



MJT
FACULTY

MIDWESTERN JOURNAL OF THEOLOGY

SPRING 2008 | VOL. 6 NO. 2

MIDWESTERN BAPTIST THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

Midwestern Journal of Theology

Published biannually by the Faculty of Midwestern Baptist Theological Seminary

ISSN: 1543-6977

Editorial Board

R. Philip Roberts, Executive Editor
Thorvald B. Madsen II, Academic Editor
Terry L. Wilder, Managing Editor
N. Blake Hearson, Book Review Editor

Cover Design
Cherie Peltier

Future Issues:

Fall 2008—TBA

The *Midwestern Journal of Theology* is published biannually by Midwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, Kansas City, MO, 64118, and printed by The Covington Group, Kansas City, MO. Information about the journal is available at the seminary's website: <http://www.mbts.edu>.

The *Midwestern Journal of Theology* is indexed in the *Southern Baptist Periodical Index*, Southwest Baptist University Library, 1600 University Avenue, Bolivar, MO, 65613.

Address all editorial correspondence to: Editor, *Midwestern Journal of Theology*, 5001 N. Oak Trafficway, Midwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, Kansas City, Missouri, 64118.

Address books, software, and other media for review to Book Review Editor, *Midwestern Journal of Theology*, 5001 N. Oak Trafficway, Midwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, Kansas City, MO, 64118.

The views expressed in the following articles and reviews are not necessarily those of the Faculty, the Administration, or the Trustees of Midwestern Baptist Theological Seminary.

© Copyright 2008

All rights reserved by Midwestern Baptist Theological Seminary

MIDWESTERN JOURNAL OF THEOLOGY

Volume 6

Spring 2008

No. 2

CONTENTS

| | | |
|--|--------------------|----|
| Editorial | | 2 |
| Articles: | | |
| The Evangelistic Zeal of Reformation Geneva (1533-1560) as Exemplified in Crespin's Martyrology | Thomas P. Johnston | 3 |
| Isaiah 2:1-5 and Micah 4:1-5: An Exegetical and Comparative Study | N. Blake Hearson | 36 |
| Revelation: Christian Epilogue to the Jewish Scriptures | Radu Gheorghiuță | 55 |
| Hear Christ and His Word: A Sermon on John 5:24 by Scottish Baptist Preacher, Peter Grant <i>of the Songs</i> | Terry L. Wilder | 67 |
| Book Reviews | | 72 |
| Book Review Index | | 90 |
| List of Publishers | | 91 |

Editorial

This issue is devoted to several articles written by various faculty members of Midwestern Baptist Theological Seminary. Each is committed to scholarship in the service of Christ and the church.

Dr. Tom Johnston, associate professor of evangelism, furnishes an article on the impact of the martyrology of Jean Crespin, a publisher and lawyer for the French parliament in the sixteenth century. Johnston maintains that his martyrology provides the context for understanding Reformation Geneva's methodology and theology of evangelism.

Dr. Blake Hearson, assistant professor of Old Testament and Hebrew at MBTS, provides an exegetical and comparative study on Isaiah 2:1-5 and Micah 4:1-5. The paper serves as a model for students to do papers of this kind.

Dr. Radu Gheorghită, associate professor of biblical studies, contributes an article in which he advances the idea that John wrote the book of Revelation as a Christian epilogue to the Hebrew Scriptures. He holds that John offered a closure by providing an integration of the Jewish Scriptures, having many points left in suspension, with the new revelation in Christ.

I have contributed a transcribed sermon and communion service from a collection of unpublished writings by the nineteenth-century Scottish Baptist, Peter Grant of the Songs, a hymn-writer, pastor and preacher in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland for sixty years.

If you would like to have a Midwestern Seminary faculty member speak in your church, please do not hesitate to contact us. We are more than happy to serve you.

Enjoy!

Terry L. Wilder, Ph.D.
Managing Editor

The Evangelistic Zeal of Reformation Geneva (1533-1560) as Exemplified in Crespin's Martyrology

Thomas P. Johnston

*Associate Professor of Evangelism
Midwestern Baptist Theological Seminary
Kansas City, MO 64118*

Abstract

Jean Crespin, a lawyer for the French parliament and publisher, wrote a martyrology in 1570 entitled "History of the True Witnesses to the Truthfulness of the Gospel, Who with Their Blood Signed, from John Hus to the Present Time." The thesis of this article is that, just as the book of Acts provides the context for understanding the epistles of Paul, so Crespin's martyrology provides the context for understanding Reformation Geneva's methodology and theology of evangelism.

