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The Baptist Center for Theology and Ministry
New Orleans Baptist Theological Seminary

The Baptist Center for Theology and Ministry is a research institute of New Orleans Baptist Theological Seminary. The seminary is located at 3939 Gentilly Blvd., New Orleans, LA 70126.

BCTM exists to provide theological and ministerial resources to enrich and energize ministry in Baptist churches. Our goal is to bring together professor and practitioner to produce and apply these resources to Baptist life, polity, and ministry. The mission of the BCTM is to develop, preserve, and communicate the distinctive theological identity of Baptists.

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Editorial Introduction

Thomas G. Doughty Jr.

Tommy Doughty serves as assistant professor of theology and worldview; associate dean of Leavell College; director of the Baptist Center for Theology and Ministry; and editor of the Journal for Baptist Theology and Ministry at New Orleans Baptist Theological Seminary.

The notion of tradition raises eyebrows among Baptist theologians and ministers. If anything is characteristic of Baptist life, it is ironically the tendency to walk to the beat of one's own drum. Recently, however, many Baptists have experimented with the value of recovering former generations' theological and practical contributions to the Christian walk. Even crossing chronological and denominational lines, the goal of theological retrieval has reinvigorated conversations surrounding the doctrines of God, Christ, and salvation. Congregations, still observing local church autonomy, have begun recovering liturgical practices that extend their fellowship to the one holy, catholic church. More historically, of course, Baptists have set aside doctrinal differences with other traditions to cooperate on social concerns. Given these shifts in theological and ministerial engagement, this year's issues of the *Journal for Baptist Theology and Ministry* will give attention to "Baptists and the Christian Tradition."

As a special feature anticipating a major contribution to the academic pursuit of theological retrieval, this issue opens with an interview with Baptist theologian Matthew Barrett. Having published extensively on the doctrine of God, Barrett's newest contribution, *The Reformation as Renewal*, interprets the Protestant Reformation through the lens of renewal of "catholicity" rather than mere schism from the Catholic Church. He builds on his remarks tracing the influence of prior generations on the Reformers through an excerpt from the forthcoming work. Theologians and pastors today must grapple with the development of doctrine and denominationalism, and Barrett's work promises to provide historical precedent for understanding one's own position in light of the tradition. As Barrett encourages readers in his interview, the

preaching and doctrine of Baptist churches today must embrace their dependence on prior generations' faithful worship and service of Christ.

This issue includes four articles written by experienced pastor-theologians, two explicitly related to Baptists and the Christian tradition. First, Obbie Todd surveys the stories of early American church leaders who remained in pedobaptist churches or associations while affirming believer's baptism. Todd demonstrates the historical diversity among Baptists working with and serving other denominations even in the face of doctrinal convictions. Second, Lloyd Harsch highlights ethnic diversity among Baptists by examining the rise of foreign language conferences in America. The conditions of early American immigration and the practical necessities of worship and ministry provided a unique landscape for Baptist cooperation. As Baptist theologians and ministers seek to engage the world around them, they must embrace the necessity to partner wisely with those from different backgrounds, not just chronologically but doctrinally and ethnically as well.

Outside of Baptist history and theology, two articles also have bearing on Baptists seeking to relate to theological tradition and other Christians. First, Benjamin Browning analyzes the Christological controversies of the fifth century in terms of the violence employed on all sides. Browning's article reminds contemporary leaders of the danger for political and physical violence in theological disagreement but also establishes the thoughtfulness of the refinement of Christian orthodoxy in the early church. Second, Mario Melendez introduces minority biblical criticism as a strategy for sound interpretation and application of biblical texts treating social minorities. In light of ethnic and socio-economic diversity among Baptist congregations (especially given the motivation for global missions), theologians and pastors benefit from considering social status among historical backgrounds when interpreting Scripture and the context of their audience when applying Scripture. Finally, the issue closes with reviews of books from a number of theological disciplines.

I am most grateful to begin my service as Editor of the *Journal for Baptist Theology and Ministry*, and I pray that this issue provides information and insights to further service before Christ. A major opportunity for Baptists to join in the historic work of theological deliberation and ministry cooperation approaches quickly in the form of the Pastors' Conference and Annual Meeting of the

Southern Baptist Convention, June 11-14, 2023, in New Orleans, Louisiana. After the hard work of business is complete on Wednesday, June 14, New Orleans Baptist Theological Seminary will host a Campus Celebration. Open to the public, NOBTS will gather over charbroiled oysters and beignets to give thanks to God for all that he has done through Baptists committed to knowing Christ and making him known. I hope to see you in New Orleans for the celebration and a recommitment to the Christian tradition as we serve our Lord and Savior.

A fresh, holistic, and eye-opening history of the Reformation

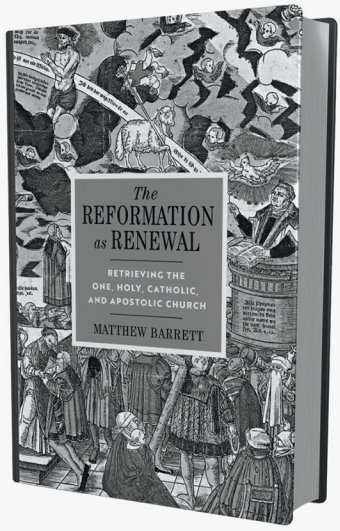
THE REFORMATION AS RENEWAL

Retrieving the One, Holy, Catholic, and Apoostolic Church

BY MATTHEW BARRETT

This balanced, insightful, and accessible treatment of the Reformation will help readers see this watershed moment in the history of Christianity with fresh eyes and appreciate the unity they have with the church across time.

Matthew Barrett is associate professor of Christian theology at Midwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, the executive editor of *Credo* Magazine, and director of The Center for Classical Theology.



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"A fascinating overview... A fine academic work for the classroom and far beyond."
—**HERMAN J. SELDERHUIS**, Theological University Apeldoorn

"Barrett's thesis is stimulating and his arguments robust."
—**JOEL R. BEEKE**, Puritan Reformed Theological Seminary

"With his clear, engaging prose, Barrett provides us with both a splendid textbook for Reformation courses and a strong call to creedal catholicity."
—**GWENFAIR WALTERS ADAMS**, Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary

"The Reformation has been misrepresented... Finally, we have a weighty, passionate, and well-informed riposte. This is a must-read!"
—**MICHAEL HORTON**, Westminster Theological Seminary

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JBTM 20.1 (Spring 2023): 5–17

Interview with Matthew Barrett

Matthew Barrett is the author of the new book, The Reformation as Renewal: Retrieving the One, Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church *(Zondervan Academic). He is professor of Christian Theology at Midwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, editor-in-chief of Credo Magazine, and director of the Center for Classical Theology. He is currently writing a Systematic Theology with Baker Academic.*

What is theological retrieval, and what does a study of the theology of the Reformation offer the life of the church today?

Retrieval can be found wherever there is humility to recognize that our faith is indebted to those who came before us. When Paul was encouraged by the "sincere faith" of Timothy the apostle did not praise Timothy alone but the two generations before him. "I am reminded of your sincere faith, a faith that dwelt first in your grandmother Lois and your mother Eunice and now, I am sure, dwells in you as well" (2 Tim. 1:5; cf. 3:14-15). Paul's charge also galvanized entire churches. After describing the coming Day of the Lord and the man of lawlessness, Paul told the Thessalonians that they should be on guard against anyone who might deceive them. Paul charged, "So then, brothers, stand firm and hold to the traditions that you were taught by us, either by our spoken word or by our letter" (2 Thess. 2:15). In the context of 2 Thessalonians 2, tradition was not a barrier but a pathway to the gospel of Jesus Christ in a world of competing ideologies.

In the first several centuries of the church, this apostolic witness became instrumental to gospel fidelity. One does not have to accept Roman Catholicism's belief in papal succession to observe the variegated ways the Rule of Faith became pivotal for novices preparing for baptism or martyrs facing execution. They understood the scriptures alone were inspired by God, but they also understood those same scriptures gave birth to a Rule of Faith, a succinct summary of Christianity. The Rule of Faith even became a hermeneutical lens, a rule to guide the novice to see the proper interpretation of the Old and New Testaments so that they were

not seduced by heretical teaching that distorted the unity of the canon or its message.

The church fathers of later centuries were defined by such hermeneutical humility as well. For example, when the doctrine of the Trinity came under fire by subordinationists in the fourth century, the church fathers at Constantinople said, "We believe…in one, holy, catholic, and apostolic church." Such a *credo* came subsequent to their affirmations of doctrines like eternal generation, which is revealing. In other words, the subordinationists could no longer be counted with the "catholic" church because they introduced an unholy Trinity that forfeited the apostolic teaching of the Son's consubstantiality with the Father. By consequence, they compromised the holiness of the church. The pro-Nicene tradition was, in many respects, a renewal of tradition. They did not merely absorb the witness to the Trinity they inherited, but refined its teaching so that an ecumenical council could provide the church with hermeneutical accountability. We should not forget that the subordinationists of the fourth century developed their own, competing tradition of biblical interpretation. Nicaea was no mere declaration on doctrine, but a hermeneutical key by which the church could unlock the Trinity of the scriptures.

Retrieval, therefore, is anything but new. It is an ancient practice that creates and cultivates renewal in the church. Yet not any retrieval will do—many forgeries can be found. Authentic retrieval is easy enough to identify because it is motivated by fidelity. Wherever Paul's words—"stand firm"—are heeded, genuine retrieval is not far off. By necessity, then, theological retrieval was baked into the Reformation program. From Germany to England, from Switzerland to Scotland, the Reformers believed renewal in the sixteenth century church could happen if a right reading of the scriptures was retrieved. While Rome accused the Reformers of innovation, the Reformers claimed they were aligning themselves with a tradition that read the scriptures with greater fidelity than Rome, a tradition that stretched from the church fathers to the medieval church itself. The Reformation was a justification of catholicity in the face of that most severe accusation: apostacy. As Luther said towards the end of his life, "we are the true ancient church…you have fallen away from us." The Reformers considered themselves catholic, but not Roman.

However, the catholicity of retrieval is no mere stretch into the church of the past but the church across the globe. Protestants to

this day receive no little criticism for the splintering of denominations, but perhaps Protestants should receive just as much credit for the remarkable spread of Reformation renewal across the world. Who could have imagined in 1517 that the same faith taught from pulpits and lecterns in an obscure town like Wittenberg would one day be the same faith celebrated in churches and seminaries from Kansas City to New Orleans? Here is proof that Reformation's commitment to the church universal had substance, even staying power.

How did Reformational theology differ from medieval Scholasticism? Did the Reformers maintain any aspects of medieval Scholasticism? After Reformational renewal, is there any viable tradition present in medieval Scholasticism worth retrieving today?

The Middle Ages are often overlooked and underestimated, as evident in common caricatures that assume the Reformation was a rejection of medieval theology. The Middle Ages—Early, High, and Late—occupied around a thousand years, which is half of church history. Therefore, to begin a study of the Reformation with the sixteenth century is a colossal mistake. The Reformers were medieval men through and through—a point twentieth century historians like Steven Ozment, Heiko Oberman, and David Steinmetz have demonstrated with no little effort. Even still, the caricature continues and finds renewed vigor with that detested word "scholasticism," as if the very definition of Protestant is anti-scholastic. But again, medieval Scholasticism is a long and diverse era, roughly occupying the eleventh through the fifteenth centuries, though some historians find scholastic premonitions earlier still (e.g., Augustine, Boethius). Contrary to that polemical label—the Dark Ages—the scholastic era was a time of great theological advancement and spiritual vitality. And yes, those two words—scholasticism and spirituality—do belong together. To read Aquinas and Bonaventure, Anselm and Hugh of St. Victor, Albert the Great and Richard of St. Victor is to take on a posture, even a gaze: contemplation. For the scholastics, contemplation of God is the goal of our heavenward ascent, culminating in the beatific vision itself.

The Reformers did disagree with medieval scholastics, for example, when they described justification as an infusion rather than

an imputation of righteousness, or when they gave their support to purgatory, or when they contributed to the rise of papal supremacy. On matters soteriological and ecclesiastical tension emerged. However, that tension also evolved. For instance, the Reformers disagreed with Aquinas on imputation versus infusion, but they at least appreciated that Aquinas thought grace was primary due to original sin, as demonstrated in Aquinas's description of predestination and election. The Reformers took far greater issue with those *late* medieval scholastics like Duns Scotus, William of Ockham, and Gabriel Biel who wielded their voluntarism and nominalism to reject the primacy of grace assumed in Aquinas's intellectualism. Instead, Ockham and Biel in particular, represented the *via moderna,* which said that a voluntaristic God makes a covenant by divine fiat, so that *if* the sinner does his best and *if* the sinner does what lies within him, then God will reward him with the grace needed for justification. Phrases like *actum facientis quod in se est* or *quod in se est* provoked Martin Luther's wrath. Luther was trained in the *via moderna*—Biel was required reading. Although Biel promised him a voluntarist God would not go back on his covenant promise, Luther was not so confident since the God he knew was an unrelenting black cloud that threatened impending judgment. Furthermore, Luther questioned whether he could know if he had done his best to begin with. By 1517, just on the eve of his 95 theses, Luther wrote his *Disputation Against Scholastic Theology,* except Luther did not have all scholastics in view. He named Scotus, Ockham, and Biel, targeting the soteriology that emerged from their voluntarist and nominalist metaphysic. Unfortunately, Luther never did turn towards a sounder scholastic like Aquinas because what little theology of Aquinas he read was filtered through the Pelagianism or Semi-Pelagianism of Biel.

However, others did consider Aquinas the "sounder scholastic," from Martin Bucer to John Calvin, from Francis Turretin to John Owen. As mentioned, even on matters of soteriology, their relationship with Aquinas was complicated. For example, Francis Turretin quotes Aquinas on the sovereignty of God's decree and the nature of human freedom to refute the Arminians and Socinians of his day. John Owen does not agree with Aquinas on infused habits in justification, but he does believe the concept is biblical if relocated to sanctification. And Peter van Mastricht mentions Aquinas by name to show that his identification of God's essence with God's decree is a faithful stewardship of the classical affirma-

tion of divine simplicity. Furthermore, in numerable other *loci* they counted Aquinas an ally and without qualification. When Jerome Zanchi attempts to structure a doctrine of God that is unflinching in its orthodoxy, he imitates Aquinas's *Summa theologiae*.

In short, these theologians and others not only believed Aquinas could be critically appropriated across the *loci* of the Christian faith, but they even believed Thomism could be brought to fulfillment if refined by their reformed commitments. In addition, that refinement was both theological and philosophical. As Richard Muller and company have shown, by the seventeenth century most heirs of the Reformation agreed that the metaphysic of late medieval scholastics like Scotus and Ockham could not be substantiated. (Thus, that common thesis which blames the Reformation for secularization today, claiming the Reformers abandoned participation by means of a voluntarist, nominalist metaphysic is illegitimate.) In time they made a more conscientious turn to align with the participation metaphysic of scholastics in the early and high Middle Ages, a metaphysic that can be traced to the church fathers in the East and the West—the *via antiqua*.

Although Protestant readers might be surprised, Protestant and Scholastic are not oil and water. Scholasticism merely refers to a method used in the schools, a method that capitalized on disputation, syllogism, *quaestio*, etc. The method galvanized precision and cohesion, the former a guardrail against heresy and the latter a tool for advancing orthodoxy. The Protestants of the sixteenth through eighteenth centuries found the scholastic method strategic for a variety of reasons. The method was tactical for cultivating Protestant principles with students of divinity, which led to a codification of the faith in confessions and catechisms for the church. The method also proved timely as they encountered new challenges (e.g., Socinianism) that forced them to defend not merely soteriology and ecclesiology but the whole of the faith, from theology proper to Christology, a defense that demanded a method more conducive to metaphysical discourse.

On this score, Richard Muller's *Post-Reformation Reformed Dogmatics* has helped a new generation of Protestants today retrace their roots to a "Protestant Scholasticism" that began as early as the sixteenth century—consider examples like Peter Martyr Vermigli, Franciscus Junius, and Jerome Zanchi. If Protestants today move beyond first generation Reformation polemics, they will discover an entire army of Protestant Scholastics who utilized a scho-

lastic method that advanced their Protestant convictions and with no little exegetical, theological, and philosophical vigor.

How can pastors engage in historical-theological study? What sources or topics would be of most value for pastors to explore?

Pastors not only can but should engage in historical-theological retrieval. A failure to do so can only cut a pastor off from the interpretive wisdom he may otherwise gain from the chorus of pastors and preachers before him. Retrieval, in one sense, is simply the humility to learn from and participate in the history of biblical interpretation. I use the word "participate" intentionally. For the pastor enters the pulpit alone if he has not joined the great conversation of biblical exegetes in his study beforehand. The communion of the saints is a persistent chorus of consolation, giving the pastor assurance that he is not missing the meaning of the text and leading his people astray. If the voices of that chorus are distant, like an echo in a faraway cave, that should give pause. Perhaps the pastor has strayed from a right reading of the text because he has failed to see what has been so perspicuous to the church universal.

By way of practical wisdom, when preparing for a sermon the pastor should not limit himself to contemporary commentaries—I am not convinced he should even start with contemporary commentaries. Contemporary commentaries are valuable, but C.S. Lewis's wisdom (see his Preface to Athanasius's *On the Incarnation*) applies: those from the past made mistakes, but they were not the same mistakes we make today. Therefore, they see truth where we are most likely to be blind. Furthermore, in the aftermath of modernism and postmodernism it is no secret that the last two centuries have been marked by a hermeneutic of suspicion. Pastors will find pre-modern commentaries refreshing because their authors operated on shared precommitments: the Bible is breathed out by God; God's authorial intent is present across the canon and ensures its unity from start to finish; scripture is not disparate parts but pregnant with promises that are fulfilled in Christ who is its telos; etc. As I explain in *The Reformation as Renewal,* the Reformers often stood on the shoulders of the church fathers as they peered into the text because of these common, shared assumptions. They could not have imagined a post-

Enlightenment situation like our own in which a hermeneutic of skepticism—fully equipped with modernism's metaphysic—has become the controlling principle when opening the text.

One last point: pastors should not limit themselves to exegesis alone, as essential as exegesis is for the proclamation of the Word. Pastors should cultivate the habit of reading systematic theology alongside their exegesis and not just any theology but those classical texts that have proven faithful conduits of Christian orthodoxy. Ironic as it seems, the pastor will discover that systematic theology will make him a better exegete in the end. For systematic theology teaches the pastor to deduce scripture's good and necessary consequences rather than settle for regurgitating the words of the text. Doctrines like the Trinity are biblical, for example, but the depth of their formulation is not reduced to a biblical passage. Rather, such doctrines must be deduced from the whole counsel of God, and never without the faculty of reason to discern cohesion. If a pastor neglects systematic theology, then when he opens John 1 in front of his congregation, he will struggle to explain why the apostle appropriates a Greek idea like *Logos*. Worse still, the pastor may lead his people, however unwitting his intentions may be, into heretical waters if he cannot explain the metaphysics that can make sense of eternal generation, also in John 1. The theology of the creeds, therefore, is indispensable. When a pastor reads the text with the Nicene Creed in hand, he does not impose something foreign on scripture. Rather, the pastor unplugs his ears to listen to the church, which has provided the pastor with a trinitarian rule by which he can arrive at a proper and orthodox interpretation of scripture. In summary, the pastor who cannot read scripture theologically will fail to lift the gaze of his congregation upward to contemplate the beauty of the Lord.

Excerpt from *The Reformation as Renewal: Retrieving the One, Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church* (Zondervan Academic, forthcoming)

Out of the richness of the medieval scholastic soil came the Reformation, but that soil proved so rich that heirs of the Reformation also sprouted and blossomed, resulting in the longevity of Protestant Scholasticism from the late sixteenth century into the eighteenth century. Three reasons, says Patrick Donnelly, explain its rise to prominence:

1. Undergraduate education in the sixteenth and early seventeenth century still rested on Aristotle; the Renaissance Aristotelianism of the Protestant academics conditioned the minds of students to a Scholastic type of theology.
2. Religious controversies led theologians back to Scholastic thought categories for more ammunition after they had shot off their store of scriptural proof texts.
3. Individual Protestant theologians more and more appropriated Scholastic attitudes, categories, and doctrines as they tried to systematize theology.

Protestant Scholasticism transcended Lutheran and Reformed divides, as both camps retrieved the method of Scholasticism and, to different degrees, its theology as well. For example, Lutherans did not necessarily follow their founding father's rhetoric, as is plain in Johann George Dorsch, who was convinced that the Lutheran confessions were in alignment with the best features of Thomism. In 1656 he said Thomas was a "confessor of the evangelical truth according to the Augsburg Confession."

Protestant Scholasticism found a home in the Reformed Church as well. Reformed Scholasticism was defined, in part, by its method. Following the form of the medieval Scholastics, the Reformed Scholastics used the *quaestio* approach, a style that allowed them to be precise. Three components were incorporated as well: (1) dialectic discourse, (2) systematized structure, and (3) Aristotelian distinctions—although the third mark should not be misconstrued as foundational when it was merely instrumental.

However, form was not the only trademark or concern, but a means to an end. Above all, they desired a Reformed faith that was marked by catholicity. The broader label of Reformed *Orthodoxy* can be used to capture the *content* their method produced. Nevertheless, Reformed *Scholasticism* as a label is not identical with Reformed *Orthodoxy*. Yet when the Reformed Orthodox did choose to utilize the scholastic method, says Ryan McGraw, the "primary goal in doing so was to develop a method of teaching confessional Reformed theology that was suitable to theological schools."

With the deaths of second-generation Reformed theologians such as John Calvin and Peter Martyr Vermigli, Reformed Orthodoxy was born and may be divided into three eras:

1. Early Orthodoxy: ca. 1565–1640

Theologians: Theodore Beza, Franciscus Junius, Zacharias Ursinus, Caspar Olevianus, Jerome Zanchi, Lambert Daneau, William Perkins, Amandus Polanus, Franciscus Gomarus, John Davenant, William Ames, etc.

Confessions and Catechisms: e.g., Scots, Belgic, Second Helvetic, Heidelberg

Synods: Synod of Dort, etc.

2. High Orthodoxy: ca. 1640–1725

Theologians: Johannes Cocceius, Gisbertus Voetius, Francis Turretin, Edward Leigh, John Owen, Stephen Charnock, Wilhelmus á Brakel, Peter van Mastricht, Herman Witsius, Thomas Boston, etc

Confessions: Westminster Confession of Faith, Savoy Declaration, Formula Consensus Helvetica, London Baptist Confession, etc.

3. Late Orthodoxy: ca.1725–1790

Theologians: Johann Stapfer, Herman Venema, John Gill, etc.

Out of these three eras, High Orthodoxy represented a most mature retrieval of medieval Scholasticism to defend the Reformed faith against external and internal threats. Reformed Scholastics did participate in ongoing polemics with Lutherans (over the Lord's Supper and the Christological controversy of the *communicatio idiomatum* for example), but they also engaged a wide variety of old and new challenges with (1) Roman Catholicism, (2) anti-Trinitarianism (Italy, Poland), (3) Socinianism, (4) Arminianism, and (5) Deism.

A past generation of historians tried to cast the post-Reformation Reformers as if they departed from their sixteenth-century forefathers—otherwise known as the Calvin versus the Calvinist thesis (e.g., Basil Hall, R. T. Kendall, Brian Armstrong, Rogers and McKim). However, many historians have demonstrated the futility of that interpretive grid. One should not assume, for example, that the Reformers were biblical, while their children turned rationalists. Nor should one believe the caricature that the Reformed Scholastics posed a central dogma (e.g., predestination) only to deduce an entire system rationally. Rather, the children of the Reformation faced a new context in which the building blocks of the previous century now required assembly so that Reformed

churches could rely on an entire system of theology to give proof of their continuity with patristic and medieval orthodoxy. "The selectivity of the Reformation in its polemic had to be transcended in the direction of a reformed catholicity," observes Richard Muller. The Reformers were no doubt indispensable to the genesis of Reformation theology, but their heirs were "responsible for the final form of such doctrinal issues," and the Scholastic method proved instrumental to that task. As Richard Muller says,

> "Where the Reformers painted with a broad brush, their orthodox and scholastic successors strove to fill in the details of that picture. Whereas the Reformers were intent upon distancing themselves and their theology from problematic elements in medieval thought and, at the same time, remaining catholic in the broadest sense of that term, the Protestant orthodox were intent upon establishing systematically the normative, catholic character of institutionalized Protestantism, at times through the explicit use of those elements in patristic and medieval theology not at odds with the teachings of the Reformation."

Reason was important to that task, yet reason was not foundational but merely instrumental, a faith seeking understanding, not vice versa; Scripture remained the cognitive foundation (*principium cognoscendi*), which explains why their dogmatics presupposed rigorous exegesis. Yet dogmatics was their ambition since their Reformation predecessors did not usually write comprehensive systems of Reformed belief. Calvin's *Institutes,* explains Muller, was "no more than a basic instruction in the doctrines of Scripture and not a full system of theology written with the precision and detail of the systems of Calvin's own Roman Catholic opponents." However, by the end of the sixteenth century full systems were born with the rise of Reformed Scholasticism. Likewise, whereas Reformation confessions sometimes limited themselves to doctrines under polemical pressure, later Reformed confessions establish a more extensive landscape of Reformed theology.

Reformed Scholastics wielded Aristotle and Thomas Aquinas alike to refute their opponents and to codify their Reformed catholicity. To qualify, their retrieval of the Thomistic stream of medieval Scholasticism was not mere duplication but critical appropriation—an adoption of a "modified Thomism" evident in early figures like Vermigli and Zanchi.

