Journal of Asia Adventist Seminary 17.2 (2014): 95

EDITORIAL

MICHAEL W. CAMPBELL, PH.D.
Adventist International Institute of Advanced Studies, PHILIPPINES

I am pleased with this current issue as it completes volume 17. This particular issue is the beneficiary of encouraging a number of doctoral students to submit their research. Three of the four articles are by graduate students. The first article, by veteran Adventist historian, George R. Knight, was given as the keynote address at the 2016 AIIAS Theological Seminary Forum. We hope to devote a future issues to some of the additional articles related to Ellen G. White.

It is our hope to eventually get the journal caught up, but we also want to maintain a vigorous peer-review process. What this means in effect is that we have effectively kept pace while doing our best not to fall further behind (we have been running about three years behind). It is my hope that in the future, as we accumulate enough publishable material, that there can be a special combined issue on the Reformation.

We are also working to make sure that each issues contains a number of book reviews. We solicit our readers to please contact the editorial team for possible contributions. This is an area that we want to continue to expand in the future.

On behalf of the editorial team we send off this latest installment with the hope that the wide variety of topics will both inform and challenge our readers.

Journal of Asia Adventist Seminary 17.2 (2014): 97-118

OLD PROPHET, NEW APPROACHES: 45 YEARS OF CRISIS AND ADVANCE IN ELLEN WHITE STUDIES

GEORGE R. KNIGHT, ED.D.
Andrews University, USA

1. The Wonderful World of Ellen White in the Early 1960s

It was a wonderful world and Ellen White was secure in it, at least inside the borders of Adventism in the early 1960s when I joined the church. We had the flawless authority on almost everything of importance. If we needed help in understanding the meaning of a Bible passage all we had to do was check White's comments, greatly facilitated by the scriptural index of the newly published *Comprehensive Index to the Writings of Ellen G. White* and *The Seventh-day Adventist Bible Commentary*, which helpfully supplied White input in the discussion of the verses themselves, an "Ellen G. White Comments" section at the end of the discussion of each biblical chapter that provided references to her major remarks for many verses from her published writings, and a major section of "Ellen G. White Comments" at the end of each volume drawn from her unpublished writings and periodical articles that supplied material for a great many verses. With such an array of material at hand it was easy to feel that she was indeed the ultimate Bible commentator, a divine one, "far above all other commentators," as the editor of the *Review and Herald* put it.[1] In fact, one of my great literary ambitions in my early Adventist life was to compile all of her comments on each verse in the entire Bible on the meaning of each scriptural passage. Such would provide the final word on biblical interpretation.

It was also a wonderful world in the realm of doctrine and theology. I do not exactly know what my college religion teachers actually believed

[1] F. M. Wilcox, "The Testimony of Jesus," *Review and Herald*, June 9, 1946, 62.

on the topic, but Ellen White appeared to settle most theological issues for them. She certainly did for us students. It was off to the *Index* or other Ellen White resources if we had a theological problem that needed a divine answer. The Bible, of course, was important, most important theoretically, but in practice White had the final authoritative word, even on the most marginal and esoteric points. We did a great deal of theology from her writings on such topics as the human nature of Christ. We were glad to have her writings since the Bible did not say much on the topic. We used them to generate our homemade compilations to provide the final answer on topics not sufficiently covered in Scripture.

That was just the beginning of that magical world. White was not only a divine, inspired Bible commentator and a great source for doctrine, but she was also authoritative for history, chronology, science, and anything else she spoke on. Beyond that, those in my group had no doubt that she was infallible and inerrant and probably verbally inspired. On that last point, verbal inspiration, we were beginning to have some doubts since Book One of *Selected Messages* had been published recently in 1958 and was throwing cold water on that position, but we were deep in recent Adventist practice on the point and made large arguments based on her choice of this word or that and even used the structural flow of her sentences to nail down our points.

When it came to the source for her writings we had not the slightest doubt. It all (except for such minor secular bits of information like the number of rooms in the Paradise Valley Sanitarium) came straight from heaven, as if there were some kind of pipeline from the throne of God through the top of Ellen White's head and out through her fingertips. And *voilà*, we had divine revelation transposed into divine inspiration. Revelation was the only model most of us ever thought of. Ideas of borrowing and possible plagiarism were far from my pure mind on the topic.

If those good things were not enough, we were told by some authorities that she was 100 years ahead of her time. Combining all of those things with her flawless character and you had the best thing on earth. I still remember us students deciding if something was right or wrong by trying to discover White's practice on the topic. Thus, we could even provide the ultimate answer on such questions, such as is it a sin to wash dishes on Sabbath? In my pre-college year, I asked Alma McKibbin, who had lived with White in her younger years, questions about White that I hoped would provide the final answer to certain esoteric points that I was struggling with. I still remember her sorrowfully looking at me undoubtedly sensing my legalistic frame of mind.

At any rate, those early 1960s were a wonderful world for those who believed White to be God's messenger, but that wonderful world ended

somewhat abruptly and even violently by the hands of those who felt they had been deceived. The ending itself was good, even if the manner in which it ended was less than helpful.

2. Flashback: The Construction of the Wonderful World of Ellen White in the 1920s through the 1950s

Before I move on to the reconstruction of the world of Ellen White studies in the 1980s, it is important to take a brief look at the creation of the false perspectives and their victory in the minds of apparently the vast majority of Adventists. The formative era in the solidifying of the development of these wrong perspectives was the years between 1920 and 1960, the period that a significant sector of the denomination's perfectionistic right wing now views as the era of "Historic Adventism." The wrong ideas did not just happen with the arrival of those decades. To the contrary, overblown and false ideas of Ellen White's inspiration had already had a long history before 1920.

For example, the issue of verbal inspiration was certainly evident in the 1880s when Ellen White sought to rather unsuccessfully revise her *Testimonies for the Church*.[2] It became even more problematic after *The Great Controversy* revision of 1911, which stimulated S. N. Haskell to make his ideas explicit on the points that she was verbally inspired and that her works should be used to validate historical facts and dates.[3] Perhaps David Paulson put the pre-1920 perspective of some as precisely as anyone when he wrote that "I was led to conclude and most firmly believe that *every* word that you ever spoke in public or private, that *every* letter you wrote under *any* and *all* circumstances, was as inspired as the ten commandments. I held that view with *absolute* tenacity against innumerable objectives raised to it by many who were occupying prominent positions in the cause."[4]

Not only were understandings of White's writings being verbally inspired and authoritative for historical details widely held, but the same can be said of their usefulness to validate doctrinal issues and the

[2] See Jerry Allen Moon, *W. C. White and Ellen G. White: The Relationship between the Prophet and Her Son* (Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 1993), 122-129.

[3] See George R. Knight, "The Case of the Overlooked Postscript: A Footnote on Inspiration," *Ministry*, August 1997, 9-11.

[4] David Paulson to Ellen G. White, Apr. 19, 1906.

interpretation of the Bible. Those points are evident from the struggles over the law in Galatians and the ten horns of Daniel in the 1888 era and the conflict over the daily in the early twentieth century.[5]

Thus plenty of evidence exists for false understandings of White's gift before the 1920s. Such misunderstandings were not nearly as widespread as they would be after her death and the crisis of the 1920s. An illustration of that fact is the openness of the denomination's leadership at the 1919 Bible Conference, which found A. G. Daniells, W. W. Prescott, and others with a very open view of inspiration, including denials of inerrancy and verbal inspiration, and very cogent discussions that White's writings should not be used as a Bible commentary or as a source for doctrine or historical fact. The discussions also were quite frank regarding her use of sources.[6]

That openness by those who had worked closely with White came at the wrong time. The larger Protestant culture was in the midst of what it viewed as a death struggle between liberalism and fundamentalism, with the central issue being the nature of the inspiration of the Bible. While the liberals argued the untrustworthiness of the Bible on factual issues and the idea that it was basically like other books in its origin and construction, the fundamentalists went to the opposite extreme, claiming that it was not only verbally inspired but also beyond error (at least in its original autographs) in historical and other facts.[7]

The impact of the Protestant struggle on American culture and thinking is difficult to overestimate. It split denominations, created new ones, and altered the shape of the religious landscape. In the process, Seventh-day Adventism was massively affected as it was polarized toward the camp of the verbalists and inerrantists. In consequence, those church leaders who had spoken openly about issues related to inspiration

[5] See George R. Knight *Angry Saints: Tensions and Possibilities in the Adventist Struggle over Righteousness by Faith* (Washington, DC: Review & Herald, 1989), 104-109; Gilbert M. Valentine, *W. W. Prescott: Forgotten Giant of Adventism's Second Generation* (Hagerstown, MD: Review & Herald, 2005), 214-235.

[6] See "The Use of the Spirit of Prophecy in Our Teaching of Bible and History, July 30, 1919," *Spectrum*, May 1979, 28, 30, 34-36, 39, passim; Michael W. Campbell, "The 1919 Bible Conference and Its Significance for Seventh-day Adventist History and Theology" (PhD diss., Andrews University, 2008).

[7] For helpful treatments of fundamentalism, see George M. Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture: The Shaping of Twentieth-century Evangelicalism, 1870-1925* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980); Ernest R. Sandeen, *The Roots of Fundamentalism: British and American Millenarianism, 1800-1930* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1978).

at the 1919 conference lost their positions and the minutes of the conference were shelved and would not be rediscovered for decades, at which time their openness came as a shock to a generation nurtured on concepts of inspiration developed between 1920 and 1960.

Among those whose careers were overthrown was A. G. Daniells, president of the General Conference from 1901 to 1922. The charge against Daniells, Prescott, and others was led by Claude E. Holmes and J. S. Washburn, who in the early 1920s wrote and circulated such tracts as *Have We an Infallible "Spirit of Prophecy"?* and *The Startling Omega and Its True Genealogy*, in which they condemned Daniells and others for their views on inspiration and aggressively upheld the writings of Ellen White as authoritative for doctrine and history and as infallible in the sense of being beyond error. Beyond that, Holmes defined White's writings as "Scripture."[8] Such ideas and charges in the explosive context of the 1920s were enough to help unseat Daniells at the 1922 General Conference session, during which Holmes' and Washburn's tracts were circulated to the delegates.

The drift toward fundamentalist assumptions regarding inspiration was also evident in such leaders as F. M. Wilcox, editor of the *Review and Herald*, who disclaimed any belief in verbal inspiration at the 1919 conference, but noted in 1928 that he held to the verbal inspiration of the Bible and Ellen White.[9] Other indicators for the shift are found in the General Conference-sponsored textbook by B. L. House that claims that "the selection of the very words of Scripture in the original languages was overruled by the Holy Spirit"[10] and the "Valuable Quotations" section of *Ministry* in 1931 that gave its approval to the idea that the Bible as inspired by the Spirit was "without a flaw or error" and was authoritative and without mistakes in its historical data and other fields of human knowledge which it touched.[11]

While such positions were never voted as the official position of the denomination, they progressively dominated Adventist thinking in the following decades, although not everyone accepted them, but the balance

[8] Claude E. Holmes, *Have We an Infallible "Spirit of Prophecy"?* (N.p.: [The Author], 1920), 11.

[9] 1919 Bible Conference Minutes, Aug. 1, p. 3; F. M. Wilcox to L. E. Froom, Aug. 5, 1928.

[10] Benjamin L. House, *Analytical Studies in Bible Doctrines for Seventh-day Adventist Colleges* (Berrien Springs, MI: College Press for the General Conference Department of Education, 1926), 66.

[11] "Valuable Quotations," *Ministry*, June 1931, 20, 21.

of thinking on the topic had definitely shifted. In that context, it is undoubtedly significant that Walter Martin and Donald Grey Barnhouse, the two men who extended the hand of fellowship to Adventists in the 1950s, were leaders in American fundamentalism rather than middle of the road (on issues of inspiration) evangelicals. Instead of the Adventist/Evangelical Conferences, they should be titled the Adventist/Fundamentalist Conferences.

In summary, the decades after Ellen White's death witnessed a decided shift in the understanding of the majority of Adventists toward the assumptions of the 1920s fundamentalists. Although they were not formally stated, those assumptions permeated Adventist thinking. The majority of Adventists had taken those assumptions on the inspiration of the Bible and applied them to the writings of White. In the process, the denomination had set itself up for a rude awakening.

3. The End of the Wonderful World of Ellen White in the 1970s and Early 1980s

Cracks in the widely held position on Ellen White and her inspiration and authority began in 1970 when *Spectrum* published several articles on White that called for a re-examination of her writings in terms of her relationship to other authors and the social and intellectual context in which she wrote. The next few years saw *Spectrum* publish several articles that indicated that White had used material from other authors in her own writings. The articles claimed that her borrowing was especially extensive in her historical works.

While such borrowing would not have been so much of a surprise to nineteenth-century Adventists who often found the works she utilized advertised in the *Review and Herald* and thus could have seen the parallels, it came as a major blow to a generation of church members nurtured on the myths of her uniqueness and the concept that everything a prophet writes comes directly from God through revelation. Of course, observant readers could have noted her mention of her use of the works of others in the introduction to *The Great Controversy*.[12] Most probably did not think much about the full implications of what they were reading. Nor did the introduction provide information on the extent of usage. At any rate, the facts uncovered through historical research threatened not only the

[12] Ellen G. White, *The Great Controversy* (Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press, 1939), xii.

mythology that had grown up around White but also the authoritative role that she had come to play in the church.

The next stage in the development of the new research on White came in 1976 when Ronald L. Numbers, grandson of a General Conference president, published *Prophetess of Health* through Harper and Row. Numbers argued that she was not only a child of her times in regard to many of her ideas on health but that she had drawn upon the ideas of health reformers of her day and even copied from them. The most damning finding for Numbers was that on the basis of textual comparison he had concluded that she had lied about her use of certain sources. The Ellen G. White Estate responded to Numbers' book with *A Critique of the Book Prophetess of Health*, also published in 1976. That volume presented a chapter-by-chapter evaluation, arguing that Numbers had left out important evidence and had at times misread his sources on significant points. The *Critique* also concerned itself with what it believed was an "air of cynicism" that pervaded the book.[13]

The years following 1976 saw a continuing examination of White and her work. One endeavor along that line involved Walter Rea, an Adventist pastor. Rea's research had led him to the conclusion that White's borrowing in such books as *The Desire of Ages* and *Patriarchs and Prophets* was extensive but not admitted. In response to Rea's claim, Neal Wilson, president of the General Conference, appointed a committee to meet with Rea and examine his evidence. While some committee members found Rea's research lacking in scholarly precision, the committee as a whole was convinced that her borrowing from contemporary works was more widespread than previously believed.[14] In 1982 Rea published his findings in *The White Lie*. His title reflects an extension and magnification of Number's accusation of her dishonesty. For Rea her whole corpus of writings was becoming a lie. For him and others it was not only her writings that had become problematic but also her integrity as a person.

The combined effect of the books by Numbers and Rea, along with the *Spectrum* articles, was the intellectual equivalent of throwing a bomb into what had become since the 1920s the "settled understanding" of White and her gift. By 1982 the wonderful world of White had been challenged and shattered in the eyes of many thinking Adventists.

[13] Ellen G. White Estate, *A Critique of the Book Prophetess of Health* (Takoma Park, MD: Ellen G. White Estate, 1976), 11.

[14] See George R. Knight, *A Search for Identity: The Development of Seventh-day Adventist Beliefs* (Hagerstown, MD: Review & Herald, 2000), 186.

The major critics of White across time have tended to follow a pattern. Namely, they had begun their journey fully embracing the wonderful world of her inerrancy, exclusive dependence upon revelation in her writings, and "perfect" character, among other perspectives. When they found their views threatened they reacted (perhaps overreacted is a better descriptor) and rejected both her and her writings with gusto. That was true of D. M. Canright in the late 1880s, A. T. Jones and A. F. Ballenger in the early twentieth century, Numbers and Rea in the 1970s, and Dale Ratzlaff in the 1980s. One of Numbers' college classmates, for example, reports that in his younger years Numbers viewed Ellen White as the final word,[15] while Rea spent a great deal of his energy compiling massive documents from her writings on such topics as the books of Daniel and Revelation. For him, her inspired writings were a divinely inspired commentary. Then he concluded that they had been plagiarized. His faith in White and her writings had been shattered.

There is an important lesson here. Namely, that claiming too much for White and her writings eventually leads to disaster. W. C. White saw that point clearly in 1912 in meeting S. N. Haskell's overblown ideas. "I believe, Brother Haskell," W. C. White wrote, "that there is danger of our injuring Mother's work by claiming for it more than she claims for it, more than Father ever claimed for it, more than Elder[s] Andrews, Waggoner, or Smith ever claimed for it. I cannot see consistency in our putting forth a claim of verbal inspiration when Mother does not make any such claim, and I certainly think we will make a great mistake if we lay aside historical research and endeavor to settle historical questions by the use of Mother's books as an authority when she herself does not wish them to be used in any such way." It is of great significance to realize that White saw the same dangers. At the end of one copy of her son's letter we find the following handwritten note: "I approve of the remarks made in this letter. Ellen G. White."[16]

The dangers of claiming too much for White and her writings also came up during the very open and frank discussions on her work at the 1919 Bible Conference. Daniells, for example, noted that one way to hurt a student's relationship to White and her gift was "to take an extreme and unwarranted position" on her works. "You can do that…; but when that student gets out and gets in contact with things [i.e., the facts], he may be

[15] Interview with Virginia Smith, January 2015.

[16] W. C. White to S. N. Haskell, Oct. 31, 1912.

shaken, and perhaps shaken clear out and away. I think we should be candid and honest and never put a claim forth that is not well founded."[17]

The warning signs had been placed on the table by those who had worked closely with White, but those signs were ignored and even suppressed (as in the case of the 1919 Bible Conference minutes) in the polarizing atmosphere of the 1920s and a new generation of leaders who were more distant from immediate contact with the prophet and how she worked. Between the 1920s and the 1960s, mythology regarding her writings and her gift became dominant. In the end, as W. C. White had predicted, it "hurt Mother's work." In fact, it hurt it much more than he probably expected. Such are the hard lessons when a church forgets its history, or when it puts forth claims that cannot be substantiated when faced with exacting scrutiny. One lesson to be learned is that the church and its members will be healthier when we get as much as possible of the truth about Ellen White on the table and then disseminate it. Only in that way can the criticisms of those who have built upon false conceptions be put to rest.

4. From the End of the Wonderful World of Ellen White to the Construction of a More Adequate Understanding in the 1980s

Moves toward a healthier and more accurate understanding of Ellen White and her gift took a major step forward in 1980 with the publication of *Selected Messages*, Book Three, which devoted 135 of its 465 pages to providing authoritative and enlightening documents that shed light on her ministry. Section two, "Principles of Inspiration," had 8 chapters that included material on such topics as the primacy of the Bible, how she received her visions, and how she presented and understood her divine messages. Section three, "The Preparation of the Ellen G. White Books," highlighted her use of literary assistants along with chapters on how she worked in the development of such books as *The Desire of Ages*.

Those sections did much to begin the re-education of the church. However, not least in importance in Book Three of *Selected Messages* were the three appendices from the pen of W. C. White, who had worked extremely closely with his mother during the second half of her ministry. The most extensive is his 1911 presentation to the General Conference

[17] A. G. Daniells, in "The Use of the Spirit of Prophecy," 36.

Council on the revised edition of *The Great Controversy*. In that presentation White noted that his mother never claimed to be an authority on history and that she received divine guidance in the selection of material from historians as she filled out the great controversy theme shown her in vision.[18]

The other two appendices were letters that W. C. White penned to W. W. Eastman in 1912 and L. E. Froom in 1928 and 1934. W. C. White is extremely open and candid about her use of sources from both Adventist and non-Adventist authors. In those letters he reiterated several of the themes he had set forth in his 1911 discussion of the revised *Great Controversy*, but he also expanded his discussion in helpful ways. For example, W. C. White wrote to Froom on January 8, 1928, that "notwithstanding all the power that God had given her to present scenes in the lives of Christ and His apostles and His prophets and His reformers…, she always felt most keenly the results of her lack of school education. She admired the language in which other writers had presented to their readers the scenes which God had presented to her in vision, and she found it both a pleasure, and a convenience and an economy of time to use their language fully or in part in presenting those things which she knew through revelation, and which she wished to pass on to her readers."[19]

W. C. White could be even more explicit. Thus in talking about Adventist publications he noted that at times "Mother found such perfect descriptions of events and presentations of facts and of doctrines written out in our denominational books, that she copied the words of these authorities."[20]

Such straight talk was a start in helping people understand Ellen White and her writings, but it was only a beginning. Robert Olson, director of the Ellen G. White Estate from 1978 to 1990, followed up that beginning in March 1981 with his widely circulated *One Hundred and One Questions on the Sanctuary and on Ellen White*. That little book, in its candid approach, continued the discussion begun by the third volume of *Selected Messages*. Olson's book might have justly been titled *Frank Discussions about the Sanctuary and Ellen White*.

One Hundred and One Questions had sections on such topics as literary borrowing, copying, the use of literary assistants, the perfect prophet

[18] W. C. White, in Ellen G. White, *Selected Messages*, Book Three (Washington, DC: Review & Herald, 1980), 437-439, 441.

[19] Ibid., 460.

[20] Ibid., 447.

image, inerrancy, and verbalism. Perhaps one of the most unexpected ones dealt with White as a Bible commentator. Olson probably shook up more than one reader when he wrote that "Ellen White's writings are generally homiletical or evangelistic in nature and not strictly exegetical." He then illustrated how she used the same verse to make quite different points, accommodating the words to fit her presentations. Olson noted in the same section that "to give an individual complete interpretive control over the Bible would, in effect, elevate that person above the Bible. It would be a mistake to allow even the apostle Paul to exercise interpretive control over all other Bible writers. In such a case, Paul, and not the whole Bible, would be one's final authority."[21]

In 1981 Robert Olson was not teaching the same things on the topic that he had when he was my teacher at Pacific Union College in the early 1960s. By the early eighties, he had had to face the hard facts of the shortcomings of the wonderful world of Ellen White approach and those facts were transforming his outlook and presentations. He was not the only one. There was a significant segment of the church's scholars who were on the same journey of discovery and transformation.

One of the most important initiatives by the General Conference during the early 1980s was the hiring of Fred Veltman, whose doctoral degree was in the exacting area of textual analysis, to intensively study White's use of sources in *The Desire of Ages*. After the equivalent of five years of full-time study, Veltman concluded that White had borrowed extensively but that it was not blind borrowing. To the contrary, she "used the writings of others consciously and intentionally." Such borrowing indicates that she had "originality" and was not "slavishly dependent upon her sources." White's "independence," Veltman pointed out, "is … to be seen in her selectivity. The sources were her slaves, never her master." In short, while she did use sources more extensively than generally recognized, she crafted her finished product to fit the message she sought to get across to her readers.[22]

Following another line of investigation, George Rice published *Luke, a Plagiarist?* in 1983. His starting point was that Adventism's understanding of Ellen White was vulnerable because it had a very inadequate view of inspiration, having focused its understanding nearly entirely on a model of inspiration in which prophets receive their information by revelation

[21] Robert W. Olson, *One Hundred and One Questions on the Sanctuary and on Ellen White* (Washington, DC: Ellen G. White Estate, 1981), 41-44.

[22] Fred Veltman, "*The Desire of Ages* Project: The Conclusions," *Ministry*, December 1990, 11-15.

directly from heaven. To indicate the inadequacy of that position, Rice demonstrated from the gospel of Luke how the Bible writers used research and existing documents to produce their inspired books. That broader view of inspiration had obvious implications for the debate on White's inspiration and use of sources. As Rice put it, "the charge that Ellen White cannot fill the role of a spokesperson for God or that she could not possibly have received the gift of prophecy because she 'borrowed' is rooted in a misunderstanding of inspiration. Once the Lucan model is established and accepted, this model can then be allowed to explain the work of Ellen White."[23]

Rice had effectively driven a wedge between the concepts of inspiration and revelation by demonstrating that not everything that is inspired by God comes through the experience of divine revelation. The freshness of that thought is indicated on the copyright page of the book in which the publisher sought to protect itself by defensively stating that "the purpose of this book is to investigate a concept of inspiration not generally held by most Seventh-day Adventists. Although the publisher believes that this book will stimulate a constructive study of this subject, this book does not represent an official pronouncement of the Seventh-day Adventist Church nor does it necessarily reflect the editorial opinion of the Pacific Press Publishing Association."[24]

Rice's book brought a strong reaction from the fundamentalistic administration of the Seventh-day Adventist theological seminary and certain elements in the General Conference's Biblical Research Institute. Ellen G. White Estate director Robert Olson saw its explanatory power and brought Rice on as an associate director even though up to that time he had not specialized in the fields of White's writings or Adventist studies.

The Rice book, with its iconoclastic demonstration of the separation of inspiration and revelation, which set forth revelation as only one possible source for inspired writings, shook up settled ideas on the topic, but his findings dovetailed theoretically with those of Veltman. Combined, they began to provide Adventism with the foundation to develop a more sophisticated understanding of revelation and inspiration.

More specifically related to Ellen White concerns than Rice's work was the publication of my *Myths in Adventism* in 1985. Unlike Olson and Rice, I was not especially concerned with defending White or developing an apologetic for her or her writings. I was merely trying to understand what

[23] George E. Rice, *Luke, a Plagiarist?* (Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press, 1983), 110.

[24] Ibid., [iv].

I was reading and trying to teach. That was crucial to me because I sensed that the explanatory models of the time were inadequate, and where they were adequate they had not been sufficiently developed or illustrated from her own writings against the historical background in which she wrote and applied her counsels. The opening chapter, "The Myth of the Inflexible Prophet," undoubtedly got the most attention and cut into the newest territory. In a world in which the independent Ellen White compilation makers used White's quotations as if they all had the same background, I sought to demonstrate a hermeneutic based on her own interpretation of her writings that argued for the use of literary and historical contexts, common sense, her understanding of the distinction between the real world and the ideal world, and other principles that there was not necessarily a single White position on a given topic. Rather than one position, one could find several quite different positions and counsels of her understanding on how to apply Christian principles on many topics. In essence, I was putting forth the hypothesis that to do justice to White and her writings the denomination would have to develop a much more sophisticated and sensitive hermeneutic. That chapter hit a live nerve in the Adventist world and was soon republished in abbreviated form in the *Adventist Review*.[25] The rest of the chapters confronted such myths as that of White being a hundred years ahead of her time and sought to rectify many serious misconceptions about White's counsel deeply rooted in the denomination's thinking and practice. One of the fallouts from the publication of *Myths* was a phone call from Olson with my first invitation to join the White Estate team at General Conference headquarters.

The late 1980s found me still struggling with trying to better understand White and the proper use of her writings. Perhaps my most significant research during those years was an examination of the use of authority at the 1888 General Conference session. Up to that time many aspects of the Minneapolis event had been explored, but no one had examined the struggle over authority in any depth yet. The available documentation was massive. For me, the most important finding was that White refused to let her writings be used to interpret the meaning of Bible passages or to establish doctrine. I presented my findings in my daily lectures in Nairobi, Kenya, to the General Conference Annual Council in 1988, where they raised some eyebrows and generated some resistance, but they should not have if the claims of White are taken seriously. After all, she herself repeatedly and emphatically claimed that there must be

[25] George R. Knight, "The Myth of the Inflexible Prophet," *Adventist Review*, April 3, 1986, 14, 15.

biblical evidence for every doctrine and practice.[26] That had always been her position,[27] as well as that of her husband and the other pioneers of the Seventh-day Adventist Church. It was only later (probably in the 1880s) that the denomination began to rely on her for Bible interpretation and doctrinal extensions. Those approaches, although widely practiced in the denomination in the 1920s to the 1960s, were in essence heresy rather than orthodoxy from the perspective of Adventism's founding generation and White.

At its clearheaded best, the denominational leaders had always recognized that White should not be used as authority for such things as doctrine. Theory is one thing and practice another, especially when many leaders still had a belief that some of Adventism's early beliefs had in one way or another found their genesis in White's writings, a perspective definitely put to rest in the 1990s by those who researched the topic.[28] Even with the findings spelled out and documented some have been aggressively criticized for not giving a larger role to White in the process. The sad fact is that White mythology not only dies hard but also has a tendency to spontaneously resurrect.

A final initiative during the 1980s at breaking up such concepts as Ellen White being 100 years ahead of her time was *The World of Ellen G.*

[26] See Knight, *Angry Saints*, 100-115, for numerous claims by Ellen White on this point.

[27] Some have suggested that the point regarding EGW's relation to the Bible in the resolution of theological differences breaks down in her treatment of A. F. Ballenger's problem over the sanctuary teaching in 1905. On that occasion she came across much more authoritatively than she did during the Galatians and "daily" conflicts. Thus, the Ballenger incident is an excellent test case. As a preliminary hypothesis, it seems to me that we find a fundamental difference between Ballenger's case and the other two. From EGW's perspective, Adventist scholars had already thoroughly studied from the Bible the point at issue, whereas the law in Galatians and the "daily" still needed more attention when disagreement arose over them. As a result, she related to Ballenger's situation differently than she did in the other cases. Such a hypothesis has yet to be tested, but it should prove to be an interesting and meaningful task for some scholar in the future. It should be noted that EGW's seemingly variant treatment of Ballenger's situation should not be attributed to some historical development in her theological assertiveness, since the Galatians and "daily" controversies chronologically span the Ballenger incident.

