Journal
for BAPTIST THEOLOGY & MINISTRY

The Bible and Theology

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Journal for Baptist Theology and Ministry

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The Bible and Theology

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EDITORIAL INTRODUCTION:
THE BIBLE AND THEOLOGY

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Evangelical Systematic Theology begins and ends with Biblical Theology. The Bible is the ultimate source of authority for Systematic Theology and is the standard by which all Systematic Theology is measured. Baptists in particular and evangelical Christians in general believe that the Bible is the plumb line by which all theology should be evaluated, not our own speculations and conjectures. It is perhaps the burden of conservative theology that it is seldom as interesting or fascinating as liberal Theology simply because liberal theology places a premium on novelty and creativity. Liberal theology delights in going directions no one has ever gone before. It is not so with conservative theology. As its name suggests, conservative theology is interested to "conserve" that what has been given to us in God's Word. So conservative theology may not be as *innovative* as liberal theology, but it is more *reliable* because it is grounded in God's Word rather than in mere human speculation. This Fall 2010 issue of the *Journal for Baptist Theology and Ministry* addresses the doctrine of Scripture as it informs theology.

The first section of this issue of the *Journal* considers how the Bible is foundational for theology. In this section, C. Fred Smith (Associate Professor of Theology and Biblical Studies at Liberty Baptist Theological Seminary) argues for the inerrancy of Scripture from the perspective of logic and philosophy. Steven L. Cox (Research Professor of New Testament and Greek at Mid-America Baptist Theological Seminary) discusses the relationship of Jesus' teaching to pharisaical Judaism. Thomas P. Johnston (Associate Professor of Evangelism at Midwestern Baptist Theological Seminary) contrasts Catholic and Protestant approaches to the availability of Bibles to laypersons, the use of vernacular translations, the proper translation of the Bible, and the use of the Bible in theology. Johnston notes how these differences in Catholic and Protestant approaches to the Bible become visible in the Green Bible Collection in Oklahoma City.

The second section of this issue of the *Journal* addresses "Key Issues in Theology for the Church." James Leo Garrett, Jr. (Distinguished Professor Emeritus of Historical and Systematic Theology at Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary), one of the giants in Southern Baptist Theology, contributes an article on the past and future of Baptist theology. This article was originally presented by Dr. Garrett at the special event sponsored by the Theological and

Historical Studies Division at NOBTS. The next two articles concern the application of theology to Christian worship. Ed Steele (Associate Professor of Music in Leavell College of New Orleans Baptist Theological Seminary) contributes an article on "Theological Themes in Contemporary Hymnody," and Greg Woodward (Assistant Professor of Conducting and Division Chair of the Church Music Ministries Division of New Orleans Baptist Theological Seminary) contributes an article on reconciling evangelistic methods with worship models, particularly taking into account popular approaches to Apologetics. The last two articles in this section address two additional theological issues of relevance to the church. The article by Jacob A. Taggart (a bank vice-president, president of a Christian school, deacon, and recent M.A. in Theological Studies graduate of Liberty Baptist Theological Seminary) issues "A Call to Harms" concerning the lack of church discipline. Finally, Christopher J. Black (Research Assistant to the Provost and Associate Editor of the *Journal for Baptist Theology and Ministry* at New Orleans Baptist Theological Seminary) contributes an article on how regional differences shaped the development of the doctrine of the Trinity. We also commend the good selection of book reviews that we offer our readers in this issue.

The editorial board of *JBTM* apologizes to our readers for the long delay in our completing this Fall 2010 issue of the *Journal*. A number of factors have put us behind our publishing schedule. However, we are hopeful that in addition to this Fall 2010 issue of JBTM, we anticipate following it with the Spring 2011 issue within just a few weeks. The theme of the Spring 2011 issue of the *JBTM* is "Arminians, Calvinists, and Baptists on the Doctrine of Salvation." It features a paper presented by Dr. Matt Pinson, President of Free Will Baptist Bible College, at a Spring 2011 special event sponsored by the Baptist Center for Theology and Ministry. Dr. Pinson's paper is entitled, "Thomas Grantham's Theology of Atonement and Justification." Grantham was a General Baptist who was somewhat Arminian in theology. The interaction of three discussion panel members with Dr. Pinson is included. This issue will also include several other papers discussing the doctrine of salvation from Calvinistic and Baptist perspectives. We hope this upcoming issue will add further clarity to the continuing discussions about the doctrine of salvation in the SBC. Thank you for your continued support and interest in the *Journal for Baptist Theology and Ministry*!

SECTION 1

THE BIBLE
AS FOUNDATIONAL
FOR THEOLOGY

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All Scripture is given by inspiration of God,
and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for
correction, for instruction in righteousness,
that the man of God may be complete,
thoroughly equipped for every good work.

2 TIMOTHY 3:16-17

PHILOSOPHICAL PERSPECTIVES
ON INERRANCY

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Introduction

Behind every broad movement within Christianity lies an understanding of what the Bible is and how it functions in the community of faith. Scripture is determinative for where one stands on a host of doctrinal and theological questions. This especially is true for evangelicals who have defended the Trinity, the virgin birth of Christ, the Resurrection and the bodily return of Christ on the basis that they are revealed in the Bible. The commitment to Scripture as God's revelation has kept evangelicals on solid ground for these and a host of other doctrines. Indeed, as Francis Schaeffer said, "Evangelicalism is not consistently evangelical unless there is a line drawn between those who take a full view of Scripture and those who do not."[1] Maintaining a commitment to inerrancy must be a priority if evangelicalism is to continue to uphold truth.

In the nineteenth century, the nature of Scripture was examined extensively by John Bascom[2] and William Sanday.[3] After this, little attention was given to Scripture by philosophers of religion until the 1930s, when their focus turned to the examination of language itself. A survey of the literature in the field over the past two or three generations makes this clear. Emil Brunner in his book *The Philosophy of Religion from the Standpoint of Protestant Orthodoxy*[4] gave revelation a central place, but rejected the idea of seeing revelation in terms a divine book, something fixed, timeless, and enscripturated. For Brunner, revelation had to do with an existential encounter between the believer and God. Edgar Brightman,

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[1] Francis Schaeffer, "Form and Freedom in the Church" in J. D. Douglas, *Let the Earth Hear His Voice* (Minneapolis, MN: World Wide, 1974), 364-65; cited in Richard Lovelace, "Inerrancy: Some Historical Perspectives" in *Inerrancy and Common Sense*, ed. Roger Nicole and J. Ramsey Michaels, 15-47 (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1980), 18.

[2] John Bascom, *A Philosophy of Religion or the Rational Grounds of Religious Belief* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1876), 203-312.

[3] William Sanday, *Inspiration: Eight Lectures on the Early History and Origin of the Doctrine of Biblical Inspiration, Bampton Lectures* (New York: Longmans, Green, 1893).

[4] Emil Brunner, *The Philosophy of Religion from the Standpoint of Protestant Orthodoxy*, trans. A. J. D. Farrer and Bertram Lee Woolf (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1937), 151.

writing in 1940, briefly treated revelation as a way of knowing God, but did not seriously consider the possibility that God had revealed himself in Scripture.[5] In 1954 Daniel Jay Bronstein and Harold M. Schulweis did not discuss Scripture in their *Approaches to Philosophy of Religion: A Book of Readings* [6] at all. John Wilson in his *Language and Christian Belief* [7] discussed religious language but not the Bible. Geddes MacGregor treated the way one makes assertions about religious subjects in his *Introduction to Religious Philosophy* [8] but did not consider the nature of the Bible. Paul Van Buren, in his 1963 book *The Secular Meaning of the Gospel Based on an Analysis of Its Language* [9] never mentioned the subject, though he devoted a chapter to religious language. Stuart Brown, a few years later, treated religion as something of an epistemological problem dealing with religious language and its validity from the standpoint of linguistic analysis.[10] James McClendon and James Smith treated religious language without dealing with the nature of Scripture.[11] In 1988, Norman Geisler and Winfred Corduan;[12] and in 1993, Brian Davies,[13] omitted inerrancy from their books; even though each devoted large discussions on religious language and its validity.

These twentieth century writers were responding to A. J. Ayer, whose *Language Truth and Logic* [14] became the standard work on logical positivism. Ayer asserted that only two classes of statements are meaningful: those that are empirically verifiable and those that are analytically true—true by logical or mathematical necessity. If Ayer is right, any kind of religious truth claim would be, quite simply, meaningless. If that is the case, then contending for biblical inerrancy is meaningless also. Therefore, philosophers of religion confined themselves to defending the right to make truthful—and therefore

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[5]Edgar Sheffield Brightman, *A Philosophy of Religion* (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1940), 172-78.

[6]Daniel Jay Bronstein and Harold M. Schulweis, *Approaches to Philosophy of Religion: A Book of Readings* (New York: Prentice Hall, 1954).

[7]John Wilson, *Language and Christian Belief* (New York: St. Martin's, 1958).

[8]Geddes MacGregor, *Introduction to Religious Philosophy* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1959).

[9]Paul Van Buren, *The Secular Meaning of the Gospel Based on an Analysis of Its Language* (New York: Macmillan, 1963).

[10]Stuart C. Brown, *Do Religious Claims Make Sense?* (London: SCM, 1969).

[11]James William McClendon, Jr. and James M. Smith, *Understanding Religious Convictions* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1975).

[12]Norman Geisler and Winfred Corduan, *Philosophy of Religion, 2d ed.* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1988), 211-91.

[13]Brian Davies, *Introduction to the Philosophy of Religion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 20-31.

[14]A. J. Ayer, *Language Truth and Logic* (New York: Oxford University Press), 1936.

authoritative—claims about religion. Primarily, inerrancy has been left to evidentialist apologetics and theologians.

Inerrancy is usually defended on the basis of evidence, historical, textual, and archaeological, which has been shown to support the truth claims of the Bible. However, an approach that is more philosophically driven offers possibilities for the apologist and needs to be given serious consideration.

Approaches to Defending Scripture

If apologists want to claim that the Bible is inerrant and be justified in doing so, the question necessarily arises as to what method or approach is best for this. The doctrine of Scripture is usually approached inductively or deductively. Using the inductive method, people seek to amass evidence that the Bible is or is not inerrant, or they begin with certain premises that guarantee whichever conclusion they wish to prove. Using the deductive method to defend inerrancy usually begins with the doctrine of God. One might call it (in parallel to a popular Christological model) "the doctrine of Scripture from above." The inductive method, on the other hand, begins with the phenomena of the text itself and may be called "the doctrine of Scripture from below."

Inductive Method

Examples of the inductive method abound. In 1888, Basil Manly sought "to build up an argument by successive steps" to prove biblical inerrancy.[15] More recently, Josh McDowell has defended the historicity of biblical events and has demonstrated the accuracy of Bible prophesies.[16] Both authors use the inductive method because, like detectives, they amass specific facts and use them to draw the conclusion that Scripture is inerrant. Stanley Anderson has also defended inerrancy this way. In his article "Verbal Inspiration Inductively Considered"[17] he amassed evidence from history, archaeology, Bible prophecy, science, and human psychology to demonstrate that the Bible is inerrant. Building his doctrine "from below," he examined some seventy-nine Scripture passages in an eight-page article. Anderson early on turns to deduction in his argument asserting the following syllogism: All Scripture is inspired of God; each word is a part of Scripture; therefore each word is inspired of God (15).

There are weaknesses in formulating one's doctrine of Scripture from below. The inductive method, at best, can only establish the high probability of the Bible as an inerrant document. It

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[15]Basil Manly, Jr., *The Bible Doctrine of Inspiration Explained and Vindicated* (New York: Armstrong and Son, 1888), 108, cf. 130-175.

[16]Josh McDowell, *Evidence that Demands A Verdict* (San Bernadino, CA: Campus Crusade for Christ, 1972).

[17]Stanley E. Anderson, "Verbal Inspiration Inductively Considered," in *Evangelicals and Inerrancy*, ed. Ronald Youngblood (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 1984), 13-21. This paper originally was read before the Evangelical Theological Society meeting in 1955.

can establish the probability at a very high level, but for some, this is still not enough. In addition, the inductive method often is used by those who hold to a doctrine of authority that falls short of inerrancy.[18] James D. G. Dunn has said that attention to the phenomena of Scripture itself will not get one to a doctrine of inerrancy.[19] Attention to the phenomena will not compel one to disbelieve inerrancy either, but the fact remains that the inductive method leads to an impasse.

One's conclusions from the phenomena of the text are, in fact, largely determined by what one brings to it. D. A. Carson has shown that it is not the claims of Scripture which count against its truthfulness but rather "a certain interpretation of the phenomena of the text." [20] The Enlightenment, which exalted both reason and the inductive method, beginning from Descartes and Bacon, has had an impact on the way Scripture is seen.[21] Bacon's inductive method especially led to the separation between "truth" and "religion," with religion relegated to the area of private opinion only.[22] Approached inductively, and with the presuppositions of the Enlightenment regarding authority, the supernatural, and the necessity for reason and coherence, it is little wonder that many moderns conclude that the Bible is not inerrant.

Deductive Approach

A deductive approach, building a doctrine of Scripture from above, is much better. Here, one begins with God and works to the phenomena of the text, and so long as the text itself does not directly invalidate one's basic presuppositions, the argument is on strong ground. Working deductively guarantees the results if the argument is valid, and if the premises are true. What is necessary then is a proper doctrine of God.

Presuppositions Necessary for a
Deductive Approach to Scripture

Arguing for Scripture from above requires beginning with a proper understanding of God.

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[18]D. A. Carson, "Recent Developments in the Doctrine of Scripture," in *Hermeneutics, Authority and Canon*, ed. D. A. Carson and John D. Woodbridge (Grand Rapids: Academie, 1986), 23.

[19]Roger Nicole, "The Inspiration and Authority of Scripture: J. D. G. Dunn versus B. B. Warfield (continued)," in *Churchman* vol. 98, no. 3 (1984): 210-11; quoted in Carson, 20.

[20]Carson, 23.

[21]John D. Woodbridge, "Some Misconceptions of the Impact of the Enlightenment on the Doctrine of Scripture," in *Hermeneutics, Authority and Canon*, ed. D. A. Carson and John D. Woodbridge (Grand Rapids: Academie, 1986), 241-70.

[22]Norman Geisler, "Inductivism, Materialism and Rationalism: Bacon, Hobbes, and Spinoza," in Norman Geisler, ed., *Biblical Errancy: An Analysis of its Philosophical Roots* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1981), 11-22.

The way we frames our doctrine of God will determine the way we approach revelation.[23] If our doctrine of God is adequate, our view of revelation will be also.

An argument from above must be based on certain assumptions about God, His nature, power, and moral attributes. Even the statement "if Scripture is divinely revealed, then it is inerrant" makes a moral assumption about the nature of God—that He does not lie. When John Warwick Montgomery argues that inerrancy and inspiration are inseparable, he implicitly argues that a certain understanding of who God is and how He acts is necessary for the Bible to be inerrant.[24] God must be truthful, and He must be powerful enough to guarantee the results. Richard Swinburne has said directly, "A good God who knows everything, will not lie to us."[25]

What, then, is essential in a doctrine of God which is adequate for inerrancy? First is the idea that God is sovereign. God is capable of so moving in history and in people's lives as to produce and guarantee a written revelation. Sanday recognized this in 1893 when he spoke of the "providential disposition of events" which gave fuller meaning to biblical prophecies.[26] A God who is subject to the whims of human free will is not a God who can guarantee an inerrant revelation of himself. Many who argue against inerrancy do so on the basis of an overdeveloped understanding of human free will and an underdeveloped understanding of divine sovereignty.

Second, one must presuppose that God is interested in revealing Himself. There must be a reason for the revelation. Richard Swinburne has argued that if there is an all-wise, all-powerful God who desires that men be holy, then it is not unreasonable to suppose that He has revealed Himself and His purposes.[27]

Third is the matter of God's moral nature. God must be moral enough to want to reveal the truth about Himself. In addition, He must care enough about truth itself to want to tell the truth in everything. God's character is on the line in revelation. The God who reveals himself, if He is a truth-telling God, must tell the truth in everything, including science and history.

This may appear to some as if merely to choose which traits of God to emphasize, in an arbitrary manner, so as to guarantee the right outcome. There are, however, ways to confirm this direction. One way is found in the ontological argument for the existence of God. This argument, dating back to Anselm, has received new life in recent years in the form of Thomas Morris's

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[23]Bascom, 204.

[24]Montgomery, 61.

[25]Swinburne, 85.

[26]Sanday, 404.

[27]Swinburne, 69-72.

perfect being theology.[28] God is the sum total of all of His perfections. He is the personification of perfection in every way, including existence.

Assuming that this argument is sound actually goes a long way toward defending inerrancy. If God is a perfect being and the sum of all His perfections, He must be both powerful and moral. What He reveals then has the guarantee of being perfect, in the sense of being exactly what He wanted and of being true. The God of Anselm and of Morris is powerful enough and good enough to guarantee this.

Alvin Plantinga's defence of belief in God as "properly basic" helps. He says "a person is entirely within his epistemic rights, entirely rational, in believing in God even if he has no argument for this belief, and does not believe it on the basis of any other beliefs he holds."[29] Believers in God have an immediate awareness of the truth of His existence apart from any justification for it.[30] Their belief is properly basic to other beliefs. Such faith may arise from a sense of God's presence, from an awareness of the created universe, or from a liberating sense of being forgiven for one's sins.[31] Such faith entirely is biblical since the Bible itself never attempts to argue for the existence of God.[32]

The God in whom we may properly believe may be shown to be no different from the God who is revealed in the Bible, that is, the God of classical theism. This is implicit in Plantinga's argument and is assumed also by his forebears, John Calvin and Abraham Kuyper.

How does this help us get to an inerrant Scripture? Plantinga's epistemology is congruent with presuppositional apologetics. Properly basic beliefs function as presuppositions, as the foundation for other beliefs. If belief in the God who is described in Scripture is properly basic, then belief that He has revealed Himself in that Scripture may be seen as properly basic as well.

Logically, it works as follows:

1) Belief in the God of classical theism is properly basic.
2) This God is powerful enough to guarantee any outcome He chooses.

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[28]Thomas V. Morris, *Our Idea of God: An Introduction to Philosophical Theology* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1991).

[29]Alvin C. Plantinga, "The Reformed Objection to Natural Theology," in Michael Peterson, William Hasker, Bruce Reichenbach, and David Basinger, eds., *Philosophy of Religion: Selected Readings* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 313.

[30]Alvin C. Plantinga, "On Reformed Epistemology," in Michael Peterson, William Hasker, Bruce Reichenbach, and David Basinger, eds., *Philosophy of Religion: Selected Readings* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 332.

[31]Plantinga, "Belief in God," 99-100.

[32]Plantinga, "Reformed Objection," 311.

3) This God is moral enough to be always truthful.
4) Any revelation that has its source in this God will be exactly what He chooses to reveal (from 2).
5) Any revelation which has its source in this God will be absolutely true (from 3).
6) The Bible gives evidence of having its source in this God, by the way it assumes His existence, and reveals intentions and purposes consistent with such a God (from 4).
7) One may begin from the God of classical theism as a properly basic belief and accept the Bible as His revelation (from 6).
8) The Bible is the inerrant word of God (from 4, 5, and 7).

These propositions show how one may begin with the idea of a God who is a perfect being and who also wishes to reveal himself and who is foundational in Plantinga's sense of the term. This doctrine of God, coupled with the idea that He has revealed Himself in Scripture, entails inerrancy.

This requires, however, some knowledge of the Bible. The Bible, to be inerrant, must be a book which would reveal that kind of God. It is at this point that one should go to the phenomena of the text, to argue for inerrancy "from below." One does this not as the first step but as the last, with one's presuppositions disclosed and defensible. No purely logical argument, however well founded, can stand alone on a matter like this. While its premises may guarantee its conclusions, its premises must be tested by the evidence.

Richard Swinburne developed a two-pronged test of content for Scripture. First it must provide "information necessary for our deepest well-being."[33] This information consists of moral truths, and truths about God's nature and actions to help one apply these moral truths, and some details of the afterlife as encouragement. Second, it must be true. Swinburne means it must be true according to the correspondence theory of truth: it must correspond to the real world. He says there must be nothing that is evidently false, nothing that is provable as false,[34] and its claims regarding future events must come true.[35] Swinburne also cites external evidence such as the character of the messenger and his miracle-working powers.[36] Here he has in mind Jesus as one who validates the message.

One question remains: why would God reveal Himself in something as fragile as a book? He could have inscribed the entire message in stone, not just the Law of Moses. If all of the Bible

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[33]Swinburne, 85.

[34]Ibid., 86.

[35]Ibid., 87.

[36]Ibid., 93-94.

were inscribed on a mountainside, or on one mountain on each continent, or if it were to appear miraculously in golden letters in the sky, one day every twenty years, it would be clear that this was a message from God and would cause people to pay more attention.

However, Swinburne says that it is reasonable that God, wanting to give people free choice, would locate His revelation in such a place that one would need to seek it and yet that it would be "available and discoverable."[37] This argument is not so compelling, but it is worth considering. A stronger argument lies in the way God works in history. Miraculous events are rare. God usually works through the normal channels of everyday life. This is part of the hiddenness of God. In light of this, is it any wonder that His revelation comes in the form of a book, one that looks like any other, just paper and ink?

A Model for Inspiration

A model for how revelation happens must be consistent with the understanding of God that we delineated here and consistent with inerrancy. Some want to locate revelation only in the historical events. The written text is secondary revelation only, an interpretation of God's action in history. Others locate revelation both in the historical event and in the encounter between the modern reader and the text. Revelation happens when God speaks to the individual reader. This is the neo-orthodox approach. Those who hold to the "dynamic" view of inspiration want to locate revelation in the period of reflection before the writing begins, when God inspires the "ideas" that make up Scripture. All of these are efforts to come to grips with the phenomena of the text, the critical problems, and even the experience of reading. All of these views express a part of the truth, but they all fall short.

If the Bible is God's word, and if it is inerrant, then the text itself must be a revelation of God. Any understanding of revelation that does not include the text is a deficient understanding of revelation. The text and the process behind its coming into existence are part of the sovereignty of God in guaranteeing the truth of His revelation. Thus revelation is both process and result, both the historical event and the text that describes it.

Here is a model consistent with this claim. The production of the Bible followed a process that was something like this: First, there was an event. Something happened in history, or perhaps it was revealed directly to the author. The events may have happened before the author's own time, or he may have been an eyewitness. In the case of Luke's Gospel, the events were some years earlier. Luke knew of them through personal investigation and interviews. In the case of Galatians, the letter was Paul's initial response, perhaps written within a day or so of having received a disturbing report of heresy in that church. In some cases, authors may have pored over numerous documents and spent time in reflection on their meaning. This period of reflection and study led to the author penning the result of his reflections.

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[37]Ibid., 74.

Whatever the case for each human author, God is sovereign at all stages of revelation. God acts in history. God guides the process of reflection that precedes the written work. God has been active also in the life of the writer, bringing him to the point where his theology and linguistic style are such that he is ready to write what God wants written. The result is that the writer produces God's truth, without violating his own style. This understanding allows the text itself to be revelation.

The kind of revelation proposed here is the kind which the God in whom we may properly believe would give—the kind of revelation that is found in the Bible. This model accounts for the nature of the Bible, for the sovereignty of God and for the obvious human side of the process that occurred in the production of the Scriptures. Thus it accounts for the differences in tone and style among the authors while maintaining the essential source of Scripture in God. Because it begins with the doctrine of God, this approach allows for the defence of the doctrine of inerrancy of the text itself, and unites the best features of a presuppositional apologetic ("from above") and an evidential approach ("from below"), giving to each its own place.

Conclusion

The inerrancy of Scripture is a logical consequent of believing in the God of classical theism. Alvin Plantinga has demonstrated that such belief in this God is properly basic. Thus, it would seem that belief in inerrancy would be, within the circumstances of Christian faith, a properly basic belief also. In addition, beginning with the doctrine of God before examining the phenomena of the text is all together proper and sound. Evangelicals may proceed with confidence in the century ahead, not moving the ancient boundaries, nor redefining them but standing firmly on the "faith once for all delivered to the saints."

JESUS' TEACHING AND PHARISAICAL JUDAISM

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New Testament (henceforth NT) scholars often acknowledge Jesus' identity or closeness in theology to Pharisaical Judaism; however, such statements are generalized without any discussion of their mutual theological positions. Yet, Jesus and the Pharisees were constantly at odds with one another. In the first section of this article I will review a variety of sources, both primary and secondary, concerning Jesus, the Pharisees, and first-century Judaism. Sources naturally will include the Old Testament (henceforth OT), the NT, Josephus, and the Mishnah, though these sources are not exhaustive concerning the topic. In the second section I will discuss beliefs and practices that were common to all Jews. Theological issues such as monotheism, nationalism, the law, and other topics will be discussed. In the third section I will discuss Jesus and Pharisaical Judaism's kinship by comparing their similarities and how they differ from other first-century Jewish sects. Theological issues such as the afterlife, resurrection, place of worship, the OT canon, and other topics also will be discussed. In the fourth section I will compare and contrast Jesus' teachings with those of Pharisaical Judaism.

A Collating of Sources

Evidence from Josephus[1]

Josephus offered a general description of the Pharisees; however, he did not divulge much information that contributed to a description of their teachings. The references to the Pharisees may be grouped into the following topics:

(1) the Pharisees were strong supporters of Alexandra (War 1.111; Ant 13.408-411, 415);
(2) initially they had good relations with Hyrcanus (Ant 13.289);
(3) Josephus listed the Pharisees as one of the three major schools of Jewish thought (Ant 13.171; 18.11; Life 10);
(4) they were popular among the masses (Ant 13.298; 18.15);
(5) the Pharisees were involved in politics and influence (War 1.115-6, Life 39, Ant 13.288-98; 13.401-4);

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[1] For the sake of space, the books by Josephus will be abbreviated as follows: *Jewish War* as *War*, *Jewish Antiquities* as *Ant*, *Life of Josephus* as *Life*, and *Against Apion* as *Apion*.

(6) the Pharisees lived a modest lifestyle (Ant 18.12); and
(7) Salome was associated with the death of some Pharisees (Ant 17.44-5).

Josephus had a few references to the Pharisees that pertain to issues of continuity and conflict between the Pharisees and Jesus:

(1) the Pharisees refusal of oaths to Caesar (Ant 17.42);
(2) the doctrines of fate and resurrection (Ant 13.171; 18.13-4);
(3) the Pharisees' knowledge of the Law (Life 191; Ant 17.42; 18.12); and
(4) Pharisaical adherence to oral traditions (Life 198; Ant 13.297; 13.408; 17.42; 18.12-3).

Josephus made a few references to Jesus Christ that parallel some Gospel accounts of Jesus (Ant 18.63-4).

Evidence from the Scriptures:
The Old Testament and the New Testament

The Gospels, Acts, and Pauline passages offer the most information pertaining to Jesus and Judaism of His time. Much of the data derived from the NT are based on allusions; however, the NT makes direct quotations and statements about issues pertinent to this study. Both Jesus and the Pharisees made quotes or allusions to a plethora of OT texts. Frequently Jesus cited the Torah or the prophets. Likewise, the Pharisees cited Moses by name when they quoted the Law. Acts made direct statements about select doctrines of the Pharisees and the Sadducees that also are pertinent to this study. Paul, formerly a Pharisee, added further details about pharisaical thinking based on his personal experience.

Evidence from Qumran and Rabbinical Literature

The utilization of the Dead Sea Scrolls in this article was limited to the topic of the Essenes' view of Messiahs. Select texts describe Messiah as a prophet/priestly figure; whereas, other texts present Messiah as a royal/kingly figure. Still other texts describe two Messiahs: one prophet/priestly and the other royal/kingly.

The Mishnah offered select and general references to the Pharisees. The general references may be grouped as follows:

(1) the day of slaughter of animals with reference to the Sabbath and the Feast of Pentecost (Hagigah 2.4)[2] and
(2) responsibility of masters who own animals and/or servants that do damage (Yadaim 4.7).

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[2]Herbert Danby, ed., *The Mishnah*, trans. Herbert Danby (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), Hagigah 2.4; 2.4, n. 8-12. All citations are from this translation unless otherwise stated.

Furthermore, the Mishnah had a few references to the Pharisees that pertain to issues of continuity and conflict between the Pharisees and Jesus:

(1)   ritual purity practiced by the Pharisees (Dema 2.3);[3]
(2)   loud cries for attention while suffering (Sotah 3.4); and
(3)   the place of the Name (of God) with reference to a/the king (Yadaim 4.8).

The Babylonian Talmud, composed of the Mishnah and the Gamara (a commentary on 36½ tractates of the Mishnah), was completed sometime between the fifth and the beginning of the sixth century AD. The Babylonian Talmud offered one contribution to this study in Sukkah 52a, concerning the idea of two Messiahs: a prophetic/priestly one and a kingly one.[4]

Since rabbinical literature was not composed until the second century of the Common Era and later, the use of such literature is problematic in the study of early Christianity. Though materials dating prior to and during the AD first century were preserved in rabbinical literature, a major problem arises in determining the precise extent of such materials. When we compare rabbinical literature with other sources, we are able to confirm earlier sources and fill in the picture to some degree.

A Brief Overview of Common Beliefs and Practices of the Jewish Sects

Josephus stated, "The Jews, from the most ancient of time, had three philosophies pertaining to their traditions, that of the Essenes, that of the Sadducees, and, thirdly that of the group called the Pharisees."[5] As to what Josephus meant by the phrase "from the most ancient of times" probably was a couple of centuries, but not more than four centuries. Josephus added, "As for the fourth of the philosophies [the Zealots], Judas the Galilean set himself up as the leader and master. This school agrees in all other aspects with the opinions of the Pharisees, except that they have a passion for liberty that is almost unconquerable."[6] Within Judaism diversity existed, but Judaism also contained points of unity.[7] The

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[3]Ibid., Dema 2.3; 2.3, n. 2, 3.

[4]*The Talmud of Babylon: An American Translation*, trans. Jacob Neusner (Chico, CA: Scholars, 1984), Tractate Sukkah 52a. All citations are from *The Talmud of Babylon: An American Translation*, trans. Jacob Neusner (Chico, CA: Scholars, 1984), unless otherwise stated.

[5]Josephus, *Ant* 18.11; quoted in G. P. Goold, ed., *Josephus, Jewish Antiquities: Book XVIII-XIX*, Loeb Classical Library 433, trans. Louis H. Feldman (London: Harvard University Press, 1965), 9. Cf. Josephus, *War* 2.119, *Ant* 13.171-2.

[6]Josephus, *Ant* 18.23; quoted in Goold, *Jewish Antiquities: Book XVIII-XIX*, 21. Acts 5:37 identifies Judas the Galilean as the leader of an insurrection occasioned by the census of Quirinius in AD 7.

[7]Everett Ferguson, *Background of Early Christianity* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993), 425-32.

basic beliefs in which all Jews shared included a belief in only one God. Deut. 4:35 confirms this point, "You were shown these things so that you would know that the Lᴏʀᴅ is God; there is no other besides Him."[8] A second common belief among Jews was a sense of nationalism, from the Zealots (who wanted political independence), to the Pharisees (who wanted religious freedom), to the Sadducees. Each of these sects considered themselves (Israel) to be God's people, as seen in Ps. 137:1, "By the rivers of Babylon—there we sat down and wept when we remembered Zion" (cf. 2 Sam. 10:12; 1 Kings 11:21; Neh. 2:3; Isa. 66:10). A third common belief in Judaism was a sense of nomism. Douglas Moo held, "The virtual identification of 'Law' with 'Law of Moses' in the Gospels reflect OT usage and the Jewish milieu in both of which the Law of Moses, the Torah (tôrâ), plays a central role."[9] All Jewish people placed an emphasis on the importance of the law. The law was central to all sects, for God gave the law to the Jews. According to C. M. Horne, "Generally νόμος refers to the Pentateuch; however, when combined with οἱ προφῆται it broadens so as to give the phrase the meaning of the whole OT."[10] The law was a means of expressing one's relationship with God, as taught in Ps. 40:8: "I delight to do Your will, my God; Your instruction resides within me."[11]

All Jewish people participated in a variety of activities. The first of these was an understanding of the temple as God's house, abode, pavilion, and place of sacrifice. Dan. 5:3 confirms the point: "So they brought in the gold vessels that had been taken from the temple, the house of God in Jerusalem, and the king and his nobles, wives, and concubines drank from them."[12] Note the discussion concerning the temple below.

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[8]All Scripture citations are from the Holman Christian Standard version unless otherwise stated. See Deut. 6:4; 32:32; 2 Sam. 7:22; 1 Chron. 17:20; Pss. 83:18; 86:10; Isa. 43:10; 44:6; 45:18; Mark 12:29; 1 Cor. 8:4; Eph. 4:6; 1 Tim. 2:5; 1 John 5:7.

[9]Douglas J. Moo, "Law," *Dictionary of Jesus and the Gospels*, ed. Joel B. Green, Scot McKnight, and I. Howard Marshall (Downers Grove: InterVarsity, 1992), 451.

[10]C. M. Horne, "Law in the New Testament," *Zondervan Pictorial Encyclopedia of the Bible*, vol. 3, ed. Merrill C. Tenney (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1976), 894.

[11]Cf. Josephus, *Against Apion* 1.43; 1.60; 1.212; 2.82; 2.149-50; 2.178; and 2.271. Cf. 1 Chron. 22:12; Ps. 37:31; Prov. 28:7; Jer. 31:33; 32:40; Rom. 2:15; 7:22; 2 Cor. 3:3; Heb. 8:10; 10:16.

[12]Cf. "house of Lord/God" with reference to the tabernacle: Exod 23:19; 34:26; Deut. 23:18; Josh. 9:23; Judg. 18:31; 2 Sam. 7:2; 1 Chron. 6:48; 9:11, 13, 26, 27; 23:28; 24:19; 25:6; 26:20; Pss. 42:4; 52:8; 55:14; 84:10; 92:13; 122:9; 135:2; Matt. 12:4; Mark 2:26; Luke 6:4; "house of Lord/God" with reference to the temple 1 Kings 8:17, 20; 2 Kings. 20:5; 1 Chron. 22:1, 2, 6, 7, 11, 19; 28:3, 4, 12, 20, 21; 29:2, 3, 7; 2 Chron. 2:4, 12; 3:3; 4:11, 19; 5:1, 14; 6:7, 10; 7:5; 15:18; 22:12; 23:3, 9; 24:5, 7, 13, 16, 18, 27; 25:24; 28:24; 29:5; 30:1; 31:13, 21; 33:7; 34:8, 9; 35:3, 8; 36:18, 19, 23; Ezra 1:2, 3, 4, 5; 2:68; 3:8; 4:3, 24; 5:2, 8, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17; 6:3, 5, 7, 8, 12, 16, 22; 7:16, 17, 19, 20, 23, 24, 27; 8:17, 25, 30, 33, 36; 9:9; 10:1, 6, 9; Neh. 6:10; 8:16; 10:32, 33, 34, 36, 37, 38, 39; 11:11, 16, 22; 12:40; 13:4, 7, 9, 11, 14; Eccles. 5:1; Isa 2:3; Jer 27:21; 35:4; Ezek. 10:19; Dan. 1:2; 5:23; Hosea 9:8; Joel 1:13, 14, 16; Mic. 4:2; Hag. 1:14; Luke 11:51; Heb. 10:21.

Circumcision was a common Jewish practice. According to George Foot Moore, "To the Jews it was a divine institution, given by God to Abraham for himself and his prosperity, and so inseparably connected with the covenant promises that it is not only the sign of the covenant (Gen. 17:11) but is itself called the covenant."[13] Thomas Lewis described circumcision as "a precondition of the enjoyment of certain political and religious privileges (Exod. 12:48; Ezek. 44:9) and in view of the fact that in the ancient world religion played such an important role in life, it may be assumed that circumcision, like many other strange customs whose original significance is no longer known, originated in connection with religion."[14] Gen. 17:10 offers the earliest biblical reference to circumcision, "This is My covenant, which you are to keep, between Me and you and your offspring after you: Every one of your males must be circumcised."[15]

Prayer was emphasized in Jewish corporate worship and personal devotion. J. C. Lambert defined prayer as "an act of worship which covers all soul in its approach to God. Supplication is at the heart of it, for prayer always springs out of a sense of need and a belief that God is a rewarder of them that diligently seek Him (Heb 11:6). But adoration and confession and thanksgiving also find a place, so that the suppliant becomes a worshipper."[16] Moore verified, "The public and private prayers of the Jews thus show not only what they esteemed the best and most satisfying goods, but their beliefs about God and his relation with them, and their responsive feelings toward him."[17] The design of prayer appears to be under a reverent—even worshipful—condition: "Prayer should always be offered in a serious frame of mind. Men should not go straight to prayer from states or surroundings that make it impossible to collect themselves—from grief or indolent vacuity or laughter or light talk or frivolity or idle pastimes; they should bring to it the joy of the commandments."[18]

Sabbath laws were important to all Jews, though these laws were observed in a variety of ways by the different sects. According to Frank E. Hirsh and J. K. Grinder, "As the Hebrew Sabbath was regarded as a day of rest, all acts absolutely unnecessary were considered a violation, a "breaking" of the Sabbath, which appears sufficiently from the commandment (Exod. 20:8–

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[13]George Foot Moore, *Judaism*, vol. 2 (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1997), 18.

[14]Thomas Lewis, "Circumcision," *The International Standard Bible Encyclopedia*, vol. 1, ed. James Orr (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1957), 756.

[15]Cf. Gen. 17:11-13, 23-27; 21:4; 34:15, 17, 22, 24; Exod. 12:44, 48; Lev. 12:3; Josh. 5:3, 4, 5, 7; Luke 1:59; 2:21; John 7:22-23; Acts 7:8; 15:1, 5; 16:3; Rom. 2:25-29; 4:11-12; Gal. 2:3; Phil. 3:5. Cf. The Mishnah, Arakhin 2.2; Kerithoth 1.1; Negaim 7.5.

[16]J. C. Lambert, "Prayer," *ISBE*, vol. 4, ed. James Orr (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1949), 2430.

[17]Moore, 2.12.

[18]Ibid., 2.24.

11); and the head of the household was held responsible for the keeping of this commandment by all sojourners under his roof."[19] Generally, the Sabbath was a day free from work for both man and beast, master and slave, Jew and Gentile. Moore summarized from the Mishnah:

> The thirty-nine principal species of prohibited acts in an attempt to bring them under one head with a biblical warrant for the whole. This was found in Exodus 35, where in immediate sequence upon the prohibition of 'work' on the Sabbath, the same word (mal'akah), is repeatedly used in the directions for the construction and furnishing of the tabernacle, the vestments of priests, etc. By cataloguing the various occupations specified or implied in the making of the tabernacle, the acts forbidden under the infinite name 'work' in the Sabbath law could be defined.[20]

Ex 20:8-10 connects the Sabbath with God resting on the seventh day after six days of creative work; whereas, Deut 5:15 associates the Sabbath as a reminder of God freeing the Hebrew people from Egypt: "Remember that you were a slave in the land of Egypt, and the LORD your God brought you out of there with a strong hand and an outstretched arm. That is why the LORD your God has commanded you to keep the Sabbath day."[21]

Dietary regulations were observed by most Jewish people. One example of this is in Lev. 11:7, "the pig, though it has divided hooves, does not chew the cud—it is unclean for you" (note Isa. 65:4; 66:3, 17; 1 Macc. 1:47; 2:23; 2 Macc. 6:18-31). According to Moore, "Numerous other species were similarly prohibited in the Law, but, inasmuch as most of them were creatures that no civilized man would eat anyhow, these restrictions on diet belonged to learning rather than to life."[22] Lev. 17:14 also prohibited Jews from eating any meat with blood in it.[23]

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[19]Frank E. Hirsh and J. K. Grinder, "Crime, Crimes," *ISBE*, vol. 1, ed. Geoffrey W. Bromiley (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1988), 817.

[20]Moore, 2.27-8. Cf. Mishnah, M. Shabbat 7.2; Melika, Wayyakhel 1; Shabbat 49b; Baba Kamma 2a.

[21]See these passages with reference to the Sabbath day: Exod. 16:23, 25, 26, 29; 20:8, 10, 11; 31:13-16; 35:2-3; Lev. 16:31; 19:3, 30; 23:3, 11, 15-16, 32, 38; 24:8; 26:2, 34-35, 43; Num. 15:32; 28:9-10; Deut. 5:12, 14-15; 2 Kings 4:23; 11:5, 7, 9; 16:18; 1 Chron. 9:32; 23:4, 8, 31; 36:21; 2 Chron. 2:4; 8:13; 31:3; 36:21; Neh. 9:14; 10:31, 33; 13:15-19, 21-22; Isa. 1:13; 56:2, 4, 6; 58:13; 66:23; Jer. 17:21-22, 24, 27; Lam. 2:6; Ezek. 20:12-13, 16, 20-21, 24; 22:8, 26; 23:38; 44:24; 45:17; 46:1, 3, 4, 12; Hosea 2:11; Amos 8:5; Matt. 12:1-2, 5, 8, 10-12; Mark 2:23-24, 27-28; 3:2, 4; 15:42; 6:1-2, 5-7, 9; 13:14-16; 14:1, 3, 5; 23:54, 56; John 5:9-10, 16, 18; 7:22-23; 9:14, 16; 19:31; Acts 1:12; 13:27; 15:21; 16:13; Col. 2:16; Heb. 4:9. See Lev. 25:2, 4-6, 8 with reference to the Sabbath year.

[22]Moore, 2.21.

[23]Cf. Gen. 7:2, 8; 9:4; Exod. 23:19; Lev. 7:19-21; 10:10; 11:4-8, 27-47, 36; 17:12, 26; 39; 19:23; 20:5; 22:7, 11, 13, 25, 28; 25:6, 35-37, 26:5; 15:19; 27:11; Num. 25:2; Deut. 2:6, 8:9-10; 12:15, 22; 14:7-11, 19-21; 15:22-23; 22:6; 23:19; Judg. 13:4-7, 14; Pss. 106: 28-29; Dan. 1:5-16; Ezek. 4:13-14; Hosea 9:3; Hag. 2:12; Mal. 1:6-12; Mark 7:4, 19; Acts 10:15; 11:9; 15:20, 29; 21:25; 1 Cor. 5:7; 8:7-8, 13; 1 Tim. 4:3.

A Continuity of Beliefs of Jesus and the Pharisees
Compared to Other Major Jewish Sects

The teachings of Jesus and the beliefs of the Pharisees agree on several doctrinal views; whereas, the Sadducees were radically in disagreement on most of these points.