Furthermore, Thomism was not the only influence; they utilized aspects of other preceding streams, such as Renaissance humanism as well. Nevertheless, a modified Thomism presented them with a metaphysic and epistemology that could further support and clarify the Reformed religion. They were not compromising the program of the early Reformers but bringing that program to maturity, even codification by answering new challenges.

For example, John Patrick Donnelly has demonstrated the many ways Reformed Scholastics appealed to Aristotelian and Thomistic metaphysics to refute Rome. For example, Peter Martyr Vermigli used Thomism to counter Stephen Gardiner on the subject of transubstantiation. Girolamo Zanchi did the same to refute Domingo de Soto (1494–1560) and the Council of Trent on subjects like nature and grace, free will and original sin. In other words, even as early as the sixteenth century, they believed they could arrive at a purer Thomism by virtue of their evangelical commitments, not in spite of them, as is plain in their ironic use of Thomism against their Roman Catholic counterparts.

Yet critical appropriation of Thomism was not limited to polemics but defined the construction of their dogmatics as well. For instance, Reformed Scholastics from Patrick Gillespie to Francis Turretin to John Owen retrieved medieval Scholasticism's Trinitarianism. However, they did so in a way that was advantageous for Reformed covenant theology. They presupposed and sometimes outright retrieved the Thomistic articulation of inseparable operations and Trinitarian appropriations but for the sake of articulating the covenant of redemption, the covenant of works, and the covenant of grace. To be accurate, it may be best to speak of a Trinitarian covenant theology to emphasize the way Reformed Scholasticism used its continuity with Nicaea and medieval Scholastic Trinitarianism to further its soteriology.

Historians like Donnelly even use a label like "Calvinist Thomism" to describe these eras because in "most of this vast area of theology there was no sharp conflict between Thomism and Calvinist orthodoxy." That continuity is axiomatic within Puritanism as well. While not all Puritans were Reformed Scholastics, notable Reformed Scholastics were Puritans, such as John Owen (1616–1683). His creative and regular retrieval of Thomas has surfaced with the recent revival of Owen studies. That appropriation should not be surprising. As a student Owen was taught by Thomas Barlow and John Prideaux, both of whom required Owen

to read a wide range of medieval scholastics. Although Owen was critical of medieval Scholasticism for a short time, over the course of his career he appreciated medieval Scholasticism and found it advantageous for polemics in his own day.

Out of the many Scholastics Owen studied, Thomas proved a special ally. Owen quoted Thomas, but his retrieval of Thomas was far more intrinsic to his exegesis, theology, and philosophy, as seen in his use of Thomistic concepts, principles, and logic. In *Thomism in John Owen* Christopher Cleveland gives three examples.

First, the doctrine of God. Owen appealed to Thomas's description of God as pure act (*actus purus*) to defend divine simplicity against Arminians and Socinians in his day who threw it into question with a divine will they insisted could be thwarted.

Second, consider Christology. Owen explicitly sided with Thomas over against Peter Lombard and rejects the belief that the human nature of Christ is an accident merely added to the divine nature, which cannot explain the hypostatic *union*. Following Thomas, Owen instead argued that the Son of God assumed a human nature to his person.

Third, consider sanctification. Owen disagreed with Thomas who said justification is defined by infused habits of grace (as opposed to imputation). However, that disagreement did not move Owen to reject the concept of infused habits altogether. Owen discovered that Thomas had merely placed infused habits in the wrong doctrinal domain. So Owen moved the concept of infused habits out of justification to explain the new principle of grace in *regeneration* and its continual renewal of the believer in *sanctification*.

In summary, Carl Trueman may be referring to John Owen, but his observation could be applied to many other Reformed Scholastics in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: John Owen "drew deeply upon the medieval metaphysical tradition, with a particular liking for the thought of Thomas Aquinas." With John Owen Thomism was refined.

The Reformed Scholastics revealed their Thomistic influence by their philosophical commitments as well, a point to revisit in the next chapter. Etienne Gilson was correct to hold the nominalism of the *via moderna* responsible for the dichotomy between faith and reason. However, certain Roman Catholics who followed Gilson went further and blamed the Reformers and their Protestant Scholastic heirs for carrying that nominalism into modernity. As mentioned in chapter 1, historians and theologians since have as-

sumed the same. However, the assumption is a faulty one since the majority of Reformed Scholastics during the era of High Orthodoxy were transparent in their criticisms of Scotus (e.g., univocity of being, voluntarism, contingent divine knowledge) and Ockham (e.g., nominalism), finding refuge in the realism of the Augustinian and Thomist traditions instead. As Richard Muller has said, the Reformed Orthodox were decisively "Not Scotist." As for Ockham, as the Reformed Orthodox retrieved Thomism the majority sided with the realism of the *via antiqua* over against the nominalism of the *via moderna*. Peter Martyr Vermigli, for example, "refers to twenty medieval Scholastic authors, particularly Peter Lombard and Aquinas," observes Donnelly. But he "never cites with approval a nominalist work."

As Peter Martyr Vermigli embodied a Thomistic retrieval in his church (Lucca) many, including John Diodati, Benedict Turrettini, and Francis Turrettini, traveled to Geneva where they modeled the same. The library at the Geneva academy was filled with works in Thomism, though the same could not be said about nominalism.

In summary, however much first-generation Reformers may have been tinged by sporadic influences of nominalism (itself a contested claim), the late sixteenth century and seventeenth century Reformed Scholastics were far more at home in the realism of Christian Platonism that spanned the Great Tradition, particularly the Aristotelian and Thomistic variety. John Owen is a case in point, a committed realist in the tradition of Thomism.376

Preserving the continuity between the Protestant Scholastics and (1) the Reformation and (2) the medieval Scholastics is no mere historical quibble but a historical paradigm that properly connects the Protestant identity to its ancient past. Put negatively, to sever Protestant Scholasticism from its Reformation and medieval heirs is to lock Protestantism out from the premodern world, thereby eliminating its own claims to catholicity.

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Almost Baptists: Baptistic Pedobaptists in American History (1650-1950)

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When Lutheran historian Martin Marty referred to the "baptistification" of America in 1983, he was referring to a fairly recent phenomenon. In the twentieth century, Baptist ideas like believer's baptism, congregational polity, and local church autonomy had been absorbed into America's Protestant churches, whether or not they actually identified as Baptist. The result was, according to Marty, the "most dramatic shift in power style on the Christian scene in our time, perhaps in our epoch."[1] With the rise of non-denominational churches and other denominations which mirror Baptist teachings, one can certainly see Marty's point. Nevertheless, if indeed such a thing as "baptistification" ever existed, it began long before the twentieth century. After the First Great Awakening in the eighteenth century, Yale President Timothy Dwight (1752–1817) bemoaned the rise of "Separatists" who no longer wished to associate themselves with the state church in Connecticut. Dwight believed that these "Separate" Congregationalists, also known as "New Lights," were really just Antinomians in disguise, "most of whom for the purpose of avoiding the legal obligation of supporting ministers became Baptists."[2] In Dwight's establishmentarian view, the Separate Congregationalist church was just a half-way house for tax-dodging Baptists. As the grandson of the famed Puritan Jonathan Edwards and the so-called "Federalist Pope of Connecticut," Dwight found it difficult to believe that Congregationalists would become Baptists out of

[1] Martin Marty, "Baptistification Takes Over," *Christianity Today* (1983): 33–36.

[2] John R. Fitzmier, *New England's Moral Legislator: Timothy Dwight, 1752–1817* (Bloomington: Indiana U niversity Press, 1998), 135.

conviction rather than convenience.[3] Although Dwight unfairly judged Baptists, he made a rather astute observation about Baptist-leaning pedobaptists: once Congregationalists began clamoring for a church separated from the state, it was only a matter of time before they rejected infant baptism. He wasn't wrong. One such Separate Congregationalist from Connecticut, Shubal Stearns (1706–1771), founded Sandy Creek Baptist Church in North Carolina, arguably the most prolific Baptist church in American history.

To some in Connecticut, revivalism itself was a kind of "baptistification" of America. When Congregationalist minister Horace Bushnell (1802–1876) criticized the individualism of revivalists, he dismissed it as a "Baptist" view of human development, wherein a person "becomes, at some certain moment, a complete moral agent, which a moment before he was not."[4] Although Bushnell was often guilty of stereotyping Baptists (and other orthodox evangelicals), he was correct that Baptist views had begun to permeate the state church. For instance, after defending the "Standing Order" (the alliance between politicians and clergymen in New England) for years as a Congregationalist minister, Lyman Beecher eventually conceded that the separation of church and state was "the best thing that ever happened to the State of Connecticut." Beecher never became a Baptist. Nevertheless, he eventually celebrated with the Baptists the ideal of religious liberty. According to Beecher, "It cut the churches loose from dependence on state support. It threw them wholly on their own resources and on God."[5]

However, these Baptistic views among pedobaptists extended well beyond the concept of religious liberty or church polity. And they were not limited to the state of Connecticut. Beginning in the colonial period and extending all the way to the twentieth century, some (1) Congregationalists, (2) Presbyterians, (3) and Episcopalians affirmed the Baptist doctrine of credobaptism by immersion even while remaining firmly within their pedobaptist denomina-

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[3] Robert J. Imholt, "Timothy Dwight, Federalist Pope of Connecticut," *The New England Quarterly* 73, no. 3 (Sept. 2000): 386–411.

[4] Robert Bruce Mullin, *The Puritan as Yankee: A Life of Horace Bushnell* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002), 118.

[5] Lyman Beecher, "Downfall of the Standing Order," in *The Autobiography of Lyman Beecher, Vol. I*, ed. Barbara M. Cross (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1961), 252–53.

tions. They risked their reputations and careers in these beliefs. Curiously, most did not join the Baptist church although some eventually did. These individuals were distinct, for example, from credobaptists like Alexander Campbell (1788–1866) and the Restorationist movement, who were neither Baptist nor pedobaptist.[6] Instead, the idiosyncratic evangelicals whom I have dubbed "Baptistic pedobaptists" continued to fellowship with brethren who baptized infants even while questioning or *completely rejecting* the validity of infant baptism. The following study provides us with two valuable historical insights. First, the existence of Baptistic pedobaptists is a rather vivid, and sometimes perplexing, reminder that, at times throughout the history of the church, denominational affiliations do not overlap with personal convictions. Human beings are complex, and so is American religious history. Secondly, members of pedobaptist groups who nevertheless affirmed believer's baptism help us to distinguish between those who are Baptist in the denominational sense and those who are merely "Baptistic" or Baptist-like. This distinction gets to the very heart of Baptist identity.

An Antipedobaptist Congregationalist

In colonial New England, Baptists had a reputation as religious fanatics. In a society where children were born into a local parish church, the idea of a church-state separation was more than controversial. It was akin to anarchy. When Isaac Backus made his *Appeal to the Public for Religious Liberty* in 1773, he acknowledged that Baptists were viewed as instigators and disturbers of the peace. They were labeled "madmen of Munster," a reference to the violent rebellion in Munster, Germany led by Anabaptists in 1534.[7] To publicly identify as Baptist in the seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century New England was a bold, even brave, endeavor. Therefore, when the first President of Harvard College, Henry Dunster, refused to baptize his child in 1654, it made local news. Dunster was of course a Congregationalist, educated at Cambridge University like most Puritan leaders. New England was governed

[6] The publication for the Restoration Movement was called *The Christian Baptist*. See Douglas A. Foster, *A Life of Alexander Campbell* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2020).

[7] See Obbie Tyler Todd, *Let Men Be Free: Baptist Politics in the Early United States, 1776–1835* (Eugene: Pickwick, 2022), 16.

as a theocratic commonwealth, a society of "visible saints" where citizens covenanted together into one body politic.[8] However, Dunster could not find the practice of infant baptism in the Bible. In his view, "all instituted Gospel Worship hath some express word of Scripture. But pedobaptism hath none." Neither could he find it in the earliest church. "John the Baptist, Christ himself, & [the] Apostles did none of them baptize children," he insisted. For the president of Harvard to espouse such views in colonial Massachusetts was unexpected. However, when Dunster articulated his view at the baptismal service at the Cambridge church on July 30, 1654, it was utterly shocking. This radical act had two significant repercussions in New England: (1) Harvard got a new President, (2) and the Baptist faith was no longer just a position held by religious extremists. Dunster had, in many ways, diminished the stigma of Baptist beliefs.

In 1638, former Congregationalist Roger Williams founded the First Baptist Church of America in Providence, Rhode Island. (Interestingly, Williams did *not* remain a Baptist his entire life, once again becoming "Baptistic.") In New England, a land with persecuted Baptists, Rhode Island became a sanctuary of religious tolerance. However, Henry Dunster did *not* choose to become a Baptist, nor did he move to Rhode Island. In March 1655, he left Massachusetts Bay for the more tolerant Plymouth Colony, where he spent the last four years of his life.[9] While expressing his contempt for religious persecution, Dunster remained a baptistified Congregationalist and refused to seek a biblical baptism for himself. He was not excommunicated from the Cambridge church and did not publish his antipedobaptist views. Holding to an open communion view of the Lord's Supper and more than likely wishing to avoid the full burden of being labeled a Baptist, Dunster ultimately proved to be more non-Baptist than Baptist. According to Cotton Mather, Dunster "died in harmony of affection with the good men who had been the authors of his removal from Cambridge."[10] Espousing credobaptist beliefs but unwilling to practice

[8] Perry Miller, ed., *The American Puritans: Their Prose and Poetry* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982), 2.

[9] William G. Mcloughlin, *Soul Liberty: The Baptists' Struggle in New England, 1630–1833* (Providence: Brown University Press, 1991), 32-33.

[10] Mcloughlin, *Soul Liberty*, 34.

credobaptism himself, Dunster was unwilling to join the Baptist ranks.

Although an un-immersed, antipedobaptist Congregationalist (antipedobaptist pedobaptist?) like Dunster was certainly an anomaly in American history, he was by no means the last Congregationalist to see the biblical basis for believer's baptism. As men like Timothy Dwight well knew, plenty of Separate Congregationalists wrestled with or accepted the doctrine before eventually becoming Separate Baptists. Isaac Backus, for instance, was a Separate before he was a Separate Baptist.[11] By the antebellum period, Baptists even cited the work of Congregationalist Moses Stuart, Andover professor and one of the most renowned textual scholars in America, to defend the concept of believer's baptism.[12] Stuart's book *The Mode of Christian Baptism Prescribed in the New Testament* (1833) gave credence to the idea of baptism by immersion.[13]

Credobaptistic Presbyterians

Eighteenth and nineteenth-century Presbyterians, on the other hand, were a bit less "Baptistic" due to their ecclesiastical polity. For starters, they were not congregational (at least in the Baptist sense) and did not adhere to local church autonomy. Although Congregationalists and Presbyterians had much in common theologically and even united denominations between 1801 and 1837 for the sake of evangelizing the West (in the so-called "Plan of Union"), Presbyterians and Baptists had seemingly insurmountable differences regarding the institution of infant baptism. However, even issues of church governance and baptism could not always keep Presbyterians and Baptists from uniting together under the same ecclesiastical authority. In Chapel Hill, North Carolina, a young aspiring Baptist preacher named Abner W. Clopton (1784–1833) decided that he needed to prepare for the ministry by submitting himself to the local spiritual authority . . . of the Presbyterian church. According to his biographer, Clopton "placed himself

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[11] William G. McLoughlin, *Isaac Backus and the American Pietistic Tradition* (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1967), 4–8.

[12] Obbie Tyler Todd, *Southern Edwardseans: The Southern Baptist Legacy of Jonathan Edwards* (Gottingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2022), 55.

[13] This work was also published in the South among Baptists. See Moses Stuart, *Is the Mode of Christian Baptism Prescribed in the New Testament?*, 2nd ed. (Nashville: Graves, Marks & Rutland, 1856).

under the care of the Orange Presbytery."[14] As a young man, Clopton was an open communionist, believing that Baptists and Presbyterians could partake of the Lord's Supper together. On more than one occasion prior to his tutelage under the Presbyterians, he had taken communion with his infant-baptizing brethren. However, as this caused no small amount of dissension among the Presbyterians, Clopton ceased and became convinced of the closed communion view.[15] Nevertheless, Clopton remained an ecumenical Baptist at heart.

According to Clopton's friend, "He was received by the presbytery with the distinct understanding that he was a *Baptist*, and that he was a candidate for the ministry in the *Baptist*, and not in the Presbyterian church."[16] Remarkably, Clopton was a Presbyterian-submitting, Baptist-communing, minister-in-training. Not surprisingly, local Baptists began to suspect that Clopton intended to join the Presbyterian church. However, according to his friend, Clopton never had any such thought in mind. Eventually calling off his presbyterian preparation, Clopton went on to pastor Baptist churches in North Carolina and Virginia. As his biographer humorously notes, "I confess the above fact appears to me a little singular: an independent Baptist minister under the care of a Pedobaptist presbytery! I should hardly believe it, if it were not confirmed by unquestionable testimony."[17] By voluntarily submitting to the ecclesiastical authority of pedobaptists, Clopton might be designated a kind of pedobaptistic Baptist. But this kind of denominational confusion was not restricted to Baptists.

In 1826, Edward Beecher (1803–1895) became the pastor of the reputable Park Street Church in Boston, across from Boston Common. He was the third of eleven children of Lyman Beecher, the most famous revivalist in New England during the Second Great Awakening. Soon after arriving at the Congregationalist church, Beecher did not have a satisfactory answer to "the baptismal question." As his ordination drew near, the young minister had still not settled the question in his mind. When Edward wrote to his father at the end of 1826, he confessed that he was unsure

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[14] Jeremiah B. Jeter, *A Memoir of Abner W. Clopton, A.M.* (Richmond: Yale & Wyatt, 1837), 57–58.

[15] Jeter, *Memoir of Abner W. Clopton*, 56–57.

[16] Jeter, *Memoir of Abner W. Clopton*, 58.

[17] Jeter, *Memoir of Abner W. Clopton*, 58-59.

whether he could "conscientiously adhere to the present mode."[18] Edward was so skeptical about the biblical basis for infant baptism that he wished he had not "answered the call so soon." Fearing that Edward was "veering" toward the Baptist way of thinking, Lyman tried to convince his son of the pedobaptist way and to assuage his conscience before the ordination. Although Edward managed to pass his exam, his leanings toward believer's baptism remained despite his father's best efforts to convince him otherwise. As his biographer observes, "His reluctance to 'administer' the ordinance contributed to his difficulties at Park Street Church, and perhaps finally to his resignation."[19] Edward could not violate his conscience on the issue. So, in 1830, he became the inaugural president of Illinois College . . . a Presbyterian school.

Due to the aforementioned "Plan of Union," Congregationalists and Presbyterians could exchange pulpits and pastors in the American West.[20] This partnership lasted until "Old School" conservatives effectively sundered the Union at General Assembly in 1837. Although he was now technically a Presbyterian clergyman, Beecher was able to avoid administering infant baptism while he worked out his theology of baptism in the 1830s. Eventually, he found a suitable answer to "the baptismal question." In the 1840s, Edward published a series of articles on baptism in the Presbyterian journal *Biblical Repository*, engaging with British Baptist Alexander Carson on the true definition of "baptize" and whether it meant "to immerse." With some misgivings about strict Presbyterian dogma, Edward argued for a broad definition of "baptize," concluding that immersion was one of several possible "modes" of baptism. For Beecher, the true meaning of "baptize" was "to purify." Ultimately, Edward could not understand how such a "large and influential denomination" like the Presbyterians and Congregationalists could not fellowship with an orthodox group like Baptists "on account of a different interpretation" of one word.[21]

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[18] Robert Merideth, *The Politics of the Universe: Edward Beecher, Abolition, and Orthodoxy* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1963), 68.

[19] Merideth, *The Politics of the Universe*, 69.

[20] For an excellent intellectual treatment of the Plan of Union and the Old School-New School conflict, see George M. Marsden, *The Evangelical Mind and the New School Presbyterian Experience: A Casey Study of Thought and Theology in Nineteenth-Century America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1970).

[21] Merideth, *The Politics of the Universe*, 69-70.

Moderates like Edward Beecher prompted Old School Presbyterians to advocate for mission agencies and schools controlled exclusively by their *own* denominational leaders and not by New England Congregationalists. Consequently, the latter half of the nineteenth century was characterized by a shift *away* from interdenominational partnerships. By the beginning of the twentieth century, so-called fundamentalists attempted to protect their respective denominational distinctives from "modernists," those who questioned historic Christian teachings like the deity of Christ, substitutionary atonement, and the resurrection. No Presbyterian epitomized the anti-denominational, modernist spirit more than Harry Emerson Fosdick (1878-1969), who preached the somewhat infamous sermon in 1922 entitled "Shall the Fundamentalists Win?"[22] Fosdick was an ordained Baptist pastor . . . at First Presbyterian Church of New York City. Although ordained in 1903 at Madison Avenue Baptist Church in Manhattan and called to a Baptist church in New Jersey for the next eleven years, Fosdick eventually came to First Presbyterian Church, a notably liberal congregation. Apparently, Fosdick never relinquished his Baptist beliefs because after serving at the pedobaptist church until 1825, he proceeded to pastor two other Baptist churches until 1946. But Fosdick's official position was one of "open membership," declaring, "If I had my way baptism would be altogether an individual affair. Anyone who wanted to be immersed, I would gladly immerse. Anyone who wanted to be sprinkled, I would glad [sic] sprinkle. If anyone was a Quaker and had conscientious scruples against any ritual, I would gladly without baptism welcome him on confession of faith. Why not?"[23] Fosdick's ambiguity on baptism was indicative of the relativizing and de-confessionalizing spirit that indwelled the modernist movement, anticipating the later "compromise" of the Northern Baptist Convention on the issue of baptism. In some sense, Fosdick did not qualify as a "Baptistic

[22] For a brief overview of the sermon and its context, see Obbie Tyler Todd, "The Sermon That Divided America: Harry Emerson Fosdick's 'Shall the Fundamentalists Win?'," *The Gospel Coalition* (May 21, 2022). https://www.thegospelcoalition.org/article/sermon-divided-america/

[23] For a treatment of Fosdick's policy and its influence upon Northern Baptists, see Caleb Morell, "How Harry Emerson Fosdick's 'Open Membership' Overtook the Northern Baptist Convention," *9Marks* (August 1, 2022). https://www.9marks.org/article/how-harry-emerson-fosdicks-open-membership-overtook-the-northern-baptist-convention/

pedobaptist" at all. He was, depending on the decade, a "pedobaptistic Baptist" or simply a "Baptistic non-Baptist." As much as Edward Beecher had wished for denominational unity around the essentials of the faith, Harry Emerson Fosdick realized that unity but at the expense of the faith itself.

An Immersed Episcopalian

Baptistic pedobaptists were not found exclusively among evangelicals or just in the North. Sometimes they came from the highest liturgical churches and even became *Southern* Baptists. As the grandson of a signer of the Declaration of Independence, William Hooper (1792–1876) hailed from a very educated family. While teaching at the University of North Carolina in Chapel Hill, Hooper was confirmed in the Episcopal Church in 1818. Four years later, he was ordained as a priest and assumed his first pastorate at St. John's church in Fayetteville. But Hooper did not remain at his post for long. In 1824, he resigned from St. John's after having some misgivings about, among other things, the nature of baptism. As a result, in 1831, he was baptized into fellowship at Mt. Carmel Baptist Church in Orange County, not far from where Abner Clopton had been "under the care" of the Presbyterians. For the next few decades, Hooper taught at a host of schools and colleges, including Wake Forest College, where he briefly served as president.

As Hooper demonstrates, for many pedobaptists, the journey from Baptist *belief* to Baptist *membership* could be a long one. Not all conversions to the Baptist faith were a sudden, Damascus road experience. For Richard Fuller (1804-1876), a Baptistic pedobaptist from South Carolina, the road was particularly unusual. As a child in the affluent plantation community of Beaufort, South Carolina, Fuller was raised in a well-to-do family and eventually became one of the few Southerners for his era to attend Harvard. As was customary for those in his social sphere, and as the Baptists were a "comparatively feeble body" in the region, the young man united with the Episcopal Church. Richard's father, Thomas, had been a "fair and reputable professor" in the church. In a radical act for his time and place, Thomas was baptized alongside slaves in 1803, converting to the Baptist faith. However, more than likely for social and material reasons, the cotton-planting family did not break fellowship with the Episcopal church. Richard's brother remained an Episcopalian, although he purportedly

worshipped with the Baptists as much as he did with the pedobaptists.[24] Richard himself had a "natural gravitation" to the Episcopal Church for a litany of reasons, including its rich history, its piety, and most importantly, its "worldly advantages" in antebellum South Carolina.[25] In other words, in low country plantation society, it paid to be Episcopalian. As Fuller's conscience became troubled on the issue of baptism, led by the example of his family members, the Episcopal prayer book offered sufficient "margin and latitude" to satisfy him on the matter.

However, Fuller could not contain his convictions with a prayer book. Concluding that there was no other way to obey Scripture but by immersion, he was finally baptized in a nearby river . . . by the Episcopal priest! Still, the public act did not come without considerable questioning and doubt. And Fuller did not immediately join a Baptist church. His baptism caused such a fracas in town that a fellow parishioner met him on the street and jeered, "So, Fuller, I see you are a kind of mongrel Baptist."[26] Fuller was so angered by the remark that he punched his fellow Episcopalian to the ground! When the disgraced gentleman gathered himself, he returned the blow and knocked Fuller to the ground! The exchange was a rather symbolic picture of a "Baptistic pedobaptist" in the antebellum South: with feet in both the Baptist and pedobaptist camps, they really stood in neither. To hold Baptist convictions in formalist denominations like the Episcopal and Congregationalist churches, one had to risk being branded a "mongrel Baptist."

