord, and while some people had readied themselves, others had failed to respond. Advent believers equipped themselves for the moment when the bridegroom would appear and faithfully awaited his arrival. While Christ had not physically returned on 22 October 1844, it was believed that the period of human probation had closed at that time, and that the door to salvation was shut. In Miller's mind, everything possible had been done to warn sinners and the Christian church as a whole before it was too late to repent. All had received an opportunity to enter into the kingdom. For his own account of this, see William Miller, *Evidence from Scripture and History* (Boston: Joshua V. Himes, 1842), 237. Although the bulk of Adventists gave up the doctrine after the great disappointment of October 1844, sabbatarians, including the leaders, Joseph Bates

passed on 22 October 1844, early Adventist evangelists called meetings in various towns and invited the gathered crowds to judge the cogency of the Adventist arguments, particularly concerning the prophecies and the seventh-day Sabbath.[15] Baptism was typically offered after a profession of faith and a series of studies in which the basic beliefs were examined and compared with those of other denominations.[16] William Miller's approach to Scripture was adopted by the movement, although as noted above, it evolved somewhat in the first thirty years to include study that involved further reaching scholarly endeavors, as discussed below.

---

and James and Ellen White, held onto the notion for several years. One good source of information is Ellen White's vision in Topsham, Maine, in 1849, which reflected the group's changing understanding on the issue. See Ellen G. White, "The Open and Shut Door," in *Early Writings of Mrs. White: Experience and Views, and Spiritual Gifts,* 2nd ed. (Battle Creek, MI: Review & Herald; Oakland, CA: Pacific Press, 1882), 1:34–37. By 1851, James White would say, "Now the door is open almost everywhere to present the truth, and many are prepared to read the publications who have formerly had no interest to investigate," [James White], "Our Present Work," *AR* 2.2 (19 August 1851): 12–13. For an account of the shut door idea from a pioneer who was part of the inner circle of the early Adventist movement, see J. N. Loughborough, *The Great Second Advent Movement: Its Rise and Progress (*Washington, DC: Review & Herald, 1905), 440–442. While the book was published at the very beginning of the twentieth century, it is a primary source whose author wrote about the group's experience in the nineteenth century.

[15] For a general overview of the outreach during the 1850s and 1860s, see M. Ellsworth Olsen, *A History of the Origin and Progress of Seventh-day Adventists,* 2nd ed. (Washington, DC: Review & Herald, 1926), 223–244. P. Gerard Damsteegt, *Foundations of the Seventh-day Adventist Message and Mission* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1977) is also an excellent source for a history of the development of outreach after sabbatarian Adventists embraced an "open-door" position.

[16] At the beginning of organized Seventh-day Adventism, members simply indicated that they believed in keeping the commandments of God, including the seventh-day Sabbath, and had the faith of Jesus. They agreed that his return was imminent. See, for example, the *AR* report on the formal organization of the earliest state conference (Michigan). Rejecting a creed, the delegates there agreed to adopt a covenant proposed by James White that read: "We, the undersigned, hereby associate ourselves together, as a church, taking the name, Seventh-day Adventists, covenanting to keep the commandments of God, and the faith of Jesus Christ." Joseph Bates, "Doings of the Battle Creek Conference, Oct. 5 & 6, 1861," *AR* 18.19 (8 October 1861): 148–149.

A perusal of nineteenth-century articles in the *AR*, the paper begun by James White to circulate the views of Sabbatarian Adventists, reveals the continuation of Miller's methods of biblical interpretation in the discussions of specific texts under question, as well as the formation of practices for the fledgling group, and arguments on how to approach biblical study. Another equally essential component of the process, both for Miller and for Sabbatarian Adventists, was to proceed in a humble spirit with prayer and the desire to be guided by the Holy Spirit: "Begin every reading with a prayer for a teachable spirit, and that God would open the eyes of your understanding to behold the wonderous things in his law. . . . And it will do no harm to utter some brief appropriate petition at the end of each passage."[17]

Proper scriptural study involved laying aside preconceived notions of the meaning of a text, practicing/embracing the harmonization of Scripture,[18] the study of each topic in a methodical manner, word study, and the comparison of all Scriptures that pertained to an issue.[19] Further, students were expected

[17] As noted in Anonymous, "How to Read the Bible," *AR* 9.12 (22 January 1857): 89.

[18] The way Adventist pioneers utilized this principle is strikingly clear in their consistent rebuttal of those who would limit the role women played in the church meetings. One prime example of this appears in the opening lines of an 1881 article, N. J. Bowers, "May Women Publicly Labor in the Cause of Christ?" *AR* 57.27 (14 June 1881): 372, when he answers the question asked in the article's title with the reply: "Some think not, because Paul says, 'Let your women keep silence in the churches;' and, 'It is a shame for women to speak in the church.' 1 Cor. 14:34, 35. Standing alone, and severed from their connections and other related scriptures, these statements seem to justify such conclusion; but we must not forget to bring into the investigation what the author of the language has elsewhere said directly or indirectly touching the matter of Christian teaching and Christian labor, and also what the Bible elsewhere instructs us in regard to the question." The rest of the article traces biblical examples that run counter to the premise that God wills that women's roles are limited and employs logic and reason to make sense of what Paul has said in isolated passages. An 1871 article written by I. Fetterhoof addressed the question of the women's roles in church services by citing the numerous biblical examples of God's call to women to lead and speak. Through this article, Fetterhoof is asking that the understanding of what Paul stated in select passages that seemed to limit the roles of women be brought into harmony with the rest of the Bible. See I. Fetterhoof, "Women Laboring in Public," *AR* 38.8 (8 August 1871): 58–59.

[19] One example of this principle was illustrated in a statement offered by an early sabbatarian leader when he said, "But the candid reader of the sacred pages will find other declarations of the same apostle that must be brought to harmonize with this in order to get a clear understanding of the Apostle's meaning in 1 Cor. xiv. It is the custom with all Bible students to find all the important texts that bear on any one subject, and compare them together until they come to a satisfactory understanding

to examine the place and context in which a scriptural admonition or teaching was given. As stated in an 1857 *AR* article, "There is also incalculable benefit in searching into *the times and circumstances* in which a prophecy was written, *the occasion* which called it forth; and in receiving every word as from God, worthy of God, and certainly in harmony with all else he has revealed."[20] To fully grasp their hermeneutic approach, one has to appreciate the value they gave to the application of reason in the understanding of Scripture. Thus, an adequate grasp of any topic relied on the employment of reason when probing the meaning of scriptural statements. As noted in an 1857 *AR* article, "The Former and the Latter Rain," "But to produce conviction, a view must draw plain credentials from both reason and revelation."[21]

Many articles reveal the Millerite approach to biblical interpretation woven throughout the arguments in question and the attempts to reach a consensus on how to deal with various issues concerning church praxis and belief.[22] Just as William Miller had accepted the Bible as authoritative

---

of what the inspired penman means." D. Hewitt, "Let Your Women Keep Silence in the Churches," *AR* 10.24 (15 October 1857): 190.

[20] Anonymous, "How Do You Read the Prophets?" *AR* 9.19 (12 March 1857): 145

[21] Anonymous, "The Former and the Latter Rain," *AR* 9.17 (26 February 1857): 132.

[22] It should be noted that Ellen G. White and her visions on specific topics were occasionally used to support a particular view or help the group arrive at a consensus on a topic. The utilization of her visions was met with ambivalence within the group and perceived as a stumbling block to evangelizing outsiders. As Arthur L. White noted in his chapter titled "Later Attitudes toward the Gift," in *Ellen G. White: Messenger to the Remnant* (Washington, DC: Ellen G. White Estate, 1959), 51, "the most noticeable adjustment" to the improved openness toward hearing the Sabbatarian Advent message was "made to avert prejudice, and for this reason, all reference to the visions and the Spirit of prophecy was left out of the regular issues of the church paper." He references James White's editorial note in an Extra of the *AR*, "But as many are prejudiced against visions, we think best at present not to insert anything of the kind in the regular paper. We will therefore publish the visions by themselves for the benefit of those who believe that God can fulfill his word and give visions *'in the last days*," [James White, Untitled Note], *AR* 2.01e (21 July 1851): 4. Arthur White, later church leader and the grandson of James and Ellen White, while reflecting on the 1851 determination to exclude from the paper Ellen White's insights or comments on the group's developing theology, noted that "Pursuant to this announced policy, the *AR* for four years [1851–1855] was very nearly silent on the visions." Arthur L. White, *Messenger to the Remnant*, 51. During this period, James White repeatedly made statements to defend the group against the charges that its beliefs were based on Ellen White's vision or authority, clarifying that "Every Christian is therefore in duty bound to take the Bible as a perfect rule of faith and duty. He should pray fervently to be aided by the Holy Spirit in searching the Scriptures for the whole truth, and for

and its own interpreter, sabbatarian Adventists were very clear that all their doctrinal conclusions were based on the careful study of the Bible. Additional instruction that was given in the article "How to Read the Bible" included, "Endeavor to complete a subject or a paragraph each time . . . A small amount carefully read and digested is of more value than much, hurriedly glanced over. The chapters are often not the proper divisions of the sacred text." The article also points out that the student should, "Read according to system. Do not pick up the Bible, and read a few verses here or there, wherever it happens to open," and furthermore, "In addition to every Sabbath's own readings, you should carefully review the parts read during the past week."[23]

Due to their emphasis on the Bible as the sole source of their beliefs, Sabbatarians reacted strongly to any suggestion that they were using any other source. James White could respond with a fiery retort when individuals intimated that Ellen White was the author or source of group beliefs. By 1855, James White would emphatically respond to the critique that the group was following Ellen White rather than the Bible. On one occasion he retorted,

---

his whole duty. He is not at liberty to turn from them to learn his duty through any of the gifts. We say that the very moment he does, he places the gifts in a wrong place, and takes an extremely dangerous position." "The Gifts of the Gospel Church," *AR* 1.9 (21 April 1851): 69–70. Later, contradicting those who were claiming that the group's doctrines originated in the visions, James White reiterated that the Bible alone is the rule of faith. He wrote, "It should be here understood that all these views as held by the body of Sabbath-keepers, were brought out from the Scriptures before Mrs. W. had any view in regard to them. These sentiments are founded upon the Scriptures as their only basis." "A Test," *AR* 7.8 (16 October 1855): 61–62. Arthur White notes that during this period, there was a decline in frequency of the visions, and the eventual recognition that unless the gift was appreciated, it might be withdrawn altogether. To remedy this situation, during the business session of the General Conference held in Battle Creek in December of 1855, a statement was prepared that confessed the neglect of the gift, while again reiterating that the visions or gifts were not to take the place of the Bible: "Nor do we, as some contend, exalt these gifts or their manifestations, above the Bible; on the contrary, we test them by the Bible, making it the great rule of judgment in all things; so that whatever is not in accordance with it, in its spirit and its teachings, we unhesitatingly reject." This action signaled a turning point for the group, as it allowed a larger role for Ellen White's testimonies to the group as legitimate and treasured, even though not replacing the Bible as the only test of "faith and duty." Joseph Bates, J. H. W. Waggoner, M. E. Cornell, "Address: Of the Conference Assembled at Battle Creek, Mich, Nov. 16th, 1855," *AR* 7.10 (10 December 1855): 78–79. See Arthur White, "Later Attitudes," in *Messenger to the Remnant,* 52–53 for full documentation and analysis of the results of this action.

[23] Anonymous, "How to Read the Bible," 90. Another article focused on the importance of systematic reading of Scripture for spiritual growth, "No other study or meditation will answer the purpose of the word of Christ, dwelling in us richly in all wisdom." Anonymous, "Systematic Reading of the Bible," *AR* 27.3 (19 December 1865): 18–19.

> There is a class of persons who are determined to have it that the *Review* and its conductors make the views of Mrs. White a Test of doctrine and christian fellowship. It may be duty to notice these persons on account of the part they are acting, which is calculated to deceive some. What has the *Review* to do with Mrs. W's views? The sentiments published in its columns are all drawn from the Holy Scriptures. No writer of the *Review* has ever referred to them as authority on any point. The *Review* for five years has not published one of them. Its motto has been, "The Bible, and the Bible alone, the only rule of faith and duty.[24]

The pages of the *AR* provided a vehicle for the Sabbatarian group to communicate their interpretation of prophetic Scriptures as they struggled to establish a community of faith and continue the quest for truth. J. N. Andrews's series on the Sabbath in the *AR*, as well as his collegial relationship with members from the Seventh-day Baptist and other denominations, provide an example of the perpetuation of willingness to collaborate with church scholars outside of the Adventist circle and to engage in a thorough examination of a topic.[25]This was particularly important as they endeavored to retain their belief in, and spiritual readiness for, the Advent.[26] As such, they

[24] James White, "A Test" *AR* 7.8 (16 October 1855): 61–62. This position, cited here, is one that James White had often repeated. In 1854, for example, he had said in an editorial note on the reprinting of his previous 1851 article, "The position that *the Bible, and the Bible alone, is the rule of faith and duty* [italics in original] does not shut out the gifts which God set in the church. To reject them is shutting out that part of the Bible which presents them. We say, let us have a whole Bible, and let that, and that alone, be our rule of faith and duty." "Gifts of the Gospel Church," *AR* 6.8 (3 October 1854): 62.

[25] As a sample of the articles he prepared on the subject of the Sabbath, see J. N. Andrews, "Thoughts on the Sabbath," *AR* 1.2 (1 December 1850): 10; "The Perpetuity of the Law of God," *AR* 1.5 (1 January 1851): 33–37; and *AR* 1.6 (1 February 1851): 41–43. In his series on questions concerning the Sabbath, he engaged with first-day ministers and former Millerite associates to present the logic of respecting the seventh-day Sabbath. See also, J. N. Andrews, "Discourse with Brother Carver," *AR* 2.4 (16 September 1851): 28–30.

[26] A Sister Bucklin wrote into the *AR* reflecting the isolation of many of the early sabbatarian believers: "While many such are on his Holy Day gathered together in small companies, speaking freely to each other, exhorting and comforting each other, mingling their voices and faith at the mercy seat, and realizing the faithfulness of the 'Coming One' who has said, 'Where two or three are gathered together in my name there am I in the midst.' [sic] There are others scattered up and down the earth, who are like myself sitting in solitary places, and whose language emphatically is 'I'm a lonely traveler here,'" Sister U. Bucklin, "From Sister Bucklin" *AR* 5.5 (21 February 1854): 39. For an appreciation of the importance the *AR* played in keeping alive the sabbatarian movement, see Ginger Hanks Harwood, "Like the Leaves of

offer the scholar today the best insight into the established hermeneutics of Advent pioneers. These pioneers intentionally set aside the authority given to accumulated traditions that had entrenched themselves in Christian creeds and teachings in their effort to establish a belief system that was unrestricted by dogmatic institutional formulas and propositions. They believed that freed from creeds and traditions, they would be in a better position to perceive and receive God's guidance and direction as they grew into spiritual maturity. A prime example of this is supplied by R. F. Cottrell, an early and very vocal church leader, when he announced,

> The only way open before us is to return to the fountain of living waters, the written word which God has given us, and no longer hew out to ourselves cisterns, broken cisterns that can hold no water. Let vain traditions go, and embrace and heartily obey the truth, and it is possible that we may yet be saved. Who will do so? Who will renounce the false traditions of men, and cleave to God alone and obey his word?[27]

In the Adventist endeavor to understand the Bible and receive its messages as the "primitive" church had received or heard them, they rejected the allegorical forms of interpretation that characterized the hermeneutics of the church through medieval times and opted instead for a "plain reading of the text."[28]

Autumn: The Utilization of the Press to Maintain Millennial Expectations in the Wake of Prophetic Failure," *Journal for Millennial Studies* 1.1 (2001) http://www.mille.org/publications/winter2001/Harwood.html.

[27] R. F. Cottrell, "Tradition Preferred to Truth," *AR* 31.17 (7 April 1868): 268.

[28] It is not surprising that this became a theme in early Advent writings, as many Millerites and sabbatarian Adventists (including Joshua V. Himes and James White) were drawn away from the Christian Connexion. The Christian Connexion was a congregational style church that was part of the Restorationist movement that endeavored to rid itself and Christianity of all accumulated human traditions that were associated with organized churches, and return to the earliest days of Christianity, which they referred to as the "primitive" church. This meant jettisoning the authority of creeds and the authority of individuals in religious hierarchy and replacing the responsibility for discerning God's will back on the committed individual who looked to the Bible and Holy Spirit for their guidance. When James White left teaching to become a Millerite preacher, he was credentialed by the Christian Connexion Church, the group with which his parents were affiliated, according to Ronald L. Numbers, *Prophetess of Health: A Study of Ellen G. White* (New York: Harper & Row, 1976), 24. For information on the link between the Christian Connexion Church, see Bert Haloviak, "A Heritage of Freedom: The Christian Connection Roots to Seventh-day Adventism," (Unpublished Paper, General Conference Archives, 1995) http://documents.adventistarchives.org/conferences/Docs/UnspecifiedConferences/AHeritageOfFreedom.pdf. The Christian Connexion influence on the early Sabbatarian movement is also discussed in George R. Knight, *William Miller and the Rise of Adventism* (Nampa, ID: Pacific Press, 2010), and Gerald Wheeler, *James White: Innovator and Overcomer* (Hagerstown, MD: Review & Herald, 2003).

In so doing, they separated themselves from those theologians with assumptions that the meaning of Scripture was only available to the few and subject to the decree of the Church. Initially the key concerns for the fledgling group were not to argue with or against the merits of the various approaches to interpretation being heralded by German or Scottish theologians, as much as to defend the idea of the "Advent Near" and proclaim the importance of the seventh-day Sabbath. However, their hermeneutical practices are revealed clearly in the manner in which they made their arguments. Although they did not frame their method in these terms, their stance can be traced back to Martin Luther who, most notably in his arguments with Erasmus, maintained that any person could discern the gospel message from careful Bible study.[29] Adventists drew on the widely adopted philosophy of Scottish Common Sense Realism[30] which holds that the surface of the text produces its essential meaning and is accessible to vigorous study. Adventists advocated what they called a "plain reading" or "literal" approach to Scripture.[31] An 1858 *AR* article, "Principles of Interpretation," presented the significance of abandoning the mystical and allegorical approaches to interpretation. The anonymous author is careful to define what is meant by "literal," and quoting John Pye Smith, explains:

> Dr. John Pye Smith defines the literal sense as "The common rule of all rational interpretation, viz.: the *sense* afforded by a cautious and critical

[29] Carl B. Trueman, "Scripture and Exegesis in Early Modern Reformed Theology," in *The Oxford Handbook of Early Modern Theology, 1600–1800,* eds. Ulrich L. Lehner, Richard A. Muller, and A.G. Roeber (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 182.

[30] Marsden, *Fundamentalism*, 14–16.

[31] It is critical to note that the nineteenth-century use of the term "literal" or "literally," when referring to the method of reading and understanding Scripture, did not have the same meaning as it is given today. The meaning of the term in the nineteenth century must not be confused with the *biblicism* that is meant by the term after the rise of the fundamentalist movement. This later use of the term "literalism" infers that it is possible to understand the meaning of any Scripture, and that the message God intended to convey on any topic is available by taking the words of any verse at face value without harmonizing the verse with other discussions or themes of the Bible. "Biblicism" is defined as "adherence to the letter of the Bible," see "Biblicism," *Merriam-Webster*. https://www.merriam-webster.com. For classic depictions of modern fundamentalism, see noted scholarly descriptions such as those provided by Marsden, *Fundamentalism*; Mark A. Noll, *The Rise of Evangelicalism: The Age of Edwards, Whitefield and the Wesleys,* History of Evangelicalism (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2003); James Davison Hunter, *American Evangelicalism: Conservative Religion and the Quandary of Modernity* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1983); and James Davison Hunter, *To Change the World: The Irony, Tragedy & Possibility of Christianity in the Late Modern World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010).

> examination of the terms of the passage, and an impartial construction of the whole sentence, according to the known usage of the language and the writer." Such is the system adopted in this volume, it being regarded as the only safe principle of interpreting the Bible.[32]

The article provides further substantiation for this method through quotations selected from recognized and accomplished theologians, such as Jeremy Taylor, Prof. J. A. Ernest, Vitringa, and Martin Luther. The method is carefully contrasted against the approaches of Origin, Jerome, and the Alexandrian and Egyptian schools. The principles of the method are summarized by one identified only as Rosenmuller, who insisted: "All ingenuous and unprejudiced persons will grant me this position, that there is no method of removing difficulties more secure than that of an accurate interpretation derived from the words of the texts themselves, and from their true and legitimate meaning, and depending upon no hypothesis."[33]

Towards the later end of the nineteenth century, Ellen White would stress the importance of Adventist efforts to continue to seek deeper understanding of Scripture as a continuation of the spirit of the Reformation.[34] She, along with other leading Adventists, believed that new insight was available because the Holy Spirit was at work within the human heart and mind to interpret the Bible. They believed that the Bible served as its own interpreter and that passages unfold their meaning in relation to Christ.[35] Adventists looked to the Bible as the revelation of God and as the guide to appropriate human response to him. Further, they re-examined established beliefs, even the traditions instituted by the Reformers and the churches that they had established. An 1859 article by B. F. Robbins, provides a clear example of this perceived need to reexamine doctrines and discard both beliefs and practices that advent believers had brought with them into the movement from churches in which they had previously been indoctrinated. Robbins states, "I know that the most of us have been gathered into the message of the third angel from the sectarian churches where we received our religious training, which we now, in the clear light of God's truth see was defective, both in doctrine and practice."[36]

---

[32] Anonymous, "Principles of Interpretation," *AR* 12.1 (20 May 1858): 3, from *Voice of the Church.*

[33] Anonymous, "Principles of Interpretation," 3.

[34] Ellen G. White, *The Great Controversy Between Christ and Satan During the Christian Dispensation,* rev. and enl. ed. (Battle Creek, MI: Review & Herald; Oakland, CA: Pacific Press, 1888), 120–170. See especially chs. 7 and 8 on Martin Luther.

[35] See Paul Althaus, *The Theology of Martin Luther,* trans. Robert C. Schultz (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1966), 83.

[36] B. F. Robbins, "To The Female Disciples in the Third Angel's Message," *AR* 15.3 (8 December 1859): 21–22.

With regard to the question of the participation of women in ministry,[37] Robbins continued by acknowledging that "many of you feel the embarrassing influence of our former associations," and invited his readers to reflect on the scenes recorded in the Book of Acts, asking, "and did not the tongue of fire descend alike upon them as upon their brethren? Assuredly it did."[38] He

[37] The question of the role of women in church and society has received major emphasis in fundamentalist circles from the early nineteenth century to the present. This serves as an outstanding example of the fundamentalist hermeneutical method at work. Richard Antoun views the importance that fundamentalists give to a reversal of changes in acceptable domains for women and a prescribed return to patripotestal power (the power and dominance of the father, first of all, in the home and then extending elsewhere) as part of the move toward what he calls "traditioning" – the attempt to return social and domestic order to an earlier state in order to reduce the tensions and stress created by change. He cites the manner in which Ephesians 5:22–24 RSV ("Wives be subject to your husbands, as to the Lord. For the husband is the head of the wife as Christ is the head of the church, his body, and is himself its savior. As the church is subject to Christ, so let wives also be subject in everything to their husbands") serves as a prime example of the utilization of Scripture to achieve the tension-reduction that many scholars see as a driving force behind the movement for the present and future. (Richard T. Antoun, *Understanding Fundamentalism: Christian, Islamic, and Jewish Movements* (Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira, 2001), 63. Whether or not his analysis is correct, scrutiny of the arguments utilized by fundamentalists to restrict women's roles clearly reveals the hermeneutical principles used, and has created fertile ground for scholars exploring fundamentalist approaches to Scripture. For a detailed analysis of fundamentalism and gender issues, see Margaret Lamberts Roberts, *Fundamentalism and Gender: 1875 to the Present* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993); Brenda E. Brasher, *Godly Women: Fundamentalism and Female Power* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1998); Margaret Lambert Bendroth, "The Search for Woman's Role in American Evangelicalism," in *Evangelicalism and Modern America*, ed. George M. Marsden (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1984); Betty A. DeBerg, *Ungodly Women: Gender and the First Wave of American Fundamentalism* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990); Carol Walker Bynum, Stevan Harrell, and Paula Richman, eds., *Gender and Religion: On the Complexity of Symbols* (Boston: Beacon, 1986); Janet Stocks, "Voices from the Margins: Evangelical Feminist Negotiation in the Public Debate of a Small Denomination in the United States," in *Mixed Blessings: Gender and Religious Fundamentalism Cross Culturally*, eds. Judy Brink and Joan Mencher (New York: Routledge, 1997), 59–72; Nancy Tatom Ammerman, *Bible Believers: Fundamentalists in the Modern World* (New York: Rutgers University Press, 1987); and Karen McCarthy Brown, "Fundamentalism and the Control of Women," in *Fundamentalism and Gender*, ed. John Stratton Hawley (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994). For an overview of more recent developments in the fundamentalist inclination within religious orthodoxy from a sociological perspective, see Robert Wuthnow, "The Great Divide: Toward Religious Realignment," and "Mobilization on The Right," in *The Restructuring of American Religion: Society and Faith Since World War II*, Studies in Church and State (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), 132–214.

[38] Robbins, "Female Disciples," 22.

appealed to reason, reminding his audience that the women, as well as the men, prophesied, setting an example for Spirit-filled Adventist women. His basic argument went beyond the words of the statement in question, and invited readers to consider what they knew about the situation and draw on reason, then applying it to the issue at stake. His address encouraged Adventists to go beyond the teachings and practices of the churches in which they had been formed, and use the study and reasoned contemplation of Scripture to reform Christian practice, rejecting established traditions and adopting a more biblically informed praxis. As J. Clarke noted in the *AR*, "The reformers only began the work: it falls to the lot of the present generation to fully complete what was then so gloriously begun."[39]

"Study to Show Yourself Approved"

The work of reclaiming the meaning of Scripture was an extension of Miller's project and an application of his methods to the theological and practical issues facing sabbatarian Adventism as a nascent movement. It required commitment to careful scholarship,[40] as well as openness to the leading of the Holy Spirit and relinquishment of previously held ideas.[41]

Faced with a diverse set of theological beliefs and practices, reflecting the variety of religious traditions represented in the Advent movement, the creation of consensus had to be founded on more than "a war of texts," where the former members of different groups asserted the surface meanings assigned to specific texts as they had been taught them in their original church homes. Thus, a major component in the theory and practice of Adventist hermeneutics is: contextualizing and harmonizing any particular text with its setting, with other pronouncements by the same author on the subject under

[39] J. Clarke, "The Reformation," *AR* 19.6 (7 January 1863): 46–47.

[40] H. L. Hastings provided an example of the appeal to scholarship in an article, "How Old Is the New Testament?" *AR* 71.15 (10 April 1894): 231. He discussed the contribution of scholarly research to the foundation of a faith built on informed reason. He noted that, "We have better proof of the antiquity, the authenticity, the integrity, and the veracity of the New Testament, than of any other ancient book in the world." He continued to build on this theme as he pointed to the value of ancient manuscripts and their translation into readable languages. He asserted that much could be learned by a manuscript's style and date and location in the ancient world.

[41] M. Cornell gives us a fine example of the pioneer's willingness to abandon strongly held convictions when finding out that their previous understanding of an issue was incorrect. In stating his changed position on the heated topic of whether to organize the Sabbatarian movement into a church and formally adopt a name, he said, "My conclusion is that we should give up no scripture truth, but that our false applications and interpretations of scripture, and consequent false ideas of order and propriety, should be given up as fast as possible." M. E. Cornell, "Making Us a Name," *AR* 16.1 & 2 (29 May 1860): 9.

consideration, and finally, with the teachings and message of the Bible as a whole. As Elder G. C. Tenney would remark in 1892 concerning the distress caused by church practices that were at variance with certain Bible verses, "The difficulty with these texts is almost entirely chargeable to immature conclusions reached in regard to them. It is manifestly illogical and unfair to give to any passage of Scripture an unqualified radical meaning that is at variance with the main tenor of the Bible, and directly in conflict with its plain teachings. The Bible may be reconciled in all its parts without going outside the lines of consistent interpretation. But great difficulty is likely to be experienced by those who interpret isolated passages in an independent light according to the ideas they happen to entertain upon them."[42]

The principle of harmonizing any text with the rest of Scripture is woven throughout the nineteenth-century *AR* articles. As early as 1857, well-respected church pioneer David Hewitt outlined the importance of this accepted Adventist approach to interpretation:

> It is a custom with all Bible students to find all the important texts that bear on any one subject, and compare them together until they come to a satisfactory understanding of what the inspired penman means. No one should found a theory on one single isolated passage, for this mode of proving things has produced many discordant theories in the world.[43]

In the same article, Hewitt contended that, when trying to understand the meaning of any particular Pauline statement, "the candid reader of the sacred pages will find other declarations of the same apostle that must be brought to harmonize with this in order to get a clear understanding of the Apostle's meaning in 1 Cor. xiv."[44] James White extended this understanding further.

---

[42] G. C. Tenney, "Woman's Relation to the Cause of Christ," *AR* 69.21 (24 May 1892): 328.

[43] D[avid] Hewitt, "Let Your Women Keep Silence in the Churches," *AR* 10.24 (15 October 1857): 190.

[44] Hewitt, "Women Keep Silence," 190. Another example of the application of the "harmonization" principle is found in an article submitted by M. E. Cornell, an early evangelist to Woodland, California, who complained that the work was impeded there by the notion that women should not take an active role in church meetings, based on a faulty interpretation of certain Pauline verses. The evangelist argued for full participation, stating: "But the Scriptures seem clear on the point. Not one word in the whole Bible is ever found with which to oppose it, except in the writings of the apostle Paul. And a careful comparison of all Paul's statements on the subject shows that he had reference only to unbecoming conduct of women in the public assembly, such as contradicting, altercating, and assuming authority over men in business meetings of the church." M. E. Cornell, "Woodland, Cal," *AR* 41.25 (3 June 1873): 198.

In his short article, "Paul Says So," James White challenged the readers to (1) examine what they bring to the text as an assumption of its meaning; (2) ask if the answer is contained completely in one text; (3) demand that it be harmonized with both the remainder of Paul's decrees on similar issues and his recorded practices; (4) see that it is harmonized with the rest of Scripture; and finally, (5) be subjected to critical thinking on the issue. James White was insistent that an interpretive position on a text must "harmonize with both revelation and reason."[45]

It is worth noting that all Adventists, not just church leaders, were expected to engage in scriptural study: study that involved more than simply picking up an English version of the Bible and accepting the apparent meaning of the text without further study. This expectation was affirmed by Ellen White, who recommended it. While she also received divine revelation through visions, she encouraged a faith with reason built upon mental discipline and logic. Reflecting the ethos of the "Advent Near" movement, Ellen White was not content with faith built on superficial, sentimental, or casual study of Scripture. As she instructed the flock:

> We cannot obtain wisdom without earnest attention and prayerful study. Some portions of Scripture are indeed too plain to be misunderstood, but there are others whose meaning does not lie on the surface to be seen at a glance. Scripture must be compared with scripture. There must be careful research and prayerful reflection.[46]

The utilization of intellectual ability to construct a logical argument for any particular belief and the rational investigatation of alternatives was woven into her views on the nature of biblical interpretation.[47] Bible study was to be taken as a serious endeavor, not a casual perusal and acceptance of texts simply as one ran across them. As noted in an 1857 article, "How Do You Read the Prophets?", along with "*prayerful attention* and a docile, childlike spirit. . . . There is also incalculable benefit in searching into *the times and circumstances* in which a prophecy was written; *the occasion* which called it forth; and in receiving every word as from God, worthy of God, and certainly

[45] James White, "Paul Says So," *AR* 10.19 (10 September 1857): 152. This is only one of many articles that are used to argue that selecting isolated and decontextualized passages to limit the role of women in the church is evidence of an unsound hermeneutic. These articles challenge readers to consider all that Paul says about women in the church and in various forms of ministry, and consider the context of the passage, as well as Paul's other statements on the topic and his own practice. James White steadfastly maintained that those who "do not like to hear the Marys preach a risen or coming Saviour" need to take a position on the text "which will harmonize with both revelation and reason."

[46] Ellen G. White, Steps to Christ (Oakland, CA: Pacific Press, 1892), 90–91.

[47] This is not to ignore the fundamental Adventist belief that the Holy Spirit was present to guide the process and speak to the minds and hearts of Bible students.

in harmony with all else he has revealed."[48]

Sabbatarian Bible students were expected to utilize the basic tools for biblical study, such as commentaries and concordances, and study all aspects of the text. Noted scholars' and commentators' works were utilized to provide information where they could supplement the readers' knowledge with information concerning alternative meanings of key words in their original language, or shed light on cultural or textual contexts.[49] Questions going beyond the knowledge base of the general group or involving textual nuances not accessible to the average student were often referred to J. N. Andrews, whom Ellen White characterized as "the ablest man in all our ranks."[50] He brought a thorough understanding of Greek, Hebrew, and Latin to his studies. He is credited with being able to "read the Bible in seven languages," as well as being able to "reproduce the New Testament from memory."[51] Andrews, viewed by many as the church leader most prepared to explore and tease out scriptural nuances, offered the group not only information concerning alternative word translations, but also a careful examination of the social and cultural context in which statements were created, as well as a reasoned response on how the situation did or did not apply to his contemporary

[48] Anonymous, "How Do You Read the Prophets?" *AR* 9.19 (12 March 1857): 145 (Italics original).

[49] One example of this use of scholarly resources is found in an article by J. A. Mowatt, where he examined biblical texts utilized to keep women silent and then cited Dr. Adam Clarke's commentary on them ("Women as Preachers and Lecturers," *AR* 18.9 (30 July 1861): 65–66. Dr. Clarke was considered a noted and trustworthy authority on Scripture in the Christian community at the time. Another example of the examination of the original language is found in G. C. Tenney, "Woman's Relation," 26, where he goes over the three different Greek words translated "to speak" and how understanding of the words as applied to frequently cited passages affects the meaning of the verses.

[50] Ellen G. White to Dear Brethren in Switzerland, 29 August 1878 (Letter 2a, 1878), Ellen G. White Estate, Silver Spring, MD. The editors of the *AR* provide an example of this practice of referring difficult questions to Andrews when they refer "A Query" about the apparent contradiction between the *AR*'s publications on women speaking in public and Paul's teachings. They answer that, "We understand the subject involved in the above request has lately been up for investigation in the Bible Class at Waukon, Iowa. We hope to hear from Bro. Andrews soon concerning it.—Ed." "A Query—Bro. Smith," *AR* 15.8 (12 January 1860): 64.

[51] "Andrews, John Nevins," *Seventh-day Adventist Encyclopedia,* 2nd ed, 68–69. As an example of his proficiency in languages, Andrews reported from Switzerland his need to prepare for work in this field, "I have now to educate my ear to distinguish, and my tongue to utter, the sounds of the French language. . . . I have for years as I have had the opportunity, read French works with some degree of satisfaction as I have sought to gain information not otherwise to be found." J. N. Andrews, "Our Arrival in Switzerland," *AR* 44.21 (17 November 1874): 166.

setting.[52] This approach diverges strongly from the practice of biblicism, the assumption that a superficial reading of a text reveals its full meaning.[53]

It is critical to understand that Adventists searched the Scriptures with a specific purpose in mind: they desired an encounter with Christ, as their goal was ultimate union with him.[54] Their most cherished hope was to meet the Savior face-to-face, and their greatest desire was to be ready to accompany him to the heavenly home when he returned.[55] As Sister Whitney commented in her letter to the *AR*, "O, I long to see Jesus, that I may be like him."[56] Until that time, they were seeking to grow in grace and knowledge, committed to their belief in God's Word and the fruitfulness of careful scriptural study for their spiritual growth.[57] They were pilgrims on a journey towards a heavenly destination, and the journey necessitated leaving behind the comforts of

---

[52] One clear example of this treatment of cultural context is seen in Andrews's 1879 article, "May Women Speak in Meeting?" where he addressed the Pauline admonitions to the Corinthian church, where a state of great disorder existed. He characterized Paul's statements as situational and concluded that "what the apostle says to women in such a church as this, and in such a state of things, is not to be taken as directions to all Christian women in other churches and in other times." J. N. Andrews, "May Women Speak in Meeting?" *AR* 53.1 (2 January 1879): 4.