Scripture

Jesus and the Pharisees held to a high view of the OT Scriptures. Jesus' view of the OT is displayed by His quotations or allusions to specific texts.

According to J. E. H. Thomson, the Pharisees[24]

were close students of the sacred text. On the turn of a sentence they suspended many decisions. So much so, that it is said of them later the Text of that they suspended mountains from hairs. This is especially the case with regard to the Sabbath law with its burdensome minutiae. At the same time there was care as to the actual wording of the text of the Law; this has a bearing on textual criticism, even to the present day.[25]

The Pharisees' view of the OT, though their references are limited in the NT, is displayed in their quotations or allusions to specific texts.[26]

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[24]Gen. 1:27; 2:24; 3:1, 6, 15; 4:8; 5:2; 6:3, 5; 7:1; 8:21; 12:2, 3; 17:10; 18:18; 19:26; 22:18; 28:12,14; Exod. 3:6, 14, 16; 4:12; 8:19; 20:12-17; 21:17; 23:4-5; 24:4, 8; 25:30; 29:23, 32-33, 37; 32:32; 49:10; Lev. 2:13; 5:17; 12:3; 13:1-2; 14:2-4; 17:11; 18:5; 19:3, 17-18; 19:2, 12, 18; 20:9; 24:20; 25:8, 35; 26:31-34; Num. 15:30, 38; 21:9; 28:9; 30:2; Deut. 1:16; 4:12; 5:6, 16-19; 6:4-5, 13, 16; 8:3, 34; 9:6; 10:12, 20; 13:3, 16; 15:7-8, 11; 17:6-7; 18:5, 15, 19; 19:15; 22:4, 12; 23:23; 24:1; 25:16; 27:16; 28:15; 30:6; 31:15; 32:6, 39; 33:9; 1 Sam. 2:2; 15:22; 16:7; 21:6; 2 Sam. 23:2; 1 Kings 8:13; 9:7; 10:1; 18:26; 2 Kings 4:29, 42-43; 5:1-27; 17:29; 2 Chron. 6:2; 9:1; 20:20; 38:15-16; Neh. 8:8, 10-12; 9:29-30; Job 1:7; 8:20; 12:24-25; 13:6; 22:3, 29; 31:24-28; 34:11; 38:15, 41; Pss. 5:9; 6:1, 8; 8:2; 11:4; 16:8; 18:27; 19:11; 22:1, 22, 27; 23:1, 5; 31:5; 34:9; 35:19; 39:6; 41:9; 49:7-8; 51:1-2, 7; 52:7; 58:11; 62:12; 69:4, 28; 72:13; 79:12; 82:6; 86:15; 91:1; 97:11; 102:26-27; 103:3, 13; 109:8; 110:1; 111:4; 118:22, 26; 119:50, 105, 130; 147:9; Prov 3:27; 4:18; 6:23; 8:17; 11:18; 13:9; 14:31; 19:17; 20:20; 21:3; 23:22; 24:10, 23, 27; 25:6-8, 21; 29:23; 30:4; Eccles. 5:13; Song of Sol. 8:13-14; Isa. 1:7; 2:3, 19; 5:2, 20; 6:3, 9; 7:14; 8:1, 14, 20; 9:1, 6; 11:1; 12:3; 13:10; 19:2; 28:16; 29:3-4; 13, 18; 35:5; 40:3, 8, 11; 42:1, 6-7, 21; 43:13; 45:19; 49:1-6, 22, 24-25; 50:6; 51:6; 52:10; 53:1-12; 54:13; 55:1, 4; 56:7-8; 57:3, 15; 58:7; 61:1, 3, 10; 63:16; 66:24; Jer. 3:11; 5:10, 21; 6:16; 11:20; 13:16; 14:13-14; 17:10; 23:1, 16, 21; 25:29; 26:18; 29:8; 31:34; 32:17; 33:25-26; 42:10; 50:2, 6; Lam. 4:20; Ezek. 3:7; 16:51; 18:7; 20:11, 47; 22:25; 26:20; 32:7, 18; 33:31; 34:17, 23; 36:25; 43:24; Dan. 2:34-35; 44; 7:10, 13-14; 9:23-24, 26-27; 12:1-3, 11-12; Hos 2:23; 4:14, 17; 5:6; 6:2-3, 6; 8:2; 10:8; 14:8; Amos 6:1; 9:9; Joel 2:2; 3:13; Jon. 1:17; 2:10; 3:5, 8; Mic. 3:12; 4:2; 5:2; 6:8; 7:6; Hab. 2:11; Zeph. 1:15; Zech. 9:9; 11:16; 12:12; 13:7; 14:2-5; Mal. 1:11; 3:1; 4:5-6.

[25]J. E. H. Thomson, "Pharisees," *ISBE*, vol. 4, ed. James Orr (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1949), 2363.

[26]See Ex 20:14; Lev 18:20; 20:10; Deut 5:18; 9:6; 22:22; 24:1; Job 31:9; Prov 6:29, 32; Mal 3:5.

One should note Josephus's claim, "I began to govern my life by the rules of the Pharisees, a sect having points of resemblance to that which the Greeks call the Stoic school."[27] If one understands that Josephus was a Pharisee or at least reflected Pharisaical thought on issues, then one might be able to determine with some precision the OT books which the Pharisees considered authoritative. Josephus's statement, "Our books, those which are justly accredited, are but two and twenty, and contain the record of all time"[28] is somewhat ambiguous, yet can been deciphered. Josephus categorized the OT books in three manners. With reference to the above mentioned "two and twenty" books, Josephus categorized the Pentateuch as one book: "Of these, five are the books of Moses, comprising the laws and the traditional history from the birth of man down to the death of the lawgiver."[29] Josephus's second category consisted of "the prophets subsequent to Moses [who] wrote the history of the events of their own times in thirteen books."[30] These thirteen books are best understood as: "Probably (1) Joshua, (2) Ju + Ruth, (3) Sam., (4) Kings, (5) Chron., (6) Ezra + Neh., (7) Esther, (8) Job, (9) Isaiah, (10) Jeremiah + Lam., (11) Ezekiel, (12) Minor Prophets, (13) Daniel."[31] Josephus's third category contains "four books [that] contain hymns to God and precepts for the conduct of human life."[32] These four books are probably: "(1) Psalms, (2) Song of Songs, (3) Proverbs, (4) Ecclesiastes."[33] Josephus's categorization accounts for all thirty-nine canonical books of the OT.

Resurrection and Afterlife

Jesus and the Pharisees agreed on a bodily resurrection at the end of the world. A general description of resurrection reveals:

> Resurrection of the body was the form immortality took, in accord with the religious premises. As the saint was to find his happiness in the nation, he must be restored to the nation; and the older views did not point toward pure soul-immortality. The "shades" led a wretched existence at the best; and Paul himself shudders at the thought of "nakedness" (2 Cor. 5:3). The nephesh and Heb: ruah were uncertain quantities, and even the NT has no consistent terminology for the immortal

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[27]Josephus, *Life* 12; quoted in E. Capps, T. E. Page, W. H. D. House, eds., *Josephus, The Life, Against Apion*, trans. H. St. J. Thackeray, Loeb Classical Library (London: William Heinemann, 1926), 7.

[28]Josephus, *Apion* 1.39; quoted in Capps, et. al., *Josephus, Life, Apion*, 179.

[29]Ibid., 1.39-40; quoted in Capps, et. al., *Josephus, Life, Apion*, 179.

[30]Ibid., 1.40; quoted in Capps, et. al., *Josephus, Life, Apion*, 179.

[31]Capps, et. al., *Josephus, Life, Apion*, 179, n. b.

[32]Ibid., 1.40; quoted in Capps, et. al., *Josephus, Life, Apion*, 179.

[33]Capps, et. al., *Josephus, Life, Apion*, 179, n. c.

part of man ("soul," Rev. 6:9; 20:4; "spirit," Heb. 12:23; 1 Pet. 3:19; Paul avoids any term in 1 Cor. 15, and in 2 Cor. 5 says: "I"). In the Talmud a common view is that the old bodies will receive new souls (Ber. R. 2 7; 6 7; Vayy. R. 12 2; 15 1, etc.; compare Sib Or 4:187).[34]

Moore asserted that "the resurrection of the dead was a party issue between the Pharisees and the Sadducees."[35] The Sadducees did not accept the idea of the resurrection of the dead (μὴ εἶναι ἀνάστασιν), for it was not stated in the Pentateuch. Instead, they held to annihilationism. Acts 23:8 confirms the Sadducees' view: "For the Sadducees say that there is no resurrection" (see Matt. 22:23; Mark 12:18; Luke 20:27).[36] Moore held, "The Pharisees made dogma of the resurrection of the dead, and thus the Sadducees became heretics: the Israelite who denies that the resurrection is revealed in the Torah has no lot in the World to Come."[37] Though "only the Sadducees denied the resurrection, . . . Hellenistic Judaism substituted for it the immortality of the soul."[38] The concept of immortality of the soul was not foreign in apocryphal literature, as seen in Wisdom 6:17-19 (RSV): "The beginning of wisdom is the most sincere desire for instruction, and concern for instruction is love of her, and love of her is the keeping of her laws, and giving heed to her laws is assurance of immortality, and immortality brings one near to God" (cf. Wisdom 3:1-9; 4:7; 5:15f., RSV). Josephus stated that the Essenes "regard the soul as immortal."[39] Josephus further identified immortality from the perspective that the soul "suffers both when being implanted in bodies, and again when severed from them by death."[40] Based on Josephus's statement, the Essenes' concept of a bodily resurrection differed from that of Jesus and the Pharisees, in that it had more to do with that of Hellenistic Judaism's view of immortality of the soul.

Judgment Day

Both Jesus and the Pharisees held to a judgment day for both good and evil people. According

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[34]Burton Scott Easton, "Resurrection," *ISBE*, vol. 4, ed. James Orr (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1949), 2563. See "Bodily Resurrection": "Pharisees belief": "Acts 23:6-8"; "Jesus' teachings": Matt. 22:28-31; Mark 12:23-25; Luke 14:14; 20:33-36; John 5:29; 11:24-25; 1 Pet. 1:3; 3:21; "Jesus' resurrection": Matt. 27:53; Acts 1:22; 2:31; 4:2, 33; 17:18; Rom. 1:4; 6:5; 1 Cor. 15:12-13; Phil 3:10; "General Teaching on Resurrection": Acts 17:32; 24:15-21; 1 Cor. 15:21; 2 Tim. 2:18; Heb. 6:2; 11:35; Rev. 20:5-6.

[35]Moore, 2.317.

[36]Cf. Josephus, *Ant* 18.16; *War* 2.165.

[37]Moore, 1.86.

[38]Emil Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People*, vol. 2 (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1979), 540.

[39]Josephus, *Ant* 18.18; quoted in Goold, *Jewish Antiquities: Book XVIII-XIX*, 21.

[40]Idem, *Apion* 2.203; quoted in Capps, et. al., *Josephus, Life, Apion*, 375.

to Josephus, "They believe that souls have power to survive death and that there are rewards and punishments under the earth for those who have led lives of virtue or vice: eternal imprisonment is the lot of evil souls, while the good souls receive an easy passage to a new life."[41]

The Sadducees had no system or theology of eschatology, which coincided with their lack of a theology of the resurrection (see above the section on the resurrection). Josephus stated, "The Sadducees hold that the soul perishes along with the body."[42] Moore confirmed, "The Sadducees found nothing in the Scriptures, as they read them in their plain sense, about the resurrection of the dead; . . . [therefore, they did not hold to] retribution after death."[43] Shürer added, "They [the Sadducees] deny the continued existence of the soul and the punishments and rewards in the underworld."[44]

Based on the concept of judgment for good and evil, the Essenes believed "that they ought to strive especially to draw near to righteousness."[45] According to Schürer, "To the good (souls), a life is destined beyond the ocean where they will be troubled by neither rain nor snow nor heat, but where a gentle zephyr will constantly blow. But to the wicked (souls), a darker and colder corner is allotted, full of unceasing torment."[46]

Angels

Both Jesus and the Pharisees held to a developed system of angels. According to John MaCartney Wilson:

Everywhere in the Old Testament the existence of angels is assumed. The creation of angels is referred to in Ps. 148:2, 5 (compare Col. 1:16). They were present at the creation of the world, and were so filled with wonder and gladness that they "shouted for joy" (Job 38:7). Of their nature we are told nothing. In general they are simply regarded as embodiments of their mission. Though presumably the holiest of created beings, they are charged by God with folly (Job 4:18), and we are told that He "puts no trust in his holy ones" (Job 15:15).[47]

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[41]Josephus, *Ant* 18.14; quoted in Goold, *Jewish Antiquities: Book XVIII-XIX*, 13.

[42]Ibid., 18.16; quoted in Goold, *Jewish Antiquities: Book XVIII-XIX*, 13.

[43]Moore, 1.68.

[44]Schürer, 391.

[45]Josephus, *Ant* 18.18; quoted in Goold, *Jewish Antiquities: Book XVIII-XIX*, 15.

[46]Schürer, 574; cf. 1QS 3:13-4:26; 1QH 1:21f.

[47]John MaCartney Wilson, "Angel," *ISBE*, vol. 1, ed. Geoffrey W. Bromiley (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans,

The Sadducees, whose canon of Scripture was the Pentateuch, had no system or theology of angels (see Acts 23:8). This was in contradiction to the thirty-two references to angels in the Pentateuch.) According to Moore:

> That they consistently rationalized the biblical appearance of angels into men acting as the messengers of God is unlikely; but it in accord with their whole attitude that they should repudiate as vulgar superstition the exuberant angelology and demonology which flourished in that age and was cultivated in apocalyptic circles. With it would fall the belief in the individual guardian angel (Acts 12, 15; Matt. 18, 10) as well as in ghosts, the spirits of dead men (Luke 24, 37, 39).[48]

The Essenes attached a great emphasis on angelology in their doctrine. According to Josephus, the Essene "swears, moreover, to transmit their rules exactly as he himself received them: to abstain from robbery; and in like manner carefully to preserve the books of the sect and the names of angels. Such are the oaths by which they secure their proselytes."[49]

Centers of Worship

Jesus' and Pharisaic worship centered in the synagogue, though participation in various temple festivals was required of all Jews. The synagogue was where the law was taught. The synagogue was an institution made up primarily of lower to middle class people. According to Paul Levertoff:

> Synagogue, . . . was the name applied to the Jewish place of worship in later Judaism in and outside of Palestine Grk: Proseuchē, "a place of prayer" (Acts 16:13), was probably more of the nature of an enclosure, marking off the sacred spot from the profane foot, than of a roofed building like a synagogue. Grk: Sabbateíon in Ant, XV, i, 6, 2, most probably also meant synagogue. In the Mishna we find for synagogue

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1988), 124. (See "Pharisees belief": "Acts 23:8-9"; "Jesus' reference to and teachings on": Matt. 13:39, 41, 49; 16:27; 18:10; 22:30-31, 36; 25:31, 41; 26:53; Mark 8:38; 12:25; 13:27, 32; Luke 9:26; 12:8-9; 15:10; 16:22; 20:36; John 1:51; "General references": Gen. 16:7, 9-11; 19:1, 15; 21;17; 22:11, 15; 24:7, 40; 28:12; 31:11; 32:1; 48:16; Exod. 3:2; 14:19; 22:22-27, 31-32, 34-35; 23:20, 23; 32:34; 33:2; 20:16; Judg. 2:1, 4; 5:23; 6:11-12, 20-22; 13:3, 6, 9, 13, 15-18; 20-21; 1 Sam. 29:9; 2 Sam. 14:17, 20, 19:27; 24:6-7; 1 Kings 13:18; 19:5, 7; 2 Kings 1:3, 15; 19:35; 1 Chron. 21:12, 15-16, 18, 20, 27, 30; 32:21; Job 4:18; 33:23; Pss. 34:7; 35:5-6; 78:25, 49; 91:11; 103:20; 148:2; Isa. 37:36; 63:9; Dan. 3:28; 4:13, 17, 23; 6:22; Hosea 12:4; Zech 1:9, 11-14, 19; 2:3; 3:1, 3, 5-6; 4:1, 4-5; 5:5, 10; 6:4-5; 12:8; Matt. 1:20, 24; 2:13, 19; 28:2, 5; Mark 1:13; Luke 1:11, 13, 18-19, 26, 30, 34-35, 38; 2:9-10, 13, 15, 21; 22:43; 23:24; John 5:4; 12:29; 20:12; Acts 5:19; 6:15; 7:30, 35, 38, 53; 8:26; 10:3, 7, 22; 11:13; 12:7-11, 23; 27:23; Rom. 8:38; 1 Cor. 4:9; 6:3; 11:10; 13:1; 2 Cor. 11:14; Gal. 1:8; 3:10; 4:14; Col. 2:18; 2 Thess. 1:7; 1 Tim. 3:16; 5:21; Heb. 1:4-7, 13; 2:2, 5, 7, 9, 16; 12:22; 13:2; 1 Pet. 1:12; 3:22; 2 Pet. 2:4, 10-11; Jude 6, 8; Rev. 1:1, 20; 2:1, 8. 12, 18, 3:1, 5, 7, 14; 5:2, 11; 7:1-2, 11; 8:2-3-6, 8, 10, 12, 13; 9:1, 11, 13-15; 10:1, 5, 7-10; 11:15; 12:7, 9; 14:6, 8-10, 15, 17-19; 16:1-8, 10, 12, 17; 17:1, 7; 18:1, 21; 19:17; 20:1; 21:9, 12, 17; 22:2, 8, 16; "Satanic Acknowledgment": Matt. 4:6, 11; Luke 4:10).

[48]Moore, 1.68.

[49]Josephus, *War* 2.142; quoted in E. Capps, T. E. Page, W. H. D. House, eds., *Josephus, The Jewish War, Book XVIII-XIX*, trans. H. St. J. Thackeray, Loeb Classical Library (London: William Heinemann, 1927), 377.

Heb: beth ha-keneceth, in the Targums and Talmud Heb: bē-hakenīshtā, or simply Heb: kenīshtā. The oldest Christian meetings and meeting-places were modeled on the pattern of the synagogues, and, in Christian-Palestinian Aramaic the word Heb: kenīshtā is used for the Christian church.[50]

The temple was the center of the Sadducees' activities (worship, banking, and commerce). Though the Essenes did "send votive offerings to the temple, . . . [they] perform[ed] their sacrifices employing a different ritual of purification. For this reason they [we]re barred from those precincts of the temple."[51]

Messianic Hope

Moore confirmed that "the 'name of the Messiah' was in the mind of God before the creation of the world, but He had not revealed it [Gen. 49:10; Ps. 72:17; Jer. 16:13]."[52] He continued, "There is no trace in the Tannaite sources of any idea that the Messiah himself was an antemundane creation, or that he was regarded otherwise than as a man of human kind."[53] J. Jocz stated: "The Messianic hope was born from the recognition that no human king is able to fulfill the high ideal [that Israel's kings were to be shepherds of their people and to act in God's stead]. The ideal king must be more than an ordinary mortal"[54] (see 1 Sam. 7:1-17). Schurer offered a broad perspective of Messianic hope among the Jewish people:

> Pre-Christian Judaism—in so far as its messianic expectations can be conclusively documented— regarded the Messiah as a fully human individual, a royal figure descended from the house of David. This is no less true of the priestly Messiah expected, along with the royal Messiah or Prince of the Congregation, by the Qumran sect, as well as of the other messianic figure of the Prophet.[55]

From an eschatological perspective, there cannot be a Messianic kingdom without a Messianic

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[50]Paul Levertoff, "Synagogue," *ISBE*, vol. 5, ed. James Orr (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1949), 2877-8. (See "Jesus' References and Presence": Matt. 4:23; 9:35; 12:9; 13:54; 23:1-6; Mark 1:21-29, 39; 3:1; 6:2; 12:38-44; 13:9; Luke 4:15-28; 4:33-38, 44; 6:6; 11:43; 12:11; 13:10; 20:46-47; 21:12; John 6:59; 18:20; 12:38-44; "Pharisaical References": Matt. 6:2, 5; 23:1-6; Mark 5:22; 5:35-38; 12:38-44; Luke 8:41-49; 11:43; 13:14; 20:46-47; John 9:18-23; 12:42; 16:2; "General References": Matt. 9:8; 10:17; 23:34; Luke 7:5; Acts 6:9; 9:2, 20; 13:5, 14-15, 43; 14:1; 17:1, 10, 17; 15:21; 18:4-8, 17-19, 26; 19:8; 22:19; 24:12; 26:11; Rev. 2:9; 3:9.)

[51]Josephus, *Ant* 18.18-9; quoted in Goold, *Jewish Antiquities: Book XVIII-XIX*, 17.

[52]Moore, vol. 2, and 3.348.

[53]Ibid., 3.349.

[54]J. Jocz, "Messiah," *ZPEB*, vol. 4, ed. Merrill C. Tenney (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1976), 200.

[55]Schürer, 518-9.

King. With King David, "history and eschatology bec[a]me strangely intertwined; the Messiah's pedigree goes back to the promise to David."[56]

Pharisaical Judaism held that Messiah would be kingly (as David). Jesus reflected the terminology of a kingly Messiah in His teachings.[57] Luke 19:38 refers to an eschatological reference to "the King who comes in the name of the Lord." Luke 23:2 offers the "assembly" (Sanhedrin's) charge that Jesus "saying that He Himself is Christ, a King." Mark 15:2, 9, 12; Luke 23:3, and John 18:33, 37 record Pilate's questions to Jesus with reference to Jesus as "King of Israel." John 18:39 offers Pilate's question, "You have a custom that I should release one prisoner to you at the Passover. So, do you want me to release to you the King of the Jews?" John 19:12 has the crowd's response to Pilate's question and their disdain for Jesus, "If you release this man, you are not Caesar's friend. Anyone who makes himself a king opposes Caesar!" Matt. 27:29, Mark 15:18, and John 19:3 are accounts of a sarcastic remark by the Roman soldiers hailing Jesus as "King." John 19:19 describes the inscription on a plaque placed on the cross, "THE KING OF THE JEWS" (see Mark 15:26 and Luke 23:38). John 19:21 offers the crowd's response to Pilate's inscription, "Don't write, 'The King of the Jews,' but that He said, 'I am the King of the Jews.' " Mark 15:32 is an account of a sarcastic remark by the chief priests, scribes, and elders, "Let the Messiah the King of Israel, come down now from the cross, so that we may see and believe" (see Matt 27:37, 42 and Luke 23:37).

Messianic hope was common among most Jewish sects "and was present far beyond the boundaries of that sect. Rare was the Jew who was not grasped to some extent by this hope. With the possible exception of the Sadducees, it was the common possession of all Israel."[58] Since the Sadducees have no eschatology, this would eliminate the concept of a Messianic king. Furthermore, the concept of a Messianic king would violate their political status quo mentality.

Some scholars maintained that the Essenes held to a diarchy of Messiahs based on the concept of a prophet/priestly Messiah and a royal/kingly Messiah.[59] Stephen R. Miller correctly stated,

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[56]Ibid.; cf. Isa. 11:10; Jer. 23:5; 33:15; Zech. 3:8; 6:12.

[57]See Matt. 2:2; 21:5; 27:11; Luke 22:30; 24:21; John 1:49; 6:15; 12:13, 15.

[58]Marcel Simeon, *Jewish Sects at the Time of Jesus*, trans. James E. Farley (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1980), 42-3.

[59]Cf. Ralph P. Martin, "Messiah," *Holman Illustrated Bible Dictionary*, ed. Chad Brand, Charles Draper, and Archie England (Nashville: Holman, 2003), 1115; R. Dennis Cole and E. Ray Clendenen, "Dead Sea Scrolls," *HIBD*, 404, 347; Chris Church, "Religious Background of the New Testament," in *Foundations for Biblical Interpretation: A Complete Library of Tools and Exegesis*, ed David S. Dockery, Kenneth A. Matthews, and Robert S. Sloan (Nashville: B&H, 1994), 511; James C. VanderKam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994), 92, 106; and Philip R. Davies, "Judaisms in the Dead Sea Scrolls: The Case of the Messiah," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls in their Historical Context*, ed. Timothy H. Lim, Larry W. Hurtado, A. Graeme Auld, and Alison Jack (New York: T & T Clark, 2000), 220.

"The two Messiah theory . . . explained how Messiah could perform both roles of priest and king."[60] Evidence from Qumran include: the royal/kingly Messiah concept (4Q161 7-10; 4Q174 1-3.i.11; 4Q246; 4Q252 1.v.3-4; 4Q285 5.3,4; 4Q521) and the prophet/priestly Messiah concept (1QM; 1Q28a ii.20-21; 4Q254 4.2; 4Q375 1.i.9; 4Q376 1.i.1; 11Q13). According to Craig A. Evans,

> the story of the simultaneous anointing of Solomon, the son of David, and of Zadok the high priest (1 Chr. 29.22), combined with Zechariah's vision of the two "sons of oil" (Zec. 4.14; cf. 4Q254 4.2), that is, the priest and the political ruler (cf. Zec. 3-4), probably informed the Damascus Document's expectation of the eventual appearance of the anointed of Aaron and of Israel (see also 1 Sm. 2:35).[61]

1QS ix.11; 1QS 9:11; 1QSa 2:14, 20; CD 20:1; 4QPBless 2:4; 4QFlor 1:11-13; 4Q285 5.1-6 offered strong evidence of the separate royal and priestly Messiahs as held by the Essenes. According to Pheme Perkins, "Parallels between the conduct of the 'messianic meal' eaten by the community with the 'messiahs' (1QSa 2:11-22), and the meal celebrated by the sect (1QS 6:4) suggest that what is said of the future 'messiahs' can also be experienced as part of the daily life of the community."[62] Likewise, the Babylonian Talmud referred to a diarchy of Messiahs: "When [the Messiah, of David] sees the Messiah, son of Joseph, killed, he will say before [God], 'Lord of the Age, I ask of you only life'"[63] (cf. 4 Ezra 7:28-29 and Targum Pseudo-Jonathan to Exod. 40:11.)

Though Jesus' view of His Messiahship was based on the concept of a spiritual kingdom and a sacrifice, the apostolic church presented the concept of His Messiahship based on "(1) the truth of Christ's Divine Sonship [and] (2). . . the truth of His Messiah-ship, or of His being the anointed prophet, priest and king of the new age."[64] The Gospels include

> episodes in which Jesus arouses expectations that he is to be identified with a future 'deliverer'

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[60]Stephen R. Miller, *Nahum-Malachi* in *Holman Old Testament Commentary*, ed. Max Anders (Nashville: B&H, 2004), 213. Cf. Eugene H. Merrill, *An Exegetical Commentary - Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi; Minor Prophets Exegetical Commentary Series: Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi* (Richardson, TX: Biblical Studies, 2003), 171 and K. L. Barker, "Zechariah," in *The Expositor's Bible Commentary, Daniel and the Minor Prophets*, vol. 7, ed. F. E. Gaebelein (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1986), 639.

[61]Craig A. Evans, "Messiahs," the *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, vol. 1, ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman and James C. VanderKam (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 539.

[62]Pheme Perkins, "Messiah," *Harper's Bible Dictionary*, ed. Paul J. Achtemeier (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1985), 630.

[63]*The Talmud of Babylon*, Sukkah 52a.

[64]James Orr, "Jesus Christ," *ISBE*, vol. 3, ed. James Orr (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1957), 1648.

of the people are the entry into Jerusalem (Mark 11:1-10 and parallels) and the cleansing of the Temple (Mark 11:15-19 and parallels). In the Gospel tradition both episodes have been explicated as the fulfillment of prophecies (cf. Matt. 21:4; John 12:15-16; Matt. 21:10-17; John 2:13-22). Matt. 21:10-11 links the two episodes with the crowd's identification of Jesus as 'the prophet from Galilee.' Such 'prophetic' actions may have provided the foundation for some to refer to Jesus as 'anointed of God' without presuming that Jesus, himself, sought a political revolution in which he would be established as the 'anointed' Davidic 'king of Israel.'[65]

Likewise, Hebrews presents Jesus as the Christian's High Priest (cf., Heb. 3:1; 4:14-15; 5:5, 10; 6:20; 7:26-28; 8:1, 3; 9:7, 11, 25; 12:24).

Fate/Providence

Messianic expectation dominated the life and literature of most Jewish people, with the exception of the Sadducees as discussed above. Throughout Jewish literature, in particular the OT, the Jewish people considered themselves as the chosen people of God (2 Chron. 7:16; 33:7; Isa. 43:20; 44:1; 45:4; Amos 3:2). Within the framework of Jewish identity as "chosen of God," the concept of fate/providence and its responsibility was considered in diverse ways among the three major Jewish sects.

Jesus, as did the Pharisees, placed some emphasis on the importance of the individual with relation to divine providence (Matt. 6:25-34; 10:29-31). Concerning Matt. 11:20-30, Craig Blomberg stated: "The language of these verses . . . is incontrovertibly predestinarian in nature, but the language of free will appears equally in vv. 20-24, in which people are judged for their rejection of Jesus, and in vv. 28-30, in which Jesus offers salvation to those whom will respond more positively."[66] Some OT passages reflect the themes of providence and human responsibility (see Gen 50:19-20; Lev 20:7-8; Jer. 29:10-14; Joel 2:32).

Of the sources listed in section one of this paper, Josephus offered the best evaluation of the three major Jewish sects' views concerning fate/providence and free will. According to Josephus, "the Pharisees, who are considered the most accurate interpreters of the laws, and hold the position of the leading sect, attribute everything to Fate and to God; they hold that to act rightly or otherwise rests, indeed for the most part with men, but that in each action Fate co-operates."[67] Josephus added that the Pharisees "postulate that everything is brought about by fate, still they do not deprive the human will of the pursuit of what is man's power, since it was God's good pleasure that there should be a fusion and that the will of men with his virtue and vice should be

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[65]Perkins, "Messiah," 631.

[66]Craig L. Blomberg, *Matthew, The New American Commentary*, vol. 22, ed David S. Dockery (Nashville: B&H, 1992), 192-3.

[67]Josephus, *War* 2.162-3; quoted in Capps, et. al., *Jewish War*, 385.

admitted to the council chamber of fate."[68]

The Essenes and the Sadducees held diametrically opposed positions with regard to the concept of fate/providence. The Essenes held "that Fate is mistress of all things, and that nothing befalls men unless it be in accordance with her decree."[69] On the other hand, Josephus declared, "The Sadducees . . . do away with Fate altogether, and remove God beyond, not merely the commission, but the very sight of evil."[70]

The survey of select doctrines of Judaism revealed Jesus' affinity with the Pharisaical views on these issues. The fact remains, Jesus was probably an am ha arets. As did the Pharisees, the am ha arets worshipped in the synagogue. The am ha arets were the common and unlearned people of the land. They were decent people and were not concerned with legalism, for they were more concerned with issues of daily life, such as death, disease, paying taxes, and making a living. They respected religious leaders, especially the Pharisees.

Though Jesus agreed with the Pharisees on the above stated doctrinal issues, the Pharisees' viewed Jesus, one of the am ha arets, with great suspicion.

Contrast between Jesus and Parisaical Judaism

Thomson argued, the Pharisees "seem to have regarded it as possible that He [Jesus] might unite Himself with them, although, as we think, His affinities rather lay with the Essenes."[71] Thomson's view that Jesus had closer affinities with the Essenes is in error, for section three of this article refuted this point and drew the conclusion that Jesus and the Pharisees were closer in their theological positions than any other Jewish groups. The division between Jesus and the Pharisees was more pragmatic than theological.

Jack Dean Kingsbury contended that the religious authorities, primarily the Pharisees, "continued to respect Jesus as a teacher and accepted him as their social equal."[72] Kingsbury's point is not valid, for Jesus was not a trained rabbi; therefore, the Pharisees along with others questioned His right to teach and to have the following that He had: "When He entered the temple complex, the chief priests and the elders of the people came up to Him as He was teaching and said, 'By what authority are You doing these things? Who gave You this authority?'"

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[68]Josephus, *Ant* 18.13; quoted in Goold, *Jewish Antiquities: Book XVIII-XIX*, 11-13. Cf. Idem, *Ant* 13.172.

[69]Josephus, *Ant* 13.171; quoted in G. P. Goold, ed., *Josephus, Jewish Antiquities: Book XII-XIII*, Loeb Classical Library 365, trans. Ralph Marcus (London: Harvard University Press, 1943), 313.

[70]Josephus, *War* 2.164-5; quoted in Capps, et. al., *Jewish War*, 387.

[71]Thomson, "Pharisees," 2365.

[72]Jack Dean Kingsbury, *Conflict in Luke: Jesus, Authorities, Disciples* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991), 91.

(Matt. 21:23; cf. Mark 1:22, 27; 11:28; Luke 4:32; 20:2).[73] Though the Pharisees may have had a suspicious attitude toward Jesus, as they had with John the Baptist (Matt. 3:1-12; 21:23-27; Mark 11:27-33; Luke 3:2-20; 7:30; 20:1-6; John 1:19-24; 4:1; 5:33), they could not do anything to Him simply because He taught the crowds and had a following. The Pharisees, therefore, sent representatives to watch His actions, to hear His sayings, and to report back to them (Mark 3:2; Luke 6:7; 14:1; 20:20; John 4:1; 7:32; 11:46, 57).

Jesus denounced the Pharisees more than any other class of people (Matt. 5:20; 12:38-39; 15:1-12; 16:6-12; 19:3-10; 21:45; 23:2-7; 23:13-17, 23-29; Mark 8:15; Luke 11:42-43; 12:1; John 9:40-41). This is ironic since the teachings of Jesus and the Pharisees had strong external resemblances. Yet it was these external resemblances, united with an intense spiritual difference, which made it necessary for Jesus to differentiate Himself from them. Pharisaic righteousness was an external concept, for it rested in meats and drinks, and a variety of washings, in tithing "of mint, dill, and cumin" (Matt. 23:23). Gradually the Pharisees intensified in their criticism of Jesus because He disregarded their interpretations of the Law, external purity, traditions, hypocrisy, and their arrogance.

Their Scrupulosity

One of the ways in which the ceremonial sanctity of the Pharisees was exhibited was in tithes and offerings, hence the reference to their tithing "mint, dill, and cumin" (Matt. 23:23; Mark 12:33; Luke 2:24; 11:42; 18:12; 21:1-4). According to Blomberg, "Tithing was commanded under the Old Testament. So as long as the age of the law remained in force, God's faithful had to tithe."[74] Furthermore, the Pharisees elevated almsgiving to an equivalence of righteousness. Jesus criticized this concept which gave poor people little hope of attaining righteousness:

> Be careful not to practice your righteousness in front of people, to be seen by them. Otherwise, you will have no reward from your Father in heaven. So whenever you give to the poor, don't sound a trumpet before you, as the hypocrites do in the synagogues and on the streets, to be applauded by people. I assure you: They've got their reward! But when you give to the poor, don't let your left hand know what your right hand is doing, so that your giving may be in secret. And your Father who sees in secret will reward you." (Matt. 6:1-4).

In the parable of the Pharisee and the Tax Collector (Luke 18:9-14), one of the things that the Pharisee prided himself in is that he gave tithes of all he possessed: "I fast twice a week; I give a tenth of everything I get" (Luke18:12). The Pharisee is an example of the arrogance of those who trusted in themselves that they were righteous and set all others at naught; whereas, "But the tax collector, standing far off, would not even raise his eyes to heaven but kept striking his chest

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[73]These references of authority do not include the Gospel writers' statements about Jesus' authority from a perspective of His divinity.

[74]Blomberg, *Matthew*, 32. This author does not use this as an excuse to refrain from tithing.

and saying, 'God, turn Your wrath from me—a sinner!'" (Luke 18:13). Pharisees "love the place of honor at banquets, the front seats in the synagogues, greetings in the marketplaces, and to be called Rabbi" by people (Matt. 23:6-7) was evidence of the same spirit.

Pharisaical Legalism and External Purity

Moo confirmed, "Jesus' stance on the Law and his disputes with his Jewish contemporaries about this stance, are so integral to his mission and message that none of the Evangelists can avoid the topic; [however,] . . . Matthew shows more interest in Jesus and the Law than do the other Evangelists."[75] One of the major characteristics of the Pharisees was "they maintained a punctilious legalism, while in doctrinal matters [as seen above] they had a quite open and receptive spirit."[76] Simeon added, "Pharisees of all stripes were linked by their conception of a religion more concerned with practice than with pure theological speculation, and by an equal respect for the doctor of the law, the expounder of the Torah and the medium of the transmission of tradition."[77]

There existed an arrogance on the part of some of the Pharisees that must have been galling to those who, though Jews as much as the Pharisees, were not considered ritually pure like them. The Mishnah prohibited the Pharisee from activities that would cause ritual impurity. Pharisees were prohibited from eating at the table of a man whose wife was of the `am ha-'arets, though her husband might be a Pharisee or receive the `am ha-'arets as a guest.[78] It is amazing to ponder, if it was taboo for one Pharisee to eat with a man whose wife was of the `am ha-'arets, why would it be acceptable for a Pharisee to marry or to host one? According to Dema 3.3, "He that undertakes to be an Associate may not sale to an Am-haaretz [foodstuff that is] wet [susceptible to uncleanness] or dry, or buy from him [foodstuff that is] wet."[79] Tohoroth 7:2, in a section describing "clean and unclean" added, "But the Sages say: Only that part is unclean which they [`am ha-'arets] touch by stretching out his hand."[80] If a woman of the `am ha-'arets was left alone in a room, all that she could touch without moving from her place was unclean. Though the Mishnah was compiled in the early AD second century, one must assume that it does include traditions that were common in Jesus' day (see the next section).

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[75]Moo, "Law," 458.

[76]Simeon, 28.

[77]Ibid., 41.

[78]Mishnah, Dema 2.3, 2.3, n. 2, 3.

[79]Ibid., Dema 2.3.

[80]Ibid., Tohoroth 7:2.

The Gospels list examples where "tax collectors" (considered as guilty of treason against the Jews) and "sinners" (legalistic and ritually impure people) invited Jesus to their tables, which was going far beyond the part of a Pharisee toward one not a Hebrew: "Why do you eat and drink with the tax collectors and sinners?" (Luke 5:30; cf. Matt. 9:11-14; Mark 2:16-18; Luke 5:30-33; 15:2). Another example of Pharisaical ritual purity lies in Matt 15:2, "Why do Your disciples break the tradition of the elders? For they don't wash their hands when they eat!" (cf. Matt. 15:1-8; Mark 7:1-6). Luke 11:39 also adds an account of ritual purity and legalism as practiced by the Pharisees, "Now you Pharisees clean the outside of the cup and dish, but inside you are full of greed and evil" (see Luke 11:39-41). As evidenced in Mark 2:27, to Jesus, human need took priority over a legalistic observance of the Sabbath: "The Sabbath was made for man and not man for the Sabbath."

Other issues that the Gospels discuss are Sabbath laws. According to Mark 2:23-24 Jesus and His disciples "[were] going through the grainfields, and His disciples began to make their way picking some heads of grain. The Pharisees said to Him, 'Look, why are they doing what is not lawful on the Sabbath?'" (cf. Matt. 12:1-5; Mark 2:23-27; Luke 6:2-5). In Luke 14:3 the Pharisees asked Jesus, "Is it lawful to heal on the Sabbath or not?" (cf. Luke 14:1-4).

On a few occasions in the Gospels, some of the Pharisees asked Jesus about the consequences of breaking select laws: whether it was lawful for a man to divorce a wife (Matt. 19:3-10; Mark 10:2-9) or the question concerning the fate of the woman caught in adultery (John 8:1-11). In Matt. 22:36 the lawyer asked Jesus, "Teacher, which commandment in the law is the greatest?" Matt. 5:18-19 notes Jesus' endorsement of the Law: "For I assure you: Until heaven and earth pass away, not the smallest letter or one stroke of a letter will pass from the law until all things are accomplished. Therefore, whoever breaks one of the least of these commandments and teaches people to do so will be called least in the kingdom of heaven. But whoever practices and teaches these commandments will be called great in the kingdom of heaven" (cf. Matt. 5:23-24; 6:1-4, 16-18; 8:4; 19:17; 23:23; Mark 1:44; Luke 5:14).

Jesus was not concerned about what was clean or unclean ritually; however, He was concerned about the spiritual condition of people's hearts. Nowhere do the Gospels portray Jesus ignoring the consequences of breaking the Law; however, Jesus' emphasis on the Law is within the context of people needing a remedy for the sins they commit. D. A. Hagner was correct in his assessment, "That even if they [the Pharisees or anyone else] had accomplished what they theoretically set out to do in successfully living according to a reformed oral tradition, they had no claim upon God."[81] Luke 17:10 concurs with the point: "In the same way, when you have done all that you were commanded, you should say, 'We are good-for-nothing slaves; we've only done our duty.'"

Moo argued, "There is a strong emphasis on love or concern for others as the embodiment

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[81]D. A. Hagner, "Pharisees," *ZPEB*, vol. 4, ed. Merrill C. Tenney (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1976), 751.

of the Law ([Matt.] 7:12; 22:40)."[82] The purpose of the Law, as Jesus taught it, was to point to humanity's shortcomings; whereas, the Pharisees used the Law to point to their righteousness as compared to the unrighteousness of other people. Hagner added, "Merit before God on the basis of righteous works is a non-entity, and thus the whole Pharisaic outlook was vitiated by this basic deception"[83] (see Rom. 5:12-21). Moo correctly assessed, "The relationship of the Law to Jesus, . . . is, then, only one segment of his salvation-historical promise-fulfillment scheme. Through it . . . [is the] stress on the continuity of the Law—for the Law looks ahead to, and is incorporated into, the teachings of Jesus—and on its discontinuity—for Jesus, not the Law is now the locus of God's word to his people."[84]

Tradition

Jesus also criticized the Pharisees concerning the traditions they added to the Law. Isa. 29:13 makes reference to such traditions: "The Lord said: Because these people approach Me with their mouths to honor Me with lip-service—yet their hearts are far from Me, and their worship consists of man-made rules learned by rote." Blomberg confirmed: "The Scribes and Pharisees were religious authorities, but their right to speak was always based on their ability to quote Scripture or subsequent Jewish teachers and tradition. Strikingly, Jesus quotes Scripture in his sermon only to reinterpret it, he cites no human authorities or tradition."[85]

Though the Gospels refer to the existence of these traditions, only select references are offered in the Gospels that enable the reader to grasp their nature and extent (see Matt. 15:2-6; Mark 7:5-13). Thomson concluded, "The evangelists only recorded these traditional glosses when they conflicted with the teaching of Christ and were therefore denounced by Him."[86]

Several of these oral traditions are found in the Mishnah. The Pharisaic basis of tradition is found in Pirke Abhoth, "Moses received the Law from Sinai and committed it to Joshua, and Joshua to the elders, and the elders to the Prophets; and the Prophets committed it to the men of the Great Synagogue."[87] Additions to these traditions were made by prophets by direct inspiration, according to the Pharisaical theory, or by interpretation of the words of the written Law.