Richard Fuller was converted by an evangelist in the winter of 1831-32 and subsequently joined the Baptist church. He left the legal profession and became a Baptist minister. As history would have it, Fuller was a co-founder of the Southern Baptist Convention in Augusta, Georgia, in 1845 and later served as the third president of the SBC. Baptistic pedobaptists were not just historical anomalies; they helped shape the course of evangelical history. In Fuller's case, he shaped *American* history, becoming one of the most public defenders of slavery in his famous paper exchange with Francis Wayland in 1845. And Baptistic pedobaptists also

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[24] J. H. Cuthbert, *Life of Richard Fuller, D.D.* (New York: Sheldon and Company, 1878), 18, 20, 24.

[25] Cuthbert, *Life of Richard Fuller*, 64–65.

[26] Cuthbert, *Life of Richard Fuller*, 65.

have a contemporary application, as they force us to articulate the difference between confession and communion, between those who are "Baptist" merely by profession and those who are "Baptist" in practice. Instead of casting our aspersions at these unique and sometimes oxymoronic figures of American religious history, may we come to a deeper appreciation for those who sacrificed their reputations, careers, and even their lives, for a once-unpopular faith.

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Speaking 'Baptist' with an Accent: An Historical Overview of European Foreign Language Baptist Conferences in America

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The United States is a country of immigrants. The First Peoples[1] came east from Asia. The Spanish came north from Mexico. The French came south from Canada and the English came west from England. For the first 100 years that census data were recorded (1850-1940), the vast majority of immigrants came from Europe. During that time, nearly 50 million immigrants came.[2]

Some of these immigrants were Baptists who immigrated here as individuals, families or entire congregations. Some immigrants heard and responded to the Gospel as already established English congregations reached across cultural and linguistic barriers. Still other new Americans heard the Gospel from other immigrants, became Baptists, and formed congregations. The ultimate result was that Baptist life in America became a mosaic of languages and cultures.

As soon as enough congregations from a similar ethnic background were formed, they would gather together to form associations and conferences for fellowship and to facilitate mission work among their fellow immigrants. This article will examine the foundation of ethnic European congregations and fellowships.

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[1] First Nations or First Peoples (terminology employed in Canada) is more accurate than Native American when referring to the people who settled North America prior to the Europeans.

[2] "Census of Population and Housing," available at www.census.gov /prod/www/decennial.html.

Welsh (1663/ –)[3]

Less than twenty-five years after Roger Williams organized the first Baptist church in America, the first non-English immigrant congregation arrived. Located near the Rhode Island border in Swansea, Massachusetts, this new congregation worshiped in Welsh.

John Myles became a Baptist under the influence of William Kiffin, Hanserd Knollys, and John Spilsbury shortly after journeying to London, perhaps as early as 1639.[4] Returning to Wales he organized the first Baptist church in Wales at Ilston, near Swansea. The restoration of the monarchy ushered in the Clarendon Code's Act of Uniformity (1662). In 1663, Myles and several congregants moved to Massachusetts where they re-established the Swansea congregation. It produced the first Baptist church covenant in America and aided in the founding of congregations in several other towns.[5]

Other Welsh Baptists followed. Many of these immigrants were enticed by William Penn's invitation to settle in Pennsylvania. Augmented with new converts, the Welsh were instrumental in establishing several congregations.[6] Welsh Baptists joined with others to found the Pennepek church.[7] The Welsh Tract church originated in Wales, but removed to Pennepek in 1701.[8] Two years later the group moved again to Iron Hill, near Newark, Delaware.[9] A member of this congregation's Bethel Mission, Calvin Tubbs, a sea captain, was influential in Johann Gerhard Oncken's adoption

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[3] Dates refer to the organization of the first congregation and subsequent conference.

[4] William H. Brackney and Charles K. Hartman, *Baptists in Early North America: Swansea, Massachusetts* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 2013), xxxv ff.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Edward George Hartman,"Welsh Baptists in America," *Chronicle* 19.2 (April 1956): 90.

[7] Ibid., 91.

[8] Gillette, A. D. *Minutes of the Philadelphia Baptist Association, from A.D. 1707, to A.D. 1807: Being the First One Hundred Years of Its Existence.* Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1851. Reprint. The Baptist history series, no. 22. (Paris, AR: Baptist Standard Bearer, 2000), 15.

[9] William Cathcart, ed., *The Baptist Encyclopædia: A Dictionary of the Doctrines, Ordinances, Usages, Confessions of Faith, Sufferings, Labors, and Successes, and of the General History of the Baptist Denomination in All Lands. With Numerous Biographical Sketches of Distinguished American and Foreign Baptists, and a Supplement* (Philadelphia: Louis H. Everts, 1881), 1230.

of believer's baptism.[10] A later segment of the Welsh Neck congregation relocated along the Peedee River in South Carolina and is also known as the Welsh Neck church.

These Welsh congregations joined with their English neighbors to form associations, but never formed a separate conference. Pennsylvania Welsh were influential in the organization of the Philadelphia Association.[11] As Welsh immigration increased, additional organizations were formed to facilitate fellowship. In addition to joining the regional association with their English brethren, Welsh Baptists formed associations known as *gymanfas*. Five of them were organized with the Ohio/Pennsylvania *gymanfa* surviving into the 1950s.

Initially, the *gymanfas* were preaching festivals with singing in between sermons.[12] They later became business sessions. The Peniel church, near Pickett, WI continues the tradition with an annual music festival.[13]

French (1850/1895)

Mission work among the French began in Canada. H. Olivier, a pastor in Lausanne, Switzerland started a mission in Quebec in 1834. It was known as the Grand Ligne Mission. Shortly after his arrival, Olivier became a Baptist. Canadian Baptists assumed responsibility briefly, but were unable to maintain it. The Home Mission Society began supporting the work in 1849 when it officially became Baptist, affiliating with the Canada Baptist Missionary Society.[14] American support for Grand Ligne ended in 1860, but it continued to be a source of trained workers.

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[10] Richard B. Cook, *The Early and Later Delaware Baptists* (Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1880), 63-66.

[11] Gillette, 15.

[12] Hartman, 93.

[13] For more information, see "Welsh Gymanfa Ganu Association," www.wggaw.org.

[14] American Baptist Home Mission Society, *Baptist Home Missions in North America: Including a Full Report of the Proceedings and Addresses of the Jubilee Meeting, and a Historical Sketch of the American Baptist Home Mission Society, Historical Tables, etc., 1832-1883*. (New York: Baptist Home Mission Rooms, 1883), 480-1; Harry A. Renfree, *Heritage and Horizon: The Baptist Story in Canada* (Mississauga, ON: Canadian Baptist Federation, 1988), 138. Olivier was converted under the ministry of the Scottish Baptist, Robert Haldane.

Civil unrest drove a number of French-Canadians into New England. Many more came with the onset of the Civil War to work in the cotton mills. The first missionary appointed by the HMS to work among the French was Michael Belina Czechowski.[15] Born in Poland, he became a priest in 1843. His agitation for a free Poland led him out of Poland and the Roman Catholic Church. He became a Baptist in 1850 while in London and it was from there that the Board brought him to work among the French Canadians in New York. His promising ministry ended in 1856 when he became a Seventh-Day Adventist.[16]

It would be more than a decade later that the HMS restarted its efforts. Narcisse Cyr (1823-1894) began *Le Semeur Canadien*, the first French Protestant magazine in 1851 and moved to the United States in 1862.[17] The HMS supported Cyr from 1870-1873.[18] Missouri Baptists supported a French missionary in 1890.[19]

The Society discouraged French Canadians from forming separate churches.[20] They met for worship in English-language buildings and in homes.[21] This impeded their ability to reach their target population. Even so, the French-Speaking Baptist Conference of New England came into being in August 1895.[22] However, by 1930, the number of affiliated congregations had shrunk to 6.[23]

Louisiana was home to a separate ministry effort. During the French and Indian War (Seven Years' War), the British relocated several thousand French inhabitants of Acadia, renaming it Nova Scotia. These exiles were brought to Louisiana and came to be known as Cajuns.

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[15] Charles L. White, *A Century of Faith*. With an Introduction by Austen Kennedy de Blois. (Philadelphia: Judson Press, 1932), 140.

[16] "May We Introduce Michael Belina Czechowski." *Adventist Review* (May 31,2014). Available at http://www.adventistreview.org/may-we-introduce-michael-belina-czechowski.

[17] Renfree, 138, 141.

[18] *Baptist Home Missions in North America*, 617.

[19] Lee N. Allen,"Southern Baptist Home Mission Impact on American Ethnics." *Baptist History and Heritage* 18.3 (July 1983), 15.

[20] *Baptist Home Missions in North America*, 484.

[21] White, 141.

[22] Annual of the Northern Baptist Convention, 1935: 245; Leonard lists a date of 1891, Bill Leonard, *Baptists in America,* Columbia Contemporary American Religion Series. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), 41. French Canadians formed a union in 1868.

[23] *Century of Faith*, 141.

A recent graduate of Hamilton Theological Seminary, Thomas A. Rand, Jr., moved in 1838 to Louisiana where he opened a school at Bayou Chicot. He also began preaching among the French-speaking people.[24] While a congregation did not form, Adolphe Stagg, one of Rand's students, was introduced to Baptist teachings. In 1869 Stagg was converted and began preaching among the Cajuns and Creoles.[25] Louisiana Baptists began supporting Stagg in 1872, but his converts were gathered into English-language congregations.

Ozime Derouen was converted by the Methodists in 1906 and became a pastor. He became a Baptist in 1909, being immersed by the pastor of the Welsh congregation near Belle City.[26] He preached itinerantly for eight years before failing health forced him from the field. It was not until Lucien Smith, a Cajun convert and Louis Cotey,[27] a French convert serving on faculty of Bible Baptist Institute (now New Orleans Baptist Theological Seminary) organized Barataria Baptist in 1925 that a fully Cajun congregation was formed. However, by the mid 1960s, most congregations in French-speaking areas were using English to some degree.[28]

Germans (1843/1851)

Almost eighty years after Swansea arrived, the next European foreign language congregation was organized. Beginning in the 1840s, large numbers of immigrants came from continental Europe. Religious persecution joined political and economic turmoil as reasons for coming to America. In addition, settlement companies enticed entire communities to move to America, some hoping to form German colonies.[29] The *Mainzer Adelsverein* in central Tex-

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[24] J. D. and Marilyn Wagnon, *Trail Blazers in Louisiana*, (Alexandria, LA: Louisiana Baptist Woman's Missionary Union, 1950), 14-15.

[25] Ibid., 16.

[26] Nelson, Arnold F. *A History of Baptist French Missions in South Louisiana.* (1994), 67.

[27] Cotey and Lawrence Zarrilli (see below) were founding faculty of what is now New Orleans Baptist Theological Seminary.

[28] Glen Lee Greene, *House Upon a Rock: About Southern Baptists in Louisiana*, (Alexandria, LA: Executive Board of the Louisiana Baptist Convention, 1973), 243.

[29] Gilbert Giddings Benjamin, *The Germans in Texas: A Study in Immigration* (Philadelphia: German American Annuals, 1909; reprint San Francisco: R and E Research Associates, 1970), 5-7.

as is one example. These newcomers joined Germans who had already settled in Pennsylvania and South Carolina.

Konrad Anton Fleischmann, a Nuremburg native, was converted in 1831 while living in Basel, Switzerland and joined a separatist church. He later came to Baptist beliefs and, on the advice of George Müller, immigrated to America in 1839. He arrived in Newark, NJ and began preaching. Soon after, American Baptists appointed him as a missionary to the Germans. Initial success in Lycoming County, Pennsylvania eventually led Fleischmann to Philadelphia where in 1843 he organized the first German Baptist congregation in America.[30] Sensitive to the negative attitudes attached to Anabaptists, the congregation initially called itself the "German Church of the Lord that meets on Poplar Street."[31]

Additional German congregations emerged independently of one another in New York, St. Louis and Texas. Mission supported pastors often left their charges in the hands of capable laymen while they preached in other locations. Regular preaching points were called stations or missions. When not served by the pastor, laymen preached. While a station may have had a building and a large number of members, it did not organize into a church until it could be self-supporting. Several stations often banded together to form a new self-supporting congregation. The name of the new congregation reflected the mother station. This was particularly prevalent in rural areas.

The first regional conference was organized in 1851 by churches in the East and Canada. A separate Western Conference emerged in 1859. These conferences held a joint or general conference in 1865 as the German Baptist Conference of North America.[32] Conferences have been held triennially ever since. As new churches were formed, so were new regional conferences.

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[30] Frank H. Woyke, *Heritage and Ministry of the North American Baptist Conference* (Oakbrook Terrace, IL: North American Baptist Conference, [1979]), 27-29. This is the most recent comprehensive history of German Baptist work in North America.

[31] G. A. Schulte and Donald H. Madvig, *Memories: From My Fifty Years of Service in the Home Missionary Work of the German Baptist Churches of North America,* (Sioux Falls, S.D.: North American Baptist Heritage Commission, 2006), 27.

[32] Albert John Ramaker, *The German Baptists in North America* (Cleveland, OH: German Baptist Publication Society, 1924), 52-64.

Rochester Theological Seminary began a German department in 1858.[33] It became the training ground for hundreds of German pastors. The school relocated to Sioux Falls, SD in 1949 to be closer to the majority of conference congregations, taking the name, North American Baptist Seminary.[34] The name was changed again in 2007 to Sioux Falls Seminary to reflect the diversity of its student body.

The German Baptist movement in North America mirrored what had occurred in Germany. Baptists had emerged on the Continent a scant five years prior to Fleischmann's conversion. Johann Gerhard Oncken, his wife and five others were baptized in the Elbe River in the night of April 22, 1834.[35] The movement soon spread to German enclaves in eastern Europe. As a result of this influence, Baptist congregations were formed throughout northern and eastern Europe. With the motto, "Every Baptist a Missionary," laymen took the gospel with them wherever they went.

One rich area for development was the Black Sea region which Germans settled in the 1770s. As the Russian government sought to russify these areas, thousands emigrated to America and Canada. Some of these refugees were Baptists who formed German-language congregations or were evangelized by existing ones.

World War I brought an antipathy toward anything foreign. While this affected the Germans directly, all foreign language work suffered. Several congregations switched to English. Others that had already made the change, dropped their connection with the German Conference. With the advent of the Second World War, the name was changed in 1942 (confirmed by Conference vote in 1944) to North American Baptist General Conference (NABC). "General" was dropped from the name in a reorganization in 1975.[36] The Germans began to establish a status independent of their English brethren in 1920 when the General Missionary Society gave up outside financial assistance.[37] In 1940, they politely declined an offer from the Northern Baptists for a closer relationship, stating that it would be problematic for congregations in Canada and the South. By the end of the decade, official

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[33] Ibid., 82-83.

[34] Woyke, 411-12.

[35] Günther Balders, *Ein Herr, Ein Glaube, Eine Taufe: 150 Jahre Baptistengemeinden in Deutschland, 1834-1984* (Wuppertal: Oncken, 1984), 17.

[36] Woyke, 358.

[37] Woyke, 360.

ties with Northern Baptists were severed as northern conservatives were pushed out of the Northern Baptist Convention.

In 1952, the NABC decided to start churches beyond German communities.[38] The greatest concentration of churches is in Alberta, the Dakotas and California. They have some 74,000 members in over 400 congregations in the US and Canada.[39]

Swedes (1852/1879)

Swedish Baptists had their start in New Orleans. Gustavus Schroeder, a sailor, was converted in 1844 by the Methodists while on shore leave. Learning about Baptists through the Baptist Seaman's Bethel in New York, he was baptized in the East River later that year.[40] On a subsequent voyage, Schroeder convinced a fellow Swede, Fredrick Olaus Nilsson, about Baptist beliefs.

Nilsson was converted in New York in 1834 and began serving as a missionary in Sweden, first as a colporteur, then in 1842, as a representative of the Seamen's Friend Society. On 1 August 1847, Nilsson traveled to Hamburg, Germany, where he was baptized in the Elbe River by Oncken.[41] The first Swedish Baptist congregation emerged on 21 September 1848 at Landa Parish, Halland, Sweden. Exiled from Sweden in 1852, Nilsson came to America.[42]

Gustaf Palmquist, a Pietist leader, learned of Baptist teachings from Nilsson in Sweden. Immigrating to Galesburg, Illinois in 1850, Palmquist became a Baptist in June 1852. Ordained one month later, he left for Rock Island, Illinois, where on 13 August 1852 he baptized three converts and organized the first Swedish

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[38] *Minutes of the General Conference and Annual Conference Reports*, 1952: 23.

[39] "North American Baptist Conference," available at https://baptistworld.org/member-unions/, accessed 20 March 2023.

[40] Gustavus Wilhelm Schroeder, *History of the Swedish Baptists in Sweden and America. Being an Account of the Origin, Progress and Results of That Missionary Work During the Last Half of the Nineteenth Century.* (Greater New York: The author, 1898), 91-2.

[41] J. O. Backlund, *Swedish Baptists in America* (Chicago: Conference Press, 1933), 23-24.

[42] R. A. Arlander, "Review of Baptist Development Among Scandinavians in America." *Chronicle* 2.3 (July 1939): 116-7.

Baptist congregation in America.[43] The work spread westward into Minnesota, Iowa and Nebraska.

The earliest work was organized as Scandinavian. By 1879 the Scandinavian congregations met to form Scandinavian Baptist General Conference at Village Creek, Iowa. However, the Danes and Norwegians showed little interest in the organization and it continued to function as the Swedish Baptist General Conference.[44]

John Alexis Edgren planned to open a seminary for Swedish students at First Swedish, Chicago, but his plans went up in smoke with the Great Chicago Fire. The University of Chicago then provided space in 1871 for what became the Baptist Theological Union in Morgan Park.[45] Growing tension over theological disagreements and a desire for an independent ministry precipitated a move in 1914 to St. Paul, MN and is now known as Bethel Seminary.[46]

Swedes faced the same challenges of acculturation as did all European Baptists. In 1940, they changed their name to Baptist General Conference (BGC). Swedish Baptists also had the same concerns about their northern brethren and the same desires for an independent ministry as their German cousins. When the Germans chose to chart a separate course, the Swedes joined them. Discussions in the 1970s with the NABC about the possibility of merging the two conferences did not produce any agreement. Instead, the two work together in international mission fields, but retain separated organizations.

The Germans and the Swedes had congregations in both the United States and Canada. This provides a deep sense of fellowship. It also presents unique challenges. Transferring contributions and shipping materials across borders is complicated. Calling pastors as resident aliens needing a green card is equally difficult. In order to simplify ministry, the 72 Canadian congregations formed

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[43] Jonas Oscar Backlund, *Swedish Baptists in America: A History.* (Chicago: Conference Press, 1933), 39. Other report give September 13 or September 26 as the date of organization.

[44] Stianson, 285.

[45] Adolf Olson, *A Centenary History: As Related to the Baptist General Conference of America* (Chicago: Baptist Conference Press, 1952), 154-59.

[46] Ibid., 434.

a distinctly Canadian fellowship in 1985.[47] In 2007, the BGC adopted the name, Converge Worldwide, to convey its mission of being a catalyst for global outreach. The majority of congregations are concentrated in the Upper Midwest and California. Converge Worldwide has some 150,000 in 1100 congregations.[48]

Norwegians (1848/1892)

Baptist work among Norwegians in America originated with Hans Olsen Velde. Velde immigrated to the United States in 1837, settled in a sizable Norwegian community at Indian Creek, La Salle County, Illinois, and anglicized his name to Hans Valder.[49] Through the influence of the Baptist congregation at nearby Leland, Valder became a Christian and a Baptist. Ordained to the ministry in August 1844, Valder organized a Norwegian Baptist congregation at Indian Creek in January 1848. This was the first Norwegian Baptist congregation in America, and Valder was the first Norwegian Baptist minister.[50] Three months later the HMS undertook some of his support, making him the first Norwegian Baptist missionary in America.[51]

Most congregations were in Minnesota, Wisconsin, the Dakotas and Washington. The West Coast work grew out of a secondary migration around the turn of the century. The strongest center was North Dakota. In order to aid the evangelization of the Norwegian population, the Norwegian Baptist Mission Society was organized in Fargo on 2 April 1892.[52] The individuals comprising of this Society supported the work until 1898 when the Norwegian Baptist Conference took over its responsibilities. In 1893 the

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[47] Virgil A. Olson, "Baptist General Conference," in *The Twelve Baptist Tribes in the U.S.A.,* Albert W. Wardin, ed. (Atlanta: Baptist History and Heritage Society, 2007), 378.

[48] "Converge Worldwide (Baptist General Conference)," available at https://baptistworld.org/member-unions/, accessed 20 March 2023.

[49] Hans George Jorgensen, "A History of the Norwegian Baptists of the Northwest" (B.D. thesis, Newton Theological Institution, 1931), 2.

[50] Ibid. The first Baptist work began in 1842 with Enoch Svee, but he soon died and the work ceased. Baptists in Norway did not organize until 1860 at Porsgrund and Skien. Wardin, *Baptists Around the World*, 248.

[51] P. Stiansen, *History of the Norwegian Baptists in America* (Wheaton, IL: Norwegian Baptist Conference of America and American Baptist Publication Society, 1939), 25. This is the most comprehensive work describing Norwegian Baptist activity in United States.

[52] Ibid., 227.

beginnings of the Norwegian Baptist Conference of North Dakota were put in place in Hillsboro and finalized a year later in Fargo. There were five charter member congregations and it soon became the largest Norwegian conference in the country.[53]

On 14 September 1910, the Danes and Norwegians met at Harlan, Iowa, to organize a national Dano-Norwegian Conference. Both groups had been working together prior to this time. When few Norwegians arrived, the Danes proceeded to organize a separate Danish conference. Two months later, on 17 November, representatives from various Norwegian congregations met in Fargo and organized the Norwegian Baptist General Conference.[54] The Norwegian Baptist Conference of America disbanded in 1956, since most congregations were now English and immigration from Norway had all but ceased.[55]

Danes (1853/1910)

In 1855, nine Baptists immigrated from the Vandlose congregation in Zealand, Denmark, to Abbot Township, Potter County, Pennsylvania, where they organized the first Danish Baptist congregation in America. The congregation soon disbanded as members moved West.[56] It was not until the following year that a sustained work began in Raymond, WI when several Baptists who had immigrated from Denmark in 1853, formed a church.[57]

Lars Jorgensen's mother was one of the first Baptists in Denmark. Converted in Denmark, Jorgensen immigrated to Raymond in 1858. He became the pastor of Raymond and went on to start numerous other congregations.[58] One of the strongest Danish congregations was organized at Clarks Grove, Minnesota, in 1864.

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[53] Ibid., 246.

[54] Ibid., 286-87.

[55] Lloyd A. Harsch, "The Multicultural Heritage of North Dakota Baptists" (Ph.D. diss., Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1999), 128.

[56] Danish Baptist General Conference of America, *Seventy-five Years of Danish Baptist Missionary Work in America*, (Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, [1931]), 5-6.

[57] I. Fredmund, "Danish Baptists in America," *Chronicle* 4.2 (April 1941): 54.

[58] *Seventy-five Years of Danish Baptist Missionary Work in America*, 13.

The vast majority of Danish congregations were in Wisconsin, Minnesota and Iowa.[59] Danish Baptists were never very numerous in America. Eighty-four such congregations were established by 1930, with 49 being the largest number of congregations existing at any one time (1909, 1913).[60]

The Danish Baptist General Conference was organized in 1910. It existed for almost half a century before disbanding in 1958, with the remaining congregations joining the American Baptist Convention.

Finns (1900/1901)

It was not until 1917 that Finland gained its independence. From 1808 to 1917 it was a Grand Duchy of Russia and for the seven centuries prior to that was controlled by Sweden. Finns came to America at the turn of last century, with immigration peaking in 1905.

The first Baptist pastor to the Finns was Matts Esselstrom.[61] He immigrated in 1889 to Grand Rapids, MI and began preaching in 1893 in Bailey, MI. His work in Worcester, MA began in 1897, resulting in Bethel Finnish Baptist Church organizing in 1900.[62]

A year later, the Finnish Baptist Mission Union of America was formed to evangelize the Finnish population.[63] After several decades of useful ministry, it merged with the Baptist General Conference in 1961.[64]

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[59] I. Fredmund, *One Hundred Years of Danish Baptist Missionary Work in America, 1856-1956*. Reprint of article in *The Watchman*. (N.p. Danish Baptist General Conference of America, 1956), 7.

[60] *Seventy-five Years of Danish Baptist Missionary Work in America*, 278, 283.

[61] Fiftieth Anniversary. White lists Andry Lillvis as commissioned to Finns in 1891, but it is likely they were Swedish speaking, so he is not claimed by the Finns. White, 150.

[62] Fiftieth Anniversary.

[63] Theodore Anderson, "Finnish Baptist Work in America" in *Advance* 1949. An Illustrated Annual of the Baptist General Conference of America. Vol. VIII. 1949, p. 58-64. "Finnish" was dropped in 1947.

[64] Clifford Anderson, "Swede-Finns and the Baptist General Conference" *Trail Markers* 1.2 (Oct 2002), online journal, available at http://www.bethel.edu/publications-archive/trail-markers/past-issues/2002/October/, accessed 2 June 2014.