[28] See, for example, Knight, *Search*; Rolf J. Pöhler, *Continuity and Change in Adventist Teaching: A Case Study in Doctrinal Development* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2000); Merlin D. Burt, "The Historical Background, Interconnected Development, and Integration of the Doctrines of the Sanctuary, the Sabbath, and Ellen White's Role in Sabbatarian Adventism from 1844 to 1849" (PhD diss., Andrews University, 2002).

White, published in 1987 under the editorship of Gary Land. That volume of essays did much to help Adventists see the historical context in which she lived and wrote and how her concerns and many of her solutions were those of her era.

These works were significant but are merely the tip of a very large iceberg of studies related to Ellen White. The eighties saw a multitude of articles, research papers, shelf documents, and even dissertations and thesis on the topic.[29] By the end of the 1980,s most of the creative work on the recreation of Ellen White had been completed.

The 1990s and beyond saw a relaxation on the debate over critical issues related to Ellen White, even though Alden Thompson's *Inspiration: Hard Questions, Honest Answers* (1991) stirred up a bit of a tempest in some circles. Most of the books published after the eighties tended to consolidate information, expand on ideas put forth in the 1980s, and make the information more widely available. Major agents in that endeavor were Herbert Douglass's encyclopedic *Messenger of the Lord* (1998), my own four small volumes on Ellen White (*Meeting Ellen White* [1996], *Reading Ellen White* [1997], *Ellen White's World* [1998], and *Walking With Ellen White* [1999]), and *The Ellen G. White Encyclopedia*, edited by Denis Fortin and Jerry Moon and published in 2013.

The most significant exception to the consolidation and exposition pattern in the post-eighties decades was Don S. McMahon's *Acquired or Inspired? Exploring the Origins of the Adventist Lifestyle* (2005). McMahon's path breaking study divided Ellen White's counsels on health into what he called the "whats" and the "whys." He found her remarkably accurate on the specific counsel that she gave but only comparable with her contemporaries in the reasons for that counsel.[30] That conclusion, even though it has been criticized for inadequate methodology,[31] matches well with what can be demonstrated about her visions as they relate to the use of historical sources and it fits well with the Adventist understanding of

[29] See, for example, the following extensive collections of documents. Robert W. Olson, comp. *Periodical Articles Concerning Inspiration, Ellen G. White, and Adventist History* (Washington, DC: Ellen G. White Estate, 1986); Roger W. Coon, comp. *Anthology of Recently Published Articles on Selected Issues in Prophetic Guidance*, vol. 1:1980-1988; vol. 2:1989-1992.

[30] For a popularized version of McMahon's book, see Leonard Brand and Don S. McMahon, *The Prophet and Her Critics* (Nampa, ID: Pacific Press, 2005).

[31] The criticism indicates need for a study utilizing tighter controls. However, McMahon's conclusion definitely lines up with what we can already demonstrate about Ellen White's use of sources in such areas as history, indicating that he is probably onto a valid track that needs further investigation to test his hypotheses.

inspiration as set forth in the period after 1980. Needless to say, what is now known about White and her use of sources in history and the medical field has major ramifications for some of her statements on scientific issues, many which appear to be problematic.

Two other important books pushing the frontiers of Ellen White studies in the early twenty-first century are Gilbert Valentine's *The Prophet and the Presidents* (2011) and Jud Lake's *Ellen White under Fire: Identifying the Mistakes of Her Critics* (2010). While the latter volume signals a more sophisticated approach to Ellen White apologetics that utilizes many of the understandings developed since the 1970s, Valentine's treatment (following Jerry Moon's study of the relationship between W. C. White and his mother[32]) points the way to a whole realm of new insights on how the gift of prophecy worked in the everyday world of White as a person interacting with individuals with the gift of administration. This is a fruitful area for extended future research that has the potential to shed a great deal of light on the function of White in the church and the nature of her gift.

Two other recently published multi-authored volumes, *Understanding Ellen White* and *The Gift of Prophecy in Scripture and History* (both 2015), continue to extend the new understandings of Ellen White, but the latter work has especially enriched the discussion through its examination of the gift of prophecy in the Bible and Christian history. *Ellen Harmon White: American Prophet*, published by Oxford University Press in 2014, finds its primary significance in repackaging views of Ellen White and her work for non-Adventist readers rather than in pushing into new territory on the nature of her inspiration.

The findings of the recent decades would have been anathema in the times of the wonderful world of the 1920s through the 1960s. The hard facts set forth by the critical researchers and writers of the late sixties and early seventies pushed those writing in the 1980s and beyond to take a second look at White's work, the denomination's understanding of inspiration, and the mythology that largely grew up around her after her death in 1915. Unfortunately, the depth of the problems associated with the traditional approach and the revolutionary findings of the eighties and beyond have all too often not registered with the average member in the pew. As a result, viewing certain aggressive internet sites can throw them into disarray. The education of the Adventist public is an ongoing need, as are explorations into areas of White studies that still need to be looked at seriously.

[32] Jerry Allan Moon, *W. C. White and Ellen G. White: The Relationship between the Prophet and Her Son* (Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 1993).

5. Possible Future for Ellen White Studies

Even though great progress in understanding has taken place in Ellen White studies, there are topics large and small on every hand that need significant work if we are to adequately understand God's gift and how best to utilize it. What follows is a list of suggested topics. There are others, but these are illustrative of places to start.

At the top of my list is a three-volume project on inspiration. They would include the historical development of the understanding of inspiration in the Christian church, a theological study of the topic, and, most important, an *inductive* study of the Scriptures to develop a truly biblical understanding of inspiration and hermeneutics. The last volume is the most crucial, since endless controversy has resulted from superimposing human theories on the Bible instead of examining the internal evidences, which are much more plentiful than most people realize.

This cluster of proposed books is focused on the Bible rather than White, but she has suffered from many of the same impositions regarding inspiration as the Bible. George Rice has already demonstrated the power of the study of biblical models to help us understand White. Also important in the general area of these three volumes is the history of inspiration in Adventist circles. The good news is that Denis Kaiser worked on at least part of that topic as the focus of his Ph.D. dissertation.

Another topic that needs honest discussion might be framed as the borders of inspiration. In short, might there be uninspired material in an inspired writer's corpus? The border has been traditionally defined by Arthur White, who distinguished between the religious and the secular in Ellen White's published and unpublished writings. Thus, religious thoughts are inspired, but such topics as the number of rooms in the Paradise Valley Sanitarium were uninspired common knowledge. That works well until one reads in a published Ellen White book that God "cannot love those who are dishonest" and that God does not love wicked children.[33] Really! That is not what the Bible teaches. Are there any other types of children, given the fact that those not involved in "nasty sins" are caught up in such vegetarian, pharisaical sins as spiritual pride and self-sufficiency? If the published statements above are inspired, Ellen White is in deep trouble. Some years ago I set forth another possible answer to the

[33] Ellen G. White in *An Appeal to the Youth* (Battle Creek, MI: Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Assn., 1864), 42, 62.

issue related to her central themes,[34] but much more work needs to be done.

Another illustration of the unclear edge between what is inspired and not inspired is Ellen White's *Health Reformer* articles in the early 1870s. Due to the problematic content in some of them, Arthur White, in a private conversation with Robert Olson and myself in Takoma Park in June 1985, noted that he wanted to write a section in his six-volume biography explaining that such articles did not come under the inspired category; that she was merely providing articles to fill up the pages of her regular column. I discouraged him from treating the issue in the biography because it needed more space and might be misunderstood. I have since repented of my suggestion.

Another area that needs significant work is that of compilations. Ellen White was clear in her will that she wanted compilations on various topics to be published from her unpublished files. While that is true, most Adventists are somewhat confused as to the proper use of such works. In my earlier years, for example, I even read such works as *Counsels on Diet and Foods* for morning worship. The book has its uses but that is not one of them.

A more serious issue related to compilations is the power inherent in the labeling and ordering of the quotations. For years I was going to publish an article titled "Making Ellen White Say What She Never Said." A prime example of the power of labeling is found on page 650 of *Questions on Doctrine*. In a section of a compilation of Ellen White quotes on the human nature of Christ the compiler entered a heading that reads, "*Took Sinless Human Nature*." That is the exact opposite of her statements on the topic, but the compilers had a point they wanted to make and utilized a heading to have Ellen White make it for them. That particular instance of manipulation and dishonesty had disastrous results as it became a major factor in the crisis over *Questions on Doctrine* (1957) that set the stage for the ongoing division in the denomination between the General Conference position and that of the perfectionistic sectarians in the late 1950s and early 1960s, a division that continues to cause endless problems more than a half century later.[35] Although *Questions on Doctrine*

[34] See George R. Knight, *Reading Ellen White* (Hagerstown, MD: Review and Herald, 1997), 55-57, building upon 46-54.

[35] For the human nature of Christ problem in *Questions on Doctrine*, see the extended footnotes in *Seventh-day Adventists Answer Questions on Doctrine*, Annotated Edition (Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 2003), 516-526; 533-547. For information on the crisis, see the "Historical and Theological Introduction to the Annotated Edition," xiii-xxxvi.

is not among the compilations put out by the White Estate, it illustrates my point.

Here it is important to make a necessary point. I do not believe that the major problem is with those compilations developed in the White Estate offices under conditions that were established to insure as much objectivity and balance as possible. My concern is with those early on developed by various General Conference departments, such as *Counsels on Diet and Foods* (1938) by H. M. Walton of the Health and Temperance Department, *Messages to Young People* (1930) by J. F. Simon, an associate in the Missionary Volunteer Department, and *Country Living* (1946) by E. A. Sutherland of the Adventist Commission on Rural Living.

A helpful illustration is found in the section entitled "Perfecting Holiness" in *Counsels on Diet and Foods* (1938), page 382, which comes right after the section on "Preparing for Translation." Because of certain issues in the passage[36] I decided to investigate the original document and all subsequent publications of it. That took me back to MS 86, 1901, entitled "The Need of Medical Missionary Work," its 1902 publication in the *Review* labeled "A Reform Needed," and to *Counsels on Health* (1923) that utilized the "Reform Needed" title.[37] Up to that point in time the usage had been faithful to the original manuscript. Then came *Counsels on Diet and Foods* (1938) that published it under the heading of "Perfecting Holiness" in the context of a section on preparing for translation. Those were not the topics of the original manuscript.[38] My conclusion was that

[36] My issues with the passage changed over time. Early in my journey the problem was the lack of perfectionistic language. Later it was the fact that the vegetarians aligned with Kellogg who eventually left the church rather than the "predicted" meat eaters of the passage.

[37] Ellen G. White, "A Reform Needed," *Review and Herald*, May 27, 1902, 8, 9; Ellen G. White, *Counsels on Health* (Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press, 1957, first published in 1923), 575-579.

[38] The original manuscript is quite forceful on the need for health reform in the context of ministerial resistance to the work of J. H. Kellogg, but it makes no argument regarding perfection in the context of preparing for translation. The sentiments in the manuscript itself are certainly appropriate for inclusion in *Counsels*, but the current labeling and sequencing have claimed ideas for MS 86 that are not faithful to the original. Such manipulation of ideas traditionally has had in Adventist history a less than helpful impact on those who tend to see sin and perfection in terms of lifestyle and final generation theology rather than in the framework set forth by Ellen White and the Bible. The problem in *CD* 382 brings to mind Ellen White's much needed advice in "Proper Use of the Testimonies on Health Reform" not to "select statements from the testimonies" (without considering their contexts) and "make them as strong as possible" (*Selected Messages*, Book 3, 283-287).

somebody[39] had a burden on the subject and through the power of labeling and the sequencing of quotations made Ellen White say what she had never said. That, to put it mildly, is misleading. My present concern is to suggest that it is better to be proactive in validating and annotating[40] such compilations than it is to wait until someone creates a crisis that we are forced to react to, as happened in the 1970s.

My problem with J. F. Simon's work on *Messages to Young People* is of a different nature to the one with *Counsels on Diet and Foods*. Here the problem is one of balance. Simon's moral difficulties are well documented.[41] His personal struggles may have colored the structure of the book, even though his infidelities apparently did not take place or surface until after he had completed his compiling work. For years I have heard the complaint that the volume tends to be negative and fails to emphasize Ellen White's gospel-oriented, Christ-centered message to young people. I have often wondered if the compiler might have been struggling with his own demons. That could possibly account for section II, "The Conflict with Sin," being by far the largest of the volume's 15 sections (more than twice the pages and almost twice the number of chapters as any other section). This is merely a hypothesis, but it does appear that the volume presents a biased selection of White's messages to young people. It would be a gift of the White Estate to Adventist young people everywhere if there was a *Messages to Young People* that sets forth the Christian life in the context of Jesus Christ, His love for them, and the provisions of the Gospel. It is in that context that the sanctified life, walking with Jesus, and the struggle with sin must take place. An action was taken to revise the book in 1967, but nothing came of it.[42] The need is for a positive, balanced book that helps young people clearly see God's

[39] Probably Dr. H. M. Walton, director of the Health and Temperance Department of the General Conference from 1937-1946, did the original work of compilation and circulated the manuscript in mimeograph form before it was published by the White Estate. See Q & A File 43-D-9 which has two pages of a letter attached from A. L. White to H. M. Walton.

[40] If problems are found, it seems that annotated editions of these compilations may be the only way to move forward, since—if some people's favorite proof passages are removed—the White Estate would be accused of suppression. Annotation is a messy solution, but the problem may also be messy. I do not really know how big the problem is since CD 382 is the only passage I have investigated.

[41] See, for example, Ron Graybill to Tim Poirier, Oct. 29, 1990; [Home Missionary Dept.] to H. H. Cobban, Aug. 19, 1932; A. R. Mazat to J. C. Kozel, Jan. 13, 1966; Q & A File 43-D-9.

[42] "Action of the Large Committee on *Messages to Young People,"* Sept. 7, 1967.

message of forgiving, transforming, and empowering grace for them. Such would have a better chance of leading them to love White's counsel rather than seeing her as one with a negative and legalistic message.

A problem of a different sort is raised by the material in *Country Living*, compiled by the highly opinionated and often one-sided E. A. Sutherland while he was director of the Adventist Commission on Rural Living. Denis Fortin has pointed out that while "*Country Living* has been one of the smallest ... of Ellen White's writings," it has also been one of the "most influential compilations" of her thoughts.[43] Of special influence has been the one-sided selection (especially emphasized in labeling) of counsel on labor unions and rural living. The original bias of the booklet was bad enough, but its influence was multiplied by replication without balancing quotations in later compilations such as *Selected Messages*.[44] Missing is the parallel material in Ellen White's counsel on fostering evangelistic work by living in the cities and even moving into them for missionary work[45] and the fact that she was just as much against big business combinations as she was against labor unions.[46] The truth is that she was opposed to oppressive combinations of any sort that would restrict the freedom of Christians to serve God. One result of such one-sided selection and labeling of her counsel is that Adventism has very little presence in many urban areas, especially those heavily industrialized and unionized. The denomination is currently struggling with the results of such one-sided emphases. Seemingly small issues can produce large results, especially when dealing with the writings of one who claims the prophetic gift. Adventist publications need to be as faithful as possible in setting forth more fully White's generally balanced counsel.

43 Denis Fortin, "*Country Living*," *Ellen G. White Encyclopedia*, 743.

44 Ellen White, *Selected Messages*, Book 2, 1958, 141-144 for labor unions, 354-359 for rural living. The section on unions has been moved from *Country Living* as an unchanged unit (9-12) while the material on rural living has come from various pages of *Country Living* without change (except the deletion of two paragraphs on 2 *SM* 356). All of the content in the *Selected Messages* section is found in *Country Living*. No balancing quotations have been entered for either labor unions or rural living.

45 See George R. Knight, "Cities, Living in"; R. Clifford Jones, "City Evangelism," *Ellen G. White Encyclopedia*, 714-718.

46 George R. Knight, *Ellen White's World* (Hagerstown, MD: Review & Herald, 1998), 122-127. It should be pointed out that all of the anti-union statements in *Country Living* come from 1902 through 1904. Earlier in Adventist history the denomination's approach to labor conflicts tended to side with the working class on the basis of James 5. The changed relationship between labor unions and Sunday issues provided the stimulus for the new emphasis. Time and place are crucial in Ellen White studies.

In summary I will just note a couple of fruitful areas that I would like to see developed and then move on to my final thoughts. On my wish list I would like to see someone undertake the task of publishing a set of the *Testimonies* with the real names (wherever known) in the text. A bit of historical commentary on each testimony that provides bibliographic leads would make such a work even more valuable. Also valuable would be an inductive study of Ellen White's use of various Bible passages and the lessons to be gleaned from such usage. Then I would like to see a book-length treatment that picks up Robert Olson's assertion that White "never just sat down and wrote a book" like other authors write books.[47] Such a book would be a historical journey all the way from *Experiences and Views* up through *Prophets and Kings* and would of necessity deal with her use of sources, literary assistants, and her personal files, how revelation entered in, and so on. The finished product would be helpful as well as informative.

I would like to close with one important thought. One of the unfortunate facts in the history of White studies is that both her detractors and her supporters have all too often held (many times below the level of consciousness) the same false presuppositions related to such issues as verbal inspiration, inerrancy, and the perfect prophet syndrome. Such presuppositions have created both accusations and defenses that are wrongheaded. My prayer for the next generation of Ellen White scholars is that they will move forward with both eyes open as they seek to be absolutely honest and rigorous in the investigation of a topic of great importance to the church.

[47] Robert W. Olson, "Olson Discusses the Veltman Study," *Ministry*, Dec. 1990, 18.

Journal of Asia Adventist Seminary 17.2 (2014): 119-134

THRESHING FLOORS AS OBJECT AND METAPHOR

JONATHAN GARDNER, M.A.
Wheaton College, USA

1. Introduction

Agricultural language forms a critical part of the biblical text.[1] Threshing floors were an integral part of the daily life within the biblical world. While scholars have always recognized the importance of threshing floors, what has not been explored is their larger significance as object and metaphor within the biblical world.

Given the biblical writers heavy reliance on agricultural language it is crucial to recover the agricultural life from ancient Israel in order to more fully understand the biblical text. However, since the farming methods of ancient Israel were vastly different than those of today, the use of agricultural terms as metaphor is not always clear.

One vital agricultural expression in need of examination is the term "threshing floor" (Hebrew גֹּרֶן; *gō·rĕn*),[2] which occurs 33 times in the Hebrew Bible. Out of these, the expression is used 9 times in a prophetic or wisdom context. Additionally, the verb "to thresh" (Hebrew דּוּשׁ; *dûš*)[3] occurs 16 times, 10 of them in a prophetic or wisdom context. Winnowing (Hebrew זָרָה; *zā·rā(h)*)[4] occurs 38 times, 34 of which are in a prophetic or wisdom context. Altogether the connotation of a "threshing floor" along

[1] King and Stager note, "Agriculture, the basis of the economy in ancient Israel, influenced practically every facet of daily life, especially the religious, economic, legal, and social spheres. To describe the various aspects of daily life, the biblical texts refer constantly to agriculture in the literal sense, and almost as often to agriculture in the figurative, allegorical, or symbolic sense." Phillip King and Lawrence Stager, *Life in Biblical Israel* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2001), 85.

[2] William L. Holladay, "גֹּרֶן," *CHALOT*, 64.

[3] William L. Holladay, "דּוּשׁ," *CHALOT*, 69.

[4] William L. Holladay, "זָרָה," *CHALOT*, 92.

with related language deserves serious attention. This article will first explore threshing floors as object, examining physical threshing floors, ancient narrative and legal accounts of threshing floors (both biblical and extra biblical), and ethnographic studies regarding threshing floor use and the process of threshing. Then this article will apply the physical characteristics of threshing floors to the uses of threshing floors in poetic and wisdom contexts, demonstrating that threshing floors were a versatile metaphor, accurately illustrating a wide array of ideas.

2. Threshing Floors as Object

2.1 Threshing Floors

Threshing floors were generally located near the villages and cities they served. The reason for this was two-fold: first, it was much more secure[5] and second, it made transporting the grain inside the village easier.[6] In biblical times, it appears threshing floors were often situated near the city gate, as evidenced by 1 Kgs 22:10 and the *Aqhatu Epic*.[7] Threshing floors were however always outside the city in open areas that had access to wind (an essential part in winnowing) and also because winnowing would be disruptive to daily life.[8] This could either be in the bottom of a valley or on the side of a hill; however hilltops themselves were generally unattractive as the winds tended to be too strong there.[9]

Since threshing achieves its goal, the separation of grain from the stalk through force,[10] a hard surface is required. Otherwise, the grain is simply beaten into the ground instead of beaten apart. Thus, the ideal surface for threshing floors was rock, as it is naturally hard and smooth while also

5 Gustav Dalman, *Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina*, 7 vols. (Hildesheim: Olms, 1987), 3: 69.

6 John C. Whittaker, "Alonia and Dhoukanes: The Ethnoarchaeology of Threshing in Cyprus," *NEA* 63.2 (2000): 64.

7 James B. Pritchard, ed. *ANET,* 3rd. ed. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969), 154.

8 Ruth Shahack-Gross, Mor Gafri, and Israel Finkelstein, "Identifying Threshing Floors in the Archaeological Record: A Test Case at Iron Age Tel Megiddo Israel," *JFA* 34.2 (2009): 181.

9 Dalman, *Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina*, 3: 69.

10 Jaime L. Waters, "Threshing Floors as Sacred Spaces in the Hebrew Bible" (PhD diss., The Johns Hopkins University, 2013), 7.

requiring the least amount of time for upkeep.[11] These could be naturally occurring rock formations, smoothed and flattened into usefulness, or artificially created using rock slabs cobbled together as a stone surface for threshing.[12] If that was not an option, a lime plaster could be used to create a smooth, flat surface[13] or as in the case of Gezer, a beaten earth surface.[14]

Noting the public use of threshing floors, Borowski suggests at least some of the threshing floors were publically owned.[15] However ethnographic information from Cyprus points out most people owned their own threshing floors.[16] Furthermore, in Mesopotamia, fees were paid to the owners of threshing floors by less affluent farmers for the use of it. On occasion, threshing floors were set up as collateral.[17]

Although there are instances of threshing floors being used as cultivated land,[18] in general they were in places where agriculture was difficult, if not impossible, either because it was on rock or because the ground had been made rock hard.[19] Since threshing floors were not suitable for cultivation, they lay dormant between uses. However, they were not unused in these times.

As S. Smith elucidates, threshing floors appear to be connected with gates. In 1 Kgs 22:10, King Ahab of Israel and King Jehoshaphat of Judah are both at a threshing floor at the gate area to hear a group of prophets prophesy about whether or not to go to war with Aram. Smith additionally notes the Ugaritic leader Dan'ilu also going to the threshing floor to administer justice, also mentioned in conjunction with the gate.

11 Dalman, *Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina*, 3: 69-70.

12 Whittaker, "Alonia and Dhoukanes," 67.

13 Ibid.

14 William G. Dever, ed., *Gezer IV: The 1969-71 Seasons in Field VI, the "Acropolis,"* (Jerusalem: Nelson Glueck School of Biblical Archaeology, 1986), 73.

15 Oded Borowski, *Agriculture in Iron Age Israel* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1997), 62.

16 Whittaker, "Alonia and Dhoukanes," 67.

17 A. Leo Oppenheim and Erica Reiner, "adru," *CAD* 1.1: 129-30; A. Leo Oppenheim and Erica Reiner, "maškantu," *CAD* 10.1: 369-70.

18 Georgia Tsartsidou et. al., "Ethnoarchaeological Study of Phytolith Assemblages from an Agro-pastoral Village in Northern Greece (Sarakini): Development and Application of a Phytolith Difference Index," *Journal of Archaeological Science* 35 (2008): 600-613.

19 Shahack-Gross, Gafri, and Finkelstein, "Identifying Threshing Floors," 177.

He suggests the reason for having a threshing floor so close to the gate would be so the gate guards would be able to also provide protection for the threshed grain until it is transported inside.[20] The administrative and public nature of gates has long been understood[21] and Waters points out the proximity of a wide, open, flat space would make an unused threshing floor excellent for holding court.[22]

Matthews notes threshing floors functioned as a place to pay debts, quoting the Law of Eshnunna in which a man, "shall make (the debtor) pay on the threshing floor"[23] and threshing floors were used as the location at which debts were delivered to be paid.[24]

As Waters points out, threshing floors are places of cultic activity.[25] Joseph is noted as having stopped at the "threshing floor of Atad" to conduct mourning rites for his father in Gen 50:10-11. Gideon encounters the Angel of the Lord while threshing in a wine vat in Judges 6. Later in that same chapter, Gideon places his famous fleece out on a threshing floor. Ahab and Jehoshaphat contacting Yahweh through the gathering of prophets at a threshing floor has already been noted (cf. 2 Chr 18:9). Uzzah was struck down touching the Ark near a threshing floor, although it is debatable whether or not that counts as "cultic activity" in 2 Sam 6:5-11 (cf. 1 Chr 13:10-11). Most famously perhaps is David purchasing the threshing floor of Arunah the Jebusite in 2 Sam 24:15-25 (cf. 1 Chr 21:14-27), the site which later became Solomon's Temple (2 Chr 3:1).

2.2. Threshing

Before any threshing could take place, the threshing floor had to be cleaned and prepared. Cleanliness of the threshing floor was of paramount importance in order to keep the grain clean, provide a smooth surface, and to discourage vermin from inhabiting the floor.[26] Stone floors were the easiest to clean as they simply needed to be swept clean.[27]

20 Sydney Smith, "The Threshing Floor at the City Gate," *PEQ* 78. 1 (1946): 5-14, 12.

21 King and Stager, *Life in Biblical Israel*, 234.

22 Waters, "Threshing Floors," 65.

23 Victor Harold Matthews, "Entrance Ways and Threshing Floors: Legally Significant Sites in the Ancient Near East," *Fides Et Historia* 19 (1987): 29.

24 Oppenheim and Reiner, "adru," *CAD* 1.1: 129-30.

25 Waters, "Threshing Floors," 13.

26 Shahack-Gross, Gafri, and Finkelstein, "Identifying Threshing Floors," 171-184, 172-73.

27 Dalman, *Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina*, 3: 69-70.

Packed earth floors would often have to be repacked after a year or so lying unused. Dirt floors also needed to be weeded.[28] In the excavation of his threshing floor at Gezer, Dever suggested that another method of cleaning floors was to burn off the chaff, basing his conclusion on ashy laminae found there.[29]

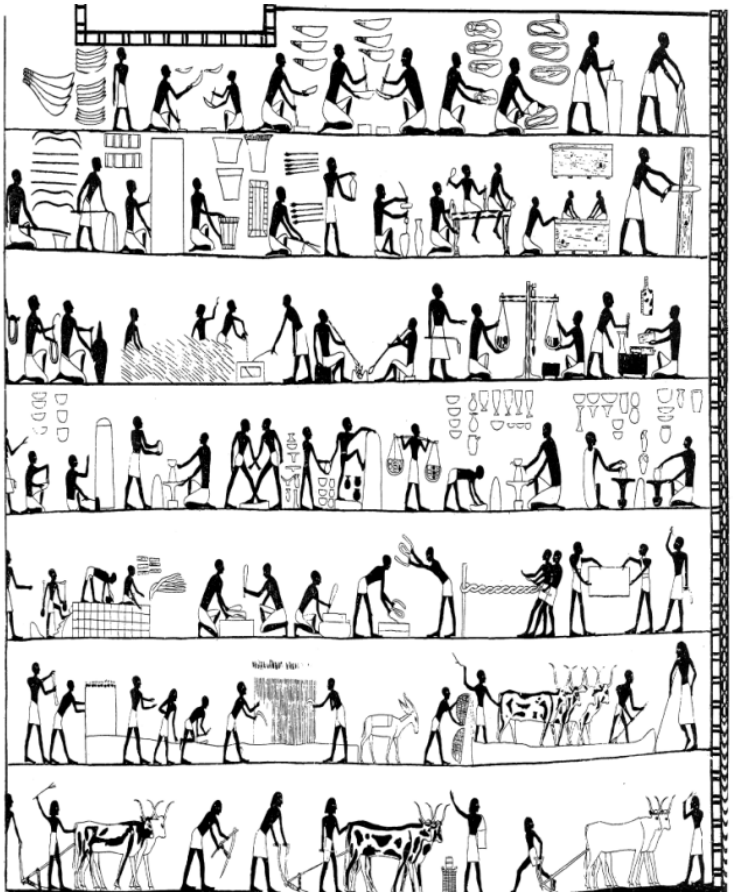

Figure 1: Harvest image from Beni Hasan. Note the threshing sledge at the bottom left corner (Prichard, plate 122).

[28] Ibid.

[29] Dever, *Gezer IV*, 73. It should be noted that while Dever claims burning of threshing floors as a common practice, he cites no ethnographic data to support this.