[53] Elder William Covert reminded his readers that "When our Saviour would teach the Jews how to obtain an understanding of the Scriptures, he says, 'Search' them. The aimless reader knows not the joy that comes to the heart of the earnest searcher after these hidden treasures. Dear reader, stop to consider as you read the word of God. Dig down, and taste of its richness." "Thoughts on Studying the Scriptures," *AR* 61.5 (29 January 1884): 68. This principle was so firmly ingrained into Adventist mentality that it still appeared in official church statements in the middle of the twentieth century. "A superficial reading of the Scriptures will yield a superficial understanding of it. . . . Yet those open to the illumination of the Spirit of God, those willing to search for the hidden truths with patience and much prayer, will discover that the Bible evidences an underlying unity in what it teaches about the principles of salvation." "The Word of God," *Seventh-day Adventists Believe: A Biblical Exposition of Fundamental Doctrine*, 3rd ed. (Silver Spring, MD: Review & Herald, 2018), 20.

[54] For a fuller exploration and development of this pilgrimage theme, see Beverly Beem and Ginger Hanks Harwood, "Pilgrims and Strangers: Adventist Spirituality, 1850–1863," *Spectrum* 31.4 (2003): 67–75.

[55] Many readers wrote in to the *AR* to express sentiments such as those described by Sally Yuker as she described her goal as "not only to keep the Sabbath, but to keep myself unspotted from the world. I want on the whole armor, for I am looking for that day when the marriage supper of the Lamb will come. I want to be there; for all that are there will share in the glorious inheritance prepared for those that love God." Sally Yuker, "From Sister Yuker,"*AR* 5.22 (4 July 1854): 176.

[56] S. Whitney, "From Sister Whitney," *AR* 15.13 (16 February 1860): 103.

[57] One reflection of this theme is found in, Anonymous, "Drawing Near to God," *AR* 10.25 (22 October 1857): 195.

theological institutions that had been their spiritual homelands.[58] And as any traveller knows, it is necessary to dispose of the nonessential and focus on items of paramount value.

Freedom and Responsibility

It would have been impossible to meld together Congregationalists, Methodists, Baptists, Christian Connexion preachers, and the host of other faith groups represented in the early Adventist body without their self identification as the heirs of the Reformation, believers in the primacy of the Bible. From the price the Reformers and their followers had paid to break from the religious authority and institutionalized requirements of the Roman Catholic Church, Protestants had learned to cherish the principles of individual spiritual freedom and the responsibility that accompanies it. In working together in the Millerite movement, Adventists had learned respect and tolerance for the religious views of others, and a willingness to study rather than rely on

---

[58] The letters found in the *AR* during the pioneer period of the 1850s and 1860s depicted some of the hardships of their experience as pilgrims and strangers, often referring to the loneliness and isolation that resulted from their separation from their home churches. For instance, Sister Sarah A. Jessup writes, "I am all alone in trying to keep all the commandments of God, and the testimony of Jesus—There are no sabbath keepers very near here." "From Sister Jessup," *AR* 4.3 (23 June 1853): 24; Sister M.A.E. Townsend reports, "I am as it were almost alone here, in reference to keeping the seventh-day Sabbath; . . . I have never had the privilege of hearing one of our faith preach." "From Sr. Townsend," *AR* 4.10 (13 September 1853): 78; and Sister Morinda G. Bartlett says, "There are none in this place who are in the present truth, but my trust is in God. His truth has separated me from the doctrines and precepts of men, he has established my goings and I feel that I am founded on the rock, Christ Jesus, and he is able to bring others out of darkness." "From Sister Bartlett," *AR* 5.11 (4 April 1854): 87.

The pilgrimage motif is woven throughout early Adventist productions. From Annie Smith's much loved hymns, "I Saw One Weary" and "How Far from Home" and Mary S. B. Dana's "I'm a Pilgrim, and I'm a Stranger," to numerous articles in the *AR,* the Advent people are characterized by their marginal status as sojourners rather than citizens of the world. Another example of this sentiment was expressed in a poem written by Brother Hyde who witnessed Ellen White's vision of the New Earth:

> We have heard from the bright, the holy land;
> We have heard, and our hearts are glad;
> For we were a lonely pilgrim band,
> And weary, and worn, and sad.
> They tell us the saints have a dwelling there—
> No longer are homeless ones;
> And we know that the goodly land is fair,
> Where life's pure river runs

Ellen G. White, *Testimonies for the Church*, 9 vols. (Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press, 1948), 1:70.

tradition or creed. The two theses of freedom and responsibility were linked together, since trust in the Bible as the ultimate guide meant that one had to be fair and honest with what it said, even if that went against what one had been taught or intuitively thought to be right.

It is not surprising, then, that these issues held a significant place in the guiding principles of the embryonic Seventh-day Adventist Church. J. N. Andrews captured the essence of the group's commitment to honest inquiry when he commented on the extensive work that he was going to present on the seventh-day Sabbath. In his words, "I desire to promote the cause of truth without mingling with that effort one particle of party spirit. The truth will stand on its own merits."[59] Church organizer James White noted in his reflections on these issues, "Christ never designed that human minds should be molded for Heaven by the influence merely of other human minds. 'The head of every man is Christ.' . . . However important organization may be for the protection of the church, and to secure harmony of action, it must not come in to take the disciple from the hands of the Master."[60] Addressing this same point concerning individual freedom and accountability, Ellen White argued, "We should not take the testimony of any man as to what the Scriptures teach, but should study the words of God for ourselves. If we allow others to do our thinking, we shall have crippled energies and contracted abilities."[61] In her later writings, Ellen White linked submission of individual thought with Roman Catholic principles of believer orthodoxy, a grave charge among her contemporaries.

During the 1880s, when certain young ministers (A. T. Jones and E. J. Waggoner) were challenging the church's accepted understanding of the meaning of select prophetic features (the ten horns of Daniel 7) outlined by Uriah Smith,[62] and propounding the doctrine of salvation through faith rather than law-keeping based on their understanding of Galatians, church members were torn between adhering to what had become accepted Adventist theology and abandoning established beliefs.[63] Despite many extenuating

[59] J. N. Andrews, "New History of the Sabbath," *AR* 32.22 (24 November 1868): 252–253. In this article, he asserts that in his desire to give a fair and complete review of the subject, he had reached out to individuals recognized for their commitment to the sacredness of the first day of the week, some of whom were his public opponents and critics. For an excellent insight into his assumptions concerning appropriate methodology and sources used, see his *AR* article, "The Preparation of the Sabbath History," *AR* 42.25 (2 December 1873): 196–197.

[60] James White, "Organization and Discipline," *AR* 57.1 (4 January 1881): 8–9.

[61] Ellen G. White, *Steps to Christ*, 89–90.

[62] For a closer look at the attitudes and sentiments expressed by both Uriah Smith and A. T. Jones, see "The Conference," *AR* 65.42 (23 October 1888): 664.

[63] The choice was complicated by the fact that a national Sunday law (the Blair

and trying cultural circumstances, when Ellen White spoke to an Adventist audience and leadership resisted rethinking the church's interpretation of Daniel 7 and doctrine of salvation, she warned them against preferring tradition to study. She reminded them that asking individuals to simply accept what had been established by a religious institution when personal study had led to an alternative interpretation of Scripture had a long history, one which the Adventist Church stood firmly against. In this was a warning that the Adventist Church would be assuming characteristics that they vociferously condemned. As she noted,

> Though the Reformation gave the Scriptures to all, yet the self-same principle which was maintained by Rome prevents multitudes in Protestant churches from searching the Bible for themselves. They are taught to accept its teachings *as interpreted by the church*; and there are thousands who dare receive nothing, however plainly revealed in Scripture, that is contrary to their creed, or the established teaching of their church.[64]

Ellen White also promulgated Miller's attitude toward the value and responsibility of honest inquiry. The freedom of religious belief the Reformers had fought for meant little if subsequent generations backslid into simply accepting a new set of creeds based on the interpretation of others. She insisted on a spirit of continued openness towards divergent views and a willingness to examine beliefs without preconceived conclusions. The hallmark of honest inquiry in her perception was the willingness to break with accepted doctrines and give alternative scriptural interpretation a fair hearing. This responsibility was attendant to religious freedom. She reflected this view clearly when she said,

> Truth is eternal, and conflict with error will only make manifest its strength. We should never refuse to examine the Scriptures with those who, we have reason to believe, desire to know what is truth as much as we do. Suppose

---

Bill) had been proposed, and some states were arresting and imprisoning those who violated the Sunday Sabbath. This led many to conclude that they were entering the very end times and changes could imperil their very souls. Church leaders, such as Uriah Smith, were focused on relieving those who had been arrested and challenging/resisting the national Sunday law. They had little time nor inclination to consider going over theological ground that they considered thoroughly studied and rightly established. For a brief discussion of this struggle against a Sunday law and also the question of national prohibition movement, see Richard R. Schwarz and Floyd Greenleaf, *Light Bearers: A History of the Seventh-day Adventist Church* (Nampa, ID: Pacific Press, 2000), 241–245. Of interest to those who wish to look more closely into the confict between Jones and Smith, and the national context, see George R. Knight, *From 1888 to Apostasy: The Case of A. T. Jones (*Washington, DC: Review & Herald, 1987). J. N. Loughborough gave a brief overview of the origin and progress of the Sunday Law movement and how that affected the church. See Loughborough, 450–458.

[64] Ellen G. White, *Great Controversy* (1888), 596; emphasis original.

> a brother held a view that differed from yours, and he should come to you, proposing that you sit down with him and make an investigation of that point in the Scriptures; should you rise up, filled with prejudice, and condemn his ideas, while refusing to give him a candid hearing? The only right way would be to sit down as Christians, and investigate the position presented in the light of God's word, which will reveal truth and unmask error. To ridicule his ideas would not weaken his position in the least if it were false, or strengthen your position if it were true. If the pillar of our faith will not stand the test of investigation, it is time that we knew it. There must be no spirit of Phariseeism cherished among us.[65]

Ellen White's adoption of Miller's approach gave the church a decisive endorsement of a cognitive approach to Scriptural study and with it the freedom and binding responsibility that accompanies religious study. This legacy of continued independent scholarship has functioned to mediate the tension between established Adventist beliefs and the evolving understanding of Scripture. It is significant to note that, despite the tendency of sects to degenerate into creedal bodies, it promoted independent Bible studies and was still a motivating factor for Adventist scholars a hundred years later, still reflected in their statements. One such scholar, Edward Heppenstall, says,

> Freedom belongs to man on religious grounds. Freedom is the gift of God. . . . Religion that is afraid of investigation and scholarship tends towards superstition and emotionalism . . . Blind credulity as to the truth one holds is the refuge of sluggish minds. It relieves the individual from the real study of God's word. It settles all differences by silencing all opposing voices and denying the right to ask questions. This takes the meaning out of religion, leaving it ignorant, superficial, intolerant.[66]

This process was defended and perpetuated in the church by the writings of Ellen White, who utilized and commended it. She depended on Miller's model of scriptural interpretation that required individual responsibility for personal religious beliefs. This component can only be maintained today, as long as congregants are active participants in negotiating belief, and both the individuals and the collective group value careful study and individual freedom to explore and interpret the Bible. The group as a whole must maintain tolerance for diversity rather than uniformity of belief, continually resisting the formation of discussion-ending creeds. The acceptance of a creed effectually replaces individual responsibility with church authority.

---

[65] Ellen G. White, "The Necessity of Dying to Self," *AR* 66.25 (18 June 1889): 385–386.

[66] Edward Heppenstall, "Academic Freedom and the Quest for Truth," *Spectrum* 4.1 (1972): 34–40.

Progressive Revelation

One further aspect of Adventist belief that influenced the group's drive towards the deeper study of Scripture was the understanding that God reveals truth incrementally. For early Adventists, this translated into a position of humility: they determined to remain open to further truth. As noted church leader and long-time editor of the *AR*, Uriah Smith commented in 1857 on the group's growth in scriptural understanding since the 1840s:

> We have been enabled to rejoice in truths far in advance of what we then perceived. But we do not imagine that we yet have it all, by any means. We trust to progress still, our way growing continually brighter and brighter unto the perfect day. Then let us maintain an inquiring frame of mind, seeking for more light, more truth endeavoring the while, to keep ourselves in the love of God, and the patient waiting for his Son from heaven.[67]

On many occasions, these early Adventists experienced the move from a cherished belief when evidence of a better understanding became manifest. The change from welcoming the Sabbath at six o'clock in the evening to commencing its observance at sunset provides one example of this principle in action.[68] This change came as the result of study, discussion, and reflection, and James White viewed it as consistent with their stance to abandon any theological position when new light guided them in a different direction. He did not view this adjustment in belief and practice as an unexpected aberration, but rather declared that the group "would change on other points of their faith if they could see good reason to do so from the Scriptures."[69] It can be noted that these pioneers also had been led to relinquish their firm belief in the 22 October 1844 return of Jesus, along with attitudes towards the propriety of marriage in view of the approaching Advent,[70] and had abandoned the shut door theory.[71] As mentioned earlier, another prime example of a change involved the formal organization of the church and the decision to obtain its status as a legal entity. At that point, Merritt Cornell gave a statement that neatly captured the idea of accepting progressive revelation, saying, "There

[67] [Uriah Smith], "The True Course," *AR* 9.26 (30 April 1857): 204–205.

[68] M. E. Cornell noted, "Once we taught with confidence that the time for commencing the Sabbath was at 6:00 o'clock, but we had to give it up, and now that position appears dark, and we wonder that we were ever so blind." ("Making Us a Name," 9).

[69] James White, "The Word," *AR* 7.19 (7 February 1856): 148–149.

[70] James White, "My Dear Bro. Jacobs," *The Day-Star* 7.12–13 (11 October 1845): 47; James White and Ellen G. White, *Life Sketches: Christian Experience, and Extensive Labors of Elder James White and His Wife, Mrs. Ellen G. White* (Battle Creek, MI: Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Association, 1888), 126. This topic is also discussed in "Accepting 'A Wile of the Devil,'" in Wheeler, *James White*, 37–45.

[71] See footnote 14.

is danger of our being so over zealous to keep out of Babylon that we shall commit her most noted blunder – that of sticking a stake and refusing to pull it up and advance. When we cease to unlearn errors, we shall fall like those who have gone before us. We have learned much, and no doubt there is much more for us to learn."[72] In short, previous study and convictions on a theological point did not rule out the possibility that God would subsequently reveal their imperfect or flawed understanding on an established issue, requiring them to move forward with the new light received.

The idea of progressive revelation wass derived from the Millerite and early Sabbatarian Adventist experiences. As the believers studied together, God impressed them with a new understanding and significance of certain passages. Ellen White addressed the changing nature and ongoing process of understanding God's Word and will:

> New light will ever be revealed on the word of God to him who is in living connection with the Sun of Righteousness. Let no one come to the conclusion that there is no more truth to be revealed. The diligent, prayerful seeker for truth will find precious rays of light yet to shine forth from the word of God. Many gems are yet scattered that are to be gathered together to become the property of the remnant people of God.[73]

Belief in progressive revelation worked against the formation of a creed that would close the door to the further growth of doctrinal or scriptural understanding. At the 1861 Sabbatarian meeting, where the first church conference was organized, John Loughborough argued, as reported by the chair, Joseph Bates, that, "the first step of apostasy is to get up a creed, telling us what we shall believe."[74] He went on to sketch the future of a group with a creed: it would eventually exclude and then persecute members who dared to disagree with established doctrines. As James White forcefully declared, "We reject everything in the form of a human creed."[75] For James White and his contemporaries, a creed paralyzed a religious organization and prevented growth in biblical understanding, and the potential for spiritual growth that could accompany it. To them, the adoption of a creed was essentially a denial that they were on a spiritual journey, led by an active and engaged Lord who would reveal greater truths as the group was ready (sufficiently mature), and the time was right. It was assumed that God's purposes are inscrutable, and so his choice to open up to or impress the minds of the diligent with further

---

[72] Cornell, "Making Us a Name," 8.

[73] Ellen G. White, "The Object of Sabbath School Work," in *Testimonies on Sabbath School Work*, 53–54. Reprinted in *Counsels on Sabbath School Work: A Compilation From the Writings of Ellen G. White* (Washington, DC: Review & Herald, 1938), 34.

[74] Bates, "Battle Creek Conference," 148–149.

[75] Bates, "Battle Creek Conference," 148–149.

light or truth depended on his sense of timing.

Their radical stance against setting a creed went further than simply admitting that their current knowledge base was incomplete, or that there was truth yet to be revealed. It also included the idea that some aspects of the message or "truth," which were presented by the group in the past, could have ceased to provide adequate or complete "truth" for the present and/or the future. Ellen White addressed the changing nature of the message when church leaders opposed a change in emphasis being proposed by younger ministers with instructions that the group needed to stand by traditional Adventist teachings. She answered their position with a rebuke: "The gospel must be fulfilled in accordance with the messages God sends. That which God gives his servants today would not perhaps have been the present truth twenty years ago, but it is God's message for this time."[76]

Adventists were urged to look and move forward. In Adventist rhetoric, God is moving a people toward a fuller understanding of God's ideals and standards for humanity. God is in the process of readying a people to stand at the end of time. Truth is manifest as God's people are ready to receive it. Far from representing "truth" solely as a characteristic of a golden past—an age to which we must return—truth is also to be found in the future as we move beyond earlier understandings. As Ellen White remarked:

> We have many lessons to learn, and many, many to unlearn. God and heaven alone are infallible. Those who think that they will never have to give up a cherished view, never have occasion to change an opinion, will be disappointed. As long as we hold to our own ideas and opinions with determined persistency, we cannot have the unity for which Christ prayed.[77]

In her perspective, truth must be pursued through study and personal preparation, in order to receive further light as it comes along.[78] Both the corporate church community and individuals within the church are to stay engaged in an active quest for truth. As Ellen White stated: "There is no excuse for any one in taking the position that there is no more truth to be revealed, and that all our expositions of Scripture are without an error. The fact that certain

---

[76] Ellen G. White, "Counsel to Ministers," 1888 (Manuscript 8a, 1888), Ellen G. White Estate, Silver Spring, MD.

[77] Ellen G. White, "Search the Scriptures," *AR* 69.30 (26 July 1892): 465–466.

[78] Ellen White expanded the significance of study and search for truth when she tied it with one's ability to comprehend Scripture. She posited a mental law of use or atrophy, saying: " The mental powers will surely become contracted, and will lose their ability to grasp the deep meanings of the word of God, unless they are put vigorously and persistently to the task of searching for truth. The mind will enlarge, if it is employed in tracing out the relation of the subjects of the Bible, comparing scripture with scripture and spiritual things with spiritual. Go below the surface; the richest treasures of thought are waiting for the skillful and diligent student." ("The Value of Bible Study," *AR* 65.29 [17 July 1888]: 450).

doctrines have been held as truth for many years by our people, is not a proof that our ideas are infallible."[79]

Adventist Understanding of Inspiration

The Adventist understanding of how to study what God has revealed is influenced by their view of how God reveales Himself through inspiration. Early *AR* articles only occasionally addressed the inspiration of Scripture, since belief in the Bible as God's word was assumed in the circles in which they conversed and from whom Adventists drew their readership. See the section of this paper, "Early Adventist Hermeneutics" for a fuller discussion of this point. The question of their view of inspiration was folded into their presentations concerning their acceptance of visions, particularly those of Ellen G. [Harmon] White.[80] The articles that addressed what they referred to as spiritual gifts or the gift of prophecy clarified the Adventist stance on the Bible as the ultimate source of knowing God's will. These pieces were general responses to charges leveled by other Christians that sabbatarian Adventists were following the words of a human [Ellen White] or elevating her pronouncements over those of the Bible. Therefore, the articles affirmed that Adventists accepted the Bible as a trustworthy guide and focused on its promises for the outpouring of the Holy Spirit and the on-going gift of prophecy.[81] To defend their recognition of Ellen White's active voice in the movement, they frequently quoted Scripture found in Joel 2:28–29 and Acts 2:16–18, "Your daughters shall prophesy," and so located Ellen White's role and ecstatic visions within the holy texts.[82] The topic of inspiration was articulated much more directly later in the century, particularly through Ellen White as she became a more experienced writer and was able to reflect on how God communicated to and through her. From the various articles and Ellen

[79] Ellen G. White, "Christ Our Hope," *AR* 69.50 (20 December 1892): 785–786.

[80] See, for example, James White, "Unity and Gifts of the Church, No. 4," *AR* 11.9 (19 November 1858); 68-69, and B. F. Robbins, "The Promise of the Father," *AR* 15.7 (5 January 1860), 53.

[81] For a particularly useful discussion of this, see James White, "A Sketch of the Rise and Progress of the Present Truth," *AR* 11.8 (31 December 1857): 61. He noted an incident where "the Lord worked in a special manner": "The Spirit of the Lord rested on Mrs. W., and she was taken off in vision. The entire congregation believed that it was the work of God, and were deeply affected."

[82] For a fuller discussion of their use of Scripture and their understanding of the gifts of the Spirit, see Beverly Beem and Ginger Hanks Harwood, "'Your Daughters Shall Prophesy': James White, Uriah Smith, and the 'Triumphant Vindication of the Right of the Sisters' to Preach," *AUSS* 43.1 (2005): 41–58; and Ginger Hanks Harwood and Beverly G. Beem "'It Was Mary that First Preached a Risen Jesus': Early Seventh-day Adventist Answers to Objections to Women as Public Spiritual Leaders," *AUSS* 45.2 (2007): 221–245.

White's later works, the reader is able to obtain a clear view of the official Adventist understanding of inspiration, an understanding that had significant implications for hermeneutics.

It is clear that Adventists claimed divine authority for the Bible because its messages came from God. Consequently, they concluded that human wisdom must defer to the authority of the Bible. Such a position solidly situated Adventism within the conservative end of the theological spectrum.[83] Yet, this conservative, Bible-affirming position did not lead Adventists to a literalist approach.[84] Although committed to the elevated status of the Bible, the denomination rejected the "literalist" approach to Scripture, a point which should be differentiated from their "literal" or "plain reading" approach.[85] Adventists referred the authority of Scripture back to the God behind the words of the text.[86]

Expressing a similar view, Ellen White stated that while the Bible is the Word of God, "God and heaven alone are infallible."[87] She distinguished between the God of the universe whose will and wisdom were infallible, and the specific words chosen by the fallible human beings he inspired and commissioned to translate his message intohuman language. Unlike the late nineteenth and twentieth-century fundamentalists who affirmed verbal inspiration—the belief that the Bible contains only the literal and actual words of God[88]—Adventists opted historically to describe the writers, not the words, as

[83] Denis Kaiser offers an excellent description of approaches to inspiration used by various denominations in the nineteenth century, including the Wesleyan Methodists, the Restorationist Movement, and the Millerite Movement, all antecedents of Seventh-day Adventists. He also provides a fine overview of the other forces, such as geological and biological discoveries and German higher criticism which compelled Bible students to seek further clarity about the sound uses of the Bible and how to interpret it responsibly and with integrity. It is not surprising that Adventism itself had to start wrestling with this topic in a more disciplined manner by the end of the nineteenth century. For further research on this topic, see Kaiser's work and bibliography, "Trust and Doubt."

[84] The basic fundamentalist approach is summarized by Religious Right leader, Jerry Falwell, who claims, "The Bible is absolutely infallible, without error in all matters pertaining to faith and practice, as well as in areas such as geography, science, history, etc." *Listen America* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1980), 63.

[85] For definitions and distinctions between literalism and a literal or plain reading, see the discussion of this difference in footnote 31.

[86] An early example of this is found in James White's article, "Paul Says So," 152. See also footnote 43.

[87] Ellen G. White, "Search the Scriptures," 465–466.

[88] For a thorough discussion of fundamentalist belief concerning inspiration, see Sandeen, *The Roots of Fundamentalism,* 103–131.

inspired by God.[89] This conservative position can be observed in the writings of church pioneers, founders, and spiritual leaders on the process of inspiration.[90] In 1883, the *AR* published the General Conference's officially adopted

[89] Uriah Smith, the editor of the *AR*, addressed the issue in a defense of Ellen White against those who would accuse her of claiming verbal inspiration. He wrote of "those who are making a specialty of opposing sister White and her work, Their stronghold is to place her in a false light, [and] misrepresent our position in reference to her work, . . . For instance, they say, 'We know her *words* are not inspired,' thus covertly implying that she claims and we hold that they are: and then they produce what they suppose to be a stunning fact that she sometimes herself changes the phraseology of her sentences, employs amanuenses to assist in preparing her works for the press, and inserts quotations from history. 'Are these all inspired, too?' they sneeringly ask." [Uriah Smith], "Which are Revealed, Words or Ideas? *AR* 65.11 (13 March 1888): 168–169. He continued his analysis of the arguments of Ellen White's critics who questioned whether the "historians she quotes were inspired too." They also questioned the inspiration of the translator who rendered the Hebrew text into English, and the other translators who used different words to render the text.?" He refers to an earlier article by Joseph Clarke, "Old Testament and New Testament," *AR* 64.41 (18 October 1887): 641–642. He speaks of the book of Revelation as "an inspired comment upon the book of Daniel, extending that Old Testament prophecy further, and with more clearness, into the future." He said that all the New Testament writers and even Jesus himself "drew their most powerful arguments from that great store-house of truth, the Old Testament." This does not elevate the Old Testament over the New, however it shows "that they are of equal importance." The rejection of the importance of the Old Testament led to great evils, including the persecution of the Jews and the rejection of the Sabbath, and "Ignorance of the Old Testament led to fanciful interpretations of the New, and these increasingly indefinitely, creeds have become as numerous as the weeds that infest our fields."

[90] In 1884, George I. Butler, the General Conference President, wrote a series of ten articles on degrees of inspiration. The first article, "Inspiration: Its Nature and Manner of Communication," *AR* 61.2 (8 January 1884): 24, described the project. "As inspiration comes from God, it must partake of the divine; and hence it must be too deep for finite minds to fully comprehend. But that which is 'revealed belongs unto us and our children.'" The issue was not whether or not the Bible is inspired, for "the readers of the *AR* long ago settled that point to their entire satisfaction." Rather, he was interested in the "nature of inspiration, the manner of its bestowal, the degree of its influence, and the purpose of God in it." He recognized that God could have written the whole Bible with his hand, as he did the Ten Commandments, or sent an angel to write it all out, but he did not do that. "God employs human agencies. He inspires them and moves them to write. . . . The Scriptures are the product of this combined action of the human and the Divine." This is the understanding that Ellen White shared, but Butler went on to develop a concept of the degrees of inspiration, deeming some works as more inspired than others. White disapproved of this. His series continued with No. 2, "Inspiration," *AR* 61.3 (15 January 1884), 41; No. 3, "Visions and Dreams," *AR* 61.4 (22 January 1884): 57–58; No, 4, "Light through

position on the issue: "We believe the light given by God to his servants is by the enlightenment of the mind, thus imparting the thoughts, and not (except in rare cases) the very words in which the ideas should be expressed."[91] Adventists clearly adopted the stance that God dealt with inspired people rather than dictating the actual words of the Bible. The statement refrained from attributing inerrancy to Scripture, but affirmed its centrality for understanding God's purposes, as well as Christian life and practice.[92]

In addition to formal church statements of doctrine, Adventists have traditionally valued the guidance on such issues provided by the church co-founder, Ellen White. She directly addressed the issue of inspiration, both in the Scriptures and in the production of her own works. She left no doubt concerning her stand on the question of how the Scriptures were created either in her personal correspondence or in the statements on inspiration that she prepared for publication.

> It is not the words of the Bible that are inspired, but the men that were inspired. Inspiration acts not on the man's words or his expressions but on the man himself, who, under the influence of the Holy Ghost, is imbued with thoughts. But the words receive the impress of the individual mind.

Visions to Principal Sources of Biblical Inspiration," *AR* 61.5 (29 January 1884): 73; No. 5, "The Word of the Lord Came to Men Through Visions," *AR*, 61.6 (5 February 1884): 89–90; No. 6, "How Were the Poetic and Historical Books of the Bible Written?" *AR* 61.16 (15 April 1884): 249–250; No. 7, "The Books of Solomon, Job etc.," *AR* 61.17 (22 April 1884): 265–267; No. 8, "In What Sense are the Scriptures Inspired," *AR* 61.19 (6 May, 1884): 296–297; No. 9, "Is There Any Degree of Imperfection in the Revelations of God to Man?" *AR* 61.22 (27 May 1884): 344–346; and No. 10, "Final Conclusions and Reflections," *AR* 61.23 (3 June 1884): 361–362. Ellen White wrote her response five years later after seeing the impact this concept had on the students at Battle Creek. "I was shown that the Lord did not inspire the articles on inspiration published in the *AR*, neither did He approve their endorsement before our youth in the college. When men venture to criticize the Word of God, they venture on sacred, holy ground, and had better fear and tremble and hide their wisdom as foolishness. God sets no man to pronounce judgment on His Word, selecting some things as inspired and discrediting others as uninspired. The testimonies have been treated in the same way; but God is not in this." Ellen G. White to R. A. Underwood, 1889 (Letter 22, 1889), Ellen G. White Estate, Silver Spring, MD. Reprinted in Ellen G. White, *Selected Messages*, 1:23. For a discussion of the setting of this series, see Frank M. Hasel, "Inspiration, Degrees of." *The Ellen G. White Encyclopedia*, 895-897.

[91] G. I. Butler, "General Conference Proceedings (Concluded)," *AR* 60.47 (27 November 1883): 741.

[92] For a late twentieth-century coverage of Adventist understanding of inspiration that stands in harmony with the principle laid out by Ellen White and the nineteenth-century Adventist pioneers, see Herbert E. Douglas, *Messenger of the Lord: The Prophetic Ministry of Ellen G. White* (Nampa, ID: Pacific Press, 1998), 372–385.

> The divine mind is diffused. The divine mind and will is combined with the human mind and will; thus the utterances of the man are the word of God.[93]

Again, in the same manuscript, Ellen White clearly denied the verbal dictation theory concerning the inspiration of the Scriptures in her statement, "The Bible is written by inspired men, but it not God's mode of thought and expression. It is that of humanity. God, as a writer, is not represented. Men will often say such an expression is not like God. But God has not put Himself in words, in logic, in rhetoric, on trial in the Bible. The writers of the Bible were God's penmen, not His pen."[94] She reflected similar sentiments in her 1888 edition of the book, *The Great Controversy,* when she wrote that,

> The ten commandments were spoken by God Himself, and were written by his own hand. They are of divine, and not human composition. But the Bible, with its God-given truths expressed in the language of men, presents a union of the divine and the human. Such a union existed in the nature of Christ, who was the Son of God and the Son of man. Thus it is true of the Bible, as it was of Christ, that "the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us." John 1:14.[95]

A close review of Ellen White's writings reveals that she repeatedly stressed that God's words come through human agents, leaving what could be called "human fingerprints" on Scripture.[96] While this results in a product that is a merging of the human and the Divine, it is this very fusion that makes the works comprehensible to human minds. Eternal verities are accessible and communicated to humans in language and symbols they can understand. She explained, "The Lord speaks to human beings in imperfect speech, in

---

[93] Ellen G. White, "Objections to the Bible," 1886 (Manuscript 24, 1886), Ellen G. White Estate, Silver Spring, MD. Reprinted in Ellen G. White, *Selected Messages*, 1:19–21. Other Ellen White statements prepared in the 1880s include "The Inspiration of the Word of God," 1888 (Manuscript 16, 1888), Ellen G. White Estate, Silver Spring, MD. Reprinted in *Selected Messages*, 1:15–18, and "The Mysteries of the Bible a Proof of Its Inspiration," *Testimonies*, 5:698–711. These statements helped clarify both her stance on the nature of biblical inspiration and how the process worked in her own writings. While chosen individuals were filled with the Holy Spirit, they retained the responsibility of finding words that most accurately expressed the message God had given to them.

[94] Ellen G. White, "Inspiration."

[95] Ellen G. White, *The Great Controversy* (1888), c, d.

[96] The understanding of inspiration held by Ellen White and the other thought leaders of early Adventism has many practical implications for Bible students. It accounts for the changes in tone, voice, style, and level of literary sophistication from one book to the next. It allows for the differences in the Gospel accounts where writers describe the same events from diverse perspectives. It even helps eliminate the tension created by different ordering of events from one Gospel to another or the conflict between texts that tell the same story but give different details.

order that the degenerate senses, the dull, earthly perception, of earthly beings may comprehend His words. Thus is shown God's condescension. He meets fallen human beings where they are."[97] Ellen White recognized that human beings live within an imperfect world, within culturally determined structures of thought and language. She was clear that God's condescension includes communicating through limited and fallible vehicles: "The Bible is not given to us in grand, superhuman language. Jesus, in order to reach man where he is, took humanity. The Bible must be given in the language of men. Everything that is human is imperfect."[98]

Ellen White's conclusion that scriptural texts were written by humans and retain the imprint of the vehicles that carried God's Word did not decrease their spiritual value or usefulness. In her introduction to *The Great Controversy,* she explained how one can invest authority in statements that evidenced the human role in their production:

> The Bible points to God as its author; yet it was written by human hands; and in the varied style of its different books it presents the characteristics of the several writers. The truths revealed are all "given by inspiration of God" (2 Tim. 3:16); yet they are expressed in the words of men. The Infinite One by His Holy Spirit has shed light into the minds and hearts of his servants. He has given dreams and visions, symbols and figures; and those to whom the truth was thus revealed, have themselves embodied the thought in human language.[99]

The same point was emphasized when Ellen White reflected on the words of the apostles of Jesus. "Through the inspiration of His Spirit the Lord gave His apostles truth, to be expressed according to the development of their minds by the Holy Spirit. But the mind is not cramped, as if forced into a certain mold."[100] She revealed that inspiration also operated this way in her experience of being given a message and left to articulate it in her own words. She reflected on her personal trepidation as she endeavored to articulate the message transmitted to her from God, remarking: "I tremble for fear lest I shall belittle the great plan of salvation by cheap words."[101] This fear is understandable only in light of the fact that she, though inspired, "embodied the thought

---

[97] Ellen G. White to Dr. [A. J.] Sanderson, 12 September 1901 (Letter 121, 1901), Ellen G. White Estate, Silver Spring, MD.

[98] Ellen G. White, *Selected Messages,* 1:19–21.

[99] Ellen G. White, *The Great Controversy* (1888), c.

[100] Ellen G. White to Brother [S. N. Haskell], 5 April 1900 (Letter 53, 1900), Ellen G. White Estate, Silver Spring, MD.

[101] Ellen G.White to Brother [O. A. Olsen], 15 July 1892 (Letter 40, 1892), Ellen G. White Estate, Silver Spring, MD, as quoted in Arthur L. White, *Messenger to the Remnant,* 59.

in human language."[102] This human aspect of the inspiration equation rules out an inerrant text. Ellen White also conceded that the Bible "probably" contains errors derived from mistakes made by copyists and translators:

> 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. . . . 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.[103]

This recognition of possible errors in Scripture reflected both the opinions of earlier Adventist pioneers on the subject, along with the subsequent statements published by church representatives. After examining her counsel on the subject, any serious student of her writings cannot avoid Ellen White's clear pronouncement concerning the process of inspiration.[104]

Early Adventist Hermeneutics and the Future of Christian Hermeneutics

Early Sabbatarian Adventists took the careful approach to Bible study inherited from the Millerite movement and honed it into a sophisticated hermeneutical method that established a church committed to a sound and scholarly study of Scripture as the inspired word of God. The early Adventists' high respect for Scripture was balanced by an appreciation of the human role in its production, translation, and interpretation; and accompanied by an attitude of humility and a belief that human understanding of God's messages to humanity is incomplete or partial. Their belief in progressive revelation encompassed the idea that more would be revealed in God's time. These beliefs have traditionally safe-guarded the Seventh-day Adventist denomination from simplistic readings reflecting prevalent cultural attitudes.