Italians (1894/1899)

Three women from Mt. Pleasant Baptist Church, Newark, NJ took an interest in the Italian immigrants in their neighborhood. In the fall of 1887, they organized sewing classes and a Sunday School. Beginning with children, the mission slowly and attracted adults. Mt. Pleasant supported this work as a mission, providing a building as a chapel. The mission organized as a church in 1895 when the Newark Baptist City Mission began to support the work.[65]

The first organized Italian Baptist congregation formed in Buffalo, NY in 1894 as a result of work opened by the Buffalo City Mission. The Mission asked Ariel Bellondi, an Italian studying at Colgate University to serve as pastor. Bellondi's father was a Baptist pastor in Florence, Italy.[66]

Congregations were formed in New York and several neighboring states.[67] The Italian Baptist Convention was formed in 1899, but the number of churches was never large. Southern Baptists supported the work in Baltimore, MD in 1896, but saw their greatest success in Tampa, FL in 1908.[68] Louisiana Baptists supported work among Italians in New Orleans. Lawrence Zarrilli, a professor at Bible Baptist Institute (now New Orleans Baptist Theological Seminary) spearheaded the work.[69]

Portuguese (1893/1919)

Mission work among the Portuguese began in Alameda County, California with Francisco (Frank) C. B. Silva. Silva was converted

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[65] E. E. Chivers, "Our Baptist Italian Mission Work" *Home Mission Monthly* 1905: 187.

[66] Chivers, 187. See also Graham Millar, *Edison Street Baptist Church: The First Italian Baptist Church in the United States - A Centennial History* (Buffalo, NY: Edison Street Baptist Church, 1996), 12.

[67] J. Di Tiberio, "Beginnings of Italian Baptist Work within the Territory," *Chronicle* 2.3 (July 1939), 119.

[68] Lee N. Allen,"Southern Baptist Home Mission Impact on American Ethnics." *Baptist History and Heritage* 18.3 (July 1983), 15-6.

[69] Claude L. Howe, Donald W. Minton, and Deborah C. Moore, *Seventy-Five Years of Providence and Prayer: An Illustrated History of New Orleans Baptist Theological Seminary*, (New Orleans, LA: New Orleans Baptist Theological Seminary, 1993), 28-30.

by the Salvation Army, perhaps in Stockton, CA.[70] In December 1888 he was appointed as the first missionary to the Portuguese of Alameda County, CA.[71] Silva moved to Massachusetts to attend Newton Theological School. While there, he and a fellow student began work in 1893 in the student's hometown, the port city of New Bedford. By 1902 they had erected a chapel, the first Portuguese chapel in America.[72] The most productive region was Massachusetts and Rhode Island.[73] The Portuguese Baptist Congress was organized in 1919, but was never strong, numbering about a dozen churches and missions.

Czechoslovaks (1896/1909)

German Baptists began reaching into the Czech community of Chicago in 1888 when two Czech women were baptized and joined their church.[74] In 1896 First German, with Henry Crete Gleiss as pastor, lettered out 86 members to form First Bohemian (Czechs and Slovaks).[75] A year later, First German, Pittsburgh organized First Bohemian in that city.[76]

Gleiss encouraged work among the growing Slovak community. The first converts were baptized in 1901. The work centered in Creighton, a Pittsburgh suburb. Matthias (Matthew) Steuček, a native pastor in Slovakia, was called as missionary pastor.[77] The first Slovak congregation organized in 1905.[78]

The work in Chicago took root when John Kejr was brought from Bohemia (modern Czech Republic). Kejr was converted in his homeland where he then served as a colporteur for four years. Joined in 1891 by A. Cepelakova of Prague, who was appointed by

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[70] *Missions Magazine*. July 1911, 2.7. 501-2 Chas [Charles] G. Read gives a brief biography of Silva.

[71] *The Baptist Home Mission Monthly* 11.1 (Jan 1889): 29.

[72] *The Baptist Home Mission Monthly* 24.4 (Apr 1902): 101-2.

[73] White, 145.

[74] V. P. Stupka, "Czechoslovak Baptists in the United States." *Chronicle* 2.3 (July 1939): 122.

[75] Perry James Stackhouse, *Chicago and the Baptists, A Century of Progress,* (Chicago, Ill: University of Chicago Press, 1933), 141.

[76] William Russell Pankey, *History of the Churches of the Pittsburgh Baptist Association* (Philadelphia: Judson Press, 1939), 40.

[77] Vaclav Vojta, *Czecholslovak Baptists.* (Minneapolis, MN: Czechoslovak Baptist Convention in America and Canada, 1941), 183-4.

[78] *History of Pittsburgh Baptist Association*, 117.

the Women's Baptist Home Mission Society, many were converted and became the nucleus of the first congregation.[79] Chicago, Cleveland, OH, and Pittsburgh were the centers of the work.

Leaders from Homestead (Pittsburgh) and Chicago met in 1909 to form the Czechoslovak Baptist Convention, with 12 founding congregations.[80] The initial organization included Polish Baptists as well. However, in 1912, the Poles formed their own organization.[81] With immigration drastically reduced after World War I, the Convention decreased in size as congregations closed or affiliated solely with English associations. The focus of ministry shifted to supporting evangelistic work in Czechoslovakia. The six congregations which currently make up the Convention have alternated support for work in the Czech Republic and Slovakia since 1994.[82]

Polish (1894/1912)

Northern Baptists began supporting work among Polish immigrants in Buffalo in 1888.[83] The first missionary was Joseph Antoszewski.[84] The ministry was carried out by the German Baptists of that city, since many Poles came from German-speaking areas of Europe. The congregation organized in 1894.[85] Polish Baptists received theological training at the German Department of Rochester Seminary. Additional congregations were formed in Wisconsin, New York and Michigan.

The Poles initially joined with the Czechs and Slovaks to form a conference in 1909.[86] Poles formed a separate organization, the

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[79] Vaclav Vojta, *Czecholslovak Baptists*. Minneapolis, MN: Czechoslovak Baptist Convention in America and Canada, 1941, 135-6.

[80] "Timeline of Czechoslovak Baptist Convention of the USA and Canada," *Glorious Hope* 37.3 (2011): 18

[81] "Our History," Czechoslovak Baptist Convention of United States and Canada web site, available at www.czskbc.org/our-history/, accessed 28 April 2014.

[82] Ibid.

[83] Joseph Rzepecki,"Early Work of Polish Baptists in America," *Chronicle* 2.3 (July 1939), 139.

[84] Rzepecki, 139.

[85] Joseph Anthony Wytrwal, *Poles in American History and Tradition* (Detroit: Endurance Press, 1969), 259.

[86] "Our History," Czechoslovak Baptist Convention of United States and Canada.

Polish Baptist Association, in 1912. In 1962, it requested aid from Southern Baptists who have provided it since.[87]

Russian - Ukrainian (1901/1919)

In the summer of 1898, Anton Bokovoy and six other Ukrainian families made their way to America with the intention of settling in Virginia where previous Ukrainians had settled. On the ship they met a German Russian, Peter Saylor, who told them about free land available in the Dakotas.[88] They eventually made their way to North Dakota where they settled south of Balfour.[89] Because Ukraine was under Russian control and because they used Russian in worship, Americans consistently referred to these immigrants as Russians.

The Ukrainians' first crop was planted in 1900 but was destroyed by drought. Faced with starvation that winter, American and German Baptists, alerted by Alexander H. Nikolaus, shipped them food, coal, and clothing.[90] The next summer, on 4 July 1901, Nikolaus aided in organizing Liberty Baptist Church with 53 members.[91]

Nikolaus had immigrated to Saskatchewan where he was converted. In 1896, along with a number of German Romanians, he moved to Casselman (modern Martin), ND where he was a charter member of the Baptist congregation.[92] In 1905 he became a missionary pastor to the Ukrainian congregations, a position he kept until 1920.[93] In keeping with their pietistic heritage they referred to their meeting locations as "houses of prayer" rather than "churches."[94]

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[87] *Southern Baptist Convention Annual*, 1962: 151; Adam Miller, "Polish Baptist Assoc. Targets Multiplication," in *Baptist Press*, 20 April 2010.

[88] Kapusta, 4.

[89] Leo Tolstoi financially helped the group when it first settled. Andrew Dubovy, *Pilgrims of the Prairie: Pioneer Ukrainian Baptists in North Dakota,* translated and edited by Marie Halun Bloch. (Dickinson, ND: Ukrainian Cultural Institute, 1983), x.

[90] Coe Hayne, "Pilgrims of the Dakotas." *Missions* 17.1 (January 1926): 25.

[91] *North Dakota Baptist Convention*, 1901: 18, 37.

[92] "Short History of the German Baptist Church of Martin, North Dakota," File 1008600101, NDBC Archives; *Golden Jubilee Celebration of the Martin Baptist Church, July 18, 1897—July 18, 1947*, 2.

[93] Kmeta, 90.

[94] Dubovy, 47.

In 1905, Seventh-day Adventists came into the Ukrainian Baptist community winning converts and disturbing congregational unity.[95]

The work spread to Pennsylvania, Northern California and New York. In 1919 the Russian-Ukrainian Evangelical Baptist Union was organized. The Union consisted primarily of eastern urban congregations. The rural North Dakota and western Canadian congregations formed their own fellowship.[96] After the collapse of the Soviet Union, immigration brought a new wave of Russian Baptists. Currently, there are regional Associations on the Pacific Coast, Northwest, Midwest, and East Coast. At last count, there were more than 100 congregations with some 16,500 members.

The Ukrainian Evangelical Baptist Convention formed in 1946 to reach ethnic Ukrainians who immigrated to America after the war.[97] There are 20 affiliated Ukranian congregations in the United States with more in Canada.[98]

Latvian (1898/1950)

In 1898, a mission to Latvians (also called Letts) began in Chicago. Work expanded to Boston, New York and Cleveland.[99] The driving force behind the Russian-Ukrainian Union was Wilhelm A. Fetler, a Latvian Baptist pastor.[100] The work was scattered and by 1931, there was only 1 congregation.[101] Renewed immigration after World War II breathed new life into the work. Latvians formed a union in 1950 with seven congregation and presently have five congregations.[102]

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[95] Dubovy, 50; *Butte, North Dakota, 1906-1981: Diamond Jubilee, July 10-11-12, 1981*, 152.

[96] George Boltniew, "A Functional Analysis of Ethnic/Bilingual Baptist Churches Ministering to Russian-speaking Immigrants in the USA." (D.Min. thesis, Eastern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1986), 392-3.

[97] Wardin, 390-92; Boltniew lists the date as 1953, 407.

[98] "Churches," available at www.ukrbaptist.org/churches, accessed 10 April 2023; "Ukrainian Baptist Churches," available at www.ubhc.camp7.org, accessed 7 April 2023.

[99] White, 152.

[100] Boltniew, 390.

[101] White, 152.

[102] McBeth, 727; "Our Congregations," available at https://www.latvianbaptistsinamerica.org/draudzes_en.html, accessed 7 April 2023.

Hungarian (1907/1915)

Baptist work among the Hungarians began in 1901 in Cleveland, OH by four Baptist layman recently arrived from Hungary.[103] Germans in Homestead, PA helped organize a second congregation. The work began in 1904 with a home Bible study, growing by 1907 to one hundred members.[104] Eight years later, three Hungarian congregations formed the Hungarian Baptist Union, with the Hungarians and Romanians working together.[105]

The Germans played a significant role in reaching the Hungarians. Not only did they provide two of the first three pastors, the Superintendent of Missions for the Pittsburgh Baptist Association was the son of a pioneer German pastor in Texas, Henry Crete Gleiss. Gleiss served as pastor of First German, Pittsburgh prior to taking up the work of the Association where he was instrumental in organizing several congregations. Cultural differences strained the relationship between immigrants and residents. Americans tolerated tobacco, but forbade alcohol, whereas Hungarians held the opposite view. Immigrant churches practiced stricter church discipline and were more careful about observing the Sabbath. [106] Most Hungarian congregations were located between Cleveland and New York.[107]

Romanian (1910/1913)

Theodore Selegean was the first Romanian Baptist to immigrate the America, arriving in Cincinnati in 1903. Joined by other Romanian Baptists, they attended Lincoln Park Baptist. They had difficulty understanding the English sermons, so they would gather in the afternoons for worship. With the arrival of C. R. Igrisan, the first Romanian Baptist ordained abroad, the work took off. The first Romanian Baptist church formed on January 1, 1910.[108]

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[103] White, 153; Stephen Orosz and L. E. Koutz, "The Hungarian Baptist Movement in the United States," *Chronicle* 2.3 (July 1939): 134.

[104] *History of the Pittsburgh Baptist Association*, 40, 124.

[105] Orosz and Koutz, 135.

[106] Orosz and Koutz, 135.

[107] Joseph D. Ban, "The Hungarian Baptists in the United States," *Chronicle* 19.4 (October 1956): 191.

[108] V. W. Jones,"Roumanian Baptists in America," *Chronicle* 2.3 (July 1939): 131.

In 1913, the eight Romanian congregations in existence organized the Romanian Baptist Association of America in Cincinnati.[109]

The Treaty of Versailles, ending the First World War dismantled the Austria-Hungarian Empire. The promise of a new homeland proved devastating to Romanian Baptists. Almost half of them returned to Romania from 1920-21.[110] Work among Romanians received new life after the fall of Communism. There are currently 58 congregations affiliated with the Association, 50 in the United States (with the highest concentrations in California and Texas) and 8 in Canada.[111]

Conclusion

European foreign language conferences served an important function in providing fellowship for immigrants whose language separated them from the dominant English culture and whose Baptist faith separated them from their countrymen.[112] They were a catalyst for evangelism and church planting. To Anglo Americans, these conferences were a visible reminder of the opportunities for witness to immigrant communities, the positive impact of the Gospel in these communities, and the challenges faced by their foreign-language brothers and sisters. In addition, they were inspired by the faithful witness of these newer Baptists and challenged by their commitment to living an authentic biblical lifestyle. Both groups were enriched in the process.

The second and third generations gravitated toward English and they preferred worshiping in their new native language. With the change in immigration patterns, the need for European-oriented conferences waned. Yet, their story demonstrates the vital role that foreign language fellowships play in evangelizing immigrants and nurturing their faith.

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[109] Jones, 132.

[110] Vasile Pordan,"Fifty Years of Progress Among the Roumanian Baptists," *Chronicle* 4.1 (January 1941): 11.

[111] "Churches," available at www.baptisti.org/biserici/ accessed 7 April 2023.

[112] For a more detailed examination of the challenges and contributions of these conferences, see Lloyd A. Harsch, "That They May Know Your Name: Baptist Ethnic and Immigrant History - Part 1" in *Baptist History Celebration, 2007: A Symposium on Our History, Theology, and Hymnody* (Springfield, MO: Particular Baptist Press, 2008), 468-75.

Immigration from Europe has since been eclipsed by that from Asia and Latin America.[113] Fellowships and conferences have emerged to spread the Gospel among these newer immigrants and to meet their needs for fellowship and ministry. May the partnership of English and non-English congregations flourish and the inspiration it brings never cease.

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[113]For an exploration of these movements see Albert Reyes, "Hispanic Baptist History in America" and Timothy Tseng, "Polity, Theology, and Ethnicity: Three Factors in the History of Asian-American Baptists in Twentieth-Century America" in *Baptist History Celebration, 2007: A Symposium on Our History, Theology, and Hymnody* (Springfield, MO: Particular Baptist Press, 2008), 482-9 and 489-96, respectively.

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The Fight for Christ: The Role of Violence in the Christological Debates of the Fifth Century

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Introduction

The fifth century CE was a critical period in the development of orthodox Christology. Christian leaders debated issues concerning the person and nature of Christ, ultimately condemning Nestorianism and Monophysitism in favor of Chalcedonian Christology. Even today, despite their many theological differences, the Orthodox, Catholic, and Protestant traditions agree about the Christological decisions made by the ecumenical councils of the fifth century. However, while most present-day Christian groups agree with Chalcedonian Christology, the story was radically different in the fifth century. In fact, Christological controversies transcended mere theological debate and ecclesiastical maneuvering, frequently leading to violent clashes between various factions. Soldiers attacked those accused of heresy, mobs intimidated and attacked those of opposing factions, and some cities even rose in open revolt against Chalcedonian orthodoxy. Thus, theological concerns regarding Christology were answered within an environment characterized by violence and the threat of violence.[1]

An important question arising from the contemptuous atmosphere of fifth-century theological debates is: What role did violence and the threat of violence have on the development and acceptance of orthodox Christology? More specifically, was violence and the threat of violence a decisive factor in the development and acceptance of orthodox Christology? In this article, I will ex-

[1] In the present work, "violence" refers to hostile physical action by an individual, organized group, or crowd, including direct physical harm, indirect physical harm, riots, and revolts.

plore the role of popular violence in the Nestorian, Eutychean, and Monophysite Controversies. Ultimately, I will argue that while various factions in the Christological controversies of the fifth century used violence, riot, or revolt as tools to support their position, these methods had mixed results and were not decisive factors in the development and success of the Chalcedonian Christological position.

State of Research

Three works are of particular importance in the study of religious violence in the fifth century. First, Timothy Gregory, in his book *Vox Populi,* explored the influence of popular opinion, including popular violence, on the religious controversies of the fifth century. His primary goals were to address the reason common people became involved in theological debates, the reason they supported particular positions, the impact that "popular religious opinion and action" had on the "ultimate resolution of the controversies" and "the role of violence" (specifically, popular violence) in the controversies of the fifth century. [2] Two aspects of Gregory's work are important for the current study. First, he argued, convincingly, that while "on several occasions, popular opinion had to contend with considerable opposition," "the final solution of every controversy [in the fifth century] reflected popular opinion as it prevailed in each city."[3] Second, he argued that even though the potential for and threat of violence always accompanied large crowds, usually "the crowd did not have to resort to violence in order to make its wishes known" because "emperors and bishops were normally willing at least to listen to peaceful protest."[4] Thus, popular opinion was a critical factor in the development and acceptance of Christology in a particular region, but that popular opinion was usually not expressed through overt violence.

Second, Michael Gaddis' book, *There is No Crime for those who Have Christ,* is an exploration of how the Christians of the fourth and fifth centuries justified and excused religious violence. Gaddis

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[2] Timothy Gregory, *Vox Populi: Violence and Popular Involvement in the Religious Controversies of the Fifth Century A.D.* (Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press, 1979), 3-4.

[3] Ibid, 224.

[4] Ibid, 225.

argued that following the ascension of Constantine and the legalization of Christianity, Christian rhetoric and discourse began to connect fighting for God against the heretics, with the tradition of martyrdom from earlier periods. Thus, Christians who used violence against theologically divergent individuals were fighting for God in a manner that is similar to those who were martyred. Gaddis' book is significant for the present study because he wrote extensively about how secular and ecclesiastical authorities used and regulated coercive power. Emperors and bishops leveraged the power of the state to attack their enemies, but they could not do so with impunity. Gaddis demonstrated that certain norms about the use of religious violence existed that limited the extent to which a secular or religious official could use force or the threat of force.

Third, Thomas Sizgorich, in *Violence and Belief in Late Antiquity,* argued that Christian and Islamic violence and militancy in late antiquity should be understood in terms of "communal identity and the imaginative structures and historical processes whereby identity is constituted."[5] In short, violence was a means by which a group maintained its identity and distinctiveness. Christians used violence to maintain the boundaries of what a "Christian" was. Sizgorich, like Gaddis, tied Christian acceptance of religious violence to the tradition of martyrdom. Martyrs maintained their Christian identity by refusing to deny their faith. Sizgorich also pointed out that ascetic monks, who had close ties to the tradition of martyrdom, were particularly involved in the use of violence to maintain the boundaries of correct belief. His ideas are essential to the present study because they help one to understand the reasons for the prevalence of religious violence and the reasons monks were known for using violence in the Christological controversies.

The above-mentioned scholars provided useful insights into the Christological controversies of the fifth century. However, they primarily addressed the question of why Christological violence happened and how people justified it, not the question of what impact Christological violence had. Therefore, the present work seeks to build on the work of these scholars, while also seeking to answer a different question.

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[5] Thomas Sizgorich, *Violence and Belief in Late Antiquity: Militant Devotion in Christianity and Islam* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), 5.

Methodology

This article will be divided into three primary parts: The Nestorian Controversy, the Eutychean Controversy, and the Monophysite Controversy. In each part, the major cases of violence, riot, or revolt that occurred in a given period will be analyzed based on three criteria: short-term results, opposition reaction, and long-term results. "Short-term results" are the benefits or consequences that occurred in the months, or years, following an event or action. "Opposition reaction" is the backlash or countermoves made by the party who opposed those who orchestrated or encouraged an act of violence, a riot or a revolt. "Long-term results" are the benefits or consequences that occurred in the years or decades following an event or action. The long-term results usually provided the best indication of the level of impact that violence, riot, and revolt had on the development and acceptance of orthodox Christology.

Delimitations

Numerous examples of Christology-related violence, riots, and revolts have been documented in the historical record. However, limits on space necessitate the restriction of the scope of the present work. Therefore, only the most influential cases of violence, riot, and revolt will be addressed. Furthermore, only those events or actions that occurred in the fifth century will be discussed and analyzed, regardless of importance or significance.

Nestorian Controversy

The Nestorian controversy began in A.D. 428 when the Archbishop of Constantinople, Nestorius, began to attack the use of the term *Theotokos,* bearer of God, as a reference to Mary, the mother of Jesus. He argued that Mary could not give birth to God because God is divine and the creator.[6] Instead, she gave birth to Christ, who had two natures, one divine and eternal, and another human and created. Thus, he exclaimed that "we confess both [natures] and adore them as one [person], for the duality of the

[6] Pauline Allen and Bronwen Neil, *Crisis Management in Late Antiquity (410-590): A Survey of the Evidence from Episcopal Letters* (Boston: Brill, 2013), 98-9.

natures is one on account of the unity."[7] Nestorius' attack on a phrase beloved by the people and his apparent separation of Christ created a major uproar in the Church. Cyril, the Archbishop of Alexandria, led the attack on Nestorius and his allies. The controversy culminated in the Council of Ephesus. Cyril used a combination of methods to isolate and defeat Nestorius and his allies. The Archbishop of Constantinople was removed from office, denounced as a heretic, and exiled.

In the period immediately prior to the First Council of Ephesus, Nestorius appears to have been the first person to use violence to support his Christological positions. He utilized his position as archbishop to persecute various groups in Constantinople that had divergent views on Christology. Notably, five days after his ascension, Nestorius attempted to destroy an Arian church in Constantinople, but the Arians burnt their own church down in defiance.[8] Nestorius also attempted to persecute heretical groups outside of Constantinople, leading to a riot in Mitelus and Sardis.[9] The short-term result of Nestorius' attempts to persecute heretical groups was that he had some success in hindering the activity of heretics, both inside and outside of the city. The opposition's reaction was that some of the groups made attempts to fight back. The Arians tried to set the city on fire, though they were ultimately unsuccessful.[10] The long-term results of Nestorius' effort appear to have been a loss of credibility. Socrates asserted that "from that time, however, they branded Nestorius as 'incendiary,' and it was not only the heretics who did this, but those also of his own faith."[11] Socrates was hostile to Nestorius, and his comments may have been colored by later events. Nevertheless, his claim about the reaction to Nestorius' actions is plausible when one considers that the emperor and residents of the affected areas had allowed heretical groups to operate openly, prior to Nestorius' disruptive ac-

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[7] Nestorius, *First Sermon against Theotokos,* in *Christological Controversy*: *Sources of Early Christian Thought,* edited by Richard A. Norris, (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1980), 101.

[8] Socrates Scholasticus, *Ecclesiastical History,* 7.29; Gregory, 84; Allen and Neil, 98.

[9] Ibid.

[10] Ibid.

[11] Socrates, *Eccl. Hist.* 7:29; Socrates and Sozomenus. *Socrates, Sozomenus: Church Histories*, vol. 2. *of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*. eds. Philip Shaff and Henry Wace (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 1994), 169.

tions. Thus, in this early case, violence was used, but the long-term results did not benefit the persecutor.

Following Nestorius' denunciation of *Theotokos,* his opponents wrote letters and preached sermons that were meant to erode his political support and stir up public opinion against him. The campaign was successful in creating division within Constantinople and other parts of the empire. In some cases, large crowds protested the ideas of Nestorius and exerted significant pressure on the emperor. However, according to Timothy Gregory, "there is no evidence whatsoever that the opponents of Nestorius (as opposed to his supporters) ever resorted to violence to give weight to their demands."[12] Eventually, the emperor yielded to the political pressure from both sides of the argument and called a council to meet at Ephesus to resolve the issue.[13]

The Council of Ephesus was marked by violence and the threat of violence from the beginning. Nestorius entered the city with a "great crowd" of his supporters, including imperial soldiers.[14] The presence of the soldiers was disruptive. On one occasion, the soldiers were rough with a group of bishops that had been sent by the council to summon Nestorius to the meeting.[15] Nestorius claimed that he used the soldiers to guard himself against his enemies.[16] He asserted that Memnon, the Bishop of Ephesus, led a group of "idle and turbulent men" whom he induced to "run about armed in the city, in such a wise that every one of us fled and hid himself."[17] Nestorius' account was probably self-serving, but not unlikely, considering the highly-charged atmosphere of the time. Memnon, who was an enemy of Nestorius, had the power and the opportunity to threaten Nestorius with violent action.[18]

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[12] Gregory, 97.

[13] Gregory, 100-1.

[14] Socrates, *Eccl. Hist. 7. 34;* Nestorius, *Bazaar of Heracleides,* 2.1.197-200; Cyril, *Letters,* 23.4; Gregory, 101; Leo D. Davis, *The First Seven Ecumenical Councils (325-787): Their Theology and History* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1988), 154.

[15] Cyril, *Letters,* 23.4; Nestorius, *Bazaar,* 2.1.197-200; Gregory, 103.

[16] Nestorius, *Bazaar,* 2.1.197-200.

