Fides et Humilitas

The Journal of the Center for Ancient Christian Studies

issue 2 Summer 2015

FIDES ET HUMILITAS:
THE JOURNAL OF THE CENTER FOR ANCIENT CHRISTIAN STUDIES

Summer 2015 ※ Issue 2

editors-in-chief

Coleman M. Ford
&
Shawn J. Wilhite

Editorial Board

Reference Board

Michael A.G. Haykin, Th.D. (Southern Baptist Theological Seminary; Louisville, KY)

Jonathan T. Pennington, Ph.D. (Southern Baptist Theological Seminary; Louisville, KY)

Jarvis J. Williams, Ph.D. (Southern Baptist Theological Seminary; Louisville, KY)

Sr. Fellows

Brian Arnold, Ph.D. (Phoenix Seminary; Phoenix, AZ)

Matthew Y. Emerson, Ph.D. (Oklahoma Baptist University; Shawnee, OK)

J. Daniel McDonald, Ph.D. (Daymar College and Boyce College; Louisville, KY)

Book Acquisition Editors

Trey Moss — 2nd Temple Judaism

Shawn J. Wilhite — New Testament and Early Christian Literature
Coleman M. Ford — Patristic Literature and Late Antique

Jr. Fellows
Garrick Bailey
Darron Chapman
Jordan Goings
Wyatt Graham
Jon English Lee
John T. Lowe
Aaron Matherly
Trey Moss
Brian Renshaw
Adam Smith

Design
Hayley R. Moss

Fides et Humilitas is published bi-annually in Winter and Summer. No portion of this journal may be reproduced by any process or technique without the formal consent of the editors.

Correspondence and paper submission should be directed to either Coleman M. Ford or Shawn J. Wilhite.

E-mail: ancientchristianstudies@gmail.com. See back cover for contributor information.

Visit us at our website:
ancientchristianstudies.com
Center for Ancient Christian Studies

FIDES ET HUMILITAS:
THE JOURNAL OF THE CENTER FOR ANCIENT CHRISTIAN STUDIES
SUMMER 2015 ISSUE 2

Contents

Editorial: Scholars in Dialogue: A Banquet of Interdisciplinary Influence
By: Coleman M. Ford and Shawn J. Wilhite 1–3

Articles:

The Passover of the Church: Melito of Sardis on the Church and Israel's Exodus in Peri Pascha
By: Wyatt Aaron Graham 4–24

Between Paul and James: Faith and Works in 1 Clement 29:1–32:4
By: Joshua M. Greever 25–46

Forum: Scholars in Dialogue 47–53

Question 1: How is your discipline influenced by other ancient Christian disciplines? 47–50

Question 2: What kinds of works would you like to see from other ancient Christian disciplines to aid you in your own discipline? 50–52

Question 3: What are current trends in your own discipline that you think should influence other ancient Christian disciplines? 52–53

Book Reviews:

Christopher A. Beeley. *Leading God's People: Wisdom from the Early Church for Today*
Reviewed by: Coleman M. Ford 54–56

Paul M. Blowers. *Drama of the Divine Economy: Creator and Creation in Early Christian Theology and Piety*
Reviewed by: Stephen O. Presley 57–60

Matthew R. Crawford. *Cyril of Alexandria's Trinitarian Theology of Scripture*
Reviewed by: Shawn J. Wilhite 61–64

Adam C. English. *The Saint Who Would Be Santa Claus: The True Life and Trials of Nicholas of Myra*
Reviewed by: Paul A. Sanchez 65–68

Paul Foster and Sara Parvis, eds. *Irenaeus: Life, Scripture, Legacy*
Reviewed by: Michael Svigel and David Hionides 69–72

Ronald E. Heine. *Classical Christian Doctrine: Introducing the Essentials of the Ancient Faith*
Reviewed by: Coleman M. Ford 73–76

Peter W. Martens. *Origen and Scripture: The Contours of the Exegetical Life*
Reviewed by: Shawn J. Wilhite 77–81

Andrew McGowan. *Ancient Christian Worship: Early Church Practices in Social, Historical, and Theological Perspective*
Reviewed by: Patrick Schreiner 82–85

W. B. Patterson. *William Perkins and the Making of Protestant England*
Reviewed by: Andrew S. Ballitch 86–89

W. Andrew Smith. *A Study of the Gospels in Codex Alexandrinus: Codicology, Palaeography, and Scribal Hands*
Reviewed by: Elijah Hixson 90–93

Mark Sheridan. *Language for God in Patristic Tradition: Wrestling with Biblical Anthropomorphism*
Reviewed by: J. Daniel McDonald 94–100

Books Received: 101–105

Martyrdom in the Early Church:

REALITY • AND FICTION

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 14TH
7:30-9:30PM
HERITAGE HALL

DR. MICHAEL A.G. HAYKIN
WITH GUEST SPEAKERS

Sponsored by:

The Andrew Fuller
Center for Baptist Studies
at The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary

CACS
Center For Ancient Christian Studies

Editorial:
Scholars in Dialogue: A Banquet of Interdisciplinary Influence

The temptation towards disciplinary isolation in academic study is great. Conferences encourage it. Journals perpetuate it. Seminars solidify it. This potential *siloed* image may lead others to overt specialization allowing little to no influence from other disciplines. While the rich topics of discussion may flow like an aromatic wine, too often the rich flavors become relegated to a single region.

Christoph Markschies, in recent times, offers helpful comments on an 18th century scholar and the importance of interdisciplinary studies.

> Who is only an expert in Chemistry knows nothing about Chemistry. Which means whoever is only a member of the society of the study of the Pseudepigrapha knows nearly nothing about the Pseudepigrapha.[1]

Whether in the field of Jewish backgrounds, New Testament literature, or early Christian theology, students and scholars are tempted to speak only to their own tribes and use their own language. If Markschies's sentiment carries any validity, then those, who spade solely from their own garden, may know very little of horticulture by neglecting the blossoms from their neighbor's patch of scholarship.

[1] Timothy Michael Law and Christoph Markschies, "Coffee Table Talk with Christoph Markschies," *Marginalia Review of Books*, 29 April 2014, accessed 13 July 2015 http://marginalia.lareviewofbooks.org/coffee-with-christoph-markschies/.

The goal of the Center for Ancient Christian Studies and *Fides et Humiltas* is to soften such walls of isolation and to listen to those in other sectors of scholarly disciplines. Our desire is to foster conversation and community around a common era while allowing various voices of scholarship to have a place at the table. We hope to offer the wines of scholarship from various regions and varietals gathering at the *same* table to share in the fellowship of the *same* meal. While topics of conversations may vary, and disagreements are certain to occur, our hope is to offer a rich and lively table where many may gather to enjoy the bountiful harvest of ancient Christian studies.

To this end, we offer a "Scholars in Dialogue" segment for this issue. We've gathered a host of premier scholars in the field of ancient Christian studies around the table. We've asked each one to reflect on how their discipline can aid and be aided by other disciplines. This dialogue represents years of reflection within respective fields of ancient Christian studies, and these scholars were kind enough to provide their insights for our readers. New Testament scholars offer perspectives on how patristic and Jewish background scholars might provide works to aid in New Testament study. Patristic and Jewish background scholars offer insight to the trends within their respective fields. All scholars provide helpful dialogue for any reader interested in the field.

The banquet abounds in other ways with this Summer 2015 issue of *Fides et Humilitas*. Set before you are two articles on exegetical themes in early Christian literature. One article explores Melito of Sardis's relation of the church to Israel in his *Peri Pascha*. The other gives helpful reflection upon faith and works in *1 Clement*. Along with the main course of articles and the special selection of "Scholars in Dialogue," readers will discover rich morsels of reviewed books

ranging from works on Irenaeus, Santa Claus, William Perkins, and Codex Alexandrinus—a true smorgasbord indeed!

We're delighted to offer you this Summer 2015 issue of *Fides et Humilitas*. We trust you will be enriched and we are sure that you will find something here to suit your palette. Cheers and bon appétit!

Coleman M. Ford
Shawn J. Wilhite
Editors-in-Chief

The Passover of the Church: Melito of Sardis on the Church and Israel's Exodus in Peri Pascha

Wyatt Aaron Graham

Abstract: Scholars have studied Melito's *Peri Pascha* as a witness to second century Christian preaching, to a typological reading of Scripture, and to a theology of the Passover. Yet, few have asked what ecclesial conclusions *Peri Pascha* reveals. Melito implicitly communicates a robust ecclesiology, which contributes to an understanding of the second century church. This study reveals Melito's ecclesiology in a numbers of ways: (1) the church stores the reality (*i.e.*, the gospel); (2) it functions to interpret the Old Testament with the gospel; (3) it forms the real people of God; (4) it replaces Israel; (5) it functions as a new royal priesthood; and (6) the church performs a mystery by seeing itself in the story of Israel. These conclusions derive in part via Melito's hermeneutical patterns, which centers on a typological reading of Scripture. Melito's historical setting may also imply that *Peri Pascha* was a sermon celebrating the Eucharist. Finally, the study uncovers how Melito's typological hermeneutic influenced Origen's view of the church. Like Melito, Origen sees the church in the story of Israel, and attributes roles to the church that Israel formerly enjoyed.

Melito of Sardis preached *Peri Pascha* almost two thousand years ago. With the exception of *2 Clement*, *Peri Pascha* might be the earliest known non-biblical sermon.[2] Written sometime between 160 and 170,[3] this ancient message exposits an even older text—Exodus 12. Clear language and a crisp structure mark the homily. The first half tells the Passover story (διήγημα). The second half explains the story's meaning.[4] In his delivery, Melito exhibits rhetorical skill. His language sprouts florid ideas planted in fertile words:

> [T]he sermon "On the Passover" has opened a new vista into the shape of preaching in the second century. Prior to the discovery of that work, it was usual to assume that early preaching after the apostles was (as indicated by the so-called Second Clement) rather poor–loosely organized, rustic and quite unpolished, probably mostly extempore, certainly innocent of the skills and conventions of rhetoric until such men as Hippolytus and Origen, two generations later than Melito.[5]

While earlier scholarship had assumed ancient sermons were unpolished, Melito belied this supposition with *Peri Pascha*. The homily lives on an island of skill and rhetoric. But skillful style is not the only reason to read Melito.

---

[2] *2 Clem.* was probably written in the early second century. See Michael W. Holmes, *The Apostolic Fathers: Greek Texts and English Translations*, 3rd ed. (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2007), 134–35.

[3] Stuart George Hall, *On Pascha and Fragments*, Oxford Early Christian Texts (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), xxii.

[4] Hall, *Pascha and Fragments*, xxii.

[5] Richard C. White, "Melito of Sardis: An Ancient Worthy Reappears," *Lexington Theological Quarterly* 14, no. 1 (1979): 16–17.

Theology hides in every crevice of this sermon. Readers soon spot typology and Christology in the obvious places. Melito's ecclesiology, however, is tucked away in less conspicuous places. Only a careful investigation can uncover his rich theology of the church. And to my knowledge, no work has directly studied Melito's ecclesiology. I aim to fill this lacuna. Thus, my driving research question will seek to answer the following question, "What is Melito's ecclesiology in *Peri Pascha*?"

First, I will provide an overview of *Peri Pascha*. Second, I will interact with Melito's use of the term and concept "church." Third, I will provide cursory remarks on Melito's hermeneutics. Specifically, I will explain how Melito relates the two testaments together. This sheds light on Israel's relationship to the church. Fourth, I address Melito's use of performance language in *Peri Pascha*. Fifth, I will look at how Origen used Melito's *Peri Pascha*. My conclusion is that Melito is a thoroughgoing supercessionist—*i.e.*, the church replaces Israel—and the church participates in the Scripture's story when it is preached.

Overview of *Peri Pascha*

Melito pastored in Sardis, a city in western Asia Minor. A prolific writer, Melito flourished during the early second century. The ancient historian, Eusebius, testifies to Melito's popularity:[6] "For who does not know the works of Irenaeus and of Melito and of others which teach that Christ is God and man?"[7] Today, few do. The sands of time had buried Melito's writings. It was not until the nineteenth century that scholars recovered *Peri Pascha* and fragments of his other works. But even then it took years to publish these materials. Finally, in 1940,

[6] Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, 4.21.1 and 4.26. Hereafter, Eus. *HE*.

[7] Eus. *HE*, 5.28.5.

Campbell Bonner published *Peri Pascha*. Scholarship soon analyzed the homily, and a consensus grew on basic matters.

First, the homily's topic is the Passover. *Peri Pascha's* opening line says as much: "The Hebrew Scripture of the Exodus has been read" (*PP* 1).[8] Although unrecorded, Melito likely read Exodus 12 because the rest of his homily expounds on the Passover. Unique to Melito's message is his view of the Testaments: Old Testament narratives prefigure and typify New Testament antitypes.

Second, Bonner observes that *Peri Pascha* is split into two halves.[9] What is unclear, however, is whether these are two halves or two books. For example, both Eusebius and Jerome report that Melito wrote two books on the Passover.[10] Another possibility is that *Peri Pascha* is one work delivered in two parts. The latter seems more likely because of the internal unity of the work. *Peri Pascha* 46 forms the hinge that splits the work: "Therefore, you have heard the explanation about the type and antitype.[11] Hear also the completed work of the mystery."[12] This hinge connects what comes before with what follows, suggesting a strong unity between the two parts.

Third, Melito's message is straightforward. He first explains how Exodus 12 relates to its antitype, Christ (*PP* 1–45). He then extols the

---

[8] Ἡ μὲν γραφὴ τῆς ἑβραϊκῆς Ἐξόδου ἀνέγνωσται.

[9] Saint Melito, *The Homily on the Passion*, ed. Campbell Bonner (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1940), xxii.

[10] Eus. *HE*, 4.26.2; Jerome, *De Viris Illustribus*, 24.

[11] Literally, it is a repayment or reward. See "ἀνταποδόσις," *BDAG*, 87.

[12] Τὸ μὲν οὖν διήγημα τοῦ τύπου καὶ τῆς ἀνταποδόσεως ἀκηκόατε· ἀκούσατε καὶ τὴν κατασκευὴν τοῦ μυστηρίου.

antitype, Christ, by celebrating his redemptive work and resurrection (*PP* 46–105).[13]

Church: Defined

No scholar to my knowledge has studied Melito's view of the church, making his ecclesiology an unearthed region. His ecclesiology is implicit, not explicit. To find it, we need to start by mapping out Melito's use of the word "church" in *Peri Pascha*.

Melito uses the word *ἐκκλησία* ("church") four times, all in one paragraph (*PP* 40–43). In it, Melito concludes his typological reading of the Exodus, and extols its antitype, Jesus. This passage presents Melito's hermeneutic and theological conclusion about the two testaments:

> [40] The people then became a type, a preliminary sketch,[14] and the law became a parabolic writing. The gospel tells the story and fulfills the law. The church is a storehouse of the reality (ἀληθείας).[15] [41] The type then was precious before the reality, and the parable was marvelous before the interpretation. That is, the people [Israel] was precious before the church arose. The law too was precious before the gospel was revealed. [42] But when the church arose and the gospel became preeminent, the type became void, conceding its power to the reality. The law too was

---

[13] Hall suggests that *PP* 46–105 functions as a Christian Haggadah. It answers the question, "What is the Passover" (*PP* 46) like the Jewish Haggadah answers the same question (Exod 13:8). See Stuart G. Hall, "Melito in the Light of the Passover Haggadah," *Journal of Theological Studies* 22, no. 1 (1971): 29–46.

[14] In other words, the people were a preliminary sketch of the church.

[15] When contrasting a false appearance of something, *ἀληθεία* signifies the real thing (LSJ, "*ἀληθεία*," §A.I.2).

> fulfilled, conceding its power to the gospel. [43] In the same way the type became void, conceding its image to the real thing, the parable too is fulfilled by the revealed interpretation. Likewise, the law too was fulfilled when the gospel was revealed. The people [Israel] too was made void when the church arose. The type too was destroyed when the Lord was revealed. Today, also, the previous things have become worthless, because the real thing was revealed.[16]

Notice how Melito connects the two testaments. The Old Testament law tells a parable that the gospel interprets. As for the Old Testament people of Israel, they were a type of the New Testament church. Melito maintains an organic relationship between the church and Israel. The following paragraphs adumbrate a number of ways this relationship relates to Melito's ecclesiology.

First, the church stores the *reality,* which is the gospel. By storing the gospel, the church interprets the parabolic law. This is why Melito writes, "The church is a storehouse of the reality (ἀληθείας)," after explaining that "The gospel tells the story and fulfills the law" (*PP* 40). Perhaps apostolic teaching led Melito to this conclusion, like Paul's in 1 Timothy 3:14–15: "I am writing to you these things hoping to come to you soon, but if I am delayed, [I am writing to you] so that you may how to behave in God's house, which is the church of the living God, the pillar and foundation of the truth (ἀληθείας)."[17] Whatever the precise source of Melito's ecclesiological conclusion, we can discern Melito's view that the church houses the *real* gospel.

---

[16] All translations are my own unless otherwise noted. I use the text from Hall, *On Pascha and Fragments.*

[17] All biblical translations are mine unless otherwise noted.

Second, the church interprets the law with the gospel. As a storehouse, the church distributes gospel-centered interpretations of the Old Testament to those hungry for understanding. The church does so, because, while the law was formerly "precious" (*PP* 41), the gospel has now become "preeminent" (*PP* 42). In contemporary terms, Melito reads the Old Testament christologically. The gospel provides an interpretive lens to read the Old Testament, and the church should read it in this way, because it stores the gospel.

Third, the church constitutes the *real* people of God.[18] Melito writes, "But when the church arose and the gospel became preeminent, the type became void, conceding its power to the reality" (*PP* 42a). "The reality" in this passage probably refers to both the gospel and the church, because Melito ties the church and the gospel closely together. Melito may closely connect the gospel and the church because he considers the church to be a concrete expression of the gospel. Another way to understand the close tie between the church and the gospel is that church and gospel are "the reality" in different ways. The gospel fulfills the Torah, while the church fulfills Israel. This latter option seems almost certain when Melito writes, "The law too was fulfilled, conceding its power to the gospel . . . The people [Israel] too was made void when the church arose" (*PP* 42b–43). Consider also *PP* 41: "That is, the people [Israel] was precious before the church arose. The law too was precious before the gospel was revealed." Thus, *PP* 42a means that when the church arose, the type, Israel conceded its role to "the reality," the church. This leads naturally to a fourth conclusion about Melito's ecclesiology from *PP* 40–43.

Fourth, the church replaces Israel. This seems to be Melito's point when he writes, "[T]he type became void, conceding its image to the

[18] I am using the term "real" in the way Melito does—to speak of a reality to which something prior pointed.

real thing . . . The people [Israel] too was made void when the church arose. The type too was destroyed when the Lord was revealed. Today, also, the previous things have become worthless, because the real thing was revealed" (*PP* 43). Melito, it seems, was a supersessionist,[19] one who believes the church replaces Israel. Melito's supersessionism allows him to co-opt roles originally for Israel and apply them to the church.

Melito does this in *Peri Pascha* 66–69, a passage where we can observe a fifth aspect of his ecclesiology: the church is a new royal priesthood. In *PP* 66–69, Melito argues that Jesus was in the lamb of the Passover, and that he redeemed Israel at the Exodus. But Exodus 12 is not merely about Israel. Without hesitation, Melito reads the church in the place of Israel: "[Christ] also made us a new priesthood, and an eternal people precious to him" (*PP* 68). In the same passage, Melito also calls the church an "eternal kingdom" (*PP* 68). These clear allusions to Exodus 19:4–6 suggest at least one thing. The church replaces Israel's regal and priestly function. The church partakes in God's kingdom. It serves God as priests.

In summary, *Peri Pascha* 40–43 and 66–69 reveal Melito's ecclesiology in a number of ways: (1) the church stores the reality (*i.e.*, the gospel); (2) it functions to interpret the Old Testament with the gospel; (3) it forms the real people of God; (4) it replaces Israel; and (5) it functions as a new royal priesthood. Much of Melito's understanding of the church relates to his view of how the Old Testament relates to the New Testament. In other words, Melito's hermeneutical stance precipitates his ecclesiological conclusions. Thus, to sharpen our understanding of Melito's ecclesiology, we need to understand his

[19] By using the term supersessionist, I simply mean to describe what Melito's ecclesiology and not to engage in contemporary intramural debates on the church and Israel.

hermeneutics. This is why the following section discusses Melito's hermeneutics.

