

THE REFORMATION



SOUTHWESTERN
JOURNAL OF THEOLOGY

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Editorial

W. Madison Grace II
Managing Editor
Southwestern Journal of Theology

This Fall marks the 500th anniversary of Martin Luther nailing his *Ninety-Five Theses* to the Castle Church door in Wittenberg on All Hallows' Eve in 1517. Though the writing of this work was not intended to be world-changing, it marks a major turning point in the life of Luther as a soon-to-be reformer. History looks back to this event as the beginning of the Protestant Reformation.

When Luther posted the *Ninety-Five Theses*, the Roman Catholic Church was engaged in activities that were not benefiting to its members, that were more interested in power and money, and were contrary to the teachings found in Scripture—at least as Luther saw it. There is no doubt that this date is worthy of celebration. By this one act a movement was born, a leader was formed, and European society itself was turned upside down.

Of course any student of the Reformation is aware that Luther was not the only reformer during his time, nor did he arrive at his conclusions in a vacuum. He was ministering at a time that was emerging from the medieval period; a time of learning again from the past; a time that was built upon the works of Wycliffe, Hus, and Erasmus; a time shared with other reformers like Ulrich Zwingli, Balthasar Hubmaier, and many others. For those who share in the ideas borne during this era, this date of 31 October 1517 is an important date to remember and celebrate.

Among many of those participating in this quincentenary are groups related to Lutheranism and the Reformed traditions but also Baptists. Whether one traces the roots of the Baptists through the Anabaptists of the Reformation or the English Separatists of the next century, there is a solid connection to the doctrines and principles proclaimed in the Reformation. Many Baptists would affirm the Five Solas that encapsulate Reformation teaching: *Sola Scriptura*, *Sola Fide*, *Sola Gratia*, *Solus Christus*, and *Soli Deo Gloria*. In fact, the principle of Scripture alone is a consistent doctrine for Baptists throughout their 400-year history. It becomes the reason for separation from the Anglican Church in the seventeenth century and a rallying cry when heterodoxy has pressed in upon the various Baptist groups. Baptists, as a people, have much to be thankful for in the Reformation and the work of the Augustinian monk.

In this issue of the *Southwestern Journal of Theology*, we are celebrating this important event by publishing a variety of articles related to the Reformation. The first article, *The Theology of the Reformers*, by Paige Patterson, is an excellent introduction to the Reformation in general but also serves as an introduction to this volume in particular. Often when one reads about the Reformation, the usual characters are presented—Martin Luther, Ulrich Zwingli, and John Calvin—however, as important as these men are for the Reformation and Christianity, they are only a part of the movement. Patterson introduces us to other figures in the Reformation that do not often receive any attention. In particular he highlights a group of Anabaptists sometimes known as the Swiss Brethren. These communities are the fore-runners of the Mennonites and embody the principles of the Reformation most holistically of all the major reformers. In highlighting these Anabaptists, one can find a fuller picture of what was going on in the Reformation, especially in what is now Switzerland and Germany.

However, the Reformation was not confined to these locales. We find reform happening in England, Scotland, France, Italy, and even in Spain. The other introduction that Patterson provides in his article is the reform movement that was occurring in the Iberian Peninsula. Here a broad overview of these specific reform movements is presented and sets the stage for the two following articles that are specifically centered on the Reformation in Spain.

In these two articles, *The Reformation in Spain in the Sixteenth Century (Parts I & II)*, Emilio Monjo Bellido tells the story of Spanish reformers that, until recently, have not had their story told. In 2009 Dr. Monjo travelled to Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary to present two lectures on the Reformation in Spain. These lectures were translated by Southwestern's own Daniel Sanchez and are presented here for publication for the first time. In these two articles Dr. Monjo takes his readers into the time of the Reformation in Spain for a few important men that were championing the tenets of the Reformation—especially *Sola Scriptura*—in their home. These articles provide us with an insiders look at voices in Spain who were willing to stand for the Word of God and suffer the consequences of questioning the Church.

The final two essays in this volume are related to Martin Luther in particular. There is much one could question about Luther, for though he was a bold and zealous character, he too was a man—and as such errant. Friedhelm Jung raises that question in his article, *Was Luther a Bible Critic?* Jung will tackle the question of how and to what degree Luther engaged in biblical criticism. If we are to celebrate Luther, should we celebrate the way he read the Bible as well? This, and other similar questions, are addressed in Jung's article.

Finally, J. Tristan Hurley raises the question of missions with his article, *Missiologica Crucis: Martin Luther's Missiology*. Hurley engages missiologists who query, If Martin Luther was concerned about the Bible, then why did he not send out missionaries to the uttermost parts of the globe? Hurley

looks into the life and teaching of Martin Luther to discover if there was a missiological impulse in the great reformer.

As we celebrate the 500th anniversary of the Reformation, may we celebrate Luther, Calvin, and the other great reformers. May we also look deeper into this time period and learn from those who have been marginalized by history but who have also stood their ground in their places for the principles of the Reformation, principles that are grounded in God's Word.

The Theology of the Reformers

Paige Patterson

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A Sunday afternoon stroll through the park in Worms, Germany, will arrest the unsuspecting tourist when confronted with the large monument of Martin Luther—Bible in hand and the resolution of a Reformer sketched on his face. This towering Augustinian monk is not alone. On the fringes of the *Lutherdenkmal* stand Frederick the Wise of Saxony and Philip of Hesse, supporting political cast for the Reformation. On the far corners are Philipp Melancthon and Johannes Reuchlin, prominent scholars linking the Reformation to the Renaissance in Europe. Closest to Luther sit the four progenitors of the Reformation—Peter Waldo, Jan Hus, John Wycliffe, and Girolamo Savonarola.

Designed in 1868 by Ernst Friedrich August Rietschel, who died before its actual construction, the memorial reveals that the artist of Saxony understood two salient truths about the Reformation. The first insight is that the Reformation of the fifteenth century was far broader in its scope than the average man on the street in Europe has ever comprehended and in America is as illusive as the Loch Ness Monster. Religious roots for the Reformation spread like tentacles for at least 200 years prior to the Reformation's formal inauguration, and many would argue for even greater antiquity as observed, for example, in the work of Vigilantius of Leon in the Pyrenees.¹

The Renaissance is often paired with the Reformation, and for good cause, since the two are linked together as a steam engine to a coal car. Intellectual pursuits in art, literature, and industry were the fuels that propelled the Reformation of religious faith. The monumental insights of Erasmus, as Abraham Friesen has argued, spawned various aspects of Reformation development, even including that of the Radical Reformers.²

The Reformation was also social and political as the presence of the two princes in the Worms monument testifies. They provided protection for Reformers, many of whom would have died a martyr's death without the friendly oversight of these political authorities. The Peasants' War, while

¹See, for example, the attack of Jerome on Vigilantius: Jerome, "LETTER LXI. To Vigilantius," in *The Principal Works of St. Jerome*, trans. W.H. Fremantle, Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, 2nd Series, vol. 6 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1954), 131–33.

²Abraham Friesen, *Erasmus, the Anabaptists, and the Great Commission* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998).

brutally brought to a climax, speaks to the level of social unrest that also encompassed the efforts of the Reformers. Luther's own marriage underscores the social developments of the Reformation. Urging his preachers to marry as sort of a stick in the eye for Catholic authorities, Luther himself remained single, saying that he had been a monk for too long; and besides, he did not want to leave behind a widow and children if he paid for his faith with his life.

This failed to take into consideration the tsunami named Katie Zell, who had married Matthew Zell and desired the same bliss for Luther. Katie von Bora, one of several nuns, whom Luther had arranged to be smuggled out in fish barrels, from a convent in a Roman diocese also had a target on Luther's heart. Eventually, he acquiesced. Later, a trifle worried over his devotion to her, he noted, "I give more credit to Katherine than to Christ, who has done so much more for me."³

While the Reformation was not monolithic and would have happened without Luther, there is one more truth enshrined in the monument of Worms. Luther stands at its center, Bible in hand. The Reformation was essentially a theological and spiritual movement, and it was, above all else, about the nature of divine communication. The need for a charismatic leader with a scholar's capabilities and a preacher's temperament was essential. Furthermore, if that man were confident of the veracity of his convictions, he would emerge as a formidable force. Luther imaged that profile to perfection. This deeply contemplative and sometimes irreverent monk was uniquely prepared for the task of leading the Reformation in its formative stage.

The Unique Authority of the Bible

All students of the Reformation are acquainted with Luther's view of Scripture. The now famous assertion from April of 1521 at Worms is well-known:

Since then Your Majesty and your lordships desire a simple reply, I will answer without horns and without teeth. Unless I am convicted by Scripture and plain reason—I do not accept the authority of popes and councils, for they have contradicted each other—my conscience is captive to the Word of God. I cannot and I will not recant anything, for to go against conscience is neither right nor safe. God help me. Amen.⁴

What is less obvious to many is that Luther did not wake up one spring morning with this conviction burning in his soul. Like any good monk, there was always a reverence for the Word of God, but the trek that led him

³Roland H. Bainton, *Here I Stand: A Life of Martin Luther* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1950), 293.

⁴*Ibid.*, 185.

to conclude that the Bible is the sole authority was lengthy. The road led through the dungeon of despair about his relationship to God and eventually to a moment of confrontation at Leipzig with Catholic debater Johann Eck. This is the same Eck who served as the mentor of Balthasar Hubmaier, the man who would eventually become the primary writing theologian and pastor of the Anabaptist movement.⁵ Eck, with penetrating insight, hung the mantle of “Bohemian” around Luther’s neck. This reference to Hus sent Luther to the library to look at the banned works of Hus. There Luther apparently discovered for the first time that the Bible he had come to love was not only the Word of God but also the all-sufficient guide for faith and practice, overriding the authority of pope and council. Luther states the proposition well when he opines:

St. Augustine ... says, in the letter to St. Jerome, which Gratian also quotes ... “I have learned to hold the Scriptures alone inerrant; all others, I so read that, however holy or learned they may be, I do not hold what they teach to be true, unless they prove, from Scripture or reason, that it must be so.”⁶

The first principle of the Reformation is the conviction that God spoke by means of the Holy Spirit to holy ones who wrote the words of God and that the Bible as such is the inerrant and sufficient Word of God. As such, the Bible—not the church or the government in any of its forms—was to provide the trajectory for knowing God and serving Him.

This conviction of the authority of the Bible led to the second great principle of the Reformation—justification through faith alone. In truth, Luther discovered this truth prior to his full revelation about Scripture. This truth begins with a comprehension of the significance of the incarnation of Christ and His death on the cross:

They contemplate Christ’s passion aright who view it with a terror-stricken heart and a despairing conscience. This terror must be felt as you witness the stern wrath and the unchanging earnestness with which God looks upon sin and sinners, so much so that he was unwilling to release sinners even for his only and dearest Son without his payment of the severest penalty for them. Thus he says in Isaiah 53 [:8], “I have chastised him for the transgressions of my people.” If the dearest child is punished thus, what will be the fate of sinners? It must be an inexpressible and unbearable earnestness that forces such a great and infinite person to suffer and die to appease it. And if you seriously consider that it is God’s very own Son, the eternal wisdom of the

⁵Lars P. Qualben, *A History of the Christian Church* (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock, 2008), 329.

⁶Hugh T. Kerr, *A Compend of Luther’s Theology* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1943), 15.

Father, who suffers, you will be terrified indeed. The more you think about it, the more intensely will you be frightened.⁷

The atonement revealed man with his desperate inadequacy and rebellion against God. Likewise, the wrath of God against sin is clearly revealed. But finally, in the cross, the love of God and His provision for sin are openly chronicled. The theme of justification by faith runs like a scarlet thread through Luther's writing:

Let everyone who is godly, therefore, learn to distinguish carefully between Law and grace, both in feeling and in practice, not only in words, as the pope and the fanatics do. So far as the words are concerned. They admit that the two are distinct things; but in fact, as I have said, they confuse them, because they do not concede that faith justifies without works. If this is true, then Christ is of no use to me. For though I may have as true a faith as possible, yet, according to their opinion, I am not justified if this faith of mine is without love; and however much of this love I may have, it is never enough. Thus the Christ whom faith grasps is not the Justifier; grace is useless; and faith cannot be true without love—or, as the Anabaptists say, without the cross, suffering, and bloodshed. But if love, works, and the cross are present, then faith is true, and it justifies.⁸

Aside from the misrepresentation of Anabaptism, the citation from Galatians is typical of Luther's conviction. Although Luther himself is a complex figure with a multifaceted theology, to understate the theology of the Reformation will be sufficient here. These two propositions condense its essence: the authority of an inerrant Bible and justification by faith alone. This at once relieved the Roman church of its unchallenged authority and of its ability to employ "the keys of the kingdom" and thus be the dispenser of salvation.

The Reformation in Spain

The Lutheran Reformation was centered at Wittenberg in the forest, the Reformed phase emanated from Geneva, the Zwinglian and Anabaptist from Zurich, and the English or Anglican from across the English Channel. Italy and Spain were more geographically difficult and more resistant with embedded Catholic strength. But both had their reformers, as the presence of Savonarola in the Worms monument so eloquently testifies. Spain may not have merited a figure on Rietschel's bronze, but in Seville a considerable reformation of its own occurred. The Cathedral of Saint Mary of the See is

⁷Martin Luther, "A Meditation on Christ's Passion," in *Martin Luther's Basic Theological Writings*, ed. Timothy F. Lull (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1989), 166–67.

⁸Martin Luther, *Lectures on Galatians 1535, Chapters 1–4*, trans. Jaroslav Pelikan, volume 26 of *Luther's Works*, ed. Jaroslav Pelikan (St. Louis: Concordia, 1963), 144.

the third largest Gothic church in the world with a tower rising to 343 feet (105 m). Construction of this church, which would ultimately be the residence of the remains of Christopher Columbus, was begun as early as 1184.

But for all the glory of the church, what happened here as a result of the work of a layman provides an exciting story of reformation. Dr. Juan Gil (latinized, *Egidio*) and Dr. Constantino Ponce de la Fuente, both graduates of the University of Alcalá, had been exposed there to the thought and writings of Erasmus. Juan de Valdés had here published his *Dialogue on Christian Doctrine* in 1529.⁹

Once installed as preachers in the Cathedral, the lead preacher at the Cathedral noted Constantino's remarkable gift of preaching and observed, apparently without malice, that the people loved to hear Constantino preach.¹⁰ Indeed his art was widely sought throughout Spain and Portugal. Challenged by a layman in the church who confessed a conversion experience, Constantino also discovered the twin doctrines mentioned above, and his preaching and teaching became even more impassioned.

Constantino demonstrated his loyalty to the Bible by becoming a faithful expositor of the text of the Scriptures, preaching through the books of Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Solomon, and much of Job. The layman who impacted his life was Rodrigo de Valer, whose personal testimony was clearly heard and faithfully followed by Constantino.

Egidio also reflected in his own character and preaching the effects of the witness of de Valer. Thomas M'Crie's 1829 publication on *The History of the Progress and Suppression of the Reformation in Spain* tells this story:

Instead of the dry, abstruse, and unprofitable discussions which he had formerly pursued, he brought forward the great truths of the Bible; and the frigid manner in which he had been accustomed to acquit himself in public was succeeded by powerful appeals to the consciences, and affectionate addresses to the hearts of his auditors. Their attention was aroused; deep convictions of the necessity and suitableness of that salvation which the gospel reveals were made on their minds; and they were prepared for receiving those new views of divine truth which the preacher presented to them, as they were gradually unfolded to himself, and with a caution which regard to the weakness of the people, as well as to his own perilous situation, seemed to warrant and require.¹¹

⁹For many of these insights I am indebted to Emilio Monjo Bedillo, "The Reformation in Spain in the Sixteenth Century" (Parts 1 and 2), *Southwestern Journal of Theology* 60, no. 1 (Fall 2017): 15–51.

¹⁰Roberto V. Diaz, "An Analysis of the Doctrine of Salvation in the Ministries of Juan de Valdés, Constantino Ponce de la Fuente, and Cipriano de Valera (1524–1602), and Its Missiological Implications" (Ph.D. diss., Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, 2014), 86.

¹¹Thomas M'Crie, *History of the Progress and Suppression of the Reformation in Spain in*

Predictably, the Inquisition quickly took notice of the three preachers, and a long, tiresome confrontation began to unfold. The Reformation doctrines were clear to the Inquisitors but proved difficult to make stick, especially with the greater clarity of Constantino. As Benjamin B. Wiffen states the matter:

The Inquisition was not long before it fixed its jealous eyes on the three teachers of the new doctrines, nor were there wanting persons ready to accuse them, and especially Dr. Juan Gil, who was most obnoxious on account of his greater openness of disposition, and his appearing more frequently in the pulpit.¹²

While at length the Inquisition was successful in suppressing this infection of the minds of the general populace, the testimony still stands in the far more formidable form of an early translation of the Bible into Spanish and a number of books that are now being translated from Spanish into English.

The Radical Reformation

George Hunston Williams' monumental volume, *The Radical Reformation*, first published in 1962, introduces even to the unsympathetic reader an aspect of Reformation thought that had previously been largely swept under the rug.¹³ Williams chronicled the Radical Reformation in all of its variegated forms. However, there was a major segment of this movement that not only remained true to the discoveries of Luther but also chided Luther and the other Reformers for their failure to apply their views to the church consistently at several levels.

Among a host of names of opprobrium heaped on these freedom-loving individuals, Anabaptists (or "re-baptizers") was the most popular.¹⁴ The Brethren themselves objected to this on two counts. First, they observed that they were not rebaptizing at all since the first baptism as an infant was no baptism at all. Second, this charge placed the emphasis upon baptism, hardly the emphasis that they intended.

Franklin Hamlin Littell captures the essence of the Anabaptist theology in his prescient monograph, *The Anabaptist View of the Church*, "the Anabaptists proper were those in the radical Reformation who gathered and disciplined a 'true church' (*rechte Kirche*) upon the apostolic pattern as they

the Sixteenth Century (Edinburgh, 1829; reprint, New York: AMS, 1971), 153.

¹²Benjamin B. Wiffen, "Biographical Notice of Dr. Constantino Ponce de la Fuente" in Constantino Ponce de la Fuente *The Confession of a Sinner*, trans. John T. Betts (London: Bell and Daldy, 1869), 7.

¹³George Hunston Williams, *The Radical Reformation*, 3rd ed., Sixteenth Century Essays & Studies 15 (Kirkville, MO: Sixteenth Century Journal, 1992).

¹⁴Leonard Verduin, *The Reformers and Their Stepchildren*, The Dissent and Nonconformity Series (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1964; reprint, Paris, AR: The Baptist Standard Bearer), 11–15, 155. This volume identifies a number of the names by which the Radicals were called.

*understood it.*¹⁵ Differentiating the Reformers from the Anabaptists, Littell quotes Philip Schaff, “The reformers aimed to reform the old Church by the Bible; the radicals attempted to build a new Church from the Bible.”¹⁶

Over against the Reformers’ acceptance of the *Landeskirche* or the *Volk-skirche* of those who were baptized unknown to themselves as infants and were counted as part of the church, the Anabaptists insisted that a genuine church consisted only of people who had experienced the new birth and covenanted together with other believers in baptism to serve the Lord with all the devotion of their lives. “The true church must be a voluntary association taking its spirit and discipline from those who intentionally belong to its fellowship.”¹⁷

“The Anabaptists maintained that the New Testament was clear both as to the content of the Christian faith and the organizational procedures in the true Christian community.”¹⁸ As such, the Anabaptists were among the earliest champions of religious liberty. The Anabaptists insisted on two features:

The separation of church and state which the Anabaptists represented thus involved at least two positive affirmations of vital religious significance: (1) the civic right of a free man to private religious interpretation, and (2) the Christian duty of the voluntary association to enforce a strong internal discipline. How often these two points have been confused! Far from being contradictory, these are two closely linked aspects of healthy congregational life.¹⁹

In turn, this has led to the designation “Magisterial Reformers” to designate Luther, Calvin, and the English Reformers, who continued to invoke the powers of the state in religious affairs of men. As Malcolm Yarnell observes:

The Anabaptists were not naïvely and counterfactually arguing that the Roman Catholics and the Magisterial Reformers rejected biblical truth. Rather, they were aghast that their opponents would claim Scripture yet not treat it with thorough respect. Proper respect for Scripture entails allowing Scripture to provide its own form for Christian theology, standing in judgment of all human systems ... The Anabaptists were “biblicists” at one level

¹⁵Franklin Hamlin Littell, *The Anabaptist View of the Church: A Study in the Origins of Sectarian Protestantism*, 2nd ed. (Boston: Starr King, 1958; reprint, Paris, AR: The Baptist Standard Bearer), xvii; italics original.

¹⁶Ibid., xviii.

¹⁷Ibid., 46.

¹⁸Ibid.

¹⁹Ibid., 67.

simply because they read and thought with Scripture. The Anabaptists may also be classified as biblicists because they looked to Scripture to provide its own pattern for interpretation. This included discerning the progress of revelation both between and within the testaments, allowing its authority to apply to all areas of Christian life, and necessarily interpreting the Bible according to the light of the One who inspired its writers.²⁰

In short, the Anabaptists confirmed the Lutheran doctrines of Scripture alone for faith and practice and of justification by faith alone, but they found incomprehensible why Luther and others did not remain faithful to that confession. Why state that the Bible is the sole authority for faith and then invoke the authority of the state? Why insist on salvation by faith alone while baptizing infants, who have no faith at all?

The way that the Anabaptists thought is clearly delineated in this classic segment of reason from Balthasar Hubmaier, leading theologian of the Anabaptists:

But do you say that there is nowhere in the Scriptures a clear word to the effect that one must not baptize infants? Answer: it is clear enough for him who has eyes to see it, but it is not expressed in so many words, literally: “do not baptize young children.” May one then baptize them? To that I answer, if so, I may baptize my dog or my donkey, or I may circumcise girls, I may say masses and hold vigils for the dead, I may make idols out of St. Paul and St. Peter, I may bring infants to the Lord’s Supper, bless palm leaves, vegetables, salt, land, water, and sell the mass for an offering. For it is nowhere said in so many words that we should not do these things. Is it not true, what a two-fold papacy we would set up again if we juggle such things concerning God and the souls of men leaving out the Word of God. You say: “It is forbidden to baptize donkeys, for Christ calls men to baptism.” Well then, let us also baptize Jews and Turks. You say: “Yes, only believing men should one baptize.” Answer: why do you then baptize infants?²¹

²⁰Malcolm B. Yarnell III, “The Anabaptists and Theological Method: ‘For What They Were Concerned with Was Not Luther’s but Rather God’s Word’,” in *The Anabaptists and Contemporary Baptists: Restoring New Testament Christianity; Essays in Honor of Paige Patterson*, ed. Malcolm B. Yarnell III (Nashville: B&H Academic, 2013), 31.

²¹Balthasar Hubmaier, “On the Christian Baptism of Believers,” in *Anabaptist Beginnings (1523–1533)*, ed. William R. Estep Jr., Bibliotheca Humanistica & Reformatorica 16 (Leiden: Nieuwkoop B. De Graaf, 1976), 91.

Conclusion

At the risk of oversimplification, one may say that the Reformation was about religious authority and salvation by faith. Articulated by Luther and a host of preachers and theologians, these doctrines stand in stark contradiction to those of the Roman Church. The Anabaptists were in total agreement with Luther and all of the Magisterial Reformers but were mystified that these doctrines were articulated with such clarity only to be disavowed in actual practice.

The Anabaptist vision of freedom of faith cost them dearly. Anabaptists were hunted like animals and persecuted to the death by both Catholics and Protestants. In some cases, the witness of these courageous but gentle, freedom-loving people was obliterated. But patience has its reward. Today in Europe, in South America, in Africa, and in North America, the idea of religious liberty has taken hold. Even in Seville, where the Inquisition was so poignant, today there is a Museum of the Inquisition that focuses on the inhumanity of that persecution and honors the labor of Constantino, the magnificent preacher of the Cathedral, and many others as well.

As we celebrate the 500th anniversary of the Reformation, let us first pay homage to all who suffered for their faith—whatever the persuasion of each. May God grant the extension of religious liberty to the ends of the earth, a liberty that provides for the freedom of a church ordered on a biblical pattern and the true conversion of its members as followers of Christ.

*The Reformation in Spain in the Sixteenth Century (Part I)*¹

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Director

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I am interested in history, not in and of itself, but as an expression of the glory of God. We are not contemplating events in a neutral, secular setting. We are in the holy of holies. We have arrived at it through the new and living way of the very flesh of our Redeemer; that is the fundamental meaning of all that has happened in the past and what may come in the future.

I invite you to join me as we transport ourselves together to the sixteenth century and to see what happens in Seville, one of the most important cities in Europe in that epoch. From there we will see the Reformation in Spain. Because we do not have a lot of time, the visit will be for only one day, 22 December 1560.

That day, very early in the morning, an entourage leaves, made up of members of the Inquisition Tribunal, the nobility of the city, functionaries, friars, and the prisoners from the castle of Triana. That Castle of San Jorge, erected near river Guadalquivir that divides the city, was a fortress for the defense of the city, now the headquarters and principal jail of the Spanish Inquisition. It represents a visible symbol of power. One cannot walk in the city without its silhouette projecting a feeling of fear. No one knows what happens inside (those who had been interrogated or jailed had orders upon leaving not to say anything of what had happened there). There is no noise, because arriving there is a symbol of perpetual misery. The prisoners do not know why they are imprisoned or who accuses them. They have to defend themselves against accusations that are unknown to them. They cannot speak in a loud voice. They cannot sing. They do not know who shares the jail with them. It would be difficult to find a better picture of the devil and his works. All of this is guided by his favorite one: the perverted church.

The people, informed the day before, lend themselves to participate in the feast that has been prepared, because a feast is what the civil authorities

¹This article is a translated transcription of an address by the same title delivered at Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, 27 August 2009. It has been translated from the original Spanish to English by Dr. Daniel Sanchez (Distinguished Professor of Missions, Patterson Center for Global Theological Innovation at Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary).

and the Inquisition seek to have. It was a feast to demonstrate the “triumph” of the Christian faith against its enemies. That is the nature of the *autos de fe* (public execution). It was not a popular feast in terms of the participation of the people, because they could only participate as spectators. Everything was in the hands of the ecclesiastical authorities. The people were learning that same day who the accused were and what penalties would be imposed. Furthermore, as evidence of the vast tyranny accepted by the people, they had to give a public verdict of being in agreement and supporting the inquisitors (without knowing anything about the matter).

Before we continue accompanying the entourage, it is helpful for us to have a clear understanding of what the Inquisition is. The term “inquisition” also has a connotation of something valuable. The apostle Paul himself exhorts us to “inquire” to see if we are in the faith. In an institution such as a seminary there is an “inquisitor” committee to investigate and analyze the competency of the candidates. There is, therefore, an investigation (inquisition) that is appropriate and wise. In the very beginning of the eighth century, the Inquisition was a simple mechanism of the bishops to investigate the religious practices of their dioceses with the collaboration of the secular power. Then the Dominicans, who depended directly on Rome, were charged with the function of investigating and judging. Not long afterwards it degenerated and transformed itself into a mechanism of the “crusade,” not then against the Saracens to re-conquer Jerusalem, but against the “heretics” in French and Italian lands. With this it acquired its connotation of something perverse and tyrannical.

The secular sword was put at the service of religion—a predetermined form of religion.² It will not be useless to remember that the Inquisition continues to be alive. In 1542 Pope Paul III founded the Congregation of the Roman and Universal Inquisition, to defend the Church of Rome against the Protestant heretics. (Although his most famous trial was not against a Protestant, but against Galileo.) In 1908 Pope Pius X changed the name to the Holy Congregation of the Holy Office, and in 1965 Pope Paul VI changed it to the current Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith. The Inquisition, therefore, even though it is in a different social context from that of its birth, continues to live. However, the Inquisition that is going to celebrate the Public Punishment, the festival of the triumph of religion which we attended in our day in the visit to Seville, is another one. It is the most powerful one. Its verdict cannot be appealed; not even the Pope can change it. It is the Spanish Inquisition, the worst possible example of the union of the church and the state. It was an instrument of the state that the Church of Rome used, as well as an instrument of the Church that the state used. Its use was always to oppress and bury truth and liberty. The Inquisition possessed

²Perhaps on another occasion we can make an historical visit to see the ruin that resulted when some of the churches of the Reformation followed the same method of Rome.

a façade of Christianity on the part of both church and state, but it also possessed all the marks of the works of the flesh as its pillars. The Inquisition was created by the Catholic Kings in 1478 as a means to unify Spain after the re-conquest of the Muslims. In 1480 a Tribunal of the Holy Office was constituted in Seville. It was not definitely eliminated until 1834. It was a Tribunal with jurisdiction over all legal matters in the various territories of Spain. As such it constituted itself a fundamental column of the State.

Surely, as we observe the entourage leave that sinister building, we would be astonished to know that the place that was most associated with justice was precisely the headquarters of the Tribunal of the Supreme Inquisition. It was perceived by the people as something somber, where any sentiment would be possible except that of trust. How miserable is a people that has to see its Supreme Tribunal in this manner. We would find out that the church and the state that use that tribunal are united in their pedagogy of fear. Both do not care about justice, only about the control that they can exercise over the society by means of terror. Both fear freedom.

Any mature person could have pointed out to us the change that had been produced in the activities of that institution. At first, it was intended principally to investigate and punish the possible false conversions of Jews and Muslims. Having decreed the expulsion of both communities from Spain, the possibility was offered to them to stay only if they would agree to convert to Christianity. Many agreed, but they continued to practice their rituals in secret. It was the mission of the Inquisition to find and punish them. In Spain the figure of the *cristiano viejo* (old Christian) was created to indicate that one came from a family without religious mixture. The *cristianos nuevos* (new Christians) were those who came from converted Jewish and Muslim families. Laws of “purity of blood” were established in which the status of the *cristiano viejo* was essential for the attainment of positions of importance. However, in 1560 the desire was to discover and punish *luteranos*, or Lutherans (because with that name they classified the religious dissenters). All of its machinery functioned to the fullest to exterminate Protestantism.

This new situation could be remembered by the public punishment, similar to the one we are attending, that was celebrated less than a year before on the 24th of September. It was the first tribunal against the *luteranos*. There is something that we can remember as we walk together with the entourage. Crossing the river by a pontoon bridge, we only have to walk half a kilometer until we arrive at the Plaza of San Francisco, the place where the public “theater” is held for the administration of justice to the offenders.³ Moreover, there is little we could learn on the way, because the condemned had wooden muzzles in their mouths so they could not communicate anything along the trajectory. They cannot say anything to us, and the Inquisition is already

³The jail—although only a portion remains—as well as the Plaza are still in the city today. The Plaza of San Francisco is precisely where city hall is found today.

telling us with this ceremony what its nature is: it is a power that bases its efficacy on secrecy, but when it comes out to the public light, it does it with the maximum symbols of power (power over life and death, over estate, over honor and over the memory of its victims). It does not need to come out many times, nor does it need to kill many people. It is sufficient for it to come out from time to time and kill a few, for it does it in front of many, as in a public theater. In that way it fulfills its commitment to terrorize the people.

In that public punishment they burned about twenty persons and eighty were condemned to diverse punishments. The people were surprised to see who the condemned were. There were some monks from the monastery close to Seville, a nun, high society persons, and all were condemned because they were "Lutheran." Several women were among them. One of the main ones was Señora Doña Isabel de Baena, who was not only accused of following those doctrines but of hosting in her house the community of "heretics." It was there that the evangelical church of Seville met. The author through whom much is known of what we can now remember says the following about this place: "This house was a school of perpetual piety and a holy place where the holy meetings were held and there day and night the perpetual praises resounded to God and His Christ."⁴ It was a community for whom some of its pastors had written a strange a text which the inquisition had detected: "Dialogue of consolation between the Lord Jesus Christ and his very small church in Seville." In the charge against this lady was included the decree not only that she be burned but that her house be razed.⁵ Other women accompanied her to be burned at the stake. Among them stands out a young maiden twenty years old, María Bohorques, of great erudition and superior piety, knowledgeable of the Scripture, and servant of the Lord. In addition to this, because of the sentencing of some of its friars, the people found out that in the monastery of San Isidro del Campo (which is close to Seville) practically the entire community had converted to the new doctrine. Some, when the situation was discovered, were able to flee, but others were captured.⁶

Many questions remain before us. How had these groups of *luteranos* been formed (because there were news of the existence of others in the city of Valladolid)? Why was it that the reading and the inquiry of the Bible that at the beginning of the century was considered so favorable, was now the cause for condemning the *luteranos*? But as we have already arrived at the public trial, we are going to draw near to one of the very special condemned

⁴Reinaldo González Montes, *Artes De La Santa Inquisición Española* (Madrid: Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia, 2008), 256–57. Unless otherwise noted, all translations from Spanish texts to English have been translated by Dr. Sanchez: "Esta casa fue escuela de perpetua piedad y lugar sagrado en donde se celebraban las reuniones sagradas y resonaban día y noche las perpetuas alabanzas de Dios y de su Cristo."

⁵Today we do not know where her house was located.

⁶Rome tried to "cleanse" the monastery with other friars and to establish it in the ornamentation and the Roman doctrines. The monastery, with a great part in ruins, today continues to be present in history.

persons in whom we will find an answer. These persons are now in “effigy,” that is to say we have their straw effigies. The Inquisition was in charge of condemning and burning the heretics even if they were not present. Some simply because they had died, others because they were in other places. On this occasion they have brought out four effigies to the public triumph: Doctor Egidio, Doctor Constantino Ponce de la Fuente, Maestro Francisco de Vargas, and Juan Pérez de Pineda. The first three had died, and they brought out their remains from the grave to burn them. The fourth was free in Geneva. In these straw effigies we can see the story of the Reformation in Spain.

Doctors Egidio, Constantino, and Maestro Vargas

Dr. Juan Gil (Latinized Egidio) and Dr. Constantino Ponce de la Fuente were graduates of the University of Alcalá (Madrid). Francisco de Vargas had occupied the professorship of scholastic theology and then the one of moral theology in that university as well. This university was a focal point for the reception of renewal ideas from the beginning of the sixteenth century. Here, Erasmus had an ample field where his ideals of the reformation, of the customs, and of the priests received impetus. In this university special attention was given to biblical studies with the intent to revise and establish the text that resulted in the edition of the *Complutensian Polyglot Bible* (1514–17). It was here, also, that the first “Protestant” text was published in Spain in 1529: *Diálogo de Doctrina* (*Dialogue on Doctrine*) by Juan de Valdés.⁷ Juan de Valdés provides for us the configuration of the Spanish Reformation: introduction to the studies of the Bible, discovery of the person and work of Christ, conversion, vocation to transmit the new doctrine, interest in translating the text of the Bible into a vernacular language, emphasis on the study and textual explication of the Scripture (and all of this with an autochthonous character, through contact with the Scripture, not as a result of propaganda coming from Protestant Europe, even though later these came together with a common purpose). Because of his difficulties with the Inquisition, Juan de Valdés had to leave Spain and settle in Naples. It is there that he carried out his ministry. In his case, he did not form what we would call a “church,” but he surrounded himself with a circle of intellectuals and priests for the study of the Bible. In Naples he writes several commentaries on the New Testament.⁸ At his death in 1541 (he was just over thirty years old), his writings were prohibited and persecuted. Some of

⁷Juan de Valdés, *Diálogo de Doctrina*, volume 3 of *Obras de los Reformadores Españoles del Siglo XVI* (Alcalá de Guadaíra, Seville: MAD, 2008). Even though it was published with the appropriate permission, shortly afterwards the Inquisition persecuted this book with such efficacy that it was almost lost from memory, and it was not until 1925 that a copy of it was found.

⁸So his Italian friends could read his books in Spanish, he wrote a method for learning Spanish: *Diálogo de la Lengua* (*Dialogue of the Language*), which is considered a basic pillar in the structure of our language. Juan de Valdés, *Diálogo de la Lengua*, ed. Cristina Barbolani (Madrid: Cátedra, 1998).

them were reintroduced into Spain and formed a part of the literature that nourished the clandestine church.

The three friends, Constantino in 1533 and Egidio and Vargas a year later, arrived at the city that now “honors” them with those statues of ignominy. They came invited by a group of Erasmian followers, within the very Cathedral Council, interested in the reformation of the customs of Christianity. They themselves still did not yet know of the Reformation. The first two were installed as preachers, the third as a teacher of the sacred Scriptures. If they had remained as such, then what the historians affirm would have been true—that the Spanish Reformation was nothing more than the existence of some circles of followers of Erasmus. Very little, moreover, would have been achieved, because the years were passing and not even external reforms were being produced. However, they were to encounter a key character in our history: Rodrigo de Valer.

If, as has already been indicated, Juan de Valdés is fundamental as a pioneer (in its most academic aspect), Rodrigo is in his facet of public testimony in the streets and plazas. He acknowledged and proclaimed his *conversion* through the direct reading of the Bible (he could read Latin). With that he abandoned his previous life (which was only a search for pleasures) and focused on being a witness for Christ. He would debate with friars and priests in his sermons, criticizing the superstitions and idolatries of the Roman Church. Without having academic theological training but with his knowledge of the Scriptures, he had enough to destroy the arguments of the clerics. How did the Inquisition permit the rejection of the teaching of Rome in its own territory? We must keep in mind that at first, before the definitions of the Council of Trent, not all the clerics knew the limits and forms of their doctrines. This produced a time of indecision in the persecutions. The theological experts of the Inquisition knew the characteristics of Muslims and Jews very well, but for the new ideas they were not prepared. In addition to this, they considered de Valer to be a “little crazy.” What was very important in that era was that he was a *cristiano viejo*, that is to say he did not come from a family of Muslim or Jewish converts. Permit me to emphasize this fact, because it provides an adequate perception of the masses. If the Spanish Reformation has this person as an important “popular” pillar, it is also due to the fact that he did not come from a Jewish family. However, the other more “academic” pillar, Juan de Valdés, did come from a Jewish family (he was a *cristiano nuevo*). This mixture is found throughout all of our Reformation. Nonetheless, Rodrigo de Valer was also taken prisoner by the Inquisition in the end. He was castigated through diverse punishments, among them his banishment from the city (he would later die away from Seville). However, compared with the punishments imposed upon other Protestants (who in addition to this were *cristianos nuevos*), his punishment was lighter. Above all, the contact with Rodrigo de Valer brought about a radical change in Egidio. The doctor was guided by the testimony of this fervent believer in the fountain of true knowledge: the Scriptures.

Now we have one of the preachers in Seville that preach from a living faith. This is the nature of our Reformation: It was born from the Scriptures in an autochthonous manner. Only afterwards will the contact and benefits of the works of the European reformers take place. These preachers realize that they belong to the church whose head is Christ, even though formally they find themselves in the midst of the Roman Church that denies the lordship of Christ. The preaching produces fruit. A living, clandestine church is formed. In Seville, headquarters of the powerful Inquisition Tribunal, the Lord has raised his people through the Scriptures.