Once the threshing floor was cleaned and the harvest completed, the grain was brought to the floor. Dalman notes this task generally fell to the women,[30] something Whittaker corroborates.[31] Women hauled grain from the fields either by hand or on donkey back.[32] At the floor, the sheaves were laid open and spread out to dry.[33]

As soon as the grain was deemed dry enough, the actual threshing began, which was done almost exclusively by men.[34] The purpose of threshing was to separate the grain from the stalks so it could be then ground into flour and used for food.[35] This was done by beating the kernels from the stalks. The main tools of threshing were the object that threshes the grain (stick, animals, sledge, or wheel-thresher), a broom to keep the floor clean, a winnowing fork, shovel, and a sieve.[36]

Sticks are perhaps the simplest and most primitive tools for threshing as they were used by hand to whack the stalks until the grain pops out. Obviously this is a difficult and time-consuming process and therefore was not employed except in certain circumstances. One, if there was not much grain needing to be threshed (e.g. Ruth retuning from Boaz's field in Ruth 2:17). Two, if the main threshing floor was unusable for some reason (e.g. Gideon threshing in the wine vat in Judg 6:11). Three, certain crops were too small or delicate for larger and heavier equipment, such as the sledge, to be used, such as cumin.[37]

The second method for threshing was to have a team of animals, typically oxen or donkeys. Oxen were likely preferred as their heavier weight and bigger hooves were better suited for crushing the wheat or barley.[38] Judging by a relief from Sakkarah in Egypt,[39] it is possible they were organized in a line to go around in circles. The sledge was probably

30 Dalman, *Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina*, 3: 53-56.

31 Whittaker, "Alonia and Dhoukanes," 64.

32 Dalman, *Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina*, 3: 53-56.

33 Whitaker, 64. In Cyprus, the sheaves would be up to 30 cm thick.

34 Dalman, *Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina*, 3: 108-109.

35 Borowski, *Agriculture in Iron Age Israel*, 63.

36 Oded Borowski, *Daily Life in Biblical Israel* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003), 28.

37 Borowski, *Agriculture in Iron Age Israel*, 63.

38 Oded Borowski, *Every Living Thing: Daily Use of Animals in Ancient* Israel (Walnut Creek, CA: Altamira, 1998), 124.

39 Pritchard, *ANET*, pl. 89.

employed in similar fashion but no detailed information on exactly how they were used is available.[40]

Figure 2: Donkeys Threshing in Egypt

The donkeys in Figure 2 do not appear to be muzzled, although it seems that was a common practice, certainly common enough for Yahweh to prohibit the muzzling of oxen or donkeys while threshing (cf. Deut 25:4). In more recent times, the practice of muzzling animals has been observed in Palestine.[41] There was good reason to muzzle one's animals as a single ox could consume 3-4 kilos of grain *per day* while threshing. Depending on how long the threshing took, unmuzzled oxen could take a serious bite out of a village's subsistence, which already would experience a 60-day shortfall.[42]

Threshing sledges were the most common and effective means of threshing mass quantities of grain.[43] These were large wooden boards infixed with flint (most commonly) or metal studs underneath to crush the grain stalks. According to ethnographic data collected by John Whittaker, in Cyprus threshing sledges were constructed using two pine

40 Borowski, *Agriculture in Iron Age Israel*, 64.

41 Dalman, *Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina*, 3: 104; plates 14, 15, and 24.

42 Sandra Richter, "Environmental Law in Deuteronomy: One lens on a Biblical Theology of Creation Care," *BBR* 20.3 (2010): 355-376, 371-72; see this article for more on this curious command and the environmental interest of Yahweh in the OT.

43 Borowski, *Agriculture in Iron Age Israel*, 65.

boards fastened together with dowels, forming a platform roughly 2 m long and 60 cm wide. The nose of the sledge was slightly upturned.[44]

Figure 3: Threshing Sledge from Cyprus

The sledge worked by hooking it up to a team of animals and having a driver stand, or occasionally sit, on it while the animals plodded around the threshing floor in a circle. The weight of the driver, sometimes helped by stones, pressed the teeth of the sledge into the grain, crushing it and separating the stalks from the kernels.[45] As time went on, the flint teeth would naturally wear out and have to be replaced. The old teeth were then generally just discarded.[46]

44 Whittaker, "Alonia and Khoukanes," 62-69, 65; also Figure 3.

45 Whittaker, "Alonia and Dhoukanes," 64.

46 Robert Whallon Jr., "Threshing Sledge Flints: A Distinctive Pattern of Ware," *Paléorient* 4 (1978): 319-324.

Similar to the sledge was the wheeled-thresher which used teethed-rollers to crush the grain. Although this was used quite popularly around the turn of the 20th century,[47] there is little evidence of its use in biblical times. It is possibly referenced in Isa 28:27-28 and a possible model was found by Flinders Petrie at Tel el-Far'ah (south).[48] The stalks would be flipped over using a fork so that both sides were thoroughly crushed.[49]

This was clearly a time-consuming process that involved a great deal of heavy labor. In Cyprus, it is noted families did not thresh their produce by themselves; instead they hired workers from the village and in turn would be hired back. As there was little cash available, workers were paid in large feasts. Indeed, the threshing season ended up being a time of celebration in addition to hard work. Classes would be dismissed early and children would play in the soft chaff, possibly similar to children jumping into leaf piles today. If the weather was good and the moon shone bright, the threshers would work into the night, singing songs.[50]

The festive and communal nature of threshing is reflected in the biblical text as well. In Ruth 3, Boaz is noted as sleeping on the threshing floor after having "eaten and drunk and his heart was merry."[51] Also with him at the threshing floor were his young men, who assumedly had helped him thresh.

However, Boaz sleeping on the threshing floor was not merely for fun. As threshing floors were located outside city, they and their contents were vulnerable to attack and theft. Dalman notes it as common practice for the owner of the grain being threshed to camp out on the threshing floor, often with his whole family.[52]

During threshing time, the bulk of a community's food was gathered in a single spot beyond the protection of the city, making threshing floors particularly tempting targets for raiding armies or bandits. A successful strike on a threshing floor would, at the very least, reduce a family to poverty and could reduce an entire city to begging.[53]

47 Dalman, *Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina*, 3: plates 21-23.

48 Borowski, *Agriculture in Iron Age Israel*, 65.

49 Whittaker, "Alonia and Dhoukanes," 64.

50 Ibid. Dalman also notes this in Palestine as well. (74-76).

51 Biblical quotations are taken from the ESV unless otherwise noted.

52 Dalman, *Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina*, 3: 108-109.

53 Waters, "Threshing Floors," 46.

Waters notes three biblical examples of threshing floors being used to debilitate a city.[54] While David is on the run, the town of Keilah is attacked by the Philistines who specifically target the threshing floors (1 Sam 23:1). In addition to cutting off the food supply of Keilah for the coming year, the Philistine army is now well-stocked with grain. After receiving the green light from Yahweh, David then rushes to their aid.

A second instance is found in 2 Kgs 6 when Samaria is besieged by the Arameans. Although the Arameans are not mentioned at specifically targeting the threshing floors, the king of Israel points out he cannot help his starving people because his access to the threshing floors has been hopelessly cut off (2 Kgs 6:27).

In the Gideon narrative, the main character is introduced threshing but not at a threshing floor but rather in a wine vat. This was to hide it from the Midianites who were oppressing Israel at that time. The implication is that the Midianites were targeting the threshing floors to drain the Israelites of their subsistence and resources and therefore Gideon had to resort to some rather unorthodox methods to preserve his family's livelihood.

In addition to the potential bandits or raiders, weather was another issue which could play a devastating role. Summer was the ideal time for threshing as it was often hot and dry, which made threshing the stalks much easier. However, from time to time dew would soak the floor or a fog would roll in, halting the activities. Another problem could be a windless day, as wind is essential for winnowing. On still days, the sheaves could still be threshed but winnowing hit a standstill.[55] One of the Cypriot farmers recalls a time when they had to stop work for 10 days waiting for the wind to pick up.[56]

After the grain was deemed threshed, it was then winnowed, predominantly done by men. Although the next step in the process, winnowing, was often done along with threshing. Winnowing was done by taking a wooden pitchfork from five to seven times,[57] and tossing the threshed grain into the air. This would separate the heavier kernels, which would fall back to the ground, from the lighter chaff, which was blown

[54] Ibid., 45-55.

[55] Dalman, *Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina*, 3: 74-76.

[56] Whittaker, "Alonia and Dhoukanes," 64.

[57] Dalman, *Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina*, 3: 74-76.

away.[58] Therefore the most important tool and factor was the wind. A good breeze was necessary however a strong wind was not desirable as it tends to blow the grain away with the chaff. In Palestine, the strongest winds are during the middle of the day with the winds calming down late afternoon and early evening. This is therefore the ideal time to winnow. On occasions, winnowing was done well into the night, as long as the breeze and light was good. The wind direction is irrelevant so long as it is at the appropriate strength.[59]

The final stage is cleaning the grain which is done in two stages using the two different sieves described above. First the heavier particulates, such as rocks and dirt clods, are sifted clean. Then the lighter stuff is sifted out by tossing it through the small-holed sieve.[60]

3. Threshing Floor as Metaphor

Since threshing was such a multi-faceted process, it lent itself to a wide range of metaphorical applications. Agriculturally, the threshing floor was the center of the process. As Waters puts it, "It is only when crops are processed at threshing floors that they truly become food."[61] As the culmination of the harvest, the threshing floor was where the success or failure of the harvest was revealed. A full threshing floor would of course mean a successful season; an empty threshing floor meant a poor season. Therefore, as Waters notes, threshing floors became connected with dependence on Yahweh.[62]

The process of threshing was clearly a violent one. The sheaves of grain were brutally crushed and ground to dust-like chaff, which is then tossed away into the breeze. Sledges in particular provided graphic imagery for divine punishment. The chaff which remained was highly flammable, as the ash layers at Gezer indicate. Threshing imagery could also be used to describe destruction and frailty of human existence.[63]

58 Seetha Narahari Reddy, "If the Threshing Floor Could Talk: Integration of Agriculture and Pastoralism During the Late Harappan in Gujaat, India," *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 16 (1997): 162-187, 170.

59 Dalman, *Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina*, 3: 128.

60 Borowski, *Agriculture in Iron Age Israel*, 66-67.

61 Waters, "Threshing Floors," 10.

62 Ibid.

63 Waters, "Threshing Floors," 41.

A detailed study of all passages employing threshing language is beyond the scope of this paper. Therefore, four texts will be examined to illustrate the flexibility of the threshing floor metaphor: Job 39:12; Jer 51:33; Hos 9:1-2; and Mic 4:12.

3.1. Job 39:12

Job 39 is in the middle of God's answer to Job's questions (Job 38-41)[64] and vv. 9-12 specifically are God pointing out Job's inability to tame the wild ox (probably the extinct auroch).[65] The auroch (the KJV translates as "unicorn" or "rhinoceros" in the Vulgate), was one of the most powerful land animals in the ancient world.[66] While it was a popular hunting animal,[67] which probably led to its extinction, taming the beast was impossible to the point of absurdity.[68]

As Newsom notes, "the hallmark of domestication is the exchange of food for service."[69] However, attempting to do so with the auroch is utter foolishness. The auroch would destroy any crops the farmer, Job in this case, might produce. Hence the statement in v. 12, "Do you have faith in him that he will return your grain and gather it to your threshing floor?"

The connection between the auroch and the threshing floor should bring to mind the use of oxen to pull the sledge or wheels in the threshing process, as well as to trample the grain. Given how much a domesticated ox would eat, letting an unmuzzled auroch loose on a threshing floor would devastate the harvest. The only way to use an auroch in threshing would be to muzzle, which is God's implicit challenge to Job and something rhetorically both know is impossible. Thus God's point that Job is unable to use an auroch to thresh his grain since he cannot muzzle it and an unmuzzled auroch would all his grain.

64 Itzak Cornelius, "Job," in *Zondervan Illustrated Bible Backgrounds Commentary*, ed. John H. Walton (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2009), 5: 292.

65 Carol Newsom, "Job," in *The New Interpreter's Bible Commentary*, ed. Leander E. Keck (Nashville: Abingdon, 1994), 4: 610.

66 Elmer B. Smick, "Job," in *The Expositor's Bible Commentary*, ed. Frank E. Gaebelein (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1988), 4: 1038.

67 Cornelius, "Job," 295. The Ugaritic goddess Astarte is recorded as having hunted the bull, as well as Ugaritic kings. Assyrian kings also ranged far hunting the auroch. Smick notes Thutmose III going on extended hunting expeditions for the bull; Smick, "Job," 1038.

68 Newsom, "Job," 610.

69 Ibid.

3.2. Jeremiah 51:33

Jeremiah uses the threshing floor as an image of divine punishment and destruction: "For thus says the Lord of hosts, the God of Israel: The daughter of Babylon is like a threshing floor at the time when it is trodden; yet a little while and the time of her harvest will come." (Jer 51:33). This verse is part of Jeremiah's extensive oracle against Babylon comprising chs. 50 and 51, and almost half of the oracles against the nations (chs. 46-51).[70] While the date of this oracle is debated, commentators suggest the oracle was written at the time of the Seraiah embassy, around 594-593 BC,[71] when Babylon was approaching the height of her powers. This particular pericope (Jer 51:27-33) focuses on a muster of the nations to destroy Babylon, which was eventually carried out by Cyrus the Great in the 6th century BC as he conquered much of the near eastern world.[72]

Jeremiah utilizes the preparation of the threshing floor to describe the destruction of Babylon. Although stone was the ideal surface for threshing floors, since such a surface was not always available, dirt surfaces were used. As noted above, the preparation of a dirt floor involved stripping it utterly bare and then pounded into a hard, packed surface against which the grain stalks could be threshed effectively. This process could be done alone, or by several individuals to hasten the work. The message of Jeremiah regarding Babylon is that she will be prepared as a threshing floor is: the nations will gather to strip her bare and then pummel her flat.

3.3. Hosea 9:1-2

Hosea 9:1-2 uses the threshing floor imagery in the context of judgment but specifically to refer to a reversal of fortune:

> Rejoice not, O Israel! Exult not like the peoples; for you have played the whore, forsaking your God. You have loved a prostitute's wages on all threshing floors. Threshing floor and wine vat shall not feed them, and the new wine shall fail them.

[70] Gerald L. Keown, Pamela J. Scalise, and Thomas G. Smothers, *Jeremiah 26-52*, WBC 27 (Dallas: Word, 1995), 357.

[71] Ibid., 362; also Charles Lee Feinberg, "Jeremiah," in *The Expositor's Bible Commentary:* ed. Frank E. Gaebelein (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1986), 6: 672.

[72] Feinberg, "Jeremiah," 683.

The scene depicted is one of a harvest festival.[73] As explained above, the threshing season was a time of celebration and rejoicing as the culmination of the harvest and when the benefits of the labor were born out. Hosea seems to be suggesting that the results of the harvest are quite good, which would be a natural cause for celebration. However, commentators note the celebration of Israel is not a celebration of God's goodness in providing for his people but rather a celebration of fertility cults that appear to have worked.[74] In addition to being used for threshing, open threshing floors would also be used for religious activity as well, such as fertility cults.[75] Israel's prostituting themselves after other deities, arguably the most prominent motif in the book of Hosea, is again used here to describe Israel running after different gods to give them prosperous harvests.

This image was particularly apropos. Israel was portrayed as a prostitute flitting from threshing floor to threshing floor, exchanging her favors for pay. A full threshing floor indicated a rich harvest, which in this case meant Israel was servicing wealthy patrons, who were more likely paying excellent wages. In short, Israel's religious "prostitution" appears to have been paying off very well with a literal threshing-floors pay.[76] Hence, the implied celebration.

However, God is issuing a warning to Israel that if they persisted in their prostitutions to other gods, those threshing floors would not remain full. In the end, they would end up as empty threshing floors. The implied question what will Israel do then? How will she sustain herself when her patrons can no longer afford her services? She has become so reliant on the wages earned from prostituting herself after these other gods that when they inevitably fail her, she will be left destitute.[77]

[73] Gale A. Yee, "Hosea," in *The New Interpreter's Bible Commentary*, ed. Leander E. Keck (Nashville: Abingdon, 1996), 7: 264.

[74] Ibid., 265; Leon J. Wood, "Hosea," in *The Expositor's Bible Commentary*, ed. Frank E. Gaebelein (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1985), 7: 204; Douglas Stuart, *Hosea-Jonah*, WBC 31 (Waco, TX: Word, 1987), 142; M. Daniel Carroll Rodas, "Hosea," in *The Expositor's Commentary*, ed. Tremper Longman III and David E. Garland, rev. ed. (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2008), 8: 271.

[75] Stuart, *Hosea-Jonah*, 142.

[76] Yee, "Hosea," 265.

[77] This reversal of fortunes motif using threshing floors, as well as wine vats, is also used in Joel 2:24 roughly a century later, only going the other way. Empty threshing floors will become full. Duane A. Garrett, *Hosea, Joel,* NAC 19A (Nashville: Broadman & Holman, 1997), 294.

Depending on the dating of Hosea's oracle, the predicted reversal of fortunes would have been almost laughable to the northern kingdom (the target of this oracle). When Hosea began his ministry, Jeroboam II sat on the throne of Israel (Hos 1:1) and led the northern kingdom to its military, territorial, and economical peak.[78] Their threshing floors were full to the brim and life was good. Yet it would not be much longer until the destitution of the threshing floors came about when Israel was eradicated between 722-720 BC by Shalmaneser V and Sargon II.[79] Not only would the threshing floors be empty; most would be gone.

3.4 Micah 4:11-13

According to the introduction of his book, Micah's ministry covers a large part of the latter half of the 8th century BC, contemporary with Isaiah and Amos. As noted above, the first half of the 8th century was a time when the divided kingdoms of Israel and Judah reached their peaks, almost attaining Solomonic power. However, under the able leadership of Tiglath-Pileser III and his Sargonid descendants, Assyria underwent a renaissance in the latter half of the 8th century, reclaiming their preeminent status in the near east, destroying Israel, and nearly wiping out Judah in the process.[80] The 8th century thus represented the two extremes Israel and Judah would experience in their history and at the time of Micah, both were on the wrong end of that spectrum. Ralph Smith suggests that Micah 4:11-13 specifically was written during Sennacherib's devastating campaign of 701 BC.[81]

Against this backdrop, chapters four and five offer hope that God's people, Judah and Jerusalem specifically, will win in the end.[82] Micah 4:11-13 describes this turnabout:

> Now many nations are assembled against you, saying, 'Let her be defiled, and let our eyes gaze upon Zion.' But they do not know the thoughts of the Lord; they do not understand his plan, that he has gathered them as sheaves to the threshing floor. Arise and thresh, O daughter of Zion, for I will make your horn iron, and I will make your

78 Keith W. Whitelam, "Jeroboam," *ABD* 3: 742-746.

79 A. Kirk Grayson, "Sargon," *ABD* 5: 984.

80 Thomas Edward McComiskey, "Micah," in *The Expositor's Bible Commentary* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1985), 7: 395.

81 Ralph L. Smith, *Micah-Malachi*, WBC 32 (Dallas: Nelson, 1984), 42.

82 Daniel J. Simundson, "Micah," in *The New Interpreter's Bible*, ed. Leander E. Keck (Nashville: Abingdon, 1996), 7: 539.

> hoofs bronze; you shall beat in pieces many peoples; and shall devote their gain to the Lord, their wealth to the Lord of the whole earth.

Similar to Jeremiah 51:33, the violent nature of threshing is used here to describe Judah's rise from the ashes. Opposing nations are pictured as ignorant as the inanimate sheaves of grain God, served up on a platter for Judah to destroy at God's behest. God is pictured as the farmer who has gathered the grain for threshing, while Judah is pictured as an ox who is supposed to thresh the grain into oblivion. The image here is of oxen trampling the grain, instead of using a sledge or rollers. Therefore, God's promise to "make your hoofs of bronze" is a promise to give Judah whatever strength needed to utterly crush her enemies, as bronze hooves would be much more effective in threshing than would normal hooves. Here threshing floor imagery is used to illustrate a promise of future power by God to his people.

4. Conclusion

The threshing floor was a key part of ancient agricultural life and thus provided a rich well of metaphors that the biblical authors drew from. As demonstrated, the threshing floor imagery did not have a single, uniformed image applied across the board. Instead it was applied in multiple ways, from man's hel*p*lessness to judgment to a barometer of economic prosperity to promises of future power. Given the complexity of the threshing process, this is not surprising.

Journal of Asia Adventist Seminary 17.2 (2014): 135-144

ISAIAH 28:10, 13: A WARRANT FOR PROOF-TEXTING?

MARFEAL SANTIAGO, M.A. STUDENT
Adventist International Institute of Advanced Studies, PHILIPPINES

1. Introduction

Proof-texting is the use of isolated texts from a larger document in an attempt to establish a position in a polemical encounter. In Biblical studies, this has been one of the most over-used forms of establishing a theological position by preachers, teachers, and laymen alike. It is an appeal to certain passages to justify a point of doctrine notwithstanding the context of the passage being cited. It often results in absurd conclusions such that "theologian A claims to have a more 'biblical' theology than theologian B, based upon counting up verse in parentheses (on a random page from each work) and claiming to have three times as many."[1] Such treatment of textual data is not only unfair to the text but also detrimental to the scholarship itself. Yet no matter how futile the practice is, proof-texting is a widely used method of "interpreting" the Scriptures, even in Adventist theological history. William Miller espoused the idea of using only the Bible and a concordance to arrive at a particular Bible truth. He taught how Scriptures interpret itself by bringing together all the texts on the subject and examining every word to form a theory without contradiction nor error.[2] The idea is that words or phrases anywhere in the Bible are best defined by examining other usages elsewhere.

This methodology incorrectly assumes that (1) the various writers of the Bible used the same linguistic registry, (2) translations of the Bible are precise and accurate, and (3) there are no possible definitions outside of the biblical and contemporary lexicons. In an attempt at a defense for *dicta probanta*

[1] J. Reese, "Pitfalls of Proof-Texting," *BTB* 13 (1983): 121-23.

[2] I. C. Wellcome, *History of the Second Advent Message and Mission, Doctrine and People* (Yarmouth, Me.: Author, 1874), 44-46.

(proof-texts), Allen and Swain[3] summed up the most pointed criticisms against the practice into three general objections. First, it does not give due honor to the specific context. Second, it insists on attributing unwarranted meaning to biblical language in doing theology, disregarding hermeneutics. Third, its tendency to favor readings that support one's doctrinal interests. In response, they illustrate how certain Pauline passages do fall under such criticism and in no wise err in doing so.

In response to the first criticism, Paul used Lev 26:12, Isa 52:11, and 2 Sam 7:14 as proofs that "we are the temple of the living God" in 2 Cor 6:16–18 without providing any literary or historical context of these OT texts. In response to the second, in Gal 3:6, 8, Paul identifies "the promised Spirit" with "the blessing of Abraham" (v. 14), which alludes to Gen 12:3 and 15:6. This is a clear instance of an OT terminology, *i.e.* blessing of Abraham bears theological propositions despite its lack of an explicit inclusion. And in response to the third, Hebrews 1 is a collection of poems from Psalms that point to "a single doctrinal theme, the Messiah's divine sonship," despite the fact that it is not "the main theological focus, if it is a focus at all" in the texts in Psalms.[4]

Having considered this, those who employ this method often quotes Isa 28:10; 13 to support their methods, particularly, the phrase, "For precept must be upon precept, precept upon precept; line upon line, line upon line; here a little, and there a little" (KJV). This is taken to mean that understanding the Scripture is to be done by taking tiny bits of texts from one verse and connecting it to another similar verse, regardless of the context. Such method treats the entire Bible not as a literary library, but some kind of a divine Magic 8 Ball where a shake of the diviner will randomly point to an answer. While the use of concordances helps in uncovering meanings, they are to be done when the two texts are clearly speaking of the same ideas, or that one text quotes another, as in the case of NT quotations of the OT. The singular focus of this paper is to examine the phrase in Isa 28:10, 13 through contextual and literary considerations to determine whether it is a proof for the legitimacy of proof-texting.

[3] R. M. Allen and Scott R. Swain. "In Defense of Proof-Texting." *JETS* 54.3 (2011): 589-606.

[4] Ibid., 597.

2. Contextual Considerations

The Bible is a literary composition, and as such, the reader must always see the bigger picture in every text, in every line, and in every passage.[5] The text in question is part of the prophet Isaiah's rebuke of Ephraim, which is Israel,[6] both against the people and the priests who neglected service and worship to God.[7] At the beginning of the chapter, Isaiah has already set the tone and the theme of the passage—the dire situation of the city and its inhabitants and the timeliness for its judgement. Rendered in its poetic form:

> Woe to the crown of pride, to the drunkards of Ephraim,
> Whose glorious beauty [is] a fading flower,
> Which [are] on the head of the fat valleys
> Of them that are overcome with wine. (Isa 28:1, KJV)

This initial verse gives its genre: poetry. Goldingay considers chapters 28-33 of Isaiah as comprising "a series of 'Ohs' for the people of God (all of similar length) and ultimately for their would-be destroyer."[8] The first of this series is for the drunken leadership exemplified by the priests of Ephraim and condemned in Isa 28:1-29, in which the verses in question properly belong.

It is therefore important to see the structure of this entire passage in order to put the verses in question in its proper context. Below is a summative division of the entire chapter.

vv. 1-4	The threat against Ephraim's drunkenness
vv. 5-6	The encouragement of the remnants who maintain faithfulness
vv. 7-8	The identification of the destroyer of the leaders—strong drink
vv. 9-13	The effect of the destroyer to the people—inauspiciousness to learn

[5] V. P. Long, "Reading the Old Testament as Literature," in *Interpreting the Old Testament: A Guide for Exegesis*, ed. Craig C. Broyles (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2001).

[6] Ephraim is the second son of Joseph blessed by Jacob (Gen 41:52). The tribe of Ephraim is a figurative term to refer to the kingdom of Israel in the North as opposed to the kingdom of Judah in the south. Isaiah is rebuking the kingdom of Israel for turning away from the precepts of God.

[7] N. Mastnjak, "Judah's Covenant with Assyria in Isaiah 28," *VT* 64 (2014): 465-483.

[8] J. Goldingay, "Introduction to Chapters 28-33." *Isaiah*. Massachusetts: Hendrickson Publishers, Inc., 2001. p. 151

vv. 14-16 The call to hear the word of the Lord

vv. 17-22 The consequence of the people's unrepentance

vv. 22-29 The threat that God will not deal with indifference forever

From this structure, verses 9-13 appears in the center of the discourse against Ephraim. Here, Isaiah was pointing out the effects of "strong drink" that the priests and the prophets both partake—their judgment is shrouded so they cannot discern the teachings of God. These verses are also specifically addressed to the leaders, as referred to in verse 6 ("him who sits in judgment"), and not necessarily to ordinary people.[9]

The division also allow important elements of the passage to be revealed. First, it is in the form of poetry, and thus the stringing of words and phrases are oftentimes for euphonic purposes rather than semantics. The notion of euphony is an important concept to clarify the meaning of the text. Suffice it to say, the context of Isa 28:9-13 already sets the parameters in which a proper exegesis can be made. Secondly, the book of Isaiah is an intensified "vision of God's sweeping program for a repentant and faithful Israel.... God pardons and cleanses them from their sins and gives them a new heart, puts His Spirit within them, and causes them to walk in His statute."[10] Thus, it is not a book of instructions on how to read and understand a religious text, *i.e.* the Bible, but a revelation of God's glorious plan for His people. Against this backdrop, the verses in this study must be seen as part of God's dealing with Israel. Third, the immediate context of Isa 28:1-28 shows that the intention of the writer is rebuke, not instruction. This means that far from giving specific instructions on what Israel ought to do, as the case in other prophetic writings in the OT,[11] this passage is a rebuke to the leaders of the nation for what they failed to do. Finally, the phrase "For precept must be upon precept, precept upon precept; line upon line, line upon line; here a little, and there a little" is not a directive on how the people must respond to God's call but a description of how, despite God teaching them knowledge, Israel still cannot learn because of drunkenness.

[9] Ibid.

[10] R. M. Davidson "Interpreting Old Testament Prophecy," in *Understanding Scripture: An Adventist Approach*, ed. George W. Reid (Silver Spring, MD: Biblical Research Institute, 2006), 194.

[11] For example, Isa 48 is a more direct instruction on how Israel should respond to the call of Yahweh.

2.1 A Note on the Structure of the Pericope

Looking at the structure of the pericope will allow a fuller understanding and appreciation of the written texts. Biblical texts are not isolated verbal amalgams, such as the collection of sayings of sages from various cultures. On the contrary, the Bible is a library full of literary works with all their respective literary traditions. It is already shown that Isa 28:9-13 plays a central role in the entire chapter in that it presents the people the result of their drunkenness. In looking at the five verses in question, the structure is thus given:

line 1 To whom would He teach knowledge? Those just weaned from milk?

2 Order on order, order on order, Line on line, line on line, A little here, a little there

3 He will speak through stammering lips and a foreign tongue

4 Order on order, order on order, Line on line, line on line, A little here, a little there

These four lines outline the pericope which is a kind of synthetic parallelism where the rhetorical question (erotesis) in line 1 is given emphasis by the phrase by mimicking the sound of "those just weaned from milk." Likewise, line 3's reference to the stammering lips and unintelligible sound is responded to by the phrase. It is also worth noting here that the *tsav la tsav* line is repeated. In both instances, the timing is significant because it places itself as the response of the people to Yahweh's words. The author is contrasting the highly intellectual language of the Lord in His attempt to win the leaders back, as in verses 5 and 6, and the rubbish response that the leaders can only muster at that point of their drunkenness as in verses 7 and 8.