[17] Nestorius, *Bazaar,* 2.1.197-200; Nestorius, *The Bazaar of Heracleides.* Trans. G.R. Driver and Leonard Hodgson (Oxford, UK: Clarendon Press, 1925), 134.

[18] Gregory, 102; Gregory pointed out in an endnote that, while Nestorius was biased, "the evidence of Nestorius is in keeping with that given by Cyril himself and Candidianus." Gregory, 124, endnote 113.

Furthermore, the anti-Nestorius party used violence and intimidation at other points during the council.

Nestorius, Cyril, and most of the delegates arrived at the council on time. However, a delegation of pro-Nestorius bishops from the east, led by John of Antioch, was late. Cyril, claiming that a delay during the summer could be detrimental to the health of the representatives, started the council before Nestorius' supporters were present. In response to Cyril's actions, a delegation that supported Nestorius attempted to enter the council and protest the early start. Cyril's supporters attacked the delegation and drove them out of the Council.[19] Pro-Cyrillian mobs intervened in the Council as well. They surrounded the building where the council was held, harassed the delegation from the east when it finally arrived, and marched through the streets with torches and bells.[20]

The short-term results of Nestorius' use of military forces appear to have been negative. He arrived at the council with a large entourage and a military escort, but Candidianus, the leader of the military forces present at the Council, was unwilling to take significant military action against Cyril and his supporters. Therefore, Nestorius' escort increased the tension. The presence of armed guards made Nestorius appear to be the villain.

Identifying the opposition's reaction in this situation is complicated. Nestorius claimed that he posted guards around his residence because the bishop of Ephesus had organized groups of armed men that were seeking to kill him. In this case, both parties blamed the other party for their aggressive actions. Therefore, separating the aggressive party from the reactive party is not possible.

The long-term results of Nestorius' actions are also difficult to identify. Nestorius lost the fight at Ephesus, but his use of violence and intimidation was probably not the reason for his failure. His opponents referenced Nestorius' actions to justify their own, but other factors were probably more impactful. The late arrival of the delegation from Antioch and the early start of the council both appear to be more influential. Furthermore, Nestorius preached a sermon in Ephesus that was incriminating and damaged his standing before the people of Ephesus and the bishops gathered there. He proclaimed that he would not call a "two or

[19] Nestorius, *Bazaar*, 1.2.161-66; Gregory, 102; Davis, 154.
[20] Cyril, *Letters,* 24.1; Nestorius, *Bazaar,* 2.1.367-69; Gregory, 104-5.

three months old God."[21] His opponents seized upon this statement and did great damage to Nestorius' reputation. Therefore, Nestorius' use of soldiers to defend himself at the council was not helpful to his cause, but other factors were probably more harmful.

The impact of pro-Cyrillian violence and riotous behavior is difficult to measure because other factors contributed to the victory of Cyril and Memnon. In the short term, they harassed Nestorius and may have influenced his decision not to attend the council proceedings. They also used violence to silence objections against the early start of the council. Additionally, the angry crowds surrounding the council and marching through the streets of Ephesus may have influenced the decision of some of the bishops. These factors were significant. However, the poorly chosen words of Nestorius and the late arrival of the delegation from Antioch were equally important. These factors provided Cyril with the opportunity to gain more popular support and deprive Nestorius of the votes that he desperately needed. The violent and threatening actions of Nestorius' opponents contributed to his isolation and the ruling against him, but they were not the sole contributors.

Cyril and Memnon experienced a significant opposition reaction, but the reaction was in response to the early start of the Council and the removal of Nestorius, not their violent behavior. Upon their arrival, the delegation from the east protested the early start of the council and even excommunicated Cyril and Memnon.[22] This excommunication led to the temporary house arrest of Cyril by an imperial representative. However, he was eventually released following his defense before the council.[23] Nevertheless, Cyril was not arrested because of the violence used by him and his supporters. Instead, he was arrested because he started the council before all the bishops were present. Furthermore, Theodosius II opposed the actions of Cyril and Memnon. However, he opposed them because they had orchestrated the removal of an archbishop that he believed to be innocent, not because they had used violence.[24]

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[21]Cyril, *Letters,* 23.2; Gregory, 101-2.

[22] Leo D. Davis, 156; Socrates, *Eccl. Hist.* 7.34; Evagrius Scholasticus, *Ecclesiastical History,* 1.5.

[23]Allen and Neil, 100; Cyril, *Letters,* 23.

[24] Nestorius, *Bazaar,* 2.1.377-8; Gregory, 111.

The long-term result of the council was that Cyril's position was affirmed and Nestorius' excommunication was upheld. Following the council, the Antiochene churches and the Alexandrian churches were divided, and the emperor wanted to reach a compromise. Eventually, the two sides reached a settlement that affirmed the ideas of Cyril.[25] However, nearly twenty years later, at the Council of Chalcedon, much of Cyril's work was reversed, and many of the ideas affirmed by Nestorius would be incorporated into orthodox Christology, though not under his name.[26] Violence and the threat of violence appear to have had some effect on the acceptance of Cyril's Christology, but other factors were also critical. Cyril's supporters used violence and intimidation to gain a victory at the Council of Ephesus, but without the emperor's support, the council would have been overturned. Therefore, Cyril's supporters also used large crowds to pressure Theodosius II into removing his support for Nestorius.[27] The crowds filled Constantinople and may have used force in some cases. Nestorius claimed that "the followers of Cyril…roused up a disturbance and discord among the people with an outcry, as though the emperor was opposed to God; they rose up against the nobles and the chiefs who acquiesced not in what had been done by them and were running hither and thither."[28] Nestorius' account appears to indicate that the crowds were violent, but even if they did not use force, such crowds would have been a threat to public order because they could have led to a riot or revolt. However, Cyril's supporters did not only use violence and threatening crowds to achieve their goals. They used political maneuvering to great effect. Cyril gained the support of the Papal legates, lending legitimacy to his cause before the emperor.[29] Dalmatius, an influential monk in Constantinople, petitioned the emperor and even rebuked him for his support of Nestorius.[30] Cyril ensured that news of the council reached Constantinople, and he worked to gain popular opinion

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[25] Davis, 160-3; Cyril, *Letters,* 37-39; Socrates, *Eccl. Hist.* 7.34; Evagrius, *Eccl. Hist.*, 1.5.

[26] This subject will be discussed in a later section.

[27] Nestorius, *Bazaar,* 2.1.373-4; Gregory, 108-16.

[28] Nestorius, *Bazaar,* 2.1.373-4; Gregory, 108-16. Nestorius, *Bazaar,* trans. Driver and Hodgson, 271.

[29] Davis, 156-7.

[30] Gregory, 108-16. Nestorius, *Bazaar,* 2.1.377-83.

for his cause.[31] Cyril also used bribery to promote his agenda. Timothy Gregory noted that Cyril "distributed 1,400 pounds of gold to various members of the imperial court shortly after the Council of Ephesus, and this large-scale bribery must have had some effect on the outcome of the affair of Nestorius."[32] Cyril's efforts were successful. The emperor withdrew his support for Nestorius, and Cyril reached an agreement with the Antiochene. These actions ended Nestorius' chances of victory. Violence or the threat of violence was a contributing factor to Nestorius' loss of support, but political maneuvering and bribery were equally important.

In summary, the pro-Nestorius faction and the pro-Cyril faction both used violence or threatening crowds to further their agendas. However, for Cyril, violence and the threat of violence were part of a multivariate strategy, which included political maneuvering, popular support, and bribery. Cyril was effective in having his view of orthodox Christology accepted, but while this acceptance was long-term, it was not permanent. The Council of Chalcedon would affirm Cyril's writings as orthodox, but renew the language of two natures in one person that Nestorius had proposed. Although, the excommunication of Nestorius was never removed.

Eutychean Controversy

The Eutychean controversy began when a Pro-Cyrillian monk in Constantinople, named Eutyches, began to teach that Christ had two natures before the incarnation, but one nature afterward.[33] Thus, the two natures of Christ were mixed together to create "a body that was not of the same nature as a human body."[34] Flavian, the Bishop of Constantinople, opposed Eutyches, and the monk was excommunicated at a local synod.[35] Eutyches contested his excommunication, by appealing to the Pope in Rome, the Archbishop of Alexandria, and the Bishops of Jerusalem and Thessalonica.[36] Theodosius, who favored Eutyches, called

[31] Gregory, 110-12.
[32] Gregory, 113.
[33] Davis, 171; Evagrius, *Eccl. Hist.* 1.9.
[34] Allen and Neil, 101; Davis, 171; Leo, *Tome*, 2-3.
[35] Davis, 173-4; Allen and Neil, 100-1.
[36] Davis, 174.

for a council to meet at Ephesus in order to resolve the issue. Bishops from around the Eastern Empire attended, and Pope Leo sent representatives, along with a theological tome that outlined his opinion on the issue. The Second Council of Ephesus, also known as the Robbers Council, was favorable to Eutyches. The Emperor appointed Dioscorus, the Archbishop of Alexandria and successor of Cyril, to preside over the Council. Dioscorus favored Eutyches and used his power as the leader of the council to attack Flavian and prevent the Papal delegation from speaking. The council excommunicated Flavian and upheld Eutyches' ideas. Theodosius supported the ruling of the council, but the emperor died unexpectedly. The new emperor, Marcian, called for a new council to meet at Chalcedon, which overturned the efforts of the previous council. The Council of Chalcedon affirmed much of Cyril's writings but also included the ideas of Pope Leo the Great.[37] Leo reintroduced the concept of two natures in one person which Nestorius had tried to introduce two decades earlier.[38] However, Nestorius was still viewed as a heretic, because he was accused of teaching that Christ had two persons, rather than two natures.[39]

Factions on both sides of the Eutychean controversy used violence or the threat of violence for their own purposes. Prior to the Second Council of Ephesus, Flavian may have used the threat of mob violence to intimidate Eutyches. In a letter to Pope Leo, Eutyches claimed that after his excommunication, Flavian and his supporters "spread around so much slander against me that my safety would even have been endangered had not a group of soldiers snatched me from the trap through God's assistance and your prayers."[40] Eutyches' statements suggest that he feared for his life and that people in the city were threatening his life. However, the evidence does not suggest that Flavian or his supporters intentionally influenced the people to harm Eutyches. Flavian's

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[37] *Chalcedonian Definition* in Edward R. Hardy, eds. *Christology of the Later Fathers* (Louisville, KY: Westminister John Knox, 1954), 371-4.

[38] Leo, *Tome,* 3.

[39] Nestorius was unclear in his communication and lacked the political acumen of Cyril or Leo. Thus, while Nestorius appears to have taught the Christ had two natures in one person, he was accused of teaching that Christ had two persons.

[40] Eutyches, *Letter to Pope Leo,* in Edmund Hunt, trans. *St. Leo The Great, Letters* (New York, NY: Fathers of the Church, 1957), 84.

faction openly shamed Eutyches and attempted to turn public opinion against him. However, these were common steps taken against excommunicated persons.[41] Nevertheless, if Flavian had intentionally threatened Eutyches with hostile crowds, then his attempt was unsuccessful. The short-term result was that Eutyches was intimidated. However, in reaction, Eutyches used the events surrounding his excommunication as a tool for gaining political support. He petitioned Theodosius, Leo, and Dioscorus for support. Theodosius may have responded with his own violent action against the pro-Flavian churches in Constantinople, but the evidence is not clear.[42] Nevertheless, Theodosius shifted his political support to Eutyches. Therefore, the long-term result of the events surrounding Eutyches' excommunication was that Flavian became politically isolated.

At the Council of Ephesus, Eutyches and his supporters used force to achieve their goals. Dioscorus utilized his authority, and the soldiers that came with it, to prevent the opponents from speaking at the council.[43] Notably, the Papal representatives and the Constantinopolitan Bishops, who denounced Eutyches, were prevented from speaking.[44] Some bishops were intimidated into supporting Eutyches.[45] For example, Stephanus, the Bishop of Ephesus, claimed that a group of soldiers and pro-Eutychean monks threatened him because he had shown hospitality to Flavian.[46] He also claimed that they forced him to support Eutyches at the council.[47] Stephanus gave his testimony at the Council of Chalcedon and may have been self-serving in his description of events. However, his claim is plausible when one considers other actions taken by Dioscorus and Eutyches at the Council. The most infamous case of violence at the council was the attack on Flavian. Dioscorus ordered soldiers to remove Flavian from the

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[41] Cyril took similar steps against Nestorius. Gregory, 108-12.

[42] Nestorius claimed that Theodosius seized pro-Flavian clergy in the city and seized taxes from their churches, but Gregory pointed out that Nestrius may have misinterpreted Theodosius' actions and conflated them with other events. Gregory, 139, 157-8; Nestorius, *Bazaar,* 2.2.465-71.

[43] Gregory, 143-145; Davis, 176-178; Allen and Neil, 101.

[44] Ibid.

[45] Gregory, 145-149.

[46] Ibid, 145.

[47] Ibid.

church and they beat the bishop so severely that his wounds may have contributed to his death, which occurred shortly thereafter.[48]

The violence perpetrated by Dioscorus and Eutyches was successful for a brief time period. They defeated Flavian and had him excommunicated. Emperor Theodosius supported their findings and the problem of Eutycheanism appeared to be solved. Nevertheless, Theodosius died unexpectedly, and most of the gains made by the Eutychean faction were undone. The new emperor opposed the Second Council of Ephesus and called for another council that would reverse the decision of Dioscorus. Therefore, the violence of Ephesus II had a minimal long-term effect on orthodox Christology, except that it prompted a reaction that would succeed in producing Chalcedonian Christology.

Prior to the Council of Chalcedon, Dioscorus attempted to win a victory over the anti-Eutycheans. He caused riots in Alexandria and, with the support of ten other bishops, excommunicated Pope Leo.[49] However, few other bishops supported Dioscorus' actions, and the move failed. In reaction to his attempted excommunication of Leo, the Council of Chalcedon included the event in his trial.[50] Dioscorus was excommunicated and exiled for his actions at Ephesus and in Alexandria, prior to Chalcedon.[51]

No major instances of violence or the threat of violence took place at the Council of Chalcedon, but those in control had the complete support of the emperor and the military forces he controlled. Therefore, the threat of violence was implied in the atmosphere. The leaders of the council were able to denounce Dioscorus and reverse the Council of Ephesus because they had the support of the emperor. Nevertheless, they did not wield imperial power in the same way that Dioscorus had, nor did they mobilize threatening crowds in the way Cyril had.

In conclusion, the available sources are not clear that those who opposed Eutyches and Dioscorus overtly used violence or the threat of violence as tools. However, Flavian's actions may have influenced hostile Crowds to harass Eutyches, and the support of the emperor probably implied the threat of violence at the

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[48] H. Chadwick, "The Exile and Death of Flavian of Constantinople," Journal of Theological Studies 5, no. 1 (April 1955): 17-32; Allen and Neil, 101; Evagrius, *Eccl. Hist.*, 2.2.

[49] *Acts of Chalcedon*, 3.47; Chadwick, 26; Davis, 180.

[50] *Acts of Chalcedon*, 3.47, 94.

[51] *Acts of Chalcedon*, 3.47, 94-96; Gregory, 181.

Council of Chalcedon. The historical sources available do indicate that the pro-Eutycheans used violence and riots as tools to further their agenda. They were successful for a short period of time, but the unexpected death of Theodosius II and the anti-Eutychean reaction to these measures limited the long-term benefit.

Monophysite Controversy

The Monophysite controversy was closely connected with the Eutychean controversy, but Monophysites were not necessarily Eutycheans. Instead, they followed the teachings of Cyril of Alexandria and rejected the view that Jesus had two natures, in contrast to the Council of Chalcedon. The Monophysite movement began as a reaction to the Council of Chalcedon because the Council did not fully accept Cyril's theology, though much of his teaching was accepted. As word of the council's decisions spread, a series of riots, revolts, and murders began to break out throughout the empire. The last half of the fifth century was marked by division and bloodshed. The Monophysites and the Chalcedonians fought over the most influential bishoprics in the empire, and some bishops were even murdered. Eventually, the emperor and the Archbishop of Constantinople attempted to broker a compromise. The attempt at union resulted in a conflict with the Western Church and ultimately still failed to unite the Monophysites with the Chalcedonians. The Monophysite controversy continued into the sixth century, but the schism with the west was repaired, and the Chalcedonian position was accepted as orthodox during the reigns of Justin I and Justinian I.

Two of the earliest cases of anti-Chalcedonian disturbances occurred in Jerusalem and Alexandria. Juvenal, the Bishop of Jerusalem, had supported Dioscorus at the Second Council of Ephesus, but he removed his support at Chalcedon. In response to his actions, Empress Eudoxia, the widow of Theodosius II, joined forces with a pro-Cyrillian monk named Theodosius and stirred up riots in the city. They deposed Juvenal and installed Theodosius, the monk, as the new bishop. Eventually, the imperial army had to invade the city and restore Juvenal to his position as bishop.[52] The new Bishop of Alexandria, Proterius, faced a similar reception when he arrived as his new see. A revolt broke out in the city, and

[52] Leo, *Letters,* 109; Evagrius, *Eccl. Hist.,* 2.5; Davis, 194.

on one occasion, a group of soldiers was burned alive as they sought refuge in an abandoned pagan temple.[53] Emperor Marcian responded to the revolt through a prolonged occupation by imperial soldiers, withholding food and closing public buildings, such as baths, arenas, and theaters.[54] These actions subdued the populace temporarily, but the dispute over Chalcedonian Christology was not over.

The initial riots and revolts that followed the Council of Chalcedon had little short-term or long-term success. The imperial response was swift and strong. The army subdued Jerusalem and Alexandria, without significant opposition. However, the Monophysites were not crushed, but only temporarily cowed. In A.D. 457, Emperor Marcian died and a new emperor named Leo I was crowned.[55] The change in leadership provided the Monophysites with another opportunity to challenge imperial and ecclesiastical authority.

Shortly after the death of the emperor, Timothy the Cat, the leader of the Monophysites in Alexandria, had himself appointed as the Archbishop of Alexandria.[56] In response, the governor of the city exiled him. Two weeks later, a Monophysite mob attacked and murdered the official Archbishop of Alexandria, Proterius, while he was leading the liturgy.[57] Timothy quickly returned to the City and took over the Alexandrian church. Initially, Emperor Leo I did not depose Timothy but sought to reach a settlement. However, eventually, he ordered the imperial army in Egypt to take action against Timothy. They captured the Monophysite archbishop and exiled him to Crimea.[58] Timothy's exile lasted for seventeen years, and temporarily calmed Alexandria.

The controversy also affected the See of Antioch. In A.D. 69, Peter the Fuller, an anti-Chalcedonian, appointed himself as Bishop of Antioch. The future Emperor Zeno, who probably had Cyrillian sympathies, aided Peter in his ascension.[59] Peter was removed from office and reinstated multiple times over the next

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[53] Evagrius, *Eccl. Hist.*, 2.5; Davis, 195; Gregory, 181-3.

[54] Evagrius, *Eccl. Hist.*, 2.5; Davis, 195; Gregory, 183-5.

[55] Davis, 197.

[56] Evagrius, *Eccl. Hist.,* 2.8; Leo, *Letters,* 149-50; Davis, 197; Allen and Neil, 105.

[57] Ibid.

[58] Evagrius, *Eccl. Hist.* 2.11; Davis, 197; Allen and Neil, 106.

[59] Allen and Neil, 106; Davis, 199.

two decades. Numerous other bishops, both Chalcedonian and Monophysite, held the position over the same period. In A.D. 479, the fight for the bishopric turned violent. While he was in the baptismal, Stephen, a Chalcedonian Bishop, was stabbed to death by Monophysite clergy and thrown into a river.[60]

The ecclesiastical battles of the Eastern Church were made more complicated by the political battles of the empire. In A.D. 474, Emperor Leo died, and Zeno replaced him as emperor.[61] Soon after, a general named Basilicus deposed Zeno and made himself emperor.[62] Basilicus pursued a pro-Monophysite position. He restored Timothy the Cat to the See of Alexandria, and he attempted to impose Monophysitism throughout the empire. Basilicus even used the power of the state in order to enforce this new position.[63] Uncooperative priests and bishops were deposed, while non-clergy were stripped of their property and exiled.[64] However, Basilicus' efforts were short-lived. Zeno returned from exile in A.D. 476 and, after defeating Basilicus, regained his throne.[65] Zeno reversed the religious efforts of Basilicus, but he still sought a compromise. In A.D. 482, at the behest of Acacian, the Bishop of Constantinople, Zeno issued an imperial edict that proposed a compromise. The edict, called the *Henotikon*, affirmed all of the doctrines established at the Councils of Nicaea, Constantinople, and Ephesus, but ignored the Second Council of Ephesus and the Council of Chalcedon.[66] However, the edict did not overtly reject the Chalcedonian definition or Leo's Tome.[67] Thus, the Chalcedonians were dissatisfied with the failure to acknowledge Chalcedon, while the Monophysites wanted a full rejection of the Chalcedonian Definition and Leo's Tome.[68] The *Henotikon* also led to a schism between the Western Church and the Eastern Church. Ultimately, the attempt at union failed. Nevertheless, for a short time,

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[60] Ibid.
[61] Davis, 199; Evagrius, *Eccl. Hist.*, 3.1-2.
[62] Evagrius, *Eccl. Hist.,* 3.3-8; Allen and Neil, 107; Davis, 199-200.
[63] Evagrius, *Eccl. Hist.*, 3.3-8; Davis, 199.
[64] Ibid.
[65] Evagrius, *Eccl. Hist.*, 3.8; Davis, 199-200.
[66] Evagrius, *Eccl. Hist.* 3.14; Davis, 201-2; Allen and Neil, 107.
[67] Ibid.
[68] Davis, 200-4; Allen and Neil, 107-111.

the Bishops of Alexandria and Antioch affirmed the *Henotikon,* and some stability was restored to the Eastern Church.[69]

Violent struggles for control of the Antiochene and Alexandrian bishoprics marked the period following the Council of Chalcedon. The short-term results of the violence varied depending on the situation. Timothy the Cat gained temporary control of the Alexandrian church, but the imperial reaction reversed his gains and removed him from power. He regained his see when Basilicus overthrew Zeno, only to lose it again after Zeno returned. Nevertheless, Timothy's Monophysite successor, Peter the Horse, was eventually installed as archbishop of Alexandria when he accepted the *Henotikon* and reigned until A.D. 490.[70] The Monophysites in Antioch killed Stephen, but this did not fix the instability of the Aniochene church. However, in A.D. 484 Peter the Fuller affirmed the *Henotikon* and regained his position as Bishop of Antioch, reigning until about 491.[71] However, the long-term influence of violence or the threat of violence during this period is difficult to measure. Other factors, especially politics, influenced events of the late fifth century. Monophysite Bishops reigned in both Antioch and Alexandria near the end of the fifth century, but they were only able to do so because they affirmed the emperor's edict of union. The emperor's desire for unity appears to have been more important to the Monophysite cause than the riots, revolts, and murders. Nevertheless, violence and the threat of violence were still important. The emperor only sought unity because the Eastern church was so violently disunified. Yet, imperial politics was still the decisive factor. The decision of the emperor determined who would win. When an emperor favored the Chalcedonians, the Monophysites were only able to gain short-lived victories before being crushed. When an emperor favored, the Monophysites the group thrived, and the Chalcedonians were forced to accept Monophysitism or lose their status and property. Large crowds and personal appeals could sway the emperor, as Cyril demonstrated, but the emperor was still the key factor in which Christological position was ascendant in the East.

The *Henotikon* was only temporary, and the controversy reignited in the last decade of the fifth century. Emperor Zeno died in

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[69] Ibid.

[70] Davis, 203, 208.

[71] Allen and Neil, 106.

A.D. 491 and was replaced by the pro-Monophysite Anastasius I.[72] Anastasius ruled for 27 years and pursued a pro-Monophysite policy; though he continued to officially support the *Henotikon.* The struggle for the important bishoprics also continued, and Anastasius himself deposed and exiled some Chalcedonian bishops.[73] In A.D. 512, the Chalcedonians rioted but the emperor was able to calm the crowd with promises that he did not keep.[74] In A.D. 513, a pro-Chalcedonian general named Vitalian rebelled and Anastasius temporarily sought a resolution to the controversy, only to drop the issue once the rebellion ended.[75] Anastasius died in A.D. 518 and his successor, Justin I pursued a pro-Chalcedonian position.[76] He even succeeded in repairing the schism with the Western Church. Justin's successor, Justinian I, also supported a pro-Chalcedonian position.[77] Nevertheless, the Monophysites continued to be a major faction in the eastern empire until the Islamic invasions.

Analysis and Conclusion

The primary contention of this article is that while various factions in the Christological controversies of the fifth century used violence and the threat of violence as tools to support their positions, these methods had mixed results and were ultimately not decisive factors in the development and acceptance of the Chalcedonian Christological position. Certainly, violence and the threat of violence had significant short-term effects on the development of orthodox Christology, but they had few long-term effects. A brief summary of the evidence and examination of these claims is beneficial.