The power of the Spirit is manifested in the conversion of a good number of people. The situation is amazing: the preachers of the cathedral of Seville, one of the greatest and most powerful of the Catholic orb, are also the pastors of the “very small” church that Christ has in the midst of wolves. At the very heart of the earthly Jerusalem, Christ has caused to bud a part of his celestial Jerusalem. In the city there is a college, named the Colegio de la Doctrina (College of the Doctrine) where Egidio and Constantino teach. While teaching there, Dr. Constantino explained the books of Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Songs of Solomon, and half of the book of Job.⁹ These preferences for teaching from the sacred text show our Reformation as a nucleus where *sola scriptura* which is accompanied (as in the *Calvinist* Reformation) by *tota scriptura*. The use of what we call the Old Testament to edify the Church as a means of “evangelization” is an important symbol of identity of our Spanish Reformation. To this, without doubt, contributed the providential presence in its bosom of many descendents of Jewish families (as was the case with Egidio and Constantino).

But this did not occur only in the city of Seville. Not more than three kilometers away, in the town of Santiponce, is the monastery of San Isidro del Campo.¹⁰ What happened in the city occurred in the monastery. Especially through the ministry of Egidio, practically all of the monks were converted, with their director leading the way.¹¹ There was, therefore, a clandestine church in Seville (with a number of members similar to what there is today totaling all denominations) and another church behind the walls of the monastery also clandestine.¹²

Since the conversion of Egidio, ten more years go by in which the church is edified and grows. Our preachers continue to expound the truths

⁹These works were never published. Neither were the manuscripts of the commentary of Genesis, some Psalms, Songs of Solomon, and Colossians that Dr. Egidio had written.

¹⁰This is also where the ruins of the Roman city of Italica are located.

¹¹Their director was the great teacher of the Scriptures, García Arias, called the White Teacher because he was an albino. He also was later burned by the Inquisition.

¹²Among its monks are two whose last names are in the hands of many Latin Americans: Casiodoro de Reina, who translated the first complete Bible into Castilian, and Cipriano de Valera, who revised and published that first edition. From there comes that version Reina-Valera that has been the linguistic vehicle through which many believers have come to know Christ.

of the evangelical faith in the cathedral, without doubt with the use of exceptional language so as not to be discovered. A common theme of their teachings is the nature of the church (confirming time and again its “catholic” nature, but rejecting that it has to be “Roman”). They propose a Christian life separated from external ceremonies in favor of a life that comes from the heart and with conviction. In contrast to meritorious works, they present the perfect work of Christ whose benefits of his cross we have by the grace and the will of God. The foundation of their reflections and exhortations is Scripture itself. The fame of the preachers, especially Constantino, reaches Emperor Charles, who asks him to accompany him as chaplain and royal preacher, which requires him to leave Seville for a season. Moreover, some of his writings were published in Seville. It is difficult to imagine the complexity and difficulty of the situation, but the church continues to move forward. Later it would be said with reference to this time that the Lord kept his congregation hidden until it reached maturity for persecution and martyrdom. Then he unleashed the hour of darkness.

In 1546 a new archbishop was installed in Seville who was also Inquisitor General and was one of the most effective in the persecution against the Reformation. Even so, they took three years before attacking openly. In 1549 Egidio was imprisoned and the inquisitorial process against him was initiated. (Vargas died in jail before suffering this type of trial.) No one in the church was superior to Egidio and in some the weakness of the flesh began to show. Egidio himself weakened in the clear defense of the faith that he had taught others. That was the wound in his soul that accompanied him to the grave. If before the situation of the church was difficult, now it was much more so with its pastor condemned by the Inquisition. All of them had to reinforce their vigilance so they would not be discovered, including Constantino. Can we imagine the feelings of that community when it met secretly? The trial of Egidio, after retractions and agreements, did not end with his being burned at the stake. They imposed upon him minor punishments and he died in 1555, but when they found out later about his involvement in the establishment and growth of the church in Seville (and that he had actually died professing his Protestant faith) the Inquisition decided to condemn him to be burned. That is why they took his remains from the grave and brought a straw statue to the public execution that we are contemplating.

In 1557 the situation became definitely complicated. Due to some errors in distributing prohibited literature, the person in charge of its distribution was imprisoned and the church was discovered. The same was occurring in the monastery of San Isidro del Campo. Some were able to escape, but the jails of the Inquisition had to be expanded to make room for so many prisoners. Curiously, Constantino continued to preach in the cathedral, but he knew that the end was near. He did not even attempt to flee the city. We can imagine the commotion when the size of the evangelical congregation became known. Emperor Charles himself, who had abdicated in favor of his son Philip and was retired in Yuste, was terrified before the possibility

that in Spain would be reproduced what for him had been the cause of the dismemberment of his empire in Europe: Protestantism. In addition to this, in those groups also in Valladolid were people who had been very close to him. He advised, therefore, that that danger be done away with by all means possible. All of the power of the two empires, enemies of the cross of Christ, the state and the Roman Church, are united to crush that “very little church” of Seville. For a moment it appears that they achieved it; finally Dr. Constantino also fell in the hands of the inquisitors. His health did not hold up against the torments and he died in the jail of Triana in 1559. Today we have before everyone the bones to be burned and a straw effigy as a demonstration of the “triumph” of the two empires. Such was the fame of this preacher. Emperor Charles in his retirement, as he found out that his chaplain had been condemned by the Inquisition, declared: “If Constantino is a heretic, he is a great heretic.”¹³

Juan Pérez de Pineda

The person whose name is in the other straw effigy that we have seen is alive in Geneva. He is a pastor who is highly trusted by John Calvin, and will continue to work for the edification of the kingdom of God until he dies in Paris in 1567. He was responsible for the publication of one of the works—*Imagen del Anticristo y carta a Felipe II (Image of the Antichrist and Letter to Philip II)*—that being delivered mistakenly in Seville resulted in the discovery of the clandestine church.¹⁴ His also was the translation of the New Testament into Spanish which was sent from Geneva to Seville to edify the saints. Juan Pérez de Pineda was a monk in the monastery of San Isidro del Campo and was able to escape to Geneva when the persecution started. Other monks left with him and continued to develop their labor of witnessing in Europe. We have another factor of our Spanish Reformation with them. After a first “interior” phase (about which we have already made some comments), this Reformation is lived outside of Spain because of the persecution and is now united with the European reformers and churches. However, it can be confirmed that the group of Spaniards always lived “as a Spanish church in exile,” even though they were far from one another, and their desire and work was oriented (in most cases) to defend and edify that church. That is to say, even though they lived in a profound way the *catholicity* of the church, they never forgot its locality as part of the body of Christ.

From the hand of Pérez we can see some facts that give us an abbreviated idea of the Spanish Reformation in exile (it could also be said, of the Spaniards in the European Reformation). But let us allow the Inquisition itself to give us a panoramic view of the situation. In a document toward

¹³C.F. Hodgson, “The Spanish Reformers” in *The Christian Observer* (London: Hatchard and Co, 1862), 457.

¹⁴Juan Pérez de Pineda, *Imagen del Anticristo y carta a Felipe II*, volume 3 of *Reformistas antiguos españoles*, ed. Luis Usoz y Río (n.p.: I.R. Baroja, 1849), 1–172.

the end of 1557 (the year in which the hour of darkness is totally unleashed) we can read:

The inquisitors of Seville write us that they have received information against some friars from the monastery of San Isidro [they have captured some and others have fled; the names of some of them are given, not all of them] and they have information that they are in Geneva, and they have a warning that in that city there are many people marked with the same crimes [of heresy] ... Also they write us that they have brought to that city [Seville] a great number of books that contain many heresies, which are found in the possession of important persons in that city and outside of it; and that they have relationships with a Dr. Juan Pérez [de Pineda] who resides in Frankfort (a great friend of Dr. Egidio), and that he left that city when Egidio was captured. He composed these books and sent them with a Spanish Lutheran who is imprisoned, Julián Hernández, called “Julianillo” because he is very small in stature. He was in charge of introducing these books into Spain. [He will die burned at the stake in the public execution that we attend], and with these books came some letters from the doctor to these persons ... Also they write us that they have information that Dr. Juan Pérez has sent many books to that court [this document is a letter sent to King Philip II] ... To His Majesty we supplicate that you give orders that the persons who have these books be captured and punished because the shamelessness and astuteness of the heretics is so great that with great difficulty this could be done by the ministries of the Holy Office. It is very important that in these matters His Majesty order that there be a great demonstration so that these heretics will refrain from committing these crimes with so much boldness.¹⁵

¹⁵José Luis González Novalín, *El inquisidor general Fernando de Valdés (1483–1568): Cartas y documentos*, vol. 2 (Oviedo: Universidad de Oviedo, 1971), 181–82. “Los inquisidores de Sevilla nos escriben que han recibido información contra algunos frailes del monasterio de San Isidro [tienen a algunos presos y otros han huido, se dan los nombres de algunos de ellos, no todos] y tienen relación que están en Géneve, y que tienen aviso de que en aquella cibdad hay muchas personas notadas de los mismos delitos [de herejía] ... También nos escriben que han traído a aquella cibdad [Sevilla] muy gran número de libros que contienen muchas herejías, los cuales se ha hallado en poder de personas principales de aquella cibdad y de fuera de ella; y que tienen relación con un doctor, Juan Pérez [de Pineda], que reside en Francafort; gran amigo del Dr. Egidio, que se fue de aquella cibdad cuando a éste prendieron los compuso y envió con un español luterano, que está preso [Julián Hernández, llamado “Julianillo” por ser muy pequeño. Era el encargado de introducir los libros en España. Morirá en la hoguera en el auto de fe al que asistimos.]; y con los dichos libros venía algunas cartas del doctor para las dichas personas ... También nos escriben que tienen aviso de que el doctor Juan Pérez ha enviado muchos de los libros a esa corte [este documento es una carta enviada al rey Felipe II] ... A V.Md. suplicamos sea servido de mandar proveer que luego se recojan, y las personas que los tienen sean castigadas, porque la desvergüenza y estucia destos herejes es tan grande que

As can be seen, Dr. Juan Pérez de Pineda was a key part in the *organization* of the evangelical witness. We know from what he did that he considered three things fundamental: personal counsel, having good books, and above all having the Bible in the vernacular language.

Concerning the Bible in the vernacular, the evangelical church in Spain, as in Europe, made an effort from the first moment to offer to the public the sacred text in its own language. Juan de Valdés already included in his book in 1529 the translation of three chapters of the Gospel of Matthew.¹⁶ Then he translated from the Hebrew Psalter, with commentaries and explanations about the way to translate the sacred text. Francisco de Encina, another one of our reformers who died in 1552, translated the New Testament in 1543. With this in sight, Juan Pérez de Pineda made another translation, published in Geneva in 1556. He translated and published Psalms the following year.¹⁷ The complete Bible in Spanish was published in 1569. This was the work of one of the two monks who fled from the Monastery of San Isidro, Casiodoro de Reina. We have already mentioned that with this edition of the Bible another monk was made with Cipriano de Valera in 1602 in Amsterdam. It was produced as the version known as Reina-Valera, which is the most used one in the Hispanic world. In our Reformation, therefore, the principle of the importance of knowing and distributing the sacred text was maintained from the beginning to the end.

The work of translation by Casiodoro de Reina is a perfect example of constancy in the midst of difficulties. Casiodoro arrived in Geneva with other friars from Seville. There a church was organized for the Spanish refugees which at first united with the Italian church. Juan Pérez de Pineda was their pastor. However, de Reina as well as his companion de Valera moved to England where, with the ascension of Queen Elisabeth to the throne, there were favorable conditions for religious freedom for strangers. In London Casiodoro formed a church of Spanish exiles, for whom he composed a Confession of Faith. We underscored this before: the Spanish Reformation considered it fundamental to have good books. Among the books to study and define the faith, there was not a scarcity of catechisms and confessions. This one in London (1560) constitutes a mature document of Protestant faith. It is evident that it was not the fruit of what was “learned” in Europe, but that its content had already been established in Seville. It expresses pastoral care so the church can have at its reach the clear definition of the faith. But for

con gran dificultad se puede proveer por los ministros del santo oficio ... importa mucho que en estos negocios V. Md. mande se haga gran demostración para que estos herejes se refrenen en no cometer semejantes delitos con tanta osadía.”

¹⁶ “Faithfully translated from the Greek into Spanish, and expounded according to the literal sense,” he tells us. Juan de Valdés, *Juan de Valdés’ commentary upon the Gospel of st. Matthew: Now for the First Time Translated from the Spanish, and Never Before published in English*, ed. Edward Boehmer, trans. John T. Betts (London: Trübner, 1882), 15.

¹⁷ A little bit prior to this, a Spanish Jew and another one, surely Portuguese, had published in Ferrara the translation of the Hebrew Bible into Spanish. As Jews, they would never have called it the Old Testament!

the explication of that faith he did not resort only to the documents of theology, above all he expressed himself through textual commentaries of books of the Bible. Casiodoro himself does this with the Gospel of John. Juan Pérez published the commentaries of Romans and 1 Corinthians written by Juan de Valdés, as well as the explications of Psalms. In Seville, as we have mentioned, preaching was based on the complete books of the Bible, the Old as well as the New Testament. The desire to provide good literature was the basis of their work of translation. Luther's fundamental doctrinal texts were translated into Spanish. But above all Cipriano de Valera, in addition to the important works that were his own creation, translated other valuable works, the most notable being John Calvin's *Institutes of the Christian Religion* which he published in London in 1596.¹⁸

When we speak of the contribution of good books to the church, we cannot forget a monk from Seville: Antonio del Corro. He also ended up in England (at the end, as a member of their church) after going through Geneva and other places in the continent. In him is reflected the conviction of the Spanish Reformation with regard to its freedom of thought and speech: a church that had been born free by the action of the Scripture and maintained itself free with the Scripture also in its European exile. Our author, therefore, had conflicts with those who in the European Reformation were beginning to require the acceptance of formal models of religion as a requirement of orthodoxy. Those models of human authorities he called an attempted "fifth gospel."¹⁹ In his work to provide good books he included the elaboration of a method (which he wrote and published in English) to learn Spanish and French. He published in Latin a commentary of Romans (with a model pedagogical method) with an appendix of a Confession of Faith in 1574, also a commentary on Ecclesiastes, translated into English.²⁰

Along with providing the Scriptures and good books, we have pointed out that our Reformation considered the matter of counsel and personal exhortation fundamental. That is evident in the "interior" phase, that is to say before the persecution was unleashed—above all starting in 1557—against the church. The initial work of Juan de Valdés (a "lad" about twenty years old when he wrote his *Diálogo de Doctrina*) has a focus precisely on counseling

¹⁸Juan Calvino, *Institución de la Religión Cristiana*, trans. Cipriano de Valera (Países Bajos: Fundación Editorial de Literatura Reformada, 1967). This work, with an emotional and edifying dedication by the author to the Spanish nation, is distributed today throughout Latin America thanks to the grant of a Dutch foundation.

¹⁹Edward Boehmer, *Spanish Reformers of Two Centuries from 1520: Their Lives and Writings, According to the Late Benjamin B. Wiffen's Plan and with the Use of His Materials*, vol. 3 (Strassburg: Trübner, 1904), 22.

²⁰The following year a translation into English was published. See Antonio del Corro, *A theological dialogue Wherin the Epistle of S. Paul the Apostle to the Romanes is expounded. Gathered and set together out of the readings of Antonie Corranus of Siuille, professor of Diuinitie*. [London], 1575. It has now been translated into Spanish. See also Antonio del Corro, *Diálogo teológico en el que expone la epístola del apóstol San Pablo a los romanos*, volume 8 of *Obras de los Reformadores Españoles del Siglo XVI* (Alcalá de Guadaíra, Seville: MAD, 2010).

some priests on how to reform the church and build the Kingdom of God. It is totally a practical work. Constantino Ponce de la Fuente dedicated all of his work in Seville to the task of guiding the people to follow a living faith. His commentary in six sermons on Psalm 1 is a complete tract of practical theology. His “Confession of a Sinner before Jesus Christ, Redeemer and Judge of Men” is one of the best texts for guidance on the experience of conversion.²¹ If we understand by “evangelize” something more than the current evangelical frivolities, then this booklet would be evangelistic of the first order. Written in the midst of darkness in Seville! Counsel and exhortations were given by Cipriano de Valera from England to the faithful Spaniards to warn them of the papal superstitions; to the captives in the hands of the Saracens, or in the presentation to the Spanish nation of his translation of Calvin’s *Institutes*. We have cautions and counsel in Antonio del Corro. He wrote a letter (a book) giving advice to King Philip II where he indicates the way proposed by the Scripture to serve the Lord as a magistrate.²² In this work he advocates—getting ahead of his time—religious liberty, in such a way that no one is persecuted for his beliefs, and that the Church should use prayer, persuasion, and patience, never the sword to convert infidels. Exhortation and counsel is what we have in the letter which he wrote to the “Lutheran pastors in Ambers,” urging them to hold the doctrinal documents that some have elaborated as the measure of faith and holiness.²³ It is evident that our reformers also address to themselves such reproaches and warnings. Always within a framework of respect and Christian liberty.

Dr. Juan Pérez de Pineda is not left behind when it comes to giving counsel. Precisely, he is recognized as a teacher in that ministry. He also wrote a fourth letter to Philip II that he should distance himself from the tutelage of the Roman Church.²⁴ But we are going to take as our guide a text that de Pineda wrote to guide and comfort the prisoners in the jail in Seville. With this we find ourselves again close to the straw effigy, almost at the end the day of the public punishments, where some will be burned at the stake in a nearby place and others will be sentenced to diverse penalties. This work is entitled *Epistola Consolatoria (Comforting Epistle)*.²⁵ He wrote it as soon as

²¹Constantino Ponce de la Fuente, “Confesión de un pecador,” in *Constantino Ponce de la Fuente*, volume 5 of *Obras de los Reformadores Españoles del Siglo XVI* (Alcalá de Guadaíra, Seville: MAD, 2009).

²²It is a text of indescribable doctrine and exhortation. Antonio del Corro, “Carta a Felipe II,” in *Antonio del Corro*, volume 1 of *Obras de los Reformadores Españoles del Siglo XVI* (Alcalá de Guadaíra, Seville: MAD, 2006), 99–213.

²³Antonio del Corro, “Carta a los pastores luteranos de Amberes,” in *Antonio del Corro*, volume 1 of *Obras de los Reformadores Españoles del Siglo XVI* (Alcalá de Guadaíra, Seville: MAD, 2006), 49–98.

²⁴This was a useless task by then. Philip had decided that the identity and reason for being Spanish should be the battle against everything that was taught by the Reformation. Our nation has still not been healed from that wound. Edward Boehmer, *Spanish Reformers of Two Centuries from 1520. Their Lives and Writings, according to the late Benjamin B. Wiffen’s Plan and with the Use of His Materials. Second Volume* (London: Trübner, 1883), 63–64.

²⁵Juan Pérez de Pineda, *Epistola Consolatoria*, volume 2 of *Obras de los Reformadores*

he found out about the imprisonment of his collaborator in the distribution of literature to the church of Seville and how they had imprisoned other brothers. Surely none of the ones for whom it was intended could read it, but it remains as a model of sound theology and of the life of faith in the midst of adverse circumstances.²⁶

We have seen as the condemned were coming out of the castle of Triana with muzzles in their mouths, they would agree to take them out when someone, before being burned, agreed to retract himself in order to obtain “clemency” that he might be strangled before being burned. In the height of this evilness, sometimes the Inquisition would take out the muzzles of those who in no way had retracted themselves, but with that action, in the confusion of the trial and the masses, it could appear to others of their brothers that they had faltered in the faith at the end. Of those muzzles, Juan Pérez de Pineda, comforting the Christians who have them on says:

As until this day the cross and passion of the Lord announce to us his glory and power, in the same manner yours and those of the ones who are his own, are and will always be proclaimers of the same glory. The enemies of the Gospel, instructed by the spirit of Satan, when they take you to kill you tie your tongues ... so that you will not talk and they will not hear the praises to Jesus Christ our Lord. The same cords will be tongues against them ... and they, whom he has ordained to salvation, will speak a new language through which they understand and know the virtue and power of God ... That because the adversaries impede them from speaking with their own tongues the praises and virtues of their justifier Christ, he himself, in place of a tongue which they tie, turns loose many others that do not cease to glorify him and

Espanoles del Siglo XVI (Alcalá de Guadaíra, Seville: MAD, 2007).

²⁶It will be helpful for us to see the titles of the short chapters into which it is divided: Nuestro estado antes de la conversión; Origen de nuestra salvación; Cristo, causa de nuestra elección; La fe y las obras; La causa de la aflicción de los fieles; La cruz de Cristo y de los suyos: ordenación de Dios; Providencia de Dios con los suyos; La unión de los fieles con Cristo mediante la persecución; La riquezas de los fieles; Por qué los fieles son los más afligidos; Los que padecen por el Evangelio; La palabra de la promesa es el refugio de los fieles; La verdad no depende de los hombres; La verdadera religión; Dios, fuente de todo bien; Los fieles, conocidos de Dios y desconocidos del mundo; Los fieles afligidos en Cristo; Los fieles, herederos del mundo; Mísero el poder tiránico; Amonestación de las Escrituras; Vana es la prosperidad de los malos; Reinan y viven para siempre los justos. In English: Our condition before conversion; The origin of our salvation; Christ, the cause of our election; Faith and Works; The cause of the affliction of the faithful; The cross of Christ and of those who belong to him: ordination of God; The providence of God for his own; The union of the faithful with Christ through persecution; The riches of the faithful; Why are the faithful the most afflicted?; Those who suffer for the Gospel; The Word of promise is the refuge of the faithful; The truth that does not depend upon men; The true religion; God, the source of all good; The faithful afflicted in Christ; The faithful, the inheritors of the world; Tyrannical power is miserable; Warning from the Scriptures; Vain is the prosperity of the evil ones; The just reign and live forever.

to invite all to glorify and know him ... Your beards long and entangled, your vestments dirty and torn by the filthiness of the jails, the muzzles that they put on you, the ropes and cords with which they tie you and the cudgels with which they constrict you, all of these things, God converts in tongues that with a great harmony sing the praises of Christ and reveal that only He is Lord and Redeemer, and that you are faithful witnesses of his truth and justice ... [This music] is heard by those who are sanctified by Jesus Christ and those who will be and are awakened by it to the desire to be companions and consorts of your affronts, to be instruments of so much good and witnesses of such a divine and beautiful justice and sanctification.²⁷

In effect, here today, after so many years, we unite our souls and our voice with those who that afternoon, with their tongues tied, with their faithfulness proclaim the glories of our redeemer.

What about the ones who have weakened and yielded before the trial of persecution? For them, for those who bring this afternoon before the plaza not the physical wounds, but the wounds of their souls by the memory of their past weaknesses, Juan Pérez counsels them and their brothers:

Just as our faith does not come from men, neither does our firmness [He has in mind, among others, the case of Dr. Egidio, the teacher that at one moment faltered] ... The fact that men are weak and stumble, does not mean that the truth of God which they have taught is feeble and weak. Because they faint, the truth does not faint nor fail. If there has been weakness now in many that we did not expect, the weakness is not of the truth, but of man ... [Christ] there where he now is, seated at the right hand of the Father, has not changed his condition and his love for the

²⁷Pérez, *Epistola Consolatoria*, 119–20. “Como hasta el día de hoy la cruz y la pasión del Señor nos anuncian su gloria y potencia, así las vuestras y la de todos los suyos son y serán siempre pregoneras de la misma gloria. Los enemigos del Evangelio, avisados por el espíritu de Satanás, cuando os llevan a dar la muerte os atan las lenguas ... para que no habléis vosotros y oigan ellos las alabanzas de Jesucristo nuestro Señor. Las mismas ataduras serán lenguas contra ellos ... y hablaran nuevo lenguaje por el cual entienden y conocen la virtud y poder de Dios los que él tiene ordenados para salvación ... Que porque los adversarios impiden que no hablen con sus propias lenguas los loores y virtudes de su justificador Cristo, él mismo, en lugar de una lengua que les atan, suelta otras muchas que no cesan de glorificarle y convidar a todos a que le glorifiquen y le conozcan ... Vuestras barbas largas y enmarañadas, vuestras vestiduras inmundas y rotas de las inmundicias de las cárceles, las mordazas que os echan, las sogas y cordeles con que os atan, y los garrotes con que os aprietan, todas esas cosas las convierte Dios en lenguas que con una grande armonía cantan alabanzas de Jesucristo y descubren que sólo él es el Señor y Redentor, y que vosotros sois fieles testigos de su verdad y de su justicia ... [Esta música] la oyen los que son santificados por Jesucristo, y los que lo han de ser, y son despertados por ella al deseo de ser compañeros y consortes de vuestras afrentas, para ser instrumentos de tanto bien y testigos de tan divina y hermosa justicia y santificación.”

fallen and weak, that with the weight of the cross kneel and faint on the way, but He makes them participants of his mercy by forgiving them and giving them strength, overcoming in them all of their weaknesses ... Therefore, in the stumbles and weaknesses of others let us look at ourselves as in a mirror to know our own weakness, and let us humble ourselves before God, for we are not but faintness for good ... Let no one judge in a sinister manner those who have fallen, but he who is standing watch that he not fall ... Because God does not reject them because they have fallen, for they are his children, and he wants to do his work in a more illustrious way through such means ... and that his mercy and goodness toward them may become brighter.²⁸

Who really triumphs in this so called “triumph” of the *autos de fe*? Let us hear our author once again:

The demon, the ancient dragon, wants and desires to totally destroy and devastate the Church of Christ, but he cannot, because God with the hand of his might pulls the reins and makes him retreat so he will not go beyond where he wants him to go ... In the same manner now the persecutors do not have the power over the faithful members, to kill them, nor even to touch them with a finger ... So from the hour in which the light of the Gospel entered our Spain and began to shine, it was met with mortal hatred by those who persecute and kill the faithful who are enlightened and vivified by Christ. They always wanted to do what they do today, because they are enemies and adversaries, because they have not been able to achieve their desire until now that God has unleashed the powers of darkness, so that in that way the faithful can be examined and purified and taken to the eternal glory that is reserved for them ... Then when the world counts us as totally lost because they have killed us and have separated us from our

²⁸Pérez, *Epistola Consolatoria*, 91–93. “Así como nuestra fe no viene de hombres, nuestra firmeza tampoco [Tiene en mente, entre otros, el caso del Dr. Egidio, el maestro que en algún momento flaqueó] ... Porque los hombres sean flacos y tropiecen, no por eso es flaca ni débil la verdad de Dios que han enseñado. Porque ellos desmayen, ella no desmaya ni falta ... Si ha habido ahora flaqueza en muchos que no pensábamos, la flaqueza no es de la verdad, sino del hombre ... [Cristo] Allá donde ahora está sentado a la diestra del Padre, no ha mudado su condición y su amor para con los caedizos y flacos, que con el peso de la cruz arrodillan y desfallecen en el camino, sino que los hace partícipes de su misericordia con perdonarlos y darles esfuerzo, venciendo en ellos todas sus flaquezas ... Por tanto, en las caídas y flaquezas de los otros, mirémonos como en espejo para conocer en ellos nuestra propia flaqueza, y humillémonos delante de Dios, pues nosotros no somos sino desfallecimiento para el bien ... Ninguno juzgue siniestramente de los caídos, mas el que está en pie, mire también que no caiga ... Porque Dios no los menosprecia por estar caídos, pues son sus hijos, sino que quiere hacer su obra más ilustre por tales medios ... y sea más esclarecida su misericordia y bondad para con ellos.”

body, and the banners for our dishonor have been lifted (as is being done today in this public execution) ... God will wipe away the tears from our faces and of those who belong to him, and will take away all of the dishonors. In such a way that the dishonors and affronts will remain with those who dishonor; the infamies with those who defame, possessed by their hatred; condemnation will remain with those who condemn, wrath, curse and death with the killers. But the faithful, liberated from all adversity, the obstacles of their holiness and justice having been destroyed, and taken out completely from the power of their enemies, will be taken to the place where there will be no more death, there will be no more weeping nor clamoring, nor pain, where the throne of God and of the Lamb will be.²⁹

We have arrived at the end. I have shown you a simple sketch of the Spanish Reformation—of something that is alive because the Word that sustained it is alive. I would like for your gaze, which can focus on so many episodes and characters, not to get distracted from him whose fervent testimony in the streets and plazas started the work: Rodrigo de Valer. The great theologians, preachers, and translators that we have remembered (Egidio, Constantino, Vargas, Casiodoro, Cipriano, Antonio del Corro, Juan Pérez) all started their walk in the faith because of his testimony. The smoke and ashes that remain in Seville are seen by many as the symbols of the triumph of the enemies of the faith. We know that they are symbols of the triumph of the Redeemer, who continues today saving his people and putting their enemies as their footstool. To Him be the glory.

²⁹Pérez, *Epistola Consolatoria*, 132–34. “Quiere y desea el demonio, dragón antiguo, destruir y asolar totalmente la Iglesia de Cristo, pero no puede, porque Dios con la mano de su poder le tira de las riendas y lo hace retroceder para que no llegue más de hasta donde él quisiere y que de allí no pueda pasar ... Así tampoco ahora los perseguidores tienen poder sobre los miembros fieles, no sólo de matarlos, ni aun de tocarlos con el dedo ... Así desde la hora que entró la luz del Evangelio en nuestra España y comenzó a resplandecer, lo aborrecieron mortalmente los que ahora persiguen y matan a los fieles que son alumbrados y vivificados por él. Siempre quisieron lo que ahora hacen, porque siempre le son enemigos y contrarios, pero no han podido concluir su deseo hasta ahora que Dios ha soltado la potestad de las tinieblas, para que así sean examinados y purificados los fieles y llevados a la gloria eterna que les está guardada ... Entonces, cuando el mundo nos diere por perdidos del todo por habernos muerto y echado de sí, y hubiere levantado insignias de nuestra deshonra [como hay en este auto de fe] ... limpiará Dios las lágrimas de nuestras caras y de las de todos los suyos, y quitará todas sus deshonras. De suerte que se quedarán las deshonras y denuestos con los deshonradores; las infamias con los infamadores, y los aborrecedores poseídos de su odio; quedará la condenación con los condenadores; la ira, la maldición y la muerte con los matadores. Mas los fieles, librados de toda adversidad, destruidas las coberturas de su santidad y justicia, y sacados enteramente del poder de sus enemigos, serán llevados donde no habrá más muerte, y no habrá más llanto ni clamor ni dolor, donde estará el trono de Dios y del Cordero.”

*The Reformation in Spain in the Sixteenth Century (Part II)*¹

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After reviewing an outline of the sixteenth century Spanish Reformation we are now going to draw near to contemplate some of its more concrete aspects—some of its characters, their doctrines, and the ways in which they sought to serve the Lord. In the final analysis, this is what it is all about: as we are with them we draw nearer to the knowledge of our Redeemer.

Reiterating that this is not a discourse about historical facts (that can be more or less helpful) but an effort to encourage us to reflect on the acts of the Lord *in* history. Therefore, we are in the presence of that which is alive and real.

Recognizing that that work in Spain was in the past a work of God, we should assume that (as any work of his in the context of confrontation in which his Kingdom lives) there will be attempts to cover it up so it will be forgotten. If this is not possible, efforts will be made to distort and modify its true content so it will not be received as truly the work of God's sole power and authority. This is a very real danger today also. The works of the past, or of the present in the life of the people of God, ultimately are presented as a fruit, not of the grace of God nor of the power of his Spirit, but of the *human* power of Christians. A power that is *expressed* religiously, but in the final analysis, is human power.²

¹This article is a translated transcription of an address by the same title delivered at Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, 27 August 2009. It has been translated from the original Spanish to English by Dr. Daniel Sanchez (Distinguished Professor of Missions, Patterson Center for Global Theological Innovation at Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary).

²One must be alert regarding this matter, because it occurs with the Scripture itself. Ultimately it is only "human" fruit. Very beautiful, yes, very religious and very moral, but only human, it is presented only as an expression of the human religious experience. Many printings of the sacred text are made, many anniversaries of translations or similar things, to show the great human achievements and to point out the moral power of humanity. Ultimately we are left with man and not God, therefore, much less with a Redeeming Christ and Judge. The "translation" in our western context that we need today of the Scripture is not so much to the languages of the peoples—it is clear that this is important also—but to the "language" of the Bible itself, which is an infallible Word of the eternal and sovereign God.

Understanding the Spanish Reformation

I place this question before you, because if you read some article or book about the Reformation (although they would not even give it that name) in Spain in the sixteenth century, the majority would present to you a perspective of the facts that is very different from the one I am proposing to you. The process has followed these steps: first forgetting, then distorting.

Recognizing, therefore, the existence of divergent opinions about this matter, we should go to the facts themselves, because it is not a matter of basing pious opinions on imagination itself. Rather, it is a matter of ensuring that the results are the fruit of a correct knowledge of the facts. For that we have the texts that the authors themselves left for us. In these texts we can investigate the nature of their positions and statements. There are, providentially, many of these texts that have been preserved.

In the preservation and publication of these texts, one cannot forget the work that was done by two characters in the nineteenth century.³ We are talking about Luis Usoz y Río (1805–1865) and Benjamín Barron Wiffen (1794–1867). From their collaboration came the collection published by Usoz called *Obras Antiguas De Los Españoles Reformados (Ancient Spanish Reformers)*.⁴ In it are included most of the works of Juan de Valdés and the translation of Calvin's *Institutes* done by Cipriano de Valera (21 volumes in total). The contribution of the editor also included the economic support he was able to provide due to his substantial personal wealth. Without entering into details, on a trip to Spain Wiffen met Usoz to finalize a project of searching for and publishing the works of the Spanish Reformers.⁵ Upon the death of both of them, a collaborator who was a professor of the romance languages at the University of Strasburg, Eduard Bohemer, continued the work. It must be pointed out that this was the personal, isolated work of several individuals. This is due to two facts: the evangelical churches that were being established and the foreign missions that were working in Spain were both not interested in this subject. The Catholic reaction to the recovered history was expressed by an ultra-Catholic scholar, Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo (1856–1912), in a work entitled *Historia de los Heterodoxos Españoles (History of the Heterodox Spaniards)*.⁶ In this work, the memory of the Spanish Reformation of the sixteenth century is retained, but an effort is made to destroy its theology.⁷ We are in a phase, therefore, in which the events of

³One cannot talk of a time before this because in Spain, from the middle of the Sixteenth Century there was practically no evangelical presence until the middle of the Nineteenth Century.

⁴Luis de Usoz y Río and Benjamin Barron Wiffen, *Obras Antiguas De Los Españoles Reformados* (San Sebastián, 1847).

⁵This happened in Seville.

⁶Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo, *Historia de los Heterodoxos Españoles, Volume 2* (Madrid: University of Madrid, 1880).

⁷Even though the language in many cases is offensive, it continues to be an important reference work.

the sixteenth century are considered “Protestants,” even though this is done to categorize them as something already expired that cannot be revived in Spain. This author, in the conclusion of his history of our Reformation, says, “Here ends the history of the Reformation in Seville. A strong Catholic reaction erased even the very last relics of the contagion. The monastery of San Isidro was purified.”⁸

In the twentieth century a key event that relates to the topic before us took place. The prestigious French Hispanicist Marcel Bataillon (1895–1977) developed what would become central in all of his research trajectory: the influence of Erasmus in the Spanish culture, especially in the sixteenth century. His doctoral thesis “Erasmus y España” (Erasmus and Spain)⁹ created a model of interpretation of our history that endures to this day. In Spain, according to that model, there were no “Protestants” but Erasmians. The characters that we reviewed in our previous lecture would have been only Catholics who followed the first humanistic suggestions of Erasmus to “reform” the customs of the Church. Then, upon leaving Spain, through contact with European Reformers, did they change their religion? This model had much acceptance because it did not annoy anyone. The Church of Rome continued to be the only true church in Spanish identity, and the dissidence of the characters and groups as the ones in Valladolid and (especially) in Seville were only that: *dissidents* with regards to customs that remained *within* the Roman Church itself and never desired a *rupture*, as was occurring in Europe. The Protestant Reformation was, therefore, something from the outside, foreign; and if there was someone who was evangelical, it was due to “conversion” as a result of the work of some foreigner. The evangelical churches and missions that were in Spain were not inconvenienced by this model either. In some way, with it they would put aside those reformers of the sixteenth century that were so radical and doctrinal. The ideas that had been instilled in their inner being with respect to the mere human character of the Bible and the preeminence of human work in any other type of “salvation” converted our reformers into undesirable guests.¹⁰

It is not that we despise the cultural effects and the benefit for society that Christianity produces, quite the contrary. Much of our activity in Seville is channeled precisely to divulge “the social liberties of the Protestant Reformation” through conferences and workshops in the University. But that is one thing; it is a very different thing to consider for today only that aspect as worthy of being presented, and that which has to do with the biblical faith, well, to relegate it to oblivion. Precisely, we must emphasize that one is the

⁸Menéndez y Pelayo, *Historia de los Heterodoxos Españoles*, 449. Unless otherwise noted, all translations from Spanish texts to English have been translated by Dr. Sanchez: “Aquí termina la Historia de la Reforma en Sevilla. Una enérgica reacción católica borró hasta las últimas reliquias del contagio. El monasterio de San Isidoro fue purificado.”

⁹Marcel Bataillon, “Erasmus y España: estudios sobre la historia espiritual del siglo XVI” (doctoral dissertation, University of Paris, 1937).

¹⁰In many cases, we continue to be the same today.

fruit of the other, and that social liberty cannot be preserved without a biblical faith.

Another aspect into which some authors want to fit our Reformation has something else of interest, even though this cannot be fully defined. I am referring to what in Spain is known as the *alumbrados* (enlightened ones). It is something typical of our land and it happened in the sixteenth century. These were groups (all of Jewish ancestry) that met for Bible study. We really do not know much about these groups. It is difficult to give an accurate description of them, because what is known of them indicates that their activities varied from one place to another. What did unite them was the purpose of living a religious life based more on their inner being and less on external ceremonies. Their name “enlightened ones” is due to the fact that they emphasized spiritual personal illumination in order to know and live the Christian faith. They would meet in private homes around a leader. It is important to note that they did not consider themselves a “church” and never intended to form an organization. Among the beliefs of these groups are found some instances of formulas that today we would call “evangelical.” In effect, we know that the leaders of the one that Juan de Valdés attended believed in doctrines that were clearly evangelical.¹¹ Therefore, we do consider this author as one of the pioneers of the Spanish Reformation, for it is true that it had the influence of the “enlightened ones.” But to consider it as a sort of extension of that movement is not acceptable, for, among other things, the Spanish Reformation considered itself “a church.” The clandestine communities in Valladolid or Seville did not see themselves as study groups to advance personal piety, but as churches.¹²

More Examples of this Model of Interpretation

For the study of the reformer from Seville, Antonio del Corro, it is absolutely necessary to read the doctoral thesis about him that William McFadden presented.¹³ If one reads the facts that are given, one will encounter a faithful servant of Christ, someone who has been regenerated and has a singular calling to serve his Lord in conformity with the supreme authority of His Word. However, in the final appraisal of the author, he is only presented as a brilliant humanistic, promoter of human liberty (which is also true). For the study of Constantino Ponce de la Fuente another doctoral thesis is very important.¹⁴ In the final analysis we have the same thing: the facts present to us a biblical believer who in his heart, preaching, and writings is outside the Church of Rome. For the author, however, he is an Erasmian Catholic

¹¹They were condemned by the Inquisition.

¹²This included having their own recognized pastors.

¹³William McFadden, “The life and works of Antonio del Corro (1527–1591)” (PhD diss., Queen’s University of Belfast, 1953).