Hermeneutic: Supersessionism

Paul Blowers discusses different kinds of patristic interpretation in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Biblical Interpretation*.[20] The early church (1) connected prophecy to typology; (2) it also exercised a spiritual interpretation of Scripture; (3) based on a literal interpretation, patristic interpretation engaged in theological interpretation; and (4) patristic study of Scripture was tantamount to spiritual devotion. While none of these methods are mutually exclusive, Melito's *Peri Pascha* highlights a prophetic-typological approach. Melito's approach demonstrates how the "Old Testament—Genesis and other narratives of the Torah, the prophetic books, and not least the Psalms—teemed with adumbrations of, even explicit vectors toward, the mystery of Christ."[21] Christ is the end. But insofar as the church participates in Christ, the Old Testament too vectors toward the church.

The church unearths its meaning through redemptive history. It fulfills a scriptural pattern. This pattern prefigures what its antitype is and does. *Peri Pascha* 34–38 conveys Melito's hermeneutic. His view of how the old relates to the new, of how the new church relates to old patterns. This section also clarifies Melito's use of words like mystery (μυστηρίον), parable (παραβολῆς), preliminary sketch (προκέντημα), and type (τύπος). Each term applies directly to Melito's ecclesiology. The following section makes several observations about Melito's

[20] Paul M. Blowers, "Patristic Interpretation," in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Biblical Interpretation*, ed. Steven L. McKenzie, vol. 2 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 81–89.

[21] Blowers, "Patristic Interpretation," 2:82.

hermeneutic in *Peri Pascha* 34–38. Afterwards, it correlates these observations with the ecclesiological conclusions from the previous section above. This strategy will sharpen our understanding as to why and how Melito makes the ecclesiological conclusions that he does.

Peri Pascha 34–38:

> [34] What is this new mystery? First, Egypt was struck for destruction. Next, Israel was protected for salvation! Hear the mystery's force. [35] Whatever has been said or has happened is nothing,[22] beloved, without the parable and preliminary sketch. Whatever has happened or has been said attains the status of a parable. What is said is a parable; what has happened is a prefiguration (προτυπώσεως)—so that just as what has happened is demonstrated through this prefiguration, so also what is spoken becomes known through that parable. [36] This is what certainly happens with a preliminary structure: it does not arise as a finished work. But the work will become visible through its image that acts as a type. For this reason, a preliminary sketch of a future thing is made from wax, clay or wood—in order that a future work may arise: taller in height, stronger in power, beautiful in form, rich in its construction, and may be observed through a small and perishable preliminary sketch. [37] But when the thing that the type points to arises, the thing that previously bore the image of the future work is destroyed. It has become like a useless object. It concedes its image to the real thing. Then the formerly valuable thing becomes worthless, when the really precious thing is revealed. [38] For to each belongs a proper time:

[22] In other words, whatever the Old Testament says or narrates is meaningless apart from its type or pattern.

> a proper time for the type, a proper time for the material, and a proper time for the reality. You make the type. You want that, because in it you see the image of the future thing. You produce the material for the type. You want that, because in it the future thing arises. You complete the work. You want that alone. You love that alone. In it alone, you see the type, the material, and the reality.

Melito lays out his hermeneutical approach to the text in a number of ways. First, mysteries have force—they do something (*PP* 34). For Melito, the term mystery engages readers to enter into the world of the story: "Hear the mystery's force!" (*PP* 34).[23] Second, Old Testament speeches[24] ("what has been said") tell parables (*PP* 35). The parable's explanation comes through reading the New Testament.

Third, Old Testament narratives ("what has happened") are also parables: "Whatever has happened or has been said attains the status of a parable" (*PP* 35). But Melito further clarifies how Old Testament narratives contrast speeches: "What is said is a parable; what has happened is a prefiguration (προτυπώσεως)—so that just as what has happened is demonstrated through this prefiguration, so also what is spoken becomes known through that parable" (*PP* 35). Thus, narratives provide preliminary sketches of future things (*PP* 35). Like clay sculptures only approximate their object, so Old Testament narratives only approximate their real object, Christ and his works.

Fourth, both Old Testament speeches and narratives are types that point to an antitype (*PP* 36–37). After the antitype appears, "the

[23] I am keeping my explanation brief of Melito's understanding of mystery and the church, because I dedicate the following section to that topic.

[24] "What has been said/spoken" sounds like a broad category that includes conversation, monologue, poetry and so forth.

formerly valuable thing becomes worthless, when the really precious thing is revealed" (*PP* 37). This precious thing is the antitype. "In it alone, you see the type, the material, and the reality" (*PP* 38).

How does Melito's hermeneutical stance of how the old relates to the new sharpen our understanding of his ecclesiology? It does so in a numbers of ways. When Melito asserts that Old Testament speeches tell parables that the New Testament interprets and that Old Testament narratives prefigure New Testament realities, we can understand why Melito believes the church both stores and distributes the reality—the gospel. Additionally, when Melito speaks of the type-antitype relationship, we can see why Melito believes that the church forms (1) the *reality*; (2) replaces Israel as the people of God; and (3) co-opts roles formerly reserved for Israel (e.g. becoming a royal priesthood). Indeed, Melito's typological understanding of the two testaments forms the backbone of his theological conclusions. For this reason, we should consider how the typological aspect to Melito's hermeneutic stance can further sharpen our understanding of how and why Melito comes to the previously discussed conclusions about ecclesiology.

Henry Knapp highlights three facets to Melito's typological hermeneutic: (1) Melito highlights the inherent importance of a type; (2) Melito sees an escalation of the reality over its type; (3) Melito argues for the "eventual displacement of the type by the foreshadowed reality."[25]

I add a fourth: the preliminary sketch allows a person to see the finished work (*PP* 36). When Melito speaks of a type, he sheds light on the antitype. When he speaks of Israel, he talks of the church. When he speaks of the Passover, he previews a reality in the Messiah. Melito

[25] Henry M. Knapp, "Melito's Use of Scripture in Peri Pascha," *Vigiliae Christianae* 54, no. 4 (2000): 368.

does not merely describe what a type is and does. He also explains what its antitype is and does.

Practically speaking, the experience of Israel in Exodus 12 prefigures the experience of the church. Hence, the life of the church can be seen in the life of Israel. Melito reads Exodus 12 as if the church was Israel, and Christ was leading the church out of Egypt. The following section clarifies how Melito can read the life of the church in the life of Israel.

Mystery-Performance

Melito's ecclesiology highlights preaching as a mystery, a mystery that engages both preacher and congregation in a performance. In preaching, the church performs the Scriptures' story.[26] This is the mystery (*μυστηρίον*) of preaching. In *PP* 34, mystery's force topples Egypt. It then props up Israel. The whole Passover story is mystery (*PP* 1). The Pharaoh's scourging and Israel's saving perform the same mystery (*PP* 11). This mystery tells the story of Christ (*PP* 10), since the Torah became the word (*PP* 7).

The following quote highlights the nature of performance:

> While the sheep is slaughtered, the Passover eaten, the mystery is performed (τελεῖται), the people make merry, and Israel is sealed, then the angel comes to strike Egypt, the uninitiated in the mystery, the non-participants of the Passover, the unsealed by blood, the unguarded by the Spirit, the hostile, and faithless. (*PP* 16)

---

[26] Dragoș-Andrei Giulea, "Seeing Christ through Scriptures at the Paschal Celebration: Exegesis as Mystery Performance in the Paschal Writings of Melito, Pseudo-Hippolytus, and Origen," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 74, no. 1 (2008): 30.

The basic contrast is between those who do and those who do not perform the mystery. Israel eats the lamb. Egypt does not. Israel celebrates. Egypt awaits liquidation. Israel performs the mystery. Egypt does not.

We observed earlier that Melito sees the church in its preliminary sketch—Israel (cf. *PP* 36). It was also noted previously that Melito reads the church in the place of Israel when he reads the story of the Passover. Jesus rescued Israel form Egypt and "[Christ] also made us a new priesthood, and an eternal people precious to him" (*PP* 68). The "us" here refers to Melito's audience, a body of Christians. One way that Melito envisions the church performing the mystery of redemption is by seeing itself in the story of Israel. This accords with his supersessionist view and explains why he uses first person plural pronouns, referring to the church, when he interprets the Passover story.

Another way Melito may envision the church participating in the mystery-performance of redemption is through the sacraments. The first sentence of *Peri Pascha* starts the performance. Melito speaks the words of mystery (*i.e.*, he reads Exodus 12; *PP* 1). Then, he makes a series of contrasts (*PP* 2–10). The old is temporary. The new is eternal. The old perishes because of the sheep. The new never dies because of the resurrection of the Lord. "For the law became the word. The old became new. It left Zion and Jerusalem. The command became grace. The type became reality. The lamb became the son. The sheep became a man, and the man became God" (*PP* 7). Torrance suggests that this passage implies a celebration of the Eucharist in relation to the Passover—a kind of Haggadic proclamation of Christ's death and

resurrection from the OT redemption of Israel.[27] Perhaps this is how Melito's congregation practically performed the mystery.

Whatever the actual setting, Melito invites his readers to participate in the mystery by telling the story of the Passover. Christ is the primary actor. But the church can perform the mystery of redemption through hearing the word and seeing themselves within the story (the church is seen in Israel). But does Melito relate his mystery-performance with the sacraments, especially the Eucharist?

Historical Setting: Eucharist

Melito nowhere mentions the Eucharist in *Peri Pashca.* Yet a number of reasons suggest that the setting for Melito's *Peri Pascha* centered on the Eucharist. First, the Eucharist was often celebrated in the early church.[28] Larry Hurtado writes, "The early Christians included sacred meals in their worship gatherings."[29] He hints that these celebrations perhaps communed with God's "chief agent."[30] The New Testament confirms that the church regularly practiced love feasts (2 Pet 2:13; Jude 1:12) and the Eucharist (1 Cor 11:23–24). In the years following the New Testament, these two feasts conflated into one feast. For example, Ignatius speaks of both the *Agape* and the Eucharist as one event (Ign.*Smyrn.* 8:1–2).[31] In any case, the early church regularly partook of

[27] Thomas F. Torrance, "Dramatic Proclamation of the Gospel: Homily on the Passion by Melito of Sardis," *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 37, no. 3–4 (1992): 149.

[28] For example, the *Did.* seems to assume the regular observance of the Eucharist (Chs. 9–10).

[29] Larry W. Hurtado, *One God, One Lord: Early Christian Devotion and Ancient Jewish Monotheism*, 2nd ed. (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1998), 111.

[30] Hurtado, *One God, One Lord*, 112.

the Eucharist, and Melito possibly preached *Peri Pascha* before taking the Eucharist.

Second, a Sardis provenance for *Peri Pascha* may further suggest that Melito, as bishop of Sardis, preached the homily before the Eucharist.[32] Larry Hurtado makes the interesting observation that early Christian feasts have Jewish roots.[33] It may be significant, then, that a large Jewish population lived in Sardis.[34] Although a Sardis provenance is by no means certain,[35] it seems likely that Melito would deliver *Peri Pascha* in his home church. Jewish converts there were accustomed to regular feasts, and Melito's church may have followed this pattern. Melito's congregation possibly celebrated the Eucharist during the same worship service.

Third, the Eucharist celebrates Christ's redemption.[36] *Peri Pascha* too celebrates the death and resurrection of the Lord,[37] and this

---

[31] Commenting on this passage, Keating suggests that *Agape* included the Eucharist: "so that the Eucharist seems to be still included in the Agapé." John Fitzstephen Keating, *The Agapé and the Eucharist in the Early Church: Studies in the History of the Christian Love-Feasts.* (New York: AMS Press, 1969), 53.

[32] Melito could have preached the homily before, during, or after the Eucharist. But I will continue to say "before" to simplify my sentences.

[33] Hurtado, *One God, One Lord*, 111.

[34] A large Jewish synagogue, dating to the second century, has been unearthed in Sardis. See Lynn H. Cohick, *The Peri Pascha Attributed to Melito of Sardis: Setting, Purpose, and Sources* (Providence: Brown Judaic Studies, 2000), 31–32.

[35] Zuntz suggests Palestinian a provenance. See Günther Zuntz, "On the Opening Sentence of Melito's Paschal Homily," *Harvard Theological Review* 36, no. 4 (1943): 314.

[36] For a more precise and detailed explanation of the sacraments, see Christopher A. Hall, *Worshiping with the Church Fathers* (Downers Grove: IVP Academic, 2009), 21–81.

[37] Torrance, "Dramatic Proclamation of the Gospel," 153.

celebration accords with Paul's description of the Eucharist in 1 Cor 10:23–26. Hence, Melito may have preached *Peri Pascha*, because it related directly to the Eucharist celebration.

Fourth, the way Melito invites his readers to participate in the mystery of the Passover may suggest that *Peri Pascha* prepared hearers to partake of the Eucharist. Melito invites his hearers to participate in the mystery: "the prophetic leader wove his gathered community into the very story of the Exodus and there revealed to them the heart of the mystery, Christ the eternal Passover."[38]

Fifth, Stuart George Hall suggests an exegetical reason that *Peri Pascha's* setting may revolve around the Eucharist. Positing a Jewish influence on Melito and Sardis, Hall suggests that Christ is the ἀφικόμενος: "While coming (ἀφικόμενος) from heaven, he is on the earth because he suffers" (*PP* 65).[39] During the Passover Seder, Jews break a piece of bread off (ἀφικόμενος) from the loaf. At meal's end they reunite this loaf. The ritual possibly celebrates the Messiah.[40] Melito may capitalize on this messianic ritual in *Peri Pascha* 65.[41] Christ is present in both heaven and on earth—eternally coming from heaven, but present in the bread during his suffering (cf. Jn 6). Stewart-Sykes follows Hall and concludes: "[Jesus] became present to them through the medium of the *aphikomen* and of the cup, and most importantly through the liturgy by which they remembered the acts of their salvation."[42] If true, Christ becomes the messianic bread of life at the Eucharist.

[38] John Hainsworth, "The Force of the Mystery: Anamnesis and Exegesis in Melito's Peri Pascha," *St Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 46, no. 2–3 (2002): 107.

[39] Hall, *On Pascha and Fragments*, xxvii, 35.

[40] Alistair Stewart-Sykes, *The Lamb's High Feast: Melito, Peri Pascha, and the Quartodeciman Paschal Liturgy at Sardis* (Boston, MA: Brill, 1998), 197.

[41] Οὗτος ἀφικόμενος ἐξ οὐρανῶν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν διὰ τὸν πάσχονωτα.

[42] Stewart-Sykes, *Lamb's High Feast*, 206.

These five reasons suggest the possibility that Melito's *Peri Pascha* prepared a congregation to celebrate the Eucharist. Does it confirm it? No. But these historical (and exegetical) reasons suggest an additional way we can observe Melito's ecclesiology in *Peri Pascha*.

Reception

A text's afterlife can shed life on its meaning. Studying *Peri Pascha*'s effective history (*Wirkungsgeschichte*) "is an attempt to be truly diachronic and to appreciate the history of texts through time as a key to their interpretation."[43] While it may not be *the* "key," observing how later authors have used Melito's *Peri Pascha* provides an additional layer of interpretation. Origen provides one such example when he quotes from Melito's *Peri Pascha*.

Oregin uses *PP* 36–37. *Peri Pascha* 36–37 metaphorically speaks about structures made of wax, clay, or wood. These structures eventually give way to the final product. The text reads:

> This is what certainly happens with a preliminary structure: it does not arise as a finished work. But the work will become visible through its image that acts as a type. For this reason, a preliminary sketch of a future thing is made from wax, clay or wood—in order that a future work may arise: taller in height, stronger in power, beautiful in form, rich in its construction, and may be observed through a small and perishable preliminary sketch. But when the thing that the type points to arises, the thing that previously bore the image of the future work is destroyed. It has become like a useless object. It concedes its

[43] Jonathan Roberts and Christopher Rowland, "Introduction," *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 33, no. 2 (2010): 132.

> image to the real thing. Then the formerly valuable becomes worthless, when the really precious thing is revealed.

Melito reasons that the Old Testament is a sketch of the finished product, Christ and his church. Origen does not cite Melito's discussion of the church. He does, however, follow Melito's hermeneutic. This suggests that Origen too shared a similar ecclesiology—the anti-typical church fulfills the typical Israel.

Delivering a homily on Leviticus 16:10, Origen paraphrases Melito:[44]

> Just as those who craft it is to make tokens from copper and to pour statues, before they produce a true work of copper or of silver of gold, first form figures from clay to the likeness of the figure image—certainly the model is necessary but only until the work that is principal be completed, but when that work on account of which that image was made of clay is completed, its use is no longer sought—understand also something like this is in these things which were written or done "in a type" and in a figure of the future in the Law and Prophets. For the artist and Creator of all himself came and transformed the "Law which had a shadow of good things to come" to "the image itself of the things."45

Origen's language approximates Melito's to a great extent. Bonner notes: "the fact that the greatest of the Greek theologians borrowed so

---

[44] Origen's translator, Gary Wayne Barkley, suggests that Origen used Melito's figure in a footnote. See Origen, *Homilies on Leviticus: 1-16*, Fathers of the Church, trans. Gary Wayne Barkley (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1990), 202n4.

[45] Origen, *Hom. Lev*. 10.2 (Barkely, *Homilies on Leviticus*, 202–3).

openly from a predecessor is an interesting illustration of the leniency with which the ancient world regarded what we could call plagiarism."[46] Indeed, both the figure and the application in the following pages of Origen's homily closely follow Melito's thought.[47]

Based partly on this typological reasoning,[48] Origen speaks of Christ and the church in place of the high priest and priesthood.[49] When Moses speaks of two tabernacles (Exod 29:25), Origen concludes: "I think this first sanctuary can be understood as this Church in which we are now placed in the flesh, in which the priests minister 'at the latter of the whole burnt offerings.'"[50] Whatever the precise influence, Melito's hermeneutical stance appears to have affected Origen's ecclesiology.

Like Melito, Origen sees the Old Testament as a type. And like Melito, Origen sees the roles of the church in the life of Israel. The priesthood is a preliminary sketch, made of wax, clay or wood. The church is the reality, the true priesthood.

Conclusion

This study has revealed Melito's ecclesiology in a numbers of ways: (1) the church stores the reality (*i.e.*, the gospel); (2) it functions to interpret the Old Testament with the gospel; (3) it forms the real people of God; (4) it replaces Israel; (5) it functions as a new royal priesthood; and (6) the church performs a mystery by seeing itself in

---

[46] Melito, *The Homily on the Passion*, 70.

[47] Melito, *The Homily on the Passion*, 70.

[48] Origen, *Hom. Lev.* 2.1.

[49] Origen, *Hom. Lev.* 9.8.5.

[50] Origen, *Hom. Lev.* 9.9.3. In the same place, Origen also discusses 1 Pet 2:9.

the story of Israel. These conclusions derive in part via Melito's hermeneutical stance, which centers on a typological reading of Scripture. Also, Melito's historical setting may imply that *Peri Pascha* was a sermon celebrating the Eucharist. Finally, the study uncovered how Melito's typological hermeneutic influenced Origen's view of the church. Like Melito, Origen sees the church in the story of Israel, and attributes roles to the church that Israel formerly enjoyed.

Between Paul and James:
Faith and Works in 1 Clement *29:1–32:4*

Joshua M. Greever
Southern Baptist Theological Seminary

Abstract: Among early Christian scholars there remains an ongoing debate over how *1 Clement* understood the relationship between faith and works in justification and the Christian life. In dialoguing with these scholars, this paper will argue that *1 Clement* fundamentally affirms both justification by faith alone and the necessity of good works as the fruit of justification, and that Clement's perceived rejection of Pauline justification owes to his varied purposes in the letter. In order to demonstrate this, this paper will examine *1 Clem.* 29:1–32:4, focusing on (1) the phrase "justified by works and not by words" (30:3); (2) the emphatic assertion of justification by faith alone (32:3–4); and (3) Clement's stated assumptions regarding the Corinthians' present identity in Christ. Forming the conclusion will be a synthesis of the exegetical analysis and some implications for early Christian studies.