While this is not an exhaustive discussion on the context of Isaiah 28, it suffices to provide a jump-off point for the present essay to assert that the *tsav la tsav* line should be understood in its contextual and poetic properties. This is integral to the analysis of the line as merely cacophonous that seeks to create an effect rather than impart a meaning.

3. Literary Considerations

The grammar of the text plays an important part in the present study, and the specific words used in the focused phrase would elucidate the meaning of this poetic line. A. van Selms has written an adept exegesis on these particular verses and at the onset he stated that vv. 9-13 is a literary

division that starts with a *sᵉtûmā* and ends with a *pᵉtûhā*.[12] The section begins with vv. 9 and 10. These two opening verses form a "motivated interrogative sentence" whereby a rhetorical question is motivated by the answer succeeding it. In other words, it is a kind of *reductio ad absurdum*. Verse 10, then, is a statement that makes the questions in v. 9 as absurd[13]—"them that are weaned from the milk, and drawn from breasts," which describes no less than the babies, cannot be taught knowledge nor can they understand doctrines. This is the absurd conclusion. Verse 10 is then the motivation for this absurdity. What does it mean? The answer is best explained when the text is read in the original language:

צַו לָצָו צַו לָצָו קַו לָקָו קַו לָקָו זְעֵיר שָׁם זְעֵיר שָׁם

Tsav la-Tsav, Tsav la-Tsav; Kav la-Kav, Kav la-Kav; ze-Eir sham ze-Eir sham

Order on order, line on line, a little here, little there

The alliteration and internal rhyming that Isaiah used in this line is not only brilliant for its form but tremendously effective to the listeners. This whole line in Hebrew is a series of monosyllabic mumblings similar to what babies do, and Isaiah adapted himself to the way his audience would speak, being likened to babies themselves. This understanding is supported by the following verse when the prophet said that "with stammering lips and another tongue will he speak to this people" (v. 11). The reference to "stammering lips" cannot be mistaken here when verse 10, and 13a for that matter, is read in the original language.

This phrase was extensively discussed by William W. Hallo of the Hebrew Union College–Jewish Institute of Religion in 1958. His studies on Ugaritic abecedaries reveal that Isaiah's phrase is an example of a much larger tradition of Semitic abecedaries or "baby talk" for which "the sounds may be called significants or signifiers, for they do the signalizing."[14] The words chosen for such an abecedary are not more important than the sound they contribute to the whole form. Much like a nursery rhyme, then, the reader must not put insurmountable amount of meaning to each morpheme without properly attributing the selection of such morpheme to its phonemical properties. In Isa 28: 10 and 13a, the choice of the words *tsav, kav,* and *zeir* may in themselves be meaningful but such meaning is overshadowed by the sound they make. Therefore, the author, when making an abecedary, is not making a semantic assertion of any kind.

[12] A. Van Selms, "Isaiah 28:9-13: An Attempt to Give a New Interpretation," *ZAW* 85 (1973): 332.

[13] Ibid.

[14] W. W. Hallo "Isaiah 28:9-13 and The Ugaritic Abecedaries," *JBL* 77 (1958): 324.

Verses 11 and 12 are equally crucial in understanding the phrase. The reference to "another tongue" is seen as a prophetic prediction that the nation of Israel will lose its teacher standing before Yahweh and that the Gentiles, whom they were supposed to teach in the first place, will be called upon to speak to them regarding the truth. In his comparison of this two verses to 1 Cor 14:20-22, David Lanier contends that the "another tongue" refers to "the unbelievers in Isaiah's day were Israelites who had defiantly rejected God's covenant rest in order to forge illegitimate alliances politically and spiritually."[15] Thus, in this pronouncement, Isaiah was prophesying judgment upon the people of God and their leaders.

Verse 13 is divided in two parts: *a* is a repetition of the phrase in verse 10 and *b* is the effect if such a moronic condition persists. This second part simply reveals the negative significance of the abecedary because when they (the religious leaders) continue on this path of unlearning they will "fall backward, and be broken, and snared, and taken." The first two descriptions point to the effect of intoxication, and the second two descriptions refer to the consequence of such an intoxicated state—their enemies will capture them. Verse 13b is then a clear indication that 13a is not meant to be taken as a positive way of hearing the words of God, nor is it a wise system of studying the scriptures.

3.1. The Line as Intentionally Cacophonous

As previously stated, there is an overall poetic rhythm in ch. 28. While western poetry is characterized primarily by its measured meter and rhyme scheme, these two are not prominent in Hebrew poetry. Instead, the identification of a poem lies heavily on the structure such as parallelism or acronym. The former signals poetry in the text, especially in those passages where line divisions are not present, because the succeeding line(s) build up on the idea of the first, either by way of additional information, synonymous expressions, or contradictory statements.[16] An alphabetical acronym is also an overt indicator of poetry, such as in the book of Lamentations (except for ch. 4). Nevertheless, it is not without auditory devices. In fact, it seems that Hebrew poetry employs a lot of these even in narratives. For instance, in Num 24 and 25 there is a phonetic link in that the word וַיָּשָׁב (*vayashav*) in 24:25 and וַיֵּשֶׁב (*vayeshev*) in 25:1 are in alliteration, which is also in place in Gen 1:2's *tohu*

[15] D. E. Lanier, "With Stammering Lips and Another Tongue: 1 Cor 14:20-22 and Isa 28:11-12," *CTR 5* (1991): 280.

[16] For a brief discussion of biblical poetry, see P. D. Miller, "Meter, Parallelism, and Tropes: The Search for Poetic Style." *JSOT* 28 (1984): 99-106.

vabohu. Such auditory elements are common even in prose because the distinction between prose and poetry in the Hebrew language is only "a matter of degrees,"[17] and not necessarily a distinction in form. This is the reason that ch. 28, or the entire book of Isaiah for that matter, is considered poetic. What is the implication of reading Isa 28:9-13 as poetic? Simply that it must be understood according to how one understands poetry, especially biblical poetry—not in their literal meanings but in their intention and effect.

The line being investigated here is no exception to this. The *tsav la tsav* phrase is poetic on account of its context, structure, and auditory features—alliteration. Yet this is not simply an alliteration but the author went further. Isaiah is creating a cacophony when he repeated the three monosyllabic phrases, thus rendering them in pairs:

tsav la tsav kav la kav *zeir sham*
tsav la tsav kav la kav *zeir sham*

Cacophony is an opposite to euphony, which is the use of words having pleasant and harmonious effects. Generally, the vowels, semi-vowels and the nasal consonants e.g. *l*, *m*, *n*, *r*, *y* are considered to be euphonious. Cacophony, on the other hand, uses combinations of consonants that require explosive delivery e.g., *p*, *b*, *d*, *g*, *k*, *ch-*, etc. and the fricatives or sounds that are produced by creating friction either in the labial, alveolar, or guttural places of articulation. The combination of the Hebrew phones *k*, *ts*, *z*, and *sh* found in the phrase in question therefore qualifies as a cacophony. This is true even when considering the earliest witnesses on their transliteration. For instance, Epiphanius renders it as "saulasau saulasau, kaulakauk kaulakauk," which is very similar to Jerome, "sau lasau, sau lasau, cau lacau, cau lacau."[18]

In like manner, we can also look at the LXX and their rendition of the line, θλῖψιν ἐπὶ θλῖψιν προσδέχου, ἐλπίδα ἐπ᾽ ἐλπίδι, ἔτι μικρὸν ἔτι μικρὸν (*thlipsin epi thlipsin prosdechou, elpida ep' elpidi, eti mikron eti mikron*). Although the translation did not render the line in cacophony as in the original, it nevertheless tried to retain the rhythm and the rhyme. It is interesting here that the LXX omitted the repetitions. This repetition in the Hebrew text is not merely an adjunct to the intended effect, but heightens it such that the final reading is not only emphatic but loud and annoying. The intended effect of the line can therefore be summarized into three: (1) to mimick the sound of babies as a mockery to the leaders, (2) to produce a linguistic contrast between the Lord's statement to the people and the leader's response, and (3) to annoy and maybe disorient the listeners of the prophecy. As matter of fact, the third

[17] Miller, "Meter, Parallelism, and Tropes," 100.

[18] Selms, "An Attempt to Give a New Interpretation," 335.

intended effect is given in v. 13, that the leaders "may go and stumble backward, be broken, snared, and taken captive" (NASB). The idea of sound as rendering disorientation to the enemies is not foreign to the Bible. We find this in Joshua's trumpet and shout that caused the fall of Jericho (Jos 6:20), or in Judg 7 when Gideon blew the trumpet and smashed several earthen vessels, and their enemies were so disoriented that they killed each other. In the same manner, the cacophony in Isa 28:10, 13 has the same effect on the people addressed.

4. Conclusions

Isaiah 28:9-13 is not an isolated passage nor an independent treatise on how to study the Scriptures. Through contextual and linguistic analyses, this essay attempted to show that the meaning and intention of this passage has nothing to do with any exegetical approach. It is part of a larger poetic structure that aims to call upon Israel to repent of their evil ways, cease from polluting themselves with wine (literally and figuratively), and return to their faith in the God of their fathers who is very willing to "cause the weary to rest" (v. 12). Therefore, in the contextual study of the passage, there is nothing that warrants a positive recommendation from the prophet on how to go about studying the scriptures or heeding the word of God. The phrase, "here a little and there a little" is not a license to take a few words or phrases from all over the Bible and make a doctrine out of such. Rather, the context demonstrates that the phrase is a mockery against Ephraim's religious leaders who, after having been taught the truths about God through precepts and lines.

The literary analysis indicated that the phrase that appeared in verses 10 and 13a is part of Isaiah's stylistics to emphasize the brunt of his message audibly. This phrase, when read in its original rendition, is a cacophony. In several dynamic translations of the text, this is not even translated as a line but instead tried to explain its effect.[19] If the line were to be translated in English with the cacophony in mind, we would have something along the lines of "jot for jot jot for jot, dot for dot dot for dot, some here some there." This translation is an attempt to produce the plosives in *d* and *t*, and the fricatives in *j*, *s*, and *th* sounds, while also maintaining alliteration in the *o* vowel. The meaning of jot, as in a tiny bit of writing, and dot, as a basic unit of measurement, also correspond to the meanings of *tsav* and *kav*, respectively. Yet the point is not to translate the meaning, but the effect of the line, as the

[19] The NET Bible translates it as "Indeed, they will hear meaningless gibberish, senseless babbling, a syllable here, a syllable there."

original intent of the author is to mock the religious leaders that they cannot learn from God anymore because of their drunkenness, and that like little children they would be taught the elementary things of God by others who did not have the truth like they did. In other words, regardless of what the meaning of the pertinent words are in the phrase, i.e. precept, law, order or doctrine, line or measuring stick, random syllables here and there,[20] the objective of this cacophony is to create an effect upon its original audience that would make them realize the futility of their condition. It is not meant to be an instruction on how they are to approach the Scripture. This poetic line has an intended effect, rather than an intended meaning.

The theological implication of this understanding is much deeper and meaningful than an incorrect application in support of proof-texting. This is a resounding reminder to the religious leaders of the church not to be intoxicated with the wine (doctrines and teachings) of the world that they would lose their ability to comprehend the call of God. Ellen G. White's numerous usage of the phrase[21] encourages the believers and the church leaders to teach those newcomers to the church biblical truths in the way that a child is taught, little by little where one teaching forms the basis of another, rather than a cursory instruction or an overloading of information.

The answer to the topic question is therefore in the negative; Isa 28:9-13 is not a basis for proof-texting. If at all, it is an implicit injunction against such manner of exegesis because incontrovertible layers of doctrines, like bricks that support a building, build up God's truth. It is not found as isolated pieces scattered all over the scriptures that beg for the exegete to string together. The Torah, for instance, is an immaculate model of God's organized and systematized manner of teaching truth. That is how the church should attempt to understand truth—organized, systematized, holistic.

[20] Gene Rice, for example, discusses the proposed emendations on these terms in his analysis of the NEB translation of Isa 28:1-22. See Rice, Gene. 1973. "Isaiah 28:1-22 and the New English Bible." *The Journal of Religious Thought* 30, no. 2: 13-17.

[21] A search of this phrase in the EGW Research CD rendered 50 instances, all of which are not inconsistent with Isaiah's reference to how children learn. In fact, Ellen White often used the phrase in her counsels to parents on how to train their children in the truth.

Journal of Asia Adventist Seminary 17.2 (2014): 145-166

The Role of the Heart and Will in Philip Melanchthon's Theology of Righteousness by Faith

Adrian Petre, Ph.D. Student
Adventist International Institute of Advanced Studies, Philippines

1. Introduction

Praised by some, condemned by others, called "the prime mover of conflicts,"[1] a "synergist"[2] or *praeceptor Germaniae,* Melanchthon remains a controversial person, but certainly one of the great theologians of the Reformation. He formulated *Confessio Augustana,* a synthesized declaration of the Lutheran faith read before the Diet at Augsburg, on June 25, 1530, that later "would become normative for the Lutheran confession."[3]

The basis for this statement of faith was already set by Melanchthon's *Loci communes,* published in 1521, as the first systematic presentation of the biblical truth, based on the *Sola Scriptura* principle. "No better book has been written

[1] F. Bente, "Historical Introductions to the Symbolical Books of the Evangelical Lutheran Church," in *Concordia Triglotta* (St. Louis: Concordia, 1921), 104.

[2] John M. Drickamer, "Did Melanchthon Become a Synergist?" *The Springfielder* 40, (1976): 95-101. The term "synergism" comes from the Greek word *synergos*, "a fellow-worker" (from *syn*, "together" and *ergon*, "work"). The accusation of synergism as applied to Melanchthon insinuated that he ceded the human will a place in salvation, as a "fellow-worker" with faith. This contrasted with what was understood as being Luther's monergism (*mono*s, "alone"), thus allowing only God's influence in salvation.

[3] Thomas A. Brady, "Emergence and Consolidation of Protestantism in the Holy Roman Empire to 1600," in *Reform and Expansion 1500-1660,* ed. Ronnie Po-Chia Hsia, vol. 6 of *The Cambridge History of Christianity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 21.

after the Holy Scriptures than Philip's,"[4] Luther remarked about the book. The last edition was revised one year before Melanchthon's death in 1560.

These revisions, starting in 1521 and ending in 1559, resulted in a final edition four times larger than the first one. The different editions show a theological development during this time.[5] It expressed the Lutheran understanding of righteousness by faith in terms that appeared for some of his contemporaries as a betrayal of Luther's own monergist understanding. Melanchthon tried to solve the theodicy problem raised by the concept of predestination. He states that the reason why some will be lost is found in the "connection of the causes which are the Word of God, the Holy Spirit and the will of man."[6]

In other words, Melanchthon speaks of a certain degree of freedom that human beings have, in contrast with Luther's understanding of a passive will, as expressed in the well-known book *De servo arbitrio*.[7] Coupled with the events following the Schmalkaldic War, Johann Pfeffinger started the synergist controversy. Being influenced by Melanchthon's declarations, like the one above, he affirmed that "the reason that some responded to the gospel and others did not was to be found within humans themselves, rather than in an extrinsic prior divine decision."[8]

Melanchthon is considered "the father of all the synergists that have raised their heads within the Lutheran Church."[9] Such a negative attitude towards Melanchthon reflects a bias toward the assumption that he was influenced more by humanism than the Bible[10] in his articulation of the causes/factors in human salvation as including the will, beside the Scripture and the Holy Spirit. Is this affirmation true in light of the Lutheran principle of *Sola Scriptura* and in the light of his own statements and definitions, or was Melanchthon's assertion about the will misunderstood?

4 Philipp Melanchthon and Jacob A. O. Preus, *Loci Communes, 1543* (St. Louis: Concordia, 1992), 9.

5 Philipp Melanchthon and Christian Preus, *Commonplaces: Loci Communes 1521* (St. Louis: Concordia, 2014), 28.

6 Melanchthon and Preus, *Loci Communes, 1543*, 44.

7 Lat. for "On the Bondage of the Will". Translated and published in Martin Luther, *Luther's Works*, vol. 33, *Career of the Reformer III*, ed. Philip S. Watson (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1972).

8 Alister E. McGrath, *Iustitia Dei: A History of the Christian Doctrine of Justification*, 3rd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 244-245.

9 Bente, "Historical Introductions," 131.

10 Ibid., 105.

In order to arrive at an answer, it is necessary to render a new assessment of the place of the will in Melanchthon's theology. A novel approach is to understand the will as related to the heart in Melanchthon's theology of righteousness by faith. Thus, the problem investigated by this study is the manner in which an understanding of the place of the heart and of the will clarifies Melanchthon's interpretation of the role of the will in the process of human salvation. Hence this study analyzes the manner in which Melanchthon uses the word "heart" and "will" and evaluates the relation between them in his major theological work, *Loci communes.*

The research is delimited to the study of Melanchthon's major work, *Loci communes*, first edition (1521) and the 1543 edition, English translations, compared with their Latin original[11] and the 1555 edition, the English translation. Any reference to other books will be only secondary, to facilitate a better understanding of the concepts conveyed in the *Loci*.

The results of this research can contribute to the clarification of the ambivalence regarding Melanchthon's theology and his position about the freedom of the will.[12] This can be useful to all researchers interested in Melanchthon's theology of the will. Also, it can be profitable to all Protestants who feel disheartened by the popular, negative attitude against Melanchthon. A growing trend of appreciation states that Melanchthon "developed an uniquely Lutheran understanding of Christian freedom,"[13] which does not contradict the *Sola Scriptura, Sola fide* and the *Sola gratia* of Martin Luther.

The understanding of freedom encompasses a biblical understanding of human nature, in which the mind, the will, and the heart each have their proper place. A clear understanding of the interaction between the will and the heart in *Loci communes* offers insight into Melanchthon's loyalty to biblical truth. Such intuition may lead to an appreciation of his knowledge and possibly to a change of attitude regarding his theological position.

[11] As it is published in the 21st volume of Karl Gottlieb Bretschneider and Heinrich Ernst Bindseil, eds., *Corpus Reformatorum*, 28 vols. (Leipzig, Germany: Schwetschke, 1834-1860). For an analytic bibliography of the online digitalized Melanchthonian Latin books (and various editions), see http://www.philological.bham.ac.uk/bibliography/melanchthon.html.

[12] Melanchthon and Preus, *Loci Communes, 1543*, 7.

[13] Timothy J. Wengert, "Philip Melanchthon on Human and Divine Freedom," *Dialog* 39, no. 4 (2000), 265.

2. The Will in Melanchthonian Studies

This part will deal with current Melanchthonian studies, regarding the role of the will in his understanding. As one will discover, Melanchthonian studies are polarized between his admirers and his critics. In the framework of a brief literature review,[14] this study will argue for a more balanced view of Melanchthon. Afterwards, the crucial terms in the heart of the controversy will be presented.

2.1. Between Hate and Love

Just before his death on April 19, 1560, Melanchthon made a list about the good things to anticipate and evil things he would escape by death.[15] Among the things he would be freed from he listed *rabies Theologorum* (Lat. for "the fury of the theologians"). One can certainly affirm that the theological conflicts from the last part of his life[16] marred his reputation up until the 20th century.[17]

A major locus of this conflict is Melanchthon's understanding regarding the role of the will in the process of salvation,[18] many perceiving his position as a departure from Luther's.[19] From this point onward, he was accused of

[14] Before proceeding to the study of Melanchthon's life, one should look through a good biography. The latest is the well-researched study of Gregory B. Graybill, *The Honeycomb Scroll: Philipp Melanchthon at the Dawn of the Reformation* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2015).

[15] Timothy J. Wengert, "Philip Melanchthon: Speaking for the Reformation," *The Expository Times* 126 (2015), 313-314.

[16] This is epecially true after the death of Luther in 1546.

[17] Clyde L. Manschreck, *Melanchthon: The Quiet Reformer* (New York: Abingdon, 1958; repr., Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2009), 13. Manschreck has an excellent insight when he states that "[o]nly now in the travail of modern Protestantism to understand itself and in the perspective of four hundred years is the place of Melanchthon becoming clear;" he understands Melanchthon as one of the "chief figures" of Protestantism, but also "the most enigmatic." Ibid.

[18] Heinz Scheible, *Melanchthon: Eine Biographie* (Munich: Beck, 1997), 10.

[19] Gregory Graybill synthesizes three theories in explaining this supposed departure: (1) he was convinced by Erasmus; (2) he was influenced by philosophy or (3) he had to be consistent with his own theological system. For more details, see Gregory B. Graybill, *Evangelical Free Will: Philipp Melanchthon's Doctrinal Journey on the Origins of Faith* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 9-11.

fomenting almost all of the conflicts within Lutheranism.[20] In his classical biography of Melanchthon, Clyde L. Manschreck affirms that Melanchthon's "gentleness was mistaken for weakness, his learnedness was regarded as questionable rationalism, his refusal to accept Luther without discrimination was painted as rebellion, his struggles to unify Christendom were labeled pro-papalism, and his recognition of the worth of Geneva's great leader was slurred as crypto-Calvinism."[21]

Not all agree that Melanchthon was misinterpreted. Although recognizing his influence as an "indelible positive mark" in the history of Reformation, Kurt K. Hendel makes an equivocal statement when he says that "Philip Melanchthon will continue to be a controversial reformer."[22] This ambivalence from the Lutheran standpoint is shared by Wilhelm Pauck who concludes that "Melanchthon gave to Luther's understanding of the gospel a humanistic-scientific form which, in respect of its basic presuppositions, was foreign to Luther's spiritual outlook."[23] While disagreeing with Pauck's negative assessment, Fong thinks that Melanchthon theology was undeniably oriented toward synergism and semi-Pelagianism.[24]

2.2. Toward a More Balanced View

At the beginning of the 21st century it seems that there is a growing interest in Melanchthon and his influence.[25] A short overview of the Melanchthonian studies is helpful in understanding the contemporary perception of Melanchthon as being not in the shadow of Luther but

[20] See the historical overview from the *Concordia Triglotta*. Bente, "Historical Introductions," 1-256. Bente expounds the prevalent negative assessment of Melanchthon's position.

[21] Manschreck, Melanchthon: The Quiet Reformer, 14.

[22] Kurt K. Hendel, "Augsburg Confessors Philip Melanchthon: Controversial Reformer," *CurrTM* 7 (1980), 55.

[23] Wilhelm Pauck, *From Luther to Tillich: The Reformers and Their Heirs* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1984), 53.

[24] Chung-ming Abel Fong, "Luther, Melanchthon and Calvin: The Dynamic Balance Between the Freedom of God's Grace and the Freedom of Human Responsibility in Salvation" (PhD diss., Westminster Theological Seminary, 1997), 186.

[25] Since 2004, Melanchthon's house in Bretten became the seat of the Melanchthon Academy, with the purpose of researching the universal dimension of this humanist and reformer. The webpage is http://www.melanchthon.com. Also, for a comprehensive bibliography of secondary studies on Philip Melanchthon see http://www.melanchthon.com/Melanchthon-Akademie/Wissenschaft_und _Forschung/Melanchthon_Bibliographie_2010-2015.php.

"significant in his own right,"[26] as having an original theology,[27] thus postulating a more balanced view of the reformer.

A "multifaceted image"[28] of Melanchthon emerges with the publishing of the volume edited by Johanna Loehr, encompassing assorted articles about theological, philosophical, political and educational themes, coupled with the historical effects of Melanchthon's activity.[29] In 2010, at the 460th anniversary of Melanchthon's death, a volume recognizing his influence in Europe was published under the editorship of Irene Dingel and Armin Kohnle.[30] It addresses the impact of Melanchthon in Europe, presenting him within his European network and with details about the different disciplines that were influenced by his writings.[31] For a more detailed impact in the areas of philosophy, theology, pedagogy and ecumenism, trying to do justice to Melanchthon's image of a humanist reformer, one can consult the 2011 collection of articles edited as a book by Michael Fricke and Matthias Heesch[32] and the Wilhelm Schwendemann's book from 2013.[33] The interaction between

[26] Graybill, Evangelical Free Will, 4.

[27] One can consult the collected articles dedicated to his theology in Frank Günter, ed., *Der Theologe Melanchthon* [The Theologian Melanchthon], Melanchthon-Schriften der Stadt Bretten 5 (Stuttgart: Jan Thorbecke, 2000). For a full list of the volumes in the same series, see http://www.melanchthon.com/Melanchthon-Akademie/Wissenschaft_und_Forschung/Publikationen.php.

[28] Michael Plathow, review of *Dona Melanchthoniana: Festschrift für Heinz Scheible zum 70. Geburtstag* [Dona Melanchthoniana: *Festschrift* for Heinz Schible's 70th Birthday], ed. Johanna Loehr, *Luther* 73 no. 3 (2002): 158-159.

[29] The book was first published at Stuttgart-Bad Canstatt by Frommann-Holzboog in 2001.

[30] *Philipp Melanchthon: Lehrer Deutschlands, Reformator Europas* [Philip Melanchthon: The Teacher of Germany, The Reformer of Europe], Leucorea-Studien zur Geschichte der Reformation und der Lutherischen Orthodoxie 13 (Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2011).

[31] For a bird's eye view of the book, see the publisher's presentation at http://www.eva-leipzig.de/product_info.php?info=p3039_Philipp-Melanchthon.html.

[32] *Der Humanist als Reformator: Über Leben, Werk und Wirkung Philipp Melanchthons* [The Humanist as Reformer: About the Life, the Work and Philip Melanchthon's Influence] (Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2011).

[33] *Reformation und Humanismus: Philipp Melanchthon und Johannes Calvin* [Reformation and Humanism: Philip Melanchthon and John Calvin] (Bern: Lang, 2013). Also, for the subsequent reception of Melanchthon's writings in schools and literature, see Stefan Rhein and Martin Treu, eds , *Philipp Melanchthon: Zur Populären Rezeption des Reformators* [Philip Melanchthon: On the Popular Reception of the Reformer],

philosophy and theology is analyzed more profoundly in *Der Philosoph Melanchthon* [The Philosopher Melanchthon] based on the supposition that "Melanchthon the theologian cannot be understood without his philological and philosophical educational background."[34]

In advancing the present-day understanding of Melanchthon, probably Timothy J. Wengert does more than anyone else.[35] He presents Melanchthon as being on a par with Luther, not in his umbra, as being the voice of Reform.[36] Wengert studies Melanchton's understanding of the will in several books and articles[37] concluding that he developed a notable and special interpretation which remains faithful to the core of the Protestant faith. In accordance with this positive appraisal, O'Kelly also argues that Melanchthon and Luther are not in disagreement regarding justification by faith, but in continuity.[38]

A comprehensive study on the doctrine of the will in Melanchthon's theology is undertaken by Wolfgang Matz, who, after a detailed analysis of the concept of "will" in varied Melanchthonian writings, infers that Melanchthon used philosophy only to be precise in his anthropological

---

Schriften/Kataloge der Stiftung Luthergedenkstätten in Sachsen-Anhalt 19 (Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2016).

[34] Günter Frank and Felix Mundt, ed., *Der Philosoph Melanchthon [The Philosopher Melanchthon]* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2012), v.

[35] David M. Whitford, "Contributors to the Lutheran Tradition," in *Reformation and Early Modern Europe: A Guide to Research,* ed. David M. Whitford, (Kirksville, MO: Truman State University Press, 2008), 13-14.

[36] Timothy J. Wengert, Philip Melanchthon, Speaker of the Reformation: Wittenberg's Other Reformer, VCS 963 (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2010).

[37] Timothy J. Wengert, *Human Freedom, Christian Righteousness: Philip Melanchthon's Exegetical Dispute with Erasmus of Rotterdam*, OSHT (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998); Wengert, "Human and Divine Freedom;" Timothy J. Wengert, "Philip Melanchthon and the Origins of the 'Three Causes' (1533-1535): An Examination on the Roots of the Controversy Over the Freedom of the Will," in *Philip Melanchthon: Theologian in Classroom, Confession, and Controversy,* ed. Irene Dingel et al., Refo500 Academic Studies 7 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2012); Wengert, "Speaking for the Reformation."

[38] Aaron T. O'Kelley, "Luther and Melanchthon on Justification: Continuity or Discontinuity?" in *Since We Are Justified by Faith: Justification in the Theologies of the Protestant Reformations,* ed. Michael Parsons (Milton Keynes: Paternoster, 2012), 43.

presentation of terms,[39] not crossing into the philosophical territory as some other have accused him of doing.

Two other studies, each from a different perspective, approach the concept of the "will." The first is found in chapter 3 of Dino Bellucci's book on the role of natural science in Melanchthon's understanding.[40] He states that the will must be understood in Melanchthon's writings as an accurate image of the characteristics of God's own will,[41] finding no reason whatsoever to impeach his reputation.

The second study is pursued from the perspective of Luther's *De servo arbitrio* by Robert Kolb.[42] In the second chapter of his book, Kolb calls Melanchthon a "critical" follower of *De servo arbitrio.* He recognizes that Melanchthon's language confused some of his students, due to the fact that Melanchthon wanted to preserve a "delicate balance" between the will and God's grace.[43] He also states that both Melanchthon and Luther are to be seen as struggling to make clear that God "exercises total responsibility" over creation while maintaining that He has given "every human being responsibility for obedience" in his or her sphere of life.[44] In other words, Kolb asserts that there is more of a misreading of both theologians than a contention between them.

2.3. Crucial Terms at the Heart of the Controversy

Before delving into the analysis of the manner in which Melanchthon used the word "heart" and into the study of the interaction between the heart and the will, a brief overview of the key terms in Melanchthon's writing will be useful.