The example of early Adventists should encourage current Adventists and other Christians, to cimmit themselves to do the intensive work of biblical scholarship and to reflect on how any particular text should be understood

---

[102] Ellen G. White, *Great Controversy* (1888), c.

[103] Ellen G. White, "The Guide Book," 1888 (Manuscript 16, 1888), Ellen G. White Estate, Silver Spring, MD.

[104] For an in-depth discussion of the streams of thought Adventism was navigating as the nineteenth century ended and the twentieth began, Denis Kaiser's work on the various theories of inspiration in nineteenth-century America is very useful. His work gives both an overview and a helpful bibliography of the various approaches: Verbal-Plenary Inspiration, Thought Inspiration, Inspiration of the Person, Degrees of Inspiration, Partial Inspiration, and popular understandings of the inspiration of Ellen White. He also examines the positions of major Adventist leaders, including Uriah Smith, George I. Butler, Dudley M Canright, and Ellen White's own understanding of her inspiration. "Trust and Doubt."

and applied. This will help avoid the error of "finding answers" by clinging to single or isolated texts, at the expense of others. The hermeneutic so painstakingly pioneered by William Miller, James White, Joseph Bates, J. N. Andrews, Ellen White, and other early Adventist leaders guided the church through periods of religious fundamentalism and created a culture that values on-going study and biblical literacy. It has promoted biblical scholarship and produced a proud honor roll of qualified scholars.

Despite the established methodology of a solid and distinctive hermeneutic, the present era of fundamentalist growth and entrenchment in society and religion, with its embrace of biblicism, offers a challenge to the integrity of the nineteenth century Adventist legacy. It is inevitable that many church members are influenced by fundamentalist attitudes and impulses. Nevertheless, the early Adventist movement provides today's Protestants with sufficient resources to prevent them from being swallowed up by the biblicism of the modern fundamentalist resurgence, as long as they choose to retain the integrity of their hermeneutic. As noted in the discussion above, the early Adventist understandings of Scripture, inspiration, the vital role of critical thinking, and the insistence that Scripture passages be read and interpreted together, were all aspects that differentiated Adventists from the ideological stances of churches associated with fundamentalism. It is essential to continually educate those in modern Adventist pews, both the new members, who might bring other traditions with them, and those reared within the Adventist faith who may need to be reminded of the Adventist principles of careful and thoughtful biblical study. The hermeneutic that is the Adventist legacy has the potential to keep Protestantism alive and open to what pioneer Adventists such as James White called present truth and the expectation that Adventists will continue to grow in the understanding of God's will through progressive revelation. It creates the space for new readings and interpretations of various texts and allows positions to be taken based on our best understandings of God's Word.

Whether or not traditional Adventist hermeneutics will see the Adventist Church through the current resurgence of fundamentalist hermeneutics depends both on the degree of the church's commitment to its legacy, and upon whether the clarity concerning the goal of Bible study (preparation for union with Christ) is retained. Clearly, if Bible study does not steadily draw the Christian closer to God and educate each person more fully in the ways of God's love, the hermeneutic will be found lacking after all. If expertise in Scripture leads Christians to narrow the definition of who may participate in the conversation, moving to exclude greater numbers of people, insisting on an affirmation of a catechism of right beliefs, and joining in interpretive battles armed with proof texts, then the practices of the nineteenth-century pioneers of Adventism need to be reviewed and revived. It is critical to retain the understanding that no one fully understands every passage of Scripture,

but that God will lead his people into further truth as they are ready to move forward. Adventists today must embrace a vision of God's love for, and in engagement with, a people traveling out of the darkness of spiritual ignorance into increasing light.

Perhaps the most significant legacy that nineteenth-century Adventists left for their spiritual heirs was a love for the way God chose to reveal his will and intention for humanity's salvation. In his wisdom, he condescended to communicate to humanity through frail and flawed humans. And he allowed them to work within the limitations of their own languages as they struggled to articulate the grand vision he had for the healing and renewal of a broken and distorted humanity, in order to develop lives of authenticity and grace.

Early Adventists modeled faith in the process of careful study, utilizing the best scholarly resources available to them, and committing to the revision of their views and practices when new light was given, fully trusting God's continued guidance. The hermeneutical principles upon which they settled invite Christians today to see ourselves as they did, as pilgrims on a spiritual journey, never growing so fond of one (theological) place that Christ cannot be followed further as he bids us to pull up our stakes and travel forward to another place. If there was one principle upon which the Adventist pioneers retained clarity, it was that the ultimate purpose of immersion in Bible study is to catch glimpses of God, and that by beholding him we may be changed into authentic reflections of his grace. Whether or not this heritage is preserved may be the most critical element in the shaping of the future of Seventh-day Adventism and its contributions to the wider Christian community.

Andrews University Seminary Studies, Vol. 57, No. 1, 175–213.
Copyright © 2019 Andrews University Seminary Studies

THE CHRISTIAN DEBATE ON SAME-SEX MARRIAGE AND TAYLOR'S IMMANENT AND TRANSCENDENT GOODS: LESSONS FROM ADVENTIST APPROACHES

David J. Hamstra
Berrien Springs, MI

Abstract

Arguments made for and against affirming same-sex marriage in Christian communities rely on typical moral background preconceptions about immanent and transcendent goods identified by Charles Taylor in *A Secular Age*. Arguments made only in terms of marriage's immanent goods have the potential to diminish the plausibility of a uniquely Adventist way of imagining the transcendent good: apocalyptic consciousness focused on the imminent-immanent restoration of Eden by Jesus Christ following the second coming. Comparing marriage to divergent sets of Sabbath-keeping practices—those that provide benefits exclusive to this world and those that aim at goods beyond this world—foregrounds the availability of a moral background for Seventh-day Adventist ethics that is closed to transcendent goods. However, practices that entail giving up immanent goods for the transcendent good of Eden-restored can be authentically sustained through communal recognition. Adventism should develop such practices of recognition both to alleviate losses incurred by gay, lesbian, and bisexual Adventists who make sacrifices for traditional marriage as a transcendent good and to reinforce the fuller sense of meaning found in self-denial for the sake of the soon-coming Savior.

Keywords: apocalyptic, Sabbath, same-sex marriage, Seventh-day Adventist

Introduction

Christians who live in societies with a high regard for "self-expression values" cannot be unaware—nor should they be—regarding the debate taking place in the church on the subject of same-sex marriage as a communal affirmation of lesbian, gay, and bisexual (LGB) Christians as sisters and brothers in

Christ.[1] At the same time, it is not unheard of for Seventh-day Adventists who support traditional marriage to claim that those who have "come out" as LGB people have in some way failed to yield to the converting power of God and that celibate Christians ought not be identified as LGB.[2] In the follow-

[1] Ronald Inglehart and Christian Wetzel identified support for "same-sex marriage" (SSM) as strongly correlating with other self-expression values (*Modernization, Cultural Change and Democracy: The Human Development Sequence* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005], 51, 55). I will use SSM to refer to the civilly and/or ecclesiastically recognized union of two females to each other or of two males to each other, regardless of orientation. Intersex traits and transgender phenomena complicate this definition and that of traditional marriage given in footnote 2 in ways that are beyond the scope of this research to address, as explained below, and merit full consideration in their own right.

Lesbian, gay, and bisexual (LGB, as in LGBTIQ+) are identifiers that attach not only to the phenomena of same/bi-sexual attraction, but also to the identities that index how those experiences of attraction play out in social relations. For the sake of conciseness, clarity, and consistency of language, I will use LGB to refer to individuals who do not accept those identifiers, but who openly acknowledge an ongoing, persistent experience of same-sex attraction. For a concise introduction to the philosophy of identity, albeit with specific reference to racial identity, see Linda Martín Alcoff, *The Future of Whiteness* (Cambridge: Polity, 2015), 45–61; and for how LGB identities are socially imagined see Peter Hart-Brinson, *The Gay Marriage Generation: How the LGBTQ Movement Transformed American Culture* (New York: New York University Press, 2018), 29–34, 129–152.

"Trans" or "transgendered" sexual identity (T), which broadly maps onto the phenomena of gender that is experienced or expressed as other than that assigned at birth on the basis of sexual anatomy; intersex (I) identity, which attaches to the certain traits on the spectrum of non-polar sexual anatomy; and other minority sexual identities can also attain a venue of recognition via access to marriage (n. 79). For the purpose of clarifying same-sex marriage in Adventism, however, I will bracket concerns arising from these identities, as the experiences and ethical considerations that belong to these identities, while overlapping with, and in ways analogous to, same-sex marriage for lesbian, gay, and bisexual people, introduce questions that are beyond the minimal question of same-sex marriage vis-à-vis traditional marriage. At the same time, I do believe that the general approach I take to the question of SSM in this research could also be applied to the urgent questions of how the church can best minister healing to trans, intersex, queer (Q), asexual people, and other sexual minorities (+).

[2] See, e.g., Gerry Wagoner, "'Coming Out' Is a Substitute New Birth Experience," *Fulcrum7* (blog), 16 April 2017, http://www.fulcrum7.com/blog/2017/4/16/coming-out-is-a-substitute-new-birth-experience; and Wayne Blakely, "In the Mirror," *ADVindicate* (blog), 7 June 2015, http://advindicate.com/articles/2015/6/7/in-the-mirror. By traditional marriage (TM) I mean the civilly and/or ecclesiastically recognized union of an opposite-sex couple (as qualified in n. 1), including both those in which both partners have a heterosexual orientation and also all the permutations of so-called "mixed-orientation" marriages.

ing research, I will submit that this new social reality is an opportunity for Seventh-day Adventism to clarify both the nature of our moral relationship with God and what it means to fulfill the church's divine *ministry of healing mandate* among lesbian, gay, and bisexual people in preparation for the soon second coming of Jesus.

To arrive at what is at stake in these arguments for the Adventist belief and practice, along with what can be done about it, I will first clarify the relationship between theory and practice in philosophical terms, especially with reference to how the latter forms preconceptions that shape the sense made of the former. Then I will show how this relationship is expressed in the moral assumptions that Adventists have relied on to make sense of typical arguments for same-sex marriage and traditional marriage. This will be in order to assert that what is at stake for Adventism on the question of same-sex marriage is the viability of an Adventist way of collectively imagining the future and what should be done in light of it. Finally, I will briefly touch on the relationship between identity, authenticity, and recognition by proposing the formation of sustainable, communal practices consistent with traditional marriage that can minister healing to lesbian, gay, and bisexual Adventists, thereby reinforcing the meaningfulness of their sacrifices for the soon-coming Savior.

"Background"

To begin, I will approach the question of same-sex marriage in Adventism through selected categories developed by Charles Taylor in his acclaimed work, *A Secular Age*.[3] I use Taylor's thinking here because his categories are developed through philosophical reflection on the broader historic sources of the controversy over marriage and sexual identity in what used to be Western

[3] Charles Taylor (1931–) is a Catholic, Canadian philosopher associated with a communitarian turn critical of classical liberal political philosophy (Daniel Bell, "Communitarianism," *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2016/entries/communitarianism). Taylor's 2007 Templeton Prize was awarded for his work on *A Secular Age* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007), "a definitive examination of secularization and the modern world" ("Previous Prize Winners: Charles Taylor," The Templeton Prize, no date, http://www.templetonprize.org/previouswinners/taylor.html).

A Secular Age has also elicited critical responses, including critiques of Taylor's categories of background and immanence/transcendence as they will be used in this research (respectively, Peter Woodford, "Specters of the Nineteenth Century: Charles Taylor and the Problem of Historicism," *Journal of Religious Ethics* 40.1 [2012]: 171–192; and William David Hart, "Naturalizing Christian Ethics: A Critique of Charles Taylor's *A Secular Age*," *Journal of Religious Ethics* 40.1 [2012]: 149–170). I do not judge that those critiques defeat the purposes for which I am using Taylor's thought in this research, but for the sake of space will not set forth my reasons here.

Christendom.[4] Thus, his philosophy is well positioned to help us get to the bottom of widespread cultural and religious influences operating in the Adventist community.

Put another way, Taylor's philosophy points to the "background" of these influences. Because, for Taylor, what is of interest is not so much the merits of arguments going back and forth between believers and unbelievers, but what those arguments rely on for them to make sense.[5] Taylor defines "background" as "that largely unstructured and inarticulate understanding of our whole situation, within which particular features of our world show up for us in the sense they have. It can never be adequately expressed in the form of explicit doctrines, because of its very unlimited and indefinite nature."[6]

To grasp the importance of background, recall or imagine playing the game where a small element of a picture is removed, expanded, and presented as a picture on its own. You must guess what it is, but with the background of the picture unavailable, you struggle and often fail to make sense of what's been isolated in the foreground. Similarly, there are the things that we are aware we are thinking about—ideas, arguments, doctrines, etc.—but these can only make sense (or fail to make sense) relative to a frame of reference that we are not thinking about; that is "against the background of things that matter."[7] Also, we can never escape our reliance on that background of pre-conceptions, because as soon as we bring one into the foreground to think about it, other pre-concepts in our background must make sense of that

---

[4] Within the socio-cultural-religious lived experience and intellectual exchange of Western (post-) Christendom, Taylor is especially focused on Anglo-American, German, and French developments in Roman Catholic historical (and theological) contexts. It should be noted that the indefinite article in *A Secular Age* refers to this context such that Taylor does not attempt to address his thesis to secularities beyond "Latin Christendom" and certain of its descendants (i.e., "the modern West" and "[North Atlantic, or 'Western'] civilization;" [Taylor, *Secular Age*, 15]). I will be using the expressions "Western" and "Global North" as broad equivalents for this milieu in its late-modern, late-capitalist (without implying its demise), post-colonial, and especially post-sexual revolution iterations, including the present.

[5] Paul D. Janz, "Transcendence, 'Spin,' and the Jamesian Open Space," in *Aspiring to Fullness in a Secular Age: Essays on Religion and Theology in the Work of Charles Taylor*, ed. Carlos D. Colorado and Justin D. Klassen [Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2014], 44. Taylor cites Hubert Dreyfus, *Being in the World* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1991) and John Searle, *The Construction of Social Reality* (New York: The Free Press, 1995); "drawing on the work of Heidegger, Wittgenstein, and Polanyi," as his philosophical influences on the category of "background" (Taylor, *Secular Age*, 173n12).

[6] Taylor, *Secular Age*, 173

[7] Taylor, *Ethics of Authenticity*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992), 40.

conceptualization. Nevertheless, the task Taylor has taken up as a philosopher is to make us at least aware of some of the more significant assumptions that have been conditioning our thinking, even if we cannot articulate that conditioning entirely.[8] Thus, our thought shapes our practices, and our practices shape our lived experience, and our lived experience shapes our background, which, in turn, shapes our thought.[9]

Accordingly, Taylor devotes the majority of *A Secular Age* to tracing how changes in intellectual, social, cultural, and religious conditions shaped the range and weight of available background pre-conceptions in Western society over time, moving the Global North from a place where unbelief in God was inconceivable, to a place where both believers and unbelievers are inescapably aware of the other option.[10] What this means, then, is that to be secular in

[8] Note, as an explanation for incommensurate meaning-making traditions, the difference between "background" for Taylor and "worldview" as developed by certain Christian philosophers and thinkers, such as James W. Sire, *The Universe Next Door: A Basic Worldview Catalogue*, 5th ed., (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2009). As a function of lived experience, background cannot be adequately comprehended in terms of explicit or implied responses to a taxonomy of universally applicable, diagnostic questions that define the "essential characteristics" of religious, philosophical, and ideological systems of belief and practice (Tawa J. Anderson, W. Michael Clark, and David K. Naugle, in *Introduction to Christian Worldview: Pursuing God's Perspective in a Pluralistic World* [Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2017], 24). Rather, for Taylor, our backgrounds are embodied in the belief-informed practices of which they make sense, frustrating any attempt to categorize them according to ahistorical first principles (n. 10). Cf. Anderson et al., 58–63 for a brief response to James K. A. Smith's Augustinian/Taylorian critique of Christian worldview philosophy.

[9] Taylor, *Secular Age*, 176. I take this to be a generally true account of how we think. Though, because of my commitment to the authority of Scripture in theology, I hasten to propose the availably of Bible study as spiritual practice that shapes Christian lived experience. Fernando Luis Canale, in the course of making an argument about a set of background preconceptions that make sense of theological reason and drawing on similar philosophical sources to Taylor, theorized a phenomenological method of Bible study, "targeted epoché," with the de jure capacity to transform such presuppositions (*A Criticism of Theological Reason: Time and Timelessness as Primordial Presuppositions*, Andrews University Seminary Doctoral Dissertation Series 10 [Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 1987], 296–299, https://digitalcommons.andrews.edu/dissertations/22). For a description of the lived experience of this method as practiced, see John C. Peckham, *Canonical Theology: The Biblical Canon, Sola Scriptura, and Theological Method* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2016), 248–249. Cf. Taylor on the "Jamsian open space," where one "can feel the force of each opposing position" (Secular Age, 592). Cf. also the basic "ordo spiritualis"—"experience → interpretive practice → ideas"—which "provides a certain structure for Adventist spirituality" via a historical, "from within" methodology in Zoltán Szalos-Farkas, *A Search for God: Understanding Apocalyptic Spirituality* (Bucharest: Editura Universitară, 2010), 60.

[10] James K. A. Smith sees this as Taylor's "Hegelian side—a deep appreciation for

the broadest Taylorian sense is to live with social conditions that form the background assumption that belief in God is optional.[11] Consequently, this space-time bounded cosmos we inhabit might, or might not, be all there is for us to live for. In other words, there is no way to adjudicate the questions about God that are part and parcel of living in *A Secular Age*—that is, the questions about ultimate reality, ultimate good, and whether or how we can come to knowledge of the same—which does not involve adjusting other background assumptions about those questions.[12] At the same time, no matter the answer given to these questions, we are always, to a greater or lesser extent, aware of and "cross-pressured" by the existence of other answers to them.[13] Thus, Taylor's argument builds to the conclusion that "anticipatory confidence" is needed for one to acknowledge, or not, some source of meaning that is qualitatively fuller than and/or beyond ordinary humanity and the universe, as far as we are able to investigate it through extensions of ourselves. And that is, in religious terms, faith.[14]

Conceptions of the Good

To relate Taylor's account of secularity to the question of same-sex marriage in the Adventist community, it is not necessary to retrace every step in its historical trajectory. Suffice it to begin with Taylor's conclusion that one background pre-conception that makes the difference between belief and unbelief in God is moral. Taylor foregrounds the following moral divide: whether it is taken to be good that human beings should be regarded only in terms of what is good in the life lived in this world, or whether there are things that are good for humans that go beyond what can be demonstrated in this life to be good

---

the contingencies of history. So we can't tell a neat-and-tidy story of deduction from abstract principles. . . . we need to get close to the ground and explore all kinds of contingent twists and turns that are operative in the background of our present" (*How (Not) to Be Secular: Reading Charles Taylor* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2014], 25).

[11] In Taylor's typology, this is "secularity 3." Secularity 1 is conceived as religion "retreating from the public space," and secularity 2, as declining levels of religious belief and practice (Taylor, *Secular Age*, 4, 15–17).

[12] Janz, "Jamesian Open Space," 60. Cf. Taylor, *Secular Age*, 565.

[13] "There has been . . . a mutual fragilization of different religious positions, as well as of the outlooks both of belief and unbelief. The whole culture experiences cross pressures, between the draw of the narratives of closed immanence on one side, and the sense of their inadequacy on the other" (Taylor, *Secular Age*, 595). Smith offers this brief gloss of "fragilization" as developed in *A Secular Age*: "In the face of different options, where people who lead 'normal' lives do not share my faith (and perhaps believe something very different), my own faith commitment becomes fragile—put into questions, dubitable" (Smith, *Be Secular,* 141).

[14] Taylor, *Secular Age*, 550–551.

in this-worldly terms.[15]

There are different ways to operate on this-worldly; moral assumptions, but for Christians, the most attractive is the position that there can be nothing better than alleviating human suffering and helping human beings live lives that maximize one another's well-being in the here-and-now.[16] Any other conceptions of 'the good' that get in the way of this universal immanent human flourishing must be opposed. This immanent-only moral assumption means that it is possible to imagine a universe for which God does not exist, because as modernity increasingly disciplined human beings toward the production of this-worldly goods, it became possible to question whether or not we needed God to order our moral lives according to the standard of this-worldly "mutual benefit."[17] That does not necessarily make someone

[15] In this research, by "this-worldly" I indicate the immanent, and by the "beyond" I indicate the transcendent (Taylor, *Secular Age*, 544–546). Cf. Janz's call to nuance the later ("Jamesian Open Space," 67–68).

[16] There are two other options Taylor identifies for orienting oneself toward the good on exclusively immanent moral assumptions. One strand, associated with Nietzsche, renounces the aim of universal human flourishing as that which diminishes or obliterates essential aspects of the good life that can only be attained through struggle, dominance and submission, and overcoming. In this strand, universal humanism is imagined as tending toward a diminution of the heroic by providing the moral ground on which equalitarian mediocrity can be justified (*Secular Age*, 372–374). The other strand, the existential humanist posture toward the good inspired by Taylor's reading of Albert Camus, accepts the closed immanent frame as fundamentally absurd and implacably defiant of our attempts to make sense of it. At the same time, it takes up a heroic, lost-cause revolt against this meaninglessness by attempting to forge whatever limited happiness can be attained in the face of the absurdity and rejecting the pretense of solutions to it (*Secular Age*, 582–586).

Both "anti-humanism" and the revolt against the absurd are difficult to harmonize with a traditionally Christian view of God's universal care and ultimate goal of pacific harmony for humanity (*Secular Age*, 635–636). Indeed, humanism arguably relies historically on aspects of the Latin Christian moral background to make sense of its universal ethic (*Secular Age*, 246–248). For, historical continuity with the late-medieval demand "that everyone be *a real, 100 percent* Christian,", in Taylor's is telling of his "Reform Master Narrative," the deep moral impulse of social reform which makes possible our current secular condition (*Secular Age*, 774, emphasis original).

Anti-humanist and existential humanist assumptions have not, to my knowledge, been relied on to make sense of Adventist arguments over SSM, and therefore I will not be dealing with those options further. However, my subsequent analysis of how Adventist apocalyptic transcendence relates to immanence in the universal humanist mode could be applied to other immanentized Christian moral orientations (n. 20), if Adventist arguments that relied on them were to emerge.

[17] Mutual benefit, in Taylor's telling, emerges from Enlightenment theories of natural law associated with Hugo Grotius (1583–1645) and John Locke (1632–1704). This allows societies to be ordered in a way that does not require any particular orien-

with this assumption an unbeliever, but it does mean that a Christian believer who shares this assumption will tend to think of God as having no higher goals; for human beings beyond those that contribute to our flourishing in this world, either in the here-and-now or in the hereafter.[18] For such higher/further goals could come into conflict with our immanent flourishing and therefore must be opposed.[19]

---

tation to the transcendent (*Secular Age*, 159–160). In fact, an interventionist deity might be a positive threat to our well-being in the here and now, to the extent that human flourishing is assumed to depend on our mastery of inviolable laws of nature. Hence, proceeded deism and ultimately atheism (*Secular Age*, 62–364). Of course, natural law did not *have* to result in atheism. Taylor's argument is that secularity had to be intentionally constructed every step of the way (*Secular Age*, 255). But the possibility of atheism is entailed in religious liberty, a principle for which Adventism is historically indebted to Grotius and Locke (Nicholas P. Miller, *The Reformation and the Remnant: The Reformers Speak to Today's Church* [Nampa: ID: Pacific Press, 2016], 40–43). Taylor's extended reading of history through the philosophical categories he employs is intended to explain, among other things, how we in the Global North got got from ideas like natural law to modes of unbelief like atheism.

[18] This mode of Christian belief first emerges, in Taylor's telling, among the Western intelligentsia at the end of the seventeenth century as "Providential Deism," wherein "God's goals for us shrink to the single end of our encompassing this order of mutual benefit he has designed for us," that is, a depersonalized, rationally harmonious way of life in the here and now. (*Secular Age*, 221–222). In post-war America, Taylor associates this immanentized mode of Christianity with Norman Vincent Peale, the "power of positive thinking" preacher (*Secular Age*, 509). Smith, *Be Secular,* 50n3 sees this "immanentizing, anthropocentiric shift" as having been "absorbed" into "contemporary evangelicalism, which is increasingly casting off its 'otherworldly' piety and becoming newly invested in the flourishing of this world." Michael S. Hogue identifies a broader, more thoroughgoing "dissenting tradition of American immanence, rooted in pragmatic naturalism, radical empiricism, and process philosophy" that includes the Chicago School of Theology (*American Immanence: Democracy for an Uncertain World* [New York: Columbia University Press, 2018], 7–8, 123–124). It "honors nature as the sublime all-inclusive context and all-pervasive dynamic of being and becoming, meaning and value. . . . It rejects the symbol of God as a unitary, sovereign, supernatural, and transcendent, but clears the way for a diffused, vulnerable, natal, and immanental understanding of the sacred" (*American Immanence*, 8).

In this research, unless otherwise qualified, I will use immanence primarily to refer to the Christian mode of belief and practice that retains a transcendent deity (n. 20), but in some way denies that God's good purposes for us go beyond, or could even conflict with, the universal well-being or flourishing of humanity in the here and now or on this-worldly terms.

[19] For example, while David L. Weddle sees value in sacrifice when it results in works of humanitarian benevolence, he is especially concerned with the historic propensity for the fuller meaning found in renouncing "natural," "human" (i.e., immanent) goods to legitimate violence against other human beings when violence

What the other moral background assumption requires, for Christians, is the capacity to imagine God as having purposes that go beyond well-being in this world.[20] This kind of transcendent moral assumption does not exclude the recognition of this-worldly goods. Rather, it holds this-worldly goods relative to goods that go beyond this world, such as the worship of God as the supreme being. Thus, if a Christian believes in transcendent goods, she is willing to give up immanent goods, if not renounce them almost entirely (as with ascetics), in order to live into the higher purposes of God.[21] When these tradeoffs involve exchanging immanent for transcendent goods, I will refer to them as sacrifices in a stipulative sense while acknowledging that immanent tradeoffs for higher immanent goods are commonly called sacrifices and that such tradeoffs are also meaningful to those who make them.[22]

---

is conceived as the form of sacrifice that is required to realize a transcendent moral vision (*Sacrifice in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam* [New York: New York University Press, 2017], xi, 207–210). "Its usefulness as the justifying rationale for violence in religious conflicts and political contests is invaluable. For that very reason, sacrifice in defense of abstractions is as dangerous as sacrifice in service of concrete other creatures is admirable" (*Sacrifice in Judaism*, 208).

[20] In this research, I will use the category of transcendence to refer to Christian transcendence primarily in the moral sense (see n. 27 for further qualification on the epistemic sense), as opposed to immanentized Christian transcendence, by which I indicate modes of Christian belief and practice that make sense on the immanent-only moral preconception. By referring to God and his purposes for us that go beyond our well-being in this world, I mean to refer to what Taylor calls the "strong sense" of religious faith, which includes "both the belief in a transcendent reality, on the one hand, and the connected aspiration to a transformation which goes beyond ordinary human flourishing on the other" (*Secular Age*, 510). For non-Christians, this strong transcendent source of good could be any state of reality taken to exist in some way beyond this world, e.g., the Buddhist Nirvana (*Secular Age*, 17). Taylor's weak sense can also include transcendence as theorized by those, like the philosopher, Martha Nussbaum (1947–), who reject transcendent reality, but accept a human need to transcend ordinary human flourishing. Taylor remains skeptical, however, of the degree to which distinguishing between "internal" and "external" transcendence, qua Nussbaum, can establish grounds for distinguishing between moral and immoral ways of moving beyond ordinary flourishing (*Secular Age*, 632; see n. 34 on "mutilation").

[21] Taylor, *Secular Age*, 644–646. All attempts to achieve goods require tradeoffs against other goods. For Taylor, to believe otherwise is utopianism (*Secular Age*, 616). On this point, I take Taylor to have identified a logically exclusive disjunction in that these are two mutually exclusive moral background preconceptions between which there is no middle ground. Moral reasoning can make sense either in terms of one's willingness to trade this-worldly goods off against other-worldly goods or in terms of one's unwillingness to do so, but not both at the same time.

[22] "The closest we come to a common meaning of *sacrifice* is that of *giving up natural and human goods for spiritual benefits* (Weddle, *Sacrifice*, xi, emphasis original;

The problem on both sides is that one can fail to experience spiritual fulfillment based on one or the other of these assumptions, or at least have one's sense of fulfillment challenged by the fulfillment of those holding the other assumption.[23] Those on the immanent side can be troubled by a sense of a life flatter than it should be, full of superficial happiness and satisfaction, but lacking a height or depth of meaning that those on the transcendent side seem able to attain even when severely deprived of immanent goods. They may long for that capacity to transcend the limits of ordinary human flourishing. Conversely, those on the transcendent side may find their happiness so undermined by giving up the good things of this life for God that their sacrifices lose their sense of higher meaning, especially in view of those who seem to be living fulfilled lives for strictly immanent goods.[24] They may long for a grounded spiritual experience that fully appreciates the benefits God offers in this life. I will return to the question of how to handle fragilization and cross-pressures in my conclusion and recommendations.

Making Sense of Adventist Arguments over Same-sex Marriage

With the above philosophical framework in place, I will now briefly sketch how these two kinds of moral backgrounds—the immanent-only assumption and immanent-relative-to-transcendent assumption about what is good for humanity—are being relied on to make sense of Adventist moral reasoning in four typical arguments, one for same-sex marriage and three for traditional marriage.[25] That these backgrounds are relied on to make sense of moral reasoning suggests that they are associated with an implicit immanent or transcendent approach to knowledge, in this case, not as to knowledge of whether God exists, but as to how God's purposes for humanity may be

cf. Weddle's theoretical definition of sacrifice, *Secular Age*, 22).

[23] Here, I extend Taylor's analysis of cross-pressures in society writ-large to the experiences of LGB Adventists in particular. The autobiographical sections of David Ferguson, Fritz Guy, and David Larson, eds., *Christianity and Homosexuality: Some Adventist Perspectives* (Roseville, CA: Adventist Forum, 2008); and Roy E. Gane, Nicholas P. Miller, and H. Peter Swanson, eds., *Homosexuality, Marriage, and the Church: Biblical, Counseling, and Religious Liberty Issues* (Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 2012) offer evidence that this is the case. Further research could identify features common to this form of cross-pressure in Adventism, but that is beyond the scope of this research.

[24] See footnote 13 on "fragilization."

[25] For Taylor, to the extent that we employ "instrumental reason" and live in "secular time" (among other practices that are essential to orderly life in Western societies) these practices shape our backgrounds such that we all live in the "immanent frame," imagining our moral valence of our ordinary experience in this-worldly terms (see also n. 51 on "higher time"). But, "this can be lived in two ways. Some are open to transcendence, and some move to closure" (*Secular Age*, 566).

known.[26] In the typical arguments that follow, transcendent moral reasoning does not necessarily exclude sources of knowledge that derive from extensions of ourselves in the here-and-now (i.e., general revelation), but it holds those deliverances relative to conclusions derived from sources believed to originate beyond this world (i.e., special revelation). Likewise, Christian immanent-only moral reasoning, while not at all closed to transcendent sources and capable of taking a high view thereof, can lend itself to revising or validating Scriptural interpretation in light of, for example, the conclusions of contemporary social science research.[27]

Two of the typical arguments—what I will call the immanent-only same-sex marriage affirming argument and the transcendent traditional marriage (TM) argument—are consistent with what the reader, by this point, may expect having an immanent-only or a transcendent view of the good would lead one to conclude about marriage. For, as Taylor's account of secularity hints, the acceptance of same-sex sexual practices in the West as viable paths to human flourishing is historically dependent on the formation of communities that shared the immanent-only moral assumption.[28] Conversely, the

[26] In Taylor's critique of epistemology qua "Descartes, Locke, and Hume," he observes that from within the immanent frame "the inference to the transcendent is at the extreme and most fragile end of a chain of inferences; it is the most epistemically questionable." But that story about how we accept, or not, the reality of God is contested in Heidegger's account of "the divine" as one of "the focal points of our dealings, which therefore have relevance, meaning, significance for us, not as an add-on but from their first appearance in our world," a world in which we are always coping and already inducted into traditions of coping (*Secular Age*, 558–559). Nevertheless, that epistemology story draws its power from the assumption that it is a virtue to approach reality from a cultivated awareness of one's "independence, self-control, self-responsibility, of a disengagement which brings control; a stance which requires courage, the refusal of the easy comforts of the conformity to authority, of the consolations of an enchanted world, of the surrender to the promptings of the senses" (*Secular Age*, 559–560). Thus, for Taylor, conclusions about reality and how it is known can only make sense against the background of our reasoning, which includes assumptions about human goods. This gives lie to any story about working one's way out from epistemology and ontology to morality and ethics, as if one could decouple a theory of knowledge from its moral background.

[27] Except when it is necessary to make a distinction, I will use the categories of "transcendent" and "immanent" at times in this research to refer to both the moral background preconception and the epistemological approach operating in the moral reasoning of typical Adventist arguments for SSM and TM. The categories of transcendence and immanence as they relate to theological sources could be clarified beyond these basic observations, but that is beyond the scope of this research.

[28] Here, I extend Taylor's "subtraction stories" thesis—that modes of secular existence must be constructed and do not simply emerge fully formed once religion is subtracted (*Secular Age*, 253)—to the moral sources of gay marriage, which are part

male-female coupling of traditional Western marriage is historically justified, in part, on the ground that it is required for society to correspond to a transcendent moral order.[29]

Yet, the immanent-only mode of moral reasoning can also make sense of two other traditional marriage arguments. While these aim to augment the transcendent argument, they make sense on immanent moral terms in two distinct ways that, I will argue, have the potential to obscure Adventists' view of what is at stake for their faith community on this question.[30] To argue that what is at stake in this question is historically unique, the Adventist way of holding immanent goods relative to transcendent goods, I will demonstrate how these immanent TM arguments have the potential to obviate the transcendent meaning of Adventist practices. They make possible a slip toward the immanent-only assumption on the part of those who accept them by framing the good of Adventist practice in immanent terms. This

---

of the broader story of secularity. In other words, LGB identities are not what had been suppressed all along, waiting to emerge once religious repression could finally be deconstructed. Rather, "homosexuals" arrive in *A Secular Age* with the Bloomsbury Group, which provided a venue of mutual recognition—amidst an inter-war, English society that criminalized such relations—in which "they all 'came out'" (*Secular Age*, 406). This was a part of what Taylor generally sees in Bloomsbury: a new step towards immanence where "the intrinsically valuable is identified with the inner, the mental, with experience and sensibility. . . . In this way, too, they anticipate an important shift in the later twentieth century," the sexual revolution (*Secular Age*, 406). Where the immanent human good was once recruited to motivate self-formation based on sexual self-control, now it could equally justify identities constructed around sexual self-expression in the name of authenticity (see Charles Taylor, *The Ethics of Authenticity* [Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992]).

[29] This can make sense in terms of the Great Chain of Being for Medieval societies, or what Taylor identifies as "neo-Durkheimian" assumptions about an inextricable link between generically Christian faith and well-ordered society in the United States (*Secular Age*, 528n43).

[30] Theoretically, there could also be a transcendent argument affirming SSM in Adventism, one that assumes the practice of marriage calls us to sacrifice immanent goods for transcendent ones, but that diverges from the transcendent TM argument on the question of whether Scripture only teaches male-female coupling in marriage as a transcendent good. It could be structured along the same lines as the "not our rights, but His" argument that has been made for women's ordination in Adventism (Kessia Reyne Bennett, "Women in Ministry: Not Our Rights, but His," *Moves and Removes* [blog], 15 October 2014, http://www.moves-removes.com/home/2014/10/15/women-in-ministry-not-our-rights-but-his; and Kessia Reyne Bennett, "Rights and Wrongs" [sermon preached at Loma Linda University Church, Loma Linda, CA, 24 January 2015], https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QdNGAn9HCrI). However, as will be demonstrated in the following section, arguments against male-female coupling as essential to marriage within Adventism consistently appeal to the immanent-only moral imagination in their assumptions about harm, well-being, and flourishing.

has implications for how lesbian, gay, and bisexual Adventists can experience fulfillment in relation to marriage practices.