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[82]Moo, "Law," 459.

[83]Hagner, "Pharisees," 751.

[84]Moo, "Law," 459.

[85]Blomberg, *Matthew*, 134.

[86]Thomson, "Pharisees," 2363.

[87]The Mishnah, trans. Jacob Neusner (London: Yale University Press, 1988), Abhoth 1:1.

The great error of Pharisaism was that it viewed sin as purely external. An act was considered as right or wrong, based on some external condition was present or absent. An example is found with regard to almsgiving on the Sabbath:

> [If on the Sabbath] the beggar stands outside and the householder inside, [and] the beggar stuck his hand inside and put [a beggar's bowl] into the hand of the householder, or if he took [something] from inside it and brought it out, the beggar is liable, the householder is exempt. [If] the householder stuck his hand outside and put [something] into the hand of the beggar, or if he took [something] from it and brought it inside, the householder is liable, and the beggar is exempt. [If] the beggar stuck his hand inside, and the householder took [something] from it, or if [the householder] put something in it and he [the beggar] removed it, both of them are exempt.[88]

These restrictions appear to have indicted the Pharisee rather than the beggar.

In some cases it appears that some of the traditions, adhered to by the Pharisees, sought to lighten the burden of Sabbath Laws. Judaism devised a tradition, erub, which is "a technical term for the joining together or fusion of portions of territories, boundaries, periods of time which serve for the preparation of the Sabbath, or Scriptural portions."[89] Arcadus Kahan specified,

> The rabbis placed no restrictions on freedom of movement within one's town, but they prohibited any walking outside the town beyond a distance of 2,000 cubits (a little more than a half mile). The boundary is known as the tehum Shabbat (Sabbath limit). It is, however, permitted to place, before the Sabbath, sufficient food for two meals at the limits of the 2,000 cubits; then, by a legal fiction known as eruv [erub], this place becomes one's "abode" for the duration of the Sabbath, so that the 2,000 cubits may then be walked from there.[90]

Another example was cited by Thomson, "A man did not break the Sabbath rest of his ass, though he rode on it, and hence did not break the Sabbath Law, but if he carried a switch with which to expedite the pace of the beast he was guilty, because he had laid a burden upon it."[91]

Hypocrisy

The Pharisees adherence to the Law and traditions caused them to have a sense of superiority over the `am ha-'arets and others who were less careful of the ceremonial precepts of the Law. This

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[88] *The Mishnah*, Shabbat 1:1.

[89] Robert Gordis, "Erub," *The Universal Jewish Encyclopedia*, vol. 4, ed. Isaac Landman (New York: KTAV, 1969), 158.

[90] Arcadus Kahan, "Sabbath," *Encyclopedia Judaica*, vol. 14, ed. Cecil Roth (Jerusalem: Encyclopedia Judaica, 1972), 566.

[91] Thomson, "Pharisees," 2363.

would include all who were not Pharisees; however, note that the Essenes may have been accepted by the Pharisees because of their more astute observance of the Law. Thomson confirmed, "Because the ideal of the Pharisees was high, and they reverenced learning and character above wealth and civil rank they had a tendency to despise those who did not agree with them."[92] Joel B. Green understood that Jesus regarded the Pharisees "as misdirected in their fundamental understanding of God's purpose and, therefore, incapable of discerning the authentic meaning of the Scriptures and, therefore, unable to present anything other than the impression of piety."[93] It is ironic that the Pharisees' power lay in the reputation of piety they had with the people (i.e., the `am ha-'arets). The popularity of the Pharisees diminished based on Jesus pronouncing them hypocrites (see Matt. 15:7; 22:18; 23:13-15; 23:23, 25, 27-29; Mark 12:15; Luke 12:1, 56; 13:15). As a result, Jesus had secured a greater popularity than the Pharisees: "However, many from the crowd believed in Him and said, 'When the Messiah comes, He won't perform more signs than this man has done, will He?' The Pharisees heard the crowd muttering these things about Him, so the chief priests and the Pharisees sent temple police to arrest Him" (John 7:31-32).

When one calls Pharisees "hypocrites," one must go back to the primary meaning of the word in that a hypocrite was essentially an actor or pretender. Based on the Gospels, Pharisaic Judaism mimicked, "Heathenism, which lay in sacrifices and ceremonies by which the gods could be bribed, or cajoled into favors, . . . [and] its worship was entirely a thing of externals, of acting, posing"[94] (see Matt. 6:7). Hypocrisy is a sin only possible in a spiritual religion, a religion in which morality and worship were closely related. Though Matthew 6 does not name the Pharisees specifically, the description seems appropriate to some (cf. Matt. 6:2, 5, 16).

Jewish literature denounced hypocrisy. Sotah 22b described a Jewish condemnation on hypocrites, which exhibited many of the same flaws as the Pharisees Jesus condemned:

> There are seven types of Pharisees: the shikmi Pharisee, the nikpi Pharisee, the kizai Pharisee, the 'pestle' Pharisee, the Pharisee [who constantly exclaims] 'What is my duty that I may perform it?', the Pharisee from love [of God] and the Pharisee from fear. The shikmi Pharisee—he is one who performs the action of Shechem. The nikpi Pharisee—he is one who knocks his feet together. The kizai Pharisee—R. Nahman b. Isaac said: He is one who makes his blood to flow against walls. The 'pestle' Pharisee—Rabbah b. Shila said: [His head] is bowed like [a pestle in] a mortar. The Pharisee [who constantly exclaims] 'What is my duty that I may perform it?'—but that is a virtue!—Nay, what he says is, 'What further duty is for me that I may perform it?' The Pharisee from love and the Pharisee from fear—Abaye and Raba said to the tanna [who was reciting this passage], Do not mention 'the Pharisee from love and the Pharisee from fear;' for Rab Judah has said in the name of

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[92]Ibid.

[93]Joel B. Green, *Luke, The New International Commentary on the New Testament*, ed. Ned B. Stonehouse, F. F. Bruce, and Gordon D. Fee (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997), 481.

[94]Ibid.

Rab: A man should always engage himself in Torah and the commandments even though it be not for their own sake, because from [engaging in them] not for their own sake, he will come [to engage in them] for their own sake. R. Nahman b. Isaac said: What is hidden is hidden, and what is revealed is revealed; the Great Tribunal will exact punishment from those who rub themselves against the walls.[95]

The fact that the Pharisees gained credit by acts they did in public, and would have lost credit with the people had they not done so, was not recognized by them as lessening the moral worth of the action. Consequently, a person did not produce any presumption in favor of his trustworthiness, by the most careful attention to the ceremonies of religion, no matter what religion he held, including Christianity. In Judaism, while "looking for the true fruits of OT piety—justice, mercy, and humility (Mic. 6:8)—Jesus found instead the worst of all sins: hypocrisy."[96]

Conclusion

If the Pharisees originally attempted to have Jesus to side with them,[97] which is questionable, it is obvious that some of them sought to destroy His teachings (Matt 7:28-29; 13:54-58; 21:23; 22:33-40; Mark 11:27-33; 12:38-40; Luke 6:6-7; 19:47; 20:1-8; 23:4-7; John 7:16-17; John 9:1-41). Likewise, if these Pharisees were seeking an alliance with Jesus, the aftermath of the raising of Lazarus would have been a perfect opportunity (see John 11). Instead, some of the Pharisees joined the Sadducees, who were theologically opposed to both the Pharisees and Jesus, to fight a common enemy (Jesus). According to Thomson, some of the Pharisees may have never given up on the hope that Jesus was the Messiah: "Even when He hung on the cross, the taunt with which they greeted Him may have had something of longing, lingering hope in it. . . . If He would only give them that sign, then they would acknowledge Him to be the Messiah."[98]

The survey of sources, in section one above, appears to place the NT and Josephus against other Jewish sources concerning reliability as well as points of views concerning the Pharisees. Hagner contended that a sense of anti-Semitism has led some to neglect rabbinical literature and ignore "that the contradiction [with the NT] might be only an apparent one and not a real one."[99] Note in section four above, the similarity of Jesus' condemnation of the Pharisees concerning their hypocrisy and the Talmud's injunctions against hypocrisy (Babylonian Talmud, Sotah 22b).

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[95]I. Epstein, *Sotah*, *Hebrew-English Edition of the Babylonian Talmud*, trans. A. Cohen (London: Soncino, 1985), 22b.

[96]Robert H. Stein, *Luke*, NAC, vol. 24, ed. David S. Dockery (Nashville: B&H, 1992), 375.

[97]Ibid.

[98]Thomson, "Pharisees," 2365.

[99]Hagner, "Pharisees," 750.

The NT confirms that not every Pharisee was like those described and condemned in Matthew 23 as hypocrites. Nicodemus is an example of what a Pharisee should have been. He sought truth and counsel with Jesus (John 3:1-18); he spoke out for justice on behalf of Jesus (John 7:50-51); and he appeared to have remained a secret follower of Jesus when Jesus' disciples had abandoned Him (John 19:38-42). The Gospels list a second Pharisee, Joseph of Arimathea, who was a member of the Sanhedrin. Joseph looked for the kingdom of God (Mark 15:43); he did not consent with the Sanhedrin plot to do away with Jesus (Luke 23:51); and he was a secret disciple who made final arrangements for the body of Jesus (John 19:38-42). Luke 13:31 states, "At that time some Pharisees came and told Him, 'Go, get out of here! Herod wants to kill You'" and other Pharisees displayed hospitality toward Jesus (See Luke 7:36; 11:37; 14:1). There may have been other Pharisees who "secretly" followed Jesus; however, the Gospels do not confirm or deny this point. Though Gamaliel was a Pharisee and a member of the Sanhedrin, he was fair minded and tolerant toward the apostles, who preached the resurrection of Jesus, when the rest of the Sanhedrin was ready to execute them (Acts 5:34-41).

One primary point that separated Jesus from the legalistic Pharisees was the issue of grace. Grace is the means of the salvation that Jesus offers to us (Eph. 2:8-9), not by works of the Law that we are unable to keep.[100] Robert H. Stein added: "There is no legalism here, for people come to salvation by grace through faith (Acts 16:31), but saving faith seeks to know how a person can live to the glory of the God who by grace has granted the sinner salvation. This knowledge is found in the commandments and regulations of Scripture. It is clear that Luke in no way disparaged the ethical teachings of the OT."[101] Nor is salvation obtained from traditions that exempt us from keeping the Law. Thomson stated it well: "With Him [Jesus] it [salvation] was the heart that must be right with God, not merely the external actions; not only the outside of the cup and platter was to be cleansed, but the inside first of all."[102]

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[100]Timothy George, *Galatians*, *NAC*, vol. 30, ed. David S. Dockery (Nashville: B&H, 1994), 252. According to George (252), "The law of Moses, which was "added" 430 years after the Abrahamic covenant, . . . [was not added] as a codicil is appended to a will in order to alter its provisions but [was] added in order to accomplish some other subordinate and supplementary purpose. This meaning is further clarified when we look at the parallel verse in Rom 5:20: 'The law was added so that the trespass might increase.' In Romans the word for 'added' (*pareisēlthen*) means literally 'came in by a side road.' The main road is the covenant of promise—inviolate, irrevocable. The law has the character of something additional, a side road intended to carry extra traffic and excess baggage and, if we may anticipate Paul's argument, designed not to lead to a separate destination but to point its travelers back to the main road."

[101]Stein, *Luke*, 79.

[102]Thomson, "Pharisees," 2365. Kingsbury concurred with Thomson, "He [Jesus] condemns them [the Pharisees] for paying diligent attention in the practice of religion to what is peripheral while disregarding what is central: Concerned to tithe the most insignificant of the garden herbs, they neglect justice and love of God (11:42). See Kingsbury, *Luke*, 92.

ROME, BIBLE TRANSLATION, AND THE OKLAHOMA CITY GREEN BIBLE COLLECTION

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Introduction

I want to begin by thanking David Green for his convictions regarding the importance of the Word of God.[1] His generosity, as well as that of the Green Foundation, corresponds with the blessed man, whose "delight *is* in the law of the Lord, and in his law doth he meditate day and night" (Psa 1:2).[2] It is with humility and respect that I offer these few words on the topic of "Rome, Bible Translation, and the Oklahoma City Green Bible Collection." This paper is meant to explain the greater historical context within which the Green Bible Collection is birthed, as well as to consider its place in ongoing scholastic inquiry. Its value is deeply appreciated.

In his 1979 Apostolic address, "Mexico Ever Faithful," Pope John Paul II explained that the Second Vatican Council (1962-1965) did not change the "essence" of the Roman Catholic Church:

> The Second Vatican Council wished to be, above all, a council on the Church. Take in your hands the documents of the Council, especially 'Lumen Gentium,' study them with loving attention, with the spirit of prayer, to discover what the Spirit wished to say about the Church. In this way you will be able to realize that there is not—as some people claim—a 'new church,' different or opposed to the 'old church,' but that the Council wished to reveal more clearly the one Church of Jesus Christ, with new aspects, but still the same in its essence.[3]

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[1]"The Green family, owners of the Hobby Lobby Empire have created the world's largest private collection of biblical texts and artifacts which are put on display in *Passions*, a traveling exhibition" ("Passages Exhibition Debuts Historic Display" [online]; available at: http://www.foxnews.com/slideshow/us/2011/04/12/passages-exhibition-debuts-historic-display/#slide=6; accessed: 4 June 2011).

[2]All Scripture citations in the text of this paper are from the King James Version, in honor of its 400th anniversary.

[3]John Paul II, "Mexico Ever Faithful," *Osservatore Romano* (5 Feb 1979), 1.

The Church of Rome is therefore the same, not different or opposed to the old church. It still considers itself and only itself "the one Church of Jesus Christ." As to use of the "old" and the "new," John Paul II repeated this same idea in his 1994 encyclical, "*Tertio Millennio Adviente: As the Third Millennium Draws Near.*" He said "In the history of the church, the 'old' and the 'new' are always closely interwoven. The 'new' grows out of the 'old,' and the 'old' finds a fuller expression in the 'new.'"[4] This use of "old" and "new" appears to be a semantic puzzle, and perhaps it is. The old church has never changed, but when and where it has been necessary, it has adapted to a new environment. For example, following Napoleonic Europe, Rome had to adapt to influencing democratic republics rather than dynastic monarchies. Also, where there are occurrences in Rome's past that appear embarrassing or horrific, these have been skillfully forgotten, avoided, or relegated as part of the "old." Such appears to be the case in Rome's role in blocking the translation of the Bible into vernacular languages, as we shall see in this paper.

Furthermore, notice the advice of Pope Clement XIII in his 1761 encyclical titled *In Dominico Agro*, or "In the Field of the Lord":

> It often happens that certain unworthy ideas come forth in the Church of God which, although they directly contradict each other, plot together to undermine the purity of the Catholic faith in some way. It is very difficult to cautiously balance our speech between both enemies in such a way that We seem to turn Our backs on none of them, but to shun and condemn both enemies of Christ equally. Meanwhile the matter is such that diabolical error, when it has artfully colored its lies, easily clothes itself in the likeness of truth while very brief additions or changes corrupt the meaning of expressions; and confession, which usually works salvation, sometimes, with a slight change, inches toward death.[5]

Clement XIII reminded his readers of the challenge of not appearing to turn their backs on proponents of "diabolical error," and yet to simultaneously shun propagators of the same. Likewise, John Paul II's use of "old" and "new" appears to provide the equivocation necessary to quiet any speech about the Church of Rome's illustrious past, while still shunning any who would dare question "our holy Mother the Church Hierarchical."[6]

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[4]John Paul II, *Tertio Millennio Adviente* (14 November 1994), §18.

[5]Clement XIII, *In Dominico Agro* [in the field of the Lord]—*On Instruction in the Faith* (*14 June 1761*), §2; available at: http://www.ewtn.com/library/ENCYC/C13INDOM.HTM; accessed: 8 Sept 2004.

[6]Notice for example, several of Ignatius Loyola's "Rules for Thinking within the Church":
"First Rule. The first: All judgment laid aside, we ought to have our mind ready and prompt to obey, in all, the true Spouse of Christ our Lord, which is our holy Mother the Church Hierarchical. …
"Thirteenth Rule. To be right in everything, we ought always to hold that the white which I see, is black, if the Hierarchical Church so decides it, believing that between Christ our Lord, the Bridegroom, and the Church, His Bride, there is the same Spirit which governs and directs us for the salvation of our souls. Because by the same Spirit and our Lord Who gave the ten Commandments, our holy Mother the Church is directed and governed" (St. Ignatius Loyola, *The Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius Loyola*, trans by

In that light, it appears that the contemporary third rail of theology and church history is speaking negatively of the Roman Catholic Church. If an Evangelical theologian wants to be described as obscurantist, petty, or negative, he needs only to write a paper openly negative about the Church of Rome. These days, speaking negatively of a cult, such as the Mormons or Jehovah's Witnesses, or writing negatively of another Protestant inclinations, such as Calvinism, Arminianism, or baptismal regeneration, or speaking openly of Buddhism or Islam, is deemed acceptable. But not so if one is speaking of the history or false teachings of the Roman Catholic Church. Yes, speaking ill of Catholicism appears to be the third rail of Evangelical discourse today.

Even more so, it would seem that a nihil obstat is being applied to Evangelical discourse. Nihil obstat basically means "nothing opposing" in Latin. Permissible writings for rank and file Roman Catholics must have both the imprimatur (seal) of a Catholic Bishop or Archbishop, as well as the nihil obstat from a Roman Catholic Censor Deputatus. The imprimatur affixed on the copyright page of the book was mandated by Pope Leo XIII, in his 1897 Apostolic Constitution "Officiorum ac Munerum: On the Prohibition and Censorship of Books."[7] In doing so, Leo XIII followed a long history of Rome's censorship (especially of historical writings), something which he himself noted in this same encyclical[8] and which others also have documented.[9] Ten years later, in 1907, in his encyclical, "Pascendi Dominici Gregis: On the Doctrine of the Modernists," Pope Pius X required the addition of nihil obstat on the copyright page of a book approved for Catholics to read. He decreed that prior to a bishop placing his imprimatur upon a document, a nihil obstat was necessary. This nihil obstat was to be granted by a Censor Deputatis, approved by the Vatican, but undisclosed to the author.[10]

Father Elder Mullan, S. J. [New York: P. J. Kennedy, 1914] [online]; available at: http://www.ccel.org/ccel/ignatius/exercises.txt; accessed 20 April 2010).

[7]"Let the Ordinaries, acting in this also as Delegates of the Apostolic See, exert themselves to proscribe and to put out of reach of the faithful injurious books or other writings printed or circulated in their dioceses" (Leo XIII, *Officiorum ac Munerum* [Rome: 25 Jan 1897], §21; cited in Pius X, *Pascendi Dominici Gregis: Encyclical on the Doctrine of the Modernists* [Rome: 8 Sept 1907], 51).

[8]For example, Leo XIII explained: "Historical Documents bear special witness to the care and diligence with which the Roman Pontiffs have vigilantly endeavored to prevent the unchecked spread of heretical writings detrimental to the public. History is full of examples. Anastasius I solemnly condemned the more dangerous writings of Origen, Innocent I those of Pelagius, Leo the Great all the works of the Manicheans. The *decretal* letters, opportunely issued by Gelasius, concerning books to be received and rejected, are well known. And so, in the course of centuries, the Holy See condemned the pestilent writings of the Monothelites, of Abelard, Marsilius Patavinus, Wycliff and Huss" (Leo XIII, *Officiorum*, par. 2).

[9]For example, George Haven Putnam, *The Censorship of the Church of Rome and Its Influence upon the Production and Distribution of Literature*, vols 1 and 2 (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1907). These volumes concern the censorship of the printing press, and therefore focus their attention after A.D. 1455.

[10]"Under the rules of the Constitution Officiorum, many publications require the authorization of the Ordinary, and in certain dioceses (since the Bishop cannot personally make himself acquainted with them

Now, how could it be that one has the impression that the *nihil obstat* is applied among Evangelicals today, and not merely in Catholic circles? The answer to this question revolves around Rome's view of who belongs to the Holy Roman Catholic Church. The 1994 *Catechism of the Catholic Church* addressed this issue in a section entitled, "Who Belongs to the Catholic Church." In this section, the document reaffirmed that all Christians rightly baptized in the name of the Father, the Son, and Holy Spirit fall under the authority of the Roman Catholic Church.[11] In fact, teaching on the primacy of the decisions of the Bishop of Rome for all Christians goes back to the teachings of Augustine of Hippo (A.D. 353-430) in his writings against the Donatists and Manicheans. So, as applied today, the local Roman Catholic Bishop has Rome's authority to seek to apply censorship to every Christian in his diocese, when it is possible for him to do so.

Furthermore, Pope Pius X put into place a mechanism whereby this authority could be enforced, especially in democratic societies where control is more complex. In 1907 he also mandated that every Roman Catholic diocese was to organize a "Council of Vigilance." These councils were to be made up of people who were "bound to secrecy," and whose mission was to guard against any "teachers of impiety" within their diocese:

> 55. But of what avail, Venerable Brethren, will be all Our commands and prescriptions if they be not dutifully and firmly carried out? In order that this may be done it has seemed expedient to us to extend to all dioceses the regulations which the Bishops of Umbria, with great wisdom, laid down for theirs many years ago. 'In order,' they say, 'to extirpate the errors already propagated and to prevent their further diffusion, and to remove those teachers of impiety through whom the pernicious effects of such diffusion are being perpetuated, this sacred Assembly, following the example of St. Charles Borromeo, has decided to establish in each of the dioceses a Council consisting of approved members of both branches of the clergy, which shall be charged with the

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all) it has been the custom to have a suitable number of official censors for the examination of writings. We have the highest esteem for this institution of censors, and We not only exhort, but We order that it be extended to all dioceses. In all episcopal Curias, therefore, let censors be appointed for the revision of works intended for publication, and let the censors be chosen from both ranks of the clergy—secular and regular—men whose age, knowledge, and prudence will enable them to follow the safe and golden means in their judgments. It shall be their office to examine everything which requires permission for publication according to Articles XLI and XLII of the above-mentioned Constitution. The censor shall give his verdict in writing. If it be favorable, the Bishop will give the permission for publication by the word Imprimatur, which must be preceded by the Nihil obstat and the name of the censor" (Pius X, *Pascendi*, §52).

[11]"'The Church knows that she is joined in many ways to the baptized who are honored by the name of Christian, but do not profess the Catholic faith in its entirety or have not preserved unity or communion under the successor of Peter' [*Lumen Gentium*, 15]. Those 'who believe in Christ and have been properly baptized are put in a certain, although imperfect, communion with the Catholic Church' (*Unitatis Redintegratio*, 3). *With the Orthodox Churches,* this communion is so profound 'that it lacks little to attain the fullness that would permit a common celebration of the Lord's Eucharist' [Paul VI, Discourse, 14 December 1975; *Unitatis Redintegratio*, 13-18]" (*Catechism of the Catholic Church* [London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1994], §838).

task of noting the existence of errors and the devices by which new ones are introduced and propagated, and to inform the Bishop of the whole, so that he may take counsel with them as to the best means for suppressing the evil at the outset and preventing it spreading for the ruin of souls or, worse still, gaining strength and growth' [12]. We decree, therefore, that in every diocese a council of this kind, which We are pleased to name the 'Council of Vigilance,' be instituted without delay. The priests called to form part in it shall be chosen somewhat after the manner above prescribed for the censors, and they shall meet every two months on an appointed day in the presence of the Bishop. They shall be bound to secrecy as to their deliberations and decisions, and in their functions shall be included the following: they shall watch most carefully for every trace and sign of Modernism both in publications and in teaching, and to preserve the clergy and the young from it they shall take all prudent, prompt, and efficacious measures.[13]

These Councils of Vigilance were "charged with the task of noting the existence of errors and the devices by which new ones are introduced and propagated," and then "to extirpate the errors already propagated and to prevent their further diffusion, and to remove those teachers of impiety through whom the pernicious effects of such diffusion are being perpetuated." When such threats were found, then they were to "take all prudent, prompt, and efficacious measures" to eliminate such threats. It appears that "devices" by which pernicious teachings were perpetuated include:

(1) All schools, their administrators, teachers, and programs: doctoral level, master's level, bachelor, and high school; both religious and secular;
(2) Journals, magazines, and other periodicals; their editors and articles;
(3) Scholarly academic societies;
(4) Publishing houses and printing presses;
(5) Bible societies and tract societies;
(6) Denominational agencies, churches, and preachers;
(7) Travelling evangelists and evangelistic crusades; and
(8) Original language texts of the Bible, lexicons, language helps, and Bible translations.[14]

We may consider adding to this list:

(1) Radio and television preachers;
(2) Internet sites and Bible software; and perhaps even
(3) Bible exhibits and Bible museums.

Likewise, this responsibility for regulating prohibited books and writings was delegated to every Bishop and Archbishop, according to Leo XIII:

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[12]"Acts of the Congress of the Bishops of Umbria" (November 1849), tit. 2, art. 6.

[13]Pius X, *Pascendi*, §55.

[14]Ibid.

29. Ordinaries, even as Delegates of the Apostolic See, must be careful to prohibit evil books or other writings published or circulated in their Dioceses, and to withdraw them from the hands of the faithful.[15]

Now, these Councils of Vigilance were to meet every two months in every diocese. There are currently 194 Catholic dioceses in the U.S. and 34 archdioceses.[16] If Pascendi is being followed today, as it is in relation to the nihil obstat, there are in the U.S 194 of these councils meeting every two months "to prevent the unchecked spread of heretical writings detrimental to the public" and to apply the nihil obstat whenever, whenever, and however they can. Could it be that these 194 "Councils of Vigilance" are the reason that it appears that a nihil obstat has crept into U.S. Evangelical circles today?

I received an email several years ago from someone I did not know. He asked me if he could use my "Inquisition and Martyrdom" chart, which I have uploaded online, for an "Anti-Catholic CD." My answer was, "No!" You see, I am not anti-Catholic, just as much as I am not anti-Muslim, anti-Buddhist, anti-Methodist, or anti-Baptist. My goal is to love everyone enough to seek to share the Gospel with them, regardless of their religious extraction. Likewise, it is the fallacy of composition to frame every scholar who is seeking to understand and teach about the faith and practice of any religious group as automatically antagonistic or hateful of that group.

Every now and then an issue is so significant that it raises its peak above the waterline to be visible and to necessitate immediate action. It appears that the "'Passages' Exhibit" and the Museum that will house the Green Bible Collection is just such an issue. The money being invested, the publicity involved, and the need to avoid an exhibit that is "detrimental to the public" is so great that it appears that the "Council of Vigilance" of the Archdiocese of Oklahoma City had to act quickly and decisively—to "suppress the evil and prevent it from spreading at the outset." First, the council needed to be sure that the exhibit did not include a discussion of the hundreds of martyrs, both translators and Bible salesmen (colporteurs), killed because of vernacular translations of the Bible. Second, the council had to eliminate the inclusion of the numerous writings of the Church of Rome against vernacular translations and lay people reading the Bible. Third, the council had to, if possible, turn the tables and promote itself as the Matriarch of Bible translation, including the King James Bible and other vernacular Bibles. Quite a tall task! To my knowledge, the "'Passages' Exhibit" appears to have accomplished all of these surmised goals.

My hope in this article is to point out the history of the Church of Rome in relationship to vernacular translations of the Bible, such as the King James Bible (KJV), and to bring this discussion into the contemporary situation. Several current documents will serve as guideposts for the position of the

[15]Leo XIII, *Officiorum*, §29.

[16]"List of Catholic Dioceses of the United States" (online); available at: www.ask.com/wiki/List_of_Catholic_dioceses_of_the_United_States; accessed 2 June 2011.

contemporary Roman Catholic Church, the 1968 "Guiding Principles for Interconfessional Cooperation in Translating the Bible" (1968 Guiding Principles), Rome's 1987 revision of this document (1987 Guidelines), and the 1994 text released by the Pontifical Commission on Biblical Interpretation (PCBI). It appears that arguing who or what antecedent version had the greatest input into the production of the KJV is a mute point. One could argue for any of the following nine Bibles: Wycliffe Bible, Tyndale Bible (portions of OT), Coverdale Bible, Matthew's Bible, Taverner's Bible, Great Bible, Geneva Bible, one of 17 editions of the Bishop's Bible, or the Douai-Rheims Bible, all of which appeared before the 1611 KJV.[17] Furthermore, one could argue about who sat on what committee and the influence that they exerted upon the translation of certain passages. While both of these studies are important and necessary, it is beyond the scope of this paper. Rather, my goal, is to highlight (1) official statements of the Roman Catholic Church with regard to vernacular translations and the lay reading thereof, (2) further expand on the contemporary context, specifically looking at the 1968 Guiding Principles, the 1987 Guidelines, and the PCBI, and (3) discuss specific translation issues. We begin with a brief historical overview to show that this study is not the generalization called, "the fallacy of the lonely fact."[18]

History of Enactments

The Roman Catholic Church has a very long history of enactments related to the Bible. Its scholars have written against vernacular Bible translation and against lay people reading the Bible for nearly a millennium, and against the Bible societies since they came into existence at the turn of the nineteenth century.

In 1179 Pope Alexander III prohibited the preaching of the Waldenses, who, during their preaching, were known to recite portions of the Bible in the vernacular tongue:[19]

> And because some, under an appearance of piety . . . protect their authority to preach . . . we bind them by the same bond of anathema all those who, even though they have been prohibited from doing so neither have they been sent, dare to preach either privately or publicly without having received the authorization of the Apostolic Seat or the Bishop of their locality[20]

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[17]Harold Rawlings, *Trial by Fire: The Struggle to Get the Bible into English* (Wellington, FL: Rawlings Foundation, 2004), 113-44; Paul Wegner, *The Journey from Texts to Translations* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1999), 284-305.

[18]"The *fallacy of the lonely fact* is the logical extension of a small sample, which deserves to receive special condemnation" (David Fischer, *Historians' Fallacies: Toward a Logic of Historical Thought* [New York: Harper, 1970], 109).

[19]Margaret Deanesly, *The Lollard Bible and Other Medieval Biblical Versions* (Cambridge University Press, 1920; Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock, 2002), 27, note 2.

[20]In *Symboles et Définitions de la Foi Catholique*, edited by Heinrich Denzinger, Peter Hünermann, and Joseph Hoffman (Paris: Cerf, 2005), §760-761 (henceforth citations from *Denzinger* will be referred to by *DS* number); this and all other translations from the French mine.

Lollard Bible historian, Margaret Deanesly, cited an interesting firsthand account of their request in 1184, as they "besought [the Pope] with great urgency that authority to preach should be confirmed to them."[21] Their request was denied.

In 1184 the Council of Verona condemned the Waldenses as heretics,[22] those, in fact, who loved the Bible and persisted in teaching something other than Catholic dogma. These were to be excommunicated (i.e. extirpated from the world through death)[23] and handed over to the secular powers for punishment.[24]

The infamous 1199 letter, *Cum ex iniuncto*, of Innocent III decried the "simple and uncultivated people" of Metz [Lorraine, France], "lay people and women," who (1) "made for themselves translations into the vernacular," and in secret conventicles "belch forth to each other and mutually preach"[25]—today we call these small group Bible studies or house churches.

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[21]"We saw the Waldensians at the council celebrated at Rome under pope Alexander III. They were simple and illiterate men, named after their leader, Waldo, who was a citizen of Lyons on the Rhone: and they presented to the lord pope a book written in the French tongue, in which were contained a text and gloss on the psalter, and on very many other books of both testaments. These besought with great urgency that authority to preach should be confirmed to them, for they thought themselves expert, when they were scarcely learned at all…. For in every small point of the sacred page, so many meanings fly on the wings of virtue, such stores of wealth are accumulated, that only he can fully exhaust them whom God has inspired. Shall not therefore the Word be given to the unlearned as *pearls before swine*, when we know them to be fitted neither to receive it, nor to give out what they have received? Away with this idea, and let it be rooted out. *The ointment ran down from the head, even to the skirts of his clothing*: waters flow from the spring, not from the mud of public ways" (Deanesly, 26-27; citing Walter Map, *De Nugis Curialium* (A.D. 1181 or 1192; Oxford: M. R. James, 1914), 60].

[22]Deanesly, 26.

[23]"'*Whether heretics ought to be tolerated?*' I answer that, With regard to heretics two points must be observed: one, on their own side; the other, on the side of the Church. On their own side there is the sin, whereby they deserve not only to be separated from the Church by excommunication, but also to be severed from the world by death. …much more reason is there for heretics, as soon as they are convicted of heresy, to be not only excommunicated but even put to death. On the part of the Church, however, there is mercy which looks to the conversion of the wanderer, wherefore she condemns not at once, but "after the first and second admonition," as the Apostle directs: after that, if he is yet stubborn, the Church no longer hoping for his conversion, looks to the salvation of others, by excommunicating him and separating him from the Church, and furthermore delivers him to the secular tribunal to be exterminated thereby from the world by death." (SS, *Q[11], A[3]: "Whether heretics ought to be tolerated,"* Aquinas, Summa Theologica [A.D. 1275] [online]; available at: http://www.ccel.org/ccel/aquinas/summa.html; accessed: 10 June 2008).

[24]*Histoire du Livre Saint en France* [History of the Holy Book in France] (online); available at: http://perso.wanadoo.fr/hlybk/bible/ france.htm; accessed 2 February 2005.

[25]"[DS 770] Our venerable brother, the Bishop of Metz [Lorraine, France], We have come to know from his

Cistercian monks were sent to Metz to confiscate and burn all vulgar tongue translations that they found.[26] In 1211 Pope Innocent III set up a crusade against the readers of the Bible. All Bibles in the vulgar tongue were to be burned.[27]

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letter that in his diocese as well as in the town of Metz a rather important number of lay people and of women, drawn in some way by a desire for the Scriptures, made for themselves translations into the French language of the Gospels, the epistles of Paul, the Psalter, the Moralia of Job, and many other books; … (with the result being) that in the secret gatherings lay people and woman dare to belch forth to each other and to mutually preach, and they equally despise the company of those who are not mixed up in such things … Some of them also despise the simplicity of their priests, and when a word of salvation is proposed to these latter, they whisper in secret that they have better in their writings and that they are capable of express them more judiciously.

"Even if a desire to understand the divine Scriptures and the care to exhort in conformity with them is not to blame but quite the opposite recommended, these people deserve nevertheless to be blamed that they hold secret conventicles, and that they usurp the office of preaching, that they scoff the simplicity of the priests and that they distain the company of those that do not attach themselves to such practices. God in fact … hates to this point the works of darkness that he commanded and said (to the apostles): "What I tell you in the dark, say it in the daylight; that which you hear in the deep of your ear proclaim it from the rooftops" (Matt 10:27); by this it is clearly manifest that the preaching of the Gospel ought to be proposed not in secret conventicles, as is done by the heretics, but publicly in the Church, in conformity with Catholic custom. …

"[DS 771] But the hidden mysteries of the faith ought not to be exhibited everywhere by all, because they cannot be understood by all, but only unto them that are seized by a believing intelligence; this is why the apostle said of the simple: "As unto little children in Christ, it is milk that I made you drink, not solid food" (1 Cor 3:2) …

"Such is the depth of the holy Scriptures that not only simple and uncultivated people, but even those who are wise and learned are not able to scrutinize the meaning. This is why the Scripture says: "For many of those who sought failed in their search"(Psa 64:7). Also was it correct that it was established in the divine Law that if an animal touches the Mountain (of Sinai) he should be stoned (cf. Heb 12:20; Ex 19:12ff), in order that in fact no simple or uncultivated man should have the presumption to touch upon the sublimities of the holy Scripture or to preach it to others. It is written in fact: "Do not seek that which is too high for you" (Sir 3:22). This is why the apostle said: "Do not seek more than what is necessary to seek, but seek with sobriety" (Rom 12:3).

"Similarly just as the body numbers many members, but not all the members have the same activity, likewise, the Church counts many levels, but not all have the same duty, for according to the Apostle "The Lord has given some as apostles, others as prophets, but others as doctors, etc." (Eph 4:11). Therefore the doctor is in some ways the principal in the church and this is why no one ought to usurp without deference the office of preacher" (Innocent III, "*Cum ex iniuncto*: To the Inhabitants of Metz [On the Necessity for the Magisterium of the Church for the Interpretation Scripture], 12 July 1199" in *DS* 770-771 [online]; available at; http://www.catho.org/9.php?d=bwh; accessed: 8 Nov 2008).

[26]*Histoire du Livre Saint en France.*

[27]Ibid.

The 1229 Council of Toulouse promulgated the following as Canon 14:

Lay people shall not have books of Scripture, except the psalter and the divine office: and they shall not have these books in the vulgar tongue. Moreover we prohibit that lay people should be permitted to have books of the Old or New Testament, except perchance any should wish from devotion to have a psalter, or a breviary for the divine office, or hours of the blessed Virgin: but we most strictly prohibit their having even the aforesaid books translated into the vulgar tongue.[28]

Likewise the 1234 Council of Tarracon prohibited owning Old and New Testaments, as did the 1299 Council of Toulouse. The Council of Beziers (1243 or 1246) Canon 36 stated:

You will fully watch, according to all that is right and legal, that theological books not be possessed, even in Latin, by lay people, nor in the vulgar language by clerics.[29]

By the way, the result of these enactments necessitated a shift in discipleship strategy within Catholicism, from using the Bible as their primary discipleship tool to using something else, such as the *Sentences* of Master Peter the Lombard (d. 1160) as their primary discipleship tool. Chapter one of the first lesson in the *Sentences* is title, "Every doctrine concerns things and/or signs." Rather than looking to Scripture, it initiated the 15 or 16 year old Novitiate into the signs and symbols of a sacramental salvation, while providing him a Latin primer.[30]

In 1401 Henry IV's *De Heretico Comburendo* decreed against translating or owning a Bible, and authorized burning heretics at the stake. The 1408 Council of Oxford prohibited translation into the vernacular (e.g. English). In 1525 Bishop Tunstall and Cardinal Wolsey opposed the Tyndale Bible, confiscating, buying, and burning it.

The 1526 Act of Parliament in France made it illegal to own or sell Bibles in France.[31] Likewise two of the 17 December 1527 University of Paris censures against Erasmus read as follows:

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[28]Deanesly, 36-37.

[29]*Histoire du Livre Saint en France.*

[30]The following is the beginning sentences of Chapter One: "While considering the contents of the Old and New Law again and again by diligent chase [*indagine*], the prevenient grace of God has hinted to us, that a treatise on the Sacred Page is [*versari*] chiefly about things and/or signs. For as Augustine, the egregious Doctor, says in the book *On Christian Doctrine* [Chapter 2, n. 2; here and in the next passage, but with many words omitted by Master (Peter) and not a few added or changed]: 'Every doctrine is of things, and/or signs. But even things are learned through signs. But here (those) are properly named things, which are not employed to signify anything; but signs, those whose use is in signifying'" (Master Peter Lombard, *The First Book of Sentences* [Paris, 1160] [online]; available at: http://www.franciscan-archive.org/lombardus/opera/ls1-01.html; accessed 16 May 2006).

[31]Ibid.

Although the sacred books might be translated into languages, in that they are in their nature holy and good: yet the great danger of permitting the promiscuous reading of them, when translated without any explanation, is sufficiently shewn by the Waldensians, Albigensians and Turlupins, who have spread abroad many errors through this cause…. Wherefore this kind of translation is by law condemned. . . .

"Since, by a *decree* of the apostolic see, the reading of many such books [Erasmus mentioned 'any of the books of the Old Testament'] was long since prohibited to the laity . . . the aforesaid proposition is inserted rashly and impudently. For the same cause for prohibiting the reading of such books exists, as there was when the decree of Innocent III was drawn up about these matters, a fragment of which is incorporated in his words in the *De Haeret.,* as the *Cum ex injuncto.*"[32]

My paper, "The Evangelistic Zeal of Reformation Geneva (1533-1560) as Exemplified in Crespin's Martyrology," names the 67 Huguenots from Crespin's Martyrology,[33] who went out from Geneva or Lausanne, Switzerland, to sell Bibles, evangelize, and plant churches in France (or Italy), and were martyred for those activities.[34]

Similar prohibitions, as well as strictures against those who printed Bibles, were reaffirmed during the Council of Trent (1545-1564).[35] The bloodshed over vernacular translations from

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[32]Margaret Deanesly, *The Lollard Bible and Other Medieval Biblical Versions* (Cambridge University Press, 1920; Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock, 2002), 387-88.

[33]"1533, Alexandre Canus; 1535, Pierre Gaudet; 1536, Martin Gonin; 1539, Jérome Vindocin; 1541, Claude le Peintre; 1546, Pierre Chapot; 1547, Michel (Miquelot), Leonard du Pré; 1548, Sanctin Nivet; 1549, Augustin [Dumarchiet]; Marion [Fournier], wife of Augustin (above), Estienne Peloquin, Leonar Gallimar; 1550, Claude Thierry, Jean Godeau, Gabriel Beraudin, Macé Moreau, Claude Monier; 1551, Thomas de Sainct Paul, Jean Joëry and his young assistant; 1552, Martial Alba, Pierre Escrivain, Bernard Seguin, Charles Favre, Pierre Naviheres, Pierre Bergier, Hugues Gravier, René Poyet, Denis Peloquin; 1553, Louys de Marsac [and his cousin], Etienne Gravot, Nicolas Nail, Simon Laloé, Pierre Denocheau, Pierre Serre; 1554, Guillaume Dalençon, Richard le Fèvre, Thomas Calbergue, François Gamba, Denis le Vair; 1555, Jean Vernou, Antoine Laborie, Jean Trigalet, Guyraud Tauran, Bertrand Bataille; 1556, Jean Rabec, Pierre de Rousseau, Barthélémy Hector, Nicolas Ballon; 1557, Philbert Hamelin, Archambaut Sepharon, Philippe Cene and Jacques, Pierre de Rousseau; 1558, Jean du Bordel, Matthieu Vermeil, Pierre Bourdon, Benoit Romyen, Gilles Verdickt; 1559, Jean Barbeville, Marin Marie, Adrian Daussi, Jean de Léon, Julien Hernandez; 1560, Jean Louys Pascal" (Jean Crespin, *Histoire des vrais tesmoins de la verite de l'evangile, qui de leur sang l'ont sign*é*e, depuis Jean Hus iusques autemps present* [Geneva, 1570; Liège, 1964], 78-557).