39 Wolfgang Matz, *Der Befreite Mensch: Die Willenslehre in der Theologie Philipp Melanchthons*, Forschungen zur Kirchen- und Dogmengeschichte 81 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2001), 238.

40 Dino Bellucci, Science de la Nature et Réformation: La physique au Service de la Réforme dans L'enseignement de Philippe Mélanchton, Dialogo 1 (Roma: Vivere In, 1998).

41 Ibid., 561.

42 Robert Kolb, Bound Choice, Election, and Wittenberg Theological Method: From Martin Luther to the Formula of Concord (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005).

43 Ibid., 92.

44 Ibid., 10.

"Justification" is bed by Melanchthon as receiving "forgiveness of sin and imputed righteousness, for the sake of Christ, through faith."[45] He defines "sanctification" as "the renewal that follows, which God effects in us."[46] In his 1521 *Loci,* Melanchthon gives the meaning of the "heart" as the "seat of all affections, including love, hatred, blasphemy, and unbelief."[47] In the 1543 edition, the heart is place under the "will," which is defined as "[the] second part of man," "the seeking part," "which either obeys or resists judgment."[48] The first part of humanity is "the ability of knowing and judging, which is called the mind."[49]

3. Under the Will, but from the Heart

From the vantage point of the current positive appraisal of Melanchthon's theology, an analysis of the essence of Melanchthon's understanding of righteousness by faith in *Loci communes* will follow.[50] This will create the framework for the discussion of the place and role of the human heart in the process of salvation as described by Melanchthon. After clarifying this issue, the relation and the interaction between the heart and the will in *Loci communes* will be explored, for the purpose of shedding light on his understanding of the role of the will in the process of salvation.

3.1. The Essence of Melanchthon's Righteousness by Faith

In the book whose content was intended to be a presentation of "the chief topics of Christian doctrine,"[51] Melanchthon concentrates on what he

45 Philipp Melanchthon and Clyde Leonard Manschreck, *Melanchthon on Christian Doctrine: Loci Communes, 1555*, A Library of Protestant Thought (New York: Oxford University Press, 1965), 169.

46 Ibid., 163.

47 Melanchthon and Preus, *Loci Communes 1521*, 108.

48 Melanchthon and Preus, *Loci Communes, 1543*, 41.

49 Ibid.

50 It is not the purpose of this research to present a historical development of his doctrine of justification. This was already done, adequately, by Corneliu C. Simuț, "The Development of the Doctrine of Justification in the Theology of Philip Melanchton: A Brief Historical Survey," *Perichoresis* 1 (2003): 119-127. Thus this research attempts to view his understanding of righteousness by faith, in all of the three representative editions of his *Loci communes*.

51 Melanchthon and Preus, *Loci Communes 1521*, 47.

considers to be the essence of Christian knowledge, "the power of sin, the Law, [and] grace."[52] These three concepts are part of the process of salvation, which is at the center of understanding of the righteousness by faith in the reformer's theology. In this soteriological framework, Melanchthon presents his *loci communes.*

Regarding the power of sin, Melanchthon emphasizes the nature of sin. The essence of sin is called an "inner darkness of the mind," "the stubbornness of the heart," "doubts," "ignoring and despising" Jesus Christ, and "turning away" from the will of God.[53] Against these, the Holy Spirit brings conviction, because He is the *voce ministerii Evangelici* (Lat. for "the voice of the Gospel ministry").[54] The voice of God's Spirit is heard through the "literal meaning"[55] of the Scripture, which present both the anger and the mercy of God.[56] When a person is brought to the point of contrition and recognizes that the only escape is to trust "in the grace promised in Christ" he or she can be "resurrected and revived."[57]

After addressing the topics of free will, sin, law, gospel and grace,[58] he starts presenting the loci of grace and justification, "the sum and substance of the Gospel."[59] In his understanding, a person is justified after "being put to death by the Law" and is "brought back to life" by the good news of the

[52] Ibid., 52.

[53] Melanchthon and Preus, *Loci Communes, 1543*, 47.

[54] Bretschneider and Bindseil, *Corpus Reformatorum*, 21: 665-666.

[55] Melanchthon and Preus, *Loci Communes 1521*, 195. Melanchthon argues here for a cognitive propositional revelation. The meaning is in the plain reading of Scripture. The cognitive content of the Spirit's revelation is presented on the same edition, where he states that one can see "the plan of the Holy Spirit in the Scriptures, how he teaches the pious so sweetly and persuasively and acts for no other reason than to save us." Ibid., 174.

[56] In Melanchthon's understanding, "the Law displays sin, the Gospel grace." Ibid., 170. Both have promises for life, but the promises made by the Law are only for those who can keep the Law, which a sinner cannot. So, for the sinner, only the promises of the Gospel are attainable. Melanchthon recognizes that the Law and the Gospel are not separated but joined together in the whole Bible. Ibid., 181.

[57] Ibid., 194.

[58] The same order is presented in the 1543 edition, with the topics regarding God, creation and the cause of sin being placed at the beginning. Melanchthon defines the Law as being "the knowledge of sin" and the Gospel as "the promise of grace and righteousness." Ibid., 204.

[59] Melanchthon and Preus, *Loci Communes, 1543*, 85.

remission of sins.[60] This can only be done when, though faith, one is clinging without any doubts to the promise of Christ. [61] Thus Melanchthon locates *fides* (faith) in the heart of *iustitia*. In the 1521 version, he defines human righteousness (*iustitia*) as "faith (*fides*) alone in the divine mercy and grace in Jesus Christ."[62] This definition of justification (*iustificatio*) is expanded in the 1543 edition as being the "forgiveness of sin and reconciliation or the acceptance of a person to eternal life"[63]

Understanding it as a forensic term, Melanchthon states that we "must, however, accept this imputed righteousness by faith."[64] In the *ordo salutis* faith comes before the working of the Holy Spirit in us of "that which is akin to God,"[65] but after that one received the "knowledge of God's mercy."[66] After exploring the semantics of the Greek word *pistis*[67] he concludes that this comprises both firm assent (*assensionem firmam*) and trust (*fiduciam*).[68] In other words, faith is both knowledge of and trust in God's promises, promises that bring consolation through the ministry of the Holy Spirit to the "minds that were previously made to tremble in terror"[69] because of the knowledge of sin. Thus the "firm assent" is contingent on the Holy Spirit's illumination and renewal.[70] Closely connected, the trust (*fiducia*) is that the "action of the will

60 Melanchthon and Preus, *Loci Communes 1521*, 209.

61 Ibid.

62 Personal translation: "Sed sola FIDES de misericordia et gratia dei in Jesu Christo IUSTITIA est." Bretschneider and Bindseil, *Corpus Reformatorum*, 21:159-160.

63 Personal translation: "IUSTIFICATIO significat remissionem peccatorum et reconciliationem eu acceptationem personae ad vitam aeternam." Ibid., 21: 741-742.

64 Melanchthon and Manschreck, *Loci Communes, 1555*, 161.

65 He is referring here to the beginning of sanctification. Ibid., 162. This affirmation must be understood in the context of Andreas Osiander's (1498-1552) controversial declarations that "we are justified on account of the essential righteousness of God in us." Quoted by Melanchthon in Ibid., 168.

66 Melanchthon and Preus, *Loci Communes, 1543*, 113.

67 The Greek term for "faith" which is translated in Latin by Melanchthon as *fides.*

68 Bretschneider and Bindseil, *Corpus Reformatorum*, 21: 744. The same structure of faith is presented by Melanchthon in the first edition of *Loci communes*: "faith is constant assent to God's every word" and "faith is nothing else than trust in God's mercy promised in Christ." Melanchthon and Preus, *Loci Communes 1521*, 215.

69 Melanchthon and Preus, *Loci Communes 1521*, 189.

70 Bretschneider and Bindseil, *Corpus Reformatorum*, 21:161-162.

which of necessity responds to the assent."[71] When the mind "raises itself by faith, remission of sins and reconciliation are given."[72]

The action of God's Spirit continues the work of renewal, "which God effects in us," calling it sanctification.[73] Melanchthon recognized faith as the "the source, life, and root of all good works;" from this faith all the good works toward God and toward the human neighbor spring.[74] This faith still remains a "powerful and eager trust in God's mercy, never failing to produce good fruit."[75] There is no merit even in the good deeds done after being justified, because the human being is still a sinner.[76] Even in sanctification faith remains the basis on which a person is sanctified, due to the fact that the godly are sinners and the sins are present with them; in spite of this, they "believe that they are pleasing to God because of His promised mercy, and they sustain themselves with this comfort."[77] In other words, faith pervades every aspect of our life and our death.[78]

3.2. The Place of the Human Heart in Melanchthon's Description

The whole argument that Melanchthon presents in his *Loci communes* has, at its center, the concept of the human heart. For a proper understanding of his soteriology, one must first understand the way he defines the term "heart," and its place and role in the explanation of the process of salvation.[79]

71 Melanchthon and Preus, *Loci Communes, 1543*, 87-88.

72 Ibid., 86. Speaking about the image of God as the "original righteousness," he lists three constitutive elements: "[1] light in his mind by which he could firmly assent to the Word of God and [2] turning of his will to God and [3] obedience of his heart in harmony with the judgment of God's law, which had been planted in his mind." Ibid., 48.

73 Melanchthon and Manschreck, *Loci Communes, 1555*, 163.

74 Melanchthon and Preus, *Loci Communes 1521*, 249.

75 Ibid., 252.

76 Melanchthon and Preus, *Loci Communes, 1543*, 100.

77 Ibid., 101.

78 Melanchthon and Preus, *Loci Communes 1521*, 235.

79 In order to have a comprehensive understanding of the definition, place and role of the human heart, this study will investigate every usage of the word "heart" as it appears in his *Loci communes,* the 1521 and 1543 English editions, supplemented with insights from the 1555 edition. In the 1521 edition, the word is used 150 times; in the 1543 one, the word is used 250 times. Of course, not all of these occurrences

Based on a terminology he considers proper, Melanchthon defines human nature as being made from two parts: (1) a *vis cognitiva* (cognitive power) and (2) a *vis affectiva* (affective power).[80] The cognitive part refers to the human reason and to "the ability of knowing and judging, which is called the mind."[81] The second part, *affectiva*, is called the "seeking part" or *voluntas,* that is, the will.[82] Under the will, there are the "appetites of the senses or affections;"[83] the heart is described as the source and also the object of these affections.

As part of his adherence to the Renaissance motto, *ad fontes*, Melanchthon strives to restore the biblical usage of language in theology. Thus he uses the term "heart" in the biblical sense of "the highest faculty of man," the source of his affections,[84] based on the fact that God is interested in and judges the heart.[85]

The human sin-stained heart is insincere and corrupted,[86] in quest of its own advantage,[87] and with a wickedness that is "inscrutable."[88] Bringing an

---

are relevant for the present study. The following analysis synthesizes all the usages of the term "heart" in connection with the process of salvation.

80 In note 32, Christian Preus writes that "Melanchthon's division of man into the intellect and the affections play a major role in this work and stands as a serious attempt to articulate Lutheran anthropology over against the anthropology of the Scholastics" (Melanchthon and Preus, *Loci Communes 1521*, 73). He expands this definition in the 1555 German edition, where he presents the essential five strengths of the newly created human as being (1) the biological aspect of digesting food; (2) the perceptive senses, both external (sight, hearing, taste, smell, and touch) and internal (the capacity to distinguish, to find similarities and to remember); (3) understanding and the power to command external movements; (4) true desires in his heart and will and (5) locomotive power. Melanchthon and Manschreck, *Loci Communes, 1555*, 51.

81 Melanchthon and Preus, *Loci Communes, 1543*, 41.

82 Melanchthon states that the will is also called *adfectus/affectus* (affection) or *appetitus* (appetite). Melanchthon and Preus, *Loci Communes 1521*, 55. He also addresses the Aristotelian distinction between the appetite of the senses and the higher appetite, from which "love, hate, hope, fear, sadness, anger and the other affections that rise from these are present." Ibid., 56. The word *appetitus* is a derivative of *appetere* "seek after" (*Concise Oxford English Dictionary*, 11th ed. [2004], s.v. "appetite"). This is the reason Melanchthon uses the name "seeking part" in his description. In the 1543 edition he clarifies these distinctions.

83 Personal translation of the Lat. "appetitiones sensuum seu affectus." Bretschneider and Bindseil, *Corpus Reformatorum*, 653-654.

84 Melanchthon and Preus, *Loci Communes 1521*, 61.

85 Ibid., 64.

86 Ibid.

array of biblical passages in support, Melanchthon refutes the idea that humans can fulfill, in any way, God's law, because the heart is inculcated with sin, the perverse "inner disposition (*affectus*)" and the "deprived agitation" against the will of God.[89] Contaminated from birth,[90] the human heart infects with corruption all human powers.[91] Even if there is some knowledge of God left, our acquiescence is "weak because of the stubbornness of our heart."[92] Unenlightened by the Holy Spirit, the heart flees from God[93] and "it turns away to its own counsels and desires and sets itself up as its own god."[94]

Only God can scrutinize the depths of the human heart,[95] and when the proclamation of the Law reveals the sin in our heart we become conscious of our sinfulness[96] and the desire for deliverance arises. Because God demands the whole heart,[97] Melanchthon urges his readers to pray that the Holy Spirit may discover also the Gospel to their hearts[98] in order to renew and sanctify it.[99] By receiving the understanding of God's grace, one can confess the heart's stubbornness with faith;[100] as an answer from God, through faith, the heart is calmed and then motivated "to give thanks to God for his mercy so that we do

---

87 Ibid., 80.

88 Ibid., 84.

89 Ibid., 80.

90 Melanchthon and Preus, *Loci Communes, 1543*, 49.

91 Melanchthon and Preus, *Loci Communes 1521*, 108.

92 Melanchthon and Preus, *Loci Communes, 1543*, 70, 87.

93 Ibid., 60.

94 Melanchthon and Preus, *Loci Communes 1521*, 263.

95 Melanchthon and Preus, *Loci Communes, 1543*, 207.

96 Melanchthon and Preus, *Loci Communes 1521*, 187.

97 Ibid., 129.

98 Ibid., 204. As mentioned above, only through the living word of Scripture can "the human heart" learn about God's mercy; Melanchthon does not speak here about an ecstatic experience. Ibid., 221. He adds later that the Holy Spirit brings into the heart the reality and truth of the words: "Your sins are forgiven." Melanchthon and Preus, *Loci Communes, 1543*, 89-90.

99 Melanchthon and Preus, *Loci Communes 1521*, 206. In the 1543 edition he adds, in referring to David's prayer from Ps 51:10, that a "clean heart" is "a heart which believes uprightly about God, acknowledges the wrath of God and His promised mercy, which determines that we are seen, heard, aided, protected and preserved by God." Melanchthon and Preus, *Loci Communes, 1543*, 106.

100 Ibid., 153.

the Law willingly and happily."[101] Thus the mind can become aware of God's purposes only when the heart is cleansed and purified by the Holy Spirit.[102] Strengthened by faith in God's grace and by the trust that His promises are to be fulfilled for them, "these are the hearts that truly believe in God."[103]

Melanchthon states that there is a component of faith, beyond the cognitive aspect, that pertains to the *affectus*. In other words, the heart is the locus of faith, as it assents to God's word[104] and also the place where God's love is poured, thus becoming righteous "by infused love;"[105] the heart begins to submit to God and, as a consequence, the God-oriented love begins.[106] The faith begets the love of God and of the neighbor from the heart,[107] and also implants hatred of and contempt for sin.[108] In it, "new God-pleasing emotions"[109] are created and the obedience that follows is both outward and inward, that is, from the heart.[110] This obedience from the heart constitutes the "highest and innermost worship,"[111] because true worship is always associated with "true heart-felt emotion."[112]

In Melanchthon's understanding, the heart is the locus of righteousness, that light "which by faith and the knowledge of Christ moves our minds to true invocation of God and to other pious activities which are in agreement

101 Melanchthon and Preus, *Loci Communes 1521*, 215.

102 Ibid., 98. On page 253 he adds that when "God strengthens and comforts the human heart through the Gospel and revelation of Christ, then it finally knows God." In the 1543 edition, on page 182, Melanchthon states that "the Holy Spirit is truly beginning and finally perfecting in our hearts the new light, wisdom, righteousness, and everlasting life which is pleasing to God and burning with the emotions engendered by the Holy Spirit, that is to say, with fear, faith, invocation, and love, and which in eternal life rejoices in the sight of God and celebrates Him."

103 Melanchthon and Preus, *Loci Communes 1521*, 230.

104 Melanchthon and Manschreck, *Loci Communes, 1555*, 98.

105 Melanchthon and Preus, *Loci Communes, 1543*, 109.

106 Ibid., 113.

107 Melanchthon and Preus, *Loci Communes 1521*, 249. These are manifested as obedience toward God and good works towards men. Melanchthon and Preus, *Loci Communes, 1543*, 58.

108 Melanchthon and Preus, *Loci Communes 1521*, 261.

109 Melanchthon and Preus, *Loci Communes, 1543*, 22. He calls them "new desires which are in harmony with the law of God." Ibid., 98, 243.

110 Ibid., 73.

111 Ibid., 63.

112 Ibid., 151.

with the Law of God and are the beginning of eternal life."[113] As one grows in Christian maturity he or she may face different trials and may become troubled. When this happens, the heart "must acquiesce in the hope and expectation of divine aid"[114] and Christ, who sees the emotions of every heart, will intervene.[115]

As it can be seen from the above analysis, Melanchthon defines the heart as a counter-part of the mind, the role of which is to spring forth all of the affections (including hate, love, faith, disbelief). It is placed under the will, but controls it. Using biblical language in its description, he states that in the unregenerate person, the heart is the locus of sin, and its role is to set itself as a god, producing hate and disbelief. Still, it is God's desire to have the whole human heart this being the key to the submitting of the whole human being. When a person is exposed to the proclamation of the Word of God, the heart is revealed as being against God. If a person confesses rebellion and repents, his or her heart is purified and becomes the locus of faith and righteousness. Its new role is to move the mind to worship God and do pious deeds, because it now manifests faith and love and abides in hope.

3.2. The Relation Between the Heart and the Will Defined

As mentioned in the introduction when presenting the background framework of this study, when it comes to the place of the will in Melanchthon's understanding, the opinions and also interpretations are polarized. One has to study Melanchthon's own understanding, not the way he was interpreted within the Lutheran framework of thinking. One of the purposes of this research is to clarify how the reformer defined the will from the vantage point of the relation between the heart and the will. The manner in which Melanchthon defined and presented the place and the role of the heart in the process of salvation was analyzed in the previous section. In what will follow, the relation between the will and the heart will be investigated.

In the first edition of *Loci communes*, Melanchthon starts his exposition with a discussion about the *liberum arbitrium* (Lat. for "free will").[116] A

[113] Ibid., 211.

[114] Ibid., 200.

[115] Ibid., 207.

[116] Melanchthon and Preus, *Loci Communes 1521*, 54. This first edition is initially analyzed because Melanchthon was accused of changing his position from the one expressed here, to one that comes closer to synergism in the last edition.

criticism of the free will opens the discussion due to the fact that Melanchthon sees it as "completely foreign to divine Scripture."[117] This criticism must be understood within his anthropological framework, that is, humanity being formed from two main faculties, the knowing and the seeking ones. Melanchthon explains the way free will is defined in his time:[118] when the will is joined to the faculty of knowing, the *liberum aribitrium* comes to life.

In the same place where Melanchthon states that there is "freedom in the ability to act or not to act," he states that due to the divine predestination, "our will has no freedom."[119] He then discusses the "very nature of the human will,"[120] starting with the misconception that the "freedom in external works" is all the freedom that a human person has. According to him, one cannot focus his attention on this type of freedom—manifested in habitual activities like dressing, eating and so on— and expand it to refer to all the "moving" faculty a person has—the will—because this leads to self-righteousness by works.[121]

The idea that there can be any free action of the will of the unregenerate in doing the righteousness of God is repugnant to Melanchthon. He criticizes the idea that the will can naturally oppose "its affections or can push aside an affection, as long as the intellect advises and recommends it," stating that our "inner affections" are not in our power.[122] An external morality will not suffice for salvation, because God looks at the heart, that is, at the inner affections. This neglected side of the will, the heart, or the inner affections, Melanchthon wants to bring into the forefront. Due to his dedication to biblical language, he regrets that the "use [of] the word *heart* instead of *will*" was neglected,[123] this

117 Ibid., 55.

118 Christian Preus explains that Melanchthon is refering to Lombard's *Sentences*, where he states that the "[f]ree will (*liberum arbitrium*) is a faculty of reason and the will (*voluntas*)... And it is called free as concerns the will (*voluntas*), which can be turned to some object, but a judgment (*arbitrium*) as concerns the power of reasoning." See note 31 in Ibid., 73.

119 Ibid., 57. In Latin the formulation is *nulla est voluntatis nostrae libertas* which translates literally "our will's freedom is none." Melanchthon also states that "Scripture denies any freedom to our will through the necessity of predestination." Ibid., 59

120 Ibid., 60.

121 Ibid., 63.

122 Ibid., 61-62. In the same place, Melanchthon states that when we choose something else than what we desire, it is because another affection (like vanity) overrules the one that previously appeared (like sensualism). When something is chosen against all the affections, that is a pretense.

123 Ibid., 61.

leading to the delusion of righteousness by works. He offers a scriptural argument in the 1543 edition, affirming that in the prophetic and apostolic literature, the terms "mind" (*mens*) and "heart" (*cor*) are used instead of "intellect" (*intellectum*) and "will" (*voluntate*).

Confronted with the actual language usage, Melanchthon blends the concepts of the will and of the heart together but in a certain structure, with the heart under the general concept of the will. This does not mean that the will is "better and stronger" than the heart, as one can see that there is no power in humanity that can "seriously oppose his affections."[124] Melanchthon explicitly rejects the Aristotelian understanding that the will is concerned only with external things.[125] In other words, the external aspect of the will, must take into account the internal one, that is, the heart.

Thus, in Melanchthon's understanding, the will comprises both an external movement and an internal one. The Melanchthonian readers will thus much profit if they understand that when Melanchthon is speaking about the external movement, he uses the generic term "will" and when he is speaking about the internal movement, he uses both the the term "heart" and the term "will" interchangeably, or puts them in the same expression as "heart and will." The unregenerate human being has a certain freedom in the external movement, but no freedom in the internal one.[126]

When human beings were created in the image of God, they were created with a free will. This free will is defined by Melanchthon as being "heart and will," belonging together[127] and exercised in unity. The heart is equated with the understanding, which "was endowed with a great light;" having this light, the heart's desire was full with love for God.[128] When sin disrupted the created order, this light became very dim, and "all the good virtues in the heart and will were also lost."[129]

[124] Ibid., 64.

[125] Ibid.

[126] "I confess that in the external selection of things there is a certain freedom, but I completely reject the idea that our inner affections are under our power. Nor do I grand that any will possesses the genuine power of opposing its affections." Ibid., 65.

[127] Melanchthon and Manschreck, *Loci Communes, 1555*, 52.

[128] Ibid., 51, 52.

[129] Melanchthon speaks about this as the "great ruin of human powers" and he portraits a vivid image of the deteriorated human heart as "like a desolate, deserted, old and decaying house, God no longer dwelling within and winds blowing through" in which "all sorts of conflicting tendencies and lusts drive the heart to the manifold sins of uncontrolled love, hate, envy, and pride." Ibid., 52.

Because freedom pertains not to the cognitive or the knowing part of the human being, but to the *vis affectiva*, the affective power,[130] when human beings defected, the inwardly "will and heart" were "wretchedly imprisoned, impaired, and ruined."[131] The result is that the human being "cannot by his own inward natural powers be obedient,"[132] that is, his will, understood as the inner affections or the heart, has no freedom, being bound to sin.

In this context Melanchthon's misunderstood statement about the three causes involved in the process of conversion must be understood. Before presenting the quote, two remarks are to be made. Firstly, starting from Bente's assertion that Melanchthon speaks about a "so-called human cause of conversion,"[133] Fong gives voice to the common misunderstanding that Melanchthon used the expression "three causes of conversion,"[134] which he didn't, as will be shown. Secondly, as Fong correctly states, Melanchthon himself denied that his theological understanding could be characterized by synergism.[135]

The passage that speaks about the causes of conversion is not actually found in any of the *Loci communes* editions; it appears in what is called *Examen Ordinandorum*, a document regulating church ordinances, as it follows: "Therefore in conversion concur these causes, the word of God, the Holy Spirit, whom the Father and Son are sending in order that our hearts may be illuminated, and our will assenting, and not opposing the word of God."[136] Based on superficial reading, this passage seems to imply that our will is a synergistic part of conversion, leaning dangerously toward the idea that there is in humanity a quality that makes a way for and contributes thus one's personal salvation.[137]

That this is not what Melanchthon conveys can be inferred from two observations. First, immediately preceding this passage, Melanchthon states

130 Melanchthon and Preus, *Loci Communes 1521*, 57.

131 Melanchthon and Manschreck, *Loci Communes, 1555*, 52.

132 Ibid.

133 Bente, "Historical Introductions," 129.

134 See note 12 in Fong, "Luther, Melanchthon and Calvin," 218.

135 Ibid., 220.

136 Personal translation of the Lat. "Concurrunt igitur in conversione hae causae, verbum Dei, Spiritus sanctus, quem Pater et Filius mittunt, ut accendat nostra corda, et nostra voluntas assentiens, et non repugnans verbo Dei." Bretschneider and Bindseil, *Corpus Reformatorum*, 23:15.

137 See the discussion in Fong, "Luther, Melanchthon and Calvin," 218-221.

that "[g]race precedes the accompanying will."[138] In other words, he indicates that grace have preeminence in the process of salvation. Second, the quoted passages clearly states that the Holy Spirit is sent in order to illuminate, to move our hearts toward him.[139] Thus, it is not a movement that the will makes independently and before receiving the Spirit's illumination. Only when a person is aroused by the Holy Spirit, through the Word of God, then the will can assent and, not opposing the Word, accept its testimony. In other words, in this *ordo salutis*, there are three causes, sources or factors that bring about motion:[140] the first move is done when the Word is expounded; the second move is the illumination brought by the Holy Spirit and, as a consequence, the third move is that of the will, assenting to God's word. In conversion, all these concur in the sense of agreeing and happening at almost the same time.

When Melanchthon speaks about the will's movement this must be interpreted in the semantic framework described above. The will referred to here is the heart or the inner affections. The heart moves toward God only as a result of the Spirit's illumination. In other words, Melanchthon describes here the psychology of conversion.

The passage quoted above appears in a slightly modified form in the 1535 edition,[141] and after quoting Romans 8:26, and it reads "[i]n this example we see being joined together these causes, the Word, the Holy Spirit, and the will, certainly not idle, but opposing its weaknesses."[142] That this passage does not give the will a soteriological role, it is clear in the light of the above argument.

[138] Personal translation of "Gratia praeeunte comitante voluntate." Bretschneider and Bindseil, *Corpus Reformatorum*, 23:15.

[139] This is a hypothetical condition or wish, expressed by the use of the present subjunctive mood for the verb *accendo*. One may consult any introductory Latin grammar for the use of the subjunctive; for example, see J. C. McKeown, *Classical Latin: An Introductory Course* (Indianapolis, IN: Hackett, 2010), 259. Thus, by the use of the subjunctive, Melanchthon implies that conversion can become a reality only if a person obeys the Spirit's influence.

[140] Under the article "causa," Richard A. Muller defines it as "that which brings about motion and mutation;" see his *Dictionary of Latin and Greek Theological Terms: Drawn Principally from Protestant Scholastic Theology* (Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 1986), 61. In the same place, he states that the medieval scholastics, the Reformers and the Protestant scholastics followed Aristotle's understanding regarding a "basic fourfold schema of causality." It is beyond the purpose of this research to analyze the way Melanchthon uses the concept of "cause" in his theology.

[141] Although this edition is not a part of the present paper's analysis, it is being used because of the conflicted context mentioned above.

[142] Personal translation of the Lat. "In hoc exemplo videmus coniungi has causas, Verbum, Spiritum sanctum, et voluntatem, non sane otiosam, sed repugnantem infirmitati suae." Bretschneider and Bindseil, *Corpus Reformatorum*, 21:376.

Because of the potential misunderstanding of his words, Melanchthon uses the same quotation, but places it in the context of the good works: "[a]nd when we begin by the word, these three causes of good works concur, the word of God, the Holy Spirit, and the human will assenting, not opposing, the word of God,"[143] which evades any potential accusation. Notwithstanding, he addresses the problem mentioned above, by clarifying the role of "Holy Spirit, who proceeds from God the Father and our Lord Jesus Christ and who has been sent into the hearts of the faithful and has kindled the knowledge of God through the Gospel and aroused actions which are in keeping with the law of God."[144] In these words he unambiguously explains that the will moves only as a response to the Spirit's influence. Thus Melanchthon presents each element's own place: the Holy Spirit is the one working through the Word and within the will, that is, the heart.

Looking at the way Melanchthon defines the relation between the will and the heart, one can understand passages like the ones mentioned above. The concept of "will" is closely connected with the concept of "heart," with the will imparting its "seeking" and "moving" characteristics, both in the external realm and in the internal one. The internal realm, the heart, is the real decisional center of the human being. Because the unregenerate human being has a certain freedom in the external realm, but no freedom in the internal one, the heart must be converted. This is done only when it is exposed to the Word of God through the influence of the Holy Spirit, not opposing but assenting to his influence.