Immanent-only Affirming

In Adventism, the typical same-sex marriage (SSM) affirming argument assumes an immanent-only moral background by arguing that if heterosexual marriage is an immanent good for opposite-sex couples, it is unfair to deny same-sex couples marriage for reasons that make sense only against a transcendent moral background (e.g., that God requires this self-denial for his own reasons).[31] Making sense of marriage in immanent-only terms can also go along with conceptualizing other doctrines against an immanent-only moral background. For example, sin can come to be regarded in exclusively relational-therapeutic or social justice terms. This makes nonsense of sin as offensive to God apart from any this-worldly harm it causes human beings, that is, notions of sin as including that which incurs God's wrath for having thwarted his purposes for humanity that go beyond human fulfillment on this-worldly terms.[32]

Thus, the most direct way to resolve the question of SSM and biblical authority on immanent-only assumptions is to make sense of the Scriptures

---

[31] "The ready availability of contraceptive measures means that [sexual] intimacy is far from a *sufficient* condition for procreation, and the possibility of artificial insemination means that it is no longer a *necessary* condition. Perhaps coincidentally, these scientific and technological developments have been accompanied both by a growing awareness of the positive role of sexual intimacy in marital relationships and mental health, and by an increasing openness to same-sex love" (Fritz Guy, "Same Sex Love: Theological Considerations," in *Christianity and Homosexuality*, §4 50, emphasis original).

"In the final analysis, the Christian moral life is not primarily a matter of obeying rules or achieving goals. These are important, but not ultimately so. To be a Christian is to respond favorably again and again to God's steadfast love, which endures forever. The gospel is first, the law second" (David R. Larson, "Christian Sexual Norms Today: Some Proposals," in *Christianity and Homosexuality*, §5 16).

"Most of the anguish imposed upon God's children who grow up LGBTIQ is rooted in a misunderstanding of what the Bible says. . . . For most heterosexuals, the teaching that homosexuality is a sin presents no problem, so they often see little reason to give the subject much thought. Many of them, due to widespread ignorance on the subject, believe that homosexuality is merely a difficult habit or temptation to be overcome. They fail to comprehend the extreme consequences and implications such a teaching has for the lives of Christians who discover they are LGBTIQ" ("Resources: What Does the Bible Say," Seventh-day Adventist Kinship [website], no date, https://www.sdakinship.org/en/membership1/resources).

[32] Taylor, *Secular Age*, 618–619. See, e.g., the dichotomization of ritual and moral in John R. Jones, "'In Christ There is Neither . . .': Toward the Unity of the Body of Christ," in *Christianity and Homosexuality*, §4 27).

using an ethical hermeneutic informed by a view of God's love as exclusively concerned with our this-worldly good, so that, for example, Scripture's proscriptions against same-sex sexual coupling extend only as far as can be analogized to exploitative gay relationships in the ancient world.[33]

Let us call this the immanent-only affirming argument, because it makes sense on a moral background that assumes God does not ask humans to sacrifice immanent goods for transcendent goods.[34] That is not to say that those who make these arguments necessarily hold an immanent-only view of the human good in every respect, excluding all transcendent goods. However, when they argue for SSM, they trade on the immanent-only assumption about the human good implicit in the practices of life in the Global North that embody that assumption.[35]

---

[33] For Christians, including Adventists, with a 'culture-critical' view of Scripture's authority, this could involve acknowledging that authors of the Bible express views incompatible with the affirmation of SSM, but maintaining that we know these views to be wrong for other reasons, whether internal or external to Scripture (see, e.g., William Loader, "Homosexuality and the Bible," in *Two Views on Homosexuality, the Bible, and the Church*, ed. Preston Sprinkle, Counterpoints: Bible and Theology [Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2016], 47).

Those with a more literal view of Scripture's authority can make sense of an immanent-only moral background by applying the historical-grammatical method in a way that limits the ethical scope of texts that speak to homosexual relations, whether by historicized distancing of the ancient and contemporary contexts or by attending to literary features that limit application (see, e.g., Megan K. DeFranza, "Journeying from the Bible to Christian Ethics in Search of Common Ground," in *Two Views on Homosexuality*, 90–92; and John R. Jones, "'In Christ,'" §4 4–19).

[34] For example, a former Adventist pastor has reflected on the role that her lived experience as an "in" bisexual played in her decision to resign from the Adventist ministry and affirm SSM, concluding that she arrived at her position through a "solid, conservative hermeneutic," but offering the "caveat" that "when our theology seems to be causing harm, or when a minority group claims it is harming them, we should be willing to re-examine our theology" ("Q&A: Is LGBT-Affirming Theology Based on Experience or Scripture?" *Alicia Johnston* [blog], 25 August 2017, http://aliciajohnston.com/2017/08/25/hermenutics-vs-experience).

On an immanent-only moral background, the sacrifice of sexual fulfillment can register as what Taylor calls "mutilation," by which the practitioner of self-denial has cut themselves off from an integral part of their humanity that would otherwise have afforded them much good (*Secular Age*, 631). Not that there are no limits to sexual gratification on this view, but they must be in some way justifiable in terms of our immanent well-being (see, e.g., Loren Seibold, "The Ordinary and the Dangerous: Sex in the Christian Community," *Spectrum* 36.1 [2008]: 21–27).

[35] See footnote; 25.

Immanent Traditional

In response, there are those advancing a kind of argument for TM within Adventism that also makes sense on the basis of immanent-only moral background assumptions. This immanent traditional argument typically augments the transcendent argument for TM, but makes exclusive reference to immanent goods in an effort to undermine the affirming immanent-only argument on its own terms.[36] For example, some argue that certain sexual acts are inherently harmful to physical health.[37] Appeals to a procreative goal of sexual activity or other natural law arguments can also be made by appealing to the good of the individual or society without any reference to God.[38] By disputing that SSM is an immanent good, the immanent traditional argument disputes the premise on which the immanent-only, affirming argument makes sense of marriage.

However, the immanent traditional argument, while not unpersuasive, fails to defeat the affirming immanent-only argument. This is because, once marriage is justified on this-worldly terms, it does not have to be good in that it entails no major tradeoffs against other, even arguably more basic, immanent goods (like physical health), or in that it fulfills an unavoidable natural function (like child-rearing). Instead, marriage may be ordered based on our collective, provisional assessment of the value of the mutual benefits it affords those who share that bond, along with their community, relative to any other tradeoffs.

One example of immanent traditional argumentation proceeds from evidence that same-sex couples may often not be in ideal circumstances to raise children.[39] However, this argument against SSM does not hold where child-rearing is no longer conceived as the optimal mode of human flourish-

[36] The immanent traditional argument arose in Adventism, in part, to fulfill the need for Adventist advocates of civil TM to translate their normative claims into Rawlsian public reason. "One cannot defend traditional marriage as a proper public policy just because it is taught by Christian scripture. But neither should the fact that it is taught by Christian scripture be allowed to obscure the very important empirical, civil arguments that exist for it" (Nicholas P. Miller, "Should Adventists Care About Protecting Traditional Marriage?" in *Marriage and the Church*, 213). However, this public reason, by virtue of utilizing widely accepted modes of reason in the immanent frame, has naturally returned to the intra-church conversation because we all '*live*' in the immanent frame (n. 25).

[37] See, e.g., Robert A. J. Gagnon, "The Scriptural Case for a Male-Female Prerequisite for Sexual Relations: A Critique of the Arguments of Two Adventist Scholars," in *Marriage and the Church*, 135.

[38] Miller, "Traditional Marriage," 221.

[39] Miller, "Traditional Marriage," 223–225.

ing through marriage.[40] In late-modern liberal democracies, the tradeoff of losing the fecund marriage as the primary child-rearing venue can be justified as necessary to open up a wider range of possibilities for human flourishing via marriage, which should then be offset by the state and society providing access to and support for child-rearing in non-fecund marriages. As long as non-TM, child-rearing configurations remain directed toward immanent, mutual benefit in some plausible way, they will be available to make sense of human reproduction as a part of the larger human predicament on immanent moral terms.

This is not to say that immanent arguments for or against SSM cannot be more or less correct based on immanent terms. It is only to say that once the immanent moral background has been successfully appealed to, we are able to make sense of other arguments around the moral issues that rely on it. Thus, the immanent traditional argument can have the simultaneous effect of making the immanent-only argument for SSM seem more plausible. For, without appealing to an inviolable transcendent norm, SSM is simply another experiment in coping with reality, running its course among others.

To grasp the extent of this plausibility, consider that civil SSM arrived in the Global North, paradoxically, as both a profound social change and as a conservative notion.[41] In distinction to the expressive, libertine so-called 'lifestyle' for which queer culture was (in)famous from the 1960s through to the late twentieth century, the prospect of civil SSM not only offered the legal benefits of marriage to same-sex couples, it also promised to apply the disciplining restrictions of TM to same-sex couples through the legal burdens of civil marriage.[42] Thus, SSM recognizes same-sex relationships as equal to

[40] See footnote 42 on the "red" and "blue family" habitus.

[41] Here I mean "conservative" as a politics concerned with immanent goods organized around discipline, order, and stability (see, e.g., Dale Carpenter, "The Traditionalist Case for Gay Marriage," *South Texas Law Review* 50.93 [2008]: 93–104); and not in the sense that the American legal recognition of SSM was a project associated with conservative opinion leaders, politicians, or political organizations, though the latter is also to some extent the case, especially at the inception of the movement. "For many years gay marriage was considered too conservative a goal for the left-leaning gay movement" (Nathaniel Frank, *Awakening: How Gays and Lesbians Brought Marriage Equality to America* [Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2017], 9). Frank attributes the early moves toward legal recognition of SSM to "a handful of gay conservatives," who "began to champion gay marriage;" "grassroots gay marriage champions," who tested the legality of such marriages, and "professional legal advocates, who joined together—often uneasily—to push gay marriage to the center of the LGBTQ movement" (Frank, *Awakening*, 9).

[42] Taking, again, the American context as representative of the social context of Adventism in the Global North, this tension between the immanent goods derived from discipline versus expressiveness was present from the earliest, mid-twentieth

those of opposite-sex couples, which satisfies egalitarian political impulses,

century proposals for "homosexual marriage" through to debates over its merits in the American LGB community during the 1990s and late 2000s. (R. Marie Griffith, *Moral Combat: How Sex Divided American Christians and Fractured American Politics* [New York: Basic, 2017], 281–282; and Frank, *Awakening*, 94; see, e.g., Ann Ferguson, "Gay Marriage: An American and Feminist Dilemma," *Hypatia* 22.1 [2007]: 39–57, http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1527-2001.2007.tb01148.x/; and William N. Eskridge, Jr., *The Case for Same-sex Marriage: From Sexual Liberty to Civilized Commitment* [New York: The Free Press, 1996]). "For those who did prioritize marriage rights for same-sex couples, this priority was often closely linked to religious faith" (Griffith, *Moral Combat*, 283). "If one side embraced marriage's symbolic power to assimilate gay couples into the mainstream of American life, another side resisted it as an assimilationist retreat from the radical aspirations of gay liberation. . . . By making marriage seem a real possibility for the first time and by provoking a massive conservative reaction, the court decisions intensified the gay debate, but also shifted its center of gravity. More and more activists and non-activists came to believe that both the security and recognition that marriage provided were worth fighting for" (George Chauncey, *Why Marriage: The History Shaping Today's Debate over Gay Equality* [New York: Basic, 2004], 121–122). According to gay rights activist and historian Martin Duberman (1930–) in his rhetorically titled *Has the Gay Movement Failed?* (Oakland, CA: University of California Press, 2018), xiv, only a few "grumblers," "overrepresented among gay academics and public intellectuals, but scarcely represented at all in the LGBTQ population at large," currently question the "movement's recent 'assimilationist' agenda."

"*Why* has a conservative view of LGBT persons as 'normal' rather than a liberationist 'queer' image triumphed?" (Darel E. Paul, *From Tolerance to Equality: How Elites Brought America to Same-Sex Marriage* [Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2018], 11, emphasis original). Drawing on Pierre Bourdieu's social theory, Paul argues that the fight for SSM was taken up as an act of class warfare by American professional and business elites, because it offered them a symbol of an upwardly-mobile diversity by which they could establish their moral qualification to rule the lower classes based on the superiority of their vision for the American family—the "blue family" (Paul, *From Tolerance to Equality*, 80–87, 159–163). The blue family makes sense of marriage—against the background of elite lived experience (or from within that Bordieuan "habitus")—as a stable coupling of adult equals, regardless of gender/sex, for the purpose of the adults' mutual fulfillment and, optionally, as the optimal site of child rearing. From the American lower classes' lived experience, the family emerges either as built on the stable union of a male and a female under symbolic male leadership for the purpose of raising children (the "red family") or as stable support of dependent children by their mother, while men move in and out of sexual relationships with her in a "Creole family" arrangement. Unlike the blue family, these lower-class family practices do not make sense of SSM or only of same-sex sexual relationships, respectively. (Paul, *From Tolerance to Equality*, 96–99, 104, 111–112, 129–132; see Naomi Cahn and June Carbone, *Red Families v. Blue Families: Legal Polarization and the Creation of Culture* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010] and Göran Therborn, *Between Sex and Power: Family in the World, 1900–2000* [London, Routledge, 2004] for Paul's sources on the "red," "blue," and "Creole" models of the

but on the condition that, going forward, both will be disciplined and stabilized on the same terms, which appeals to concerns about maintaining a clear social order.

This expansion of civil marriage was opposed within Adventism on immanent moral grounds. Returning to a previous example, an argument was made that stabilizing same-sex couples as families available for child-rearing is unwise, because they are more prone to instability due to infidelity.[43] Yet, even if it turns out to be the case that higher levels of same-sex infidelity are not caused by their historic lack of access to a disciplining legal regime in the first place, it does not necessarily follow that in a free, post-industrial society—one in which there are diverse means of acquiring parental responsibilities—it is not good to stabilize such relationships to the greatest extent possible when they do occur. Thus, the immanent traditional argument against Adventists endorsing civil marriage for same-sex couples calls on an immanent moral background assumption that, for conservatives, can also make sense of SSM as a proposal that aims at the ordering of same-sex relationships for mutual benefit.

Therefore, immanent traditional arguments against SSM as tending toward a libertine gay lifestyle can have the simultaneous effect of throwing open the question of whether TM, because it is unable to discipline the same-sex relationships that will inevitably occur, is a notion to which conservatives ought to cling. In the church community, this move is cast as a transcendent concession to immanent exigency. For example, one could make sense of SSM by analogy to the way the church in the Global North has made marriage available to stabilize the relationships of divorced opposite-sex couples who have fallen short of the church's ideals.[44] In this way, an argument intended

family). Hart-Brinson, *Gay Marriage Generation*, 36–95, traces the historical steps by which cultural elites normalized LGB people, resulting in a generational social shift from imagining homosexuality as a behavior to imagining it as an identity, making it difficult for young people, thus socialized, including those who believe in TM for religious reasons, to make sense of denying civil marriage to LGB people (Hart-Brinson, *Gay Marriage Generation*, 112–116, 152). The exceptions are those socialized in traditional religious communities, who retain the previous generation's understanding of homosexuality as behavior (Hart-Brinson, *Gay Marriage Generation*, 196–200).

[43] Miller, "Traditional Marriage," 223-225.

[44] Jon Paulien, "Homosexuality and the Church: Seeking a Way Forward" (paper presented at 2015 Fall Symposium of the Adventist Theological Society, Atlanta, GA, 18 November 2015, http://www.atsjats.org/site/1/podcast/2015-fall-03_Jon%20Paulien%20Presentation.mp3). See also Timothy R. Jennings, *The God-Shaped Heart: How Correctly Understanding God's Love Transforms Us* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2017), 234.

Taylor's normative conclusion to *A Secular Age* is similar: "The urge to reform has often been one to bring all of life under the sway of a single principle or demand:

to augment the Adventist transcendent argument for TM holds the potential to eclipse it.

Pagan Traditional

There is one other immanent argument in Adventism against church recognition of SSM that less obviously depends on immanent-only moral background assumptions to make sense. It comes from the earliest responses of pro-TM conservatives to emerging LGB sexual identities, but over the last ten years has come to be rejected by educated proponents of TM in Adventism.[45]

---

the worship of One God, or the recognition that salvation is only by faith, or that salvation is only within the church. . . . Different gods—Artemis, Aphrodite, Mars, Athena—force us to respect the integrity of different ways of life: celibacy, sexual union, war, the arts of peace, which life according to a single principle often ends up denying. . . . Our Christian life has suffered a mutilation to the extent that it imposes this kind of homogenization. The church was rather meant to be the place in which human beings, in all their difference and disparate itineraries, come together" (*Secular Age*, 771–772, see n. 34 on "mutilation"). Taylor also seems to have affirmed, though not explicitly, opening a space for accommodating the social reality of SSM within his own faith community to some extent: "The fateful feature of the early-modern Catholic Counter-Reformation, which erects such a barrier between the church and contemporary society, is not its animating spirituality: our world is if anything drowned in exalted images of sexual fulfillment and needs to hear about paths of renunciation. The deviation was to make this take on sexuality mandatory for everyone, through a moralistic code that made a certain kind of purity a necessary condition for relating to God through the sacraments. There are more ways of being a Catholic Christian than either the Vatican rule-makers or the secularist ideologies have yet imagined" ("Sex and Christianity: How Has the Moral Landscape Changed?" *Commonweal*, 24 September 2007, https://www.commonwealmagazine.org/sex-christianity). On the other hand, Darel E. Paul observes that, in the case of American mainline denominations, "while the explicit intent of normalizing homosexuality has been to bring same-sex couples into marriage, the implicit effect has been to denormalize marriage for everyone" (*Tolerance to Equality*, 36).

[45] The 2009 symposium at Andrews University that resulted in the volume, *Marriage, Homosexuality, and the Church*, marked a decisive turn away from this argument. The General Conference sponsored "In God's Image: Summit on Sexuality," Cape Town, South Africa, 17–20 March 2014 gave official endorsement to the notion that LGB Christians should not be expected to experience change in their sexual attractions or orientations (Adventist Review/ANN, "Reality of Fallen World Calls for Nuance, Humility, Adventist Behavioral Scientist Says," *Adventist Review*, 19 March 2014, http://www.adventistreview.org/cape-town-bulletins/2014-03-19-reality-of-fallen-world-calls-for-nuance,-humility,-adventist-behavioral-scientist-says). This affirmation of the relative immutability of a persistent and exclusive experience of same-sex attraction has rendered the argument over its etiology moot for the question of affirming SSM in Adventism: It matters not what causes same-sex attraction if its causes cannot be expected to hold the key to changing it in many, if not most, cases.

Nevertheless, it is still present in lay Adventism and easily grasped without the aid of philosophy or social science.

As America transitioned from an age of sexual discipline to an age of sexual expression, Adventists responded by resuscitating an early Protestant response to medieval asceticism: that it is God's will for believers to have mutually fulfilling sexual relationships.[46] Taking that for its starting premise, the argument against sexual fulfillment for same-sex couples adds another: God has arranged the human condition and/or intervenes in it such that sexual relationships that adhere to the parameters God established to regulate them will be more fulfilling on this-worldly terms than those that do not. Therefore, if one cannot imagine oneself enjoying a maximally fulfilling sexual relationship within those parameters, that is, a TM, they are 'doing sanctification wrong.' This argument negates the problem of unfulfilled sexual/relational longings to which SSM is the solution by ruling out the possibility of LGB Christians by definition.

This argument makes sense against an immanent-only moral background, but in a different way than the aforementioned immanent traditional argument. Let me tendentiously, given that it is now by-and-large rejected by Adventism's intellectual elites, call this the pagan traditional argument. For, while it relies on the transcendent reality of the Christian God, and is derived exclusively from the transcendent source of Christian Scripture, it reverses the Christian relativization of immanent goods to transcendent goods by justifying sacrifices for the transcendent exclusively in terms of the immanent benefits God may grant in exchange. Charles Taylor and the Adventist visionary and co-founder, Ellen G. White (1827–1915), both recognize this *quid pro quo* mode of relating to God as the form of worship associated with paganism.[47] Yet, it is the explanation on which many Adventists have come

[46] "Where the link between disciplines and civilizational order is broken, but that between Christian faith and the disciplines remains unchallenged, expressivism and the conjoined sexual revolution has alienated many people from the churches" (Taylor, *Secular Age*, 493; see n. 1 on "self-expression values" and SSM). Griffith understands the publication of "the first evangelical sex manual," as part of an "aggressive" and "colorful" conservative Protestant push to "shore up the rules on sexuality" (*Moral Combat*, 289; a reference to Tim and Beverly LaHaye, *The Act of Marriage* [Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1976]). Against Adventist health reformer John Harvey Kellogg's (1852–1943) view of birth control as "conjugal Onanism," Adventist seminary professor and counsellor Charles Wittschiebe wrote: "For the Lord to place the nerves and muscles in the sexual organs the way He had, with their tremendous capacity for sensation and expression to give a man and wife exquisite pleasure and unique delight, and then to expect us to use them only a minute fraction of the time spent in marriage [just for reproductive purposes] is cruel" (*God Invented* Sex [Nashville: Southern Publishing, 1974], 122–123).

[47] "In this respect, [that Divinity's benign purposes are defined in terms of

to justify the traditional sexual ethic in our secular age. And, as Taylor points out, there is a tendency toward unbelief in this moral background when people are aware of the option to ask how well their God is doing at his job of providing immanent goods in exchange for our sacrifices when compared to other available modes of attaining those goods without relying on a deity. In addition, many LGB Adventists who believed the pagan traditional argument and attempted to 'pray the gay away,' have found that 'paganized' Christianity was not the only way to interpret Scripture against an immanent-only moral background, and then went on to accept the immanent-affirming argument.[48]

Adventism's Transcendent Moral Background

For Adventists holding a transcendent moral background, Christianity is imagined to be good for people on immanent terms; it just cannot be reduced to only that. It is also good for them spiritually, in ways that go beyond this-worldly goods and sometimes exclude them. Therefore, the challenge of justifying traditional marriage on the Adventist transcendent background is twofold. The first is to demonstrate that alignment with God's purposes, as Adventists understand them, in fact excludes participation in marriage configurations other than TM, regardless of whether TM can be demonstrated to be the best practice in this-worldly terms. The second is to demonstrate that this restriction is good. This requires theorizing how those Adventist believers who have access to multiple avenues toward attaining the immanent goods of marriage and are socialized into practices that inculcate the immanent-only assumption can find spiritual fulfillment in making sacrifices for that transcendent moral vision.[49] I propose that responses to this

ordinary human flourishing,] early religion has something in common with modern exclusive humanism; and this has been felt, and expressed, in the sympathy of many modern post-Enlightenment people for 'paganism'; 'pagan self-assertion', thought John Stuart Mill, was much superior to 'Christian self-denial'" (Taylor, *Secular Age*, 151 quoting Mill, *On Liberty*, in John Stuart Mill, *Three Essays* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975], 77; see also Taylor, *Secular Age*, 610–613). "If they could become holy by their own efforts they would have something in themselves in which to rejoice, some ground for boasting. This idea of prayer is an outworking of the principle of self-expiation which lies at the foundation of all systems of false religion. The Pharisees had adopted this pagan idea of prayer, and it is by no means extinct in our day, even among those who profess to be Christians" (Ellen G. White, *Thoughts from the Mount of Blessing* [Silver Spring, MD: Ellen G. White Estate, 2016 (1896)], 86.1, in EGW Writings, egwwritings.org).

[48] Such stories abound; see, e.g., Sherri Babcock, "Learning to Spin the Coin of Truth," in *Christianity and Homosexuality*, §1 7–9.

[49] "To assume that you can stand in Secular 3 [the period of the immanent frame], put your ear to the floor, hear the faint echoing song of transcendence, and slowly follow its vibration until you find the path out is impossible. . . . We may have

twin challenge can best be appreciated by analogy to how many Adventists already understand and practice what they believe to be a transcendent good, the seventh-day Sabbath.

The Seventh-day Sabbath as a Transcendent Good

The Adventist practice of putting freedom, livelihood, family, even life on the line for the value of the Sabbath as indispensable to their relationship with God cannot be justified exclusively in terms of what is good for us in this world. The this-worldly benefits could just as easily be attained by resting on another day or traded-off against perceived exigencies as the need arises. Of course, the Bible legitimizes certain tradeoffs between the transcendent good of Sabbath rest and other immanent goods. However, crucially, those Adventists who view the Sabbath as a transcendent good take the Scriptures as divine guidance on which tradeoffs do not violate the transcendent goods of the Sabbath (e.g., the proverbial "ox in the well," [Matt 4:11, Luke 14:5]) and which do (e.g., operating a business [Jer 17:21, Neh 3:15]). Thus, they identify a place for sacrificial Sabbath keeping in their interpretation of Scripture. To be sure, willingness to sacrifice for the Sabbath does not negate the immanent goods of Sabbath keeping, but it does hold them relative to the transcendent purpose of Sabbath.

What are the moral background assumptions about transcendent reality and transformation beyond ordinary flourishing against which Adventists make sense of the Sabbath in this way? It bears repeating that, as defined by Taylor, moral background preconceptions are not doctrines, but, rather, the pre-cognitive moral assumptions that make sense of doctrines. While one could explain sacrificial Sabbath-keeping as arising from a matrix of beliefs about creation, the law of God, the covenants, church history and prophecy, and the end times; I am asking a different question about the kind of consciousness or awareness, the kind of lived experience that shapes the imagination so that these beliefs and practices become plausible. How do Adventists who sacrifice for the Sabbath imagine their existence in distinction to those who do not?

---

experiences of echoes of transcendence and encounters with divine actions, but as much as we want to believe them, we doubt them because the cultural system contests anything outside the immanent frame." (Andrew Root, *Faith Formation in a Secular Age* [Grand Rapids: Baker, 2017], 115–116, 109–110). Root concludes that those life experiences in which the immanent good is least available to us are the moments where we, whose faith is fragilized by the immanent frame's tilt away from transcendence, are most open to transcendent goods. "Perhaps the only way to imagine faith and faith formation in the age of authenticity, where Secular 3 reigns, is to explore it through the very zone Secular 3 gives us—to seek an understanding of faith in and through negations (by 'negation' I mean experiences of loss, brokenness, and death, but also the liminality of joy and transformational hope that seeks for the negated to be made new)" (Root, *Faith Formation*, 117).

Adventist Apocalyptic Consciousness

I submit that what is operating in the background of sacrificial, Adventist Sabbath practice is a consciousness of the imminent-immanent[50] restoration of Eden following the second coming of Jesus.[51] This "apocalyptic consciousness" is historically rooted in Millerite, millenarian expectation and is basic to the "apocalyptic vision" George R. Knight has identified as the historic doctrinal core of the Seventh-day Adventist movement.[52] From the beginning it was

[50] In both senses of immediacy: soon and this-worldly. In Adventist eschatology, the Earth is soon to be destroyed at the second coming and will remain desolate during the millennium while the resurrected and living saints leave the Earth and reign with Christ in Heaven. At the conclusion of the millennium, the saved return with Christ, who executes judgment on the resurrected wicked. Then, Eden is restored following the final annihilation of evil.

[51] In Taylor's categories, this would be a transcendent background preconception shaped by a connection to a kind of "higher time," specifically that story of a "time of origins" or a "Great Time" which is the source for the "Judeo-Christian apocalyptic" (*Secular* Age, 57, 208). In an etymological genealogy of the "secular," Taylor locates a key source of immanentization in practices that inculcate a sense of time as "homogeneous" instead of filled with meaningful resonances (*Secular* Age, 58n24), such as those embodied in sacrificial Sabbath-keeping, for example.

[52] By "apocalyptic" I mean a view of the conditions of human, temporal existence focused on a future, epoch-defining, break with history that is not reducible to human causes and reveals the true condition of humanity. Nathan R. Kerr, *Christ, History, and Apocalyptic: The Politics of Christian Mission* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2009), 11–16, offers a five-point overview of the category of "apocalyptic" as it has re-emerged "in the theological disciplines over the past half-century:" (1) "the contrast between God and the world," (2) "the concrete, flesh-and-blood reality of that crucified Jewish peasant of Nazareth," (3) the "reality . . . that God, in Jesus Christ, has inaugurated a new cosmos" and that "history is inscribed or encoded" between Christ's second and first comings, (4) "Christ the Lord" as "a reality to be embodied amid the *here and now* of our own contingent localities," and (5) "the . . . existence of a people who celebrate Christ's lordship by sharing in his mission" (emphasis original). For a brief history of that re-emergence, see Joshua B. Davis, "The Challenge of Apocalyptic to Modern Theology," in *Apocalyptic and the Future of Theology: With and Beyond J. Louis Martyn*, ed. Joshua B. Davis and Douglas Harink (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2012), 1–48.

In *The Apocalyptic Vision and the Neutering of Adventism: Are We Erasing Our Relevancy?* (Hagerstown, MD: Review & Herald, 2008), George R. Knight builds outward from the early Adventist experience to the doctrinal content at the heart of Adventism's apocalyptic vision of transcendent reality, which he goes on to defend historically and exegetically. In this research, I am exploring different, but related, questions about what background preconceptions were formed in Adventism by that early experience, and how they might continue to make sense of Adventist doctrines and practices as they relate to the question of SSM. Where Knight offered answers to the objections of "apocalyptic doubt" (*Apocalyptic Vision*, 61), I aim to clarify, using Taylor's account of secularity, where those doubts come from and what that means for

linked to their expectation of the imminent-immanent restoration of Eden in radical discontinuity with the fallen world.[53] This formed a significant part of the moral background against which the earliest Sabbatarian Adventists were able to make sense of, and sacrifice for, a Bible-based relocation of the Sabbath day away from the 'Christian Sabbath' justified by the resurrection of Christ on Sunday, and back to the seventh-day Sabbath grounded in Eden, imagined as a moral order soon to be restored by Christ.[54]

---

how Adventists can respond to them.

[53] The vision of Heaven in Ellen G. White's seminal exhortation, "To the Little Remnant Scattered Abroad," 6 April 1846, broadside 1, in EGW Writings, www.egwwritings.org is shot-through with biblical imagery connecting Eden and the New Earth, from the tree of life, to the vocation of gardening that the saved will enjoy. This vision of Eden restored was published in the tract, *A Word to the Little Flock*, the following year, along with a collection of other short works by Adventist co-founders James White (1821–1881) and Joseph Bates (1792–1872) narrating the Millerite Great Disappointment experience in light of the Sabbath and Heavenly Sanctuary, in the tract. This manifesto brought together for the first time both the "leadership and a clear doctrinal foundation" on which "the fledgling Sabbatarian movement was ready to grow" (Merlin Burt, "The Historical Background, Interconnected Development and Integration of the Doctrines of the Sanctuary, the Sabbath, and Ellen G. White's Role in Sabbatarian Adventism from 1844 to 1849" [PhD diss., Andrews University, 2002], 324, https://digitalcommons.andrews.edu/dissertations/19).

[54] Burt, "Sabbatarian Adventism," 340. Burt found that, for a brief time "Seventh Day Baptists were active and," in contradistinction to their efforts with other Christian groups, "fairly successful in convincing many Adventists to accept the seventh-day Sabbath." The Seventh Day Baptists argued for the "validity and perpetuity of the Sabbath as a *creation institution* and connected it to the moral law" (Burt, "Sabbatarian Adventism," 119, 47–48, emphasis mine; see also 279). Adventists who argued for the Sabbath in apocalyptic terms formed a line of interpretive transmission that stabilized with Joseph Bates. The case for the Sabbath as a sign of Eden restored was consistently made by J. B. Cook, who proclaimed that "God's law of Eden—God's type of Paradise restored was not nailed to the cross." (J. B. Cook, "Letter from Bro. Cook," *Day-Star*, 7 March 1846, 3, quoted in Burt, "Sabbatarian Adventism," 254; 279–281). For further representation of Eden in arguments for the seventh-day Sabbath in the formation of Seventh-day Adventism, see also Burt, "Sabbatarian Adventism," 124, 340–341, 400.

For this group of Adventists, one step in arriving at an explanation for Christ's delay within the framework of Miller's prophetic interpretation was O. R. L. Crosier's view of the second coming as the anti-type of marriage (Burt, "Sabbatarian Adventism," 249). Cook also connected the Sabbath to marriage: "He [Jesus] did *not* abolish the Sabbath, which was 'made for man'—for the good of man. From the dreadful wreck, occasioned by 'the fall' in Eden, there have been two institutions preserved; the Sabbath and Marriage. Both were 'made for man.'" ([J. B. Cook], "The Sabbath," *Advent Testimony*, 12 April 1846, quoted in Burt, "Sabbatarian Adventism," 256, emphasis original). "As God rested, kept Sabbath, at the end of his mighty achievement—the creation: so 'the bride, the Lamb's wife,' will rest (sabbatize) with her

This implies that, for Adventists today whose apocalyptic consciousness is embodied in practices like Sabbath-keeping, Scripture's description of creation is readily imagined as a moral paradigm that is about to overthrow and remake our world. For those who live in anticipation of this transcendent reality, the commands and stories of Scripture serve as instructions and examples for how to live out the transcendent goods of the world-to-come in relation to the goods that remain in this fallen world.[55] Therefore, the Edenic moral imagination is not only able to make sense of sacrificial practices that relativize the immanent goods available in the post-fall world, to the transcendent goods of the world-to-come.[56] It also makes sense of an ethical

heavenly Bridegroom, at the termination of this world's great week" (J. B. Cook, "The Sabbath," *Bible Advocate*, 9 December 1847, 129, quoted in Burt, "Sabbatarian Adventism," 339). Cook would later renounce these arguments, and they held their force only among the small group of "Bridegroom" Adventists that retained an apocalyptic expectation of the soon, second coming based on Millerite prophetic interpretation. These would form the movement that resulted in the founding of the Seventh-day Adventist Church (Burt, "Sabbatarian Adventism," 342–346).

[55] In a sermon preached at Grimsby, England, on 26 September 1886, Ellen G. White dwelled on these themes at some length: "The light from heaven descending upon Jesus Christ acknowledges that He is accepted as our Substitute, and *through faith in Him and obedience to God's commandments we shall be brought back again to our Eden home.*

Now we want to appreciate the great advantage that is given us through Jesus Christ. We want to know what price He paid for us in order to ransom us from the hands of Satan. In order to know this we must search the Scriptures and place ourselves in right relation to God. *We must not transgress God's law as did Adam and Eve*, but we must be obedient to all of God's requirements. *It is when bending our footsteps heavenward that we are pointing others to our Eden home.*

We are to overcome as Christ overcame. And how did Christ overcome? It was by perfect obedience to His Father's commandments. He says, "I have kept My Father's commandments," and therefore *through obedience we are to be brought back to our Eden home.*

Now I appreciate this home. I appreciate it more highly than everything else in this earth, and I am bending my steps heavenward that I may have a home in the city whose builder and maker is God. I want the heavenly home. It is true we have trials and sorrows here: we have disappointments and afflictions here: but what of this? I forget all this in considering the eternal weight of glory." (Ellen G. White, "Sermon/At Grimsby, England," 26 September 1886 [Manuscript 84, 1886], Ellen G. White Estate, Silver Spring, MD, §§4–7, https://m.egwwritings.org/es/book/3834.2000001#3, emphasis mine).

[56] Hence, the early Advent rallying cry: "Hallelujah, heaven is cheap enough" (Ellen G. White, "To the Little Remnant"). Weddle's opening illustration of sacrifice in his book-length treatment of the topic is the story of the Millerite Adventists, whom he takes to be a literal example of religion defined as "'what people will sell the farm for'" (*Sacrifice*, ix).

hermeneutic that interprets the moral message of Scripture through the lens of God's loving purposes that go beyond our well-being in this world.[57]

Note that this explanation of the background embodied in Adventist Sabbath practice does not entail that there are no Adventists keeping the Sabbath on immanent terms. In fact, the immanent options available to make sense of Sabbath-keeping correspond to the immanent TM arguments. There are Adventists for whom the seventh-dayness of the Sabbath, when necessary, can be reconfigured, so that any tradeoffs necessary to attain Sabbath's this-worldly benefits are not outweighed by the costs so as not to amount to a sacrificial self-denial for the sake of God's holy day.[58] There are Adventists who attempt to justify traditional Adventist Sabbath-keeping in terms of the immanent benefits of the Sabbath (health and psychological benefits), as well as those who have always kept the Sabbath out of what are, basically, pagan assumptions, strictly keeping the rules of Sabbath in exchange for the blessing of God. However, those who practice the Sabbath this way are making sense of it on a different moral background than the apocalyptic consciousness that rendered sacrificial, seventh-day Sabbath-keeping plausible for the early Adventists.