Introduction

As in the New Testament, the relationship between faith and works in *1 Clement* is far from easy to discern.[1] Not a few have argued that

[1] The precise identity of "Clement" is not significant for our purposes. More significant is that the letter likely can be dated to the last few decades of the CE 1st

Clement held to some form of "works righteousness" and thus deviated from Paul's doctrine of justification by faith alone, siding instead with James in the supposed early Christian debate regarding the relationship between faith and works.[2] Nevertheless, a close examination of *1 Clement* renders it most likely that Clement agreed with *both Paul and James*, and that his seeming contradictions owe to his varied purposes in the letter. In other words, despite his lack of desired theological clarity at points, he still presents a perspective in which a person cannot stand righteous before God on one's own efforts. To be sure, personal holiness is necessary in order to approach God, but such holiness is the effect and not the cause of justification. To put it in theological categories, then, Clement thought that a person is justified by faith alone, and that his faith always produces good works. To demonstrate this we will first analyze *1 Clem.* 29:1–32:4 and then draw some conclusions regarding Clement's view of the relationship between faith and works.

Exegesis of *1 Clement* 29:1–32:4

Like other letters in the Graeco-Roman world, *1 Clement* was an occasional document written to address a schism at the church of Corinth. Although we do not know many of the details, we can paint an

---

century (see 5:1–6:4; 44:3–5; 63:3). For a good discussion of the date of the letter, see Kurt Erlemann, "Die Datierung des ersten Klemensbriefes—Anfragen an eine Communis Opinio," *New Testament Studies* 44 (1998): 591–607; Laurence L. Welborn, "On the Date of First Clement," *Biblical Research* 29 (1984): 35–54.

[2] Representatives of this view are Benjamin W. Bacon, "The Doctrine of Faith in Hebrews, James, and Clement of Rome," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 19 (1900): 21; Franklin W. Young, "The Relation of 1 Clement to the Epistle of James," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 67 (1948): 339–45; J. B. Lightfoot, *Clement* (London: Macmillan, 1890; reprint, Grand Rapids: Baker, 1981), 1:397; and Thomas F. Torrance, *The Doctrine of Grace in the Apostolic Fathers* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1959), 44–55.

adequate picture of the events in Corinth that precipitated its writing. There had been a schism (*στάσις*) in Corinth (1:1) brought about by the deposition of some of the elders of Corinth. Although these elders were blameless (44:6), they were deposed by a faction in the church who were unwilling to submit to them. Hence, Clement wrote his letter in order that the Corinthians might rid themselves of all dissension and strife, and that they might clothe themselves with humility and peace toward one another (62:1–2; 63:2).[3] What this meant was that the church should reinstate these elders (54:2). Although the small faction is to blame (14:1; 51:1; 57:1), the whole church was responsible for the humiliation of the elders (3:4; 44:6); hence, the whole church was responsible to reinstate them as the rightful authorities in the congregation.[4]

First 1 Clement contains four main sections: a description of the situation in Corinth (1:1–3:4), an analysis of the nature of the Christian life (4:1–39:9), a solution for the Corinthians' schism (40:1–61:3), and a summary or conclusion (62:1–65:2).[5] Our text comes from the second main section (4:1–39:9). This section is not just a theoretical treatment of the nature of the Christian life; it provides a description of certain virtues that should characterize the church. If the Corinthians were to heed Clement's call to clothe themselves with these virtues, they would abstain from strife and be unified around the gospel.[6] The second

---

[3] Lightfoot, *Clement*, 1:82.

[4] Odd Magne Bakke, *"Concord and Peace": A Rhetorical Analysis of the First Letter of Clement with an Emphasis on the Language of Unity and Sedition* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001), 11–13.

[5] This standard outline is a point of agreement among many scholars, e.g., Robert M. Grant and Holt H. Graham, *First and Second Clement*, vol. 2, *The Apostolic Fathers: A New Translation and Commentary*, ed. Robert M. Grant (New York: Thomas Nelson, 1965), 14; Bakke, *Rhetorical Analysis*, 275–77.

[6] Bakke, *Rhetorical Analysis*, 232.

section can be broken into nine subsections,[7] one of which is 29:1–36:6. Chapters 29:1–36:6 describe the Christian life of holiness in which Clement exhorts the Corinthians to live a holy life as the chosen people of God (29:1–30:8), describes faith as the root of that holiness (31:1–32:4), and exhorts the Corinthians to do good (33:1–36:6).[8] Because of space considerations, we will only be able to analyze 29:1–30:8 and 31:1–32:4.

***1 Clement* 29:1–30:8**

Having exhorted the Corinthians to fear God and put away evil works because they cannot hide from God (28:1–4), Clement therefore (οὖν, 29:1) exhorts them to approach God in holiness (ὁσιότητι ψυχῆς).[9] The way in which they should do this is by coming to him in right prayer and affection.[10] The ancient manner of prayer was to extend the arms with palms uplifted, for this showed the worshiper's confession of sin and dependence on God.[11] Clement is saying that a large part of what it means to approach God in holiness of life is to approach him in confession and humility. The offering the Corinthians were to present

---

[7] See 4:1–6:4; 7:1–8:5; 9:1–12:8; 13:1–19:1; 19:2–20:12; 21:1–22:8; 23:1–28:4; 29:1–36:6; 37:1–39:9. This structure is adapted from the outlines in Grant and Graham, *First and Second Clement*, 14; Bakke, *Rhetorical Analysis*, 275–76; Annie Jaubert, *Epître aux Corinthiens: Clément de Rome* (Paris: Cerf, 2000), 25–28.

[8] *1 Clem* 29:1 forms an inclusio with 30:8 by means of the ἐπιείκεια word group; 29:1 also forms a broader inclusio with 32:4 by means of the similar phrases ὁσιότητι ψυχῆς (29:1) and ὁσιότητι καρδίας (32:4; cf. 48:4; 60:2).

[9] Bakke, *Rhetorical Analysis*, 168.

[10] Αἴροντες and ἀγαπῶντες indicate manner.

[11] Cf. 1 Kgs 8:22, 54; Ezra 9:5; Pss 28:2; 63:4; 134:2; 141:2; Lam 2:19; 3:41; 2 Macc 3:20. So Lightfoot, *Clement*, 2:93; Grant and Graham, *Apostolic Fathers*, 54–55; Donald Alfred Hagner, *The Use of the Old and New Testaments in Clement of Rome* (Leiden: Brill, 1973), 232.

was nothing less than hands that were pure and undefiled, and they were to approach God with an affection that recognizes his character as a gracious and compassionate God who has created for himself a chosen portion.[12] The Corinthians were not to approach God as if he were a tyrant but in the knowledge that he is already their Father who has made them his very own people. In other words, fearing God (28:1) does not mean that one should flee from God's presence but that he should approach him in holiness (29:1a), and this is done in right prayer and affection for him (29:1b).

Clement provides support from Scripture in 29:2–3 for the idea that God has chosen a people for himself. Verse 2 is an almost exact quote from Deut 32:8–9 (LXX) in which Moses sings of Yahweh's favor upon Israel by choosing her to be his portion. He did this long ago, at the time when God, having divided the nations (Gen 10) and dispersed them (Gen 11), chose Abram to be the father of many nations (Gen 12). At this time he established the boundaries of the nations according to the number of the angels of God. Although it is difficult to know why the number of God's angels matters to the nations' boundaries, the point Clement is making is clear from the second half of the verse: it was at this time that the Lord chose to be his heritage and portion the people of Israel. The Corinthians' status before God was not the result of their own wisdom and righteousness but of God's choice (29:1).

Clement also adds another quote in 29:3 to demonstrate that Israel is God's chosen people. It is not clear from what source Clement is drawing his quote; he simply begins the quotation formula by noting it comes from another place (ἑτέρῳ τόπῳ). There is no strict canonical parallel to this passage; some texts (cf. Deut 4:34; 14:2; Num 18:27; 2 Chr

[12] The word ἐκλογῆς is a genitive of means. The idea is that Israel was made God's portion by means of his electing them. See Acts 9:15 for a similar example. So Lightfoot, *Clement*, 2:93.

31:14; Ezek 48:12) share vocabulary with this quote, but none of them come close to being a canonical source for the quote. Although it is possible that Clement was quoting a canonical source from memory and thus confused the wording, more likely he was citing a non-canonical source, which he does occasionally throughout the letter (cf. 8:3; 23:3–4).[13] In either case, Clement is citing a passage that the Corinthians would recognize points to the fact that the Lord has chosen his people Israel to be a special, beloved nation. Just as a man prizes the first fruits of his threshing floor because of its quality, so also God chose Israel to be his prized possession. This status is further heightened because the "Holy of holies" (*ἅγια ἁγίων*)—God himself[14]—will come forth from Israel, demonstrating that the holy God dwells with this nation.

The reason why Clement emphasizes the high privilege of the people of God is because the Corinthians themselves are a part of this people, the spiritual Israel and the portion of God.[15] Knowing their holy status and identity in Christ would necessarily undergird and encourage them to act as God's holy people, an inference (*οὖν*) Clement draws for the Corinthians in 30:1–8. Since the Corinthians are the portion of God the Holy One, they are to pursue things that are characterized by and lead to holiness (30:1a).[16]

---

[13] Horacio E. Lona, *Der erste Clemensbrief* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998), 328; Hagner, *Clement of Rome*, 75–76.

[14] Lona, *Clemensbrief*, 328.

[15] Lightfoot, *Clement*, 2:93; Hagner, *Clement of Rome*, 122, 245.

[16] *Ὑπάρχοντες* is causal. I also agree with Michael W. Holmes (*The Apostolic Fathers: Greek Texts and English Translations*, 3rd ed. [Grand Rapids: Baker, 2007], 84) that Codex Alexandrinus has the correct reading: *ἁγίου οὖν μερίς*. The variants *ἅγια οὖν μερίς* (Latin, Syriac), *ἅγια οὖν μέρη* (Codex Hierosolymitanus), and *ἁγίων οὖν μερίς* (Coptic) may be the more difficult readings, but the context concerning God's people as his portion surely demands that the reading in this text is the correct reading.

The rest of 30:1b–8 explains how the Corinthians should abstain from unholy things and pursue holiness. Verse 1b contains a vice list in which are condemned sins of the heart (*ἐπιθυμίας*, *ὑπερηφανίαν*), tongue (*καταλαλιάς*), and body (*συμπλοκάς*, *μέθας*, *νεωτερισμούς*, *μοιχείαν*). Each of these seven deadly sins can be characterized by a lack of holiness and cultic purity.[17] The list begins with the sin of slander because Clement wants especially to denounce the Corinthians' sins of speech against their deposed (yet blameless) elders (cf. vv. 3–8). The list ends with the sin of pride because it was the root of the schism at Corinth.[18] To explain (*γάρ*) how much God hates pride, Clement quotes from Prov 3:34 (30:2; cf. Jas 4:6; 1 Pet 5:5): God opposes those who think highly of themselves and their gifts, but he gives grace to those who sense their complete dependence on him. This quotation serves as a warning to the rebels in Corinth to humble themselves under God and his ordained authorities in the church. It also undergirds the call for the whole congregation to cling (*κολλάω*) to those who have been given the grace of God (30:3). Presumably Clement thinks of the deposed elders as humble leaders to whom God has given grace; hence, the Corinthian church should support this group of men, not the rebels whom God opposes.

This interpretation is likely because in 30:3b Clement exhorts the church to put on unity (*ὁμόνοια*). Clement was writing his letter chiefly so that the Corinthian church might be of one mind in the gospel and demonstrate this by reinstating their elders. But in order to achieve this unity, Clement exhorts the church to do four things: be humble, be

---

[17] Note all the synonymous adjectives: *μιαράς*, *ἀνάγνους*, *βδελυκτάς* (twice), and *μυσεράν*.

[18] Contra Grant and Graham (*Apostolic Fathers*, 55–56) and Bakke (*Rhetorical Analysis*, 168), who think the middle term (*νεωτερισμούς*) in the list is the most significant because it describes the schism in the Corinthian church.

self-controlled, keep themselves far from all gossip and slander, and seek to be justified by their works and not their words.[19] These instructions together address the sin of slander, the first sin listed in the vices in 30:1. In order to be free from slander, one must be willing to humble himself, confessing his sin, and honoring those to whom God has given grace. One must be able to control his tongue with which the heart speaks, actively dissociate from all forms of slander, and seek righteousness in actions, not in words.

This last command has received much attention. Some have thought that Clement here is directly contradicting Paul's theology of justification by faith alone.[20] These claim that the language is straightforward and unambiguous in saying that believers should seek to be justified by works, and therefore, justification cannot be by faith alone. Others claim that Clement is in fact very much in concord with Paul here; he simply is affirming that someone who wants to live a righteous life before God cannot do so by words alone but by good works.[21] To resolve the issue, we must remember the purpose of the letter. Clement did not intend to write a treatise on the nature of justification; rather, he was combating the Corinthian schism that had arisen and been expressed through slander. In order to deter the rebellious, Clement had to show that true righteousness cannot be characterized by words alone—not least those of the slanderous kind. He soon enough affirms his belief in justification by faith alone (32:4),

---

[19] The four participles in 30:3 indicate the means of attaining unity (so Bakke, *Rhetorical Analysis*, 253).

[20] E.g., Lightfoot, *Clement*, 1:397.

[21] E.g., Andreas Lindemann, "Paul's Influence on 'Clement' and Ignatius," in *Trajectories through the New Testament and the Apostolic Fathers*, ed. Andrew F. Gregory and Christopher M. Tuckett (Oxford: Oxford University, 2005), 13.

but in 30:1–8 the emphasis is on true holiness, which does not consist in words alone but in good works.

This seems to be implication of Jesus's own statement regarding justification and words. In Matt 12:36–37, Jesus warns against speaking any careless word, for one's words will play a role in one's final justification. Even though at first glance Jesus' statement seems to contradict Clement's denial that words can justify, in actuality the two texts are similar, for both call for a cautious use of words. In fact, whereas Clement divorces works (*ἔργα*) from words (*λόγοι*), Jesus cautions against "any workless word" (*πᾶν ῥῆμα ἀργόν*; cf. Jas 2:19). Whether or not Clement was aware of or alluded to the Jesus tradition at this point, his warning against careless and impetuous speech within the church is clearly in line with Jesus's own dictum.

This interpretation of 30:3 is demonstrated by 30:4–8.[22] In 30:4–5, Clement quotes from Job 11:2–3 in which Zophar the Naamanite chides Job for speaking too much when he should be silent before God. Despite the fact that the one giving this advice is Zophar—one of those who at the end of Job is rebuked for being in error—Clement thinks his advice has a place in the Christian life. The principle is stated in verse 5b: "do not be much in words." The reasons are given in verse 4: the person who says much will hear much in reply, and the one who often speaks has no good reason to consider himself righteous.[23] The one who speaks often Clement can assume is not a righteous man but will receive a recompense according to what he has spoken.

[22] Note the explanatory *γάρ* in 30:4a.

[23] It is not clear how v. 5a fits into the quote. It is lacking in the MT of Job 11:3 (perhaps influenced by 14:1?) and does not fit the context of Zophar's speech; so Lightfoot, *Clement*, 2:96–97. Probably Clement quoted directly from the LXX and did not consider v. 5a to prove his point.

Another sin of speech is self-praise, for in 30:6–7 the Corinthians are told to let their praise come from God (v. 6a) and others (v. 7a). Perhaps the Corinthian rebels were slandering the deposed elders by praising themselves over and against those elders.[24] Clement denounces such talk, for God hates (*μισεῖ*) those who praise themselves (v. 6b), unlike the righteous patriarchs of old who did not praise themselves but received it from others (v. 7b). Therefore, to live in a righteous manner, the Corinthians should not join in slandering their elders through self-praise but let their praise come from God (cf. Rom 2:29)[25] and the testimony about their good works from others.

Finally, Clement gives the result of living a life of vice or virtue (30.8). The verse has a parallel structure:

30.8a	30.8b
θράσος καὶ αὐθάδεια	*ἐπιείκεια καὶ ταπεινοφροσύνη*
καὶ τόλμα	*καὶ πραΰτης*
τοῖς κατηραμένοις	*παρὰ τοῖς ηὐλογημένοις*
ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ	*ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ*

The three vices in verse 8a are contrasted with the three virtues in verse 8b.[26] The vices all involve the notions of arrogance and stubbornness, and the virtues humility and kindness. People who have been cursed by God are characterized by these vices, and those who have been blessed by God are characterized by these virtues. The vices

---

[24] Bakke argues that rhetoric and self-praise often accompanied strife in the Graeco-Roman world. *idem., Rhetorical Analysis*, 131–36.

[25] So Lightfoot, *Clement*, 2:97; Grant and Graham, *Apostolic Fathers*, 56.

[26] So Grant and Graham, *Apostolic Fathers*, 56. For a helpful discussion on the distinction between the three virtues, see Richard Chenevix Trench, *Synonyms of the New Testament* (New York: Redfield, 1854), 201–11.

were probably embodied in the rebels who were proud and insubordinate, and the virtues were likely present in the elders. The participles are in the perfect tense, pointing to the fact that the expression of these vices and virtues are simply manifesting and demonstrating the status one already has before God.[27] Those who have already been cursed by God demonstrate their true identity by living a life of unbelief and sin, whereas those who have already been blessed by God demonstrate their identity by the virtues they embody.[28] In this way, Clement again is in full agreement with Jesus's own teaching that a person is known by their fruits (cf. Matt 7:16–20). With this in mind, the good works of "gentleness and humility and meekness" are the fruit and not the root of righteousness, for these virtues characterize those who *have already been blessed* by God.

To summarize Clement's perspective on works and justification in 29:1–30:8, good works are the necessary fruit of justification. The Corinthians were called to perform good works *not in order to become but because they already were God's people*. Like Israel of old, they were his portion whom he had already chosen and blessed (29:1; 30:1, 8). And yet, because of their new identity as God's chosen people, good works were not optional but necessary. Since they belonged to him, they were enjoined to reflect his character: with gentleness (ἐπιείκεια, 30:8) since God is gentle (ἐπιεικής, 29:1), and with "the things of holiness" (τὰ τοῦ ἁγιασμοῦ, 30:1) since God is holy (ἅγια ἁγίων, 29:3; ἅγιος, 30:1). The

---

[27] Contra Torrance (*Doctrine of Grace*, 53), who claims of 30:3, "The grace of God is the divine counterpart to the gentleness and humility and meekness acquired by men."

[28] Further proving this point is the prepositional phrase παρά τοῖς ηὐλογημένοις. Παρά + dative has a basic meaning of proximity and nearness. Here it governs the dative of association, indicating these virtues are associated with those who have been blessed by God (cf. Daniel B. Wallace, *The Basics of New Testament Syntax: An Intermediate Greek Grammar* [Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2000], 170).

Corinthians especially were to refrain from the sins of speech that had apparently been part and parcel of the schism (30:1–5). Those who continued in such slander and refrained from good works clearly demonstrated that they were not truly justified (30:4).

First Clement 31:1–32:4

In *1 Clem*. 31:1–32.4, Clement addresses how one comes to receive the status of being blessed by God.[29] If the Corinthians were to cling to the blessing of God (31:1a), they would need to remember what the paths of blessing are (31:1b). Clement uses the patriarchs as examples of those who received God's blessing (31:2–4). Having considered more specifically the greatness of God's gifts to Jacob (32:1–2), Clement explains that everyone who has received God's blessing of justification has done so not through his own efforts but through faith alone (32:3–4).[30]

In 31:1a, Clement encourages his readers to cling to (*κολλάω*) God's blessing. Since those who have his blessing are characterized by gentleness, humility, and meekness (30:8b), therefore (*οὖν*) the Corinthians should attach themselves to this blessing. However, the Corinthians were unable to endure if they did not remember afresh that the source of these virtues is God's blessing of righteousness (31:1b). Remembering the contours or the "paths" (*ὁδοί*) of divine blessing would spur the church on to walk in holiness anew. In particular, they must study (lit. "unroll," *ἀνατυλίσσω*) the ways in which God has bestowed his saving blessing throughout redemptive history (*τὰ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς γενόμενα*).

[29] Bakke, *Rhetorical Analysis*, 254.

[30] Lona, *Clemensbrief*, 337.