The evidence provided above confirms that various factions in the Christological debates used violence and the threat of violence as tools. The historical evidence suggests that the supporters of Nestorius, Cyril, Dioscorus, and the Monophysites all used force to achieve their goals. Flavian and the leaders of the Council of Chalcedon may have used force or the threat of force, but the evi-

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[72] Davis, 208.
[73] Allen and Neil, 122-128; Davis, 207-220; Evagrius, *Eccl. Hist.* 3.30.
[74] Davis, 216.
[75] Davis, 219-220.
[76] Allen and Neil, 124-129; Davis, 220-240.
[77] Ibid.

dence is inconclusive. Nevertheless, Emperor Marcian did use military action to suppress the Monophysites following the Council of Chalcedon. Thus, all three Christological controversies of the fifth century involved violence and the threat of violence. However, the impact of these measures was either short-lived or dwarfed by other factors. Cyril and Memnon used intimidation and force to achieve their objectives, but their success in mobilizing popular opinion, gaining political support, and taking advantage of Nestorius' poorly chosen words, combined with the eastern delegation's tardiness were far more consequential. They did use popular opinion to mobilize intimidating crowds and they used force to support the early start of the council, but these measures were part of a much larger strategy to politically isolate Nestorius. Nevertheless, even if one concedes that violence and the threat of riot were decisive factors in Cyril's success, the Council of Chalcedon reversed much of what Cyril gained through these acts of violence, effectively negating the long-term benefits of their actions.

Dioscorus used violence and the threat of violence as powerful weapons against his theological enemies, but his long-term impact was limited. Nestorius was protected by soldiers and refused to leave his residence, but Flavian, who was at the council with no guards, was nearly beaten to death by soldiers, at the command of Dioscorus. Nevertheless, the gains of Dioscorus were quickly reversed by circumstances that were out of his control. The emperor died and his political support eroded. Dioscorus' attempts to use riots in Alexandria as a tool, apart from imperial support, failed and simply added to the charges against him. Pope Leo also applied significant political pressure. The new emperor called a new Council, and all of Dioscorus' gains, along with many of Cyril's, were overturned. The Chalcedonian definition was accepted as orthodox Christology in the West, but a new controversy began in the East.

The Monophysites used violence and the threat of violence as tools to further their agenda. They murdered bishops and soldiers, took over cities, and installed their own bishops. Nevertheless, Monophysites were unable to sustain their victories as long as the emperor was opposed to them. Violence and the threat of violence alone were not enough to gain ascendency. The Monophysites did create enough of a disturbance to encourage the emperors to seek unity in the eastern church, but those attempts at unity were short lived.

In conclusion, violence and the threat of violence were common tools in the arsenals of the fifth-century Christological factions. However, the use of violence and intimidation primarily resulted in short-lived victories that were eventually overturned.

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"Go and Do Likewise" A Minority-Biblical Criticism of Luke 10:25–37

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A recent Social-Scientific interpretation of the phrase, "Who is my neighbor" in the parable of the Good Samaritan (LK 10:25-37), is to care for the minority/immigrant, especially the illegal, who has been stripped of many social standings.[1] However, often in minority pulpits this parable is used inclusively as an example for minorities to "go and do likewise."[2] Thus, the question addressed in this article is, "How should the identity of the good Samaritan affect our understanding and study of minority ministers?"[3] The hermeneutical method proposed in this article is a Minority-Biblical Criticism (hereafter MBC).

Due to the lack of published steps to accomplish MBC, I will introduce the purpose of the method, then I will propose a four-step process. Second, I will utilize the steps to investigate the parable to answer the research question. Last, I will make application to contemporary ministry. Specific focus will be given to minority ministry, education, and biblical interpretation in the U.S. By utilizing the proposed four step MBC, a cultural balance to Social-Scientific interpretations will be provided for the reading and application of the Good Samaritan parable.

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[1] Craig Price, "'Are Immigrants Our Neighbors?': Using Social-Scientific Criticism to Analyze the Parable of the Compassionate Samaritan in Luke 10:25–37.," 2019 Evangelical Theological Society national meeting.

[2] Other commonly utilized passages for inclusive minority readings are: Exodus, Neh 13, Gal 3:28, Acts 2, Gen 45, Mark 7:31-37, Esther 2:5-11, Ruth 2, 1 Sam 17, Mat 10:16-25, and many more.

[3] In this paper, Minority is defined as anyone who belongs to a social minority group. Thus, minority can transcend "brown" and be applied to anyone who is a social minority in a particular setting.

Minority Biblical Criticism

MBC strives to provide insight into the ethnic and cultural minority backgrounds of biblical narratives and yield inclusive application for modern minority groups.[4] As noted, often in minority pulpits, this parable is used as an example for minorities to "go and do likewise," but is this a valid reading? The parable of the good Samaritan in Luke introduced a traveling trader, a band of robbers, a priest, a Levite, a Samaritan, and an innkeeper. This variety of social characters provides an opportunity for an MBC of the dichotomy between the religious elite of the majority ruling culture and the praised ministry of the minority/immigrant Samaritan.

Social-scientific criticism's aim as defined by John Elliot is, "a means for 'exposing, examining, and explaining the specifically social features and dimension of the text, its author(s), recipients, and their relations, its social context, and its intended impact.'"[5] Furthermore, Elliott defines the goal of SSC to be "the understanding of a text, its genre, content, structure, meaning, and rhetorical strategy as a vehicle of meaningful persuasive discourse in its original historical, social, and cultural context and as a medium of social interaction."[6] While MBC can be considered a subcriticism method within SSC, the goal is more specific, for the aim is to understand the minority and yield a "self-aware, self-reflection" for minorities of today.[7]

MBC requires knowledge from several fields of interpretation to be properly applied: ethnic-racial, post-colonial, and classical biblical studies.[8] To be recognized as a universal criticism method, MBC must produce distinctive significant insight and be actionable by any student of the biblical text.[9] Due to the lack of published steps to accomplish a minority-biblical criticism, I propose the following four-step process:

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[4] Randall Bailey, Tat-Siong Liew, and Fernando Segovia, "Toward Minority Biblical Criticism: Framework, Contours, Dynamics," in *They Were All Together in One Place? Toward Minority Biblical Criticism.* (Ann Arbor, MI: Society of Biblical Literature, 2014), 27.

[5] John Hall Elliott, *What Is Social-Scientific Criticism?* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1993), 70.

[6] Elliott, *What Is Social-Scientific Criticism?*, 69.

[7] Bailey, Liew, and Segovia, "Toward Minority Criticism," 31.

[8] Bailey, Liew, and Segovia, "Toward Minority Criticism," 35.

[9] Bailey, Liew, and Segovia, "Toward Minority Criticism," 28.

1. Conduct a historical cultural analysis of the minority in the text.
2. Examine the minority tension in the passage.
3. Handle the narrator's reflection of the minority in the passage.
4. Make application to contemporary ministry.

These proposed four steps of MBC permit anyone to utilize MBC, not just readers from minority culture. Because the method relies upon a historical knowledge of the minority in the text, anyone can accomplish the work of MBC,[10] however, the applications to contemporary ministry can only appeal to situations understood by the user of MBC.

Before moving away from method description, one should note that both SSC and MBC do have requirements/pitfalls to avoid. Both methods initially require careful isolation from modern social norms. Also, both methods require an open-ended application of the text. The results of both criticisms can easily be swayed by one's focus in the historical context and one's modern understanding of social issues and complexities. For instance, some articles in the publication *They Were All Together in One Place*, could be understood as a modern reader response articles, for they do not provide historical depth and balance between "then and now."

Analysis of Pericope Using MBC

Before embarking on the proposed steps, the text must be placed into its canonical time and place. The parable of the Good Samaritan comes within Luke's "Travel Narrative" (Lk 9:51–19:47). Specifically, this parable falls at a point where he was under social criticism by the Jerusalem elite. In context, the conversation is the outflow of the elites' worry about their social status. Price noted in his ETS paper noted,

> The dominant reading scenario portrayed in this parable is the challenge-riposte. A challenge-riposte had typical criteria: 20 (1) a challenge contest to enter social space; (2) the challenge with its potential to dishonor someone had to be public; (3) the honor contest could only be played between equals; and (4) the public would offer a verdict. This peric-

[10] Bailey, Liew, and Segovia, "Toward Minority Criticism," 27.

ope fulfills each of these conditions of a classical challenge-riposte and involves the other reading scenarios.[11]

The challenge-riposte reading offered Price the opportunity to analyze the text in light of the elite's social worry. The final statement "go therefore and do likewise," comes as a final challenge-riposte, which Price applied to caring for the immigrants of the U.S. who have been stripped of societal markers. However, Price overlooked the social challenge of imitating the Samaritan. Contrasting Prices' challenge-riposte of the text, a close reading reveals two chiastic structures within the narrative. As such, the zenith of the reading is not left with the phrase "who is my neighbor," but rather "But a Samaritan." Furthermore, the chiastic structure shows the Samaritan of vs. 33 to be parallel with the commandment of verse 27, the zenith of the first chiasm.

Chiastic Reading of the Text: Highlighting the Minority Role

25 And behold, a lawyer stood up to put him to the test, saying, "Teacher, what shall I do *to inherit eternal life*?"

26 He *said to him*, "What is written in the Law? How do you read it?"

27 And he answered, "You shall love the Lord your God with all your heart and with all your soul and with all your strength and with all your mind, and your neighbor as yourself."

28 And he *said to him*,

"You have answered correctly; do this, *and you will live*."

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[11] Price, "'Are Immigrants Our Neighbors?,'" 5.

29 But he, desiring to justify himself, *said to Jesus, "And who is my neighbor?"*
30 Jesus replied, "A man was going down from Jerusalem to Jericho,
and he fell among robbers, who *stripped him and beat him* and departed, leaving him half dead.
31 Now by chance a priest was going down that road,
and when he saw him *he passed by* on the other side.
32 So likewise a Levite, when he came to the place and saw him, *passed by on the other side*.
33 But a Samaritan, as he journeyed, came to where he was, and when he saw him, he had compassion.
34 *He went to him* and bound up his wounds, pouring on oil and wine.
Then he set him on his own animal and brought him to an inn and *took care of him*.
35 And the next day he took out two denarii and gave them to the innkeeper, saying, *'Take care of him, and whatever more you spend*, I will repay you when I come back.'
36 *Which of these three*, do you think, proved to be a neighbor to the man who fell among the robbers?"
37 *He said, "The one who showed him mercy."*
And Jesus said to him, "You go, and do likewise."

As shown in the above chiastic structure, the text of this parable warrants an MBC of the text, for the minority Samaritan is the exemplum who Jesus commands the lawyer to emulate via stating "go and do likewise." However, who is the Samaritan, what are the social tensions in the text, and what can we glean from the narration of the Samaritan? Only after answering these questions can one cross the hermeneutical bridge to the modern believers' context.

1. Socio-Historical Cultural Analysis of the Minority in the Text

When the lawyer asked Jesus to identify his neighbor, he probably did not expect Jesus to talk about a Samaritan, for two reasons. First, Samaritans were known to have robbed Jews passing through the Samaritan territory. At least one time, the Samaritans joined with the Galileans which resulted in the slaughter of "a

great number of them."[12] Second, "The neighbor will naturally include his fellow Jew who keeps the law in a precise fashion. Gentiles are not neighbors, and everyone knows God hates the Samaritans, so they certainly do not qualify as neighbors."[13] In essence, the lawyer could not imagine a "good" Samaritan in a Rabbi's parable.

There are varying views of the term "neighbor" in first century Judaism. However, the presiding interpretation was that of fellow-countrymen and proselytes only. Some sects such as the Pharisees and Essenes narrowed the definition to their sect.[14] Yet in the text Jesus' rhetorical question of who proved to be a neighbor to the beaten man, one is left with the conclusion that the Samaritan is the neighbor. Thus, the lawyer is to appreciate and emulate the literal neighbor, the Samaritan. Why would it have been so difficult for the majority Judeans to love their Samaritan neighbors? [15]

The biographical history of the Samaritans has many origin stories. According to Josephus, Samaritans were descendants of mixed peoples who were partly Israelite from the northern kingdom and partly Assyrian from the invading forces (2 Kgs 17). As such, Samaritans were considered by Judeans to be impure, thus not permitted into roles of leadership in the second temple period. Judeans doubted their "religious faithfulness," for they opposed the Jerusalem temple's reconstruction (Ez 4:2-5; Neh 2:19).[16]

While the origin of the Samaritan peoples may be debated, there are facts to shed light on the Samaritan of the text. First, Samaritans only held the Torah to be Scripture. Second, they worshipped at Mt. Gerizim. Third, due to their religious practices, their offerings were considered unacceptable. Fourth, they did not observe the same holy days as the Judeans. As Craddock noted, for the Judeans Samaritans were "Ceremonially unclean, socially

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[12] Flavius Josephus, *The Antiquities of the Jews, in Twenty Books.* (Birmingham, England, 1770). 20.6.1

[13] Kenneth E Bailey, *Jesus through Middle Eastern Eyes: Cultural Studies in the Gospels* (Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 2008), 288.

[14] Joachim Jeremias, *The Parables of Jesus* (London: S.C.M. Press, 2003), 202–3.

[15] Bailey, Liew, and Segovia, "Toward Minority Criticism," 32.

[16] Later traditions in rabbinic literature regard Samaritans as apostate, wholly unclean and destined for Gehenna. Josephus, *The Genuine Works of Flavius Josephus.* 11.4.3 and 11.5.8

outcast, and religiously a heretic."[17] As a result of these views, the Babylonian Talmud asked when the Samaritans "would be acceptable to the Jews." The response: "When they renounce Mount Gerizim and confess Jerusalem and the resurrection of the dead."[18] As noted in the Chiastic structure above, the Samaritan stands in contrast with the religious elite of Judaism. Samaritans would not have been permitted to join the social elite of Judea, nor the religious elite. Thus, the use of the Samaritan as the exemplum neighbor flies in contrast to the social norms. The origins and distinctives of the Samaritans yield the vote of confidence in the Samaritans being a minority in the text.

2. The Minority Tension in the Passage.

Having provided a basic socio-historical sketch of the Samaritans, the next step of MBC is an analysis of the tension in the text. The process of finding and analyzing tension within the text requires differentiating the various responses in the story. The two-notable responses within the text concern closeness to the beaten man (purity tension vs31-32 vs v34), and provision for the man (provision tension vs30-32 vs vs34-35).

Purity Tension

The first tension is visible when considering how the priest and Levite chose not to come near to the beaten man, yet the Samaritan goes to the man. Bailey most succinctly summarized why the priest may not have tended the man:

> A less sinister plausible reason for the Priest not tending to the man was, "The wounded man could have been dead. If so, the priest who approached him would become ceremonially defiled, and if defiled he would need to return to Jerusalem and undergo a week-long process of ceremonial purification. It would take some time to arrange such things. Meanwhile, he could not eat from the tithes or even collect them. The same ban would apply to his family and servants. Distribution to the poor would also have been impossible. What's more, the victim along the road might have been Egyptian, Greek, Syrian or Phoenician, in which case, the

[17] Fred B. Craddock, *Luke: Interpretation: A Bible Commentary for Teaching and Preaching* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 1990), 150.

[18] "Tractate Kutim 2:8," n.d., //www.sefaria.org/Tractate_Kutim.2.8.

> priest was not responsible under the law to do anything. If the priest approached the beaten man and touched him and the man later died, the priest would have been obliged to rend his robes, and in so doing would have violated laws against the destruction of valuable property.

Thus, one can see the priest's lack of care for the beaten man is not necessarily malicious, but rather complicated. His response would have implications regardless the outcome.

By contrast, the Samaritan was able to minister because of the lack of concern for ritual purity, since they were already declared to be impure.[19] As Craddock noted, "Ceremonially unclean, socially outcast, and religiously a heretic, the Samaritan is the very opposite of the lawyer as well as the priest and Levite."[20] The Samaritan had compassion on the man, quite possibly because he knew what it was like to be an outcast and avoided by the elite of Judea.

The purity tension of the Levite requires understanding the relationship of Levites and Priests. Levites served alongside the priests in the Temple. Thus, quite possibly the Levite knew the previously mentioned Priest. Furthermore, the Levite too may have been concerned with being made impure by tending to the beaten man. Most interestingly Bailey noted,

> Since the priest had set a precedent, the Levite could pass by with an easy conscience. Should a mere Levite upstage a priest? Did the Levite think he understood the law better than the priest? Furthermore, the Levite might have to face that same priest in Jericho that night. Could the Levite ride into Jericho with a wounded man whom the priest, in obedience to his understanding of the law, had opted to ignore? Such an act would be an insult to the priest!

Thus, one can see the Levite's care for religious purity and order were the hindrance to his care of the beaten man. Yet, the Samaritan's lack of purity concern and lack of a noted religious order freed him to care for the beaten man.

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[19] The Tractate Niddah of the Mishnah states: 'The daughters of the Samaritans are [deemed unclean as] menstruants from their cradle." "English Explanation of Mishnah Niddah 4:1," n.d., //www.sefaria.org/English_ Explanation_of_Mishnah_Niddah.4.1.

[20] Craddock, *Luke*, 150.

Provision Tension

The second tension is visible when the Samaritan cares for and gives provision to the beaten man, whom the robbers took from and the religious elite gave nothing to. In essence, the Samaritan gives away his possessions, whereas the Levite and priest give no aid to the man. A mentor once summarized the social tension as such, "The thieves said, 'what is thine is mine,' the Levite and Priest said, 'what is mine is mine,' and the Samaritan said, 'what is mine is thine.'" Beyond the lack of action on behalf of the Priest and Levite, is there further provision tension?

E. P. Sanders noted that priests and Levites who had completed their mandatory duty in the Temple would have had wine and oil as the tools of their profession to administer assistance to those in need.[21] Furthermore, as Bailey noted that priests were a wealthy guild and were unlikely to be "hiking seventeen miles down the hill when he could easily afford to ride."[22] Thus he could have easily assisted and transported the man. Hays noted that the priest and Levite are representatives of the very worldview Jesus sought to dismantle.[23] As Clarke noted, "Their inhuman conduct here was a flat breach of the law."[24]

By contrast, the Samaritan of the story gives medical care and then gives all the finances he had on hand. Not only was the care of the beaten man a ritual impurity risk, the transportation and delivery of the man into a Jewish town would have been a life risk. As previously noted, the hatred between the Jews and Samaritans was a lethal one. Thus, one would have expected the Samaritan to deliver the man to the outskirts of a town. In essence, the Samaritan not only gave provision, but risked his own life.

By considering the purity tension and the provision tension within the text, one can see how the Jewish view of the minority Samaritan yielded an opportunity for the Samaritan to minister appropriately. Furthermore, the often-sinister reading of the Priest and Levite should be tempered in light of the implications in car-

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[21] E. P Sanders, *Judaism: Practice and Belief, 63 BCE- 66 CE* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 2016), 170–72.

[22] Bailey, *Jesus through Middle Eastern Eyes*, 292.

[23] J. Daniel Hays, *From Every People and Nation: A Biblical Theology of Race* (Downers Grove, IL: Inter-Varsity, 2006), 170.

[24] Adam Clarke, *The Gospels Harmonized: With Notes* (T. Tegg & Son, 1836), 274.

ing for such an individual. Though there was great risk on both parts, the Samaritan willingly risks all for the sake of loving the beaten man.

3. The Narrator's Reflection of the Minority in the Passage.

The third step of the MBC is to consider the narrator's reflection of the minority in the text. While the term "the narrator" is most easily applied in narrated passages, this step can be understood as "the author" of any respective text. Most readers of this parable know it as "the parable of the Good Samaritan." Interestingly the narrator, Jesus, does not call the Samaritan the "good Samaritan." So, to truly grasp the narrator's reflection of the minority, the reader must lay aside any prejudice. Without leaving this term behind, one can infer from the title that the other Samaritans were not "good."

> For the average Jew listening to Jesus tell this story, the words "good Samaritan" would have been an oxymoron, such as "orthodox heretic" or "good bad guy." Samaritans were among the people Jews loved to hate. They were not viewed as neighbors, in part because they were from "the hood," the other side of the tracks. But in His paradigm-busting fashion. Jesus was about to redefine the neighborhood.[25]

Through the narration of the passage one learns that the Samaritan does not pass the man, but rather exercises multiple levels of care. As seen in the chiastic structure, the narrator supplies a reflection on the Samaritan via contrast. First the Samaritan looked upon the man with compassion, that which the priest and Levite did not do. Second, the Samaritan went to him, where the Priest and Levite walked away from him. Third, the Samaritan bound him up, provided medicine, and let him ride on his animal, again not equaled. Fourth, the Samaritan ensured the man's protected recovery in an inn, the last unparalleled action.

Jesus, the narrator, used the Samaritan in this story as a teaching moment for not only the lawyer, but also the disciples who also struggled to understand the kingdom of God being larger than Jerusalem. In Luke 9, James and John asked if they could

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[25] Steve Moore, *Who Is My Neighbor?: Being a Good Samaritan in a Connected World* (Colorado Springs, CO: NavPress, 2011), 37.

"call down fire from heaven to destroy" a Samaritan village. Jesus rebuked their request and continued to Jerusalem. Furthermore, when Jesus tells the disciples that the harvest is plentiful (Luke 10:2), they were in a different Samaritan village. Jesus indeed is the Savior of the world. Not merely Savior of the Jews, but the world, including the Samaritans with all their cultural issues. "Jesus was intentionally expanding the worldview of His disciples! But cultural prejudices, impressions on the heart and mind, are like valleys carved over centuries by rivers and not easily traversed. Bias-induced blindness is not quickly cured, as would be evidenced by a later visit to Samaria."[26]

Jesus' narration concerning the Samaritan is his answer to the lawyer. The lawyer was so taken back by the answer that he would not even utter the name Samaritan, but rather replied "the one who had mercy on him" (Luke 10:37). In narration,

> Jesus erased the logical barriers we construct in our minds and hearts to keep out the people we have been culturally preconditioned to exclude from neighborly initiatives. He has made the neighborhood in which Good Samaritan activities should play out bigger than it was before. As He did with the disciples in Samaria, Jesus is exhorting us[27]

The immigrant who had differing theology ministered correctly. The narrator's reflection of the minority applies as such; our orthodoxy should not negate proper orthopraxy. In essence, there are ministerial lessons to be learned from minority groups.

4. Application to Contemporary Ministry

As noted, a potential point of application from a Social-Scientific reading is to understand the beaten, robbed, and abandoned man to be not just the neighbor, but also the illegal immigrant who is stripped of social norms and despised in modern times. However, handling the text in light of the social tension between the minority Samaritan and the Judean elite yields implications for minority-majority relations today. In short, the Samaritan's exemplary ministry should aid all to consider minority ministers when studying orthopraxy.

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[26] Moore, *Who Is My Neighbor?*, 40.
[27] Moore, *Who Is My Neighbor?*, 45.

Minorities Are Valid Christians

The first application for the MBC reading of the text is the consideration of minorities as valid Christians and Christian examples.

> The story of the helpful Samaritan is certainly extractable (vv. 30-35) and portable to other settings. It may be used as a parable if the situation and the audience would justify employing the kind of dynamic which parables generate. Some settings diseased by social, religious, economic, or racial barriers could properly justify such a use of the story, perhaps jarring the listeners into a new perspective on love of neighbor.[28]

Like the dispute between Jews and Samaritans concerning place of worship, many modern minorities find themselves worshipping in different locations.[29] The woman at the well understood the worship preference of Gerizim over Jerusalem, yet willingly received Jesus as the messiah! (John 4:9). As a result, Samaritans were "viable and actual converts to Christianity."

Modern minorities may likewise come from mixed backgrounds or lands far away. The modern minority may speak a different language and handle the Biblical text differently, but they too may be actual converts to Christianity. Thus, rather than adopting the Jewish dismissive nature of the Samaritans, Christians should consider how minorities minister and possibly "go and do likewise."

Minority Gospel Context

The Chiasms within the text reveal the zenith of the passage is not left with the phrase, "Who is my neighbor," but rather "But a Samaritan." Furthermore, the chiastic structure shows the Samaritan of vs. 33 to be parallel with the commandment of verse 27. The context in which the Samaritans heard the Gospel was very different from Jerusalem. Likewise, the Gospel is contextualized differently in modern minority groups. Indeed, the selective nature of the Samaritan Pentateuch offended the Jews, just as some selective preaching techniques of minorities offend some believers.

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[28] Craddock, *Luke*, 151.

[29] R. J Coggins, *Samaritans and Jews: The Origins of Samaritanism Reconsidered* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1975), 140.

However, the Gospel can be contextualized and declared through the very same texts, thus my proposal of an MBC step method.

> John in his Gospel emphasized many Samaritan concepts such as "light" and "word" and a preexistent Christ (echoing a preexistent Moses for the Samaritans)…he implied that Jesus was rejected only in Jerusalem and not in Galilee and Samaria; he made a conscious attempt to relate Galileans and Samaritans and possibly used the Samaritan ascent/descent motif to facilitate Samaritan receptivity to the gospel.[30]

Thus, to teach the Gospel and learn of ministerial methods one has to respect the minority culture just as Jesus did in the Good Samaritan parable and possibly John did in his Gospel. Only then can one learn from a minority minister.

Minority Exemplum

As stated in the outset of this article, minorities typically handle this passage as an example text to "go and do likewise." As Craddock noted, "Remember that this man who delayed his own journey, expended great energy, risked danger to himself, spent two days' wages with the assurance of more, and promised to follow up on his activity was ceremonially unclean, socially an outcast, and religiously a heretic. That is a profile not easily matched."[31] One historical example of application comes in the form of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. King famously preached this passage numerous times and often concluded the neighbor to be the Samaritan who we all should emulate.

Through applying MBC one can see that King fit the mold of the good Samaritan more than he possibly realized. In Memphis, Tennessee, there is great angst when Martin Luther King, Jr. Day is celebrated, for some love and some despise him. In the segregated period of America, King was a minority relegated to minority churches, politics, and establishments. These historical facts still make some uncomfortable. King was a flawed man with many mistresses, at times variant theology, and a plagiarized dissertation, yet King showed love and kindness to all.[32] King, like the Samari-

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[30] *IVP Dictionary of New Testament Backgrounds*, s.v. "Samaritan Literature."

[31] Craddock, *Luke*, 151.

