Editorial

Shortly after our last issue went to print, three Christian evangelical ministers and theologians, whose ministries influenced a generation at home and abroad, died within a short time of one another. Each of these men in the course of their ministries also left a personal impression on me, which I recall here in remembrance of them.

The first of these men, Harry Reeder was pastor of Briarwood Presbyterian Church in Birmingham, Alabama. I had the privilege of spending time with him in 2017 when he visited Inverness, along with a group of men from his congregation. It was evident to me after a few days in his company that he was a leader of men, moulded in the best fashion, after Christ, having a servant mindset. Harry brought energy to the room and had a magnetic personality. He was passionate about Christian ministry and a fun-loving family man. A few days with him would give good-natured stories to recall for a lifetime! On that same visit he wrote a book entitled *3D Leadership*, published by Christian Focus. His best-known book was *From Embers to a Flame*. It is a book on the subject of church revitalisation. Having read it after meeting him, I was left with the impression that the subject was personally important to him. His love for the church is evident in this book as well as the brightness of his personality. He died suddenly on 18th May this year.

Tim Keller died the day following Reeder, on 19th May. Keller was one of the most influential Christian figures in recent times. He is especially remembered for his ministry at Redeemer church in New York City. As a teenager I heard him preach in Glasgow on Abraham's intercession for Sodom in Genesis 18. He explained that Abraham's interaction with God pointed to Christ and his righteousness being sufficient for the salvation of many. For the sake of ten righteous God would have saved Sodom, anticipating the one man's righteousness, by which many are saved. His book *Reason for God* (2008) was a best-seller, yet Keller was already widely renowned for the successes of Redeemer church in Manhattan.

Third, Donald Macleod, formerly Professor of Systematic Theology at Edinburgh Theological Seminary, died on Sunday 21st May. He will be remembered as one of the most notable Scottish theologians of the last century. I enjoyed some correspondence with him while editing *SBET*. He spoke at the 2017 SETS annual conference on the greatness of God. Customarily after addresses time is allowed for questions. Memorably, after he spoke, no questions were forthcoming, there was only a reverent silence. Many who heard Macleod preach similarly spoke of being brought into God's presence through his preaching. This is not to men-

tion his writings, which will surely be treasured by Christians for generations to come.

These men were closely aligned with one another in their Christian beliefs and God in his providence brought their lives close together again in this final way as they entered his kingdom within only four days of one another. This binding together of these Christian ministers in life and death serves to more deeply impress upon us the reality of the kingdom they proclaimed and the purposes of God in the connections he makes both in life and death.

Turning to the present issue of the Bulletin we have a selection of articles covering the following subjects: the atonement, the work of the Spirit in the church, self-consciousness, Trinitarian relations and available Christian resources.

Geordie Cryle and Mark Stirling's paper on library collections at Highland Theological College, UHI introduces the library's resources to readers. Knowledge of the collections that have been assembled at the College in Dingwall will also be of interest to users of the library.

Ryan Denton's paper makes a welcome contribution to studies of Hugh Martin's theology. He helpfully develops and assesses a concise argument that Martin offers on the extent of Christ's sacrifice in his first chapter of his book, *The Atonement*.

I was delighted that Andres Miranda agreed to have his paper on self-consciousness published in the Bulletin. His article is one of a series he gave as moderator at the Presbyterian Church of Eastern Australia Synod meeting in May this year. He addresses a subject that concerns our overall welfare and directs us to the life of wisdom, grounded upon the fear of the Lord.

Joe Mock has special interest in the writings of the reformer Heinrich Bullinger. His paper studies Bullinger's theological considerations of the *filioque* clause. As well as surveying Bullinger's thinking on this subject, he is singled out among the reformers for his extended treatment on this doctrine.

David Smith's article presents to readers the subject of lament and the church. This is surely a subject of present-day importance. When our Lord is described as 'a man of sorrows' (Is. 53:3) and one for whom people will mourn (Zech. 12:10) and where 'godly grief' in contrast to 'worldly grief' is called for in view of sin (1 Cor. 7:8-13), it is surely plain, as Smith argues, that lament cannot be excluded by praise in Christian or church life.

Our final article for this issue is from Stephen Williams on the subject of the work of the Holy Spirit upon the church. It is the first of a two-part series planned for *SBET*. This first paper focusses especially on assessing

the writings of John Calvin. It's a subject that deserves attention and his deliberations lead us to carefully consider how the body of the church is knit together (Col. 2:19).

NOTE FROM MIKE PARKER, SETS CHAIRMAN

John's modesty prevents him saying this will be his last edition of the Bulletin, as for a variety of family and ministry reasons he steps down. We congratulate him and Louise on the birth of Susanna in September. We are deeply thankful for John's steady, clear and careful stewarding of SBET since 2017, and pray the Lord's blessing on him and his family. We also warmly thank Phil Foster for his part in editing book reviews, and pray for him as he steps away from this role for health reasons.

As SETS considers its future, we are pleased to be having a good conversation with a potential SBET editor and look forward to informing you in due course.

CONTRIBUTORS IN THIS NUMBER

Mr Geordie Cryle, at time of writing, was Librarian at Highland Theological College UHI, he is now Sales Executive at Christian Focus Publications.

Revd Ryan Denton (Th.M., PRTS) is an ordained Presbyterian minister (Vanguard Presbyterian Church). He currently serves as a church planter in Texas where he lives with his wife and three sons.

Revd Andres Miranda is a minister of the Narre Warren Presbyterian Church (PCEA) and current Moderator of the Synod.

Rev Dr Joe Mock is ordained in the Presbyterian Church of Australia. He ministers in Sydney, NSW, having spent many years as pastor and lecturer in Indonesia and Singapore.

Dr David W. Smith is Honorary Lecturer in the School of Divinity, History and Philosophy at the University of Aberdeen.

Mr Mark Stirling, at time of writing, was Library Officer at Highland Theological College and PA to the Rev Prof Andrew McGowan, he is presently Librarian at Highland Theological College UHI.

Professor Stephen N. Williams is Honorary Professor of Theology, Queen's University Belfast.

Mr Cryle and Mr Stirling's paper originally appeared in *Theological Librarianship* 16.1 (2023), 15-23.

Revd Miranda's paper was originally delivered to the Synod meeting of the Presbyterian Church of Eastern Australia, May 2023.

Hidden Treasures: The Library Special Collections at Highland Theological College, University of the Highlands and Islands

Geordie Cryle and Mark D. Stirling

[Originally published in *Theological Librarianship* 16.1 (2023), 15-23]

INTRODUCTION

Highland Theological College (HTC) is one of the specialist institutions within the federal structure of the University of the Highlands and Islands (UHI) and was founded in 1994 by two Church of Scotland ministers: the Rev. Hector Morrison and the Rev. A. T. B. McGowan. The campus occupies buildings in Dingwall, Ross-Shire in the Scottish Highlands, and a satellite campus in Glasgow opened in 2015. There are typically around 100 matriculated students, primarily of theology at all levels through to PhD, allowing for a close-knit community of faith and scholarship. Many of our students are Church of Scotland ministry candidates, while others study for leisure or other ministry fields. Adjacent to theology, other subjects are richly represented in the library, such as history, archaeology, politics, and Scottish Gaelic. HTC enjoys the unique position of being a believing and worshipping community which is Reformed, Evangelical, and non-denominational while also enjoying membership of a secular university. Consequently, we draw students from a variety of Christian traditions, or no faith at all, creating the framework for a healthy, vibrant, and diverse academic discourse.[1]

The library is a member of the Association of British Theological and Philosophical Libraries and has over 60,000 items, the largest by volume within the university. With 20,000 items in our lending library, the remaining 40,000 mostly fall under the banner of our three main special collections: the Rutherford House Collection, the William Temple Collection, and the Fort Augustus Collection. In addition to overseeing these collections, we are pleased to be custodians of a rich selection of historical texts, the oldest dating to the 1630s. Our library owes much to the Cam-

[1] 'About us – A community of faith and scholarship' <https://www.htc.uhi.ac.uk/about-us/#:~:text=About%20us%20A%20Community%20of%20Faith%20and%20Scholarship,perspective%2C%20in%20the%20context%20of%20a%20worshipping%20community> [accessed 2 September 2023]

eron legacy. The personal library collection of Hector Cameron (1924-1994), former moderator of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland and father to the late college librarian Martin Cameron (1955-2019), provided the foundation for the HTC library collections in the earliest days of the college.

THE WILLIAM TEMPLE COLLECTION

The first of our collections we wish to highlight is the William Temple Collection. It comprises several thousand volumes from the personal library of William Temple. Temple (1881-1944) was an Anglican teacher, author, preacher and bishop, serving as Archbishop of Canterbury, head of the Church of England, from 1942 until his death. Temple was a politically active socialist, a member of the Labour Party from 1918-1925, and author of the work *Christianity and Social Order*. His legacy is continuing through the work of the William Temple Foundation, shaping debate on religion in public life.[2]

HTC acquired these resources after they were made available by the John Rylands library at the University of Manchester. While these resources of Anglican heritage might be considered outside of HTC's traditional purview, we determined that the historical significance of the collection was such that it should be preserved and retained as a single cohesive unit. This proved a valuable decision, as it is a collection which receives appreciable research attention. The collection comprises enriching materials for theological research with an important 20th century Anglican heritage. Subjects richly represented included Anglican history as well as the works of Anglican bishops and scholars. Moreover, selections on politics, history, and world religions are represented along with significant works of philosophy, with a bent towards morality, ethics, and metaphysics.

As one might expect, works by Anglican theologians, clergy, and scholars take centre stage. Two shelves are occupied by an extensive set of Cambridge editions of select works edited for the Parker Society, on *Works of the Fathers and Early Writers of the Reformed English Church*. The Parker Society, established in the 1840s, attained support from across the Anglican communion in both Evangelical and High-Church branches to publish these important works of English church heritage.[3] Therein can be found selected works by Becon, Bullinger, Coverdale, Fulke, Whitgift,

[2] 'William Temple Foundation: Shaping Debate on Religion in Public Life' <https://williamtemplefoundation.org.uk/> [accessed 2 September 2023]

[3] Peter Toon, 'The Parker Society', *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, 46 no. 1 (1977), 323-32.

Hutchison, Grindal, Hooper, Hooker, Latimer, Pilkington, Whitaker, and Tyndale, among others, all bound in rich maroon cloth. These constitute an invaluable reference source for scholarship. One example of the rich historical content the collection contains is a comprehensive nine-volume Macmillan set, *A History of the English Church*, dating to 1901 and covering the development of Christianity in England from 597 AD to the 19th Century. The Macmillan set provides fascinating insight into the contemporary church scholarship of the period, complete with appendices and colour maps detailing titles of office bearers and positions of historical dioceses.

Temple was a prolific author himself, and his own publications can be found among the shelves, including a 1935 edition of his work *Nature, Man & God*, a lecture series delivered by Temple at the University of Glasgow between 1932-1934. The lectures provide insight into Temple's unique philosophy of the Christian faith, applying 'the notion of personality to the Divine' and arguing that 'revealed religion can sufficiently combine Progress, Ultimate Reality and Ultimate Personality'.[4]

In understanding Temple's philosophical interests, we need not look far in the collection to find examples. Standing out among the numerous philosophical works in the collection is a suite of works by Cambridge philosopher Frederick Denison Maurice (1805-1872) covering moral and metaphysical philosophy, published shortly after his death. Maurice's father was a Unitarian, and while studying law at Cambridge, Maurice caused a controversy by refusing his degree rather than expressing allegiance to Anglican theology, then spent time in London as a radical pamphleteer.[5] He did eventually become an Anglican convert, however, and was ordained to the priesthood in 1834.[6] Temple's interests in philosophy were not limited to contemporary materials, as evidenced by the collection's strong selection of classics, which one would expect for a learned scholar of this period. Examples include selections from Plato and Aristotle. A complete set of the revised Clarendon edition of Plato's *Dialogues*, published at Oxford in 1873 by the great Anglican scholar and tutor Benjamin Jowett (1817-1893), catches the eye with its bright orange cloth covering.

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4 Michael DeLashmutt, 'William Temple' <https://www.giffordlectures.org/lecturers/william-temple> [accessed 3 June 2023]

5 James Kiefer, 'Frederick Denison Maurice – Priest and Theologian' <http://justus.anglican.org/resources/bio/134.html> [accessed 2 September 2023]

6 Jacqueline Banerjee, 'Frederick Denison Maurice (1805-1872)' <https://victorianweb.org/religion/maurice/bio.html> [accessed 2 September 2023]

Temple's interest in languages, particularly classical and biblical languages is also evident in the collection. A unique item of personal intrigue, and certainly among the largest and weightiest titles, is a two-volume Samuel Bagster edition of the *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta*. These incredible volumes compare the biblical text side by side, four languages to a page. The introduction is in Latin, with references to Hebrew, Arabic, and Syriac scripts, while the main body provides a side-by-side comparison with the Greek and Hebrew text, with English, Latin, French, German, Italian, and Spanish.

Classification curiosities

As is common for collections of its era, the William Temple Collection is classified under a proprietary religion classification scheme, though precise details as to its construction have eluded us. Based on our conversations in researching the provenance of this scheme, we speculate it was created by William Temple personally or by whomever was originally responsible for his collection. The scheme was unfamiliar to our colleagues in the theological libraries sector, and, after chasing some failed leads due to speculated similarities to Morton Library Classification, we determined it is most likely an unpublished scheme. We have yet to reverse-engineer the classification, although the story of that process could likely constitute its own article. We have retained the original classification scheme as it is important for documentary purposes, providing a fascinating biographical insight into Temple's wider reading interests.

THE RUTHERFORD HOUSE COLLECTION

Our second collection of note is the Rutherford House Collection. This collection came to HTC from what is presently the Rutherford Centre for Reformed Theology (RCRT), operating out of HTC and directed by the Rev. A. T. B. McGowan, former principal of the college.[7] Rutherford House was based at its own premises in Leith in Edinburgh for 35 years before moving to Dingwall, leading to HTC becoming custodians of the extensive collection. The unique and exciting contents are reflective of the continuing ethos of RCRT, comprising quality resources for scholarship, research, and education to help people think biblically and theologically. The collection contains approximately 11,500 books and 1,800 periodicals and pamphlets. The most exciting materials in this collection are found in the archival boxes that contain rare and important mono-

[7] 'Rev. Prof Andrew McGowan' <https://www.htc.uhi.ac.uk/about-us/faculty/rev-prof-andrew-mcgowan/> [accessed 2 September 2023]

graphs. Presbyterian and Scottish evangelical materials are particularly richly represented among the tracts, pamphlets, magazines, and printed ephemera.

Among the materials are some pertaining to our immediate local area in the region of Easter Ross. These items are of immeasurable worth to the study of Scottish church history at the local level, including a 1926 pamphlet *Beaton of Rosskeen (1678-1754) A Famous Son of Skye*, by Donald Mackinnon F. S. A. (Portree). This volume, printed locally in Dingwall, includes a prefatory note by Donald Maclean (1869-1943), former principal of Free Church College, Edinburgh. Mackinnon was notable as the first minister inducted by the Free Church of Scotland at the Church at Fancy Hill at Portree on the Isle of Skye in 1923. Previously, the building had been occupied by a United Presbyterian Church congregation but had been vacant since 1900 following the merger into the United Free Church. The Free Church congregation, being very small at the time because of the Union, did not have the means to purchase the church building until 1920.[8]

Following the theme of Union, another exciting piece in this collection is the eleven-page supplement to the December 1900 *British Monthly* magazine, *The First Assembly of the United Free Church of Scotland, Oct 31, and Nov 1, 1900*. This vibrant piece details the proceedings with photography, illustrations, and an attendance roll for the inaugural conference. The centrepiece is a two-page illustration of the signatories of the uniting act. We are grateful to preserve such a fascinating piece of first-hand journalism from this historic moment in Scotland's church history.

THE FORT AUGUSTUS COLLECTION

Our flagship special collection, as well as our largest, is the Fort Augustus Collection, containing some 10,000 volumes. It comprises books, periodicals, and pamphlets from the former library of St. Benedict's Abbey, in the eponymous town at the southwest end of Loch Ness. The abbey operated as a Roman Catholic Monastery from 1880-1998. As the abbey approached closure, both HTC and UHI were in dialogue with the abbey towards purchasing the collection. The central priority was ensuring that these important materials stayed in Scotland, continued to be used for theological research, and remained together rather than being sold piecemeal to private collectors. The resources are typical of what one would expect in a theological library with a predominating bent towards works

[8] 'Portree' <https://www.freechurchcontinuing.org/find-us/congregations/item/portree> [accessed 2 September 2023]

of patristic and Roman Catholic authorship. Moreover, the resources therein have a Scottish heritage local to our region here in Easter Ross. Many of them are rare or unique and are of great monetary and academic value. For this reason, we consider them to be some of our most prized items with the richest provenance.

The key attraction is French priest and scholar J. P. Migne's (1800-1875) *Patrologia Graeca* and *Patrologia Latina*, which are critical editions of the writings of the Greek and Latin 'fathers' (hence *Patrologia*), although Migne's use of the term 'fathers' went beyond the strictly patristic period of Church history to include all Greek theological writers up to the year 1439 and all Latin authors up to 1216. The collection contains the Garnier edition of the *Petrological Graeca* in 161 volumes and the *Patrologia Latina* in 221 volumes (vol. 1 published 1865 and the others at intervals thereafter). Our edition of Migne has four supplementary volumes of Latin theological writings published in the 1960s. The entire set is in pristine condition, in handsome white calfskin bindings. They constitute an invaluable resource for historical and theological research. The highly reputable antiquarian book dealers Grant and Shaw of Edinburgh, who undertook to value the Fort Augustus library, said of the Migne collection that it was 'of immeasurable value to all present and future students.'

Also featured is the *Acta Sanctorum*, the published collections of lives of the saints. It originated in the work of the 'Bollandists'—after the Jesuit scholar and hagiographer Jean Bolland (1596-1665), the first editor of the *Acta Sanctorum*. It constitutes a critical edition of the lives of the saints based on a thorough sifting of historical sources, arranged according to the order of saints' days in the Church calendar. It continues to constitute a basic tool of historical research. Our edition of the *Acta Sanctorum* is in 65 volumes, vol. 1 having been published in 1863 and the rest at intervals thereafter. Like Migne's *Patrologia*, they are bound in calfskin and are in excellent condition. Supplementary volumes of the *Analecta Bollandiana* from 1930 to 1965, are also contained therein.

Among the periodicals and pamphlets of the Fort Augustus Collection, several highlights can be found. These include a 17-volume set of bound pamphlets relating to 19th century religious issues, Irish priest John O'Hanlon's (1821-1905) *Lives of the Irish Saints* (10 vols., 1875), and English priest Alban Butler's (1710-1773) *Lives of the Saints* (12 vols., 1810). Also of note are several 19th and 20th century runs of Roman Catholic periodicals: *The Tablet*, complete in bound volumes from 1868 to 1970; *The Month*, complete in bound volumes from 1864 to 1957; the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, complete in bound volumes from 1889 to 1910; and the *Catholic Record Society*, complete in bound volumes from 1905 to 1956. These provide a vast accumulation of Roman Catholic thought and his-

tory. Moreover, A portion of the collection consists of works by or about English theologian John Henry Newman (1801-1890), including first editions of his works such as *Apologia Pro Vita Sua* and 16 volumes of his letters and diaries.

Liturgical music is also represented in the Fort Augustus Collection, with Catholic Missals featuring prominently. These contain the scriptures, chants, and directions for the celebration of the Mass throughout the liturgical year. Our collection contains 19th and early 20th century editions of several liturgical texts including the *Missale Ambrosianum* and *Missale Romanum*. There is also an 1852 edition of the *Canon Missae ad usum Episcoporum ac Praelatorum*, used for pontifical masses as part of the *usus antiquior*.[9] Not only do these volumes constitute pristine editions of sacred music, but they also have an important local provenance as examples of the kind of musical works which would have been used when Fort Augustus was a functioning monastery. In this manner, this portion of the collection gives us a fascinating insight into the liturgies used as part of monastic life.

The crowning piece of the liturgical music collection is a complete vellum-bound set of *Paléographie Musicale: Les Principaux Manuscrits de Chant Grégorien, Ambrosien, Mozarabe & Gallican* by French Monk and musicologist André Mocquereau (1849-1930). This impressive suite of liturgical music contains facsimiles of the principal Roman Catholic chants. The work was of great importance in preserving and promoting the art and form of Gregorian chant.[10] In addition to facsimiles of the original musical manuscripts, extensive foreword and musicological context is provided for the works contained therein, providing essential context for vocalists on performance and technique, doubtless of great use as part of the liturgical rhythm of life in the monastery.

THE HISTORICAL TEXTS COLLECTION

The Historical Texts Collection is one we are presently curating at HTC. It came to fruition in 2021, spurred on by the donation of books by a private collector in combination with local primary source material. We created the Historical Texts Collection as a fitting way of collating special collections material which we have acquired in recent years that does not fit under the banner of our other collections. Coming from a diverse

[9] Shawn Tribe, 'Reprinting the *Canon Missae Ad Usum Episcoporum Ac Praelatorum*' <https://www.newliturgicalmovement.org/2008/04/reprinting-canon-missae-ad-usum.html?m=1> [accessed 2 September 2023]

[10] Daniel Walden, 'Dom Mocquereau's Theories of Rhythm and Romantic Musical Aesthetics', *Études Grégoriennes*, 22 (2015), 125-150.

range of sources, the collection is not grouped thematically. Nonetheless, it is worthy of preservation and digitization where appropriate due to the age and academic importance of the items. Most of the items in the collection date from the 17th and 18th centuries.

One such exciting primary source is a book of handwritten sermons by the Rev. Thomas Simpson of Avoch (1718-1786) generously donated in 2020.[11] It contains 28 handwritten sermons across 280 pages. The postscript reads, 'This first volume of sermons was begun at Avoch the 27th day of October 1760 years and finished the first day of October 1761 years by me Thomas Simpson, minister of the Gospel at Avoch. Deo Juvante.' The text has been displayed in the Dingwall Townhouse Museum for their 2022 season.

The collection also contains what is currently the library's oldest book: Daniel Featley's (1582–1645) *Clavis Mystica A Key Opening Divers Difficult and Mysterious Texts of Holy Scripture: Handled in Seventy Sermons*, which dates from 1636. This book is an excellent example of Christian homiletics during this turbulent period in British History. Described as 'A Westminster Puritan, and a voluminous writer'[12], Daniel Featley was a prolific author of many works tackling the religious issues of his day, from Jesuits to Arminianism. This book contains some of his sermons, primarily focused on attacking other English ministers. However, his views did not receive universal approval. One person who strongly disapproved was Archbishop William Laud, who had his chaplain William Bray censor the manuscript. It is claimed that Bray 'gelt them exceedingly and purged out all the smart and masculine passages against the Papists, Jesuits, and Arminians'.[13] The result of this effort was the removal of seventeen sheets and the production of a reprint. Uncensored copies of the book have survived and are recognized by the absence of an errata list on the final page. Unfortunately, our copy does contain the errata, so it is not one of those elusive uncensored copies. Our copy of this book has its original leather binding and contains the handwritten names of the book's owners from the 17th and 19th centuries, Joseph Hall (1661) and James F. George (1860s). These names are an exciting reminder that

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11 Hew Scott, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae*, Vol VII (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1928), p. 2.

12 C. Matthew McMahon, 'Daniel Featley (1582-1645)' <https://www.apuritansmind.com/puritan-favorites/daniel-featley-1582-1645/> [accessed 2 September 2023]

13 Arnold Hunt, 'Featley [Fairclough], Daniel', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2008) <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-9242> [accessed 2 September 2023]

this book has been used over the centuries and can now be preserved for future generations at HTC.

Another noteworthy set is seven books from a 1638 edition of the collated writings of Cyril of Alexandria (376-412), presented bilingually with Latin and Greek columns. A 1679 two-volume set relating to the writing of Bernard of Clairvaux (1090-1153) Abbot of Clairvaux and Doctor of the Church, also features. These 17th century Latin editions provide fascinating insight into Bernard's legendary eloquence of speech and pen.

Moving into the early 18th century, the collection contains a 1700 reprint of the three-volume set of works by Isaac Barrow D. D. (1630-1677) in two books titled *The Works Of the Learned Isaac Barrow D. D. Late Master of Trinity-College in Cambridge (Being all his English Works).* Though only two of Isaac's sermons were published during his lifetime, his father, Thomas Barrow, on obtaining his works, made it his goal to ensure the publication of the work we see today. Archbishop of Canterbury John Tillotson (1630-1694) set about the publication of Isaac's sermons, and the project was completed between 1678 and 1680. Later editions of the works of Isaac Barrow were published because of Brabazon Aylmer buying the copyright of the full works along with his other manuscripts in 1681. Barrow's works are a unique collection of writings that bring attention to a unique figure in early 18th century Britain. Barrow is a fascinating character, rising from a reluctant student to a Mastership at Trinity College. Maybe a true summary of Barrow should be left to King Charles II who in jest claimed Barrow was an 'unfair' preacher because 'he exhausted every subject and left no room for others to come after him'.[14]

A further highlight of the HTC Historical Texts Collection is the 1709 copy of Thomas Ellwood's (1639–1713) *Sacred History or, Historical Part of The Holy Scriptures of The New Testament*, an accompaniment to his 1705 book *Sacred History … of the Old Testament*. Our copy conveys the personal touch of its previous owners, with two signatures of ownership on the inner pages. The first is John Rakestraw, who owned the book in 1709 and may well have purchased or received the book new at the time of its publication. Anna Steevens' name also appears on the inner pages, dated 1809. Although there are no indications that either John or Anna was a notable historical character, their connections with this volume have preserved this small element of their lives for posterity.