Redemptive history for Clement began with the Old Testament patriarchs, who were examples of people who had received God's blessing (31:2–4; cf. 30:7). In 31:2, Abraham is presented as the Corinthians' father whom God blessed.[31] Clement asks the rhetorical question, "Was not Abraham blessed because[32] he did righteousness and truth by faith?"[33] It is difficult to know the exact time in Abraham's life of which Clement is thinking. Abraham was blessed by God in Gen 15:4–5 when God promised him that his descendants would be as numerous as the stars of heaven, a promise that Abraham believed in 15:6 and that resulted in God crediting Abraham as righteous. But it is also possible that Clement is thinking of Abraham's sacrifice of Isaac in Gen 22 in which God blessed (εὐλογέω) Abraham because Abraham did not withhold his only son Isaac but rather obeyed God's voice (22:16–18; cf. 18:19). Again, the blessing promised to Abraham was that of many descendants (22:17). Clement is probably thinking of both instances, perhaps even the entirety of Abraham's life after having been called out of Ur.[34]

---

[31] Even though many of the Corinthian believers would have been Gentiles by birth, Clement affirms their kinship with Abraham (cf. Rom 2:29; Gal 3:7–14, 29; Lightfoot, *Clement*, 2:23). For a good study on the coalescence of kinship and religion as ethno-racial categories in the ancient world, see Love L. Sechrest, *A Former Jew: Paul and the Dialectics of Race*, Library of New Testament Studies 410 (London: T&T Clark, 2009).

[32] The participle *ποιήσας* is causal.

[33] It is interesting to note that Codex Hierosolymitanus omits the prepositional phrase *διὰ πίστεως*. However, while it is possible for a scribe to have inserted the phrase to make it fit with Pauline theology, it is more likely that the phrase is original to Clement since it fits with his thought concerning Abraham's reception of the blessing (cf. 10:1–7), and since the external evidence weighs in favor of it (cf. Codex Alexandrinus and the Latin, Syriac, and Coptic translations).

[34] A close parallel to 31:2 is 10:1–7, which seems to encompass the entirety of Abraham's life.

In any case, Clement seems to be summarizing the teaching of both Paul and James on why Abraham was blessed.[35] In Gal 3:9, 14 Paul uses the words εὐλογέω and εὐλογία together with faith (ἐκ πίστεως and διά τῆς πίστεως) to indicate that Abraham obtained God's blessing by faith.[36] But Clement also appears to allude to Jas 2:21–26. Not only does James consider Abraham ὁ πατήρ ἡμῶν (2:21), but he also views Abraham as a prime example of a man who was justified because he owned the type of faith that works (2:21–23).[37] Like James, Clement emphasizes that the Corinthians must have true saving faith in order to receive God's blessing, and this faith inevitably results in righteousness and truth (δικαιοσύνη καί ἀλήθεια). Thus, in drawing together teaching from both Paul and James, Clement suggests that Abraham received God's blessing by means of faith and that this faith came to fruition when he worked righteousness and truth.[38]

In 31:3, Isaac is portrayed as an example of one who by faith was blessed by God. Despite knowing that he was to be the sacrifice, he went willingly to be offered because he had great confidence (πεποίθησις) in God who raises the dead (cf. Gen 22:1–10; Heb 11:17–19).[39] Since the term πεποίθησις is used throughout *1 Clement* as a synonym for faith (2:3; 26:1; 35:2; 45:8; cf. Phil 3:4), the emphasis in 30:3

---

[35] Lightfoot, *Clement*, 2:97; Grant and Graham, *Apostolic Fathers*, 57.

[36] Hagner, *Clement of Rome*, 222.

[37] Another parallel between Jas 2:21 and *1 Clem.* is discovered if Clement has in mind the sacrifice of Isaac in 30.2, which appears likely.

[38] Lightfoot, *Clement*, 1:96; Hagner, *Clement of Rome*, 249.

[39] If "what was coming" (τό μέλλον) is interpreted as Isaac's impending sacrificial death, then γινώσκων is concessive. If, however, τό μέλλον refers to Isaac's resurrection (cf. Heb 11:19), then γινώσκων is causal. Given that Abraham believed God would raise Isaac from the dead (cf. Heb 11:19), the latter seems more likely, for the emphasis in 31:3 is on Isaac's own confidence in God's future provision.

is on Isaac's trust and confidence in God. Likewise, Jacob is an example of one whom God blessed (31:4). He departed from the land of Canaan because his brother Esau wanted to kill him for stealing his father's firstborn blessing (Gen 27). Having gone to his uncle Laban, Jacob served him for twenty years but experienced hardship along the way (cf. Gen 31:41–42). Nevertheless, in all this Jacob lived with humility (ταπεινοφροσύνη). Instead of laying claim to his right to stay in the land and enjoy the privileges of being Isaac's son, he chose to live a hard life in order to survive and that the family might enjoy unity in the future.[40] In humbling himself and recognizing his dependence on God, Jacob demonstrated the same type of faith found in Abraham and Isaac. While humility is not identical to faith, it presupposes it. Again, Jacob obtained the divine blessing in the same way as the other patriarchs—by believing in God and his promises—and this trust manifested itself in humbly leaving Canaan and serving Laban.[41] As a result of his faith, Jacob was given the twelve tribes (δωδεκάσκηπτρον) of Israel.[42]

---

[40] Grant and Graham (*Apostolic Fathers*, 57) notes that Clement will later in his epistle ask the Corinthian rebels to depart (ἐκχωρέω) as well for the sake of unity (54:2; 55:1).

[41] Bakke, *Rhetorical Analysis*, 254. Rudolf Knopf (*Die Lehre der zwölf Apostel; Die zwei Clemensbriefe*, Handbuch zum neuen Testament Ergänzungsband [Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1920], 96) defines Clement's conception of faith in this way: "πίστις ist natürlich nicht der paulinische Glauben, aber das Zutrauen zu Gott, das Bauen auf ihn und auf die Wahrheit seiner Verheissung liegt doch darin" (translation: "πίστις is, of course, not the Pauline faith, but it is the confidence in God that relies on him and on the truth of his promise") While it is true that faith for Clement includes "das Zutrauen zu Gott" and "das Bauen auf ihn und auf die Wahrheit seiner Verheissung," this does not entail that Clement has moved beyond or rejected Paul's conception of faith, which also produces good works (cf. Gal 5:6; Eph 2:8–10).

[42] Lightfoot (*Clement*, 2:98) notes that the vocabulary of δωδεκάσκηπτρον as referring to the twelve tribes of Israel comes from the LXX (cf. 1 Kgs 11:31–32, 35–36) and the NT (Acts 26:7; cf. *T. Naph.* 5).

In 32:1–2, Clement continues to reflect on the greatness of God's blessings to Jacob—blessings that one will understand if serious thought is given to each of them (32:1).[43] In 32:2 the gifts are listed in four statements, the first three of which begin with the prepositional phrase *ἐξ αὐτοῦ*, and the last of which summarizes the gifts of God in the remaining tribes of Israel.

The first phrase describes the gifts of God to Jacob in the tribe of Levi. The Levites were priests of God in Israel, and they served at the altar of God (32:2a). The priestly ministry in the Old Testament was a glorious and unique privilege, for it was only the priests who were able to come before Yahweh. For this reason, the tribe of Levi was held in great esteem.

The second phrase describes another of God's gifts: it was from the lineage of Jacob that Jesus came *κατὰ σάρκα*, for Jesus was from the tribe of Judah (32:2b).[44] Further, from Jacob came the gifts of kings and rulers and leaders from the tribe of Judah (32:2c). This is a reference to Jacob's blessing of Judah in Gen 49:10: "The scepter shall not depart from Judah, nor the ruler's staff from between his feet, until tribute comes to him; and to him shall be the obedience of the peoples" (cf. Gen 35:11). In these three phrases beginning with *ἐξ αὐτοῦ*, Clement has described both the priestly and kingly lineage of Jacob, in the center of which Jesus himself, who as a priest-king is God's greatest gift to

[43] It is certain that *αὐτοῦ* refers to God, for Clement highlights God's gifts. In 32:2a *αὐτοῦ* refers again to Jacob (so Lightfoot, *Clement*, 2:98–99; Lona, *Clemensbrief*, 343). *Καθ' ἓν ἕκαστον* combines the distributive use of *κατά* with *ἕκαστος*, producing the literal translation "each one individually."

[44] That Clement held to the deity of Jesus is evident in the title *κύριος* and the phrase *τό κατά σάρκα*, which clarifies that Jesus is from the lineage of Jacob only with respect to the flesh (cf. Rom 9:5; Torrance, *Doctrine of Grace*, 46n3). Lightfoot (*Clement*, 2:99), Grant and Graham (*Apostolic Fathers*, 57), and Raymond E. Brown and John P. Meier (*Antioch and Rome: New Testament Cradles of Catholic Christianity* [New York: Paulist, 1983], 167) note the parallel with Rom 9:5.

Jacob.[45] As for the rest of the tribes of Israel, they also possessed "no small glory" in that they became as numerous as the stars of heaven in accordance with God's promise (32:2d; cf. Gen 15:5; 22:17; 26:4; 28:14; Exod 1:7).[46]

Why did the patriarchs and Israel experience such glory and honor? The conclusion (*οὖν*) in 32:3 is that they did not obtain their gifts by any work that they accomplished but by the promise of God (32:3).[47] This is stated quite emphatically with a negative clause introduced by the preposition *διά* that governs three genitive phrases: they did not receive glory through themselves (*αὐτῶν*) or their works (*τῶν ἔργων αὐτῶν*) or their right actions (*τῆς δικαιοπραγίας*). The act of heaping up these phrases rhetorically combine to articulate one powerful point: the patriarchs and Israel received God's blessing not on the basis of their own efforts but on the basis of God's promise.[48]

The rhetorical flourish comes to a climax in 32:4, where the author and audience are included within the principle of justification by faith alone. Just like God's people in previous generations, so also Clement and the Corinthians (*καί ἡμεῖς*) were justified (*δικαιόω*) through faith alone (32:4b). As in 32:3, Clement uses a *οὐ*/*ἀλλά* construction to show rhetorically the means of justification. But unlike 32:3, in 32:4 there is a twofold negative construction (*οὐ . . . οὐδέ*) with the verb

---

[45] Lightfoot (*Clement*, 2:99) rightly notes that the placement of Jesus between Levi and Judah is meant to indicate that Jesus is a priest-king, not that Jesus came from both tribes.

[46] The particle ὡς introducing the genitive absolute construction is causal.

[47] *Πάντες* at the very least refers to the twelve tribes of Jacob because of the near context (32:1–2) and the linguistic parallel between *δόξῃ* (32:2d) and *ἐδοξάσθησαν* (32:3a; so Bakke, *Rhetorical Analysis*, 254–55). Nevertheless, the patriarchs are likely in view as well, for *πάντες* does not grammatically agree with *σκῆπτρον*, and Clement's argument to this point in 31–32 is that all of God's people are justified by faith.

[48] Grant and Graham, *Apostolic Fathers*, 58.

δικαιούμεθα between. The first part of the negative construction contains the phrase δι' ἑαυτῶν and the second part a fourfold list of nouns. The separation of the first negative construction and the placement of it before the verb suggest that it is Clement's main point—no one is justified "by means of themselves"—and second negative construction merely clarifies this main point. People might seek to be justified "by means of themselves" in a number of ways: by their wisdom (σοφία), understanding (σύνεσις), godliness (εὐσέβεια), or good works (ἔργα). Indeed, not even good works that flow from a heart of devotion to God (ὁσιότητι καρδίας) can justify.

Rather, justification comes by faith (διά τῆς πίστεως), the only means of justification throughout redemptive history (32:4c).[49] Even the Corinthians' faith itself was a gift of God, for their faith was the result of God's powerful and effective call in Christ (32:4a). The Pauline language is evident throughout this verse, with God "calling" (καλέω) believers "in Christ Jesus" (ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ) "by his will" (διά θελήματος αὐτοῦ). That Pauline language is used does not necessitate adoption of Pauline thought, but Clement's proclamation of justification by faith alone and not by works strongly argues for an endorsement of Paul's gospel.[50] That this is the correct interpretation is supported by the objection anticipated by Clement in 33:1ff. Like Paul in Rom 6:1ff., Clement anticipates that some will use his works-free understanding of justification as an argument against the necessity of good works. But he counters this objection by claiming that works in fact are necessary since God himself rejoices in his works (33:2–7). Hence, believers as

[49] Bakke (*Rhetorical Analysis*, 108–9, 255) contends that Clement's notion of πίστις still carries connotations of obedience in 32:4.

[50] So Grant and Graham, *Apostolic Fathers*, 58; Lindemann, "Paul's Influence," 13. Contra Torrance, *Doctrine of Grace*, 50: "There can be no doubt that this is Pauline language, but it cannot be understood in Pauline fashion."

well must do "the work of righteousness" (ἔργον δικαιοσύνης, 33:8).[51] That Clement anticipates the same objection Paul does in Rom 6:1ff. corroborates that he had appropriated Paul's understanding of justification by faith alone. Hence, the argument of 32:4 is clear: justification comes not by works but by faith alone because of the effectual call of God.[52]

In summary, justification by faith alone is trumpeted in *1 Clem.* 31:1–32:4. As the "paths of blessing" are unfolded, it becomes clear that "from the beginning" (31:1) "every person throughout the age" (32:4) has been justified by faith alone. Just as the patriarchs and Israel were blessed through faith (31:2–32:3), so also the Corinthians received the blessing of justification through faith (32:4). Any form of works righteousness is removed as the means of justification, for not even those deeds done with a pure heart will suffice (32:4). Rather, God is the one who justifies, for by his will he effectively creates justifying faith in the hearts of individuals, uniting them to Christ.

Conclusions from *1 Clement* 29:1–32:4

Having analyzed *1 Clem.* 29:1–32:4, it remains for us to provide a synthesis of Clement's teaching on the justification of the believer and the role of good works. First, Clement did not hold that a person must do "works righteousness" in order to be justified before God. In 29:1–30:1, Clement grounds the imperative to be holy in the indicative of

[51] So Lightfoot, *Clement*, 2:101; Grant and Graham, *Apostolic Fathers*, 59; Brown and Meier, *New Testament Cradles*, 167; Lindemann, "Paul's Influence," 13–14.

[52] The use of the perfective-aspect κληθέντες suggests a temporal or causal meaning, which fits the interpretation here. Contra Torrance, *Doctrine of Grace*, 48, who argues Clement's view of grace at this point is "denuded of its real significance."

who believers are as God's chosen people.[53] Hence, Clement's exhortation in 29:1–30:8 cannot be construed as a form of works righteousness whereby a person can approach God and hope to be accepted by virtue of their own holiness.[54] The call was not for the Corinthians to act contrary to but in accord with their new identity in Christ. Because God had chosen them to be his unique, holy people, they should therefore approach him in holiness. Further, in 32:3–4 Clement's emphatic negation of any good works people can do to be justified before God is enough to deny that he taught legalism. Especially significant in this list is his denial that even good works with pure motives (*ὁσιότητι καρδίας*) are not sufficient to justify a person before God. In light of the modern debate surrounding the "New Perspective on Paul," as well as the historical debate between Roman Catholics and Protestants on justification, *1 Clement* provides a clear testimony to the early church's adherence to the apostolic teaching that people cannot be justified solely by virtue of their own righteousness—do consider the argument of righteousness in Pol.*Phil.* 3–9.

Second, Clement taught that a person is justified by faith alone. Although he never used the word "alone" (*μόνος*) in connection with faith, his emphatic denial that anything else in a person can justify before God leaves no doubt that he taught that it was by faith alone that a person was justified (32:3–4). Furthermore, Clement's insistence

---

[53] So Lindemann, "Paul's Influence," 13; contra Torrance, *Doctrine of Grace*, 53n3, who says the hortatory subjunctive *κολληθῶμεν* in 30:3 and 31:1 shows that Clement believed in works righteousness.

[54] Grant and Graham (*Apostolic Fathers*, 54) note the linguistic connection between 29:1 (*ὁσιότητι ψυχῆς*) and 32:4 (*ὁσιότητι καρδίας*). Clement's rhetorical skill is evident in these chapters, for his exhortation to approach God with righteousness in 29:1–30:8 is immediately followed in 31:1–32:4 by the reminder that justification only comes by God's grace through faith.

on the priority of faith in the patriarchs (31:2–4) shows that he taught that God's saving blessing and gifts come through faith in him. Even faith itself is a gift from God by his effectual call.

Third, Clement taught that good works are the necessary fruit of justification.[55] He does not misconstrue the doctrine of justification by faith alone to imply that believers do not need to live in a holy manner. Rather, throughout this section he urges the Corinthian believers to be holy (29:1; 30:1; 33:1, 8). The fact that the Corinthians had already been blessed by God (30:8b) did not eliminate the need to persevere in the faith by clinging to this blessing and considering afresh the gospel (31:1). They were to reflect God's character in all things, especially in their use of words (30:1–5). To reject this warning concerning slander was tantamount to rejecting God and only showed the true wickedness of the individual.

Finally, this analysis of *1 Clem.* 29:1–32:4 indicates that Clement did not see a contradiction between Paul and James. That Clement relied on material from both Paul and James (cf. 31:2; 32:4) in formulating a doctrine of justification by faith and the necessity of good works suggests that he believed both authors were in harmony on the issue of justification. It is telling for the ongoing discussion of the formation of early Christian identity and theology that towards the end of the first century a Christian was able to articulate relatively faithfully the respective nuances of Paul and James as well as to reconcile them even in the same section.

Certainly Clement could have articulated the issue more clearly. For instance, he could have better explained that it is through Christ's own righteousness imputed to the believer that God can justify the ungodly and remain just in the process (Rom 3:21–4:5). Or, he could

[55] S. G. Hall, "Repentance in 1 Clement," in *Studia Patristica*, ed. F. L. Cross, vol. 8 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1966), 41–43.

have clarified that the object of the faith of the justified sinner is Christ crucified, for it was at the cross that Christ purchased complete forgiveness of sin and the imputation of righteousness to the believer. He could have better followed Paul's teaching that it is through union with Christ that the believer is counted righteous (1 Cor 1:30; 5:21). And he certainly could have better articulated *why* and *how* the justified sinner still must persevere in good works in order to obtain the divine blessing.

Nevertheless, despite the shortcomings of *1 Clement*, in it is found a faithful post-apostolic articulation of the traditions associated with Paul and James. While scholars will continue to debate the early church's understanding of the relationship between faith and works, *1 Clement* provides a witness to an early church theology that neither denigrated nor ignored both justification by faith and the necessity of good works. In this way *1 Clement* finds its place directly between Paul and James.

A Forum in Ancient Christianity: Scholars in Dialogue

Contributors:

Michael F. Bird, Ridley College Melbourne, Australia — New Testament

Matthew Y. Emerson, Oklahoma Baptist University Shawnee, OK — New Testament

Charles E. Hill, Reformed Theological Seminary Orlando, FL — New Testament

Bryan Litfin, Moody Bible Institute Chicago, IL — Early Christianity

Preston Sprinkle, Eternity Bible College Simi Valley, CA — New Testament and Jewish Backgrounds

Jarvis J. Williams, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary Louisville, KY — New Testament and Jewish Backgrounds

Question 1: How is your discipline influenced by other ancient Christian disciplines?

Michael F. Bird (MFB): I think a whole number of things. Obviously Second Temple Judaism (STJ) sources—written and non-written—are part of the world into which Jesus and the apostles lived and operated

and in which the NT was written. So it is crucial for any serious NT scholar to have a grasp of it (though mastering all of it is nearly impossible). Similar, the patristic materials are vital because they are the sequel to the NT. Patristic authors show us how the NT was received, the development of the nascent church, and how Christian doctrines and practices came to be formed. My specific interest tends to be reading sources and secondary literature about second temple Judaism and the patristic era that is going to shed light and help me understand more of the NT and the early church.

Matthew Y. Emerson (MYE): For me, I am typically looking for history of interpretation in both STJ and Patristic disciplines; particularly, I am looking for how both STJ and early Christian writers read the Bible intertextually. Many NT scholars look to STJ for historical background, and there certainly is fruit there, but I'm much more interested in how the OT serves as the NT's background and how the NT uses the OT. In that regard, STJ provides more help in that it compares and contrasts how other Jewish writers were reading the Hebrew Bible at the time.

As far as Patristic writers are concerned, once again what I find most interesting is how they read the OT intertextually. I find this especially helpful when reading someone from the early-to-mid Patristic periods, like Irenaeus, because there may be more hermeneutical continuity with them and the NT authors.

Charles E. Hill (CEH): Context! Occasionally knowledge from these areas can directly influence how we understand a NT passage, word, or idea; more often it plays an important indirect role by telling us how others in contemporary or near contemporary ancient settings thought and believed, and how they lived. Studying the context surrounding the NT also helps us test our interpretations and theories. A principle that guides a lot of my thinking is that the NT ought to

make sense *within* its environment, and also make sense *of* its environment. Jesus and the apostles made an indelible impact on their culture, and in many ways we can trace out that impact through historical study. That is exciting.