¹⁴William Burwell Jones, “Constantino Ponce de la Fuente: the problem of Protestant influence in sixteenth-century Spain” (PhD diss., Vanderbilt University, 1965).

who, as other Catholics, clashed with the Inquisition.¹⁵ This author utilizes the extremely erroneous term “Evangelical Catholic” to classify Constantino and other characters of our Reformation. That was the term that other authors used also, in the artificial construction of which is the fruit of a curious theory. However, it is a term that is widely applied in our historiography due to the influence of Rome. A Spaniard, if he is religious, has to be Catholic.¹⁶ To study Casiodoro de Reina a very important biography is by Arthur Gordon Kinder (1917–97).¹⁷ The numerous works of this Hispanicist and professor at the University of Manchester are required reading for the study of the Reformation. But once again we are faced with the same situation regarding the assessment of these characters. In a note to one of the articles of the confession of faith that Reina wrote for the Spanish church in London, in which the eternal condemnation of the unbelievers is stated, Kinder says, “One would have expected Reina to subscribe to a view which envisaged the final salvation of all, or, at least, the final destruction of the wicked, rather than their eternal torment.”¹⁸

More examples could be given but these are sufficient. The result is that we have some researchers who have produced very important studies about the Reformation in Spain or about some specific characters, whom we have to consult if we want to have a good knowledge of the facts.¹⁹ But these authors, because of their lack of theological knowledge, change the focus of many of the facts that they research. It can be said that they have spent much time accompanying in their writings the social communities of the sixteenth century or following in an exhaustive manner some of their characters, but they have never entered the throne of grace with them. They have never been at the cross with Christ and have never been resurrected with him. Traveling their entire lives along the road of the history of the Reformation and they never had an encounter with the Lord of the Reformation!

In any library, therefore, the entry “Spanish Reformation” can have at least eighty percent of the books. Some may be required reading, but with this incorrect perspective they can become a stumbling block more than a benefit for the student who approaches this topic for the first time. This is why I give my warning. However, in the last few years we have attempted

¹⁵Of the other Catholics who clashed with the Inquisition (Teresa de Jesús, Fray Luis de León, Juan de la Cruz, etc.), none ended up in the bonfire condemned as heretics, and today they are a part of the Roman collection of saints.

¹⁶A German, for example, if he reads Paul could come out being Lutheran. But if a Spaniard reads it, he always comes out as a Catholic, regardless of the shades of meanings this might have.

¹⁷Arthur Gordon Kinder, *Casiodoro de Reina: Spanish Reformer of the Sixteenth Century*, volume 50 of *Monografías A* (London: Tamesis Books, 1975).

¹⁸Casiodoro de Reina, *Confesión de Fe Cristiana*, ed. A. Gordon Kinder, volume 46 of *Exeter Hispanic Texts* (Exeter: University of Exeter, 1988), 38. Kinder is the one who published this work in Spanish.

¹⁹Some of these researchers have dedicated their entire lives to this work.

to incorporate a vision of the Reformation that is more in accord with its nature. In this task I am obligated to point out at least two: Dr. David Estrada²⁰ and Dr. Francisco Ruiz de Pablos.²¹ They continue in this task with great enthusiasm. I also cannot forget the absolutely necessary contribution of D. Luis Abril, director of the publishing house that publishes the collection of works with which we rescue the memories of our fathers of the sixteenth century. Another person whom we must mention is Dr. José C. Nieto. His studies are pioneer in the effort to accredit the Spanish Reformation as a *reformation*, even if it is not identifiable in every aspect with the one from Europe. He had his first field of service in Spain, but he went to the United States of America, where he carried his activities as a professor at Juniata College in Huntingdon Pennsylvania. Something of which I am convinced is that the invitation of Dr. Paige Patterson and the collaboration of Dr. Daniel Sánchez at Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, which makes this presentation possible, are *already* a part of the dynamic that the Lord is providing to edify his people with the doctrines and lives of our reformers. They are already a part of our history. In those brothers the power of the Word of God was demonstrated, and today with us the same power and the same Word are present.

Two Primary Aspects of the Spanish Reformation

With this criterion of approach, with this ambit of *communion with the saints*, with this feeling that their tears and their joys are ours also, with this shared life, let us look at two aspects of their pilgrimage through the obedience of faith that today are basic for our own pilgrimage: preaching and evangelization.

Preaching in the Spanish Reformation

The effigy, the straw doll, that the inquisitors showed us to represent Dr. Constantino Ponce de la Fuente in the public execution was decorated with some diabolic figures (as they used to do) to demonstrate their condemnation. They kept, however, his clothing and representative figure, one hand lifted and the other one holding on to the pulpit. Not even in their intent to erase his memory could they hide his *presence* as a preacher. The anonymous author, through whom we know many of these events, declares:

in substitution for the dead person, a straw effigy was placed on the pulpit with one hand lifted and the other holding on the pulpit, carried out with such great skill, that it represented a living Constantino with that gesture with which he had habitually

²⁰Dr. Estrada studied at Westminster Theological Seminary and has been a professor at the University of Barcelona.

²¹Dr. Ruiz de Pablos is a formidable Latin scholar who, with his studies and translations, has provided a correct perspective for the study of our Reformation.

preached. And there was no doubt that that empty effigy preached to the souls of many with the same efficacy as he had done before in the life of the one whom that scene mockingly represented.²²

In effect, if we see the scene with the eyes of faith, we find a permanent lesson of what an effigy, with the memory of the preaching of the one whom it represents, has more authority, honor, and power than the entire Inquisition tribunal and the civil authorities together (even if these can shed blood and take physical life away). That effigy is there, with the memory of the preached Word, a smell of death for some and a smell of life for others.

The Reformation movement in Europe is configured and molded to diverse circumstances: a Lutheran model, a Geneva model, an English model, a Scottish model, etc. There could not be a Spanish model. But is the Reformation only a model that is adjusted to some social circumstance? Is an external form adjusted to a cultural sphere required? Evidently not. There is a “Reformation” where the primacy of the Word is; if that is lacking, everything else is superfluous. Our Spanish Reformation had that primacy, and in that primacy is included, in a natural way, the primacy of the *preached* Word. This constitutes the essence of Christianity. That fruit was abundant in Spanish Christianity, rescued from the chains of ignorance of that Word that Rome postulated. That *taught* word that was giving birth and sustenance to the local church and was reaching a crucial moment as it was *proclaimed* (or preached). I will not tire you with names, but there is not a single one of our reformers in whom this element was not fundamental. If we think about Constantino, or Casiodoro de Reina, or of some other one in a special way, it is because in them could be seen an outstanding emphasis on this aspect, but it was also common to all of the others. What a difference from the panorama that sometimes is found in contemporary evangelical churches—filled with social activities, marketing, publicity, etc. These things can be useful, but the teaching and the preaching of the Word does not appear anywhere! That is why I have warned of the importance of not staying with external forms as we study our Reformation.

In addition to this, we encounter, as happened in some moments in the European Reformation, the occurrence of the natural birth of local churches. I say “natural” in the sense that they did not originate from other “mother churches.” There we can see the power of the Spirit saving and guarding the “decency and order” of his church. We mentioned already the evangelistic activity of Rodrigo de Valer. Even though he began by himself, with his calling directly from God and His Word, he was nonetheless “recognized” as

²²Nicolas Castrillo Benito, *El “Reginaldo Montano” Primer Libro Polemico Contra la Inquisicioin Española* (Madrid: CSIC, 1991), 453. “en lugar del muerto colocaron una figura de paja en el púlpito con una mano levantada y otra apoyada en él dispuesto con tal arte, que representaba al vivo a Constantino en el mismo ademán con que solía predicar. Y no hay duda de que ese día aquella estatua vacía habló a las almas de muchos tan eficazmente, como antes en vida lo hiciera aquél a quien por escarnio representaba.”

such by the other believers in the church in Seville. Regarding the position of “preacher,” it is true that most came from a Catholic background, that is to say they were friars or priests (in a sense they were already preachers). But then the church recognized them and held them as such. Even in the case of the congregation in Seville, we know that it had established, as its own, a pastor who did not come from a previous ecclesiastical setting. It is true that the Lord had already prepared the way, placing some of these servants outside the ecclesiastical sphere. This is especially true of the nucleus in the monastery of San Isidro del Campo, but we see that the church recognized the ministry of the Word as something that was fundamental in its new status of having been “saved,” not as an automatic prolongation of what existed previously.²³

It is true that Constantino (and others without doubt) was wise in the knowledge of the Latin, Hebrew, and Greek languages; that he was a consummate teacher in the use of the Castilian language; and that he was a master in the art of the catechisms and designed models for instruction and teaching. But all of this (as important as it is) would have been burned in his effigy. What lasts there until today, what had and has authority, is that Constantino had been *sent* by the Lord to preach and through him his Lord spoke to his people. That position (common to the other reformers) is what makes it possible for true *preaching* to take place. That preaching, as it is based on the Word, is not of the sixteenth century but is present and alive today. Time burns the culture and human contributions, but what is of God lasts forever. That is why today we can also be edified with that preaching and teaching. That is why those who are of God search for his works in our soil of Seville, and the ones who do not are looking for human works in our same soil and in the same episodes. Moreover, when I propose that we retain this aspect of preaching, it is not a matter of our retaining “one part” of these authors. In reality, for them that was what was fundamental; it was everything. The rest of their gifts were that—“gifts” to fulfill adequately their ministry of teaching and preaching.

Teaching and preaching *the Word*, that central point that was taught in Europe was also lived in Spain. With the relevant fact that in this case we find the use of the Old Testament texts to propagate the gospel. The commentaries of Constantino (Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Song of Solomon) have not been conserved, but the indications that remain demonstrate that his teaching method was expository preaching. He wrote several books to help in teaching the faith. One of them, *Doctrina Christiana (Christian Doctrine)*, is of great relevance because it draws together the fundamental doctrines of the Reformation.²⁴ The second part remained unpublished (which he envisioned as a type of Systematic Theology), in which other fundamental doctrines were included and which enabled the Inquisition to accuse him of

²³Would the converted priest of a church necessarily have to be its pastor?

²⁴Constantino Ponce de la Fuente, *Doctrina Christiana, En Que Esta Comprehendida Toda la informacion que pertenece al hombre quiere servir a Dios* (Anvers: Steelsius, 1555).

heresy. We do not have it. The Inquisition did have it in its hands, and from the public sentence in the trial we know that it contained, at least, the following topics:

On the state of the Church; On the true Church and the Church of the Pope—in this section he calls the pope the Antichrist; On the sacrament of the Eucharist and the invention of the Mass—a reason why the world (an anonymous witness of the events tells us) was bewitched by the ignorance of the Holy Scriptures; On the justification of man; On Purgatory—he calls purgatory the head of the wolf and an invention of the friars to fill their stomachs; On the Papal Bulls and indulgences; On the merits of men; On confession; and on all of the other chapters of the Christian religion.²⁵

These published works are in reality explications of the Scriptures. The base and authority for their understandings is the biblical text. The same occurs with their preaching. We only have a small sample from his six sermons on Psalm 1, which are a practical exegesis of the first psalm. He consults the Hebrew meaning of its words, he explains, and he applies. It is used to counsel, to edify, and to reject false doctrines and their preachers. There is Life. He declares to his hearers:

it is clear and ascertained that this first psalm, in the only six verses it has, contains in it, summarized and abbreviated, all of the doctrine of the Christian religion, of the faith, of the sentiment of the works, and of the hope that is essential for man to have in order that he may truly be reached by the redemption and sacrifice of Christ, our Redeemer, so that the eternal Father will shelter him, love him, favor him, and make him blessed.²⁶

²⁵Raimundo González de Montes, *Artes de la inquisición española: primer traducción castellana, de la obra escrita en latín*, volume 5 of *Reformistas antiguos españoles* (Madrid: Letitia, 1851), 320–21. “Del estado de la Iglesia. De la verdadera Iglesia, i de la Iglesia del Papa, a quien llamaba anticristo. Del sacramento de la Eucaristia, i del invento de la Misa: azerca de todo lo cual, afirmaba él, estar el mundo faszinado, a causa de la ignoranzia de las Sagradas letras. De la Justificazion del hombre. Del Purgatorio, al que llamaba b cabeza de lobo, e invento de los frailes en pró de su gula. De las Bulas e Induljenzias Papales. De los méritos de los hombres. De la Confesion, i de todos las demas capítulos de la relijion Cristiana.”

²⁶Constantino Ponce de la Fuente, “Exposición del primer salmo de David, cuyo principio es beatus vir, dividida en seis sermones,” in *Constantino Ponce de la Fuente*, ed. Emilio Monjo Bellido, volume 5 of *Obras de los Reformadores Españoles del Siglo XVI* (Alcalá de Guadaíra, Seville: MAD, 2009), 138–89. “queda claro y averiguado que este primer salmo, en solo seis versos que tiene, contiene en sí resumida y abreviada toda la doctrina de la religión cristiana, de la fe, del sentimiento de las obras y de la esperanza que conviene que tenga un hombre para que verdaderamente le alcance la redención y sacrificio de Cristo, nuestro Redentor, para que el Padre eterno le ampare, le ame y le favorezca y haga bienaventurado.”

In actuality, in these 150 or so pages we find an entire tract of practical theology. A theology that is preached where evangelization and exhortation take place results in the house of God being edified and the house of the devil being destroyed. It follows a model that we could consider similar to the *lucid brevity* that Calvin advocated for exegesis and the preaching of the Word.²⁷ He did not speak about things that were not appropriate to the purpose of the text; it was a matter of feeding, not of enlightening the cook, not about understanding but about edifying and nourishing. A preaching that knows the Scripture knows the human heart with its miseries, and knows the power of God!²⁸

The preaching of Constantino Ponce de la Fuente is an example of something that is now quite forgotten: that preaching takes place in the midst of hostility. Surely for many, preaching is something that they assume is carried out in a congregation with some problem perhaps but within an environment with a certain degree of respect and consideration. If that is the case, it is a good thing, but we should not forget that the proclamation of the royal rights of the Redeemer has to be done in many cases in the presence of his enemies. In the presence of that proclamation, some repent and obey and others show their enmity. Constantino preached in Seville, a city blessed by the mercy of the Lord (as our reformers affirm), but also it was a type of earthly Jerusalem which continued to persecute and kill the Messiah and his servants. He does not preach at the table of his friends but in the plaza of the enemies. It is a proclamation with which there are many possibilities of ending up in jail or the bonfire. It is a proclamation of life and death, because the gospel either saves or certifies condemnation (but also because with it the preacher has to be ready to give up his life). Constantino did not preach with the prelude of a sweet melody in a silent and respectful church (surely many times he also did this) but with the sound of moaning from his brothers in jail in Triana. He knew that if his hearers accepted the Word he was announcing they could also end up in the dungeons. All of us know that we have been called to proclaim that the Lord reigns, but let us not forget that we do it “outside” the camp, in fellowship with the vituperations of Christ.

Constantino, as a good preacher, is conscious of his own weakness and impotence and of the power of the Word. He knows that it is the seed that effects the rebirth and remains forever. But he is also a man of books. His library, at a time when a book was a costly item and difficult to obtain, is formidable (without counting the books that he kept hidden). Complete

²⁷Ponce de la Fuente’s absolutely essential “Confesión de un pecador” is not more than twenty pages long. Constantino Ponce de la Fuente, “Confesión de un pecador delante de Jesucristo redentor u juez de los hombres,” in *Constantino Ponce de la Fuente*, ed. Emilio Monjo Bellido, volume 5 of *Obras de los Reformadores Españoles del Siglo XVI* (Alcalá de Guadaíra, Seville: MAD, 2009).

²⁸If one reads the sermons of Calvin, as one hears the ones of Constantino one finds oneself in the same syntony.

confidence in the power of God is never for the believer an excuse for laziness or negligence. Confidence in the grace of God is the best ingredient to encourage our responsibility, knowing that if the Lord does not build the house the work is in vain. They also knew that it was their duty to work as hard as possible always.

Even though Constantino stays in Seville and other reformers are able to leave and settle in Europe, their vision concerning the ministry of the Word is identical. It was only one ministry in diverse circumstances. All of them saw themselves as a part of one body, not only with the ministers of their day, but with all of the preceding ones (and for the ones who would come later). None of them considered himself the creator of a new church, but a servant of the one that Christ bought with his blood and has lived throughout the ages. That is why in their preaching, even though the situation was not at all favorable, they would place before them a future of victory where the fruits of the cross would blossom in due time. On this was the proposition always based that their hearers follow a Christian life of honor and adoration of the Lord according to his Word. It is true that this in Seville was very problematic in that particular circumstance. In the midst of Rome's many superstitions and deceits, our preachers insisted that the people not pay attention to the external things and that they strive for a service to Lord that is from the heart. They preached a holy way of living, not with the "sanctity" that was being taught by the priests through the sacraments and liturgies but through the obedience of faith. This implies that our preachers had *authority* and felt that they were in communion with the entire body of ministers of the Word. Casiodoro de Reina in the confession of faith that he presented in London says that for our justification we count also on the:

external means of the Ministry of the Word, which we confess to be constituted by the Lord in order that his chosen ones, scattered throughout the world, may be called to his fold with the voice of his gospel and, thus called, be justified [by that Word]. We believe that it is the very function of the Lord himself, as Lord of the harvest, to call, authorize and equip with his gifts and Spirit, the ministers of the New Covenant and send them to call his Church; and having called it, to congregate it in the unity of faith and of love; that they shepherd it with the pasture of his Word and with it maintain the Church in Christian discipline and harmony. The authority of the Apostleship or Ministry of the Word of the Gospel residing *solidly* in the only Apostle, Minister, and Teacher of our faith: the Christ, and being sent in his name ... respect and obedience are owed ... having a legitimate calling to the Ministry and not teaching another Gospel but the one that the Lord taught and ordered that it be preached among the peoples, neither, with tyranny, lord over the conscience of those

whom they ought to serve, for they are the Lord's own Kingdom and inheritance.²⁹

Juan Pérez de Pineda, in like manner demonstrates to us how he understood the ministry of the Word. With regard to the claim of Rome to make hierarchical differences he declares, "that the ministers of the Gospel are sent by God to be servants and stewards, and not to be lords; and that the Word that they administer makes them all equal."³⁰ Taking into account the situation of their days and of what was happening in Spain he says:

As the only remedy and defense, God left us his Word so that guided by it we would know how to serve him and draw near to him to be helped in every need ... Because only those who follow Christ (and follow those who embrace his pure Word) have this knowledge and clarity ... But Satan, through his ministers, has always worked to deprive us of this ... They brought us through this path [depriving us of the Scriptures] to a miserable slavery even more intolerable and hard than the one that the people of God suffered in Egypt and in Babylon under cruel tyrants. They came in that manner to deprive us of our being as men and to take away from us the judgment of reason, wanting us to enjoy what was pleasing to them. Forcing us to receive as true God the false one that they themselves had invented, to fill their stomachs ... The freedom that in his mercy [God] has given us is to not depend on men with regard to our salvation, but on his Word and through it to condemn and discard constantly everything that contradicts it, no matter how ancient, authorized, and approved [it might be by the servants of Satan] ... In Scripture alone is the purity of the truth, and to it the Lord sends us through his evangelists and prophets to seek truth. The expositions of men,

²⁹Casiodoro de Reina, *Confesión de fe Christiana*, 26; italics original. "el externo ministerio de la palabra; el qual confessamos ser instituydo del Señor a fin de que sus escogidos, esparzidos por todo el mundo, sean llamados a su aprisco con la boz de su Evangelio y, llamados, sean por ella justificados [por esa Palabra] ... Creemos ser proprio officio del mismo Señor, como Señor de la miesse, llamar, autorizar y hazer idóneos con sus dones y Espíritu a tales ministros del Nuevo Testamento, y embiarlos a que llamen su Iglesia; y llamada, la congreguen en unidad de fe y de charidad, la apacienten con el pasto de su palabra y la mantengan con la misma en christiano conceierto y disciplina. Residiendo la autoridad del apostolado o ministerio de la palabra del Evangelio *in solidum* en el único apóstol, ministro y maestro de nuestra fe, el Christo, y siendo ellos embiados en su nombre ... deverse tanto respecto y obedeciére ... siendo legítima su vocación al ministerio, y no enseñando otro Evangelio que el que el Señor enseñó y mandó que se predicasse entre todas las gentes, ni enseñoreándose con tyrannía sobre la consiencias de aquéllos a quien antes deven servir, por ser proprio reyno y heredad del Señor."

³⁰Juan Pérez de Pineda, *Breve Tratado de Doctrina Útil para Todo Cristiano* (Madrid: Librería de A. Duran, 1871), 167. "que los ministros del Evangelio son enviados de Dios para ser siervos y despenseros, y no para señores: y que la Palabra que administran los hace á todos iguales."

no matter how holy they might have been, are not Holy Scripture, nor do they have carats of truth, nor the spirit with which it was written ... This is the rule of the gospel, that Scripture is entirely divine, which has as its author the one who is the eternal truth and eternal wisdom of God; who does not deceive nor can he deceive. Therefore, we would rather believe the gospel, and follow what it orders and teaches, than men, because the gospel is infallible, true, immutable and does not contain anything but the truth ... [The works that the servants of Satan have produced that follow his superstitions] much more than the Word of God, even though they are nothing but straw, and the true Gospel remained in perpetual silence, so much so that even its words came to be forgotten ... leaving the masters and teachers of the people without its knowledge.” Imagine how sad and miserable is the nation that bases its identity precisely on that silence of the Gospel and on the voice and triumph of superstitions.³¹

That the authority of preaching depends upon its being based only on the Scriptures and on all of the Scriptures was something that was evident to our reformers. Regarding this, Antonio del Corro encountered an effort on the part of some of the Lutheran pastors in Ambers to include a definition of orthodoxy in one of their doctrinal documents that placed the statement on par with Scripture in authority. He immediately wrote them a letter with great Christian love but with firmness. In it he rejected their effort as something harmful and pernicious to the church:

³¹Pérez de Pineda, *Breve Tratado*, 3–11. “Por único remedio y defensa nos dejó Dios su Palabra, para que guiados por ella, le supiésemos servir y nos acogiésemos a Él, para ser ayudados en toda necesidad ... Sólo los que siguen á Cristo en verdad los que abrazan su Palabra ... Pero Satanás por medio de sus ministros, ha siempre trabajado por privarnos de esto ... Trajéronnos por esta vía [privarnos de la Escritura] á una miserable servidumbre, harto más intolerable y dura que la que sufrió el pueblo de Dios en Egipto y en Babilonia debajo de tan crueles tiranos. Vinieron de esta manera á despojarnos del sér de hombres y quitarnos enteramente el juicio de la razon, en querer que tomásemos gusto en lo que á ellos les sabía bien. Haciéndonos recibir por verdadero Dios al falso que ellos mismos habian inventado, para dar hartura á sus vientres ... La libertad que por su clemencia [Dios] nos tiene dada, que es no depender de hombres en el negocio de nuestra salud, sino de sola su palabra; y por ella condenar y desechar constantemente todo lo que la contradice por muy antiguo, autorizado y aprobado que [esté por los siervos de Satanás] ... En sola la Escritura divina está la pureza de la verdad, y á ella nos manda el Señor por sus Evangelistas y Profetas que la vayamos á buscar. Las exposiciones de los hombres, por santos que hayan sido, no son Sagrada Escritura, ni tienen aquellos quilates de verdad, ni aquel Espíritu con el que ella fué escrita ... Esta es la regla del Evangelio, que es toda divina, la cual tiene por autor al que es verdad y sabiduría eterna de Dios, que ni engaña ni puede engañar. Por tanto, queremos antes creer al Evangelio y seguir lo que él enseña y manda, que á los hombres. Porque él es infalible, cierto, inmutable, y no contiene (otra cosa) que verdad ... [los trabajos de los siervos de Satanás han producido que se sigan sus supersticiones] mucho más que si fueran palabra de Dios, con ser, á la verdad, no otra cosa que paja. Y el verdadero Evangelio quedó en un perpetuo silencio, tanto que se vino á olvidar aun hasta los vocablos de él, y los maestros y enseñadores de los pueblos no lo sabian.”

There are others who view their confessions, catechisms, commentaries and traditions as if they were a fifth Gospel, and want to authorize their particular interpretations in such a way that they are placed on the level of the articles of faith, and dare to call heretics all who do not follow their imaginations exactly: which even though might be good and full of edification, are made by men and, as a consequence, unworthy of being compared with the Word of God.³²

Such things would be normal among:

some monks or hypocrites, organs of the Roman Anti-Christ, sent by their accomplices to disturb the Church of Jesus Christ, to darken his glory and cause the retreat of the advance of his kingdom ... knowing well that such types of Prophets are the disciples of Balaam, who sell their tongue to curse the people of God ... We are sure that the mouth of such hypocrites will not be able to bring forth anything other than infected words, smelly and filled with bad odor. Because they are whitened and shiny sepulchres that cannot bring forth more than what is hidden and covered inside, which is all infection and decay.³³

But if that begins to appear in the ranks of Protestants, ruin is certain! These servants of God warned about the danger that was found in the camp of the Reformation because in it were being introduced the same models with which Rome had corrupted the church.

Give me permission to cite another reformer. Cipriano de Valera, presenting to the Spaniards his translation of Calvin's *Institutes*, says regarding the sole authority of the Scriptures:

Even though all in general confess the great danger that there is from the deceivers, with all of this, very few know and understand

³²Antonio del Corro, "Carta los Pastores Luteranos de Amberes," in *Antonio del Corro*, volume 1 of *Obras de los Reformadores Españoles del Siglo XVI* (Alcalá de Guadaíra, Seville: MAD, 2006), 55. "Hay otros que hacen de sus confesiones, catechismos, comentarios, y tradiciones, como si fueran un quinto Evangelio, y quieren autorizar sus interpretaciones particulares, de manera que los ponen al nivel de los artículos de fe, y se atreven a llamar heréticos a todos los que no siguen exactamente sus imaginations: las cuales aunque fueran buenas, y llenas de edificación, son hechas por los hombres, y por consiguiente indignas de ser comparadas con la palabra del Señor."

³³Ibid., 51–52. "algunos monjes o hipócritas, órganos del Anticristo Romano, enviados por sus cómplices para perturbar la Iglesia de Jesucristo, para oscurecer su gloria, y hacer retroceder el avance de su reino ... sabiendo bien que tal suerte de Profetas son discípulos de Balaam, que venden su lengua para maldecir al pueblo de Dios ... Estamos seguros que la boca de tales hipócritas no podrá producir otra cosa sino palabras infectas, apestosas, y llenas de todo mal olor. Porque son sepulcros blanqueados y lustrosos, que no obstante no pueden echar fuera más que lo que adentro está escondido y cubierto, a saber, toda infección y podredumbre."

who these deceivers might be. Therefore, it seems to me that it is not inopportune to explain here a certain and true rule, through which the Christian reader, as he is helped and enlightened, will be able to easily distinguish and differentiate between the faithful servants of Christ and the deceivers, so that all may know and understand whom they should follow and hear, and whom, on the other hand, they should detest and flee from according to the commandment of Christ. This would not ever be understood through human corrupt judgment and understanding, which, as false weight, is an abomination before God, but through the celestial wisdom that he reveals to us in the Holy Scripture, which is an accurate and truthful weight that pleases God.³⁴

Therefore, we are faced with a preaching with *authority*, that because it is based on the Scripture opens and closes heaven and binds and looses sinners in the name of the eternal Judge. We have a preaching that is also *universal*, which is extended to all—from the prince to the least of the slaves, including Catholics, Muslims, Evangelicals, etc. But who granted such a ministry to those preachers? I have already mentioned that we can contemplate precisely that enriching moment when the church demonstrates her life in the expression of her ministries that come from her and are flesh of her flesh. It can be concluded that our reformers understood their ministry with the authority of Christ *in* and *for* his church, but always *with* his church.³⁵ We truly do not know what conversations about this matter Constantino and his companions Juan Gil (Latinized Egidio) and Francisco de Vargas might have had, but we do know that their calling was not the same one they had when they entered the priesthood. Now they recognized one another, and the church in Seville recognized them. The others who went abroad demonstrate to us what understanding they had of the ministry. In the city or the state where they resided they joined the church and recognized its authority and order (at times with reproaches regarding what they considered to be inadequate, as good free Christians), and they sought that their status

³⁴Cipriano de Valera, introduction to *Institución de la Religión Cristiana*, trans. Cipriano de Valera (Países Bajos: Fundación Editorial de Literatura Reformada, 1967), xvii. “De manera que aunque todos en jeneral confiesen el gran peligro que hai de los engañadores, con todo esto, mui pocos saben i entienden cuales sean estos engañadores. Por tanto me parece que no será fuera de propósito mostrar aquí una regla zierta i verdadera, por la cual siendo ayudado i alumbrado el lector Cristiano podrá fázilmente distinguir i hazer diferencia entre los fieles siervos de Cristo i los engañadores: para que todos sepan i conozcan aquellos a quién deban oír i seguir, i cuáles por el contrario deben detestar, i huir, conforme al mandamiento de Cristo. Esto no se podría jamás entender por el corrupto juicio i entendimiento humano, el cual como peso falso, es abominacion delante de Dios: sino por la sabiduría zelestial que nos es revelada en la sagrada Escritura, la cual es peso fiel i verdadero que agrada á Dios.”

³⁵This has nothing to do with those “spiritual people” who receive their calling on a night of insomnia—or sleepiness—and launch themselves out to the world with no other authority than their own imagination.

as preachers be also accepted by those churches that already existed, submitting themselves to the norms that those churches had.

Evangelization in the Spanish Reformation

There is in this a very important point: none of our reformers had to take a “course” on evangelism. It is difficult to insert the meaning that today is usually given to this term in the normal life of the church of the Reformation. They found evangelization in a natural way in their conversion, then it was affirmed in their ministerial calling. What was essential was their recognition that the mercies of the Lord that had put the gospel in their hands had not done it “for” them in particular but for the nation of Spain. They considered themselves debtors to all of their countrymen, for they had something that the Lord had given them for all even though at the moment it was only in the hands of a few. These few should take to others the treasures that the Lord had given them as a gift. It is as if someone brought to your house some medicines with the name of one of your neighbors to cure him from certain death. The most natural thing is to consider that you have to deliver them as soon as possible. Then one can talk about the “methods of delivery” and look for better ways to do it. We know, moreover, that there is a mortal enemy who seeks to impede the delivery, that false messengers will deliver false medicines, that the person for whom it is intended will not want to recognize that he needs these medicines, etc. But the essential thing is to accept the fact that we have something that the Lord has given us *for* others.

This aspect is common to all the reformers. Even when they had to leave the country because their lives were in danger if they stayed, they did it with the purpose of being able to work harder in their task of taking the Gospel to those of their nation. Others stayed, as we have seen, and evangelized even when their bodies were being burned.

I want to underscore that all of them understood that evangelization was nothing more than the teaching of Scripture. In it are given the promises and the person of the Redeemer. That is why one of the first tasks that they imposed upon themselves was the translation of the biblical text in the language of the people. The primacy of the Word is absolute in their criterion for the announcement of the gospel. For example, when Antonio del Corro remembers his condition before being saved through faith in Christ, he reproaches the Roman Church that at every step one encounters something (sacraments, liturgies, masses, saints, bulls, or similar things) but never *sees* Christ. Everything is in the church, except Christ. When, at long last, someone encountered Christ, he was presented changed and cosmetically touched up, made into an idol, where there was no mercy nor justice, only merchandise and business. Christ’s mercy had to be bought and his justice could be escaped for a price. In the final analysis, it was not a matter of the external corrupt forms but of the corruption that they had made of Christ himself.³⁶

³⁶That is what differentiates it from the Reformation of Humanism, from the Renaissance, or from Erasmianism.

What was the use of preparing the way and removing obstacles when at the end you encounter only an idol instead of the Lord of heaven and earth?

What was for them evident and fundamental, that *to evangelize is to teach the Scriptures*, may sound strange to us today. In reality, as Antonio del Corro used to say in his days regarding the church of Rome, at the end something similar has happened in evangelical churches. The Lord is merciful and can call those who are his through very strange means, but there are evangelization campaigns with some practices that have followed the superstitions of Rome, where you encounter everything except Christ. The Christ that the preacher presents is nothing more than an abdominal idol fabricated by and for human success.

To teach the Scriptures means to proclaim Christ as it is written about him and proclaim man as it is written about man. One cannot do anything else if one wants to be faithful. It is not a matter of proclaiming a Christ who is pleasing to the unregenerate human heart. We proclaim Christ as the Savior of the sinner. One cannot open a discourse with people assuming a different position. If that is not pleasing, it is normal, but there is no other way. The *foolishness* of preaching continues to be foolishness, but also salvation for those whom God calls. Be careful not to try to remove the very nature of the proclamation of the gospel, because if its nature is removed so too will its effect be removed. There will not be foolishness but neither will there be salvation. Many will have been left with a false Christ, very acceptable for human success perhaps, but a Christ without the cross nor redemption.

Antonio del Corro explains the salvific effects of the gospel with the intervention of the Holy Spirit:

But being that miserable man, feeling estranged from God and his favor, could not believe that such a benefit could be for him, the Holy Spirit takes charge initially to write and engrave in his heart the good will that the Creator and Father has toward man. In addition to this, he is careful to open the eyes of understanding of the poor blind person, to that he can see the mediator of his salvation. Then he softens the dormant and obstinate will and makes it bold and powerful through the divine promises, so that he can want, desire, receive, and embrace Jesus Christ, who is the remedy that the Spirit presents him. The effect of this operation and work of the Spirit of God, in the heart, understanding, and will of sinful and repented man, we call faith, which is not a frivolous persuasion or acceptance of the Word of God, but a living thing that produces living effects, which is: true and certain assurance that God loves us and wants to make us heirs of all of his celestial goods, and to make us capable for such an inheritance, lost in the person of Adam, he wants us to enjoy the innocence, justice, fulfilled satisfaction and obedience of the second and celestial Adam. In addition to this, through this faith we are most

assured that the God who has received us in grace and reconciliation hates all injustice and partiality, and that the salvation he has given us, having liberated us from the power of our enemies, is so that from now on, stripping from ourselves of all enslaving fear, we live in a holy and just manner before him. (Luke 2; Titus 2) This faith engendered in man by the Spirit of God, serves him as a hand to welcome and embrace Jesus Christ, and also serves him as a mouth to receive him as spiritual food and nourishment. (John 17) Therefore, from now on the repented man is not seen in the house of God as a son of Adam, but as a brother of Jesus Christ, who is united to him through the faith and bond of the Holy Spirit, in such a way that the Christian and Christ, and the Christian man, are one same thing. (John 17)³⁷

Because the gospel is a matter of life or death for those who hear it, our reformers had great care in explaining the differences. When they spoke about the truth, they warned of as many types of lies as there were in the world. Above all, they took into account the evilness of error when this was found in the church itself. It had snuck into the church in such a way that there was then no truth but lies in what would have to be the house of God. All of this they attributed to the disdain that had been produced for the Scripture and how in its place had been put the imaginations of men. This was not an unimportant matter, but the very essence of the Christian message. If there is no Scripture, everything else is useless; there is no life. How

³⁷Antonio del Corro, "Carta a Felipe II," in *Antonio del Corro*, volume 1 of *Obras de los Reformadores Españoles del Siglo XVI* (Alcalá de Guadaíra, Seville: MAD, 2006), 163–64. "Pero en cuanto que el hombre miserable, sintiéndose tan alejado de Dios y de su favor, no podría creer que semejante beneficio sea para él, el Espíritu Santo toma el cargo primeramente de escribir y grabar en su corazón la buena voluntad que el Creador y Padre tiene para con los hombres. Además, toma cuidado de abrir los ojos del entendimiento del pobre ciego, para que vea al mediador de su salvación. En tercer lugar, ablanda la voluntad dormida y obstinada y la hace osada y poderosa por las divinas promesas, á fin de que pueda querer, desear, recibir y abrazar á Jesucristo, que es el remedio que el Espíritu le presenta. El efecto de esta operación y obra del Espíritu de Dios en el corazón, entendimiento y voluntad del hombre pecador y penitente, llamamos fe, la cual no es una frívola persuasión ó acogida de la palabra de Dios, sino una cosa viva que produce efectos vivos; á saber, verdadera y cierta seguridad de que Dios nos ama y quiere hacernos herederos de todos sus bienes celestiales y que para hacernos capaces de semejante herencia, perdida en la persona de Adán, quiere que gocemos de la inocencia, justicia, cumplidísima satisfacción y obediencia del segundo y celestial Adán. Además, por medio de esta fe estamos segurísimos que el Dios que nos ha recibido en gracia y reconciliación aborrece toda injusticia é iniquidad, y que la salvación que nos ha dado, habiéndonos librado del poder de nuestros enemigos, es para que desde ahora, despojados de todo temor servil, vivamos santa y justamente delante de él. (Luc. 2. Tito 2.) Esta fe engendrada en el hombre por el Espíritu de Dios, le sirve como de una mano para acoger y abrazar a Jesucristo, y también le sirve como de una boca para recibirle como comida y alimento espiritual. (Juan 17) Así que desde ahora el hombre arrepentido, no es ya estimado en la casa de Dios como hijo de Adán, sino hermano de Jesucristo, quien se une á él por medio de esta fe y lazo del Espíritu Santo, de tal manera que el cristiano y Cristo, y Cristo y el hombre cristiano, no son más que una misma cosa. (Juan 17)"

can one preach the gospel that gives life to the dead if one does not teach the Word? Is there anything else that produces this effect? This led them to point out and show clearly the superstitions and deviations of Rome, which they knew very well.³⁸ This is not acceptable today. It seems as though it would even be an obstacle for evangelization. To be sure our reformers, if they were told what at times is affirmed in evangelical circles (that it is not necessary to evangelize Catholics who are sincere and live their religion), would have immediately included this error in their warnings and admonishments. In their preaching and exhortations they not only explained clearly what road to follow but also from which false roads they should flee.

Conclusion

In this manner Cipriano de Valera would conclude an exhortation to his countrymen. With this feeling we conclude:

Therefore my dearly beloved brothers ... think truly what your duty should be. Do not receive in vain the grace of God, that he offers you through the preaching of the Gospel, through which the merciful God extends his hands of mercy to take the ignorant out of the hole and mud of ignorance to his knowledge and fellowship ... casting aside the doctrines and traditions of lying and deceiving men, hear the one who cannot lie, follow the one who cannot err, so that the name of the Lord will be sanctified in our Spain, and many being instructed by the Word of God, convert from the darkness to the light so that they will receive by faith in Jesus Christ remission of their sins and life and eternal blessing.³⁹

³⁸See Antonio del Corro, "Carta a Felipe II," 99–213. Antonio del Corro, in refuting the positions of Rome, offers us in an indirect way a course on Roman theology. These issues he explains in "Carta a Felipe II" so he would not persecute his subjects in the Lower Countries. And with these positions there would still be someone who says that what happened in Spain was not "Protestant": "prohibición de leer la Palabra en lengua vulgar" (107–08, prohibition of the reading of the Word in the vernacular language); "el Dios del papado cruel, injusto, y aficionado a los presentes" (109–10, the God of the papacy [cruel, unjust, and fond of gifts]); the "fe ... en el papado" (110–11, the faith of the papacy); "obras de superstición del papado" (111–12, works of superstition of the papacy); "falsa regeneración" (112–13, false regeneration); "la confirmación papista" (113, papal confirmation); "del matrimonio [como sacramento]" (113–14, matrimony as a sacrament); "de los sacramentos inventados por los hombres" (114–16, the sacraments invented by men); "adoración de las imágenes" (116, adoration of images); "ser farile como un segundo bautismo" (117–19, being a friar as a second baptism); "comerse a lost homres después de muertos" (119, eating men after they die); "de viene la autoridad de la Palabra de Dios" (130–31, the real authority of the Word of God); "del conocimiento de Dios sacado de la Palabra" (131–32, the knowledge of God taken from the Word); "de la creación del hombre" (134–35, the creation of man); "del pecado original" (135, original sin); "ceremonias de la iglesia papal" (142–42, ceremonies of the papal church); "partes de la penitencia en la iglesia papal" (148–50, parts of the penitence in the papal church); "la confesión papística" (151, the papist confession); "bulas" (159–60, bulls); "el purgatorio" (161, purgatory); and a long etcetera.