[14] Mordechai Feingold, 'Barrow, Isaac', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2007) <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-1541?docPos=2> [accessed 2 September 2023]

Ellwood was a religious controversialist who, after hearing the itinerant preachers Edward Burrough and James Nayler preach at a Quaker meeting in 1659, became an avid member of the Society of Friends.[15] Unfortunately for Ellwood, he lived during a period when the monarchy was cracking down on dissenting groups such as the Quakers who did not agree with the King's Anglican views and refused to take the King's oaths of allegiance and supremacy. Therefore, Ellwood would spend most of his life in and out of prison because of his beliefs. In 1662 Ellwood became a reader for John Milton (1608-1674), whose work he 'highly valued'.[16] Like Daniel Featley and Isaac Barrows, Ellwood became a prolific writer and pamphleteer, writing broadly about the vices and woes he believed were ruining the society of his day. Indeed, these biblical works were created in part to offer godly instruction and virtuous pleasure, especially for youthful readers who otherwise indulged in literature Ellwood viewed as indecent.

Highlighted here are but a small selection of the historic books in this collection which range from records of national history to further recorded sermons by notable ministerial worthies of the past. Among them is an early 18th century Latin edition of the second part of *Historae Universalis*. Based on the signature of ownership, it is possible this book originated from the collection of Joseph Fürstenberg from the Swabian noble House of Fürstenberg. We do not believe it originated from the Westphalian noble house of the same name, due to the apparent lack of notable persons named Joseph in that family. It is, of course, difficult to ascertain provenance with certainty based on a signature alone, and we hope for an expert in 18th century German literature eventually to appraise the item.

CONCLUSION

In this article, we have highlighted a small number of the texts held in our special collections. Through our ongoing curation and digitization efforts, HTC library seeks to ensure this rich diveristy of resources becomes increasingly accessible to our local and international researching communities, and it is our aim that in the coming years, research opportunities will arise for an increased number of people to explore

[15] Daniel Loewenstein, 'Ellwood, Thomas', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2008) <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-8726> [accessed 2 September 2023]

[16] Elizabeth McLaughlin, 'Milton and Thomas Ellwood', *Milton Newsletter* 1, no. 2 (1967), 17-28 (p. 17).

these exciting texts. Presently, much of the library holdings of UHI are browsable in OCLC WorldCat, and the portion of our collections which have been catalogued may be viewed there. We are continually digitizing items from our collection and hope our digital offerings will grow in the future. For example, the Thomas Simpson book of sermons comprises one of the first volumes of the project to be digitized and is kindly hosted online by Mr. Rob Bradshaw, Librarian of Spurgeon's College, London[17]. We are also periodically uploading our own digitized materials to our Internet Archive page in an endeavour to make these interesting historical sources more open and accessible.

In closing, we feel there is great opportunity in the future to curate and promote these collections for community heritage and research. It has long been an aspiration of the HTC library service to open its doors to serve researchers, members of the public and other libraries via inter-library loan with these resources. Moreover, we endeavour to provide a community space for research and reflection, and to use our position to contribute to the elevation of Scottish theological research output. We endeavour in future to pursue project funding to aid in the ongoing task of properly cataloguing, preserving, digitizing, and promoting these collections.

We welcome international research interest and the registration of external library members. For more information please contact htc-library@uhi.ac.uk or telephone +44 (0) 1349 780215. For a link to our Internet Archive account, consult our library webpage at: https://libguides.uhi.ac.uk/c.php?g=687989.

[17] The complete text of this volume may be viewed at <https://theological-studies.org.uk/book_sermons-on-natural-unrevealed-religion_simpson_thomas.php> [accessed 2 September 2023]

Limited Atonement and the Free Offer of the Gospel in Hugh Martin's The Atonement

Ryan Denton

Is it possible to believe in both a limited atonement and a free offer of the gospel? Classic Reformed thought has believed such views not only compatible, but necessary, despite claims of inconsistency and confusion from opponents. The debate continues to rage today. Heavyweights from both sides have offered their thoughts on the topic, but there is one Christian thinker who deserves more attention. Hugh Martin deals with the subject of limited atonement and the free offer the gospel in pages 8-11 of his book, *The Atonement*, and specifically as it pertains to the covenant of grace. Martin shows that the free offer of the gospel can take place precisely because of the covenant of grace, within which definite atonement operates. In the following paper, the connection between Reformed soteriology and the free offer of the gospel will be examined through the lens of Martin's work in *The Atonement*. It will be demonstrated that limited atonement and the free offer of the gospel are not only necessary but consistent when viewed through the perspective of the covenant of grace.

ATONEMENT AND THE COVENANT OF GRACE

Because Martin's discussion of the free offer of the gospel is imbedded in a wider discussion regarding the atonement and the covenant of grace, it will be helpful to lay out his argument that leads up to the topic we will be dealing with. Chapter one of Martin's *The Atonement* (and really, the entirety of the book) is polemical in nature. Martin is dealing with certain objections against the covenant of grace. He lays down at the outset 'that the doctrine of the atonement ought to be discussed and defended as inside the doctrine of the covenant of grace.'[1] Martin calls this 'a proposition of transcendent importance.'[2] He rightly acknowledges that the doctrine of the covenant of grace is a wider category than the doctrine of the atonement.

Martin then goes into a relevant and interesting detour about the impropriety of discussing scriptural doctrines outside of the broader categories to which said doctrines belong. This is also one of the strategies of this paper. Confusion regarding the free offer of the gospel is oftentimes a result of dislocating it from the wider category of covenant theology.

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1 Hugh Martin, *The Atonement* (Carlisle, PA: Banner of Truth, 2013), p. 1.

2 Ibid.

Martin calls this 'an unnecessary danger' because it robs the doctrine 'of the protection which the higher category affords.'[3] As an example, Martin points to objections to 'expiatory sacrifice.'[4] Is it unjust that the innocent should suffer so that the guilty escapes? Detached from the broader category of the covenant of grace and union with Christ, absolutely. But then again, such detached speculation is philosophy, not theology.[5] It is merely abstract thought, as opposed to what the scriptural doctrines show.

Martin's second example relates to man's total inability to will any spiritual good on his own. It has been objected that such a condition would be incompatible with responsibility.[6] However, when viewed from the perspective of man's 'covenant oneness' with Adam, the difficulty is resolved. Man's inability is the result of his fallen condition, yet he is guilty of his condition because of his covenant oneness with Adam. Our inability to do good is a penal infliction imposed upon man for previous guilt—namely, Adam's first sin. Man is to be considered collectively, as one and the same man, just like in Christ we are now 'virtually one and indivisible' with Christ, and hence no longer under condemnation.[7] Such a view also dispels the difficulty regarding expiatory sacrifice.

> No one considered as innocent suffers, and no one continuing guilty escapes. Righteousness and peace are seen to kiss each other, and justice goes before him to set us in the way of his steps. The objection, in this light, we have said, disappears.[8]

As we will see Martin do when it comes to the free offer of the gospel, he flips the argument on its head, showing that it is the denial of an expiatory atonement which is unjust. Those who acknowledge the historical facts of Christ's sinlessness and death yet deny the doctrine of satisfaction of sin are arguing for a death that would be unfair. If Christ's death benefits sinners, and yet does not pardon them of their sins, 'then sinners, still considered as guilty, do escape by means of it.'[9] The innocent Christ suffers and the guilty escape the punishment of their sins. On the contrary, 'the doctrine of the covenant, and of the covenant oneness of Christ and his people, enables us not merely to rebut but to retort the objection.'[10] This

3 Ibid.
4 Ibid., p. 2.
5 Ibid., p. 3.
6 Ibid., p. 4.
7 Ibid., pp. 4-5.
8 Ibid., p. 5.
9 Ibid., p. 6.
10 Ibid.

will be Martin's approach when it comes to the free offer of the gospel, and it will be just as effective for correcting the assumption that the free offer is not compatible with limited atonement.

MARTIN AND DR. RALPH WARDLAW

He concludes his foundational argument by looking at a theory propounded by Dr. Ralph Wardlaw (1779-1853), who 'held the notion of a universal, unlimited, or indefinite atonement, undertaken literally for all men, and accomplishing as much for every human being as for any.'[11] Wardlaw's great-grandfather was Ebenezer Erskine, but Wardlaw himself would be ordained in a Congregational church, wherein he became an internationally known figure for his letters and hymns. He also held to the doctrines of election and the necessity of regeneration by the Holy Spirit.[12] But belief in the doctrines of election, the necessity of regeneration by the Holy Spirit, and an unlimited atonement puts Dr. Wardlaw into a quagmire. Although Wardlaw's view could perhaps still qualify as a covenant of grace, 'it is a covenant conditioning not Christ's work, but merely the Spirit's.'[13] The Scriptures show, on the contrary, that the covenant of grace is a covenant with Christ, 'concerning Christ's own work.'[14]

Martin notes that such a view of the covenant of grace limits the application and results of the atonement (and hence of the covenant), not enlarges it.[15] This is important for our purposes here. He means by this that Dr. Wardlaw may say the atonement is indefinite or unlimited, undertaken for all men, but he then vastly restricts it or limits it when it comes to its actual application. Thus, he unwittingly shrinks the covenant of grace:

> To introduce a covenant of grace, as an instrument for the limitation of grace, is at once an insult to the human understanding and a travesty of the divine wisdom. In any such view of its action and intent, it must assuredly cease to be called a covenant of grace.[16]

Not stopping there, Martin describes such a view as 'a covenant of reasonless, arbitrary, and capricious judgment.'[17] Thus, any objection to a

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11 Ibid.
12 Ibid., pp. 6-7.
13 Ibid., p. 7.
14 Ibid.
15 Ibid.
16 Ibid., p. 8.
17 Ibid.

limited atonement on the grounds that it is unfair or limiting in its application of grace is unwarranted, since the opposite is actually the case. An atonement that provides full and certain pardon to sinners is gracious, regardless of the amount of people who receive it. But is it really gracious to think the atonement is for everyone, although not everyone will receive a full and certain pardon as a result of it? This is what Martin calls 'an insult to the human understanding.'[18]

But what does the above have to do with our current subject? Martin himself tells us:

> A correct application of the doctrine of the covenant is, in like manner, eminently serviceable in refuting the argument for an indefinite atonement based on the alleged necessity of providing a foundation for a universal gospel call.[19]

Martin is here addressing the age-old question regarding Reformed soteriology and evangelism/missions. If there are an exact number of people who are going to be saved, or as the *Westminster Confession* puts it, if the number of men and angels predestined to salvation 'is so certain, and definite, that it cannot be either increased, or diminished,'[20] then can Christians in good faith and confidence actually 'go into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature'?

Martin observes that the command of God to evangelize is sufficient warrant for doing so. God uses means, namely gospel proclamation, to gather in his elect. The history of the church is saturated with evangelistic men who held to the doctrine of limited atonement. Thus, to dismiss limited atonement based on the argument that it quenches evangelistic zeal is a clear example of a strawman fallacy.

THE COVENANT OF GRACE AND A UNIVERSAL GOSPEL CALL

We now come to the main thrust of Martin's examination of the gospel call and the covenant of grace. Martin goes to the extent of claiming that any difficulty people may have between a limited atonement and a universal gospel call 'should be allayed, if not indeed removed, by observing the relation in which the gospel call stands to the covenant of grace.'[21] He refers to this relationship as 'very intimate.'[22]

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18 Ibid.

19 Ibid., p. 9.

20 *Westminster Confession of Faith* 3.4.

21 Martin, *The Atonement*, p. 9.

22 Ibid.

Martin begins by explaining that 'the gospel call comes forth from the covenant, and summons sinners into it.'[23] This is somewhat self-explanatory, but he clarifies it thus: 'It is a voice from within the covenant, addressed to those that are without, with the view of bringing them within.'[24] First off, we need to ask what does he mean by 'a voice,' and second, what does he mean by 'within the covenant'? He helps us with this question by immediately referring to a place in Scripture. First, as for the voice, he quotes Isaiah 55:5, 'Behold, thou shalt call a nation that thou knowest not.' This is none other than the voice of God, and Martin seems to imply that 'voice' here is synonymous with 'call.' Hence, the gospel call is from God, and as Martin points out, it is 'addressed to those that are without,' namely outside of the covenant.

That leads us to our second question. What does Martin mean by this voice calling 'from within the covenant'? Martin here points us to the second half of Isaiah 55:5: 'And nations that knew not thee shall run unto thee because of the Lord thy God, and for the Holy One of Israel; for he hath glorified thee.' Notice that in this verse people are running to Israel because of God, and specifically, because God has done wonders for them. Martin declares that it is because such a voice speaks from within the covenant that success for such a call is guaranteed.[25] Conceptually speaking, we are to understand the voice calling within the covenant as springing from 'the covenant intercommunion of the Father and the Son,' and because of such communication the gospel call from within 'shall be given, and that when given it shall not be without success.'[26]

Martin here is alluding to the fact that because there is a covenant of grace, there are people who belong to that covenant, even though they may be outside of the covenant at present, meaning temporally and in experience. This is directly related to limited atonement. Christ's work on the cross was definite. It was done for specific individuals. Such individuals will come into the covenant because Christ has died for them. But how are such individuals brought into it? By the gospel call. This is why the gospel call and the covenant go together. 'It is therefore a sure source of inevitable error to overlook the relations between the call and the covenant.'[27]

But what about those who are not included in Christ's atoning death? What about the non-elect? They are outside the covenant, similar to the

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23 Ibid.
24 Ibid.
25 Ibid.
26 Ibid., p. 10.
27 Ibid.

elect who have not yet been called into it. In this sense, at least from a temporal/linear perspective, the non-elect and the elect (who have not-yet-been saved in time) are in the same category. Both are under the wrath of God. Both are dead in their trespasses and sins. Here we come to the crux of the issue: God knows who *will be* and who *will not be* saved through the call of the gospel. Hence, is it necessary or even proper to say that God gives a universal gospel call to elect and non-elect alike?

This prepares us for evaluating the universal call of the gospel in all its breadth. As Martin has already showed us, too often the topic has been discussed from a narrow perspective, apart from its wider theological underpinnings. One way to demonstrate this is by asking the question: is the free offer of the gospel confined only to a particular view of atonement and the covenant of grace? Could someone with an Arminian soteriology hold to the same view of the free offer as someone with Reformed soteriology? Is the free offer of the gospel incompatible with either one of the above views? Or could both views hold to it, despite the major theological differences in other areas? Too often it is either assumed that both Reformed and non-Reformed soteriology can offer the gospel freely and consistently, or that Reformed soteriology cannot offer the gospel freely and still be consistent. So which is it?

A UNIVERSAL CALL FROM WITHOUT?

It will help us to define what Martin means by 'universal call' or the 'free offer' of the gospel. We find the answer imbedded in the discussions regarding the universal call and the covenant of grace. Martin observes that because sinners are outside the covenant, 'this is all that is requisite to render them fit subjects for its gracious proposal and authoritative requirement.'[28] This is also what defines the universal call as such: 'It is, of course, therefore, a universal call, because it is a call addressed to those that are without.'[29] Martin does not distinguish between a call to those who are without and yet elect and those who are without and non-elect. Everyone outside the covenant is in the same category, since that is what it means to be outside. This is why they are all—universally—'fit subjects for its gracious proposal and authoritative requirement.'[30] This is also why it is fitting for God to make a gospel call that is universal.

Martin next asks if there is any inconsistency between a call to those outside the covenant that comes from within the covenant?[31] Or another

28 Ibid.
29 Ibid.
30 Ibid., p. 11.
31 Ibid., p. 10.

way to put it, 'Could it call sinners into the covenant if itself rested on grounds outside the covenant?'[32] This is a critical question, since this is exactly what those who hold to an unlimited atonement must espouse.

An indefinite or unlimited atonement cannot speak of a specific or particular covenant between Christ and the lost. It can speak of such in a generic, impersonal way. But to also claim there is an actual covenant between Christ and a specific people, though currently lost, is impossible. Thus, Martin makes the claim that such a view of the atonement necessarily means that the gospel call must come from outside the covenant. Hence, an indefinite atonement in actuality, 'has nothing to do with the gospel call; can impart to it no validity, no strength, no enlargement; can constitute for it no real basis or foundation.'[33]

A gospel call without the basis or foundation of a particular covenant between Christ and sinners is ultimately no gospel call at all. Why is this the case? Because what would sinners be called to if the gospel call itself comes from outside the covenant? A gospel call from outside the covenant can only call sinners to something outside the covenant, itself being outside of it. Christ's work however is covenantal. 'An indefinite atonement, therefore, as pleaded for by some in the interests of the freeness of the gospel call, is one of the most self-contradictory and self-negativing devices that can be imagined.'[34]

If, however, on the indefinite scheme, there is no covenant to call sinners into, it becomes impossible to call them to anything at all. Only because there is a true atonement, not a hypothetical atonement, can there be such a call to sinners. This is as black and white as it gets. Martin's statement is demonstrably true.

THE GOSPEL CALL OF MINISTERS AND OF CHRIST

When we speak of this free offer of the gospel or universal call, we have already noted that some who are called are 'elect' and others are not, even though both for a time are outside the covenant. Martin acknowledges this tension when he states we must remember 'that in the giving of the gospel call the preachers of the gospel are ambassadors, and ambassadors merely.'[35] The 'merely' part is important. Martin explains: 'We are ministers. We give the call ministerially. He who really calls is Christ.'[36] Here Martin has brought forth a very important distinction to keep in mind.

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32 Ibid.
33 Ibid.
34 Ibid.
35 Ibid., pp. 10-11.
36 Ibid., p. 11.

As ministers, we do not know who the elect are. We do not know who the non-elect are. Hence, we preach the gospel to all creatures. 'Sinners are not inside—not yet interested in—this blessed covenant or constitution; they are aliens from the blessed kingdom of which it is the charter. It is, therefore, in its essential nature obviously a universal call.'[37] But notice the phrasing Martin deploys: 'Sinners are […] not yet interested in.' Martin rightly assumes that some sinners will be interested in 'this blessed covenant.'[38] They will come in. But when this happens, it is not the minister who brings them in. The minister is the one who issues the call, and through the minister, Christ in His kingly office executes this office by making the call effectual for the elect.

This leads us to our next point. We know the minister does not possess the power to save souls, but Christ does. And specifically, Christ has made effective the covenant of grace, which means that not only do we have a place to call sinners to, we also have a guarantee that such sinners who come have a real, definitive, and personal covenant of grace that has been made for them by God, through the work of redemption. But does this satisfy the question as it pertains to the covenant of grace and the free offer of the gospel? If Christ knows who the elect are, and knows who will be drawn into the covenant of grace, are we correct in saying that Christ offers a universal gospel call as well? Or does His call only go to the elect?

THE MARROW CONTROVERSY

To help answer this question, we will consider one of the most notorious controversies in the history of the Scottish Reformed church: 'The Marrow Controversy.'[39] This debate took place nearly one hundred and fifty years before Hugh Martin would take up the subject, but as will be obvious, the subject was far from exhausted by the time it got to him. In Erskine's fifth 'obscured truth,' written in response to the Act 1720 which repudiated certain doctrines that Erskine and others had considered orthodox, Erskine declares that the act had obscured the following truth:

> that there is a deed of gift or grant made by the Father to all the hearers of the gospel, affording warrant to ministers to offer Christ unto all, and a warrant unto all to receive him, which yet does not lead us into the Arminian camp.[40]

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37 Ibid.

38 Ibid.

39 Much of this section has been articulated by Stephen G. Myers, *Scottish Federalism and Covenantalism in Transition: The Theology of Ebenezer Erskine* (Eugene: Pickwick, 2015).

40 Myers, *Scottish Federalism*, p. 101.

Notice Erskine declares that the 'deed of gift or grant' is made 'by the Father to all the hearers of the gospel.' Thus, both Erskine and Martin are saying that the call of the gospel is universally made by God, through the person of the minister. It is not only made by the minister, even when it is preached to the non-elect. However, for Erskine, there is a difference between the Word of God, which offers the call of salvation to all men, and the heart of God, which is only for the elect, as determined in the council of peace before the foundation of the world.[41] Although this does not help clarify the tension between God's revealed will and God's hidden will, it does offer a way for the free offer of the gospel to be compatible with belief in election.

> Sinners were called to view the promise as it was in the Word of God, wherein that promise was extended to all men in common. When the promise was offered from this perspective, it was able to be grasped by the hand of faith, whereby it was taken into possession and applied for the actual salvation of the sinner in question.[42]

More importantly for us, Erskine's claims in the Marrow Controversy help clarify Martin's own position. Martin is concerned that a universal atonement makes the gospel call proceed on grounds broader than the actual covenant. Thus, there will be a contradiction that takes place as the universal call becomes actualized in a particular peoples' salvation. The call itself has no 'intrinsic worth,' because there is no covenant between Christ and His people to guarantee that such an offer is efficacious.

On the other hand, For Erskine and Martin, the call of the gospel must be a call 'to the covenant, and to all its free grace and sure and saving blessings.'[43] The covenant of grace is to be offered indiscriminately to all persons as something that one could come into from without. 'For Erskine, the gospel offer was the proclamation of the Covenant of Grace to a homogeneous group that, in its proclamation, created eternal distinctions between the elect and the reprobate.'[44] The proclamation of the gospel encountered man 'indefinitely and moved inexorably to eternal definiteness.'[45] The call of the gospel comes from within that covenant of grace to a people who are outside the covenant. This contrasts with those holding to a view of atonement that is unlimited or universal, in which case there can be no covenant of grace that has any 'intrinsic worth,' since

41 Ibid., p. 104.
42 Ibid.
43 Martin, *The Atonement*, p. 11.
44 Myers, *Scottish Federalism*, p. 70.
45 Ibid.

it is dependent upon the actions and decisions of man, not what Christ has done to save a people for Himself. The covenant of grace itself would be indefinite, impersonal, and abstract.

CONCLUSION

Although Martin has not resolved the perennial question (even confusion) regarding limited atonement and the free offer of the gospel, he has demonstrated that such an offer is incomprehensible unless there is a particular redemption within the framework of a covenant of grace. In this way, Martin has advanced the debate up the field, clarifying why such a universal call is compatible with Reformed theology.

Martin has also landed on something often overlooked by debates regarding the atonement, especially on the Reformed side. The implications of an unlimited atonement are devastatingly pessimistic, not merely because it makes Christ's work on the cross uncertain or dependent upon the free will of man, but because it cuts off any certainty that people will actually be saved when we make a universal gospel call. On the contrary, because of a definite atonement, Martin emphasizes that not only is the gospel call given, but that 'when given it shall not be without success.'[46] As a result, 'And nations that knew not thee shall run unto thee because of the Lord thy God, and for the Holy One of Israel; for he hath glorified thee.'

[46] Martin, *The Atonement*, p. 10.

Self-consciousness in the Church

Andres Miranda

WHAT IS 'SELF-CONSCIOUSNESS'?

If you go to the dictionary for a definition of self-consciousness you will find this explanation: (1) Conscious of one's own acts or states as belonging to or originating in oneself; (2) uncomfortably conscious of oneself as an object of the observation of others.[1]

The first definition tells us that this experience happens inside the body. The second definition shows us that the flow of mental reflections that we call 'consciousness' and we associate with our personal self, also take place in the social domain. In social situations, self-consciousness is fundamentally an act of thinking about ourselves, but the problem is that when we think about ourselves, we cannot think of 'self' or 'you being you' without taking into account the relationship of 'yourself' with other people. In other words, you begin to think of what other people think of you, or what you would like them to think of you. It's quite clear then your 'self', your 'personal identity' has no meaning without human interactions.

From a clinical perspective, self-consciousness, has to do with what other people think of us, or say about us, or what we assume they think and or say about us. So anxiety in social situations is the result of excessive self-attention. In absolute solitude, the self-conscious person would be quite indifferent about his appearance and behaviour. But our life is intertwined with the lives of other people, and when excessive attention is given to this interaction, we become self-conscious.

MANIFESTATIONS OF SELF-CONSCIOUSNESS

There are two ways in which self-consciousness can manifest itself in social situations. (1) In some cases, self-conscious people get pleasure from the thought that what they say or do is being noticed by other people. Sometimes there are legitimate bases for thinking that people are captivated by their speech and actions. In other cases, the basis for this feeling is found in the imagination only. (2) For people who struggle with

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1 'Self-conscious' <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/self-conscious> [accessed 6 April 2023]

self-consciousness, the idea of being the object of attention is painful and embarrassing. They experience high levels of anxiety.