[32] Theodore Pappas, *The Martin Luther King, Jr., Plagiarism Story* (Rockford, IL: Rockford Institute, 1994).

tan, put his own life on the line by standing up for the lives of others. Thus, like the Samaritan, all should consider King's ministerial example.

When one considers the beaten man to be the minority, a potential conclusion could be that few were doing more than praying for the illegal immigrant.[33] When examining the Good Samaritan as the minority immigrant the application concerning modern illegal immigrant ministry yields an astounding contrast. Though not recorded for obvious fear of repercussions, most Spanish congregations not only pray for the illegal immigrants, but provide for them.[34] These congregations, like the Samaritan, yield care, finances, housing, and even risk their own livelihoods by doing such. At times the parallel is more astounding for the majority English church has better finances and means of care, yet the lowly Spanish congregation actually ministers to the illegal immigrant. Therefore, the "go and do likewise" when caring for illegal immigrants should be to emulate Spanish congregations who are actuating ministry.

Undoubtedly there are more minority ministers, of different backgrounds, who could stand as ministerial examples. If read in light of MBC, the response to the lawyer is the minority Samaritan can teach you how to "love the Lord your God with all your heart soul mind and strength, and to love your neighbor as yourself." However, only through humbling oneself can such a study be actuated and applied to modern believers.

Minority Biblical Interpretation in the US

If such a reading is common in minority pulpits, then why do so few academically consider the parable in this means? As the authors of *They Were All Together in One Place*, rightly noted there are four reasons why minority readings are not well known:

- There are few scholars working in minority interpretation methods.
- The few that are, are not trained in biblical studies but rather sociology or anthropology.

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[33] Price, "'Are Immigrants Our Neighbors?,'" 11–14.

[34] A survey of all Spanish congregations in the greater New Orleans area yielded an affirmation of this belief.

- Minority biblical studies scholars are not trained in this criticism; thus, they are led to believe such a criticism is not valid and should not be presented.
- Minority scholars who could work in this area are not encouraged to do so.[35]

In the diversifying of America and the academy, there needs to be an overt and active connection between academies and minority scholars. There also needs to be an overt and active connection between minority scholars and their communities. Only through having one foot in the academy and one foot in the community can the minority speak to majority community. The aim should be to aid in helping others understand the minority concerns and to aid in helping minority groups grow theologically. To do this there needs to be true diversity – not tokenship which relegates the minority handling of the text to be the oddity. We need to empower and employ minorities into teaching roles. Without minorities teaching such methods, those of minority descent will come through a program and in essence learn that the hermeneutic and application they were raised with is wrong.

Conclusion

The aim of this article was to provide a minority criticism of the Good Samaritan text as a contrast to socio-rhetorical methods. Having presented and handled the text through the lens of MBC, the thrust of this passage is not upon "who is my neighbor," but rather "but a Samaritan." Four steps were provided and actuated so that MBC can be a universally utilized method. As a result, the conclusion of the text is that minorities, like the Samaritan, can be examples in ministry, despite any social difficulties. Some readings of this parable have undermined the modern sociological/ministerial impact, but through the use of MBC the impact can be regained so that the parable may be read in an inclusive manner.

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[35] Randall Bailey, Tat-Siong Liew, and Fernando Segovia, *They Were All Together in One Place? Toward Minority Biblical Criticism.* (Ann Arbor, MI: Society of Biblical Literature, 2014), 23.

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Book Reviews

Rethinking the Dates of the New Testament: the Evidence for Early Composition. By Jonathan Bernier. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2022. 318 pages. Paperback, $29.99.

When were the documents that make up the New Testament written? This question has dominated countless pages of scholarly writing and is a foundational element of most New Testament commentaries and introductions. However, despite the centrality of this topic, no scholar has attempted to write a full-length treatment concerning the dates of the entire New Testament since John Robinson's effort in 1976, *Redating the New Testament.* Jonathan Bernier, in his book *Rethinking the Dates of the New Testament,* remedies this situation by presenting a well written and methodologically sound monograph on the dating of the entire New Testament and other early Christian works. Bernier, who earned a PhD from McMaster University, serves at Regis College (University of Toronto) as Assistant Professor of New Testament and Executive Director of the Lonergan Research Institute. He is also the author of *Aposynagōgos and the Historical Jesus in John* (Brill, 2013) and *The Quest for the Historical Jesus after the Demise of Authenticity* (T&T Clark, 2016).

In *Rethinking the Dates of the New Testament,* Bernier built on the work of Robinson by arguing in favor of an early dating for the majority of the New Testament writings. However, one would be mistaken to think that Bernier casts himself as the arch-defender of Robinson's work. Instead, he was deeply critical of Robinson's methodology and sought to present an argument in favor of early dating while avoiding the methodological missteps for which Robinson is often criticized. Bernier was particularly aware of the accusation that Robinson relied heavily on an argument from silence, chiefly in relation to the absence of direct New Testament references to the destruction of the Temple. As a result, Robinson adopted a methodology targeted toward avoiding any argument from silence.

Bernier's method can be summarized with two questions. First, "is there material in the book that is most fully intelligible only if written prior to a given event or situation" (23)? Second, "is there

material in the book that is most fully intelligible only if written after a given event or situation" (23)? If the answer is yes to the first question but no to the second, then an early date is preferred. If the answer is no to the first question but yes to the second, then the later date is preferred. If the answer to both questions is yes, then the later date is more likely, but some early material is preserved in the book. If the answer to both questions is no, then insufficient information is available to draw a conclusion from that piece of evidence.

Armed with his methodological framework, Bernier examined every event, situation, or passage that could shed light on the dating of the New Testament texts, as well as 1 Clement, the Didache, the Epistle of Barnabas, and the Shepherd of Hermas. He concluded that the majority of the works he studied were most likely to have been written prior to 70 CE. The exceptions to the pre-70 date were the Johannine Epistles (prior 100), Jude (prior to 96), the Didache (60-125), the Epistle of Barnabas (70-132), and the Shepherd of Hermas (70-125). Bernier provided both an early and a late date range for books with highly disputed authorship: 1 Timothy (63-64 if Pauline but 60-150 if not), 2 Timothy (64-68 if Pauline but 60-150 if not), Titus (63-64 if Pauline but 60-175 if not), and 2 Peter (60-69 if Petrine but 60-125 if not).

Rethinking the Dates of the New Testament has many strengths. First, Bernier displays a high level of methodological rigor. Because he was aware of criticism regarding the methodology of Robinson's work, Bernier took great care in the development and execution of his methodological framework. As a result, anyone looking for a book that makes radical claims backed by fiery rhetoric to reinforce their preconceived notions will be disappointed. Likewise, anyone hoping to dismiss the book as an uncritical rehashing of old arguments will be equally disappointed. Instead, Bernier made measured and reasonable claims that did not stretch the evidence beyond what it could support.

Another strength of the book is the synchronized approach used by Bernier. He dated the twenty-seven books of the New Testament and four other Christian texts in relation to each other. This means that in many cases, his determination of the date on one book could affect his dating of another. Readers will quickly recognize that synchronizing the dating of thirty-one separate books in a reasonable manner is a task fraught with difficulty. Nevertheless, Bernier accomplishes this task masterfully.

In addition to the strengths mentioned above, one should also note that the book is well organized and has a helpful layout. Specifically, Bernier has included numerous charts, which provide the reader with a summary of his basic arguments and of his essential conclusions. This feature of the book is critical in helping the reader to avoid getting lost in a sea of information.

Despite the book's numerous strengths, some readers may find that Bernier's synchronistic approach and strict adherence to his methodology hinders readability at times. While he tried to avoid unnecessary repetition when possible, his synchronistic approach makes it unavoidable in some places. Additionally, his methodological framework meant that many of the passages he examined were ultimately deemed to be non-probative for the dating of a particular book. Thus, the reader may have to work through numerous paragraphs of content before discovering that Bernier has excluded it as useful evidence for dating. While these factors can affect readability, they are not weaknesses, so much as natural by-products of Bernier's attention to synchronization and methodological rigor. Readers should be aware of them but not deterred from reading the book.

Ultimately, in *Rethinking the Dates of the New Testament,* Bernier has made a valuable contribution to the study of New Testament chronology. He has produced a methodologically rigorous monograph that will set the tone of scholarly discussion for years to come. This book is a must read for those specializing in the dating of the New Testament, but I recommend it also to both non-specialist scholars and graduate students. Additionally, I recommend the book to anyone who is interested in the dating of the New Testament more generally; however, those who do not have experience reading books written to a more academic audience may have some difficulty.

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Topical Preaching in a Complex World: How to Proclaim Truth and Relevance at the Same Time. By Sam Chan and Malcolm Gill. Grand Rapids: Zondervan Academic, 2021. 288 pages. Hardcover, $29.99.

Exegetically trained expository preachers can act like hound dogs who pride themselves on sniffing out even a whiff of a topical sermon. Sam Chan and Malcolm Gill, committed expository preachers themselves, offer a practical and hermeneutical defense of biblically based topical sermons in their *Topical Preaching in a Complex World*. Not only do some preaching opportunities call for a topical approach—such as a theology conference, community lecture, evangelistic opportunity, or missions report—but a culturally sensitive preacher will recognize that many of the assumptions baked into exegetical preaching's privileged place in Western Christendom is rooted in culture rather than Scriptural command. They do not advocate for the replacement of expository preaching, but offer topical preaching as a complementary approach blessed by God.

Topical Preaching in a Complex World is a practical book. After the opening chapter answers the question "am I even allowed to preach this way?," each of the subsequent nine chapters offers a "how to" guide to topical preaching. Chan and Gill defend topical preaching from church history, but the weight of their argument rests upon the wisdom of communicating in different forms for different contexts and in varying cultures. They argue, "preachers would do well to learn from the cross-cultural missionary approach" (19). A culturally intelligent preacher will adapt his sermon form to reach his listeners. The cultural awareness provided by Chan and Gill is the greatest strength of their robust text. Chan and Gill both serve in Australia and have taught in a variety of cultures around the world. Chan offers frequent comparisons between his Asian and Anglo cultural contexts to help readers avoid the danger of assuming the culture in which they are most comfortable is equivalent to a universal cultural norm.

Chan offers a framework of possible postures toward any topic: "Christ opposes your topic….Christ replaces your topic….Christ fulfills your topic….Christ affirms your topic" (33). Rarely does a topical sermon only utilize one of these approaches, but often combines them in a flow of "resonance, dissonance, gospel fulfillment" (47). Each how-to section includes numerous illustra-

tions as well as sample sermons to explain the topic. Chapter three encourages preachers to engage believers and nonbelievers in the same sermon. Sermons "provide encouragement, comfort, and assurance" (60) and preachers, whether exegetical or topical, may get so lost in their homiletical model that they miss the goal of helping listeners grow "into maturity in Christ" (62). Chapter four draws a parallel between topical preaching and "the methods of systematic theology" (79). The theologian works topically in order to illuminate the broader biblical teaching on a subject. Chan walks readers through six steps to move from topic to "a persuasive flow of ideas" in a topical sermon (84). The wisdom of the book is distilled into practical resources. Chan suggests that the persuasiveness of a talk can be strengthened by a "yes, but, but" flow of argument (98). Yes, an initial claim about the topic is true, but we must consider an opposing point before we transition with a final "but" to the truth about Jesus's impact on the topic.

The richest feast in the book is chapters five and six: how to preach with cultural intelligence. Chan offers the warning that the preacher's cultural context impacts not only his listeners, but impacts his own interpretation and communication expectations. Chan builds upon Timothy Keller's insight that cultural contextualization requires the preacher to enter *and* challenge the listener's culture (117). The themes and counterthemes of a culture provide a framework for thinking through the audience's cultural starting points. For example, in the "Individual versus Group" theme and countertheme the individual believes he should do what makes him feel happy but at the other end of the spectrum the individual finds his value in the group identity which is the countertheme. Chan provides serious and humorous examples to ensure the reader wrestles with his or her own cultural framework. The gospel allows the preacher to enter any worldview, but also provides the resources to challenge each worldview.

Gill offers practical wisdom for engaging a topic with pastoral sensitivity in chapter seven and encourages preachers to consider their tone in delivery. When addressing a morally fraught topic, the preacher should acknowledge "the moral tension and even the anger the audience might feel toward the topic" (154). While offering correction and rebuke, the preacher must remember that every listener needs encouragement (169). Gill's insights provide pastoral wisdom no matter the sermon form.

The hermeneutically based chapter eight, how to trace the topic to Christ, will likely frustrate Christ-centered preachers but the book's overall value remains untarnished. Chan suggests "eight ways to preach Christ in a topical sermon" (175), but some readers would amend his list to "six ways to vaguely reference Christ and two ways to preach Christ" as the fulfillment or center of the text. Even the redemptive-historical preacher will be encouraged by the reminder that a topical sermon should be both biblical and provides opportunity for the proclamation of the gospel.

In chapter nine Gill admonishes preachers, "I don't think there are too many travesties greater than boring preaching" (187). He encourages preachers to adopt "receptor-oriented communication" rather than only his own position as the speaker in a sender-oriented approach (201). The preacher must consider how the listener will hear and understand the sermon. Chapter ten helps preachers develop a clear structure to avoid dumping information on their listeners. Gill encourages writing a manuscript to develop clarity but warns against reliance upon the manuscript since "the most effective tools that speakers have in their toolbox are their eyes" (216). Gill even draws on the insights of TED Talks and stand-up comedians to help preachers learn to communicate better. Appendix one provides timely practical advice concerning the impact of COVID-19 on preaching. Appendix two provides a reminder of the value and variety of expository preaching while encouraging preachers to add topical preaching into their arsenal.

Chan and Gill offer North American readers a culturally insightful text on preaching. *Topical Preaching in a Complex World* will strengthen the beginner and experienced preacher alike. Their practical insights will strengthen both topical and expository sermons. They raise the cultural intelligence of their readers and provide a practical way "to keep consulting people of other cultures and allow them to collaborate with us and critique our preaching" (120). A congregation fed a diet of primarily expository sermons will be strengthened by topical preaching when the context or event would be better served by a biblical and topical reflection. *Topical Preaching in a Complex World* will strengthen preachers across the globe.

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The History of Apologetics: A Biographical and Methodological Introduction. Edited by Benjamin K. Forrest, Joshua D. Chatraw, and Alister E. McGrath. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Academic, 2020. 848 pages. Hardcover, $59.99.

Written by 54 authors and edited by Benjamin Forrest (Liberty University), Joshua Chatraw (Holy Trinity Anglican Church of Raleigh, North Carolina), and Alister McGrath (Oxford University), this book consists of 44 biographical articles of noted apologists throughout the two thousand years of church history. It has seven parts corresponding to historical eras. Part One "Patristic Apologists" covers Justin Martyr, Irenaeus, Athenagoras, Tertullian, Origen, Athanasius, and Augustine. Part Two "Medieval Apologists" consists of articles about John of Damascus, Theodore Abu Qurrah, Timothy I of Baghdad, Anselm, Thomas Aquinas, Ramon Lull, and Gregory Palamas. Part Three "Early Modern Apologists" describes Hugo Grotius, Pascal, Jonathan Edwards, Paley, and Butler. Part Four "Nineteenth-Century Apologists" covers Simon Greenleaf, John Henry Newman, Kierkegaard, James Orr, and B. B. Warfield. Part Five "Twentieth-Century American Apologists" consists of articles about J. Gresham Machen, Cornelius Van Til, Gordon Clark, Francis Schaeffer, and E. J. Carnell. Part Six "Twentieth-Century European Apologists" describes A. E. Taylor, G. K. Chesterton, Dorothy L. Sayers, C. S. Lewis, Dietrich Bonhoeffer, and Lesslie Newbigin. Part Seven "Contemporary Apologists" is about those apologists still living at the time of publication: John Warwick Montgomery, Charles Taylor, Alvin Plantinga, Richard Swinburne, Ravi Zacharias, William Lane Craig, Gary R. Habermas, Alister McGrath, and Timothy Keller.

Many authors are affiliated with Southern Baptist Seminaries and Colleges and Liberty University. Most are from conservative evangelical persuasions. Each article contains generally the following sectional headings: 1. Historical Background, which is a summary of a biographee's life and his/her environment; 2. Theological Context, about the challenges he/she was facing; 3. Apologetic Responses, what argument or theory he/she presented to counter the challenges; 4. Apologetic Methodology, his/her response, and thought patterns are classified and analyzed; 5. Contributions to the Field of Apologetics, an overall evaluation of his/her work

and summarizes the impact. This ordered discussion maintains consistency between articles.

Apologetics is about the demonstration of the superiority of Christianity and the defense of church doctrines against the various unbelieving attacks arisen throughout the church's history: in the patristic period Judaism, Gnosticism, and paganism; in the medieval period Judaism and Islam; in the modern period the fallout of the Enlightenment; in the 19th and 20th centuries, the naturalism, biblical criticism, and scientism. Biography subjects include major figures in all the different time periods. This book depicts the history of apologetics by looking at the major players. It is different from a historical description like Avery Cardinal Dulles' *A History of Apologetics* (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2005). Dulles' book covers more Catholic authors and provides a more consistent evaluation because of a single author. Dulles did not mention or evaluate subjects such as Irenaeus, Timothy I of Baghdad, Gregory Palamas, Edwards, Greenleaf, James Orr, Gresham Machen, Carnell, A. E. Taylor, Newbigin, Charles Taylor, Zacharias, and Keller.

Norman Geisler's *Baker Encyclopedia of Christian Apologetics* (1999) also has biographical entries. He did not write on the following: Irenaeus, John of Damascus, Theodore Abu Qurrah, Timothy I of Baghdad, Ramon Lull, Gregory Palamas, Hugo Grotius, A. E. Taylor, Sayers, Bonhoeffer, Newbigin, and all nine apologists in the contemporary era. Comparatively one can see the strength of this book under review. It is up-to-date and parades the accomplishments of recent orthodox apologetic scholarship.

Writing a history using biographical articles makes history alive. Personal stories can encourage future emerging scholars. I find the life stories of Alvin Plantinga, William Lane Craig, and Timothy Keller very captivating. This approach to writing history has some precedents. *Great Leaders of the Christian Church*, edited by John D. Woodbridge (1988), was similarly attractive.

The subtitle of this book is "A Biographical and Methodological Introduction", so it tries to give a detailed explanation of each apologist's work. The entries on Van Til, Clark, Plantinga, Craig, and Habermas give supplemental information on the different approaches of apologetics as discussed in *Five Views on Apologetics*, edited by Steven B. Cowan and Stanley N. Gundry (2000). For a reader who prefers to read the works written by these apologists, there are books consisting of the primary sources: for example,

Christian Apologetics: Past and Present, A Primary Source Reader, vol. 1 and 2, edited by William Edgar and Scott Oliphint (2009, 2011), and *Classical Readings in Christian Apologetics*, edited by L. Russ Bush (1983).

Any group of editors may select different figures to be included in a book like this. Besides Reformers such as Luther and Calvin who deserved to be included, I would prefer to see John Stott and John Polkinghorne's works included. Overall, this book is a good cooperative effort among American and British editors to include all recent noted apologists. Each article has extensive bibliographies. The book has a subject index. It will be a good resource for a doctoral student to find a subject or a person to do further research. An instructor can use the information in the book to supplement the lectures in apologetics to the master's level students.

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Keen, Karen R. *The Word of a Humble God: The Origins, Inspiration, and Interpretation of Scripture*. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2022. Paperback, $20.

Karen R. Keen is the founder for The Redwood Center for Spiritual Care and Education. She holds a Th.M. in Biblical Studies from Duke Divinity School and an M.A. in Exegetical Theology from Western Seminary. She has done immense research on the topic of Judaism and Christianity in Antiquity, specifically focusing on violence in the Old Testament.[1]

In Karen Keen's book, *The Word of a Humble God*, she seeks to help her readers understand how the origins of the Bible can affect one's understanding of how to interpret and apply the Bible to one's life. Keen argues that most people misinterpret or misapply the Bible because they do not understand how the Bible was created, transcribed, and passed down. Therefore, "grasping the significance of the Bible's origins is crucial for advancing its divinely intended purpose" (2). Keen's thesis of the book is that the origins of the Bible manifest a humble God who teaches us humil-

[1] R. Karen Keen, "Meet Karen," accessed on January 30, 2023, https://karenkeen.com/meet-karen/.

ity (6). *The Word of a Humble God* is significant to the field of hermeneutics because it stresses the importance of understanding how the compilation of the Bible directly affects and impacts a person's view on its inspiration, interpretation, and application. Misunderstanding the Bible's origins will lead to a false hermeneutical method and an unproductive or even damaging application of the text.

Keen seeks to promote a hermeneutical method she calls "Divine Humility," in which the compilation, inspiration, and transcription of the Bible reveals a humble God who wants to teach us humility which is the foundation of love (98). She argues this thesis beginning with the first part of the book that describes the origins, transcription, and canonization of the Bible. One can see the humility of God in the Bible's origins through the significance of the Bible's historical context, the transcription of the Bible being a community project, the dynamism of the textual and theological changes over time, and the variety of canons of Scripture.

In part 2, she uses the same themes of context, community, dynamism, and variation to describe the process of inspiration. Each one of these words exhibits a humble God who teaches us humility. First, God's humility is seen in creating human beings to share power with them and give them the freedom to write the Scriptures based on their socio-historical context (context). Second, God's collaboration with humans and allowing multiple groups of people from many different backgrounds to be involved in the process of forming the Bible demonstrates humility (community). Third, through God allowing theology and the production of Scripture to occur across time and through history, it shows his "self-giving patience in humanity's spiritual formation. Dynamism thwarts prideful efforts to control the Bible" (dynamism) (107). Fourth, the variation of the Christian canons and manuscript tradition display God's "self-giving love toward difference," and extols his humility (variation).

Keen concludes her argument in part 3 by demonstrating the humility of God in Biblical interpretation. Ultimately for Keen, the way one knows if they are accurately interpreting the Bible correctly or not can be seen through embodying the humility that God has demonstrated to us through the making of his Word. First, we must allow for a variety of interpretive methods to aid us in discovering what the text means while using "salvation history, specifically the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus," as guardrails

to keep us from false interpretations. Second, we must understand that our social locations matter and affect the way we interpret and apply the Scriptures. Third, we must read the Bible in community to hear the voice of others who are different from us to accurately apply and embody the truths of Scripture in "diverse settings and circumstances" (206). In summary, the litmus test of proper interpretation is the fruit that it produces in one's life through walking in humility by loving, empowering, and serving others (173).

The Word of a Humble God is a well-organized and palatable book to read that offers a contribution to the subject of hermeneutics by highlighting the importance of understanding the origins of the Bible to come to a proper interpretation and application of the Scriptures. Even though there are many weak and problematic points in Keen's argument, I want to first highlight some points that were both helpful and convincing.

First, understanding the origins of the Bible is necessary to arriving at a proper interpretation of the text. If we do not believe that the Scriptures are inspired by God, then we will not hold what the Bible says as the main authority in our lives but simply see it as another book of wise sayings among others. When it comes to interpreting all ideas, the origins matter; and Keen exquisitely shows that the word of God is no different. Second, Keen seeks to live out her hermeneutical method of humility in her writing in being both charitable and critical of all hermeneutical methods that have been offered throughout church history. She exhibits her humility by admitting her biases and that even her argument of the book can be subjective and also paints each understanding of compilation, inspiration, and interpretation of the Bible in a favorable light while acknowledging how each view contains a nugget of truth we can use and learn from in the process of hermeneutics.

There are many aspects of Keen's book that can be commended, but there are also some equally problematic aspects of the book that weaken Keen's overall argument for a hermeneutical method of "divine humility," that is based on the Bible's "humble origins." First, the most problematic aspect of Keen's argument is that she never clarifies nor clearly defines the hermeneutical key to rightly interpreting the Bible. Throughout the book Keen claims that "salvation history" and "the rule of faith" are guardrails from steering off too far from the right meaning and help color the

church's readings on what was beneficial in the interpretation of certain texts (152, 144). However, "salvation history" and "the rule of faith" are very broad terms, and Keen never explains in detail the ideas and meaning encompassed. She does mention that "salvation history" specifically refers to Jesus' life, death, and resurrection, but how exactly does Jesus' life and ministry dictate if an interpretation of Scripture is correct? Does this mean that every passage must help the reader love Jesus more, learn to follow him better, and point to the need for a savior? Etc.? Not only does Keen not clarify how the reader should use Jesus' life, death, and resurrection to interpret the Bible, but she also seems to change her hermeneutical key towards the end of the book by saying right interpretation comes through "the humility of God and our imitation of it" (173). The imitation of the humility of the humble God is the proof that one is understanding the Bible properly. Correct interpretation is seen by the fruit a person's life bears (173). This seems to imply that the true meaning of the text is based on if the interpretation produces humility and love for others; if it causes others to share power and serve one another. This hermeneutical method has the potential to promote a pragmatic theory of truth, making truth to be "what works" instead of what corresponds to reality. The key way she wants her readers to interpret Scripture lacks clarity and consistency.

Second, there are many sub-topics and sub-arguments that also lack clarity, are weak, and are ad hoc in nature. Keen's description of God's revelation lacks clarity. She claims that God has revealed himself in the Bible, but God's revelation is not only contained by Scripture, but rather God's revelation is his "presence and activity" (4-5). "God has revealed himself in the Bible but is still revealing his divine self in nature, the life of Christ, the Holy Spirit's illumination, the distribution of gifts, and the love of human beings" (5). It is not clear whether she is communicating that God is continuing to give new revelation today through the Spirit and if the Bible has more authority or is necessary for salvation when compared to the "revelation of the Spirit" or general revelation in nature. She later claims that "Scripture is not special because it is God's only means of revelation, but because it contains special revelation about God's specific plans for *during a particular time in history*" (85). Yet, does this mean that other people who live in another time of history can learn the special revelation of God through nature, the Spirit, or the love of others?