Patristic studies can provide us with interesting, enriching, and sometimes invaluable, early interpretations of Christ and the NT writings. I think this is crucial for informed and responsible exegesis.

Bryan Litfin (BL): It's probably good to remember that to a Christian living in antiquity, there would not have been a hard and fast distinction between a canonical scripture and a non-canonical scripture until late in the period. The church had many sacred, precious texts that had God's truth in them. The early ones stood out because they were from the apostles, but the world of both sets of texts was essentially the same. So that would suggest that we ought not have rigid lines between New Testament studies and Patristic studies.

In terms of STJ, we must keep in mind that the Christians were in frequent contact with the rabbis and the Jewish community, especially in key places like Alexandria, Antioch, Edessa, Carthage, and Rome. That is why you get the *adversus Judaeos* literature, which would be pointless if they weren't exchanging ideas. And then there were all types of Jewish Christians, from those called Ebionites with a low Christology to others with a higher Christology to someone like Ephrem who clearly sees himself as non-Jewish yet functions in a Semitic linguistic setting and a Jewish thought-world. There is lots of overlap here and a spectrum or gradation, not isolated bubbles.

The main thing to glean from NT and STJ studies for the early church scholar is that while we make artificial distinctions, and properly so in academia, for the people actually living in antiquity,

these worlds were basically seamless. That means you can use one scholarly field to illumine another.

Preston Sprinkle (PS): The New Testament belongs in the broader corpus of Early Jewish literature. There were many sects within Judaism during the Roman era, and Christianity is one of them. So for the STJ scholar, the New Testament—along with the Dead Sea Scrolls and Enochic literature—constitutes significant body of texts that should be studied regardless of one's faith commitment.

A study of both the New Testament and the Patristic sources that reflect on that faith commitment simply chases down one strand of early Jewish thought and its influences (e.g Gentile Patristic writers).

Jarvis J. Williams (JJW): As a NT scholar, I think that the world of STJ in all of its complexity can shine a ray of light onto the NT text. Every reader of the NT text has his or her own set of assumptions and baggage that he or she brings to the text. Immersing oneself into the primary source material that may represent the kinds of ideas and cultural peculiarities that the NT authors assume, but do not always explicitly state, will help the NT scholar understand the NT in its own historical context. This doesn't mean that the NT scholar is without his own baggage or presuppositions, but this means that he or she will be closer to the NT world than before by virtue of being immersed into the Second Temple texts.

Question 2: What kinds of works would you like to see from other ancient Christian disciplines to aid you in your own discipline?

MFB: Obviously producing more critical editions of texts is always good, especially diglots (original language plus English translation in a

side-by-side format). Here, Michael Holmes's *Apostolic Fathers* volume is awesome and Craig Evans has a *diglot* of several pseudepigraphical texts forthcoming too. To be honest, any study of an ancient author that helps us understand an author, his or her text, context, and reception is always going to invaluable to anyone interested in the history and theology of Christianity and Judaism.

MYE: Perhaps I should avoid making this statement, but I consider myself more of a biblical theologian and hermeneutician than an NT scholar. In that regard, what I always find useful are summaries of hermeneutical approaches of particular Patristic writers, and especially summaries that help me to understand how that author approached Scripture as a unified book. This assists me in my own approach to interpretation and to the unity of the Bible.

CEH: We could always benefit from more careful expositions of Patristic exegesis and theology, explicating how early authors read the Scriptures and appropriated them. There is a lot out there to harvest for the church and the academy. New, critical editions and translations of patristic works are still needed, although good work in this area is being done. Synthetic studies that trace out the early development of ideas, scriptural interpretations, doctrines, ethics, or ecclesiastical practices are helpful. Right now I think Christology ought to be a burgeoning field, as well as studies of oral and textual culture. With the discovery and greater accessibility of NT manuscripts, there is a lot of work to be done on the history of the text of the NT.

BL: I would like to see NT scholars focus less on grammar in isolation from sociological context of the original hearers and their lived environment. You need to get a feel for the real nature of Graeco-Roman cities, the kind of thing offered by historians doing classical

studies. Many NT scholars do a great job of incorporating this, but some treat the text like a grammar machine, doing word counts and syntax studies with computers that I am not sure are really telling us much except about our own fascination with statistics, given the small sample size and the dictated, free-flowing nature of ancient letters, which make certain intra-textual resonances unlikely to be intentional and therefore meaningful.

I would also like to see less of an assumption that later Christian texts cannot illumine biblical ones because that must be an anachronism. But the cultural worlds were the same, and the people a short time afterward who heard certain meanings in Paul, for example, were likely to have understood some nuances he was implying better than we give them credit for. As far as STJ, as defined to include a later period as well, this should help us understand Jewish Christianity. Particularly fruitful work can be done here in Syriac Patristics and I would like to see that expand.

PS: I'm not a Patristic expert, but it does seem that some Patristic writers and texts tend to be anti-Semitic (e.g *Epistle of Barnabas*); but others were not. I'd be interested to see some sort of connection between early Jewish texts and authors, and certain Patristic writers who weren't anti-Semitic.

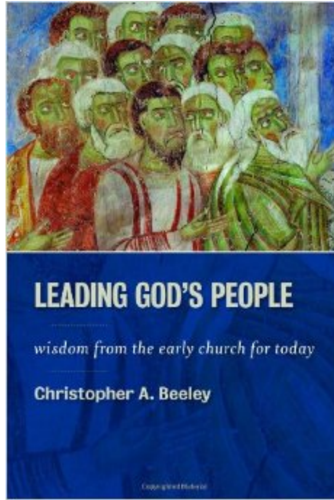
JJW: More work on how NT authors and Patristic authors received and appropriated STJ readings of Hebrew Bible texts.

Question 3: What are current trends in your own discipline that you think should influence other ancient Christian disciplines?

MFB: That's a hard one to answer since it assumes a knowledge of all three guilds. Perhaps some methodologies that are gaining traction in NT studies like social-memory could probably reap some good results if utilized in other fields.

MYE: To be honest, I think the stream needs to go in another direction. It seems to me that NT studies often gets lost in the historical and exegetical minutia, while Patristic studies is trending toward more holistic and integrative approaches. NT studies could benefit from including more literary, canonical, theological, and philosophical considerations in its projects alongside of its current emphasis on historical background and the exegesis of individual texts.

CEH: My non-researched and short answer is, I can't think of anything right now! It is not necessarily a bad thing that some of the fads in NT studies might fade out before they can be applied recklessly, I mean rigorously, to other fields. Old fashioned, plodding, historical-critical scholarship on texts and backgrounds that is well informed and well-focused will stand the test of time.



Christopher A. Beeley
Leading God's People: Wisdom from the Early Church for Today

Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2012

Pp. xi + 161. ISBN: 978-0-8028-6700-1. $20.00 [Paperback]. Purchase

Coleman M. Ford
Southern Baptist Theological Seminary

Christopher A. Beeley, Walter H. Gray Associate Professor of Anglican Studies and Patristics at Yale Divinity School and an ordained priest in the Episcopal Church, is best known for his work in the Trinitarian thought of Gregory Nazianzus. Having published broadly in the area of Cappadocian theology and fourth-century doctrinal development, Beeley's *Leading God's People: Wisdom from the Early Church for Today* is a surprising and refreshing book. Beeley carefully weaves biblical insight with Patristic sources to produce a book of *timeless* pastoral wisdom. Based on the fruit of years spent with the Fathers, *Leading God's People* fills a hole in the area of practical theology and should be a serviceable text for scores of divinity students for years to come.

Beeley's premise is simple: the early church provides "key principles of church leadership" which should serve to "renew our

understanding of ministry" and "offer a vision of the kind of leaders [readers] should hope to become" (p.ix). Leaning on the great pastoral traditions from important figures such as Gregory Nazianzus, John Chrysostom, Ambrose, Augustine, and Gregory the Great, Beeley reveals the weightiness of pastoral ministry from an early Christian perspective.

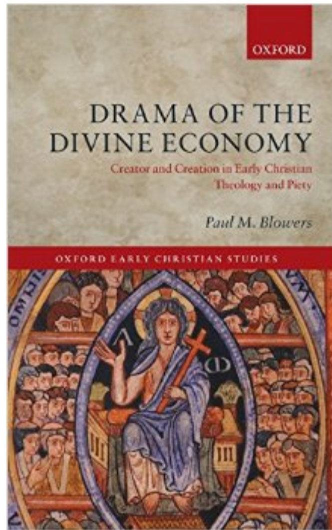
Each chapter is laden with practical, pastoral wisdom and studded with insights from the Fathers. Chapters include broad topics such as the necessity of pastoral piety, the knowledge of God's Word for effective ministry, and the deeply personal nature of pastoral counseling. Perhaps the most helpful section is chapter three, "The Cure of Souls," wherein Beeley relates the Patristic understanding of pastoral ministry as akin to medical practice. The pastor, as a healer of souls, helps to diagnose spiritual conditions and offer spiritual remedies appropriate to the ailment. The pastor's main task is to point the sick to the ultimate healer—Jesus Christ. As Beeley relates, "In this sense the deep logic of pastoral therapy is really the doctrine of Christ himself, or orthodox Christology" (p.75). Beeley helpfully demonstrates the significance of knowing scripture for pastoral ministry from a Patristic perspective. While the Fathers rightly emphasized principles of rhetoric in preaching, "all the Fathers insist that whatever training and education one has, what really enables one to teach, delight, and sway others in Christ is a prayerful faith, founded on the spiritual study of scripture" (p.122). As examples of scriptural knowledge and application, the Fathers are preeminent.

While *Leading God's People* offers a wealth of insight in such a concise book, some subjects are less developed than others. For example, hermeneutical approaches in early church exegesis receive only slight attention. Furthermore, early church ecclesiology figures little into Beeley's discussion, and the Patristic doctrine of scripture is

not extensively considered. Consequently, readers should not consider *Leading God's People* as a critical engagement with the Fathers on the subject of pastoral ministry. While Beeley's egalitarian language might put off some readers, the pastoral principles that he promotes are applicable for all readers.

Leading God's People provides a valuable starting point for those wishing to enter the ministry. Although similar to Andrew Purves's *Pastoral Theology in the Classical Tradition* (Westminster John Knox, 2001), Beeley's approach offers greater practical insight, and focuses primarily upon Patristic sources. Beeley drives readers to the primary sources and provides a reading list for those interested in engaging them at a deeper level. Beeley imparts a natural and well-versed interaction with the Fathers, and his wisdom, which is rarely anecdotal, is refreshing and compelling. By allowing the Fathers to speak for themselves, Beeley's readers will feel the significance of pastoral ministry and the gravitas of leading God's people, both in classical Christian perspective and for today.

Coleman M. Ford, Th.M.
Southern Baptist Theological Seminary



Paul M. Blowers
Drama of the Divine Economy: Creator and Creation in Early Christian Theology and Piety
(Oxford Early Christian Studies)

Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012

Pp. xv + 424. ISBN: 978-0-199-66041-4. $160.00 [Hardback]. Purchase

Stephen O. Presley
Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary

In his work, The *Drama of the Divine* Economy, Paul M. Blowers, the Dean E. Walker Professor of Church History at Emmanuel Christian Seminary, explores early Christian theology of creation. His approach, however, is intentionally synthetic and attempts "to outline some of the interconnected dimensions of the early Christian vision of creation" and "to explore some of the ways in which that vision informed, and was informed by, Christian practice" (p.5). Blowers recognizes the anachronistic tendency in many modern systematic treatments of the fathers that disconnect the unifying threads of their theological systems. Thus, Blowers approaches their theology of creation from the assumption that it was not formed "in isolation but in a normative relation to God's overall salvific action in the world" (p.2). Their doctrines of creation were intrinsically connected to their

other views including their Christology, pneumatology, and eschatology.

After the introduction, the argument of the book begins with two chapters that establish the theological and philosophical background by surveying the cosmology and cosmogony inherited from the Graeco-Roman philosophy and Hellenistic Judaism. These philosophical traditions competed with the theology of the Fathers, especially in terms of their views on *teleology*, creationism, and *archai*. In a similar way, Hellenistic-Judaism, received through the legacies of Philo and Wisdom of Solomon, also contributed, among other things, an emphasis on the "closed world" system, the teleological principle, and the mediating function of Wisdom in creation. Blowers also gives special attention to Philo's model of "double creation" that influences the thinking of several fathers and imagines the whole creation as originally conceived in the divine Mind prior to the formation of the sensible world (p.54–58). In light of these intellectual backgrounds, chapter four discusses some of the pressing hermeneutical challenges for the Christian articulation of the doctrine of creation in the first three centuries.

Chapters 5–8 substantiate his thesis by exploring the "intertextual connections between and among the Bible's diverse witness to Creator and creation" and does so by mining the texts of Gen 1–2 "for their seemingly inexhaustible *sensus plenior*" (p.101). He is not interested in dividing their interpretations along the literal/allegorical lines, but instead distinguishes between analytical and doxological approaches to creation. In chapter 7, he observes the intertextual interpretation of creation texts in the fathers that link Genesis with a variety of other scriptures including: Psalms, Deutro-Isaiah, the Wisdom literature, and Rom 8:19–23. He also gives a focused treatment of the constellation of New Testament passages that introduce the "cosmic Christ" and "new

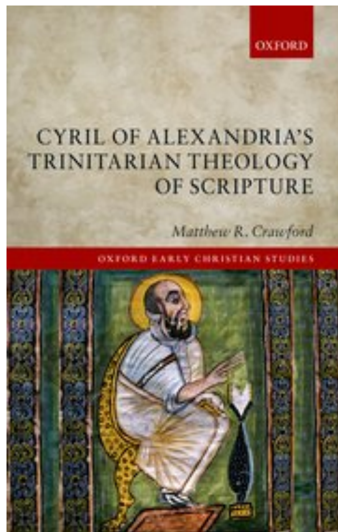
creation" themes, and give attention to the "triune Creator's 'performances' in enacting the new creation through the joint initiatives of Jesus Christ and the Holy Spirit" (p.307). The last chapter reflects on the practical interface between a theology of creation and Christian piety and worship. Blowers argues that the doctrine of creation was not established merely through biblical or theological argumentation, but through application in liturgical and sacramental practice in the life of the faithful. Finally, in his epilogue, Blowers brings all these themes together under the Balthasarian paradigm of "theo-drama" as a means to comprehend the various features of the patristic vision of creation that was and is continually unfolding within the divine economy.

Blowers's treatment contributes to a stream of important works on the theology of creation in the patristic period including, Richard Norris's *God and World in Early Christianity*, Gerhard May's *Creatio ex nihilo: Doctrine of 'Creation out of Nothing' in Early Christian thought*, and Peter Bouteneff's *Beginnings: Ancient Christian Readings of the Biblical Creation Narratives*. Each of these contributions reflect on the theological/philosophical, doctrinal, and exegetical aspects of the creation in Gen 1–2, respectively. These works are complemented by a number of other works on the theology and exegesis of creation texts in particular patristic writers such as Irenaeus, Origen, and Gregory of Nyssa. Blowers's work, on the other hand, is more synthetic. Drawing from these works, he recognizes that for the fathers there are "deep interconnections between creation and redemption in the divine economy" (p.189). As a result, the benefit of this study is a more unitive approach to the general patristic vision of creation that interacts with other important biblical themes and doctrines. In comparison to many modern philosophers of science, Blowers's work is also helpful for providing a more sympathetic treatment of the fathers reading of

creation. Their approach to Gen 1–2 involved “spiritual contemplation,” that is distinguishable from modern scientific inquiry (p.4–5).

Anyone working on particular themes or passages in the patristic reading of Genesis 1–2 will find this work a helpful panorama of the way the fathers approached these texts within their ancient milieu. This synthetic approach, however, limits the discussion of important aspects of the father’s reading of Gen 1–2, such as their views on anthropology or soteriology—as Blowers acknowledges (p.vi). Regarding its technical features, the book is organized well and the subject index and scripture index are helpful, though readers would have also benefitted from an index of patristic citations and other ancient sources. This book will be helpful for anyone interested in the doctrine of creation or readings of Gen 1–2 in the early church and appropriate for a masters or doctoral course on theology of creation. At the same time, since it deals with the intrinsic connections between the theology of creation and other doctrines, it would also work well as a general introduction to the theology of the Fathers and the unifying nature of their theological projects.

Stephen O. Presley, Ph.D.
Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary



Matthew R. Crawford
Cyril of Alexandria's Trinitarian Theology of Scripture (Oxford Early Christian Studies)

Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014

Pp. xi + 290. ISBN: 978-0-19-872262-5. $125.00 [Hardback]. Purchase

Shawn J. Wilhite
Southern Baptist Theological Seminary

Cyril of Alexandria (*c.* CE 380–444), with the exception of John Chrysostom, is considered a premiere exegete within the eastern tradition. Having more extant works than most, Cyril is further associated with the Christological development of the 5th century. Matthew Crawford has afforded Patristic scholarship a monograph delineating the intricacies of Cyril's Trinitarianism and theology of Scripture. In *Cyril of Alexandria's Trinitarian Theology of Scripture*, Crawford unearthed wealthy amounts of Cyril's literature in a comprehensive and organized manner. I suspect this work will influence Patristic scholarship, most notably works on Cyril and pro-Nicene theology, for years to come.

According to Crawford, he aims to contribute to a growing discussion currently within pro-Nicene theology that engages reading patterns and theological culture. In other words, by studying Cyril, "I

hope to bring out the pre-understanding that pro-Nicene theologians brought to the text of Scripture, which then guided their reading of whatever individual passages they encountered" (p.3). He proceeds to argue pro-Nicene theology has certain conceptions of Scripture that correspond to the "divine movement towards humanity in revelation" and humanity's reception of revelation in Scripture (p.3). Thus, Cyril is chosen to demonstrate that pro-Nicene theology is Trinitarian in its doctrine of God and, also, Trinitarian in its theology of Scripture.

Thus, the argument proceeds to touch upon a theology of revelation and theology of exegesis in Cyril. By placing Cyril in a broader ancient and contemporary discussion, Crawford argues "Cyril has intentionally constructed his theology of Scripture such that it is Trinitarian in structure and Christological in focus" (p.7). He argues this by detailing Cyril's Trinitarian theology of Scripture, Cyril's arguments for inspiration, how a theology of revelation informs a theology of exegesis, and how Scripture becomes a nourishing word through interpretation. This thesis and argument is all couched within Cyril's Trinitarian vision and integration.

I would like to note, in particular, two arguments within this monograph. First, Crawford presents Cyril being intimately aware of Trinitarian revelation. According to Cyril, "The Word, who is in the Father and from the Father, transmits the truly extraordinary, lofty, and great will of the one who begot him" (*Jo.* 17:6–8). So, Cyril is "Trinitarian in structure," argues Crawford, "and Christological in focus" (p.11). The divine Son, in Cyril's literature, is the divine revealer in Trinitarian perspective. Crawford notes that recent scholarship on the fourth century has demonstrated the inseparable operations of pro-Nicene theology (p.31). For Crawford, *vis-à-vis* Cyril, the principle of inseparable operations does not argue that the Father, Son, and Spirit all do the same actions; rather, all are *always* at work in a given

action (p.31). Thus, Cyril's Trinitarian axiom, based on the principle of inseparable operations, becomes *from* the Father, *through* the Spirit, *in/by* the Spirit (p.42–45). Therefore, Cyril's Trinitarian theology of revelation, as Crawford masterfully navigates, portrays the Son revealing the Father in the Spirit; or, "otherwise stated, revelation comes from the Father, through the Son, in the Spirit" (p.55).

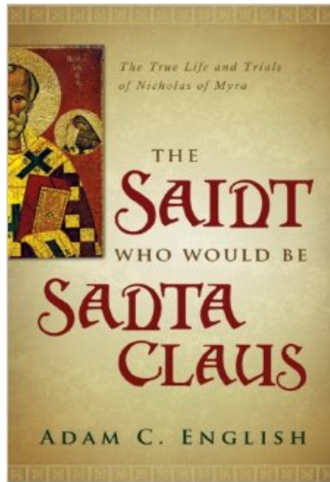
A second, and surely not limited to these two, argument is humanity's experience of revelation in the reverse order of divine acts. Crawford carefully lays out Cyril's comments on the reader of Scripture and one's encounter with God when reading Scripture (ch.6). The exegetical task is in reverse order as the aforementioned Trinitarian actions. "When the Christian engages in the task of theological reflection upon Scripture, the Son is guiding the believer by the Spirit to a greater knowledge of the Trinitarian mystery reveled in the Son himself" (p.223). As the inseparable actions begin with the Father, accomplished through the Son and by the Sprit, now the exegete is guided by the Spirit through the revelation of Son to a greater knowledge of the Father (p.223).