4. Conclusions

This perspective suggests some conclusions. First, in order to understand difficult passages like the ones mentioned above, Melanchthon's definition of the relation between the will and the heart must be taken into account. Second, due to the close connectedness between the concepts of "will" and of "heart," the will imparts its "seeking" and "moving" characteristics in the internal realm. Thus Melanchthon speaks interchangeably about the heart and the will.

[143] Personal translation of the Lat. "Cumque ordimur a verbo, hic concurrunt tres causae bonae actionis, verbum Dei, Spiritus sanctus, et humana voluntas assentiens nec repugnans verbo Dei." Ibid., 21: 658. Bayer misquotes Melanchthon, stating that he spoke about the will as being "the third cause of justification" and then, in note 30, referencing the quotation above, regarding the "three causes of good works." Oswald Bayer, "Freedom? The Anthropological Concepts in Luther and Melanchthon Compared," *The Harvard Theological Review* 91, (1998), 379.

[144] Melanchthon and Preus, *Loci Communes, 1543*, 43.

Third, the internal realm, the heart, is the real decisional center of the human being. Because the unregenerate human being has a certain freedom in the external realm, but no freedom in the internal one, the heart must be converted. This is done only when it is exposed to the Word of God through the influence of the Holy Spirit, not opposing but assenting to his influence. When the heart is converted, its movement directs the whole being towards God.

Fourth, Melanchthon's discernment regarding the place of the heart and of the will is in no way opposed to the *Sola Scriptura, Sola fide* and the *Sola gratia* formulated by Martin Luther. Melanchthon expounded a unique understanding of the Christian freedom of the will. Only by understanding the place of the heart, and its relation to the will, one can clarify Melanchthon's interpretation of the role of the will in the process of human salvation.

Journal of Asia Adventist Seminary 17.2 (2014): 167-170

THESIS AND DISSERTATION ABSTRACTS

Theological Seminary, Adventist International Institute of Advanced Studies

"The Use of the Expressions 'God' or 'God(s)' in Daniel 11:36-39 and their Theological and Interpretative Implications"

Researcher: Edwin Sully Payet, Ph.D., September 2014
Advisor: Carlos Mora, Th.D.

The goal of this present research is (1) to understand the meaning of the 7 expressions that contains a name for 'God/god(s)', particulary אֵל (3x) and אֱלוֹהַּ (4x), in Dan 11:36-39 and (2) to seek the most probable explanation of the authorial purpose for this particular usage especially the words/expressions for "God/god(s)" in the prophetic context of Dan 11:36-39. This dissertation argues that Daniel makes use of these expressions through poetry to highpoint the haughtiness of an earthly king against God and His prerogatives. The expressions show the successful, but temporary attempts of an arrogant usurpation. Besides this, while some of them are synonymous, these phrases do have a specific meaning. Each one enriches their synonymous counterpart and contributes to the understanding and the interpretation of Dan 11:36-39.

The word study אֵל alludes to many ANE nations to be the supreme god. In Dan 11:36, 'the king' will exalt and magnify himself over any-supreme god(s) that could be found. The superlative expression אֵל אֵלִים (11:36) along with other superlatives is an expression for God in Daniel (cf. 2:47; 6:20; 8:25; 9:4) and refers to the true God, the ultimate supreme One over all other gods. אֱלֹהֵי cannot be understood and interpreted separated from the expression אֱלֹהֵי אֲבֹתָיו, which the OT utilizes to mean Yahweh, the God of covenant Israel.

אֱלוֹהַּ relates in the OT to God metaphorically as the notion of strength and/or of protection, with a few additional times when it refers to the notion of salvation. It is associated twice in the OT as צוּר, "rock," which is another metaphor for God as a place of refuge. In using אֱלוֹהַּ intentionally to refer to a false god, Daniel refers indirectly to the true God, as a way

to point out to the idea of usurpation, or at last, of replacement of God's prerogatives through the king's character and leadership.

This dissertation noticed that two expressions referred to God— אֵל אֱלִים (11:36); and אֱלֹהֵי אֲבֹתָיו (11:37). In prophetic passages, Daniel never uses the most common names for God (יהוה, אֲדֹנָי, or אֱלֹהִים), or god(s) (אֱלֹהִים). In Dan 11:36-39 Daniel deliberately selects this vocabulary (1) by choosing to use names of God that are used in poetry, and (2) to highlight the main theme: the sovereignty of God over all things (אֵל), who does not forget His people (and not only Israel, but also all of "spiritual Israel" referring to all nations). He will come and rescue them (אֱלוֹהַּ; cf. 12:1-3). As for the phrase אֱלֹהֵי אֲבֹתָיו, which relates to the covenant and true God, it is used to replace the common name for God, יהוה.

In using these seven words/expressions for 'God/god(s)' in Dan 11:36-39, the prophet insists on the distinctly negative religious character of "the king." Such insistence refers directly to the unbelievably awful personage of "the king" as poetry. Daniel chooses to not be succinct in his exposition. Such haughtiness is too important to just be mentioned. It underscores the reason why God will finally come to judge the earth and to bring retribution against "the king." The use of such poetic features (i.e., parallelisms, word pairs) permits the prophet to repeat his ideas in a condensed manner.

"The Eschatological Time of Trouble of Daniel 12:1: An Intertextual Analysis and Theological Implications"

Researcher: Alponso Tarigan, Ph.D., September 2014
Advisor: Carlos Mora, Th.D.

Various interpretations of the time of trouble in Dan. 12:1 means that no scholarly consensus exists about what exactly is this time of tribulation including its historical setting. An obvious deficiency exists in the investigation of the theological significance for this time of tribulation in Dan 12:1 as related to the relationship between the time of trouble given in Dan 12:1 and other NT passages.

Chapter 1 overviews different interpretations by scholars. Major concerns include the time, agents, scope, location, nature of the issue, purpose, and duration. Chapter 2 offers an exegetical study of the time of tribulation in Dan 12:1. This dissertation provides three principles of interpretation. After these steps, this dissertation provides the basic histori-

cal setting surrounding Dan 12:1. Chapter 3 investigates the major theological implication of the time of tribulation of Dan 12:1 according to the major theological themes contained within this book. Chapter 4 discusses similar expressions about the time of trouble as found in other NT passages. This dissertation concludes that the tribulation given in Dan 12:1 is still in the future. To be more specific, it is just before the end of the history of the world at the Second Coming of Jesus Christ. The location is not limited to the land of Palestine. Instead, it will be a global event. The agents of the tribulation are both Michael, who is Jesus Christ, and the end-time wicked people. The time of tribulation is instigated by Michael and involves the angels and even natural resources. The scope of this time of tribulation includes both the end-time people of God and the end-time wicked. The nature of the issue of the tribulation is a religious matter rather than a political controversy. The duration of this time tribulation is relatively short: it occurs between the closing work of the heavenly evaluative judgment and the final destruction of the wicked that gives way for the final deliverance of God's people.

The theological study of the time of tribulation passage in Dan 12:1 exhibits the time of trouble as directly related to other major theological themes contained in the book of Daniel. The time of trouble is therefore a theological theme that connets with other theological themes in the book. This dissertation argues that all of the major theological themes contained in the book of Daniel meet together in Dan 12:1 to make this passage become the theological climax of the book. Thus, Dan 12:1 is the clearest text in the OT to reveal the future eschatological time of trouble.

This dissertation also argues that the counterpart of the tribulation passage of Dan 12:1 is found in the NT in Rev 7:14. The former gives in a more general manner what the latter gives a more detailed description. It is evident that the historical settings of Dan 12:1 is the same as found in Rev 7:14. These two parallel texts are the clearest biblical passages to explain the approaching time of tribulation.

"The Intelligibility of Tongues in 1 Corinthians 14:14-15"

Researcher: Namjildorj Mandakh, M.A., October 2014
Advisor: Alfredo Agustin Jr., Ph.D.

This thesis investigates the tongues on the part of the speaker. The purpose of this study is to determine whether or not the tongue speaker in 1 Cor 14:14-15 should be understood as tongues. In order to fulfill this goal

this thesis uses the historical-grammatical method of biblical interpretation. This research observes that there is an almost universal understanding that the tongue-speaker did not understand what he spoke about when he refers to tongues. Most scholars believe that the clause "ὁ νοῦς μου ἄκαρπός ἐστιν" in 1 Cor 14:14 proves this point. This thesis found that most scholars overlook the significance of the term ἄκαρπός in their study.

This study concludes that the tongue-speaker understood what they uttered in tongues based upon the following observations. First, the term ἄκαρπός is an expression of unmet expectation and therefore suggests that the edification of tongues is connected to the understanding of what the tongue-speaker said. In this way the author makes clear that the tongue-speaker did in fact understand what he said because it was already clear and did not need interpretation.

Second, the use of the term ἄκαρπός in the NT suggests that the term νοῦς stands for the content of the tongues-speech act. It makes clear that the tongue-speaker expressed his own mind through tongues. The gift of tongues might have served as a medium of communication for the tongue-speaker to express his/her own mind to the Gentiles who spoke in other languages.

Altogether, the following translation (NAS) of 1 Cor 14:14-15 seems to be clearest: "For if I pray in a tongue, my spirit prays but my mind is unfruitful. What ought to be done? I will pray with the spirit, and I will also pray with the mind. I will sing with the spirit, and I will also sing with the mind."

Journal of Asia Adventist Seminary 17.2 (2014): 171-209

CRITICAL BOOK REVIEWS

The Patient Ferment of the Early Church, by Alan Kreider. Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2016. 321 pp. ISBN 978-0-8010-4849-4. Softcover, US$26.99.

Something unique happened in Christianity's first 300 years. It grew at a phenomenal rate in spite of persecution and social conventions. Its inner

dynamic was not a remarkable organization geared for growth. Early Christians wrote no treatises on mission strategy, nor were there any exhortations to evangelism recorded in their works. In contrast to some contemporary proponents of church growth, the early church's worship services were not means of evangelism. In fact, after 68 CE most Christian worship services were closed to anyone who was not a baptized member.

So how did the Christian church grow from a handful of people in 31 CE to an estimated 5 million believers 300 years later? Many historians suggest reasons for this rapid growth. A close examination of these reasons reveals a focus on external factors that may have contributed to this growth but do not take into account factors related to the inner life of the church.

Some other earlier explanations include the suggestion that the early church developed their ideas in such a way that when they engaged with other religions, they prevailed. Others highlight the inclusive nature of the church, and how it welcomed men and women, Jews and Greeks, Romans and barbarians. Edward Gibbon listed a number of factors he believed were responsible for the success of the church. He noted that the early church was intolerant of aberrant ideas, and thus able to retain an internal cohesiveness; that their moral lives were upright, authentic, and attractive; and that their organization was superior to any other's. In addition, he noted that they exhibited miraculous powers and taught a believable gospel of the afterlife. Kenneth Scott Latourette emphasized that the most important factor in early Christian growth was the mysterious power of the lives of the early believers (*The First Five Centuries*, 167-169).

In this volume, Kreider does not argue with any of these earlier explanations. Yet he also asserts that a more complete explanation must include the inner dynamic of Christianity. Thus, he posits four additional factors that focus on patience and the inner life of the church.

Kreider begins by discussing what the early church meant by the Latin word *patientia*. Oddly, much of his discussion of definitions is relegated to a footnote. Two Greek words with quite disparate meanings are translated as *patentia*. First, *makrothumia* refers to the longsuffering of the powerful who choose not to use their power. Second, *hupomone* refers to the powerless person who has no choice but to be non-violent. The Latin word *patientia* combines the nuances of these two meanings. In English, the word is sometimes translated as "forbearance" or "endurance" (p. 14). After this brief discussion, Kreider simply uses the English word "patience" to reflect all of these nuances. In this reviewer's opinion, a more thorough discussion about the meaning of these words and their relationship to each other would have been helpful.

Kreider suggests that patience was centrally important to the early Christians even though the Greco-Roman world denigrated it. Tertullian, Cyprian, and Lactantius each wrote an entire treatise about this virtue. For them, patience meant that instead of controlling events, being anxious, in a hurry, or using force to achieve their ends, they should instead trust God. They lived in an impatient society. Their patient behavior stood out and became one of their most distinctive and attractive qualities. Kreider uses the well-known story of Perpetua and Felicitas to illustrate this virtue. He points out that Perpetua had learned the Christian faith not only on an intellectual level, but also on the level of behavior. The activities that taught her patience included seeing role models of patience, memorizing Scripture, preparation to stand up under the pressure of torture, and, participation in the ritual activities of the supper and the kiss of peace. Her goal was to be patient in the face of martyrdom. There was a theological foundation for this kind of patience. God had been patient and forgiving of them so they now were able to be patient and forgiving in the face of persecution and the threat of death.

As the second additional factor explaining the "improbable rise of Christianity," Kreider suggests that the *habitus*, the embodied behavior of Christians, was their most effective evangelistic activity. The early documents rarely record conversions coming from the winning of arguments; rather men and women were attracted to the church by the distinctive and intriguing patience they saw demonstrated in the physical lives of Christians. They had learned how to express their beliefs with their behavior. In contrast to everyone else, they were patient and showed mercy because they believed that God had shown patience and mercy toward humanity and to them personally.

How did this happen? Many might argue that habits cannot be changed by deliberate attention. Kreider argues that the early church demonstrated that it was possible, and even more, it was incredibly attractive. The normal Roman *habitus* involved belonging to certain social institutions and remaining within their social status. It involved deference to those in authority out of fear of what might happen if they did not. In contrast, the Christian *habitus* offered a new and attractive option about how to live. It also involved belonging to a group, but it was a group that truly cared for not only its own and for those outside. When plagues swept through the Empire, Christians ministered to everyone. The Christian *habitus* was so confident about itself that it could defy authority even when such authority clashed with its beliefs. Those with the Christian *habitus* could show patience instead of anger in the face of direct challenge.

Christians could be fearless because they trusted the God of the universe and could wait for God to act. In a nutshell, the Christian *habitus*

was the practice of Jesus's words in the Sermon on the Mount. So, how did the early church teach this kind of *habitus*? According to Kreider, a third factor in Christian growth was the church's *catechesis and worship*. Catechesis involved a very long process whereby the inner life of the candidate was reformed into the likeness of Christ. Baptism came at the end of this process that could last as long as three years. Christians realized early on that their dropout rate was unacceptably high, so they devised a plan to take character formation seriously. They knew that Roman society had ingrained in people habits of impatience and violence. They knew that it would take time for people to develop an inner habit of patience. They realized that converts would need mentors and community support to develop the patient lifestyle that was normative for Christians. As a result, they crafted a very deliberate catechesis. When someone expressed interest in Christianity, that person had to find a sponsor who would take them to catechetical classes. The bishop interviewed the sponsor to see if the candidate was ready to begin instruction.

The mentor then attended the weekly classes with the catechumen. They did this for as long as three years, as the catechumen learned the new Christian *habitus*. The catechesis did not dwell as much on doctrine and ideas as on developing new patterns of living. At the end of the process, the sponsor was interviewed again by the bishop to see if the candidate exhibited this new patient lifestyle. Then the sponsor and the catechumen attended forty daily sessions preparing the catechumen for actual baptism. The night before their baptism, the catechumens fasted and prayed all night long. After the baptism, they continued to attend daily sessions for the following week. Only after their baptism were the new converts allowed to attend the worship service and participate in the Lord's Supper.

According to Kreider, once the catechumens had completed the process, they were ready to live a new life characterized by patience. This new life was energized by worship and the Eucharist, which enabled them to successfully meet opposition and persecution. Kreider points to this entire catechetical process as the reason Tertullian could say that Christians were made, not born.

The numerical growth of the church, according to Kreider, was not a consideration for the early church. Their focus instead was on the personal development of patience, and it was the display of patience before the watching world that proved most attractive to those outside the church.

The fourth additional factor Kreider highlights as important for the growth of the early church is the process of *fermentation*, though he acknowledges that early Christian authors did not depict it in such terms.

The growth of the church was slow, natural, unpredictable, uncoordinated, and unstoppable. Origen called it "God's invisible power." It was an energy that bubbled up from the inner life of the Christian, and was not under human control. In addition, there was no way that humans could speed it up.

Kreider also points out that this process of ferment was primarily driven by women. He suggests that the early Christian movement was a women's movement, though he does not develop this idea in an extended way.

One of Kreider's previous books dealt with *The Change of Conversion and the Origin of Christendom* (Trinity Press, 1999). Covering some of the same ground, he notes that with Constantine the understanding of patience changed, the catechetical process changed, and the ferment no longer occurred. He argues that Constantine in himself is an example of this change. The emperor wanted to become a Christian, but refused to undergo catechesis. He was so impatient that the bishops refused to baptize him. One story illustrates why the bishops were concerned. The emperor heard rumors that his son was seeking to overthrow him so he murdered both his son and his wife before he learned that the rumors were probably false. His impatience resulted in their death. In the end, Constantine accepted catechesis, though only a truncated version of it, was baptized, and died a few months later. As the empire and church merged, many now saw great personal benefits to becoming a Christian. So many people flocked to the churches that they became overwhelmed. With such large numbers to catechize, the process of catechesis becomes short, formal, and primarily doctrinal. The church lost its interest in developing patience in the lives of its converts. As a result, Christians become indistinguishable from the people in the culture that surrounded them.

Kreider uses Augustine's treatment of patience to show how much the idea of patience changed. For Augustine, intentions were more important than *habitus*. He encouraged the aristocratic Roman Volusian to become a Christian because he would not have to change his *habitus.* Augustine assures Volusian that if the disposition of his heart is to love another person, then his execution of punishment can have "a certain kind of harshness" in its exterior actions. In addition to separating disposition from behavior, Augustine also relegated the virtue of patience primarily to monks and clerics, not laypeople (p. 291). The result was that the Christian church came to advance the gospel with impatient, forceful actions, all the while claiming that they were animated by loving intentions (p. 294). Kreider argues that the church ceased to value patient ferment and came instead to value impatient force (p. 296).

It should be apparent that Kreider's book is not just a history of the idea of patience in the early church. It is also a book with explicit missiological implications. Kreider suggests that church congregations that focus on developing patient people in an impatient world will discover that those outside the church will find its distinctive way attractive. One implication of Kreider's ideas is that evangelistic campaigns, exhortations to witness, and highly organized systems of outreach will be less important in a church focused on the process of developing the virtue of patience in the life of its members.

Edward Allen
Union College, USA

The Christian College and the Meaning of Academic Freedom: Truth-Seeking in Community, by William C. Ringenberg. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016. 234 pp. + 39 pp. notes + 30 pp. bibliography + 15 pp. index. ISBN 978-1-137-39832-1. Hardcover, US$100.00.

I purchased this book recently because I saw that George M. Marsden, a prominent historian of American religion and author of *The Soul of the American University* (Oxford, 1996), recommended it (and wrote the foreword). I was glad that I did because it gave me new insights, by a scholar who hails from the Anabaptist tradition, about this whole notion of academic freedom. The author observes that "an emphasis upon academic freedom most often comes with the intellectual and financial maturing of an institution" (p. 89). Seventh-day Adventists, who prize both Adventist education and religious liberty, would do well to pay attention to this helpful book.

The book is divided into three main parts. The first section highlights Christian values as context for the idea of academic freedom (pp. 1-53). Next is an overview of academic freedom in America (pp. 55-128). Finally, this is followed by a series of case studies that "test the limits" (pp. 129-230).

From the outset, argues Ringenberg, that the "primary difference" between a Christian versus a secular institution of higher learning "is less that of methodology than that of worldview" (p. xvi). Each should be open and search for truth. Thus, methodologically, there should be "no difference between the Christian college instructors and the secular

university instructors. Ideally both seek the truth and present their best insights with integrity, fairness, and humility" (ibid.). The key difference is that a Christian institution of higher learning embraces a distinct worldview, whereas a secular institution remains ideologically pluralistic. Another major difference between a Christian and secular institution relates to their understanding of freedom. A "secular institution thinks primarily in terms of individual freedom for professors while the Christian college thinks in terms of institutional freedom to hire professors who have freely chosen to seek the freedom that comes from uniting their minds and entire personas with the mind and purpose of the Creator" (p. xvii). Sometimes the Christian college might wish to have greater freedom from its sponsoring denomination. Yet one of the most important responsibilities of the Christian college is to educate the leadership and laity of the sponsoring denomination "on the vitally complementary roles of the Christian church and Christian college." Thus the two should not be in competition. Each has a unique role. "The church sometimes needs to watch the orthodoxy of the college, while the college sometimes needs to speak prophetically to the church. Each needs to listen to the other; neither should seek to dominate the other" (ibid.).

Educators will appreciate the review of Christian values including freedom, seeking, honesty, humility, courage, prudence, love, meaning, harmony/balance, and community. Altogether, I especially appreciated Ringenberg's emphasis upon how faculty teach by personal example—they need to live a balanced and harmonious lifestyle that is no less important than a balanced way of thinking (p. 48). As a consequence, love (not power!) is the basis for Christian community (p. 49). Christian academics are always in the process of discovering truth because the truth "is always healing" (p. 12).

The historical review (section two) highlights how the idea and practice of academic freedom migrated from Germany to the United States in the early twentieth century, and morphed into a distinctly American form (p. 67). Americans studying in German universities peaked during the 1890s, and along with it came an emphasis upon theory instead of application (p. 65). Similarly, such education eschewed concerned for character development (p. 63). In the American form, there was an embrace of the spirit of common sense philosophy along with the new force of liberty within the young nation. This notion spread throughout American higher education, what Mark Noll terms "theistic common sense" by emphasizing the ability of each individual to understand intuitively and through careful observation the purpose of God for his morally endowed human creation. The popularity of common sense philosophy was the new basis for social order and overthrew traditional sources of authority. Within this milieu, dissenters (such as the

Puritans) had much greater influence in America than they did in their home country (p. 60). "The practice of dissent," argues Ringenberg, "is an important component in the history of academic freedom" (ibid.). After all, it was King James I (responsible for the King James Version) who imposed a loyalty test upon all candidates for university degrees (p. 59). Thus, academic freedom took on particular importance within an American setting. What is more, is that especially in the wake of the Second Great Awakening, new forces were unleashed that broadened access to higher education (p. 78). By the time of the American Civil War, both federal and state governments followed churches in a movement toward popular education by establishing a land grant college system to train youth in the practical fields of agriculture and engineering that helped to create what is sometimes termed the "Second Industrial Revolution."

The past fifty years has seen a host of challenges related to academic freedom. The dominance of evangelicals within higher education, since 1975, has meant that "colleges that seek to be both a defender of the faith institution and a seriously academic institution are prime candidates for conflict" (p. 92). Other sources of conflict include times of war when there tend to be severe restrictions on freedom of speech. "War and academic freedom do not work well together" (p. 103). Thus, Chief Justice Earl Warren could observe that scholarship cannot flourish in an atmosphere of suspicion and distrust. Especially fascinating is the research of sociologist Kyle Dodson who notes that academic experience is not a trajectory from conservative to liberal, but rather, it tends to take a person from wherever they are to a more centrist, nuanced position (p. 110). Thus it is essential to distinguish between indoctrination versus education that can be best seen, the author cites Richard Hughes, who argues that the selection and policy of how an educational institution selects outside speakers (pp. 110-1). "The temptation in the Christian college," observes Ringenberg, "is to refuse to examine ideas that challenge the institutional orthodoxy" (p. 112). The best way forward, he argues, is to highlight the need for continuing reflection and dialogue (p. 128).

Seventh-day Adventists will be especially interested to know that they are featured several times in the case studies at the end of the book (cf. pp. 134, 146, 181-2), particularly with regard to the Flood Geology movement and the Geoscience Research Institute. "Young earth creationism is the strongest in the colleges which more or less identify with the Fundamentalism Movement or the SDA Church" (p. 135). From the viewpoint of this author, Adventists have not always fared so well in terms of academic freedom. The author gives a more cautionary tale by reflecting on the Southern Baptist Convention. During the 1970s, most of the membership was conservative as their Seminary professors became

more moderate to progressive (p. 175). Although the Baptists historically were wary of embracing creeds (the Bible was sufficient, they claimed), a conservative insurgence led to a movement way from the historic Baptist faith toward early twentieth century Fundamentalism, including forcing universities to have their faculty sign statements indicating their adherence to inerrancy (pp. 177, 183-6). Similar movements can be seen in the evangelical embrace of a theory of husband headship and egalitarianism (p. 193), as well as race (pp. 199-200) and ethnicity (pp. 200-2).

In conclusion, Ringenberg notes how the cardinal sin of a teacher is not whether he or she is boring, but rather, whether or not they are fair. Similarly, the most serious violation of academic freedom in a Christian college is the fairness of its personnel procedures. Christian colleges in particular, who value truth, should model due process in its treatment of faculty (pp. 226-7). Thus, educational administrators should pay particular attention when they first hire faculty. "Hiring for fit" is vital because the very future of a Christian college depends upon it (p. xix). As a consequence, every Christian college should provide a strong and equitable academic freedom statement.

Michael W. Campbell
Adventist International Institute of Advanced Studies, PHILIPPINES

The History of Theological Education, by Justo L. González. Nashville: Abingdon, 2015. 139 pp. + 7 pp. index. ISBN 978-1-4267-8191-9. Softcover, US$39.99.

This relatively brief gem, as compared to the many other in-depth historical treatises by González, provides a brief history of theological education. In sixteen concise chapters, the author takes us on a *tour de force* about major trends in how the Christian church has trained its ministers.

During the early Christian church, there really wasn't any significant intentional plan for training clergy. Some, such as Ambrose, were elected and then afterward obtained theological training. Other factors, such as the Romanization of Germanic peoples meant that ignorance on the part of clergy was abysmal. Yet the fact that these same Germanic peoples had so many different languages meant that Latin by default became the

default mode for communication, including for the study of the Bible (pp. 23-7). The Bible was translated by Jerome into Latin, which initially met with strong resistance but eventually it became the main medium for theological discourse, and the reading of Scripture, for the next millennium. During the medieval period, the most significant work about the formation of clergy was Gregory the Great's *Pastoral Rule* (p. 26). Monasteries became centers for theological education (p. 30). One of the most outstanding monastic schools was in Ireland. It was here that they developed "penitential books" and started the practice of private confession (pp. 31-2). Later on, Peter Lombard, wrote his *Book of Sentences* that became the main textbook for medieval theological studies (p. 40). This developed a pattern for theological discourse in which theological students would both write and engage with other commentators on Scripture. Another significant development during this period was the system of benefices that became increasingly corrupt (p. 58). This very system led to a growing distance between university and parish, as the local parish priest proverbially became increasingly ignorant. Similarly, this led to a disconnect between the relevance between theological studies and the parish.

It was in a university environment that the Reformation began (p. 69). González credits Melancthon as the seminal force among Protestants to lead reform in the area of theological education (p. 70). A much calmer personality than Luther, Melancthon built the foundation for an entire educational program that encompassed everything from public schools to the inspection and training of pastors. A new theological curriculum developed that focused on solid exegesis including the study of biblical languages (p. 71). It was in this context that formal theological studies, within Protestantism, became a requirement for ordination (p. 77). Another significant source for Protestant theological education came from the Brethren of the Common Life, which became widely known for their educational work and translation of biblical resources into the vernacular (p. 64). It was within this group that they developed the idea of eight grades for elementary school.

Roman Catholics, particularly during the Council of Trent, both expanded upon and at times reacted to Protestantism by also emphasizing theological education. The very word "seminary" was a term that meant "seedbed," but within a Roman Catholic context the emphasis was upon nurture and protecting the seedling (pp. 81-5). The Roman Catholic Church similarly developed an *Index* of forbidden books, which the author notes often was counter-productive as it could at times generate more interest in a particular book, rather than to protect theological innocence.

In the centuries that followed, Protestant Scholasticism emphasized theological education. It was the first time in Christian history that there was a constant and consistent effort for the ordained ministry to consist of formal theological studies. Thus, theological education became more careful and strict (p. 89). Yet with all of the emphasis upon sometimes esoteric concerns meant that there was more attention paid to logic and intellectual consistency instead of to Scripture (p. 90). A natural example is the Protestant obsession to build rational arguments in order to refute those who held different positions. In a positive sense this led to an emphasis upon biblical languages and exegesis, but in a more negative sense, it also led to a Protestant preoccupation with proof-texting. English Puritans drank deeply, argues González, from this well of Protestant Scholasticism, which later heavily influenced American religion.

Another significant vein in the history of theological education concerned the Pietist movement, which was largely a reaction to Protestant Scholasticism. Pietists complained about long theological disquisitions that held no clear relevance for the believer (p. 95). Pietism represented a return to heart religion. Their schools became centers for missionary activity. Interestingly, this new emphasis was strongly rooted in the study of the Bible, particularly with regard to biblical languages (p. 100).

In the twentieth century, new debates emerged about theological education. Much of this centered upon the use of the historical-critical method (p. 108). In some circles, this meant a repudiation of theological education as the canonization of ignorance led to biblical imperialism (p. 112). This led to compartmentalization, González argues, in which there was less focus on the candidate as a whole person (p. 113). The gulf between theological training and practical ministry widened. The notion was that Seminary professors should be research professors who focused upon their research and publications. This theological polarization in turn led to increasing tension between the academy and the church (p. 115).