Transcendent Traditional Argument

At this point, we can return to the subject of same-sex marriage in Adventism by way of comparison to the Sabbath.[59] For lesbian, gay, and bisexual

[57] See, e.g., the broad application of this ethical hermeneutic in Jiří Moskala, "Toward Consistent Adventist Hermeneutics: From Creation Through De-creation to Re-creation," in *Women and Ordination: Biblical and Historical Studies*, ed. John W. Reeve (Nampa, ID: Pacific Press, 2015), 17–18. René Gehring, *The Biblical "One Flesh" Theology of Marriage as Constituted in Genesis 2:24: An Exegetical Study of This Human-Divine Pattern, Its New Testament Echoes, and Its Reception History Throughout Scripture Focusing on the Spiritual Impact of Sexuality* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2013) develops this ethic with reference to divorce in light of the "Edenic ideal" for marriage (see pp. 310, 337).

[58] During my ten years of full-time, Adventist, pastoral ministry in the Global North, I observed that the such Sabbath-keeping practices are a part of the Adventist lived experience in that context. These practices, to the best of my knowledge, are not being advanced either in Adventist theological books and journals, or in the print and online publications of independent, Adventist media. Evidence for how the lived experience of these practices makes sense on immanent-only moral background assumptions is, however, available in the comment forums of independent, Adventist media websites (see, e.g., intrinsa's comment on 25 May 2017 on "Why You're Not a Cultural Adventist, or, 'It Was Never About the Fri-Chick,'" Spectrum [blog], 22 May 2017, https://conversation.spectrummagazine.org/t/why-youre-not-a-cultural-adventist-or-it-was-never-about-the-fri-chick/13547/7).

[59] I do not intend to compare Sabbath and marriage across every possible dimension. There are questions of interpretation that raise the potential for disanalogies

Adventists, what sacrificial Sabbath-keeping and traditional marriage have in common is that practicing traditional marriage—which, in the absence of miraculous/instantaneous or gradual orientation change, entails either indefinite celibacy or mixed-orientation marriage—is the opportunity for higher meaning via sacrifice for a transcendent good.[60] This implies that the Adventist debate over same-sex marriage can be clarified on transcendent terms by relating marriage to apocalyptic consciousness. The comparison can thus foreground how this apocalyptic moral background makes sense of a uniquely Adventist, transcendent TM argument that emerged in response to the immanent affirming argument.[61] I will now outline its typical structure.

---

between the two. For example, it may be that the purpose of marriage will be fulfilled in the eschatological union of Christ and his people such that the ongoing practice is not needed in Eden-restored (as could be argued according to the transcendent moral logic of marriage sketched in n. 87). It may also be impossible to mount an immanent argument for the seventh-dayness of Sabbath. Regardless of how, or whether, those questions are settled, the following analogy is intended to illuminate what Adventist, apocalyptic moral assumptions render plausible, and not to resolve the questions that become significant once the transcendent TM argument becomes plausible.

[60] In fact, TM can also be sacrificial for opposite-sex, heterosexual couples, when exclusivity and indissolubility are practiced as transcendent goods. But TM requires a further sacrifice from LGB people, who, all other things being equal, face greater or additional challenges whether practicing celibacy or mixed-orientation marriage (see, e.g., Winston King [pseudonym], "'Born that Way' and Redeemed by Love," in *Marriage and the Church*, 492–495). The same is true of sacrificial Sabbath-keeping, which, e.g., requires greater sacrifice from more economically vulnerable Adventist populations relative to their better capitalized co-religionists.

[61] "Uniquely Adventist" in that other Christians who do not practice the seventh-day Sabbath can, and sometimes do, judge that the option of seventh-day Sabbatarianism requires them to adopt an ethical hermeneutic that does not attach the same moral significance to Eden as Adventists do. E.g., Karen R. Keen, *Scripture, Ethics, and the Possibility of Same-sex Relationships* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2018), 63–66, argues by analogy from the Sabbath to marriage, on an immanent-only moral background, in which natural, human needs such as freedom and relief from suffering always take priority over practices that gesture toward transcendent realities. She holds that NT examples of immanent tradeoffs against the transcendent good of Sabbath-keeping imply that the reverse tradeoff is not necessarily required, so that, by analogy, "creation ordinances," such as marriage, need not necessarily be practiced sacrificially. See also the evaluation of the weight given to the Edenic order in the pro-TM argument made by William J. Webb, *Slaves, Women & Homosexuals: Exploring the Hermeneutics of Cultural Analysis* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2001), 125–126 in Roy E. Gane, *Old Testament Law for New Testament Christians: Original Context and Enduring Application* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2017), 193; and page 214 where Gane proposes a "Creation–Fall–New Creation" ethical hermeneutic.

Male-female coupling in marriage is just as much an aspect of the moral order described in creation as is the seventh-dayness of the Sabbath.[62] As with Sabbath rest, Scripture records divinely authorized post-fall, immanent tradeoffs against the transcendent goods of exclusivity (monogamy) and indissolubility (non-divorce) in Edenic marriage. However, those tradeoffs were, in some cases, temporary concessions, and God never sanctioned any such tradeoffs against the transcendent good of male-female coupling.[63] Therefore, Adventism must be a community in which all the sacrifices required to maintain TM are practiced, including that of abstaining from same-sex sexual relationships.

Further, both the seventh-dayness of the Sabbath and procreative male-female coupling are reaffirmed in the Ten Commandments, which can be readily interpreted as divine prohibition of other Sabbath-keeping and marriage arrangements, if one makes sense of the fourth and fifth commandments on the Adventist apocalyptic background assumption that the moral order of Eden is soon to be restored.[64] The gospel affirmations by Jesus of Eden as a moral ideal are interpreted to confirm the thick application thereof, when viewed in this light.[65]

By appealing to Eden as the transcendent norm of an ethical hermeneutic, the transcendent traditional argument in Adventism relies on apocalyptic consciousness as the moral background assumption that best makes sense of the practice of TM.[66] On the other hand, to the extent that Adventists hold

---

[62] "Only two institutions have come down to us from the Garden of Eden: the Sabbath and marriage. It is not surprising that in the last days both of these divine institutions, the divine gifts to humanity from the Creator's hand, are under attack" (Richard M. Davidson, "Homosexuality and the Bible: What Is at Stake in the Current Debate," in *Marriage and the Church*, 196). N.B. Davidson's argument here is the converse of that of the early Sabbatarian Adventists, who argued from the perdurance of Edenic marriage to that of the Edenic Sabbath (n. 54).

[63] Moskala, "Adventist Hermeneutics," 18.

[64] See, e.g., "An Understanding of the Biblical View on Homosexual Practice and Pastoral Care" (position paper, Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary, Andrews University, Berrien Springs, MI, August 2017), https://www.andrews.edu/sem/about/statements/seminary-statement-on-homosexuality-edited-8-17-jm-final.pdf, 1–3.

[65] Gane, *Old Testament Law*, 208.

[66] Adventist apocalyptic consciousness is not the only way to make sense of Eden as a source of transcendent norms. Stephen R. Holmes argues that an Augustinian, sacramental conception of TM as a reflection of the creation order is embedded in traditional Western Christian practice, ("Listening to the Past and Reflecting on the Present," in *Views on Homosexuality*, 171–173). While both the Adventist, apocalyptic and the Augustinian, sacramental consciousnesses of the transcendent can make sense of TM, they diverge on the seventh-dayness of Sabbath for reasons that are beyond the scope of this research, but which I suspect are not unrelated to Augustine's eschatol-

the assumption that God's purposes for us do not go beyond our well-being in this world, they can expect to find themselves morally repulsed by Adventist apocalyptic consciousness. The imminent-immanent restoration of the Edenic order entails the destruction of much that we value in this-world, a world in which such Adventists assume it is God's sole purpose to enable humanity to flourish. For such Adventists, TM may or may not make sense as a tradeoff with other immanent goods, but they will not be able to make sense of it as a sacrificial practice, which requires so much from LGB Adventists.

Apocalyptic Consciousness at Stake

We have now arrived at the place where I can propose what is at stake in the question of same-sex marriage for Seventh-day Adventists: apocalyptic consciousness.[67] Since a moral background focused on Eden-restored is readily available to make sense of traditional marriage, in those spaces where the practice of same-sex marriage may be affirmed in Adventism, the preceding analysis suggests it will generally be where Adventists have little awareness of the soon, second coming in their lived experience and, thus, are not sacrificing for the moral order of Eden-restored.[68] On the other readily available

ogy in general and interpretation of the millennium in particular (see Jacob Taubes, *Occidental Eschatology* [Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009 (1947)], 80–82; and Richard Landes, "The Silenced Millennium and the Fall of Rome: Augustine and the Year 6000 AM I," in *Augustine and Apocalyptic*, ed. John Doody, Kari Kloos, and Kim Paffenroth [Plymouth, UK: Lexington, 2014], 151–175).

[67] This is related to, but distinct from, what is argued by Davidson, "Homosexuality," 187–208. Davidson addresses the question at the level of doctrinal and theological systems, making the case that key principles like *tota scriptura*, and core teachings like the Three Angels' Messages would be undermined by affirming SSM in Adventism. I am arguing that Adventist apocalyptic consciousness, as the transcendent moral background against which those doctrines and principles make sense, is what is at stake, and that the immanent-only moral background is also available to make sense of those principles and doctrines. For example, on an immanent-only moral background, one can plausibly argue from a high view of Scripture, including *tota scriptura*, for SSM (see n. 33). And the Three Angels' Messages can be taught exclusively with reference to this-worldly power relations (see, e.g., Reinder Bruinsma, "The Babylonian Temptation: Making a Name for Ourselves," *Ministry* 79.4 [2007]: 9–11). That these immanent-only arguments are not plausible or persuasive to those who argue out of apocalyptic consciousness does not diminish their plausibility to those who, by their own account, hold them sincerely against an immanent-only moral background.

[68] This hypothesis could be tested by quantitative research. A recent survey of beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors of Seventh-day Adventists around the world found that belief that the world will end within twenty years varies widely by region and tends to be negatively correlated with age. Beliefs and attitudes about sexuality and marriage were not reported (A. Barry Gane, "Seventh-day Adventist Church Member Research: South Pacific Division of the Seventh-day Adventist Church," no date,

moral background in Western Adventism, that of mutual benefit and this-wordly flourishing, interpreting male-female coupling in marriage and the seventh-dayness of the Sabbath as open to tradeoffs based on the exigencies of this-worldly concerns; makes sense.

Similarly, Adventists with and without transcendent apocalyptic consciousness can relate to immanent goods through the vision delivered by the Adventist tradition for the betterment of humanity in this world; namely, the integrated practices of wholistic health and education aimed at human well-being and flourishing called the "ministry of healing."[69] The need to

37, 43; Elizabeth Role, "Spiritual Life Patterns, Beliefs, and Attitudes Of Ordinary Seventh-day Adventist Church Members in East-Central Africa Division," released 2014, 13, 82, 85, 88; Elizabeth Role, "Spiritual Life Patterns, Beliefs, and Attitudes Of Ordinary Seventh-day Adventist Church Members in Southern Africa-Indian Ocean Division," released, 2014, 13, 82, 85, 88; Elizabeth Role, "Spiritual Life Patterns, Beliefs, and Attitudes Of Ordinary Seventh-day Adventist Church Members in West-Central Africa Division," released 2014, 11, 74, 77, 79; Hancock Center for Youth and Family Ministry, "2013 Church Member Survey: Division Report for Southern Asia-Pacific," released 2013, 244, 275; Hancock Center for Youth and Family Ministry, "North American Division of Seventh-day Adventist Church Member Research Regarding: Faith, Values, Commitment," released 2013, 35; Hancock Center for Youth and Family Ministry, Inter-American Division, Montemorelos University, "A Study of the Faith, Beliefs, Perceptions, Attitudes and Actions of Seventh-day Adventist Church Members in the Inter-American Division," released 2013, 88, 109; Hancock Center for Youth and Family Ministry and NUMCI (Brazilian Mission and Church Growth Institute), "Seventh-day Adventist Church Member Research, South American Division," no date, 232–233; Newbold College of Higher Education, "Church Member Research," released 2013, 14, 38; http://www.adventistresearch.org/research_reports). In the two majority Global North church regions surveyed, almost two-thirds of church members in North America agreed or agreed more than they disagreed with this apocalyptic prediction, while in parts of Europe (the Trans-European Division) about two-thirds disagreed or disagreed more than they agreed. This may indicate that apocalyptic consciousness in Adventism negatively correlates with secular-rational values in society (as researched by Inglehart and Wetzel); it may reflect regional variations on how apocalyptic consciousness is imagined relative to a specific time horizon; or it may best be explained by some other factor(s). Future research could combine ethnographic with sociological methods to identify major variations on how Adventists narrate their existence relative to the second coming before attempting to formulate questions that assess beliefs about the timing of the end of the world.

[69] As set forth in Ellen G. White, *The Ministry of Healing* (Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press, 1905). "The writings of Ellen White can be considered as being an asset to help Seventh-day Adventism in widening the apocalyptic horizons of its spirituality so as to embrace the outlook of a more world-affirming Protestant apocalyptic spirituality" (Szalos-Farkas, *Search for God*, 301). On the world-affirming dimensions of Adventist apocalyptic identity, see Ante Jerončić, "Inhabiting the Kingdom: On

follow this program for ministering healing can make sense on an immanent-only moral background only to the extent that it is deemed to promote this-worldly flourishing better than its alternatives. And the immanent-only moral background renders many alternatives plausible.

On the other hand, practicing the ministry of healing on immanent-relative-to-transcendent assumptions is made sense of as the way this-worldly flourishing can best gesture toward the Edenic moral order that will soon overthrow this world.[70] Held relative to transcendent goods, the ministry of healing allows less room for reevaluation and replacement based on immanent tradeoffs, because it is taken to embody transcendent meaning. Thus, moral background assumptions will shape the options available to Adventists for ministering healing to LGB people, so that they can flourish in this world. Not that there is an inherent contradiction between Adventist apocalyptic teachings and SSM, such that one could not, in principle, both accept arguments for affirming SSM and apocalyptic Adventist doctrines.[71] Rather, arguments for SSM in Adventism rely on the immanent-only background to make sense, and thus can be expected to gain more traction where apocalyptic consciousness of Eden as a transcendent moral order is diminished in Adventism.[72]

Apocalyptic Identity and Last Generation Lifestyle," in *God's Character and the Last Generation*, ed. Jiři Moskala and John C. Peckham (Nampa, ID: Pacific Press, 2018), 122–139.

[70] Knight, *Apocalyptic Vision*, 101. For example, Adventist apocalyptic consciousness shapes the background assumption embodied in the practice of abstaining from unclean meats as a sign of "respect for the Creator"—rather than putting the "stress on health"—by making sense of a "Creation-Fall-New Creation" ethical hermeneutic as applied to Leviticus 11 (Jiři Moskala, *The Laws of Clean and Unclean Animals in Leviticus 11: Their Nature, Theology, and Rationale, An Intertextual Study*, Adventist Theological Society Dissertation Series 4 [Berrien Springs, MI: Adventist Theological Society Publications, 2000], 345). Cf., the argument that because "every group has something that symbolizes belonging, in the Seventh-day Adventist Church, for at least a century, belonging has been marked by eating the right foods," which makes sense of abstinence from unclean meats on immanent-only terms and of exceptions based on immanent exigencies (Loren Seibold, "Pork," *Spectrum* 35.1 [2007]: 41).

[71] E.g., one gay Adventist defended his attempts to convert his male partner and integrate into their local Adventist church as a married couple by appealing to Adventist eschatological categories: "Satan focuses the Church on controversial issues of the day (gay marriage for example) so it becomes more like the Pharisees Jesus disliked so much, and ignores and places at near [*sic*] the bottom of the list the Beast and his very public consolidation of power and influence" (Leon King's comment on 8 April 2014 on "Longings and the Same-sex Attraction Discussion," *Jennifer Jill Schwirzer* [blog], 3 April 2014, http://jenniferjill.org/longings-and-the-same-sex-attraction-discussion/#comment-6971).

[72] The example in footnote 71 is the only case of which I am aware of an Adventist arguing for affirming SSM by appealing to Adventist apocalyptic sensibilities. But

Additionally, because the backgrounds against which our thought makes sense are embodied in practice, promoting same-sex marriage as acceptable for the Adventist community is likely to dilute its apocalyptic consciousness, as Eden would come to be imagined no longer as an imminent-immanent reality, but one Adventist lifestyle alternative among others.[73]

Conversely, where Adventism on the whole rejects same-sex marriage as a legitimate tradeoff of immanent-against-transcendent goods, the preceding analysis suggests it will likely not be because of any immanent goods afforded by traditional marriage (though that does not exclude the appreciation of such goods), and not for the purpose of receiving this-worldly blessings for following God's law (while not denying God's ability to grant such blessings). Rather, it will be because male-female coupling in marriage is able to be imagined as a practice that aligns Christians with Christ's purposes in restoring the Edenic moral order. The ongoing ability to make sense of the sacrifices entailed in traditional marriage on this moral background will likely require that Adventists explain, shape, and develop the practices that embody their apocalyptic consciousness in fresh and renewed ways. It is to the question of how we might accomplish this task that I now turn.[74]

---

this is not the same as arguing on a transcendent moral background that allows for immanent well-being to be sacrificed for transcendent goods (see n. 30 for the form a hypothetical transcendent affirming argument might take).

[73] These reciprocal effects of practice and theorizing in *A Secular Age*'s implicit social theory are modeled by Germán McKenzie, *Interpreting Charles Taylor's Social Theory on Religion and Secularization: A Comparative Study* (Cham, Switzerland: Springer, 2017), 138–148.

[74] Here, I acknowledge myself as an Adventist who believes the transcendent TM argument and will conclude this research accordingly. Those who are committed to affirming SSM in Adventism may develop that approach according to Taylor's categories at greater length than I will outline in the following excursus.

Because diminishing apocalyptic consciousness as an obstacle to SSM would require dissociating Adventist identity from a profound explanation for its existence, my analysis suggests that an affirmation of SSM in Adventism would best be accomplished by theorizing an alternative apocalyptic consciousness that could make sense of Adventist doctrine and practice on an immanent-only moral background. In Cyril O'Regan's analysis of apocalyptic theology, he notes the availability of justice to supply meaning to apocalyptic theologies that minimize or elide the "eidetic" content of the apocalyptic as a "disclosure of divine reality and its relation to the world and history and how directive that is of specifically Christian practices and forms of life." (*Theology and the Spaces of Apocalyptic* [Milwaukee, WI: Marquette University Press, 2009], 27–29)

How Adventist apocalyptic consciousness could be immanentized along those lines such that Adventist eschatology would come to be "concerned with epistemic issues only to the extent to which they assist the ethical agenda which . . . is socially and politically indexed" (O'Regan's, *The Spaces of Apocalyptic*, 87) is hinted at in Ronald E.

Conclusions and Recommendations

Reinforcing Adventist apocalyptic consciousness as it relates to sexuality and marriage would require, or at the very least be bolstered by, replacing the pagan traditional argument with an understanding of providence that accounts for a wider range of biblical data (e.g., both Luke 18:29–30, which promises divine recompense for sacrifice, and Dan 3:16–18, Matt 19:12, which emphasize the absolute commitment and difficult demands entailed in sacrifice). This could involve placing immanence and transcendence as moral categories under the "targeted *epoché*" of phenomenological Bible study, by which Fernando Canale theorized how an interpreter can bracket their preconception in order

---

Osborn's astute application of Adventist apocalypticism to contemporary theopolitical concerns in *Anarchy and Apocalypse: Essays on Faith, Violence, and Theology* (Eugene, OR: Cascade, 2010). First, those who practice the transcendent goods of Eden-restored can be, in immanent terms, portrayed as self-centeredly seeking after "freedom from 'this-worldliness,'" "motivated by narrow perfectionism or pious idealism" (Osborn, *Anarchy and Apocalypse*, 13). Instead, Adventists would be encouraged to recover "an apocalyptic social ethic" (Osborn, *Anarchy and Apocalypse*, 61). This re-theorizing of apocalypticism could then re-focus the apocalyptic imagination away from a break in history at the second coming and toward a break with the present socio-political order, casting Adventists as the suffering vanguard of an alternative community that realizes the Yoderian politics of Jesus (Osborn, *Anarchy and Apocalypse*, 41–43). Finally, as those theopolitics are put into practice, the moral valence of Adventist apocalyptic consciousness would become a particular awareness of God-ordained resistance to the this-worldly powers that is rooted in the Adventist experience, and be only optionally an awareness of the imminent-immanent restoration of Eden at the second coming (Osborn, *Anarchy and Apocalypse*, 52). By that point, this alternative, immanent-only, Adventist apocalyptic consciousness could either make sense of SSM, weakly, as a practical exception necessitated by this-worldly exigencies, (Osborn, *Anarchy and Apocalypse*, 18–19, see the concessive approach in n. 43) or, strongly, as a mandate of egalitarian justice.

Note that none of the preceding implies that Osborne's arguments about the theopolitical vision inherent in apocalyptic Adventism cannot make sense on immanent-relative-to-transcendent terms as congruent with a ministry of healing practiced in anticipation of Eden-restored. However, his theory of how Adventist apocalyptic practices embody certain immanent goods also makes sense absent transcendent apocalyptic consciousness; i.e., apocalyptic Adventism can be about making this world a better place regardless of whether or not we are aware of Christ's second coming as ushering in an imminent-immanent restoration of Eden. On this question, Osborne argues that "Adventist apocalypticism has become a degenerating theological research program, I would suggest, because in their efforts to preserve unmodified what theological talents they received from the pioneers, contemporary Adventists have actually lost sight of their own tradition's deeper spirit and, at its best, its theopolitical relevance and critical urgency" ("The Theopolitics of Adventist Apocalypticism: Progressive or Degenerating Research Program?" *Modern Theology* 30.2 [2014]: 247).

to discern a feature of the background assumed in Scripture.[75] On the other hand, reinforcing apocalyptic consciousness would benefit from a modification to, not a renunciation of, the immanent traditional argument.

An immanent traditional argument is needed because Adventists, after having established the transcendent meaning of marriage, will still need to address themselves to immanent-only believers and non-believers on the question of whether their transcendent view of marriage has a viable path to the immanent good. This includes translating, where possible, the Adventist transcendent view of marriage into immanent terms that can be appreciated as a contribution to debates in the public square over civil marriage. The immanent traditional argument is also needed to develop the relationship of those transcendent and immanent goods within the faith community, so as to properly order the practice of marriage.

But because the immanent-traditional argument makes immanent justifications of other marriage practices plausible, Adventists should not use it to argue that TM is the only form of marriage that can be ordered toward the immanent good. When Adventists fail to acknowledge the immanent goods associated with other marriage configurations, as if TM were the only kind marriage that could plausibly make sense as oriented toward our immanent good, we imply that the transcendent is redundant to the goods needed to interpret TM as a necessary practice in a fallen world. This allows Adventists to dispense with Eden on this point and make sense of TM on an immanent-only moral background. For, if traditional marriage is the only good marriage on immanent terms, the here-and-now—a moral background on which same-sex marriage is also plausible—is all that is needed to make sense of the practice.

This conclusion applies to Taylor's general observation that in the post-sexual revolution Global North, "once again, the eighteenth-century identification of God's will with certain supposed human goods," that is, "with certain models of the 'natural,' even in the medical sense," "is operating as a great engine of secularization." For, the immanent terms on which these arguments make sense also make them "contingent and questionable." Taylor goes on to argue that "people who have been through the upheaval [of the sexual revolution] have to find forms which can allow for long-term loving relations between equal partners," forms which "can't be simply identical to the codes of the past" given "how little of it can be justified as intrinsically and essentially Christian." However, I have argued here that for the community of those whose practices embody Adventist apocalyptic consciousness, the transcendent purpose of marriage goes beyond what can be encompassed by "certain models of the 'natural.'"[76]

[75] See footnote 9.

[76] Taylor, *Secular Age*, 502–503.

Thus, for the Adventist community, male-female coupling as essential to the sacrificial practice of marriage need not be as fragilized by the immanent goods afforded by other marriage configurations, at least insofar as that sacrificial quality is not obviated by arguments within the community attempting to demonstrate that traditional marriage is the only configuration that can orient humans toward immanent flourishing. Such arguments imply that lesbian, gay, and bisexual Adventists who renounce same-sex marriage have not really given up anything of value. To avoid fragilizing TM and undermining the apocalyptic consciousness it embodies, those advancing the immanent traditional argument should limit themselves to arguing that TM is, depending on what the data allows, at most, the preferable or, at least, a viable way to promote universal human flourishing, but not the only viable way to discipline sexual relationships toward mutual benefit in this world.[77]

Apocalyptic consciousness can also be undermined by failure to find fulfillment in making the sacrifices required to live in the soon-to-be-restored moral order. This can happen in a number of ways, including individual choice. Many who hold an Adventist apocalyptic consciousness; evade responsibility for fostering it by reducing all failure to attain or retain it to individual choice. However, the mandate to minister healing within this fallen world as a token of the moral order of the world-to-come implies that awareness of the imminent-immanent restoration of Eden depends, in part, on how Edenically Adventists treat their fellow human beings.

In this regard, Adventists who make sense of marriage against the background of the Edenic moral vision ought to frankly acknowledge and repent of the fact that they have too often collectively not lived out that vision in their treatment of lesbian, gay, and bisexual Adventists making sacrifices for that same vision.[78] Instead, they have by-and-large denied LGB Adventists the

[77] See footnote 13 on "fragilization."

[78] "The gospel affirms that every committed Christian life involves costly self-sacrifice. It follows from this that whenever I find myself in the position of asking other Christians to make a sacrifice for which I am ineligible—if I as a heterosexual ask homosexual Christians to give up the possibility of committed sexual relationship—then I should feel the inherent vulnerability of my position, because my 'proclamation' of the gospel is costing others more than it costs me. That vulnerability does not in itself mean that the demand is misguided, but it should cause me to regard my own position with healthy self-suspicion. At the same time, it should deepen my respect and compassion for the others whom I am calling to make such a costly sacrifice" (Ellen F. Davis, "Reasoning with Scripture", *AThR* 90.3 [2008]: 517).

For recent research into the extent of this failure and recommendations for care providers and parents, see Curtis J. VanderWaal, David Sedlacek, and Lauren Lane, "The Impact of Family Rejection or Acceptance among LGBT+ Millennials in the Seventh-day Adventist Church," Journal of the North American Association of Christians in Social Work, 44.1–2 (2017): 72–95; and Bill Henson, Guiding Families of

experience of transcendent spiritual fulfillment through meaningful sacrifice by demanding that they find meaning in traditional marriage on immanent-only terms. I will identify three ways this failure to minister healing to our LGB sisters and brothers has occurred.

1. Adventists have asked their lesbian, gay, and bisexual brothers and sisters not to live sacrificially by holding out false hope. The pagan traditional argument has suggested that no sacrifice is necessary on the part of LGB Adventists, if only they would pray harder and/or hold out longer for the miraculous blessing of a sexually and relationally fulfilling traditional marriage. This not only ignores the biblical possibility that God might not effect a miraculous transformation to remove believers from the need to sacrifice for transcendent goods, it also discourages LGB Adventists from accepting the reality of the sacrifices God is calling them to make in the same way that believers who make sacrifices for the Sabbath are encouraged to experience meaning and find spiritual fulfillment in exchanging immanent for transcendent goods.[79] Instead of demanding a particular sexuality of them in the here and now, the church community should encourage lesbian, gay, and bisexual Adventists to focus their ultimate hope on Jesus and, "the joy set before" us (Heb 12:2), eternal life in Eden-restored.

2. Adventists have encouraged their lesbian, gay, and bisexual sisters and brothers not to live sacrificially by demanding that sexual self-denial must go along with denying the lived experience of one's sexuality. Some LGB Adventists find it helpful not to identify as LGB, preferring to speak of the phenomena of their "same-sex attraction" rather than accepting social identifiers, that they do not believe correspond to their identity in Christ, yet even these have had to struggle for recognition as fellow believers simply for having expressed the ongoing reality of their sexuality.[80] When LGB Adventists are encouraged

---

LGBT+ Loved Ones: Adventist Edition (Columbia, MD: North American Division of Seventh-day Adventists, 2018), a popular resource informed by the research of VanderWaal, et al.

[79] Commenting on Taylor's Hegelian philosophy of recognition in *Ethics of Authenticity* (cited as *Malaise of Modernity*), Robert Joustra and Alissa Wilkinson note that, in Western society, marriage is a major (and perhaps overly relied on) means for authenticating the individual. This has given rise to an identity politics around marriage (*How to Survive the Apocalypse: Zombies, Cylons, Faith, and Politics at the End of the World* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2016], 110–111; see also Charles Taylor, "The Politics of Recognition," in *Multiculturalism: Examining the Politics of Recognition*, ed. Amy Gutmann [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994], 23–35). Where sexual identity politics are operative in the church (that is, in the Global North), same-sex church marriage can be argued for as an indispensable venue of recognition, especially where the church does not recognize the sacrifices celibate people and married couples make to uphold the transcendent goods of TM.

[80] As evidenced by the repeated and ongoing efforts to distinguish temptation

to keep their sexuality a secret, the sacrifices they make for the Edenic moral order cannot be recognized and supported in the same way as those who practice other modes of self-denial and are not asked to deny any ongoing conflict between their social identity and their identity in Christ.[81] Instead of demanding a silent ambiguity, Adventists should make it a practice to personally, and publicly, affirm and support the social identity of lesbian, gay, and bisexual Adventists, according to whatever identifiers they may choose, and to recognize the distinct witness of their sacrifices for traditional marriage.

3. Adventists have asked their lesbian, gay, and bisexual brothers and sisters not to live sacrificially by teaching that forgoing same-sex sexual relationships is entirely in their immanent best interest.[82] This erases the line between fulfilling sacrifice for transcendent goods and self-interested self-discipline for immanent goods, which is the essence of the Christian immanent-only moral background. While there may be harmful aspects to same-sex sexual relationships, including same sex-marriage, disregarding their potential immanent, relational, and sexual benefits amounts to a denial of the potential for fulfillment to be found in giving them up for a higher purpose. Adventist local churches should freely acknowledge relational costs to lesbian, gay, and bisexual Adventists who have denied self (Matt 16:24; Mark 8:34; Luke 9:23) to follow—not only the recommendation of Paul the Apostle for those living in imminent expectation of an apocalyptic crisis (1 Cor 7:26)—

---

from sin on the part of openly LGB, celibate Adventists (see, e.g., Wayne Blakley, "No Longer Hiding Under a Church Pew: Breaking the Silence about Homosexuality in the Church," *The Compass Magazine* [blog], 6 May 2016, https://thecompassmagazine.com/blog/no-longer-hiding-under-a-church-pew-breaking-the-silence-about-homosexuality-in-the-church).

[81] For example, in my experience of apocalyptic Adventism in America, it has never been the case that patriotic Adventists were asked to deny their civic identity as Americans in order to be seen as fully committed to an Adventist eschatology that is incompatible with conceptions of America as the "last best hope of earth" (Abraham Lincoln, Second Annual Message, 1 December 1862 in *This Fiery Trial: The Speeches and Writings of Abraham Lincoln*, ed. William E. Gienapp [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002], 150). A similar situation could be the case on the problem of white identity and anti-racism (see Martín Alcoff, *Future of Whiteness*, 105–109, 188–189).

[82] "As Tillotson put it: 'And nothing is more likely to prevail with wise and considerate men to become religious, than to be thoroughly convinced, that religion and happiness, our duty and our interest, are but one and the same thing considered under different notions.'

"An observer today looks with stupefaction on this pre-shrunk religion, anticipating the root and branch rejection from both sides, by Wesley from one direction, and later secular humanists from the other." (Taylor, *Secular Age*, 226, quoting John Tillotson [1630–1694] as quoted in Gerald Robertson Cragg, *Puritanism to the Age of Reason: A Study of Changes in Religious Thought Within the Church of England, 1660–1700* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1950], 78n2).

but also the earthly example of Christ in celibacy, in order to respect the "heavenly" example of Christ in traditional marriage. Such congregations can then openly celebrate the faithfulness of their LGB members in having done so, and can learn from their example of sacrifice.

As the church alleviates the costs of sacrificial Sabbath-keeping by the provision of employment opportunities and legal services, the church can also alleviate the sacrifices LGB Adventists make for the soon-coming Savior by providing them with recognition and companionship. For, if I may return to Taylor for one final insight into our late-Modern condition, the recognition of our identity by peers is part of what allows us to see ourselves as living authentically "against the background of things that matter."[83] Lesbian, gay, and bisexual Adventists who renounce same-sex marriage renounce a readily available mode of authentically making sense of their sexual attractions through an intimate relational practice that combines sexual self-expression and self-discipline. In recognition of this sacrifice, local churches should immediately begin to partner with lesbian, gay, bisexual, and other single Adventists to develop burden-bearing practices through which they can authentically integrate their sexuality with their stance on traditional marriage through intimate, non-sexual relationships of mutual recognition and spiritual up-building before God (Gal 6:2).[84]

Finally, the moral logic behind male-female coupling in the Edenic order of marriage will need to be elucidated for Christians in the same way as Adventists have recently undertaken to expound the transcendent moral logic of the seventh-dayness of the Edenic Sabbath.[85] This task is necessary

[83] Taylor, *Ethics of Authenticity*, 40. In a way, what I will recommend here is for the Adventist local church to be an alter-Bloomsbury (n. 28): a fellowship in which LGB Adventists can be openly recognized as authentically practicing their sexuality relative to their transcendent moral commitments in the midst of a society that often fails to appreciate how this mode of self-denial can be directed toward human flourishing (cf. Hart-Brinson, *Gay Marriage Generation*, 196–203 on "orthodox interpretive communities" and "subcultures of inclusivity").

[84] See the Hauerwasian critique the "Marriage Mandate Movement" in Christiana S. Hitchcock, *The Significance of Singleness: A Theological Vision for the Church* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2018), 8–28. In contrast to the practices of singleness among Christian women in the ancient church in the nineteenth century Chinese mission field, she suggests that contemporary "American evangelicals are afraid of being single because we are afraid of what it means theologically: that God might not give us everything that we want" (Hitchcock, *The Significance of Singleness*, 93). With respect to SSM, Hitchcock concludes that "if we are willing to take seriously that God may call heterosexuals to singleness, then we have more credibility when we ask it of others as well" (*The Significance of Singleness*, 27).

[85] James V. Brownson, *Bible, Gender, Sexuality: Reframing the Church's Debate on Same-Sex Relationships* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2013), 35, writing in affirmation of

because the moral logic of mutual benefit is embodied in the Western way of life, and therefore the immanent-only moral background assumption is positioned to potentially make sense of the entire system of Adventist beliefs and practices, beyond simply the Sabbath and marriage.[86] Thus, further research into the biblical sources of a transcendent moral logic of traditional marriage is urgently needed.[87]

SSM, found "the most common attempts to explain the underlying moral logic that shapes this [gender complementary] outlook inadequate and unhelpful." See, e.g., Sigve K. Tonstad, *The Lost Meaning of the Seventh-day* (Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 2009), 27–38.

[86] See footnote 67 on the Three Angels' Messages. A systematic move in this direction might begin by making sense of the great controversy over the moral character of God, the narrative horizon of Adventist theology, on immanent-only moral background assumptions. This could be accomplished by theorizing an apocalyptic break between sin as inherently self-destructive on this-worldly terms and God's character as ultimately non-destructive on this-worldly terms (see, e.g., Sigve K. Tonstad, *God of Sense and Traditions of Non-Sense* [Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2016], 394–401).