Thus, as religious workers, because of our concern for the spiritual and mental well-being of people in the local congregation, it is important to realise that self-consciousness is a very unpleasant feeling. Self-consciousness creates significant distress in personal relationships. However, the possibility of freedom from anxiety and avoidance behaviours, is God's greatest gift to the church. Human personality is not deterministic. It is possible to grow in freedom and self-confidence with God's help.

I will mention some theological strategies for living more effectively towards the end of this article.

For now I want to continue the discussion of the nature of self-consciousness. What is the cause of self-consciousness?

CAUSATION OF SELF-CONSCIOUSNESS

This question is not easy to answer. Self-consciousness is a complicated state of mind and body. And this complexity makes it difficult to isolate a single cause. The factors that contribute to self-consciousness are many. But for our purposes and for the sake of simplicity, I am going to say that one of the most noticeable causes of self-consciousness is fear. Practically, everyone who has studied the subject of self-consciousness agrees that fear, in one way or another, is involved in self-consciousness. When we realise that fear plays such a big role in human life, it's not difficult to understand why clinicians regard fear as one of main causes of social anxiety. We spend most of our conscious life trying to avoid things that we don't like. We live in fear. Fear keeps us in a constant state of alert. Some fears are part of our repertoire of instinctual urges or inherited responses to a hostile environment. This type of fear is a biological reflex that relates exclusively to our survival. If in Australia you see an angry kangaroo coming towards you, fear is an emotion that can save us from a terrible beating. This is an instinct of self-preservation. That motivates everybody. I don't need to go into details. Some fears, however, are self-imposed. They often develop in childhood, and they are technically called phobias. Very quickly, a phobia is anxiety associated with an object or situation that is not normally considered dangerous. People with phobias are unable to explain how they became afraid of the non-threatening objects. The fear of the self-conscious person is a special fear.

Those who are overly self-conscious fear themselves, and also experience intense fear and anxiety in social interactions. In case you are wondering what the difference is between fear and anxiety, the difference is that anxiety is the anticipation of situations perceived as threatening, and

fear is usually associated with the urge to escape. When these two emotional feelings overlap in the personality of the self-conscious person, they experience a panic attack.

Now, I have said that self-conscious people fear themselves. What do I mean by that? I simply mean that self-conscious people lack confidence in themselves. In many cases, this is due to the persistent habit of self-contempt, and the attitude of underestimating one's abilities. Although, self-conscious people are creative, and possess outstanding skills, they hesitate to take new challenges because they are afraid of themselves. They question themselves: Can I really do that? I don't know if I have what it takes? I fear what people will say about me? They will find me boring, stupid, awkward, and unlikable? But who are 'they'? 'They' are simply an imaginary group of people that you think will evaluate you negatively. Now do you see what I mean? A person, who experiences social anxiety, finds it difficult to put themselves in the way of new opportunities.

The worst enemy of personal achievement and growth is the fear of oneself. This fear brings doubt, and self-limitation. As you can see, if we fear ourselves, the fear of other people is always present in our mind.

The fear of people has two aspects, (1) When you have done something to make people angry, and (2) when you have done nothing to offend people.

If you have done something to make people upset, then your fear has some basis in reality. But if you haven't done anything to offend someone, there is no reason to feel anxious in social settings.

The fear of people is also related to the fear of an audience. This fear is usually caused by a visual rehearsal that happens long before the upcoming situation. You see the audience in your mind everyday. You see yourself in front of the audience; somehow they always appear to you as cruel, intimidating, and always ready to find something to criticise. The anxiety starts weeks before the social event. Even professional speakers or preachers can feel this fear. But someone might say: How can that be? They are professionals. They have been doing this for years! The answer is simple. If they have a reputation to maintain, there's always the fear that they'll let down the expectations of their audience. This can produce intense fear. The other extreme is when public speakers or preachers are so confident of their 'rhetorical skills' that they fail to notice weaknesses in the way they communicate things. But our main subject is not how to improve skills of public speaking, so let us come back to the topic of self-consciousness. The self-conscious person also has a fear of criticism. For this person, criticism is always unfair. They take it as a personal attack. So the self-conscious person tries to avoid anything that will cause them to be under the evaluation of others. I know that most people do not take

criticism very well. But people who are extremely sensitive to it overreact. The self-conscious person experiences the criticism as rejection. Possibly, because of deep-seated insecurities. But that's a subject for another time. I hope you have found this attempt to elucidate the psychology of self-awareness helpful.

ADDRESSING SELF-CONSCIOUSNESS: THE FEAR OF THE LORD

Now, I would like to say something about how to control the feeling of self-consciousness. We all want to live a life that is not limited by fear and anxiety, so how is this to be done? When Proverbs 9:10 came to my mind, I said to myself, this text is old, and well known. I don't think I can find anything new in it. Obviously, that was a hurried glance. The old maxims are often the wisest. The first thing we notice is that the control of fear begins with a specific mental attitude. According to the wisdom-teacher, that mental attitude is 'the fear of the Lord'. Let us look at what the text says again,

> 'The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom, and knowledge of the Holy One understands.'

This 'fear of the Lord' is the first step to develop courage and joy in personal relationships.

This text is a call to action. What action? The preacher says: 'the fear of the Lord' is the beginning of wisdom.

In other words, the 'fear of the Lord' can displace the 'fear' that prevents us from enjoying fullness of life, *that* is the wisdom of God. The psychological implication here is interesting. Human beings don't like emotional vacuums. We must have basic emotions to get things done. We need attachments. If we don't have anything to hold on to, we feel empty. But total freedom from attachment is impossible. That is why we become obsessed with thoughts, objects, people, and other interests. Human development is really the constant replacement of one emotion with another. It's clear that if we're trying to displace social fear, we cannot leave the mind empty; otherwise another negative emotion will take that place.

So the Biblical solution for personal transformation is to introduce a new emotion. When the wisdom-teacher speaks about the 'fear of the Lord' he doesn't mean use more logic, or replace social fear by avoiding people or become more moralistic. It's wrong to think that we can stop self-consciousness by any of these strategies. Even if we resist, or build a defence against it, we're only creating more internal conflict. The best way

to get away from self-consciousness is by stimulating a spiritual emotion in the heart. So instead of worrying about what we assume people think of us, we should be more concerned about what God thinks of us. That's the starting point of personal change. The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom.

The word 'beginning' is interesting. It assumes that behind the beginning there is a past. The way of wisdom recognises that past. But despite the past, and our symptoms of anxiety, and dysfunctional personalities, and moral limitations, the past is not an obstacle for a new beginning. With God we can start again. How do we start again? We start by asking two simple questions: Who is the Lord? And what is the fear of the Lord?

The first answer is that the Lord is the God of creation. And, therefore, He knows everything that he's created perfectly, including us. The Lord is also our Redeemer. I'm not going to talk about the problem of sin. We all know that there is a problem. But God found a way to help us overcome the things that we don't want. In fellowship with Christ, the Spirit changes our human nature. He renews the mind, especially the thoughts that paralyse us with human fear. The Lord is the Redeemer.

What then is fear of the Lord? Biblical fear is the recognition that God is a God of power and holiness. This recognition is not simply acceptance of theological statements about what God is, or a subscription to a particular creed. Personally, I love the precision and beauty of Reformed theology, but we along with other Christians cannot experience the transformative power of God without the fear of the Lord. Let me say it again, fear is a spiritual emotion. It comes from the volitional centre of the person renewed by the Spirit. That means a desire for the adjustment or conformity to the will of God. The fear of the Lord is a response to what we believe. It's building an emotion of complete submission to what you are convinced of. That's the way of wisdom.

So, how do I change? And where do I start? The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom. But there is a past; a personal history that is ugly, and is constantly interfering with my present. How can I deal with that? The Christian God gives creative power to deal with that past in fellowship with Him. Not only that. As Christians we know full well that if we live in the fear of the Lord, we'll be on our way to the city of God with restored personalities. The way of wisdom brings moral beauty, courage, and the freedom to become socially integrated because we are growing in wholeness. In the last analysis, the only person who can go through life without anxiety is the person who fears the Lord.

Bullinger and the *Filioque* Clause

Joe Mock

I. INTRODUCTION

In an article in this journal, Nick Needham indicated that he gravitates to the 'Eastern' view of the *filioque* clause and issued the following challenge:

> Yes, I think it is time for us to do what the Reformers failed to do, and re-examine the *Filioque* clause. It would be a betrayal of the Reformation if Protestant tradition forbade us to do this, or anathematised those who tried.[1]

In point of fact, some Scottish theologians have indeed grappled with the *filioque* clause in recent years. For example, in a climate of growing ecumenism, it was debated by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland in 1979.[2] Significantly, however, T.F. Torrance wrote in support and affirmation of the *filioque* clause.[3] In doing so, he interacted with Barth.[4]

For some, the issue of canonicity, is a major factor. That is to say, the addition of the *filioque* clause, during a period in the West of increasing numbers of new converts from a Visigothic Arian background, was not ratified by an ecumenical council of the whole church. Furthermore, the addition of the clause went against the canons of the Council of Ephesus.[5] For others, the insertion of the *filioque* or its rejection impacts upon one's theology of the Trinity. Referring to Calvin's understanding of the *filioque* in his *Institutes*, Gerald Bray noted:

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1 Nick Needham, 'The *Filioque* Clause: East or West', *SBET*, 15 (1997), 142-62, (p. 162).

2 Gerald Bray, 'The *Filioque* Clause in History and Theology', *Tyndale Bulletin*, 34 (1983), 91-144, (p. 102).

3 T. F. Torrance, *Theology in Reconstruction* (London: SCM Press,1965), pp. 192-239; *The Trinitarian Faith: The Evangelical Theology of the Ancient Catholic Church* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1995), pp. 231-47.

4 K. Barth, *Church Dogmatics* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1936), I.1, pp. 546-57. For Barth on the *filioque* clause see David Guretzi, *Karl Barth on the Filioque* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2009).

5 The Council of Ephesus (451) forbad any change to the Nicene Creed (canon VII).

> But although Calvin may not have said much about the controversy,[6] it does not follow that he regarded the issue as unimportant. On the contrary, set within the general framework of his theology, the doctrine of the *Filioque* is so obvious and fundamental that it is hardly worth arguing about. Without it there would have been no Evangelical faith at all.[7]

Needham referred to 'Protestant tradition' which presumably was a reference to *semper reformanda* in consort with *sola Scriptura*. This article will consider Bullinger's examination of the *filioque*.

II. BULLINGER AND ECUMENICAL COUNCILS

Following Zwingli, Bullinger affirmed decisions of ecumenical councils whenever he assessed that the particular decision was founded on a right interpretation of Scripture.[8] Thus, with respect to the addition of the *filioque*, the matter of canonicity would not have been a major consideration for Bullinger. Indeed, immediately prior to the fifty sermons of *The Decades* (1549-1551), Bullinger appended a brief introduction of the four general synods or councils of the church followed by the text of the Nicene Creed, the Creed of the Council of Constantinople, the Confession of Faith of the Synod of Ephesus, the Confession of Faith of the Council of Chalcedon, the Decree of the Synod of Chalcedon, the Creed of the First Council of Toledo, the Creed of the Fourth Council of Toledo, the Creed of Athanasius as well as a declaration of faith from Irenaeus, Tertullian's *Rule of Faith*, the Creed of Damasus as well as an imperial Decree for the Catholic Faith.[9] This was done *inter alia* by Bullinger to address the questioning of the orthodoxy of Zurich by Luther. It was also to address the Trinitarian teaching of radical reformers such as Hätzer, Campanus and Servetus. The *filioque* is stated in three of these creeds and decrees.

III. THE *FILIOQUE* IN THE REFORMATION PERIOD

It cannot be overstated how, without exception, the reformers drew heavily from the work of Augustine. Indeed, the Western Church followed

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6 Calvin refers to the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son in the *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, I, 13:18-19 and III, 1:2-3.

7 Bray, '*The Filioque Clause*', p. 139.

8 Joe Mock, 'Zurich and Trent Viewed Especially Through Bullinger: In Particular, His *Ecclesias evangelicas', Zwingliana*, 49 (2022), 33-67, (pp. 34-36).

9 *Heinrich Bullinger Werke Band 3: Sermonum Decades quinque potissimus Christianae religionis capitibus (1552),* ed. by Peter Opitz (Zürich: Theologischer Verlag Zürich, 2008), pp. 18-28.

Augustine who had advocated the *filioque* in his *De Trinitate*. Although the *filioque* had been inserted into the Nicene Creed at Toledo (589)[10] and thereafter used in the liturgy of the eucharist, it was not officially adopted by the Western Church until 1014. The Great Schism was to take place in 1054. Although Pope Leo III did not disapprove the doctrine of the *filioque*, he did not agree that it should be inserted into the Creed (810). Subsequently, Photios I the Patriarch of Constantinople (867) condemned the clause as well as the authority of the papacy.[11] He insisted that the Creed be understood in terms of 'from the Father *alone*.' As a consequence of this, Anselm was asked by Pope Urban II at the Council of Bari (1098) to write in response to Photius.[12] Subsequently, the *filioque* was reaffirmed at the councils of Lyon (1274) and Florence (1439). In fact, Aquinas had died on the way to Lyon for the council. The Council of Florence took place after both Gregory Palamas and Mark of Ephesus had condemned the clause in the wake of the Council of Lyon. Interestingly, delegates from the Eastern Church to both Lyon and Florence accepted the doctrine of the *filioque* but did not insert it into their creed. The Third Session of the Council of Trent (4 February 1546) reaffirmed the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed with the inclusion of the *filioque*.

Bullinger and the other reformers would have been cognisant of much of the above and particularly of what Lombard had written concerning the *filioque* in Distinctions XI and XII of Book I of the *Sentences*. They would have also been aware of Aquinas' treatment of the *filioque* in his *Summa Theologiae* (Prima Pars, Question 36, article 2). Moreover, Aquinas also wrote against the view of the Holy Spirit proceeding from the Father *through* the Son (Prima Pars, Question 36, article 3). Replacing *ek* with *dia* (thus *per filium*) would have been acceptable to the Eastern Church as it preserves the monarchy (*pēgē*, *archē* and *aitia*) of the Father.[13] As mentioned above, like the other reformers, Bullinger had to face several Trinitarian heretics. In addressing some of these heretics, his widespread affirmation of Augustine's writing on the Trinity is reflected in his works.

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10 This date is referenced by many scholars though some have suggested doubt that the clause was inserted this early. See, for example, A. Edward Siecienski, *The Filioque: History of a Doctrinal Controversy* (New York: OUP, 2010), p. 69.

11 In his *Mystagogy Concerning the Doctrine of the Holy Spirit*.

12 *De processione Spiritus Sancti* (1102). See Dennis K.P. Ngien, 'The *Filioque* Clause in the Teaching of Anselm of Canterbury – Part 1', *The Churchman*, 118 (2004), 105-122; 'The *Filioque* Clause in the Teaching of Anselm of Canterbury – Part 2', *The Churchman* 118 (2004), 219-234.

13 This was the view of Cyril of Alexandria and John of Damascus.

IV. BULLINGER AND KEY SCRIPTURE PASSAGES THAT HAVE A CONNECTION WITH THE *FILIOQUE*

Writing concerning the *filioque* in his *Sentences*, Lombard had particularly referred to Galatians 4:6, Romans 8:9, John 15:26, Romans 8:11, Matthew 10:20 and John 14:26 (in that order) together with a quote from Augustine's *Contra Maximinum*.[14] An examination follows of how Bullinger linked these and other scriptural passages to the *filioque*.

In his commentary on Galatians 4:6 Bullinger did not mention the *filioque* but he did highlight the nature of the Trinity.[15] Presumably Bullinger had in mind Michael Servetus and Claude d'Aliod when he referred to old trinitarian heresies that had resurfaced. Bullinger cited passages such as Matthew 28:19, 1 Corinthians 12:4-6 and Acts 5:3, 4 to affirm the deity of the Holy Spirit. Without elaborating on the nature of the 'sending' of the Spirit Bullinger did point out that the 'Spirit of the Father' and the 'Spirit of the Son' are interchangeable by citing Jerome's commentary on Galatians. Jerome had written against those who denied that the Holy Spirit is the third person of the Trinity.

Bullinger also indicated that the 'Spirit of the Father' and the 'Spirit of the Son' are interchangeable in his commentary on Romans 8:9.[16] He drew attention to the fact that this verse points to the deity of both Christ and that the 'Holy Spirit himself is one God with the Father and the Son.' Whereas Calvin viewed Romans 8 as an important text for the *filioque*, Bullinger's comment on Romans 8:11, however, has nothing germane to the *filioque*. Rather, he pointed out that believers should die to the flesh in view of the fact that they have the Spirit of God who vivifies.[17] Similarly, Bullinger had nothing in his comments on Matthew 10:20 that directly relates to the *filioque*.

Bullinger's commentary on John 15:26 reveals he was fully aware of those who opposed the *filioque*.[18] He referred to the fact that the Church Fathers had greatly debated the *filioque* and that the matter was set-

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[14] See W. Peter Stephens, *The Theology of Heinrich Bullinger* (Göttingen: Vandenhoek & Ruprecht, 2019), pp. 142-44 for a discussion of Bullinger and the *filioque*.

[15] *Heinrich Bullinger Werke Band 7: Kommentare zu den neutestamentlich Briefen Gal – Eph – Phil – Kol*, ed. by Luca Baschera (Zürich: Theologischer Verlag Zürich, 2014), pp. 81-82.

[16] *Heinrich Bullinger Werke Band 6: Kommentare zu den neutestamentlichen Briefen Röm – 1Kor – 2Kor*, ed. by Luca Baschera (Zürich: Theologischer Verlag Zürich, 2012), pp. 133-134.

[17] Ibid., p. 134.

[18] Heinrich Bullinger, *In divinum Iesu Christi Domini nostri Evangelium secundum Ioannem Commentariorum libri X* (Zürich: Froschauer, 1543), p. 173v.

tled. Without using perichoretic terminology, in citing key sayings of Jesus from John's Gospel, Bullinger underscored that the Son is in the Father and the Father is in the Son. Bullinger further linked this to Jesus declaring, 'I and the Father are one.' It is precisely in this context that the sending by the Father of the Spirit of the Father is the same as the sending by the Son of the Spirit of the Son. Moreover, Bullinger opposed the expression 'from the Father through the Son (*a patre per filium*)' *inter alia* because it could be wrongly interpreted that the Spirit is sent as a quasi *instrumentum*.

Bullinger has some further detailed comments on the Trinity and the *filioque* in his commentary on John 14:26.[19] He explained that the Holy Spirit is 'common' to both the Father and the Son and proceeds from both of them (*procedens ab utroque*). His choice of the word *communis* indicates that the Holy Spirit has the same *essentia* as the Father and the Son. He pointed out that when Christ refers to the Father sending the Spirit in Christ's name it also means that Christ sends the Holy Spirit. To make this clear, Bullinger underlined that the catholic doctors of the Church taught that the Holy Spirit is one with the Father and the Son, is of the same essence (*essentia*) and is the third person of the Trinity who proceeds from both the Father and the Son. This is Bullinger's understanding of the immanent Trinity. In terms of the economic Trinity, he explained that the three persons of the Trinity are involved together in regenerating, illuminating, justifying, vivifying and saving of the elect (*contra* tritheism). At the same time, he was quick to stress that this particular verse indicates a clear distinction between the three persons of the Trinity (*contra* Sabellianism).[20]

Bullinger's commentary on John 16:12-15 has an emphatic note that the Holy Spirit has the same substance and divine nature as the Son and the Father. In this context, he explained that 'the Father of the creature does not dwell in any other way except through the Son in the Spirit.'[21]

V. *The Decades* and the *Filioque*

That Bullinger appreciated the importance of the *filioque* can be seen in his extended discussion of it in *The Decades* (1549-1551). Bullinger's understanding of the Holy Spirit is found in sermon IV.3 and sermon IV.8. Sermon IV.3 covers the true knowledge of God and that God is

19 Bullinger, *Evangelium secundum Ioannem*, pp. 162v-163r.

20 *Personarum distinctionem clarissime designat discriminatque praesens hic locus* [The present passage very clearly defines and separates the distinction of the persons].

21 Bullinger, *Evangelium secundum Ioannem*, p. 179v.

one in substance and three in persons whereas sermon IV.8 focuses particularly on the Holy Spirit.[22] In sermon IV.3 Bullinger reveals a catholic understanding of the Trinity.

> For God is the Father both by nature (*naturaliter*) and from the beginning, because from the beginning he begat the Son in an unspeakable way; the same God is the Son by nature because He has been begotten of the Father from the beginning; the same God is by nature the Holy Spirit because He is the eternal spirit of both, as he proceeds (*procedens*) from both and is God with them.[23]

Further on in the same sermon Bullinger has a section on the Trinity where he also referred to the *filioque*. This follows a reference to Cyril on John's Gospel. He pointed out that the Trinity is clearly set forth in the epistles of Paul and in John's Gospel as well as John's epistles:

> The Father is not the Son, nor is the Son the Father; neither is the Holy Spirit the Father or the Son. But the Father is the Father of the Son and the Son is the Son of the Father; but the Holy Spirit (*unctio*) proceeds (*proficiscitur*) from both of them. Moreover, these persons are so joined together and united that whoever denies one of them, has none of them. Indeed, whoever denies this Trinity is pronounced to be the Antichrist.[24]

Noting Basil's warning in his letter to Gregory about the difference between *ousia* and *hypostasis* concerning the use of illustrations to explain the Trinity,[25] Bullinger suggested Tertullian's illustration of the sun, sun rays and the heat which comes from both:

> As the sun is the fountain (*fons*) of light and heat, so the Father is the fountain of the Son who is light from light. And as heat flows from the sun and the sun rays so the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son.[26]

Bullinger was fully aware of the limitations of human illustrations, parables or similitudes and urged the reader to firmly believe in the clear word

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22 This sermon has the title *De spiritu sancto, tertia in adoranda trinitate persona, eiusque divina virtute* [Concerning the Holy Spirit, the third person in the adorable Trinity, and his divine power]. Opitz, *Sermonum Decades*, p. 661.

23 Opitz, *Sermonum Decades*, pp. 580-81 (unless otherwise stated all translations of *The Decades* are those of the author).

24 Ibid., p. 585.

25 Basilius Magnus, *Epistolae* 38. See *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church - Basil: Letters and Select Works*, ed. by Philip Schaff (Grand Rapids: Classics Ethereal Library, 2003), pp. 371-78.

26 Opitz, *Sermonum Decades*, p. 586.

of God concerning the Trinity. Indeed, Bullinger declared, 'that which is not attained by human reason, let faith hold fast.'[27] Moreover, although the Trinity is clearly attested in the New Testament, Bullinger drew attention to the fact that the Trinity is also attested in the Old Testament for 'certainly the mystery of the Trinity was well known to the patriarchs and prophets.'[28] Here Bullinger was echoing what he had earlier expounded in his *The Old Faith* (1537) concerning the Trinity in the Old Testament. Bullinger saw references to the Trinity in Psalm 110[29] and Psalm 33,[30] though *The Old Faith* does not refer to the *filioque*.

In sermon IV.8, Bullinger referred the reader to what had been explained in sermon IV.3 and stated, 'The Holy Spirit is the third person in the Trinity to be worshipped, very God proceeding (*procedens*) from the Father and the Son who illuminates, regenerates and sanctifies the faithful (*fideles*) and fills them up with all good things (*omnibus bonis*).'[31] In this statement Bullinger was effectively juxtaposing the immanent Trinity with the economic Trinity. In doing so, because of his constant reference to salvation history, he pointed out that the salvific work of the Trinity is for the salvation of the elect[32] who, in Christ, are blessed with 'all good things' (*omnia bona*) from God, who as 'the horn of plenty' (*cornucopia*), established his one and eternal covenant with the elect.[33]

Bullinger was quick to emphasize the order of the listing of the three persons of the Trinity has nothing to do with rank or degree:

> Moreover, he (the Holy Spirit) is truly God, the same power, glory, majesty and substance (*essentia*) with the Father and the Son which needs to be stated of first importance because he is the third person of the holy Trinity. Neither must it be thought that he is lesser than they (the Father and the Son) because he is counted in the third place. For although the blessed Trinity is remembered by us according to an order, nonetheless there is no degree, no time, no place or number in the blessed Trinity.[34]

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27 Ibid.

28 Ibid.

29 Heinrich Bullinger, *Antiquissima fides et vera religio* (Zürich: 1544 (translation of *Der alt gloub* into Latin by Cellarius)), pp. 38r-38v.

30 Bullinger, *Antiquissia fides*, p. 42r.

31 Opitz, *Sermonum Decades*, p. 663.

32 *Fideles* is often used by Bullinger in his works to refer to the elect.

33 This is expounded in Bullinger's treatise on the covenant *De testamento seu foedere Dei unico et aeterno* (Zürich: Froschouer, 1534).

34 Opitz, *Sermonum Decades*, p. 663. This supplements what he wrote in his extended commentary of John 16:13-15, Bullinger, *Evangelium secundum Ioannem*, pp. 178v-180v.