Keen's understanding of revelation leads to a weak argument for the Bible's dynamism which she defines as the beliefs and ideas of the Bible change over time through the many authors, editors, and redactors that contributed to the Bible. She uses examples of how authors of the Old Testament developed their theological positions over the course of history, citing how sin was defined as a "burden one carries" but later after 586 BCE, the metaphor shifted to understanding sin as a "debt to be paid" (57). This idea carried over to the New Testament and dominated the way the authors described sin. She also cites the developing understanding of the afterlife in the Hebrew Bible, that at the beginning, both righteous and unrighteous people "sleep," but during the second temple period, the concept of hell arises due to the Jewish concerns of justice. Keen says, "the idea of hell provided solace that if justice did not come in this life, God would provide punishment in the next" (57). But could not these examples Keen cites be instances of the idea of progressive revelation? Changing the metaphor of sin from a burden carried to a debt needing to be paid does not change the definition of sin, but it simply describes sin from a different angle. A debt that needed to be paid is still a burden one carries. In the same way, just as the full understanding and revelation of how God would redeem his people through the seed of the woman (Gen. 3:15) was not fully made known to the Old Testament prophets (1 Pt. 1:10-12), the doctrine of hell was not fully understood until later in salvation history.

Third, her application and interpretation of the Bible seems to be focused more on the horizontal relationships between humans than the vertical relationship between God and mankind. The overarching theme of the Bible is about God as king who seeks to create a kingdom and redeem a people for himself to fill his kingdom so that they would worship and enjoy him forever. In contrast, Keen paints God as a being who lives to share power and uplift human beings to be equal with him and share in his kingdom. She describes humans not as helpless children before God, but "young adults" who have been given the power and responsibility to be contributors to the Kingdom of God alongside God himself. I can agree with the truth that in Christ, believers will share in his throne and reign with him, but it seems suspect to claim that the role humans have in writing and transcribing the Bible is on the same level as God. The understanding of God "being humble" does not appear to be accurate when looking at the

Scriptures. Humility implies submission and placing someone's desires above one's own. Surely, we see God emulating humility through the Son in taking on flesh and giving his life as a ransom for many, but this is only seen in Jesus' humanity, not his deity. Apart from Christ's incarnation, God is never described as "humble" in the Bible. Even in the humility of the Son, the purpose for his humility was to accomplish the Father's plans of redemption, to exalt and glorify the Father, and for himself to be exalted after his death and resurrection. This understanding of the need for God to be seen as humble drives her thesis about the origins, inspiration, and interpretation of the Bible and leads to conclusions that are untenable and not supported by the grand narrative of Scripture.

Despite the vagueness and some weaknesses in Keen's argument, *The Word of a Humble God* still contributes to the field of hermeneutics in emphasizing how an understanding of the origins of a document affects a person's interpretation of that document. The book is also a helpful resource to students or lay people who want to learn about the history of the Bible's origins and the differing views of inspiration and interpretation that have been proposed by the church throughout the ages. Even though I disagree with Keen's conclusions and hermeneutical key, she raises some important arguments about interpretation that Christians need to contemplate and answer to develop and maintain a sound hermeneutical method.

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Revelation Through Old Testament Eyes. By Tremper Longman III. Grand Rapids, MI: Kregel Academic, 2022. 351 pages. Paperback, $24.49.

Revelation Through Old Testament Eyes is a part of Through Old Testament Eyes: New Testament Commentaries, a fairly new commentary series that began with Andrew T. Le Peau's (series editor) *Mark Through Old Testament Eyes: A Background and Application Commentary* in 2017. Until now, commentaries on three books of the New Testament are available in the market, with Karen H. Jobes' commentary on John's Gospel (2021) as the third one. The series aims to provide readers with a deeper understanding of the

New Testament by pointing out its authors' use of "Old Testament images, motifs, metaphors, symbols, and literary patterns" (9).

Tremper Longman III is a renowned Old Testament scholar who has authored and edited several books, commentaries, and journal articles. He earned his PhD in Ancient Near East studies from Yale in 1983. As the title "*Through Old Testament Eyes*" suggests, it is not a surprise that Longman does not delve deep into the intricate issues of Revelation's context for a book that stimulates the readers' curiosity because of being both apocalyptic and epistolary. The introductory section is a mere six and a half pages. Nevertheless, it contains necessary and sufficient information at an introductory level.

Longman laid out the big picture of Revelation by discussing the book's theme, authorship, date, and genre. He highlighted two main positions on the date of the composition of Revelation. He outlined first an early date, in the sixties, and then a later date, sometime in the early nineties, analogous to Diocletian's persecution of Christians. Based on the evidence of an earthquake in 61 CE at Laodicea and Polycarp's testimony that the church Smyrna started after Paul, Longman argued for a later date of composition. Longman is indecisive about the identity of Revelation's John. According to him, Revelation is a letter in its form and apocalyptic in its genre (16-17).

One apocalyptic feature of Revelation is John's use of Old Testament and Ancient Near Eastern concepts to convey the future that he envisioned. An erroneous tendency is to interpret the figurative languages of Revelation in terms of modern references that John is completely unaware of. For instance, Hal Lindsey interpreted the locusts in Revelation 9 as John's prediction of a future helicopter attack (18). Although Revelation entails futuristic elements, John employed contemporary and past languages to convey the yet-to-be. Further, John wrote the book as a letter to a first-century audience(s). It is here that Longman's contribution will be most beneficial since he pays attention to the language John employed, which is substantively from the Old Testament. For instance, Longman interpreted the thousand years in Revelation 20 as an indication of many years, not a literal thousand years, by citing the hyperboles in the Old Testament.

Longman's outline of Revelation consists of ten parts: 1) Introduction to the Book and Seven Letters (1-3), 2) Christ opens

the Seven Seals of the Scroll (4:1-8:5), 3) The Seven Trumpets 8:6-11:19), 4) The Woman versus the Dragon, the Land Beast, and the Sea Beast (12-13), 5) The 144,000 (Again), Three Angels, Harvesting and Trampling (14), 6) The Seven Bowls of God's Wrath (15-16), 7) The Demise of the Great Prostitute (17:1-19:10), 8) The Final Telling of God's Ultimate Victory (19:11-20:15) 9) The Future World (21:1-22:5), and 10) Conclusion (22:6-21). However, while commentating, Longman did not follow the outline he listed. Instead, he provided a chapter-by-chapter commentary. Longman goes beyond the text by discussing significant words, phrases, themes, and structures and their relevance with the Old Testament and other books of the New Testament in the highlighted passages.

The commentary's attempt to pay attention to intertextuality in Revelation is worth pursuing and commendable. However, its execution does not do justice to the attempt. The study on the use of the Old Testament in Revelation is not a novel attempt. Greg Beale, Steve Moyise, David L. Matthewson, and J. Fekkes, to name a few, are some leading scholars in the study of John's usage of the Old Testament in Revelation. A common denominator in this study is to analyze how John made use of the language of the Old Testament and Ancient Near East texts. One way to do so is by categorizing intertextual texts into quotations, allusions, and echoes. In addition, did John use the text to create something new or interpret Old Testament passages? These observations are helpful in navigating the Old Testament elements in Revelation. Longman displayed no knowledge on these questions in his commentary.

Overall, Longman's commentary is simple to follow. Further, Longman pays attention to the application of the text. At best, this book will serve pastors and teachers looking for a quick reference on the text of Revelation. On the other hand, the simplicity of the commentary will avert Bible students and serious readers of Revelation. For instance, Longman dismisses the identity of the author of Revelation by stating that it is "unimportant for the meaning of the book" (15). Longman also dismissed a discussion on "millennial" in Revelation 20, a topic that elicits questions and varied responses from the readers of Revelation.

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The Pharisees. Edited by Joseph Sievers and Amy-Jill Levine. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2021. 482 pages. Hardback, $54.99.

Joseph Sievers earned his PhD from Columbia University in 1981 and currently serves as a faculty member at the Pontifical Biblical Institute. Amy-Jill Levine earned her PhD from Duke University in 1984 and currently serves as a Vanderbilt University professor of New Testament Studies.

The purpose of the book is to address and amend the inaccurate information surrounding the teaching and preaching of the Pharisees. The arguments are built on the premise that those who study, teach, and preach the New Testament embrace presuppositions that necessarily prejudice them against the Pharisees. Sievers and Levine observed, "For almost two millennia, various Christian churches have presented the Pharisees as legalistic, elite, money-loving, xenophobic hypocrites" (ix). Indeed, a common caricature of the Pharisees is Matthew 23 when Jesus denounced them with the eight woes and said, "You snakes, you offspring of vipers, how will you escape the sentence of hell?" (Mt. 23:33 NASB).

Bookending his article with references from Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet,* Craig Morrison's opening chapter delves into the etymological arguments surrounding the name "Pharisee" (4). After briefly examining lexicons, encyclopedias, and Bible dictionaries, Morrison concludes that the name "Pharisee" should not be "based upon its supposed etymology." Similar to how Juliet "vanquish[ed] her prejudices about the name" Montague, so should we with regard to the name "Pharisee" (19).

In the book's first part, the authors pursued a historical framework by which one can accurately reconstruct the Pharisees of antiquity. Vasile Babota inquires into the origins of the Pharisees, exploring sources that include the works of Flavius Josephus, the Dead Sea Scrolls, and 1 Maccabees. He resolves that "any attempt to date their emergence, even approximately, is problematic" (39-40). In an article germane to archaeology, Eric Meyers determines that phylacteries are the only potential evidence linking the Pharisees to material artifacts (52). Vered Noam puts forth the idea that "it was the Pharisees, rather than the sectarians, who ushered in the halakic revolution" (79).

Steve Mason asserts that while Josephus does not significantly cover the Pharisees in his works, he presents them in a more positive light than do the Gospels; namely, they are "legal experts who

are much concerned with careful interpretations of the laws," such as "a good defense lawyer" (109). In her article, Paula Fredriksen proposes that Christ living in Paul made him a "better Pharisee," but that "he had achieved righteousness under the law faultlessly" (135). Henry Pattarumadathil submits that the history presented in Matthew of the Pharisees and Sadducees is not impartial; rather, the history is "historicized by the narrator" (146). Adela Yarbro Collins investigates the social context and discourse of Matthew's Gospel to better understand the eight woes pronounced on the Pharisees.

In his article, Hermut Lohr examines Luke-Acts as an historical source for the Pharisees and concludes that both are "secondhand historiography" (183). Harold Attridge focuses on the Gospel of John, with special emphasis given to Nicodemus. Yair Furstenberg conducts a comparative analysis between the gospels and rabbinic tradition, determining that there are "some consistent features of Pharisaic legal policy" (218). Jens Schroter searches for the relationship between Jesus and the Pharisees, inferring from the differences in their "social and geographical backgrounds" that they were most likely not close (239). To close out part 1, Gunter Stemberger attempts to show a continuity between the Second-Temple period and Rabbinic Judaism (254).

In the second part of the book, the authors sought to lay out a history of reception for the Pharisees. Mathias Skeb reviews the presence of the Pharisees in four heresiological texts and determines that their presence is "mainly symbolic," primarily present to show "differing theological purposes" (277). Luca Angelelli statistically analyzes the occurrences of Pharisee (in addition to the adjectival form) in the Greek Fathers. In his article, Shaye Cohen claims that the "Pharisees were long forgotten by Jewish historiography," but when one considers "Hellenistic Jewish literature, classical literature, Christian literature, and even the New Testament" the importance of the Pharisees relative to Judaism is apparent (290-1). Abraham Skorka explores the relationship between the Perushim and Medieval Jewish sages, gathering the evidence to suggest that the "rabbis do not see themselves as the heirs of the Pharisees" (301).

Randall Zachman considers how Martin Luther and John Calvin viewed the Pharisees in their writings. In her article, Angela La Delfa seeks to understand how Pharisees are depicted through artwork. Christian Stuckl provides a summary of the Oberammer-

gau Passion play, indicating some of the changes that have occurred throughout the years in representing the Pharisees through the medium of theater. Adele Reinhartz suggests in her article that Pharisees are portrayed in film as "one-dimensional, far more powerful and far more concerned with the troublesome Jesus than the corpus of primary and secondary sources suggests" (360). Susannah Heschel and Deborah Forger survey the Pharisees in modern scholarship. To close out the second section, Philip Cunningham summarizes various "studies over recent decades on how the Pharisees are presented in Catholic religion textbooks in the United States" (384).

In the third part of the book, the articles focus on the future of the Pharisees. In her article, Amy-Jill Levine reevaluates how New Testament preachers and teachers should educate on the Pharisees. Lastly, Massimo Grilli and Joseph Sievers lay out seven hermeneutical principles by which Christians can "[strengthen] their religious identity" (440). The appendix consists of Pope Francis's address to the Pontifical Biblical Institute.

Positively, the book is filled with exceptional scholarship that does cause the reader, at least to a degree, to consider the Pharisees in a new light. Numerous articles in the book are problematic, in many cases offering a reconstructed narrative to push the book's agenda. To demonstrate, Fredriksen claims that the *telos* in Rom. 10:4 is best translated as "goal" and not "end," which, she argues, suggests that Paul "required specifically (idealized) Jewish ritual and communal behaviors of its ex-pagans" (133). She then makes the claim that Paul does not, in any of his letters, indicate that the Jews should cease practicing circumcision (133). The latter argument is itself a fallacy: *argumentum ex silentio* (argument from silence). Not to mention, copious New Testament scriptures reveal that Christians (Jew or Gentile) are no longer bound to Old Testament Law and are therefore not required to undergo circumcision (cf. Phil. 3:1-7; Col. 2:8-12; Rom. 7:1-6).

Additionally, Amy-Jill Levine outright urges her readers not to teach or preach from a text that might negatively portray the Pharisees (426-7). Surely, this opinion would not resonate well in evangelical churches that hold to biblical authority. For that reason, I must withhold recommending this text to anyone except those who are interested in the current Pharisaical scholarship. To echo the words of John MacArthur, many of the arguments presented

are "piled up [with] high sounding words, raised up against the knowledge of God."

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John Leland: A Jeffersonian Baptist in Early America. By Eric C. Smith. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2022, 271 pp. Hardback, $99.00.

Eric Smith is senior pastor of Senior Pastor of Sharon Baptist Church in Savannah, Tennessee, and Assistant Professor of Church History at Southern Baptist Theological Seminary. This work, his third published book on early American Baptist history, is a biography of the early Baptist leader John Leland. In particular, this book locates Leland as not only a well-known evangelist in the Great Awakening meetings, and a hero of Baptist efforts to form the First Amendment to the Constitution guaranteeing religious liberty, but also politically and conceptually within the Jeffersonian Democrat perspective. The author links Leland's strong religious beliefs (religious freedom and soul competency) with his political beliefs (Jeffersonian individual freedom), both having in common a strong affirmation of individualism.

John Leland came to Christ as a "New Light" Congregationalist. He resisted both formal theological training and ordination by a local church; he simply became an itinerant evangelist. Theologically, Smith labels Leland a "folk Calvinist" in that he affirmed the doctrines of grace, but also believed in strong evangelistic persuasion and the necessity of each person to respond by faith. At points in his ministry these two different perspectives created problems in churches as well as a few times of soul-searching within himself. He finally came to a resolution later in his ministry to simply affirm a biblical mystery or paradox between divine predestination and human freewill. Leland's best known quote on this subject, quoted in the book, is that "preaching that has been most blessed by God, and most profitable to men, is the doctrine of sovereign grace in the salvation of souls, mixed with a little of what is called Arminianism" (146).

After serving a few years in New England, he went south to Virginia to continue his ministry there. Leland's preaching was somewhat eccentric, using humor, drama, and dramatic gestures

to communicate his message. His style connected with the middle and lower class Virginians who felt ignored and disconnected with the Anglican Church. Leland found himself aligning with the Separate Baptists, who were expressive in worship and focused on the new birth. After moving around several times, the Lelands settled in Orange County, Virginia, also home to James Madison, a relationship that would prove significant.

Leland was never really comfortable as a full-time pastor; he was most comfortable as an itinerate evangelist. However, the pay for such a calling was meager, and Leland faced many hard days as he traveled the backroads of Virginia, including sickness, physical attacks, religious persecution, and hardships from weather. At times, Leland sensed that the Lord was not moving in the meetings, and he would retreat for spiritual discernment. He typically felt the Holy Spirit return to give strength and power to his preaching. Leland believed strongly in believer's baptism and preferred to baptize his own converts. He kept count of those he baptized through his years of ministry, who totaled over 1,500 persons.

The book details the circumstances leading up to the 1788 election, in which James Madison was elected as a Virginia representative to the Constitutional Convention. Polls showed that Madison trailed his opponents since many people opposed the proposed Constitution. However, with assurances from Madison for a Bill of Rights, Leland swung the Baptist votes in Madison's favor, thus changing America's future. Madison led in the adoption of the Bill of Rights, with the First Amendment securing freedom of religion.

Leland's strong individualism was controversial at times. His commitment to faith as a matter between God and individuals led him, like most separate Baptists, to be distrustful of confessions or creeds. He believed the Bible should be the only measure of truth. As previously mentioned, Leland resisted being ordained by a local church, feeling his own personal calling from God was sufficient. Indeed, in general, Leland valued individual beliefs over any form of congregational authority. Although he was reluctant to enter into a settled pastorate, when he returned to minister in New England in 1791, he did enter into a flexible relationship as pastor of a local church. He did insist that the church give him absolute freedom to have occasional lengthy evangelistic tours. However, one issue that Leland (unfortunately) refused to accept was the importance of the Lord's Supper. Leland simply never saw this

biblical ordinance as being that significant. The church and association called upon him to participate in the Supper, but he stubbornly refused. Finally, the church simply accepted their eccentric pastor's ways rather than force his removal.

Leland became even more politically active in Massachusetts, being elected to office. He was a staunch Jeffersonian Democrat because of its focus on self-determination, as opposed to the Federalist "big government" approach. It was at this time that Leland collected a giant ball of cheese which he took to Washington to present to President Thomas Jefferson personally. Leland became a popular speaker in rural areas not only in ministry settings, but also political rallies.

This biography is much richer than space allows here is sufficient to communicate. It is copiously researched and documented. This is must reading for anyone interested in religious freedom and the Baptist heritage.

- Steve W. Lemke

Spirit Wind: The Doctrine of the Holy Spirit in Global Theology—A Chinese Perspective. Edited by Peter L.H. Tie and Justin T. T. Tan. Eugene, OR: Pickwick Publications, 2021. 211 pages. Softcover, $24.99.

In *Spirit Wind*, editors Peter Tie (PhD, Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary) and Justin Tan (PhD, University of London) add to recent study on the Holy Spirit and on the globalization of theology. Their aim is not to collect chapters that together form a comprehensive study of the Holy Spirit, but rather, their prayer is "that every chapter may serve as an instrument of motivating believers to love God—the Father in Christ through the Spirit—more humbly and serve him more passionately" (vii-viii). Peter Tie is currently Associate Professor of Theology at Christian Witness Theological Seminary in San Jose, California. Justin Tan is currently Director of the Centre for the Study of Chinese Christianity and Senior Lecturer at the Melbourne School of Theology in Melbourne, Australia. *Spirit Wind* is a project that began with the twentieth anniversary of the Melbourne School of Theology's Chinese Department, where both Tan and Tie were serving at the time.

Spirit Wind is divided into three parts: biblical-theological perspective, historical-theological perspective, and cultural/pastoral-

theological perspective. Each chapter in each part is written by "Chinese theologians, born in the Orient and trained in the West, who are now serving passionately as seminary professors in Australia, Singapore, Taiwan, or the United States" (back cover). Space does not allow a look at each chapter in the collection, but the chapters reviewed below are selected to represent their respective part. The first chapter to be reviewed is Tie's "Spirit, Scripture, Saints, and Seminary." Tie is concerned about the Asian (particularly Chinese) and Western churches who "strongly discourage seminary studies" (6). These churches may be bothered by the liberal teachings of seminaries, or they may figure that all believers "can and will learn from the Spirit himself without any intermediary" (6). In this chapter, Tie argues for the importance of the doctrine of the divine inspiration of Scripture, which includes the dual authorship of Scripture- the Holy Spirit and the human author. The understanding of the dual authorship of Scripture should also help Christians today to better understand God's word and will: "on the one hand, Christians should rely on the Spirit's illumination to understand Scripture; on the other hand, they are responsible to interpret Scripture using the proper hermeneutical tools" (4-5). In this chapter, Tie surveys five seminary textbooks on basic biblical hermeneutics, paying attention to the total number of pages devoted to the human task of biblical interpretation and the total number of pages devoted to the work of illumination by the Holy Spirit in biblical interpretation. Tie's conclusion is that "seminary training in Scripture interpretation relies more on academic exercise than pneumatic discipline" (12). Tie's desire in emphasizing the Spirit's role of illumination is so that seminary students would respond to the Spirit in their Scriptures readings with prayer, faithful obedience, and transformation. As a professor of theology, Tie knows first-hand how dry Scripture reading can become in seminary and how much focus can be placed on academic goals instead of spiritual growth. At the same time, this chapter is less about the Chinese perspective and standpoint than what the back-cover and acknowledgement section promise. Instead of presenting an Asian/Chinese perspective versus Western/European perspective, Tie has focused on the debate between local churches and seminaries.

Representative of the historical-theological perspective part of the book is Esther Yue L. Ng's chapter on Montanism. Ng (PhD, University of Aberdeen) is Adjunct Senior Professor at the Chris-

tian Witness Theological Seminary. Ng begins her discussion noting how church historians Cecil Robeck and Wing-Hung Lam both identify Montanism with the modern charismatic movement. Montanists venerated Maximilla and Priscilla as the movement's main female prophets and their oracles as the main teaching of the movement. Even though Montanism had other female prophets, according to Tertullian, these other female prophets had to share their visions with church leaders after the worship services so that the church leaders could "evaluate whether such visions were genuine and acceptable" (108). Ng asserts that Tertullian "did not accept women taking on clerical roles" (108). Ng's discussion distinguishes between the different uses of "ecstasy" by the early church fathers. When Peter saw Moses and Elijah on the Mount of Transfiguration, he experienced "excessive amazement," but what the Montanist prophets experienced was "madness." According to Ng, "To the orthodox writers, biblical prophets were fully conscious and self-controlled when they delivered their prophecies, whereas Montanist 'prophets' were in the grips of frenzied, uncontrollable, extraordinary ecstasy, babbling and uttering strange things" (110-111). In the end, Montanism ended up not as a protest movement against the church institution or as an advancement movement for women but rather as a prophetic movement characterized by "violent and harmful ecstatic behavior, the New Prophecy's denigration of the teaching of Christ and the apostles, the unverifiable and even extremist doctrinal statements, unfulfilled prophecies, [and] inappropriate and arrogant conduct" (124). Ng makes a great connection between Montanism and the Chinese cult of Eastern Lightning. Just like the Montanists, the adherents of Eastern Lightning believe in new and superior revelations from God. Ng also recognizes that contemporary scholars who are more exposed to traditional folk religions are more like the early church fathers who took spirits seriously and had experience in dealing with the realm of spirits. Ng closes her chapter warning the adherents of the contemporary Pentecostal / Charismatic Movement to "reconsider their practice of claiming Montanism as their precursor" because of how the early orthodox church reacted to Montanism (124). Ng seems to stop short of describing the ways in which contemporary Pentecostals and Charismatics have done just what the Montanists did, emphasizing the revelation of the Holy Spirit over that of Jesus and the apostles and engaging in harmful ecstatic behavior and inappropriate

conduct. Her argument points in that direction in the conclusion, but she stops short of following through with details.

Amos Yong's chapter on "Renewing Global Christianity" serves as a selected representative of the final part of the book, the cultural/pastoral-theological perspective. Yong (PhD, Boston University) is Professor of Theology and Mission at Fuller Theological Seminary. His chapter includes the content of ten blogs that he wrote about his travels around the world in 2013. Yong's chapter is by far the most personal chapter of the book, and he brings the most first-person Chinese perspective to the work. In two blogs in July of 2013, Yong writes about the effect of the musical group Hillsong on Australia and New Zealand. He is concerned about the "Hillsong-ization" of the churches, how "the palpable presence of megachurches like Hillsong, particularly through the telecommunicative and other exchange networks of globe-trotting apostles, evangelists, and other 'superstar' pastors and preachers, has also brought about a homogenization of renewal in this part of the world" (196). Yong notes the irony of his own personal journey: how he left the Malaysian world to enter the American world, and yet, now how the American world is coming Down Under to Australia to Hillsong for its spiritual renewal. Yong is very honest and raw in his impressions and thoughts of his traveling experiences. This chapter is very choppy, moving from one blog subject to another blog subject. Yes, they are all related to the Holy Spirit and renewal movements, but they all could easily have been turned into longer sections and included more details. Because of its blog nature, Yong takes for granted that his readers will understand the background of his blog subjects.

In conclusion, I would recommend *Spirit Wind* both to those interested in pneumatology and those interested in global theology. For those studying pneumatology from a Western perspective, as Ng mentions in her chapter, scholars familiar with folk religion have an advantage in studying about the Holy Spirit and spirits. These scholars have more experience and more of an openness in dealing with the spiritual realm. For those studying global theology, this book is beneficial in having the thoughts of all these global theologians in one collection. Tie and Tan's collection deals with global pneumatological matters, and I recommend this collection to readers who want to be motivated to "love God—the Father in

Christ through the Spirit—more humbly and serve him more passionately" (viii).

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