[34]Thomas Johnston, "Geneva's Evangelistic Zeal as Exemplified in Crespin's Martyrology." *Midwestern Journal of Theology,* 6:2 (Spring 2008).

[35]For example, from the 8 April 1546 session on the Canonical Scripture: "it shall not be lawful for anyone to print or to have printed any books whatsoever dealing with sacred doctrinal mattes without the name of the author, or in the future to sell them, or even to have them in possession, unless they have first been examined and approved by the ordinary, under penalty of anathema and fine prescribed by the

Innocent III (1199) to Pius IV (1564) cannot be calculated. However, because official records of the Spanish Inquisition were published, the following was written: "In 330 years (1478-1808), the merciless Spanish Inquisition had 323,362 persons burned alive, and 17,659 persons burned in effigy"[36] These included persons from various non-Catholic Christian groups, as well as Jews and others.

In 1713, Clement XI in his Constitution Unigenitus Dei Filius condemned 101 heresies of the Jansenist Pasquier Quesnel, refuting errors in his commentaries published variously in 1671, 1687, 1693, and 1699. Note three of the statements that Clement XI deemed to be heretical errors:

> 80. The reading of Scripture is for everyone. Acts 8:28.
> 81. The holy obscurity of the Word of God is not for lay people a reason to be exempt from reading it. Acts 8:28.
> 84. Tearing the New Testament from the hands of Christians or holding it closed to them, by removing from them the means of comprehending it, is closing the mouth of Christ to them.[37]

Furthermore, based on Rome's belief in the inerrancy of Church Tradition[38] and based on John Paul II's approach to the "old" and the "new," these enactments still hold true.

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last Council of the Lateran" (from "19th Ecumenical Council, the Council of Trent" [online]; available at: http://www.forerunner.com/chalcedon/X0020_15._Council_of_Trent.html; accessed 8 Jan 2005).

[36]Joseph F. Conley, *Drumbeats that Changed the World* (Pasadena, CA: William Carey, 2000), 32.

[37]*DS* 2480, 2481, 2484.

[38]"This supernatural revelation, according to the belief of the universal Church, is contained both in unwritten Tradition, and in written Books, which are therefore called sacred and canonical because, 'being written under the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, they have God for their author and as such have been delivered to the Church' [Conc. Vat. sess. iii. cap. ii. de revel.].…

"For all the books which the Church receives as sacred and canonical, are written wholly and entirely, with all their parts, at the dictation of the Holy Ghost; and so far is it from being possible that any error can co-exist with inspiration, that inspiration not only is essentially incompatible with error, but excludes and rejects it as absolutely and necessarily as it is impossible that God Himself, the supreme Truth, can utter that which is not true. This is the ancient and unchanging faith of the Church, solemnly defined in the Councils of Florence and of Trent, and finally confirmed and more expressly formulated by the Council of the Vatican. These are the words of the last: 'The Books of the Old and New Testament, whole and entire, with all their parts, as enumerated in the decree of the same Council (Trent) and in the ancient Latin Vulgate, are to be received as sacred and canonical. And the Church holds them as sacred and canonical, not because, having been composed by human industry, they were afterwards approved by her authority; nor only because they contain revelation without error; but because, having been written under the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, they have God for their author' [Sess. iii., c. ii., de Rev.]" (Leo XIII, "*Providentissimus Deus*: On the Study of Holy Scripture" [18 Nov 1893], §1, 20 [online]; available at: http://www.catholic-forum.com/saints/pope0256b.htm; accessed: 8 Mar 2002).

Nor did the existence of the nineteenth century Bible societies escape the Vatican's notice. The Vatican had a flurry of writings against the Bible societies. Pius VII wrote regarding "The Translation of the Bible" to the Archbishop of Mogilev, Belarus in 1816:

> This is why the heretics with their biased and abominable machinations had the custom, in editing Bibles in vulgar tongue (of which the astonishing diversity and contradictions results that they accuse and tear each one the other), to seek to insidiously impose their respective errors by wrapping them of the magnificence of the most holy divine Word.[39]

In 1844 Gregory XVI's encyclical "*Inter Praecipuas Machinationes*" specifically decried the translation work of Bible societies:

> You do not ignore finally what diligence and what wisdom are necessary to faithfully translate into our languages the words of the Lord, because nothing also is so easily produced as the very serious errors introduced into the multiplied translations of the Bible societies, and which stem from the stupidity and deception of so many translators; and these errors, the great number even and the diversity of the translations are concealed for a long time to the detriment of many. These societies themselves bring little or not at all that by reading these Bible translated into the vulgar languages that men fall into such errors rather than others, given that they accustom themselves little by little to turn for themselves to liberty of thought concerning the meaning of the Scriptures, and to despise the divine traditions guarded in the Church on the foundation of the doctrine of the Fathers, and to reject the hierarchy of the Church herself.[40]

In 1846 Pius IX wrote the encyclical "Qui Pluribus," which condemned the Bible Societies and their free Bible distribution programs:

> This is what the very cunning Bible societies who, renewing the old trickery of the heretics, translate the books of the divine writings into all of the vulgar languages, against the regulations of the very holy Church, interpret them with the help of explanations that are often perverse, and do not cease to distribute them freely, to give them to all sorts of people, even to those who are less cultivated, with the result that rejecting the divine tradition, the doctrine of the Fathers, and the authority of the Catholic Church, all interpret according to their private judgment, turning aside its meaning, and in this way fall into far greater errors. These societies . . . Gregory XVI . . . reproved, and We wish likewise that they be condemned.[41]

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[39]Pius VII, Letter "*Magno et Acerbo*" (1816) to the Archibishop of Mogilev [Belarus]; *DS* 2710-2712. In this letter, Pius VII cited "the celebrated [1199] letter of Innocent III to the faithful of Metz," as well as writings of Pius V, Clement VIII, and Benedict XIV, also mentioning Clement XI's condemnation of the Jansenist teaching: "79. It is useful and necessary at all times, in all places, and for every kind of person, to study and to know the spirit, the piety, and the mysteries of Sacred Scripture" (Clement XI, *Unigenitus* [1713] [online]; available at: http://www.papalencyclicals.net/Clem11/c11unige.htm; accessed 30 June 2003).

[40]Gregory XVI, "*Inter praecipuas machinations*" (8 mai 1844) (online) [from *DS* 2771]; accessed: 8 Nov 2008; available at: http://www.catho.org/9.php?d=bw2. My translation from the French.

[41]Pius IX, "Qui Pluribus" (online); from *Denzinger*: 2784; accessed: 8 Sept 2008; available at: http://www.catho.org/9.php?d=bw2#elo.

Later, Pius IX included the Biblical Societies in his lists of "pests" which "are frequently reprobated":

> IV. Socialism, Communism, Secret Societies, Biblical Societies, Clerico-liberal Societies. Pests of this kind are frequently reprobated in the severest terms in the Encyclical 'Qui pluribus,' Nov. 9, 1846, Allocution 'Quibus quantisque,' April 20, 1849, Encyclical 'Noscitis et nobiscum,' Dec. 8, 1849, Allocution 'Singulari quadam,' Dec. 9, 1854, Encyclical 'Quanto conficiamur,' Aug. 10, 1863.[42]

Leo XIII continued in the same vein in his 1897 "Apostolic Constitution *Officiorum ac Munerum*: On the Prohibition and Censorship of Books":

> 7. As it has been clearly shown by experience that, if the Holy Bible in the vernacular is generally permitted without any distinction, more harm than utility is thereby caused, owing to human temerity: all versions in the vernacular, even by Catholics, are altogether prohibited, unless approved by the Holy See, or published, under the vigilant care of the Bishops, with Annotations taken from the Fathers of the Church and learned Catholic writers.

> 8. All versions of the Holy Bible, in any vernacular language, made by non-Catholics are prohibited; and especially those published by the Bible Societies, which have been more than once condemned by the Roman Pontiffs, because in them the Wise Laws of the Church concerning the publication of the Sacred Books are entirely disregarded.[43]

While most of these types of writings are hidden in Latin or Italian documents, many English authors prior to 1907 were quite familiar with them. I do not gloat or salivate over these repeated enactments and strictures against the translation of and/or reading of the Bible in the vernacular. Rather, they produce grief and distress in my soul. Like the nineteenth-century French Reformed pastor-historian Franck Puaux wrote: "We ask ourselves how the church of Rome, so pure and beautiful at its start, was able to degenerate to that extent. Like Thyatira and Laodicea, she had, alas!"[44] This historical record is not a matter of the fallacy of the lonely fact. Rather, it is a matter of historical ignorance to forget that these councils and decrees are a part of the bloodstream of Roman Catholic history, Tradition, faith, and practice.

Notice, for example, how well the 1761 encyclical of Clement XIII seems to sum up Rome's view:

> 3. The faithful—especially those who are simple or uncultivated—should be kept away from dangerous and narrow paths upon which they can hardly set foot without faltering. The sheep should not be led to pasture through trackless places. Nor should peculiar ideas—even those of

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[42]Pius IX, "Syllabus of Errors" (online); available at http://www.papalencyclicals.net/Pius09/ p9syll. htm; accessed 8 Sept 2004.

[43]Leo XIII, *Officiorum*, §7, 8.

[44]Franck Puaux, *Histoire de la Réformation Française* (Paris: Michel Lévy Frères, 1859), 1:407; translation mine.

Catholic scholars—be proposed to them. Rather, only those ideas should be communicated which are definitely marked as Catholic truth by their universality, ambiguity, and harmony. Besides, since the crowd cannot go up to the mountain [Exod 19:12] upon which the glory of the Lord came down, and if whoever crosses the boundaries to see will die, the teachers of the people should establish boundaries around them so that no word strays beyond that which is necessary or useful for salvation. The faithful should obey the apostolic advice not to know more than is necessary, but to know in moderation [Rom. 12:3].[45]

So, Catholics were "to know not more than is necessary, but to know in moderation." How different than biblical Christians who teach their church members to "study to show yourself approved" (2 Tim. 2:15) and to diligently search the Scriptures (Acts 17:11). Two completely different worldviews become apparent.

Furthermore, those who did translate, read, and/or propagate the Bible in the vernacular were perceived as a threat to Rome. Perhaps that is why it appears that the spread of Evangelicalism in the twentieth century was a threat to the Rome's primacy among world Christians.

1994 Pontifical Commission on Biblical Interpretation

According to the 1994 PCBI, Evangelicals seem to pose a threat to the primacy of Rome and its interpretation of the Bible in the world. For example, consider how Joseph Cardinal Ratzinger, President of the PCBI at the time, and now Pope Benedict XVI, explained this threat:

As the fundamentalist way of reading the Bible spread to other parts of the world, it gave rise to other ways of interpretation, equally 'literalist,' in Europe, Asia, Africa and South America. As the 20th century comes to an end, this kind of interpretation is winning more and more adherents, in religious groups and sects, as also among Catholics.[46]

So, who were these fundamentalists that had propagated this "fundamentalist interpretation"? In the same paragraph, Ratzinger described them as adhering to the Five Fundamentals as subscribed to in the 1895 Niagara Bible Conference:

The actual term 'fundamentalist' is connected directly with the American Biblical Congress held at Niagara, N.Y., in 1895. At this meeting, conservative Protestant exegetes defined 'five points of fundamentalism': the verbal inerrancy of Scripture, the divinity of Christ, his virginal birth, the doctrine of vicarious expiation and the bodily resurrection at the time of the second coming of Christ.[47]

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[45]Clement XIII, *In Dominico Agro*, §3.

[46]Pontifical Biblical Commission, "Fundamentalist Interpretation," in *The Interpretation of the Bible in the Church* (18 March 1994); available at: http://www.ewtn.com/library/CURIA/PBCINTER.htm; accessed 17 Oct 2009.

[47]Ibid.

For clarification, I have compiled a list of some of those who participated in the 1895 Niagara Bible Conference and other Niagara Bible conferences. The list includes people such as J. Hudson Taylor, C. I. Scofield, A. T. Pierson.48 Furthermore, based on these Five Fundamentals, R. A. Torrey compiled a famous series of pamphlets entitled, "The Fundamentals." These included an even more important and diverse list of contributors, including: James Gray, Dean, Moody Bible Institute; G. Campbell Morgan, Pastor, Westminster Chapel; E. Y. Mullins, President, The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary; A. T. Pierson, Editor, "Missionary Review of the World"; Robert Speer, Secretary, The Board of Foreign Missions, Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.; C. T. Studd, Missionary; C. G. Trumbull, Editor, "Sunday School Times"; and B. B. Warfield, Princeton Theological Seminary.49 Basically, it appears that Joseph Cardinal Ratzinger was

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48"It might be helpful to note those who were a part of the Niagara-on-the-Lake, Ontario, Canada, meetings. The Conference grew in reputation in 1889, the same year that J. Hudson Taylor spoke. Following were some of the Evangelical theologians involved in the early Niagara Bible conferences:

"Of organizational significance was the enlarging of the Conference Committee to include the following people: J. H. Brookes [Presbyterian pastor and editor of *The Truth*], President; W. J. Erdman [pastor of Moody's Chicago Avenue Church, 1875-1878], Secretary; H. M. Parsons, Chairman of Local Committee; and L. W. Munhall, G. C. Needham, C. I. Scofield, T. O. Lowe, T. C. Des Barres, J. Denovan, R. Norton, A. T. Pierson [Pastor, New Park Street (Baptist) Church; Editor, "Missionary Review of the World"], W. A. Parlane, J. S. Helmer, S. P. Harbison, J. L. Taylor, H. M. Moore, J. K. Jamieson, H. Foster, R. Wells, and H. L. Porter [citation: Larry D. Pettegrew, "The Historical and Theological Contributions of the Niagara Bible Conference to American Fundamentalism" (D. Th. Thesis, Dallas Theological Seminary, 1976), 77].

"The pastor of Clarendon Street [Baptist] Church, A. J. Gordon, editor of *The Watchword*, "was good friends of the regular Niagara brethren," promoting its events in his paper. Later, *The Fundamentals*, eventually edited by R. A. Torrey, President of Moody Bible Institute, included papers by G. Campbell Morgan, E. Y. Mullins (President of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary), Robert Speer, C. T. Studd, C. G. Trumbull, and B. B. Warfield. Included were professors from Princeton Theological Seminary, the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, McCormick Theological Seminary, Theological Seminary of the Reformed Episcopal Church, Moody Bible Institute, Oberlin College, Knox College, and Toronto Bible Training School. They included Anglicans, Baptists, Methodists, and Presbyterians, as well as various Evangelical mission boards" (Thomas P. Johnston, "Billy Graham and John Paul II: On the Assimilation of U.S. Evangelicals into the Church of Rome" [Evangelical Theological Society, 2008], 29-30).

49"The 63 contributors writing 84 articles in R. A. Torrey, A. C. Dixon, et al. *The Fundamentals: A Testimony of Truth*, vols 1-4, were (in alphabetical order): Sir Robert Anderson, K.C.B., LL.D., London, England [2 articles]; Rev. Henry H. Beach, Grand Junction, Colorado; F. Bettex, D.D., Prof Emeritus, Stuttgart, Germany; Rev. George S. Bishop, D.D., East Orange, New Jersey; Thomas Boston (1676-1732); Rev. Charles A. Bowen, A.M., Ph.D., Olympia, Washington; Rev. David James Burrell, D.D., LL.D., Marble Collegiate Church, New York City; Rev. J. L. Campbell, D.D., Cambridge, Massachusetts; William Caven, late Principal, Knox College, Toronto, Canada; Howard Crosby, late Chancellor, University of the City of New York, New York City; Rev. A. C. Dixon, D.D., Pastor, Metropolitan Tabernacle Church, London, England; W. J. Erdman, D.D., Germantown, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Princeton Theological Seminary, Princeton, New Jersey [3 articles]; Rev. J. M. Foster, Boston, Massachusetts; Rev. Henry W. Frost, North American Director, China Inland Mission, Germantown, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Arno C. Gabelein, Editor, "Our Hope," New York City; Rev. James Gray, D.D.,

focusing his pen in this section of the PCBI against the majority of conservative U.S. Evangelicals in the early twentieth century, as well as their worldwide missionary endeavors.

Here is the PCBI's concluding paragraph about the "fundamentalist interpretation of the Bible":

The fundamentalist approach is dangerous, for it is attractive to people who look to the Bible for ready answers to the problems of life. It can deceive these people, offering them interpretations that are pious but illusory, instead of telling them that the Bible does not necessarily contain an immediate answer to each and every problem. Without saying as much in so many words, fundamentalism actually invites people to a kind of intellectual suicide. It injects into life a false certitude, for it unwittingly confuses the divine substance of the biblical message with what are in fact its human limitations.[50]

Dean, Moody Bible Institute, Chicago, Illinois; Canon Dyson Hague, M.A., Vicar, Rector, Memorial Church, London, Ontario, Canada; The Church of the Ephany, Toronto, Canada; Canon, St. Paul's Cathedral, London, Ontario [3 articles]; Prof. David Heagle, Ph.D., D.D., Ewing College; Prof. Franklin Johnson, D.D., LL.D., Chicago, Illinois [2 articles]; Howard A. Kelly, M.D.; Prof. M. G. Kyle, D.D., LL.D., Xenia Theological Seminary, Washington, D.C.; Rev. George W. Lasher, D.D., LL.D., Cincinnati, Ohio; Lord Lyttelton, as condensed by Rev. J. L. Campbell; Rev. Daniel Hoffman Martin, D.D., Glen Falls, New York; Philip Mauro, Attorney at Law, New York City [2 articles]; Rev. John McNicol, B.A., B.D., Principal, Toronto Bible Training School; Rev. R. G. McNiece, D.D., First Presbyterian Church, Salt lake city, Utah; T. W. Medhurst, Glasgow, Scotland; Rev. William G. Moorehead, D.D., President, Xenia Theological Seminary, Xenia, Ohio [2 articles]; G. Campbell Morgan, D.D., Westminster Chapel, London, England; H. C. G. Moule, Bishop of Durham, Durham, England; Rev. E. Y. Mullins, D.D., LL.D., President, The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Kentucky; Evangelist L. W. Munhall, M.A., D.D., Germantown, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania [2 articles]; Bishop Nuelsen, D. D., Methodist Episcopal Church, Omaha, Nebraska; Prof. James Orr, D.D., United Free Church, Glasgow, Scotland [4 articles]; Mrs. Jessie Penn-Lewis, Leicester, England; Rev. George F. Pentecost, D.D., Darien, Connecticut; Arthur T. Pierson, Editor, "Missionary Review of the World" [5 articles]; Rev. A. W. Pitzer, D.D., LL.D., Salem, Virginia; Algernon J. Pollock, Weston-Super-Mare, England; Rev. William C. Proctor, D.Ph., Croydon, England; Prof. J. J. Reeve, Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, Fort Worth, Texas; Andrew Craig Robinson, M.A., Ballineen, County Cork, Ireland; Prof. George L. Robinson, D.D., McCormick Theological Seminary, Chicago, Illinois; Bishop Ryle; C. I. Scofield, D.D.; Robert Speer, Secretary, The Board of Foreign Missions, Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., New York City [2 articles]; Rev. Thomas Spurgeon, London, England; Rev. E. J. Stobo, Jr., B.A., S.T.D.; John Stock; Rev. John Timothy Stone, D.D., Ex-Moderator, General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.; Charles T. Studd, Missionary; Rev. H. M. Sydenstricker. Ph.D., West point, Mississippi; Prof. W. H. Griffith Thomas, Wycliffe College, Toronto, Canada; R. A. Torrey, D.D. [2 articles]; Canon G. Osborne Troop, M.A., Montreal, Canada; Charles G. Trumbull, Editor, "Sunday School Times," Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Prof. Benjamin B. Warfield, D.D., LL.D., Princeton Theological Seminary, Princeton, New Jersey; Rev. H. W. Webb-Peploe, Vicar, St. Paul's, Onslow Square, London, England; Prebendary, St. Paul's Cathedral; Rev. Thomas Whitelaw, M.A., D.D., Kilmarnock, Ayrshire, Scotland [3 articles]; Prof. Charles B. Williams, B.D., Ph.D., Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary; Prof. Joseph D. Wilson, D.D., Theological Seminary of the Reformed Episcopal Church, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Rev. Maurice E. Wilson, D.D., Dayton, Ohio; and Prof. George Frederick Wright, D.D., LL.D., Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio [3 articles]" (Thomas P. Johnston, *Evangelizology* [Liberty, MO: Evangelism Unlimited, Inc, 2010], 205 f205).

[50]Pontifical Biblical Commission, "Fundamentalist Interpretation."

It is quite fascinating that in that same year and penned almost simultaneously, "Evangelicals and Catholics Together" was being hailed as a huge ecumenical breakthrough in the U.S. (published in *First Things* [May 1994]). Meanwhile quite a different statement against U.S. Evangelicalism was officially published by the PCBI on the 18th of March 1994. It appears that Clement XIII's advise to not turn one's back on and yet to shun simultaneously was followed.[51]

1968 and 1987 Guidelines for Interconfessional Cooperation in Translating the Bible

From 1994, we now move back 30 years to November 1964 to a meeting in Crêt Bérard, France. This meeting included: Eugene Nida, Executive Secretary of Translations, American Bible Society (1946-1981); Olivier Béguin of the Bible Department of the World Council of Churches, and General Secretary of the UBS (1948-1970); and Augustin Cardinal Bea, S.J., first President of Rome's Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity (SPCU), Rector of the Pontifical Biblical Institute, and Confessor for Pope Pius XII. At this meeting, it appears that the initial draft of these Guiding Principles was "largely from the pen of Nida." [52] Then after four years in various committees, the 1968 Guiding Principles were jointly published by Rome's SPCU and the Executive Committee of the United Bible Society (UBS).

Having grown up the child of missionaries in France, I became aware first-hand of the importance of the worldwide U.S. Evangelical missionary force, as well as the number of missionaries supported by the U.S. dollar. In the prior century, the "Great Century of Protestant Missions," the same could be said of England and the British Pound. Perhaps the greatest accomplishment of 200 years of Protestant missionary work was the many Bibles translated into a multitude of languages. Since the days of William Carey, Baptist, Evangelical, and Protestant missionaries had produced hundreds of vernacular language translations of the Bible for their evangelism efforts, many of these being printed and disseminated by groups such as the British and Foreign Bible Society and the American Bible Society. Consider the words of missionary statesman A. J. Gordon in his closing remarks at the Centenary Conference of Protestant Missions (London 1888):

> We have a Bible that is one, but that has been translated into, according to your last report, at least three hundred languages. Now remember that the old Church that shed rivers of blood to prevent one Church of Jesus Christ being translated into various sects, also shed rivers of blood to prevent the Word of God being translated into various languages. That Church is just as opposed to a polyform Christianity as it is to a polyglot Bible. But we have both.[53]

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[51]Clement XIII, *In Dominico Agro*, §2.

[52]Edwin H. Robertson, *Taking the Word to the World: 50 Years of the United Bible Societies* (Nashville: Nelson, 1996), 114.

[53]A. J. Gordon, "Closing Remarks," James Johnston, *Report of the Centenary Conference of the Protestant Missions of the World, Held in Exeter Hall (June 9th—19th), London, 1888,* Vol. 1 (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1888), 439-40.

More recently, perhaps the greatest blow to 223 years of Protestant missionary efforts may well be the changes that have taken place because of the 1968 Guiding Principles, and its revision, the 1987 Guidelines published in Rome and available on the Vatican website. It would appear that these documents are having an important impact on the present worldwide retranslation of these many Protestant Bibles. If the words of the official historian of the UBS, Edwin H. Robertson were correct, in the 28 years between 1968 and 1996, there were "quite a few new translations produced in ecumenical cooperation."[54] Therefore, perhaps hundreds of Bibles in the same number of languages have been and are being retranslated according to the principles of the 1968 and 1987 Guidelines, subsidized by the American Bible Society and its multiple cooperating groups.[55] These new Scriptures are being marketed by the leading Bible Societies and may actually result in a hindrance to the spread of the Gospel and to the preservation of the harvest among the various indigenous churches of the world.

In classic understatement, in 1995 John Paul II called this progress in interconfessional cooperation in translating the Bible "significant progress":

> 44. Significant progress in ecumenical cooperation has also been made in another area, that of the Word of God. I am thinking above all of the importance for the different language groups of ecumenical translations of the Bible. Following the promulgation by the Second Vatican Council of the Constitution Dei Verbum, the Catholic Church could not fail to welcome this development.[56] These translations, prepared by experts, generally offer a solid basis for the prayer and pastoral activity of all Christ's followers. Anyone who recalls how heavily debates about Scripture influenced divisions, especially in the West, can appreciate the significant step forward which these common translations represent.[57]

By way of quick introduction of what was agreed upon in the 1968 and 1987 documents, a substantial part of these agreements relates to the composition of the Working Committee for all translations. The 1968 Guiding Principles explained the composition of the Working Committee in this way:

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[54]Robertson, *Taking the Word to the World*, 323.

[55]For example, the publisher of the French *Le Semeur* version, that appears to have been published using the 1987 Guidelines, wrote, "This IBS translation of the Entire Bible is for the French language; an estimated 124,000,000 people speak this language as their mother tongue. This translation uses an informal language style and applies a meaning-based translation philosophy. It is translated from the Biblical languages and was completed in June 1999" ("La Bible du Semeur"; available from http://www.biblegateway.com/versions/index.php?action=getVersionInfo&vid=32; accessed: 24 Aug 2006).

[56]"Cf. Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity and the Executive Committee of the United Bible Societies, Guiding Principles for Interconfessional Cooperation in Translating the Bible (1968). This was revised and then published by the Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity, 'Guidelines for Interconfessional Cooperation in Translating the Bible': Information Service, 65 (1987), 140-145."

[57]John Paul II, Ut Unum Sint: That They May Be One (8 Sept 1995), §44 (online); available at: http://www.ewtn.com/library/ENCYC/JP2UTUNU.HTM; accessed 8 Sept 2004.

C. **ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE**
For the most adequate development of a translation program, there is need for three groups: 1. a
Working Committee, 2. a Review Committee, and 3. a Consultative Group.
1.   *Working Committee*
Consisting of 4 to 6 persons equally divided between Protestant and Roman Catholic constituencies
and possessing four essential characteristics:
equal standing,
complementary abilities,
mutual respect, and
capacity to work together.[58]

Therefore according to this 1968 document, all the translation teams controlled or influenced by the UBS were to be required to include a 50-50 ratio of Roman Catholic and Protestant translators. It must be stated that this would have been a revolutionary decision for most Evangelicals in 1968. The same portion in the 1987 Guidelines reads as follows:

2.3.   **ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE**
For the most adequate development of a translation program, there is need for three groups: 1. a
translation team, 2. a review panel, and 3. a consultative group.
2.3.1.   *Translation team*
Consisting of not more than six persons of high competence from the Roman Catholic and other
Christian constituencies and possessing four essential characteristics:
a) comparable qualifications,
b) complementary abilities,
c) mutual respect, and
d) capacity to work together.[59]

The word "Protestant" was completely removed from this portion, and the term was replaced with "other Christian constituencies." Likewise, in the 1987 agreement, published at the Vatican website, the 50-50 ratio was changed, and the Protestant composition of the translation team was eliminated.[60] In the

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[58]"Guiding Principles for Interconfessional Cooperation in Translating the Bible" [Pentecost, 1968], from Thomas F. Stransky, C.S.P., and John B. Sheerin, C.S.B., eds. *Doing the Truth in Charity: Statements of Pope Paul VI, Popes John Paul I, John Paul II, and the Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity 1964-1980.* (New York: Paulist, 1982), 166.

[59]"Guidelines for interconfessional Cooperation in Translating the Bible the New Revised Edition Rome 1987"; From: http://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/pontifical_ councils/chrstuni/general-docs/rc_ pc_chrstuni_doc_ 19871116_guidelines-bible_en.html; accessed: 8 Sept 2007.

[60]"On the other hand, the ecclesial communities which have not preserved the valid Episcopate and the genuine and integral substance of the Eucharistic mystery, [Cf. Second Vatican Council, Decree *Unitatis redintegratio,* 22] are not Churches in the proper sense" (Joseph Cardinal Ratzinger, Prefect, Tarcisio Bertone, S.D.B., Archibishop Emeritus of Vercelli, Secteary, Declaration *'Dominus Iesus' on the Unicity and Salvific Universality of Jesus Christ and the Church* [Rome: Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, 6 Aug

1987 Guidelines, the UBS deeded over the full weight of authority for its worldwide Bible translation enterprise to the Church of Rome.

Further it appears that this same "significant progress" of which John Paul II spoke, combined with the watchfulness of the "Councils of Vigilance," were leveraged more recently to influence the "'Passages' Exhibit" of the Green Collection. The Church of Rome appears to be promoted as the Matriarch of Bible translation by the apparent choice of opening the exhibit at the Vatican Embassy in Washington D.C.[61] After a time in Oklahoma City, it will continue its tour both at the Vatican and in New York City.[62] Had not someone been vigilant, an unchecked museum for the history of the Bible and its translation could have been filled with stories of violence and bloodshed at the hand of the Church of Rome. But vigilance paid off and it appears that little or nothing will be said about Rome's bloodstained hands along with its long antagonism to the translation of the Bible into the vernacular languages.

Likewise, if the Green Bible Museum were not muzzled by an apparent nihil obstat up front, there may very easily have been a strong surge of negativity to Roman Catholic interests in Oklahoma City and beyond. Rather, as it appears now, the Church of Rome is framed as the Matriarch of Bible translation with little or no bloodstain on its hands.

Is there more at stake than merely a rewriting of history? Yes, I believe so. The most important element in Rome's antagonism to vernacular translation and the lay reading of the Bible relates to translation policies as applied to the numerous languages of the world. It is to Bible translation that we now turn.

Differences in Catholic and Protestant Translation

An interesting statement in the 1968 Guiding Principles led me to research the differences between Catholic and Protestant translation histories. The statement was this:

Some committees have considered the possibility of explaining different Roman Catholic and Protestant beliefs by noting that one interpretation is held by Roman Catholics and another by Protestants. Such a procedure does not seem wise, for it tends to accentuate differences; nor is it

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2000], reaffirmed by Benedict XVI on 11 July 2007).

[61]"The exhibition was announced [12 April 2011] at the Vatican embassy in Washington DC" ("Passages Exhibition Debuts Historic Display").

[62]"'Passages' is making its world premiere at the Oklahoma City Museum of Art through Oct. 16 and then will travel to Vatican City and New York City. The 14,000-square-foot multimedia exhibit is debuting during the year of the 400th of anniversary of the King James Bible. 'Passages' spans 2,000 years to tell the story of the translation and publication of the Bible in English" ("'Passages' opens today at Oklahoma City Museum of Art" [online]; From: http://www.visitokc.com/index.php?src=news&submenu=newsletter&src type=detail&category=The%20Oklahoman&refno=248; accessed 4 June 2011).

necessary, since most diversities of interpretation can be covered more objectively by marginal annotations on alternative renderings, if the issue in question is important. Where the matter is not of great consequence, it is better simply to omit reference in the interest of joint undertakings.[63]

Prior to reading this statement, I was not fully aware of the extent of the differences in approaches in translation between Catholics and Protestants. Thus I began a program of study to consider the differences of which I was formerly unaware. I found that the verses that teach doctrines important in Protestant and Evangelical theology, such as those that teach justification by faith, appeared to be intentionally distorted by Catholic translators. The same was true of passages that teach total depravity, substitutionary atonement, a hearing of faith, the importance of the new birth, etc. Meanwhile, passages that could be leveraged to teach a sacramental salvation were rendered in such a way as to clearly teach those doctrines. The same was true for the role of the priest and the priesthood, the need for human mediation, bowing and kneeling to people, etc. Once I understood the theological issues, and once I began to inspect the translation of texts, the differences were very clear and stark.[64]

The following are charts that display some of the differences in question. First Peter 2:9 includes one verb to describe what the Christian is to do. The KJV renders the entire verse as follows:

> But ye *are* a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, an holy nation, a peculiar people; that ye should shew forth the praises of him who hath called you out of darkness into his marvellous light.

The following chart displays 13 translations of the Greek phrase behind "that ye should shew forth the praises":

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[63]"Guiding Principles," 162.

[64]A book that began to open my eyes to these tendencies was Samuel Lortsch, *Histoire de la Bible en France* [History of the Bible in France] (Paris: Société Biblique Britannique et Étrangère, 1910) (online); available at: http://www.bibliquest.org/Lortsch/Lortsch-Histoire_Bible_France-1.htm; accessed: 4 Mar 2005.

Translations of τὰς ἀρετὰς ἐξαγγείλητε in 1 Peter 2:9[65]

Edition	Translation	Emphasis
New Jerusalem Bible* (1985)	"to sing the praises"	Worship-Oriented
French Le Semeur** (1992, 1999)	"so that you may celebrate very highly the marvelous works"	Worship-Oriented
New Living Translation (2004)	"as a result, you can show others the goodness of God"	Lifestyle-oriented
Tyndale Version (1534)	"that ye shuld shewe the vertues"	Lifestyle-oriented
KJV[1] (1611/ 1769)	"that ye should shew forth the praises"	Lifestyle-oriented
American Standard Version (1901)	"that ye may show forth the excellencies"	Lifestyle-oriented
English Geneva (1560)	"that ye shulde shewe for the the vertues"	Lifestyle-oriented
CEV (1995)***	"Now you must tell all the wonderful things that he has done."	Proclamation-oriented; muted purpose clause
Good News Trans (1992)°	"chosen to proclaim the wonderful acts of God"	Proclamation-oriented; muted purpose clause
New American Bible°° (1991)	"so that you may announce the praises"	Proclamational-oriented; as purpose clause (apodosis)
NIV (1984)	"that you may declare the praises"	Proclamational-oriented; as purpose clause (apodosis)
NKJ (1982)	"that you may proclaim the praises"	Proclamational-oriented; as purpose clause (apodosis)
NAS (1977); ESV (2001); HCS (2004)	"that you may proclaim the excellencies"	Proclamational-oriented; as purpose clause (apodosis)

*The New Jerusalem (1885) is a Roman Catholic translation, whose 1973 French older cousin (*Bible de Jérusalem*) seems to be the pattern for the French *Le Semeur*. Interestingly enough, the French *Jérusalem* followed pattern #9, 12, or 13, using "proclaim."

**Translation mine.

***Published by the American Bible Society, the Contemporary English Version (imprimatur: Most Reverend Daniel E. Pilarczyk, President, National Conference of Catholic Bishops [1991]), reorganized words and phrases: "But you are God's chosen and special people. You are a group of royal priests and a holy nation. God has brought you out of darkness into his marvelous light. Now you must tell all the wonderful things that he has done."

°The Good News Translation is also published by the American Bible Society (imprimatur: Most Reverend William H. Keeler, President, National Conference of Catholic Bishops [1993]).

°°The 1991 New American Bible is copyrighted by the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine (Washington, D.C.). Some of the oldest French Bibles translate similarly (1530 Lefèvre; 1534 Olivétan; 1550 Louvain).

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[65]Thomas P. Johnston, *Evangelizology* (Liberty, MO: Evangelism Unlimited, 2010), 1:48-49. Most Scripture quotations are taken from Bibleworks 8.0 when a translation is available in that software.

The astute observer will note the wide variety of translations of this phrase. Some translations are proclamational and some are not. The variety does not appear to be related to semantics or lexical issues, but rather to missional and ecclesial-theological issues.

Another example is Romans 3:23, a verse found in many Gospel presentations, from the "Roman Road" to the *Bridge to Life*. It teaches a pivotal Gospel truth regarding man's need for the atoning death of Jesus Christ on the cross. Notice the variety of translations of this important verse:

Translations of Rom 3:[22]23 (arranged chronologically)[66]

Edition	Translation
Greek	πάντες γὰρ ἥμαρτον καὶ ὑστεροῦνται τῆς τῆς δόξης τοῦ θεοῦ
Latin Vulgate (early 400s)	*omnes enim peccaverunt et egent gloriam Dei*
Jacques leFevres d'Étaples (1530)*	"Certainly there is [absolutely] no difference: for all have sinned & are in need of the glory of God"*
French Geneva Bible (1560-1669)**	"for there is [absolutely] no difference: seeing as all have sinned, and are entirely destitute of the glory of God"
English Geneva Bible (1560)	"For there is no difference: for all haue sinned, and are depriued of the glorie of God"
Bishops' Bible (1568)	"For all haue synned, and are destitute of the glorie of God"
King James Version (1611)	"For all haue sinned, and come short of the glory of God"
French Martin Bible (1699)°	"for there is absolutely no difference, seeing as all have sinned, and are utterly deprived of the glory of God"*
Douay-Rheims‡ (1899)	"For all have sinned and do need the glory of God"
Bible in Basic English (1941/ 1949)	For all have done wrong and are far from the glory of God
French Le Semeur (1992, 1999)°°	"All have sinned, in fact, and are deprived of the glorious presence of God"
Good News Trans‡ (1993)	"everyone has sinned and is far away from God's saving presence"
The Message (1993)	"we are utterly incapable of living the glorious lives God wills for us"

[Translation differences seem to focus on the theological weight of the term ὑστερέω ; moving from a substitutionary model of the atonement to the reconciliation model (from total depravity to relational separation)]

*Original: "Certes il ny a nulle difference: car tous on peche & ont besoing de la gloire de Dieu."

**Original: "car il n'y a nulle difference: veu que tous ont peché, et sont entiere-ment destituez de la gloire de Dieu."

°Original: "car il n'y a nulle différence, vu que tous ont péché, et qu'ils sont entière-ment privés de la gloire de Dieu."

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[66]Johnston, *Evangelizology*, 2:654. One row of the chart was removed to save space.

°°Original: "Tous ont péché, en effet, et sont privés de la glorieuse présence de Dieu."

‡This symbol is used to delineate a Bible bearing the Roman Catholic imprimatur.

Again, in Rom. 3:23, it appears fairly clear to the casual observer that there is a great variety of translation of one word. There is a strong likelihood that the differences are not merely semantic, but also theologically-driven.

Perhaps closest to home for biblical Christians is the concept of justification by faith in the Book of Romans. The following chart shows the changes in gradations in the translation of the Greek verb δικαιόω (to justify) in the Book of Romans:

Comparative Translations of δικαιόω in Romans[67]

Verses	Greek Byzantine	KJV (1611/1769)	NASB (1977)	NIV (1984)	New Jerusalem Bible (1985)	Good News (1993)	CEV (1991)
Romans 2:13	δικαιωθή-σονται	"shall be justified"	will be justified	who will be declared righteous	the ones that God will justify	that people are put right	God accepts those who
Romans 3:4	ἂν δικαιωθῇς	"thou mightest be justified"	Thou mightest be justified	you may be proved right	you may show your saving justice	You must be shown to be right	Your words will be proven true
Romans 3:20	οὐ δικαιωθή σεται	"there shall no flesh be justified"	no flesh will be justified	no one will be declared righteous	no human being can be found upright	no one is put right	God does not accept people simply
Romans 3:24	δικαιού μενοι	"Being justified"	being justified	and are justified	and all are justified	all are put right	he freely accepts us
Romans 3:26	δικαιοῦντα	"and the justifier of him which believeth in Jesus"	and the justifier of him which believeth in Jesus	and the one who justifies those who have faith in Jesus	and justifies everyone who has faith in Jesus	and that he puts right everyone who believes in Jesus	when he accepts people who have faith in Jesus
Romans 3:28	δικαιοῦσθαι	"that a man is justified by faith"	that a man is justified by faith	that a man is justified by faith	a person is justified by faith	a person is put right with God only through faith	that people are acceptable to God because they have faith

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[67]Johnston, *Evangelizology*, 1:421-22.

Romans 3:30	ὃς δικαιώσει	"which shall justify"	who will justify	who will justify	he will justify	he will put the Jews right with himself on the basis of their faith, and will put the Gentiles right…	and he accepts
Romans 4:2	ἐδικαιώθη	"were justified"	was justified	was justified	had been justified	he was put right	He became acceptable to God
Romans 5:1	Δικαιω θέντες	"being justified by faith"	having been justified by faith	since we have been justified through faith	now that we have been justified by faith	Now that we have been put right with God through faith	By faith we have been made acceptable to God.
Romans 5:9	δικαιω θέντες	"Much more then, being now justified by his blood"	Much more then, having now been justified by His blood	Since we have now been justified by his blood, how much more	How much more can we be sure, therefore, that, now that we have been justified by his death	By his blood we are now put right with God; how much more, then,	But there is more! Now that Christ has accepted us because of Christ sacrificed his life's blood
Romans 6:7	δεδικαίωται	"is freed from sin"	is freed from sin	has been freed from sin	of course, no longer has to answer for sin	we are set free from the power of sin	We know that sin does not have power
Romans 8:30 (1)	ἐδικαίωσεν	"them he also justified"	He also justified	he also justified	he justified	he put right with himself	God then accepted the people
Romans 8:30 (2)	ἐδικαίωσεν	"whom he justified"	whom He justified	those he justified	those that he has justified	[untranslated]	[untranslated]
Romans 8:33	Θεὸς ὁ δικαιῶν	"It is God that justifieth"	God is the one who justifies	It is God who justifies	When God grants saving justice	God himself declares them not guilty	If God says his chosen ones are acceptable to Him
Total uses of the word "Justify"	15	14/15	14/15	11/15	11/15	0/15	0/15

The final two Bibles in these columns, published by the American Bible Society, seem to correspond to English Bible translations that follow the 1987 Guidelines, whose provenance I have briefly explained above. In the GNT, δικαιόω is translated variously "put right with God" or "declares . . . innocent." The CEV translators seemed to prefer the verb "accept" or "make acceptable" in some form. Declarative righteousness and being "put right" or "made acceptable" corresponds nicely with the Roman Catholic Sacrament of Penance by which sinners are absolved of their sins by the priest in the confessional, and given appropriate penance:

> 1461 Since Christ entrusted his apostles the ministry of reconciliation, bishops who are their successors, and priests, the bishop's collaborators, continue to exercise this ministry. Indeed bishops and priests, by virtue of the Sacrament of Holy Orders, have the power to forgive all sins 'in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit.

> 1462 Forgiveness of sins brings reconciliation with God, but also with the Church. Since ancient times the bishop, visible head of a particular Church, has rightfully been considered to be the one who principally has the power and ministry of reconciliation: he is the moderator of penitential discipline.[68]

Near the beginning of this portion of the *Catechism of the Catholic Church*, it is clearly stated in italics, "*Reconciliation with the Church is inseparable from reconciliation with God.*"[69] The GNT and CEV translations of the word δικαιόω in Romans shows how Rome can alter almost any text of Scripture to accommodate its theology.