In summary, seminaries were never a part of the essence of the Christian church (p. 117). This should be a stark reminder for those who participate in theological education. Yet before one steps too firmly on theological education, it is important to also note that practically all of the great leaders of the Christian church, from the early church up through the Reformation, were highly educated persons (p. 118). Of special significance is the role of the Reformation, which contributed to a greater emphasis upon the training of ministers, which it should be observed extended to Catholics as well. In the wake of the Reformation, most churches sooner or later established basic academic requirements that one must complete before being ordained (p. 120). Ultimately this led to two essential ways to view theological education. One is the Roman Catholic

"seedbed" in which theological candidates were kept away from the contagion of false doctrines. The other was the Protestant in which leaders were taught to engage with ideas, and through vigorous Bible study learn to judge wisely (although there is some slippage among Protestants, particularly of the Fundamentalist variety to drift back to the Catholic notion of a seedbed). One thing that I especially appreciated was that the authority of Scripture, throughout the history of theological education, was closely connected to the importance paid to studying the original languages of the Bible (p. 125).

Altogether, if theological education is to remain relevant and useful, it is essential to reflect upon the history of theological education. Theological training can either be an abstract and obtuse process, in which the trainee for ministry is coddled and a gulf exists, and at times encouraged, between clergy and those in the pew. Protestants need to carefully reflect upon and reform theological education, while at the same time recognizing that theological education is a means to an end, and not an end in itself.

Michael W. Campbell
Adventist International Institute of Advanced Studies, PHILIPPINES

The English Connection: The Puritan Roots of Seventh-day Adventist Belief, by Bryan W. Ball. 2nd ed. Cambridge, UK: James Clarke, 2014. 279 pp. ISBN 978-0-227-17445-6. Softcover, US$45.00.

Bryan W. Ball is an experienced professor and administrator in the Seventh-day Adventist Church. Previously, he served as the president of Avondale College and South Pacific Division. He is an expert in English history, especially with regard to Puritanism. Some of his books include: *The Soul Sleepers: Christian Mortalism from Wycliffe to Priestley*, *The Seventh-day Men: Sabbatarians and Sabbatarianism in England and Wales, 1600-1800* and *A Great Expectation: Eschatological Thought in English Protestantism to 1660*. *The English Connection* is a Puritan study by Ball, which continues his lifelong expertise on the topic.

This book is the second edition of the 1981 edition. There are essentially no changes in the main body of chapters with the exception of a new "forward" (pp. vii-ix) and "Conclusion" (pp. 229-34). The reason for this second edition is due to the growing members of the Seventh-day

Adventist Church, which creates "more potential readers" as "there are now millions more who need to understand the historical/theological roots from [which] Adventism arose, particularly those roots which in this book have been traced back to seventeenth-century England" (p. vii).

The twelve chapters in this book cover doctrines and include a few chapters that are related not only to Seventh-day Adventist theology, but also to broader themes including the Radical Reformation. The first four chapters titled "The Sufficiency of Scripture," "This Incomparable Jesus," "The Lord Our Righteousness," and "The New Man" and the other two chapters, "Gospel Obedience" (ch. 7) and "The Return of Christ" (ch. 10) highlight the common understanding among Protestantism to acknowledge that "these chapters was foundational to Protestantism as a whole" (p. 229). Chapter 5, titled "Believer's Baptism," is strictly connected to the Anabaptist understanding. It means that the purpose of the book is "to show that major beliefs of Adventism were widely understood and practised in England during the seventeenth century" (p. vii). The author shows how Adventist beliefs were not only connected with Protestantism, especially within the Anabaptist tradition, but that this means that this group's doctrines are not strictly sectarian.

The interesting thing about this book is that the earliest doctrines held by Sabbatarian Adventists had their roots, to a large extent, with Puritanism. The doctrine of the sanctuary (ch. 6) includes a belief in the heavenly sanctuary, seventh-day Sabbath (ch. 8), state of the dead or conditional immortality (ch. 9), and the second coming (ch. 10). In addition to that, the Adventist understanding about prophecy, the historicist interpretative framework (ch. 11), the concept of the millennium and eternal punishment (ch. 12) are closely related to Puritan theological concepts.

The author recognizes that the topic of "the seventh-day Sabbath and conditional immortality" (p. 229) is especially important. However, although a few believed in the seventh-day Sabbath, this was not a major teaching among Puritans overall. Ball realizes that even among Puritans, those who believed in the seventh-day Sabbath were categorized as heretical and those who wrote about the seventh-day Sabbath did not always keep the seventh-day Sabbath (pp. 138, 139). The same thing is true about the state of the dead. Whereas conditional immortality was believed by some Puritans, nevertheless, this was not the major understanding within Puritanism. They mostly believed "that at death the souls of the righteous went to heaven" (p. 159) and the wicked went to eternal punishment which means that the immortality of the soul was a dominant understanding among the Puritans. Thus, when the author comments about the new earth that "it would be totally wrong to conclude that the English Church in the seventeenth century was

obsessed by hell, or that believers were motivated to godly living either by a fear of eternal torment or eternal extinction" (p. 223), this is somewhat an exaggeration especially when he states that this is "totally wrong" since it was the consequence of those who believed in eternal punishment that made them be "obsessed by hell." Perhaps a more precise way to put it would be to say that the main Puritan idea about the world to come was a "future reward of the saints" (as shown in p. 224) instead of stating that being "obsessed by hell" was "totally wrong." Altogether, Ball connects Puritan doctrines with Adventism. I highly recommend this book to libraries of Adventist colleges and universities and those who want to know further about the connections between Puritan and Adventist theology.

Donny Chrissutianto
Adventist International Institute of Advanced Studies, PHILIPPINES

A Message from the Great King: Reading Malachi in Light of Ancient Persian Royal Messenger Texts from the Time of Xerxes, by R. Michael Fox. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2015. 170 pp. + 10 pp. index. ISBN 978-1-57506-394-2. Hardcover, US$49.50.

R. Michael Fox teaches Old Testament courses at Ecclesia College and edits *Reverberation of the Exodus in Scripture.* His book, *A Message from the Great King: Reading Malachi in Light of Ancient Persian Royal Messenger Texts from the Time of Xerxes,* offers a new way of reading Malachi using the "messenger lens" as an interpretative framework in his book. He argues that Malachi contains messenger language that has its root metaphor that accompanies each periscope. Some messenger metaphors are "brilliant," obvious in texts like Mal 1:1; 2:7; 3:1; 1:14; 3:16, 17; however, some are only "bright," which for him means that they are hardly dull, for instance (בְּיַד), "by the hand of" in Mal 1:1; (פֶּחָה) "governor" in Mal 1:8; and other words from Mal 1:11, 14; 3:1; and 4:5 and some are decorated "subtly" like in Mal 1:2-5 concerning the announcement of Edom's destruction, the father and king metaphors, and others. In those passages, the messenger language is not clear. He therefore emphasizes the need to use the messenger lens to recognize them.

When he uses the messenger lens, he refers to the historical context from which Malachi was written. He offered examples such as the use of

"father" in Mal 1:6 and 2:10. He correlates this with the well-known view that during Malachi's time, Cyrus was called "father" as well. With regard to the announcement of Edom's desolation, he correlates it with the announcement of victory made by royal messengers from Persia. In short, what he says is that Malachi was written not in a vacuum, but in a rich Persian context. For this reason he calls Malachi a "Royal Message" through "royal messengers." This messenger lens, inspired by the Michael Ward model, was inspired by the Narnia of C. S. Lewis, which he similarly reads through a christological lens. Fox gathers insights from "literary theory through historical reconstruction, and a close reading of the biblical text" (back page).

This book is a must for students in biblical studies. Fox demonstrates the importance of knowing the historical context in dealing with the passage. The ability to read Malachi as a royal message brings fresh relevance to the biblical text. The ability to know, respect, and revere the royal message and messengers during this Persian period of time leads the reader to have the same attitude in dealing with Malachi. He also confirms that Mal 3:1 is the apex of all the messenger language. Nevertheless, there are weak points in the book. For example, he dismisses Malachi as merely disputation, discussion, and covenant lawsuit as part of this "royal message" model. However, he mentions the covenant overtones in Malachi several times. Such a model should be presented without diminishing other existing models since the book is obviously complex. Another weak point is that Fox fails to show what a royal message looks like, although he made some passing references. A portion of the book seems somewhat contrived such as when he forces certain texts to fit within this messenger framework. For example, he quotes Herodotus describing Xerxes as someone who cared for "land's flora and brought agricultural prosperity to the empire" (p. 104) to see the correlation between God as "the gardener king" in Mal 3:8-12. Does this mean that Malachi wrote having covenantal knowledge about God and His people rather than displaying a "messenger *poiema?*" Sound theological implications use this model that "YHWH is more than the covenant God: YHWH is the king, the sovereign, the universal emperor, and the head of the imperial army" (p. 131). His overall thesis that Malachi exhibits a root metaphor during the reign of Xerxes in the early fifth century BCE is convincing.

Petronio M. Genebago
Adventist International Institute of Advanced Studies, PHILIPPINES

The Slain God: Anthropologists and the Christian Faith, by Timothy Larsen. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2014. 227 pp. + 17 pp. works cited + 8 pp. index. ISBN 978-0-19-965787-2. Hardcover, US$45.00.

The Slain God: Anthropologists and the Christian Faith is the title of a recent thoroughly-researched scholarly book on the oft-turbulent relationship between the discipline of anthropology and Christianity. A better subtitle perhaps should have been "British anthropologists all connected to Oxford in some way, some of whom converted to Catholicism and some who did not." Admittedly, that is a more ungainly subtitle than the one currently appended to the title, but it would perhaps be more accurate. For despite author Timothy Larsen's painstakingly detailed research into his subject, it is glaring in its conspicuous lack of Protestant perspectives of any kind. Ironic, too, is the exclusive focus on British anthropologists; are there no American or Kenyan or Brazilian anthropologists who have compelling personal narratives about the Christian faith? And why the consistent thread of affiliation with Oxford University in some way running through each narrative? One strongly suspects that the answer to this latter question is that some of the research for this volume was conducted while Larsen was a Visiting Fellow at All Souls College, Oxford.

Despite these immediately apparent limitations, the overall volume remains an important work in the anthropology of religion, for it exposes the discipline's bias against Christianity (even while it celebrates "exotic" religions such as Hinduism and Buddhism). For Christian anthropologists such as myself, a long-running perplexity has been this double-standard within the discipline. Why is New Age or animistic religion "cool" whereas a self-identified Christian is viewed as a "bigot"? This tacit disapproval of Christianity rarely flares out into the open where it can be called out, identified, and exposed for the inconsistency that it is. But it is a real undercurrent experienced and described by my colleagues at other institutions through our worldwide Network of Christian Anthropologists (NCA). *The Slain God* calls out this bias, identifies it, and deftly exposes it through the presentation of five case studies of prominent anthropologists who either left the faith as they embraced their profession or found faith through their profession despite the odds. The first two cases examined in the book were characterized by the former; the final three by the latter. What follows is a brief summary of each case, chapter by chapter (mirroring the way that the book itself is laid out), followed by some concluding remarks bringing the entire oeuvre together.

Chapter 1 begins with the so-called "father of anthropology," Edward Burnett Tylor. He was so called because he is the first recorded person in

history to have held an academic post exclusively as an anthropologist. Other scholars before him, whose specialties were in other related disciplines, had dabbled in anthropology through their academic appointments in other departments. But Tylor was the first bona fide professor of anthropology.

Tylor was raised a Quaker, and he did not abandon those roots prior to becoming an anthropologist; his loss of faith happened gradually over time. Perhaps not surprisingly, many of Tylor's objections to religion were tinged with his Quaker past. He seemed to be trying to exorcise the Quakerism out of himself even while selectivity clinging to those Quaker objections to other religious traditions (idol worship, ritualism) that suited him. His thought was thus not an equal opportunity rejection of all religions from an objective standpoint, but rather a biased and unduly harsh criticism of whichever forms of religion he personally most felt need of dethroning.

For Tylor, religion started with dreams. He posited that savage minds are unable to differentiate the material from the imagined, and thus savages develop the notion of a soul that is separate from the body because their minds take them elsewhere while their bodies are sleeping. Over time, this belief in a soul graduates to spirits, then a ranking of spirits, and finally a supreme spirit. Tylor thus described religion as primitive attempts at philosophy by savage minds, thus setting up a false dichotomy between religion and science. He presented the two as inherently incompatible, the one limiting progressive thinking and the other discrediting backward thinking.

Perhaps Tylor's most famous contribution to early anthropological thought was the notion of cultural evolution. Evolutionism (as it is sometimes also called) is very distinct from biological evolution. Whereas Darwinian evolution proposes that certain species arose from others through mutation and natural selection, cultural evolution claims that even within a single species—Homo sapiens—there are more and less advanced representatives of the race. Specifically, Tylor proposed a classification system wherein all human cultures could be identified as either savage (the lowest level of cultural evolution), barbaric (a medium level of development), or civilized (which—what a coincidence!—just so happened to be where Europeans are to be found. A human phenomenon is that people tend to view their own culture as the apex of humanity, and I suppose it should come as no surprise that unwary European anthropologists are also susceptible to slipping into this mode of thinking). In Tylor's view, those peoples on the lower rungs of cultural evolution were aspiring to (and slowly but surely attaining) civilization; it was only a matter of time before everyone around the world would be

civilized. But in achieving this status, all must follow the natural progression; no leaping from savage to civilized allowed!

Tylor's classification system allowed for holdovers (which he termed "survivals"). People who for the most part might have progressed to the next level of development might still retain vestiges of practices or belief systems that served them well at a more primitive level, but which are maladaptive and have no place at a higher level. For Tylor, religion was one of those "survivals" which should have been shed along the way toward achieving civilization.

Today, cultural evolution is frowned upon and widely rejected by most anthropologists—even those who are firm believers in Darwinian biological evolution. The concept of cultural ecology has demonstrated that cultural practices and behaviors are rooted in the environmental circumstances in which people find themselves, and that adaptations to these diverse surroundings can account for much of the cultural variation that is seen today. According to the popular contemporary concept of cultural relativism, there is no ranking of "better" or "worse" cultural practices by an objective standard; one can only determine if a behavior or belief is more or less adaptive to its own particular surroundings. Thus, the pendulum has swung to the other extreme. But (strangely enough) in so doing, the rejection of cultural evolution has not led to a concurrent rejection of Tylor's anti-religious stance.

Chapter 2 introduces the reader to James Frazer, one of Tylor's contemporaries who was inspired to join the new discipline of anthropology through his reading of Tylor's works. Like Tylor, Frazer had also been raised a Christian; like Tylor, Frazer had also gradually rejected the faith of his fathers. Yet Frazer seemed more concerned than Tylor about the potential social ramifications of leaving the faith. Thus, he comes across as a slippery guy, publicly praising missionaries who provided source material for his work in line with his presuppositions and yet excoriating Christianity in his writing. On the one hand, he would write works that controversially challenged pillars of the Christian faith—and would admit privately to friends that he was intentionally doing so—but on the other hand, he would feign surprise and hurt when his work inevitably stirred public controversy and offense. On the one hand, he would not inform his dearest Christian family and friends about his most damning anti-Christian works (and in the days before instant and widespread media, it was more possible to have selective control over the information one wanted to share), but on the other hand, he repeatedly took his attacks on Christianity up a notch when those dear Christian friends died. It seems he was an image groomer par excellence far in advance of the days of Instagram and Facebook, and the public image that he carefully cultivated was one of an innocent seeker for truth, pained by

the offense that his works generated, while his private letters to like-minded friends reveal that he knew exactly what he was doing all along.

Frazer's major contribution of note for the purposes of this book was to take Tylor's three-part classification and develop a corresponding triad of his own: Tylor's savage stage corresponded with Frazer's magical; Tylor's barbaric stage corresponded with Frazer's religious; and Tylor's civilized stage corresponded with Frazer's scientific. As Larsen put it:

> The new theoretical scheme was a three-stage human progression: magic, religion, and science. Magic is based on the assumption that particular actions inevitably produce certain results. These causal assumptions, however, are invalid. When magic is discerned to be erroneous, people turn to religion. This is marked by entreating spiritual beings and therefore accommodates the unpredictability of outcomes: prayers are offered, but one cannot know for sure whether or not the god will grant the request. (p. 41)

Larsen continues, "In this stadial triad, religion is the odd one out. Religion is wrong in both theory and practice, while magic is right in theory but merely wrong in practice." (p. 42)

Frazer tried too hard to force savage belief systems and practices into Judeo-Christian categories in order to make his point that one derived from the other, or is simply a more complex version of the other. Yet in so doing, he frequently ignored any deep or serious analysis of the Jewish or Christian traditions that themselves gave rise to the categories in the first place! And his penchant for transposing ideas and categories from one religious tradition to another was undeterred even when it flew in the face of what his ethnographic informants themselves were telling him. For Frazer, the greater goal was identifying the broadest of similarities, not highlighting the substantial ways in which various religious traditions differ, even though those differences could be key junctures at which the traditions under comparison diverge irreconcilably.

To gain insight into how far Frazer's sojourn into the land of religious skepticism had taken him, it is helpful to quote a passage of Larsen's book at length:

> Fundamental to Frazer's work is the conviction that the reason why some of the foundational timbers of culture are rotten is because they are soaked in blood … he viewed religion as inherently drawn to violence … typified by a universal impulse in the religious frame of mind toward human sacrifice.… Frazer argues that the Jewish Passover was really a ritual of human sacrifice.… As for Christianity, Frazer speculates Christmas was once a festival in which a man was sacrificed 'in the character of the Yule Boar.'… Seemingly every celebration of the coming of spring, however cheerful and bright it may appear now, every harvest festival, however simple and culinary, every festive

> fire—whatever it is—finds its origins in some earlier compulsion to slaughter one's own children and one's neighbours. After reading Frazer, one can hardly eat a gingerbread man without wondering who the poor bloke was whose blood was shed before this mitigated form was devised. (p. 72)

When reading about both Tylor and Frazer, certain similarities jump out. For one thing, both not only left their religious upbringings behind, but became foremost critics of the hand that had fed them in childhood. Theirs was not a quiet parting of ways with religion but a vocal and almost vitriolic breakup. This animosity leads one to question their objectivity and ability to give fair treatment to their hated "ex." But perhaps the most salient similarity between Tylor and Frazer is the fact that both were what is now derogatorily referred to as "armchair anthropologists"—those who never travel to the field and yet style themselves experts on other people's ways of life. This was not uncommon for the early days of anthropology, as travel was difficult and voyagers of other stripes (merchants, explorers, etc.) brought back enough fanciful reports to keep cultural analysts busy for a good long while. But the reliability of such reports is questionable, being written by untrained adventurers and not always for the purpose of scholarly accuracy and rigor. Nevertheless, Tylor and Frazer entirely built their insights upon these secondhand reports, rather than collecting data for themselves and seeing if their theories stood up to scrutiny. As it turns out, they did not. In subsequent years as anthropologists such as Bronislaw Malinowski insisted upon fieldwork as the primary source for anthropologists' data, Tylor and Frazer's theories withered into the annals of embarrassing anthropological history.

It is easy to see the inconsistencies in others but to be blind to them in oneself. One wonders how much of the low-hanging fruit these early anthropologists present to critique might have been plucked off before ripening too far if more rigorous peer review were available at the time. To be fair, the discipline was still quite small at the turn of the nineteenth century when Tylor and Frazer were active, and there were not that many peers available. So perhaps a wider course of action would be to check the impulse to scoff too loudly, cognizant of the fact that anyone might make similarly obvious blunders of logic or reasoning were it not for the robust network of peers available today. Still, one marvels at how easy it is to point out the fatal flaws of thinking that marked so many of the early anthropologist's conclusions presented in this book.

Chapter 3 enters the subject from a different kind of narrative: that of anthropologists who either kept their faith despite long-term exposure to the discipline's anti-Christian bias or who converted to Christianity while working as well-respected and world-renowned anthropologists. Edward

Evan Evans-Pritchard was *the* greatest anthropologist of his time, a point readily conceded even by his opponents. He was the son of a minister who seems to have left his Christian upbringing behind for a time. Evans-Pritchard was the first professional anthropologist to conduct extensive fieldwork, setting him (and others from his generation) apart from anthropology's earliest scholars. He began his professional academic career in the immediate aftermath of World War II.

Whatever his wanderings from his childhood faith were, Evans-Pritchard became a Catholic during fieldwork. This decision completely baffled his colleagues. That such an obviously brilliant thinker could commit such a slip of logic was beyond their comprehension. And so their response was to try in every way to deny the authenticity of his conversion. Even before he converted to Catholicism, Evans-Pritchard appeared to have a soft spot for missionaries. He befriended them in the field, solicited their commentary on his work, and credited them in the front matter of his scholarly works. This perhaps portended his imminent conversion, but whatever the cues, his colleagues had missed them entirely.

One of Evans-Pritchard's greatest works was the book *Nuer Religion*, which is a classic in anthropology to this day. In it, Evans-Pritchard's religious orientation allowed him to make analogies and draw parallels with Christianity that nonbelievers might have missed, and in so doing, demonstrate that Nuer religion was at the very least no less complex and developed than that of civilized man. This is the positive side of research on religious experience being conducted by those who are themselves religious. One often hears only the negative: the concern that one's personal religious orientation will result in a biased view of those being researched. And to be fair, Evans-Pritchard displayed this negative aspect in equal measure. In his eagerness to draw parallels between Nuer religion and Christianity, he seems to have given in periodically to the propensity to stuff Nuer religious categories and practices into Judeo-Christian boxes where they might have been better suited to creating boxes of their own. Still, on balance, it seems that his religious "bias" may have helped his research. Larsen puts it thusly:

> Imagine how different Evans-Pritchard's *The Nuer* would have been if he had proceeded on the assumption that cattle are purely imaginary creatures and then attempted to find some way—however far-fetched—to explain why they were nonetheless so central to the thinking and actions of this Nilotic people. This is what it is like to read Tylor, Frazer, and company on primitive religion: 'After all, it does make a difference whether one thinks that a cow exists or is an illusion!' (p. 99)

Chapter 4 introduces Mary Douglas who, like Evans-Pritchard, was considered to be one of the greatest and most preeminent anthropologists of her time. She was also, like Evans-Pritchard, a Catholic. Douglas was inspired by Evans-Pritchard—inspired by a pragmatic example of how one can be a faithful Christian *and* a rigorous, well-respected anthropologist. She ultimately came to embody both of those values herself. As Larsen notes,

> Once again … hers was the opposite of the expected, modern narrative—a non-story in its terms: not one of a loss of faith leading to a new kind of life but rather a period of crisis leading to a maturing and deepening of religious convictions—to continuity not discontinuity. (p. 126)

Douglas's anthropology was characterized by two distinctive features: her preoccupation with hierarchy and her uncanny ability to challenge expectations. Douglas personally found comfort in hierarchy, and whether that was an innate personality trait of hers or not, her affinity for hierarchy was certainly influenced by her mostly positive experience in the highly structured world of the Catholic boarding school in which she was raised. In many of her writings, her wish that others would share her esteem for hierarchy shines through. Douglas readily and gladly submitted herself to the hierarchy of the Catholic Church, and she worked vigorously to defend that system. For example, she argued that condensed religious symbols (such as Friday meat abstinence), although onerous to some, should not be swept aside as some Reformers advocated. To do so would be to denigrate the value of symbols in general, leading to contempt of the greatest symbol of all: the sacrament.

In this, Douglas appeared to be very much the religious conservative (a label she rejected for herself). But this is perhaps where her ability to challenge expectations shone through the most. For she enjoyed defying expectations of a champion of tradition such as herself. For example, "Elsewhere she would argue that assuming that a faith which has lots of regulations regarding sex has a negative attitude toward it is like inferring that the high standards of gourmets reveal them to have a condemning rather than celebratory attitude toward food" (p. 144). Sex positivity: not a trait typically associated with religious conservatives. And she reveled in this type of expectation defiance.

Douglas delighted in pointing out that there is nothing new under the sun, that history is cyclical. What the stadialists such as Tylor and Frazer believed was evidence of progression from primitive religion to modern science was, to Douglas, merely evidence that humans repeat themselves. To underscore her assertion that doubt and scientific skepticism are not the exclusive purview of modernity, she frequently pointed to examples in the ethnographic record of supposedly primitive peoples also taking a

lukewarm stance toward the supernatural or rejecting religious ritualism. Her unspoken hope, it would seem, is that readers would make the connection that she explicitly did not: if savages can have skeptical secularism just as much as some moderns do, then moderns can have religious faith just as much as some savages do. The categories are not inimical to each other. And in so conceding, moderns will be forced to reject simplistic Frazerian linearity when contemplating the trajectories of religion and science. In all, y Douglas was a brilliant anthropologist and a staunch Christian that used her sharp mind and quick wit to expose inconsistencies in the anti-Christian biases of others even while demonstrating with her life that a fervent Christian need not be a prude.

Chapter 5 brings us to Victor and Edith Turner. Both Turners were raised by Protestant parents, but both rejected religion in their teens and young adulthood. Their early marriage was described as "bohemian": they married in a secular ceremony (to the chagrin of their parents), lived in a gypsy caravan, and became card-carrying members of the Communist Party. This latter fact partly contributed to their move to the University of Manchester for Victor's doctoral studies (and subsequent faculty appointment), as there were a number of communist sympathizers in the department there.

While at Manchester, the Turner family converted to Catholicism as a result of their fieldwork among the ritualistic Ndembu of Northern Rhodesia. Victor and Edith were separately impressed with the depth of meaning of Ndembu religious ritual, and this prompted a curiosity in investigating Christian ritual upon their return to England. Ultimately, the ritualism of the Catholic Church made the deepest impression upon them, and they embraced their newfound religion as wholeheartedly as they had embraced secular communism in their youth, much to the consternation of their colleagues in the Manchester School. Their devoutness was perhaps most visibly demonstrated by their willing acquiescence to the church's disapproving teaching on birth control, which led to the birth of three more children (in addition to the three they already had) in short order (though one, a daughter with Down's Syndrome, died shortly after birth). Although they were not formally kicked out of the department at Manchester, the Turners sought to leave as a result of the hostility expressed toward their "betrayal" of the ideals that the school stood for. It was at this point that the family moved to the United States for Victor's initial appointment at Cornell, then Chicago, and finally Virginia.

Although this chapter is about both of the Turners, actually only Victor held an earned doctorate in anthropology, and only Victor held formal academic positions in anthropology during his lifetime. However, the Turners were close collaborators throughout their career together, co-

authoring several works together and contributing to each other's solitary works with personal insights. Victor may have held the trappings of officialdom for career anthropologists, but both he and Edith saw themselves as equals in this regard. After Victor's untimely death at the age of 63, Edith rose to great prominence within the discipline in her own right, as it became apparent that her own anthropological prowess was not entirely dependent upon her late husband's intellectual contribution. She went on to earn a Master's degree in English from the University of Virginia and was awarded multiple honorary doctorates in anthropology from various institutions.

Since Victor's death, Edith has become a radical and open-minded believer in observer participation, a play on the term "participant-observation" which implies a sincerity in participating, not simply doing so for the sake of better data collection. This has led her to believe her informants, not just record their beliefs. Thus, she sincerely believes informants when they say that they have seen a spirit, for example. She takes the spirit to be a real, literal thing. She herself has taken such an interest in spiritual healing that she has taken part in a shamanic role, has been miraculously healed herself, and continues to host a weekly gathering in her home to this day wherein diverse spiritual healing practices are discussed and demonstrated. She is comfortable, nay eager, to explore the mystical fringes of Catholicism, and yet repeatedly and resolutely affirms that she is a dyed-in-the-wool Catholic.

The Slain God thus took a series of mini-biographies and attempted to illustrate principles regarding anthropology's relationship with Christianity through focused narratives. One criticism that I heard levied against this book in online discussions with other members of the NCA is that it was light on contemporary anthropologists. In fact, of all those discussed in this book, only Edith Turner is still alive (92 years of age at the time of the book's writing). The NCA is certainly not the sole repository of Christian anthropologists anywhere in the world, but it is undoubtedly the largest and most robust. Yet not a single member of the NCA—past or present—was profiled in *The Slain God*. One could argue that it is because none of us are prestigious enough. But we are certainly a diverse lot, incorporating currently active missionaries with anthropological background and training, academic anthropologists at universities both public and private throughout the world, researchers, government employees, and humanitarian workers. The list is endless, and the perspectives and experiences of this diverse group are very much a part of the history of anthropology and Christianity as the experiences of prestigious British anthropologists all connected to Oxford in some way, some of whom converted to Catholicism and some who did not.

Where were the experiences and perspectives of at least one or two other categories of Christian anthropologists?

Another area that left me wanting more upon finishing reading this book was a discussion of how anthropological attitudes toward Christianity have shifted over time. My experience as a graduate student in the early 2000s was not as fraught with tension between my faith and my scholarship as I was led to expect it to be. And I have heard similar accounts from my peers from that same era. Shifting cultural perceptions mean that the relationship between anthropology and Christianity is dynamic and not fixed, yet that was not discussed or emphasized in *The Slain God*.