[87] A starting hypothesis for a project to fill that gap could develop the conclusions of Gehring, *"One Flesh" Theology*, 52, 310–318, to the effect that the transcendent purpose of marriage is to tell a story about how God loves his people (Eph 5:25). This transcendent narrative can be identified through a typological study of marriage in the Scriptures (Gehring, *"One Flesh" Theology*, 311n1). The transcendent moral logic of male-female coupling for TM could thus be minimally structured according to the threefold frame of (1) the union Adam and Eve in Eden following creation (Gen 2:22–25), (2) the rupture of their relationship with each other and with God at the fall (3:7–12), and (3) the consummation of redemption as the union of the Second Adam and the New Jerusalem in Eden-restored (Rom 5:14, Rev 21:2–3; cf. n. 70 on Moskala's "Creation-Fall-New Creation" ethical hermeneutic).

BOOK REVIEWS

Arnold, Brian J. *Justification in the Second Century.* Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2018. xiv + 221 pp. Softcover. USD 39.95.

For decades, the consensus in historical and theological studies has been that the early centuries before Augustine have very little to offer regarding the development of the doctrine of justification and that, in fact, following T. F. Torrance's study (*The Doctrine of Grace in the Apostolic Fathers* [Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1948]), second-century church fathers misunderstood Paul's doctrine of grace and "departed at once from a central tenet of Pauline Christianity" (13). In this recent publication, Brian J. Arnold, who is assistant professor of theology at Phoenix Seminary, bravely challenges this consensus.

After reviewing recent developments and studies of the Apostolic Fathers' thought on soteriology, Arnold seeks to answer, in a fresh way, these key questions: "How did the second-century fathers understand the doctrine of justification?" (4), "What happened to the doctrine of justification in the second century? Was it abandoned? Was it ignored?" (5–6). And Arnold answers succinctly in the introduction that it was neither abandoned or ignored, and that "Paul's influence extended into the second century, even when these fathers do not cite the Apostle directly" (6). The book attempts to demonstrate this conclusion, which he does with skill even if all doubts are not totally removed.

The five core chapters of the book review the evidence from the Apostolic Fathers beginning with 1 Clement, Clement of Rome's Letter to the Corinthians (18–35). Arnold first acknowledges the scholarly consensus that the letter's main theme is "living in accordance with biblical morality" (24) and advocates a moralism exemplified in the lives of many biblical characters, concluding that people are "justified by works and not by words" (1 Clem 30.3). However, he argues that the key hermeneutical passage of 1 Clement on the doctrine of justification is 32.3–4, where the author categorically states that people are not justified "through our own wisdom or through our understanding or through our piety or through our works which we did in holiness of heart, but through faith, through which the Almighty God justified all who existed from the earliest times." Arnold argues that, in this passage, 1 Clement breaks from a purely moralistic exposition "to comment on justification, as though he realized that his previous remarks could be mistakenly used to promote a works based salvation, a message he did not want to communicate to an already confused congregation" (25). This is Arnold's strongest argument: good works in 1 Clement serve as evidence of sincere faith, not to

garner salvation (28). Of all the solutions offered, he prefers J. B. Lightfoot's, who sees "*1 Clement* as a practical guide for bridging the gap between Paul and James" in the relationship between faith and works (31). Agreeing with Räisänen, Arnold also concludes that "the notion that justification through faith should lead to works of love is of course fully compatible with the theology of Paul" (32).

The next chapter focuses on the letters of Ignatius of Antioch and there Arnold takes on Torrance's thesis with more fervor (68–73). Arnold argues that Ignatius "has a great deal to say about soteriology" and "is compatible with Paul's view" on justification (36). As with 1 Clement, the δικ-word group is infrequently used by Ignatius, the study is therefore broadened to look at other ways Ignatius spoke about salvation, in particular, what salvation is not, in his invective against the Judaizers (37). In three key passages (Ign. *Eph.* 6.1; Ign. *Magn.* 8.1; 9.1–2), Ignatius expresses clearly that one cannot be Christian and profess that he has received grace while advocating Jewish practices. "Assent to Jewish practices nullifies Christianity because it adds to salvation by grace" (53). And thus indirectly, according to Arnold, Ignatius concurs with Pauline theology on justification and concludes that "the Judaizers were harmful because they tainted Paul's message of grace" (55). On the positive side, Arnold sees Ignatius's repeated phrase "faith and love" as an echo of Paul's gospel of justification and love as the fruit of faith (70).

Chapter four discusses the anonymous epistle to Diognetus and Arnold extolls its "remarkable clarity with regard to the doctrines of justification and the [substitutionary] atonement" (77). In spite of its obscure history and unknown authorship, it "is the clearest evidence that the doctrine of grace neither disappeared nor diminished in the second century" (103). That not all scholars may think so positively about this document is evident in the fact that Torrance rarely mentioned it in his study (77). Yet, for Arnold, the document is clearly supporting Paul's doctrine of forensic justification. The *Epistle*'s chapter nine contains "some of the clearest teachings on the atonement and justification in the Ante-Nicene church" (94), including language about the imputation of Christ's righteousness to the sinner on the basis of faith alone and the substitutionary "sweet exchange" of guilt and unrighteousness for forgiveness and righteousness between the sinner and Christ.

The little-known document *The Odes of Solomon* is the focus of chapter five (104–153). While this document is also anonymous and from an unspecified time period and region, with almost no historical attestation in Church Fathers, Arnold accepts the limited evidence that it may be from the early second century and of Syrian origin, making it "one of the most ancient documents in the history of the church" (112). Three odes (17, 25, 29) are studied in this chapter to confirm that another second-century author held a clear forensic view of justification by faith in God's alien righteousness to save sinners. For Arnold, "the *Odes of Solomon* offers a unique glimpse into

the early church . . . to discover what the majority of Christians believed" (152) and sang about. All of which seem to have been influenced by a Pauline theology of justification and imputed righteousness.

The last second-century document examined is Justin Martyr's *Dialogue with Trypho* and Arnold claims that few scholars "have taken the positive step of acknowledging that Justin held a view similar to the so-called 'traditional' Pauline view of justification" (182). Arnold focuses his discussion on four chapters of the *Dialogue with Trypho* (8, 23, 92, 137) in which he finds a view of justification very similar to that of Paul in his letters to the Romans and Galatians. He also understands that Justin's treatment of the law and righteousness on the basis of works (circumcision), and his view of legalism in Judaism are all apparently divergent from what is claimed by scholars of the New Perspective on Paul (168–170) in their understanding of Second Temple Judaism. Arnold understands Justin to affirm that salvation is a gift of God's mercy through faith in Christ, the Messiah, who fulfilled the Old Testament promises.

So, in conclusion, does Arnold succeed in challenging the consensus that second-century authors did not hold a clear Pauline view of forensic justification by faith?

The moralism of some of the Apostolic Fathers as shown in 1 Clement and the letters of Ignatius is hard to set aside. While Paul's theology of justification may have been known and accepted by these Apostolic Fathers, to a great extent later generations of Christians after Paul in the early second century had begun to express their faith in some sort of traditional, defensive way, emphasizing morality and the excellent life. The moralism of the Apostolic Fathers makes sense, given the context in which they lived and the temporal distance from Paul. Their questions were not our questions. Did they acquiesce with Paul's theology of justification? Most likely they did. But by then, it was more likely James's understanding of the relationship between justification and faith, of living the life of faith, of good works demonstrating the evidence of faith, that dominated their thinking. While Arnold makes a good case to demonstrate that Paul's views on justification are still in the background and part of the Apostolic Fathers' soteriology, Torrance's analysis is not invalidated and should not be too quickly set aside. As Arnold explains a few times, things are complicated and nothing is obvious.

But when it comes to his analysis of the Epistle to Diognetus, the Odes of Solomon and some chapters of Justin Martyr's *Dialogue with Trypho*, Arnold succeeds in demonstrating that these authors had a similar view of justification as Paul explained in his own letters—at least as Arnold understands it, forensic and somewhat Reformed. The collective evidence he presents is convincing. A doctrine of justification by faith apart from good works was preserved well into the second century and showed some continuity with the first century.

This study will certainly create some good conversations about justification and encourage further study into the doctrine of salvation in the early centuries of Christianity. This book is also a helpful supplement to Alistair E. McGrath's masterful study on justification, *Iustitia Dei: A History of the Christian Doctrine of Justification*, 3rd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005) and even to Michael Horton's recent contributions in volume 1 on *Justification*, New Studies in Dogmatics (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2018).

Andrews University DENIS FORTIN

Berman, Joshua A. *Inconsistency in the Torah: Ancient Literary Convention and the Limits of Source Criticism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017. xi + 307 pp. Hardcover. USD 99.00.

Currently, the extreme fragmentation in the field of Pentateuchal Theory has occasioned the publication of several attempts to bridge the gap between differing academic communities, producing new paradigms for the study of the compositional history of the Pentateuch (for e.g., Jan Christian Gertz, et al., eds., *The Formation of the Pentateuch: Bridging the Academic Cultures of Europe, Israel and North America*, FAT 111 [Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2016], 3). Inconsistency in the Torah represents a call for a more modest methodological agenda in regards to both the application of source critical methods for Pentateuchal composition studies and to the abounding speculative results of such methods in recent publications. In this regard, Joshua A. Berman's book stands in line with another forthcoming publication (see L. S. Baker, et al., eds., *Exploring the Composition of the Pentateuch I* [Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, forthcoming]). The book is a major contemporary critique of source criticism's claims for literary consistency, proposing that ancient literary conventions do not align with modern critical expectations in terms of unity, readability, coherence and scientific precision. Berman urges scholars to pursue the integration of ancient literary conventions in the formulation of any serious compositional paradigm of the Pentateuch.

Berman draws from several of his previously published papers to compose the book's chapters and sections (10–11). This material is then organized into thirteen chapters, which are further divided into three parts. The first part deals with two problems: first, the duplication of narrative accounts of a single event, and second the historical disparity between the narratives of Exodus and Numbers, on the one hand, and Deuteronomy on the other. Berman responds to the first problem by observing that ancient Egyptian sources resort to literary duplication in the depiction of the battle of Kadesh (1274 BCE). He defends the existence of a different literary expectation behind the composition of the literary duplication found in the massive

walls of Luxor, the Ramesseum and Abydos, which display two accounts of that event, each carved side by side. Berman notices that the accounts have discrepancies in terms of style, precision, and historiographical mismatch, characterizing them in connection to the exhortatory nature of premodern historiography, as sampled by Greek, Roman, and Medieval sources. Berman suggests reading the Exodus sea account (Exod 13:17–15:19) in light of the Kadesh inscriptions of Ramses II. He argues that the parallels between the Biblical and the Egyptian compositions attest of the former's literary dependence on the latter. Such dependence, convincingly, demonstrates a common literary strategy that undermines the modern source-critical perspective of a Priestly and a non-Priestly layer for Exodus 13:17–15:19.

I think Berman's study on the Kadesh inscriptions of Ramses II will be held as paradigmatic for serious future studies on the occurrence of literary duplication in the Pentateuch. However, although it sounds appealing that different expectations characterized the relation between author and reader in Antiquity, I think that such a claim must be further substantiated by additional studies on the possibility of the presence of the exhortation genre in Ancient Near Eastern compositions. Such studies could show whether Berman's hortatory readings of the Kadesh inscriptions and of the Biblical account are simply a replacement of the modern source critical anachronistic approach by another of the same kind, or not. My observation relates to the danger of anachronistically imposing the literary conventions of one Ancient community upon another since the Greek, Roman and Medieval authors have millennia separating them from their Egyptian New Kingdom counterparts.

Chapters 3 and 4 deal with the historical disparity between the narrative of Exodus and that of Numbers with Deuteronomy. Berman shows the significance of the Hittite literary reworking of history for understanding Deuteronomy. The author reads the historical discrepancies between Deuteronomy 1–3 and Exodus/Leviticus, in light of the principle of diplomatic signaling found in the Hittite historical prologue and in the Amarna letters. Diplomatic signaling is the idea that shifts in the diplomatic relationship between the Hittite suzerain and his vassals were communicated by changes in the suzerain's display of history as found in the historical prologue of a renewed treaty. Berman suggests that Deuteronomy 1–3 similarly approaches the past events of Israel for communicating changes in the relationship between YHWH and Israel based on a distinctive historical perspective of past events. Though in agreement with Berman's argument, I have argued elsewhere that the propagandistic nature and diplomatic use of history supporting his argumentation can be further nuanced by Amnon Altman's concept of history as presented to the divine assembly (see Jiří Moskala and Felipe A. Masotti, "The Hittite Treaty Prologue Tradition and the Literary Structure of the Book of Deuteronomy," in *Composition of the Pentateuch*). Thus, the Hittite prologue tradition stands, not only as a royal tool for diplomatic signaling, but also as a

human agreement on what was ultimately accepted as the normative divine version of history. It was primarily based on the suzerain's intention to display military power for enforcing order and to communicate his decisions towards a needed diplomatic change (propaganda/diplomatic concept). However, this consequently validated the idea that the gods were on his side—that the divine council watches over the divinely assigned human dynamics (divine council/legal concept), a fact that strongly parallels Deuteronomy's covenantal form as a representation of a divinely communicated review of the Exodus covenant.

The second part turns to inconsistencies among the several distinct Pentateuchal law codes. The following arguments comprise Berman's main line of reasoning: Ancient law was composed as non-statutory (ch. 5); the modern notion of strict construction is alien to the Ancient legal thought (ch. 6); ancient narrative accounts may acknowledge the validity of an old law code and concomitantly diverge from its specific dictates (ch. 7); biblical narrative shows the existence of normative consciousness in regards to Pentateuchal discordant laws by combining them in a same narrative account (ch. 8); legal revision in the Pentateuch is complementary by nature (ch. 9); and, empirical models for the understanding of legal discrepancy must take into account the complementary nature of the evidence coming from Ancient sources (ch. 10).

Berman supports his argumentation with detailed work on discrepancy in ancient law codes, ancient narratives, biblical law, and biblical narratives. He develops the arguments/chapters under the assumption that modern understanding about law is connected to various currents of thought developed in the nineteenth century. The most important aspect of these currents is the statutory notion about legal corpora. Under such a notion, the law corresponds to the exact words of a given code which must be acknowledged in its manifested specificities by a judge in a court (strict construction concept). Thus, texts, for modern minds, are the ultimate source of law. Berman contends, however, that in Antiquity, adjudication was performed under a common-law system, in which the legal normativity of a law code and of a judge's decision emanated from "the mores and spirit of the community and its customs" (109). In such contexts, textual law was rather taken as a resource. Thus, complementarity between codes and the lack of strict construction awareness should be expected when legal revision took place throughout time. Here, again, Berman shows how a hortatory tone might be connected with legal instruction in ancient texts, and how such is also the case in the Hebrew Bible's purposed blend of discrepant legal corpora and genres (151). I find the hortatory notion as connected to the legal blending and presentation of law in the Pentateuch more appealing than its use in the first part of his book. Here, in the second part, Berman's conclusions interestingly correlate with studies showing that Israel's liminal moments were marked by the communication of law, stressing the literary polyphonic discourse

conveyed by its connection with narrative (see for e.g., Nanette Stahl, *Law and Liminality in the Bible*, JSOTSup 202 [Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1995], 21; and James W. Watts, "Story–List–Sanction: A Cross-Cultural Strategy of Ancient Persuasion," in *Rhetoric Before and Beyond the Greeks*, eds. Carol S. Lipson and Roberta A. Binkley [Albany: State University of New York Press, 2004], 197–212).

The book's third part comprises a critique to modern source-critical scholars' practices. Berman presents the history of the historical-critical paradigm in Biblical studies (ch. 11), exposes what he claims to be the major abusive practices of scholars using the method (ch. 12), and challenges historical-critical conclusions in the study of the flood narrative of Genesis 6–9 (ch. 13). I find the third part to be the most thought-provoking section of the book. The author addresses the main questions entertained by historical-critical scholars throughout the history of the method (203) and demonstrates how the bisectional approach that tempers the current version of the discipline did not reign in the words of its first proponents (206). Berman argues that Spinoza and Richard Simon's highly cautionary approach in the seventeenth century should be held as paradigmatic for the historical-critical study of the Hebrew Bible. He demonstrates how such caution changed as eighteenth century scholars adopted a mechanical-naturalistic worldview and as nineteenth century Biblical scholars were influenced by the German historicist tradition with its emphases on individuation, causality, and primary sources for the assessment of a given historical chain of events. Berman demonstrates how these emphases influenced modern historical-criticism. He argues that modern, source-critical scholars often bisect, negate, and/or suppress data in order to ascribe specific dating to Biblical texts and to group together the layers of what is thought to be their primary sources. The author finally samples a return to Spinoza's methodologically modest agenda by challenging details of the widely accepted, historical-critical views of dual authorship for the flood account (Gen 6–9).

In his urge for methodological modesty, Berman has provided a document that nuances the characterization of the assumptions and procedures of a method that is often misrepresented as purely rational, especially as opposed to studies with more modest methodological perspectives. He has also opened the door for an alternative from the alleged, inescapable academic fate of those who disagree with the abundant, historical critical, deterministic conclusions. I find Berman's call for understanding the Hebrew Bible as a product of the Ancient Near East literary milieu to be foundational. I would argue that in his book, nonstandard, alternative perspectives can be found and built upon, instead of fundamentalist apologetics. As such, the book will engage both avid students who enjoy learning about the history and modern ideas entertained in current historical criticism, as well as scholars who now

will have to deal with the substantial challenges Berman raises against the modern practice of the method.

Berrien Springs, Michigan FELIPE MASOTTI

Capes, David B., Rodney Reeves, and E. Randolph Richards. *Rediscovering Paul: An Introduction to His World, Letters and Theology*. 2nd ed. Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2017. 462 pp. Hardcover. USD 34.20.

Why another book on Paul? As the title says, the authors wanted "a single textbook that covered, in a manageable size several key aspects of Paul: his background, and introduction to his letters, a survey of his ministry surrounding his letters, and an integrated survey of theology and spirituality" (3–4). It is designed for an "introductory course on Paul" (3) with the hope of covering "multiple facets of Paul" while answering "that perennial question of students: 'so what?'" (4). The authors have tried to keep their writing simple. Yet they manage to look "at how someone in the first-century Mediterranean saw his world" (5). They also aim to show the "big picture" (6) of Paul's life and the context of his letters; and did their best to "help bridge the gap" (6) in time and culture between Paul's letters and us. They also placed their study of Paul's letters "into the context of his ministry" (6), leaning more on Paul's description of his life in his letters than Luke's description of Paul's life (7). Paul's letters are studied in chronological order. Nevertheless, for several reasons the authors decided that they "do not find the arguments against the authenticity of the disputed [letters] convincing". First, because Paul never wrote his letters alone; second, he used a number of preformed traditions; third, he wrote to address different audiences on various occasions; and fourth, the voice of the early church fathers should not be overridden in favor of "modern assumptions" (7–9).

The book is divided into twelve chapters apart from the introduction. These can be divided into five main topics: Paul's World (ch. 1), life (ch. 2), writings (chs. 3–9), theology and spirituality (ch. 10), and finally his relation to us today (chs. 11–12). The chapters end with three maps of Paul's missionary trips, a helpful glossary that defines key terms encountered in the book (about nine pages long), an important updated bibliography (eighteen pages with approximately twenty entries each), and indexes of authors, subjects, and biblical texts used. The reading of the book has been a pleasant one. Yet, I would have liked an exhaustive table of contents for the chapters, including the subheadings. One is forced to read through an entire chapter to know what exactly the authors will deal with.

More specifically, the authors address Paul's writings in chronological order as follows: First, the itinerant epistles—Galatians (ch. 4), the Thessalonian letters (ch. 5), the Corinthian letters (ch. 6), Romans (ch. 7); then the

prison letters—Ephesians, Colossians, Philippians (ch. 8); and, finally, the letters written to individuals—Philemon, the letters to Timothy, and Titus (ch. 9). They also propose a tentative chronology of Paul's life and writings from 30 CE up to 68 CE (77–81). They assume two imprisonments in Rome with possible missionary trips to Spain, with Greece and Asia Minor in between. Chapter 3 should be commended for its treatment on the writing mechanism of ancient letters, as much as the practice of making use of skilled secretaries (*amanuensis*) for writing letters. Such use of expertise was costly. It can also explain some differences between Paul's epistles, such as some abrupt change in tone.

Throughout the chapters, two very interesting kinds of text boxes can be found. About sixty-four of them are called "So What?" (i.e., Does this Qualify for Apostleship? [64], Taking a Trip without Maps [125], the Occasion of Romans: Roman Problems or Paul's Needs? [218], Why did Paul Give Marital Advice? [296], or The Gospel of Our Savior, Caesar Augustus, Son of God [27], Why Study Theology? Just do Ministry [397]). The goal of these side dialogues is to allow the students to see the relevance of Paul's issues to today's culture (11). About sixty-seven other boxes are titled "What's More" (i.e., Paul and Predestination [18], Paul's Christophany [69], Paul's Letters Were Expensive [123], the Rapture [165], the Husband of One Wife [329], or Jesus *versus* Paul [403]). This type of dialogue box proposes additional information to complement discussion, background, or other related issues. They are helpful in that they engage students practically and positively, while also challenging them in their thinking. Some of them have one or two footnotes for further study. However, unfortunately, there is no table of contents for these types of side conversations.

Among the "What's More" boxes, the authors do consider the authorship of the letter to the Hebrews, and see it as anonymous since "the letter was so clearly non-Pauline in style" (385). They infer that "today it is not considered Pauline" (290). If it is true that most of the scholars do not believe in Pauline authorship of the book to the Hebrews, there is a minority who still believe in Pauline authorship (for e.g., David A. Black, "On the Pauline Authorship of Hebrews [Part 1]: Overlooked Affinities between Hebrews and Paul" *Faith and Mission* 16.2 [1999]: 29–48; David A. Black, "On the Pauline Authorship of Hebrews [Part 2]: The Eternal Evidence Reconsidered" *Faith and Mission* 16.3 [1999]: 73–85; and David A. Black, "Who Wrote Hebrews? The Internal and External Evidence Reexamined" *Faith and Mission* 18.2 [2001]: 3–26; also, Eta Linnemann, "A Call for a Retrial in the Case of the Epistle to the Hebrews" *Faith and Mission* 19.2 [2002]: 19–53). If the authors believe in a non-Pauline authorship, there's no harm in mentioning this while letting the reader decide for himself.

Every chapter ends with a section called "Read More About It." A selection of five to ten articles are included from *Dictionary of Paul and His Letters*,

eds. G. F. Hawthorne, R. P. Martin, and D. G. Reid (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1993), and some other recommended readings. The second edition (I did not have the first edition to compare) shows some addition of bibliography. For example, in the second chapter, one new reference is printed after 2007 (year of the Capes's first edition); two new references appear in chapters 1, 4, and 9; three new works in the chapter 11; four in chapters 3, 5, and 10; five in chapter 7; eight in chapter 6; and thirteen new books in chapter 8. This clearly shows the desire of the authors to update their study based on recent works and discoveries, a necessity for a new edition.

The authors have definitely accomplished their initial goal: a good one-volume book on more-or-less "everything" about Paul, both simple to read and full of insight. To pack that much information into less than five hundred pages is definitely risky, since there is so much that could be left out. Yet here is where the authors show that they have mastered the complexity of Paul's world, letters, and theology. One does not have to agree with everything the three authors proposed. However, their ability to summarize the different arguments, allowing the reader a certain exposure to deep critical thinking, is commendable. They have definitely created an interesting initiative that should be commended for its originality, creativity, and innovation. In many ways, they have succeeded in their enterprise.

I highly recommended their book to any theology student starting to read and understand Paul. This book can definitely be used as a textbook introducing students to Paul epistles, as well as used by anyone who wishes to study the letters of Paul on his/her own. Lastly, what I believe is most helpful about this book—as much as its helpfulness for studying biblical theology in general—is that the authors wrote the book not only to discover Paul from an intellectual point-of-view but also "to rediscover Paul so that we can imitate him as he imitates Christ" (10).

Université Adventiste Zurcher EDWIN SULLY PAYET

Harwood, Adam, and Kevin E. Lawson, eds. *Infants and Children in the Church: Five Views on Theology and Ministry.* Nashville: B&H Academic, 2017. xiv + 218 pp. Softcover. USD 24.99.

This book deals with important issues of soteriology, anthropology, ecclesiology, and church praxis regarding infants and young children. The format of this book allows for five clear, distinct presentations from various denominational perspectives, providing summaries of a controversial topic, complete with responses and interactions. The five authors adequately represent the views of their respective denominations and have important insights to share, however they are not without inconsistencies or problematic arguments or conclusions.

Those from non-liturgical churches will benefit from reading Jason Foster's description of the Orthodox view. The theological richness of the prayers and liturgical word-pictures found in that tradition serve as reminders of how much has been lost over the years in regard to liturgical Christian practice. Nevertheless, Foster's presentation involves some inconsistencies.

If infants have "inherited sin" (16), how is it that they do not have guilt? What is guiltless sin? As Greg Strawbridge points out in his critique (41), the Nicene Creed (affirmed by Orthodoxy—27) mentions "one baptism for the remission of sins." Consistency would seem to require that the Orthodox, who baptize infants, should recognize that children are being forgiven at their baptisms—which would seem to presuppose their guilt. In addition, the liturgy of baptism itself involves exorcism, renunciation of the devil (22n19), "the death of the old man" (22), a person who is "corrupt through the lust of the flesh" (25), and a priestly invocation that "you are justified" (27). Justified from what? What is corruption, what is renunciation of the devil, if not a state of sin that involves guilt of some kind? Moreover, does not this kind of language imply the experience of adults?

David Liberto's Catholic view—that infants are guilty of original sin and thus need immediate baptism—is more consistent (48–49). But as Foster's critique notes, the tradition-based Catholic view involves "development of doctrine," (71). This precipitates the question, "Which tradition?" "Which magisterium?" There is disagreement on the details of the fate of infants who die unbaptized, for example, especially in more recent Catholic documents. In addition, inherent to this view is Augustine's conception that the sinful nature which remains after baptism is not actual sin. This differs from the historically Protestant view that the sinful nature is sin, and taints all human thought and action, such that the imputed, alien righteousness of Christ is always needed.

Thus, David P. Scaer's Lutheran view of original sin is, I would argue, more scripturally supportable (e.g., Gen 8:21; Jer 17:9; Matt 7:11; Rom 1–3; 5:12–21; Eph 2:3). However, his realist, Augustinian conception is less so. The "in Christ" motif in Paul is metaphorical. We were not literally buried with Christ, nor literally seated now with him in the heavenly places (Rom 6; Eph 2:6), any more than we were literally present in Adam when he sinned, as Augustine averred. Also problematic is the idea that baptism is more important than faith for certainty of salvation (82). As Scaer, himself, states in a footnote (82n3), many have noticed the internal contradiction between claiming that justification is by faith, when in the end it is really by baptism.

While Strawbridge's Reformed views of the continuity of the covenants, Adam's representative headship, original sin, and original guilt are convincing (118, 138), internal tensions arise in regard to "covenant," "children of believers," and "infant faith" as meaningful categories in all cases. On the Reformed view, in what sense would a non-elect person be a "believer," or

a recipient of the covenant promises? Only *elect* children are really receiving something in baptism. In a view that appears to be unique (or at least poorly stated), Strawbridge affirms that "God has determined salvation for every single person in his church" (127). In the traditional Reformed view, however, the church is (correctly) viewed as a mixed body. If it is a mixed body, there are elect and non-elect present in the church. Therefore, in the end, infant baptism is merely a *potential* sign for the parents and children who *might* be recipients of the covenant promises.

As a credobaptist, I concur with Baptist Adam Harwood's assertion that baptism in the New Testament invariably involves conversion, repentance, and faith. The claims of paedobaptists (here presented by Scaer and Strawbridge) that infants can have faith are difficult to accept barring some kind of Scriptural warrant that they could actually trust Christ and receive him for salvation. The claims that the pericopes of Jesus's blessing of infants and children are grounds for infant baptism seem insufficiently supported. Since Jesus (through his disciples at least) did baptize (John 3:22; 4:1–2), what would prevent him from baptizing the children if this was appropriate? What is clear instead from these passages is that a humble attitude of receptivity is an essential element of the kingdom, and that there is a propriety and effectiveness of Jesus's blessing for the children.

As Harwood's chapter also shows, the doctrine of original sin is neither exclusively Calvinist nor paedobaptist. Arminians and Baptists have also accepted it, including Thomas Helwys—whom Harwood does not mention—the cofounder of the English Baptists. (See also Matthew Pinson, *Arminian and Baptist: Exploration in a Theological Tradition* [Nashville: Randall House, 2015]). Harwood's claim that inherited guilt is inconsistent with the Baptist faith and message should be qualified, in that this is only the case in the two latest versions (1963 and 2000). Previous versions contained language affirming original guilt.

Harwood himself denies original guilt and claims (as does Foster) that sin is reducible to volition, and that children are innocent until an ostensible *age of accountability*. There are at least two problems with this view: First, sin is a broader category than volitional thoughts, words, and deeds. It also includes our sinful state in Adam (Gen 5:1–3; Rom 5:12–21); the resultant sinful nature and corruption of the heart (Gen 8:21; Ps 51:5; Jer 17:9; Matt 15:19; Rom 8:6–8; Eph 2:3), as well as unintentional sin (Lev 4–6; Ps 19:12–13; Acts 3:17–19; Rom 7:14–25; 1 Tim 1:13–15; etc.). Second, even when we are following God's will, our very "best" is tainted by sin (Exod 28:38–40; Lev 6:13; Isa 64:6; Luke 17:10; Heb 7:25; 1 John 1:8–2:2). All (except Jesus) are sinners (1 Kgs 8:46; Eccl 7:20). The Pelagian conception of Foster and Harwood leads to the conclusion (contra the texts above) that sinlessness is attainable. If sin is only a choice, then becoming sinless simply means making

the right choices. While Harwood and Foster might deny this conclusion, it is a logically-derived consequence of their view.

Harwood (quoting Millard Erickson) attempts to ground the idea of the "age of accountability" in Deut 1:39, Isa 7:15–16, and Jonah 4:11 (169). Regarding Deut 1:39, he argues that those who "had no knowledge of good and evil" were innocent and therefore spared. But all those under twenty were spared—is no human being sinful, guilty, or accountable until the age of twenty? God mentioned "the little ones" because the people had said they would die in the wilderness. Jonah 4:11 refers to *all* the people of Nineveh, whom God was about to destroy for their sin if they did not repent. Isaiah 7:15–16 simply refers to a point when the child would refuse evil and choose the good, but there is no data in the text which addresses the issue of guilt. Ignorance is not bliss, nor is it innocence. Harwood suggests that non-guilty infants need "the atoning work of Christ to purify them from the stain of an inherited sinful nature" (170). But is not Christ's atonement for *sin*? Strawbridge, quoting Harwood, writes: "'People who die as infants or young children are free from God's judgement.' But is not death itself a judgment? Is God rendering a judgment of death without any judicial basis in the guilt of sin?" (192). Strawbridge's questions are apt.

How does the case of a guilty, sinful young person who has not yet been baptized differ from that of a guilty, sinful infant (who is both guilty in Adam [Rom 5:21–21] and because of his/her resultant sinful nature [Gen 8:21; Ps 51:5; Eph 2:3]) who has not yet been baptized? Why object to the latter and not the former? Is not Christ's atonement needed in both cases? Cannot both be saved only through His merits if they die before baptism?

Objections to original guilt (such as Erickson's—quoted by Harwood [169–170]) on the basis of individual responsibility run up against much scriptural data. If it is always unfair to have corporate identity in punishment or intercession, then God is unfair throughout Scripture (see e.g., Gen 9; Exod 20:5; 32:9–14; 12; Lev 4:3; 26:39–40; Deut 28:18; Josh 7; 1 Sam 3:11–14; 4:10–22; 2 Sam 12; 21; 1 Kgs 14:10; 2 Kgs 5:20–27; 22:19–20; Mal 1:2–3; Matt 23:34–39; Acts 2:23, 3:13–15; etc.).

Charges of unfairness should also logically apply to any view which includes death and sinful natures from Adam. How are these punishments any more fair than imputed guilt? No one chose to be born sinful, separated from God, and subject to death. The ostensible problem of injustice is illusory: Just as individuals suffering under generational or national curses could have them mitigated and be saved by trusting God (Gen 49:5–7; Exod 32:29; Num 3:6–9; Josh 6:17–26; Ruth), so also can we who are born and die "in Adam" (1 Cor 15:21–22) accept Christ's provision of salvation by faith (John 1:12–14; 3:16; Rom 3–4; 5:17) and be reborn and resurrected in Christ (John 1:12–13; 3:3–8; Gal 3:27–29; 1 Cor 15; Eph 4:24; 2 Cor 5:17).

Passages such as Ezekiel 18, which emphasize individual responsibility, are dealing with a *distortion* of the ideas of corporate punishment and solidarity (which are assumed elsewhere in the book, e.g., 21:4; 23:46–49; 24:21) into a complacent fatalism. However, Deut 24:16 prohibits unguided humans from making the decision unilaterally in court to punish children for their parents' sins. Scripture maintains a balance between corporate and individual responsibility (see 2 Kgs 21:19–22:2 and 23:26–27 for examples).

All are sinners and condemned because of Adam's sin (Rom 5:12–21). How can there be condemnation without guilt? This case goes far beyond any of the corporate examples mentioned above, in that it involves all human beings. Also, as Strawbridge points out (191–192), denying Adam's representation in Romans 5 results logically in a dismissal of the doctrine of imputed righteousness (Rom 4; 5:18–19; 2 Cor 5:21; Phil 3:9)—a rejection which Harwood appears to admit and accept (164). Also significant is the elaborate tapestry of typological connections between Adam and Christ which are highlighted throughout Scripture that supports the "federal" view of original sin (See Sang-won Son, *Corporate Elements in Pauline Anthropology: A Study of Selected Terms, Idioms, and Concepts in the Light of Paul's Usage and Background* [Rome: Editrice Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 2001], 47, 58–59; Herman *Ridderbos, Paul: An Outline of his Theology*, trans. John Richard De Witt [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1975], 63–64, 73, 81; G. K. Beale, *The Temple and the Church's Mission: A Biblical Theology of the Dwelling Place of God* [Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2004], 67–80; G. K. Beale, *A New Testament Biblical Theology* [Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2011], 32–34, 192–193, 43–52, 401–403, 617–622; John H. Sailhamer, *The Pentateuch as Narrative* [Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1992], 110–111; 298–300; William J. Dumbrell, *The End of the Beginning* [Homebush, New South Wales: Lancer, 1985], 35–76; Richard M. Davidson, "Cosmic Narrative for the Coming Millennium" *JATS* 11 [2000]: 109–111; Joel R. Beeke and Paul M. Smalley, "Images of Union and Communion with Christ," *PRJ* 8, 2 [2016]: 127; Brandon D. Crowe, *The Last Adam: A Theology of the Obedient Life of Jesus in the Gospels* [Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2017], 56–61, 151–152).

In regard to the question of what happens to infants who die, there is an option which is not mentioned by any of the authors (all of whom leave this to mystery or suggest that they are all saved): God can judge the case of the infant based upon either first the faith (or lack of it) of their parents or second his middle knowledge (Gen 11:6; Exod 3:19–22; 1 Sam 23:6–10; Ezek 3:6–7; Matt 11:21–23; Luke 22:67–68; 1 Cor 2:8)—He knows whether the child *would* have had faith in Christ or not had they lived longer.

All of the authors assume that a child is either a full member of the church (Foster, Liberto, Scaer, and Strawbridge) or is not a member at all (Harwood). This is a false dichotomy. Why cannot credobaptists hold that

children are part of the covenant in a provisional and hopeful sense, but that only baptism provides membership in the fullest sense (as the NT indicates)?

Infant baptism is not the correct solution for the correct doctrine (at least in its Federal form) of original sin. Though infants are born under God's wrath, condemnation, and are guilty, God's prevenient grace reaches out toward them (John 12:32; Titus 2:11). The most appropriate ceremony for infants in the Church is that which has explicit biblical precedent (Matt 19:13–15; Mark 10:13–16; Luke 18:15–17): a dedication ceremony in which hands are placed upon them in blessing, prayers are offered, and (as all the contributors agree) the Church pledges to help the parents train them up in "the discipline and instruction of the Lord" (Eph 6:4), by liturgy, education, and example.