A verse that has for over a millennium been a problem for the Church of Rome is the Second of the Ten Commandments:

> Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image, or any likeness *of any thing* that *is* in heaven above, or that *is* in the earth beneath, or that *is* in the water under the earth (Exod 20:4).

However, the use of statues in worship has been tolerated or encouraged in the Roman Catholic Church since about A.D. 375.[70] Three ways were found to avoid the weight of this command: (1) renumbering the Ten Commandments so that the Second Commandment became part of the First Commandment, and the Tenth Commandment was divided into two; (2) finding this renumbering from the pen of Augustine; and (3) modifying the translation of this verse, as well as that of its parallel, Deut. 5:8.

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[68]*Catechism*, §1461, 1462.

[69]Ibid., §1145.

[70]Lorraine Boettner, "Chronological Listing of Roman Catholic Heresies and Inventions," *Roman Catholicism*, 5th ed. (Phillipsburg, NJ: Presbyterian and Reformed, 1962, 1967, 1976, 1985, 1989; Edinburgh: Banner of Truth Trust, 1962, 1966; Grand Rapids: Baker, 1983), 7.

On the Translation of Exodus 20:4

Edition	Word	Translation
Greek Orthodox Text	εἴδωλον	οὐ ποιήσεις σεαυτῷ εἴδωλον, οὐδὲ παντὸς ὁμοίωμα, ὅσα ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ἄνω καὶ ὅσα ἐν τῇ γῇ κάτω καὶ ὅσα ἐν τοῖς ὕδασιν ὑποκάτω τῆς γῆς.
NASB (1977)	idol	You shall not make for yourself an idol, or any likeness of what is in heaven above or on the earth beneath or in the water under the earth.
NKJ (1982)	carved image	You shall not make for yourself a carved image, or any likeness of anything that is in heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth;
KJV (1611)	grauen Image	Thou shalt not make vnto thee any grauen Image, or any likenesse of any thing that is in heauen aboue, or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the water vnder the earth.
Bible in Basic English (1949/1964)	image or picture	You are not to make an image or picture of anything in heaven or on the earth or in the waters under the earth:
CEV (1991)	idols	Do not make idols that look like anything in the sky or on earth or in the ocean under the earth.
NAB (1991)	carved idols	You shall not carve idols for yourselves in the shape of anything in the sky above or on the earth below or in the waters beneath the earth;
Douai-Rheims (1899)	graven thing	Thou shalt not make to thyself a graven thing, nor the likeness of any thing that is in heaven above, or in the earth beneath, nor of those things that are in the waters under the earth.
GNT (1993)	images	Do not make for yourselves images of anything in heaven or on earth or in the water under the earth.

Knowing the very long history of ecclesial battles over this verse (including the Iconoclastic Controversy of the eighth and ninth centuries) the translation issues in this verse are very carefully nuanced: (1) in the three contemporary Catholic versions, the clear command against making a singular "idol" or "image" for worship is transformed into a plural command, almost like a city architectural ordinance; (2) both the 1991 NAB and the 1993 GNT make the singular "for yourself" into a plural "for yourselves": (a) making it a communal command; and (b) implying that making graven images is fine, as long as it is someone approved who makes it. One could see why the PCBI did not like the "literalistic interpretation" or translation efforts of U.S. Evangelicals in the twentieth century.

Finally, I would like to highlight one final set of verses by way of introduction. These verses relate to the closed or ongoing role of the priesthood under the New Covenant. It is important to understand that Rome's entire ministry of salvation is vested in the mediatory role of its priests. Let's consider Heb. 7:23-24:

Variety in Translating Hebrews 7:23-24

Edition	Verse 23 Translation	Verse 24 Translation
Byzantine Textform (2005)	Καὶ οἱ μὲν πλείονές εἰσιν γεγονότες ἱερεῖς, διὰ τὸ θανάτῳ κωλύεσθαι παραμένειν·	ὁ δέ, διὰ τὸ μένειν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, ἀπαράβατον ἔχει τὴν ἱερωσύνην.
English Geneva (1560)	And among them many were made Priests, because they were not suffered to endure, by the reason of death.	But this man, because hee endureth euer, hath a Priesthood, which cannot passe from one to another.
KJV (1611/1769)	And they truly were many priests, because they were not suffered to continue by reason of death:	But this *man*, because he continueth ever, hath an unchangeable priesthood.
NASB (1977)	And the former priests, on the one hand, existed in greater numbers, because they were prevented by death from continuing,	but He, on the other hand, because He abides forever, holds His priesthood permanently.
CEV (1991)	There have been a lot of other priests, and all of them have died.	But Jesus will never die, and so he will be a priest forever!
GNT (1993)	There is another difference: there were many of those other priests, because they died and could not continue their work.	But Jesus lives on forever, and his work as priest does not pass on to someone else.
God's Word to the Nations (1995)	There was a long succession of priests because when a priest died he could no longer serve.	But Jesus lives forever, so he serves as a priest forever

Several issues come to the fore in this chart. Notice how the GWN in verse 23 and the GNT in verse 24 cleverly provide a scriptural basis for priestly successionism. Both the CEV and the GNT emphasize "other priests" or "those other priests," to differentiate the Old Covenant priesthood and from their view of the necessary New Covenant priesthood (i.e. Rome's "Sacrament [means of grace] of Holy Orders"). The GNT also implies an ongoing mediatory work of priesthood, "could not continue their work." In verse 24, the amazing reality of the eternality of Jesus is diminished to "will never die" in the CEV. Again, the GNT is all about the work of the priest, adding a presumption of priestly succession, in that Christ's priesthood does not pass on. The differences are stark and even appalling, and these few examples merely scratch the surface of the number of issues involved in Bible translation.

The reality is that Baptists and Evangelicals need to be vigilant. There is a battle being waged for the souls of men. And this battle includes the translation of and dissemination of Scriptures. Being unconcerned or ignorant of the past is neither beneficial nor helpful in this battle. Perhaps it was a certain ignorance of the past that allowed the leaders of the United Bible Society to give away the fort in 1968: its manpower, its resources, its real estate, and its committee agreements.

So, with the concerted efforts of the many Councils of Vigilance and today's "interconfessional" translation of the Bible, it may be that Rome leveraged the "Passages Exhibit" to its own advantage.

But perhaps not, for it promises to be a "non-sectarian" display, that is balanced and favors neither Catholic, Orthodox, Protestant, nor Jew.71 Furthermore, according to a promotional article, the museum will contain unique scientific displays:

> Interactive features more readily associated with science museums also help provide context. Visitors can enter St. Jerome's cave to learn about the fourth-century scholar best known for the Vulgate, his Latin translation of the Bible.[72]

Perhaps this museum will house a rendition of the cell where Bible translator William Tyndale was held in the Vilvorde Castle or maybe a rendition of the platform on which he was burned at the stake in Antwerp in 1536. Surely the story of Tyndale fits the "non-sectarian" purpose of "Passages":

> 'Passages' spans 2,000 years to tell the story of the translation and publication of the Bible in English. . . . "Just the idea of contextualizing things . . . is important, so that people see things in a replication of what it would have been like in the world that produced them," he [Carroll] said.[73]

Is not the Tyndale story is a part of "the world that produced" the English language Bible translations?

Perhaps the interactive elements of the museum will house a rendition of the place in Smithfield, London, where John Rogers, the translator of the Matthew's Bible, was burned at the stake in 1555, apparently the first of hundreds of Protestant to be burned during the reign of Queen Mary I.[74] Perhaps the Green Bible Museum may consider the importance of the unnamed Bible bookseller in Avignon, France, who was arrested by the Catholic Bishop of Aix in 1545, under suspicion of being Lutheran. At his trial, he was condemned to walk to the place of burning with two Bibles hanging from his neck, one in front and one behind, after which he was burned alive, presumably with the Bibles still hanging around his neck.[75] Perhaps a scientific study of this Bible bookseller, as well as a scientific exhibit would be profitable for the sake of a balanced Bible history; after all hundreds of French Protestants and Germanic Baptists died because they read and believed the Bible in their mother tongue:

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[71]"Opening today, 'Passages' is the nonsectarian, worldwide traveling exhibition of The Green Collection, among the world's newest and largest private collections of rare biblical manuscripts and artifacts" ("'Passages' opens today at Oklahoma City Museum of Art").

[72]Ibid.

[73]Ibid.

[74]Rawlings, *Trial by Fire*, 119, 121.

[75]Crespin, *Histoire*, 118-118 *verso*.

(1) So, what was the Avignon bookseller's name—who made the ultimate sacrifice to sell Bibles?

(2) What versions of the Bible were hung from his neck, in what language were they, where were they printed, and how were they shipped to him? How long had he owned and operated his Bible bookstore?

(3) What did this unnamed man preach on his way to the place of burning and when in the flames?

(4) How long did it typically take a human body to be burned to ashes when placed on a stake and burned? What combustibles were available to the people of Avignon in those years, and how hot did the fire get? Did human beings feel pain in the sixteenth century? And how were his wife and children cared for after the execution?

(5) Did the onlookers receive a plenary indulgence (of some kind) from the local Catholic priest or bishop for bringing firewood, listening to a prelate preach on the heresy of this unnamed man, and staying to watch the entire episode?

(6) Did the bookseller's clothing burn first, leaving the crowd watching a pornographic scene during the remainder of the burning?

(7) What were the various methods of execution used in the Inquisition and post-Reformation era in various parts of Europe? Would not a non-sectarian chronological-geographical interactive map on display at the museum be educational as to the various methods of execution used by all sides in various countries and at different time periods during the 2000 years in question?

(8) Furthermore, what impact did public execution have on the psyche of a people, particularly the more barbaric and extended the means of execution, such as use of the "*Espadrade*," whereby Denis de Rieux was raised and lowered over the fire three times before being martyred in Meaux, France, in 1528.[76]

Whereas some Catholic scholars consider the accounts of Protestant martyrs as myth,[77] I anticipate that a world-class museum will include the long-held Protestant views to provide a balanced look at the 2,000 year story of the Bible and Bible translation.[78]

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[76]Ibid., 70-70 *verso*. Instead of use of a stationary stake, the "*Espadrade*" made use of a rope over a pulley, the hands and feet of the condemned were tied behind his back, and he was raised and lowered over the fire by the executioner who pulled or released the rope via the pulley, depending on the sentence received from the judge (cf. David Watson, "The Martyrology of Jean Crespin and the Early French Evangelical Movement, 1523-1555," Ph.D. dissertation, University of St. Andrews, 1997).

[77]"Although there have been several exceptions to this generalization on both sides of the confessional line, the historical achievements of the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries have made a return to the myths, among professional historians of any creed at least, virtually impossible" (Brian Van Hove, S.J., "Beyond the Myth of Inquisition: Ours is 'The Golden Age'"; available at: http://www.catholiceducation. org/articles/history/world/wh0027.html; accessed 10 Nov 2005).

[78]By the way, throughout the Middle Ages and beyond the Reformation era many Jews and their Bible manuscripts also were burned.

In 1979 Pope John Paul II reminded his hearers in "Mexico Ever Faithful" that the Catholic Church was not, "as some people claim—a 'new church,' different or opposed to the 'old church,' but that the Council wished to reveal more clearly the one Church of Jesus Christ, with new aspects, but still the same in its essence."[79] His statement may now take on a whole new meaning when one examines the history of the "old church."

Yes, David Green and the Green Foundation are to be commended for their enthusiastic generosity shown toward the history of the Word of God. Theirs is a commendable love for the Bible, as stated in Psalm 119:97, "O how love I thy law! it is my meditation all the day."

So, what can be learned in light of the possible historiographic challenges exemplified in the development of a "Passages" Exhibit? (1) It is clear that the translating and publishing of vernacular Bibles, as well as the historical accounts of the same, is a very hotly contested area of study. (2) Since history has a tendency to repeat itself, the wise reader can learn valuable lessons from the past, as well as from the present situation. (3) Likewise, the Christian leader may understand the urgency of obeying the command of Christ in his commissioning of his disciples, "Therefore be wise as serpents" (Matt 10:16). And (4) aware of the work of the approximately 194 Councils of Vigilance meeting every two months in the U.S., U.S. Baptists and Evangelicals need to revive old churches and start new ones. They need to revive old schools and start new ones. They need to revive old publishing companies and start new ones. They need to revive old scholarly societies and start new ones. They need to revive old tract societies and start new ones. They need to revive old journals and start new ones. They need to be both vigilant and evangelistic.

"Wilt thou not revive us again: that thy people may rejoice in thee?" (Ps. 85:6).

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[79]John Paul II, "Mexico Ever Faithful," 1.

18,744

The number of missionaries, pastors, and other ministry leaders who have graduated from Southern Baptist seminaries since 2000.

EVERY NUMBER HAS A STORY

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SECTION 2

KEY ISSUES IN BAPTIST THEOLOGY

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There is one body and one Spirit, just as
you were called in one hope of your
calling; one Lord, one faith, one baptism;
one God and Father of all, who is above
all, and through all, and in you all.

EPHESIANS 4:4-6

THE FUTURE OF BAPTIST THEOLOGY WITH A LOOK AT ITS PAST

— ❈ —

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Looking Back on Four Centuries of Baptist Theology

The Chief Differentiating Theological Issues among Baptists

From my studies of the four-century history of Baptist theology[1] I have come to the conclusion that the principal differentiating issues among Baptists during the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries were the Calvinistic-Arminian differences, or to be more specific, the issues that differentiate the Reformed Synod of Dort (1618-1619) and the followers of Jacob Arminius, who framed the five Remonstrant Articles (1610). I have also concluded that the chief differentiating doctrinal issues for Baptists during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries were the liberal-evangelical issues. Now, let's first take a look at the Calvinistic-Arminian debate.

These differences were initially manifested in the separate and distinct origins of the General and the Particular Baptists in England. They are essentially soteriological, dealing with the relationship of the divine and the human in our salvation. I have challenged the accuracy of the commonly used acronym to specify the Dortian doctrines, the TULIP, for it was not so much total depravity that separated these two theological systems from the Arminian viewpoint as it was the nature of repentance and faith— whether they are the gifts of God or the responses of human beings. Each of these Dutch-derived theological stances was capable of spawning extremes, notably Hyper-Calvinism from Dort and neo-Pelagianism from the Arminians. I have offered, possibly for the first time, five distinguishing marks of Hyper-Calvinism: the supralapsarian order of divine decrees; the pre-temporal covenant of redemption made by the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit; eternal justification somewhat separated for the exercise of faith in time; rejection of offers of grace to the non-elect; and antinomianism. Hyper-Calvinism plagued the Particular Baptists during the eighteenth century, and Pelagian positions can be detected among the liberal and modernist theologians in the Northern Baptist Convention in the early twentieth century.

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[1]James Leo Garrett, *Baptist Theology: A Four-Century Study* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 2009).

The liberal-evangelical issues were not essentially soteriological. Rather they centered on Christology, revelation and the Bible, human origins, and to some extent eschatology. Liberal theology for Baptists and other Protestants developed in response to the new nineteenth century theological climate—especially biblical criticism, Darwinian evolution, and the Industrial Revolution. Whereas liberals embraced the new climate, evangelicals or conservatives did not. Indeed Northern Baptists had mediating theologians such as Ezekiel G. Robinson and Augustus H. Strong. But once again extremists were spawned—modernists on the one hand and fundamentalists on the other. I concur with Kenneth Cauthen's verdict that liberals and modernists are to be differentiated. For liberals there was still a need for Jesus, however truncated, but for modernists Jesus was dispensable; modern thought instead would suffice. The question has not been settled as to how many fundamentals were defended by the fundamentalists, but George M. Marsden has aptly identified fundamentalism as "militantly antimodernist Protestant evangelicalism" between the 1870s and the 1920s, but especially during the 1920s. Marsden's definition allows us to conceive of evangelicalism as preceding and succeeding fundamentalism.

Now in the last quarter century among Southern Baptists, there arose a neo-Calvinist movement, a neo-fundamentalist movement, and a moderate movement.

Parallel Baptist Theological Trends

Parallel to, and sometimes contemporaneous with, the Calvinist-Arminian and the liberal-evangelical differences have been other theological tendencies. I cite four of these.

First, Baptists have engaged in polemic in defense of their own distinctive beliefs. This has taken two forms: the earlier and the later. The earlier form was the literature on believer's baptism by immersion, written against Paedobaptists and focused on the candidate or the mode or on both. This type of writing extended from John Spilsbury to the First London Confession (1644) to Benjamin Keach to John Gill to Dan Taylor to Alexander Carson to John Jay Butler to John L. Dagg to James Robinson Graves. Baptism was seen as the crucial issue between Baptists and other Christians. The later form was a genre of literature, written from ca. 1850 to ca. 1950, on the cluster of beliefs and practices called "Baptist distinctives." Since the genre was contemporaneous with the greatest influence of Landmarkism on Southern Baptists, it might be easy to posit a theory of cause and effect. But the fact that Northern and English Baptists were at the same time contributing significantly to this genre would undermine any such theory. As R. Stanton Norman has noted, this literature tended either to magnify the authority of the Scriptures or that of Christian experience (notably E.Y. Mullins). One may indeed ask whether the demise of this literature during the last sixty years has been a major factor in the failure of Baptist churches in the United States to teach their members about the Baptist heritage.

Second, Baptists have continued to affirm those basic Christian doctrines that they share with other professing Christian and with all Protestants. Baptists have adhered to the patristic consensus regarding the Trinity and the person of Christ, or made the march from Nicaea I to

Chalcedon, even when they did not formally acknowledge such. Note John Gill on the Trinity. Hence Baptists were able to identify heresy, such as the earliest English General Baptists becoming Unitarian in belief by the early eighteenth century. The Second London Confession (1677) of Particular Baptists and the Orthodox Creed (1678) of General Baptists stressed both in structure and in content kinship with the Presbyterian Westminster Confession. Baptists have shared with the heirs of the magisterial Reformation such beliefs as the authority of Scripture, justification by grace through faith, the priesthood of all believers, predestination, church discipline, and either Zwinglian or Calvinist understandings of the Lord's Supper.

Third, Baptists in the twentieth century made different responses to the Ecumenical Movement with its emphasis on structured transdenominational church union. British Baptists, Northern Baptists, most African-America conventions in the United States, and a scattering of other unions and conventions joined the World Council of Churches. Southern Baptists, Latin American Baptists, and a larger number of unions and conventions did not, being unwilling to go beyond spiritual unity and limited cooperation and expressing fears of a "one world church." Ernest A. Payne and Edward Roberts-Thompson championed the ecumenical cause, and H.E. Dana and William R. Estep, Jr. represented the other side. The World's Council's involvement in social and political issues, such as financial aid to revolutionary movements in Africa during the 1960s and 1970s, and away from evangelization and church planting, decelerated any flow of Baptist bodies into the WCC and led to the withdrawal of a few.

Fourth, more recently among Baptists has been the interaction or interpenetration of theology and missiology. We must go back to William Carey's *An Enquiry to the Obligations of Christians, to Use Means for the Conversion of the Heathens* (1792). This treatise was not theological , but rather missiological; however, it may have helped to turn missiology into a theological discipline. William Owen Carver, the first Baptist to hold an academic chair of missions at Southern Baptist Theological Seminary in 1899, at first leaning to the society method, treated missions as the duty of individual Christians in relation to the kingdom of God. Through the twentieth century more attention was given to the missionary role of the churches, especially with the advent of short-term church-sent volunteer missionaries to supplement the career missionaries. Missiology, as may be seen in the volume entitled *Missiology* (1998), edited by Mark Terry, Justice Anderson, and Ebbie Smith, had its essential theological component. Moreover, at the end of the twentieth century with the systematic theologies written by James W. McClendon and by myself, Baptist systematic theologies include chapters on missions. Concurrent with this greater interaction of missiology and theology has been the contextualization of Baptist theology outside of Europe and North America. Perhaps the most notable has been the work of Latin American Baptist theologians, Orlando Costas, René Padilla, and Samuel Escobar. They have joined the the supreme authority of Scripture and the need for evangelization and missions with a strong emphasis on social justice and a keen awareness of the Latin American, i.e., Roman Catholic, context. In Nigeria confrontation with African Traditional Religion has been pursued, and in South Korea missiological concerns have loomed large.

Looking to the Future of Baptist Theology

Will the Chief Differentiating and Characterizing Issues of the Past Have a Significant Bearing on the Future?

First, because Baptists closely connect salvation with church membership, it is likely that soteriological concerns about the relationship between humanity and the divine will continue to resurface in Baptist life.

Second, likewise the issues surrounding revelation and the Bible, Christology, human origins, and eschatology are likely to resurface among Baptists.

Third, although some of the Baptist distinctives will continue to be strictly less distinctive of Baptists as other Christian denominations and nondenominational indigenous movements embrace some of them, Baptists may continue to be less than effective in teaching and fleshing out these historic distinctives amid their own people.

Fourth, Baptists may continue to rediscover their debt to the patristic consensus and to recognize their debt to the Magisterial Reformation as well as the Radical Reformation.

Fifth, perhaps the question of interdenominational Christian unity will be answered in rather different ways in the twenty-first century than in the twentieth.

Sixth, it is very probable that the interactions of missiology and theology among Baptists will markedly increase.

What Other Theological Issues are Likely to be Faced by Baptists in the Near Future?

My proposals, of course, do not constitute a complete list even as we acknowledge the difficulty of speaking about the future. I would ask seven questions.

(1) Can Baptists in various conventions and unions find a common biblical hermeneutic, especially in reference to contemporary social and moral issues?

This question takes us into ethics. To raise such a question is not to assume that Baptists have always had such a common hermeneutic in the past. The history of American Baptist attitudes toward slavery and racial segregation is a well-known exception. But issues such as homosexual practice, cohabitation outside of marriage, and abortion have tested Baptists as to anything like a common stance in today's worlds. Moreover, present-day happenings in the Episcopal Church in the United States and in the Anglican communion worldwide make it clear that differences

on these burning issues, together with their underpinnings of biblical hermeneutics and biblical authority, can produce major schisms and a divided witness. If Baptists can still agree on the supreme authority of the Holy Scriptures, then hopefully they can responsibly address these exegetical, hermeneutical, and socio-ethical issues.

(2)   Is the Baptist embrace of the doctrine of the Trinity sufficient for an effective witness to Muslims?

Baptist theological history for four centuries is replete with evidence that Baptists have consistently affirmed that God is one God yet in three "persons" or "subsistences" – the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. In such affirmations Baptists have used language hammered out by ecumenical councils of the patristic era. Baptists have also recognized that denial of the Trinity and of the deity of Christ puts one outside the ranks of truth and into the ranks of heresy, as in the case of the majority of the earliest English General Baptists who by the early eighteenth century had become Unitarians in belief, and in the case of modernists in the Northern Baptist Convention in the early twentieth century. But for many Southern Baptists from the latter part of the twentieth century to the present, the Trinity has been a doctrine, the denial of which could evoke charges of heresy while the affirmation of which—through preaching, teaching, worship, hymnody and praise songs, and piety—has been woefully deficient. Now as a major missionary sending body, the Southern Baptist Convention faces the great challenge of witnessing to the Islamic world, in both predominantly Muslim nations, as well as in the United States and Europe. A major roadblock is the Muslim perception that we Christians believe in three Gods, that Jesus is not the Son of God, and that Jesus did not die on the cross. Can Baptists be expected to lead Muslims to saving faith in Jesus Christ if their doctrine of the Trinity is stored in mothballs?

(3)   Can Baptists agree on the destiny of the unevangelized?

Before the end of the twentieth century, especially among evangelicals, there surfaced as a major theological issue the destiny of unevangelized peoples. The question, of course, was not new, but it had a new intensity, as contacts with the adherents of non-Christian religions increased. Three major positions soon came to be differentiated. First, there is pluralism, or the view that humans can be made right with God or eschatologically saved in and through non-Christian religions. Second, there is inclusivism, or the view that salvation can come only through Jesus Christ but can occur without particular knowledge of Jesus, without a confession of faith in Jesus, and without Christian baptism but through the agency of the transcendent Christ or Logos. Third, there is exclusivism, or the view that salvation can with certainty come only through Jesus Christ and only through an identifiable acknowledgement of Jesus as Savior and Lord with at least a minimal awareness of the Christian gospel. Few Baptists, if any, have embraced pluralism, as expounded by John Hick. Rather to the extent that they have addressed this issue Baptists have espoused either inclusivism or exclusivism. As to monographs on this subject, more Baptist authors have espoused inclusivism (Russell Aldwinckle, Clark H. Pinnock, Molly Marshall) than have espoused exclusiveism (Ronald H. Nash). Some would join this issue with the question

of the destiny of infants and young children who die at an early age. Others would join it with post-mortem evangelization, which the older theologians call "probation after death," and which has been popularly dubbed "a second chance." Clear evangelistic and missionary strategy would seem to call for a relatively clear answer to such questions. The 2000 SBC *Baptist Faith and Message* statement is clearly exclusivistic, but the monographs for exclusivism are few. Moreover, to affirm exclusivism on the basis of John 3:16; John 14:6; Acts 4:12 et al. is not to usurp the omniscience of God but to state what the church today ought to declare with any certainty, leaving final salvation, where it belongs, in the hands of God.

(4) What are Baptists to do with Dispensationalism?

This theological system, so widely embraced today among Southern Baptists, did not enter Southern Baptist theological history until James Robinson Graves embraced it late in the nineteenth century. I have proposed that we should reckon Dispensationalism, both a distinctive hermeneutic and a distinctive eschatology, as an "incursion" into Baptist theology. By incursion I do not mean "heresy," as one of my reviewers seems to think, but rather as a novelty without precedent during the earlier two and a half centuries of Baptist life. Although one cannot with certainty posit any cause-effect relationship, it is noteworthy that the era of Dispensationalism's greatest influence on Southern Baptists, i.e., the turn of the twenty-first century, was concurrently the time of the greatest restriction of missionary methods in the history of the IMB SBC – the curtailment of theological education, primary and secondary schools, publishing, medical missions, and agricultural missions in favor of direct evangelism and church planting alone. To be sure, American Dispensationalism has undergone at least two transformations since C.I. Scofield published his *Scofield Reference Bible* a century ago, but its abiding hiatus between the church (the Christians) and Israel (the Jews) is difficult to harmonize with Paul's teaching about Jew-Gentile reconciliation through the cross and the creation of the "one new man" (Eph. 2:15b-16). Furthermore, Dispensationalism's two eschatological comings of Christ, "the rapture" and the "revelation," are hard to reconcile with the synonymous use of *parousia, epiphaneia, apokalupsis* in the Greek New Testament, all used in reference to the second coming, as scholars of historical premillennialism have readily acknowledged.

(5) Are many Baptist churches to adopt ruling elders? Will Baptist megachurches retain a
      residue of congregational polity?

Although the Philadelphia Association for a time in the eighteenth century had the practice of ruling elders, such has been almost totally absent from Baptist churches in the United States until recent years. Perhaps as a consequence of the neo-Calvinism among Southern Baptists and or the influence of Dallas Theological Seminary, not a few Southern Baptist churches have established ruling elders, sometimes so as to produce major division in the congregation. Some have argued that elders are almost identical with "church staff," but the crucial issue is whether the elders alone make decisions that according to congregational polity are normally to be made by the congregation. Some insist that all elders be ministers of the church, but to be decided is the question as to whether all elders are equal in authority or one elder, the pastor, has unique leadership. New Christians in

Baptist churches or members who have come from other denominations often are quite amenable to ruling elders, whereas traditional or lifetime Baptists tend to be opposed to such. Few seem to realize that this is one of the marks that historically differentiated Baptists from Presbyterians.

For Baptist megachurches the question may not be ruling elders but rather pastor, church staff, and a leadership team. Some have argued that as churches increase in membership and ultimately become megachurches, it is inevitable from the standpoint of practicality that they abandon congregational polity. Such megachurches cannot seat their members for a congregational meeting, for they have multiple locations and/or multiple services. Most all decisions are made by the leadership and reported to the membership. Will the megachurch pattern spread to other churches? Can the great number of Baptist laypeople who are engaged in short-term mission trips overseas and at home be permanently denied participation in the decision-making of their church?

(6)   Are Baptists to surrender or retain believer's baptism by immersion and its implications?

From John Bunyan's day some Baptists have advocated and practiced open communion in observing the Lord's Supper, i.e., open to all who profess to be Christians. Such has been defended on the basis of Christian unity, Christian love, and/or the absence of factiousness. In England John Collett Ryland, his son John Ryland, and Robert Hall, Jr. defended open communion, and Charles Haddon Spurgeon practiced it. Contemporary with open communion were the advocacy and practice of strict communion, i.e., making believer's baptism by immersion prerequisite to participation in the Lord's Supper in a Baptist church. William Kiffin, Abraham Booth, and Joseph Kinghorn strongly defended such, arguing that if believer's baptism by immersion is required for membership, it should be for the Lord's Supper and that open communion is a denigration of believer's immersion. Among Baptists the warning has been sounded that open communion will lead to open membership; and, in fact, it has.

On the contrary, open membership is a relatively modern development among Baptists, especially in Great Britain. This is the practice whereby a Baptist church does not require that all its members be baptized on confession of faith by immersion. Hence in the membership may be persons having been baptized as infants or by sprinkling or pouring or even having had no baptism at all. The priority of baptism to the Lord's Supper is not recognized. During the twentieth century conciliar ecumenism has influenced some Baptists to embrace open membership. At issue is the importance of believer's immersion. Oddly enough, whereas numerous English Baptist churches have adopted open membership, in the United States the Baptist witness has been strong enough to help several new Christian denominations, especially between 1830 and 1930, to adopt believer's immersion. Among Southern Baptists open membership has had few practitioners, but now two leading articles in *Baptists Today* (December 2009) have advocated open membership. *The Alabama Baptist* (29 April 2010, among other papers) published my article that advocated that Baptist churches should not adopt open membership. With open membership, immersion becomes dispensable, and there seems to be little rationale for a continuing Baptist denomination.

Coupled with the open membership trend in Britain has been a movement toward baptismal sacramentalism. Beginning with World War II a number of English Baptist authors have advocated the use of the term "sacraments" and disfavored the use of "ordinances." Moreover, baptism is said to be "more than a symbol" in the sense that divine agency and divine grace are said to be involved uniquely in Christian baptism, not merely the confession of faith of the candidate, and conversion is reckoned as incomplete without baptism. George R. Beasley-Murray and R.E.O. White led the way in these views of baptism. Neville Clark, Anthony Cross, and others followed. English Baptists as a whole are divided on this issue, while Baptists in the United States who know their history are prone to find likeness to the views of Alexander Campbell and Archibald McLean, the "Scotch Baptist," which were rejected by early nineteenth-century Baptists.

(7)   Can Baptists mend their fractured unity?

We know that Baptists began as two separate bodies, the General and the Particular Baptists. We also acknowledge that Baptists, perhaps more than other Christians, have had a tendency to divide or separate. It has been said that our congregational polity has made us more prone to schism. The SBC was constituted in an act of separation in 1845. Northern Baptists sustained major defections in the 1930s and 1940s as a consequence of theological controversy, and now more recently the American Baptist Churches (USA) have lost their Pacific Southwest churches over homosexuality and other issues. There are now four Afro-American Baptist conventions. Southern Baptists have had the Frank Norris movement, the Lee Roberson movement, the Alliance of Baptists, and the Cooperative Baptist Fellowship. A quarter of century ago Brazilian Baptists divided over charismaticism and now the same has happened to Argentine Baptists.

Even so, Baptists must know the Pauline teaching about Christian unity (Eph. 2:14-22; 4:3-6, 11-13; Phil. 4:2-3) and how our Lord Jesus, according to John 17 prayed for the unity of his disciples, even as he and the Father are one, so that the unbelieving world may believe that God has sent Jesus. Sometimes those Baptists who have consistently rejected the structured union of conciliar ecumenism have provided meager examples of any form of unity among the people called Baptists. More recently (2004) the unity of the Baptist World Alliance has been fractured by the withdrawal of the Southern Baptist Convention. Once again Baptists have the great challenge of repairing or mending their broken unity without forsaking the gospel or losing

essential Christian truth. Cooperation has been an unchanged article of faith in the SBC Baptist Faith and Message Statement in 1925, 1963 and 2000.[2]

Conclusion

In conclusion, we acknowledge that there may be in the near future other pressing issues for Baptists not mentioned here. Likewise, Baptists will continue to need to know how other Christians are doing theology, for such developments have a way of affecting Baptists. But it is of paramount importance that Baptists in the twenty-first century think theologically as Baptists and in reference to the Baptist heritage. I invite and challenge you to engage in Baptist theology and to make your contribution to it. May our Lord abundantly enable, bless, and use you in doing so.

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[2]Two issues that have not been identified but are widely discussed among Baptists are (1) the music wars in Baptist and other churches and (2) the role or roles of women in Baptist churches. As to the first, it seems that the conflicts are for the most part not theological but cultural and generational. As to the second, the decision as to male pastors only has seemingly been made among SBC churches but not among the Cooperative Baptist Fellowship, American Baptist Churches (USA), and certain Baptist unions in Europe. Furthermore, the role of women, if any, on the staffs of larger Baptist churches is being disputed, and the ecclesiological significance of the church staff itself remains undefined. Similarly, Baptist churches are not agreed as to whether women should serve as deacons. Concurrently the widespread and crucial service rendered by women in Baptist churches is realistically and gratefully acknowledged. These questions will likely continue to be dealt with as Baptists argue from and over the Scriptures in a changing culture that has granted women heretofore unavailable roles.

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NEW ORLEANS BAPTIST THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

THEOLOGICAL THEMES
IN CONTEMPORARY HYMNODY

❈

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Introduction

From the beginnings of the early church, the songs sung in worship have been a reflection of what Christians have believed. The theology expressed through the text of these songs has declared the glories of the Incarnate Christ to the hope of the resurrection of the dead and Christ's reigning as King of kings at the end of time. Hymnals have long produced a canon of worship songs of collected themes that expressed the beliefs and understandings of the faithful. With the rise of the use of multimedia in worship, the role of a theologically reviewed collection such as a hymnal has been modified so that worship songs made popular by Christian artists find themselves in use in congregational worship without having to go through the theological filters of a review of a hymnal committee before widespread use. What issues does this theological bypassing raise? Are there theological standards for this new growing body of hymnody that flashes across the screens of so many churches? Perhaps a foundational question to be addressed is how the text of a song is theological.

If theology may be defined in its simplest terms as the study of God, then the words used in worship are a reflection of how God is perceived and understood. S. T. Kimbrough is emphatic: "The hymns of the church *are* theology."[1] Don Saliers believes that to know one's conception of God, ask him or her for his favorite hymns.[2] Rowan Williams states that the texts of songs propose "a way of seeing and articulating what has been apprehended as God's act."[3] Lyrical theology is the term Kimbrough uses that "designates a theology couched in poetry, song, and liturgy, characterized by rhythm and expressive of emotion and sentiment."[4] The use of hymns and songs provides a unifying element that draws the Body of Christ together in worship, affirming what is believed and understood as the truths of the nature and character of God, the

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[1]S. T. Kimbrough, Jr., "Hymns Are Theology," *Theology Today* 42.1 (April 1985), 59.

[2]Don E. Saliers, *Music and Theology* (Nashville: Abingdon, 2004), 33.

[3]Rowan Williams, "Beyond Aesthetics: Theology and Hymnody," *Bulletin of the Hymn Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, 15.4 (1997): 73-78.

[4]S. T. Kimbrough, Jr., *The Lyrical Theology of Charles Wesley: A Reader* (Eugene, OR: Cascade, 2011), 3.

plan and purpose of God, and his actions in relationship with his creation. To underscore this, Brian Wren believes that if texts "do theological work, their work is communal and public."[5] One of the major difficulties of the genre is to encapsulate theological truths—truths about which volumes have been written—in a few words.

Their brevity and form are ill-suited to systematic reasoning. A four-stanza lyric gives insufficient space for reasoned argument; even in a longer format, only a Milton or Donne can rise above the sing-song pitfalls of the medium and craft arguments that are weighty without being dull. Moreover, though not lacking in rationality, a hymn's lyric's primary goal is commitment: it invites us, not to step back from faith and examine it, but to step into faith and worship God.[6]

The song text not only gives the opportunity for corporate expression of belief and practice, but also can act as filter to aid in setting boundaries of doctrines presented. The obvious focus in a text is what theological material is present. However, A. J. Hommerding's consideration is an aspect of the theological implications that may have been neglected: "the theology communicated to people through the text they sing is impacted not only by which texts are included in the repertoire, but also by which text or portions of texts are omitted."[7] Any consideration of the theology presented in the texts sung must focus not only on what is presented, but what is not included. An understanding of what has not been said is equally as important in an analysis of contemporary hymnody.

Performing a theological analysis of contemporary hymnody is like trying to hit a moving target: "An old song dies, a new song is born. Hence lyrical theology is a dynamic ongoing creative process, and its songs exist inside and outside of time."[8] The canon of material, as in a hymnal, is not fixed and the content continues to develop, so the most logical method to begin the process of analysis would be to take a "snapshot" of a given number of texts over a specific time frame. To aid in knowing which songs are being used, I will use the data from Christian Copyright Licensing International (CCLI). Each year Christian Copyright Licensing International[9] (CCLI) publishes a listing of the copyrighted songs most used by churches who participate in the service.[10]

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[5]Brian Wren, "How Hymns Do Theology," in *Hymnology in Service of the Church*, Paul R. Powell (St. Louis, MO: Morning Star Music, 2008): 357.

[6]Ibid.

[7]A. J. Hommerding, "Issues in Hymnody: Incomplete Incarnation," *The Hymn*, 46.4 (October 1995): 45-48.

[8]Kimbrough, *Lyrical Theology*, 7.

[9]Information about Christian Copyright Licensing International (CCLI) may be found at http://www.ccli.com.

[10]The use of CCLI in related studies is not new. Bert Polman's study in 1991 and Robin Knowles

The results of the analysis of the song texts should reflect not only what is being sung most often in the participating churches but also the theological themes most often heard. Over the course of this paper I will provide an analysis of the theological themes used and not used by tracking the top twenty-five songs from the years 2000-2009 and make observations about the implications for congregational worship and practice.

Assumptions and Scope of Present Study

The texts of the songs in this study will be classified in part by utilizing Susan Wise Bauer's idea of narrative texts, those centered on the believer's experience[11] and systematic texts which explore a point of Christian doctrine in a logical manner.[12] Due to the number of texts that are biblical quotations or paraphrases, an additional category, entitled biblical texts, will be added. Some of the texts present a mix of both narrative and systematic elements, making the classification more complicated. In such cases the decision must be made to evaluate in which of the two it receives the most emphasis.

As with any study of this nature, recognition of its limitations and parameters is strategic in the interpretation of data. The study is limited to those texts reported to CCLI by participating congregations. Not all congregations are members of CCLI and no claim is made that every congregation participates in an equal fashion, since the reporting is voluntary. In addition, those texts which are public domain— that is, are no longer under copyright law restrictions—are not included in reporting process. At present there exists no simple way to gather the data from which public domain texts are being used because no similar entity exists to gather such data on the same scale and there is no legal or financial motivation for doing so. No attempt is made to evaluate the music related to the songs. Such work, however valuable, is best reserved for a separate study.

While these limitations are substantial and must not be passed over lightly, CCLI membership in North America and Canada now includes over 200,000 churches. Of this number, 20 percent are asked to report on a rotating basis every six months.[13] Over the 10½-year period this study encompasses, the rotation would have included all participating members and would still represent a substantial number adequate for the present study. No attempt was made to include the use of songs in mass media, such as radio, television or the internet.

The ten-year period of the twenty-five most reported songs potentially could amount to 250

Wallace's study in 2004, both used this method as the basis for their research.

[11]Susan Wise Bauer, "Protestant Hymn, Narrative Theology, and Heresy," in *Wonderful Words of Life: Hymns in American Protestant History and Theology*, ed. Richard J. Mouw and Mark A. Noll (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004), 208.

[12]Ibid., 214-15.

[13]CCLI, accessed at http://www.ccli.com/WhoWeAre/CompanyProfile.aspx, accessed 21 October 2010.

texts; however, because some songs remained on the list for more than one year, the study covered a total of sixty-four texts. More will be discussed in the conclusion; however, it must be noted that just because a song has only been on the list two or three times in the past ten years, does not mean that it is not as important, since it may have a recent copyright and thus could not have appeared any earlier. Songs that have repeated appearances obviously have some significance, but one needs to be careful about reading too much into the data.

Analysis of the Narrative Texts

Of the sixty-four songs included in the study, forty-three (68 percent) may be listed as narrative texts, that is, the texts center on the believer's personal experience, including admonitions to praise God and pleas for divine help. Of these forty-three, nineteen have systematic elements in addition to the personal experience reference (see table). In the following table, the number to the right of the title represents how many times the song appeared in the CCLI listings. The reporting periods are marked in six-month intervals for a total of 21 reporting periods, covering a total of ten years and six months. Biblical citations or biblical references within the texts are also notated.

Title (Number of Appearances)	Composer(s)	Added Systematic Elements	Scripture Reference or Allusion
Above All (11)	LeBlanc/Baloche	Sovereignty of God	
All Hail King Jesus (2)	Moody		Rev. 17:14, 22:16
Amazing Grace/ My Chains Are Gone	Newton/Tomlin/ Giglio	Christ ransomed	
As the Deer (11)	Nystrom		Ps. 42:1
Beautiful One (8)	Hughes	Power/Majesty	
Blessed Be Your Name (11)	Redman/Redman		Neh. 9:5
Breathe (15)	Barnett		
Change My Heart, O God (10)	Espinosa		Isa. 29:16, 45:9, 64:8
Come, Now is the Time to Worship (18)	Doerksen		Phil. 2:10
Draw Me Close to You (10)	Carpenter		
Friend of God (2)	Houghton/ Gungor		Ps. 139:17, 2 Chron. 20:17, Jam. 2:23
From the Inside Out (1)	Houston		
God of Wonders (14)	Byrd/Hindalong	Sovereignty of God	1 Chron. 29:11, Genesis 2:4
Great is the Lord (5)	Smith/Smith	Greatnes/Majesty	

Hallelujah (2)	Brown/Doerksen		
He is Exalted (8)	Paris	Character of God	
Here I am to Worship (14)	Hughes	Character of God	
Holy is the Lord (9)	Tomlin/Giglio	Character of God	Ps. 72:19, Neh. 8:10
Hosanna (Praise is Rising) (2)	Brown/Baloche		
How Great is Our God (9)	Tomlin/Cash/ Reeves	Trinitarian reference	
How Great Thou Art (2)	Hine	Eschatological reference	
I Could Sing of Your Love Forever (12)	Smith	Character of God	
I Give You My Heart (6)	Morgan		
I Stand in Awe of You (1)	Altrogge	Majesty of God	
I Love You, Lord (11)	Klein		
I Worship You, Almighty God (1)	Corbett	Character of God	Isa. 9:6, 1 Cor. 1:30
Lord, I Lift Your Name on High (21)	Founds	Ransom motif	
Lord, Reign in Me (8)	Brown		
Mighty to Save (4)	Fielding/Morgan	God's power	Zeph. 3:17, Heb. 2:10
My Life is in You (7)	Gardner		
Open Our Eyes (3)	Cull		
Open the Eyes of My Heart (20)	Baloche	Character of God	Isa. 6:3
Santuary (5)	Thompson/Scruggs		
Shout to the Lord (21)	Zschech	Majesty of God	Ps. 61:3
The Heart of Worship (16)	Redman		
The Wonderful Cross (4)	Watts/Tomlin/ Walt/Reeves	Cross	
Trading My Sorrows (13)	Evans		Ps. 65:8
We Bring the Sacrifice of Praise (6)	Dearman		Heb. 13:15
We Fall Down (16)	Tomlin	Character of God	Isa. 6:3, Rev. 4:10
You are My All in All (21)	Jernigan		
You are My King (16)	Foote		
You're Worthy of My Praise (14)	Ruis		
Your Grace is Enough (3)	Maher	Character of God	2 Cor. 12:9

*song listings: http://ccli.com

Table 1: Narrative Texts

One of the above texts reflects hints of a modalistic view of the Trinity, but due to its relative brevity, the observations are not conclusive. In Sondra Corbett's "I Worship You, Almighty God," the author addresses "Almighty God" and as well as the "Prince of Peace" as one: "I worship You, Almighty God, There is none like You, I worship You, O Prince of Peace, That is what I want to do."[14] Generally, but not exclusively, speaking references to Almighty God would refer to the entire Trinity or to God the Father.