³⁹Cipriano de Valera, introduction to *Institución de la Religión Cristiana*, xxii. "Por tanto

This is a conclusion that is an affirmation of faith, a recognition that the Lord conserves and gives fruit to everything that we place in his hand. They placed their yearnings and prayers on the throne of the power of God. Today we gather the fruits. The only way to honor these reformers is to receive them as a fruit of grace. To have them with us as they were: servants of the Lord and ministers of his Word. To have them in our memories only to draw nearer to the one who is their Lord and ours. I believe that the most important thing today is that all of us have a living example of their way of receiving and proclaiming the Scripture, that Scripture that Rome wanted to burn when it burned them, that Scripture that in many evangelical churches today burns in their hands and they do not want it, that Scripture that continues to be the power of God to save his people, and the word of judgment against the nations.

hermanos míos muy amados ... pensad de veras cuál sea vuestro deber. No recibais en vano la gracia de Dios, que se os ofrece por la predicación del Evangelio, por el cual el piadoso Dios extiende las manos de su misericordia para sacar á los ignorantes del hoyo i lodo de ignorancia á su conocimiento i comunión ... desechando las doctrinas, i tradiciones de los hombres mentirosos i engañadores, oíd a aquel que no puede mentir, seguid á aquel que no puede errar: para que el nombre del Señor sea santificado en nuestra España, i que muchos siendo instruidos por la palabra de Dios, se conviertan de las tinieblas á la luz para que reziban por la fé en Jesu Cristo remision de pecados, i la vida i bienaventuranza eterna.”

Was Luther a Bible Critic?

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Was Luther a Bible critic? For a conservative Lutheran, asking such a question nearly borders on blasphemy. For even after 500 years, and even though many of Luther's weaknesses and mistakes are widely known, he is still venerated as a saint by many Protestants. Theologians of the Evangelischen Kirche in Deutschland (EKD) cite Luther with great reverence. In scientific lectures and articles, claims are corroborated to a lesser extent by the Bible, but they are consistently corroborated with statements of Luther. In part, one gets the impression that Luther has approximately the same status in the EKD which tradition has in the Catholic Church: on par with Holy Scripture.

Now, Martin Luther's merits are undisputed. The truth of the gospel was again put on the pedestal by him and his comrades in arms, after it had been obscured for centuries by the Catholic Church. The four Reformation Solas (*sola scriptura, solus Christus, sola gratia, sola fide*) are non-negotiable for all Evangelicals—Lutherans, Reformed, Baptists, or Pentecostals. In addition, Luther's Bible translation shaped the German language as no other book has. However, in addition to much light, there is also shadow in Luther. His defamation and spitefulness towards the Jews are common knowledge today and are considered by some scholars to be partly responsible for the catastrophe of the Holocaust.¹ His damning of enthusiasts and Anabaptists caused the flight and expulsion of thousands of righteous Christians.² His harsh behavior in the Peasant Revolt is partly responsible for the death of many.³ Luther was no angel. He was a sinner just like all of us and was, as a child of his time, subject to errors and mistakes.

In addition to these weaknesses of Luther, there is one which is often overlooked: Luther's biblical criticism, which, among other things, can be seen in his critical statements about the canon.

¹Walter Bienert, *Martin Luther und die Juden* (Frankfurt: Evangelisches Verlagswerk, 1982); Thomas Kaufmann, *Luthers "Judenschriften": Ein Beitrag zu ihrer historischen Kontextualisierung* (Tübingen: Mohr & Siebeck, 2011).

²Martin Brecht, *Shaping and Defining the Reformation, 1521–1532*, volume 2 of *Martin Luther*, trans. James L. Schaaf (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990), 178–85.

³*Ibid.*, 193.

What is Biblical Criticism?

The question whether Luther was a Bible-critic of course depends on the definition of biblical criticism. For example, the previous superintendent of the Rhineland church, Eberhard Röhrig, asserted that Luther was definitely a Bible-critic because the term criticism stems from the Greek word κρίνειν, which means to “distinguish.” In this sense, Luther distinguished between important and unimportant books of the canon and would have loved to banish James from the New Testament because he believed it obscured justification by faith alone.⁴ Theology professor Rainer Mayer disagrees with Röhrig. Someone who distinguishes between important and less important books within the canon is far from being a Bible critic. Biblical criticism must be defined according to Ernst Troeltsch’s principles of criticism, analogy, and correlation, which we know as the “historical-critical method of biblical interpretation.”⁵

The historical-critical method of biblical interpretation goes back to the intellectual-historic era of the Enlightenment. With his classic definition of enlightenment, Immanuel Kant (1724–1804) called people no longer blindly to believe any authorities (Church or State), but rather to form their own judgments: “Enlightenment is man’s leaving his self-caused immaturity. Immaturity is the incapacity to use one’s intelligence without the guidance of another. Such immaturity is self-caused if it is not caused by lack of intelligence, but by lack of determination and courage to use one’s intelligence without being guided by another.”⁶

Even before Kant, some thinkers began to emancipate themselves from authorities who had, to that point, been believed unreservedly. Especially the Church, its dogmas and the Bible were no longer seen as something God-given; but as products of man which should be critically questioned. From now on Reason would be considered the final authority, before whom faith and man’s actions must explain themselves.

Some of the first representatives of the Enlightenment era include Benedict de Spinoza (1632–1677), Richard Simon (1638–1712), and Johann Salomo Semler (1725–1791). Based on (seeming) discerned contradictions, irregularities, and interruptions in the Bible, they reached the conviction that the official statements of the churches regarding inspiration and the absolute

⁴Eberhard Röhrig, “Auch Martin Luther war ein Bibelkritiker,” *IdeaSpektrum*, June 25, 2014, 42.

⁵Rainer Mayer, “Widerspruch: Martin Luther war kein Bibelkritiker,” *IdeaSpektrum*, July 2, 2014, 43.

⁶Immanuel Kant, “What is Enlightenment?” in *From Ancient Times to the Enlightenment*, volume 1 of *Sources of the Western Tradition*, ed. Marvin Perry, 9th ed. (Boston: Wadsworth, 2013), 424.

truth of Holy Scripture could not be true.⁷ They doubted the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, believed they recognized the (outdated) Aristotelean-Ptolemaic conception of the world in the Bible, and, as “enlightened” researchers, could no longer believe in the miraculous world of the Old and New Testaments. Particularly significant and still relevant today is Semler’s distinction between the Bible and the Word of God. By no means, says Semler, may one hold that the Bible in its entirety is the Word of God. Rather it is first of all a man-made work of literature which contains God’s Word in several locations.⁸

In the time that followed, more and more scholars endeavored, with their (really very limited) reason, to find what was right and wrong in the Bible and to prove its (alleged) mistakes and contradictions. Since this time, particularly in the universities but even in many free-church theological institutions, one is taught not to view the Bible as God’s inerrant Word, as Lutheran orthodoxy in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries maintained. Rather its authors were human, who as children of their time also incorporated the faulty ideas of that time into the Bible. Furthermore, they were not trying to communicate objective truths but saw everything through the glasses of their faith and ultimately pursued the goal to awaken faith in the readers. The Bible for them is a book of faith but not a book which consistently narrates objective facts. Therefore, one must read the Bible critically and initially question and doubt everything. At most, one may accept that which makes sense to enlightened Reason and what has been confirmed by archeological or secular-historic “proofs.” Accounts about miracles which do not make sense to human Reason are simply reinterpreted. For example, at the feeding of the five thousand (John 6:1ff), no multiplication of loaves had in fact taken place. Rather, the willingness of the child to place his five loaves and two fish at their disposal had inspired others, who then also offered the supplies they had brought along so that eventually everyone was satisfied. Some theologians “harmonized” the report of Jesus walking on the water (Matt 14:22ff) with Reason by claiming that right under the water’s surface—nearly invisible—there lay large stones on which Jesus walked. From a distance it then appeared as if he was walking on the water.⁹

Therefore, there are two fundamental pillars of the historical-critical method of biblical exegesis. First, the distinction between Bible and Word of God, which Semler already called for, in which one may naively believe, based on 2 Timothy 3:16, that the Bible unqualifiedly contains the Word of God. At best, one can assume that in some passages the voice of God can be

⁷Karl Heinz Michel, *Anfänge der Bibelkritik. Quellentexte aus Orthodoxie und Aufklärung* (Wuppertal: R. Brockhaus, 1985); Hans Joachim Kraus, *Geschichte der historisch-kritischen Erforschung des Alten Testaments*, 3rd ed. (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1982).

⁸Michel, *Anfänge der Bibelkritik*, 101.

⁹Heinrich E.G. Paulus, *Philologisch-kritischer und historischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament: Die drey ersten Evangelien zweite Hälfte bis zur Leidensgeschichte*, vol. 2 (Lübeck: Bohn, 1801), 299–327.

heard; there thus exists a canon within the canon, which one must discover through critical research. Radical Bible critics even go so far as to view the Bible as a purely human book, which merely provides information about the origin and development of the Jewish and Christian religions but without meaning for today.

Second, Holy Scripture must, according to Bible critics, be treated exactly as every other book—it must be read critically and skeptically. Its content and claims of authorship must not be naively trusted; they must be critically reviewed because they were written by fallible humans. In the same way that we also do not uncritically accept antique works of Greek or Roman literature unevaluated, we must also subject the Bible to critical Reason. The criteria for such an examination were set out by theologian and philosopher Ernst Troeltsch (1865–1923) in his essay “On the historical and dogmatic methods in theology” in the year 1898.¹⁰ Every literary work, including the Bible, must be examined using the three criteria: critique, analogy, and correlation. It means that all historical traditions, including biblical traditions, must be critically examined by human reason to discover their veracity. Then will emerge what can be accepted as probable and what must be discarded as unhistorical. It means that only that which still occurs before our eyes today can be seen as historical. (In this way miracles such as the virgin birth, the resurrection, etc., must be classified as myths and legends.) It means that every earthly event is part of an interrelation, in other words, every occurrence stems from another one. There exists a seamless causal nexus. As such, a direct intervention in history of the world by God, an angel, or a prophetic prediction of an event occurring only after five hundred years is, for Troeltsch, unthinkable.¹¹ In this point, Troeltsch stands completely within the tradition of the Enlightenment and rationalism, which in the deistic sense, does not want to believe that God is still a God who speaks and acts today, and who wants to do all scientific research with the premise of *etsi deus non daretur* (as if there were no God).¹²

Speaking in the Troeltschian philosophical tradition, which asserted itself and has remained decisive to today in German—and to some extent international—academic theology, Marburg theology professor Rudolf Bultmann stated some decades later: “In any case, modern science does not

¹⁰Ernst Troeltsch, “On the historical and dogmatic methods in theology,” trans. Jack Frostman, accessed October 16, 2017, <http://faculty.tcu.edu/grant/hhit/Troeltsch,%20On%20the%20Historical%20and%20Dogmatic%20Methods.pdf>.

¹¹Joachim Cochlovius and Peter Zimmerling, eds., *Evangelische Schriftauslegung: Ein Quellen und Arbeitsbuch für Studium und Gemeinde*, (Wuppertal: R. Brockhaus, 1987), 172–76.

¹²At the same time it must be emphasized again and again that there exist no compelling reasons to engage in research under this atheistic premise. This principle, postulated by secular science, is arbitrarily set and may seem to atheists to be the only alternative. They thereby voluntarily deprive themselves of important insights however, for seeking to explain this world without God obscures their ability to see central truths. But why should a theologian, who by definition professes to believe in God, assume that God is not one who acts or speaks? Such a theologian does not deserve the name “theologian”; at best he is a religious scholar.

believe that the course of nature can be interrupted or, so to speak, perforated by supernatural powers."¹³

The majority of German university theologians adopted this position and consider the miracles in the Bible to be myths and legends.¹⁴ Even more conservative theologians like Wolfhart Pannenberg believe "with complete certainty" that they must classify the virgin birth as a "legend."¹⁵ However, the "modern science" of which Bultmann speaks and which still haunts the thoughts of many scholars is in reality the pre-modern science of the 19th century, which advocated a mechanical worldview in which miracles were considered inconceivable. The exploration of the atomic world by physics researchers in the first half of the 20th century has, however, expanded the horizon so far that one of the leading German physicists of the 20th century commented critically on Bultmann's beliefs in 1970:

In the present, Bultmann has—as a late heir of the Enlightenment—advocated this solution and has attempted to justify it with extensive critique of the biblical record. Undoubtedly the basic axioms upon which Bultmann builds his observations are in crass opposition to modern natural science.¹⁶

This modern science, by all means, holds that the principle of causality to be valid in the macrocosm. However research in the area of microphysics, which only became possible in the 20th century, leads to the realization that we can no longer speak of seamless causality, consequently, making the principle of causality an absolute was a mistake. This, however, means nothing less than the end of the materialistic worldview. Henceforth, no scientist can claim from the heights of scientific knowledge that heaven and hell cannot exist. Rather, everything has become conceivable again: God, miracles, the virgin birth, resurrection, angels, demons, etc.

However there is more to biblical criticism than just the historical-critical method of biblical interpretation, whose ideological premises were just demonstrated and which is concretely expressed in the steps of: text criticism, literary criticism, form criticism, redaction criticism, and tradition criticism. Even canon critical approaches are ultimately to be classified as a form of biblical criticism. Whether the canon of the Bible is to be expanded

¹³Rudolf Bultmann, *Jesus Christ and Mythology* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1958), 15.

¹⁴The retired Heidelberg professor for New Testament, Klaus Berger, claimed in an interview, that, from 100 university theologians in Germany, maybe two believe the Christmas story (virgin birth, born in Bethlehem, angel visions, etc.) to be true. Marcus Mockler, "Weihnachten—'Appetithappen' auf das Heil Gottes," *IdeaSpektrum*, December 2004, 16.

¹⁵Wolfhart Pannenberg, *The Apostles Creed in Light of Today's Questions*, trans. Margaret Kohl (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1972; repr., Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock, 2000), 73. Citation refers to the Wipf and Stock edition.

¹⁶Pascual Jordan, *Schöpfung und Geheimnis. Antworten aus naturwissenschaftlicher Sicht* (Oldenburg: Gerhard Stalling Verlag, 1970), 157. Unless otherwise noted, all translations are my own.

or cut down—both are biblical criticism. For in the last book of the Holy Scripture, there is an unmistakable warning against additions to or removals from the biblical text. Of course this passage (Rev 22:18f.)¹⁷ initially applied to the book of Revelation itself. But it is not without reason that divine providence placed this warning at the end of the whole Bible in order to declare, “No one is permitted to change the canon of the Bible.” Accordingly, as a consequence of the authority of divine inspiration inherent to it (2 Tim 3:16), the canon has asserted itself in Christian churches. It was not determined by the church councils but merely confirmed by them.¹⁸

In contrast to the historical-critical method of biblical interpretation, which is a product of modern times, theologians critiquing the canon already existed in the old church. As early as the second century AD, Marcion questioned parts of the Holy Scripture. He rejected the Old Testament; from the gospels he accepted only Luke (even this only after it had been “cleansed”). He even wanted to ban some epistles of Paul.¹⁹ Today theologians like Hartmut Gese or Klaus Berger are thinking about expanding the canon. Gese desires that the Old Testament Apocrypha, which is accepted by the Catholic Church as Scripture, would also be accepted by the Protestant churches.²⁰ Klaus Berger expresses his desire for the New Testament Apocrypha to be more strongly considered and published a book in which he printed the New Testament together with early Christian writings.²¹

What Does Luther’s Attitude Towards the Bible Look Like?

Martin Luther did not practice any biblical criticism in the sense in which the present historical-critical method of biblical interpretation does. Luther lived before the Enlightenment and read the Bible not fundamentally critically and questioningly, but sympathetically-faithfully, although elements of a biblically critical approach are discernable in Luther. Luther scholar Armin Buchholz notes that:

For Luther the Bible which lay before him was as such and as a whole in the literal and word-for-word sense, God’s own Word. Therefore he considered everything the Bible said as for that reason valid and true simply because it was said by the Bible and therefore by God himself.²²

¹⁷See similar passages in the Old Testament: Deut 4:2; 13:1.

¹⁸Gerhard Maier, *Biblische Hermeneutik* (Wuppertal: R. Brockhaus, 1990), 133.

¹⁹Adolf Martin Ritter, *Alte Kirche*, volume 1 of *Kirchen und Theologiegeschichte in Quellen*, 4th ed. (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1987), 25f; Armin Sierszyn, *Von den Anfängen bis zum Untergang des weströmischen Reiches*, volume 1 of *2000 Jahre Kirchengeschichte*, 4th ed. (Holzgerlingen: Hänssler, 2004), 99f.

²⁰Hartmut Gese, *Zur biblischen Theologie* (Munich: Kaiser, 1977), 13.

²¹Klaus Berger and Christiane Nord, *Das Neue Testament und frühchristliche Schriften* (Frankfurt: Insel Verlag, 1999).

²²Armin Buchholz, *Schrift Gottes im Lehrstreit. Luthers Schriftverständnis und Schriftauslegung in seinen drei großen Lehrstreitigkeiten der Jahre 1521–1528* (Gießen: Brunnen

A distinction between Bible and Word of God as has been customary in theology since Semler, was unknown to Luther. Since the whole Bible was inspired by the Holy Spirit, it is also wholly the Word of God and therefore authoritative for faith and life.²³ In his Table Talk the reformer says:

That the Bible is God's word and book I prove thus: All things that have been, and are, in the world, and the manner of their being, are described in the first book of Moses on the creation; even as God made and shaped the world, so does it stand to this day. Infinite potentates have raged against this book, and sought to destroy and uproot it—king Alexander the Great, the princes of Egypt and of Babylon, the monarchs of Persia, of Greece, and of Rome, the emperors Julius and Augustus—but they nothing prevailed; they are all gone and vanished, while the book remains, and will remain for ever and ever, perfect and entire, as it was declared at the first.²⁴

In his famous *Assertio omnium articulorum*, which he composed as a response to the papal bull of Leo X, Luther even confesses his belief in the infallibility of Scripture:

This is my answer to those also who accuse me of rejecting all the holy teachers of the church. I do not reject them. But everyone, indeed, knows that at times they have erred, as men will; therefore, I am ready to trust them only when they give me evidence for their opinions from Scripture, which has never erred.²⁵

Luther took the Bible at its word, interpreted it (whenever possible) in accordance with the simple wording, and saw no difference between the grammatical-historic and the divine meaning of the Scripture. For Luther, “all statements of Scripture describe reality even in their literal and immediate sense and require only simple faith and obedience on the part of the interpreter.”²⁶ This shows itself especially strikingly in Luther's disagreement with other reformers on the Lord's Supper. Luther insisted that the word “is” really meant “is” and that it should not be understood merely symbolically. Under no circumstances was it acceptable for Luther to use one's own reason as an assessor of the truth of the Bible. Approaching the text in this way, as

Verlag, 2007), 279. “Für Luther war die schriftlich vorliegende Bibel als solche und als ganze im buchstäblichen, wortwörtlichen Sinne Gottes eigenes Wort. Deshalb war ihm alles, was die Bibel sagte, schon darum gültig und wahr, weil es von der Bibel und also von Gott selbst gesagt war.”

²³Buchholz, *Schrift Gottes im Lehrstreit*, 8f.

²⁴Martin Luther, *Table Talk of Martin Luther*, trans. William Hazlitt (London: George Bell & Sons, 1878), 1.

²⁵Martin Luther, *Luther's Works*, 79 vols. (St. Louis: Concordia, 1955–2016), 32:11 (hereafter cited as *LW*).

²⁶Buchholz, *Schrift Gottes im Lehrstreit*, 279.

interpreters have generally done since the Enlightenment, Luther saw as presumptuous and blasphemous. Human reasoning must stand under and not over Scripture. The reformer expresses this in his inimitable way:

The Bible should be regarded with wholly different eyes from those with which we view other productions. He who wholly renounces himself, and relies not on mere human reason, will make good progress in the Scriptures.²⁷

However there are some statements of Luther which stand opposed to his esteem of Scripture, which should be deemed as biblical criticism and which show that the reformer was definitely not without contradictions in his thinking and teaching.

First of all, Luther allows himself the freedom to be critical of authorship. James claims without a doubt to be written by James, the half-brother of Jesus, for, of the five men with this name that the New Testament mentions, only the brother of the Lord is a possibility.²⁸ However, Luther disputes this and places himself on the side of modern, biblically critical interpreters, who view the epistle as “not genuine,”²⁹ meaning not written by James. Luther asserted: “I do not regard it as the writing of an apostle”;³⁰ rather the author of the James was “some good, pious man, who took a few sayings from the disciples of the apostles and thus tossed them off on paper.”³¹ Luther thus denies the apostolicity of the epistle. In fact, he holds that the author was not even a disciple of the apostle, but an unknown man, who compiled statements of disciples of the apostles. The reformer proceeds in a similar manner with the Revelation of John. Even though John identifies himself clearly as the author (Rev 1:1–4), Luther adjudicates: “I miss more than one thing in this book, and it makes me consider it to be neither apostolic nor prophetic.”³² He therefore contests that the apostle John is the author of Revelation and believes Revelation to not be a prophetic book, even though Revelation speaks unmistakably about future things. Luther condemns Jude even more sharply. He holds it to be an “extract or copy of St. Peter’s second epistle”³³ and believes that it was written long after the apostles.³⁴ Nor does Luther hold back when dealing with Hebrews. It was written neither by Paul nor any other apostle. Most likely it was written long after the apostolic

²⁷Luther, *Table Talk*, 4.

²⁸Werner Georg Kümmel, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, 21st ed. (Heidelberg: Quelle & Meyer, 1983), 363; Udo Schnelle, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, 6th ed. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2007), 422ff.

²⁹Kümmel, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, 363.

³⁰*LW* 35:396.

³¹*Ibid.*, 397.

³²*Ibid.*, 398.

³³*Ibid.*, 397.

³⁴*Ibid.*, 397–98.

time.³⁵ Luther's contempt of Hebrews and James led to Luther Bibles (up to today) placing them in a different canonical order after 3 John.

However, Luther does not just doubt the authorship claims of biblical books, occasionally he critiqued the Bible's content. The most famous example is probably his verdict on James, which he calls "an epistle of straw."³⁶ He states his rule for evaluating the content of biblical books as, "whatever emphasizes, drives, or pushes Christ."³⁷ Thus, for Luther, the canon does not just have its validity due to its apostolicity or ecclesiastical legitimization, but also due to the witness to Christ contained within it.³⁸ And this witness to Christ is viewed by Luther as the norm for critiquing canonicity and content. If a biblical Scripture does not proclaim and teach Christ clearly and explicitly, then this Scripture is inferior in Luther's eyes. It may be tolerated in the canon, but one should not focus one's attention primarily on such a writing.

Without a doubt Luther's principle of "whatever drives Christ" is completely subjective and arbitrary and must be critically questioned. Ever since Luther, and the Enlightenment especially, the search for the canon in the canon has not contributed to finding God's Word in the Bible, rather every theologian has "found" his own canon, leading to confusio and even chaos to reign. "The canon within the canon is undiscoverable,"³⁹ concluded Gerhard Maier in 1974. If the *providentia divina* has determined that a book like Esther is included in the canon, in which the word "god" (let alone the sacred name of the Lord YHWH) does not even appear and in which we find no witness for Christ, who is a man that he should question this? As recipients of God's Word, it behooves us to receive these words with humility and respect. Even though Luther fundamentally sees this in the same way, he sometimes forgets it in the heat of combat and places himself over Scripture. He often goes so far as to make statements which are simply nonsense: "Whatever does not teach Christ that is not yet apostolic, even though St. Peter or St. Paul does the teaching. Again, whatever preaches Christ would be apostolic, even if Judas, Annas, Pilate, or Herod were doing it."⁴⁰ Even if Herod really had said something true about Jesus, it is still far from being apostolic and would therefore also not be included in the canon.

The main reason why Luther does not like James is the famous fact that he does not find the doctrine of justification in James. An extensive

³⁵LW 35:394.

³⁶Ibid., 362.

³⁷Timothy Wengert, *Reading the Bible with Martin Luther: An Introductory Guide* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2013), 5. (The German verb "*treiben*" is etymologically related to the English drive but has a wide variety of meanings around that central sense of "push" or "drive." So I chose this source, since the English translation of the Preface did not account for those meanings, which are central to this part of the article.)

³⁸*Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, eds. Gerhard Müller, Horst Balz, and Gerhard Krause, vol. 21 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1991), s.v. "Luther, Martin."

³⁹Gerhard Maier, *Das Ende der historisch-kritischen Methode*, 4th ed. (Wuppertal: R. Brockhaus, 1978), 10.

⁴⁰LW 35:396.

discussion of this question is beyond the scope of this paper, however an impartial reader of James notices very quickly that James in no way disparages faith. Rather, he wants to make clear that faith without works is dead. Thus he places the focus of his teaching on the effect that Christ-centered faith must have. While Paul primarily emphasizes justification through faith, James' concern is to emphasize the works flowing from justification. What is reprehensible about that? May the epistles of the New Testament not place different points of emphasis and complement each other?

The second reason why Luther is unable to understand James is his conclusion that Christ's suffering and resurrection are not addressed in it. However, Philemon does not contain this either, nor do 2 and 3 John, yet nevertheless these books belong without doubt in the New Testament canon. Not every book of the Bible has to cover the subject of forgiveness and salvation through Jesus' death. God's wisdom has allowed these central truths to be elaborated extensively in several epistles (Romans, Galatians, etc.) In other epistles God allows other topics relevant for the recipients at the time to be treated. Thus he covers a large spectrum of topics that have guided Christians in all centuries.

When Luther calls Jude a book which one may not count "among the chief books" of the New Testament, he is without a doubt correct.⁴¹ This short epistle does not desire or claim to be a central book but exists concisely to encourage Christians to contend for their faith when threatened by false doctrines (Jude 3ff.). When, however, the reformer then says that Jude is an "extract or copy of St. Peter's second epistle" and therefore, because it contains topics found nowhere else in the Bible, must be regarded critically, he once again overshoots the mark.⁴² First, it is not certain which letter is dependent on which or even if there is any dependency whatsoever.⁴³ Second, who determines that only an epistle that contains nothing new is good and canonical? Why should the Spirit of God not have moved Jude to write about topics which we otherwise do not find in the New Testament?

In his preface of 1522 to the Revelation of John, Luther also employs a strong *Sachkritik*—material or subject criticism. First, the many visions of Revelation bother him. The apostles, so holds Luther, did not have any visions "but with clear and arid words"⁴⁴ proclaimed the gospel of Jesus. This statement, however, is not true. Saul became Paul through a vision (Acts 9). Peter received the instruction to proclaim the gospel to the Gentiles through a vision (Acts 10). Paul had additional visions in Troas (Acts 16:9), Corinth (Acts 18:9), etc.

⁴¹LW 35:398.

⁴²Ibid., 397.

⁴³Today's research claims, that 2 Peter had Jude as a template. See for instance Schnelle, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, 464f.

⁴⁴*Die Schriftauslegung*, ed. Kurt Aland, 65.

Next Luther complains that the author of Revelation attaches too much importance to his own book, because he threatens retribution to those who add or remove anything (Rev 22:18f.). Luther, by contrast, holds that because no one really understands what the author even wants to say, one should not view the entire book as very important—one could do without it and not experience any problems.⁴⁵ Ultimately, he does not value Revelation highly because “Christ is not taught or known in it.”⁴⁶ This is without a doubt an audacious statement which Luther disseminates here. The claim that Christ is not taught in the book of Revelation is unconvincing. On the contrary, already in chapter 1:5ff., Christ’s death, resurrection, and return as well as salvation from sins through the blood of Christ are attested so strongly that one must ask oneself if Luther intensively studied this book at all. Later chapters also repeatedly address salvation through Christ’s death (5:9; 7:14; 12:11), so that one truly is unable to deny that the book contains the true gospel.

The fourth book disparaged by Luther is Hebrews. Due to Hebrews 2:3 Luther believes that Hebrews was definitely not written by an apostle but rather by an apostle’s student.⁴⁷ What especially bothered the reformer was that the writer of Hebrews seemingly “flatly denies and forbids to sinners repentance after baptism.”⁴⁸ This was “contrary to all the gospels and to St. Paul’s epistles.”⁴⁹ Furthermore, Luther exercises clear literary criticism when he claims that the epistle was assembled from many different pieces, meaning the writer fell back on different sources and then composed his work. Nevertheless, the epistle should stay in the canon because it “discusses Christ’s priesthood masterfully and thoroughly, out of the Scriptures, and interprets the Old Testament finely and richly.”⁵⁰ Heinz Flügel comments on this:

I’ve always had a hard time with systematic thinking; in spite of scholastic training, I have never been able to organize my thoughts, my inspirations and my objections like the great Aquinas did, into a uniform system with a common denominator. In contrast to philosophy I have always practiced theological thinking as something immediate, spontaneous, something evoked by present distress, by a subjective plight, a concrete danger. When it mattered, I threw out words as if they were stones or firebrands. The doughty Melanchthon understood how to afterwards order everything nicely. How should I myself combine the different

⁴⁵*Die Schriftauslegung*, ed. Kurt Aland, 65.

⁴⁶*Ibid.*, 66.

⁴⁷That today’s exegetes also consider it possible, that Paul had written Hebrews, is shown by the commentary of David Allen, *The New American Commentary: Hebrews* (Nashville: B & H Publishing, 2010).

⁴⁸*LW* 35:394.

⁴⁹*Ibid.*

⁵⁰*Ibid.*, 395.

Luthers with each other? Each of them fights against the other. That would be a great trick, if I would allow all the Luthers I have been to make an appearance! The one Luther would then have to banish and excommunicate the other!⁵¹

We know Luther only from his books and the records of his contemporaries and are only able to attempt to develop a personality profile from these. Most likely, Flügel's amusing attempt is very close to the truth. Luther's own writings, as well as the Table Talk transcribed by witnesses, convey a picture of the reformer which can be described as "a man with his contradiction."⁵² He was not a systemetician. Orderly thinking does not seem to have been his strong point. Different illnesses—known today as Morbus Menère (tinnitus with dizziness) and depressive phases—created problems for him and probably, in one way or another, influenced his thinking and his theology, so that for us much seems incomprehensible, illogical and unacceptable.⁵³ Therefore, wisdom cautions us from attaching ourselves too closely to any person.⁵⁴

Summary

Who now is correct? The superintendent Eberhard Röhrig, quoted at the beginning, with his claim that Luther had been a Bible critic, or the theology professor Rainer Mayer with his belief that Luther was not a critic of Holy Scripture? After all that has been said, the answer must be: Both are correct.

As it has been stated, Luther only practiced biblical criticism in the sense of the historical-critical method of biblical exegesis to a limited extent. According to Luther, one's reason must be ranked beneath Scripture, even if Luther himself did not always abide by this stipulation. To be sure, we still should and must use our understanding to examine others' teachings and opinions. For ever since the fall, people are often mistaken because their understanding is darkened (Eph 4:8), and many consciously deceive us, because they are evil (Rom 3:10ff.) and desire to harm us. Therefore, it is essential critically to examine each word of man, even the word of preachers and prophets (1 Thess 5:21). But what applies to man may not apply to God at all. The Bible is the Word of God inspired by the Holy Spirit (2 Tim 3:16), which is trustworthy. The Bible only reveals itself to the student of Scripture

⁵¹Heinz Flügel, "Ein erdachtes Grußwort Dr. Martin Luthers an die Christen heute," in *Luther kontrovers*, ed. Hans Jürgen Schultz (Stuttgart: Kreuz Verlag, 1983), 13.

⁵²Walter Bienert, *Martin Luther und die Juden* (Frankfurt am Main: Evangelisches Verlagswerk, 1982), 190.

⁵³*Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, eds. Gerhard Müller, Horst Balz, and Gerhard Krause, vol. 21 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1991), s.v. "Luther, Martin."

⁵⁴Paul's words in 1 Cor 1:12ff should give us pause in this regard, whether it is applied to Lutherans, Calvinists, Mennonites, etc.

who reads it humbly and in prayer. Someone who, on the other hand, believes himself to be able to evaluate the Bible for what is right and wrong based solely on his own acumen has already lost from the start.

Opposed to this clear biblical attitude of Luther's stand other statements, which make the reformer seem inconsistent. Even if he cannot be labeled a Bible critic in today's sense, because he neither distinguishes between Bible and Word of God nor urges skeptic-critical reading of the Bible, he nevertheless employs certain elements of biblical criticism. We are not talking about the differentiation between important and less important books of the Bible. Such a distinction is legitimate and not biblical criticism. Rather, Luther practiced biblical criticism not only by doubting authorship claims of biblical books but also by challenging biblical content. To this extent Gerhard Ebeling is not wrong when he sees biblical critical thinking as inherent to the Reformation. In his famous essay "Die Bedeutung der historisch-kritischen Methode für die protestantische Theologie und Kirche" (The importance of the historical-critical method for Protestant theology and Church), Ebeling defends the thesis that "The affirmation of the historical-critical method stands in a deep inner factual relation with the Reformation's doctrine of justification."⁵⁵ One may indeed question whether the doctrine of justification necessarily results in biblical criticism. However, Luther's ambivalent example in dealing with the Bible can easily be used by Bible critics of the present to justify their behavior. In the Bible itself we do not find any such behavior. The Word of God given under the direction of the Holy Spirit must be respected and not criticized by the believer, even when he does not understand everything.

⁵⁵Gerhard Ebeling, "Die Bedeutung der historisch-kritischen Methode für die protestantische Theologie und Kirche," *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche* 47 (1950), 41.

Missiologia Crucis: Martin Luther's Missiology

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Martin Luther is a widely studied individual; and for good reason. Luther continues to stand as the ever-intriguing character that theologically and literally separated from the Roman Church and began the Protestant Reformation.¹ There are scholars who devote themselves to specializing in Luther's understanding of Scripture, of justification, of the papacy and even his eschatology. Yet throughout such a vast array of research devoted to Martin Luther, there is not adequate research on the missiology of Martin Luther. For the most part, any discussion of Martin Luther and missions often reveal negative connotations; and for good reason. Throughout his theological career Luther never penned a work directly attributed to Christian missions. Therefore one may ask, "Why didn't Martin Luther direct a volume to missiology?" "Why did Luther not see fit to emphasize and begin a modern missionary movement?" Such questions do present plausible issues that should be discussed among scholars. This research will develop the missiology of Martin Luther by looking at Luther's theological understanding of missions and his scriptural understanding of missions.

First we will look briefly at several reasons as to why Luther is often disregarded in terms of Historical Missiology. Second will be an investigation into Luther's theological and biblical understanding of *missio* by looking at Luther's thoughts regarding key missiological Scripture passages. Finally we will conclude with the idea that Luther should not be disregarded when it comes to missiology, rather he should be emphasized as a man who deeply connected missions with the daily life of a professing Christian.

¹David Bosch writes, "The Roman Catholic paradigm experienced a crisis in the late Middle Ages; in time the force of change would usher in a new era. The person who became the catalyst in introducing a new paradigm, was Martin Luther." David Bosch, *Transforming Mission: Paradigm Shifts in Theology of Mission* (Maryknoll: Orbis, 1991), 239.

Objections to a Luther Missiology

Throughout the years a variety of scholars have painted an overall negative view of Luther regarding missions. The most notable of remarks was from Gustav Warneck in the early twentieth century. Warneck suggested that Luther, along with other individuals of the Reformation, had no interest with the outside world.² Not only did Luther lack any interest in the outside world but Warneck suggested that Luther lacked a vision for a continuing missional task.³ Luther was accused of knowing the missional explorations of the past, but instead of continuing such he merely remained focused on Wittenberg. Along the same lines Luther is hardly mentioned in Stephen Neill's *A History of Christian Missions*. Neill disagrees with Warneck's accusations that Luther was not interested in the world outside Germany and that Luther never grasped a missional outlook. For instance Luther attributed several of his writings to situations concerning both the Jews and the Turks.⁴ While Neill does disagree with Warneck's strict accusations, Neill still places negative connotation on Luther and missions. "It is clear that the idea of the steady progress of the preaching of the Gospel through the world is not foreign to his thought. Yet when everything favorable has been said ... it all amounts to exceedingly little."⁵ Neill does not even take the time to discuss Luther's contributions to missions; rather, he sums up the Reformation thought of missions by merely suggesting a three page section in H.W. Gensichen's *Missionsgeschichte der neueren Zeit*.⁶

Another twentieth century scholar who wrote in a negative manner of Luther was Kenneth Scott Latourette. Latourette praises Luther for his stance against the Roman Church, but concludes that Luther lacked an organized missions movement due to a division within Protestant thought.⁷

²A reason for Warneck's harsh attack on Luther's missiology is mostly due to a misunderstanding of what "missions" is. Gustav Warneck, *Abriss einer Geschichte der protestantischen Missionen von der Reformation bis auf die Gegenwart: mit einem Anhang über die katholischen Missionen* (Berlin: Martin Warneck, 1910).

³Warneck wrote, "The comprehension of a continuous missionary duty of the Church was limited among the Reformers and their successors by a narrow-minded dogmatism combined with a lack of historical sense." John Warwick Montgomery, "Luther and the Missionary Challenge," in *Defense of Martin Luther* (Milwaukee: Northwestern, 1970), 159. See also, Ingemar Oberg, *Luther and World Mission: A Historical and Systematic Study*, trans. Dean Apel (St. Louis: Concordia, 2007), 1.

⁴See Adam S. Francisco, *Martin Luther and Islam: A study in Sixteenth-Century Polemics and Apologetics* (Leiden: Brill, 2007).

⁵Stephen Neill, *A History of Christian Missions* (London: Penguin, 1990), 189

⁶Ibid.

⁷Kenneth Scott Latourette, *The Christian World Mission in Our Day* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1954), 28. See also Latourette's *A History of the Expansion of Christianity: Vol. 3, Three Centuries of Advance 1500–1800 AD* (New York: Harper, 1971) for another negative criticism of Reformation missions, "In the sixteenth century, the heyday of Roman Catholic missionary activity, Protestants made almost no attempt to propagate the faith outside Europe" (Ibid., 42).

Why is it that scholars through the twentieth century were so critical of Luther's missiology?⁸ It is true that Luther never dedicated a book to missions or organized a massive foreign mission expedition to the new world, but Luther did hold to a distinct understanding of missions and it is understandable as to why he headquartered himself in Wittenberg.