Berrien Springs, Michigan Timothy J. Arena

Levering, Matthew. *Engaging the Doctrine of the Holy Spirit: Love and Gift in the Trinity and the Church*. Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2016. v + 440 pp. Hardcover. USD 45.00.

Matthew Levering (PhD, Boston College) is the James N. and Mary D. Perry Jr. Chair of Theology at Mundelein Seminary at the Catholic University of Saint Mary of the Lake. He is the author or editor of over forty books on topics within dogmatic, sacramental, moral, historical, and biblical theology, and he is co-editor of two quarterly journals, *Nova et Vetera* and *International Journal of Systematic Theology*.

In this book, Levering argues that "the Holy Spirit should be praised and contemplated under the proper names 'Love' and 'Gift', with respect both to his intra-trinitarian identity and to his historical work in Jesus Christ and the church" (2). In Levering's view, these names ("Love" and "Gift") "instruct us about the distinct divine personality of the Spirit and shed light upon the biblical, liturgical and experiential testimonies to the Spirit's mission" (5). The main goal is, in the author's own words, "to show the value of the names 'Love' and 'Gift' for illuminating the Spirit in his eternal procession and temporal mission to Jesus Christ and the church" (15).

The book is composed of seven chapters, divided into two major sections. The first section (chs. 1–3) deals with the *person* of the Holy Spirit, focusing mainly on his eternal Trinitarian communion. In chapter 1, Levering presents Augustine's exegesis (1 John 4 and Rom 5:5 being the main texts), upon which the argument in favor of the names "Love" and "Gift" for the Holy Spirit is built.

Chapter 2 compares views that are somewhat different regarding the Spirit's procession and eternal generation: first, Greek patristics which show more "boldness" and, second, Orthodox theologians which show more

"caution." The author seems to find resolution in Thomas Aquinas's teaching. This pattern—presenting contrasting views and then providing an answer based on Aquinas—remains constant throughout most chapters of the book.

Chapter 3 zeroes in on the *filioque*, presenting disparate theological views and various nuances of this long-debated pneumatological clause and, once again, leaning on Aquinas's theology for a via media. Levering writes: "It seems possible to conclude with Aquinas (and Augustine) that the Word, as the Word of the Father, 'breathes forth Love.' Put more boldly, the Spirit manifests the fecundity of the love of the Father and Son: the fruit of their exchange is inexhaustible communion" (168). In the author's view, this theological notion provides the basis and justifies the proper names "Love" and "Gift" for the Holy Spirit.

The second section (chs. 4–7) deals with the *work* of the Holy Spirit and is built on the fundamental premise that the acceptance of Jesus's inauguration of the messianic kingdom requires a corresponding rich theology of the outpouring of the Spirit. This way, Levering establishes a close link between the third and the second persons of the trinity, as well as a link to the church as the new eschatological reality of God's kingdom. Levering suggests that the eschatological epoch initiated by Jesus demands that the outpouring (Gift) of the Spirit, and transformation into Christlikeness (Love) in the church, is a central goal of this era.

Chapter 4 focuses on the work of the Holy Spirit in the life of Jesus. Leaning on James D. G. Dunn and Aquinas, Levering proposes that Jesus accomplished his work on earth because of the specific missions of the Spirit in and for Him (Jesus). Levering writes that "in Aquinas, Jesus's intimate knowledge of the Father, his miracle working, and his prophetic wisdom are bound together with his supreme charity through the invisible mission of the Holy Spirit, who is Love and Gift in person" (207).

Chapter 5 deals with the Spirit's work for, and mission to, the church, outlining a number of ideas from various theologians, and then building heavily on Aquinas. According to the author, Jesus's eschatological claims, such as his promised "baptism by fire" and the kingdom of God "here and now", can be applied to the church today if we accept the inauguration of God's Kingdom and the outpouring of the Spirit as a linked and consummated reality. The author pens: "Appreciating the full scope of Aquinas's pneumatology should therefore illuminate the continuity of the church's self-understanding as the eschatological kingdom inaugurated by Jesus" (215). Aquinas proposes two specific "visible" missions of the Spirit, to and through the church: the sacraments and teaching. The "invisible" missions of the Spirit produce sanctification in the believers. Through these, the Holy Spirit as "Love" and "Gift" empowers the church and transforms it into a community of charity.

Chapter 6 explores the work of the Holy Spirit in bringing about church unity: diversity ought to be celebrated but not at the expense of (visible) unity in truth and love. While not developed in full detail, Levering's view of unity is clearly Catholic, post Second Vatican Council ("Christ's church truly subsists in the Catholic Church" (306).

Chapter 7 deals with the relationship between the Holy Spirit and the holiness of the church. As one would expect after reading the previous chapters, Aquinas is the rock upon which Levering edifies his theological discourse. According to Aquinas, there are two sources for the holiness of the church: the blood of Jesus and the grace of the Holy Spirit. The church receives these through the sacraments. The Spirit as "Love" and "Gift" enables the church (despite the sinfulness of its members) to be holy.

A final note is worth mentioning in this brief summary. In the introduction, under the title "Pneumatological Paths Not Taken: Weinandy, Coakley, Hasker", Levering dedicates a substantial section to the survey and critical analysis of three significant contemporary works on the Holy Spirit. First, Thomas Weinandy's work in *Reconceiving the Trinity* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1995), which argues for five main concepts: one, the Holy Spirit is involved in the Son's procession from the Father; two, the rejection of "sequentialism"; three, Jesus as "word"; four, speaking words requires breath; and five, the Spirit as itself "breath." The second work analyzed is that of Sarah Coakley, *God, Sexuality and the Self: An Essay on the Trinity* (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 2013). Sarah Coakley defends, first, a postmodern/feminist Anglican perspective; second, the Spirit as "desire"; third, the Johannine/Lukan "linear" model; and fourth, the Pauline "incorporative" model. The last author is William Hasker. In *Metaphysics and the Tri-Personal God* (Oxford, United Kingdom: Oxford University Press, 2013), Hasker accepts social trinitarianism, which proposes that persons of the Trinity are full persons in the modern sense and are distinct centers of consciousness with distinct knowledge, will, and action. Levering disagrees with these three aforementioned authors, favoring the "linear" model against the "incorporative" model, opposing the conception of the persons of the trinity as distinct centers of consciousness and disagreeing with the notion of the Spirit's active role in begetting the Son.

There are several aspects of this book worth celebrating, including the theological caliber of the author, the wise and fair use of sources, as well as the appropriate balance between the scope and the depth of the subject covered. It is clear that Levering is a methodical theologian, one whose voice is worth hearing. As he presents various aspects of pneumatology, he converses masterfully with several renowned theologians from different epochs and from diverse theological backgrounds. His theological exposition is both robust and organized.

Regarding the use of sources, Levering proves to be well versed on the main theological positions on the subject; and he makes wise use of them, while representing them fairly, especially those that disagree with him. The author does not ignore the arguments from the "other side" but objectively exposes some of the more significant challenges posed by well-established theologians.

Moreover, the author presents a good balance between scope and depth, covering a variety of authors, views, and historical periods (from East and West) without compromising the depth of such a complex theological topic. On this last note, the author makes it clear on several occasions that human limitation is to be constantly acknowledged and evoked on issues such as the person of the Holy Spirit, his relationship to the other persons of the trinity, as well as his functions both *ad intra* and *ad extra*.

At the same time, there are some points in Levering's book which unavoidably call for critique. Primarily, Levering's insistence on using "Love" and "Gift" as proper names for the third person of the Trinity. The reader may not be convinced that this is as important or indispensable as the author implies. While it is hard to deny these aspects of "love" and "gift" as central to the work of the Holy Spirit, does this centrality really warrant a full embrace of Levering's proposal?

Levering correctly and fairly cites other theologians' critiques of his position, but most of his rebuttals remain lacking. Some of the critiques from other theologians include the ideas that, first, "Love" and "Gift" can define, and should be applied to, the three persons of the Trinity, not just the Holy Spirit (Hans Urs von Balthasar); second, used as proper names, these lead to "pneumatic abstraction" (Radner and Ferguson); third, if God in his word chose not to explicitly use "Love" and "Gift" as proper names for the Holy Spirit, why should we? We ought to be careful not to follow human imagination beyond what has been revealed (Louth and Bobrinskoy) (72); and fourth, we ought to be careful as we interpret analogous language in Scripture, especially when it comes to the mystery of God (Eastern Fathers).

Another point of critique is that the author bases his argument primarily on Augustine's exegesis (mainly 1 John 4:7–13) and Aquinas' theology/philosophy. Regarding the former, Levering writes that "Augustine's arguments are most persuasive if one accepts, as I think we should, his assumptions about what Scripture is and does, above all his view that the Triune God will teach us about himself through Scripture, so that we might know and love the living God" (54). Clearly, one must accept the presuppositions of Augustine and Aquinas, in order to accept their exegetical, theological, and philosophical views. On his part, Aquinas bases his argument more on philosophy than theology. For example, as Levering points out, "Aquinas draws from Aristotle a definition of 'gift'" (106), an idea that becomes a key link in his theological/philosophical chain. Also, both Aquinas and Augustine owe much of their

presupposed ideas about God to Greek philosophy, including the notion of divine simplicity that is key to some of the theological developments in the book (107), or the notion of an unmovable God (189). Hence, unless one is ready to fully embrace Augustine's and Aquinas's theological and philosophical presuppositions, it becomes hard to accept some of the arguments in this book.

Last, but not least, Levering writes in the conclusion that "in Scripture, the Holy Spirit is repeatedly associated with gift, as well as with love, the greatest gift. But the Spirit is also repeatedly associated with truth" (359). And further in his conclusion he pens: "I do not mean to deny that there are other ways of describing what the Spirit brings about in the people of God. In fact, a number of these ways are connected specifically with truth; for example, the Spirit inspires the prophets and inspires the Scriptures" (370). Why not then make the case for using "Truth" as a proper name for the Third Person of the Trinity? Is the Spirit more "Love" and "Gift" than He is "Truth"? Moreover, where does truth fit in when dealing with the important aspects of church holiness and church unity?

Drawing mainly from Augustine and Aquinas, Levering argues that naming the Holy Spirit "Love" and "Gift" is "biblically and theologically justified." (359) While showing great theological ability in his exposition, and proving to be an exemplary interlocutor with disagreeing theological positions, Levering's thesis and main arguments will probably fail to convince most non-Catholic readers. Many would most certainly be ready to join Levering in praising the third Person of the Trinity, as well as celebrating what he presently does in, for, and through the church, in bringing about unity and transformation. Many would probably also join in praising the Holy Spirit for leading humans to Jesus and his truth while empowering the church to proclaim the good news of the gospel of Jesus. However, all of this can probably be accomplished without embracing Levering's proposal to rename the third person of the trinity, "Love" and/or "Gift".

Berrien Springs, Michigan Gerardo Oudri

Marandiuc, Natalia. *The Goodness of Home: Human and Divine Love and the Making of the Self.* AARAS. New York: Oxford University Press, 2018. x + 214 pp. Hardcover. USD 99.00.

In *The Goodness of Home,* Natalia Marandiuc—currently Assistant Professor of Christian Theology at the Perkins School of Theology, Southern Methodist University—presents an integrated approach to the "notions of home, love, and the self" (1). *The Goodness of Home* is the culmination of her Yale dissertation, advised by famed theologian Miroslav Volf. Marandiuc's own back-

ground as an immigrant (from Romania) informs her concern for developing a theory of "home" that transcends national borders.

Marandiuc defines home as consisting "of love relationships that constitute the human self" (12), rather than physical walls of studs and sheetrock. Relational homes may include, or be defined by, attachments with family and/or non-family members (17). A nurturing home is created by unselfish relationships between the self, others, and God, with God as the "pneumatological middle term" between human loves (12, 193).

The initial chapter situates Marandiuc's research within the context of migration and mobility which, she argues, creates an environment of "relational impoverishment" (4). The formation of the self is directly tied to healthy and stable attachments—the need for love and relationality being planted in humanity by God (5). In dialogue with Augustine and Kierkegaard, Marandiuc proposes that "human love attachments" can and do occur in the natural world (contra Augustine), but are elevated and sanctified by the indwelling of the Spirit (16).

The second and third chapters engage secular scholarship on the formation of the self, the necessity of human relationships and attachment theory. Chapter two is a lengthy discussion of Charles Taylor's work on selfhood. Marandiuc helpfully translates his notion of frameworks into Christian terms and discusses the challenges modernity and (especially) postmodernity have presented in doing away with the certainty of frameworks by which the self is able to evaluate the good, as well as actualize relationships, both with the self and others.

Chapter three is, perhaps, the most important chapter of the book, in that it presents an approach to attachment that is a blend of neuroscience and theological anthropology. Sadly, this is the shortest chapter. Marandiuc's discussion of attachment theory places her concept of "home" in the scientific world of human psychology and gives credence to her argument that human relationships are integral to the constitution of the self.

The second half of the book focuses on theological discussions of the self, especially as articulated by Kierkegaard. Chapter four focuses on human attachments and particularity, engaging Scotus's *haecceity* as precursory to Kierkegaard's understanding of particularity. Marandiuc, through Kierkegaard, establishes the importance of neighbor love prior to any particular loves (109).

Chapter five is a natural continuation of the previous chapter's theme of particular loves, emphasizing the co-creative nature of the self in relation to human and divine love. Again, Kierkegaard's philosophy is central, with other interlocutors including Kant, Lee C. Barrett, and David Kelsey. However, all analysis is in light of Kierkegaardian thought.

The sixth and final chapter fleshes out a concept hinted at throughout the book, namely the mediatory role of the divine within human love attach-

ments. The uniquely Christian belief of the Spirit as sanctifier allows a Christian confidence in human relationships that is not available to a nonbeliever. Dependence on God as the "middle term" paradoxically allows for independence in human relationships. As the ultimate source of love, God replenishes the "reservoir" of human love (193).

By combining philosophy, theology, neuroscience, and anthropology, Marandiuc succeeds in presenting a nuanced Christian perspective on human attachments and the making of the self. However, her dependence on Charles Taylor and Kierkegaard significantly impacts the depth of a topic that would have been enriched by a broader diversification of sources and lends the book a repetitive tone. It is curious, perhaps, that so much time is dedicated to Kierkegaard's understanding of human love attachments, given his own complicated personal relationships. While his interpretations of biblical concepts, such as love for the other, love for the self, and love for God, are meritorious and illuminating, Marandiuc could have included at least one other primary theologian/philosopher to provide balance to her work.

One aspect of love that was not fully developed in this book is that of Christ's sacrificial love in relation to the cross. Although Marandiuc references the incarnation, she does not provide a thorough discussion of Christ's death on the cross as the ultimate example of unconditional love or how it repairs and enables the human-divine relationship. In addition to the co-creation of the self, Marandiuc could have analyzed attachments in relation to the re-creation of the self. How does the self change after conversion? How does conversion alter relationships? These are not so much omissions as they are opportunities for further development and research.

Ooltewah, Tennessee Sarah E. Burton

Schenk, Christine, CSJ. *Crispina and Her Sisters: Women and Authority in Early Christianity.* Minneapolis: Fortress, 2017. xx + 459 pp. Softcover. USD 29.00.

Christine Schenk has done admirable research exploring the scope of female authority in the first five centuries of Christianity in her new book, *Crispina and Her Sisters: Women and Authority in Early Christianity.* She has divided the volume into eight chapters and fourteen appendixes. The chapters do not follow the same structural pattern throughout the book. Some chapters have an introduction and a conclusion, while others do not. The book itself has a main introduction, which is very well written. It delineates the book well and defines authority, a crucial concept throughout the document. Broadly speaking, *Crispina and Her Sisters* focuses on two main things: context and material. Looking at the sociocultural context, the author draws heavily on books such as the one by Carolyn Osiek, Margaret Y. MacDonald, and

Janet H. Tulloch, *A Woman's Place: House Churches in Earliest Christianity* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2006). At the same time, Schenk notably does not engage with different views such as those in Gary Macy, *The Hidden History of Women's Ordination: Female Clergy in the Medieval West* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008). In the material part, Schenk analyzes and interprets funerary iconography of early Christian art.

In order to build her argument, Schenk lays the book's foundation by reviewing the female world of early Christianity. She gives a historical overview of the first centuries BCE and CE using secular and biblical texts. The first chapter exemplifies the transition from Aristotelian thought—in which men are innately superior to women—to the thought of the Second Sophistic period portrayed in the Gospels, in which women are important for the Jesus movement and the spread of Christianity.

The author turns to the issue of female authority in the second chapter. Using evidence from literary sources, archaeology, and the social sciences, Schenk points to the authority and participation of ordained women in early Christianity. The following chapter discusses early Christian iconography, and the frequency of biblically-based images appearing on sarcophagi. It also discovers the change of religious themes depicted in Christian iconography before and after Constantine the Great.

Chapter four discusses catacomb frescoes and inscriptions. It also explores literary evidence that forbade women to preside over congregations, raising evidence that points to the presence of educated women, celebrated in the Scriptures and able to exercise authority in the church. The next chapter deals with funerary iconography and customs and how they changed over time.

The main contribution of the book is in chapter six. It is a statistical investigation of the iconography of 2,119 Christian sarcophagi artifacts from the third to the fifth centuries. The analysis renders interesting results. For example, of the Christian portraits, 156 were female and 47 were male. The study also suggests a change in female portrayal. Instead of highlighting beauty, fidelity, and marital harmony, second-century depictions show women as knowledgeable about the Bible and having ecclesial authority.

Chapter seven continues the statistical analysis, but focuses on different themes like the *orans* position (hands raised in prayer), couples, children, solo adult males, and mourning parents. The book concludes with a literary analysis of female authority texts within their historical context. It brings to attention women like Empress Helena, Olympias, Marcella, Melania the Elder (Rufinu's patron), and Paula (Jerome's patron and Hebrew translation partner), among others. Hence, the author makes it clear that influential Roman women were important in shaping the theology, spirituality, and social mission of the church during the fourth century.

An important achievement of the book is to show the following irony: male leaders generally attempted to prevent women from becoming leading

parishioners, but the surviving evidence of women's authority and participation in early Christianity comes to us through these male church leaders writing against female participation in the church.

The author is also fortunate in her statistical analysis of sarcophagus iconography, where she finds three times more Christian female solo portraits than Christian male solo portraits. Considering the high cost of sarcophagi, the large number of solo female portraits points to the women's wealth and their high level of participation in Christianity. Schenk also finds indications that many women in the Christian social network were portrayed as role models with influence and authority.

On another note, there are some parts of the book where I would question the author's interpretation of the data. For instance, when talking about authority and apostolic succession in the gospel of Luke (chs. 11–13), the author suggests that Luke reduced the female role to make his writings more appealing to the male Roman audience. According to Schenk, this is the only option for interpretation. However, later in the book (66), Schenk uses Luke's narratives of the prophetesses Anna and Elizabeth to support her claim of female leadership. Thus, Schenk's theological presuppositions probably guided her hermeneutics of the biblical passage, making her interpretation of the Gospel of Luke inconsistent throughout the book. Furthermore, her interpretation is not consistent with the overall Gospel of Luke. If Luke really wanted to diminish women's role in his gospel, he would not have started his book with the stories of two women, Elizabeth and Mary. Their partners in both stories (Zechariah and Joseph) failed to believe, whereas the women believed and were faithful. In addition, it was the faithfulness of these women that allowed them to conceive by divine intervention and give birth to John (the greatest man born of a woman) and Jesus (the Messiah). Hence, it is more likely that when writing his gospel, Luke's intention was something other than to reduce female roles.

Another point which I find debatable is the author's reasoning for the absence of female names in ancient texts (28). She points out that in Roman culture, the names of respectable women were not even mentioned in public, and that this might be the reason that ancient texts mention so few women's names. Next, she allows for two exceptions to her hypothesis, where female names were present in the public sphere, these being the dedicatory statues honoring female benefactors, and in Paul's letters. However, these two groups of evidence are too significant to be treated as exceptions. Furthermore, considering that the New Testament is one of the main literary sources of information about daily life in the first century, it should not be dealt with as an exception.

The last point I want to raise is that the author fails to connect the growth of the priests' wealth and power with the negative portrayal of women made by men in the fourth century. She describes the growth of power and

wealth among clergymen in the fourth century in relation to the conversion of Constantine (334). And in the following section, she looks at how male leadership associated the female sex with heresy during the same period. Yet, Schenk does not make the association between the growth of priestly wealth and power, and the denigration of women. She only connects the change in the emperor's religion with the changes in the priest's role, not with the male attack on the nature (ontology) of females.

Despite the above-mentioned issues, I recommend the book to anyone looking for information on the role of women in early Christianity. Those interested in Christian funerary practices from the third on through the fifth centuries will find the book even more helpful. While I do not agree with a few of Schenk's conclusions, I think the book makes an important contribution. It fills a gap in the knowledge about early Christian funerary iconography. The book is well written and thought provoking: worth the read.

Berrien Springs, Michigan CARINA O. PRESTES

Shoemaker, Stephen J. *The Apocalypse of Empire: Imperial Eschatology in Late Antiquity and Early Islam.* Divinations: Rereading Late Ancient Religion. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018. 272 pp. Hardcover USD 59.95.

Stephen J. Shoemaker is Professor of Religious Studies at the University of Oregon and a specialist on Christian and Islamic origins, specifically for late antiquity and early medieval periods (Byzantine and Near Eastern Christianity). Shoemaker considers the present volume the "natural successor" to his previous book entitled *The Death of a Prophet: The End of Muhammad's Life and the Beginnings of Islam* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011).

In *The Apocalypse of Empire,* Shoemaker offers both a compact treatise on imperial eschatology which dominated the interlocking religious cultures of Byzantium in the sixth to seventh centuries CE, as well as a revised history of the origins of Islam. Shoemaker defines the imperial eschatology of this period as the idea that the end of all things will follow the universal dominion of a "divinely chosen world empire" (3). He seeks to situate early Islamic eschatology within the "apocalyptic imagination" of the "broader religious context of the late ancient Near East." He does this by taking a close look at "the fusion of apocalypticism and imperialism" (2), while "using the same historical-critical methods and perspectives that have guided the study of early Judaism, Christianity, and other religions" (1). The author's goal is to cull a cogent schematic of imperial eschatology from a welter of apocalyptic texts and traditions circulating at a time when Christians, Jews, Zoroastrians, and Muslims shared the belief that "God is working through imperial power

rather than against it" and that the "fulfillment of the ages will be achieved through the triumph of imperial power rather than its eradication" (11). Islam, he argues, rose as an outgrowth of, and in collaboration with, Jewish, Christian, and Zoroastrian apocalyptic ideologies, prevalent at the time.

Chapter 1 offers a survey of seminal kernels of imperial eschatology as found in canonical literature (e.g., the succession of empires in the book of Daniel), as well as pseudepigraphal Jewish literature (spanning the second century BCE to the fourth century CE). Shoemaker thus situates imperial eschatology of late antiquity within the immediate horizon of ancient Jewish eschatology, dominated as it had been by the idea that God's reign would come "through military victory over God's worldly foes" (25) led by the Messiah—as clearly evidenced in the "War Texts" at Qumran. This messianic warrior king later morphed into the Christian legend of a "Last Roman Emperor" to rise before the eschaton, a rereading of Daniel 2 by Christians living under the Roman Empire in the fourth century CE (30–37).

Chapter 2 explores the role of Rome in early Christian eschatology, focusing especially on the conversion of Constantine, and how the empire was Christianized and Christianity imperialized. Shoemaker writes that, at that time, "Rome's ultimate triumph in the world was secured by its divine favor and it was uniquely destined to hold dominion on God's behalf until it yielded sovereignty to God directly on the last day" (4–5). A discussion of how Rome and other players made an impact on the imperial eschatologies of Judaism and Byzantine Christianity dominates Chapter 3 and lays the foundation for the author's views on the rise of Islam in the seventh century CE. In this pivotal chapter, Shoemaker addresses the imminent eschatological expectations of the sixth-to-seventh centuries in Christianity, Judaism, and Zoroastrianism. At that time, both Jews and Christians saw Rome as playing an active part in the dawn of the eschaton through its restoration of the Christian cross in Jerusalem, which opened the way for the rise of a post-Rome Jewish Messiah.

Chapter 4 zeroes in on the shifting imperial eschatological expectations of Jews and Zoroastrians, and especially describing how the Iranian empire replaced Rome as a harbinger of the end. These interchangeable imperial eschatologies, Shoemaker argues, were not only coterminous with, but directly contributed to the rise of Islam.

In the last two chapters, Shoemaker arrives at the core of his argument by chronicling how Muhammad and the early believers translated imperial eschatological beliefs garnered from their "sectarian milieu" into military and political activism. Central to their religious and political struggle was "Jerusalem's unique eschatological status" (168), which fueled the "believers' apocalyptic war against Rome" and later led to "the capture of Constantinople" (177), no doubt an effort to replace Christianity with Islam as the last "divinely chosen power." The author closes by offering a critique of anachronistic, revisionist

histories of early Islam which tend to both downplay the import of its eschatological roots, as well as place unrealistic, post-enlightenment expectations on its more problematic traditions.

Foundational to Shoemaker's paradigm is the view—suffused by incisive analysis of primary sources—that Muhammad, rather than being merely a "prophet of social reform," actually came onto the scene as an apocalyptic prophet "driven by eschatological urgency." (7) He, along "with his followers, expected to see the end of the world very soon, seemingly even in his own lifetime" (132). Quite surprising is the fact that, in its erstwhile iteration, Islam's fight for the liberation of the Holy Land from the Romans was part of an eschatological war to usher in the eschaton, in which Jesus would play the central role (160–161). In order to advance this view of early Islamic eschatology, Shoemaker engages several lines of evidence: First, Christian apocalyptic texts of the time—such as the *Tiburtine Sybil*, the *Apocalypse of Pseudo Methodius* and the *Doctrina Iacobi*; second, early Islamic texts such as the *Kitāb al-Fitan* and the *A'maq Cycle*; and third, reconstructions of original readings of apocalyptic statements found in the Qur'an and the *ḥadīth*, a collection of sayings by Muhammad.

The challenge facing the author is daunting, not only for the intractable nature of issues lying in the misty past, but also for the unstable nature of early sources. In this, Shoemaker succeeds in negotiating the fickle lines demarcating the motley, eschatological ideologies which festered in Byzantine Christianity. This is done in order to form a compelling portrait of the Judeo-Christian apocalyptic which became ancillary to the rise of Islam. In his exploration of the apocalyptic ethos of that time and its current corollaries in both communities, Shoemaker critiques both, speaking prophetically against an overdependence on facile, but ultimately, questionable interpretations of these sacred texts.

The payout of Shoemaker's *religiongeschichtliche* method, as applied to the "sectarian milieu" (2) which gave rise to Islam, is significant for several reasons. First, as the book's title lays out, Shoemaker attempts to correct the increasingly popular notion that early Christian apocalyptic was against empire. Instead, he argues that it became dependent on the empire to advance a political-religious vision of the end of all things. Further, Shoemaker seeks to correct academia's ostensible "aversion to eschatology" (117) and its "longstanding scholarly disregard for eschatology in the study of Islamic origins" (168), preferring instead the subsequent ethical and monotheistic thrusts of Islam to the detriment of its raw apocalyptic impulses. But this view, Shoemaker argues, fails to acknowledge that the eschatological impetus of early Islam was, in fact, foundational to its *raison d'être*. It was a force to advance a "political eschatology" in the form of a monotheistic empire which alone could prepare the world for the impending "final Judgment of the Hour" (144). Thus, Shoemaker places an "apocalyptic mirror" before the

more sanitized views of Islamic roots and insists that only an objective, historiographical approach can lead to meaningful engagement with the powerful, ontological turbidites attendant to Islam's early history, still stirring in the Islamic psyche.

Shoemaker's approach offers a veiled warning against the pitfalls lurking in modern apocalyptic movements eager to tether eschatological expectations to political ones, coalescing ancient oracles with the exigencies of modern imperial interests, resulting in intoxicating views of reality. But as new iterations of imperial apocalypticism stake their foundations on the bedrock of similar movements of the past, they face a similar fate in the way that the previous sandcastles of imperial eschatology crumbled, washed away by waves of prophetic disconfirmation. One example should suffice: when the conquest of Jerusalem failed to usher in the *eschaton* after the death of their prophet, the early believers moved their target to Constantinople (171–172).

The overtones of Shoemaker's important conclusions rise above the cacophony of voices struggling to bridge the ever-widening ideological chasm between Christianity and Islam. This is especially poignant at the current intersection of apocalyptic imperialist views now at work with evangelical America against those of Islamic fundamentalism, as seen in the rise of the Islamic State in Syria and Iraq, hell-bent on marshalling the end times through *jihad*. Shoemaker's solution to this dialogical predicament is a closer look at the way that imperial eschatology has failed historically for both religions, degenerating into abuse of power and violence. Shoemaker posits that, instead of ignoring these troublesome elements, "we must confront the past for what it was and, in some instances, refuse to allow its antiquated and often severe values to define modern norms" (184). Case in point: as I finish writing this review, the Islamic State caliphate has lost its last stronghold in Syria, bringing an era of unrestrained pseudo-religious barbarism to an end.

As for the challenge that imperial eschatology continues to pose to Christendom, correcting questionable readings of text and tradition requires going back further from the doomsday fever of late antiquity—whose ugly head keeps resurfacing now and then—to the unadulterated fountain of apostolic eschatology, which saw the kingdom of God as having already been inaugurated by the "slaughtered Lamb" (Rev 4–5). This definitive kingdom shattered any earthly empire's claims to eschatological relevance: all "glory, honor and power" were given to the Lamb. In essence, the "Christ event" already unleashed the *eschaton* and now we wait for its final consummation.

Readers will be hard pressed to find major flaws in the author's argument; it is well-grounded in an extensive bibliography and trenchant analysis with the evidence bathed in explanatory beauty. But while Shoemaker's work is in dialogue with Western scholarship on the origins of Islam, there is a conspicuous lack of engagement with Islamic scholars presently publishing and teaching in leading universities in both the United States and Europe. While this

deficiency is not necessarily fatal to the author's conclusions—his quest, is after all, a historian's endeavor—a deeper interdisciplinary rendezvous could have enriched the research.

Shoemaker's book has intermediate-to-advanced readers in mind who are fully abreast of the hermeneutical tools at the disposal of historians. I would only point out a few minor issues: there is a tendency towards repetitiveness—the same concept is often reworded in close proximity—and at times, arguments that have been satisfied are revisited when they could have been combined into one flow of reasoning. I also thought that placing the Acknowledgements section at the back end of the book was unexpected. Only one significant typo in the entire work was found—"allusion" should replace "illusion" (20). Overall, the book makes for an engaging read, with elegant design and intuitive sections.

In sum, *The Apocalypse of Empire* is a responsible effort in the quest for a deeper understanding of early Islam within the continuum of the history of religions. Students of Jewish, Christian, and Islamic history will appreciate how this remarkable study illuminates the complex religious-political-social phenomenon that is apocalypticism as it percolates through time, symbiotically assimilating and tinging the times in which the apocalypticists live.

Orlando, Florida — ANDRÉ REIS

Siqueira, Reinaldo, and Alberto R. Timm, eds., *Pneumatologia: Pessoa e Obra do Espírito Santo.* Engenheiro Coelho, SP: UNASPRESS, 2017. 741 pp. Hardcover. BRL 140.00.

The title of this book already suggests its goal: to explore the person and work of the Holy Spirit. Although this topic is not a new one within Christianity, and most articles within the book do not bring anything substantially new to the discussion (since Christians have been debating it for centuries), it is surely a contribution to Seventh-day Adventist pneumatology. The reason for this being that, as far as I know, this is the largest compendium on the topic produced by Adventist scholars. Additionally, it adds a Seventh-day Adventist perspective to the broader Christian reflection on the Holy Spirit. There are three chapters, specifically, that contribute fresh reflections on current issues, namely Alberto R. Timm's chapter on the history of Seventh-day Adventist pneumatology, Angél Manuel Rodríguez's text on contemporary issues in Adventist pneumatology, and Marcos de Benedicto's chapter on healing.

Although the title suggests that the book is all about the personhood and works of the Holy Spirit, not every article deals with both of these aspects. If the goal was to have most, or all, of the chapters discuss both aspects of this doctrine, they could have been more consistent on matching the titles of the chapters to the content. In fact, only one chapter has the title of "The

Person and Work of the Holy Spirit in . . . (e.g., The General Epistles and Hebrews)." Most chapters are simply titled "The Holy Spirit in the . . . (e.g., New Testament, Old Testament, Reformation, *etc.*)" while others are called "The Actions of the Holy Spirit in the . . . (e.g., Historical Books [of the Hebrew Bible], Church)."

This book tries to comprehensively address both the identity of the Holy Spirit's personality and His work, from biblical (Hebrew Bible and New Testament), historical (Christian and specifically Seventh-day Adventist), theological and missiological perspectives. Although many chapters indeed deal directly with the question of personhood or identity of the Holy Spirit, this is not the main thrust of the book, considering the content of each chapter. This book avoids the question of Trinitarianism, yet assumes the personal divine nature of the Holy Spirit, focusing on the works of the third person of the "heavenly trio." This emphasis on the works of the Spirit is in line with one trend in Adventist pneumatology, pointed out by Rodríguez and Timm (more on this below). The book seems most concerned with the soteriological and ecclesiological role of the Holy Spirit. This is perceptible in the treatment of the subject throughout the book. In this review, I will highlight some trajectories of ideas in the collection of articles as well as offer several suggestions of where I think it could've been improved.

The book starts by discussing the Holy Spirit as revealed throughout the biblical texts. This section mirrors the sections of the Protestant canonical division (e.g., Torah, Prophets, Gospels, Pauline Epistles, Revelation of John). The biblical section is quite thorough and covers the entire Bible. Although, I felt that the introductory essays by Jiří Moskala (Hebrew Bible) and John McVay (New Testament) actually provided such good syntheses of their respective fields that they almost seemed to be sufficient in covering the topic on their own. The other chapters simply added color and further detail to Moskala's and McVay's summaries. This does not take away from the merit of the other chapters on each subsection of the Hebrew Bible or the New Testament, but just highlights how good of a summary Moskala's and McVay's chapters are.

In regard to the other chapters, I would give mixed reviews. Several of the chapters in the biblical sections were disappointing in that they did not interact with other scholars or touch on current issues. One example would be the chapter on Acts by Mario Veloso. Meanwhile, other chapters were very provocative and informative, like Clinton Wahlen's chapter on the Synoptic Gospels, as it contextualized the works of the Holy Spirit with the Hebrew Bible and Second Temple Jewish literature in light of the current scholarly discussion.

This book devotes almost the same number of pages to the Hebrew Bible (168 pages) as it does to the New Testament (166 pages). This is rare because, in many scholarly treatments of pneumatology, most of the biblical infor-

mation on the Holy Spirit comes from the latter, not the former. However, Moskala's statistical comparison convincingly demonstrates that there are more references to the Spirit of God in the Hebrew Bible than in the New Testament.

Despite this information provided by Moskala, the chapters from the doctrinal and missiological sections use the New Testament almost exclusively to articulate their ideas about the Holy Spirit. With the exception of Carlos Steger's and Marcos de Benedicto's articles, the remaining articles barely mention the Hebrew Bible in their pneumatological construction. This evaluation might be in contrast to Moskala's claim that the foundation for biblical discussion on the Holy must begin in the Hebrew Bible. I hasten to say that the New Testament scholars in this book broadly acknowledge the Hebrew Bible in their discussion, however, the systematic theologians do not. There are four chapters in the doctrinal section that try to logically explain: the works of the Spirit (Frank Hasel), the nature of the Spirit (Jo Ann Davidson), the work of the Spirit in the believer (Steger), and the work of the Spirit in the church (Márcio Costa). These authors rely almost solely on the writings of Paul and John. It could be that, as Moskala also points out, one finds a clear picture of the personality of the Holy Spirit only in the New Testament.