Almost half (19) of the narrative texts also have sections that may be described as systematic, covering areas of God's sovereignty, majesty, power, greatness, redemption, while only one has a Trinitarian reference and only one has an eschatological reference. A representative example of God's sovereignty and character is found in Marc Byrd and Steve Hindalong's "God of Wonders": "God of wonders beyond our galaxy, You are holy, holy, The universe declares Your majesty, You are holy, holy, Lord of Heaven and earth."[15] A Trinitarian reference is made in the second verse of Chris Tomlin, Ed Cash and Jesse Reeves' "How Great Is Our God": "The Godhead, Three in One, Father, Spirit, Son."[16] The older hymn, "How Great Thou Art," by Stuart Hine found renewed interest in contemporary hymnody because of its attachment to "How Great Is Our God." This deduction was made by noting Hine's song did not appear on the list until after the other had gained popularity, most likely because the two were sung as medleys or used together in other ways. "How Great Thou Art" was the only narrative text that dealt with the end times: "When Christ shall come with shout of acclamation and take me home, What joy shall fill my heart."[17]

Analysis of Systematic Texts

As stated previously, systematic texts are those texts which explore a point of Christian doctrine. Bauer's original study dealt with metered hymn texts and the systematic presentation of a particular doctrine or doctrines. She is somewhat flexible in her approach because the text is prose, and the primary focus is instructive rather than narrative. Again, biblical citations or biblical references within the texts are notated.

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[14]Sondra Corbett, "I Worship You, Almighty God," © 1983 Integrity's Hosanna! Music.

[15]March Byrd and Steve Hindalong, "God of Wonders," © 2000 New Spring/Strom Boy Music/ Meaux Mercy (Admin. by Brentwood-Benson Music Publishing, Inc./Admin. by EMI Christian Music Publishing).

[16]Chris Tomlin, Ed Cash, and Jesse Reeves, "How Great Is Our God," © 2004 worshiptogether. com songs/sixsteps Music/Alletrop Music (Admin. by EMI Christian Music Publishing/Admin. by EMI Christian Music Publishing/Admin. by Music Services).

[17]Stuart Hine, "How Great Thou Art," © 1949, 1953 Stuart Hine Trust. Administration: U.S.A. All rights by EMI CMG, except print rights administered by Hope Publishing. North, Central, and South America by Manna Music.

Title (Number of Appearances)	Composer(s)	Themes	Scripture Reference or Allusion
Awesome God (11)	Mullins	God's greatness, power	
Celebrate Jesus, Celebrate (4)	Oliver	Resurrection	
Days of Elijah (7)	Mark	Eschatology, Myriad of allusions	
Emmanuel (2)	McGee	Christ's birth	Matthew 1:23
Glorify Thy Name (5)	Adkins	God's name, Trinity	
In Christ Alone (5)	Getty/ Townsend	Atonement, Cross, Resurrection, myria of allusions	
Indescribable (2)	Story	Greatness of God, Creation	Job 38
Jesus Messiah (2)	Tomlin/ Carson/Cash/ Reeves	Ransom, Redemption	Philippians 2:8, 2 Corinthians 5:21
Jesus, Name Above All Names (2)	Hearn	Christ's names	
Majesty (8)	Hayford	God's majesty	
More Precious Than Silver (6)	DeShazo	God's greatness	Psalm 119:72
Revelation Song (1)	Riddle	God's character, awe	Revelation 4:8
Shine, Jesus, Shine (10)	Kendrick	Evangelism, God's nature, Holy Spirit	John 8:12

*song listings: http://ccli.com

Table 2: Systematic Texts

The most common theological theme in these thirteen systematic texts (20 percent) is some aspect of the greatness of God, which is not surprising, since it was the most common among the narrative texts as well. However, there is a wider variety of other themes in addition to God's greatness, such as the resurrection, eschatology, Christ's birth, gratitude, the Trinity, atonement, creation, and evangelism. Jennie Lee Riddle's "Revelation Song" is an example of a text that focuses on the greatness of Christ. In verse three, it is noteworthy that even though it is implied that the person singing is the one filled with wonder the focus remains more on the character of Christ than the response of the person singing: "Filled with wonder, Awestruck wonder at the mention of Your

name. Jesus, Your name is power, Breath and living water, such a marvelous mystery."[18]

"In Christ Alone" is perhaps the best and most complete example of a systematic text. Keith Getty and Stuart Townend are masterful in building from one verse to the next and using rich imagery that centers on the cross and the redemption story. For example, consider verse three: "There in the ground His body lay Light of the world by darkness slain. Then bursting forth in glorious day up from the grave He rose again. And as He stands in victory, sin's curse has lost its grip on me, for I am His and He is mine, bought with the precious blood of Christ."[19] A simple yet effective Trinitarian text is found in Donna Adkins's "Glorify Thy Name." In typical Trinitarian structure, each verse begins with one member of the Trinity with a statement of worship and adoration, then ends with a complementary doxology: "Father, we love You, We worship and adore You, Glorify Thy Name in all the earth. Glorify Thy name, glorify Thy name, glorify Thy name in all the earth."[20]

The themes of evangelism and eschatology are not common in these texts. Graham Kendrick's "Shine, Jesus, Shine" centers around the reoccurring theme of sharing the Good News around the world in the refrain: "Shine, Jesus, shine, fill this land with the Father's glory. Blaze, Spirit, Blaze, set our hearts on fire. Flow, river, flow, flood the nations with grace and mercy, send forth Your word, Lord, and let there be light."[21] In Robin Mark's, "Days of Elijah," there is a blending of various scriptural allusions to convey its eschatological message. Here's an example from the refrain: "Behold He comes riding on the clouds, shining like the sun at the trumpet call. So lift your voice, it's the year of Jubilee, and out of Zion's hill Salvation comes."[22]

One of the systematic texts above reflects hints of modalism. In the verses of Rich Mullins's "Awesome God," the text mentions how God evicted Adam and Eve out of the Garden and then in the next line addresses the same "He" as the one dying on the cross: "Our God is an awesome God, And the Lord wasn't joking When He kicked 'em out of Eden, It wasn't for no reason That He shed His blood."[23] A similar section is found in the second verse: "Judgment and wrath He

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[18]Jennie Lee Riddle, "Revelation Song," © 2004 Gateway Create Publishing (Admin. by Intergrity's Praise! Music).

[19]Keith Getty and Stuart Townend, "In Christ Alone," © 2001 Thankyou Music (Admin. by EMI Christian Music Publishing).

[20]Donna Adkins, "Glorify Thy Name," © 1976, 1981 Maranatha! Music/CCCM Music (Admin. by Maranatha! Music/Admin. by Maranatha! Music).

[21]Graham Kendrick, "Shine, Jesus, Shine," © 1987 Make Way Music (Admin. by Music Services).

[22]Robin Mark, "Days of Elijah," © 1996 Song Solutions Daybreak (Admin. in the United States and Canada by Integrity Music, Inc.).

[23]Rich Mullins, "Awesome God," © 1988 BMG Songs, Inc., (Admin. by BMG Music Publishing.

poured out on Sodom, Mercy and grace He gave us at the cross."[24] The use of personal pronouns in English adds to the blurring of the understanding of who is responsible for the actions.

Analysis of Biblical Texts

The remaining eight texts (12 percent) fall in to a category that Bauer did not have, that of texts that were essentially quotations from Scripture. One characteristic of some of the contemporary genre is a musical setting of Scripture that is not restructured by metrical limits. One might call this type of song a new psalmody, harkening back to the days of the psalters.

Title (Number of Appearances)	Composer(s)	Scripture Reference or Allusion
Better is One Day (11)	Redman	Ps. 84:1, Ps. 27
Everlasting God (5)	Riley/Brown	Isa. 40:31
Forever (14)	Tomlin	Ps. 106:1-2
Give Thanks (12)	Smith	Joel 3:10
He Has Made Me Glad (7)	Brethorst	Isa. 25:9, Ps. 9:2, Ps. 100:3-4, Ps. 118:24
I Will Call Upon the Lord (4)	Klein	Ps. 18:46
Jesus, Name Above All Names (2)	Hearn	Matt. 1:23
This is the Day	Garrett	Ps. 118:24

*song listings: http://ccli.com

Table 3: Biblical Texts

Some of the texts are direct quotes from the Scripture, such as Laurie Klein's "I Will Call Upon the Lord (Ps. 18:3, 46)": "I will call upon the Lord who is worthy to be praised, so shall I be saved from my enemies."[25] Others paraphrase portions of Scripture, as in Naida Hearn's "Jesus, Name Above All Names": "Jesus, name above all names, beautiful Savior, glorious Lord, Emmanuel, God is with us, blessed Redeemer, living Word."[26]

Conclusion

Given the limitations previously stated, that is, the lack of hard data as to what songs in public domain are being used in the churches that participate in the surveyed reports, and the fact that

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[24]Ibid.

[25]Laurie Klein, "I Will Call Upon the Lord," http://ccli.com © 1978, 1980 House of Mercy Music (Admin. by Maranatha! Music).

[26]Naida Hearn, "Jesus, Name Above All Names," © 1974, 1978 Scripture in Song (Admin. by Maranatha! Music).

although there are substantial numbers of congregations that do participate in the CCLI, the results are representative, at best. What can be said about the most often used songs over the past ten years?[27] Beginning comments must underscore that the song of the church is alive and well, it is not stagnant, and it continues to grow. To start anywhere else misses the point that the church has an unquenchable desire to worship and to do so with a new song. Another matter of rejoicing relates to the growth in the public expression of the worship of the nature and character of God. It is difficult to remember when the focus of worshiping God in all his attributes has become as important as it is now.

Along with the good news are some concerns. The variety of the theological themes being sung is very narrow. The CCLI reporting process only allows for the top twenty-five songs, so it is possible that other songs were being used; however concern must be expressed for the lack of some major themes that seem to be lacking. The limited number of theological themes may reflect a shallowness in the theology of the authors, or weakness in the ability to articulate more encompassing theological truth. For example, only two songs with an evangelistic missions theme made the list, only four even mention the Holy Spirit, only two have some focus on God's Word and some themes are not represented at all, such as the church as the Body of Christ, and judgment.

The majority [68 percent] of the texts are narrative, that is, the focus is personal experience, even with those texts which contain systematic elements. At times, one might consider some of the texts too internally focused. For example, consider the lines from the following text: "You took the fall and thought of me, above all" [Above All].[28] The purpose of the atonement was not just for one person, but to appease the wrath of God, which resulted in pardon for all those who would respond to God's grace. Sometimes in corporate worship, the personal pronoun "I" or "my" is used in a communal sense, more than just a personal experience. However, care must be taken with those texts that are designed for corporate worship that the expressions used are experiences common to all believers, and not just the personal experience of an individual.

The central focus and goal of the text must be consistent. Consider the following: "All hail King Jesus, all hail Emmanuel, King of kings and Lord of Lords, Bright Morning Star, and for all eternity I'm going to praise Him, and forevermore I will reign with Him" [All Hail King Jesus][29]. The song moves from praising Christ to a climax that rejoices in a position of personal power. Another one of the texts might easily be taken as a popular love song: "And I, I'm desperate

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[27]Only three songs were found on the list every year for the ten-year period: "Lord, I lift Your Name on High" (Founds), "Shout to the Lord" (Zschech), and "You Are My All in All" (Jernigan).

[28]Lenny LeBlanc and Paul Baloche, "Above All," © 1999 Integrity's Hosanna@Music/ LenSongs Publishing.

[29]Dave Moody, "All Hail King Jesus," © 1981 Dayspring Music, LLC (a div. of Word Music Group, Inc.

for You" [Breathe].[30] The focus could easily be interpreted more on personal desperation, than fulfillment in Christ.

While repetition in and of itself is not uncommon even among the Gospel song tradition, too much repetition of personal pronouns may be problematic: "I am a friend of God, I am a friend of God, I am a friend of God, He calls me friend" [Friend of God].[31] Some confusion lies here with the personal emphasis. As Kimbrough reminds the reader, "the singing of hymns and spiritual songs should not be a manipulative process for the self-edification of worshipers."[32] The goal of corporate worship is the adoration and glorification of God. Even though corporate worship ministers to the individual participant, the goal of worship must not deteriorate to seeking God for personal self fulfillment.

While it is desirable and necessary that new authors and composers rise up to fill the needs of their generation's expression of worship, the need for sound doctrine is just as great. Worship leaders must become sufficiently adept in theology to recognize doctrinal weaknesses and how to correct the textual issues, or when to refrain from using a text entirely. With the new song we need not fall into the trap that C. S. Lewis called "chronological snobbery,"[33] thinking that only the newest is the best and worthy of use. Balance is needed—balance in the use of older text and new, and balance in covering all of what is believed—lest a generation is raised having never heard the entirety of the great doctrines of the faith expressed in sung texts.

In addition to balance, deliverance from chronological snobbery, and modalistic confusions about the Trinity, care must be taken that the universalism of postmodern thought not be allowed to pass through the theological filters for congregational song. The postmodern cries that the only reality that exists is that which the individual creates for himself or for herself might easily find itself in worship proclaiming its message of the absence of absolute truth. Focus must be continually given to texts that are well written, well chosen and appropriate for the context presented and well executed in order to communicate biblical truth shared as a part of worship in the most effective manner possible. The Apostle Paul reminds us that we need to "sing with the spirit, and sing with the understanding also" (I Cor. 14:15).

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[30]Marie Barnett, "Breathe," © 1995 Mercy/Vineyard Publishing (Admin. by Music Services).

[31]Israel Houghton and Michael Gungor, "Friend of God," © 2003 Integrity's Praise! Music/ Vertical Worship Songs (Admin. by Integrity Music, Inc.).

[32]Kimbrough, *Lyrical Theology*, 28.

[33]C. S. Lewis, *Surprised by Joy* (New York: Harcourt, 1955), 206-7.

RECONCILING EVANGELISTIC METHODS WITH WORSHIP MODELS
A CONSIDERATION OF APOLOGETIC APPROACHES IN THE WORSHIP FRAMEWORK

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The following paper was originally presented at the Southwest Regional Evangelical Theological Society Meeting in the spring of 2011. Because I was a guest among scholarly theologians, I began the presentation with what I viewed to be appropriate delimitations.

Before I begin, a few delimitations are in order. I resonate with Stapert's reluctance in presenting a book on the songs of the early church.[1] Stapert explains that he is approaching the subject as one who would not be considered a specialist in the field of early worship practice and yet saw an obvious need for research in early worship practices. Likewise, C. S. Lewis warns his readers that he is not approaching his study on the Psalms from the standpoint of a theologian.[2] So I too admit to you that I come to the topic of worship theology as one involved in training worship leaders, one holding music education degrees, and one who teaches a leadership class on the subject of worship at New Orleans Baptist Theological Seminary but not as a theologian.

In terms of theological bias I bring to the subject, I was raised in a Southern Baptist worship setting with my primary formative years occurring in the 1980's and 90's. The glory of God was never questioned but not particularly emphasized as the primary focus of worship. Evangelistic meetings hold a prominent place in my childhood and adolescent memories of worship. I do not believe I ever sought to distinguish what was worship from what was evangelistic. As I moved from being a part-time worship leader to a full-time worship leader and youth pastor in 1999, I began to explore worship from a philosophical standpoint. In fact I have engaged in a decade long self-evaluation process in relationship to a philosophy of worship. This process began in earnest during a period of time when I worked under the leadership of the Dr. Eric Erskine,

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[1]Calvin Stapert, *A New Song for an Old World: Musical Thought in the Early Church* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007), 10.

[2]C. S. Lewis, *Reflections on the Psalms: The Celebrated Musings on One of the Most Intriguing Books of the Bible* (Orlando, FL: Harcourt, 1958), 1.

pastor at First Baptist Church Havana, Fl. In many ways Eric introduced me to the Reformed perspective, which was an aspect of his training at Dallas Theological Seminary.

I will admit that I began to recognize, even at that time, that the Reformed tradition perhaps did a better job of emphasizing a theology of worship and particular worship forms that match Reformed theology than did the traditions of my childhood and youth.[3] I will also admit that while I have not been converted to the Reformed tradition, I am consciously influenced by the thoughts of this tradition, particularly in regard to worship.[4]

Recent writings reveal that there is a perceived problem regarding the proper aim in the corporate worship experience. Ligon Duncan states that "worship is not evangelism (even though many churches confuse the two)."[5] Vernon Whaley and David Wheeler recently produced a book that directly addresses the relationship between evangelism and worship.[6] A recent project at New Orleans Baptist Seminary revealed the sensitivity associated with the purpose of the corporate gathering being about evangelism or worship.[7] I, too, have wrestled with the question of whether the corporate gathering experience should be mainly about worship or evangelism. I tend to be on the side of worship being the primary driver of the corporate experience, while recognizing that in any given service one should anticipate the movement of the Spirit toward salvation.[8] At the same time, I affirm that it is the leadership team's responsibility to be committed to a clear articulation of the gospel in various ways.

In spite of my own view regarding the priority of worship in the corporate gathering, I hope to present a valid case for rethinking one's apologetic approach in the corporate worship setting, particularly if one views that experience as being primarily an evangelistic opportunity. Certainly,

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[3]Another important aspect of my journey to understand worship began for me during these years as Dr. Carl Peters introduced me to the writings of Robert Webber, Associate Pastor for Music, Worship and Discipleship at Anchor City Baptist Church, Lexington, KY; During a 7 year tenure at Truett-McConnell College in Georgia I continued to understand the importance of Webber's influence through the mentoring I received from Dr. Jon Duncan, Music and Worship Specialist for the Georgia Baptist Convention.

[4]Since arriving in New Orleans my theological views continue to be shaped by the excellent teaching of Dr. Bob Stewart through two basic theology classes.

[5]Ligon Duncan, "Traditional Evangelical Worship," in *Perspectives on Christian Worship: Five Views*, ed. Matthew Penson (Nashville, TN: B&H, 2009), 120.

[6]Vernon M. Whaley and David Wheeler, *The Great Commission to Worship: Biblical Principles for Worship-based Evangelism* (Nashville, TN: B&H, 2011).

[7]David A. Hasker, "Developing a Strategy to Transition First Baptist Church, Melbourne, Fl, from Venue Worship to a Multigenerational Worship Model" (D.Min. project, New Orleans Baptist Theological Seminary, 2010), 47-48.

[8]Warren Wiersbe, *Real Worship: Playground, Battleground, or Holy Ground* (Grand Rapids, Baker, 2000), 224; Wiersbe provides a compelling argument for the priority of evangelism.

the ideas that will be presented are also valid for those who might see evangelism as a secondary goal of the worship experience. I will explore this issue through the lens of Boa and Bowman's excellent taxonomic reduction of apologetic methods in *Faith Has Its Reasons*.[9] Each apologetic category presented by Boa and Bowman will be considered for its merits in a worship setting.

Reformed Apologetics and Worship

The Reformed tradition is quite important in the development of worship practices among evangelicals. For instance, Luther's allowance for artistically compelling celebrative worship experiences bespeaks a richer musical foundation than early Baptist worship practices. Particular aspects of the Lutheran movement were at least evangelistically sensitive. Luther was a champion for worship that was accessible for common persons. Furthermore, Luther's encouragement of liturgies that matched local worship inclinations hints of the cry for relevance by those who would be in favor of evangelistic worship presentations.[10] In regard to Calvin, Grout, Burkholder, and Paliska compare late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Calvanist polyphonic settings to "popular Christian music."[11]

Boa and Bowman present the modern Reformed apologetic method as "two streams" flowing from the foundational work of Calvin: Scottish and Dutch Calvinism.[12] The presuppositionalist approach appears to be a landing point in Boa and Bowman's description of Reformed apologetics, and in relationship to this study the presuppositionalist approach is quite appealing in terms of a marriage between worship and apologetics.[13] The elegance of this relationship is found in the consistent clarity of expressing the chief aim of man, which is consistent with the Reformed tradition in general. Furthermore, although other areas of Reformed theology may be problematic for a given worship leader, this same leader may still find ideal aims in considering the presuppositionalist approach for believers and nonbelievers. Consider, for instance, how the presuppositionalist approach can affect the attitude of the worshipers as they enter the worship setting: Van Till suggested that one's presuppositions color all that is observed, so the confidence of a believer entering the gathering with a filter toward the Sovereignty of Christ and the beauty of His Word would appear to result in a most excellent mindset toward praise.

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[9]Kenneth D. Boa and Robert M. Bowman, *Faith Has Its Reasons: Integrative Approaches to Defending the Christian Faith* (Waynesboro, GA: Authentic, 2001).

[10]J. Peter Burkholder, Donald Jay Grout, and Claude V. Palisca, *A History of Western Music*, 8th ed. (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 2010), 214.

[11]Grout et. al, 221; these polyphonic settings would not be performed in church settings.

[12]Boa and Bowman, 222 and 227.

[13]Ibid., 259-283; Boa and Bowman actually use a phrase from Van Til as the title of one of their four chapters committed to the Reformed approach; after an introductory chapter, Van Til and Clark are referenced primarily with references to Plantinga being the main exception.

The Reformed apologetic approach of Van Til's student, Francis Schaeffer, raises other considerations in the worship context. Namely, Schaeffer's extension of the presuppositionalist approach toward including a Christianly view of history and the arts in history provides a framework for evaluating the effectiveness of one's apologetic approach in worship.[14] A major theme in Schaeffer's review of history is seeking a resolution to the ever-present philosophical problem of reconciling universals and specifics. In relationship to this philosophic problem, Schaeffer presents a disparate perspective on reality that emerges in the Middle Ages.[15] The higher view (universals), which is labeled grace, emanates from the Creator, and includes absolutes. The lower view (specifics), which is labeled nature, emerges from man's perspective, and includes a scientific understanding of that which is visible. What begins in the Middle Ages as a reasonably reconcilable view of reality ends with an irreconcilable upper and lower view of reality, with non-reason or faith leading to hope and reason leading to despair, which occurs in the nineteenth century.[16] According to Schaeffer the Reformed movement came the closest to providing a cohesive solution to the problem of reconciling universals and specifics.[17]

Schaeffer's explanation of the dualist forms of approaching truth from the Middle Ages through the modern age may serve as a mechanism for evaluating the inadequacy of corporate worship experiences that embody the same dualistic mindset. For many worship leaders and participants, the song portion of the service is seen as the entry point to faith, with reason playing little to no role; whereas, the sermon is the rational path to faith. Rather, recognition of God's transcendent underpinnings for all thought should under gird the cohesiveness of the entire service.

How might one begin a service in the Reformed tradition assuming there may be some consideration of the liturgical calendar? For example, for Sunday of March 20, 2011 Rom. 4:1-4 is a focal passage in more than one liturgical guide. Thus, righteousness through faith might be the final destination of the music portion of the service. It could begin with a song that speaks of God as Creator and reflects a "basic" belief in God, a belief which Alvin Plantinga emphasizes as

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[14]Frances Schaeffer, *How Should We Then Live* (Wheaton, IL: Crossway, 2005); At the outset of *How Should We Then Live*, Schaeffer appears to be using the word "presupposition" in a manner similar to that of Van Til, but his full explanation of presuppositions and the general content of the book reveal that he is more specifically referring to a particular view of European history from the fall of Rome through the 20th century.

[15]Schaeffer, 55; Boa and Bowman, 447; Boa and Bowman note the influence of Herman Dooyeweerd on Schaeffer in relationship to disparate views of reality beginning in the Middle Ages.

[16]Schaeffer, 55 and 163.

[17]Ibid., 84.

a legitimate view for the Christian philosopher.[18] If Plantinga is correct regarding the immediate nature of this knowledge of God, it could be that the singing of Creator God with the low pipes resonating on "Joyful, Joyful, We Adore Thee"[19] or bass guitar providing a firm aural foundation on "How Great is Our God" is an ideal apologetic for the Spirit's confirmation of this Romans 1 truth.[20]

"Jesus Messiah" written by Chris Tomlin would be an excellent choice for the song of confession, reminding believers of righteousness imputed and convicting the lost of their need for righteousness.[21] The service could then transition toward an offering of self and tithes to the Lord through a modern version of "Blessed Assurance."[22] The worship leader could then offer a brief reminder that the promise of blessing over Abraham came through faith (Gen. 22: 15-18), which under girds the Romans passage. "Come Thou Fount" might be an ideal choice to complete this worship set.[23] The clarity of the prophetic passage in Genesis connected to Christian hymnody within the larger context of a clear progression of theology through worship songs resonates with Paul's call for clarity in 1 Cor. 14: 22-25. Thus, a worship ministry of clear proclamation edifies the church and brings sinners to repentance.

Evidentialist Apologetics and Worship

To the extent that a Reformed approach, rooted in an unquestioning authority of Scripture, might appear to be most appropriate as a mindset for planning and experiencing the worship experience, so the evidentialist approach might at first glance appear to be the least suited toward reconciling worship with an apologetic approach. After all, we would hope that most of the Christians attending our services do not have to be convinced again and again that the Resurrection did indeed happen. But, I have observed that a powerful aesthetic is often involved in a clear presentation of evidentialist arguments for the existence of God and the Resurrection.

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[18]Boa and Bowman, 296-97; F. S. C. Northrop, *The Logic of the Sciences and Humanities* (New York: Meridian, 1947; reprint, New York: Meridian, 1959), 50, 111, 142, 195. Boa and Bowman explain that by "basic" Plantinga means a belief that is not "inferred from other beliefs;" Northrop makes a similar observation in separating scientific knowledge that is known directly by intuition from scientific concepts that are formed through reasoning: "concept by intuition" versus "concepts by postulation."

[19]Henry J. Van Dyke, "Joyful Joyful We Adore Thee" (Public Domain, 1907).

[20]Chris Tomlin, Ed Cash, and Jesse Reeves, "How Great Is Our God" (Brentwood, TN: EMI Christian Music, 2004).

[21]Chris Tomlin, et al., "Jesus Messiah" (Brentwood, TN: EMI Christian Music, 2008).

[22]Fanny Crosby, "Blessed Assurance Jesus is Mine" (Public Domain, 1873).

[23]Robert Robinson, "Come Thou Fount" (Public Domain, 1758).

For example, a presentation by Craig Keener on his research on miracles encouraged a worshipful response when he presented his paper at the New Orleans Seminary campus in February, 2011.[24]

How can music match this approach? Although it would be possible to offer short evidentialist statements or powerpoint slides between songs, the evidentialist argument is typically built in a rich informational manner that would not be conducive to poetic rendering. However, a themed service connecting to an evidentialist sermon to follow could carry a strong cohesive element. For example, consider the following worship set preceding a sermon on miracles:

> All Creatures of Our God and King
> Power in the Blood
> Famous One
> 23[25]

This worship set begins with a song reflecting on God as Creator, thus establishing Creation as a miracle calling for continuous wonder. The healing provided at the cross, "Power in the Blood," is emphasized as a song of reflection and confession. "Famous One" describes Christ as one who is revealed through nature and miracles, thus connecting the transcendence and immanence evident in the person of Christ. Matt Papa's "23" is a powerful song of healing. I personally can testify to this reality as my wife and I listened to this song during a long drive to commemorate the life of a loved one. The beauty of Matt's setting is that it faithfully reflects the Psalm, a practice that continues to be an integral part of worship from the early church to the present.

Classical Apologetics and Worship

While Boa and Bowman argue that evidentialism emphasizes the methodological relationship between theology and apologetics, classical apologetics may be most aligned with worship in terms of form among the apologetic approaches discussed in this paper (i.e., the classical approach to apologetics may provide the best model for matching the story form tradition of Christian worship). Worship in the OT and NT is fundamentally a retelling of salvaic events: Passover being the story of exodus remembered, resulting in continual rejoicing before Yahweh and the Lord's Supper being the story of Calvary remembered, resulting in continual rejoicing over the death, burial, and resurrection of Christ.

The classical approach, as described by Boa and Bowman, seeks to establish a theism and then seeks to build a case for Christ. In a parallel sense, the worship planner seeks to establish God as

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[24]Craig Keener, "Are Miracles a Problem for Trusting the New Testament?" (paper presented in association with Greer-Heard Point-Counterpoint Forum, New Orleans Baptist Theological Seminary, New Orleans, February 24, 2011).

[25]Francis of Assisi, "All Creatures of Our God and King" (Public Domain, 1225); Lewis E. Jones, "There is Power in the Blood" (Public Domain, 1899); Chris Tomlin and Jesse Reeves, "Famous One" (Brentwood, TN: EMI Christian Music, 2004); Matt Papa, "23" (San Clemente, CA: Maranatha! Music, 2006).

Lord of all creation, holy, sovereign, just, omniscient, and omnipotent toward the beginning of the service. Then the songs and Scripture readings move toward the revelation of Christ.[26] The centrality of Christ in the song portion of the service is particularly important in evangelical churches that rarely present the Eucharist.

This two-part framework on worship provides the worship leader with a great deal of freedom in regard to song choices. The arts can be incredibly useful for classical apologists partially because arguments can be made with greater subtlety. For example, a worship set might begin with "Indescribable,"[27] which aligns nicely with an ontological argument as espoused in the "maximally great" being among all possible worlds theory espoused by William Lane Craig.[28] While it is completely acceptable for Laura Story to say that the wonders of Creation are indescribable, the same argument would not be acceptable in making an apologetic argument for the existence for God. While the artist is free to say things the serious philosopher cannot say in an official capacity, the apologist's argument completes the sense of wonder described in the worship art. In reality, both statements (ontological argument and worshipful sense of awe in view of Creation) are difficult to deny. In keeping with a rational movement through the service, "Give Us Clean Hands" is the logical response for sinners who recognize the holiness of God.[29] This song also transitions the worshipper or lost person toward the only solution for the human desire to be clean emotionally and spiritually. "Beautiful Savior" is another worship song that marries well with the classical progression of thought at this point in the service.[30] To review, at this point in a classical apologetic argument, one is seeking to provide evidence for God's insertion of hope in a hopeless situation (i.e., logic of Holy God dealing with utterly sinful people would lead to pessimism without the incarnation, crucifixion, and resurrection). "Beautiful Savior" reminds the congregation of their hope and possibly enables the lost soul to see that this ultimate solution is simply beautiful.

Fideist Apologetics and Worship

I admit that I was probably the least favorably disposed toward fideism as a useful apologetic in worship before beginning this study. My primary concern is that many churches that seek to use their worship service as an outreach event choose songs only for their aesthetic or cultural appeal with too little concern for a rigorous theological approach in worship that provides a solid apologetic.

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[26]This two-part framework could be viewed as a variation of the standard two-part form.

[27]Laura Story, "Indescribable" (Brentwood, TN: EMI Christian Music, 2004).

[28]William Lane Craig, "The Ontological Argument," in *To Everyone an Answer: A Case for the Christian Worldview*, ed. Francis J. Beckwith, William Lane Craig, and J. P. Moreland (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 2004), 128.

[29]Charlie Hall, "Give Us Clean Hands" (Brentwood, TN: EMI Christian Music, 2000).

[30]Stuart Townend, "Beautiful Savior" (Brentwood, TN: EMI Christian Music, 1998).

As the name suggests, fideism is an apologetic approach that emphasizes faith over reason. Boa and Bowman admit that fideism is usually applied in a negative sense.[31] However, they present a legitimate fideist approach as one that emphasizes faith over reason yet falls short of rejecting reason, and they view Kierkegaard as providing the primary foundation for fideism.

From Kierkegaard's perspective, faith over reason was the best response for the enlightened humanist. According to Schaeffer, Kierkegaard believed that reason (the primary tool of enlightened humanism) always leads to despair, thus "optimistic answers" are only available through faith, which is above reason.[32]

The potential for the fideist approach, specifically in relationship to worship, may be seen most clearly in the secular continuation of Kierkegaard's thoughts. Specifically this potential will be examined in the relationship between fideism and art. It is interesting to note that the artistic movements of Kierkegaard's era were very much a reaction against enlightened thought. As the philosophical pendulum shifted in Europe from the triumph of reason to a recognition of a spiritual reality, artists became the new priests of Europe. This can be seen clearly in the cult following of Goethe or Wagner. Thus within the Christian context, art became the best tool for igniting faith based on reasonable principles without using reason.

Particularly the existentialists, the secular disciples of Kierkegaard in the late nineteenth century and throughout the twentieth century, discovered the power of art to convey their ideas. Ravi Zacharius explains this connection between existentialist philosophy and art. The following quotes come from separate lectures by Zacharias, the first referring to Nietzsche as perhaps the modern originator of the wise combination of art and philosophy:

> He may well have been the bridge between academic philosophy and artistic philosophy because today many young people may say they are not interested in philosophy but their songs philosophize, their movies philosophize, so they are coming up with a philosophy that is not born by studying long treatises on ideas, but they are philosophizing in the sense, they want to tell you what life is all about.[33]

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[31]Boa and Bowman, 338.

[32]Francis Schaeffer, *How Should We Then Live* (Wheaton, IL: Crossway, 2005), 163; Boa and Bowman, 349; Boa and Bowman explain that Kierkegaard saw even the potential triumph of reasoned arguments for Christianity (e.g., historical arguments) as inadequate if the ultimate aim is faith.

[33]Ravi Zacharias, "The Loss of Truth: Part One," mp3, Ravi Zacharias International Ministries [Online]; available at http://www.rzim.org/resources/listen/justthinking.aspx?archive=1&page=20; accessed on March 6, 2011.

The second quote emphasizes the power of connecting art and philosophy:

> But let's face it, most human beings will never crack open a book by a Socrates, or Plato, or Aristotle. And have no particular interest on Kant's view of ethics. How do most people today really come to their belief systems? . . . I believe today they come to their belief systems by an invasion of the imagination through the arts, which is a second level in philosophy.[34]

Zacharias goes on to explain that existentialism came to be delivered primarily through the arts in higher education by the 1960's and 1970's. He suggests that the current "popular mind" comes to philosophy primarily through the arts.[35]

Even as a musician, it is exactly this artistic framework that seems to flow naturally from the fideist approach that concerns me most. I prefer to get my theology from the Bible primarily and secondly from trustworthy books or persons (lecture setting or informal discussion). But I have also been fascinated for some time with God's apparent plan to use stories to communicate fundamental Old Testament truths in a worship setting, namely the Passover and the Festival of Booths. Do we believe God was incapable of passing on information to Israel primarily through propositional explanation—again, this is what I prefer—assuming that many of you share my affinity for written and spoken truth?[36]

To review, I was most doubtful prior to writing this article that fideism would provide a substantial apologetic. Yet, two valid points remain from the fideist approach: 1) the continued legitimacy of Kierkegaard and by extension Karl Barth's argument against modern thought and 2) the recognition that art plays a critical if not a primary role in defining the philosophical systems of the twenty-first century.

Furthermore, I would suggest that what is to be gained in considering fideism is not primarily content but an "infrastructure" for delivery.[37] Boa and Bowman support the fideist idea of infrastructure in a different sense: a life lived for Christ, particularly characterized with love, should be an important aspect of our apologetic.[38] I would suggest that this high view of ethics be compared to infrastructure in the sense that our ethic is not the message itself.

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[34]Ravi Zacharius, "Is Atheism Dead, Is God Alive," mp3, Ravi Zacharias International Ministries [Online]; available at http://www.rzim.org/resources/listen/letmypeoplethink.aspx?archive=1&pid=1965; accessed 6 March 2011.

[35]Ibid.

[36]Please note that this argument can be made in accordance with Scripture. Many sections of Scripture are presented in story form. Of course, a counterargument can be made that some of the most crucial aspects of Scripture are presented as careful explanations in propositional form.

[37]Zacharias, "Is Atheism Dead?" Zacharias refers to an "infrastructure of the arts."

[38]Boa and Bowman, 480 and 489.

Integrating Apologetic Approaches in Worship

In seeking to combine the approaches listed above, the primary concern is a thoughtful approach toward choosing materials for a given worship service and toward presenting worship materials over a season or year. Again, the use of Boa and Bowman's comprehensive approach to apologetics proves most useful. The manner in which they highlight various combinations of the four apologetic approaches, including specific examples of which approach to use for which specific apologetic scenarios, is certainly thoughtful. Furthermore, their reasonable recognition of value within each approach encourages individuals who might be either purposively narrow in their apologetic approach or unwittingly narrow because of limited reading and experience to equip themselves with a broad range of apologetic tools. Similarly, worship leaders are often limited in their apologetic approach because of a commitment to a particular worship format, limited reading on the subject, or limited experience in various forms of worship. The primary admonition for these leaders is: "Be more thoughtful in your approach to worship content."

As stated above, the Fideist approach can be integrated with all the approaches by simply recognizing the power of art in worship. Theologians who fail to recognize this reality do so to their peril. I applaud the movement among Reformed church planters to include relevant art in their presentations. As a general caution regarding extremes, I would warn against the use of artistic presentations simply for their own sake. Worship leaders may be limited in their use of artistic mediums based on church size and culture, but there should be a relentless commitment to excellence regardless of accessible mediums. Thus, a thoughtful approach toward using artistic mediums should be a regular part of evaluating the effectiveness of one's apologetic approach in worship. Indeed, there appears to be a common acceptance of the importance of artisitic mediums by young pastors, but a comprehensive approach to presenting the gospel does not appear to be as pervasive. The inherit logic of the Reformed and Classical approaches may be best suited to a systematic gospel presentation.

Another direct connection of the Fideist approach to various worship settings can be deduced from Witherington's recognition of worship as the highest ethic.[39] As stated previously, Fideists highlight ethics as a primary source of one's apologetic. Thus, literally saying in corporate worship that loving God through worship is the highest ethic encourages the non-believer toward a crisis of belief. The Reformed perspective fits well with this call for worship as the highest ethic for the following two reasons: 1) The God of the Bible is not to be questioned but rather recognized as the Triune God and worshipped, and 2) the chief aim of man is emphasized.

The Reformed emphasis on liturgy as a systematic vehicle for addressing the full counsel of God's Word on various life issues provides a thorough and thoughtful apologetic approach. The story form of worship, emphasized above in relation to classical apologetics, offers a weekly

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[39]Ben Witherington III, *We Have Seen His Glory* (Grand Rapids: Eerdman, 2010), 7-8; Witherington clearly has established himself as an evidentialist, and yet his emphasis on ethics that flowing naturally from his theological disposition reveals some connection with fideism.

framework for beginning worship with the concept of transcendence and ending with the concept of immanence.[40] The sustained history of the liturgy would suggest to us that people do not grow tired of hearing and more importantly participating in the story of Holy God creating humans, humans becoming aware of their sin, Christ atoning for human sin, humans praising Christ for His victory over the grave and our sin, and humans anticipating eternal worship that has already begun.

The repeated story form itself appears to bring together the classical approach and Reformed approach in an interesting manner. Classical apologists clearly value logic and consistently reveal their commitment to proving God's existence and the legitimacy of the biblical record of Christ. Presuppositionalists argue that logic itself proves God's existence,[41] which would include the logic of the classical approach to apologetics. One could also say that the Bible and by extension history presents the Triune truth in the most logical manner, which matches the progression of thought in the classical tradition. Thus, the logic of the story form of worship is the most glorious progression of logic because of the unparalleled result of the logical progression. By extension, the wisdom and the beauty of the redemption plan (reason at its best) is the primary indication of God's existence, if one adheres to the transcendental argument, among all possible arguments from reason both individually and collectively.

The suggestion that the story form be repeated continuously also includes some aspects of evidentialism, which coincides with Boa and Bowman's recognition that classical apologists sometimes appear to be evidentialists when seeking to achieve their second aim, a proof for Christ. In some sense the evidentialist is hoping to overwhelm the lost soul with evidence of a Creator in the hopes that the person might recognize the existence of God as Creator.[42] A person who has consistently heard songs about God as sovereign, all-powerful, Creator may be in a better position to recognize the truth of this prophetic message. This overwhelming evidence is most important for our children but could also play a role for the lost person who begins attending worship services seeking answers.

In conclusion, an eschatological perspective reminds us of the priority of worship. In Witherington's recent book on worship he emphasizes the following question in the final battle between God and Satan as recorded in Revelation 5: "Who shall humans worship?"[43] Although

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[40]I am not suggesting a rigid adherence to this model but rather a recognition of the logical presentation of this material.

[41]Boa and Bowman, 303; Boa and Bowman make reference to the transcendental argument, but a more basic explanation is included in Anderson's review of apologetics; Owen Anderson, Warfield, Kuyper, Van Til, and Plantinga on the Clarity of General and Revelation and Function of Apologetics (Lanham, MA: University Press of America, 2008), 55.

[42]Boa and Bowman, 157-59, 171-73, and 211-12.