Bullinger further underscored that the explanation he gave is abundantly clear in the Athanasian Creed which he cited to that effect. In sermon IV.3 Bullinger had already commented on the 'order' in the Trinity:

> In fact, although there is an order in the Trinity, nonetheless by no means at all is there any inequality. None of them is, in time, before the other nor in dignity superior to the other. But of the three there is one Godhead and these three are one and eternal God.[35]

Citing Book XV chapter 26 of Augustine's *De Trinitate* Bullinger stated,

> In the high Trinity, which is God, there are no breaks of time by which it might be shown or at least required whether the Son were first born of the Father and afterwards the Holy Spirit to proceed from them both (*de ambobus processerit*).[36]

Furthermore, Bullinger made it abundantly clear that the Holy Spirit is not the servant, minister or instrument of the Father nor of the Son.[37]

In sermon IV.8, Bullinger has a section explaining the nature of the proceeding of the Holy Spirit from the Father and the Son.[38] He was very much aware of the disagreement concerning the *filioque* between the Western Church and the Eastern Church.[39] Although he understood that many questions had been raised concerning the *filioque*, he chose to focus only on some of the issues: 'I pass over untouched other questions which are intricate and very many. In these matters I require a religious mind that is not at all curious and a faithful mind that is not shrewd.'[40] This is consistent with his earlier comment: 'leaving aside several curious questions, we will briefly present those things which are helpful and agreeable to the holy Scriptures.'[41] This reflects Bullinger's constant practice of avoiding speculative theology to focus, rather, on the godly living of a person with a 'religious mind.' This recurring practice of Bullinger has led to G.W. Bromiley making the comment about the theological writ-

35 Opitz, *Sermonum Decades*, p. 581.
36 Ibid., p. 663.
37 Ibid., p. 666.
38 Ibid., pp. 666-68.
39 Bullinger drew attention to the difference between the West and the East – *In qua questione Latini a Graecis plurimum dissentire videntur* [In which question the Latins seem to differ greatly from the Greeks]; Opitz, *Sermonum Decades*, p. 666.
40 Opitz, *Sermonum Decades*, p. 668.
41 Ibid., p. 666.

ing of Bullinger vis-à-vis that of Zwingli as 'the works of Bullinger are undoubtedly pedestrian as compared with the bold but hasty flights of his predecessor.'[42]

He made a deliberate point to quote from Cyril of Alexandria's commentary on John's Gospel. Significantly, he referred to Cyril as *scriptor Graecus* [a Greek writer]. In this quote from his commentary on John 15:26, Cyril had concluded:

> When he (Christ) referred to the Spirit of truth which is his Spirit (for he is the truth) he named him the Paraclete and said that he proceeds from the Father. For just as the Spirit of the Son naturally abides in him and proceeds (*procedens*) through him so certainly, he is also the Spirit of the Father. But those with whom the Spirit is common certainly cannot be substantially separated.[43]

The point being made is that since the Son sends (*mittam*) the Spirit it means that the Spirit proceeds from the Son. Furthermore, Christ said that the Spirit is sent from the Father and, moreover, proceeds (*procedit*) from the Father. The context being the Son in the Father and the Father in the Son.[44]

Bullinger reiterated that he resolved to demonstrate the *filioque* clause from Scripture and, therefore, chose not to deal with all manner of questions that had been raised over the centuries. In doing so, Bullinger was being consistent with his stance of agreeing with Church Fathers or Church councils only when, in his view, they rightly read and interpreted Scripture. Thus, Bullinger stated: 'Scripture manifestly teaches that the Holy Spirit proceeds (*procedere*) from the Father and from the Son. The Scripture also very clearly shows that he is the spirit of either or both of them.'[45]

Not surprisingly, Bullinger cited Augustine again from Book XV, chapter 26 of *De Trinitate*. After explaining that the Son is eternally begotten of the Father and that the Son is co-eternal with the Father, the relevant section of the quote declares:

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42 G. W. Bromiley, *Zwingli and Bullinger* (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1953), p. 46.

43 Opitz, *Sermonum Decades*, p. 667.

44 John 14:11 *Credite mihi quod ego in patre sum et patre in me* [Believe me that I am in the Father and the Father in me]; Bullinger, *Evangelium secundum Ioannem*, p. 158v.

45 Opitz, *Sermonum Decades*, p. 667.

> let him understand just as the Father has in himself that the Holy Spirit might proceed from him thus he has given to the Son that the same Holy Spirit might proceed from him and both without beginning, moreover, so it is said that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father that it might be understood that what proceeds from the Son is from the Father and from the Son. For, in fact, whatever the Son has, he has it from the Father so of course he has it from the Father that the Holy Spirit might proceed from him.[46]

This extended quotation from Augustine is important as it clearly maintains the monarchy (*pēgē*, *archē* and *aitia*) of the Father (*contra* Photios and others) and can be understood as referring to a single spiration of the Holy Spirit from the Father and the Son. After his careful discussion of the *filioque* Bullinger summed up as follows: 'From all of these we come to the conclusion that the Holy Spirit proceeds both from the Father and from the Son (*tam a patre quam filio*).'[47]

Bullinger identified two modes of the Holy Spirit's proceeding. One is temporal while the other is eternal. By the temporal procession is meant his role in sanctifying the elect. This may be called a sending (*missio*) or a gift (*donum*).[48] He comes visibly at times (such as in the book of Acts) and also invisibly for 'he is given to the faithful every day and every moment as if by watering us with his grace with the spirit of Christ and giving us faith, hope and charity.'[49]

By the eternal procession, Bullinger means eternally proceeding from God. To explain this further Bullinger again highlighted the *filioque*:

> The eternal procession is that which emanates (*emanat*) from God from eternity. In both ways the Spirit proceeds from both the Father and the Son. Nor does the Spirit flow separately from the Father to the Son and from the Son to the creatures. For I say that the nature and substance of the Father and the Son are one and the same, indivisible and coeternal.[50]

> Furthermore, the eternal procession of the Holy Spirit, which proceeds from the substance of the Father and the Son is ineffable, just as the generation of the Son from the Father is ineffable. Hence in the gospel it is not said that he proceeded or that he will proceed, but that he proceeds. For in this way the Lord of the proceedings shows that the substance of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit is eternal and co-eternal and not in the least different.[51]

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46 Ibid.
47 Ibid.
48 Ibid.
49 Ibid., pp. 667-68.
50 Ibid., p. 667.
51 Ibid., p. 668.

To elaborate on the choice of 'ineffable' Bullinger cited yet again Book XV chapter 26 of Augustine's *De Trinitate* to point out that just as the eternal begetting of the Son from the Father from eternity to eternity is difficult for human minds to grasp, so it is with the proceeding of the Holy Spirit from the Father and from the Son.[52] Bullinger further explained why, if the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father, he is not referred to as a 'son.'[53] This indicates Bullinger's knowledge of what some Greek scholars had written. This section dealing with the *filioque* is brought to a close with an extended quotation from Didymus the Blind whose work on the Holy Spirit had been preserved in Latin by Jerome.[54] Before the quotation, Bullinger explained that the sending or the proceeding of the Holy Spirit needs to be understood spiritually by faith. Without employing perichoretic terminology, the quote points out that, although the Son is sent of the Father, the Son 'remains in the Father and has the Father in himself,' not being separated from the Father nor the Father separated from him. Likewise, the Holy Spirit is sent from the Son and, at the same time, proceeds from the Father. Furthermore, the 'movement' of the Spirit is not the same as the movement of physical bodies. Hence, 'Therefore the ineffable word is to be believed by faith alone, that the savior is said to have come out from God, and that the Spirit of truth proceeds from the Father.'[55]

In the years following *The Decades*, the *filioque* is mentioned in Bullinger's *Compendium Christianae religionis* (1556),[56] in his *Summa Christenlicher religion* (1558),[57] in his catechism (1561),[58] and in the *Second Helvetic Confession* (1566).[59]

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52 Ibid.

53 Ibid.

54 Didymus Alexandrinus, *Liber de spiritu sancto*.

55 Opitz, *Sermonum Decades*, p. 668.

56 *Spiritus vero sanctus procedit ex patre et filio* [The Holy Spirit truly proceeds from the Father and the Son]; Heinrich Bullinger, *Compendium Christianae religionis decem libris comprehensum* (Zürich, Froschouer, 1556), p. 21v.

57 Heinrich Bullinger, *Summa Christenlicher religion* (Zürich: Froschouer, 1558), p. 25r.

58 *Procedentem ex patre et filio* [Proceeding from the Father and the Son]; Heinrich Bullinger, *Catechesis pro adultoribus* (Zürich: Froschouer, 1561), p. 40v.

59 *Spiritus sanctus vero procedat ab utroque idque ab aeterno* [The Holy Spirit truly proceeds from them both [the Father and the Son] from eternity] – *Confessio Helvetica posterior* (Zürich, 1566), III.3.

VI. BULLINGER AND OTHER REFORMERS ON THE FILIOQUE

In his *Institutes*, Calvin acknowledged that the Father is the fountain (*fons*) and the wellspring (*scaturigo*) of the Trinity. He stated that 'the Son is said to come forth (*exsistere*) from the Father alone; the Spirit is from the Father and the Son at the same time (*simul*).'[60] Calvin's wording seems to indicate a single spiration. He saw the *filioque* primarily from his understanding of Romans 8 and 2 Peter 1:11 where the Spirit of the Father is interchanged with the Spirit of the Son. He further underlined that 'the Father is wholly in the Son, the Son wholly in the Father.' In citing the names of Hilary, Athanasius, Ambrose and Cyril, the *filioque* is referred to in the *French Confession of Faith* (1559), 'the Holy Spirit proceeding eternally from them both (*Le Saint-Esprit procédant éternellement de tous deux*).'[61]

In his commentary on John's Gospel, Calvin's comment on John 15:2 engages with the stance of the Eastern Church. Calvin pointed out that the context clearly indicates that Christ will send (*missurum*) the Holy Spirit in tandem with the Holy Spirit proceeding (*procedere*) from the Father.[62] The sending of the Spirit by the Son is a given according to Calvin and the point about the Spirit proceeding from the Father was 'to augment the weight of his authority (*ad augendum auctoritatis pondus facit*).' He followed up this explanation with a sharp word against the Eastern Church: 'Whence it appears how frivolous was the verbal trickery (*argutia*) of the Greeks when by the pretext of these words they deny that the Spirit proceeds from the Son.' Calvin's understanding of John 15:26 parallels that of Oecolampadius who, noting the difference between the Western and Eastern Churches, wrote, 'There is no small disagreement as to whether the Holy Spirit proceeds (*proficiscatur*) from the Father and the Son, or whether from the Father alone.'[63] Furthermore, Oecolampadius pointed out that the Eastern Church wanted to assert that the Holy Spirit came down (*descendere*) from the Father as if from one principle (*ab uno principio*). It is a dispute over words, he added and then concluded,

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60 *A patre simul et filio spiritus* ['From both (the Father and the Son) the Spirit']; John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, ed. by John T. McNeill (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 1960), I.13.18.

61 Philip Schaff, *Creeds of Christendom vol. III* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1984), p. 363.

62 John Calvin, *CO*, XLIX, p. 354.

63 Johannes Oecolampadius, *Annotationes piae ac doctae in evangelium Ioannis* (Basel, 1533), p. 294v.

> Here you have it unmistakably, that he is from the Father and the Son because he said 'whom I will send.' That is, it is afterwards that he said, 'Who proceeds (*procedit*) from the Father.'[64]

In his *Loci communes*, in commenting on John 15:26, Vermigli wrote,

> When the Son says that he will send the Spirit, (as we have quoted above), he also asserted that he (the believer) would receive from his (the Son's) own. No one can doubt that he (the Spirit) proceeds (*prodire*) from the Son. He now eloquently says, 'he who proceeds (*procedit*) from the Father.'[65]

Luther referred to the *filioque* in the *Smalcald Articles* (1537, Article II) though it is not in the *Augsburg Confession* (1530). It appears that Luther did not write much on the *filioque* but this extended quotation from his *Treatise on the Last Words of David* reveals Luther's understanding of the *filioque* in the context of the Trinity.

> All of this has been said so that we may recognize and believe in three distinct Persons in the one Godhead and not jumble the Persons together nor divide the essence. The distinction of the Father, as we have heard, is this, that He derived His deity from no one, but gave it from eternity, through the eternal birth, to the Son. Therefore the Son is God and Creator, just like the Father, but the Son derived all of this from the Father, and not, in turn, the Father from the Son. The Father does not owe the fact that He is God and Creator to the Son, but the Son owes the fact that He is God and Creator to the Father. And the fact that Father and Son are God and Creator they do not owe to the Holy Spirit; but the Holy Spirit owes the fact that He is God and Creator to the Father and the Son. Thus the words "God Almighty, Creator" are found [in the Creed] as attributes of the Father and not of the Son and of the Holy Spirit to mark the distinction of the Father from the Son and the Holy Spirit in the Godhead, again, the distinction of the Son from the Father and the Holy Spirit, and the distinction of the Holy Spirit from the Father and the Son; namely, that the Father is the source, or the fountainhead (if we may use that term as the fathers do) of the Godhead, that the Son derives it from Him and that the Holy Spirit derives it from Him and the Son, and not vice versa.[66]

The successors of Luther did reach out to the Eastern Church. There was extended contact with the Joasaph II, Patriarch of Constantinople. Mel-

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64 Ibid.

65 Peter Martyr Vermigli, *Loci communes*, I.xi.6 (Zürich: Froschouer, 1580), p. 37.

66 Martin Luther, 'Treatise on the Last Words of David', *Luther's Works*, Vol. 15 (Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1972), pp. 309-10.

anchthon sent a copy of the *Augsburg Confession* in Greek. Joasaph's successor, Hieremias II, continued to interact with the German Lutherans. Through the interchange of correspondence Hieremias II asked about the Lutherans' understanding of the *filioque*, noting that it is not referred to in the *Augsburg Confession*. In 1581 he wrote, 'Go your own way, and do not send us further letters on doctrine but only letters written for the sake of friendship.'[67]

Although other reformers were certainly aware of the significance of the *filioque*, it appears that only Bullinger had an extended discussion of it.

VII. CONCLUSION

Bullinger is more known as a biblical theologian who emphasized salvation history rather than as a systematic theologian. Nonetheless, his extended and considered comments on the *filioque* reveal that he understood its theological significance. Above all, that the *filioque* can be demonstrated from Scripture. Without using the terminology of the immanent Trinity or the economic Trinity or perichoresis Bullinger clearly understood the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father and from the Son in the context of the immanent Trinity. Further, this same procession is also evident in the Triune God's external works. In this connection, his explanation of the two modes of the Spirit's procession involves both eternal procession of the Holy Spirit from both the Father and the Son and *missio* from both the Father and the Son.

[67] Steven Runciman, *The Great Church in Captivity: A Study of the Patriarchate of Constantinople from the Eve of the Turkish Conquest to the Greek War of Independence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), p. 256.

The Biblical Tradition of Lament in a Culture of Denial Concerning Death

David W. Smith

INTRODUCTION

This article had its origin in a particular context which I will briefly explain. Over the past few years I have become increasingly aware of the role played in the mission of the people of God by medical professionals of many types, including men and women called to work in palliative care, either as specialist doctors or nurses, or in the capacity of hospital or hospice chaplaincy. I had published a book with the title *Stumbling Toward Zion* in which I related my own struggle to cope with the terminal illness of my wife, and the manner in which the biblical theme of lament took on a profound personal significance for me, both in confronting the imminent death of a loved one, and in coping with her loss. The book attracted the attention of people facing similar experiences, and it also caught the notice of professionals who care for the dying and for families wrestling with loss, often in tragic circumstances.

As the result of this publication I was asked to address an online conference of the Scottish Association of Palliative Care Chaplains with a request that I relate the theme of the book to their highly specialised and demanding work. I should add that my wife had died in a hospice, so I had deeply personal reasons to be grateful for such institutions and, more generally, for the emergence of palliative care as a discipline. The more I have been exposed to the work of professionals in this area, the greater has become my admiration for them, together with a growing realisation that this is a crucial area of Christian presence in a secular culture. At the same time I increasingly realised that such work may exact a considerable personal cost at the spiritual, emotional and psychological levels, and that the need of pastoral care for the carers is not always recognised by local congregations.

I commenced the presentation to the chaplains with a number of personal references which I repeat here. I obviously had no direct experience of the practice of professional palliative care. However, I have been a pastor, and Christian ministry involves frequent encounters with death, dying and mourning so that it may justifiably be described as itself a form of palliative care. Indeed, much of what I attempted to share with the chaplains would relate equally to ministers who face similar pressures. I

described to my audience the desolating experience, while in my mid-20s, of being called to a remote farmhouse where I discovered a key member of my leadership team slumped in his armchair after a fatal heart attack, while his wheelchair-bound wife sat inconsolable beside him! Nothing — including three years of theological education — had prepared me for such a traumatic experience.

Subsequently, I had responded to a call to serve in mission and found myself in a context in which I now encountered entirely new approaches to death, mourning, and the relationship of the living to the dead! Traditional ways of dealing with death in the tropical rain forest of Nigeria were so different from the funerals I had conducted in Cambridge that they might have been happening on another planet. It became very clear to me that, even among Christians, ways of dealing with death are shaped by culture as much as — if not more than — Scripture, and the approach to death in the secular West is radically different from the patterns within traditional societies — and that the former might have much to learn from the latter.

A final reference to personal experience: I recalled an occasion when I had accompanied a group of students on an 'Urban Experience' residential week in Newcastle-upon-Tyne. It included a day shadowing a hospital chaplain and one conversation with him has remained with me. After recounting the challenge of listening to parents lamenting the loss of a child, he expressed his frustration that fellow-clerics in parish work frequently asked him 'When will you return to *real* ministry?' I subsequently wrote to the man to express my conviction that he was on the frontline of mission in a secular culture and that his work constituted a genuinely missionary engagement where it matters most.

THE CULTURE OF DENIAL

The broad cultural context within which palliative care is administered today is one in which the reality of death is generally supressed, evaded or denied. In the last century, Ernest Becker wrote a Pulitzer Prize-winning book in which he argued that 'of all the things that move people, one of the principal ones is the terror of death.' Becker recognised that all historical religions had addressed themselves to the problem of 'how to bear the end of life', but with the loss of faith the terror of death became unbearable and resulted in the creation of multiple strategies of evasion, forgetfulness and suppression. In a memorable sentence Becker concluded that modern

man 'is drinking and drugging himself out of awareness, or he spends his time shopping, which is the same thing.'[1]

Of course, people steeped in the knowledge of the Bible should have no need of contemporary scholarship to inform them of this fact since its teaching so clearly provides understanding of the *origin* of death, of its terrible reality, by which human beings are 'all their lives […] held in slavery by *their fear of death*' (Heb. 2:15) — and of the One whose own death and resurrection removes the 'sting' of human mortality. Nonetheless, Becker's work remains important since it explores the cultural consequences of the loss of such a faith, of the absence of God at a point in European history at which the support once provided by belief was being eroded to vanishing point. Attending secular funerals must be among the most heartrending of experiences for believers today, not because secular celebrants lack sympathy and sensitivity (they do not), but because no word of *hope* is possible and the focus is determinedly fixed on the past, on memory, with not a glimmer of light from the future.[2]

Becker's book was published half-a-century ago and in the intervening period all the trends he identified have accelerated, leaving us in a cultural wilderness in which a multi-billion-pound entertainment industry has grown to gargantuan proportions to assist our forgetfulness, and the cult of youth, beauty, and sex has expanded to an industrial scale to further facilitate the flight from reality.[3] The inability to confront death is reflected in multiple ways in contemporary society, many of which may almost pass unnoticed. 'Abide with me' may still be sung by a soloist at the FA Cup Final at Wembley Stadium, but the crowd no longer

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1 Ernest Becker, *The Denial of Death* (New York: The Free Press, 1973), p. 284.

2 It should be added that the distinctively 'modern' aversion to death results not only from the decline of religious faith, but also from the emergence of modernity itself. Zygmunt Bauman describes how modern people came 'to see as "progress", the relentless "emancipation" of man from "constraints". We have learnt (and have been taught) to view the primal human bonds […] as oppression [….] But the liberated have been ushered into new, no less awesome slavery. Life now had little else to define itself by as the movement toward death. With everything that fills it with contents reduced to ephemerality […] it turns into a long dress rehearsal for non-being.' *Mortality and Immortality and Other Life Strategies* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1992), p. 49.

3 Neil Postman lamented the condition of American culture toward the end of the last century as follows: 'Our politics, religion, news, athletics, education and commerce have been transformed into congenial adjuncts of show business, largely without protest or even much popular notice.' *Amusing Ourselves to Death: Public Discourse in the Age of Show Business* (London: Methuen, 1987), p. 4.

join in because the words are unknown, and it is unlikely in any case that they would want to admit that 'the darkness deepens'! When such crowds do acknowledge the death of a local football idol, it is no longer with a moment's silence, but with one filled with the sound of clapping! Applause draws attention to the individual's *past*, and removes the possibility that silence might compel us to reflect upon death, the idol's and our own. Becker wrote not as a theologian, but as a psychologist, but he recognised that if 'you don't have a God in heaven, an invisible dimension that justifies the visible one, then you 'take what is nearest to hand and work out your problem on that.'[4]

What shall we say about the 'way of death' in contemporary funerary practices? I am not referring to the secular funerals already mentioned, but to Christian approaches to death and mourning. The cultural pressures we have briefly described are immensely powerful, and in this as well as in other areas of life they may subtly infiltrate Christian emotions, thought and practice. Why has the funeral been replaced in some Christian traditions by the 'Service of Thanksgiving', with the body of the deceased long since disposed of by a grieving extended family alone at the graveside?[5] Is this not a form of evasion, a religious version of the clapping football crowd, unwilling to face the reality of death and burial? I mentioned above the contrast between what was once called 'The American Way of Death' and the communal outpouring of lament which I witnessed in the rainforests of Africa, where death was not seen as an end, but as a point of transition demanding ritual recognition by an entire village. I confess that when attending a neighbour's funeral recently in the Catholic church where he had worshipped all his life, I felt moved by the richness of the ritual, both its language and its actions, including the sprinkling of the coffin of the deceased, 'as a remembrance of his baptism'.

THE BIBLICAL TRADITION OF LAMENT

One might imagine that the biblical practice of lament would become a key resource in the historical and cultural context we have briefly described, but the reality is otherwise. This form of prayer, whether used in private devotions or as sung public worship, continues to be used in liturgical and sacramental traditions, but has become marginal in much of contemporary, Western Christianity, and is often completely absent. We shall have to ask how this situation has come about, but first we must affirm that the

4 Becker, *Denial of Death*, p. 162.

5 I should make it clear that I am not denying the importance of thanksgiving for a well-lived Christian life; it is the substitution of thanksgiving for mourning that I object to.

prayer of lament is so fundamental to the very structure of spiritual life and worship within the Bible that its neglect and absence would suggest a serious departure from the biblical faith. I returned from Africa with a host of urgent questions arising from the encounter with both the *primal* world of a traditional people, and (by contrast) the heart-rending experience of the slums of Lagos. The discovery of Robert Davidson's book *The Courage to Doubt* came as a providential gift from heaven! The following passage was balm to my troubled spirit:

> Such [lament] psalms found a lasting place in the hymn book of ancient Israel and were continuingly used and useful because both the community and individuals within the community found across the centuries that serious threats to the integrity of their religious experience had to be faced. In every age faith involved a struggle, a struggle to understand the ways of God whose presence was celebrated in worship, but who often seemed strangely absent. *"Why?" and "How long?" were repeatedly discovered to be as authentic cries as "Hallelujah".*[6]

At a later stage I read and re-read Claus Westermann's *Praise and Lament in the Psalms*, originally published in Germany in 1961 when the memories of the immediate past remained raw and profoundly troubling. Westermann wrote that the upheavals of the previous decades had resulted in a new appreciation of 'why the elementary polarity of praise and lament is the decisive one in the Psalms of the ancient people of God.' He testified that during the horrors of the war 'the *praise* of God was rediscovered', but now, facing new catastrophes, the lament 'again appeared in its positive and necessary function.'[7] Westermann discovered the origins of the lament tradition at the beginning of the history of Israel when the slaves in Egypt 'cried to the Lord', who was moved by their suffering and acted within history for their deliverance. He concluded that whenever

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[6] Robert Davidson, *The Courage to Doubt: Exploring and Old Testament Theme* (London: SCM Press, 1983), p. 12. Italics added.

[7] Claus Westermann, *Praise and Lament in the Psalms* (Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1981), p. 12. I would add a third key resource on this subject in the shape of Walter Brueggemann's little study: *Spirituality of the Psalms* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2002). He classifies Psalms of *Orientation, Disorientation, and New Orientation* and comments that a church that engages in 'a frightened numb denial and deception and does not want to acknowledge or experience the disorientation of life' is adopting an odd inclination for Bible users, 'given the large numbers of psalms that are songs of lament, protest, and complaint about the incoherence that is experienced in the world. At least it is clear that a church that goes on singing "happy songs" in the face of raw reality is doing something very different from what the Bible does.' [p. 26]

a theology of the Old Testament stresses the crucial significance of the deliverance from Egypt, 'it does so because Israel experienced God's presence throughout its history as one who saves'. This conferred upon the cry of distress the status of a defining characteristic of Israel's spirituality. Perhaps Westermann's most significant conclusion was that the polarity between praise and lament is a fundamental aspect of a genuine relationship between God and human beings: 'Just as joy and sorrow in alternation are part of the finitude of human existence […] so praise and lamentation are part of man's relationship to God. *Hence, something must be amiss if praise of God has a place in Christian worship but lamentation does not. Praise can retain its authenticity and naturalness only in polarity with lamentation.*'[8]

It is not possible here to engage in detailed exegesis of particular texts, but I want to notice two examples from the Hebrew Bible which seem especially relevant to this discussion. Psalm 88 is not only a classic example of an individual cry of lament, it is also unique in that it is the only time that such a cry of distress does not result in 'reorientation' and renewed praise. In other words, the *polarity* we have just noticed above is absent here and the prayer ends with the bleak statement: 'You have taken my companions and loved ones from me; the darkness is my closest friend.' (88:18).