The Outlawed Pastor

Overall there are two specific reasons as to why Luther was occupied in Germany throughout his career: (1) a temporal reasoning and (2) a theological reasoning. Concerning the temporal reasoning, Luther spent the majority of his career in Wittenberg not because of a rejection of foreign missions, but because Luther was literally both an outlaw and an enemy of the Roman Church. On the one hand Luther gained a great deal of positive attention for his writings. On the other hand, Luther made a large number of enemies in those loyal to the papacy. In June 1520 Luther was officially excommunicated by Pope Leo X in the bull *Exsurge Domine*. Luther was given sixty days to recant his position or he would be condemned a heretic and treated as such. With Luther being a convicted heretic he was under constant distress of being kidnapped, tortured, and murdered.

Not only was Luther a condemned heretic, the papacy was in constant contact with German nobility concerning the capture of Luther. However, Luther had many of the German princes on his side, particularly Frederick the Wise who convinced Charles V to arrange the Diet of Worms. Charles V faced a riot if he sent Luther to be killed and faced hostility from the Roman Church if he failed to deliver Luther. Nearly the whole German population was for and dedicated to Luther; he was the hero of Germany. "At the present all of Germany is in a decided uproar. Nine-tenths put up the battle cry, 'Luther!' and the other tenth, 'Death to the Roman curia!'"⁹ Not only was Luther a condemned heretic, but in accordance with papal law Charles V officially declared Martin Luther an outlaw of the Roman Empire with the Edict of Worms. This meant that anyone could strike Luther down, for any reason and not be charged for murder; Luther was both excommunicated

⁸A big reason for the negative views concerning Luther's missiology can be attributed to a misunderstanding of what "missions" is. Warneck in particular is guilty of comparing Luther to the missional developments of the 19th and 20th centuries, the golden age of modern missions. David Bosch writes, "several scholars have argued that a judgment such as Warneck's implies summoning the Reformers before the tribunal of the modern missionary movement and finding them guilty for not having subscribed to a definition of mission which did not even exist in their own time." David Bosch, *Transforming Mission* (Maryknoll: Orbis), 244.

⁹Paul Kalkoff, ed., *Die Depeschen des Nuntius Alexander vom Werner Reichstage 1521*, trans. James M. Kittleson in 1986 (Leipzig: 1886), 43, quoted in James M. Kittleson, *Luther the Reformer: The Story of the Man and His Career* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1986), 158.

and declared an outlaw.¹⁰ Based on this information it is not difficult to understand why Luther remained in Germany throughout his career. The German people and princes protected Luther from those loyal to the papacy; if Luther were to leave Germany on a grand missional expedition he possibly would have been captured and killed. Often times scholars overlook Luther's temporal restraints in regards to his missional movement.

It would seem like the reality of excommunication and public exile would be enough for stubborn missiologists and historians to excuse Luther from his absence of foreign missions but such is not the case. In terms of theological reasons as to why Luther remained in Germany throughout his career, there are two particular reasons which will be discussed. The first reason is due to Luther's view and understanding of the Roman Church and his part in reform. Quite simply, Luther's main intention with his career was not to be a foreign missionary, but to protect and lead the true church. It is true that Luther was aware of the past grand missiological expeditions of the Roman Church.¹¹ In response to Warneck's accusations against Luther's appearing blandness of missions, Werner Elert replied:

Poor Luther! Instead of founding a missionary society, accompanying Cortez to Mexico, or at least assuring for himself a professorship of missionary science, he devoted himself, of all things, to the reformation of the church! ... How could Luther, who expounded the Psalms, the Prophets, and Paul, have overlooked the universal purpose of the mission of Christ and of His Gospel?¹²

David Bosch notes, "In fact, he provided the church's missionary enterprise with clear and important guidelines and principles."¹³

Martin Luther was devoted to the reform of the church. Luther's goal was to return the church to a biblical reality from several distorted traditions that rose throughout the middle ages; it is quite clear that such a task took Luther's full attention. The question can be raised then, "Why did Luther

¹⁰James M. Kittleson, *Luther the Reformer: The Story of the Man and His Career* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1986), 149–68. For other fine assessments of such situations pertaining to Martin Luther see also, Roland H. Bainton, *Here I Stand: A Life of Martin Luther* (New York: Abingdon, 1993), Oskar Thulin, *A Life of Luther* (Fortress, 1958), Henry Eyster Jacobs, *Martin Luther: Hero of the Reformation* (New York: AMS, 1973) and John M. Todd, *Martin Luther: A Biographical Study* (Maryland: Newman, 1964).

¹¹No one can deny that the Roman Church did perform such expeditions. Stephen Neill contributes standard historical work concerning the missional work of the Roman Church through the middle ages. While the intentions of the Roman Church in their missiological expeditions can be questioned, the reality can not be. Even Neill points out that much of the "evangelistic" expeditions of the middle ages were highly political rather than genuinely spiritual. Even in Luther's own time there were "missionary" monks, such as Francis Xavier and the Jesuits. Neill, *Christian Missions*, 120–50.

¹²John Montgomery, "Luther and the Missionary Challenge," in *Defense of Martin Luther* (Milwaukee: Northwestern, 1970), 162.

¹³Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, 244.

not organize a mission movement in his later career, after his dealings with the Roman Church?" Even in Luther's later career his attention remained devoted to the reform of the church, his concentration fixed on directing believers in proper scriptural, ecclesial and theological understanding.

The second theological reason as to why Luther remained in Germany throughout his life is due to his view of the pastoral ministry. Martin Luther held a strict understanding of pastoral ministry which largely played a part in his staying in Wittenberg throughout his career. Ulrich Asendorf suggests that based on Luther's sermons it is quite safe to say that he firmly believed that God, Jesus Christ, and the Trinity are most clearly revealed in a proper pastoral ministry.¹⁴ While Martin Luther largely developed the idea of the priesthood of believers, he continued to hold to the idea that not every believer is called to preach. Every believer is called to serve and comfort, but the role of preaching/pastor is unique:

For Luther, the minister's calling is not only a matter of church order but a fundamental distinction between law and Gospel; that is, the minister is not called to reign in a kind of works righteousness but to be a servant to the Gospel. For that reason, Luther considers it the highest calling.¹⁵

Luther considered the role of the pastor to be of utmost importance. Both Theodore Tappert and Scott Hendrix suggest that the very thing that continued to drive and encourage Luther throughout his career was his pastoral heart. Tappert writes that Luther's career began and ended with pastoral concern.¹⁶ Hendrix, in his *Luther and the Papacy*, clearly paints a portrait of Luther as a devoted pastor. Hendrix suggests that by 1517, even prior to the indulgence debates, Luther had developed a heart for the common believer and ultimately recognized that it was the church's responsibility to nourish the faith of the laity.¹⁷ Hence Luther so adamantly opposed the Roman Church because the priests and ecclesial leaders were not nourishing the faith of the common man, rather they were taking advantage of common misconceptions about faith. Often times Luther is seen only as the Reformer

¹⁴Ulrich Asendorf, "Die Theologie Martin Luthers nach seinen Predigten," *Luther Digest* 4 (1996): 177.

¹⁵Ibid.

¹⁶Tappert suggests that Luther's concern for his congregation over indulgences began his career as a reformer and that in January 1546 Luther reconciled through pastoral ministry the counts of Mansfield; Luther died the day after this reconciliation. "Between these two pastoral acts—the one that marked the beginning of the Reformation and the one that closed the Reformer's life—lay a rich lifetime of pastoral activity." Martin Luther, *Luther: Letters of Spiritual Counsel*, trans. and ed. Theodore G. Tappert (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1955), 13.

¹⁷"It is enough to recognize that he did view the Christian life in terms of word and faith and regarded it as the responsibility of the church to nourish that faith by the preaching of the word." Scott Hendrix, *Luther and the Papacy: Stages in a Reformation Conflict* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1981), 19.

or the political revolutionary, but at the heart of Luther rested a pastor. Hendrix suggests that all of Luther's major documents concerned the proper execution of pastoral duty. "Disappointment and anger at the perversion of the pastoral office spurred Luther to exercise 'the duty of a good pastor' to the end of his life."¹⁸

Luther's own writings reveal the utmost importance placed on the role of the pastor. Because Luther held such a high view of the pastor, he believed that a good pastor should never leave his flock in any circumstance. Through the particular outbreak of the plague in 1527 Luther remained in Wittenberg and continued his pastoral duties:

I am staying here, and it is necessary that I do so because of the terrible fear among the common people ... but Christ is present too, that we may not be alone, and he will triumph in us over that old serpent ... however much he may bruise Christ's heel.¹⁹

It seems that Luther's reasoning regarding pastoral ministry is drawn from John 10:11 with the imagery of the good shepherd giving his life for his sheep. Luther realized that in certain times of peril the people were in great need of comfort, which according to Luther comes through God's Word and the Sacraments. There are several other occasions throughout Luther's career in which he remained in Wittenberg through demanding happenings.²⁰ It seems obvious therefore as to why Luther physically never set out on a grand missionary expedition to the East Indies. Not only was Luther literally "bound" to Germany, but he was extremely dedicated to his congregation in Wittenberg as well as the growing Protestant church.

Luther's Theological Understanding of Missions

Luther's missiology can be developed based on three pivotal ideas within his theological system: *sola scriptura*, the nature of the church, and his *theologia crucis*. Throughout Luther's career there is no doubting that he held to a strict confidence in the Word of God. This is clearly expressed in Luther's stance at the Diet of Worms in 1521, where he bases his decision on whether or not he could be disproved by the Scripture. For Luther the

¹⁸Hendrix, *Luther and the Papacy*, 159.

¹⁹Martin Luther, *Luther: Letters of Spiritual Counsel*, ed. Theodore G. Tappert. (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1955), 229.

²⁰Similarly, in 1535 Luther remained in Wittenberg through a certain "pestilence." Also in 1538 Luther delivered a sermon concerning the believer remaining in the face of sickness. An interesting note, throughout Luther's letters and sermons it is quite clear that Luther equated the devil as being responsible for not only sickness, but famine and disease. This idea, along with Luther's view of the good shepherd is quite possibly the foundation for why Luther was so adamant about remaining in Wittenberg through numerous perils. Luther believed that because it was the devil that was largely responsible for calamity, the faithful believer would be protected by God in times of danger. This idea is prevalent throughout Luther's career, pre-Worms and post-Wartburg. *Ibid.*, 228-57.

sacra pagina came directly from God, it was about God and simultaneously it was for the pilgrim's journey to God.²¹ Bosch points out that Luther based his entire "paradigm" for missions on Romans 1:16, "I am not ashamed of the gospel, because it is the power of God for the salvation of everyone who believes."²² Interestingly, Luther equates Romans 1:16 with other verses that not only mention "the power of God" but associates the power of God with works of the missionary. For instance in Acts 4:33 where the apostles give their testimony with great power, and in Acts 1:8 where the apostles will receive power to go out among the people.²³ Therefore the Word of God itself has a missionary character of being constantly in motion, constantly encouraging believers but is not limited to time and space.²⁴ Luther provides us with a well-known illustration concerning the Word of God: "it is driven farther through the preacher to and fro in the world, driven out and persecuted; nevertheless, it is always being made more widely known to those who have never heard it before."²⁵ This quotation provides us a glimpse into the confidence Luther had in the Word of God, which it was in several ways acting and living. Luther mentions his own knowledge of new lands being discovered and that they were without the gospel, however Luther had faith that the gospel would reach them in its natural expansive course.²⁶ Werner Elert refers to the missional notion of Luther's understanding of the Word of God as the *evangelischer Ansatz* (on-going impact of the Gospel) and reveals two important principles for Luther's missiology: (1) That Martin Luther had faith in the omnipotence and the universal teleology of the gospel and (2) that believers should commit themselves to proclaiming the Word of God.²⁷ It is clear that Luther's understanding of the living Word of God has stark implications on his missiology, primarily that the gospel is alive and moving and is furthered by the preaching of the Word, hence our hinge into Luther's next theological idea, the nature of the church.²⁸

²¹Kenneth Hagen, "Luther's Approach to Scripture as seen in his 'Commentaries' on Galatians 1519–1538," *Luther Digest* 4 (1996): 51.

²²Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, 240. See also by Bosch, *Witness to the World: The Christian Mission in Theological Perspective* (Atlanta: John Knox, 1980).

²³Not only does Luther equate the idea of God's power and missionary activity, but he also equates it with Luke 1:35 and 24:49 in terms of God's power "overshadowing" individuals. Martin Luther, *Luther's Works*, 79 vols. (St. Louis: Concordia, 1955–2016), 25:148–49 (hereafter cited as *LW*).

²⁴Wilhelm Maurer, "Reformation und Mission," in *Ihr werdet meine Zeugen sein: Festschrift Georg F. Vicedom zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Walter Ruf (Nurnberg: Bayerischen Missionskonferenz, 1963), 30.

²⁵Martin Luther, *The Church Comes from All Nations*, ed. Volker Stolle, trans. Klaus Detlev Schulz (St. Louis: Concordia, 2003), 24–25.

²⁶Klaus Detlev Schulz, *Mission from the Cross: The Lutheran Theology for Mission* (St. Louis: Concordia, 2009), 49.

²⁷Elert Werner, *The Structure of Lutheranism*, trans. Walter A. Hansen (St. Louis: Concordia, 1962), 362.

²⁸See Paul S. Chung, "A Theology of Justification and God's Mission," *Currents in Theology and Mission* 34 (April 2007): 117–27.

As a connection from Luther's understanding of the Word and the nature of the church, Luther emphasizes throughout his career that God builds and gathers His church through the Word. This was the very idea that drove Luther to condemn the Roman Church, because they had distorted the pure and simple gospel into a works-based tradition.²⁹ Luther continually emphasized that the gospel must remain pure by constantly placing Christ in the center.³⁰ Therefore it should be understood that for Luther whenever the church sought to fulfill the great commission it was ultimately God building His church through human means. Luther saw the act of missions as ultimately the work of God through the church (*mission dei*). Consider what Luther wrote:

The sure mark by which the Christian congregation can be recognized is that the pure gospel is preached there ... Thus we are certain that there must be Christians wherever the gospel is ... Likewise, where the gospel is absent ... there no Christians live, but only pagans ... no matter how holy and upright their life may be.³¹

Not only is the church created and expanded by the Word, but Luther considered the people of God to be a tool for the expansion of the gospel.³² This equates to the idea that all Christians be involved in missions through the proclamation of the good news. With the idea *communio sanctorum* or the priesthood of all believers, Luther equates a part of the expansion of the gospel to all believers; hence the nature of the people of God/the church is the proclamation of the gospel. It is true that Luther identified two distinct roles within the church: the ordained and the laity.³³ In fact Luther believed that one of the seven marks of a true church was that the congregation would call ministers to administer.³⁴ Luther held to the idea that only ordained ministers could administer the sacraments and preach a sermon, but that all believers had a responsibility to proclaim the gospel to their neighbors. Luther is clear that there are two major ways in which God calls, "either by means or without means. Today He calls all of us into the ministry of the Word by a mediated call, that is one that comes through means, namely, through a man."³⁵ Luther attributed a great deal of importance to the outward

²⁹Oberg, *Luther and World Mission*, 81.

³⁰"Thus throughout the dispersion of the Christian Church among all the peoples of the world, from the east to the west and from the north to the south, she must be firmly united in this, that she acknowledges Christ as her sole light and that she knows and preaches none other than Christ. Thanks God we are doing this, making all our instruction, writings, and sermons conform to it." *LW* 22:59–60.

³¹*LW* 39:305.

³²See Kurt Hendel, "No Salvation Outside the Church' in Light of Luther's Dialectic of the Hidden and Revealed God," *Currents in Theology and Mission* 35 (August 2008), 248–57.

³³*LW* 41:152.

³⁴*Ibid.*, 154.

³⁵*LW* 26:17.

call of the congregation in regards to the ministry of proclamation and thus carried missiological dimensions. This leads us into the final theological idea of Luther that creates his missiology—a theology of the cross.

Luther used phrases to describe his overall theology, and in this case a certain phrase not only helps us to understand Luther the theologian but also Luther the missiologist: *theologia crucis* or the theology of the cross.³⁶ Simply stated, Luther's theology of the cross is the idea that God can only be found in suffering and the cross.³⁷ The most beautiful aspect of the gospel was the message of Christ crucified providing the redemption of the world through Christ's suffering. According to Robert Preus it is the *theologia crucis* that sums up the meaning and implications of Luther's *sola scriptura*, *sola fide*, and *sola gratia*.³⁸ It is Luther's *theologia crucis* that allowed him to reject so passionately the use of reason in biblical and theological study. Luther recognized knowledge as a hindrance to understanding God. Hence if someone claimed to know Christ, then they should understand His suffering. Luther accused scholasticism as pushing aside the truth of Christ crucified and replacing it with an anti-Christ message; the idea of "good works."³⁹ Luther attacked scholastic scholars because he believed that the beauty of redemption was most clearly seen in the collision of God's wrath and Christ's sacrifice on the cross. In the same manner Luther believed strongly that the message of the cross was overly simple and that scholars over-complicated it creating an incorrect view of God's love. Christ's crucifixion may seem like an oxymoron for some, but for Luther that was his *theologia crucis* and not only should believers realize the centrality of the cross but should become theologians of the cross.

Martin Luther took his understanding of the theology of the cross one step further when he declared, "He deserves to be called a theologian who comprehends the visible and manifest things of God seen through suffering and the cross."⁴⁰ Hence the believer is to become a theologian of the cross. How does one become a theologian of the cross? By hearing the Word and proclaiming it. Just as God works through His Word, the believer must therefore also proclaim that Word, "We are nothing more than his mouth and tongue."⁴¹ The believer is not only renewed by the Word but also has the responsibility to proclaim the message of Christ crucified to others. Based on the three aspects of Luther's theology it seems that Luther's idea of the Christian life is missional. The Word of God, the nature of the church, and

³⁶For a study on the theology of the cross in the Pauline epistles, see Charles B. Cousar, *A Theology of the Cross: The Death of Jesus in the Pauline Letters* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990).

³⁷Jaroslav Pelikan, *The Christian Tradition: A History of the Development of Doctrine*, Reformation of Church and Dogma (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), 155–56.

³⁸Robert Preus, "The Theology of the Cross," *Luther Digest* 5 (1997): 121.

³⁹For a study of Luther's Theology of the Cross in relation to the Heidelberg Disputation, see Gerhard O. Forde, *On Being a Theologian of the Cross: Reflections on Luther's Heidelberg Disputation, 1518* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997), 23–48.

⁴⁰Pelikan, *Reformation of Church*, 165.

⁴¹Preus, *Theology of the Cross*, 127.

the message of the cross are pivotal aspects that create Martin Luther's missiology. Now let us move onto an examination of Luther's personal remarks in regards to Scripture passages throughout the Bible that are specifically missional.

Luther and Scripture

We will look at three sections of Scripture to identify Luther's personal thoughts on key missional passages—his Old Testament Commentaries, his Gospel Commentaries, and his Epistle Commentaries.⁴² The first and one of the earliest missional passages in the Bible is Genesis 12:1-3.⁴³ Missiologists consider Genesis 12 to represent a new era in the history of salvation, one which is universal in scope.⁴⁴ In regards to Genesis 12:1, Luther sarcastically compares Abraham to a monk leaving his home for the monastery. "The monks consider it a matter of great praise that they forsake everything, although they find more in the monasteries than they left in the home of their parents."⁴⁵ While Luther jokes about the monk, he equates a genuine faith worthy of imitation to Abraham. Luther suggests that Abraham's move from his homeland to an unknown destination took great faith, "he sets out without knowing where he is going. He gives up a sure habitation and goes in pursuit of an uncertain one. In faith it was indeed a certain one, yet in appearance it was uncertain."⁴⁶ Luther generalizes the idea of the wayward traveler, those who follow God's word into exile and foreign lands characterize godly character even more than monks who leave their home for the monastery.⁴⁷ It seems as if Luther would have supported someone who went as a missionary to a foreign land.

Luther's comments concerning Genesis 12:3 also contain missional tones. In regards to the final phrase of the Abrahamic covenant, "and all peoples on earth will be blessed through you," Luther regards this as offering great treasures. Luther understands the missional aspect of this covenant, "it declares that the blessing this people is to possess will be transferred from this people to the heathen, that is to those who are not circumcised and who

⁴²For an informative article see, Winston Persuad, "Doctrine of Scripture in Lutheran Theology—It's Missional Thrust: A Response to Lamin Sanneh's Hein-Fry Lecture 2008," *Dialogue: A Journal of Theology* 49 (Summer 2010): 123–32.

⁴³Passages that will be looked at and considered to be missional are derived from Stolle, *Church Comes from All Nations*; George W. Peters, *Biblical Theology of Missions* (Chicago: Moody, 1984); Donald Senior and Carroll Stuhlmueller, *Biblical Foundations of Missions* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1991); William J. Larkin Jr. and Joel F. Williams, eds., *Mission in the New Testament: An Evangelical Approach*, American Society of Missiology (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 2005); and Ingemar Öberg, *Luther and World Mission: A Historical and Systematic Study with Special Reference to Luther's Bible Exposition* (St. Louis: Concordia, 2007).

⁴⁴Peters, *Biblical Theology of Missions*, 89.

⁴⁵*LW* 2:252.

⁴⁶*Ibid.*

⁴⁷*Ibid.*, 253.

know nothing of Moses and his statutes.”⁴⁸ Luther recognized the missional transference of God’s blessing from God’s people to the heathen Gentile. Not only this, but Luther suggests that based on the promise to Abraham, each believer should be compelled to confess that Christ has come and brings with Him not only spiritual blessings but also eternal blessings.⁴⁹

Psalm 19:1 reads, “The heavens declare the glory of God; the skies proclaim the work of his hands.” Luther interprets Psalm 19:1 in quite a missional manner. Luther took Psalm 19:1 and understood it to mean that the gospel will be preached throughout the earth. “Wherever one finds the gospel ... there is His church, and in that place there are certainly living saints. There men praise Him, and He rules over them, even though they are but young people and children. Inevitably, however, there will be old people too.”⁵⁰ In this comment there is evidence that where one finds the gospel, not only will there be the church but there will be “living saints.” Hence this seems to suggest that which makes a believer a “living saint” is the proclamation of the gospel within ones area. Luther understands that the persistence of the gospel, baptism, and the Christian is demonstration of God’s power in heathen areas.⁵¹ In another work Luther writes of the same Psalm, “it appears that Christ’s kingdom is weak and that Christendom will run aground and be ruined. But this psalm teaches that Christ and His gospel cannot be hindered any more than one can hinder the course of the sun.”⁵² Luther understood the role of the “living saint” to be participating in spreading the gospel message as a part of ones everyday life, and not only as a part of a two-week trip.

Another psalm that finds specific missional comments from Luther is Psalm 147:15, “He sends his command to the earth; his word runs swiftly.” Luther takes this phrase to mean that the Word of God is not only for some parts of the earth, but is for all the earth and all the nations, “He sends His command to the earth and to all that is on the earth.”⁵³ Not only does Luther understand that the Word of God is for all nations, but the idea that God’s Word will run throughout the earth is a great encouragement for Luther:

But this is also said in order to comfort us. To arouse and strengthen our faith. For when we hear that we have a God who so easily creates and accomplishes all things ... then we should gladly and confidently trust and believe that He can and will give all things despite the gates of hell.⁵⁴

⁴⁸*LW* 2:260–61.

⁴⁹*Ibid.*, 264.

⁵⁰*LW* 14:13.

⁵¹*Ibid.*

⁵²*LW* 12:139.

⁵³*LW* 14: 123.

⁵⁴*Ibid.*, 125.

Isaiah 60 stands out within Luther's commentaries for its missional application.⁵⁵ In his introductory notes concerning Isaiah 60 Luther equates his *theologia crucis* and the proclamation of the Word. He connects the two with the statement, "The Gospel is the Word of life and salvation, and it offers everything. One strength of this Word is the physical voice, another is the offense."⁵⁶ Here Luther discusses two strengths of the Word of God: the Word has a physical voice and the "offense" of the gospel. The "offense" of the gospel is that it does not necessarily apply to reason and logic, harkening to Romans 1:16-23. The second strength of the Word is the physical voice, the witness of the one who speaks the Word of God. While the world may see the missionary as an individual that rejects reason, leaving home and family for the sake of the gospel, for Luther this aspect is a great strength of the gospel and a proper connection between a *missio* and *theologia crucis*.

Luther equates the "light" mentioned in Isaiah 60:1 to the gospel, "This is the Gospel which sets you free from death and sin."⁵⁷ Not only does Luther compare "light" and the gospel but it is utterly clear that such a "light" is not only with the Jews but it was also in the midst of others. Here Luther makes an interesting comment associating the "light" with persecution. Luther clarifies that those who have the "light" should hold fast to the gospel in a perverse generation; literally that believers should be lights in a dark world. Throughout Luther's commentaries this is an extremely missional statement on two levels. First that Luther understands that believers will be persecuted on the basis of being light or in other words by proclaiming the gospel. Second that by being "light" is to identify oneself with the gospel not only in belief but even more so in action.

Consider Luther's comments on Isaiah 60:11, where a pivotal description of the church and missions is found, "Your gates will always stand open, they will never be shut, day or night." It seems that such a phrase for Luther was describing both the nature of the church and the continual act of *missio*:

This is what it means to have open gates, that the church is always at its task of calling sinners to repentance, of preaching, training, teaching, comforting, and absolving. Men enter this church every day, just as they enter Wittenberg today and are brought into the body through the Word.⁵⁸

Luther associates one of the duties of the church as calling sinners to repentance. How else is this done other than when believers proclaim the Word of God to their neighbors? Based on Luther's commentary of select Old Testament passages, Luther understood not only God to be missional in

⁵⁵LW 17:311.

⁵⁶Ibid.

⁵⁷Ibid., 312.

⁵⁸Ibid., 319.

character, but also that individual believers have the duty of being a “light” to the nations.

The first New Testament passage we will examine is Matthew 22:9. This verse is usually not equated largely with missional studies, but Luther’s comments reveal that the duty of the Christian is still to preach the good news. While Luther does largely believe that the apostles have “invited” everyone to the banquet, Luther is clear that the job still remains. “It is still not finished. This time period continues in which the servants go the streets. The apostles began, and we call together to the present day.”⁵⁹ Rather than putting aside the task of individual preaching Luther pushes the believer to view themselves beside the apostles in proclaiming the gospel. Based on such a comment from Luther it seems that he believed that Christ would return when the task of preaching the gospel was completed, or in other words when all the earth had heard the gospel. Luther uses the term “finished” throughout his sermon on Matthew 22 indicating a time when the Word of God is finished in its proclamation, resulting in the coming of God’s Kingdom.⁶⁰

Another passage within the Gospels that holds missional comments from Luther is Luke 24:46-47. For Luther this passage not only clarified what is the essential message of the gospel but that it should be preached to all nations. Luther’s comments on this passage also heavily connect and rely on the relationship between a theology of the cross and *missio*. Based on this passage Luther deduces two ideas regarding preaching. First that, “they should simply preach among all peoples and direct everyone to repent.”⁶¹ Second, Luther calls for the forgiveness of sins to be preached. For Luther the gospel proclamation was comprised of a call to repentance, leaning heavily on God’s wrath and our sin, and an urge for the forgiveness of sins. It is interesting to note how similar the process in which Luther teaches of preaching and his own coming to grasp with the relationship of God’s wrath and love. “It is not Christ the Lord’s intention to preach repentance in a way so that one should cause the conscience to remain in terror, but that one ... stand upright ... who now recognize their sin and have contrite hearts.”⁶² From this idea Luther advances to comment on how his *theologia crucis* aligns itself with missions. It is for the purpose of preaching that Christ rose from the dead, Luther saw a great deal of God’s revealed will in preaching and hearing the Word, “For this purpose, he rose from the dead, to begin such a kingdom through which such things must be preached, received, and believed.”⁶³

Not only does Luther link his theology of the cross to missions, but Luther also connects missional work with prayer. This connection is seen in

⁵⁹Luther, *Church Comes From All Nations*, 27.

⁶⁰Ibid.

⁶¹Ibid., 31.

⁶²Ibid.

⁶³Ibid.

Luther's comments on John 14:14. This particular verse for Luther demonstrated that which constitutes true office and function of a Christian and the necessity of exercising such within Christendom. On one hand when an individual becomes a Christian their hearts are convinced and assured that God is compassionate. On the other hand it is such a revelation that causes the believer to help his neighbor attain such a confidence. It is through supplication that the believer can serve others and help them gain knowledge that God is compassionate.⁶⁴ It is the image of the compassionate Christ that Luther regarded as the greatest treasure of the believer. Such a treasure should not be bottled and stored, but Luther expresses an extremely missional activity in regards to having such knowledge of Christ:

Therefore he steps forth boldly, teaches and admonishes others, praises and confesses his treasure before everybody, prays and yearns that they, too, may obtain such mercy ... A Christian cannot be still or idle. He constantly strives and struggles with all his might ... to disseminate God's honor and glory among the people, that others may receive such a spirit of grace and through this spirit also help him pray.⁶⁵

In much the same way Luther calls for a missional responsibility not based on mere knowledge but ultimately based on love. This idea is evident in his comments on 1 Peter 2:9. Luther is quite clear that each believer is bound to be a missionary on the basis of love. "For this reason, however, he lets us live that we may bring other people also to faith as he has done for us."⁶⁶ Based on this remark from the reformer the truth is plain, Luther does have a missiology and it revolves around the simple idea of loving one another via proclamation of the compassionate Christ. Luther continues to explain that it is the highest priestly office for a believer to proclaim the gospel to others. Not only does Luther support the act of proclamation but he suggests that believers also teach or instruct people as to how they can come to know God in the same way. "Where you see people that do not know this, you should instruct them and teach them how you learned, that is how one through the good work and might of God is saved and comes from darkness into light."⁶⁷

There is no doubting that throughout Luther's commentaries and sermons there is an abounding amount of wisdom regarding the mission of the church and believers. At the end of this brief biblical survey it seems that Luther did have a perspective on missions. Luther expresses that the gospel must go to all nations. He identifies both pastor and layperson as being prompted to proclaim the gospel out of love and an overflowing joy. On one hand Luther accepts the idea that missions is primarily God's work, while

⁶⁴LW 24:87.

⁶⁵Ibid., 87-88.

⁶⁶Luther, *Church Comes From All Nations*, 20.

⁶⁷Ibid.

on the other hand he realizes that the spreading of the gospel can not happen without an existing human factor.⁶⁸ For Luther, missions was a constant reality for the Christian until Christ returns.

Conclusion: Luther's Missional Perspective

What can be said concerning Luther's missiology? It would be too basic merely to conclude that Luther did hold to a view of missions rather than deny a Luther missiology. We must go further and ask ourselves, "what does Luther's missiology look like and how can it be systematically expressed?" For Luther the idea of missions was not "missions" at all but rather as George Forell has expressed, it is simply "faith active in love."⁶⁹ It is the simplicity and the beauty of the cross that should naturally drive the believer to proclaim the saving message of the gospel. It is unfair that Gustev Warneck criticized Luther against the Modern Missionary Movement because Luther, nor anyone else in the 16th century, was familiar with such. The only missionary expeditions that Luther was aware of were the political infused expansion of the Roman Catholic Church. Martin Luther laid the path of alteration which eventually progressed to the Modern Missionary Movement.

For Luther, missions was not about gathering a church group together for an annual mission trip, it was a continual daily part of the Christian life and character. Hence the sum of the Christian life is missions. Missional activity must flow from a personal, authentic relationship with Christ, the presence of the Holy Spirit in the believer's life, and a total confidence that God's word will not return void. For Luther, missiology was not at all sociological or humanistic; it was a very real theological aspect of who God is. Men and women could join in the work that the missional God had been doing. God was no longer alone on a pedestal only to be addressed by the Pope, God became real for the people and the missionary activity of God was seen in the person of Christ.

It is true that Luther did not comprise a methodology of missions for the Lutheran church, or adopt a people group to send church leaders to every summer. For individuals like Warneck and Neill the absence of missional methodology therefore discredits Luther as being missional minded. There is much that can be learned from Luther in regards to missions. For instance, rather than thinking of missions in a time based manner, as in "I am going on a mission trip next fall" the believer should recognize the importance of proclaiming the gospel each and every day to those within a close proximity:

For no one can deny that every Christian possess the Word of God and is taught and anointed by God to be priest ... But if it is true that they have God's word and are anointed by him, then it is their duty to confess, to teach and to spread his word ... Let

⁶⁸Oberg, *Luther and World Missions*, 324.

⁶⁹Montgomery, *Defense*, 165.

this passage be your sure foundation, because it gives such an overwhelming power to the Christian congregation to preach, to permit preaching, and to call.⁷⁰

⁷⁰*LW* 39:309, 311.

Book Reviews

Biblical Studies

***Exploring Biblical Kinship: Festschrift in Honor of John J. Pilch.* Edited By Joan C. Campbell and Patrick J. Hartin. The Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series 55. Washington, DC: The Catholic Biblical Association of America, 2016. 290 pages, \$32.00.**

In *Exploring Biblical Kinship*, Joan Campbell and Patrick Hartin have assembled a collection of essays celebrating John J. Pilch. Pilch earned his PhD in New Testament at Marquette University in 1972. He subsequently worked in the health care sector, which led him to his interest in anthropology and healing. After returning to academia, he became one of the founding members of the Context Group, known for its specific, strict application of social scientific approaches to the Bible. The essays in this volume contribute in the same way.

This book consists of three sections, the first of which is a group of three articles discussing patronage. In the first article, Joan Campbell looks at Sirach 4:10 to explicate the several kinship relations mentioned there by comparing them to the Mediterranean family. Next, Bruce Malina examines sacrifice through a social scientific model and concludes that “sacrifice was always about life” (xiii), however abstract that notion may be. Concluding this section Marciel Ibita approaches Micah 7:10 and Joel 2:17 through honor/shame and patron-client lenses.

The second section examines family dynamics. The first article here is by Pilch himself, who looks at violence toward elders through a General Systems Theory Model. Walter Taylor then analyzes 1 Corinthians 11:17–34 by applying known models of familial conflict in Mediterranean family dynamics. John Elliott employs a Weberian model in the Pastoral Epistles concluding that they do not describe offices, but roles within the community. Kenneth Stenstrup looks at kinship that believers share after death. Finally, Marilou Ibita, like Walter Taylor, looks at 1 Corinthians 11:17–34 through a familial lens, but focuses on the phrase ἁδελφοί μου.

The final section explores kinship, descent, and discipleship. Dennis Duling begins this section by focusing on kinship and discipleship in Matthew noting that Matthew’s view of fictive kinship contrasts with traditional kinship even though this gospel often describes traditional kinship throughout its narrative. Jerome Neyrey shows Hebrews describes Melchizedek like deity, and then this quality like deity should be applied to Jesus. In the final essay of this work, Dan Darko claims that fictive kinship in the Sermon on the Mount functions to create group solidarity.

Two essays in particular demonstrate the strengths and weaknesses of this volume. The first is Campbell’s essay on Sirach 4:10. In this article, she asks two questions of Sirach 4:10, (1) “what is the nature of these culturally-defined kinship relationships into which Ben Sira invites the addressee” and (2) “what light does knowledge of the relationship between biblical mothers and sons shed on the declaration that a man who behaves accordingly will be loved more by God than by his own mother” (4). She first looks at the Hebrew Bible’s use of terms for orphan and widow, then launches into a detailed explanation of social-scientific models for

Mediterranean family relationships. Campbell explains the social-scientific models well, and therefore this essay is valuable for anyone looking for a short introduction to the topic. However, she fails to show how this model or her lexical studies in the Hebrew Bible shed light on Sirach 4:10. She relates her studies to her questions in only one small concluding paragraph (22–23), which does not sufficiently show how her methodology answered those questions. Further, it is unclear how this methodology has any more explanatory power for Sirach 4:10 than more traditional approaches.

The second essay is Elliott's article on leadership in the Pastoral Epistles. Elliott approaches the Pastorals through Max Weber's typology of domination, which breaks down into three ideal types of authority: (1) traditional authority, (2) charismatic authority, and (3) legal-rational authority (131). After a lengthy explanation of Weber's typology, he then traces the development of authority in early Christianity from the time of the earliest writings through the second century. Next, he examines the Pastoral Epistles and notes how these portray the relationships between Paul and Timothy and Titus, the qualifications for leadership, and the house church setting. Through these and other features of the letters, Elliott concludes that it is inappropriate to speak of offices in the Pastorals. These epistles instead describe roles. Elliott further concludes that institutionalized offices appear first in the second century writings of Ignatius of Antioch (156). This would likely place the writing of the Pastorals well into the first century. As with Campbell's essay, Elliott's article is helpful for anyone searching for an introduction into Elliott's chosen social scientific approach—Weber's leadership typology. Unlike Campbell, Elliott was successful in showing how the methodology is useful for answering his question. He ably showed how Weber's typology can help determine the nature of the roles described in the Pastorals, and further entered the contentious space of relative dating of those epistles. This essay promises to be a significant contribution to the study of the Pastoral Epistles.

The essays provided in this volume show the diversity of methods employed within the social scientific study of the Bible. As such, it will prove to be valuable for the student entering this conversation. Overall, this book is a fitting tribute to John Pilch.

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***Reading the Historical Books: A Student's Guide to Engaging the Biblical Text.* By Patricia Dutcher-Walls. Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2014. 208 pages. Paperback, \$22.00.**

This book's title is similar to Robert Chisolm's *Interpreting the Historical Books: An Exegetical Handbook* (2006). Even though the two books are quite similar in their aim as an introduction for students hoping to learn specifically about the historical books of the Old Testament, they are different in their content and design.

This work by Dutcher-Walls, Professor of Hebrew Scripture at Vancouver School of Theology, begins with a set of presuppositions guiding the book. She writes, "The OT is an ancient document that, at least initially, needs to be taken on its own terms by modern readers seeking a faithful and informed understanding" (xv). Her purpose is to "take the text of Scripture seriously as the focus of attention" (xvi). Hoping to address a wide audience with differing views on the inspiration of

Scripture, she writes, “the volume will assume that learning to take the text of Scripture seriously will provide insights about how to read the text better, and thus, how better to engage the text for all other purposes or commitments” (xvii). From the rest of the book, it is evident that she means that this book will focus on literary notions of the text (as a document), rather than historical backgrounds of the text.

In the first chapter, entitled “Discovering the Context of the Text,” Dutcher-Walls quotes Scripture to illustrate the political, religious, and social contexts of the historical books. The discussion then moves to “Listening to the Story in the Text,” which emphasizes how narrative stories were told in the ancient Near East (ANE) (broadly) and in ancient Israel (specifically). She describes literary characteristics such as plot development, characterization, point of view, and timing. Next, the chapter entitled “Discerning the Interests of the Text” discusses how a text advances its viewpoint through persuasive techniques. Furthermore, she illustrates (with citations from the Bible) how the text might establish authority, use repetition, and set up models. Chapter four, “Examining the History of the Text,” presents her view of how the ancient history writers constructed their texts. She writes that they use, “legends and cycles of tales about heroes, prophets, and warriors; and archives and lists” (130). By relying on these sources and quotations, the writer constructs an interesting account of the past. Chapter five, “Examining the Shape of History in the Text,” argues that ancient history writers selectively shape their story. They made choices about material by evaluating and interpreting their materials and then shaping them to fit their patterns and causes. In the final chapter, she concludes that, “history writing in the Bible was shaped to be a deliberate and careful theological account of the past” (172).