[43]Witherington, 151.

most evangelicals likely recognize personal evangelism as the most effective approach within an apologetic framework, relational evangelism that leads the lost soul to a corporate worship setting should result in the realization that these strange new friends are indeed worshipping Jesus. In the more likely scenario, the person who leads one to Christ should look forward to the opportunity to invite this new convert to a corporate worship setting that reinforces the various aspects of the apologetic that might have been used to win this soul to Christ. Certainly, there should be no apology that the beauty of logic or evidences or presuppositionalist arguments will diminish once one becomes a Christian and encounters less convincing worship material. Rather, Witherington argues for the use of the best of Christian poetry in our corporate setting. Certainly new converts should be overwhelmed with the thoughtful presentation of the Word through various worship mediums both on a Sunday to Sunday basis and from a cyclical manner. Furthermore, new converts should be overwhelmed with the sheer beauty of poetry that tells the story that they have come to love in a manner that is beyond artistic; it resonates with Divine glory.

"A CALL TO HARMS"
IS CHURCH DISCIPLINE FOR TODAY?

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Introduction

If you see your neighbor sin, and you pass by and neglect to reprove him, it is just as cruel as if you should see his house on fire, and pass by and not warn him of it.
—Charles Finney, in his sermon, "Reproof, A Christian Duty." [1]

Church discipline: the words alone cause many modern American evangelicals to shudder. For some, the term evokes images of archaic castigation sifted from a Nathaniel Hawthorne novel – a black eye of the church no more applicable to the modern era than the primitive means of Puritan living. Others, however, quietly lament the church's abandoned expectations of holy living, as surely as the same God who commands us to "be holy; for I am holy" (Lev. 11:44 NKJV) would not permit His church to sacrifice such an exhortation on the altar of modernity for the mere comfort of its members. And still others, some at the other extreme end of the spectrum, would be all-too-desirous to act as the final arbiter of church discipline by aggressively excommunicating all who do not subscribe to their ecclesial views. With such divergent approaches, some may be understandably ignorant of the legitimacy of church discipline—particularly evangelicals who are generations removed. In this paper I will define church discipline, and examine the church's historical views on the practice, the biblical underpinnings for church discipline, and the ways it can be applied. Upon conclusion, I will demonstrate why the practice of church discipline is a necessary component of biblical orthodoxy.

What is Church Discipline?

For many contemporary evangelicals, the mere mention of invoking church discipline causes a visceral reaction among church members that often enacts a guard against any such affront to an individual's freedom of choice. Over the last one hundred years, the American church has exhibited an embedded reaction that presupposes each individual's "inalienable rights" of personal conduct. Undoubtedly, this "liberation" comes as a by-product of liberal philosophy

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[1] J. Carl Laney, "The Biblical Practice of Church Discipline," *Bibliotheca Sacra* (October-December 1986): 353-64.

now manifesting itself in a culture of postmodernism, sprouting from seeds sewn during the Enlightenment period. In so doing, the inalienable rights of an individual have come not only to trump the standards and expectations imposed by corporate church membership, but also to subjugate the truths set forth by the very Creator of the universe. As a result, many modern evangelicals believe that not only should their personal behavior be compartmentalized from membership in the church, but even more striking is the implicit premise that personal conduct, regardless of how incongruent it may be with Scripture, is off-limits as a mark, or even a qualification of, church membership. The playbook response, replete with outrage, typically asks, "Who is the church to judge?" Though the real question should be, "Does this line of thought conform to orthodox doctrine?" Later I will search the Scriptures for an answer to that very question.

To answer what church discipline actually is, believers must first extinguish the above liberal treatise that attempts to sever standards (and consequences) imposed by the ecclesial realm from a Christian's personal life. Mark Dever counters this non sequitor dualism with logic by noting, "If we can't say what something is not, we can't very well say what is."[2] Surely, if the God who created the universe is sovereign and has provided a means for eternal fellowship with HIs creation, then His absolute standards as an infinite being must transcend the temporal standards of an oft stiff-necked, finite humanity. The same God who appeared in flesh as the incarnate Christ requires full lordship over our lives (Matt. 10:38). Therefore, claims suggesting a bifurcation of living standards—that one can live according to both God's ideals and the ideals of the world—are easily dismissed. We are left then to live our lives as God instructs: as a holy people (1 Pet. 2:9). His jurisdiction extends to all facets of Christian living, not just when one walks through the threshold of the church foyer.

So what, then, is church discipline? If the behavior of Christians is wholly subject to God's standards, logically church discipline exists as the corporate means of affecting and upholding those standards. Church discipline, in the simplest sense, is confrontational and corrective measures taken by an individual, church leaders, or the congregation, regarding a matter of sinful behavior in the life of a believer so as to produce conviction, sorrow, repentance, and restoration to "awaken people to their sin and assist them in returning to their former condition."[3] Church discipline in its truest sense seeks to mimic God himself, bringing fallen believers back into full communion with Him. Church discipline, contrary to innate punitive connotations, is fundamentally rooted in God's glorification and man's restoration—a motif that follows the ultimate example of the work done at the cross. Discipline exacted without these core motives is flawed because it falls guilty either to idolatry (action that displaces God as the object of its honor) or vengeance (action lacking love, which substitutes God's will for the will of the individual).

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[2]Mark Dever, "Biblical Church Discipline," *Southern Baptist Journal of Theology* 4, no. 4 (Winter 2000): 29-44.

[3]Laney, 354.

Aside (but not apart) from reconciliation, church discipline exists to maintain the fidelity of doctrine and to protect the church's witness to the world. While born-again believers are unable to cease impetuous acts of sin entirely, states of sinful behavior are eschewed by repentance and the will of the "new man" to walk with God (1 John 2:6). Membership in the local church is meaningful, and as the Apostle Paul notes in 1 Cor. 5:9-10, reflective of true membership in the body of Christ.[4] Paul proceeded to indict the Corinthian church of corporate sin for tolerating the blatant sin of one of its members, which compromised the very testimony of the church in the eyes of the world it was trying to reach.[5] Moreover, if this sin is left unchecked, such cancer can spread throughout the entire body with the perception of tacit approval, thus contaminating with impurity the very fellowship of the church.[6] Most certainly the need for discipline as a means of ensuring unity of fellowship and efficacy of witness also extends to those creating division from within. In a day when the church pastorate is seeing a crescendo of unruly criticism, the debilitating result, as explained by Thom Rainer, is an impediment to the Great Commission.[7]

Related to repressing errant orthopraxy is the spill-over implications of orthodoxy, which can result in the church inadvertently propagating heresies if not addressed. Paul and Peter both staunchly charged the church to swiftly eradicate false doctrine that can subtly spring from unrighteous conduct (Gal. 1:8-9; 2 Pet. 2:1). Francis Schaeffer remarked of the early church, "… they practiced two things simultaneously: orthodoxy of doctrine and orthodoxy of community in the midst of the visible church, a community which the world can see. By the grace of God, therefore, the church must be known simultaneously for its purity of doctrine and the reality of its community."[8] Capitulation to worldly ideals was not an option for early church members.

Church discipline is both formative and corrective. Formative church discipline is perpetual, and can be best aligned with modeling behavior. Teaching, reading the Bible, and availing oneself to positive instruction all represent means of formative discipline. Jesus offers examples of such with pithy retorts such as that to Martha in Luke 10:41-42, or to the man requesting intervention in the affairs of his inheritance in Luke 12:14-21. Corrective discipline is confronting a fellow brother or sister in love over the entrapment of sinful behavior shown in their life. The confrontation can be as innocuous as saying, "Because I love you, it concerns me that you may

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[4]Dever, 31.

[5]R. Albert Mohler, "Church Discipline: The Missing Mark," *Southern Baptist Journal of Theology* 4, no. 4 (Winter 2000): 17-28.

[6]Ibid.

[7]Thom Rainer, "When People Criticize Church Leadership," *The Pathway* (The Official Newsjournal of the Missouri Baptist Convention), February 22, 2011, 5.

[8]Ibid.

not be attending regularly." When dispensed with the desire of restoration, effective church discipline can/should be equated as a facet of discipleship, the logical corollary of evangelism.[9] Marlin Jeschke points out that "evangelism and mission seek to make disciples of people," but questions the logic of bringing them into Christ's way "if the church fails to make every effort consistent with the gospel to bring back into Christ's way those who are straying from it."[10] Thus, as Carl Laney noted, "if evangelism ministers to those outside the church who are in bondage to sin, then [confrontational] congregational discipline ministers to those within the church who are in bondage to sin."[11] The ministering of those in the church should therefore be considered discipleship, as a disciple is one who voluntarily submits to the discipline of another. Formative and corrective discipline ultimately converge upon the universal form of discipline as expressed in Protestantism—preaching the Word of God, professed as one of the keys of Heaven (Matt. 16:19;18:18).[12]

Church discipline begins at an individual level. The Lord Himself, seeing the issue of future fractures within His church, prescribed in advance the remedy in addressing such matters. The paradigm starts at the individual level precluding any initial group involvement, or at worst, a corporate witch hunt. The church only gets involved when the offender refuses to cooperate. The burden of responsibility cuts both ways, as earnest believers know they are far from a finished product and seek to further their sanctification. Furthermore, initiating the process on an intimate one-on-one level avoids the public spectacle that can impair the church's witness.[13]

Finally, church discipline is applicable only to Christians, and not the unsaved world. It takes place within the church body, where a direct relationship exists between the offender and offended parties.[14] While God designed the church to be a true family, in order to achieve family solidarity, discipline must exist.[15] Much like our earthly children, when love or discipline is

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[9]Laney, 353.

[10]Marlin Jeschke, "How Discipline Died," *Christianity Today*, August 2005, 31-32.

[11]Laney, 353.

[12]L. R. DeKoster, "Church Discipline," In *Evangelical Dictionary of Theology*, 2d ed., ed. Walter A. Elwell (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2001), 255-56.

[13]Mohler, 23.

[14]Ken Baker, "What Do You Do When Sin Seems Ignored?," *Evangelical Missions Quarterly* (July 2005): 338-44.

[15]Philip Mutetei, "The Proper Procedure for Discipline in the Church," *Africa Journal of Evangelical Theology* 18, no. 2 (1999): 107-28.

lacking, they will be greatly handicapped.[16] The proper approach of church discipline should be rooted in the context of ecclesial relationships, heeding Prov. 27:6, "Wounds from a friend can be trusted, but an enemy multiplies kisses." Ultimately, church discipline is a substantive yet rehabilitative process, emanating out of love and holiness, resulting in the exaltation of God.

A History of Church Discipline

Some Christians may be surprised that church discipline has a history that actually precedes even the church. While countless Old Testament examples can be found sanctioning disciplinary conduct among the people of Israel, the first New Testament pronouncement of church discipline is given by the very God who gave us His church. Matt.18 represents the first prescriptive model set forth by Jesus in the use of church discipline. What is striking is that His use of the word "church", ekklesia in the Greek, in verse 17 is actually anachronistic given the New Testament church had yet to be formed. Ekklesia in the original Greek meant, from a Hellenistic perspective, a public gathering of citizens called out from their homes. But to the Jew in ca. AD 30, it would be understood as an assembly of Israelites for the purpose of deliberation, often attributed to synagogal business.[17] By ca. AD 57, when the apostle Paul wrote his first letter to the church at Corinth, church discipline had developed into a formal practice. Evinced by his various letters to the Corinthians, to Timothy, to Titus, etc., methods of executing church discipline included loving counsel, private rebuke, consultation of witnesses, public rebuke, refusal of sacraments (particularly the Eucharist), and full excommunication.

The second generation of church fathers further developed ecclesial governance by which church discipline played a role. Ignatius of Antioch offered a glimpse into the ecclesiology and controversies of his time through letters he wrote on his road to martyrdom in AD 115.[18] Ignatius was known as the first advocate of the monoepiscopacy, and oversaw all of the Christian churches of his city. Clear from Ignatius's writings is his incessant endeavor to promote unity in the church, particularly in light of the factions he was forced to encounter within his own church: Judaizers and Gnostics. Ignatius encouraged his friend and contemporary, Polycarp (a disciple of the Apostle John), to immerse himself in community life by meeting one-on-one with church members to establish an intimate rapport in order to affect unity in the church and bring the unruly under subjection.[19] The objects of his confrontation, in order to maintain the fidelity of doctrine (Christology) that we hold today, were those Judaizers and Gnostic Docetists.

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[16]Ibid.

[17]Blue Letter Bible, "church"; available at http://www.blueletterbible.org/lang/lexicon/ Lexicon.cfm? strongs=G1577; accessed on 9 March 2011.

[18]Bryan M. Litfin, *Getting to Know The Church Fathers* (Grand Rapids: Brazos Press, 2007), 42.

[19]David M. Reis, "Surveillance, Interrogation, and Discipline: Inside Ignatius' Panopticon," *Studia Patristica* 45 (2010): 373-77.

Ecclesial infrastructure continued to develop over the next several hundred years commensurate with the growth and influence of the church. A significant development, with ramifications felt over a thousand years thereafter, occurred in AD 325 at the council of Nicea. While Nicea is often remembered for the ecumenical triumph of orthodoxy over the Arians, perhaps its most enduring feature was the vanguard means utilized to secure the triumph: imperial involvement in church affairs.[20] Emperor Constantine consummated the fusion of church and state, and in so doing, anathematized Arius at Nicea setting a precedent for the future politicization of discipline. The Catholic Church would later evolve from the amalgamation of church and state, and with it, the penitential discipline practiced today.

Amid the spread of a melding state church set against the backdrop of the waning Roman Empire, a more moderate voice appeared, articulating a different view on church discipline. Augustine of Hippo, whose theological musings would fuel both Roman Catholics and the later Reformers, challenged the *status quo* in various facets. When Augustine published his masterwork, *City of God* in AD 426., he was reticent to submit to excommunication as a legitimate means, noting "if they [Donatists] see vices not diligently enough corrected by the council of elders, should not therefore at once depart from the church."[21] Augustine professed a prevailing concern against disrupting the unity of the church by denying communion or by excommunicating members: "For advice to separate is vain, harmful, and sacrilegious, because it becomes impious and proud; and it disturbs weak good men more than it corrects bold bad ones."[22] When dealing with a pandemic of drunkenness, Augustine asserted, "These things, in my judgment, are removed not roughly or harshly, or in any imperious manner; and more by teaching than by commanding, more by monishing than by menacing."[23] Most certainly, one cannot discount the influence of Augustine's prolonged dispute with the Donatists predisposing his view of church discipline, given the Donatist proclivity to separate from the Roman church. Nevertheless, Augustine's more temperate approach would later shape the views held by the Protestant reformers over one thousand years later.

As the church entered the Middle Ages, the formulation of church discipline was shaped wholly by the Catholic Church. Excommunication from the church had become common practice, leaving the recipient of such action as a community *persona non grata*. Public humiliation and confession of sins were considered a "second plank" of salvation.[24] Penitential discipline was

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[20]Everett Ferguson, *Church History Volume 1: From Christ to Pre-Reformation* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2005), 201.

[21]"John Calvin on Church Discipline," available at http://www.geftakyassembly.com/Articles/BiblicalExposition/Church/Discipline.htm; accessed 8 March 2011.

[22]Ibid.

[23]Ibid.

[24]Ferguson, 250-251.

well-developed by this time, with a formalized gradation of classes of penitents: 1) mourners (who were prohibited from entering the church), 2) hearers of the Word (permitted to stand at the door to listen), 3) kneelers, 4) bystanders, and 5) restored ones.[25] Confession became the ritualistic practice for public discipline. Though systems of penitential discipline were long established, it was not systematically adopted as a sacrament until the twelfth century.

Eventually, the Reformation dawned in the sixteenth century, and with it sprang divergent views on the matter of church discipline, not only from the Catholic Church, but also amongst the Reformers themselves. Martin Luther, one of the fathers of the Reformation, espoused a certain Augustinian view on church discipline. Luther feared systemic church discipline would result in a form of Christian elitism that promoted spiritual pride and the judgment of neighbors.[26] Luther contested that accosting church members over matters of discipline would advance the idea that some Christians may consider themselves of a higher category than their fellow believers.[27] However, one must also consider whether Luther's own subconscious guilt, via obsession over his own sin that played out in bouts of self-flagellation, biased this view. Moreover, Luther also opposed systematic church discipline on jurisdictional grounds, noting "if the state did its job of dealing with offenders, the church wouldn't need to."[28]

Fellow reformer John Calvin also relied on the state to adjudicate discipline and morals by way of state authority in Geneva. But Calvin also embraced a view of church discipline that, though modest compared to the oft punitive fervency of the Anabaptists, brought a return to the approach more closely resembling the theology of the early church. To Calvin, the purpose of church discipline was threefold: 1) that they who lead a filthy and infamous life may not be called Christians, to the dishonor of God and his holy church," 2) to prevent corruption by bad company, and 3) to facilitate the process of repentance.[29] Calvin noted "all who desire to remove discipline or to hinder its restoration—whether they do this deliberately or out of ignorance—are surely contributing to the ultimate dissolution of the church."[30] Calvin opted to tread lightly and compassionately in the matter of church discipline. He advocated private admonition as the first entreaty before involving multiple parties, but did not preclude private and public rebuke nor excommunication. Calvin made distinctions between faults, crimes, and sins.

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[25]Ibid.

[26]Charles Edward White, "'Concerning Earnest Christians:' A newly discovered letter of Martin Luther," *Currents in Theology and Mission* 10, no. 5 (1983): 273-82.

[27]Ibid.

[28]Jeschke, 31.

[29]Reflections on Spiritual Abuse, "Church Discipline," available at http://www. geftakysassembly.com/Articles/BiblicalExposition/ChurchDiscipline.htm; accessed on 8 March 2011.

[30]Ibid.

The Anabaptist movement promoted more aggressive means both of church discipline, and in separating from the establishment because they felt that organizing the true church could not wait. Anabaptists, pejoratively termed "hasty Puritans" (undoubtedly for their expedient propensity to sever ties as well as to partake in disciplinary actions) held that discipline was "the very essence of the church" and utilized punitive means such as admonition, excommunication, and shunning.[31] Ultimately, the conglomeration of Reformist ideals percolated in the adoption of the Belgic Confession in 1561. This historic confession pronounced three marks of the true church: "The marks by which the true Church is known are these: if the pure doctrine of the gospel is preached therein; if she maintains the pure administration of the sacraments as administered by Christ; if church discipline is exercised in punishing of sin."[32] The austerity ascribed to these three tenets would prevail for a season.

Over the next several hundred years, church discipline in American evangelical circles tended to manifest itself akin to the paradigms of the Reformers and the Belgic Confession. The Baptist Church of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries regularly exacted church discipline, often amid the dichotomy of overzealous, yet fruitful, results. Perhaps the most-followed didactic (apart from the Bible) during this time was a book entitled *The Summary of Church Discipline*, used by most American churches, but primarily Baptist churches in the South. The book prescribed strict guidelines for church membership, asserting, "Every well regulated society requires qualifications of its members; much more should a church of Jesus Christ be careful that none be admitted into its communion but… those [with] prerequisites pointed out in Scripture."[33] Compliant churches were vigilant not to permit membership to unbelievers and graceless persons without control, and felt that the unregenerate should not be members of the church. To maintain control, the Baptist churches practiced three progressive forms of censure: 1) rebuke or admonition, 2) suspension, whereby those disciplined were allowed to attend church but barred from communion, and 3) excommunication which separated one from all church activities.[34] However, unlike the Catholic Church which severed ties eternally, excommunicated Baptists were re-admitted if they repented. In fact, members were implored to continue outreach efforts to restore fallen members who had been excommunicated.

During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, records of Baptist church meeting minutes illuminate the high reverence ascribed to the practice of church discipline. The typical protocol was one-on-one private confrontation. If a member was not first approached privately, the claim

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[31]Joe L. Coker, "Cast Out from Among the Saints: Church Discipline Among Anabaptists and English Separatists in Holland, 1590-1620," *Reformation* (November 2006): 1-27.

[32]Dever, 33.

[33]Jim West, "Nineteenth-Century Baptists and Church Discipline: Case Studies from Georgia," *Baptist History and Heritage* 45, no. 1 (Winter 2010): 80-90.

[34]Ibid.

was dismissed.[35] Should private reproof yield no resolution, the allegations were typically brought to a church council, where members of an investigative committee were assigned to examine the charges. If the grounds warranted such, the offender would be summoned to appear before a larger council or the corporate church at a later date, at which time the offender would either be "acquitted" or restored and punished appropriately.

Some of the more prevalent infractions cataloged from the records of four Southern Baptist churches from 1865–1920 include: non-attendance, intemperance, adultery, fornication, remarriage after divorce, profanity, dancing, disputes, fighting, drunkenness, breaking civil laws, breaking church rules, et al.[36] Of the total membership in those churches, 29.3 percent had been charged with an offense at some point and 8.6 percent had been excommunicated. It is estimated that by the time of the Civil War, 40,000 people had been excommunicated by Baptist churches in Georgia alone.[37] Logic would suggest that such rigid discipline would impede the growth of these churches, but surprisingly, as Southern Baptist churches excommunicated 2 percent of their congregations annually, the church grew at an even faster rate.[38] By 1906, 25 percent of all Georgians were Baptist.

The fervency with which Southern Baptist churches practiced discipline eventually faded. The explosive growth fatigued the church. By 1900, it no longer had the stomach or the resolve to confront its members, opting instead to revel in its own growth. The church's emphasis shifted to purifying society, and within that quest of reforming culture, forgot how to reform itself. It became infested with worldliness. With the boundaries separating the world and the church blurred, by 1920 the practice of church discipline in Southern Baptist churches was virtually gone.[39]

Vestiges of church discipline still appeared in pockets of evangelical churches during the twentieth century. Generally, most churches that continued to, at a minimum, institutionally recognize the matter were reformed churches. As an example, *The Polity of Churches* was first published in 1937 and reflected the binding decision of the Synod of the Christian Reformed Church. Later editions of the book were published, such as the third edition in 1947 that provided express instructions concerning church discipline, such as: the fact that it only applied to baptized members, when silent censure was appropriate, when the consistory should be

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[35]Ibid.

[36]Ibid.

[37]Ibid.

[38]Dever, 35.

[39]West, 84.

informed, enacting public censure, revoking communion, and excommunication.40 By the latter half of the twentieth century, church discipline in evangelical circles was virtually extinct. Thus, as evidenced by the chronological history presented herein, the modern era likely represents the nadir of the practice of church discipline in the church's two thousand year history.

Scriptural Foundations of Church Discipline

At this point, the essence of what church discipline actually is has been demonstrated, and clearly such discipline has been historically carried out in sundry manifestations. However, one may ask if there is a scriptural basis for church discipline—a basis that validates the practice as emanating from God's absolute truth. The following presentation will demonstrate that Scripture provides more than a sufficient foundation for the practice of church discipline.

Scholars may legitimately begin with the first biblical example of discipline, which ensued as a consequence of the first sin in the Genesis 3 account of the fall. Here, we see God not only discipline His people for unrighteous conduct by driving them from the garden and imposing a life of labor and certain death, but as one reads on, Scripture reveals God's hand of mercy at work to restore the relationship of man and his progeny with Him. Clearly then, God's love is shown to be mutually inclusive of his discipline.

Another excerpt from the Old Testament Pentateuch, Lev. 19:15-18, lays the groundwork for restorative reproof of a brother. Clearly, as the passage illustrates, an honorable blueprint of conflict mitigation is delineated. This paradigm forbids talking ill of another brother, but goes one step further requiring one to reprove a neighbor before the contention has the opportunity to take root into a full-fledged conflict. The Hebrew context of the word "neighbor" in verse 17 is identified as group, clan, or brother, as in a familial/communal setting.

Ezek. 3:20-21 commands the attention of believers for the corporate responsibility of preventing a fellow believer from wallowing in his or her sin. Essentially, God denotes that righteous behavior requires we be honest with our brothers and sisters so that they do not die in their sin. Upon doing so, the person's blood is no longer on the confronting believer's hands, but rather, leaves the erring member responsible for the consequences of his/her sin.

Matt. 18:15-17 serves as essentially the hallmark pronouncement concerning church discipline. Much deference to this passage is given due to the fact that the Lord Himself issues this guidance. The passage reads as follows:

"Moreover if your brother sins against you, go and tell him his fault between you and him alone. If he hears you, you have gained your brother. But if he will not hear, take with you one or two more, that 'by the mouth of two or three witnesses every word may be established.' And if he refuses to hear them, tell it to the church. But if he refuses even to hear the church, let him be to you like a

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40J. L. Schaver, *The Polity of the Churches*, vol. 2, 3d ed. (Chicago: Kregel, 1947), 180-84.

heathen and a tax collector. Assuredly, I say to you, whatever you bind on earth will be bound in heaven, and whatever you loose on earth will be loosed in heaven." (Matt. 18:15-17)

Though much has been written on this text, the basic precepts can be summarized as a four-step process consisting of: 1) private reproof ("reproof" in the Greek meaning to expose or show one their fault), 2) private conference, 3) public announcement, and 4) public exclusion.[41] Before this process is enacted, one would be prudent to review another relevant passage, Matt. 7:1-5, for preparation so that he or she would first approach the conflict prayerfully, and after sufficient self-examination be able to then discern if he is spiritually qualified for the task.

Several details of Matt. 18:15-17 merit further exegetical elaboration. First, the salient feature of verse 15 is the foremost objective of winning one's brother. Second, the additional witnesses required in verse 16 can serve a threefold purpose: 1) to bring additional pressure to lead the fallen brother to repentance, 2) to establish the facts and veracity of the encounter should they need to testify before the church, and 3) to hear the evidence to determine if an offense has even been committed.[42] Third, the effect of excommunication, treating one as a heathen or tax collector, ultimately calls on the church to treat unrepentant sinners as outside the circle of God's people, just as Gentiles and tax collectors were not even allowed beyond the outer court of the temple. The church should continue to reach out to these people as part of their witness, but not confer upon them membership in the body of Christ. Finally, verse 18 has strong roots in Jewish culture and would have been clearly recognized by its original Jewish audience. First century Jewish authorities would judge matters of scriptural precedent by either binding (restricting) or loosing (to liberate) the judgment. Calvin believed firmly that the object metaphor used by Christ was that the church was charged with binding (excommunicating) or loosing (receiving into membership) its congregation.[43]

Heb. 12:1-14 presents another significant New Testament text on the matter of church discipline. The text conveys, among other things, that discipline should be viewed positively as God treating and molding believers as His children. God expects us to discipline each other, and to receive discipline favorably with an uncritical heart. Should believers cease to be disciplined, they then risk becoming illegitimate children that God may give up to their own iniquity (Rom. 1:24).

1 Cor. 5:1-11 demonstrates the dangers of the church permitting sinful living to permeate its membership. Conspicuous within the passage is that the erring member did not commit *a* sin, but rather, was deliberately living in a *state* of sin – one so carnal that it was capable of even appalling the pagans the church was trying to reach. The gravity of the situation is exemplified given that Paul instructed the church to remove and hand the offender over to Satan in order to

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[41]Laney, 358.

[42]Mutetei, 118.

[43]Mohler, 24.

utterly convict him of his depravity in order to bring about salvation, and to prevent the sinful conduct from spoiling other members within the church. The text ends with Paul imploring the church to make a clear demarcation in living differently from the world. Similarly, Rom. 2:23-24 warns of portraying a negative witness of the church to the world. Upholding the purity of the church is likewise the focus of instruction in 2 Cor. 7:1, where the church is urged to purify itself of contaminants out of reverence for God.

The treatment in 1 Cor. 5:1-11 is consistent with Paul's other admonishments, such as 2 Cor. 6:14-18, where believers are instructed to not keep company with other believers living carnal lifestyles. Another parallel text is 2 Thess. 3:6-15, where Paul instructs the church to refrain from interactions with idle members. Those members not accepting the instructions were to be taken note of and members were not to associate with them, but were also not to treat them as an enemy but rather to consider them as a warned brother. The final instruction in verse 15 has a supporting parallel in Gal. 6:1, where Paul impresses upon the church the need to act with compassion and love in how a sinning brother is restored.

Finally, several New Testament passages provide instruction for specific situations with disciplinary implications. 1 Tim. 1:20 provides an example of a blasphemer being handed over to Satan for his own benefit. 1 Tim. 5:19-20 establishes protocol to follow when elders or pastoral staff stand accused of alleged misconduct, whereby the accuser must provide two to three witness, and if valid, a public rebuke is necessitated. Titus 3:10 provides sound instruction to preempt the compounding discord generated by those intent on creating division in the church. The text calls on members to avoid trivial arguments, such as those sadly played out before us in the contemporary dramas such as the proverbial "fighting over carpet colors" or where the coffee pot should be located. The text instructs the church, likely as a response to counter the divided house Jesus warned of in Matt. 12:25, to reprove the divisive member once, and if they still continue in their promotion of division within the body, the church is to have nothing more to do with them. This is both a personal remedy and a remedy to promote unity within the body. These grumblers and complainers that Jude foresaw (Jude 16) seemingly fit the profile that Thom Rainer warns has reached epidemic proportions that paralyze many pulpits today.[44]

Applying Church Discipline

The exposition now moves from the realm of theology and theory to the realm of the practical and application of church discipline. In considering if church discipline is necessary today, most American evangelicals need only draw upon their own anecdotal experiences whereby many share the same observations: manipulative powerbrokers shredding churches from within, worldly ideals branding entire congregations as hypocrites, unfounded gossip that runs a pastor out of the church, etc. As discipline waned and standards became relaxed, the church ashamedly finds itself looking no different from the world. Such an indictment is supported by a number

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[44]Rainer, 5.

of recent studies from George Barna that conclude incidents of abortion, adultery, pornography, and divorce are as prevalent in the American church as they are in the world.[45] When American evangelicals are honest with themselves, they will concede what the church (or family) prefers not to discuss: that the lack of discipline today is the 800-pound gorilla in the room. The question then becomes more urgent: how can church discipline be applied today?

As God's absolute truth, inerrantly conveyed to man, the Bible should be the guide to modern Christians as to what means are available for church discipline. Disciplinary options available per Scripture, and practiced as a matter of orthodoxy in the early church (which implies the intent of restoration) include: private reproof by a layman, private reproof by a pastor, private conference among a group, private rebuke by a group, advisement not to partake in sacraments, advisement to step down from any ministry activities, required removal from any ministry activities, withholding sacraments (which pursuant to their original duties in the early church, deacons would, as a matter of orthodoxy, be the group responsible for deciding and initiating this action), and excommunication. All of such should be progressive.

Ideally and pragmatically, church discipline begins prior to a member's walking an aisle and joining. A church serious about church discipline is advised to codify the practice within its by-laws, constitution, and signed church covenant. For one reason, such a practice is a matter of honest communication, and rightfully informs prospective members of what to expect from their church should they fall into a situation requiring discipline. Furthermore, such informed consent absolves a church of liability when a formerly disciplined member seeks legal counsel. Finally, pastors would be remiss if they did not address a church's rationale and methods of discipline as part of a church's new membership program. The pastor should deliberately present the theology and benefits of church discipline, emphasizing how it works toward the spiritual well-being of the believer, the purity and witness of the church and its doctrines, and the testimony of God.[46]

A church desiring to implement a program of discipline should consider classifying the practice of discipline as "discipling" because church discipline rooted in restoration is a natural extension of a discipleship program. While many modern churches tend to embrace the idea of adding a formal discipline program to its arsenal of ministries, they should ask themselves if they are being selective in determining the content of such a program. As Philip Mutetei has astutely observed, "Any discipling process that fails to introduce the importance of discipline as a guide to spiritual maturity denies the new convert a very important truth about the Christian life."[47] The discipling process of restoring a fallen believer should be delicate not to exude a "holier than thou" approach,

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[45]Christine Wicker, "Dumbfounded by Divorce," available at http://www.adherents.com/ largecom/ baptist_divorce.html; accessed on 9 March 2011.

[46]Mutetei, 127.

[47]Ibid., 121.

and emphasize per Rom. 7 that as long as a born-again believer is confined to a fallen fleshly body, impulsive acts of sin will occur. However, the distinction should be made between acts of sin and the state of sin, i.e., deliberate sinful behavior. The discipling Christian can then take the opportunity to turn the discourse to the truth of Ephesians chapter 4, "speaking the truth in love" in noting that now that we are alive in Christ, and Christ being the head of the body, we should no longer walk as the rest of the world. When characterized in this manner, David Neff's simple syllogism is convicting: if we are in Christ, and it is "inconceivable that Christ should sin" and it is "inconceivable that Christ should be at war with himself," then obviously sin should be removed.[48]

Should the church proceed with confronting a fallen member as an act of discipline, they would do well to consider some caveats. First, the individual initiating the discussion should be careful to express genuine concern, often using the form of a question, such as, "Do I understand this to be the case? "[49] The confronting member may wish to make an effort to say two positive things for any one item that can be construed as negative. It is not only wise, but also Scriptural (Gal. 5:16-24), that the one doing the confronting be spiritually mature and subjected to self-examination before the actual confrontation. Not all church members, especially those prone to temptation, volatility, or unforgiving, will be spiritually qualified. Finally, it is important, per the Lord's directive in Matt. 18 that the confrontation takes place in person. Much damage can be done by the submission of letters or other forms of written communication whereby context is completely lacking and tone misunderstood.

The final alternatives in the process of church discipline—public announcement and excommunication—naturally entail the most risk for potential disharmony within the church. While the Greek word ekklesia, as described previously (to whom it should be told), is corroborated with Hebrew practice to mean the group, family, or body, the church would be well-advised to assess the appropriate venue and spokesman for any public announcements so as to mitigate discord. Should excommunication become an option, the church should operate with the implicit belief that corrective discipline is not a judgment of a person's final destiny. Furthermore, it should be emphasized that with excommunication comes the Scriptural mandate for follow-up, per Paul's instructions to forgive, comfort, and reaffirm love (2 Cor. 2:7-8). Effective revisitation can bring about healing to a congregation after a difficult but necessary decision. Efforts should be made to facilitate repentance and restore the fallen member back into the fold. Ultimately, one may ask, "Why would anyone tolerate such discipline and potential embarrassment when they can just go down the road and join another church?" Kevin Miller, assistant minister at Church of the Resurrection in Wheaton, Illinois, answers the question: "…we've found that almost never happens. Because what people want, in their heart of hearts, is to be loved so much that someone will say, 'You need to change, God will help you, and I'll walk with you.' "[50]

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[48]David Neff, "Healing the Body of Christ," *Christianity Today*, August 2005, 35-6.

[49]Laney, 359.

[50]Kevin Miller, "Church Discipline for Repetitive Sin," *Leadership* (Spring 2009): 39-41.

Conclusion

The reality of administering church discipline as a standard practice of church polity would be considered unorthodox by most American evangelicals. Consequently, this exposition has demonstrated that the issue of church discipline should be considered anything but unorthodox. This paper has systematically enveloped the parameters of church discipline— defining what it is, providing historical data and foundational scriptural evidence—all of which when synthesized as a dialectic unequivocally suggest the practice of church discipline as a necessary component of Christian orthodoxy. Adopting such a practice of church discipline would likely not be (initially) received with a sanguine response. However, until the church musters the resolve to make some uncomfortable decisions in the direction of orthodoxy, it will continually struggle to appear and function as the body of Christ and miss the blessings thereto.

Regretfully, we live in a day when church membership means as little to some as the price of admission paid when they walked through the doors. American evangelicals enjoy standards of living with unprecedented levels of comfort—a comfort that has perhaps served as the accomplice to permitting spots in our love feasts. Regardless of whether the cause is comfort, or the mere self-concern over "judging" another, when the cleansing blood paid for the body of Christ is watered down, its vibrancy correspondingly dissipates. Discipline must be executed in love as L.R. Dekoster notes, "discipline due but ignored is not love but sentimentality, love's counterfeit."[51] Confronting a brother or sister with their sinful living is hard, but most assuredly, confronting the Lord with our complicity in subduing the testimony and efficacy of His church will be much harder as the church at Thyatira could attest. When American evangelicals honestly confront themselves with the universal, absolute truth that the doctrinal warrant for church discipline is a requirement, not an optional suggestion, then we can take the next step toward full submission to His lordship over our lives.

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[51]DeKoster, 256.

THE ROAD TO NICEA
A SURVEY OF THE REGIONAL DIFFERENCES
INFLUENCING THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE DOCTRINE
OF THE TRINITY

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Introduction

During the opening centuries of Christianity, the early church quickly came to realize that certain ideas had to be settled if it was going to survive. The first of these foundational doctrines addressed how Christ related to the Father, and the Holy Spirit. Early Christian theologians understood that the development of a deeper concept of God was required. The establishment of Christianity as monotheistic, while maintaining the divinity of the Father, Son, and Spirit, was at issue. But how could God be one and three? The answer found a voice in the doctrine of the Trinity.

In AD 325 bishops gathered to draft a document intended to explain definitively Christ's role in the Godhead. The doctrine of the Trinity, however, did not begin in Nicea. The issue had been burning for centuries.

The question before the church essentially was a Christological one: Who is Jesus in relationship to God? This question leads to the obvious dilemma. If Jesus is God, how can Christianity claim to be monotheistic? And if Jesus is not God, how can Christianity claim to be theistic?[1] Furthermore, while the Nicene Creed emphasized the Christological question, and included the Spirit—thus maintaining a trinitarian over a binitarian doctrine—most debate centered on the relationship between the Father and the Son. The works of the Ante-Nicene Fathers bear this out.

As Christianity developed, cities were able to start theological traditions capable of serving as a framework for future thought. By the second century, new ideas began circulating. Theological experimentation was prevalent. Over time a rule of faith was established by the more influential churches, setting the standard for what would and would not be accepted as orthodox. These

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[1] R. P. C. Hanson, *The Search for the Christian Doctrine of God: The Arian Controversy 318-381* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1988), 164.

influential churches grew into important Christian centers developing their own theology. Regional traditions became strong. In this way, each Christian center developed its own brand of the Christological trinitarian theology.

One assumption upon which this paper depends is that regional influences stem from centers, which are represented in cities that produce a legacy of learning and teaching. Cities, such as Irenaeus's Lyons and Eusebius's Nicomedia, that do not produce a series of influential thinkers do not fall into the definition of an important Christian center.[2] The establishment of catechetical schools is another indicator that the city was important. According to W. H. C. Frend, "Rome, Antioch, Alexandria, and Carthage were already the leading sees in Christendom in the first quarter of the third century."[3] Because each city produced a series of Christian thinkers and because each established catechetical schools, Rome, Carthage, Antioch, and Alexandria will serve as stops along the road to Nicea.[4]

The purpose of this paper is to examine the development of the doctrine of the Trinity within the four major Christian centers, observing the regional variations in order to see the extent to which geography played a role in its development. During this period, the empire essentially was divided into two halves: the Latin West and the Greek East. This isolation allowed each to develop its own answers to the Christological question.[5] In order to incorporate this cultural division into the research, I have divided this article into two halves; the first describes the journey through the Christian centers of the West, and the second, through the East. The paper unfolds as a journey, traveling from one major Christian center to another where we will encounter each city's important players, their theologies, and their impact on the progression toward Nicea.

In the West

The road to the first ecumenical council begins in the West. The two cities serve as weigh stations along the road. The development of the doctrine begins in the city of Rome but reaches its zenith in Rome's historical enemy, Carthage.

Rome

In the West, the road to Nicea starts in Rome. The church in the Imperial city began looking

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[2]W. H. C. Frend, *The Rise of Christianity* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1985), 284; New Advent, "Nicomedia," [online]; available at http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/11070a.htm; accessed 22 March 2011.

[3]Frend, *The Rise of Christianity*, 284.

[4]Ibid., 285-86.

[5]W. H. C. Frend, *The Early Church* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991), 75-6.

into the question of Christ's role in the Godhead very early. Four figures were prominent in the development of the doctrine in Rome: Clement, Justin Martyr, Theodotus and Hippolytus.

The first person we encounter on the road is the early church father, Clement. Although written in only the first century, I Clement contains a clear trinitarian phrase: "Have we not one God, and one Christ and one Spirit of Grace poured out upon us?"[6] Despite the omission of the name "Father," this sentence clearly is a proto-trinitarian statement. Elsewhere in I Clement the term Father is stated and is consistent with subsequent authors. First Clement clearly is steeped in the Septuagint, leaning heavily on Scripture for moral and ethical guidance. Even at such an early date, the concept of a triune God had begun.[7]

The second Roman we meet is Justin Martyr. Focusing on practical theology over theoretical, Justin stressed the inseparability of the essence of the Word and the Father. When he concluded, however, that the Father was the source of the Godhead and that all else, no matter how divine, must be inferior, he appears as a subordinationist; but in reality, his theology was much more complex, holding the Godhead to be one and inseparable.[8] Because Jesus Christ was capable of growing, learning, and suffering, and because he also contained the full power of the Logos, Justin concluded that He was equally human and divine.[9]

The founder of Dynamic Monarchianism, Theodotus, is next. Despite his label as heretic, Theodotus held strongly to many orthodox beliefs; however, it was in his Christology that he veered from the orthodox path. Dynamic Monarchianism, also known as Adoptionism, makes the claim that Jesus merely was a very good man who, at his baptism, was adopted by the Holy Spirit and then was able to perform many miraculous works of God.[10] Millard Erickson summarizes Theodotus's Christology: "Jesus was an ordinary man, inspired but not indwelt by the Spirit."[11] Needless to say, this non-orthodox position caused a stir within orthodoxy.

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[6]Clement, *I Clement*, 46.6, as quoted in Frend, *The Early Church*, 42.

[7]Frend, *The Early Church*, 42.

[8]Millard J. Erickson, *Christian Theology*, 2d ed. (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2003), 358; Karen O'Dell Bullock, *Shepherd's Notes: The Writings of Justin Martyr* (Nashville: Broadman and Holman, 1998), 18-19; Erwin Ramsdell Goodenough, *The Theology of Justin Martyr* (Amsterdam: Philo, 1968), 140-141.

[9]Leslie William Barnard, *Justin Martyr: His Life and Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967), 105, 120.

[10]Erickson, 358-59; J. N. D. Kelly, *Early Christian Doctrines* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2004), 116-17.

[11]Erickson, 359.

The last important figure in Rome is Hippolytus, who became presbyter around 200. His over-emphasis on the distinction between the Logos and the Father in The Refutation of All Heresies rightly drew a charge of ditheism from the Roman Bishop Callistus. The passage in question included, "Therefore this solitary and supreme Deity, by an exercise of reflection, brought forth the Logos first; not the word in the sense of being articulated by voice, but as a ratiocination of the universe, conceived and residing in the divine mind."[12] Hyppolytus, however, also claimed that the created Word was the incarnate Christ, part of the Godhead but distinct from the Father. In Contra Noetum he claimed that "The Father is over all, the Son is by all, and the Holy Spirit is in all."[13] We can see that a trinitarian formula was taking shape.

The Roman trinitarian tradition began with Clement and grew with Justin, was challenged by Theodotus but was restored by Hippolytus. With the emergence of Hyppolytus, the journey to Nicea heads out of Rome, across the Mediterranean to Carthage, where great things are brewing.