Some commentators have attempted to soften this language, unable it seems to admit that a poem such as this addressed to God could go unanswered. By contrast, Aileen Barclay, who spent years supporting a beloved husband afflicted with a degenerative disease, testifies to the profound importance of this psalm, 'as an outpouring of deep and apparently unresolved lament'. She insists that it has 'cathartic potential for those who suffer the living bereavement of Alzheimers disease'[9] and comments that carers and those they care for have frequently needed to learn 'to live as excluded people, not only in personal encounters but also within the communities around them'. Thus, Psalm 88 — *including its bleak ending*

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8 Ibid., p. 267. Italics added.

9 Aileen Barclay, 'Psalm 88: Living with Alzheimers', *Journal of Religion, Disability and Health*, 16 (2012), 88-101, (p. 88). Carleen Mandolfo reads Psalm 88 in relation to the Holocaust and argues that the absence of a divine response is a positive thing in the light of such a catastrophe: 'Perhaps even God recognizes the enormity of what has happened, and chooses not to answer so as not to belittle the suffering of the victims.' 'Psalm 88 and the Holocaust: Lament in Search of a Divine Response', *Biblical Interpretation*, 15 (2007), (151-70) <https://www.academia.edu/769971/Psalm_88_and_the_Holocaust_Lament_in_Search_of_a_Divine_Response> [accessed 11 September 2023] (p. 19)

— must be seen as 'a gift to the church, especially to those who suffer the rigors of chronic illness'.[10]

The second example concerns the anguished prayers of the prophet Jeremiah, often identified as 'Jeremiah's Confessions'. Here we have individual laments of extraordinary boldness and honesty, but in this case we also possess detailed knowledge of the context of the person uttering these remarkable prayers.[11] Not without reason has Jeremiah been described as the weeping prophet, his tears flowing profusely for a combination of reasons: the failure of the young Josiah's reformation; the resistance, animosity and violence which the prophet's preaching aroused; the depths of hypocrisy resulting from what has been called the Royal-Temple ideology; and the coming catastrophe which would sweep away everything familiar and beloved. Kathleen O'Connor has written a remarkable study of this book in which she draws upon trauma and disaster studies to gain insight into the ways in which 'overwhelming violence and debilitating losses afflict minds, bodies and spirits.' O'Connor found that trauma studies shed fresh light on some of the most difficult and disturbing texts in this book, and that the language with which the prophet challenged God, actually accusing him of deceit, and cursing the day of his own birth, suggests that he himself was suffering deep and lasting trauma.

> Jeremiah's confessions are laments, that is, prayers of complaint to God similar to the laments in the book of Psalms. In them, his relationship with God balances on the breaking point. But ultimately, his prayers — in all their bitterness and anguish — keep that relationship alive and teach readers how to move through the frightening spiritual wreckage left by disaster.[12]

It was once assumed that the book of Lamentations was authored by Jeremiah, but although there is no evidence to justify that assumption, it is not at all difficult to imagine that the broken person who composed the 'Confessions' could have expressed the even deeper level of grief and desolation of Lamentations following the destruction of Jerusalem. Here the darkness closes in to an extent that exactly matches the final complaint of Psalm 88, so that once again the *polarity* between lament and praise is ruptured when the author of this distinctively *urban* lament bemoans the absence of comfort:

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10 Barclay, 'Psalm 88', p. 95.

11 The texts are Jeremiah 11:18-12:6; 15:10-21; 17:14-18; 18:18-23; 20:7-13, 14-18.

12 Kathleen O'Connor, *Jeremiah: Pain and Promise* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2012), p. 81. O'Connor has also written a very helpful study of Lamentations: *Lamentations and the Tears of the World* (New York: Orbis Books, 2002).

This is why I weep
  and my eyes overflow with tears.
No-one is near to comfort me,
  no-one to restore my spirit.
My children are destitute
  because the enemy has prevailed. (1:16)

It is true of course that at 3:19ff. the clouds suddenly lift and — miraculously — hope is renewed and faith discovers reasons to affirm the 'great love and compassion of the LORD'. But these verses have been horribly misused, wrenched from their context and employed as the basis for the kind of untroubled celebration which ignores both the tenor of the book as a whole, and the fact that the relief is temporary! There is in this testimony a lurching between sudden hope and renewed despair that is completely true to human psychological experience; the person suffering what would now be diagnosed as PTSD does not instantly overcome the trauma which is expressed in the following confession (a confession which comes *after* the sun had broken through):

My eyes will flow unceasingly,
  without relief,
Until the LORD looks down
  from heaven and sees.
What I see brings grief to my soul
  because of all the women of my city. (3:49-51)

What is striking in this statement is the contrast between what the poet sees, the scenes of horrific violence which he/she obviously cannot forget, and we may surely conclude that we are dealing with flashbacks and nightmares here, and by contrast, the implied complaint that God appears *not to have seen those same events which triggered such trauma*. The person uttering this prayer is still awaiting God's gaze to be focussed upon the tragedy which has devastated his/her life! A statement like this makes the question of theodicy — the relationship between God and intense human suffering — unavoidable, and I suggest that it demands that we reflect critically upon certain ways of speaking about divine sovereignty, since the use of the doctrine of God's omnipotence to require unquestioning submission on the part of sufferers is a pastoral move that ignores the tradition of lament.

It is difficult at this point not to think of the impact of the events of the twentieth century on theology and its language concerning God. A leading historian of the period estimates that thirty-six and a half million Europeans died between 1939 and 1945 from war-related causes (equal to

the total population of France at the outbreak of the conflict). The reference to the plight of women in Lamentations refers to a tragedy which has been replicated and multiplied many times, but never before did it reach such monstrous proportions as in Europe in the closing years of Second World War. Clinics in Vienna reported 87,000 women had been raped by Soviet soldiers in three weeks following the Red Army's arrival in the city, while in Berlin 53,000 lost children were wandering amid the endless ruins of the city, and in Rome the Quirinale Gardens became a gathering place for thousands of mutilated, disfigured and unclaimed children.[13] Even without the unspeakable horror of the Holocaust, we are compelled, like the author of Lamentations, to ask how we are to speak about God in a world which has known such demonic levels of violence and destruction.

There is no easy answer to such questions, but we may take notice of the connection between the trauma of Lamentations and the Book of Comfort in Isaiah 40ff. The opening words of this chapter are of *comfort*, and the instruction to 'speak tenderly to Jerusalem' must be a response to the repeated complaint that it was precisely this kind of healing and reassurance that appeared to have been absent. Indeed, later in this chapter there is evidence that the survivors of the catastrophe had settled into a *culture of lament* (40:27-28) in which they were bereft of the language of testimony and so had nothing to say to the nations (40:6). In other words, the trauma of the ending of their known world had created a crisis for theology and mission and in precisely this context the great prophet of the exile was summoned to offer a fresh vision of the tenderness and kindness of God. This was accompanied by a prophetic word capable of inspiring the *hope* that a new exodus was yet to come on a previously unimagined scale, bringing the long-promised *shalom* of Yahweh which would transform both Israel and the nations. Westermann comments that the laments referred to in Isaiah 40:27 were not those of individuals, but were liturgical, a form of 'words used by the community in its worship'. The result, he suggests, was that the dominance of the lament psalms in the exile resulted in 'a fixed mood always looking backwards, with no expectation of fresh action on the part of God',[14] the *polarity* between lament and praise had been lost as grief destroyed hope, suffering seemed to darken the face of God, and the very idea of celebration amounted to a denial of reality.

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[13] Tony Judt, *Postwar: A History of Europe Since 1945* (London: Vintage Books, 2010), pp. 16-21.

[14] Claus Westermann, *Isaiah 40-66: A Commentary* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1969), p. 18.

If the experience of biblical Israel in the loss of Jerusalem and the exile in Babylon can be seen as analogous to the collapse of Christendom and the horrors of the twentieth century, might we identify a parallel between the reappearance of hope and the discovery of a new theological vision for the future of the world in Isaiah 40-66, and our context today? If the Psalms and the book of Lamentations warn against the expectation that the trauma resulting from catastrophe can be easily and swiftly overcome (and they certainly do), does not the fresh light streaming from the promise of God's new future in the Book of Comfort remind us that the messianic character of the message of the Bible means that the last word is one of hope, not despair, so that the polarity between lament and praise remains the gift of grace, both for suffering individuals and for the broken world.[15]

THE COSTLY LOSS OF LAMENT[16]

If we accept the conclusion that the 'cry out of the depths' is 'an inevitable part of what happens between God and man', then the question has to be

[15] I am struck, for example, by the number of German theologians who emerged from the European crisis of the 1940s, devastated by their horrendous experience of Nazism and the horrors of the war, yet discovering a theology of hope for the future. The obvious example is Jurgen Moltmann who wrote in 2019: 'I remember the experiences of the war with continuing horror. My generation was destined for a murderous war in which it was no longer a matter of victory or peace, but only of death. […] The survivors experienced the end of terror in 1945, but we had become so used to death that life took on a "take it or leave it" atmosphere because it had become meaningless.' *The Spirit of Hope: Theology for a World in Peril* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2019), p. 4. Johann Baptist Metz, taken out of school at the age of 16 and sent to the front line of World War Two, was then told to go back to HQ with a message from his commander. He returned to discover his unit — made up of fellow teenage schoolboys — had been obliterated. He wrote: 'Now I could see only dead and empty faces where the day before I had shared childhood fears and laughter. I remember nothing but a wordless cry.' See *Remembering and Resisting: The New Political Theology*, ed. by John K. Downey (Eugene: Cascade Books, 2022), p. 81. Like Moltmann, Metz emerged from the horrors of the twentieth century to summon his Catholic tradition to a new sense of mission in a broken world, especially in his challenging book *The Emergent Church: The Future of Christianity in a Postbourgeois World* (New York: Crossroad, 1981).

[16] This subtitle is borrowed from Walter Brueggemann: 'The Costly Loss of Lament' in *The Psalms: The Life of Faith*, ed. by Patrick Miller (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1995), pp. 98-111.

asked as to why lament has ceased to be a component of spirituality and worship in much of the modern, Western church. The answer is complex and involves too many factors to make a full response here. As already suggested, the powerful influence of the modern culture of the denial of death is a significant factor. Believers who have been socialised amidst the wealth and materialism of the contemporary Western world are almost inevitably influenced by the values which dominate their society. Indeed, there is clear evidence that this was the case toward the end of the New Testament period itself, where the church at Laodicea boasted, 'I am rich; I have acquired wealth and do not need a thing'. There is simply no place for lament in such a community since the congregational consensus is that life is wonderful and trouble-free, and no space remains for doubt or questioning. Consequently there is little sympathy for people who struggle, since they must remain silent and keep their doubts to themselves so as not to disturb the dominant view that all is well. However, the desperately hollow nature of the celebrations of such a community is revealed by the fact that its untroubled optimism rendered this church not only *blind* (Rev. 3:17), but also *deaf* to the sound of the excluded Jesus who was knocking on the door and seeking entrance (3:20). There are sobering issues here for churches that have forgotten how to lament.

Perhaps the crucial question, given that lament plays such a central role in biblical spirituality, concerns the manner in which Scripture as a whole is being read and interpreted by those responsible for leadership and the conduct of public worship. In the light of the discussion above, must we not conclude that the view that 'endless praise' is the norm for worship *in a broken world* reflects both a wilful ignorance concerning that world, and an absence of serious reflection on the theology of worship in the Bible?[17] Underlying this neglect of the biblical tradition of praise and lament we may discover assumptions concerning the relationship between the two testaments which involve a kind of *supercessionism* by which the polarity between lament and praise, anguish and joy, is assumed to have been transcended by the coming of Christ and the outpouring of the Holy Spirit. Of course, the incarnation of the Son of God is the turning point of the ages, and the worship of the crucified and risen Jesus is at the very core of the new songs which are sung both by the church on earth and by the heavenly choirs. But in the present age, this confidence and joy continues to exist in polarity with questions

[17] This is not a reactionary statement in defence of unchanged adherence to tradition! There are talented and deeply sensitive contemporary song-writers whose work is a blessing to modern Christianity. My plea is rather for a recovery of the *polarity* between praise and lament described above.

and doubts which, if anything, may become more urgent and anguished precisely on account of the enlarged nature of what has been promised by the Gospel.

At the conclusion of his work on praise and lament in the psalms, Westermann discusses the loss of this polarity in contemporary Christianity and concludes that in the theology and worship of the modern Western churches, 'suffering as opposed to sin has receded far into the background.' He describes much of Western preaching as follows:

> Jesus Christ's work of salvation has to do with the forgiveness of sins and with eternal life; it does not, however, deal with ending human suffering. Here we see the real reason why the lament has been dropped from Christian prayer.[18]

Westermann goes on to observe that the gospels relate the story of Christ's passion in the language of Psalm 22, which suggests that they intended to say that Jesus 'had taken up the lament of those people who suffer, that he too entered into suffering.' Consequently, his suffering belongs within the history of those who suffer, so that in his pain and death, *'Jesus could not have had only the sinner in mind; he must also have been thinking of those who suffer.'*[19]

It is not possible here to go into greater depth concerning Christian suffering and the position accorded to it within the New Testament. However, we may notice not only the infinite compassion of Christ for the crowds of despairing people who followed him throughout Galilee, and the testimony of the apostolic writers — including the apostle Paul, who is completely open concerning his personal anguish and pain, and in Romans 9-11 wrestles with the mystery of God's will and the tragedy of Israel — nor even the fact that John of Patmos informs us that the saints in heaven continue to cry out in the language of the lament psalms, asking God, 'How Long?' (Rev. 6:10). Most crucially of all, the Easter story itself includes the Sabbath between crucifixion and resurrection, a day which has been described as 'the day when God died.' And here I am bound to mention the important work of Alan Lewis whose 'theology of Holy Saturday' provides a vital and original contribution to our subject by reminding us of the spiritual and theological importance of that empty, hopeless, even godless day at the very heart of the gospel narrative:

> [T]he tradition which Paul received, and then passed on to the Corinthians, was that Christ died for our sins according to the Scriptures, *that he was buried*, and that he was raised on the third day (1 Cor. 15:3-4). Here resurrec-

[18] Westermann, *Praise and Lament*, p. 274.

[19] Ibid., p. 275. Italics added.

> tion is not permitted to verge upon the cross, instantaneously converting its death into new life, still less to trespass death's own borders and thus to *identify* the cross with glory. Instead, death is given time and space to be itself, in all its coldness and helplessness. Again it is especially typical of the Reformed Confessions that for the Westminster Shorter Catechism the humiliation of Christ, begun in birth under the law, and leading to the cursed death of the cross, consists finally in his "being buried, and continuing under the power of death for a time."[20]

The cost of the loss of lament extends beyond the spirituality and worship of the church since it impacts both the *mission* of the people of God in the broken world we have described, and reaches into the *social and political spheres* in ways that are rarely recognised but are of fundamental importance. With regard to mission, the credibility of a Christianity which knows only praise and celebration is inevitably undermined among people who have suffered grievous abuse and pain, since it suggests an inability or unwillingness to understand the reality of human brokenness and despair. I have never forgotten the words of a brilliant research scientist whom I visited, concerned about her long absence from Sunday worship. I knew that she had known great personal suffering and was tempted to suicide, but in response to my gentle enquiry she confessed: 'I cannot go there any longer because no one in that congregation has any problems.' She knew, as I did, that this was not the case, but the complaint, or rather the heartfelt lament, was that there was no point at which the worship of the congregation made connections to a broken and bleeding soul, so that such one-sided celebration not only failed to meet her need, but deepened a serious and threatening personal crisis.

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[20] Alan E. Lewis, *Between Cross and Resurrection: A Theology of Holy Saturday* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001), p. 37. Lewis's concern is that the Cross not be viewed as 'glorious' apart from the depths of suffering and humiliation it involved, depths which were plumbed on Good Friday and experienced by the disciples on Easter Saturday. It is God's entry into such horror that constitutes the glory of Calvary.

This extraordinary book should be required reading for anyone concerned about the subject we are discussing. Lewis charts in great detail the parallels between 'the day God died' and the secular culture of the modern West. Here he is on topic that could not be more relevant in light of the recent movie *Oppenheimer*: '"You shall be as God" was the primordial serpent's menacing seduction; and on August 6, 1945 that sacrilegious Feast of Transfiguration, gods we became, wielding as never before the promethean sovereignty over life itself — only to see in the mirror of atomic light, "brighter than a thousand suns", our transformed faces not effulgent with God's glory but wearing the death masks of the devil.' [p. 277]

As to politics, a society which lauds success, happiness and endless growth will find dissenting voices to be at best a distraction, and at worst a political threat to the ideology of endless progress and universal well-being. Walter Brueggemann writes that lament involves the belief that God matters *in every dimension of life*.

> Where God's dangerous availability is lost because we fail to carry on our part of the difficult conversation, where God's vulnerability and passion are removed from our speech, we are consigned to anxiety and despair, and the world as we now have it becomes absolutized. Our understanding of faith is altered dramatically depending on whether God is a dead cipher who cannot be addressed and is only the silent *guarantor* of the status quo, or whether God can be addressed in risky ways as the *transformer* of what has not yet appeared.[21]

LAMENT AND PALLIATIVE CARE

We return, finally, to our starting point in the crucial importance of lament with regard to professionals in a variety of medical practices, including the care of people facing life-changing injuries or terminal illness. As this article was being typed I listened to a discussion of the crisis facing Britain's National Health Service in which it became very clear that a crucial contributing factor to this profoundly challenging situation is located in the tiredness and physical and emotional exhaustion suffered by many carers in the wake of the Covid pandemic. During this time staff in hospitals, care homes and hospices were confronted with unprecedented pressures, not least in the increase in death rates, a phenomenon now made visible in the moving memorial on the bank of the River Thames in London. In a culture which, as we have seen, finds death a subject to be avoided, the sudden impact of a dramatic increase in terminal conditions was bound to place huge physical and emotional pressures upon doctors and nurses, and left them vulnerable when the full extent of the staffing problems emerged subsequent to the pandemic. How might the tradition of lament discussed here relate to such a situation and, more importantly, to exhausted and distressed practitioners?

The obvious conclusion to be drawn in the first place is that the cries and groans of emotionally drained professionals can find a connection to the distress of the Jewish captives in Egypt which the privileged and educated Moses discovered only when he 'watched them at their hard labour' (Ex. 2:11). How much 'hard labour' goes unseen and therefore unrecog-

[21] Brueggemann, 'Costly Loss of Lament', p. 108.

nised? And where this happens, the lack of notice, the apparent invisibility of people who work under immense pressures, can only increase their sense of isolation and loneliness. There is, of course, a clear difference between these contexts, but the Exodus story nonetheless reveals a God who cares about human suffering, heard the groaning of an oppressed people, 'and was concerned about them.' (11:25) The author of Exodus tells us that the oppression of the Jewish people reminded Yahweh of his covenant with Abraham, and since the promise made to the Patriarch was to extend to 'all peoples on earth', we have warrant to bear testimony to traumatised colleagues that suffering and anguish need not be a cry in the dark, a scream which goes unheard in an empty cosmos, but can be directed to the God who listens, responds and saves. What is clear from the origin of lament in the Exodus narratives, is confirmed and made wondrously visible in the gospel story of Jesus, 'healing every disease and sickness', and moved with compassion for the crowds who were 'harassed and helpless, like sheep without a shepherd' (Matt. 9:35-36).

However, if Christians in caring professions can recognise their unique opportunities to contribute to the *missio Dei* within the context of their work, it is imperative that they are equally conscious of their own vulnerability and need for support, counsel and prayer. I have observed that individuals drawn to caring professions are often people who feel a deep, Christ-like compassion for the most marginalised and neglected people on the fringes of capitalist society. This is true not only of those who comfort the dying, but also of professionals in education and social care, where the needs of vulnerable children and young people are immense and can result in heart-breaking and trauma-inducing experiences. The physical and emotional demands which such work makes upon individuals, not to mention the demands on time when responding to crises may mean working far beyond the hours of nine-to-five, can threaten to overwhelm individuals, resulting in personal breakdown and creating serious problems in marriage and family life. The prayer of lament becomes in such situations a crucial spiritual resource for the Christian professional, and the divine response might turn out to be like that to the exhausted Elijah: *sleep*, 'Get up and *eat and drink*', and listen for the *gentle whisper* which will result in both fresh vision and a reordered life (1 Kings 19:3-9).

Finally, there are crucial lessons for churches, especially where the lament tradition has been ignored and abandoned. The individuals who have a vocation in the caring professions which we have discussed need to be recognised, listened to, and regularly supported in prayer and pastoral care. There needs to be radical change in the manner in which mission is understood so that the commitment to support and intercession which has long been normal for those who feel called to work overseas in what

were traditionally called 'mission fields', is now extended to the caring professions we have discussed above. Moreover, the nature of the prayerful support such people will need, will not simply focus on evangelistic fruitfulness, but must be informed by the reality of the difficulties and struggles which are bound to be encountered by practitioners of care in a broken society. In other words, prayer for mission in these contexts will demand a recovery of the freedom to utter prayers of lament.

I close with a quotation from a book on the subject of this article which has been of great help to me. Scott Ellington's *Risking Truth: Reshaping the World through Prayers of Lament* explores this tradition and its marginalisation in so much of Western Christianity and he concludes that the fact that it is the 'nobodies' in society who recognize the Son of David in Matthew's Gospel serves 'to underscore an important shift in the twenty-first century church.'

> Though the prayer of lament remains a resource for all who experience a suffering that diminishes the fullness of life, the vocation of lament is first and foremost the province of the foreigner, the widow, the deformed, and the destitute. The practice of this vocation challenges the hegemony of the Western church. The loss of the practice of lament in materialistic, wealthy cultures has signaled a shift away from a Western, upper-middleclass, male control on the proclamation and interpretation of the gospel. Increasingly it is the "nobodies" of Western society and the long-silenced remainder of the world that challenges a Church that finds no place for lament.[22]

[22] Scott A. Ellington, *Risking Truth: Reshaping the World through Prayers of Lament* (Eugene: Pickwick Publications, 2008), p. 191.

Theologian of the Spirit: Re-Examining Warfield's Judgement on Calvin

Stephen N. Williams

THE SHAPE OF THE QUESTION

B. B. Warfield's judgement that Calvin 'above everything […] deserves […] the great name of *the theologian of the Holy Spirit*' is familiar.[1] How did Calvin earn it? Answer: he worked out in detail the whole experience of salvation in terms of the work of God the Holy Spirit in the individual soul. Warfield's judgement implicates ecclesiology as well as pneumatology, since he tells us that Calvin's greatness lay in his substitution of Spirit for Church as God's instrument for saving the soul. However, Calvin's individual soul does not supplant the church. In his introduction to Abraham Kuyper's volume on the Holy Spirit, Warfield again pronounced that '[t]he doctrine of the work of the Holy Spirit is a gift from John Calvin to the Church of Christ', but this time picked out 'the manner of His [the Spirit's] working in the congregation of believers'.[2] Calvin's greatness lies in so ordering pneumatology that the church, alongside the individual, is the recipient, and not the instrument, of the saving work of God the Spirit.

In what follows, I less challenge this judgement on Calvin directly than place a question mark against it. Only a comprehensive study of Calvin's work will determine whether question should be commuted to challenge. As familiar as is Warfield's verdict is the lament that commentators on Calvin's theology have often plundered his *Institutes* at the expense of his other writings. Although I occasionally cite work outside the *Institutes*, my limited purposes in this article impel me to join the merry crew of misguided plunderers.[3] I make no attempt to provide a balanced view of Calvin's pneumatology or ecclesiology as a whole, because what generates my question to Warfield is what Calvin does in the *Institutes* in rela-

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1 B. B. Warfield, 'John Calvin the Theologian', in *Calvin and Augustine* (Philadelphia, PA: Presbyterian & Reformed, 1956), pp. 482-87. This observation is on p. 487.