It is hard to underestimate such work. Crawford has not only produced a work that contributes to Cyrilline scholarship, he, essentially, has contributed to the field in ways no one else has. Although Marie-Odile Boulnois, *Le paradoxe trinitaire chez Cyrille d'Alexandrie* (1994), gives an adequate overview of Cyril's exegesis, and Lois Farag, *St. Cyril of Alexandria, a New Testament Exegete* (2007), details some of Cyril's Trinitarian theology, the two topics still remain relatively segregated. Thus, Crawford's work uniquely contributes to Cyrilline scholarship—an intersection of Cyril's Trinitarian theology and his exegetical practices.

Crawford's work is to be commended on multiple accounts. I shall supply three. First, Crawford adequately conversed with current

Cyrilline scholarship. In doing so, the reader is brought *up-to-date* and is able to hear the distinct voice of the monograph. Second, Crawford is able to put Cyril in conversation with antecedent and contemporary church fathers so as to note theological traditions and divergences. Third, Crawford meticulously and overwhelmingly proves his case while also leaving more room for Cyrilline scholarship to continue developing secondary and tertiary arguments as presented. Crawford must be commended for providing a text that will be valuable for years to come. Being influenced by Lewis Ayres in scope and approach to the field (p.v), I would encourage any Patristic scholar to pick up this volume with haste and drink deeply the Trinitarianism of Cyril's doctrine of God and revelation, theology of Scripture, and theology of exegesis.

Shawn J. Wilhite, Th.M.
Southern Baptist Theological Seminary



Adam C. English
The Saint Who Would Be Santa Claus: The True Life and Trials of Nicholas of Myra

Waco, TX: Baylor, 2012

Pp. xi + 230. ISBN: 978-1-60258-634-5. $29.95 [Hardback]. Purchase

Paul A. Sanchez.
Southern Baptist Theological Seminary

In *The Saint Who Would Be Santa Claus*, Adam English argues that Nicholas of Myra embodies the tension between historical figure and mythical symbol. English insists that substantial evidence for Nicholas exists despite a century of doubt among scholars and the influence of the mythical Santa Claus that overshadows any discussion about the historic figure for the broader public. Additionally, English argues that the legendary stories that circulated throughout the medieval period that influenced the modern American Santa Claus, generally hold some kernel of truth, grounded in the historic person.

English does not set out to define the development of the Santa Claus myth. Rather, his work is a quest for the historic Nicholas. English argues that most people "know that the beloved patron of Christmastime wish-granting has his origins in a vaguely historical personage," and he aims to bring the historical Nicholas to light (p.2).

However, the myth and the man are so closely intertwined that his task is daunting. More importantly, English admits that there is "no early documentation of the man—no writings, disciples, or major acts" (p.3). Thus, in order to discover the historical Nicholas, English combs through the earliest extant documents and key later sources. Additionally, he makes inductive arguments based on extensive background analysis to give greater form to the authentic Nicholas. The historic Nicholas was a man of generosity, conviction, boldness, and was a social, civil, and religious servant.

English notes his dissatisfaction with recent works on his topic. Authors have contributed little "substance" in terms of historical research, and instead have been content with repeating folklore (p.9). English surpasses mere legendary storytelling, but this work is not an example of critical scholarship either. What he offers is a picture of the man Nicholas of Myra, based in the historical record. He emphasizes telling the story over critically analyzing sources. He includes legendary accounts of Nicholas sometimes without asking the questions that historians must ask, regarding whether sources are credible, biased, contradictory, and so forth. However, since he primarily aims to present Nicholas holistically, and to overcome the mythical symbol known today, this work might suit his purposes. To his credit, the scarce historical record might require a work like English's. The earliest primary document that refers to Nicholas dates approximately two centuries after his death, and the oldest biography dates to the early eighth century. Additionally, Nicholas became such a mythical figure in the Middle Ages that the historic person became almost unimportant in light of the hagiographic use of early saints.

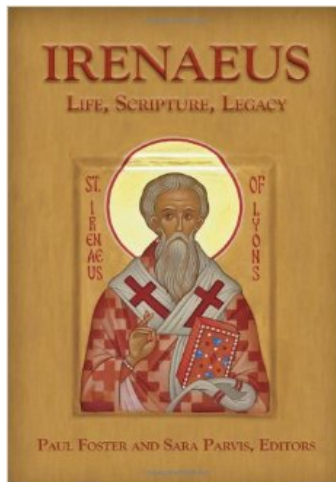
English fails to substantiate a number of his claims with either a primary or secondary source. For instance, when he discusses Nicholas's baptism, he fails to offer a source to substantiate claims

about early Christian baptism (p.32). At another point, he notes that a scholarly dialog exists about Nicholas's legacy in Western Europe, but fails to give a citation (p.49). When relating modern ethical issues to an ancient Christian understanding of marriage, he offers no substantial historical foundation (p.68). Later, when he claims that the Apostle Paul founded the church in Myra, he neglects to provide any further evidence (p.90). At other times, he relies on secondary sources, when a primary source seems warranted. For example, when arguing that Puritans in Massachusetts outlawed certain Christmas celebrations and when referencing the Second Council of Nicaea of 787, he relies on secondary sources (p.37–38). At times when one expects critical analysis of a primary source, he does not offer any, for instance when he describes supernatural details in the account of Nicholas's giving of the three money bags (p.67). One expects him to ask whether these events actually occurred or does such a record influence how one views this historic document? When primary sources are especially scarce, English relies on extensive background material, based in both primary and secondary sources. This is helpful for understanding Nicholas's context, and contributes to English's work of recreating the authentic Nicholas in his historical context.

English's work seems poised to have broad appeal. Scholars of ancient Christianity will find it helpful because he engages in a dialog with both primary and secondary sources, even if his approach is somewhat basic. English's work should prompt further scholarly investigation into an intriguing historical figure and appeal to a popular audience, as English would want. He does hope to interest scholars, presumably, but he seems to have the broader American public in mind, for whom he hopes to correct the long tradition of a fat, jolly, secular figure almost entirely unrelated to the ancient bishop of Myra. I recommend this book to both scholars and laymen. English is

a superb storyteller. The work is well organized and expressed, and the fascinating relationship between the historical person and the mythical symbol of Christmas is enough to compel one to engage the book.

Paul A. Sanchez, Th.M.
Southern Baptist Theological Seminary



Paul Foster and Sara Parvis, eds.
Irenaeus: Life, Scripture, Legacy

Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2012

Pp. xvi + 274. ISBN: 978-0-8006-9796-9. $39.00 [Hardback]. Purchase

Michael J. Svigel and David Hionides
Dallas Theological Seminary

The last half of this century has witnessed a renewed interest and appreciation for Irenaeus of Lyons. Several introductory works have been published that serve as helpful primers for the second century bishop and his milieu.[1] While these introductions offer an overview of Irenaeus and his context, each by a single scholar, *Irenaeus: Life, Scripture, Legacy* introduces readers to contemporary Irenaean studies through the contributions of sixteen experts. Collected from the 2009 Irenaean conference held at the University of Edinburgh by the Centre for the Study of Christian Origins, essays in this volume offer insights into Irenaeus and his context (Part One), his use of canonical and noncanonical texts (Part Two), and his influence on the faith (Part

[1] Some English language introductions include Robert M. Grant's helpful summary of Irenaeus's life, theology, and works in *Irenaeus of Lyons*, The Early Church Fathers (New York: Routledge, 1997); Mary Ann Donovan, *One Right Reading? A Guide to Irenaeus* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical, 1997); and Denis Minns, *Irenaeus: An Introduction* (New York: T&T Clark, 2010).

Three). Contributors hail from a broad range of confessions: Eastern and Western, Anglican, Lutheran, Reformed, and Baptist. Indicative of the shift away from Harnack's and Loofs's negative and dismissive depictions of Irenaeus from the early twentieth century, contributors are "mainly Irenaeus's lovers" (p.1).

The volume's inclusion of only English language essays makes the field easily accessible to English-speaking readers. However, this necessarily underexposes budding Irenaeus lovers to the broader international community of scholarship, which is heavily populated by especially French and German works. Nevertheless, despite the inherent weakness of essays limited to English, the authors work comfortably and competently in the wide and diverse spectrum of international scholarship. The overarching argument of the volume seems to be that Irenaeus stands as a vital witness to the unity amidst diversity of early Christianity.

In the first part, "Life: Irenaeus and His Context," three authors place Irenaeus in his historical context as representing diversity within unity both theologically and geographically. Paul Parvis examines Eusebius's portrayal of Irenaeus, positing that the bishop's polemical writings should be understood in light of his pastoral concerns. Jared Secord's essay then explores Irenaeus's abiding eastern ties despite his westward emigration to Lyons. And Allen Brent examines Irenaeus's teaching concerning episcopal succession, arguing that he was not creating monarchical episcopacy but defending "a coherence in philosophical or theological teaching" (p.52).

In the second part of the book, "Scripture: Irenaeus and His Scriptural Traditions," the contributors investigate Irenaeus's use of traditional authorities, both seeking to shed light on which texts and traditions he utilized and how he employed them. Denis Minns argues that Irenaeus's discussion of Matt 21:28–32 indicates that the bishop

utilized a text similar to the fifth century Codex Bezae. D. Jeffrey Bingham posits that the book of Hebrews held a more important place in Irenaean thought than previously understood. Karl Shuve suggests that Irenaeus's use of Old Testament nuptial narratives laid the foundation for the future interpretation of the Song of Songs. In the coupled essays on the identity of the unnamed presbyter in *Against Heresies* 4.27, Sebastion Moll and Charles E. Hill let us in on a disputed issue in Irenaean interpretation. Moll advocates leaving the unnamed elder as unknown, while Hill maintains his view that it was, in fact, Polycarp of Smyrna. Paul Foster then examines Irenaeus's discussion of the non-canonical gospels, proposing that the bishop was "well informed" of his opponents' works. Finally, in a second article, Charles E. Hill argues that the use of *diplai* in P.Oxy 405 indicates a scriptural quotation, shedding light on an early scribal practice.

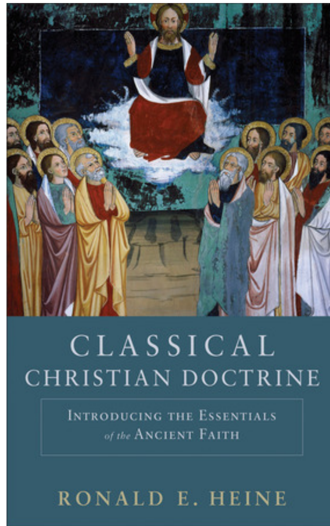
Finally, part three, "Legacy: Irenaeus and His Theological Traditions," begins with Michael Slusser identifying the heart of Irenaeus's theology as the interplay of God's greatness and love, though it leaves us wondering whether the incarnation or *regula fidei* are not more hearty candidates. Next, Peter Widdicombe explores the Irenaean concept of the (loving) fatherhood of God. Alistair Stewart zooms in on Irenaeus's assertion that Christians receive the rule of faith through baptism (*Against Heresies* 1.9.4), arguing a christological declaration during the actual rite of baptism is in view, not a full trinitarian interrogation. Sara Parvis then compellingly discusses how Irenaeus positively affirms women both in the history of redemption and in the church while he carefully avoids Gnosticism's unbridled extremes. Stephen O. Presley argues that Irenaeus's subdued use of second century prosopological exegesis (variously identifying triune persons speaking in Old Testament texts) is due to his polemical contest with the Gnostics, whose interpretations were not governed by

the principle of the one true God of the *regula fidei.* Sophie Cartwright introduces the reader to Irenaeus's theological anthropology by comparing and contrasting the bishop's concept of *imago dei* with those of the fourth century bishops Marcellus of Ancyra and Eustathius of Antioch. Paul Parvis's penultimate essay offers a helpful (and fascinating) account of the editors and published editions of *Against Heresies* from Erasmus in the sixteenth century to Rousseau in the twentieth. And as a capstone essay for this volume, Irenaeus M. C. Steenberg aptly and ably traces the Irenaean legacy as a crucial link in the chain of early Christian tradition.

In sum, *Irenaeus: Life, Scripture, Legacy,* is an essential volume for "Irenaeus's lovers," an important collection for scholars of the second century, and a helpful overview for broader patristic scholars. The book can also serve as an excellent orientation to the world of contemporary Irenaean scholarship for the recent initiate into the life, thought, and legacy of the bishop of Lyons. A handful of features are appropriate for novices and laypeople, such as the catalogue of Irenaeus's writings (p.xi–xiii), the single-page timeline (p.xv), the first two introductory essays by Paul Parvis and Jared Secord, respectively, and the bibliography (p.255–68). However, this is not a primer for beginners but a standard for professional Irenaean scholars.

Michael J. Svigel, Ph.D.
Dallas Theological Seminary

David Hionides, Th.M.
Dallas Theological Seminary



Ronald E. Heine
Classical Christian Doctrine: Introducing the Essentials of the Ancient Faith

Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2013

Pp. x + 182. ISBN: 978-0801048739. $21.99 [Paperback]. Purchase

Coleman M. Ford
Southern Baptist Theological Seminary

Proper doctrine has been a concern for Christian faith from its inception. Paul instructs Timothy to "teach what accords with sound doctrine" (Titus 2:1). Following this charge, Paul provides a list of actions that flow from adherence to "sound doctrine." The importance of transmitting proper teaching (doctrine) has been a consistent task from the beginning of Christian faith and practice. Ronald E. Heine, professor of Bible and Christian Ministry at Northwest Christian University and notable Patristic scholar, takes up the Pauline charge to teach sound doctrine in *Classical Christian Doctrine: Introducing the Essentials of the Ancient Faith*. His goal is simple: since Christians have always held doctrinal beliefs, it's important to understand the foundational—that is "classic"—doctrines of the Christian faith. Looking back to the Nicene Creed in order to look forward to today, Heine provides readers not with "a commentary on the creed" but

rather a focus on "central topics in the early Christians' understanding of their faith" (p.vii). Young minds and new believers are his intended audience, and as a skillful master who can take complicated material and produce a delightfully simple product, Heine provides a noteworthy introduction to the foundational doctrines of the Christian faith.

Heine begins with two introductory chapters on doctrine and Scripture showing that from a classical Christian perspective, the importance of doctrine and Scripture are assumed. Doctrine, in classical perspective and for today, "marked the boundaries of what was acceptable and what was unacceptable to believe about [Jesus Christ]" (p.7). Regarding Scripture, it was "the source from which [the early church] mined the ore of their doctrines" (p.11). These chapters set the foundation for Heine's walk through Nicene Creedal declarations. With Heine, unlike texts that may focus on the Creed's place in fourth century doctrinal controversies, he shows readers a brief background to each doctrinal position. Perusing the pages of greats such as Irenaeus, Tertullian, Origen, and others, *Classical Christian Doctrine* gives readers the principal actors on the stage of early Christian doctrinal formation. Heine also highlights the antagonists of the story while delicately weaving his needle through the fabric of various early Christian doctrinal formulations. Justin Martyr and Logos Christology, the Chalcedonian definition of Christ's nature, and creation *ex nihilo* are all covered in the span of a few pages. The introductory nature of this text necessitates this approach, but it is refreshing nonetheless seeing how Heine is able to handle such massive topics with ease.

Heine leaves plenty of latitude for discussion, especially with the help of questions at the end of each chapter. I found Heine charitable with sources and conversant with the key players. Chapter 11,

however, is somewhat surprising given the nature of the text. For Heine, the *Christus Victor* view (à la Gustav Aulen) is *the* classical view. This supposed "dominant view in the classical period of Christian doctrine" seems somewhat isolating and might leave some readers with significant questions. There is little doubt that this view is present within a significant portion of Patristic writing, but it seems shallow to neglect the overwhelming evidence for additional perspectives on the atonement in classical perspective. Michael Haykin has provided an excellent analysis on definite atonement in ancient Christianity.[1] Brian Arnold, in an unpublished dissertation, shows how additional themes of justification arise from early Christian texts, particularly in the second century.[2] This is not to say that Heine is wrong to highlight *Christus Victor* motifs of atonement and justification, but the exclusion of other views is jarring in comparison to the tenor of the remaining text. The discussion questions, however, give readers room for discussing alternate viewpoints.

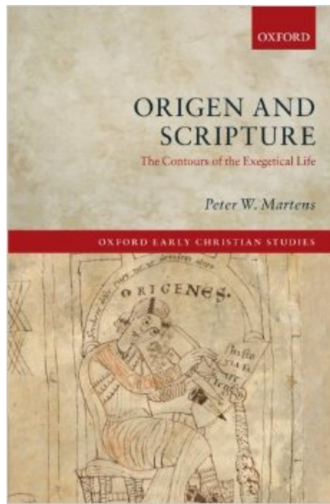
With this caveat, Heine's *Classical Christian Doctrine* is sound and useful for contemporary readers. New Christians, young Christians, and older Christians who lack a doctrinal foundation for their faith will find this book beneficial. Those teaching introductory courses in church history and Christian doctrine at universities, bible colleges, and seminaries will find this book helpful. It will make a great addition to the pastor's shelf as well the teacher's. Heine does what few are able:

[1] See Michael A.G. Haykin, "'We Trust in the Saving Blood': Definite Atonement in the Ancient Church" in *From Heaven He Came and Sought Her: Definite Atonement in Historical, Biblical, Theological, and Pastoral Perspective* (Wheaton, IL: Crossway, 2013), 57–74.

[2] Brian John Arnold, "Justification One Hundred Years After Paul" (Ph.D. dissertation, The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 2013).

distill classical Christian doctrinal development into a rich blend to suit the novice’s palate. Cheers!

Coleman M. Ford, Th.M.
Southern Baptist Theological Seminary



Peter W. Martens
Origen and Scripture: The Contours of the Exegetical Life (Oxford Early Christian Studies)

Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.

Pp. xii + 280. ISBN: 978-0-19-871756-0. $40.00 [Paperback]. Purchase

Shawn J. Wilhite
Southern Baptist Theological Seminary

> *"He memorized the Scriptures, and he toiled day and night in the study of their meaning. He delivered more than a thousand homilies in church, and also published innumerable commentaries which are called 'tomes.' Who of us can read everything he word? Who can fail to admire his enthusiasm for the Scriptures?" (Jerome, Letter 84.8).*

Peter Martens's work on Origen seeks to shed light on Origen's scriptural interpretation patterns through use of biography. *Origen and Scripture* not only should renew interest in Origen, but it also demonstrates a broader schema of Origen's exegetical vision as an interpreter. Upon such read, one will have a better understanding of what Origen is attempting to accomplish as a reader; and hopefully, overturn such notion of viewing Origen *via* allegory or philology.

Martens's thesis both focuses upon the biography, ethics and virtue, and exegetical disciplines of Origen. In this way, it is an attempt

to move beyond myopic assessment of one or two features of his exegetical enterprise. "I will advance a new and integrative thesis," argues Martens, "about the contours of the ancient exegetical life as Origen understood it, and as best we can gather, also practiced it" (p.6). Thus, Martens contends that the exegetical life is not merely a scholarly enterprise, though certainly favored, but the *ideal scriptural interpreter* is one who also sets out upon a "way of life, indeed a way of salvation, that culminated in the vision of God" (p.6). Under the auspice of such argument, scholars of Origen can use this to make sense of Origen's *anthropological* three-fold reading of Scripture: bodily, soul, and spiritual readings (*Princ*. 4.2–3). So, interpreting Scripture, according to Martens's reading of Origen, is both exegetical, technical, while also leading to virtue and having an experience with God.

The argument of the book is detailed in two parts. Part one argues how Origen identifies the scholarly credentials of the *ideal interpreter*. In this part, Martens notes the contours of Origen's educational requirements. Graeco-Roman philological techniques were to influence, what Origen calls, the *simpliciores*; that is, the "simple ones." In his *Letter to Gregory*, Origen exhorts Gregory in the following way, "I pray that you productively draw from Greek philosophy those things that are able to become, as it were, general teachings or preparatory studies for Christianity," also including geometry, astronomy, music, philology, and rhetoric (*Letter to Gregory*, 1). For Origen's paradigm, Martens rightly identifies, "The culmination of the *paideia* is not Roman law or Greek philosophy. This educational system has been reconceived as a propaedeutic, a course of introductory study, for a new *telos*, the examination of the church's Scriptures" (p.30). Beyond Graeco-Roman classical education, Martens lays forth numerous procedures in Origen's exegesis that include text criticism, historical analysis, and literary analysis. These philological categories, as

Martens argues, "were unquestionably integral to Origen's vision of the ideal interpreter of Scripture" (p.66).