Carthage

The second stop on the road to Nicea is the historical city of Carthage. Two hundred years before Augustine, a cohesive theory of the doctrine of the Trinity was formulated and applied in the ancient African city. Two men were most responsible for its propagation. The first is Quintus Septimus Florens Tertullianus, better known to us simply as Tertullian; and the second is his bishop, Cyprian.

Immediately following Hyppolytus, Tertullian developed what might be considered the apex of ancient trinitarian thought. In Against Praxeas, he explains how the Son and the Father were both separate, yet eternally united with the Father; therefore, God must be three persons in one substance.[14] In his study of Tertullian, Eric Osborn suggests that the Carthaginian borrowed his ideas of interpenetration of the Godhead from the way the Stoics understood mixtures:[15] "Stoics distinguished three different sorts of mixtures. . . . The third kind of mixture was a total blending . . . which preserves the natures, which unite. The persistence of the blended constituents was proved from the fact that they could be separated artificially. An oiled sponge, when placed in a blend of water and wine, will absorb water and leave the wine."[16] By incorporating the Stoic

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[12]Hippolytus, *The Refutation of All Heresies*, X.29; quoted in *ANF*, vol. 5 (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2004), 150. The emphasis was added by the editor of ANF.

[13]Hippolytus, *Contra Noetum*, XIV.5; quoted in Frend, *The Rise of Christianity*, 345.

[14]Tertullian, *Contra Praxeas*, I-III, XXVII.

[15]Eric Osborn, *Tertullian, First Theologian of the West* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 120-133; Eric Osborn, "They Speak to Us Across the Centuries 8: Tertullian," *The Expository Times* 109.12 (1998): 357-58.

[16]Osborn, *Tertullian, First Theologian*, 139.

concept of interpenetration of physical bodies, Tertullian struck a balance between the threeness of the Godhead and the oneness of God.[17]

Though no North African tradition had developed to this point, Tertullian's theory was put into practice by the Bishop of Carthage.[18] Cyprian regarded Tertullian as the Master, and he held Scripture and Tertullian as his only authorities.[19] The bishop was not a scholar but was first and foremost a pastor, applying his theology to the troubles of the day. One of the main controversies of this time were the Donatists, who were dividing the church. Cyprian's understanding of the Trinity was a prime example of how the church must also be united. With this triune model in mind, the bishop worked unceasingly to hold the church together.[20] Unity in the church was Cyprian's goal, but as he applied Tertullian's legacy throughout his ministry, he solidified the North African theological tradition, ensuring that Tertullian's doctrine of the Trinity would grow hardy and strong.

The road to Nicea ends in the West at Carthage. There is no need to continue. The matter is settled. Tertullian's theology essentially put the matter to rest. Nothing more was developed, probably because nothing more needed to be developed.[21] Things, however, were different on the other side of the empire. The Eastern Church, which was separated from the West by both language and culture, had to find its own solution to the question. We continue our journey in the East, in the first-century city of Antioch.

In the East

We pick up the road to Nicea in the East. Life was different in the Greek side of the Empire. It contained many more churches and many more opportunities to hear different interpretation of what it means to be a Christian. For these reasons, politics played a much greater role in the East than in the West. The most important Christian centers in the East, Antioch and Alexandria, provided the fuel for the machinery that paved the road to Nicea.

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[17]Ibid., 141; While Tertullian felt free to use Stoicism for his own ends, Osborn points out that Tertullian "repudiates the idea of a Christian Stoicism" (Eric Osborn, "The Subtlety of Tertullian," *Vigiliae Christianae*. 52.4 [1998]:369).

[18]Peter Hinchliff, *Cyprian of Carthage and the Unity of the Christian Church* (London: Cassell and Collier Macmillan, 1974), 116.

[19]Jaroslav Pelikan, *The Christian Tradition: A History of the Development of Doctrine*, vol. 1, *The Emergence of the Catholic Tradition* (100-600) (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1971), 187; Hinchliff, 36.

[20]Hinchliff, 116.

[21]There is no evidence to support the idea that any trinitarian debate continued after Tertullian. Since, however, there is a plethora of evidence of the debate prior to Tertullian, the argument from silence has merit. The conclusion that Tertullian's theology was accepted throughout the West, thus ending the debate in the West, is likely.

Antioch

The first stop in the East is the Syrian city of Antioch. Over the centuries, it produced four important characters in the trinitarian debate. As time passed, the theology of this Apostolic See began to veer more and more afield. Antioch indeed was a hotbed of theological thought.[22]

The earliest figure in the story of the doctrine of the Trinity is the martyr Ignatius. His theology was primitive and rudimentary, as one would expect for a first-century bishop. Ignatius, however, made reference to a trinitarian model three times in his letters.[23] His understanding of the Godhead, despite the early date, is complex. While he does not equate the Holy Spirit with Christ, but only as God's divine power, he formulates a clearly paradoxical understanding of the two-nature Christology.[24] Unfortunately, in his letters, he does not explain how the flesh and the spirit interact or join in Christ. Ignatius also wrote that he held Christ to be an ingenerate, pre-existent being, whose Sonship began in the incarnation. His views, sadly, do not seem to have been passed down as part of an Antiochene tradition.[25]

The second person we encounter in Antioch is the Greek-speaking apologist, Theophilus.[26] Though only several generations after Ignatius, little remains of the theology of the first-century martyr. Theophilus developed a Logos doctrine in which he equated the Word with the Son; however, he did not hold Christ as pre-existent. Instead, as the Word, He was prophorikos, an idea in the mind of God who was "expressed" at the moment of creation. Theophilus's main contribution to the advancement of the doctrine of the Trinity was in the way he understood the Godhead itself. Applying the word triad in relation to the Father, Word, and Wisdom, he was the first to present God as a triune being.[27]

The third Antiochene figure, Paul of Samosata, arguably is the most colorful character that we will meet along the road. Drifting further from the divine view of Christ established by Ignatius and from the triune view of Theophilus, Paul maintained the idea that God was dynamically-present in Jesus. His Origenist views, however, provided the grist for his opponents' mill; and in 268, Paul was

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[22]Paul Woolley, "Antiochene Theology," in *Evangelical Dictionary of Theology*, 2d ed., ed. Walter A. Elwell (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2001), 72-3; Frend, *The Rise of Christianity*, 129; Kelly, 230.

[23]The trinitarian model can be found in his letters to Ephesus, IX.1, and Magnesia, XIII.1; XIII.2.

[24]M. D. Goulder, "'Ignatius' 'Donatists,'" *Vigiliae Christianae*, 53.1 (1999): 30.

[25]Kelly, 92-3; William R. Schoedel, *Ignatius of Antioch: A Commentary on the Letters of Ignatius of Antioch* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1985), 20-21.

[26]Frend, *The Rise of Christianity*, 252.

[27]Ibid.; Woolley, 72-3; Kelly, 109; Gonzalez, 52-3; Pelikan, 189.

excommunicated. This is the first extant example of a council imposing a test of orthodoxy.[28] For Paul, the Logos was stronger in Jesus than in anyone else, but that did not make Him divine or worthy of worship. God and the Son were homoousios, but not equal. Furthermore, not only did he hold that Christ's humanity had no soul because it had been replaced by the Spirit at His birth, he also was a Dynamic Monarchianist.[29] The Antiochene tradition was taking a turn away from the established norm.

The last Antiochene thinker was a student of Paul and a teacher of Arius.[30] Lucian followed the teachings of Paul, but saw Christ on a higher plane than his instructor. One of his main teachings and one that became a central theme with Arius was that Jesus was soma apsychon—a body without a soul. Ephiphanius of Salamis reports that Lucian and his followers all denied that Jesus had a human soul and so were able to attach human experiences to the Logos.[31]

The leading thinkers in Antioch drifted from an understanding of the divinity of Christ to a Monarchian-Origenist theology. Ignatius established a biblical understanding of the Trinity, but Theophilus began denying certain aspects of a trinitarian model, and Paul, with his student Lucian, questioned the divinity of Christ. To see the reactions to the "heretical" doctrines building in Antioch, we head south to Alexandria.

Alexandria

The Egyptian Christian center in the Nile delta is our last stop before Nicea. Alexandria, with its Greek academic heritage, continued its status for scholarship within the Christian context. In this city, two groups of thinkers had an impact on the trinitarian doctrine. The controversy that began here provided the impetus for the First Ecumenical Council.

The first group of figures in Alexandria is made up of Clement, Origen and Dionysius. In the late second century the founder of the catechetical school in Alexandria, Pantaenus, turned to philosophy as a way to connect with the lost in his city. His lead was picked up by his successors, Clement, then Origen, and finally Dionysius. These three church fathers turned to philosophy for help in their battle against Gnosticism and were the main figures responsible for developing

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[28]Woolley, 72-3; Erickson, 359; Kelly, 117; New Advent, "Paul of Samosata," online encyclopedia, http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/11589a.htm; accessed on March 22, 2011.

[29]Pelikan, 198; Frend, *The Early Church*, 113-14; Erickson, 359; Woolley, 72-3; Arland J. Hultgren and Steven A. Haggmark, eds. *The Earliest Christian Heretics: Readings from their Opponents* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Press, 1996), 136.

[30]Kelly, 230-31; Frend, *The Early Church*, 122; New Advent, "Lucian of Antioch," online encyclopedia, http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/09409a.htm; accessed March 22, 2011; Woolley, 72-3; Rowan Williams, *Arius: Heresy and Tradition* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001), 162.

[31]Hanson, 26-7, 80-3; Woolley, 72-3; Kelly, 230-31.

Christian Platonism. This turn to Hellenism, however, was to have a devastating effect on Church unity, driving a wedge between East and West, and between Alexandria and Antioch.[32]

Clement was not a systematic theologian, but he was widely read[33] and an eloquent speaker. He soon realized that unless he was able make his teachings understandable to his audience, his mission would fail. He turned to philosophy in order to connect with the people.[34] For Clement, even though God completely was transcendent he could be known through the Son and the Spirit: "God, then, being not a subject for demonstration, cannot be the object of science. But the Son is wisdom, and knowledge, and truth, and all else that has affinity thereto. He is also susceptible to demonstration and of description. And all the powers of the Spirit, becoming collectively one thing, terminate in the same point—that is, in the Son."[35] While he emphasized the differences between God and the Son, he never promoted any form of dualism. The Word reflects rather than contrasts God.[36]

Continuing the Alexandrian tradition of melding Christianity with philosophy, "Origen saw Christianity as a movement of spiritual and moral reform, building sometimes on existing philosophy as well as on Scripture, but always leading the individual forward by its own merits toward a truer understanding of one's self and of the divine world."[37] In contrast to the Platonic and Hermetic monad, who held the passive qualities of beauty and goodness, Origen explained that God could not be without the active qualities of Wisdom, Word, and Power. He went on to say that Wisdom was co-eternal with God and was known to humanity as the Son, who had joined with God through the perfection of love.[38] At other times he was not so egalitarian. In his work against Celsus, he seems to demote the Son to a status less than full divinity.[39] And since

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[32]Frend, *The Rise of Christianity*, 368-69.

[33]Frend attributes around 360 classical texts are referenced in Clement's *Miscellanies*, many of which are not extant and have not survived elsewhere (Frend, *The Rise of Christianity*, 369).

[34]Ibid., 370; Gonzalez, 70-1.

[35]Ibid., IV. 25, as quoted in Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson, eds., *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, vol. 2, *Fathers of the Second Century: Hermas, Tatian, Athenagoras, Theophilus, and Clement of Alexandria (Entire)* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2004), 438.

[36]Williams, 129; Frend, *The Rise of Christianity*, 371.

[37]Frend, *The Rise of Christianity*, 289.

[38]Origen, *De principiis*, I.2.1-4; II.6.4; Gerald Bostock, "Origen: The Alternative to Augustine?" *The Expository Times* 114.10 (2003): 327.

[39]Khaled Anotolios, "Christ, Scripture, and the Christian Story of Meaning in Origen," *Gregorianum* 78.1 (1997): 60-1.

Origen does not treat the Spirit as having the same power and majesty as the Son, we are led to believe that Origen did not include the Spirit in the Godhead.[40]

The third Alexandrian Christian Platonist is Dionysius, who followed along the same thoughts as his teacher. This Bishop of Alexandria, 247–264, was able to continue Origen's work, setting the theological tradition for the area. Under his reign, the Alexandrian See expanded its control over all of Egypt and Cyrenaica. Around 255, the Monarchians in Cyrenaica came to the attention of Dionysius.[41] Frustrated with their obstinacy, he wrote the bishop in Rome, Pope Sixtus II, rebuking the Monarchians; but while explaining how they were wrong he affirmed the Alexandrian tradition that the Son was a creature. This sparked a fire between the two Sees, and the debate intensified under a new Roman pope—also named Dionysius.[42] During this controversy, the Cyrenaicans coined the now familiar term, homoousios, which the Alexandrian Bishop rejected as non-scriptural.[43] W. H. C. Frend explains: "Dionysius moved Origen's Trinitarian teaching further along the road toward Arianism. Indeed, with Dionysius's letter in mind, Arius became explicable."[44] The Alexandrian Dionysius set the table for the Arian controversy that followed.

The next group of three characters we meet is made up of two churchmen and one politician. The last two church officials are a bishop and a presbyter, Alexander and Arius, but without the third person, the Emperor Constantine, Nicea never would have happened. All three figures play an important role in the events leading directly to the confrontation in Nicea.

The Alexandrian tradition that took root with Origen was supported by the educated upper class, but the majority of Egyptian believers were developing a distaste for modalism and Manicheanism. A chasm was widening between the intelligencia of Alexandria and the rest of the Egyptian flock.[45] Arius, a gifted orator, used his eloquence to rally the disenfranchised Alexandrians by challenging the Saballian views apparent in Alexander's theology. He seems to pick up where Origen and Lucius, his mentor, leave off.[46] According to Athanasius, Arius held

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[40]Kihan McDonnell, "Does Origen Have a Trinitarian Doctrine of the Holy Spirit?" *Gregorianum* 75.1 (1994): 34.

[41]Kelly, 133-34.

[42]Frend, *The Rise of Christianity*, 383.

[43]Kelly, 135.

[44]Frend, *The Rise of Christianity*, 383.

[45]Ibid., 493-94.

[46]Williams, 31-2.

that God is completely transcendent, and that the Word was not just subordinate but also created. In De Synodis, Athanasius quotes Arius's monotheistic perspective: "We acknowledge one God, alone Ingenerate, alone Everlasting, alone Unbegun, alone True, alone having Immortality, alone Wise, alone Good, alone Sovereign."[47] Arius also emphasized that because the Word had entered Jesus' physical body replacing his soul, Christ was neither fully human nor fully divine. He could not create, could not redeem. He had neither communion with nor knowledge of God. He merely was an empty vessel used of God so deserved no worship as God.[48]

In 318, Arius directly challenged what he saw was the Sabellianism of Alexander. In his Ecclesiastical History, Socrates recorded Arius's most recognizable quote, "there was a time when the Son was not."[49] The disagreement, however, probably would have ended here. Alexander was first and foremost an Origenist and held that the Word, while eternal, was generated. But, political rivals pressured Alexander to denounce the presbyter as a heretic.[50] Buckling under the pressure, the Alexandrian Bishop called a council of one hundred bishops, condemned Arius's teachings, and exiled him. Arius proceeded to Nicomedia, the home of his close friend and fellow Lucianite, Eusebius.[51]

In 324, once Constantine finally removed his Eastern rival, Licinius, and consolidated power across the entire empire, he turned his attention to items that were disrupting peace in his land. Hearing of the trouble brewing in Egypt, he sent an envoy in the person of Hosia of Cordoba to quiet the bickering Alexandrians. After an investigation, Hosia sided with Alexander, eventually excommunicating Eusebius—friend to both Arius and the emperor.[52] In January of 325, the emperor read Hosia's report. Seeing himself as Pontifex Maximus, Constantine decided to call an empire-wide ecumenical council to put an end to the matter. The first ecumenical council was held that year at Nicea.[53]

In the end, theology did not play a prominent role in the development of the doctrine of Trinity. The ideas that were being argued in Alexandria already had been discussed earlier. The main factor in Egyptian Africa was politics. In Carthage, they had been using a fully realized

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[47]Athanasius, De Synodis, XVI, as quoted in Philip Schaff and Henry Wace, eds., *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, series 2, vol. 4. *Athanasius: Select Works and Letters* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2004), 458.

[48]Erickson, 711-12; Frend, *The Rise of Christianity*, 494-95.

[49]Socrates, *Ecclesiastical History*, I.5, as quoted in Roberts and Donaldson, vol. 2, 3; Erickson, 713-15.

[50]Williams, 32-41; Frend, *The Rise of Christianity*, 495; Frend, *The Early Church*, 135-38; Socrates, I.15.

[51]Frend, *The Rise of Christianity*, 495; Gonzalez, 161-62.

[52]Gonzalez, 161-62; Frend, *The Rise of Christianity*, 496-97; Frend, *The Early Church*, 138.

[53]Frend, *The Rise of Christianity*, 497; Gonzalez, 158-59.

trinitarian doctrine by the middle of the third century, but in the East, politics, not theology, held sway. So, it is probably most fitting that the solution to the political problem in Alexandria was resolved by Emperor Constantine, the top politician.

Conclusion

The journey along the road to Nicea began in Rome, where a rudimentary Christological trinitarian doctrine was being developed. Hippolytus, a contemporary of Tertullian, however, found himself running into difficulty as he struggled to remain within the very restrictive parameters of orthodoxy. Too far to one side or another was heresy. From Rome, our journey takes us to Carthage where Tertullian, a more gifted theologian than Hippolytus, was able to develop a fully realized doctrine of the Trinity. The West, however, is separated from the East by language and cultural barriers, effectively insulating the gains made in the West from having an impact on the East. Because Tertullian provided a satisfactory solution, the West had no need to continue to Nicea, and this is where the Western leg of the road stops. In order to travel the entire road to Nicea, we must pick up the journey again in the East. We have to make our way to first-century Antioch, where the second leg of the road begins, then to Alexandria, where things come to a head.

Along the journey, different forces made their presence known. In the West, politics played only a minor part. While secular politics wreaked havoc on the Western Church, the Eastern Church had the double blessing of being torn apart by both secular and ecclesiastical politics. In this way, politics may have played a more important role even than theology in the Eastern Empire.

Geography also played a large part in the development of the Christological trinitarian doctrine. In the West, Rome and Carthage essentially developed unhindered from the East. Only after Tertullian produced a thorough resolution to the trinitarian question was there any indication of a shared tradition in the West. In the East, however, Antioch promoted an independent spirit within the Syrian See and so veered from orthodoxy. Alexandria's geographical location provided it with the academic wealth and geographic centrality necessary to amplify all its controversies to the rest of the Roman world.

Our journey along the road to Nicea has shown that geography has had a significant impact on the way the doctrine of the Trinity developed in the Ante-Nicene period. The resulting doctrine may or may not have turned out the same given different geographical restrictions, but that is another question.
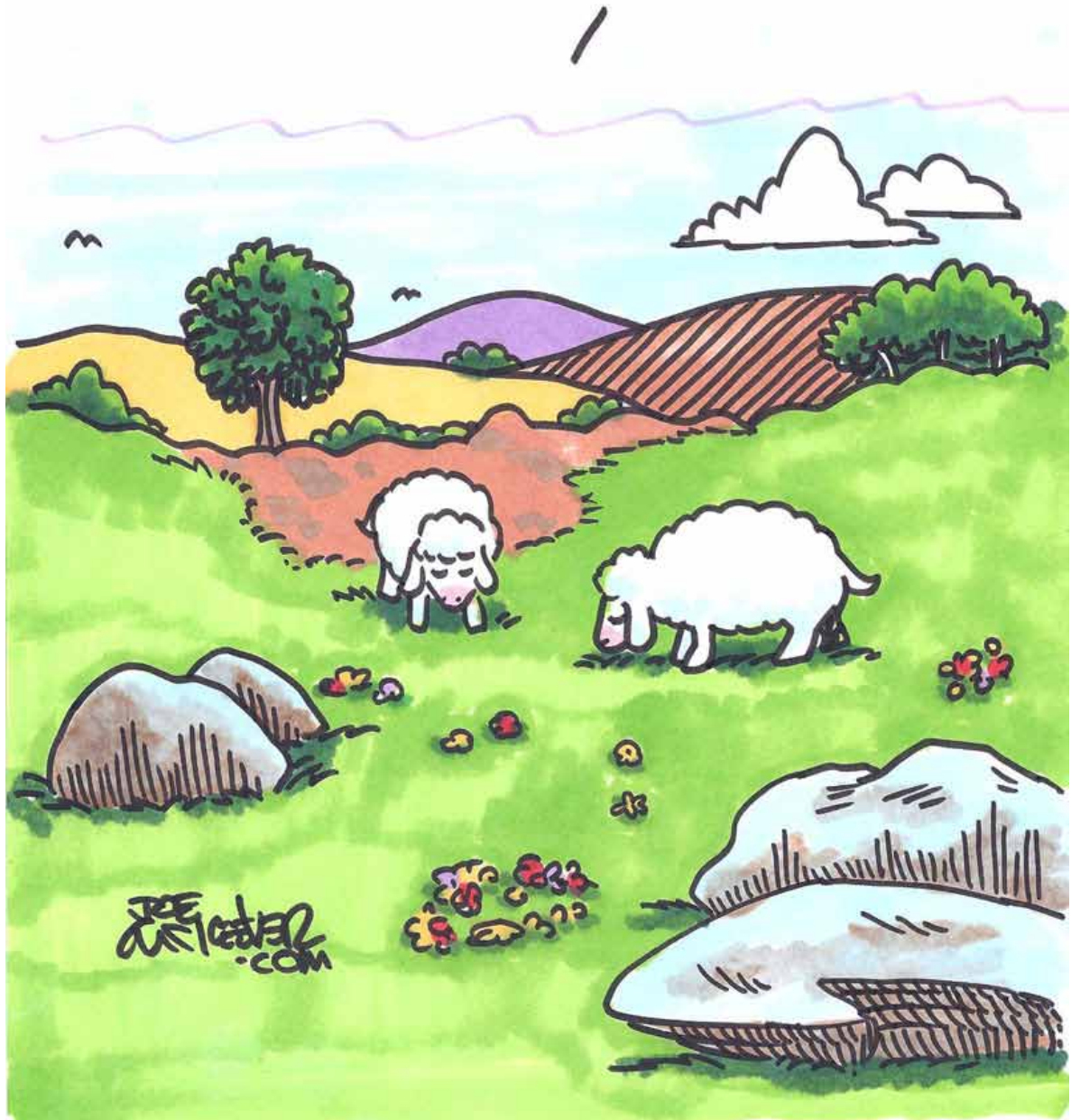
What Does the Future Hold?: Exploring Various Views on the End Times. By C. Marvin Pate. Grand Rapids: Baker, 2010. Pp. 151, Paperback $12.99.

Have you ever been confused by all the various views of the end times? Well, if you have, you are not alone. In his recent book *What Does the Future Hold?*, C. Marvin Pate works to disperse the fog. It is clear, concise, and balanced, giving each of the major millennial views equal consideration. Pate also challenges the insipient skepticism creeping into Baptist churches and scholarship today. This book is a call to find comfort and joy in eschatological prophecy rather than fear and paranoia (7-10, 97, and 145). The degree to which he succeeds, however, will depend on his readers' ability to challenge some personal convictions that often are guarded fiercely.
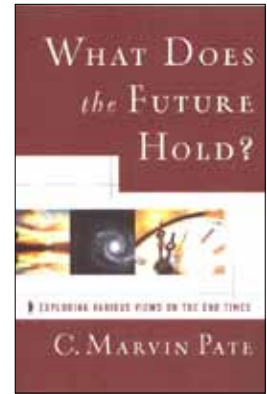
Pate's outline is simple. He surveys the history of biblical prophecy, explains and critiques the three millennial views, and ends with an editorial on the prevailing skepticism in liberal eschatology today. The author then presents his eclectic eschatology that finds comfort in each of the millennial views.

The presupposition that undergirds Pate's eschatology is the "already/not yet" kingdom of God hermeneutic. In the opening chapter, he points out that "the careful reader . . . will recognize that often biblical predictions have two types of fulfillment: a near and a far fulfillment" (17), which he equates with "already/not yet." Pate, however, fails to build a case for this arguable hermeneutic, popularized by C.H. Dodd. The three examples, Isa. 7:10-16; Dan. 9:24-27; and the Olivet Discourse, are interpreted in light of the presupposition not as evidence for it. This weakness is key because Pate filters his entire eschatology through this presupposition. Considering the importance of the point, a more involved discussion is warranted.

Over the next four chapters, Pate summarizes and critiques the various views by the way they understand the kingdom of God. For premillennialism the kingdom of God has not yet come; for postmillennialism the kingdom of God has already come; for amillennialism the kingdom of God has already been inaugurated only to be fulfilled at the second coming; and for the skeptical view the kingdom of God is not going to come. Thus Pate makes a clear theological distinction between each of the four positions.

After walking his readers through each of the millennial interpretations, Pate states his view. From postmillennialism, he accepts the preterist conviction that many of the prophesies centered around the fall of Jerusalem in AD 70, though he balks at their insistence that equates this event with the parousia. From premillennialism, he accepts the emphasis on the coming kingdom, though he recognizes that this view fails to appreciate the kingdom of God at work in the church today. And from amillennialism, he accepts the emphasis on how God's kingdom "is already here but not yet complete" (130), though he bristles at how it allegorizes Revelation 20 (129-30).

Pate claims that the Bible eludes not to the eternal kingdom of God but to a "temporary messianic kingdom" that was established with the incarnation and will be fulfilled at the parousia

(130-31). In this way, he is able to affirm both the "symbolic nature of prophetic-apocalyptic writings" and "the literal reality behind the symbols of Revelation 20" (131). Although he calls this view "eclectic," it is nothing more than a soft form of amillennialism. He is in keeping with traditional amillennialism in all ways except for his willingness to include a premillennial, literal interpretation of Revelation 20 in tension with the established amillennial, figurative reading.

As mentioned above, the degree to which the reader can accept Pate's so-called eclectic reading of eschatology depends on how tightly he or she holds to his or her current vision of the end times. For those, however, who have spent little or no time wrestling with this subject, Pate's presentation may bring a certain peace of mind—which, ultimately, is his goal (8).

By including an explanation of the "already/not yet" presupposition, and by admitting that his so-called "eclectic" model is soft amillennialism that includes a literal fulfillment of Revelation 20, Pate would strengthen his book considerably. At a short 151 pages, this work could easily accommodate the additional space needed to correct these oversights. Pate does a good job at setting the various models of the end times apart from each other. He presents the basic position of each side, and for premillennialism includes the various views of the tribulation. The writing is easy for the novice to follow, even if occasionally it is too generalized. *What Does the Future Hold?* serves as an excellent introduction to the subject and would be appropriate for use in both church and college.

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Alcohol Today: Abstinence in an Age of Indulgence. By Peter Lumpkins. Garland, TX: Hannibal, 2009. Pp. 152, $14.95.

To study Church History is necessarily to grapple with the failures of one's predecessors in the faith; to grow wise from the study of Church History requires that one grapple with one's own failures as well. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, Southern Baptists find themselves in the midst of an ongoing reassessment of their traditions—a reassessment that has yielded helpful correction of past errors. Southern Baptists now reject racial discrimination while no longer looking askance at the use of playing cards or at a waltz with one's wife. Not all reassessments are equally healthy, however. Bygone convictions about modesty, chastity, marital fidelity, stewardship, regenerate church membership, and memorization of Scripture warranted better treatment from modern and postmodern Southern Baptists than they have received at their hands.
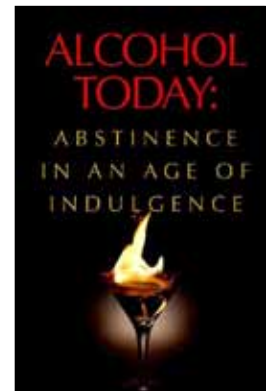
In which of these categories does the doctrine of abstinence from the recreational use of beverage alcohol rightfully belong? The question is important and worthy of careful—dare I say *sober*—thought. *Alcohol Today* prevents Southern Baptists from blithely sweeping away former ideas about alcohol without giving them due consideration.

At the headwaters of the book, Lumpkins's transparent account of his own tragic involvement with alcohol reveals why it was important for him to write this book; his careful historical account of America's post-Prohibition journey demonstrates why it is important for us to read it. *Alcohol Today* next insightfully categorizes the field of opinion regarding beverage alcohol into a continuum of five views: hedonism, utilitarianism, moderationism, the "wisdom view," and abstentionism. The latter, the view Lumpkins advocated, enjoins "total abstinence from intoxicating beverages for pleasurable purposes" (99). The book considers each view in turn, offering Lumpkins's critiques of the positions that rival his own. The book concludes by positing a biblical theology of "wine" in both Old and New Testaments.

Although the book provides five views for the sake of being exhaustive, the clear objective of *Alcohol Today* is to convert evangelical inerrantists from the moderationist position to the abstentionist position, seeking along the way to inject those advocating the "wisdom view" with a little convictional courage. The key strategy of the battle plan is to confront inerrantists with the fact that the Bible in multiple places uses plain language to condemn wine itself, and not the abuse of wine. On the other hand, the Bible in multiple places uses plain language to praise wine itself, and not the responsible use of wine. Is the Bible self-contradictory? As if ethical questions were not serious enough, Lumpkins demonstrates how this is a question of the nature of the Bible.

The moderationist position, Lumpkin's argues, offers no good solution to this problem other than to explain away or disregard the anti-wine passages in favor of those that praise it (130-31). The abstentionist solution to the problem comes through acknowledging that the various Hebrew and Greek terms translated "wine" actually convey a range of meaning more similar to that of the modern English word "cider," which may refer to a fermented beverage or may equally well refer to a beverage that is not fermented. The range of authorities cited to confirm this point of linguistics, from Aristotle to John Owen, is overwhelming. Lumpkins then cuts the Gordian knot of these seemingly contradictory verses by proposing that the anti-wine verses refer to fermented wine while the pro-wine verses refer to non-fermented wine.

The occasionally repetitive nature of the book, which Lumpkins himself acknowledges in the text (130), reflects the surprisingly beleaguered status of the abstentionist viewpoint just a single generation after it held nearly universal hegemony among Southern Baptists. Those who find little moral value in the Old Testament will not be persuaded by Lumpkins's arguments, for much of what the Bible says about wine it says between Genesis and Malachi. Likewise, those who reject biblical inerrancy will remain largely unmoved by Lumpkins's arguments. Other Southern Baptists will face the task of determining whether the growing dalliance with beverage alcohol among Southern Baptists represents the correction of our fathers' fault or the indulgence of our own. That task cannot be addressed well unless the substance of Peter Lumpkins's *Alcohol Today* is met and answered somewhere along the way.

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From Creation to New Creation: Making Sense of the Whole Bible Story. 2d ed. Revised. By Tim Chester. United Kingdom: The Good Book, 2010. Pp. 176, Paperback $12.99.

Tim Chester serves as co-director of The Porterbrook Network which equips individuals and churches to rediscover mission. He also serves as director of The Porterbrook Institute which provides integrated theological and missional training for church leaders. Having received a Ph.D. from The University of Wales, Chester is a co-leader of a group of church-planting networks called The Crowded House. He is the author of more than a dozen books.

The old saying that it is hard to see the woods for the trees may be true of the Bible. Many people read the Scriptures as a collection of individual and possibly unrelated parts, rather than an ongoing and unfolding unified story. *From Creation to New Creation* is Chester's attempt to assist believers in seeing the Bible as a whole rather than a collection of individual parts. His underlying assumption is that "the whole Bible is about Jesus, from beginning to end" (7). The whole story of the Bible makes sense only as one understands how each individual part points to Christ in whom God purposed to sum up all things.

Chester traces the unfolding story of the fulfillment of God's promises to send a Deliverer, to develop a people who know God, to provide a place of blessing, to send a King and a kingdom, and to bless all the nations of the earth. Each specific promise is developed in a corresponding chapter. The reader is made to understand from the Scripture that the promises are never fully realized until the coming of Christ. God fulfilled His promise of a Deliverer and a King in Christ Jesus. God fulfilled His promise of a people who know God in Christ through the Church. God's promise of a place of blessing was fulfilled, not in physical Israel, but in the spiritual Israel of Christ. God's promise to bless all nations through Abraham's seed is being fulfilled as the gospel is preached to all nations.

Chapter six provides a short conclusion to this work. People can escape the terrible curses pronounced in Deuteronomy and receive the blessings promised to Abraham only through faith in the death of Christ. Through Christ, the curse is reversed for all who embrace the Savior and Lord.

Dr. Chester fulfilled his purpose of providing readers with a lens to see the Scripture as one unified story about Christ. *From Creation to New Creation* is an easy read. Brevity, clarity, and simplicity characterize Chester's writing style. Readability should not be confused with lack of substance. Readers are confronted with important biblical realities worthy of discussion and debate. Some ideas worthy of future study include the kingdom of God realized in Jesus, the church as the new Israel, Apostle Paul's conception of God's promise to Abraham as the basis for missions, and the messianic theme of Psalm 2 as it applies to Christ and the church.

One should note that *From Creation to New Creation* is not primarily an academic work. The notes that ultimately became this book were prepared by the author for a seminar to train missionaries. Thus, Chester did not attempt to build a case for academic debate. Rather, he

purposed to present, from the Scriptures, his view that the Bible can best be understood when we see the different parts of the Bible as one unified, unfolding story of the fulfillment of all of God's promises in Christ. No references outside the Scripture were provided.

The conclusion was the weakest part of this helpful book. The six-page conclusion was short and inadequate. A logical progression of thought flowed in every chapter and tied all the chapters together except the conclusion. The author failed to answer the critical question posed by the previous chapters: "So what?" After outlining how God fulfilled five specific promises, the author gave a generalized conclusion and failed to capture his momentum. A stronger conclusion would include a specific correlation of each chapter's promise to an appropriate response demanded by the fulfillment of that promise. Instead, the writer lumps all implications into a brief observation about the necessity of faith in the death of Christ as a means for escaping and appropriating the curses and blessings of Deuteronomy. One wonders if the conclusion was added as an afterthought.

From Creation to New Creation will be helpful for all who want to understand the Bible and the plan of God throughout history. Though not primarily a scholarly work, this is an important work that raises many issues to be considered in both popular and scholarly arenas. This book should be of particular help to new believers and prospective believers who need to see the big picture of how the Bible fits together.

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Exegetical Guide to the Greek New Testament: Colossians and Philemon. By Murray J. Harris. Nashville: B&H Academic, 2010. Pp. 272, Paperback $24.99.

This volume on Colossians and Philemon is the first in the projected 20-volume EGGNT series to be published by Broadman and Holman Academic with the ambitious goal of addressing the interests of three disparate groups — ministerial student, professor, and pastor — by connecting careful grammatical analysis with exegesis and exposition. If this volume is in any way representative of the entire series, this ambitious goal will be achieved.
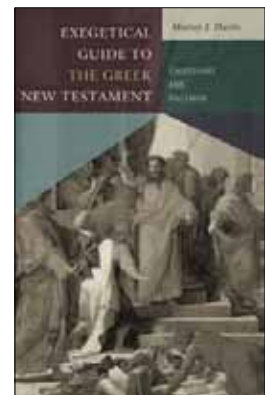
The readers find in this volume a "one stop" resource that addresses the kind of focused technical discussions in different areas of expertise for which the expositor must normally peruse three or four books -- textual criticism, literary structural analysis, grammatical analysis, a paraphrase of the text, a new translation of the text, theological topics raised in the text, a list of recommended bibliographical resources and reference works on disputed exegetical and theological issues, and expositional/homiletical suggestions. Not only can the expositor find all

these resources in this single volume, but by putting them side by side as they relate to each phrase in the biblical text, Harris provides a synergism between these varied issues which is unfortunately lacking in grammars or even most commentaries. Thus, in one volume the scholar finds rich resources for further research, and the preacher finds helpful exegesis and homiletical outlines to assist in sermon preparation.

This is not a quick read, and it is not for shallow devotional reading. Though the book is less than 300 pages and comparatively small in size, every page is packed with information (the list of abbreviations is 10 pages). This is a book for a thoughtful pastor/scholar/expositor and requires knowledge of the biblical languages to maximize its value. Anyone who loves the careful exposition of God's Word, however, will find this to be a gold mine of information that is incredibly useful on multiple levels.

The discussion of each phrase of the text includes structural analysis, careful grammatical examination of each word in the text, parsing of the words, a survey of various alternative translations, a discussion of any significant textual variants, a list of recommended reference works addressing the key exegetical or theological issues which arise in the text, and some suggested homiletical outlines to consider for exposition. In addition to this phrase-by-phrase exegesis, the book includes a translation and paraphrase of the complete biblical text and a thorough glossary of terms, which are helpful reminders for those whose Greek skills are rusty.

This is an incredibly valuable volume for scholar and pastor alike. Its great strength is the gold mine of exegesis and resources of each phrase of the text. The sermon outlines are adequate but may need to be expanded and sharpened to be appealing to congregations. Of few books do I say it is a "must buy" addition to one's library, but this is such a volume. I highly recommended it for serious students of the Bible.

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Death and Afterlife: A Theological Introduction. By Terence Nichols. Grand Rapids: Brazos, 2010. Pp. 224, Paperback $22.99.

Terence Nichols, professor of theology and chair of the department of theology at the University of St. Thomas in St. Paul, leaps into the ongoing debate over the nature of the human body and soul. With several books and articles published on the intersection of religion and science, he presents his own model of the soul, which he claims fits both the scriptural and scientific data.
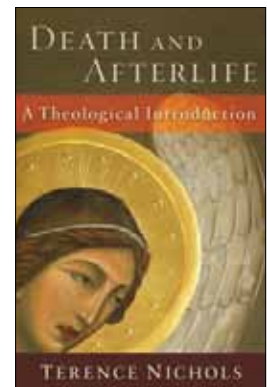
Nichols begins with the obligatory survey of the history of the issue. He begins in ancient Judaism, then moves through the New Testament and Christianity, before discussing recent developments in

science, ending with a close look at near death experiences. While the history is well trodden, Nichols wisely guides his readers through the most important developments. Since this is designed as an introductory book, the author is careful not to overload his readers with too much information but points them to broader horizons with expansive endnotes.

Around the midpoint of the book, Nichols gets to the heart of the matter. The theological discussion begins with various views of the soul and focuses on the five most provocative developments: reductive physicalism, emergentism/nonreductive physicalism, substance dualism, holistic or emergent dualism, and reincarnation. For each of these, he outlines prominent representatives, strengths, and weaknesses.

At the end of chapter six, Nichols presents his position (129-33). He claims that he is attempting "to synthesize the biblical and traditional understanding, incorporate the findings of neuroscience, and also incorporate the evidence of NDEs [near death experiences]" (129). The result of this synthesis is a form of holistic dualism, which means that there is a unity of soul and body until death at which time the two separate until reunited at the resurrection. Nichols wants to remind us that the soul is in relationship with God and it is on the strength of that relationship that we are capable of surviving from life, through the intermediate state, and into eternity.

Following the climax of the book—the presentation of his view of the soul—Nichols applies his view to some of the more difficult doctrines in this field. In his discussion of the resurrection, he confronts the debate with a fair representation of both sides. Drawing heavily upon Thomas Aquinas and John Polkinghorne, Nichols makes his case for a Catholic view of the resurrection which will sound comfortably familiar to conservative evangelicals. The comprehensiveness of the work is evidenced by his inclusion of the issue of continuity of body into his discussion. The careful handling of this material is perfectly weighted for the stated audience.

The last two chapters are where the Catholic roots become much more noticeable. In his discussion of heaven, purgatory, and hell, Nichols ecumenically softens the Catholic dogma and broadens his vision for the sake of open discussion. The only places where Baptists might feel a little uncomfortable is whenever justification and sanctification are mentioned, but any wise reader should acknowledge the position of the writer and allow for a differing point of view.

The book fulfills its title. It serves as a work carefully written to introduce readers to a complex and hotly contested segment of theology. In his historical work, Nichols is fair to both sides of the debate, and I would recommend this book on the strength of the first chapters alone. The rest of the book is equally balanced in its depictions of the various models of the human constitution. And for those conservative evangelicals who are able to overlook the minor intrusions of Catholic dogma, the book is an excellent primer on the subject.

The book, however, has a few weaknesses. First, is the way Nichols presents his concept of the soul. He does so with little fanfare. The title of the section (129) does not suggest that he is concluding

the chapter with his own position, and the explanation of his holistic dualism is relegated to one page (133). I would have preferred to see a much more direct and thorough presentation. He mentions the importance of "the soul as subject in relation" (129) but does not explain what he means. He suggests that we are in relationship with God but goes no further. But Nichols may be right. A much more lengthy and thorough going discussion has the potential of betraying the purpose of the book, so presenting an excessively brief presentation might serve the book better. I just wish he had not been so brief.

A second and much more devastating problem with the book is that it sounds like a Catholic version of the work presented by John W. Cooper in his 1989 book (updated in 2000), *Body, Soul and Life Everlasting*. Similarly, Cooper begins with a Thomistic view of soul and body, presents the soul in terms of holistic dualism, and emphasizes the importance of the divine-human relationship. I question whether Nichols brings anything new to the discussion. Maybe a more detailed presentation of his position would answer this question. I hope a fully formed presentation of his position is on its way.

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Michael Shermer

is the Founding Publisher of Skeptic magazine, the Executive Director of the Skeptics Society, a monthly columnist for Scientific American, the host of the Skeptics Distinguished Science Lecture Series at Caltech, and Adjunct Professor at Claremont Graduate University. His many books include *Why Darwin Matters: The Case Against Intelligent Design* (2007), *How We Believe: Science, Skepticism, and the Search for God* (2000), and *Why People Believe Weird Things: Pseudoscience, Superstition, and Other Confusions of Our Time* (2002).

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WORDS

Clay Corvin May 7, 2011

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Riding us of blinders
Ripping off our excuses
We really are sinners, ranking among the best

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Spread throughout our soul
Identifying what is wrong
Encouraging us when down
They speak to every moment of life

Words from Christ
Express His deep desire for wholeness
Pushing away my selfishness
Exposing my weakness
Undergirding my spiritual journey

Words from Christ
Remove the fear of life
Let us lay down the worry about tomorrow
I am a here and now creature
I need His help to exist

Words from Christ
Demand that I do the next right thing
A constant companion
Jesus knows my sorrows
He calls me to change and in Jesus I can

Words from Christ
Rebuild me day by day
Outfitting me for my journey
Using me for the Father's glory
In Jesus I am whole

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