2 Abraham Kuyper, *The Work of the Holy Spirit* (New York, NY/London: Funk & Wagnalls, 1900), p. xxxiii.

3 Only one whose intellectual conscience is totally seared can proceed thus without unease after Richard A. Muller, *The Unaccommodated Calvin: Studies in the Foundation of a Theological Tradition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

tion to both the substance and the relative ordering of pneumatology and ecclesiology. Prior to the chapter which closes book 2 on 'The Knowledge of God the Redeemer', the structure of Calvin's exposition has been ruled by the Christological clauses of the Apostles' Creed.[4] Possibly, the entire *Institutes* is structured along the lines of the Creed; its final Latin edition has been described as the 'credal' *Institutio*.[5] However, Calvin himself does not say as much in his last edition of the *Institutes*, and a variety of proposals about its structure have been offered.[6] Whatever our judgement on this, Calvin's break with the creedal order, as he moves out of book 2 and into books 3 and 4 of the *Institutes*, is conspicuous. The clauses of the Apostles' Creed are ordered in the sequence: Spirit, Church, communion of saints, forgiveness of sins, resurrection of the body, and the life everlasting. However, Calvin treats forgiveness and resurrection in connection with the Spirit in book 3, before *ecclesia* and *communio* put in their

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4 I use the translation by Ford Lewis Battles of Calvin's *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, ed. by John T. McNeill (Philadelphia, PA: Westminster, 1960).

5 T. H. L. Parker, *Calvin: An Introduction to His Thought* (London/New York, NY: Continuum, 1995), p. 8. The credal interpretation of the *Institutes* was canonised by the inclusion of Olevian's account at the beginning of Henry Beveridge's translation of the *Institutes* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1972, repr.), pp. 27-30, which stated that Calvin adopted the arrangement of the Apostles' Creed.

6 For a brisk look at some of the principal options, see Anthony N. S. Lane, *A Reader's Guide to Calvin's Institutes* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2009), pp. 21-22; see the additional note on p. 18 on the Apostles' Creed. For longer discussion, see Charles Partee, *The Theology of John Calvin* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 2008), pp. 35-43. In the same year, Gary Neal Hansen joined the company of those pitching for the significance of Romans as an influence on the structure of the *Institutes*, in 'Door and Passageway: Calvin's Use of Romans as Hermeneutical and Theological Guide', in *Reformation Readings of Romans*, ed. by Kathy Ehrensperger and R. Ward Holder (New York, NY/London: T & T Clark, 2008), pp. 77-94. Certainly, Calvin regarded both Romans and the final edition of the *Institutes* as guides to the reading of Scripture: see *The Epistles of Paul the Apostle to the Romans and to the Thessalonians*, ed. by David W. Torrance and Thomas F. Torrance (Edinburgh: Saint Andrew Press, 1961), p. 5, and *Institutes*, pp. 3-5. See also Bruce Gordon, *John Calvin's Institutes of the Christian Religion: A Biography* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2016), pp. 23-36, for both several references to Romans and judgement on the structural alliance of Romans and the Apostles' Creed; also, Gordon's biography of *Calvin* (New Haven, CT/London: Yale University Press, 2009), p. 92. For the structural evolution of the *Institutes*, see Franz H. Breukelman, *The Structure of Sacred Doctrine in Calvin's Theology* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2010).

appearance in book 4. Nonetheless, the Apostles' Creed remains on Calvin's mind at the beginning of book 4 (see 1.2, 3). He also allows that we may speak of forgiveness after, and not before, ecclesiology, in the fashion of the Creed (4.1.20, 27).

In breaking with the creedal order, Calvin breaks with the order of the biblical narrative, though he has not committed himself to following it. Calvin sets out on the pneumatological trail in book 3 by apparently orienting his account of the Spirit to the individual, opening the pneumatological discussion which follows his Christology (book 2) with reference to the 'secret energy of the Spirit' (3.1.1).[7] Under this rubric, Calvin expounds the work of the Spirit in the individual soul. However, in Luke-Acts, the account of the death, resurrection and ascension of Jesus Christ, which Calvin tracks in book 2, is followed by the account of the Pentecostal Spirit. Contrast Kuyper with Calvin. Kuyper arranged his material more closely along the lines of Scripture and Creed. He did not write an *Institutes*, but in treating the Holy Spirit, he devoted the first of his three volumes to 'The Work of the Holy Spirit in the Church as a Whole', and the second and third volumes to 'The Work of the Holy Spirit in the Individual'. He reversed Calvin's order. Adding to his original preface a 'Postscript for American readers', he drew attention to his campaign against 'individualism and subjectivity' in relating the work of the Spirit to the Church as community.[8]

Kuyper's order not only highlights Calvin's break with biblical as well as credal order in book 3; it also highlights the question of how Calvin theologically relates individual and church. Despite the substantial treatment of ecclesiology in Book 4 of the *Institutes*, Calvin has been charged with a theologically deficient individualism on account of both what he says substantively in book 4 about the church, and the rubric under which he says it. All the above constitutes an invitation to examine Warfield's judgement. Is the charge of individualism justified? If so, does Warfield's judgement need to be corrected? In the first part of this article, I focus on ecclesiology; in the next on pneumatology.[9]

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7 On this terminology as a technical description of the 'special work […] of the Holy Spirit', see Benjamin Charles Milner, Jr., *Calvin's Doctrine of The Church* (Leiden: Brill, 1970), p. 28, and his Appendix, where he nuances, as well as documents, the claim. François Wendel titles the chapter in which he deals with book 3, 'The Hidden Work of the Holy Spirit', in *Calvin: The Origins and Development of His Religious Thought*, trans. by Philip Mairet (London: Collins, 1965), chapter 4.

8 Kuyper, *The Work*, pp. xii-xiv.

9 The second part is anticipated in the next issue of *SBET*. (*Ed*.)

ECCLESIOLOGY: A SIGN OF INDIVIDUALISM?

A stark charge of individualism issued forth from Emil Brunner, and remarking on it nicely launches our discussion.[10] He focussed on Calvin's description of the church as an '*externum subsidium*', an external aid, a means, an institutional framework for faith to be fostered and to flourish, the rubric under which the church is treated in book 4 of the *Institutes*. Brunner believed this to be theologically mistaken. In truth, the church is the new covenant community, not principally a means of nurturing individual faith, and 'the New Testament *Ecclesia* […] has nothing of the character of an institution about it […]'[11] 'Institution' is a wide-ranging term in Brunner's account. Its vagaries are not our concern. Suffice to say that, for him, individualism and institutionalism are mutually implicated. In Calvin's case, an institutional view of the church is the implicate or correlative of individualism.[12] In the chapter of the volume containing the celebrated statement that '[t]he church exists by mission, just as the fire exists by burning', Brunner also lambasted individualism in the name of

[10] For an overlapping version of the first part of this article, see Stephen N. Williams, 'Calvin on the Church: Why Is It in *Institutes* Book 4?', in *Engaging Ecclesiology: Papers from the Edinburgh Dogmatics Conference, 2021*, ed. by A. T. B. McGowan (Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2023), pp. 57-74. The emphasis and documentation in this present offering is different, and it is ordered to Warfield's judgement.

[11] Emil Brunner, *The Misunderstanding of the Church*, trans. by Harold Knight (London: Lutterworth, 1952), p. 17. Later, Brunner distinguished between the possession of institutional features and being an institution, *The Christian Doctrine of the Church, Faith and the Consummation, Dogmatics, volume III* (London: Lutterworth, 1962), p. 22. Here, he described *The Misunderstanding of the Church* as a 'preliminary study' for its first part (p. ix), and repeated his previous criticisms of Calvin (pp. 19-20).

[12] Others contrast the individual and the institutional. Brad Harper and Paul Louis Metzger observe that Calvin's 'definition of the church is more individualistic than institutional', in *Exploring Ecclesiology: An Evangelical and Ecumenical Introduction* (Grand Rapids, MI: Brazos), p. 302, n. 29. Hendrikus Berkhof also contrasts the individualistic and the institutional in his discussion of Calvin in *Christian Faith: An Introduction to the Study of the Faith* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1979), p. 342. However, his contrast is apparently grounded in the judgement that a free church approach is individualistic, a judgement persuasively challenged by Alan P. F. Sell with special reference to Bernard Lord Manning, in 'Rectifying Calvin's Ecclesiology: The Doctrinal and Ecumenical Importance of Separatist-Congregational Catholicity', in *John Calvin's Ecclesiology: Ecumenical Perspectives*, ed. by Gerard Mannion and Eduardus Van der Borght (New York, NY/London: T & T Clark, 2011), pp. 143-68.

community and communion.[13] In this individualistic worry, Brunner was not alone in the Reformed tradition. Barth, while dissenting from aspects of Brunner's constructive ecclesiology, was markedly sympathetic.[14] Hendrikus Berkhof, while critical of Brunner for oversimplifying, agreed that he was onto something.[15]

Is this line of criticism fundamentally correct? Bernard Cottret is broadly right to warn that it 'would […] be anachronistic to give him [Calvin] too individualistic an interpretation' in the *Institutes*, though this formulation is a little too vague.[16] If individualism there is, whatever form it may take, much in the first two books of the *Institutes* belies it, on the surface. There is much talk of the church in book 2.[17] Book 3 is neither entirely individualistic, nor starts on an entirely individualistic note. At the beginning of 3.1, where we read of the 'secret energy of the Spirit', we encounter reference to Jesus Christ as the head of the church. In the last chapter, we read that he 'was raised by the Father inasmuch as he was Head of the church' (3.25.3). Between these two points, we find robust statements on the significance of ecclesial fellowship (3.4.6) and the corporate nature of faith as expressed in prayer, subject of the longest chapter in the *Institutes*, and one which has attracted the judgement of being its effective climax (3.20).[18] David Wiley concluded that '[b]ook 3 portrays not the individual's Christian life so much as the inner life of

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13 Emil Brunner, *The Word and the World*, 2nd ed. (London: SCM, 1932), chapter V. The celebrated statement is on p. 108.

14 Karl Barth, *Church Dogmatics*, IV/2 (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1958), p. 615; *Church Dogmatics*, IV/3.1 (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1962), pp. 766-67. Barth expressed his ire when we 'relate' the work of the Spirit 'directly to the personal appropriation of salvation by the individual Christian', as was the methodological way in traditional Protestant dogmatics', *Church Dogmatics* IV/1 (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1956), pp. 149-50. He himself distributed his ecclesiological discussions amongst the various parts of this volume of *Church Dogmatics*.

15 Hendrikus Berkhof, *The Doctrine of the Holy Spirit* (Richmond, VA: John Knox, 1964), pp. 47-49.

16 Bernard Cottret, *Calvin: A Biography*, trans. by M. Wallace McDonald (Grand Rapids, MI/Cambridge, UK: Eerdmans, 2000), p. 325.

17 This should be picked up from 6.4, and see 7.16; 8.14, 21; 15.3, 5; 16.9, 15. In the same breath as he speaks of the church in 2.6.4, Calvin speaks of God's adoption of the elect, and 'elect' can be ambiguous between Israel according to the flesh and the Lord's own. Of course, talk of the church is found in book 1 as well: it is 'God's dwelling place', 1.17.6. See too, e.g., 1.6.1.

18 So Parker, *Calvin: An Introduction*, p. 107.

the church.[19] If the charge of individualism (as understood by Brunner) is to stick, it must negotiate counter-evidence in the first three books of the *Institutes*. It is when we get to the fourth that things begin to heat up with individualistic potency.

When pondering the location of Calvin's ecclesiology in book 4, we must guard against the danger of sliding into our own dogmatic expectations of the structure of what is billed as an *Institutes*, heedless of the historical context of this particular specimen.[20] In warning us against false expectations, Bouwsma is so determined to oppose the use of dogmatic language that he baulks at referring to what goes on in Book 4 overall as 'ecclesiology' at all.[21] Be that as it may, Calvin regarded it as a matter of pastoral urgency to underline the relationship of the individual to God in a late-medieval context where the church had apparently usurped the place of God, and we must reckon with the potential impact this had on the way he structured his treatment of theological topics. Although we cannot be sure that Calvin personally authored the title of the Latin title of the first edition of the *Institutes* (1536), it is described as *Containing almost the Whole Sum of Piety and Whatever it is Necessary to Know in the Doctrine of Salvation*. Correspondingly, in his final edition, Calvin will say that 'spiritual insight consists chiefly in three things: (1) knowing God; (2) knowing his fatherly favour in our behalf, in which our salvation consists; (3) knowing how to frame our life according to the rule of his law' (2.2.18). Concern for soteriology and the Christian life are at the heart of his doctrinal presentation.

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19 'The Church as the Elect in the Theology of Calvin', in *John Calvin and the Church: A Prism of Reform*, ed. by Timothy George (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 1990), pp. 96-117, quotation from p. 111. Ranging over the whole of Calvin's corpus, Ronald S. Wallace describes *Calvin's Doctrine of the Christian Life* (Edinburgh/London: Oliver & Boyd, 1959) in ecclesiological terms; see the structure of his accounts in, e.g., Parts 1 and 2, Chapter II. Even so, we have arrived at Part IV of his book before we read of 'Nurture and Discipline within the Church', and Wallace speaks of 'the assurance of being within the Church' as 'an *important* element in our sanctification' (p. 200). The italics are mine, provided in order to highlight the fact that he does not use the word 'necessary'.

20 In his excursus on '*The Place of Ecclesiology in the Structure of Dogmatics*', Pannenberg, citing both Brunner and Berkhof, noted attempts within the Reformed tradition to correct a dogmatic order which prioritized the individual over the corporate, *Systematic Theology*, volume 3, trans. by Geoffrey W. Bromiley (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans/Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1998), pp. 21-27.

21 William J. Bouwsma, *John Calvin: A Sixteenth Century Portrait* (New York, NY/Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), p. 214. See also p. 5.

However, the location of Calvin's ecclesiology is most pointedly methodologically explained by his description of the church as an 'aid'. This has sometimes been judged infelicitous when measured by the substance of the ecclesiology adumbrated in book 4. Thus, Brian Gerrish reckons that Calvin described the Lord's Supper, treated in book 4, 'a little misleadingly as an "appendage" to the gospel'.[22] Probing the question of Calvin's sacrament as 'external aid' is a demanding affair.[23] It certainly gives us pause for thought when what John Williamson Nevin, in his celebrated exposition and defence of Reformed eucharistic theology, took to form 'the heart of the whole Christian worship' and to constitute 'the entire question of the Church […] the great life-problem of the age', is treated as an 'aid' to faith in the *Institutes*.[24] While it takes quite an effort to think of Calvin using terminology 'casually', we may experience a momentary pang of sympathy for that sentiment, born of the fact that much of what he said about the church in book 4 apparently makes it something more than an aid to faith.[25] Yet, consistency and clarity are particularly important if the judgement that '[t]he unity of Calvin's thought becomes apparent in his doctrine of the Church' has any traction.[26]

To come to solid conclusions on the question of whether or not Calvin, in describing the church as an aid, is wording things infelicitously by his own substantive standards, we need not only to study Calvin's Latin usage throughout the *Institutes*, but also to interpret the relevant terminology in book 4 in meticulous accordance with the substance of Calvin's theological account of the church there. Arguably, Brunner fell short here.[27]

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22 B. A. Gerrish, *Grace and Gratitude: The Eucharistic Theology of John Calvin* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1993), p. 158. Keith A. Mathison, who defends the ecclesial importance of Calvin's Eucharistic theology, fails to alert us to the status of sacraments as 'aids' in *Given for You: Reclaiming Calvin's Doctrine of the Lord's Supper* (Phillipsburg, NJ: Presbyterian & Reformed Publishing, 2002). Calvin also describes baptism as, 'so to speak, the appendix of faith', *The Acts of the Apostles 1-13* (Edinburgh: Saint Andrew Press, 1965), p. 253.

23 For example, the question of the nature of secondary causality gets wheeled in: see Kilian McDonnell, *John Calvin, the Church, and the Eucharist* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967), p. 167.

24 *The Mystical Presence and the Doctrine of the Reformed Church on the Lord's Supper*, ed. by Linden J. DeBie (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2012), p. 11.

25 See Elias Dantas, 'Calvin, the Theologian of the Holy Spirit', in *John Calvin and Evangelical Theology: Legacy and Prospect*, ed. by Sung Wook Chung (Milton Keynes: Paternoster, 2009), pp. 128-41, remark on p. 130.

26 Milner, *Calvin's Doctrine*, p. 194.

27 Brunner's ill-health precluded any possibility of a rigorous reappraisal of *The Misunderstanding of the Church* when it came to writing his *Dogmatics*. Alister E. McGrath, who notes the ill-health, compares the broad structure

Yet, when all is said and done, Calvin's visible church is an aid, if a vitally necessary aid. It is there on account of our weakness. Of course, this encompasses the sacraments. In his commentary on Malachi 1:12, Calvin observes that we come to the Lord's table 'on account of our common infirmity'.[28]

In modifying Brunner's judgement, Berkhof pointed to the prominence of Calvin's description of the church as *mater ecclesia*, 'mother church', a not exactly individualistic designation.[29] It certainly is prominent. It is also problematic. Potential trouble brews here, as the question of institutionalism pops up alongside individualism, impinging on Warfield's verdict. Because we remain within the orbit of Warfield's claim, I am not tracking every attempt to identify putative institutionalism in Calvin's work, just attempting to come to preliminary grips with that claim.[30]

ECCLESIOLOGY: A CASE OF INSTITUTIONALISM?

For the language of 'mother church', Calvin is scripturally dependent on Galatians 4:26, 'The Jerusalem above is free, and she is our mother'. Calvin takes Paul to be referring here to the visible church (4.1.4).[31] He is not. Maternity is ascribed to Jerusalem *above*, *mother* of the *visible* church in Galatia, just as Sarah, whom Calvin describes as 'the mother of the people of God', is the mother of Israel.[32] If Jerusalem above is appropriately described as a church, it is a heavenly church, the 'true church of God', not identical with the visible church here below, whose membership

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of Brunner's *Dogmatics* to Calvin's *Institutes, Emil Brunner: A Reappraisal* (Oxford: Wiley Blackwell, 2014), p. 219.

28 John Calvin, *Zechariah & Malachi* (Edinburgh: Banner of Truth, 1986).

29 See footnote 15.

30 Nor am I distinguishing between varieties of individualism. For example, in his influential study of *The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches*, volume 2 (New York, NY: Macmillan, 1931), Ernst Troeltsch judged that his doctrine of election shaped Calvin's individualism differently from the way Luther's individualism was shaped, p. 589.

31 See Calvin's commentary on Galatians 4:26 in *The Epistles of Paul the Apostle to the Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians and Colossians*, ed. by David W. Torrance and Thomas F. Torrance (Edinburgh: Saint Andrew Press, 1965), and his *Sermons on Galatians*, trans. by Kathy Childress (Edinburgh: Banner of Truth, 1977), chapter 29.

32 For this description of Sarah, see Calvin's observation on Genesis 16:1, *Genesis* (Edinburgh: Banner of Truth, 1965). Abraham is 'the father of the whole Church', *The Gospel according to St John 1-10* (Edinburgh: Saint Andrew Press), on 8:56.

is not exclusively composed of heavenly citizens.[33] In his 1539 edition of the *Institutes*, Calvin ascribed maternity to the *invisible* church.[34] At all events, Jerusalem above is not the visible church.[35] If there is biblical support outside Galatians for describing the visible church as mother church, it will be slim pickings.[36]

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33 E.g., J. Louis Martyn, *Galatians: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (New York, NY: Doubleday, 1997), pp. 440-41. It is certainly a heavenly 'presence', to borrow Karl Rahner's mundane but germane formulation when he seeks to integrate various facets of the church in *Foundations of Christian Faith: An Introduction to the Idea of Christianity*, trans. by William V. Dych (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1978), p. 338.

34 See *Martin Bucer: Reforming Church and Community*, ed. by David F. Wright (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 37. Calvin saw the question of whether the church always has to take visible form as a significant bone of contention with Catholicism: see from the outset of chapter 2 in Jon Balserak's *Establishing the Remnant Church in France: Calvin's Lectures on the Minor Prophets, 1556-1559* (Leiden: Brill, 2011).

35 See, e.g., Hans Dieter Betz, *Galatians: A Commentary on Paul's Letter to the Churches in Galatia* (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress, 1979), p. 248; Ben Witherington III, *Grace in Galatia: A Commentary on St. Paul's Letter to the Galatians* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan), p. 303. The exegesis I reject here does have the occasional modern defender; see Ronald Y. K. Fung, *The Epistle to the Galatians* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1988), pp. 211-12. For a sympathetic and thorough nineteenth century commentator conversant with the history of exegesis, including patristic and Reformation exegesis, see Heinrich A. W. Meyer, *Critical and Exegetical Handbook to the Epistle to the Galatians*, 5th edition, trans. by G. H. Venables (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1876), especially p. 274. A fuller picture of Calvin's thought here requires examination of the way he associates church and kingdom; see Frederik A. V. Harms, *In God's Custody: The Church, a History of Divine Protection: A Study of John Calvin's Ecclesiology based on his Commentary on the Minor Prophets* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2010), chapter 5.

36 See Paul Minear, *Images of the Church in the New Testament* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 2004), originally produced in 1960. Minear noted the distinctive 'elect lady and her children' of 2 John 1, but identified this as a minor image, even if taken as an ecclesiological referent, p. 54. He connected it with the imagery in Revelation 12:2 of Israel as the Messiah's mother. Not even when referring to Galatians 4:21-31 in the context of discussing Jerusalem did Minear speak of 'Mother Church' (pp. 91-96), and his nose was keenly sensitive to anything remotely a candidate for being a New Testament image of the church.

Theological support is a different matter, and patristic support is particularly significant for Calvin.[37] Augustine is involved, of course, but Cyprian is prominent in book 4, and he is favourably referenced throughout much of that book.[38] A glance at Cyprian poses significant questions about Calvin's ecclesiological approach. In his discussion of mother church, Cyprian combines an ecclesiology that is strongly 'institutionalist' with rich spiritual warmth. Peter Hinchliff described Cyprian's *De Unitate Ecclesiae*, standardly cited as a charter of episcopal institutionalism in Western ecclesiology, as 'a book about the need to love'.[39] Cyprian's correspondence, frequently cited by Calvin, sounds this note.[40] It is sounded more strongly here than it is in the *Institutes*. Obviously, we cannot draw conclusions just from the *Institutes* about how Calvin intertwines love and institution, but it is hard to forget that Calvin never once in the *Institutes* quoted the Johannine: 'God is love', and although he does speak of 'God's fatherly love toward mankind', love is not on his short list of the most signal divine perfections (1.10.2).[41] It is at least a

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[37] Noteworthy theological support for the proposition that the '*assembly of believers remains our mother*' comes from Dietrich Bonhoeffer, *Sanctorum Communio: A Theological Study of the Sociology of the Church*, trans. by Reinhard Krauss and Nancy Lukens, ed. by Clifford J. Green (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 1998), p. 228. Admittedly, Bonhoeffer develops differently from Calvin the notion of the mother in terms of 'the church-community as the community of saints', p. 241.

[38] However, Anthony N. S. Lane picks up the 'revealing comment' in Calvin's commentary on 1 Corinthians 3:15 where Calvin charges Cyprian (*inter alia*) with error: *John Calvin: Student of the Church Fathers* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1999), p. 3, n. 10. Calvin's wording most certainly is 'revealing'; see *The First Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians* (Edinburgh: Saint Andrew Press, 1960), p. 77. How theologically rich the thought of ecclesial motherhood is when we step outside the Western patristic tradition surfaces in John D. Zizioulas, *Being as Communion: Studies in Personhood and the Church* (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1985), p. 56.

[39] Peter Hinchliff, *Cyprian of Carthage and the Unity of the Christian Church* (London: Chapman, 1974), p. 116.

[40] E.g., Letter 46 in Cyprian, *Letters 1-81* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1964). Calvin does not refer to this letter in the *Institutes*, but he does to the previous one (in 4.7.3), which also refers to 'Mother Church'. In his correspondence, Cyprian's vocabulary in connection with 'Mother Church' is rich and varied; e.g., she 'glories' and sheds tears (Letter 10). See too, De Lapsis, 2 in *The Lapsed; the Unity of the Catholic Church*, trans. by Maurice Bévenot (London: Longmans, Green and Co, 1957).

[41] In his commentary on 1 John, *The Gospel according to St. John 11-21 and The First Epistle of John* (Edinburgh: Saint Andrew Press, 1961), p. 290, Calvin

moot question whether the atmosphere of love in Christian fellowship pervades Cyprian's institutionalism more obviously than it does the institutionalism of book 4 of the *Institutes*, though the literatures compared are not commensurable, and the purpose of comparison is to provoke, not to answer, the question.[42]

Such is the strength of Cyprian's maternal personification of the church, embracing its fellowship, that the possibility has been mooted that, for him, the church 'has become an individual self next to God'.[43] That possibility does not arise in Calvin. Where he ascribes motherhood to the church, it is in close connection with the leaders' discharge of their responsibilities. The office of ministry which they discharge is not only the glue which holds the church together; it is 'its very soul' (4.2.7; see also 4.3.2).[44] In his *Confessio Fidei Gallicana*, produced at around the time of the final Latin edition of the *Institutes*, Calvin applies the vocabulary of '*aides*' to the divine provision of pastors. They conspicuously enter the picture, at the expense of the people, as soon as he talks about the church.[45] Ephesians 4 is ecclesiologically key for Calvin. His first biblical reference in book 4 (1.1) is to Ephesians 4:11, and he frequently reverts to it. Once he has broached the distinction between visible and invisible church, subsequently explicated in 4.1.7, he pounces on Ephesians 4 to discuss the visible church (4.1.5). The teaching of doctrine lies at the heart

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informs us that love is not 'of the essence of God'. As a formulation, this expresses Calvin's general belief about our ignorance of the divine essence in contrast to our ability to describe our experience of him. Yet, is it unfair to detect an element of *relative* detachment in Calvin's treatment of that text, even when we read his discussion of surrounding texts?