Besides the chapters on biblical and theological reflection on the Holy Spirit, the book includes four chapters on Christian history, three on Seventh-day Adventism, and four on the missiological implications of this doctrine. The chapters on Christianity provide a bird's-eye view on the issue and are selective about the works they use in order to sketch how Christians articulated the Holy Spirit in history. These chapters provide an introduction to major figures who wrote about the Holy Spirit. In the Adventist section, Merlin Burt's chapter adds nothing new on Adventist pneumatology, at least to an English audience who has followed the discussion on Ellen White and the Trinity in articles already published in *Journal of the Adventist Theological Society* and *AUSS* (see articles by Jerry Moon, Denis Kaiser, and Tim Poirier). However, for a Portuguese-speaking audience, most of whom lack the up-to-date material, the chapter is a welcome summary of the key issues regarding Adventist pneumatology. The historical section of the book concludes with two original contributions, by Alberto Timm and Ángel Rodríguez. They bring fresh perspectives to the current debate in Adventist pneumatology for they highlight from history the trends and issues raised by Adventists on the topic, giving a clear focus on what is going on currently.

The book concludes with five chapters on the practical and missiological aspect of this Christian teaching. Three chapters deal separately with specific gifts in their current manifestations worldwide: the gift of tongues (Wagner Kuhn), the gift of healing (Marcos de Benedicto), and yet another on the gift of prophecy (George Knight). The other two chapters are more pastoral and talk about the role of the Spirit in the unity and mission of the church

(Kwabena Donkor) and personal salvation (Jiří Moskala). In these last two chapters, there is unfortunately nothing substantially new, compared to what has already been stated in the previous pages.

In evaluating how this collection contributes to Adventist Pneumatology, I first realized that authors had different opinions on the amount of material produced by Adventists on the topic, along with opinions of how relevant they are. Timm's opinion is that there is substantial material on the topic written by Adventists (441), while Wahlen (209) and Rodríguez (507) are not so convinced. Ironically, Timm is one of the editors of the largest book produced by Seventh-day Adventists on pneumatology, the one under review. From my research about the Holy Spirit at the Center of Adventist Research in Berrien Springs, MI, I concur with Timm's evaluation that there is substantial Adventist literature about the Holy Spirit. This is not to say that there is no room for producing more material on the topic. But it is also a fact that before this volume there was no work on the Holy Spirit with this breadth of content.

In his overview on Adventist Pneumatology from 1844 to 2013, Timm was able to demonstrate that, similar to other Christians, Adventists mostly refer to the Holy Spirit in the context of the Trinity, when addressing the question of the personality of the divine spirit. In its early history, most Adventists were antitrinitarians and the arguments were on the topic of the personality of God's Spirit. According to Timm, the major argument they raised against the personality of the Holy Spirit, still used by antitrinitarians today, is the idea that omnipresence cannot be conciliated with personhood. This is why the Bible describes the Spirit metaphorically as oil, water, and fire. On the other hand, Trinitarians support claims that the Scriptures use the language of action when talking about the Spirit of God. The most commonly referred to verbs are: creates, reveals, intercedes, is grieved. Besides, they argue, the Spirit receives worship.

Timm continues his historical overview showing that after the 1950s, many Adventists accepted the Trinity thus, causing the literature on the Holy Spirit to emphasize its soteriological role. Following this trajectory, most articles in the book under review here, have, intentionally or not, highlighted the role of the Holy Spirit first, as an agent of revelation, and second, as an agent of salvation. As a revealer, the authors agree on the idea that Scriptures mainly present the Spirit as the voice of God instructing humanity through prophecy. This can be manifested in visions, dreams, an inspiration to write wisely, as well as the ability to articulate truths and understand reality. Therefore, in this perspective, the Spirit is portrayed primarily as a divine teacher, for example: giving wisdom to Bezalel when he manufactures the tabernacle, and to Peter when he teaches the gentiles about Jesus.

For most authors, this pedagogical character of the Holy Spirit is closely related to the salvation of humanity, which means that salvation is basically

a transformation of the mind. From this way of reasoning, the salvific role of the Holy Spirit is worked out by the promptings of the human mind to recognize its sinful condition, convincing the individual of the need for transformation from a state of disobedience to one of allegiance to God's word. Little is said in this collection of articles about what roles emotion and ritual seem to play in this transformation. It seems that salvation is understood primarily as enlightenment resulting in acceptance of Jesus as Savior. Thus, Adventists have struggled to articulate the salvific role of the Holy Spirit pre- and post-crucifixion.

Authors like Froom are of the opinion that the Holy Spirit was only effective in the plan of salvation after the cross, simply convincing sinners to look back to Jesus's sacrifice (459–460, 470, 564–565). It seems, however, that before the death of Jesus, the Spirit was working *with* and not *within* humanity to transform them. Steger and Jo Ann Davidson explicitly respond to this claim by affirming that the Holy Spirit played a role in saving humanity from the very beginning. In their understanding, the salvific merits of the death of Jesus, although foundational, needed to be applied by the grace given through the Holy Spirit who also transformed the life of the convert. Despite the different articulations on this particular issue, they still seem to restrict the salvific role of the Spirit through the gift of revelation before and after the cross.

The emphasis on, or limitation of, the role of the Spirit as a dispenser of knowledge, to me, seems too rational. It is necessary to acknowledge that the Scriptures also portray the Spirit of God acting in ways that are not understood by humanity or through other cognitive processes such as emotion and physical experiences. As some biblical examples demonstrate, the Spirit sometimes possesses the individual ecstatically (27 and 29). I fear that this book in Adventist pneumatology might create an impression that the works of the Spirit are limited to an intellectual Biblicism, which is not what the Seventh-day Adventist fundamental beliefs indicate.

Being more open to spiritual manifestations that are not merely intellectual in nature, Marcos de Benedicto argues that Adventists need to be more open to the ministry of healing that God offers through His Spirit, despite human advancement in medicine. If the Gospels emphasize healing as a major venue of establishing the kingdom of God, Adventists who talk about the manifestation of the Spirit should not be skeptical about healings among them. However, his perspective is only one chapter in the book. The rest of this work gives the impression that the manifestation of the Spirit is almost limited today to the gift of prophecy as manifested in the writings of Ellen G. White.

To conclude, I would like to indicate some areas I found lacking in the book that could be improved in a new edition or eventual translation. Technically there are some shortcomings. The book lacks chapter numbers and an

index of authors, topics, and primary sources. Considering the size of the book, the index would be a great aid to researchers. It also needs a list of abbreviated works and a revision of footnotes and bibliographic format. They are not uniform.

First, I expected one chapter, or at least a larger treatment throughout the different chapters, on demonology and evil or counterfeit spirits. This was a major topic around which the Dead Sea Scrolls and Early Christianity articulated their views on the Spirit of God. In the Middle Ages, demonology was also closely connected to the reflections on healings, miracles, and relics. The quest was for the indwelling of God in nature. Demonology also problematized the immanence of God in a very tangible way. The current book skipped these issues. In line with this topic, I also think it would've been helpful to include one chapter on the role of the Holy Spirit in liturgy and prayer.

Another topic I would've loved to have read about in this collection is the Holy Spirit in Adventist eschatology. Rodríguez has two pages on the soteriological underpinnings of eschatological spiritual manifestations in Adventism, but it does not seem to me to be sufficient. There are some gaps in his evaluation of the current situation and the generalizations he makes cannot be verified in any bibliography, except the one on Jack Siqueira he provided. Fortunately, many books on Adventist eschatology have been recently published which helps fill the gap in Rodríguez's analysis.

This being said, I understand that the book is already large—more than 700 pages—and that the addition of extra chapters would probably be cumbersome. But in case this book is ever translated from Portuguese, and I think it deserves to be, the recommendations I give here could be considered. Overall, the book is beautiful in its physical presentation. It is a pleasure to hold and read. Besides, it is a major Adventist academic accomplishment, resulting from a collaborative work of scholars from different parts of the planet. The work is the major Seventh-day Adventist contribution to pneumatology and therefore deserves attention.

Berrien Springs, Michigan Rodrigo Galiza

Stuhlmacher, Peter. *Biblical Theology of the New Testament.* Translated by Daniel P. Bailey. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2018. xxxiv + 935. Hardcover. USD 95.00.

Peter Stuhlmacher is professor emeritus of New Testament Studies at the University of Tübingen in Germany. He has written numerous books in German, including some titles translated into English: *Historical Criticism and Theological Interpretation of Scripture: Toward a Hermeneutics of Consent; How to Do Biblical Theology* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2003); and *Revisiting*

Paul's Doctrine of Justification: A Challenge to the New Perspective: With an Essay by Donald A. Hagner (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2002). His publications are known for their historical approach influenced by Martin Hengel as well as strong connections to the Old Testament influenced by Hartmut Gese. Because of these acknowledged influences, he is not writing just any theology of the New Testament but, particularly, a biblical theology.

Stuhlmacher's *Biblical Theology of the New Testament* is a very successful translation of his two-volume German work *Biblische Theologie des Neuen Testaments* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht), appearing in 1992 and 1999. Having been completed twenty years ago, Stuhlmacher's work has already established its place in New Testament scholarship. Since then, Volume 1 has had two additional German editions (1997 and 2005) while Volume 2 has had one additional edition (2012). Thus, it was only a matter of time before this magnificent work was translated and made available for the English-speaking audience.

The English translation is a very thorough work by Daniel P. Bailey, in which the two German volumes come together as one book, with a number of updates and significant additions. First of all, at the end of each chapter there is an up-to-date bibliography, relevant to the subject matter (see the "Further Reading" sections). Four recent theologies of New Testament (Schnelle, Thielman, Matera, and Schreiner) have been reviewed and included (31–36). Correspondence between Peter Stuhlmacher and James D. G. Dunn on the subject of *The New Perspective on Paul* has been added with the approval of both scholars (270–273). A number of other smaller contributions have been added with the consent of Peter Stuhlmacher (744–745, 757–758, 762–768). Finally, the translator has added his own contribution at the end of the book on the use of ἱλαστήριον (Rom 3:25) which enhances Stuhlmacher's argument. Thus, the English translation represents a substantial update to the previous German editions.

Stuhlmacher's purpose with his biblical theology is to distinguish his historical approach from the history-of-religion school, which primarily looks for New Testament backgrounds in the contemporary Hellenistic culture. Instead, Stuhlmacher stays within the context of biblical revelation, starting with the Old Testament, moving to the self-understanding of Jesus expressed in the synoptic Gospels, continuing with the theology of the early church, moving into the theology of Paul, and ending with Johannine theology. With his theology of the New Testament, Stuhlmacher presents a "salvation history" approach in which connections to the previous revelation of God play a crucial role. In addition to deciding against the history-of-religion school of thought, he also decides against a dogmatic approach, opting not to follow a history of dogma in his New Testament theology.

The presuppositions of his historical approach are drawn in opposition to Rudolf Bultmann's demythologization of biblical text. Thus, for his bibli-

cal theology, Stuhlmacher subscribes to the following criteria: that which is historically appropriate to the New Testament, is open to the gospel's claim to revelation, is related to the churches' experience of faith and life, and is rationally transparent and controllable (13). In that context, Stuhlmacher emphatically insists that "the gospel of Christ cannot be detached from the testimony to God in the Old Testament Scriptures, nor can it be understood independently of the tradition, language, and thought mode of the Old Testament" (44). Thus, his approach respects the history of salvation and views the New Testament as a continuation of the previous revelation.

After clarifying his presuppositions in Part One, Stuhlmacher deals with the proclamation of Jesus. Bultmann and his followers assumed no connection between the pre-Easter and post-Easter message of Jesus. However, Stuhlmacher devotes his energies to showing that the proclamation of the pre-Easter Jesus, as expressed in the gospels, is the base for the proclamation of the post-Easter church. He shows how Jesus fulfilled Jewish Old Testament expectations and points out that Jesus had already made messianic claims, even before Easter. His self-understanding, actions, and words pointed toward God's actions in history for the purpose of reconciling humanity to God through his own ministry.

In Part Two, Stuhlmacher shows what the early church did with the proclamation of Jesus. Stuhlmacher's main question is: How is the proclamation of the early church a continuation of Jesus's own preaching? For its liturgy, teaching, and mission, the early church needed confessional sayings, such as "Maranatha," "Lord Jesus," "Jesus Christ," "Son of God," and "for our sins." All of them are a continuation of God's deeds in the Old Testament and of Jesus's own teaching. These confessional formulas of the early church have their historical origin in the appearances of the resurrected Jesus to his disciples. Finally, baptism and the Lord's Supper are expressions within the early church of belonging to the saved community of God's people in Jesus Christ.

In Part Three, Stuhlmacher discusses the proclamation of Paul, showing how it naturally follows out of Jesus's own teaching and out of the confessions of the early church. Unlike Bultmann, Stuhlmacher does not believe that Christianity started with Paul and John. Rather, he believes that Paul continued the previous revelation of God. What made the difference for Paul was the appearance of Jesus on the road to Damascus. After that, Paul read the Hebrew Scriptures in the light of the fulfillment in Jesus (e.g., 2 Cor 3:7–11). Paul's experience led him to believe that God did not count his sins against him, even though he had persecuted the followers of Christ. This personal experience of reconciliation impacted his theology (e.g., 2 Cor 5:18–20). For Paul, faith and justification are both considered gifts of God. Through baptism and the Lord's Supper, believers are accepting God's gifts.

By the working of the Spirit of God within them, they live in the new reality of salvation.

In chronological order, parts Four, Five, and Six deal with gospel proclamation during the period after Paul, both in the synoptic Gospels and the Johannine writings. In terms of salvation history, they all follow previous revelations as well as the Hebrew Scriptures. Stuhlmacher ends his book in the last section with the question of the biblical canon. The early church used the Hebrew Scriptures as their Bible in the Greek form (LXX) , so as to testify of Jesus. Because of the needs of the Christian mission, confessional formulas were created, and later epistles and Gospels were composed for the purpose of preserving the apostolic tradition. This process was not completed until the end of the first-century CE and the twenty-seven New Testament writings were subsequently confirmed through their usage in Christian churches. The church had concisely decided upon a two-part Christian canon (Old and New Testaments), thus confirming its roots in the Hebrew Scriptures and allowing God's revelation to define the church. Thus, Scripture became the norm of faith.

With his use of biblical theology, Stuhlmacher stays within the boundaries of Scripture. In my opinion, no other theological work so completely presents the richness of New Testament thought and its links to its Old Testament roots. That may be why Gregory K. Beale—whose productions specially emphasize the OT background to the New—has contributed a foreword to the English translation of Stuhlmacher's work, thus endorsing it and ranking it among other significant contributions to the field. By making connections between the two testaments, Stuhlmacher traces the history of salvation as it weaves through both of them. For Stuhlmacher, the final goal of biblical revelation and the center of the canon becomes reconciliation in Jesus, thus confirming the primary historical concern of Protestantism. In my view, neglecting this aspect would not only mean the end of Protestantism, but would also miss the main purpose of biblical revelation, as did Bultmann and his followers. Stuhlmacher's historical approach brings some lasting contributions to the field of biblical theology and leads readers back to Scripture.

Theologische Hochschule Friedensau
Möckern-Friedensau, Germany

IGOR LORENCIN

Tucker, W. Dennis, Jr. *Jonah: A Handbook on the Hebrew Text.* Baylor Handbook on the Hebrew Bible. Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2018. xii + 120 pp. Softcover. USD 26.95.

The author, W. Dennis Tucker, Jr., teaches biblical studies in the George W. Truett Theological Seminary at Baylor University. He is also General Editor of *Baylor Handbook on the Hebrew Bible* (BHHB). In fact, the first edition

of this very handbook came out in 2006 as the first volume in this series. Since the book of Jonah is one of the first books translated by beginning Hebrew students, the author's hope is that this handbook can be a useful tool to students who make the move from introductory grammar to biblical text.

The main reason for this revised and expanded edition is clearly stated by Tucker in the first paragraph of the introduction, where one finds an uncommon confession: "Over the course of the last ten years or so, I have shifted my methodological assumptions concerning Hebrew linguistics" (1). In this second edition, the original text is given "detailed and comprehensive attention." Thus, the author's goal was to offer a convenient pedagogical and reference tool for the study of Jonah's book. Explanations of the form and syntax of the original text provide guidance for semantic analyses, including issues that are not always raised in standard commentaries on this biblical book.

The handbook is more than just a simple analytical key to Jonah. (Some Old Testament scholars still remember John J. Owen's meticulous work in which virtually every Hebrew word is parsed). It informs the student about advances in scholarship on Hebrew grammar and linguistics. The book can be described as short and compact, formatted in a way that is easy for readers to follow. Right after a passage in English translation one finds the reprint of the original Hebrew text. What follows is the analysis of the clause accompanied by comments relating to its function, discourse type, and also corresponding syntactic matters. At the end of the analysis are the appropriate comments on each word or phrase.

Instead of devoting much space to exegetical and theological comments that usually fill the pages of most commentaries, Tucker's primary focus is on the original text, along with its grammar and syntax. This way the handbook provides the basis to understanding the linguistic quality of the original texts from which valuable insights and messages are derived. Since this book provides "a quality linguistic analysis" of the text of Jonah, it can serve as an indispensable tool for anyone committed to a careful study of the Bible in the original Hebrew.

Reviewers have praised Tucker's detailed, yet comprehensive, attention to the Hebrew text, all of which makes the handbook "a convenient pedagogical and reference tool." The author should also be commended for offering guidance in deciding between various semantic analyses, as well as for addressing questions about the Hebrew text that are frequently overlooked or ignored by standard commentaries. In a good number of places, the handbook reflects the recent scholarly advances on Hebrew grammar and linguistics.

In short, this revised and expanded edition of the handbook serves as a bridge between popular and technical commentaries on Jonah and, as such, it serves as an indispensable tool for students committed to a careful reading of the biblical text. Moreover, the handbook utilizes a style that makes it a useful resource for teaching and even for self-study. The results of Tucker's hard

work offer to the student of the Bible a tool that provides lexical, morphological, and syntactical help. Moreover, the author's stylistic, exegetical, and homiletical comments are particularly valuable.

In concluding, I would like to offer a few constructive suggestions for future improvement of the handbook. First, there are some technical terms that are not explained in the Glossary. Second, an unfortunate erratum in the Handbook is found on page 18, where the Hebrew text of Jonah 1:3 begins with the wrong word order. This error may be due to the fact that Hebrew is written from right to left. Also, I wish the author would have explained the meaning of the name Jonah ("dove") on page 16, especially with the reference to Hos 7:11–12, where Ephraim is compared to a silly dove. Explanations of names such as Nineveh (Heb. *nûn* "fish") would also be helpful.

In spite of these suggestions for improvement, I agree with other reviewers that this handbook is one of the best commentaries on Jonah. I would recommend it to all who are interested in going deep into the original biblical text.

AdventHealth University
Orlando, Florida

ZDRAVKO STEFANOVIC

Wood, Todd Charles, and Darrel R. Falk, *The Fool and the Heretic: How Two Scientists Moved beyond Labels to a Christian Dialog about Creation and Evolution*. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2019. 201 pp. Softcover. USD 16.99.

Todd Wood is a well-known Young-Earth Creationist and Darrel Falk is one of the leading voices for Evolutionary Creationism. They are both evolutionary biologists and prominent members of two opposing camps in the Creationism debates, whose paths would normally never cross. However, in the summer of 2013, the Colossian Forum (Grand Rapids)—under the leadership of Michael Gulker and Rob Barrett—brought Wood and Falk together to see if it would be possible to model Christian unity in the midst of difference. The Colossian Forum was established upon the promise of Col 1:17 that "all things hold together in Christ." Their goal is to answer the question, "*How do we live faithfully in the midst of conflict?*"

The book is organized as chapter pairs, with one chapter written by Wood followed by a chapter written by Falk. In between the chapter pairs are interludes written by Barrett that moderate the discussion and tie the individual chapters together into a coherent whole. In the first chapter pair, Wood and Falk explain why the other person is wrong, and why it matters. In the final chapter pair, Wood and Falk explain why the other person is neither a fool (Wood) nor a heretic (Falk). In between these bookends, Wood and Falk recount the story of how they met and became friends, the ups

and downs as their relationship developed, and they provide insights into the discussions they have had along the way. This organization is effective, and the book reads as an intimate conversation between friends—friends who respectfully disagree on an important point.

I was fortunate to be one of the participants in the room when Wood and Falk first met, and I participated in many of the discussions that led to the writing of this book. What became clear from the discussions is that neither of them is likely to change their mind regarding their creation beliefs. That being the case, one might ask what the point is in having the discussion, given that no resolution is likely?

Wood and Falk each strongly believes that his view of creation is the correct one. And they each view the other person's perspective as, not only wrong, but detrimental to the health of the church. They each are concerned that the other person's position is leading the church astray and causing members to leave the church altogether. However, they both see the conflict itself as even more detrimental to the health of the church, and no longer desire to be participants in the conflict. Therefore, since that first meeting in 2013, they have continued meeting together to grow in Christ and to understand what it means to be patient and humble with brothers in Christ who disagree.

If you are looking for a book that offers the best arguments for your preferred version of Creationism and the best arguments against opposing views, this book will be a disappointment. A much better book for that purpose is the multi-authored Matthew Barrett and Ardel B. Caneday, eds., *Four Views on the Historical Adam*, Counterpoints: Bible and Theology (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2013). However, if you have noticed conflicts building in the church, which are threatening to split the church, and wondering how God's people can be so antagonistic to each other, then this book is definitely for you.

What is most poignant about the book is that Wood and Falk can each see how the other person is being led by the Spirit. But if the Holy Spirit leads us into all truth (John 16:13), "I wonder why the God who convicts me for my position isn't convicting him" (189–190).

I can offer a partial answer to this question through the following observation: When Wood talks about Creation and the Creator, he talks about a *transcendent* God who rules over all, and speaks the universe into existence through his transcendent power. When Falk talks about the Creator, he talks about an *immanent* God who is actively engaged with his creation, who works in and through his creation to sustain it. Theologians talk about God being both transcendent and immanent, about God being both the creator and sustainer of the universe. However, in practice, each of us tends to emphasize only one side and neglect the other. Could it be that the church needs individuals like Wood and Falk to emphasize different, complementary

aspects of the Creator? Perhaps Jesus's promise in John 16:13 means that the Holy Spirit leads the church corporately into all truth by showing different aspects of that truth to different individuals. And perhaps it is of greater importance to the Spirit that we gain a deeper understanding of God through seeing different complementary perspectives of God's action, than that we accurately understand the time and methods God used in creation. If the Holy Spirit is not bringing us into agreement on a particular issue, maybe it is because the Spirit wants to teach us something more important.

Christian unity is hard. History has shown that Christian unity is not achieved through study commissions, church councils, belief statements, general conference votes, or compliance committees. Rather, Christian unity is a gift of God that comes as God's people develop the fruit of the spirit and learn to "walk in a manner worthy of the calling to which you have been called, with all humility and gentleness, with patience, bearing with one another in love" (Eph 4:1–2). Wood and Falk do not provide any easy answers. However, through their journey together, they show us that there is something more important than being "right." In Falk's words:

> One of us is wrong, and I am convinced it is Todd, just as he is convinced it is I. Ultimately it really matters to each of us that truth prevails, and we will work as long as we each live toward the establishment of truth as we see it in this regard. So, although one of us is wrong about this matter, there is another much more important matter about which we are both right. It is that rightness—the righteousness, actually—in which we both stand. We stand together not through anything either of us has done—after all, we are both sinners redeemed and made right by God's grace—but rather as much-loved members of God's family. We are brothers of the same Lord (Heb 2:11–12), and that makes all the difference (182).

Andrews University GARY BURDICK

BOOK NOTICES

JÔNATAS FERREIRA

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.

du Toit, David S., Christine Gerber, Christiane Zimmermann, eds. *Sōtēria, Salvation in Early Christianity and Antiquity: Festschrift in Honour of Cilliers Breytenbach on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday*. NovTSup 175. Leiden: Brill, 2019. xxiv + 681 pp. Hardcover. USD 239.00.

This *Festschrift* was put together on the occasion of the 65th birthday of Cilliers Breytenbach, for many years a Professor of New Testament Studies at the Humboldt University in Berlin and also Professor extraordinary at the Stellenbosch University, South Africa. An international team of thirty-two distinguished scholars reflect on varied concepts of *soteriology* spanning from Ancient Judaism and Greco-Roman Antiquity (Part I) to Early Christianity (Part II). The theme of *salvation* is first surveyed from Jewish texts including the MT, DSS, and LXX. This opening section is followed by a detailed apprehension of σωτηρια as drawn from the narratives of the Gospels, its theological amplifications in the epistles, and its later expansions in the works of the Apostolic Fathers, Marcion, and Antiochian writers. Among non-Christian sources, the present volume includes concepts of *salvation* as drawn from Graeco-Roman literature and philosophy. Of the thirty-two articles printed in this volume, seventeen appear in English with another fifteen accessible only to those possessing proficiency in the German language. The articles organized in this volume constitute a solid bibliography for any researcher or student of theology interested in the theme of salvation.

J.F

Hasel, Frank M, Barna Magyarosi, and Stefan Höschele, eds. *Adventists and Military Service: Biblical, Historical, and Ethical Perspectives*. Madrid: Safeliz, 2019. 225 pp. Softcover. USD 18.99.

Per the official statement on "Peace" by the General Conference of Seventh-Day Adventists, the church defines itself as a conscientious agent of peace and objector to all forms of violence. The traditional noncombatant status of the Adventist establish-

ment is constantly at threat. As its members find themselves engulfed in an age of ever-growing conflict and war, within which military involvement seems to be the natural civic alternative, young Adventists (SDAs) at recruiting age have sought after the advice of the church's Biblical Research Committee (BRC) with regard to military service. This volume is the collective effort of Adventist scholars pulling from different fields of study for a composite presentation of the Adventist stand on military enlistment. Each chapter draws insights either from the field of biblical exegesis, historical studies or ethical studies. The unique transnational team of collaborators from Europe, Africa, and North America allows this investigation to advance general principles with broad geographical application. One of the key indications of the study is a subtle movement in the thought and practice of SDAs from conscientious *objection* to conscientious *cooperation* with the military program. The present volume is a call for careful reevaluation and renewed awareness of the biblical views on violence as well as the pacific role for Adventism as it coexists alongside continual conflict in the global scenario.

J.F

Hocken, Peter, Tony L. Richie, and Christopher A. Stephenson, eds. *Pentecostal Theology and Ecumenical Theology: Interpretations, Intersections, and Inspirations*. Global Pentecostal and Charismatic Studies 34. Leiden: Brill, 2019. xvi + 366. Softcover. USD 75.00.

Pentecostal Theology and Ecumenical Theology: Interpretations, Intersections, and Inspirations brings together an international team of seventeen scholars writing on Pentecostalism and its interface with the Ecumenical Movement. The volume is divided into two parts, firstly addressing Pentecostal interpretation of the Ecumenical Movement and secondly showing points of contact between Pentecostal theology and Christian ecumenism. The emphases of the articles fall on Pentecostal involvement, contributions, and future tendencies *vis-à-vis* the Ecumenic Movement. The academic collaboration of Pentecostal scholars in the process of this publication is a historic and unprecedented effort. The study shows the points of convergence and open possibilities between Pentecostal and ecumenical theologies. In the wake of the Catholic call to unity (see *Receptive Ecumenism* below), this volume provides the response and engagement of Pentecostalism to that global invitation.

J.F

Jackson Ravenscroft, Ruth. *The Veiled God: Friedrich Schleiermacher's Theology of Finitude*. Studies in Systematic Theology 19. Leiden: Brill, 2019. xviii + 293 pp. Softcover. USD 127.00.

Ruth Ravenscroft explores Schleiermacher within his historical and social contexts with primary focus on the development of his theology and ethics in the specific period of his early life. In combining theology and ethics as an organic development of Schleiermacher's thought, Ravenscroft challenges a longstanding methodological tradition that studies his philosophical and ethical work apart from his theological opinion, as though the latter was a neutral aspect in the shaping of his lesser religious writings. This volume is effective in providing a composite and integrated picture of an important aspect of Schleiermacher's life and work.

J.F

Jokiranta, J., and Molly Zahn, eds. *Law, Literature, and Society in Legal Texts from Qumran: Papers from the Ninth Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Leuven 2016*. STDJ 218. Leiden: Brill, 2019. xvi + 290 pp. Hardcover. USD 132.00.

In the wake of the 1970s shift in focus to the study of early Jewish legal materials, this volume reinforces the centrality of halakhic and legal DSS texts as the loci of historical comprehension of the diverse religious and sociological qualities of early Judaism in the Second Temple period. The editors of this collection bring together ten scholarly papers—presented at the Ninth Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Leuven 2016—some of which advance or corroborate new interpretations to long-debated themes related to purity issues, identity, and roles in the Qumran community. This volume marks out what is the most advanced phase of Qumran research.

J.F

Miller, Virginia. *A King and a Fool? The Succession Narrative As a Satire*. BibInt 179. Leiden: Brill, 2019. x + 302 pp. Hardcover. USD 132.00.

Virginia Miller tests anew the question of genre that has long dominated the stories about king David in 2 Samuel and 1 Kings. Taking God's negative sentences on David as the point of departure, Miller views David as the literary object of irony, a thesis counterintuitive to traditional views that hold David's literary presentation in a more optimistic light. The upshot of her presupposition is that these narratives do not satisfy the literary genres of either an *epic*, *propaganda*, *wisdom literature* or *history* writing. Read as a literary genre of *satire*, however, the books of 2 Samuel and 1 Kings better elucidate some of the negative descriptions about

David and markedly underscore the theological goal intended by this medium: the regeneration of Israel's leadership.

J.F

Penwell, Stewart. *Jesus the Samaritan: Ethnic Labelling in the Gospel of John.* BibInt 170. Leiden: Brill, 2019. xvi + 225 pp. Hardcover. USD 126.00.

Stewart Penwell engages ethnicity theory to understand and schematize the ethnic groups appearing in the Gospel of John. Specially in focus are the labels "Jew" (John 4:9) and "Samaritan" (8:48) as indigenous terms alternately applied to Jesus. Penwell shows that John characterizes Jesus as a *factionalist* Jew, at once a Jew by ethnicity although at odds with the prevailing Jewish denominations. Because some of Jesus's own kin perceive him as a *factionalist*, the label "Samaritan" is applied to him with the purpose of creating alienation between Jesus's teachings and the socially approved viewpoints of the day. In other words, the labels are less the markers of ethnic division as they are the stamps of social interactions between ethnic Jews arguing from opposing camps of religious thought. Jesus as a factionalist Jew carries a clear social focus: to extrapolate the binary labels of "Jew" and "Samaritan" in order to generate a broader ethnic identity, the "children of God." This study plays off the difficult debate of the status of the "Jew" in John and attenuates the anti-Jewish opinions that have traditionally accompanied exegesis of the fourth Gospel.

J.F

Pitts, Andrew W. *History, Biography, and the Genre of Luke-Acts: An Exploration of Literary Divergence in Greek Narrative Discourse.* BibInt 177. Leiden: Brill, 2019. xvi + 235 pp. Hardcover. USD 119.00.

While studies on the literary genre of Luke-Acts primarily focus on the formal *similarities* it shares with contemporaneous literature, the issue of genre *differences* remains largely unexplored. Andrew Pitts explores *literary divergence* as a method of genre analysis which may potentially mitigate the convoluted circumstance of Luke-Acts debates when it comes to the issue of form. This volume purposes to bridge this fundamental gap in the history of Luke-Acts research. Pitts shows that the current focus on similarities identifies literary resemblances to multiple ancient genres simultaneously. However, the ambivalence resulting from this method is diminished when the differences between Luke-Acts and its concurrent literary traditions receive distinctive attention, allowing for the creation of taxonomies that draw on genre relations (agnation) of variation and proximity. The present volume reacts to structuralism and champions methodological insights provided by new genre studies.

J.F

Pizzey, Antonia. *Receptive Ecumenism and the Renewal of the Ecumenical Movement: The Path of Ecclesial Conversion*. Brill's Studies in Catholic Theology 7. Leiden: Brill, 2019. xii + 252 pp. Hardcover. USD 132.00.

Antonia Pizzey writes the seventh volume of Brill's new series dedicated to the investigation of Roman Catholic tradition in the fields of systematic, moral and historical studies. According to the editors, the purpose of this series is to collect scholarly research that may contribute to the theology of the Roman Catholic Church (RCC) as confessed in the Nicene Creed. This view presupposes the singular eminence of the RCC in the multifaceted landscape of modern religions. This particular volume presents what is most recent in Catholic articulation in the development of *receptive ecumenism*, the practical offshoot of *spiritual ecumenism*. Spiritual ecumenism is the integrated efforts of all branches of Christian confessions toward a change of heart and holiness of life. It was the theological tonic of the Second Vatican Council (1962–1965), the *Ut Unum Sint* papal encyclic (1995), and the updated version of the Catechism of the Catholic Church. Receptive ecumenism, on the other hand, is the result of collective modesty and defines as the methodological presupposition that every professed confession has a minimum quantity to *learn* and incorporate from other traditions without risking its own integrity. This is major change in approach from the longstanding practice in interreligious debates that one's denomination has something to *teach* to other professed faiths. The climax of receptive ecumenism, as is the Catholic expectation, is that of conversion on the ecclesial level (not only personal). Antonia Pizzey provides a systematic examination of the relationship between Receptive and Spiritual Ecumenism and, in the process, affords an up-to-date presentation of the Christian Ecumenical Movement world-wide.

J.F

Pöhler, Rolf J, Johannes Hartlapp, Daniel Heinz, and Stefan Höschele, eds. *Perceptions of the Protestant Reformation in Seventh-Day Adventism*. Studies in Adventist History and Theology 1. Möckern-Friedensau, Germany: Theologische Hochschule Friedensau, 2018. 318 pp. Softcover. EUR 19.90.

This edited volume collects the proceedings of the Second International Symposium promoted by the Institute of Adventist Studies of Friedensau Adventist University, Germany (2016). Eighteen articles exploit the Reformation of the sixteenth-century as perceived and experienced by the Seventh-day Adventist tradition in three general areas: first, the Adventist opinion of Martin Luther—his person (specially as retained by E.

G. White) and theology (eschatology, the Antichrist, *Sola Scriptura* principle); second, the Magisterial and Radical Reformers and their continued relevancy for Adventism (Calvin, Melanchthon, the Anabatists); and, third, the impact of the Reformation on Adventist tradition in the first 130 years of its establishment. The latter topic specially tests Adventist self-definition as genuine heir of the Reformation. Released on the brink of the 500th birthday of Luther's protest, this volume invites Adventist tradition to a renewed self-assessment and critical reflection of its identity *vis-à-vis* the Reformation.

J.F

Rasmussen, Adam. *Genesis and Cosmos: Basil and Origen on Genesis 1 and Cosmology*. The Bible in Ancient Christianity 14. Leiden: Brill, 2019. viii + 210 pp. Hardcover. USD 146.00.

Rasmussen provides a trip into the informative history of the Bible-science debate as presented in the early history of the Christian church, more acutely in the interpretations of Genesis 1 by Origen (third century) and Basil (fourth century) respectively. The volume begins with a theoretical presentation of these scholar's attitude towards *secular education* as well as their approaches for *interpretation of Scripture*. In regard to the latter, both theologians view secular knowledge to be Christianity's servant. This approach is ambivalent since it generates dialectical tension between science as a religion's *helper* or *subordinate*, depending on the scientific issue or theological agenda in question. Rasmussen then narrows down on Basil's solutions to three problems in this Bible-science debate: *astrology*, the *nature of matter*, and the "super-heavenly water." The conclusion is that Basil's dependency on Origin's work is certain except in the topics of the "super-heavenly water" and the nature of the stars, which Basil understood to be physical as opposed to Origen's allegorized view. Other apparent differences between the theologians are not the result of differing hermeneutic presuppositions but of choices of rhetorical presentation: homilies, on the one hand (Basil), and scholarly writing, on the other (Origen). For those particularly interested in the Bible-science dilemma, this study is informative of the very beginnings of this longstanding dispute.

J.F