Part two of Martens argument correlates the components of Philology and Christianity. That is, Origen's portrait of the *ideal interpreter* extends beyond the bounds set by the educational system and moves the interpreter in to the drama of salvation, finally culminating in the vision of God (p.67). In order to support this argument, Martens first highlights how Origen conveys philology as part of the wisdom of God, including allegory (p.77), and how Origen envisioned the interpreter with specific exegetical virtues. Moving from a positive argument, Martens then progresses to Origen's boundaries of orthodox readings—critiquing Gnostic and Jewish readers. He identifies interpretive and problematic theological commitments of the Gnostics and Jewish readings of Scripture. Martens concludes part two by noting the "moral character and conduct of the Christian philologist influenced scriptural interpretation" (p.161) and how the Scriptures and final act of interpretation leads to salvation and a vision of God, culminating in an encounter with God (p.242).

Two particular arguments are worth noting in more detail. First, I want to note his thesis and main contribution in *Origen and Scripture*. "My central thesis," clarifies Martens, "in this book is that Origen contextualized interpreters—himself included—within the Christian drama of salvation...biblical interpretation afforded these philologists an occasion through which to express various facets of their existing Christian commitment, as well as to receive divine resources for their continued journey in their faith" (p.xi). Moreover, Martens states that he will "advance a new and integrative thesis" regarding the exegetical life (p.6). Especially familiar with major monographs on Origen's hermeneutical enterprise, de Lubac's *History and Spirit*, Hanson's

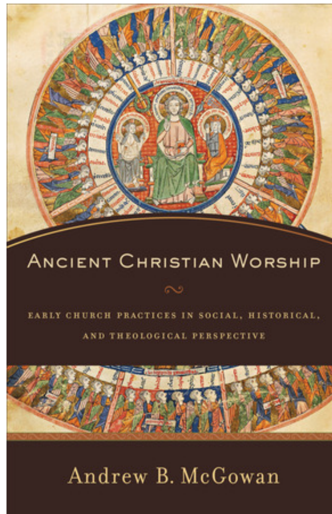
Allegory and Event, Torjesen's *Hermeneutical Procedure and Theological Method*, as well as Lauro's *Soul and the Spirit of Scripture* do not envision an *ideal reader*, but rather focus upon features of Origen's hermeneutics. Martens's work is one-of-its-kind in that he takes a step back from hermeneutical features to detail the entire exegetical vision of Origen. At best, this work is a new reading of Origen; at worst, Martens presents a renewed vision Origen's exegetical vision that has been missed in previous pieces of literature. If Martens is right, and in my estimation there is a lot of agreement, then his thesis is not only a dramatic shift from previous scholarship but has the potential to paradigmatically shift the future of Origenian scholarship. I estimate that all subsequent work on Origen, in order to overturn or noticeably shift Martens's thesis, must thoroughly engage Origen's literature afresh and suggest where Martens has veered astray.

A second argument worth noting is the exegetical critiques of Gnostic and Jewish interpretation. Martens notes how focusing upon important themes of literal and allegorical exegesis or scriptural authorship do not capture the entire contour of Origen's exegetical vision (p.5). Thus, some in scholarship (as noted by Martens) and, I would also add, popular opinion, focus upon one or two features of Origen's hermeneutical enterprise—philology or allegory. Thus, others typically see Origen's critique of Gnostic or Jewish readings as a charge of overt literalism, as if Origen does not read literally (p.107, 133). However, Martens has carefully noted how the claim of literalism, as a *cardinal exegetical defect*, is unhelpful and misleading (p.107). Not only does Origen show signs of literal readings to invalidate this charge (cf. *Cels.* 1.51; *Comm. Matt.* 10.7–8; *Hom. Lev.* 3.2.6, 9.9.1, 14.2.3; *Princ.* 4.2.4—4.3; also, Paul Blowers, "Origen, the Rabbis, and the Bible"), but Martens notes how *theological a prioris* bear upon their systemic interpretive differences. More broadly, Origen's critique of Gnostic

readings stem also from an uncritical acceptance of erroneous teachings from Graeco-Roman philosophy and a lack of adherence to the Church's rule of faith (p.119). His charge against Jewish readings is they continue along with the central tenets of Judaism and, thus, a critique of Christian convictions (p.134). Martens helpful and carefully walks through mounds of primary texts to sustain this argument: theological presuppositions, not hermeneutical patterns, reflect the primary problem that Origen has with Gnostic and Jewish readings of Scripture.

Overall, I cannot praise this volume enough. It is insightful, cogently argued, and gives new insights into Origen, the person, and Origen's exegetical vision. I trust this text will be a staple for years to come in Origenian scholarship.

Shawn J. Wilhite, Th.M.
Southern Baptist Theological Seminary



Andrew McGowan
Ancient Christian Worship: Early Church Practices in Social, Historical, and Theological Perspective

Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2014

Pp. xiv + 298. ISBN: 978-0-8010-3152-6. $34.99 [Hardback]. Purchase

Patrick Schreiner
Western Seminary

Andrew McGowan, dean and president of the Berkeley Divinity School at Yale, has provided a helpful compendium of ancient Christian worship practices. He examines meals, the word, music, initiation, prayer, and time beginning with the earliest evidence going up to not long after C.E. 400. His task is more descriptive than prescriptive. He is not seeking to recommend what ought to have been done, but rather designate what was said and done in various ancient contexts.

Although the book is called *Ancient Christian Worship*, McGowan acknowledges that the term "worship" has varied in use over time. The older senses of worship are about embodied life and ethics, the newer senses about inner life and aesthetics. McGowan rightly says, "No one in the ancient church could have asked about styles of worship" (p.4). For the purposes of this book he uses worship to mean the practices

that constitute Christian communal and ritual life. Worship thus is about bodies, spaces, objects, and words.

McGowan claims the Eucharist was characterized by diversity of meaning. Various themes such as memory, presence, celebration, sacrifice and thanksgiving are all present. If one theme trumps the others, it seems that thanksgiving is the constant theme alluded to. The meal began as an ancient Mediterranean banquet, but moved away from the actual banquet due to practical considerations.

The preaching and reading from the word were always present, but became more central around the second or third generation. According to McGowan, the more textualized community and approach to revelatory discourse was accompanied by increasing authoritative exposition of texts.

Song was a regular part of Christian worship, although there is diversity, while dance was more unpredictable. Although not a great deal is known about Graeco-Roman music generally, the music does seem to be a vehicle for the expression of thought and feelings, and the focus was typically more verbal than musical. It does seem that dancing occurred in early Christian gatherings by an account from Clement, yet dancing becomes more public and controversial in the fourth century.

"Baptism as an initiatory action was almost universal in earliest Christianity" (p.135). Although the symbol began from the assumption of complete bathing, infant baptism began to be practiced early but was not completely normalized until the 6th century. The question of who baptizes was also debated. Ignatius thought it was to be done only by bishops, while Tertullian that it was the right of all Christians.

Prayer for the first Christians involved more than forming individual words or ideas. It was a communal task as well as highly personal and many times a matter of body as well as the mind. The

erect stance with extended arms and eyes raised was a typical posture of prayer in this time period.

Although from the NT evidence, it may seem that Christians were relatively disinterested in time. McGowan argues for a development and gradual formation of Christian culture around times and seasons based on an acknowledgement of God's sovereignty over all things—including time.

The need for this type of book seems so obvious, one wonders why it had not been written before. The greatest value of this book is the clustering together of topics under a tight historical banner. No longer does one need to comb through each church Father or even do word searches through Scripture, because McGowan has provided texts, analysis, and synthesis of ancient Christian worship practices.

McGowan is also careful to describe practices, and not slip into prescription. It was refreshing to read a book where the aim was to lay out the evidence and let the reader come to his or her own conclusion. All data is interpreted data, and McGowan had to do a fair bit of interpreting, but his interpretation always seemed balanced and aimed away from arguing a particular perspective. With so many books yelling, "thinks this" or "do this," McGowan's book comes nicely alongside with a quiet footstep but an authoritative stride.

This evenhandedness comes up the most in his conclusions. Regularly he notes the diversity of practice on a certain issue. For example, "The Eucharist is a field of Christian practice characterized by diversity and not just a single idea represented in bread and wine" (p.62). "At the earliest point, the opportunities for discourse and reflection were somewhat open" (p.78). "Both continuity and change are evident across the first few centuries of Christian baptismal practice" (p.182). Other citations could be given, but the sense one gets

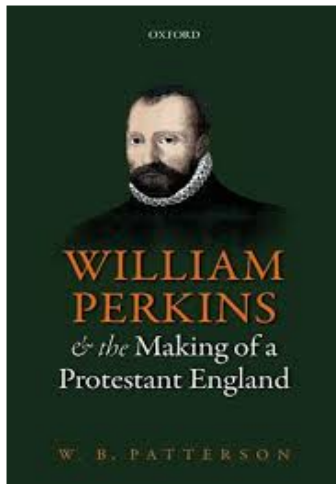
is not a scholar who is wary of conclusions, but rather one is careful to weigh all the available evidence.

Each tradition will find uncomfortable items in this book. Statements like the following will naturally cause disturbance for some, and confirm practices for others. I am summarizing rather than quoting.

- The Eucharist was the central part of the service in the early church.
- Sunday was at a very early point the day of meeting.
- Instruments were used in services, but sparingly, and seemed to mainly serve the words.
- Early evidence is that baptism was the immersion of the whole person.
- Some of the messages seemed to be dialogical rather than monological.
- The adherence of times and seasons developed over time and was not coherent across geographical and cultural barriers.
- Dance seems to be part of services at an early stage.
- Weddings didn't become typical events for church celebration for many centuries.

Although some of these are debatable, it is clear that McGowan's aim is to survey the evidence and provide a resource for those wishing to learn about the practices of the early church. In this task he succeeded.

Patrick Schreiner, Ph.D.
Western Seminary



W. B. Patterson
William Perkins and the Making of Protestant England

Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014

Pp. 288. ISBN: 978-0-19-968152-5. $105 [Hardback]. Purchase

Andrew S. Ballitch
Southern Baptist Theological Seminary

W. B. Patterson's *William Perkins and the Making of Protestant England* is the fruit of decades of immersion in the world of Early Modern Britain. His book is an introduction to one of the foremost thinkers of the Elizabethan period and a repositioning of the man in the later English Reformation and therefore the formation of England as a Protestant nation.

Patterson's central thesis is that Perkins was not a Puritan, that is, one chafing under the officially prescribed worship forms and authority structures of the Church of England, but one of the most important mainstream English reformers. He defends this thesis by first placing Perkins and his work in the historical context of the Elizabethan Settlement, which he demonstrates was quite unsettled by Roman Catholics without and unsatisfied Protestants within. Perkins was suspected of Puritan sympathies, but these were unfounded according to Patterson. Rather, Perkins was the chief apologist for the

Church of England. Salvation was the most widely discussed theological issue of the time and Perkins was the leading English writer on the topic. His extensive work on the subject was consistent with the Thirty-Nine Articles. Perkins was a pioneer in casuistry, being the first Protestant in England and one of the first Protestants in Europe to publish on issues of conscience. He was a proponent of plain style and his influential preaching manual was the first written in English since the Reformation. Furthermore, his pursuit of social justice emphasized both individual and communal responsibility. Vocation and family, for Perkins, was of lasting importance for English culture.

Perkins was a major figure on the English scene for at least half a century after his untimely death in 1602. This is clear from repeated attacks and defenses of his work. Patterson traces Perkins's legacy through the striking figures for the publication of his books and the generation of English clergy he helped train. His works were not only the most prominent in England, but earned him a place at the European theological table. In sum, Perkins's career as preacher, teacher, and writer "transmitted a vision of the Christian life that was long at the heart of English Protestantism" (p.5).

Patterson persuasively argues that Perkins was loyal to the Church of England. At this point he is affirming the majority position among scholars. Yes, Perkins was a proponent for the established church. Yes, he spurned the term Puritan, which was a derogatory label during Elizabeth's reign. Yes, his two appearances before the authorities for non-conformity are lacking in source material and quickly blew over. Yes, his Calvinism was consistent with the establishment of his time. But do these realities negate his Puritan label? If Puritan is defined strictly as active opposition to the established church, as Patterson defines it, then yes. However, this is not entirely helpful. There were two primary reasons why later

Puritans, non-conformists, and dissenters claimed Perkins as their forefather: his piety and the reality that he would not have fit comfortably in the Church of England under the Stuart monarchs. Further, while Perkins was not an active opponent of the established church, he was an active proponent of further spiritual reformation. Patterson's dichotomy between loyal member of the Church of England and Puritan needs further proof.

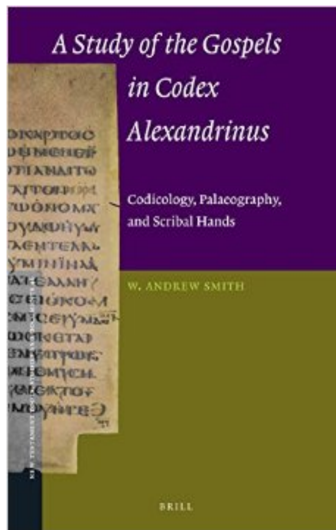
Otherwise, Patterson's treatment of Perkins is incredibly valuable. Though several of the chapters were published previously in other forms, the book is held together by a coherent argument. His organization ensures that he addresses both the popular and lesser-known topics within Perkins's corpus. Perkins's writings on predestination and preaching are well known, while his apologetic, conscience, and social justice writings are dealt with less often. Patterson also uniquely incorporates the often-minimized polemics against Perkins after his death by Jacob Arminius and William Bishop. For each of these subjects within Perkins, Patterson draws on a range of the pertinent primary sources and pulls in an extensive amount of secondary material. One significant exception to this is the almost total omission of Perkins's actual sermons, which make up a large portion of his extant material. This absence is apparent even in the chapter on preaching. On the whole, each chapter is extremely well researched.

Part of legitimizing a Protestant England was connecting it with the past and Patterson rightfully emphasizes this. Perkins incorporated Christians from the Middle Ages to show continuity, but the primary battleground was the patristic era. In *A Reformed Catholike*, an apologetic piece, he cites various Church Fathers in defense of Church of England positions. In his systematic exposition of the Apostles Creed, he stresses and attempts to demonstrate that his interpretation is consistent with the orthodox Fathers. Perkins

extensively cites Patristic sources in his defense of predestination. Essentially, to be an effective apologist or theologian during this period, one had to be a patristic scholar. Perkins exhibits his capability in his work *Problema de Romanae fidei ementito Catholicismo*, which dealt with the importance and reliability of the writings of the ancient church.

Patterson's book fills a void as the first major scholarly treatment of Perkins and his thought as a whole. Further, it offers a revision of the commonly held interpretation of Perkins as a Puritan. It is welcomed by students of Early Modern Britain and related fields due to the former, and the latter will likely result in a refreshing of the conversation. It proves accessible, rewarding, and of interest to a variety of non-specialists.

Andrew S. Ballitch
Southern Baptist Theological Seminary



W. Andrew Smith
A Study of the Gospels in Codex Alexandrinus: Codicology, Palaeography, and Scribal Hands (New Testament Tools, Studies and Documents 48)

Leiden: Brill, 2014

Pp. x + 384. ISBN: 978-90-04-26783-1. $163.00 [Hardback]. Purchase

Elijah Hixson
University of Edinburgh

This book is a revised version of W. Andrew Smith's PhD thesis completed at the University of Edinburgh under Larry Hurtado. Smith gives a fresh analysis of Codex Alexandrinus with an eye to two questions: how many scribes were at work in the Gospels, and is there evidence in the manuscript to suggest it originated in Egypt? The book breaks from the pattern among recent monograph-length manuscript studies in that it does not address the content or quality of the text of Codex Alexandrinus. Instead, this book shows how much usually goes *unwritten* in manuscript studies, namely, information about non-textual features, palaeography and orthography.

In his meticulous analysis, Smith overturns two long-held positions about Codex Alexandrinus. Skeat and Milne (see Appendix II, "Scribes of the Codex Alexandrinus," in *Scribes and Correctors of the Codex Sinaiticus* [London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1938], pp. 91–

4) were incorrect in assigning all four Gospels—and consequently, all of the New Testament except Revelation—to a single scribe. Smith demonstrates by the non-textual features and palaeography that two scribes, each of whom had similar but distinct characteristics, were responsible for the production of the Gospels in Codex Alexandrinus. Moreover, the orthography of the codex is not consistent with the orthography of contemporary Egyptian Greek, so it must have been produced elsewhere. The book is organized into four chapters, each covering a distinct aspect of Codex Alexandrinus.

In the first chapter, Smith presents a well-argued reconstruction of the timeline of Codex Alexandrinus as it passed from place to place before arriving at its current location in the British Library. Smith is appropriately cautious when the facts do not allow confident judgments, but when they do, the book can seem to an interested reader more like the forensic report of an exciting detective case than a dry academic monograph. Using notes written into the text and margins of Codex Alexandrinus throughout the centuries, Smith weaves together the history of the manuscript—what can be known with certainty, what can be reasonably suggested, and what must remain uncertain.

In the second chapter, Smith discusses quires, margins, page wear and titles, as well as writing area and even how the edges of Codex Alexandrinus have been trimmed. By studying these aspects of the manuscript, Smith is able to reconstruct even more of its history. Although it is presently bound in four volumes in the British Library, Smith shows that it was not always so bound. Additionally, Smith has identified two additional leaves unnoticed by previous scholars. Foreshadowing what he argues more fully in the following chapter, Smith shows how the layout of the New Testament leaves is better explained by its being the work of multiple scribes, not one.

Smith solidifies his conclusions of multiple scribes at work in the Gospels and a non-Egyptian provenance of Codex Alexandrinus in his final two chapters. Milne and Skeat's "single-scribe theory" of Codex Alexandrinus has largely gone unchallenged. However, the differences in individual letterforms found in Codex Alexandrinus are better explained as the work of two scribes than of one, as Smith demonstrates with copious pictures accompanying discussion. Minor differences in the tailpiece designs and the frequency of error observed in the Eusebian apparatus in the margins of the manuscript also support this conclusion. Smith also gives an analysis of the unit delimitation and orthography (paragraphing and spelling) patterns in the Gospels in Codex Alexandrinus. By comparing orthographic changes in Codex Alexandrinus with what one would expect to find in typical Egyptian Greek of the same period, Smith dispels the position that Codex Alexandrinus has an Egyptian provenance.

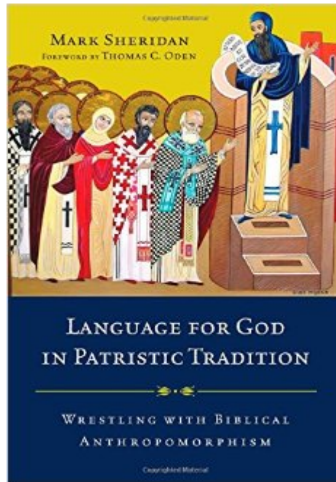
There are some features of the book that might deter a reader who is more familiar with general New Testament studies than with manuscript studies and textual criticism. Smith does not discuss the text of Codex Alexandrinus—its content, its quality or where it sits within the stream of transmission of the New Testament. This book is concerned with other features of the manuscript. Smith does occasionally use undefined technical language with which the non-specialist might not be familiar—*ductus* or *hastas*, for example. Undefined terminology is concentrated in the palaeography chapter; where there is scholarly debate about the precise meaning of a term, Smith does define it. These features should not be seen as weaknesses of the book. Non-specialist readers should be aware of those features before diving in, but to those interested in the study of biblical manuscripts, Smith's content and terminology are exactly what should be expected from a work of such excellent caliber.

Smith has also done his readers an immense favour by including numerous images of Codex Alexandrinus, many of which are even in colour. This aspect of the book is especially useful in the palaeography chapter. As Smith discusses the differences in letterforms from one scribe to the next, he places writing samples of each scribe side-by-side so that his readers can see the differences with their own eyes. The same holds true with Smith's treatment of tailpiece designs.