42 The provocative proposition that it is 'doctrine', and not love, which 'is the bond of brotherly fellowship' for Calvin, would require exploration here, *Acts 1-13*, p. 86. Cf., *The Acts of the Apostles 14-28* (Edinburgh: Saint Andrew Press, 1966), p. 22. Faith, not love, 'is the soul of the Church', *Acts 14-28*, p. 231. However, perhaps these are false alternatives.

43 G. C. Berkouwer, *The Church* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1976), p. 143, quoting A. Adam.

44 Leaders are the principal 'sinew' of the church, vocabulary replicated in Calvin's observation that '[n]ext to the magistracy in the civil state come the laws, stoutest sinews of the commonwealth', 4.20.14. Civil government affords assistance to faith (see e.g., 4.20.2, where the word *subsidiis* is used). In light of his ecclesiological emphasis on governance, it is interesting that it is civil government, rather than civil society, which absorbs Calvin's theological attention here.

45 See Philip Schaff, *The Creeds of Christendom, volume III: The Evangelical Protestant Creeds with Translations* (New York, NY: Harper & Brothers, 1877), pp. 356-92, chapter 25. Talk of pastors is resumed in chapter 29.

of the leaders' task, shaping the spiritual life of the church, along with discipline, its 'appendix'.[46] If space permitted, exploring the connection between pneumatology and ecclesiology in the *Institutes* by attending to the claim that '[i]n his conception of discipline […] we have the heart of Calvin's doctrine of the kingdom of Christ and thus his doctrine of sanctification' would be most profitable, where Warfield is in our sights.[47] Meanwhile, outside the *Institutes*, Calvin can ascribe maternity to doctrine as well to the church.[48] Anyone who not only reads Calvin's explicit statements on the church as our mother, but also notes how much attention Calvin gives to its governance in his treatment of the church in book 4, will realise just how closely tied the concept of maternity is to institutional, governmental, structure.[49]

I have introduced the subject of *mater ecclesia* in Calvin because it is potentially an antidote to an ecclesiologically defective individualism. In the context of Warfield's judgement, reference to it throws up the question of whether Calvin's church occupies the subordinate soteriological place that Warfield welcomes because it is too heavily institutionalised. Emphatically, I am not doing justice to Calvin's whole counsel on the substantive matters at hand, considered independently of my Warfieldian agenda.[50] The *Institutes* is far from covering all the ecclesiological ground

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46 *A Harmony of the Gospels, Matthew, Mark and Luke*, volume 2 (Edinburgh: Saint Andrew Press, 1972), p. 230, on Matthew 18:18. Discipline is also a sinew in the *Institutes* (4.12.1; 4.14.6). In a communication to the Duke of Somerset, Calvin observes: 'For as doctrine is the soul of the Church for quickening, so discipline and the correction of vices are like the nerves to sustain the body in a state of health and vigour', quoted in Gordon, *Calvin*, p. 255.

47 Milner, *Calvin's Doctrine*, pp. 178-79.

48 See, for example, his *Commentary on Galatians* 4:24. Any surprise this ascription generates in us should be modified by reading what Calvin unfolds at more leisure in his *Sermons on Galatians*, chapters 29-30, on doctrine and the spiritual life.

49 Calvin's firm conviction that Romans 12:8 is about public ecclesial offices (4.3.9) and that the 'light of the world' and 'salt of the earth' in the Sermon on the Mount are the apostles (4.3.3) is reflected in his commentaries. See *Romans* and *A Harmony of the Gospels, Matthew, Mark and Luke*, volume 1 (Edinburgh: Saint Andrew Press, 1972), pp. 175-76.

50 For example, I am not engaging with T. H. L. Parker's remark that, for Calvin, '[t]he maternal power […] does not lie in the Church itself, but in the Christ who by his Spirit is present in his Church in preaching and Sacrament', *John Calvin: A Biography* (London: Dent, 1975), p. 134. Perhaps Parker separates too far here God as Father from Christ and Spirit when he picks out their maternal functions.

covered in the rest of Calvin's literature.[51] Further, I am not covering all the ecclesiological ground covered in the *Institutes*: the invisible church is also largely invisible in my account.[52] Nor am I denying that serious theological consideration should be given to the maternity of the visible church. The case for it is surely possible when we (a) stop fixing our minds on the members of the church at any given moment in time, and begin, instead, to consider the church as an historical entity to which we belong, or (b) take into account the nurture of little ones in the church.[53]

However, in the round, the prospect has arisen that the price we pay for appealing to mother church in the *Institutes* in order to exculpate Calvin from the charge of individualism is to offer an alternative charge of institutionalism, thus giving Brunner the chance of getting it half right, even if he regards the charges as mutually implicative, not alternatives. Certainly, where institutionalism is pitted against community, then the prospect of individualism returns. In ecclesiological discourse, 'organism' is sometimes contrasted with 'institution'. Speaking generally, talk of organism

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51 See, e.g., the material assembled in Thomas F. Torrance, *Kingdom and Church: A Study in the Theology of the Reformation* (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1956). However, Torrance neglects the invisible church; see Stanley S. Maclean both on this and in his wider observations in the 'Conclusion' to his essay on '*Regnum Christi*: Thomas Torrance's Appropriation of John Calvin's Ecclesiology', in Mannion and Van der Borght, *John Calvin's Ecclesiology*, pp. 185-202.

52 The mutually implicative nature of a theologian's conviction about the invisible church, on the one hand, and theological order, on the other, emerges in the work of Charles Hodge. At the beginning of the first volume of his *Systematic Theology*, he announced his intention of treating ecclesiology after what he called 'theology proper', i.e., anthropology and soteriology: *Theology* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2002), Introduction, chapter 2, paragraph 4. Hodge said that, under 'Soteriology', he would treat the 'application of the redemption of Christ to the people of God', and his very brief discussion of the kingly office of Christ began with reference to the church as God's kingdom, *Systematic Theology*, volume 2, *Anthropology*, Part 3, chapter 11. But although Hodge believed that the church is visible as well as invisible, his interest at this stage was the 'spiritual kingdom', that is, the invisible church, because 'religion is essentially spiritual, an inward state', *Anthropology*, p. 604. It is not surprising that he planned to discuss an ecclesiology which involved the visible church after eschatology, let alone after soteriology.

53 On the first of these, see Abraham Kuyper's lament that '[n]o voice from the depths, no word from distant history spoke in the daily life of the church', in the course of an exposition of his conversion to 'Mother Church', 'Confidentially' in *Abraham Kuyper: A Centennial Reader*, ed. by James D. Bratt (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1998), pp. 45-61; 55.

has a biological root, connoting the spontaneous flow of life; talk of institution has a socio-political root, connoting the construction of structure. Clearly, the church can be both organic and an institution. *Prima facie*, the theologically proper way of relating these two notions is to say that the church is an organism whose flourishing and growth requires a governmental order which bestows on it some of the features of an institution.[54] It is a truism that ecclesiological trouble sets in — on the ground, not just in theology — when the institutional threatens to stifle rather than facilitate the organic. On point of theological principle, Calvin may steer clear of this trouble if he 'thinks of the church as the order emerging out of the correlation of the *ordinatio dei* and the effectual work of the Holy Spirit […]'.[55] In engaging the issue of institution and organism, Kuyper's work repays close attention.[56] Comparison with Calvin is potentially fruitful when we consider Kuyper's view that the institutional church is necessary but not essential — that is, the essence of the church can be defined without reference to its institutional nature, although it needs to be an institution in order to function.[57]

A dispassionate assessment of Calvin would need to take all this into account. If a consideration of individualism in the *Institutes* has led us onto institutionalism, and institutionalism onto the organic, the organic takes us back to pneumatology, since the life of the church considered as an organism is the life of the Spirit. We have thus come full Warfieldian circle. We heard the case for Calvin's individualism made on the basis of his description of the church as an aid to faith. The case for Calvin's insti-

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54 I am aware that I am leaving 'institution' (like 'individual') undefined, and using the vocabulary *ad hoc*. For an analysis of the concept of institution, see Jonathan Leeman's study, *Political Church: The Local Assembly as Embassy of Christ's Rule* (Downers Grove, Ill: Inter-Varsity Press, 2016), chapter 2.

55 So Milner, *Calvin's Doctrine*, p. 164. Milner begins his study of Calvin's doctrine of the church by elaborating on the notion of the church as an organism, pp. 7-9.

56 However, in his editorial introduction to Kuyper, *On the Church*, ed. by John Halsey Wood, Jr. and Andrew M. McGinnis (Bellingham, WA: Lexham Press, 2016), Wood does not explain the conceptual relationship between organism and community.

57 See Wood's *Going Dutch*, pp. 89-90, although perhaps he allows Troeltsch's way of distinguishing between church and sect overly to steer his analysis, even if he does not bind himself to Troeltsch's analysis. The first two excerpts in *On the Church* — from *Commentatio* and 'Rooted and Grounded' — disclose Kuyper's dramatic change of ecclesiological mind. On the translational possibilities of the Dutch word '*instituut*', including with reference to Calvin, see the editorial note in Kuyper, *On the Church*, p. 45, n. 2.

tutionalism is that he ascribes the ecclesiologically controlling description of the 'church as our mother' to the visible church in its governmental structures, which threatens to overshadow the church as fellowship and as organism. I am eschewing a definitive judgement on Calvin on these counts. Bruce Gordon remarks on Calvin's belief in the 'essentially aristocratic structure of the church'.[58] The observation reminds us of the danger of trying to understand Calvin's ecclesiology in a historical vacuum, because it directly invites contextual as well as theological comparison with the ecclesiology which emerged from the political republicanism of Zwingli in Zurich, evincing a stronger sense of egalitarian community than Calvin apparently possesses.[59] Of Zwingli, it has been said that '[h]is priorities were: God, society, and the individual': does this description portend a contrast with Calvin which bears critically on Warfield's identification of Calvin's theological strength?[60] Perhaps. Gordon's description also invites comparison of Calvin's ecclesiology with that of Bucer, specifically in connection with what Bucer says about community.[61] Perhaps the differences between Bucer and Calvin's ontologies of

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58 'Introduction' to *Architect of Reformation: An Introduction to Heinrich Bullinger*, 1504-1575, ed. by Bruce Gordon and Emidio Campi (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2004), p. 25.

59 See G. R. Potter, *Zwingli* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), p. 106, and Ulrich Gabler, *Huldrych Zwingli: Zwingli's Life and Work* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1997), pp. 66-67. See too Gottfried Locher, *Zwingli's Thought: New Perspectives* (Leiden: Brill, 1981): '*John Calvin* emphasizes the sanctity of ecclesiastical office to a far greater extent than Zwingli', p. 187 (italics original).

60 W. P. Stephens, *Zwingli: An Introduction to His Thought* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1992), p. 137. Stephens is a safe pair of hands when it comes to grasping the rudiments of Zwingli's theology, *The Theology of Huldrych Zwingli* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1986), as is Bruce Gordon when it comes to following the trajectory of the whole Swiss Reformation, *The Swiss Reformation* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002). A Zwinglian dogmatics that took its shape from Zwingli's '67 Articles' of 1523 would have afforded ecclesiology a high profile, given the seventh and eighth articles. For text, see Schaff, *The Creeds*, pp. 197-207. Admittedly, producing a Zwinglian dogmatics would be a challenge; see Bruce Gordon, *Zwingli: God's Armed Prophet* (New Haven, CT/London: Yale University Press, 2021), p. 163.

61 See Gottfried Hammann, 'Ecclesiological motifs behind the creation of the "Christlichen Gemeinschaften"', pp. 129-43, in David Wright, *Martin Bucer*. Just how much Bucer's thorough Thomist training influenced his Reformed theology is a matter of dispute, but, as far as I can tell, everything in that theology is consistent with his deep conviction about the law of love and neighbourliness which he learned from — though not only from — Aquinas. See

humanity and society go deep, and Berkhof indicates the distinctiveness and merit of Bucer's ecclesiological aspirations here, compared with those of Calvin.[62] Once the door of comparative reformation ecclesiologies is opened in light of our questions to Calvin, it is difficult to prevent Heinrich Bullinger from muscling his way through as well.[63] His incorporation of love as one of the marks of the church returns to the gamut of issues which surfaced in connection with pneumatology, Cyprian and institution.[64] However, despite my advance notice and qualifications, I risk doing Calvin injustice here by stubbornly concentrating on the *Institutes*. For example, as Bullinger studiously incorporated 'beneficence or the community of goods for charitable purposes' within the scope of love in the *Decades*, when dealing with marks of the church in the longest section of his discussion of the Apostles' Creed, so Calvin, in his commentary on Acts 2:42, includes forms of brotherly fellowship amongst the marks of the church.[65]

Martin Greschat, *Martin Bucer: A Reformer and His Times*, trans. by Stephen E. Buckwalter (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 2004), pp. 56-57. For the centrality of Ephesians in Bucer's thought, see Donald K. McKim and Jim West, *Martin Bucer: An Introduction to His Life and Theology* (Eugene, OR: Cascade, 2023), p. 105.

62 Berkhof, *Christian Faith*, pp. 361-98. W. P. Stephens also draws attention to the distinctive emphasis on love and fellowship in Bucer's thought, in *The Holy Spirit in the Theology of Martin Bucer* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), e.g., pp. 8, 65.

63 See Peter Opitz on Bullinger's distinction between the internal and external ecclesiological working of God, and his teaching on the inner and outer marks of the church, 'Bullinger's *Decades*: Instruction in Faith and Conduct', in Gordon and Campi, *Architect*, pp. 101-16. As for Swiss ecclesiology, had Bullinger moved forward chapter 17 of the Second Helvetic Confession so that it immediately succeeded chapter 11, it would have been nicely located for those of us exercised by the order of the *Institutes*, with reference to ecclesiology and the Apostles' Creed!

64 Paul Avis reveals an institutionalist ecclesiological bias when he discerns in Bullinger 'a clear example of the way in which the marks of the true Church were expanded so as to die the death of a thousand qualifications', *The Church in the Theology of the Reformers* (London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1981), p. 43.

65 For Bullinger, see Gordon and Campi, *Architect*, p. 58; for Calvin, Acts 1-13, p. 86.

CONCLUSION

Warfield's commendation of Calvin's pneumatology implicates ecclesiology, and I have noted those features of his ecclesiology which threaten to cast a shadow over the pneumatology. In the second part of this article, I turn directly to germane aspects of Calvin's pneumatology, as presented in the *Institutes*.

Loanwords in Biblical Literature: Rhetorical Studies in Esther, Daniel, Ezra, and Exodus. By Jonathan Thambyrajah. LHB/OTS 722. London: T & T Clark, 2023. ISBN: 978-0-567-70306-4. xvi + 304 pp. £85.00.

Despite recent research on loanwords in the Hebrew Bible (e.g., Benjamin J. Noonan, *Non-Semitic Loanwords in the Hebrew Bible*), Thambyrajah argues in this revision of his dissertation that previous studies neglect the literary and rhetorical aspects of loanwords in the Biblical text (pp. 2-3). This negligence is partially due to their focus on a single donor language (e.g., Akkadian) instead of discussing the implications of the accumulation of loanwords in a text. His investigation specifically suggests that loanwords create a foreign atmosphere for multivalent purposes when they appear often in the same context in a Biblical book, which is a previously under-appreciated aspect of research. Thambyrajah uses linguistics, literary criticism, and rhetoric to analyse the implications of loanwords, especially those present in a high concentration. He argues that loanwords express 'ethno-linguistic identity' (p. 1) by generating a 'foreign atmosphere' (p. 146). While acknowledging the difficulty of evaluating anonymous written texts, he argues that narrative criticism and rhetoric studies together provide a helpful conduit to approach them (pp. 12-15). This volume is for the advanced student, as a knowledge of Hebrew, as well as other ancient Near Eastern languages (e.g., Aramaic and Akkadian), is assumed. Those interested in linguistics, loanwords, otherness in the Hebrew Bible, as well as the literary presentation of Esther, Daniel, Ezra, and Exodus will benefit from this volume.

Loans, according to Thambyrajah, deviate from their surrounding material in two ways (pp. 15-19). First, they represent different phonology, morphology, syntax, and semantics. Secondly, they appear in low and high concentration. He evaluates prior suggestions to determine their plausibility and accuracy without suggesting new loans (chapter 2). In several appendices, he explains diachronic aspects of Aramaic and Akkadian and how to distinguish Hebrew and Aramaic roots. He focuses on the high distribution of loans in Esther, Daniel, Ezra, and Exodus. He does not include loans in his analysis if they entered Hebrew or Northwest Semitic early (e.g., *kissē*' 'throne' on pp. 43-44, which is a culture word and *rimmôn* 'pomegranate' on pp. 128-29, which was borrowed so early that it underwent the Canaanite shift) or if they have been thoroughly nativised (e.g., *sûs* 'horse' on pp. 46-47 and *qeren* 'horn' on p. 85), even if they are indeed loans (p. 158). Thambyrajah emphasises lexical items which the original audience would understand as foreign (e.g., non-triliteral

lexemes). Though languages such as Akkadian and Egyptian are dominant languages (pp. 134-35) from a cultural and political perspective, the audience of these Biblical texts might not perceive these languages and their speakers positively (pp. 135-36).

Finding the luxury-necessity paradigm inadequate to explain every motivation for lexical borrowing across languages (pp. 136-37), Thambyrajah discusses loanwords as either catachrestic or non-catachrestic following Onysko and Winter-Froemel (pp. 138-42). Specifically, the connotation of a loan, as well as its denotation, is textually significant. For example, the loan *bîrâ* 'citadel' in Esther 1:5 (pp. 140-41) is unnecessary as a native Hebrew lexeme (i.e.,'*îr* 'city') is available. Additionally, the proper name *Šûšan* could appear independently without either *bîrâ* or '*îr*. The accumulation of loans and foreign names in Esther 1 suggests intentionality, however, with *bîrâ* contributing to the presentation of this text (pp. 141-42).

Thambyrajah notes that loans and foreign names appear in a high concentration in only a few places in Esther (1; 3:7-15; 8:9-12; 9:6-19), Daniel (1-6), Ezra (1-7), and Exodus (25-40). Esther and Daniel employ loans in the midst of the type-scene 'Court Tales' (pp. 167-75) as satire to criticise foreign leaders and their court (pp. 176-77) while simultaneously distancing Jews within these courts from their surroundings (p. 178). Thus, Jews can participate in imperial leadership while remaining ethnically distinct. The ability to understand Aramaic and Hebrew unites the narrator and his audience in Ezra. The code-switching between Hebrew and Aramaic in Ezra 1-7 (pp. 200-01) is a way for the narrator to inspire confidence in his audience when navigating the future difficulties inherent in living as a distinct ethnicity within the empire (p. 204). Thus, Jews can survive and thrive in the empire. Egyptian loans in Exodus connect the tabernacle construction to YHWH delivering Israel out of Egypt (cf. the construction of the Temple recalling creation) and create a shared memory of the Exodus in the audience (pp. 225-28). The loans in Exodus tie the present audience to Israel's deliverance from Egypt. Interestingly, the absence of loans in Exodus when discussing the Ark (p. 225) and Ezra's switching from Aramaic to Hebrew when describing Passover (pp. 200-01) show that loans denote foreignness. They are subsequently not appropriate for describing certain Jewish religious elements or celebrations.

Thambyrajah's volume demonstrates that loanwords in the Hebrew Bible are significant and have literary, rhetorical, ethnic, and theological implications. Thambyrajah's focus on ethnicity, otherness, and linguistic representations of foreignness in the Hebrew Bible will be well-received and corresponds to a recent trajectory in scholarship (e.g., Cian Power, *The Significance of Linguistic Diversity in the Hebrew Bible*). It should be

read with previous studies on loanwords (e.g., Noonan) and otherness in the Hebrew Bible (e.g., Timothy H. Lim, 'How good was Ruth's Hebrew?: Ethnic and Linguistic Otherness in the Book of Ruth'). In conclusion, I suggest that it deserves investigation as to why Nehemiah does not have as high a concentration of loanwords and foreign names compared to other late books in the Hebrew Bible. Does the concern to suppress foreigner influence and linguistic diversity (e.g., Neh 13) contribute to the book's overall linguistic profile?

Josiah D. Peeler, Mid-Atlantic Christian University

The End of Interpretation: Reclaiming the Priority of Ecclesial Exegesis. By R. R. Reno. Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2022. ISBN 978-0-8010-9691-4. xviii + 173 pp. £16.99.

This brief, but stimulating book responds to one governing question: how are we to square Scripture with Church doctrine? The question emerges not only from the experience of variation between the two, but also from the long history of division between the disciplines of biblical studies and systematic theology. Biblical scholars — even Christian ones — are wary of imposing doctrine on the text. Yet, Reno maintains that Christian interpreters have no option but to privilege the exegesis of the historic Church, that is, 'doctrine', in their own interpretation of Scripture. This is because what Scripture says is what the Church teaches. There is an 'accordance' between the two. Consequently, 'theological interpretation' is not a method, but a decision by the interpreter 'to trust in the scriptural genesis and biblical genius of the church's traditions' (p. 6). As such, the book contributes to a growing body of scholarship calling for a rapprochement between biblical interpretation and theology.

The book has three main sections. In the first two chapters, Reno articulates his case and vision for theological interpretation. He contends that the goal in interpreting is to articulate the 'accordance' of Scripture and doctrine. Doctrine is the centuries-long exegetical processes demonstrating the cogency and coherence of Scripture. It emerges from Scripture, and interpretation that attends to doctrine will benefit from those centuries of observation and insight. Modern methods are orientated to details and so cannot provide a synthetic function. Conversely, theology must become more rooted again in Scripture. It does not supersede and govern Scripture, but helps to guide right reading of it.

The next two chapters each provide an example of biblical interpreters wrestling with Scripture in alignment with church teaching: Origen and the Reformers. For Origen, the goal of exegesis — and thus the test of good interpretation — is to see Christ. Even details and difficulties at

the 'literal' level of the text must be incorporated into this. And for this reason, Reno notes, biblical studies can be incorporated into an Origenian approach. Next, Reno turns to debates among the Reformers about Paul and James which illustrate that doctrine does not constrain interpretation but rather catalyses interpreters to look creatively at the details to discern how they cohere in a unified Scripture, an orthodox Gospel.

Finally, Reno offers examples in three chapters of his own ecclesial exegesis. He uses Genesis 1:1-2 to illustrate how doctrine has numerous exegetical decisions baked into it that draw upon the wider canon. For instance, the doctrine of creation *ex nihilo*, although not attested in Genesis 1, brings that text into conformity with anti-idol polemic elsewhere in Scripture. Next, Reno seeks through an exposition of John 17 to illustrate how 'a doctrinally formed exegetical imagination can open up the Scriptures in fruitful ways' (p. 130). Finally, he demonstrates that the fourteenth century poem, *Piers Plowman* by Langland, is indebted for its social outlook to the letters of Paul — and 1 Corinthians 13 in particular.

The book concludes with reflections on the Brazos Theological Commentary on the Bible series, for which Reno served as editor. The series took aim in two directions: biblical scholars cannot be trusted with something so important as biblical interpretation, and theologians are too often untethered from the exegesis of the text.

By taking similar aim, this book helpfully addresses the increasing dissatisfaction with what can be achieved through biblical scholarship and methodology alone. Many will recognize in Reno's argument a strong affinity with historic Catholic tradition, but his chapter on the Reformers makes clear that his primary goal is not a defence of Catholicism *per se* (Reno is Catholic himself, and currently serves as editor of *First Things*). Readers may balk at some of the interpretations presented. For instance, Reno features Origen's discussion of Exodus 12:37: Israel 'departed from Rameses and came to Succoth'. Since 'Rameses' means 'commotion of a moth', Origen takes this statement of Israel's journey to point to storing up treasure in heaven, not where 'moths destroy' (Matt 6:20), and likewise to sell all worldly treasure and come follow Christ (Matt 19:21). Reno is aware of the anxiety such exegesis generates in modern readers, and makes efforts to account for it. He is likewise aware of the vulnerability of his own exegesis: 'No doubt I manhandled various verses in Genesis, seeking to make the Word of God serve my pet ideas and private schemes' (p. 168). Thus, whether or not the particular instances of exegesis in the book convince, Christian readers are likely to resonate with Reno's clarion call to submit to and be formed by the Scriptures they interpret. For Reno,

this is the 'end' or goal of interpretation, and it is inextricably linked with reading Scripture along the grain of the Church's doctrine.

Joshua Coutts, Providence Theological Seminary, Canada

The Power and the Glory: John Ross and the Evangelisation of Manchuria and Korea. By John Stuart Ross. Fearn, Ross-shire: Christian Focus Publications, 2022. ISBN: 978-1-5271-0891-2. 359 pp. £15.99.