Dutcher-Walls does a great job of engaging the reader through her conversational style of writing. The inclusion of two to four useful discussion questions at the end of each chapter also helps the reader engage with the content. For the most part, the suggested reading lists at the end of each chapter are helpful, including recent and relevant scholarship (An exception: Chapter three only contains one work written in the past twenty years).

Unfortunately, Dutcher-Walls makes a few assertions taking her down a troubling path. The main issue is her description of the use of sources in Scripture. There are places where biblical writers utilized sources, such as in Joshua 10:13, “and he told them to teach the sons of Judah the song of the bow; behold, it is written in the book of Jashar.” But this is not the same sort of argument made by Dutcher-Walls. In chapter four, she describes the use of sources in biblical history writing. She uses the book of Judges as an example of how biblical history books include “previous tales” (119). To be fair, she could use that term to mean a true story or a fanciful story. However, she then gives an example of Judges 4:4–5 in support of this claim, and then the poem in Judges 5 as further support. If these are places where a writer has incorporated a source in the form of an oral tradition (or something else) he has given no citation (or identifying mark) to that end. To prove her point about the use of sources in biblical material she gives an example from the Plague of Prayers of King Mursili II (124). The problem is that in the text she cites, the author actually describes two “tablets,” that one would infer were used as sources. So, she seems to be comparing apples to oranges. The biblical examples she cites do not cite sources, but then to prove that such things happened in the wider ANE, she uses a text that

does cite sources.

Even with this weakness, the book is an interesting read. Dutcher-Walls has done a masterful job of distilling the larger issues of history writing techniques in the ANE and narrative criticism down to an introductory text on the matter that is easily comprehensible by a University student. Because of this accomplishment, I would recommend the book to students and pastors who wish to gain new insight into the issue of historical narratives in the Bible.

Justin Allison
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***The Gift of the Land and the Fate of the Canaanites in Jewish Thought.* Edited by Katell Berthelot, Joseph E. David, and Marc Hirshman. New York: Oxford, 2014. 435 pages. Paperback, \$35.00.**

These three scholars have amassed a very helpful collection of essays that were originally presented as papers at a conference convened jointly by the Centre de Recherche Français à Jérusalem (CNRS-MAEE), the Van Leer Jerusalem Institute, and the Yad Izhak Ben Zvi Institute for Research on the Land of Israel. The conference took place on December 8–10, 2009.

The book is divided into three parts. Part One is titled, “The Land: Theological and Ethical Issues.” Chapter one is titled “‘Everything Was Fulfilled’ versus ‘The Land That Yet Remains’: Contrasting Conceptions of the Fulfillment of the Promise in the Book of Joshua,” by Nili Wanza. Wanza details what he calls the different conceptions of the state of the land and the fate of the Canaanites found within the book of Joshua. The concepts presented are the complete conquest (Josh 1–12), partial conquest where the native inhabitants continue to dwell in the land (Josh 13–23), and the concept of remaining land to be conquered (Josh 13:1–6). Chapter two, “Josephus’ Land Theology, a Reappraisal” by Michael Avioz, presents an early Jewish perspective on the subject. He asserts that Josephus recognized various biblical perspectives and therefore downplayed the theology of land.

In Ishay Rosen-Zvi’s chapter, “Rereading herem: Destruction of Idolatry in Tannaitic Literature,” he asserts that the proper reading of the command to put things under the ban is to destroy personal items, but in the case of public items the command was separation. Chapter four, written by Menahem Kister, deals with the fate of the Canaanites. He draws upon the body of Second Temple Jewish literature to show that the topic was debated within early Jewish sources. Menachem Kellner points out in “And Yet, the Texts Remain: The Problem of the Command to Destroy the Canaanites” that there were tendencies to interpret the relationship of Israel and Canaan through what is at times called the us/them, or self/other paradigm. In Chapter nine, which deals with the 19th century, Matthias Morgenstern argues that Jewish thinkers made attempts to deal with the tension between biblical descriptions of conquest and their own conceptions of enlightened morality.

Part two deals with “The Changing Uses of the Category ‘Canaanites’.” This section contains chapters with analysis of specific historical cases of the use of the term Canaanite in Jewish history. Katell Berthelot’s essay, “Where May Canaanites Be Found? Canaanites, Phoenicians, and Others in Jewish Texts from the Hellenistic and Roman Period” details how the word Canaanite was used in the time immediately following the composition of texts in the Hebrew Bible. She shows that names of specific people from the author’s own times (such as Srian, Phoenician,

etc.) were used to refer to the ancient Canaanites. Evyatar Marienberg demonstrates that some used the term Canaanites to describe slaves working in medieval Jewish households.

Part three describes “Modern Jewish Thinkers on the Gift of the Land and the Fate of the Canaanites.” Warren Havey’s essay discussing “Rabbi Reines on the Conquest of Canaan and Zionism” points out that Jewish tradition developed the idea that since God returned Israel to the land in a non-violent manner through Cyrus, they should be pacifists. Another interesting contribution is that of Baruch Alster. He describes Rabbi Moshe Feinstein’s teaching on obligatory war (“R. Moshe Feinstein on Milhemet Mitzvah: Halakah, Morality, and Exegesis”) as suggesting that obligatory war (against Amalek and the seven Canaanite nations) has to be approved by God each time the question arises. Since the Urim and Thumim are no longer in use to discern God’s answer to this question of war, Israel may only fight in self-defense.

The book has several strengths, including the fact that it does present a helpful description of Jewish thought regarding the gift of the land of Israel, thus accomplishing its purpose. The book presents nineteen chapters of careful scholarship that is well researched, as evidenced by the plentiful endnotes. The book is also valuable because of its attention to a uniquely Jewish perspective. Christian works on the gift of the land of Israel often deal with theological ideas and their development, but this work is descriptive in nature – analyzing ancient writings about the topic. The analysis of ancient sources can aid modern interpreters by showing where certain exegetical turns, such as the contemporary people identified as Canaanites, had their origin. Furthermore, the book can contribute a different perspective to Christian readers who may not encounter Jewish thinkers on a regular basis. Since the book contains contributions from many different scholars, one gains insight from a variety of voices and perspectives.

On the other hand, the book is uneven and without a unified argument since it is a compilation of papers. For example, chapter two is a mere six pages (with eight pages of notes and bibliography, two more pages than the chapter). Then, chapter four is 25 pages long with 10 pages of notes and bibliography. Another weakness of this work is that it represents a mainly Jewish discussion that may not have much bearing on Christian application (though one might argue that it should have influence on Christian interpretation). The book makes use of highly specialized discussions, and not all readers will be familiar with them. For example, the first essay by Wazana assumes knowledge of the modern scholarship on the composition of the book of Joshua. He also assumes the reader is familiar with all the current theories of the Israelites’ settlement of the land. Even so, the book accomplishes its purpose, and can be recommended as a research tool for scholars and doctoral students. In terms of ministry this book could be used as a way for the minister to gain familiarity with other viewpoints about the conquest and settlement of the land (especially the first chapter) as well as understanding the reasons for differing modern identifications of the people referred to as Canaanites within the Hebrew Bible.

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***Contextualizing Israel's Sacred Writings.* Edited by Brian B. Schmidt. Atlanta: SBL, 2015. x + 374 pages. Paperback, \$46.95.**

Old Testament scholarship has long explored how ancient Israel may have preserved its stories, songs, sayings, etc. orally, that is, before they wrote them down. However, in the past two decades the conversation about orality (spoken), textuality (written), and the interaction between the two has changed drastically. This volume represents changes in the conversation along three lines: 1) the extent, location, and function of literacy in ancient Israel, 2) the dynamic and fluid relationship between orality and textuality, and 3) the use of comparative evidence to understand more clearly how orality and textuality interacted in the production, transmission, and veneration of Israel's Scriptures.

To bring focus to this review, I will pose a question to each of its parts and answer based upon the essays. For the first part, how extensive is literacy in early monarchic Israel based upon epigraphic evidence?

To answer the question, one must look at the nature of epigraphic evidence. Epigraphic evidence itself is "secondary" evidence for writing since the material used for most writing, especially administrative writing, would be perishable and, therefore, has not survived (especially Na'aman, 48). Also, one must interpret the evidence in light of the social conditions of the region and period. During periods of military conflict, a state would likely redirect its resources and personnel to supporting military efforts rather than producing inscribed texts (Schmidt, especially 124–127). Therefore, even though a nation may have developed a high degree of literary competence earlier (even in the 10th or 9th centuries BC, Lemaire, 34), their social conditions may prevent them from spending their time or resources to produce such texts until later.

Beyond the nature of the evidence itself, one must consider the context in which literacy develops in order to identify its extent. The essays proceed on the supposition that the state is the primary context for literacy. State bureaucracies provide the reasons, resources, and training for literacy since managing resources (especially taxes), promoting royal authority (through messages and edicts), and negotiating treaties all require writing. Scribes would generally perform these tasks as part of their highly respected, elite occupation in the employ of the state (Rollston, 71–78). The evidence also suggests that high-ranking state, temple, and military officials had access to literacy education, as well as some private professional scribes (not employed by the state) and perhaps even some "middle-class" citizens living in important fortifications (see Na'aman's cautious statement, 66). Therefore, the epigraphic evidence points to literacy primarily within elite circles of the state administration. However, the evidence suggests that literacy was not limited to these circles, but included private professional scribes, and perhaps, in some locations, even the "middle-class."

For the second part of the book, what are the characteristics of the oral-literate dynamic relationship? First, scholars have recognized that there is no "great divide" between orality and textuality; rather, the two function alongside one another and writing information down does not limit its use in oral presentation. For example, even written texts would serve like "scripts" for a public performance of the "oral" (now partially preserved in writing) tradition (Miller, 177–182).

Second, memory plays a significant role in the production and preservation of biblical literature (see Carr's essay). Often, one can see memory at work in the "good variants" of a text, variants that make good sense in the context. Often, these

“good variants” involve either small changes that do not affect the meaning of a text (e.g. changes in word order, diction, equivalent expressions, etc.) or harmonizing and coordinating other similar passages from elsewhere in biblical literature. These shifts take place because those producing and preserving these texts held this information in memory as well as in textual form.

Third, the dynamic relationship between orality and textuality may help explain variations in early manuscripts and parallel passages since a feature of the oral-literate dynamic is multiformity, that is, preserving the same tradition even though using different readings (Person, 207). Despite these different readings, ancient audiences would have understood both texts as faithful representatives of the same common tradition (Person uses the example of Samuel-Kings and Chronicles as different readings faithfully representing the same tradition).

For the third part of the book, how do Israel’s writings become sacred in a primarily oral culture? Three factors that may contribute to this process. First, Exodus 24:12; 31:18 record that God himself writes (Schniedewind, 313); therefore, writing is worthy of divine activity. Second, prophets utilize the messenger formula, that is, they use the same introduction that a messenger sent from a king would use to proclaim a message. The messenger’s job was to reproduce the precise words of the one sending him (Schniedewind, 314). In fact, prophets likely used scribes (as Jeremiah employs Baruch) to record their divine messages from God (Schaper, 337). Third, in antiquity writing functioned within magical and ritual contexts, such as the curse sections of treaties. Deuteronomy 27–29 emulates these contexts by reading aloud the blessings and curses of the covenant. Including these texts in this ritual reading helps ensure that the audience understands the power of these words as pronouncements from God. These aspects of biblical literature help confirm the divine nature of the writings within the ancient Near Eastern context.

This volume serves as a helpful glimpse into current Old Testament questions regarding literacy, orality, and textuality. The volume shows the limits of the evidence available to work out these questions and pushes back against some minimalistic answers to them. It also provides possible explanations for understanding some of the shape and form of biblical literature within a primarily oral culture. Finally, it provides historical analogies for understanding the uniqueness of Israel’s writings, especially as sacred literature. The volume points to a number of questions that evangelicals still have to consider and work out in ways that are faithful and responsible. This volume does not work out such questions; it only raises them.

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***Paul and the Gift.* By John M.G. Barclay. Eerdmans, Grand Rapids, 2015. 656 pages. Paperback, \$66.50.**

John Barclay is Lightfoot Professor of Divinity at Durham University, a leading voice in the social-scientific study of the New Testament. In *Paul and the Gift*, Barclay reconsiders Paul’s idea of grace in light of anthropological discussions of gifts and first century models of gift giving. Given the enormity of the task undertaken in this volume, it is best to quote Barclay’s words when he says that the book is a reassessment “of ‘grace’ within the anthropology and history of gift, a study of Jewish construals of divine beneficence in the Second Temple period, and, within that context, a new appraisal of Paul’s theology of the Christ-event as gift, as it comes to

expression in Galatians and Romans” (4). Barclay attempts to move the discussion of Paul’s place vis-à-vis early Judaism beyond E.P. Sanders, who conceived of all early Judaism (except 4 Ezra) as a religion of grace (*Paul and Palestinian Judaism* [London: SCM, 1977]). Barclay rightly notes both that Sanders’s idea is helpful in reframing the issue of early Jewish religion, and that it lacks sufficient nuance to be of heuristic value for discerning the various ways in which grace was conceptualized. In this vein, Barclay also attempts to push the discussion of Paul beyond the current stalemate between the Old and New Perspectives.

Barclay accomplishes his thesis in four parts, the first of which is a discussion of anthropological understandings of gift and first century conceptions of the same, setting the stage for the rest of the book. In this section, Barclay lays out six ways in which authors of the first century could “perfect” grace. In saying this, Barclay means that he has found that grace consists of (at least) six different aspects, which he calls perfections—superabundance (the scale of the gift), singularity (the degree to which the giver is characterized by only this), priority (which points toward the freedom of the giver to give), incongruity, efficacy (whereby the gift accomplishes its intended goal), and non-circularity (whereby a giver does not expect anything in return for a gift) (69). When any author discusses grace, he or she need not emphasize all aspects. Further, an author may deny one or more of these aspects or give any more or less value (e.g., an author may emphasize superabundance but deny non-circularity). In perfecting any aspect, an author maximizes that aspect’s potentiality. Throughout the rest of the book, Barclay uses the six perfections listed above as a lens through which to read various early texts and make comparisons between them.

In part two, Barclay analyzes five early Jewish texts and/or authors—*The Wisdom of Solomon*, Philo of Alexandria, the Qumran *Hodayot*, Pseudo-Philo’s *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum*, and 4 Ezra. Using the six perfections of grace, Barclay shows that while grace is vitally important to each of these strands of early Judaism, they each conceptualize grace differently. For example, the *Hodayot* perfect the incongruity of grace, whereas 4 Ezra never does. Importantly, there are two major commonalities across these various corpora—all perfect the superabundance of God’s grace, and none of them perfects its non-circularity (314). Through such a detailed and nuanced study of these texts, Barclay notes that Sanders’s idea that these were products of a “religion of grace” is not illuminating (313).

The last two sections of Barclay’s work focus on understanding Paul within the framework of early Jewish and anthropological concepts of gift, with part four discussing Galatians and part five Romans. Barclay notes that the emphasis in Galatians is upon the incongruity of God’s grace. Paul presupposes the priority of that grace, but does not perfect its efficacy. Importantly, God’s grace is “unconditioned,” but not “non-circular or ‘unconditional’” (446). In Romans, the perfections of grace that Barclay sees are superabundance, priority, and efficacy (but no systematic discussion of the means of that efficacy) (557–58). Again, Paul does not even imply that grace is non-circular, or counter an idea of self-righteousness as a means to salvation. Key to moving beyond the Old and New Perspective debates is Barclay’s understanding of “works of the Law.” Barclay sees the works of the Law as “practices beholden to Torah, not ‘works’ or ‘law’ in a generalized sense” (444). Paul is not countering a soteriology whereby people do works of the law to receive salvation from God; instead, he is countering people practicing Torah in order to receive symbolic social capital for higher standing within the community. In other words, people were practicing the Torah so that others would think of them as righteous (an idea which

is socially ascribed, see 377–84).

This book promises to be a watershed in the discussion of Paul on many fronts. It presents a much-awaited alternative to the Old/New Perspective divide, opening another avenue for thinking through Paul's theology. It also helpfully moves the discussion beyond simplistic statements about early Judaism and its conception of grace. It shows that deep, careful engagement with both the ancient material and modern social-scientific models can yield fruitful dividends for exegesis. Because of its necessary selectivity of sources and models, Barclay's book calls for more research into the early Jewish understandings of grace, and the way in which Paul's understanding of grace is developed in other Pauline writings. All of this leaves the reader in eager anticipation of the second volume's release.

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***New Testament Apocrypha: More Noncanonical Scriptures.* Edited by Tony Burke and Brent Landau, vol. 1. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2016. 585 pages. Hardcover, \$75.00.**

In this volume, Tony Burke and Brent Landau provide translations and critical introductions of noncanonical texts related to the New Testament. While many such collections exist, this work intends to fill certain gaps in the field. First, it contains works neglected by earlier publications. Many of the works included here have never appeared in translation in modern scholarly languages (such as P. Oxy. 5072). Second, it includes texts of later date than many previous compilations (such as the [Latin] *Revelation of John about Antichrist*). While previous studies have generally been limited to works up to the third century, the current book roughly spans the beginning of Christianity to the rise of Islam, although not exclusively. Third, it attempts to republish more familiar works when textual scholarship has advanced significantly since the most current publication (such as the *Life of John the Baptist*).

The introduction to *New Testament Apocrypha* explains much of the impetus for and background to this publication. It begins by noting the amorphous character of and difficulty in defining "New Testament Apocrypha." There is no standard list or collection of New Testament Apocrypha nor any generally agreed upon temporal limitations to works the term can designate. Because of these difficulties, the introduction launches into a history of the canon. The first several centuries of Christianity, both before and after Athanasius's 39th Festal Letter, were characterized by permeability in the boundary between canon and non-canonical. For example, Revelation was slow to gain full acceptance in the Greek East, and the *Diatesseron* was standard in Syriac Christianity into the fifth century. Beyond this canonical fluidity, the introduction notes that even when a work became regarded almost universally as noncanonical, this did not mean that the book went into oblivion. Many apocryphal works were exceedingly popular and heavily influenced doctrine even into the present (e.g., *Protevangelium of James*).

After the helpful introduction, the work is divided into four sections—1) Gospels and Related Traditions, 2) Apocryphal Acts and Related Traditions, 3) Epistles, and finally 4) Apocalypses. Each work has a critical introduction and new translation. The introductions contain information on the contents, transmission, editions, date and provenance, literary and theological importance, and other important issues for the work. An example of this latter category is found in the introduction

of P. Oxy. 210. Due to the fragmentary nature of the work, the introduction contains explanations of papyrological symbols for those less familiar with them. In addition, each introduction includes a short bibliography allowing the reader to research each document further. The translations themselves contain helpful section headings for easy reading and marginal cross-references to canonical and non-canonical texts that aid the reader in understanding the background to the work. Also included is an index of both scripture and other ancient texts.

This book is imminently valuable for both the seasoned scholar and students. Because it offers new texts and updated bibliographies, even the most senior researcher can gain new knowledge within this book's pages. For the student, it provides a helpful and accessible introduction to canon formation and reception of the New Testament in antiquity. Further, the translations are exceptionally readable and require little to no knowledge of ancient languages to decipher. For the doctoral researcher looking for a dissertation topic or possible publication, the introductions to each document point the reader to the gaps in the field and the most important publications on each work. Because of all of this and more, Burke and Landau's *New Testament Apocrypha* promises to become a standard work in the field for many years to come.

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***Defending Substitution: An Essay on Atonement in Paul.* By Simon Gathercole.
Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2015. 128 pages. Paperback, \$20.00.**

Simon Gathercole, senior lecturer in New Testament in the University of Cambridge's faculty of divinity, is familiar to readers interested in New Testament studies. In *Defending Substitution: An Essay on Atonement in Paul*, Gathercole succinctly but ably maintains that "Christ's death for our sins *in our place, instead of us*, is in fact a vital ingredient in the biblical ... understanding of the atonement" (14). Rather than build a case specifically for *penal* (or other understandings of) atonement, Gathercole's focus is on Christ's death as being *in our place* not only "as a *representative* but also in Christ's taking our place as a *substitute*" (23). The short introductory chapter rounds out with a survey of contemporary criticisms of substitution, with Gathercole making clear his concern is with the charge that substitution is an unbiblical understanding.

Chapter one, the longest of the book, examines three of the leading non-substitutionary approaches to the atonement: the Tübingen view, the Interchange view, and the Apocalyptic Deliverance view. Each of these views is subjected to individual criticisms, but all three stumble on Paul's hamartiology. Gathercole argues compellingly that it is "this problem of a lack of attention to sins plural [that] is a general difficulty with those approaches to the atonement that make representation of liberation an all-encompassing explanation of the death of Christ" (48).

The second and third chapters work in tandem to demonstrate, by way of two case studies, Paul's affirmation of substitution. Chapter two focuses on the Pauline claim that Christ "died for our sins" (1 Cor 15:3), with chapter three addressing the claim that He "died for us" (Rom 5:6–8). After establishing the centrality of the gospel to Paul's former claim, Gathercole discusses which "scriptures" ("according to the scriptures") Paul has in mind, concluding it is Isaiah 53 that "probably lies behind" (64) 1 Corinthians 15:3. Establishing first the substitutionary elements of Isaiah 53,

Gathercole notes the Old Testament rule is that one dies for one's own sins, which makes this passage the "aberration" on which Paul builds.

Turning in the third chapter to Romans 5:6–8, Gathercole argues that Paul intentionally sets Christ's death against "other well-known vicarious deaths from the Greco-Roman world" (86) which his readers would likely recognize. Important to his case is Gathercole's careful handling of τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ in v. 7, which he concludes refers to "the good person" (rather than a "good cause"). On this basis it is maintained as "very likely" that "Paul is tapping into a classical tradition ... and comparing heroic vicarious deaths in the Greco-Roman world (real and literary) in verse 7 with the death of Jesus in verse 8" (90). Paul knows there exists a note of similarity—namely, a death of one person for others—between the classic instances of vicarious death. There are significant differences, as well—not least that Christ's death is for "enemies" (Rom 5:10) and "impious" (Rom 5:6). Thus, "for Paul's comparison in Romans 5:6–8 to make sense, we must see Paul comparing the substitutionary deaths of others with the substitutionary death of Jesus" (106).

Defending Substitution: An Essay on Atonement in Paul accomplishes Gathercole's purpose with focus and clarity. He capably demonstrates that "substitution can and should be regarded as integral to the biblical picture of the atonement" (111).

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***Conversion in Luke-Acts: Divine Action, Human Cognition, and the People of God.* By Joel B. Green. Grand Rapids: Baker, 2015. 224 pages. Paperback, \$25.00.**

In this volume, Joel Green, a respected Lukan scholar, employs data from cognitive science to counter common presuppositions about conversion, allowing for a fresh synthesis of the Lukan motif of conversion. Green identifies the common interior understanding of conversion as a vestige of William James' thought (6–10). He introduces cognitive sciences as a vantage from which to see past such false dichotomies about conversion as ideological or moral change, religious or personal change, divine or human agency, event or process (13–16).

Chapter two claims that the cognitive sciences can study those components of humanity that are able to experience God (19). The takeaway of the chapter is supposed to be that all human experience, even religious experience is embodied (38), and since Luke's accounts assume embodied experiences, they allow for compatibility with neuroscience (32–37). However, the studies Green presents elicit questions about issues tangential to conversion (e.g., Has neuroscience eroded the idea of an immaterial aspect of humanity entirely?) that lie unaddressed. For a novice to neuroscience, chapter two needs less data and more clear connections to Lukan studies.

Chapters three, four, and five occupy themselves with Luke-Acts. Green argues that Luke left no clear pattern for conversion (49), nor can key terms encapsulate the Lukan motif. Moreover, the theoretical distinction between repentance and conversion is not supported by either neuroscience, where neuronal changes would be similar, or by Luke-Acts, where Jew and Gentile are both expected to repent (49–53). Luke 3 is "the first extended discussion of repentance or conversion" (49), where John the Baptist calls for embodied, ongoing orientation toward God (62–63). Green chooses the cognitive metaphor "life is a journey" as the best fit for Lukan portrayal of conversion because both Luke 1:16–17 and 3:3–6 use journey metaphors, both texts describe repentance/conversion, and thus conversion is vitally

linked to journey (64–65). The metaphor conveys good doctrine even if the Lukan textual support Green adduces does not unequivocally support “conversion is a journey” (e.g., 68–69, 99–105).

Overall, Green shines when drawing implications about conversion from texts (e.g., 105–19, 124–32, 143–58). Students of Scripture should appreciate how the author interprets Luke-Acts, and parts of the book would supplement a class on evangelism. Less satisfying is Green’s case for summarizing conversion as a journey in Luke-Acts. For example, “the eschatological coming of God to restore Israel” (88) is an apt phrase for the use of Isaiah 40 in Luke 3, but Green understands the whole section to picture conversion/repentance (65–68). Another example: the delayed giving of the Holy Spirit in Samaria (Acts 8) is more likely about the unifying testimony of the apostles (as Acts 1:1–8 anticipated) than about the ongoing conversion of Peter and John (154; one wonders why not all the apostles?).

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***Revelation: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary.* By Craig R. Koester. Anchor Yale Bible. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014. 928 pages. Softcover, \$65.00.**

Commentaries on Revelation come in all shapes and sizes, being written from numerous perspectives and with various structures and emphases. Some scholars privilege the (presumed) historical background underlying the book’s context and imagery, others the work’s theological contribution or even prophetic nature, and still others the reception of the book throughout Christian history or from a reader-oriented perspective. Craig Koester, a professor of New Testament at Luther Seminary in St. Paul, Minnesota, and a prominent Johannine scholar, attempts to address Revelation on all three of these fronts to varying degrees, with a pronounced emphasis upon the book’s history of interpretation and influence. By privileging Revelation’s reception history, Koester seeks ultimately to avoid the traditional labels attached to different interpretive approaches such as futuristic, timeless, church historical, and preterist (xiii).

While Revelation’s reception history is certainly the most pronounced contribution of this volume, the literary world of the book and its theological significance are also given significant attention. Koester wants to emphasize the literary world of Revelation, “the world within the text,” rather than simply how John’s visions relate to space-time events, focusing on how the various visions throughout the book relate to each other and create a narrative world not bound by the laws of space and time (xiv). Such an emphasis does not, however, lead Koester to eschew the importance of the socio-historical world within which Revelation was composed. His reception historical emphasis and literary reading of the text are complemented strongly by an extensive use of Greek and Latin inscriptions, Jewish and pagan literary works, and other relevant archaeological finds.

Koester’s introduction in and of itself constitutes a unique contribution to commentary writing on Revelation. Rather than simply launching into discussions of general debates about Revelation’s authorship, date, and literary features, Koester first devotes thirty-five pages to a diachronic tracing of the book’s history of interpretation and influence from AD 100 to the present (29–65). There are at least two benefits of such an approach. First, it causes the reader to consider the questions

that have been asked and assumptions that have been made as people have read and sought to understand Revelation across two centuries. Second, reflection upon this history of interpretation reminds the modern reader to be cognizant of contemporary historical and social factors that may lead him or her to certain presuppositions, conclusions, or even questions about Revelation. Even when Koester does turn toward the traditional topics addressed in commentary introductions, he does so with an eye ever fixed upon Revelation's history of interpretation and influence. In fact, he continues this practice even beyond the introduction, frequently rehearsing historical interpretations of significant issues in the text throughout the commentary.

Koester's attempt to avoid traditional labels by emphasizing Revelation's reception history appears largely successful. By and large, Koester's emphasis upon Revelation's reception history enables him to achieve his intended goal of transcending traditional labels and frameworks. This in turn helps him avoid pitfalls of certain traditional frameworks by not wholly identifying with any one interpretive "camp." For instance, in Koester's treatment of the millennium of Revelation 20, he is careful to trace the history of interpretations on the millennium (741–50), and is quick to identify aspects of certain positions he deems representative of the text itself (e.g., he appears to endorse certain features of a "premillennial" perspective with regard to the timing of Satan's imprisonment in Revelation 20:1–3 [785]) without committing himself completely to any one theological position (787–88). Rather than arguing the finer points of each major millennial perspective, Koester seeks to focus upon the literary world of Revelation 20 to ascertain its meaning. While some may be frustrated at his reluctance to "pick a camp," or to at least be more explicit on where he falls in the discussion among various "camps," his desire to privilege the text's original intent apart from the explicit influence of a theological position should be commended.

Koester's dual emphasis upon the literary and social world of the text is also evident in his reading of the letters to the seven churches in Revelation 2–3. Again Koester seeks to let the text remain his central focus and to question modern approaches which have proven largely influential in scholarly and popular interpretations. On this particular point, Koester is critical of the approach popularized initially by Colin Hemer's *The Letters to the Seven Churches of Asia in their Local Setting*, which attempted to find in each of the seven letters descriptions alluding to specific traits of the ancient cities wherein the seven churches reside. This approach used knowledge of the cities' topography, history, and institutions to identify specific historical referents for the descriptions, promises, and warnings in each of the letters (233). While it is not Koester's intention to dismiss all such pursuits, he rightly insists that "in almost every instance, the images used for one city would fit other locations equally well." What Koester deems to be more important is not the different character traits of the cities individually, but how the seven congregations responded to their social context (233).

What Koester has provided in his new commentary on Revelation is a stout treatment of an incredibly difficult book and a welcome alternative to commentaries on Revelation which only seek to read the book through a particular theological lens or framework. Koester clearly prefers a preterist reading of Revelation, though he does not dismiss entirely any futuristic aspects or relevance for readers throughout church history. In providing careful reception-historical surveys for each major section (and for the book as a whole), Koester has effectively demonstrated that the categories we so frequently operate with when seeking to understand Revelation

did not emerge out of a vacuum, but rather, many of the same issues we wrestle with presently have plagued students of the text for centuries. Such an approach reminds us that we ought not develop a kind of superiority complex over our ancient brethren, but that we ought to do our work with humility, knowing that we are also a part of Revelation's reception history. We too are attempting to understand this powerful and elusive book as best we can, with God's help, in spite of (and in light of) our own socio-historical context.

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***Johannine Theology: The Gospel, the Epistles and the Apocalypse.* By Paul A. Rainbow. Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2014. 496 pages. Hardcover, \$40.00.**

The most recent significant treatments of Johannine theology with an evangelical slant have been Craig Koester's *The Word of Life: A Theology of John's Gospel* (2008) and Andreas Köstenberger's *A Theology of John's Gospel and Letters* (2009). Paul A. Rainbow's *Johannine Theology* is in some ways similar to and in other ways distinct from these recent offerings. Similar to Koester's emphasis upon certain characters and relationships in John's Gospel, Rainbow organizes his work around "the relations among the divine persons (Father, Son, Holy Spirit) and the world made up of its various constituents" (28). Like Köstenberger, Rainbow includes works attributed to John beyond his Gospel, but unlike Köstenberger, Rainbow includes the Apocalypse as a part of John's theology, and this inclusion highlights Rainbow's most distinctive feature.

In order to include the Apocalypse in his Johannine theology, Rainbow must demonstrate that the author of John's Gospel and letters also wrote the Apocalypse. In one of the most beneficial sections of the entire book, Rainbow puts forth a convincing case for common authorship of the Johannine material based on internal and external evidence (39–52). His attention to language and style is particularly noteworthy (42–47). He maintains that the existence of "no other example to serve as a control" should caution those "who would dare to say how much variance in language, style or theological emphasis might be manifest in the work of a single, versatile writer" (43).

In chapters 2–3, Rainbow introduces the reader to the centrality of God the Father for Johannine theology, and to the world wholly dependent upon him. The relationship between these two entities was originally positive before the world turned from God to darkness, which resides at "the shadowy edge of what is finite, the nothingness or absence of positive being that lies beyond the boundary of what God makes and constitutes good," and which the world loves more than the light (119). Yet God intends to save the world and return it to a right relation with him (145). This rather hostile relationship between the Creator and his creation leads to the introduction of the Son, Jesus Christ, who will bring about God the Father's intended redemption (chapters 4–5). Yet, before the sending of the Son there existed a prior love among the persons of the Trinity, leading to Rainbow's discussion of the Holy Spirit and his role in the Father's revelatory and salvific purposes in chapter 6. He directs specific attention toward the relationships between the Spirit and the Father and the Son, as well as the fact that this "inchoate trinitarianism" in John is consistent with the monotheism of the Hebrew Bible (indeed, Rainbow emphasizes throughout these chapters that John's theology aligns quite well with the Hebrew

Bible's conceptions of God and the world).

Rainbow returns to the residents of the world in his final four chapters (chapters 7–10). Chapters 7 and 8 focus upon the individual believer's coming to an abiding in Christ. Chapter 9 essentially amounts to a treatment of John's ecclesiology—the relationship of believers to one another. And finally, chapter 10 completes the treatment of the world and the church by exploring the relationship of these groups to each other. The discussion focuses on the church's mission to the world and the world's continuing hatred of the church until Jesus' parousia.

Rainbow is to be commended for including the Apocalypse in his Johannine theology. Perhaps his work will open the door for further research into the effect of the Apocalypse on Johannine theology. As mentioned earlier, his introduction is particularly beneficial in making the case for the Apocalypse's place at the table, especially in his rather robust arguments for common authorship across the Johannine corpus. Unfortunately, Rainbow's synchronic, thematic approach does not permit the inclusion of the Apocalypse to "shine" as brightly as a more nuanced approach, with additional emphases upon diachronic elements. Rainbow's approach allows him to highlight a number of core theological elements present in the Johannine corpus, particularly with reference to the all-important relationships between the divine and human characters. But ultimately he leaves the reader with little further guidance on the place of the Apocalypse in Johannine theology apart from description of common themes present in all five Johannine works. To Rainbow's credit, he admits that his theology is but one possible approach, providing merely "a sketch that captures certain aspects" (10, 28). This openness to different approaches highlights the fact that further work may be done on the Apocalypse's place in Johannine theology diachronically as well as synchronically.

Rainbow's relational emphasis appears to represent accurately certain key aspects of John's writings. Myriad references to the relationship between the Son, the Father, and the Spirit pepper John's works. Additionally, in virtually every scene of the Gospel and the Apocalypse, and every topic addressed in the letters, the issue of the world's (both those inside and outside of the church) relationship to God (Father, Son, and/or Holy Spirit) is emphasized. Although Rainbow's volume is primarily "a theology of *relationships* in Johannine literature," these relationships lie at the core of Johannine theology.

Because Rainbow interacts extensively with American, British, German, and French scholarship and provides an extensive bibliography, this volume should serve an incredibly valuable and reliable resource for Johannine studies. In spite of its few shortcomings, Rainbow's work fills a unique need in Johannine theology to include the Apocalypse, and thereby provides students of John's works with a useful resource for further inquiry.

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Memory, Mission, and Identity: Orality and the Apostolic Miracle Tradition. By Brandon Walker. Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2015. 346 pages. Paperback, \$98.00.

Memory, Mission, and Identity examines the central motif of miracle traditions in the second and third centuries. Working from the premise that imitation of Christ was the emphasis for the early church, the community intended to remember Christ and imitate the suffering of Christ. Two key figures served as the models of imitating Christ: Peter and Paul. Walker traces these two figures in *Acts of the Apostles*, *Acts of Paul*, and *Acts of Peter* to see how the early church modeled their faith in light of the miracle traditions. It is worth mentioning that Walker is not attempting to validate the second-century works of *Acts of Paul* and *Acts of Peter* to canonical status, but rather, he tries to determine how the miracle accounts of Paul and Peter circulated during that time for the specific purpose of discipleship. Walker's project is in two major parts. The first establishes the relationship between memory, orality, and identity, and the second presents a critical assessment of the memories and traditions of Paul and Peter in the second century.

The first part which offers a survey of various studies in memory and remembering begins with social theories of community formation and memory as it relates to the human experience. In addition, the ancient sources Walker cites include: Plato's *Phaedrus*, *Progymnasmata* (an ancient Greek textbook of rhetoric), and Quintilian. Walker then concludes regarding the Jesus miracle traditions: "The miracles of Jesus as well as those performed by the disciples provided encouragement for early followers of Jesus. They recounted shared memories of his words and deeds within their communities which cultivated their individual and collective identities" (106). The miracles of Jesus produced faith and the eschatological framework for understanding their times and the events which will unfold for the church in the coming days.

The second part assesses the miracle traditions in all three *Acts*. The miracles pervade throughout *Acts of the Apostles* and they begin to emerge as part of the summary statement of Acts 2:42–43 depicting the early church's activities: the presence of teaching, fellowship, breaking of bread, prayer, and "many wonders and signs." For the church, they remembered Jesus and his teachings, but that also meant remembering the apostles' faith and deeds as they become exemplars of faith. As a result, Luke presents these apostles as heroes in the church in a more polished style, but this portrayal, Walker argues, is consistent with the community's remembrance of other Jewish prophets like Elijah, Elisha, and Jesus.

With *Acts of Paul*, Walker argues, much of the church's memory of Paul shows great admiration for him. Incorporated within *Acts of Paul* is the story of Thecla, which Walker reports to be an early attestation of a woman martyred for her faith. The cultic movement surrounding this Thecla continued into the fourth century in various parts of the Mediterranean world. The dating of this work is set in AD 200, using Tertullian's account of the presbyter who took creative license to create this fictional account of both Paul and Thecla preaching a form of asceticism. A miracle arises when Paul and Thecla face a lion as capital punishment, but the lion (1) recognizes Thecla to be a holy person and (2) asks Paul to baptize him.

Regarding *Acts of Peter*, Walker purports that Peter is the miracle worker, who is remembered and imagined by the church in the second century to preserve the church's faith in Christ as the real miracle worker. *Acts of Peter* narrows its focus on the power of Christ; it is in Christ that Peter can work these miracles of exorcism,

healing, and resuscitation. Walker identifies Peter as a mediator of Christ, representing him as the one holding divine power.

Both Peter and Paul are portrayed to have a tremendous ability for miracles in these second-century works as they did in the canonical *Acts of the Apostles*. Walker allows for both continuity and discontinuity from the canonical Acts to the apocryphal works. The continuity is in the working of miracles, but the kinds of miracles (such as talking animals) is a clear discontinuity. In addition, there are other concerns for the study of these second-century works. First, one has to question church community's admiration for Paul in *Acts of Paul* when historically Tertullian points to the culprit, namely a presbyter, who fabricated the accounts in *Acts of Paul* out of a personal love for him (see *De baptismo* 17). That presbyter was deposed, removed from office for his work of fiction however well-intended—proving that the community was not in agreement with this presbyter. Regarding *Acts of Peter*, there is a similar problem. According to Eusebius, the community holding to the Catholic tradition was “not very knowledgeable of the Gospel, Preaching, and Revelation attributed to Peter” (Hist. eccl. 3.3.2). Still, Walker overlooks the community's lack of use and acceptance of *Acts of Paul* and *Acts of Peter*. Perhaps Walker's conclusion could have been more nuanced to suggest that a particular admiration for Paul and Peter was historically present in these later works, but even this admiration is merely a speculation from the standpoint of the church at-large.

With the closing of the canon, apocryphal works have persisted in minority splinter groups in the ancient world. Many of these groups were not in line with the *regula fidei*, the canon of faith. Walker's work ultimately shows how apocryphal works have clear differences from the canonical writings of the New Testament, while still preserving some semblance to their canonical counterparts.