Likewise, the appendices to the work are very helpful references. Smith has indexed not only the Gospels, but also the entire codex and created a chart to help one locate a text in any part of the manuscript. His orthographic and Eusebian apparatus data are reproduced in full in the appendices. For those interested in how early manuscripts can aide in exegesis, Appendix E lists every occurrence of a paragraph division in the Gospels in Codex Alexandrinus. The way a scribe divided the text can shed light on how he or she interpreted it, and Smith has given his readers an excellent resource for determining how the scribes of this important fifth-century manuscript placed paragraph divisions in the Gospels.

In conclusion, W. Andrew Smith is to be commended for his excellent and meticulous study. Smith has shown how much a manuscript's non-textual and paratextual features can reveal about its scribes and its history. This book is to be recommended to anyone who studies New Testament manuscripts. Those who study Codex Alexandrinus will find this work to be essential.

Elijah Hixson, Th.M.
University of Edinburgh



Mark Sheridan
Language for God in Patristic Tradition: Wrestling with Biblical Anthropomorphism

Downers Grove: IVP Academic, 2015

Pp. 254. ISBN: 978-0-8308-4064-9. $26.00 [Paperback]. Purchase

J. Daniel McDonald
Daymar College and Boyce College

> *"God is not as man to be deceived nor as the son of man to be threatened" (Num 23:19).*
>
> *"As a man he takes on the manners of his son" (Deut 1:31).*[1]

One of the most recent publications on the interpretation of Scripture by ancient Christian writers is Mark Sheridan's *Language for God in Patristic Tradition: Wrestling with Biblical Anthropomorphism* published by IVP Academic. This text engages with ancient Christian writers and their interpretation of biblical anthropomorphisms, as well as the broader discussion of modern interpretation methods and the call to recover the theological interpretation of Scripture.

[1] These two verses appear at the beginning of chapter one. According to Sheridan, they are cited as cited by Origen (27fn1).

The introduction sets the framework for the book by discussing the hermeneutic of ancient philosophers and theologians regarding passages that attribute human attributes to divinity. Like the Greek philosophers with Homer's works and Jewish commentators with the Pentateuch, ancient Christian writers sought to avoid any literal interpretation of anthropomorphisms that was not "worthy of God." Such interpretations could have disastrous effects on a Christian's spiritual life and should be avoided (p.19). Passages that consisted of anthropomorphisms and anthropopathisms ought to be interpreted theologically. Sheridan points out that "theology" in ancient writings refers to any discussion on the nature of God or of divinity. Ancient Christians interpreted Scripture from the point of view of a certain understanding of God (p.19–20); any interpretation ought to fit within a proper view of God and his nature.

Chapter one sets forth the interpretive guide for ancient Christian writers as illustrated in Origen, who "left an indelible mark on all later patristic exegesis" (p.29). With Num 23:19 and Deut 1:31 in mind (quoted above), Origen claimed that any anthropomorphic language used of God signified his taking on the manner of humans for pedagogical reasons. That is, God speaks of himself in ways to which man can relate so that he can understand. Any passage that is not in accord with God when interpreted literally is to be explained by virtue of God's condescension and accommodation to man.

The theological interpretation of Scripture involved the use of allegory, a method rooted in Greek philosophy and employed by Hellenistic Jewish theologians. Chapter two introduces the development of allegory in Greek thought. Though Homer's *The Odyssey* and *The Iliad* were staples of Greek culture for centuries, later generations viewed the portrayal of the gods as scandalous. Philosophers such as Xenophanes, Plato, Pseudo-Hereaclitus, and

Cicero developed allegory as a means of interpretation so as "to remove the scandal" (p.46). Chapter three focuses on the use of allegory by Hellenistic Jewish interpretation of Scripture. By at least the third century B.C., Mosaic Law began to be translated into Greek by the Jews in Alexandria. As the Pentateuch began to be read by a "cultured, philosophically oriented, non-Jewish public," Jews saw the need to defend and explain its teachings (p.61). Jewish interpreters such as the author of the *Letter of Aristeas*, Aristobulus, and Philo of Alexandria defended the interpretation of what is "worthy of" or "fitting for" God. According to the author of the *Letter of Aristeas*, God's prohibition of certain animals in the Law is not due to the mere concern about "mice and weasels"; rather, such prohibitions "represent higher moral principles with which the supreme power is concerned" (p.63). Aristobulus defended Moses from the charge of *alogia*—"unreasonable or senseless interpretations" resulting from the literal translations of anthropomorphisms found throughout Scripture (p.63). Deeper meanings are to be found in these passages. Finally, Philo of Alexandria states that some statements about God are not to be accepted if not interpreted allegorically. Further, allegory is to be used on those passages that depict holy people exhibiting unholy behavior (e.g., Sarah giving her maid, Hagar, to Abraham).

Chapter four illustrates how certain New Testament interpretations of Old Testament passages were later viewed by ancient Christian writers as models for further interpretation of Scripture (p.81). Sheridan specifically focuses on Matt 5:31–32 where Jesus appears to change OT teaching on divorce, particularly in light of v. 17 wherein Jesus claims that he has not come to change the Law. Other passages include Matt 15:11 in which Jesus criticizes the dietary laws and those in which Jesus is said to be greater than Moses and the prophets. For early Christian thinkers, these passages highlighted that

Jesus Christ is the key for understanding all of Scripture, particularly the OT. Paul was also used as guidance for interpretation, particularly his use of allegory in 1 Cor 9:8–10 and 10:1–11, 2 Cor 3:15–18, and Gal 4:22–26.

Having set the background for the use of allegory in the interpretation of anthropomorphisms, Sheridan turns his focus to ancient Christian writers such as Clement of Alexandria, Origen of Alexandria, Eusebius of Caesarea, Didymus the Blind, Augustine, and John Cassian. Chapter five introduces what these particular writers averred the theological interpretation of Scripture and the use of allegory. The idea that God adapts to human ways of speaking serves as a common thread among these writers. Chapters six and seven focus on specific problematic passages in the OT, passages that posed an interpretive challenge regarding the transcendence of God; it then related how these Christian writers interpreted them in a way "worthy of" God. Chapter six deals with Gen 1–4 (creation and the Fall), Gen 16 (the story of Sarah and Hagar), and the passages in Deuteronomy and Joshua that tell of Israel's wiping out the nations. For difficult passages such as these, the early Christian writers insisted that their real meaning must be something useful "for us"; that is, it must be edifying and convey useful teaching "on the level of faith and morals" (p.127). Chapter seven focuses on the book of Psalms, particularly those that entreat the Lord to rise against the psalmist's enemies. Sheridan points out that there are seventy such psalms that have given Christians—both past and present—difficulty. To interpret them in a manner "worthy of" God, ancient Christian writers used various strategies of interpretation, including identifying the original speaker, reading the psalm as prophecy, and interpreting the psalm allegorically.

After surveying the use of theological interpretation of Scripture in the early church, chapter eight applies the study to the twenty-first

century by comparing and contrasting the concerns of theologians throughout the ages. Using chapter six as a point of reference, Sheridan surveys interpretive approaches modern theologians in Gen 1–4, Gen 16, and passages in Deuteronomy and Joshua on Israel's wiping out the nations. He concludes that while such approaches have value, they fail to consider the theological problems of the texts. Determining the original meaning of the text, albeit helpful, is insufficient for the believer. Modern thinkers would do well by recovering the method favored by ancient Christians for a fuller grasp of Scripture's meaning for Christians—an issue that *always* involves theology. Sheridan closes out his book with an appendix in which he discusses the presuppositions of ancient Christian writers about the nature of the text of Scripture, their criteria for a correct interpretation of Scripture, and some rules of interpretation.

Sheridan's *Language for God* is a must-read in ancient Christian studies. Though it is a survey of ancient Christian interpretation of biblical anthropomorphisms (as opposed to an in-depth study), Sheridan's narrow focus allows him to provide example interpretations of Scripture from a large sample of early Christian writers. The end result is that the reader gains a clear picture of the prevalent method of interpretation of Scripture by Christians of the early church. Furthermore, the appendix in which Sheridan expounds upon the presuppositions underlying the theological interpretation employed by ancient Christians. Here Sheridan grounds the examples provided in earlier chapters, illustrating how early Christian thinkers arrived at their interpretations of biblical anthropomorphisms.

Two weaknesses can be noted in Sheridan's work. First, chapter two's discussion on how Greek philosophers handled anthropomorphisms is helpful insomuch as it illustrates that the problem is not isolated to Christians alone. However, Sheridan seems

to imply that ancient Christian writers were influenced by Greek philosophers regarding the use of analogy in theological interpretation. This notion in turn might imply that early Christianity is only an extension of Greek philosophy. Whether this is Sheridan's intention or not, his work could be strengthened by explicitly explaining the link he seeks to make. If Christianity indeed borrowed their interpretative method from the Greeks, does this taint Christian interpretation of Scripture or injure Christian witness? If there was no borrowing by ancient Christian writers, then what significance is there in the similar interpretive approaches, and where does the difference lie?

Second, Sheridan's attempt to connect the past with the present in chapter eight is limited: while it can offer an understanding of different interpretation methods, it is less helpful on the value of theological interpretation today. The contrast between ancient and modern interpretations of various passages is illuminating as he clearly notes the difference of concerns between ancient and modern writers. However, in his concluding reflections, Sheridan only states the need to recover theological interpretation. Furthermore, he fails to link his work to the modern Theological Interpretation of Scripture movement (TIS). What connection is there, if any, between ancient theological interpretation and TIS? His work would be clearer if it showed how theological interpretation helpfully speaks into the pressing issues of interpretation today.

Despite these weaknesses, *Language for God in Patristic Tradition* helps to root contemporary discussion on the nature of Scripture in the wider discussion that spans Christian history. Though specific concerns faced by Christians change over time, the nature of these problems remain the same; it behooves modern Christian thinkers,

then, to discover how the ancient Christian writers can inform today's their work.

J. Daniel McDonald, Ph.D.
Daymar College and Boyce College

Anatolios, Khaled, ed. *The Holy Trinity in the Life of the Church*. Holy Cross Studies in Patristic Theology and History. Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2014. Pp. 272. ISBN: 978-0801048975. $27.00 [Paperback].

Beeley, Christopher A. *Leading God's People: Wisdom from the Early Church for Today*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2012. Pp. 161. ISBN: 978-0802867001. $20.00 [Paperback].

Bons, Eberhard, Ralph Brucker, and Jan Joosten, eds. *The Reception of Septuagint Words in Jewish-Hellenistic and Christian Literature*. Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen Zum Neuen Testament 2. Reihe 367. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014. Pp. 200. ISBN: 978-3161529535. $200.00 [Paperback].

Bray, Gerald. *God Has Spoken: A History of Christian Theology*. Wheaton, IL: Crossway, 2014. Pp. 1264. ISBN: 978-1433526947. $55.00 [Hardcover].

Briggman, Anthony. *Irenaeus of Lyons and the Theology of the Holy Spirit*. Oxford Early Christian Studies. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012. Pp. 320. ISBN: 978-0199641536. $125.00 [Hardcover].

Clark, Elizabeth A. *Founding the Fathers: Early Church History and Protestant Professors in Nineteenth-Century America*. Pennsylvania, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011. Pp. 576. ISBN: 978-0812243192. $69.95 [Hardcover].

Clivaz, Claire, Andrew Gregory, and David Hamidović, eds. *Digital Humanities in Biblical, Early Jewish and Early Christian Studies*.

Scholarly Communication 2. Leiden: Brill, 2014. Pp. 275. ISBN: 978-9004264328. $142.00 [Hardcover].

Conley, Aaron D. *We Are Who We Think We Were: Christian History and Christian Ethics*. Emerging Scholars Series. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 2013. Pp. 224. ISBN: 978-1451469318. $59.00 [Paperback].

Cyril of Alexandria. *Commentary on John*. Edited by Joel C. Elowsky. Translated by David R. Maxwell. Vol. 1. Ancient Christian Texts. Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 2013. Pp. 426. ISBN: 978-0830829125. $60.00 [Hardcover].

Danielou, Jean. *Philo of Alexandria*. Translated by James G. Colbert. Eugene, OR: Cascade Books, n.d. Pp. 202. ISBN: 978-1625644299. $23.00 [Paperback].

English, Adam C. *The Saint Who Would Be Santa Claus: The True Life and Trials of Nicholas of Myra*. Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2012. Pp. 242. ISBN: 978-1602586345. $29.95 [Hardcover].

Freeman, Philip. *The World of Saint Patrick*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014. Pp. 240. ISBN: 978-0199372584. $21.95 [Hardcover].

Green, Joel B., and Lee Martin McDonald, eds. *The World of the New Testament: Cultural, Social, and Historical Contexts*. Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2013. Pp. 640. ISBN: 978-0801039621. $49.99 [Hardcover].

Hartog, Paul A., ed. *Orthodoxy and Heresy in Early Christian Contexts: Reconsidering the Bauer Thesis*. Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2015. Pp. 288. ISBN: 978-1610975049. $32.00 [Paperback].

Israelowich, Ido. *Patients and Healers in the High Roman Empire*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2015. Pp. 208. ISBN: 978-1421416281. $59.95 [Hardcover].

Layton, Bentley. *The Canons of Our Fathers: Monastic Rules of Shenoute*. Oxford Early Christian Studies. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014. Pp. 384. ISBN: 978-0199582631. $145.00 [Hardcover].

Levering, Matthew. *The Theology of Augustine: An Introductory Guide to His Most Important Works*. Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2013. Pp. 224. ISBN: 978-0801048487. $26.00 [Paperback].

Litfin, Bryan M. *Early Christian Martyr Stories: An Evangelical Introduction with New Translations*. Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2014. Pp. 192. ISBN: 978-0801049583. $19.99 [Paperback].

Loader, William. *Making Sense of Sex: Attitudes towards Sexuality in Early Jewish and Christian Literature*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2013. Pp. 176. ISBN: 978-0802870957. $24.00 [Paperback].

Mcconnell, Timothy P. *Illumination in Basil of Caesarea's Doctrine of the Holy Spirit*. Emerging Scholars Series. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 2014. Pp. 250. ISBN: 978-1451482775. $59.00 [Paperback].

McGowan, Andrew B. *Ancient Christian Worship: Early Church Practices in Social, Historical, and Theological Perspective*. Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2014. Pp. 320. ISBN: 978-0801031526. $34.99 [Hardcover].

Muehlberger, Ellen. *Angels in Late Ancient Christianity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013. Pp. 296. ISBN: 978-0199931934. $69.00 [Hardcover].

Oden, Thomas C. *A Change of Heart: A Personal and Theological Memoir*. Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 2014. Pp. 384. ISBN: 978-0830840359. $40.00 [Hardcover].

Parsons, Stuart E. *Ancient Apologetic Exegesis: Introducing and Recovering Theophilus's World*. Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2015. Pp. 254. ISBN: 978-1625648099. $29.00 [Paperback].

Pelikan, Jaroslav. *The Excellent Empire: The Fall of Rome and the Triumph of the Church*. Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2014. Pp. 152. ISBN: 978-1625646460. $17.00 [Paperback].

Radcliff, Jason Robert. *Thomas F. Torrance and the Church Fathers: A Reformed, Evangelical, and Ecumenical Reconstruction of the Patristic Tradition*. Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2014. Pp. 248. ISBN: 978-1625646033. $28.00 [Paperback].

Rea, Robert F. *Why Church History Matters: An Invitation to Love and Learn from Our Past*. Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 2014. Pp. 233 ISBN: 978-0830828197. $20.00 [Paperback].

Rutherford, Janet Elaine, ed. *The Beauty of God's Presence in the Fathers of the Church: The Proceedings of the Eighth International Patristic Conference, Maynooth, 2012*. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2014. Pp. 288. ISBN: 978-1846825293. $74.50 [Hardcover].

Scherbenske, Eric W. *Canonizing Paul: Ancient Editorial Practice and the Corpus Paulinum*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013. Pp. 400. ISBN: 978-0199917341. $78.00 [Hardcover].

Sheridan, Mark. *Language for God in Patristic Tradition: Wrestling with Biblical Anthropomorphism*. Downers Grove: IVP Academic, 2015. Pp. 256. ISBN: 978-0830840649. $26.00 [Paperback].

Simpson, Ray. *Aidan of Lindisfarne: Irish Flame Warms a New World*. Resource Publications, 2014. Pp. 226. ISBN: 978-1625647627. $25.00 [Paperback].

Smither, Edward L. *Mission in the Early Church: Themes and Reflections*. Eugene, OR: Cascade Books, 2014. Pp. 188. ISBN: 978-1610975216. $22.00 [Paperback].

———., ed. *Rethinking Constantine: History, Theology, and Legacy*. Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2014. Pp. 178. ISBN: 978-1620321881. $20.00 [Paperback].

Smith, Geoffrey S. *Guilt by Association: Heresy Catalogues in Early Christianity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014. Pp. 216. ISBN: 978-0199386789. $74.00 [Hardcover].

Smith, W. Andrew. *A Study of the Gospels in Codex Alexandrinus: Codicology, Palaeography, and Scribal Hands*. New Testament Tools, Studies and Documents 48. Leiden: Brill, 2013. Pp. 384. ISBN: 978-9004267831. $163.00 [Hardcover].

Spellman, Ched. *Toward a Canon-Conscious Reading of the Bible: Exploring the History and Hermeneutics of the Canon*. New Testament Monographs 34. Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2014. Pp. 294. ISBN: 978-1909697263. $110.00 [Hardcover].

Stang, Charles M. *Apophasis and Pseudonymity in Dionysius the Areopagite: "No Longer I."* Oxford Early Christian Studies. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012. Pp. 272. ISBN: 978-0199640423. $110.00 [Hardcover].

Stewart, Alistair C. *The Original Bishops: Office and Order in the First Christian Communities*. Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2014. Pp. 416. ISBN: 978-0801049217. $50.00 [Hardcover].

Tabbernee, William. *Early Christianity in Contexts: An Exploration across Cultures and Continents*. Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2014. Pp. 640. ISBN: 978-0801031267. $42.99 [Hardcover].

Toner, Jerry, and Mary Beard. *The Roman Guide to Slave Management: A Treatise by Nobleman Marcus Sidonius Falx*. New York: Overlook Books, 2012. Pp. 192. ISBN: 978-1468309379. $24.95 [Hardcover/Paperback].

Tonias, Demetrios E. *Abraham in the Works of John Chrysostom*. Emerging Scholars Series. Philadelphia: Fortress, 2014. Pp. 226. ISBN: 978-1451473056 $59.00 [Paperback]

Twombly, Charles C. *Perichoresis and Personhood: God, Christ, and Salvation in John of Damascus*. Princeton Theological Monograph Series. Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2015. Pp. 134. ISBN: 978-1620321805. $16.00 [Paperback].

Information for Contributions to the Journal

Fides et Humilitas: The Journal of the Center for Ancient Christian Studies

We invite contributions to the following areas:

- Septuagint Studies
- Second Temple Judaism
- New Testament Studies
- Early Christian Studies
- Patristic Hermeneutics
- Theology and Ethics (Early Christianity)
- Review Essays

Correspondence

- Correspondence and paper submission should be directed to either Coleman F. Ford or Shawn J. Wilhite; e-mail: ancientchristianstudies@gmail.com.

Submission Instructions

- All manuscripts submitted for publication in *Fides et Humilitas* should be carefully edited, grammatically coherent, cogently argued, and contribute to their respective field.
- All submissions must be delivered in a Microsoft Word file or RTF document.
- Place full name, degree, and current institution on the title page. Do not put name in the article for blind review.

Format and Presentation of the Paper

- Articles should begin with an abstract of 100–150 words.
- Article submissions should be between 2,000 and 6,000 words in length.
- Use primary and secondary headings.

Fonts and Foreign Languages

- Use Gentium Font for all articles.
- Use the available SBL Fonts for foreign and biblical languages.
- Quotations from other languages (e.g. German, French, Latin, etc.) should also be translated along with the original text.

Biblical Abbreviations

- When quoting canonical and non-canonical texts, consult Patrick H. Alexander, et al., eds. *The SBL Handbook of Style for Ancient Near Eastern, Biblical, and Early Christian Studies* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1999).
    - When references begin a sentence, fully spell the source. E.g., Matthew 7:6 says...
    - When references do not begin a sentence, abbreviate the source. E.g., As Matt 7:6 says... or (*Did*. 9:5)
    - All references in the footnotes must be abbreviated regardless if they begin a sentence.

Footnotes

- Chicago Style (Turabian) is required throughout the article.
- Footnotes only; no endnotes.
- No *ibid.* Use Shortened forms on all repeating entries: Last Name, *Shortened Title*, page #.