As a native of a village near John Ross's birthplace, I was vaguely aware that he had some missionary connection with China and Korea. I often wished there was a biography available, but found nothing.

Until now! My wish has been fulfilled with the publication of this first-rate book by John Stuart Ross. Meticulously researched, well-written, avoiding hagiography, it challenges the reader through the remarkable life of his namesake, John Ross.

In the author's words, we are given 'the strangely neglected, but remarkable story of John Ross's missionary work in Scotland, Manchuria and Korea. Ross left behind an amazing legacy of culturally sensitive evangelism, soundly established Presbyterian-pattern churches, innovative missionary principles, valuable publications and a rich vein of translations, including the first version of the New Testament in Korean.'

The opening chapters describe the social, educational and ecclesiastical milieu of Ross's early life, along with the Christian influences which shaped him. It details Ross's spiritual struggle as he sought to discern the Lord's will as to whether he should accept a call to minister in Portree on the Isle of Skye or respond to the pressing invitations to sail as a missionary to China. China was God's choice.

In 1872 John and Mary Ann Ross arrived in north-east China. Soon aware that in Chefoo there was a concentration of missionaries, Ross travelled north to Newchang in Manchuria. Sadly his wife died after giving birth to a son. In an address to students, the United Presbyterian Mission Secretary spoke of Ross as 'sorrowful, but not hopeless… the only ordained missionary among all these millions'.

Ross then proceeded north to Mukden, the capital of Manchuria, strategic for the evangelisation of the whole province, reaching to the Korean border. There then followed years of itinerant preaching, along with an intensive programme of training Chinese leaders.

The work of Ross and others was instrumental in the formation of a vibrant church in Manchuria. But what he is most remembered for is his witness among Koreans, leading to the publication of the first Korean New Testament and his being considered by Korean Christians to this day as the 'father' of the Korean Christian Church.

The story of how Ross overcame numerous obstacles in order to learn Korean and then translate the New Testament is fascinating. He was unable to visit Korea (except for a short visit to Seoul years later), yet he persevered and eventually saw much fruit.

The story ends with Ross humbly serving as an elder in his Edinburgh congregation, visiting the sick, promoting missionary interest, occasionally preaching and writing extensively on Chinese and Korean linguistic and historical issues.

What should we take away from this account of the life of John Ross?

First, warm thanks to Ross's namesake. Forced at times to make bricks without straw, due to the paucity of materials about Ross's personal life, he nonetheless provides ample background information to illustrate who Ross was and what he did.

Second, Ross was an early proponent of the need to establish as quickly as possible self-supporting, self-governing and self-propagating churches. While accepting the need for missionaries to provide ongoing theological training, he was absolutely convinced that only Chinese believers could evangelise the multitudes and successfully lead the church. This policy was shown to be absolutely right, when the church endured and prospered spiritually during the severe persecution experienced during the Japanese occupation and the Russo-Japanese war. This is still true today, hard though it sometimes is for well-intentioned foreign missionaries to hand over the reins.

Third, North Korea was the first part of the peninsula to benefit from Ross's labours, as humble Koreans read the Scriptures, believed in Jesus and were filled with a desire to make him known. Sadly today North Korea is in the iron grip of a satanic regime, determined to eliminate all traces of Christianity. It will never succeed and this book should drive us to more earnest prayer on behalf of our suffering brothers and sisters. At the same time it should lead us to give thanks to God for the vibrant and missionary-minded Christian church in South Korea.

It is a tribute to John Ross, the missionary and John Ross, the author, that already the book is being translated into Korean. We pray this inspiring story will be of great blessing to Korean and English-speaking readers.

John M. MacPherson, Retired Free Church of Scotland minister, Edinburgh

Temple and Tartan: Psalms, Poetry and Scotland. By Jock Stein. Handsel Press: Haddington, 2022. ISBN: 978-1-912052-74-5. 307 pp. £16.00.

This book invites readers to make a fascinating and stimulating journey through the Psalter, led by the author sharing in poetry his personal

engagement with the 150 psalms. The poems are a striking personal testimony to the value of the biblical psalms becoming a lens for interpreting contemporary events, trends, and values, and will be welcomed by all who share the author's concern over 'the dilution of public worship' through exclusion of psalms as sung praise. The author's prose comments on individual psalms also contain much grist to the mill for preachers preparing to preach on the Psalms.

The symbolic reference to 'Tartan' in the title indicates the author sets his interaction with the Psalms primarily in a Scottish context — culturally, historically, philosophically and theologically — while also grappling with global issues. What is offered is more an imaginative response by the author as poet rather than an exegesis by him as preacher, although the biblical context of any psalm, when known, is kept in view. The psalms become catalysts activating the poet's imagination.

The book's subtitle identifies the three foci of the author. The Psalms are explored in five chapters-and-poems, following the traditional fivefold subdivision of the Psalter. Each chapter introduces the related Psalms in two parts, one more popular, the other more academic. The poems articulating the poet's response to the Psalms follow. Scotland, which 'has been deeply affected by the Psalms,' provides the main — but by no means only — context where the poet meets people and places.

The author gives titles to the five books and also distinctive themes to the related poems. The result is as follows: Book 1 (Pss 1-41) *The Magic Carpet*, Poetry: "CARPET"; Book 2 (Pss 42-72) *Ballads and Bridges*, Poetry: "JOURNEY: Blood Lines [prelude] – Border Warfare [body] – Broader Places [finale]"; Book 3 (Pss 73-89 *Migration and Identity*, Poetry: "MIGRANTS"; Book 4 (Pss 90-106) *Music and Beyond*, Poetry: "PIBROCH: The Iolaire"; Book 5 (Pss 107-150) *Protest and Praise*, Poetry: "TAPESTRY."

The psalms become an optical lens allowing the poet to integrate his response to the psalmic texts with allusions to selected objects. Perhaps his *magnum opus* in this regard is the 26-stanza-long poem "JOURNEY" responding to all the Book 2 psalms in the context of specific Scottish events. The opening six stanzas on Abraham and Columba and on Moses and Queen Margaret, lead into twenty intriguing stanzas which alternate between the biblical king David and the Scottish king Robert the Bruce, exploring similarities and differences. The other long poem, "PIBROCH: The Iolaire", responds to the psalms of Book 4 'in the shape of a pibroch.' Here the opening stanzas allude expressly to the great maritime disaster of 1919 outside Stornoway, while the following stanzas wrestle with the deep traumatic memory of the tragedy. The Gaelic stanza titles reinforce

the Hebridean setting. The fourth and seventh stanzas, rendered in Scots, pay tribute to Scotland's other indigenous language.

The narrative text of the chapters warmly acknowledges the contribution to Scottish culture of poets writing in Scots (e.g. Robert Burns and Hugh McDiarmid, who is repeatedly referenced) and also of those producing Gaelic poetry (e.g. Sorley Maclean and Fearghas MacFhionnlaigh). So also are writers like George MacDonald and Alastair McIntosh. As already noted, *Temple and Tartan*'s exploration through a psalmic lens of events and issues, past and present, is not restricted by geography. It embraces past events (e.g. the Holocaust and the Dunkirk landing) and present issues (e.g. Palestinian-Israeli tensions and African refugees seeking asylum in Europe). It includes contemporary people, like Malala and Yuval Noah Harari.

Stein laments the decline of psalmody in both church and nation where not so long ago some psalms (notably 23, 100, and 121) were sung at public events, like the re-opening of the Scottish Parliament in 1999. He stresses that Scottish psalm singing has been part of the country's Calvinist heritage, which today he suggests may require to be re-shaped.

In this form of engaging the Psalms the engager's imagination plays a key role. Human imagination's absence of boundaries may raise questions for some, but Jock Stein is disciplined in contextualising his responses in events and issues, like the Battle of Bannockburn, land reform, and Scottish nationalism, as well as in the achievements of Scots like John Muir and James Clerk Maxwell. Music also features. Surprisingly there is little mention of the messianism implicit in the Davidic attributions, and there is an exotic interest in exegeting the Ascent Psalms numerologically. The poetic take on a few psalms may be somewhat bizarre, but most poems are insightful and some are very moving. Some 26 pages of endnotes are helpfully provided, but a page index, identifying where commentary on each psalm appears, is lacking.

Temple and Tartan is a unique contribution to contemporary Scottish poetry.

Fergus Macdonald, Edinburgh

Typology: Understanding the Bible's Promise-Shaped Patterns. By James M. Hamilton Jr. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2022. ISBN 978-0-310-53440-2. 405 pp. £30.00.

How do we interpret the escalating patterns of promise and fulfilment woven throughout the biblical narrative? James M. Hamilton Jr's latest volume, *Typology: Understanding the Bible's Promise-Shaped Patterns*, is a recent contribution which seeks to answer questions along this line.

As an experienced scholar in the field of biblical studies, Hamilton is an apposite guide. Not only does he lead the reader into meaningful discussion of biblical typology, he does so in a way which is both nuanced and searching.

To begin, Hamilton opens with a helpful introductory chapter addressing a number of methodological concerns. This is an important contribution to the discussion of biblical typology as a whole, and perhaps especially for those new to the field. Hamilton identifies that "promise-shaped patterns" (p. 4) have moulded the biblical narrative to produce discernible, intentional overlap among the biblical authors across the canon. To substantiate this, he uses the example of Genesis 3:15. This initial promise is frequently referenced as part of a pattern leading to escalated fulfilment within the narrative of Genesis, and subsequently throughout the narrative of Scripture.

Hamilton also provides a working definition to guide a typological hermeneutic in this introductory section. He writes that 'Typology is God-ordained, author-intended historical correspondence and escalation in significance between people, events and institutions across the Bible's redemptive-historical story' (p. 26). Since complexity abounds in the area of typological interpretation the provision of a definition is helpful in navigating the often-choppy waters of the field. While some may require more convincing, Hamilton's careful and credible argument charting the typological interpretation of the contours of Scripture cannot simply be brushed aside as fanciful and far-fetched. As he notes, 'Typology is not mere literary contrivance, nor is it the result of the imaginative creativity of either the biblical authors or those who interpret them. God ordained that the parallels would actually happen, and he also providentially ensured that the biblical authors would notice them' (p. 26).

The book then provides three categories in which this typological hermeneutic can be seen at play in the biblical narrative; 'persons' (pp. 33-220), 'events' (pp. 221-84) and 'institutions' (pp. 285-330). Each section seeks to handle 'micro-level indicators', such as quotations and the reuse of particular terms. An area of development for the book is the limited time given to discussing self-identified 'macro-level structures' (p. 3). Although Hamilton does address this, it is only a passing treatment in the final chapter of the work. Having said this, Hamilton's treatment of the micro-level factors gives the reader greater insight into the rich contours and textures of the biblical narrative. This is the type of scholarship which not only makes a contribution to the academic discussion but does so whilst leading the reader to a deeper appreciation of the God who speaks and acts in time and space to make such a great salvation possible.

As a resource this is well put together and is presented in an easy-to-read and accessible way. The book contains various visual aids of proposed chiastic structures which help the reader to follow the authors intent. There are also useful tables comparing types and ectypes, such as creation and the tabernacle (pp. 230-31). Presenting both the Hebrew and English texts side-by-side makes it very easy for the reader to identify the parallels being addressed.

This book will be of benefit to all, especially in the hands of those who are regularly involved in Bible teaching and preaching. For college or seminary students it provides a good starting point and model for developing a typological hermeneutic which remains faithful to the biblical texts. For those in preaching and teaching ministry there are well-trodden roads and potentially new paths which could help lead our listeners make these inter-canonical connections for themselves. For much the same reason future and current cross-cultural gospel workers would also benefit from this book as an aid to analyse communicating the gospel into a new context in a way which retains faithfulness to the Bible's own inner unity.

Martin H. Paterson, South East Asia

Union with the Resurrected Christ: Eschatological New Creation and New Testament Biblical Theology. By G. K. Beale. Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2023. ISBN: 978-1-5409-6042-9. xviii + 556 pp. £39.99.

John Calvin famously wrote, 'Our whole salvation and all its parts are comprehended in Christ' (*Institutes*, II.xvi.19). The Reformed understanding of 'union with Christ' has a long and established pedigree — one, it must be noted, that precedes Adolf Deissmann, Albert Schweitzer, and others who shifted the concern of Paul's theology towards 'union' or 'Christ-mysticism' in the early twentieth century. Within the Reformed world, the importance of 'union with Christ' rather than one particular aspect of the traditional *ordo salutis* has long held preeminence as the fundamental reality in the work of Christ applied. Unfortunately, biblical and systematic construals of this union have often run apart from each other. *Union with the Resurrected Christ* is G. K. Beale's attempt to bring together the biblical data and the Reformed understanding of union.

On the one hand, *Union with the Resurrected Christ* is difficult to review. Beale introduces it as 'a kind of encyclopedia of union with the resurrected Christ' (p. 17), and the reasons for that are patent. The first part, composed of chapters 1 and 2, provides a survey of his massive *A New Testament Biblical Theology*, published in 2011, which lays the groundwork for his reflection on union. The following fifteen chapters lay out, in some detail, various aspects of the believer's union with Christ,

illustrated with the example of a diamond. Just as one diamond has many facets, so union with the resurrected Christ, argues Beale, is best understood as a single event or reality that can be viewed from a variety of different angles. The angles Beale treats are rather extensive. Christ is 'the last Adam, the Son of God, and true Israel,' (ch. 3) and the true 'temple' (ch. 4); he is 'wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption' (ch. 6), the enduring 'king-priest' (ch. 7), the reconciled exilee (ch. 8), and the Spirit-filled representative of God's people (chs. 9–10). Union with the resurrected Christ is the means of righteousness (chs. 11–12), glory (chs. 13–14); believers are separated from the world (ch. 15) and born again (ch. 16) when they identified with Christ and his resurrection (ch. 17). Each chapter might well be treated on its own in isolation from the others as pastors, students, and scholars deal with these various aspects of union in their own study.

On the other hand, Beale is doing more than simply giving readers a helpful encyclopedia for the various aspects of union with Christ. The substance of the book is really an extended investigation and biblical-theological treatment of the resurrection of Christ, as he says on p. 16: 'This book is an attempt to bring out the theology of the resurrection.' In this respect, Beale offers a probing, careful, and thorough development of the New Testament's presentation of this doctrine and the implications the resurrection has for the believer. Beale argues convincingly that the resurrection of Christ is not just an event that happened 'back then' but in fact a reality that continues to shape and determine the lives of those who find themselves 'in Christ.'

The resurrection, and the believer's share in it, represent the capstone and culmination of the whole story of redemption. For Beale, this has direct implications for our understanding of the current kingdom of God, for it is the resurrection specifically that ushers in the new creation (cf. 2 Cor. 5:17). This new creation reality fulfils the 'storyline' of the entire Bible: 'Jesus's life, trials, death for sinners, and especially resurrection by the Spirit have launched the fulfilment of the eschatological already–not yet new-creational reign, bestowed by grace through faith and resulting in worldwide commission to the faithful to advance this new-creational reign and resulting in judgment for the unbelieving, unto the triune God's glory' (p. 75).

Beale seems to have a penchant for writing big books. This one is no exception. Excluding bibliography, the text tops out at 514 pages. Despite the size, there is very little fluff. Instead the reader will find patient and methodical exegesis of text after text, each of which connects the resurrection of Christ and the union which the believer has with him. In *Union with the Resurrected Christ*, Beale gives expression to his mature thought

on the topic, and it is worth the close read of all who wish to learn more about this topic.

J. Brittain Brewer, Calvin Theological Seminary, USA

Conversations by the Sea: Reflections on Discipleship, Ministry and Mission. By Andrew Rollinson. Haddington: Handsel Press, 2023. ISBN 978-1-912052-78-3. 194 pp. £10.

Long beach walks for reflection and prayer are often stimulated by the companionship of others, and connect the author with John 21 and Peter's experience of discipleship. This thoughtful and timely book is rooted in ministry and Scottish contexts. Pastor to a number of significant congregations and insightful Advisor for Ministry among Scottish Baptists, Rollinson offers clarity of vision and purpose and gently phrased yet sharp observations on the traps churches and their leaders can fall into.

His twelve tightly-packed chapters are well worth the read. Like beach walks, you'll need to pause to take in what he's saying, retracing your steps to make sure you've grasped the implications.

He begins with the frustration of his other hobby, fishing. For Peter it meant the 'personal darkness of deep disorientation and disappointment' (p. 10); for us, being 'radically reconfigured and redefined' as we face cultural shifts and navigate the 'trip-wires laid across our culture' (p. 12). That plus the pressure of pastoral performance 'to meet expectations of ecclesial shoppers' (p. 16).

Memorable phrases await us. 'The fundamental economy of the church is generosity and her only currency is trust' (p. 18) is his governing concern as he explores the dangers of ministering out of depletion, our need of others to keep us right, and the sad and shameful realities of unsafe church. 'The great miracle of John 21 is not the miraculous catch of fish but the presence of the Stranger on the beach' (p. 23).

Chapter 2 takes us through the encounters and conversations John uses to shape his gospel. Ministry is 'exemplary discipleship […] Peter and his colleagues were bereft and broken […] But it was precisely *through* such brokenness that the Risen Lord was able to reveal his power' (pp. 28-31). Chapter 4 contrasts Peter and John; as they realise 'this is the Lord', their active and contemplative personalities combine to invite us to 'active service with a still centre' (p. 52).

Resourcing a missional community is our priority, chapter 5, to facilitate and enable 'a fresh, up-to-date witness to the presence of the kingdom of God among us in word and deed' (p. 65). We need inner security as much as skills, especially in settings where religion is perceived as doing damage: 'We need to be plausible before we can be audible' (p. 68).

His chapters on the number of fish and the unexpected unbroken net play into our struggle to maintain unity around the evangel. 'Most of all, the quest for unity costs the death of our egos' (p. 83). Our aim together, as one church in many places, is 'to exalt Christ in praise and teaching; to create a culture of kindness and generosity, mutual respect and a respecting of difference; and to anticipate potential division' (p. 84).

The remainder of the book reflects on how to lead towards that, as we model the presence of the 'Waiting stranger who is the welcoming host' (p. 88). Our struggle to exert authority and control is met by the Lord's attentiveness and space: the Lord's 'sovereign power is regal precisely because it is releasing […] always power given away for the redemption of the world' (p. 97). The community emerging extends cross-shaped to offer the welcome of Christ and the Spirit's work of conviction and conversion.

The final chapters explore ministry starvation ('The first half of my ministry I went to conferences; the second half I went on retreats!' p. 107); failure and restitution met by a restorative community; and self-awareness and self-deception transformed by 'Lord, you know…'. He's seen too many conversations where '"accountability" is in danger of becoming the most talked about and least practiced part of ministry' (p. 140).

Do buy, read and ponder this most valuable book, and share it with leaders in your church. As the author finally takes us to the fisherman who became a shepherd, we give thanks for this fellow SETS member's ministry and modelling for us.

Mike Parker, Edinburgh

Breakfast by the Beach: The Development of Simon Peter. By Johannes W. H. van der Bijl. Carlisle: Langham Publishing, 2021. ISBN 978-1-83973-207-2. 281 pp. £18.99.

For the Life of the World: The Multiplication of Simon Peter. By Johannes W. H. van der Bijl. Carlisle: Langham Publishing, 2022. ISBN 978-1-83973-684-1. 186 pp. £12.99.

In Quest of the Rock: Peter's Transformative Journey with Jesus. By Michael F. Kuhn. Carlisle: Langham Publishing, 2022. ISBN 978-1-83973-604-9. 246 pp. £16.99.

Books with a biblical focus and global perspective are pouring out of Langham Publishing. These three focus on Peter's slow journey to understanding Jesus' life, ministry, sacrifice and calling. While the books read

like novels, they draw us into the circle of Jesus and his disciples, their relationships, geography, history and culture.

Van der Bijl is a Namibian, now serving in Holland after a fruitful but stretching ministry in Gambella, Ethiopia. His vigorous, sometimes breathless narratives imaginatively retell Peter's story in two parts either side of his recommissioning by the risen Christ. His accounts are imaginative, yet closely controlled by the New Testament text. Clear footnotes demonstrate conscientious research into relevant Old Testament scriptures and extra-biblical literature.

Breakfast on the Beach takes us through Peter's early reluctance, his bold, rash, reckless discipleship, his repeated falls and setbacks, to his eventual and moving reinstatement.

'Unless you become like little children, you will never enter the Kingdom of Heaven', Jesus said. Children love stories, which is exactly what this book is, easy to follow and understand but in no way childish. Instead, it's a biblical and historical account of the last three years of the life of Jesus, told by one of his most prominent disciples, Simon, whom He renamed Peter.

Was Peter often confused? Probably. Was he occasionally slow-witted? Possibly. On occasion was he cold, tired, hungry, frustrated? Undoubtedly. But he was also privileged, chosen by Jesus to spend three years in His close company, to learn from Him first-hand, to receive instruction, correction and encouragement. Jesus gave him responsibility and, like a good teacher, monitored him as he aimed to put his wavering faith into practice and aimed to build upon it.

Just at the point where Simon has promised heartfelt, lifelong allegiance to Jesus, he falls most heavily, denying him three times, as Jesus knew he would. But Jesus restores him gently, lovingly and firmly, providing for him and reinstating him as a much-loved friend and brother.

For the Life of the World takes the story on through the world of Acts and the epistles, giving us an inside track on the gospel breaking in to every level of society, religious, Roman and regional, and catching the joys and fears of each stage.

Three parts introduce the characters whose names we know and fills out their personalities. Part 1, 7 chapters, takes us to Stephen's martyrdom; Part 2, chapters 8-11, takes us to 'The Wolf lives with the lambs', a first-century code for Paul's conversion; and Part 3, chapters 12 to 19, throughout the region and increasingly to Rome and Peter's end.

While he on contemporary accounts, Van der Bijl admits the story is more speculative towards the end. Watch out for the ruffling of Mark's hair, a device almost too much for Mark and perhaps the reader too. The best chapters were those displaying the key place of prayer, and chapter

14's rare insight into how New Testament letters were written by groups (Mark, 'Whose Greek is much better than mine', Silas who checks Mark's spelling, and Mary who keeps memories alive, p. 119). Peter's own sermons are curated by Mark to shape his gospel.

As the end approaches, the challenge to maintain unity across religious divides casts a shadow over them all and the wounds of Peter's struggle to include Gentiles and Jews in Antioch lead to the Acts 15 agreement. Throughout, Peter's own focus on Christ's sacrifice reminds him of his own great failure, and the forgiveness which led him to great humility. Even an apostle continues to learn the hard way.

Kuhn was brought up American, individualistic; serving in Middle East communal contexts changed him, enabling him to reveal a Peter who was known and acutely aware he's not who he presents himself to be. His unmaking involved fishing, chaotic sea, demons, sickness and the compelling compassion of Jesus both attracting and scaring him.

Encountering believers from Islamic backgrounds, the insights of traditional churches, and his own roots in evangelical spiritual disciplines mean he offers 'No shortcuts. Spiritual formation is a committed, relational following over a lifelong journey. The good news is that every disciple has the resources — the Word and the Spirit in the community of other Jesus followers — to take this journey' (p. 4).

Each chapter in the first half presents a gospel reading, Kuhn's own introductory reflection, and his daughter's illustrations to help us feel the emotion of Peter's journey. Starting with failure at the cross, we go deeper through his encounters with Jesus. After Peter's recovery from shame and restoration in chapter 8, we switch to Acts and the letters before a final chapter on 'The Legacy'. Two useful Epilogues explore Christ in the Old Testament, the inherited Scripture of Jesus and Peter, and Peter's own letters.

Kuhn describes himself as brought up an individualistic American, yet his service in collective contexts has opened his eyes to the 'we' dimension. Peter is part of 'God's interaction with and pursuit of a people whom he intended to bring blessing to all the nations of the world' (p. 14). Slowly, slowly, he recognises 'we are not saved *out of the chaos* but by his presence *in the chaos* […] failure, pain and disorientation are all part of [spiritual formation]' (p. 42). As Jesus works on us, 'we become part of the great cloud of witnesses urging [new arrivals] on' (p. 45).

Kuhn's insights into Matthew 16 are particularly helpful, as Peter moves from magnificent affirmation to stunning rebuke. 'Peter was so right and so wrong, at the same time' (p. 58). Applied to career and marriage, justice and the gospel's social impact; 'We are typically blind to

these areas and, as a result, we must humble ourselves repeatedly to begin to make progress [… and] become learners' (p. 62).

At the transfiguration, 'The Father's passion that the Son be heard displaces Peter's messiah project with a truer agenda — listening deeply to Jesus' (p. 70). Kuhn confesses to confusing personal productivity with biblical fruitfulness; like Peter, his posture has to change 'from feet to face as he recognises doing flows from being and migrates to a new identity'.

Peter, behind Mark's gospel, makes sure he's played down; his 'refreshing honesty and humility […] as he centers Jesus. He had moved beyond shame to claim his legacy as a person in process […] and invites us to join him on a journey of following' (p. 209).

Both authors help us see Peter and ourselves with fresh eyes, and we highly recommend their contributions. No strangers to sickness, disappointment and spiritual failure, they've both been shaped by Peter's story, and they invite us to allow the Lord who coaxed him back to life, community and fruitful ministry to shape us.

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