Donald Kim

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***Divine Honours for the Caesars: The First Christians' Responses.* By W. Bruce Winter. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2015. 338 pages. Paperback, \$35.00.**

In *Divine Honours for the Caesars*, Bruce Winter, the former warden of Tynedale House, attempts to “further the discussion of the imperial cultic activities and the complexity they created for the first Christians” (15). He argues that there was no monolithic way of responding to the imperial cult by early Christians. Instead he traces the diversity of reactions found in the New Testament. Methodologically, Winter synthesizes the insights of recent studies of the Roman imperial cult, new archaeological finds, and overlooked or undervalued inscriptions to construct an up-to-date picture of the workings of the imperial cult. He then analyzes the New Testament in light of this data to see the ways in which its authors were in dialogue with the imperial cult.

Winter commences his study with a helpful review of scholarship on the imperial cult. Here, he notes major contributions to the field, and synthesizes recent data that has yet to enter the discussion in a systematic way. He also shows the various ways in which Jews navigated the line between forsaking their religion and worshipping the emperor. For those new to this area of research, this is the most helpful portion of the book. Winter successfully points the readers to the most helpful works, such as Price's magisterial book on the subject, and Mitchell's work on the archaeology of Anatolia (S.R.F. Price, *Rituals and Power: The Imperial Cult and Asia Minor*,

[Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1984]; S. Mitchell, *Anatolia: Land, Men and Gods in Asia Minor: The Celts and the Impact of Roman Rule* [Clarendon Press: Oxford, 1993]).

Winter next moves to examining various New Testament texts to see how the first Christians interacted with the imperial cult. He begins by analyzing Acts 17:34, arguing that Paul's speech shows that the early Christians could not capitulate to worshipping the emperor. Next, Winter argues that in Acts 18, Gallio rules that early Christians were a sub-set of Jews, and thereby received exemption from emperor worship. Further, Winter finds in 1 Corinthians 8 and 10, evidence that the Corinthians were engaging in the imperial cult, and that Paul forbids such acts. Winter analyzes Galatians, next, finding that the Galatian Christians were taking on Jewish identity markers to avoid the mandate to worship the emperor. Again, in regard to the Thessalonians, Winter notes that Paul warns the believers in that city to refrain from participation in the imperial cult. In Hebrews, Winter sees the author as exhorting the believers not to slip into Judaism, which had the protection of a high priest appointed by Rome, to avoid persecution, and urging them to cling to Jesus, who superseded the Jewish high priest. Finally, Winter examines the mark of the beast in Revelation and suggests that it was written in response to a governor of Asia who literally required a mark to be placed on people in order to engage in commerce (286).

Winter's work has the strength of summarizing a great deal of recent work into a coherent picture of first century imperial cultic practice, as noted above. He also does a remarkable job of pointing the reader to relevant primary sources to help understand the imperial cult and early Christian practice. Unfortunately, this book is beset by myriad problems. While Winter selects several appropriate inscriptions, he reads them quite uncritically. He never seems ask the question whether these inscriptions reflect actual practice and belief or if they serve some other purpose. Further, he engages in unwarranted speculation at times. For example, when he claims that a governor of Asia required people to receive a mark for engaging in commerce, he provides no supporting evidence; he merely states such was the case (see 286–306).

There are also problems with his interactions with New Testament scholarship. For example, he frequently notes Mark 12:17, "Give to the emperor the things that are the emperor's, and to God the things that are God's" (NRSV). He indicates that this saying gives Christians "clear parameters" for interaction with the emperor (2). Scholarship on this passage has, much to the contrary, suggested a large variety of interpretations of Jesus's intent with this saying, with a major question as to whether Jesus intended for tribute to be paid to Caesar or not, therefore raising the question of Christians' relationship with the emperor. Winter does not even note that there are other interpretations of this passage besides his own.

In this book, Winter proved himself to be capable of summarizing and synthesizing large quantities of historical research, and for this he is to be commended. His own contribution to New Testament research here, however, is lacking. It has the possibility, though, to introduce a wide audience to studies of empire in the New Testament.

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Theological Studies

***A Manifesto for Theological Interpretation.* Edited by Craig G. Bartholomew and Heath A. Thomas. Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2016. 304 pages. Paperback, \$29.99.**

Craig G. Bartholomew and Heath A. Thomas define theological interpretation broadly as “interpretation of the Bible for the church” (ix). In this volume, they identify key issues and chart a path for those flying under this banner. Their version is interdisciplinary, ecumenical, and involves the broadest spectrum possible between the churches and the scholarly guilds. The “manifesto” they provide (1–25) is the collaborative effort of a group of scholars associated with the Scripture and Hermeneutics Seminar. In their understanding, this statement “tries to make public the central tenets that help to orient theological reading of Scripture so as to hear God’s address” (x). The manifesto also highlights areas “informing theological interpretation that may otherwise be ignored or neglected in the reading of Scripture” (x). The essays that follow exposit each of the twelve sections of the manifesto and are intended to flesh out what a theological interpretation of Scripture might look like from these angles.

In short, their manifesto argues that contemporary theological interpretation of Scripture is a reemergence of an ancient practice (1), that affirms a robust view of divinely inspired Scripture (2), that values the central context of the church (3), that sees itself as a reasonable alternative to historical criticism (4), that selectively utilizes insights of hermeneutics and philosophy (5), that seeks to reckon with the nature of the Bible as a canonical collection (6), that makes use of the resurgence of biblical theology (7), that emphasizes the role of mission (8), that involves the goal of transformation (9), that includes shared theological commitments (10), that sees the necessary connection between theology and exegesis (11), and that is committed to the creative application of Scripture to all of life (12).

The manifesto itself is carefully worded, and the essays are strictly focused on their given topic. This feature gives a tight coherence to the volume and makes it an important methodological resource. The range of issues addressed also demonstrates the value of the book and the challenge of this broad approach. Reading through the volume will allow someone to grapple with the daunting but exciting reality that the theological interpreter can never be the master of only one skill set. This scenario points to the need for generalists in the churches *and* the academy.

One of the difficulties faced by the theological interpretation movement is a sense that the approaches that fly under its banner are so diverse that it is a mistake to characterize them together. Perhaps a gentle critique of this project might be with the singular noun in the title. Even though each of the contributors aim at expositing a central tenet of the primary affirmation, these essays sometimes feel like a series of individual *manifestos* that nevertheless bear a striking family resemblance. But, perhaps, this might be a welcome metaphor. As with any healthy family reunion, the diversity present around the table of biblical interpreters highlights their unifying filial identity and the fact that they gather around a shared scriptural feast. As Bartholomew and Emerson conclude, this family of theological interpreters aims to “work out what biblical interpretation might look like as an expression of the obedience of faith” (273). This volume contains an ambitious roadmap (or perhaps

treasure map) that locates several ancient paths that hopefully more and more readers of the Bible will seek to traverse.

Ched Spellman
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***Christological Anthropology in Historical Perspective: Ancient and Contemporary Approaches to Theological Anthropology.* By Marc Cortez. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2016. 272 pages. Softcover, \$27.99.**

Theological Anthropology is the study of human beings within a theological context. While the human is of central importance to philosophical studies and the social sciences, it is also a thriving area of interest within contemporary theology. *Christological Anthropology* makes a significant contribution to a theology of humans from a Christian perspective. Written by Marc Cortez, it is important to note that it is not simply a study of anthropology from a theistic vantage point in general, but specifically from a Christocentric view. In this way, Cortez is clear that the significance of Christ, as the divine-human, becomes paramount to the study of the *anthropos*.

Cortez is convinced that Christology makes a unique and specific contribution to anthropology. He presents the reader with a careful survey of *some* relevant Christological anthropological approaches in historical and contemporary contexts. Yet, his goal is not simply historical in nature; rather, he integrates ancient *divines* with contemporary theological concerns—thus, making it a constructive contribution. Given that Christological anthropology is a technical term, it is important to explain Cortez’s understanding of it.

The reader might think that all Christian anthropologies are Christological anthropologies, and, in some sense, that would be correct. However, it is possible to approach the human first from the perspective of philosophy or natural theology. Some theologians begin with natural revelation as their starting point. Others might begin from a robust conception grounded in its “creational” context, then move to its redemptive and eschatological contexts. For example, one might look to foundational metaphysics to ascertain the basic meaning and nature of humans by considering humans as soul-body arrangements discernable through introspection (e.g. Descartes), or material bodies as is common in the physical sciences, or teleological beings (e.g. Kant), or some other approach. In a creational context, humans could be considered from the author’s perspective of *imago Dei* in Genesis or from the perspective of ethics in the Old Testament. While not discounting the insights from these sources, Cortez considers all of these approaches bereft of the deeper human meaning.

Motivated by several theological authorities, Cortez recommends a different approach. He suggests that not only is Christ necessary for understanding specified features of the human—say in redemption or in the eschaton, but Christ provides an “ultimate” and “concrete” framework by which to situate our understanding. Anthropology necessarily and essentially depends upon the divine-human. This is not to say that we cannot learn from other sources, but these items are incomplete and fundamentally lacking without a concrete connection to the person and work of Christ. Christological anthropology is not a one-size-fits-all, however. There are several different understandings of humans via Christology, and it is here that the

reader will find the project especially rich and useful.

Cortez begins his study with Gregory of Nyssa. Surprising though it may be to the reader, Nyssa has much to say about gender and sexual identity. Nyssa understands the incarnation as the fundamental starting point for understanding the *transformed* human. Cortez explores the theological notion of “race” according to James Cone in the second to last chapter. Cone argues that at the conceptual center of anthropology ought to be “liberation.” Julian of Norwich situates her study in the “self-sacrificing” love of the divine-human Lord/Servant. Martin Luther criticizes all views that do not begin with our passive righteousness (i.e., faith) in Christ’s justifying work. Friedrich Schleiermacher takes up Christ’s distinct “God-consciousness” as the central motif uniting God and human. Barth launched into anthropology by way of Christ as the ontological “determinate” for humans. Central to Barth’s theology of the human is the doctrine of “election” where Christ is the true human who provides the metaphysical boundaries for an understanding of humans. Contemporary John Zizioulas argues that humans become persons when they are united to God in Christ; thus, Zizioulas highlights both Trinitarian theology and ecclesiology in his articulation of the human.

Christological Anthropology is a clear, nuanced, and fruitful study. It would serve as an excellent supplement to introductory courses in Systematic Theology and Theological Anthropology. With all that is positive, Cortez left out something that I desired to see. It would have been nice to see how the respective Christological anthropologies cohere with their wider traditional dogmatic commitments. However, Cortez does attempt to connect his study to some of the wider historical developments, and toward the end of his study he raises some useful questions that have not been sufficiently pondered.

Joshua R. Farris
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***A New Heaven and a New Earth: Reclaiming Biblical Eschatology.* By J. Richard Middleton. Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2014. 332 pages. Paperback, \$26.99.**

In recent decades, there has been a growing interest in biblical descriptions of a new heaven and a new earth. One of the emphases of this recent interest has been the affirmation of the redemption not only of individual human beings, but also of the created order. In his work *A New Heaven and a New Earth: Reclaiming Biblical Eschatology*, J. Richard Middleton offers a major contribution to the dialogue taking place. Middleton, Professor of Biblical Worldview and Exegesis at Northeastern Seminary, argues that the Bible exhibits a coherent and “explicit eschatological vision of the redemption of creation” (15). In this vision, “the creator has not given up on creation and is working to salvage and restore the world (human and nonhuman) to the fullness of shalom and flourishing intended from the beginning” (27).

Middleton’s work consists of an introductory chapter followed by five parts and an appendix. In the introduction, he presents the traditional Christian view of heaven as final destiny and offers a brief historical sketch of the origins of the view, a sketch he continues and expands upon in the appendix. The majority of the work is a biblical theology of holistic salvation and cosmic redemption. In the first part, chapters two and three, Middleton argues that the overarching story of the Bible, while including a variety of plots and subplots, manifests that “eschatological redemption consists in the renewal of human cultural life on earth rather than our removal from

earth to heaven" (58). This renewal includes a transformation of earthly life, which reverses the damage caused by sin.

Middleton devotes the three chapters of part two to the evidence of holistic salvation in the Old Testament. He argues that the worldview of the Old Testament, flowing from God's deliverance of Israel in the Exodus and his promises of earthly flourishing and restoration beyond Exile, is the foundation for understanding the "full-bodied, this-worldly character" of the New Testament (78). The earthly flourishing includes a return to the land, a new relationship between God's people and the nations, and God's presence among His people in the renewed land. What comes before the redemption, and is actually a part of the promise itself, is the prevalent reality of judgment that is to come. In the final analysis, Middleton concludes, "There certainly is no nonearthly salvation in the Old Testament" (118).

In parts three and four, Middleton argues that the holistic redemption promised in the Old Testament is substantiated in the New Testament. Chapter seven is devoted to the centrality of bodily resurrection to God's victory over sin and death and His ultimate restoration of all that was undone at the Fall. In chapter eight, Middleton surveys five texts that affirm the comprehensive scope of salvation including the redemption of creation, a renewal of the image of God among the nations, God's manifest presence among His people, the promise of a glorified city Jerusalem, and an affirmation of culture and national diversity. In chapters nine and ten, Middleton surveys a number of New Testament texts which may initially seem to pose problems for a holistic conception but ultimately, he argues, are evidence for the restoration or redemption of creation. Middleton closes his work with a number of ethical implications of holistic redemption, focusing specifically upon Jesus' teaching of the good news of the kingdom of God and the New Testament's exhortation for the church to be a community that embodies in the present the promised redemption to come. Redemption is not to be conceived of merely as the salvation of the individual nor is it to be envisioned as eternal life in heaven. Instead, "salvation pertains to God restoring the full functioning of human beings (bodies and all) in their real historical, sociocultural context; indeed, it will ultimately involve the restoration of the entire created order" (268).

Middleton's background in worldview and culture studies and in biblical studies, respectively, allow him to offer a unique contribution. Though his canonical treatment of the concept of holistic redemption could stand alone, Middleton offers two chapters outlining some of the ethical implications of such a view. The emphasis on these ethical implications provides a link to the gospel message by informing the comprehensive scope of the gospel. Middleton's focus on the biblical promises regarding the flourishing of humanity on the earth in a renewed and embodied existence is a helpful corrective to conceptions that envision a solely spiritual existence in heaven.

While Middleton's analysis of the Bible as story should be appreciated, one wonders why he does not focus explicitly upon the role of the biblical covenants and their relationship to the promised kingdom in his presentation of the story. Particularly disappointing in a presentation of the promises of holistic redemption is the minimal presence of the promises and fulfillment of new covenant promises including the role of the Holy Spirit in the lives of the redeemed in the new creation. Although it is not detrimental to his overall argument, Middleton's argument against the intermediate state of heaven for the believer is questionable at best. In trying to provide a corrective for the traditional view of heaven, Middleton may be guilty

of unnecessarily throwing out the baby with the bathwater. Finally, readers who appreciate the promises regarding a restoration of a particular land to a particular people—Israel—will wonder how universalizing the promises of a particular portion of the whole earth is consistent with Middleton's robust new creation conception.

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***An Invitation to Analytic Theology.* By Thomas H. McCall. Downers Grove: IVP Academic, 2015. 192 pages. Paperback, \$22.00.**

Within the past few years an increasing number of evangelical Christian theologians have begun to reclaim the rich repository of analytic philosophical resources as an aid in the task of constructive theology. In his recent book *An Invitation to Analytic Christian Theology*, evangelical theologian Thomas McCall (Trinity Evangelical Divinity School) explores this recent resurgence in Christian theology and explicates and defends the burgeoning field known as “analytic theology.”

In the first chapter of the book, titled “What is Analytic Theology?,” McCall aims to get clear on the nature and parameters of *analytic* Christian theology, what precisely makes such a project analytic and distinctively *theological*. McCall argues that analytic Christian theology is *analytic* in so far as it employs the distinctive *style* and *ambition* of analytic philosophy in general, in particular a commitment to clarity and conceptual precision, parsimony of expression, and rigorous argumentation with the aim of converging on true explanatory theories that bring unity and coherence to the data of Scripture (17–24). Analytic theology is *theological* in that “it will be grounded in the Christian Scriptures, it will be informed by the great tradition of doctrinal development, it will be ‘christologically normed’ and it will be culturally engaged” (22). McCall does an excellent job of carefully (and charitably!) addressing many of the most prominent misgivings and misunderstandings to analytic theology commonly voiced by his fellow theologians (25–35).

One of McCall's central aims in chapter two, titled “Analytic Theology and Christian Scripture”, is to bring clarity to the underexplored interrelationship between philosophical and theological analysis and the task of biblical exegesis. McCall does an outstanding job of critically interacting with the many iterations of the core claim that Christian theology in the analytic mode is an unduly speculative form of theological reflection that proceeds without proper Scriptural mooring (39–55). Here and throughout the book McCall employs specific theological case studies—including freedom of the will (more below), Christology, and original sin—to rebut this particular charge against analytic theology.

In my estimation, chapter two includes one of the most stimulating discussions in the book, namely McCall's detailed treatment of what it means for some theological proposal to be either “authorized” (i.e. “consistent”) or “unauthorized” (i.e. “inconsistent”) by Scripture (55–81). What precisely do we mean when we say that certain theological positions such as believer's baptism are “biblical” and others such as pelagianism are “unbiblical”? It is here that McCall demonstrates the virtues of conceptual clarity and precision in the constructive theological task.

McCall applies this insightful discussion to certain claims made by Reformed theologians that “compatibilism” regarding freedom of the will—the view that human freedom is compatible with causal determinism—is the only biblically authorized option for orthodox Christians (D.A. Carson, John Frame, Scott Oliphint all

emphatically make this claim); indeed, as Carson maintains, “compatibilism is a *necessary* component to any mature and orthodox view of God and the world” (Carson, *The Difficult Doctrine of the Love of God*, 54).

McCall rightly takes these claims to task by showing that they rest on (1) a deeply misguided understanding “compatibilism” as it pertains to extant debates in free will, and (2) a heavyweight extra-biblical assumption that “divine sovereignty” entails “divine determinism,” i.e. if God is in sovereign control over His creation then He must either *causally determine* each creaturely event or else that event is entirely *unplanned* by God (a metaphysical assumption that is underdetermined by the biblical text itself) (72). At most, what can be claimed for compatibilism about free will is that the teaching of Scripture is consistent with such a view and thus in no way precludes it as a live option for orthodox Christians. But this is a far cry from the much stronger claim that Scripture demands the truth of compatibilism at pains of heterodoxy (McCall actually goes on to argue for the stronger claim that there is good reason to think compatibilism is strictly inconsistent with Scripture, 73–81).

In chapter three, titled “Analytic Theology and the History of Doctrine,” McCall explores the relationship between the task of analytic theology and the historical development of Christian doctrine. While McCall argues that analytic theology cannot properly be reduced to historical theology, it must nevertheless be attuned to the history of orthodox Christian doctrine as a theological norm (*norma normata*), albeit a norm that is always subordinate to Scripture as the sole ultimate theological norm (*norma normans*). The bulk of the chapter consists of two case studies that illustrate in detail how the project of analytic theology can aid in clarifying and defending a classical orthodox Christology (91–121).

McCall underscores, and I wholeheartedly agree, that the project of analytic theology is at the very least one of *theological retrieval*; systematic theology in the analytic key (as understood above) has been the operative mode of theological reflection in many fruitful periods in the history of Christian doctrine (e.g. patristic, medieval, and post-reformation). Prominent Christian theologians as diverse as Athanasius, Irenaeus, Gregory of Nyssa, Augustine of Hippo, Anselm of Canterbury, Thomas Aquinas, Duns Scotus, Francis Turretin, John Wesley, and Jonathan Edwards (among others) can aptly be described as practitioners of analytic theology in the Christian tradition.

The fourth chapter, “Analytic Theology for the Church and the World,” is devoted to showing how analytic theology ought not exist for its own sake as a purely academic exercise but, rather, to uphold the doctrinal integrity of the church in the face of pressing challenges. McCall once again illustrates this thesis by examining a specific case study, namely the recent challenge from evolutionary biology (population genetics) to the traditional understanding of a historical fall involving an original human pair as the progenitors of humanity. McCall demonstrates that many alleged purely scientific theories wielded against traditional Christian doctrines smuggle in a heavy dose of extra-scientific metaphysical commitments that need to be evaluated in their own right (135–50). Christian theology in the analytic mode can help flush out and critically evaluate these tacit philosophical commitments.

McCall closes the book with a delightful discussion of the proper ends and aim of “theological theology” (to adopt the late John Webster’s phrase) in general and analytic theology in particular, chief among them being the glory of God and the life and doctrinal integrity of the church. McCall calls for a broadening of the traditional areas of analytic theology to include both moral and political theo-

gy, and recommends broadening the dialogue to incorporate the ever-expanding global theological context as a way of healing our theological myopia in the West (152–59). The book concludes by echoing the words of Fred Sanders penned in this very journal: “The kind of systematic theology that is heavily informed by biblical exegesis and the history of doctrine would benefit greatly from the conceptual clarity which could be provided by the kind of philosophical theology that concentrates on analytic tasks” (“The State of the Doctrine of the Trinity in Evangelical Theology”, *Southwestern Journal of Theology* (2005): 170.)

For those interested in exploring the contours of this clarion call to contemporary systematic theologians, the book is highly recommended.

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Historical Studies

***Cyril of Alexandria's Trinitarian Theology of Scripture.* By Matthew R. Crawford. Oxford Early Christian Studies. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014. 304 pages. Hardcover, \$125.00.**

In this volume, Matthew Crawford seeks to address an overlooked aspect of Cyril's Trinitarian theology. While Crawford acknowledges Cyril's important contributions to Christology of the fifth century (seen at the council of Ephesus and then later at Chalcedon), he argues that Cyril of Alexandria also played an important role in the development of pro-Nicene Trinitarianism (5). Specifically, Crawford asks how this thoroughgoing pro-Nicene theology intersects with Cyril's understanding of revelation and Scripture.

Crawford notes that a feature of recent scholarship on the development of Nicene orthodoxy is “the greater emphasis upon and appreciation of the role that scriptural exegesis played in those debates” (1). In his development of Cyril's theology, Crawford seeks to continue this trend. Crawford's major thesis is that “intrinsic to pro-Nicene theology is a certain understanding of Scripture that consists of two components corresponding to the divine *movement towards* humanity in revelation, and humanity's *encounter* with that revelation in the written word of Scripture” (3, emphasis added). For Crawford, these two components form the shape of Cyril's broad understanding of Trinity and Scripture. Part of the payoff of discerning this “basic schematic outline” in Cyril's writings is the way it demonstrates that pro-Nicene theology was “not only Trinitarian in its doctrine of God,” but also “included a correspondingly Trinitarian theology of Scripture” (4).

Crawford unpacks this central thesis in a series of carefully connected chapters. In chapter two, he argues that for Cyril the concept of revelation is inescapably Trinitarian. Divine revelation is *from* the Father, *through* the Son, and *in* the Spirit (42–54). Chapter three and four, then, expand on this position. In chapter three, Crawford explores the prominent operations of the Spirit foregrounded in the production and reception of written revelation. For Cyril, the “spiritually breathed book” is produced by “Spirit-bearing authors” (72ff). Cyril's understanding of inspiration, in other words, is a “specific instantiation of Cyril's theology of revelation” (8). Chapter four reemphasizes the central role that the incarnate Son plays in the economy of revelation by showing that the Son speaks in the prophets and apostles. During the incarnation, too, the Son speaks through *himself* (116–20, 125–33).

Chapters five and six focus on the reception of revelation by readers. Here Crawford shifts from considering Cyril's understanding of Scripture from the perspective of its "relationship to the divine in the event of divine unveiling" to the considering Scripture from the perspective of "humanity's encounter with the written word in the act of exegesis" (7). The Scriptures bear a critical role in the divine economy: They allow readers to participate in the *divine Word* by means of the *written Word* (see 176–81). For Cyril, "the church possesses the Jewish Scriptures because they have been given to it by Christ, its Shepherd, who was himself the original divine source of those words" (180). Crawford summarizes this emphasis by arguing that "Cyril's practice of exegesis is a function of his understanding of the place Scripture occupies in the plan of salvation" (8).

The final chapter addresses the theological task and the end of exegesis. Crawford highlights Cyril's position that engaging the theological task is the means by which one encounters the life of the incarnate Son. "In Cyril's estimation," Crawford concludes, "searching after understanding has an appropriate and necessary place in the renewed existence of believers" because it is in fact "a mediation of the Son's own life to believers" (228). In other words, "the theologian-exegete never grows beyond the church's most basic confession of Christological and Trinitarian faith" (228). Meditating on Scripture, then, is a means by which believers encounter the Father. As Crawford summarizes, "in the order of divine operations," the Spirit "effects the will of the Father and Son among humanity, but in terms of humanity's experience of the divine, he leads believers back to the source from which all divine acts ultimately flow" (223). This formulation dovetails with Crawford's overarching argument that Cyril keeps his Christological focus grounded upon a robust Trinitarian foundation.

As Crawford develops his argument, he shows how the major theological areas of Trinity, revelation, and bibliology organically connect in Cyril's thinking. This historical theology has potential implications for contemporary theology, as these loci are not always as integrally connected in works of systematic theology. By focusing on the pro-Nicene theological commitments that Cyril and his contemporaries work with as they *read* and *interpret* biblical texts, this study allows Cyril to add his voice to contemporary discussions about Trinitarian exegesis and theological interpretation. Reading Crawford's volume will likely make you want to read more of Cyril's own writings. This book will help you do so with a deeper framework that allows you to see both the Christological focus and Trinitarian depth of this important patristic theologian's body of work.

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***Baptists and War: Essays on Baptists and Military Conflict, 1640s–1990s.* Edited by Gordon L. Heath and Michael A. G. Haykin. Cambridge: Lutterworth Press, 2015. 243 pages. Paperback, \$38.00.**

Despite the many things that Baptists have in common, their opinions differ widely on certain issues. The issues of war, peace, and civil service are among those where Baptists diverge most widely and significantly. *Baptists and War*, a collection of essays presented at the fifth annual conference of the Andrew Fuller Center for Baptist Studies, presents an exciting opportunity to learn about these issues from

various viewpoints and from expert authors. Since the topic “Baptists and War” is rather broad, this volume contains a wide diversity of papers.

The essays, arranged chronologically, begin with Anthony Cross’s “Baptists, Peace, and War: The Seventeenth-Century Foundations.” In this essay on the early English Baptists, Cross wisely spends significant time looking to the continental Anabaptists who influenced the early English Baptists in many ways—especially on the issues of peace and government service. In fact, as Cross demonstrates, the early Anabaptists expressed almost all the possible views of peace and government service that later Baptist groups have held. The next essay, by Paul L. Brewster, jumps forward in time to examine “Andrew Fuller and the War Against Napoleon.” Most of Brewster’s analysis comes only from one sermon by Fuller on Christian patriotism. It is interesting to see an essay so specifically focused on one sermon. However, the sheer strength of Fuller in this comprehensive sermon not only warrants this examination, but makes Brewster’s essay a particularly interesting one. Brewster shows that Fuller held to a quintessential Baptist hesitancy regarding war with the belief that there are some “just wars” which need to be fought. In those cases, Fuller gives a blessing for the young men of his church to join their countrymen in fighting them. In “A House Uniting: Americans, Baptists, and the War of 1812,” James Tyler Robertson addresses the somewhat blundersome War of 1812. Generally, the war is considered a catalyst in solidifying the identity of the fledgling United States, and Robertson shows that the war also served to unite Baptists in their Baptist and American identities.

The two essays on Canadian Baptists are positioned together both chronologically and in presentation. Gordon Heath’s “The Nile Expedition, New Imperialism, and Canadian Baptists, 1884–1885,” explores the Canadian Baptist struggle with imperialism. While some Canadian Baptists were “uncomfortable with the language of righteousness bolstering the imperial cause” (109), others saw imperialism as an important opportunity to spread the Gospel into new places. In “Call to Arms: The Reverend Thomas Todhunter Shields, World War One, and The Shaping of a Militant Fundamentalist,” Doug Adams demonstrates how Shields’s experiences with World War I caused him to grow increasingly fervent in his fundamentalist sentiments. Robert Linder’s “Australian Baptists in World War Two” is a compelling contrast between two Australian Baptists during World War II: a soldier wounded in battle and an outspoken conscientious objector. He finds the soldier’s account through the examination of archived post-war soldier questionnaires. In “Soviet Baptists and The Cold War” Maurice Dowling attempts the impossible task of understanding the troubles and changes in Baptist life in the Soviet Union by examining official publications. Finally, Nathan Finn analyzes the various opinions towards Vietnam from different American Baptists in “Baptists and the War in Vietnam: Responses to America’s Longest War’.” The strength of this essay is Finn’s analysis of the reasons why different Baptist groups rejected the war. His analysis of the way the Civil Rights Movement and The Vietnam War related and conflicted in Baptist life (214–15) is also particularly helpful.

One of the strengths of this volume is the diversity of subjects. Each essay focuses on a different time period and on different nations. There are two essays on British Baptists, two American, two Canadian, one Australian, and one Russian. This is helpful for any reader looking for a place to start studying Baptist views on war. Because of this, this volume makes an excellent starting point for anyone

looking into the history of Baptists on war and peace. The diversity of subjects also produced excellent bibliographies of rare history—another invaluable contribution.

Perhaps the greatest value of this volume is the original primary source research done in these essays. Linder combed through post-war soldier questionnaires for his essay, Doug Adams scoured through years of Baptist newspaper printings, and Maurice Dowling did the same in his thorough examination of Russian Baptist newspapers throughout the Cold War. The dedication of these scholars to bring to light important but neglected pieces of Baptist history is staggering, and for such a contribution, this volume is highly recommended.

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***Change and Conflict in the U.S. Army Chaplain Corps since 1945.* By Anne C. Loveland. Knoxville: University of Tennessee, 2014. 349 pages. Hardcover, \$64.00.**

In this work, Loveland traces the use of Army chaplains in various training programs designed to address ethical, character, and morale issues among the soldiers. She begins by outlining the advent of character and citizenship training by chaplains following WWII, when senior military leaders observed an unprecedented breakdown of discipline and morals among soldiers. The largely secular training took on religious overtones, and was billed as “Americanism” and set against (largely atheistic) Communism.

With the rise of secularism and evangelicalism in the 1960’s (or at least, the rise of their public voices), the stage was set for controversy within the chaplain corps. In particular, concerns over Establishment by secularists and Free Exercise by conservative religionists manifested themselves in battles over the mandatory Unified Sunday School program, the General Protestant services, and the character guidance programs. Conservatives complained of being forced to compromise their beliefs in an effort to be more ecumenical in the first two, and both groups complained about the influence of religion or lack thereof—depending on perspective—in the third. Loveland correctly notes that these issues were to figure highly in the coming decades, both with regard to the nature/scope of the military chaplaincy and to its very survival.

Loveland then turns to the intense scrutiny to which the chaplaincy was subjected during the Vietnam War. As she rightly notes, the dual role of chaplains as clergy and military officers “rendered them particularly vulnerable, and they were singled out for a special kind of censure” (39). They were charged with compromising their prophetic role—especially in light of American atrocities and a failure of chaplains to speak out—and were criticized for being largely unprepared ethically and pastorally for the harsh realities of the war. However, Loveland also notes that attitudes toward the chaplaincy tended to reflect a larger cultural divide regarding the role of religion in public service and the kind of religion appropriate to that venue/arena.

Loveland then traces the chaplaincy’s attempts at professionalization following Vietnam. From an emphasis upon Clinical Pastoral Education, to a significant modification of the Army’s Chaplain School curriculum, and to a more focused use of chaplains as ethics instructors at service schools across the Army, the Chief of Chaplains sought to increase the visibility, stature, and competency of the Army

chaplaincy. This led to a greater acceptance of the chaplain's prophetic role vis-à-vis nuclear proliferation during the Cold War.

In the 20th and 21st centuries, chaplain activities took on a greater advisement component as chaplains sought to clarify their role(s) as religious leaders and professional military officers. With this increased attention to the military side of chaplaincy functions came increased tensions in balancing pluralism in the military with chaplains' responsibilities as representatives of distinctive faith groups and denominations. Concerns over proselytizing and sectarian prayers arose in the late 80s, but were not clearly addressed by Army leadership or by chaplaincy endorsers. Only when these issues arose as part of a broader culture war within civilian circles—largely as a result of problems in the Air Force and Navy—did Army chaplaincy leadership address them specifically. As Loveland correctly notes, though, the Army did not produce ad hoc guidelines (as the AF and Navy), but drew upon tradition and already existing doctrine. By and large, then, the Army was able to avoid the level of scandal experienced in both of the other service chaplaincies.

While Loveland's account is thorough and engaging, she offers less analysis than desired. For example, when she addresses the culture war that flared up following the proselytization scandal at the United States Air Force Academy, she does not provide an explanation for why the Army was better equipped to address concerns regarding Constitutionality; she simply states that it was in a better position to do so. More reflection on this difference between the services would prove valuable to the work and readers interested (in particular) in these contentious issues.

A second weakness of the book involves the analysis she did provide regarding the battles over worship, prayer, and ecumenism. Uncharacteristically, Loveland criticizes those chaplains who insisted on their own rights to evangelize (during the 2005–2006 culture war), charging them with having “little regard ... for either moral suasion or official military regulations” (231). She claims they elevated their own constitutional rights over those of the soldiers to whom they are supposed to minister, but this is an unfair and unsubstantiated assessment. She offers no evidence that any chaplain made comments to this effect. A more charitable interpretation of those chaplains' position is simply to see their argument as an assertion of their right to pray—if asked to do so—in a manner consistent with their own beliefs, something mandated by Army regulations and the concepts underlying ecclesiastical endorsement. The chaplains were not fighting to have sectarian prayers at command events, but rather to have prayers reflect the one praying when they are included in the program.

Despite these minor shortcomings, Loveland's book is invaluable for those interested in the history of military chaplaincy. She takes a serious look at the how chaplains address moral and ethical issues within the U.S. Army while also providing spiritual care to the service members and serving as professional staff officers within the military hierarchy. The work is largely descriptive, and is a treasure trove of historical information on U.S. Army chaplaincy work in addressing soldier morality and morale, PTSD (and its various manifestations), and the differences in roles for a changing military and culture.

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Ethics and Philosophical Studies

***Born This Way? Homosexuality, Science, and the Scriptures.* By J. Alan Branch. Wooster: Weaver, 2016. 177 pages. Softcover, \$14.99.**

Current discussions about homosexuality often delve into the fields of science and psychology. For many Christians these discussions reach far beyond their expertise, and they are left with few lines of argumentation other than to say they do not believe the research. Some believers are savvy enough to know the current state of psychological and scientific research about homosexuality, but using it in an informal discussion is difficult. For that reason, it is important to have a resource that summarizes and critiques the current state of research in these areas. J. Alan Branch's *Born This Way?* serves as just this type of resource.

Branch serves as Professor of Christian Ethics at Midwestern Baptist Theological Seminary in Kansas City, Missouri. He has researched the medical, scientific, and psychological explanations for homosexuality extensively, and this book is a summary of much of that work. In this volume, he attempts to give Christians insight into the ongoing work in these fields. As the overarching thesis of the book, Branch states, "A review of the research will show that, while there are some genetic or biological factors that *correlate* with a higher incidence of same-sex attraction and homosexual behavior, as of yet there is no proof of genetic or biological *causation* for homosexuality" (2).

The book opens with a discussion of three major players in the psychological research about homosexuality—Sigmund Freud, Alfred Kinsey, and the American Psychiatric Association (APA). Freud's psychoanalytic approach provided a modern explanation for homosexual attraction and behavior. Branch summarizes his four contributions as the result of inhibitions in sexual development, an innate characteristic, an inability to change sexual orientation, and an emphasis on sexualized children (13). The work of Freud then set the stage for the future work of Kinsey and the APA. Following the development of Freud's perspective, Branch moves on to discuss the work of Kinsey, who developed the influential Kinsey Scale that has been used to measure the level of homosexual impulse. Finally, Branch follows the shift in attitude of the APA as it moved from classifying homosexuality as a disease to accepting it as a normal pattern of behavior.

After reviewing the psychological research about homosexuality, Branch moves on to discuss the scientific research. He covers the scientific developments in brain plasticity, prenatal hormones, homosexual twin studies, and DNA research. Each of these areas of research contributes to the common argument that individuals are born with homosexual desires. After discussing these topics, Branch then offers a biblical evaluation so that Christians can know how to respond to these arguments.

Branch's work is helpful for those who desire an extensive look at the science and psychology of the debate about homosexuality. He describes the research in great detail and makes perceptive observations about its limitations. For example, in the chapter about DNA research he demonstrates that no clear discovery has been made regarding a homosexual gene. Branch writes, "Science has not discovered a gene which causes homosexuality. What some researchers have claimed to discover are regions of the human genome which may contain genes which influence the manner in which male homosexual orientation develops." (105). This serves as an example of how Branch proposes that Christians respond to these arguments in the culture.

While Branch's use of scientific research is helpful, the detail with which he describes some of the studies can get tedious for the non-specialist. Clearly, Branch wants to prepare his readers to answer as many questions as possible, but some of his readers may find themselves slightly overwhelmed. Despite this fact, the book is still a useful tool for Christians who want to engage the scientific arguments.

In the end, *Born This Way?* proves to be a helpful book for those seriously engaged in debates about the scientific aspects of homosexuality. Branch gives Christians the evidence they need to refute some of the common arguments that lack clear scientific evidence. This book succeeds in its goal of dispelling the rumor that homosexuality is biologically caused.

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***Darkness is My Only Companion: A Christian Response to Mental Illness.* By Kathryn Greene-McCreight. Grand Rapids: Brazos Press, 2015. 194 pages. Paperback, \$13.98**

Kathryn Greene-McCreight is associate chaplain at The Episcopal Church at Yale; priest affiliate at Christ Church in New Haven, Connecticut; and a theological writer who holds a PhD from Yale University. Her formal training is in theological studies, but her experiences have provided an education in mental illness. After an initial bout with postpartum depression, Greene-McCreight was diagnosed with bipolar disorder. Her story arises from a mixture of her theological beliefs and her psychiatric hospital experiences.

As a transparent confessional diary, the author recounts her experiences as a psychiatric patient battling symptoms of mental illness while attempting to balance her Christian beliefs. This book is an effort to unveil her journey in order to identify with those who share in similar symptoms and diagnostic labels. The work is intended to be a guide for Christians to use when navigating the deep waters of mental illness.

The narrative is communicated in three successive sections. The first section is written in epistolary form with sequential entries that describe her descent into the depths of darkness. The author's bouts with disturbed mental health resulted in a barrage of questions targeting her deep-seated faith. The second section catalogs her journey through those points of upheaval to a settled and stronger faith. The closing section offers practical advice for those who endure symptoms of mental illness, as a patient or a loved one, and criteria for choosing a path of therapy.

Greene-McCreight attempts to examine "the distress caused and the Christian theological questions raised by Clinical mental illness," (xiii) without focusing on her personal pain but emphasizing "the working of the triune God in the pain of one mentally ill" (xxii). As a tertiary purpose and motivated by her agonizing personal experience, the author intends to alleviate the stigma associated with mental illness in the Christian community. While she accomplishes a few of her goals, each becomes overshadowed by several assumptions and implications offered.