With these criticisms aside, *The Slain God* did do a fine job of what the author intended it to do. It did not deliver on its broadly-defined promise in the title and subtitle, but that which it narrowly focused upon was rigorous and well-informed. If you approach this work with these caveats firmly in place and with the expectation not of a philosophical treatise but of a series of biographical accounts of specific cases of anthropology's awkward relationship with Christianity, then you could do no better than to pick this book up and read it. Perhaps the best way to end this review is by quoting a devout Jewish anthropologist who was a colleague of Evans-Pritchard at Oxford. In response to those who doubted the ability of religious anthropologists to be objective, fair, and unbiased, "Steiner defiantly argued that it was those anthropologists who lacked religious experience who were most likely to be unreliable: 'one is inclined to make reservations of the kind one would make when asked to read a treatise on sexual psychology composed by a eunuch'" (p. 113, footnote 163).

Adam D. Kis
Burman University, CANADA

The Baptis Story: From English Sect to Global Movement, by Anthony L. Chute, Nathan A. Finn, and Michael A. G. Haykin. Nashville: Broadman & Holman, 2015. 346 pp. ISBN 978-1-4336-7375-7. Hardcover, US$49.99.

The Baptist Story is the latest church history textbook of the world-wide Baptists, primarily written for students as indicated by the authors. It is a culmination of nearly six years work by three distinguished Baptist religious historians—Anthony L. Chute of California Baptist University, Na-

than A. Finn of Union University, and Michael A. G. Haykin of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary.

The authors have deliberately attempted to create a user-friendly guide to Baptist history. They intentionally excluded footnotes to create an accessible overview. Although a potential downside for some, it does make it a helpful introductory overview or textbook. The book has also numerous images of significant personalities, events, and documents. Quotation boxes and excerpts from primary sources make the book helpful and intriguing. Finally, a reference list and set of discussion questions are listed for each chapter.

The book is divided into four sections. Each section has four chapters except the last section, which is consists of a single chapter. The first section titled "Baptists in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries" is written by Haykin; the second section "Baptists in the Nineteenth Century" by Chute; and the last two sections "Baptists in the Twentieth and Twenty-First Centuries" and "Baptist Beliefs" by Finn.

Haykin acknowledges that it is impossible to deny any connection between Baptists and sixteenth century Anabaptists who "were active in England prior to the clear emergence of the Baptists" (p. 13). However, he does sees a clear link between Baptists to the Puritan-Separatist movement in England during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. He considers the English Separatist groups, which in 1608 fled England to avoid religious persecution and migrated to Netherlands under the leadership of John Smyth as "the first English-speaking Baptists" (p. 16). Haykin briefly treats the origin of the Baptists in North America under the leadership of Roger Williams in the seventeenth century. Haykin points out the irony in the fleeing of the Baptists from England to avoid religious persecution, but how they confronted it again in North America.

A fascinating part of the book concerned the bitter controversy over hymn-singing among early Particular Baptists. Some Baptists considered hymn-singing "an unscriptural innovation" (p. 52). This controversy divided several Baptist churches. It is equally intriguing that while many British Baptists denied the validity of the Great Awakening in America as the work of God, many American Baptists embraced and even supported George Whitefield's ministry.

Haykin argues that the formation of the Baptist Missionary Society in 1792 "was one of the most significant events in Western Christianity since the Reformation" (p. 106). It led to the formation of many foreign mission societies, the start of the modern missionary movement, the onset of religious revival among the Baptists, and the spread of the Baptists across the globe.

Chute describes the expansion of the Baptists in the West and to other parts of the world during the nineteenth century through itinerant

preachers, home and foreign mission societies, and a host of committed missionaries such as William Carey and Adoniram Judson. He treats the division of the Southern and Northern Baptists over slavery and the subsequent formation of the Southern Baptist Convention in 1845. Chute explains Landmarkism among some American Baptists, which claimed that Baptist churches were the only true church. He also touches briefly upon the differences between Southern and Northern Baptists during and after the American Civil War.

Chute claims that in the aftermath of the Great Disappointment in 1844, the Millerite movement "gained new momentum under the leadership of Ellen White, who fostered Adventist hope further by focusing on Sabbath observance and dietary reforms as a means of hastening Christ's return" (p. 152). This is a rather simplistic analysis of what happened and deserves a better explanation. He mentions the Sabbath and dietary reforms as merely Seventh-day Adventists concerns whereas in fact, much broader theological considerations were involved including the heavenly sanctuary, conditional immortality, and the gift of prophecy among other theological considerations. Furthermore, it seems misleading to claim that Adventists were observing the Sabbath and making dietary reforms "as a means of hastening Christ's return." Seventh-day Adventists as a denomination have never made this claim although some members harbored and propagated such beliefs.

Finn reviews the formation of the Baptist World Alliance and the Northern Baptist Convention and the emergence of the Baptists as a sect within a global movement during the twentieth century. He also treats the Fundamentalists-Liberals controversies that polarized Baptists. Finn does not shy away from revealing Baptist flaws such as the unfortunate support of some Baptists for Hitler and the Nazi party and the opposition many Baptists (especially Southern Baptists) gave to the Civil Rights Movement, which was surging forward under the leadership of Martin Luther King Jr. and others. It is surprising that Finn does not say more about Billy Graham and his evangelistic crusades that drew record numbers of people and brought thousands of new members into Baptist churches. To his credit, the authors already forewarned in the introduction, "Historians who read this book may wince at the lack of space given to their favorite, perhaps nearly forgotten, Baptist heroine or hero" (p. 3).

Finn shifts his focus on the worldwide expansion of the Baptists across Asia (India, South Korea, Myanmar), Africa (Nigeria, Uganda, Democratic Republic of Congo), Latin America (Brazil, Mexico, Cuba), and Oceania (Australia, Papua New Guinea, New Zealand). He also discusses the trends (glossolalia and charismatic movement, emerging worship styles, ecclesiological developments, and resurgent Calvinism), threats (militant Islam, secularization, homosexuality, and abortion), and other trajectories

of the Baptists. In the final chapter, Finn discusses the Baptist distinctive doctrines—regenerate church membership, believer's baptism, congregational polity, local church autonomy, and religious freedom.

Writing the history of possibly 100 million Baptists across the globe and spanning some four centuries into a single volume is a herculean task. The authors have done exceptional work by presenting a beautiful sweeping history of the Baptists that is readable and enjoyable. Readers who prefer a panoramic view of Baptist church history versus a cumbersome detailed monograph will be delighted with this overview.

As someone who grew up as a Baptist, this book helped me to understand my Baptist roots. I read *The Baptist Story* with much enthusiasm and anticipation. The book did not disappoint me. Furthermore, the book is aesthetically pleasing and attractively bound. The font size is also easy on the eyes. Written in simple language, *The Baptist Story* will appeal to a broad range of readers who wants to better understand the history of the Baptists. No doubt this book will remain a standard textbook for some time to come.

Koberson Langhu
Adventist International Institute of Advanced Studies, PHILIPPINES

A Guide to Biblical Commentaries and Reference Works, by John F. Evans. 10th ed. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2016. 469 pp. ISBN 978-0-310-42096-2. Softcover, US$24.99.

John F. Evans's tenth edition updates the already well respected ninth edition of the *Guide to Biblical Commentaries and Reference Works.* The current edition adds commentaries that have been released in the time frame from 2010 to 2016 und updates reference works as necessary.

The introductory section is critical to properly understand Evans's process of evaluation. He first highlights similar bibliographic works, including the equally well known Glynn Reader, and the valuable reviews of commentaries in journals and abstracts to which he frequently refers (8000 references to scholarly reviews are listed in the book). Evans then proceeds to explain his eight points of evaluation, admittedly based on his own biases (exegetical over homiletical, historical background over reader-response, and considerations of price/availability) and with the clear directive to produce a helpful guide for pastors and seminary

students. A simple symbol guide lets the reader know Evans's ranking (suggested for purchase, worthwhile purchase but not a first priority, important scholarly work but of debatable value for a pastor's library), the general position of the commentary (critical theological position or a "mediating" approach to Biblical Interpretation), and whether the commentary is a leading commentary or a forthcoming volume. The section closes with an overview of general resources such as background readings on interpretive methods, the history of interpretation, foreign language works, computer technology, and internet resources.

The second section takes a closer look at all commentary series (current, completed, and merged or incomplete) and briefly discusses their focus, contribution, and development. After this overview, the main section of the book follows. Each Bible book is listed in canonical order and commentaries are allotted two to six sentences of discussion with frequent references to scholarly reviews. At times these comments summarize the main argument, address hermeneutic issues, describe a specific interpretative stance of the author, or compare the work against others in the list. The four best commentaries, from Evans's perspective, are listed first before treating other volumes. Interspersed in the canonical order of books are relevant sections that address specific areas of research such as Pentateuchal Studies, Apocalyptic Literature, the Sermon on the Mount, Pauline Studies, and many more.

The concluding pages of Evans's book include a set of purchasing guides for a variety of budgets: In the "Bare-Bones Library," Evans picks out a single commentary for each Bible book usually a middle-of-the-road approach. In the "Ideal Basic Library," he selects two commentaries per Bible book, one for "exegesis and [the other for] theological-practical exposition" (p. 441). This section also adds essential reference works for the languages and background studies. Finally, the "Ultimate Reference Library" is a "money is of no concern here" (p. 449) collection.

Evans's book is focused primarily on the commentaries. This is highly commendable as particularly students often struggle to make sense of the abundance of books in the reference sections of libraries. The book shines in the individual descriptions of each commentary that have been culled based on personal reading and reflections from specialists in various areas. The breath of information Evans is able to transmit about each commentary in these lines is astounding. The short-comings of the book are not so much in the occasional absence (e.g. Ratzinger, *Jesus of Nazareth*) but the brevity or lack of resources on archaeology, theology, methodology, and hermeneutics. At nearly five hundred pages in this volume one cannot completely fault Evans, instead a companion volume addressing these and significant monographs would be a helpful complement.

This book is indispensable to any seminary student and pastor and should be the first book in any shelf. This book fulfills a twofold purpose: (1) It points the student and pastor to the best resources and by so doing (2) allows the individual to make the best and most valuable purchasing decisions, thereby saving money. The only tinge of sadness is in Zondervan's decision to print this volume on low-grade paper, which does a disservice to this invaluable contribution. This tenth edition is a welcome update to a crucial resource and cannot be recommended more highly.

Eike Mueller
Adventist International Institute of Advanced Studies, PHILIPPINES

Revelation: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary, Anchor Yale Bible, by Craig R. Koester. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014. xlii + 881 pp. ISBN 978-0-3001-4488-8. Hardcover, US$125.00.

Craig Koester's commentary on Revelation in the Anchor Yale Bible series replaces the earlier commentary by J. Massyngberde Ford (1975) much like Joel Marcus's commentary on the book of Mark replaces the weaker volume by C. S. Mann. Koester's volume follows the same basic format as other commentaries in the series. First, a fresh translation is rendered of the text of Revelation. Second, an extensive introduction addresses the standard questions of authorship, dating, structure, and theological concepts. Finally, the main section of the commentary elaborates on the individual passages. As in other Anchor Yale Bible commentaries, Koester maintains the distinction between Notes and Comments.

The former section addresses specific issues of the original text, for example textual variants and detailed comments, while the latter discusses exegetical and theological concepts, though considerable overlap occurs between the two. Koester maintains this basic outline but varies in two critical regards: he adds sections on the history of interpretation and on literary studies. First, as he did for his acclaimed commentary on Hebrews in the same series, Koester adds an extensive history of interpretation at the outset of the volume before entertaining any introductory questions. This section is divided into the major interpretive epochs and briefly positions all major interpreters of various traditions on the general topics and issues of Revelation. Additionally, the

beginning of each unit of Revelation in the main commentary section contains a specific history of interpretation for that particular unit. Second, again in parallel to his Hebrews commentary, Koester minimizes source critical consideration and instead "treats the text in its final form" (p. 71). This leads to the addition of a large section on literary studies—both narrative and rhetorical. Here he discusses among others plot, characters and characterization, spatial and temporal settings, and literary style.

These additions to the general format are not haphazard but reflect Koester's interpretive view which might best be described as "inclusive." That is, the author is informed and values a variety of different interpretive methods, conclusions, and approaches and includes the positive elements from various perspectives into his commentary. This becomes clear in the description of his own methodology in which he lists the major interpretive lines (preterist, futurist, historicist, and idealist) but states, "These categories are more problematic than helpful. In practice, interpreters often blur the lines between categories and ask many other types of questions" (p. xii).

Thus, Koester is less concerned about critiquing various views as promoting the best textual evidence. For example, he accepts, at least on the meta-narrative, a progression from John's time to the second coming, while still accounting for the first century background and setting. "Christ is expected to come to bring the final defat of evil and redemption of his people. Instead of a local or contingent coming, 'every eye will see him' (1:7)…. Yet Revelation also assumes that Christ is already present and uses language that blurs the lines between his local and final comings" (p. 851).

Consistently, Koester presents and discusses representative views in each section of the commentary, yet without getting lost in minutia. Also, Koester's structure of Revelation is only divided into "two main parts with three cycles in each part" (p. 112) along with an introduction and conclusion. Compared to other detailed structures, such as Kenneth Strand's or David Aune's structure, this more bare-bones approach allows Koester to focus on interpretation rather than structuralism. Detailed discussions of the interaction of meaning and structure occur in the respective sections; for example, Rev 11:19.

In addition, Koester's "inclusive" perspective employs advances in literary studies in the book of Revelation such as the works by James Resseguie and James Barr. Koester even argues that the interpretation of Revelation transcends the realm of theological scholarship and therefore a good commentary should also "consider popular literature, art, and music" (p. xii). It is important to note though that Koester does not succumb to trivialization in this process.

As is to be expected, various religious traditions and interpreters, will disagree with Koester's conclusion. Koester's inclusive approach throughout the commentary, though, gives a voice to various views and engages in thoughtful reflection with the major interpretative lines and newest literary research. This is one of the premier commentaries on the book of Revelation and every serious scholar of Revelation will need to consult and engage with this contribution.

Eike Mueller
Adventist International Institute of Advanced Studies, PHILIPPINES

A History of Western Philosophy and Theology, by John M. Frame. Phillipsburg, NJ: P&R, 2015. xxxi + 578 pp. + 32 pp. prefatory remarks + 165 pp. appendices + 46 pp. glossary + 46 pp. bibliography + 8 pp. illustration credits + 32 pp. index. ISBN 978-1-62995-084-6. Hardcover, US$59.99.

John M. Frame, professor of systematic theology and Christian philosophy at Reformed Theological Seminary (Orlando, FL), wrote more than a dozen books. He is well known for his *Theology of Lordship* series. Beyond his academic schedule, he actively writes on the blog co-authored with Vern Poythress (www.frame-poythress.org).

A History of Western Philosophy and Theology is a textbook for those interested in the interaction between philosophy and Christian theology. He defines philosophy as "the disciplined attempt to articulate and defend a worldview" (p. 1). The author points out that the Bible also articulates a worldview. Christian philosophy becomes "philosophy with a Christian worldview" (p. 4). Frame identifies Christian philosophy with Christian theology. But theology is "the application of the Word of God, by persons, to every aspect of human life" (p. 4). Therefore, it is the duty of Christian theology to critically evaluate philosophy. This deontological reason drives the authorial invitation to a scriptural evaluative journey of major non-Christian and Christian thinkers. It is a subjective and somewhat biased evaluation, as the author himself recognizes. Still, it is a journey with many insights and profound reflections on the philosophical ideas that shaped Western thought.

Frame presents the history of philosophy as a "spiritual warfare in the life of the mind" (p. xxvi). The conflict is based on an antithesis between

non-believers and believers. Admitting his dependence on Cornelius Van Til's understanding, the author uses a "triperspectival understanding of the world" (p. 16) as an assessing criterion. God's presence, authority, and control are reflected in the ideatic conflict. From this perspective, human knowledge becomes also triangular: situational, normative, and existential. All these elements are to be maintained together, in order to have an understanding of the whole reality. When these elements are only partially adopted, philosophy becomes autonomous, reflecting the effects sin had on metaphysics, epistemology, and axiology.

The book is structured into thirteen chapters, followed by twenty appendices. The first chapter presents philosophy in relation to the Bible. In this chapter, he presents his basic premises and arguments. Chapter two surveys Greek philosophy. Chapter three points out how Greek philosophy influenced early Christian thinkers. Compared with other theologians (Justin Martyr, Irenaeus, Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, and Athanasius), Augustine receives considerable attention. The fourth chapter outlines medieval philosophy. Anselm of Canterbury and Thomas Aquinas are the primary foci, while other philosophers like Boethius, Pseudo-Dionysius, Erigena, Dunus Scotus, Occam, and Eckhart receive brief mention.

Chapter five opens the modern period with succinct presentations about the Renaissance, Reformation, post-Reformation, continental rationalism, and British empiricism. The theological and philosophical outlook of Luther, Calvin, Descartes, Spinoza, Leibniz, Hobbes, Locke, Berkeley, and Hume are each evaluated. The period of Enlightenment is portrayed in the next chapter through several philosophers: Lessing, Pascal, Butler, Edwards, Paley, and Reid. The seventh chapter focuses on Kant and his successors (Hegel, Schopenhauer, Feuerbach, and Marx). Chapter eight closes the presentation of the modern period by analyzing the theology of Schleiermacher, Ritschl, Hermann, von Harnack, and Kierkegaard.

Chapters nine through thirteen cover the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Nietzsche, pragmatism (Peirce, James, Dewey), phenomenology (Husserl), and existentialism (Heidegger, Sartre, Jaspers, Merleau-Ponty, Marcel, and Camus) are described in chapter nine. The tenth chapter constitutes the first of the two-part presentation of liberal theology. The list is opened by the first four influential Bs in theology (Barth, Brunner, Bultmann, and Bonhoeffer). Other influences are mentioned such as Tillich, new hermeneutic, different quests for historical Jesus, *Heilsgeschichte*, Christian atheism, secular theology, and *Hartford Declaration*. The eleventh chapter continues the presentation of liberal theology. Moltman and Pannenberg are treated together with process theology, open theism, liberation theology, and postliberal theology.

Chapter twelve deals with language philosophy. Moore, Russell, and Wittgenstein are introduced, followed by a presentation of other major trends: logical positivism, ordinary-language philosophy, analytic philosophy, structuralism, poststructuralism, deconstruction, and postmodernism. The last chapter of the book presents some recent Christian philosophers, mainly in the Reformed tradition (Kuyper, Dooyeweerd, Clark, Van Til, Plantinga, Wolterstorff, Alston, Mavrodes, Vanhoozer, Meek, and Poythress). Other traditions are lightly touched (C. S. Lewis, MacIntyre, Swinburne, Helm, Rosenstock-Huessy, and Milbank).

The twenty appendices consist of material authored by Frame, supplementing different chapters from the book. Covering almost 160 pages, they comprise seven articles from the *New Dictionary of Christian Apologetics* (2006), two book chapters from *God's Inerrant Word* (1974), nine book reviews, a mail correspondence with Gordon H. Clark, and a conference article on Van Til. After the glossary, bibliography, credits, and indexes, the book ends with a chronological chart of turning points in the history of philosophy and theology.

With some minor observations, Frame's book is a well-organized historical account of Western philosophical and theological thought. It encompasses a broad array of personalities while offering a succinct presentation and evaluation of each. The focus on recent philosophical and theological trends makes the book relevant for present times. The reader can easily navigate through the legible text. Numerous interconnections of different parts, the chapter's outline present on every even page makes reading a pleasant activity. Since this book is purposed as a textbook, the author adds after every chapter detailed study questions, an expanded bibliography (both print and online), famous quotes, and lists the corresponding free audio lectures on the history of philosophy from the Reformed Theological Seminary on iTunes University. Readers other than students need to keep in mind that this is a primer when they encounter the variegated appendix. It is presented to help students explore the topics form different angles.

Written from a Reformed perspective, the book uses insights from this theological tradition to evaluate all other perspectives. At times the author candidly admits such subjectivity, as when he affirms that it is in the Calvinistic tradition where "there is more hope to be found" (n. 1, p. 513). Hence, when he discusses recent Christian philosophy in chapter thirteen, he mentions almost exclusively Reformed theologians and philosophers. This position becomes a drawback for several reasons. First, by reducing Christianity to the Reformed tradition severely limits and opens the book to criticism. Second, other positive theological contributions are neglected. Third, it limits the potential audience of the book.

Several other important observations are necessary to mention. First, the introductory chapter is well-written and clear, but a corresponding conclusion is missing. Instead, a short epilogue abruptly ends the discussion (pp. 560-1). Second, while Frame uses mainly primary or secondary sources, it is surprising to find a long Wikipedia quotation when discussing open theism (pp. 448-9). He also lists in the general bibliography seven Wikipedia articles (p. 828), which one could wish that he would provide more credible sources.

Despite these minor flaws, *A History of Western Philosophy and Theology* is a useful introductory book for students in the field of theological studies. It offers an evaluation of different thinkers throughout history from a Reformed perspective. Of course, in order to achieve a broader historical and theological perspective, the student should consult other books, like the second edition of *Philosophy for Understanding Theology* (Diogenes Allen and Eric O. Springsted), *Historical Theology* (Allister E. McGrath), or the three volumes *A History of Christian Thought* (Justo L. González).

Adrian Petre
Adventist International Institute of Advanced Studies, PHILIPPINES

Delivered from the Elements of the World: Atonement, Justification, Mission, by Peter J. Leithart. Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 2016. 368 pp. ISBN 978-0-8308-5126-3. Softcover, US$30.00.

Peter J. Leithart, professor of theology at New Saint Andrews College (Moscow, ID) and president of Theopolis Institute (Birmingham, AL), is a creative and deep theologian. His passion for theology extends beyond the classroom into the virtual public square, where he is actively writing for www.firstthings.com. He authored and co-authored over 25 books, besides numerous articles published in various journals, both popular and academic.

Delivered from the Elements of the World is one of the latest books written by Leithart. It echoes his preoccupation with the topic of Christianity: the atonement. The fundamental premise underlying the argument is that religion cannot be separated from society or culture. Hence, an "atonement theology *must* be social theory" (p. 17). Still, atonement does not become social gospel. Instead, it transforms society actualizing

salvation through the community of the Spirit, namely, the church. Leithart clearly defines his terminology. He synthesizes the core of every religion as sacred space, purity/impurity exclusion rules, and sacred rites acted by priests. All these circumscribe the basic elements of every socio-religious community. It is precisely this typological community that the death and resurrection of Jesus revolutionizes. As a historical event, atonement extends beyond penal substitution into the sociopolitical human sphere.

The author builds a fourfold answer to the Anselmian question, *Cur Deus Homo*? The book is divided into four parts with three appendices. Each part explores the variegated semantics of salvation, and is preceded by a clear introduction. The first part (chs. 2-5) describes the "elements of the world" (*ta stoicheia tou kosmou*, Gal 4:3) both in Israel and her neighboring countries. The Judaic physics is characterized by two main elements: circumcision and Torah. These are divinely intended as an anti-flesh pedagogy. The flesh is referred in the Pauline sense of *sarx* and interpreted as the whole of human physical-social being. While circumcision deals with physical flesh, Torah addresses the invisible and social parts of *sarx*. But Torah cannot instill God's justice within society.

The second part (chs. 6-7) presents the good news of God's justice. Leithart defines justice as a broader concept than justification, addressing human socio-political dilemmas. Hence, when Jesus comes, he embodies Torah, and establishes the new order of the Spirit. Jesus lives *in* the flesh, but not *by* flesh. Jesus-Torah "aroused the fury of flesh"; consequently, he was killed because both Jews and Romans wanted to guard their "forms of stoicheic order against Jesus" (p. 152). But Jesus was neither afraid nor aggressive, the two basic manifestations of flesh. He showed faith and he became Faith *par excellence*.

The third part (chs. 8-9) explores the meaning of justification as both judgment and vindication. The author coins the binary term of "deliverdict" (p. 181). Hence, justification is not only a part of *ordo salutis* but also, "and most fundamentally, an event in the *historia salutis*" (p. 183). Christ's death and resurrection has a profound impact not only on the past but also on the present. He came "to justify humanity from *ta stoicheia tou kosmou*" (p. 180). Therefore, justification frees people from the fleshly temporary institutions of circumcision and those instituted by Torah (sanctuary, purification rituals, animal sacrifices, and priesthood).

The fourth part (chs. 10-13) transforms the semantic of justification to a theology of mission by means of several contributions. Given the social character of justification, the social mission of the church is a natural part of atonement. The Holy Spirit becomes the new social mover. His role and functions are reflected in the new rituals of the Christian church: baptism and communion. The *ekklēsia* becomes the "society of the atonement,"

formed by the Spirit through baptism (p. 221), while the communion "effects what it signifies": forgiveness and fellowship (p. 223). "By keeping in the ranks of the Spirit" (*stoichōmen*, Gal 5:25) the church accomplishes her mission in the field of the world (p. 230). This is described as comprising tribal cultures, borderlands, and "Galatianist" societies (Islam, secularism, and modern politics). The last chapter summarizes the entire book. Three appendices follow: dealing with the metaphysics of atonement (appendix one), the relation between nature, supernatural and justification (appendix two), and an extended discussion about the atonement as deliver-dict in Romans (appendix three).

Delivered from the Elements of the World is, above all, a very well-written book. The sources cited reveal a thoughtful and penetrating mind, that feels at home within the scholarship of various areas, using them to build his own argument. This broad knowledge does not hinder his commitment to Scripture, which is unveiled in various hermeneutical parts of his book. With a clear argumentative structure in mind, Leithart introduces every chapter with a short review of the previous discussion, and ends it with a concise summary. He uses an imagery that is both simple, vivid, and theologically profound (i.e., Jesus depicted as Yahweh stepping down from the ark to touch Israel, p. 136). His discussion about the flesh and its social consequences is outstanding. Conversely, the social transformation of society by the atonement deserves a close analysis of every Christian.

Written as a typological commentary on Galatians, the book takes the expression *ta stoicheia tou kosmou* as an organizing principle, representing the weakness of Torah. Jesus's death and resurrection brought the era of the Spirit, which "comes to demolish Torah and to set up a new *nomos* where the requirements of Torah are actually fulfilled" (p. 194). This implies that there is a problem with Torah itself, not only with its usage (p. 191). The meaning of Torah becomes somewhat confusing. Torah is negatively equated with the flesh (p. 193) and *stoicheia* (p. 194) in some places. In others, Torah is presented in a more positive light (p. 202). It seems that the term is used as an equivalent for the law of God which clearly comprises moral principles foundational for individual and collective commandments (p. 93). But when discussion turns to the transformation of stoicheic order into a new one, Torah gets replaced by other spiritual commandments. This seems pointless in Galatians. Rather than being negative, Torah is used in a fleshly way that makes it inefficient. The Spirit so present in the New Testament, is not absent in the Old Testament.

Overall, the book is recommended for every serious scholar and should not be missing from the theological shelf. It is a source of fresh and challenging thoughts. The typological reading, with some cautions,

illuminates the relation between the Old and New Testaments. Its rich theological dialogue in the footnotes is profitable for the reader and expands his or her knowledge.

Adrian Petre
Adventist International Institute of Advanced Studies, PHILIPPINES

Holy Trinity: Holy People, The Theology of Christian Perfecting, by T. A. Noble, Didsbury Lecture Series. Eugene, OR: Cascade, 2013. 242 pp. ISBN 978-0-227-17413-5. Softcover, US$30.00.

T. A. Noble is a British Nazarene (Holiness) theologian who currently teaches at Nazarene Theological Seminary, Kansas City, MO (USA). A veteran theologian and well-respected member of the Wesleyan Theological Society, Noble exhibits skills not only in historical theology, but also in constructive systematic (dogmatic) theology. The contents of this work, originally presented in the "Didsbury Lecture Series," which is presented annually at Nazarene Theological College, Manchester (UK), has become "a well-established feature on the theological calendar in Britain" (Series Preface). For those unfamiliar with Wesleyan/Holiness scholarship, Noble has established himself as a much respected thinker. A person of engaging demeanor and smooth delivery (both in public presentation and published texts), Noble has produced a very readable review that commands a wider hearing.

The volume features nine chapters, plus a helpful "Bibliography." But its two distinguishing feature are (1) Noble's ability to give succinct summaries of key moments in the history of soteriology from the long tradition of Christian thought (early church, medieval, Reformation, and on up from the eighteenthth to the twenty-first centuries). And (2), as one might suspect, his forte also includes his interpretation of Wesley on the theme of sanctification/perfection and his influence on eighteenth and subsequent centuries of dialogue and debate over transforming grace, with special reference for the way of salvation has been prized by Bible-believing Protestants. His sympathetic review of, yet critical response to Wesley's teaching on perfection, is a must read for any student of soteriology, and especially for those who care deeply about issues which have swirled about the theses of transforming grace/perfection.

Thankfully, Noble has made a further contribution to this ongoing, often controversial theme. And this has to do with his very attempts to

integratively highlight the Trinitarian component of soteriology, especially when it comes to the right relationship between convincing (converting), justifying and sanctifying grace. The latter is what really caught my attention at a recent presentation by Noble at the 2016 annual meeting of the Wesley Studies Section of the Evangelical Theological Society meeting in San Antonio, TX. I immediately sensed that Noble deserved a further hearing and made a straight-path to the book exhibit to procure my personal copy of his incisive study on "Christian Perfecting," its essential setting in the larger contours of Christian soteriology and its Trinitarian setting. I urge every reader to give the volume a careful, reflective reading.

Woodrow W. Whidden II
Andrews University, USA