Greene-McCreight demonstrates courage to disclose deeply personal and painful experiences. The reader can sense the healing nature of her intimate confessions. As someone who truly understands the agony and sorrow associated with debilitating symptoms, the author gains rapport with readers who share a similar diagnosis. The strongest aspect of the book is accomplished through her

transparent identification with the suffering of others as she balances the honesty of her abnormal symptoms with authenticity as a normal person.

One substantial contribution in this work is to acknowledge the stigma of mental illness among the Christian community. "The mentally ill," she expresses, "are one of the groups of handicapped people against whom it still seems to be socially acceptable to hold prejudice" (23). The author's unguarded stories encourage resolve to alleviate the reproach. While there is stigma of mental illness in church communities, she correctly acknowledges it as a two-way street. Many in the psychiatric community, historically and currently, consider religious speech and ideals as "symptoms of illness" (73). She spends considerable effort targeting the Christian populace to eradicate their bias, (53–61) yet she does little to warn the psychiatric community of their intolerance of religion.

The other segments of the book tend to stray from the proposed parameters. She had hopes that the book would contain valuable advice for clergy in dealing with mentally ill parishioners, yet failed to provide positive directives (xiii). The author's advice to pastors in lieu of pastoral care was to, "refer, refer, refer to professional psychiatric care" (36). This answer seems particularly contrary to the scriptural call of pastors to bind the broken, strengthen the weak, and encourage the fainthearted (Ezekiel 34:16; 1 Thessalonians 5:14). Her suggestions seem to defeat her primary goal to encourage a distinctly Christian response to mental illness.

Her bias toward biological psychiatry is likely to ward off Christian intrusion. This inclination is revealed in her descriptions of her struggles. The author depicts her condition as a biological disease, faulty brain chemistry, chemical deficiency, or short-circuited brain (xix, 30, 43, 111, 115). Her perspective on mental illness is culturally and experientially informed but does not consider other scientific explanations. Recent scientific work does not support the author's descriptions of her condition as a "chemical imbalance" or "short-circuited brain." For this reason, the author's suggestions for therapy are culturally accepted, but unscientifically founded. As she readily admits, there is no biological explanation for the cause of major depression, but her proposed remedies are rooted in the assumption of chemical imbalances of the brain.

One final critique that diminishes the Christian influence from her perspective is her dualistic approach to man. The remedies suggested by Greene-McCreight promote a narrative that makes the anthropological sphere impervious to Christian thought and intervention. She prefers the psychotherapeutic approach to mental illness, which suggests that the brokenness of the person is divorced from a Christian explanation involving sin, corporate or personal, along with the deterioration of the body. The author acknowledges that this is problematic because the secular therapist may not know how to handle spiritual issues when they arise, but she discourages pastors from being involved in treatment (145).

Darkness is My Only Companion is helpful in acknowledging the negative stigma that surrounds categories of mental illness. More attention needs to be given to assuage these problems. Greene-McCreight has earned respect in her willingness to unveil her struggles, selflessly, so that others who struggle may be helped. In the end, however, the book lacks a clear picture of God's sovereign perspective and compassionate involvement in the lives of those who are afflicted physically or emotionally.

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Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary

Christian Ethics and the Church: Ecclesial Foundations for Moral Thought and Practice. By Philip W. Turner III. Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2015. 320 pages. Softcover, \$27.00.

In *Christian Ethics and the Church: Ecclesial Foundations for Moral Thought and Practice*, Philip Turner, a retired Episcopal priest, deacon, and academic, endeavors to articulate a vision and direction for the role of the church within the context of present society. Turner presents the argument that the ethical focus of the church should be shifted away from what he sees as its present attention—on attempting to transform the culture—suggesting that the focus should be placed upon the formation of a faithful community (xii). Turner believes that the present focus of the vision of the church owes much to the legacy of Richard Niebuhr, who articulated a role for the church in transforming society. Rejecting this approach, as well as approaches that focus primarily on the personal meaning of the individual's soul, Turner offers a vision that is indebted to the thoughts of John Howard Yoder (1927–1997) and Stanley Hauerwas, which focus the attention of the church on its common life.

Part One of the book contains the primary argument. Believing that Christian identity is the primary question for the church to answer at this time in history, Turner takes the ethics of (1) individual sanctification, (2) social redemption, and (3) communal witness as his three conceptions, and presents them through a filter to ascertain which is best for the church. Turner employs a three-question rubric to analyze the three conceptions of what should be the focus of Christian ethics. He looks at (1) What is the goal of life in Christ, (2) What is the basis of life in Christ, and (3) What is the character or shape of life in Christ? He concludes that Yoder's ethic of communal witness is the strongest. He reaches this understanding because he sees the moral life of Christians as a witness to God's final purposes in history in order to provide society a foretaste of the world's destiny (42). The witness of the church is accomplished through its realization of its new life in Jesus Christ (55). It is Jesus Christ risen and victorious that points the church to strive for peace and accept suffering while following Him as her head. The church's identification with Christ is a call to seek reconciliation and forgiveness and a renunciation of violence and a willingness to suffer as a faithful witness (52). The church should be imitators of Christ and this imitation should find its ethical expression in a love manifested in reconciliation, forgiveness, a renunciation of violence, relations based on mutual subjection, and truthful speech (56).

Part Two is a prismatic look at the epistle to the Ephesians. Turner states that the book of Ephesians adds support to this understanding because it focuses on the common life of the church. Turner concludes that the primary emphasis of Christian ethics should not be on personal holiness and social reform, but rather on the renewal of the common life of the church. Part Three is an explication of why the first two conceptions fail to hold, while Part Four articulates what a communal witness of the church will look like in different contexts, including the settings of personal sanctification, life in civil society, and life within political society.

Although I sympathize with Turner's desire to articulate an ethical vision for the church, I do not agree with his conclusions. Turner gives too much priority to the community, in this case the church community, to the detriment of the ongoing sanctification of its people. This is a result of Turner's postliberal theology with its overemphasis on the language and culture which is lived out within the context of a specific community. While the church community is the physical representation of Christ on earth—now that He has ascended into heaven—it develops and forms its

community from the redeemed people of society at large. This means that truth and morality first require the conversion as well as the ongoing and progressive sanctification of individuals. A proper ethical vision of the church is to focus on the biblical injunction to “equip the saints for the work of ministry, for building up the body of Christ, until we all attain to the unity of the faith and of the knowledge of the Son of God, to mature manhood, to the measure of the stature of the fullness of Christ” (Eph 4:12–13). The church is called to grow its people spiritually. This is a leadership process that builds toward the sanctification of individuals within a Christlike community.

I would only suggest this book to readers comfortable with and desiring to understand a well-articulated vision of Christian ethics and the church in line with the thoughts and thinking consistent with the presuppositions of Yoder and Hauerwas. For those not interested in a postliberal perspective, then take a pass on this book.

Paul Golata

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Preaching

***Biblical Preaching: The Development and Delivery of Expository Messages, 3rd Edition.* By Haddon W. Robinson. Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2014. 256 pages. Hardcover, \$22.99.**

Haddon Robinson is a household name among homileticians, and his book *Biblical Preaching* has been a staple among homiletical instructors for decades. Thirty-four years have passed since Robinson first published *Biblical Preaching*. Why publish a third edition? Robinson has served as a pastor, a seminary president, and as a professor of preaching, most notably at Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary. He notes that the impetus for the revision centers on the feedback he has received and is most concentrated in the improvements made to exercises intended to reinforce the book’s content. What has not changed is Robinson’s basic philosophy and method of expository preaching and his hallmark emphasis on the “big idea.”

The book is designed for homiletical instruction. It is a practical text intended to expose the reader to expository preaching and instruct the reader on how to execute expository preaching. In this effort Robinson succeeds masterfully. The book’s multi-decade life span and circulation in the hundreds of thousands testify to this success.

Biblical Preaching has been so successful because it is efficiently thorough, refreshingly perspicuous, and appropriately simple. Robinson is thorough in that he guides the reader through his ten-stage sermon preparation process, instruction on sermon delivery, a sample sermon and evaluation, and a plethora of student exercises and discussion questions for further reinforcement. Every chapter begins with a visual chart isolating the reader’s location in the ten stages. Robinson then harnesses the power of repetition to reinforce his content with visual charts that display new concepts at the beginning of each chapter and with definitions of these concepts at the end of each chapter.

The heart of *Biblical Preaching* is Robinson’s thesis that the expository preacher should communicate the concept or idea of the biblical text. The biblical text can be divided into natural thoughts units that each communicate one overarching idea.

This is the backbone of Robinson's homiletical thought. In the preface to the third edition Robinson recalls a diary entry, "Some preachers preach for an hour and it seems like thirty minutes; others preach for thirty minutes and it seems like an hour. I wonder what the difference is?" (ix). Robinson then writes, "I have spent my life trying to answer that question" (ix).

It appears that Robinson reveals his primary conclusion to his lifelong quest for an answer to this question when he writes, "Sermons seldom fail because they have too many ideas; more often they fail because they deal with too many unrelated ideas" (16). Therefore, Robinson shares common convictions with other advocates of expository preaching. What is distinct in Robinson's *Biblical Preaching*, however, is the homiletical method Robinson articulates that seeks to eradicate the fragmentation of ideas in a sermon by shaping the sermon around one main idea, analogous to shooting a single bullet from a rifle rather than buckshot from a shotgun (16).

What sacrifices must Robinson make in order to emphasize such a specific method, and as a result, what weaknesses does *Biblical Preaching* contain? First, since Robinson writes with the practitioner in mind he goes light on making his case for expository preaching. Robinson acknowledges the authority of Scripture and argues that expository preaching is the type of preaching that best "carries the force of divine authority" (4). The problem is that as Robinson claims, "Expository preaching ... is more a philosophy than a method" (5). Therefore, a fuller treatment of the philosophical and theological foundations that should anchor and drive one's homiletical method would reinforce the how by addressing the why.

Furthermore, Robinson rightfully suggests that "application must come from the theological purpose of the biblical writer" (59). Discovering this purpose helps form the big idea of the sermon. Robinson then suggests the preacher take the big idea of the sermon informed by the biblical author's purpose and determine the purpose of the sermon. The sermon's purpose or primary application, he argues, should then shape the structure of the sermon in order to ensure the success of the sermon.

Robinson writes, "Sometimes the arrangement of ideas in the biblical passage will have to be altered in the outline. The biblical writer did not have your audience in mind" (92). I would argue that God inspired not only the substance of the biblical text, but also the structure and the spirit of it. Therefore, organizing a sermon around the structure of the text rather than the purpose of the preacher is a logical move. The expository preacher should not choose to take the biblical text's substance while ignoring its structure when building a sermon. Doing so ignores an aspect of the inspired text and substitutes some of the text's cargo for the preacher's contemporary purpose.

With this one theological and methodological critique in mind, *Biblical Preaching* still stands today as a pillar promoting the instruction and practice of expository preaching. Students, pastors, and professors will find it both captivating to read and a boon to their own practice of expository preaching. What preacher cannot appreciate a textbook with rhetorical gems such as "each point in the outline ... should be a grammatically complete sentence ... Partial statements allow thought to slip through our minds like a greased football" (94)?

Kyle Walker
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Missions

***Introducing World Religions: A Christian Engagement.* By Charles E. Farhadian. Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2015. 600 pages. Hardcover, \$49.99.**

This introductory work is a charitable interaction with the world's major faiths from a distinctly Christian perspective. Engaging with a variety of religions, Charles E. Farhadian orients the reader to the basic elements, history, practices, and contemporary makeup of individual faith groups around the globe. Furthermore, this engagement proves to be generous and accommodating to each belief system. While maintaining a commitment to his own faith convictions, Farhadian avoids insensitive conclusions regarding other worldviews.

Acknowledging that these faiths may contain some general revelation, Farhadian is quick to see various qualities in these faiths that contain truth. For example, he sees the Sikh view of God as laudable in that it views the divine as incomprehensible, a profound mystery that no one can fully comprehend. While acknowledging the view's strengths, he is also quick to provide a Christian corrective to this view, asserting that although God is in some sense incomprehensible, God "can be known, even in mystery, because God stooped into earthly time and space to reveal himself" (245). In this respect, Farhadian strikes a helpful balance between a sympathetic consideration of others' beliefs and a personal commitment to a Christian worldview.

Farhadian's work includes a plethora of pictures, tables, charts, and sidebars. While this feature certainly makes for a busy page, it does not overly distract the reader. This is due in large part to the careful selection of images, organization and placement of said graphics, and spacing considerations, which makes for a visually appealing display.

In chapter 1, Farhadian outlines his categories for religion, defines what constitutes a religion, surveys various religious contexts, and discusses various theories of religion. Conscious of the difficulties that face a broad study of world religions, Farhadian directs his book toward a Christian readership. Furthermore, he aims towards a "sympathetic approach to learning about the major religious traditions of the world while being committed to the Christian faith" (54). Farhadian reiterates that his engagement comes from a distinctly Christian perspective. His tone further maintains a commitment to a set of propositional truths, yet it is done in such a way that shows respect and sensitivity to other faith commitments.

Here, Farhadian introduces a four-pronged approach in which he will evaluate each major religion. His assessments include a context with includes psychological, cultural, social, and historical features. This style makes for a helpful analysis as it is able to capture the major dimensions of a religion.

In chapters 2 through 6, Farhadian looks at what are the traditional religions of the East—Hinduism, Buddhism, Jainism, Taoism, and Confucianism. Quite obviously, this section produces the bulk of information that will be unfamiliar to the average western reader. This section proves to be particularly insightful as it highlights major aspects of the religion and its history, identifies key terms, and details its implications for Christians.

Chapters 7 through 9 look at the religions of the West—Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. The religions share a commitment to monotheism that all claim roots from Abraham. This section will probably be the most familiar to the Western reader, yet it proves to be informative to see each as a major religion, subject to the same analysis as the other world faiths. Seeing these familiar religions within a

broader context, and evaluated by the same standards as others will shed new light on its subjects.

In his final chapter, Farhadian looks at new religious movements. This section mainly includes offshoots of the Christian faith such as Mormonism, Jehovah's Witness, Christian Science, and Seventh-Day Adventism.

One of the most curious features of this book is its decision to devote a disproportionate amount of attention to Jainism as a major world faith. This is probably due in large part to its unfamiliarity to a common Western reader. However, Farhadian devotes more space to Jainism than he does Sikhism. Jainism accounts for a mere six million adherents worldwide, whereas Sikhism represents a massive twenty-five million. Similarly, Farhadian relegates Mormonism to a small category in his final chapter of new religions. While commanding fourteen million members, only ten full pages are given to the Mormons. Farhadian briefly defends his decision, suggesting that Jainism has proved to have a great impact on the world despite its relatively small numbers. This may be true; however, the impact does not eclipse that of the aforementioned groups. One would like to see a more equitable representation of these religions, in relation to its number of worldwide members.

Quite obviously, this work is geared towards an informed readership in the West. Farhadian does a good job accounting for his audience. There are frequent relational points that make for an attractive style and easy comprehension. The glossary in the back is one helpful feature. Teachers and professors looking for an engaging textbook would do well to consider this book, as it may prove to be the new standard in seminaries, Bible colleges, and divinity schools. This welcomed addition to the field will prove to be helpful for pastors, missionaries, church leaders, and college and seminary students.

Adam Gabriel Cavalier
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**Abstracts of Recently Completed Dissertations in the School of
Theology at Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary**

“The Knowability of the Father in the Theology of Irenaeus.” By Ryan Allan Redwine. Supervised by Stephen Presley.

While scholarship has pointed to the revelation of God the Father in Irenaeus’ theology tacitly, there has not been a treatment explicitly devoted to the Father’s knowability in the presbyter’s doctrine of God. This dissertation argues that the knowability of God the Father is a decisive feature of Irenaeus’ theology. In contradistinction to the Valentinians’ conception of First-Father, Irenaeus asserts that the Father is revealed through diverse modes, including creation, Christology, and eschatology. Irenaeus’ usage of these theological categories undercuts the Valentinians’ doctrine of God as well as their anti-materialism.

Chapter 1 situates the thesis in light of Irenaean studies. Chapter 2 explicates Gnosticism in general and then moves to treat Valentinian cosmology. Chapter 3 elucidates Irenaeus’ assessment of Valentinian cosmology and then provides his repudiation of his opponents by positing a biblical doctrine of creation which reveals the Father. Chapter 4 clarifies Valentinian Christology and then puts forth Irenaeus’ understanding of the infleshed Son of God who reveals the Father. Chapter 5 explains Irenaeus’ conception of the eschaton and expounds on his doctrine of the incorruptible human being which reveals the Father. Finally, Chapter 6 reiterates the force of the thesis and summarizes major concepts of the project. Together, these chapters conclude that in Irenaeus the Father is knowable through material modalities.

**Abstracts of Recently Completed Dissertations in the School of
Evangelism and Missions at Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary**

“Crowther Goes To Canterbury: An Historical Analysis of Ajayi Crowther’s (1810–1891) Missiological Practices And The Anglican Decade Of Evangelism (1990–1999).” By Olayemi Olusola Talabi Fatusi. Supervised by Keith Eitel.

This dissertation argues that effective retransmission of the gospel across culture demands allegiance to, and demonstration of the supremacy of the Scriptures over culture, as evidenced in Ajayi Crowther nineteenth century evangelical missiological practices and the late twentieth century Decade of Evangelism in Church of Nigeria (Anglican Communion). The study analyzed and compares the trajectory of gospel retransmission and the historiographical significance of these two events to the growth of Anglican Church in Nigeria. It establishes that the strategies employed during the twentieth century Decade of Evangelism implementation were an attempted reversion to Samuel Ajayi Crowther’s Evangelical Missiological practices.

The study reveals the pivotal role of Archbishop Joseph Abiodun Adetiloye's ministry (1988–1999) as the bridge between these two periods. It asserts evangelical Christian conviction contribution in Christian faith expansion. In the end, it points to the need to sustain the quality of Nigerian Anglican Christianity's growth, as a microcosm of world Christianity, through a continuous engagement of the unsaved people with the gospel. In the end, this dissertation makes three appeals. First, it puts forward two historical precedences, first was 1867, where the Lambeth Conference upheld the authority of the scripture over culture about marriage. In this case, it was the western dioceses that disapproved of the non-western cultural attenuation of polygamy.

The Western dioceses' refusing to submit to the Authority of the Scripture and global leadership of the Communion on homosexuality can learn from 1867 nonwestern submission and retraction from polygamy. The world needs to learn the spirit of submission, obedience, tolerance and unity of the Church. If the non-western Church of 1867 can submit to the body, every other part of the communion should learn from it and do the same—even in the present conflict facing the universal Church. The second historical precedence was Crowther tolerance in intentional gospel retransmission that does not jeopardized the mission of God. Every interfaith encounter is an opportunity to present Christ either in words or action.

Secondly, Church of Nigeria (Anglican Communion) enormous human resource of over 20 Million members should be mobilized for pragmatic gospel retransmission beyond the shores of Nigeria into the neighboring countries of West Africa.

Thirdly, the proposal of Bishop Cyril of Okorochoa, on the Decade of Dedicated Discipleship should be followed up by the Anglican Church in Nigeria, because evangelism is not an end, but a means to an end—of making Disciples in all Nations.

Lastly, The Oral history interviews section of this research remains a safe guard against any future revisionist historian attempt on the decade of evangelism in Nigeria.

The search term for this research includes Ajayi Crowther, Decade of Evangelism, Church of Nigeria (Anglican Communion), Church Missionary Society in Nigeria, Missionary Bishop and gospel retransmission.

“Analysis of the Dynamic Relationship Between Globalization and the Transmission of the Gospel: A Case Study of Soninke Transmigrants in Africa and Europe.” By M. Augustus Hamilyon. Supervised by Keith Eitel.

This dissertation is written in a time when significant numbers of sub-Saharan Islamic migrants are making the arduous and dangerous journey from Africa to Europe. They are globally motivated, and most all are globally affected. This study probes the impact of increased globalization upon the religious mores of these migrants and the resulting propensity for religious

change. The thesis of this research is that there is an increase in gospel receptivity that corresponds with the increase in globalization. The Soninke of the Middle Niger serve as an example to illustrate this process. Today they are highly mobile and truly Islamic. A millennium ago, they were sedentary and animistic. This study demonstrates that historical contacts with the global world led to glocal change. This change continues to occur as migrants engage a global world. Select Soninke transmigrants were interviewed and testified to the relationship between modern globalization and gospel receptivity.

The first chapter of the dissertation introduces the research question and methodology. This is a qualitative study utilizing the content of focused oral interviews to substantiate the thesis. The second chapter presents the Soninke in their broad contemporary cultural landscape of sub-Saharan West Africa. Their particular cultural realities are examined to establish and document their current migratory nature and their Islamic commitment. The third chapter identifies Soninke origins and situates their culture in a historical context. They were cultural animists until influenced by traders from the Maghreb. This contact began a process of Islamization and an increased inclination to migration that continues today. The fourth chapter examines the processes of globalization that occur during migration and the resulting effect on religious commitment. The testimonies of six Soninke Christians substantiate the thesis that migration leads to increased globalization, and thus a greater receptivity to the gospel. The final chapter provides a summary of the conclusions and suggestions for further research.

“From Riding the Wave to Swimming Against the Current: An Analysis of Factors Impacting the Numerical Growth of the All-Ukraine Union of Evangelical Christian-Baptists 1991–2011.” By Daniel Upchurch. Supervised by Dean Sieberhagen.

This dissertation argues that the numerical growth and decline in the churches of the All-Ukraine Union of Churches of Evangelical Christians-Baptists (AUCECB) from 1991 through 2011 was directly impacted by various internal and external factors. It concluded that, of all these factors, the level of outreach efforts on the part of the AUCECB's churches combined with the level of spiritual interest on the part of Ukrainians in general in the context of relative religious freedom were most determinative of this growth and decline.

Chapter 1 describes the nature of this study and its relation to the discipline of World Christian Studies.

Chapter 2 establishes the historical context of the numerical growth and decline of the AUCECB 1991–2011 by analyzing the formation and development of the Ukrainian Baptist movement up to 1991.

Chapter 3 compares the attitude toward numerical growth and decline in the AUCECB with that of key World Christian Studies authors. Then, it explains how the AUCECB measures numerical growth and why.

Finally, it concludes by analyzing in detail the numerical growth and decline of AUCECB from 1991 through 2011.

Chapter 4 describes five key external factors identified in this study as having a significant impact on the numerical growth and decline of the AUCECB 1991–2011.

Chapter 5 summarizes five key internal factors identified in the study as impacting most the numerical growth and decline of the AUCECB 1991–2011

Chapter 6 addresses the overall conclusions drawn from this study relating to the impact of the external and internal factors on the numerical growth and decline of the AUCECB 1991–2011 and discusses areas for further exploration and analysis.

“From Conversion to Assimilation: Developing a Missional Ecclesiology to Retain Converted Muslims to Christ in North America.” By Johnny Elbitar. Supervised by John Massey.

This study is concerned with finding a place called home for immigrant Christian converts from Islamic backgrounds living in North America. The mission of the church to Muslim people has accomplished greater success in the effort of communicating the Gospel to Muslims than in assimilating them into the fellowship of believers. Missiologists and theologians have zealously and passionately invested expertise in making the Gospel comprehensible to Muslim hearts and minds. Mission workers’ exploration of new methods tends to end with the goal of conversion. However, conversion does not constitute an all-inclusive expectation for a life with Christ, but rather, it is only a starting point.

The challenge for the Muslim who becomes a Christian begins after conversion. In this respect, the subject of assimilating Muslim converts to Christ into the fellowship of believers has been neglected. A typical result is that many converts revert to Islam due to the lack of follow-up, assimilation, and discipleship. Assimilation is often overlooked in the discussion of evangelism and conversion, yet, for assimilation to be successful and effective, the church must first comprehend the process of conversion in the life of the new convert. Hence, the subject matter under study is concerned with understanding the process of conversion, which should help with pinpointing the barriers that hinder assimilation, as well as developing factors to enhance converts’ assimilation into the church.

The study’s seven chapters are arranged as follows: Chapter 1 pinpoints the research problem, purpose, and significance of the study. Chapter 2 defines the Christian basis of conversion and its application for Muslim converts to Christ. Chapter 3 explores the missiological challenges and emerging complexities which Christian converts from Islam undergo in their post-conversion experiences. Chapter 4 focuses on the extensive use of family terms in the ecclesiological vocabulary in the New Testament and its implications for converts. The goal is to articulate the biblical mandate

that ensures converts' assimilation into a new family in the Christian community. Chapter 5 highlights factors that hinder converts' assimilation into the church. Chapter 6 suggests factors to enhance the assimilation of converts into the fellowship of believers. Chapter 7 concludes with presenting an outcome of the study which aims at developing a missional ecclesiology to assimilate converted Muslims to Christ in North America.

“Persecution and Martyrdom in the *Misseo Dei*: Evaluating Tertullian’s *Semen est Sanguis Christianorum* Within a Roman North African Context 180–313 A.D.” By J. Tristan Hurley. Supervised by John Massey

This dissertation seeks to understand persecution and martyrdom as a vital part of the *missio dei*. Tertullian in his famous dictum, “the blood of Christians is seed,” expresses a deep theological truth in which persecution and martyrdom is something that God wills, enacts and serves a paramount purpose in the making of disciples. The idea of the blood of the Christians being seed does incorporate a relationship to growth, but most importantly it assimilates into the overarching *missio dei*, in which God reveals His will for the salvation of others.

Pastors, theologians, and teachers do recognize the reality of persecution and martyrdom, but do not recognize the possibility that God uses persecution and martyrdom to grow the church, mature individual Christians, and advance the message of Jesus Christ. Christians should be encouraged to confront persecution and martyrdom from a biblical perspective and view it as a part of the *missio dei*. To understand persecution and martyrdom from Tertullian’s perspective is not to perceive persecution in missionary service as gone terribly wrong, rather it is evidence of missionary service gone terribly right. Chapter 1 provides a summary of persecution and martyrdom in the scene of World Christianity. North Africa holds a unique position in the direction of World Christianity and has a lineage of persecution and martyrdom. Chapter 2 explores the origins of Christianity in the context of Roman North Africa. There are numerous issues regarding the origins of Christianity in North Africa, and an investigation will be made as to the most accurate derivation. Chapter 3 introduces Tertullian and his works. Tertullian is the prime example of a North African, ante-Nicene, Latin writer and offers an abundance of wisdom regarding a patristic understanding of persecution. Chapter 4 focuses on assessing Tertullian’s understanding of persecution and martyrdom. Chapter 5 investigates historical documentation to assess whether or not evidence exists to assert that persecution was related to witness in the Roman African church from AD 180 to AD 313 Chapter six will apply the latter to a World Christian context, particularly on applying the specific missiological dimensions.

“The History of the Development of a Contextualized System of Theological Education in the Guatemala Baptist Theological Seminary.”
By William O. Hurst, Jr. Supervised by Daniel Sánchez.

The purpose of this dissertation is to investigate the empirical process of coming to have a nationally contextualized system as revealed in the historical development of the Guatemala Baptist Theological Seminary (GBTS). This study takes into account the sixty-eight-year history of the seminary, including the impact of missionaries sent by the International Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention (IMB of the SBC).

Chapter 1 introduces GBTS. Key terms are explained to clarify the differences between seminary education in Guatemala and the United States.

Chapter 2 looks at theological education from a biblical perspective. It reviews four models of theological education that have either influenced the seminary in previous years or serves as a model for future contextualized theological education. Theological Education by Extension is a contextualized model of theological education reviewed in this chapter showing not only the need for a contextualized model, but also demonstrating how a contextualized model develops. The final section demonstrates how GBTS discovered its need for contextualization. This section includes the departure of the IMB from theological education in 1998.

Chapter 3 offers a historical analysis of GBTS. Seven time periods from the establishment of the Guatemala Baptist Convention to 2016 offer detailed analysis on the seminary structure, faculty, students, and international influence. Special attention is dedicated to the development of contextualized theological education in each time period.

Chapter 4 acknowledges the contributions to theological education made by GBTS. These contributions are divided between the national and international influences on the seminary as well as expressed by the seminary nationally and internationally. International partnerships include the efforts of Southwestern Baptist Seminary through the Global Theological Innovation as well as Baptist State Convention partnerships.

Chapter 5 looks at the current realities facing GBTS. It offers recommendations to maintain a contextualized version of theological education that will continue to impact all of Central America in the area of theological education.

“Holding Up Half of the Sky: The Origination and Ramifications of Female Leadership Roles in the Three-Self Patriotic Movement (TPSM) Church of China with Special Reference to Shandong Province.” By Zachary Ray Jones. Supervised by John Massey.

This dissertation explores the rise of feminization and female leadership roles within the Three-Self Patriotic Movement (TSPM) church and the effect of feminization on the church, in general, and on the fulfillment of the Great Commission, in particular. As World Christianity shifts from a Western to a Southern perspective, the theology and church practice of

the non-West become ever-more important and apparent. With unmatched potential, the Chinese church becomes a key player in the future of Southern Christianity. The effects of Chinese Christian feminist practices already influence global Christianity through international theological journal publications and will escalate influence as the Chinese church establishes and strengthens their call to fulfill the Great Commission.

In an effort to understand the current realities of female leadership roles in the TSPM church, a historical approach precedes a theological discussion of TSPM theology and church practice. First, a historical overview of the slow rise of feminism in an ancient patriarchal society reveals that Protestant missionaries ushered in a feminist movement in Chinese society. Following the historical overview, research shows how communism and Mao Zedong in particular, encouraged a different kind of feminism that ultimately affected the TSPM church.

The next approach to developing the thesis analyzes the TSPM theological method and understanding of feminist theology. In this section, TSPM theological journals, *Tian Feng* and *Chinese Theological Review*, show how Bishop K.H. Ting's push for theological reconstruction encourages a feminist interpretation of Scripture. In order to validate research with reality, interviews with female TSPM ministers reveal how the TSPM church operates with female leadership roles.

With the growth of the Chinese church, the effects of feminization hang in the balance of attempting to please socialism and fulfill the Great Commission. The push for feminist practice in the Chinese church directly impacts the success and magnitude of its expansion.

“An Investigation of Benajah Harvey Carroll’s Contribution to Evangelism Within the Southern Baptist Convention.” By Brandon Dean Kiesling. Supervised by Matt Queen.

This dissertation argues that B.H. Carroll’s role in the formation of Southern Baptist evangelism training and mobilization is consistent with his concept of evangelism and the office of the evangelist and traces his contributions to Southern Baptist evangelism from 1906–2016.

Chapter One introduces the study and includes the thesis statement, relevance and importance of the proposal, state of current research, methodology, and elaboration of sub-topics.

Chapter Two includes a brief biography of Carroll and presents Carroll’s philosophy of evangelism, including his concept of evangelism, evangelist, and the role of the church and pastor in evangelism. Also, Carroll’s practice of evangelism is presented, including his pastoral and denominational ministries.

Chapter Three presents Carroll’s role in the formation of the Department of Evangelism at the Home Mission Board, including the work of this Department from its creation to the current day.

Chapter Four presents Carroll's role in the formation of the Department of Evangelism at Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, including the work of this Department from its creation to the current day.

Chapter Five concludes the dissertation with a summarization of Carroll's contributions to evangelism within the Southern Baptist Convention and a restatement of the thesis. Areas of further research are suggested.

Abstracts of Recently Completed Dissertations in the School of Preaching at Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary

“Spirit-Empowered Witness: A Lukan Theology of Preaching.” By David Nanchang Gambo. Supervised by David L. Allen.

This dissertation argues that Spirit-empowered preaching is characterized by two marks: Spirit-words and Spirit-works.

Chapter 1 identifies some reasons for the contemporary negligence toward pneumatology in preaching, and reviews some contemporary homiletical/theological proposals attempting to tackle the problem.

Chapter 2 analyzes Jesus' testimony about his ministry in Luke 4:14–30, where he established himself as the Spirit-empowered Messiah, mighty in words and works.

Chapter 3 analyzes two disciples' testimony about Jesus in Luke 24:13–35, where they testified that Jesus was a prophet mighty in words and works.

Chapter 4 analyzes Luke's testimony about Jesus in Acts 1:1–5, where Luke confirmed that his first Gospel was a summary of all that Jesus began to teach (words) and do (works).

Chapter 5 analyzes Peter's testimony about Jesus in Acts 10:34–43, where Peter validates that Jesus was a prophet mighty in words and works because he was anointed by God with the Holy Spirit and power.

Chapter 6 establishes a theology of Spirit-empowered preaching by harnessing all the exegetical results together in an organized pattern.

“A Pulpit Artist: An Examination of the Relationship Between Jerry Vines's Bibliology and Homiletical Method.” By Lewis Wayne Richerson. Supervised by David L. Allen.

This dissertation argues Jerry Vines's homiletic method was connected to his doctrine of Scripture. The argument for the connection is based on the numerous sermons that Vines preached on the doctrine of Scripture and his two published books on preaching.

Chapter 1 introduces the dissertation by stating the purpose, identifying the thesis statement, providing the writer's interest in the study, and elucidating the method to be employed in the remainder of the dissertation.

Chapter 2 sets the context for the remainder of the dissertation by introducing the life of Jerry Vines. This chapter communicates the connection each of the major events in his life had on the formation of his doctrine of Scripture and homiletical method. Attention is also given to defining his role

in the Conservative Resurgence of the Southern Baptist Convention, which clearly displays Vines's doctrine of Scripture and homiletical method.

Chapter 3 defines Vines's bibliology with four major statements on the formation of the doctrine of Scripture: the authority of Scripture, the necessity of Scripture, the sufficiency of Scripture, and the clarity of Scripture. Conclusions concerning his bibliology will primarily be drawn from more than twenty sermons and lectures given on the doctrine of Scripture.

Chapter 4 defines Vines's understanding of expository preaching from an analysis of his book *A Practical Guide to Sermon Preparation*, his lectures, and his sermons. Additionally, this chapter will show the connection between his doctrine of Scripture and homiletical method.

Chapter 5 offers an analysis of Vines's preaching of sermons delivered in churches he pastored and various denominational venues in which he preached by using his own rubric. Vines notes six elements that must be present for a sermon to be considered expository in nature.

Chapter 6 provides suggestions for further research, as well as a summary of the conclusions drawn from this study.

“Preaching and Biblical Theology: A Theological Hermeneutic for Discovering Authorial Intent in Old Testament Narrative Using ‘The Reproach of Egypt’ in Joshua 5:2–9.” By Sunghoun Park. Supervised by Matthew McKellar.

The purpose of the dissertation is to present biblical theology as a sound theological hermeneutic for discovering the original meaning intended by the author in interpreting Old Testament narratives. Chapter 1 frames the dissertation by presenting the background research on interpretation, meaning, and the hermeneutical triad: history, literature, and theology.

Chapter 2 presents the biblical grounds for the need of a theological hermeneutic. Considering the inspiration of the Bible, it is true that God is the ultimate author of the Bible. The research on the preunderstanding of the biblical authors, typology, and promise-fulfillment shows the inner unity of the Bible. The divine authorship and the inner unity of the Bible attest to the need for a theological hermeneutic for seeking authorial intent.

Chapter 3 deals with the characteristics of Old Testament narrative texts. The chapter introduces literary approaches to the Bible and examines the literary characteristic of Old Testament narratives such as external and internal elements. The problems in interpreting Old Testament narratives are examined, such as using narratives as illustrations, allegorizing, focusing on the individual story itself, and moralizing.

Chapter 4 presents the issue of biblical theology. Biblical theology can be defined as a sound theological hermeneutic which allows interpreters to see the unity of the Bible and get the right meaning the author intended. In order to clearly define biblical theology, five types of the approaches and methods to biblical theology are examined. Biblical theology as history of

redemption shows that the Bible consistently narrates the historical progression of God's redeeming work.

Chapter 5 proves how biblical theology applies to the process of interpretation. For this, a specific Old Testament narrative text, Joshua 5:2–9, is examined. Without considering biblical theology, "the reproach of Egypt" is usually misunderstood. However, considering biblical theology, interpreters can recognize that "the reproach of Egypt" indicates the wandering and death in the wilderness due to the covenantal disobedience of the Israelites. Biblical theology plays a key role in discovering the authorial intent in Old Testament narratives.

"Preaching the Satire of a Rogue King: Genre-Sensitive Preaching and the Solomonic Narrative of 1 Kings 10:14–11:13." By William Andrew "Ted" Williams. Supervised by David L. Allen.

This dissertation presents and defends the thesis that 1 Kings 10:14–11:13 is satire and that a text-driven, genre-sensitive model of preaching best presents the content, genre, and function of the text over and against traditional models of expositional preaching.

Chapter 1 identifies the thesis statement and addresses background information relevant to this dissertation.

Chapter 2 addresses both the homiletical and hermeneutical methodology employed by this project.

Chapter 3 defines and explains biblical satire. Moreover, this chapter presents a rubric of markers for identifying biblical satire.

Chapter 4 applies the observations from the previous chapters to 1 Kings 10:14–11:13. This chapter argues that the pericope is satire and presents a fitting interpretation.

Chapter 5 proposes a theory for preaching 1 Kings 10:14–11:13 and applies the theory through an annotated model which describes sermonic elements as well as comparison and contrast with the sermons of Criswell, Dever, and Vines.

Chapter 6 provides a summary of the conclusions drawn from this project as well as suggestions for further research.

"John Stott's Christological Preaching from Genesis." By William Daniel Weaver. Supervised by Matthew McKellar.

This dissertation argues that John Stott's preaching exhibits the characteristics of what Abraham Kuruvilla considers "Christiconic," and his recorded Genesis sermons demonstrate these Christiconic elements.

Chapter 1 introduces the thesis and process of argumentation in the context of the Christological preaching debate.

Chapter 2 summarizes the contemporary evangelical approaches to preaching Old Testament texts Christologically.

Chapter 3 introduces John Stott's background and influences. This chapter gives attention to how his influences greatly contributed to his homiletical theory.

Chapter 4 further investigates John Stott's hermeneutical and homiletical approaches. These approaches demonstrate that his approach is similar to Kuruvilla's Christiconic approach to Old Testament texts.

Chapter 5 demonstrates analysis of sixteen Genesis sermons that Stott preached during his ministry at All Souls Church. The writer will analyze these sermons according to Kuruvilla's Christiconic categories.

Chapter 6 provides a summary of the findings and their implications for today's preacher.

Abstracts of Recently Completed Dissertations in the School of Church and Family Ministries at Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary

“The Biblical Purpose of Family: A Study of Jesus’ Teachings on Family in the Synoptic Gospels.” By Seung Ki Min. Supervised by Waylan Owens

This dissertation argues that Jesus' teachings on the family in the synoptic Gospels reveals that He both affirmed the Old Testament view of family and declared a spiritual family, the church that would take priority over but not diminish the physical family.

Chapter 1 introduces an overview of the purpose and methodology of the dissertation.

Chapter 2 examines Jesus' teachings on the family in three separate categories: (1) radical family values, (2) affirming family values, and (3) the new surrogate family.

Chapter 3 investigates the first-century Palestinian concept of the family through historical events.

Chapter 4 connects the two previous chapters by explaining the purpose of Jesus' teachings on the family, and how it called for the reorientation of the Palestinian family's purpose.

Chapter 5 concludes by providing a summary of the previous chapters. It also provides implications and suggestions for further research.

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