The following are two short excerpts from Jean Crespin's 1570 *Histoire des vrais tesmoins de la verite de l'evangile, qui de leur sang l'ont signée, depuis Jean Hus iusques autemps present* [or "History of the True Witnesses to the Truthfulness of the Gospel, Who with Their Blood Signed, from John Hus to the Present Time"] published in Geneva:

Michel, called Miquelot, of Tournay (1547)

As far as the account of this martyr, there is an answer worthy of being noted: wherein excellent people have alleged in preaching, as a word spoken by the Spirit of the Lord.

At about the same time Michel, commonly called Miquelot, native of Froyenne, town near Tournay, young assistant tailor, after having been for a certain time in Geneva, returned to his own country, where he did not stay long without being persecuted for the doctrine of the Gospel, which he had made manifest to many. Being a prisoner in Tournay by the enemies of the same, before the definitive sentence of death, was proposed the choice of two: or to have his head removed (according to the posters of the Emperor) in the case that he wanted to recant, or to be burned alive over a small fire if he persisted in his propositions. Miquelot on this offer responded easily answering without asking for time to respond, "Sirs," said he, "the One who has given me the honor of patiently enduring for his name, will surely give me the grace to endure

the fire.” He was burned in the said Tournay, and his death provided edification to those from the Tournay country.¹

Pierre de la Vau, of Languedoc (1554)

Notable constancy as the preceding [martyr] as to the question that the enemies extraordinarily present to accuse those who have the same profession of the Gospel.

Of Pierre de la Vau, native of Pantillac, five leagues from Toulouse, [his] death and constancy in the torments was of renown among the faithful in this same year 1554. He was by trade a cobbler: but as for the rest served the Word of God, and was well instructed in the same. For when he was constituted prisoner in the town of Nimes, after having for a long time maintained the truth of the Gospel, they sought to force him to accuse the faithful ones of whom he had knowledge; it pleased him more to endure the extraordinary questioning, inasmuch as the horrible mutilation and the fracture of his members could be, that he put no one in danger. He was finally burned alive in Nimes, and his death resulted in the sowing of the Gospel in many places of the said country.²

These testimonies are examples of the 580 martyrs listed in the index of Jean Crespin’s martyrology. That this book made an impact on French Protestants goes without saying. In fact, all the Protestant martyrologies of the era, including those of Ludwig Rabus (German), John Foxe (English), and Adrian von Haempstede (Dutch), have been the object of attack and discrediting since their first appearance in 1554. Professor of Ecclesial History at the University of Liège (Belgium), Léon-E Halkin, explained the passion released when discussing the martyrologies:

The religious particularities were so strongly opposing the Protestants and the Catholics that the martyrologies of each have never been the object of serious and objective comparison, devoid of passion.³

Hence this paper enters into this passionate world of martyrologies.

Who was Jean Crespin? He was born in 1520 in Arras, France. In 1540 he received his doctorate, and became a lawyer for the parliament of France. It was the next year that he witnessed the burning of Claude le Peintre in Paris. Here is Crespin’s caption regarding this martyrdom:

Claude le Peintre, Parisian (1541)

¹ Jean Crespin, *Histoire des vrais tesmoins de la verite de l’evangile, qui de leur sang l’ont signée, depuis Jean Hus iusques autemps present* (Geneva, 1570; Liège, 1964), 171.

² Crespin, 293v.

³ Léon-E Halkin, “Hagiographie Protestante,” in *Mélanges Paul Peeters II* (Analecta Bollandiana 68; Bruxelles: Société des Bollandistes, 1950), 461. Translation mine.

The streams of the pure Gospel begun and preached in Geneva, as it was discussed hitherto fore, flowed little by little, and watered the ground in France. Behold, Claude le Peintre young assistant goldsmith native of the borough of Saint-Marceau of Paris, after having profited from the said town [Geneva], having lived there approximately three years, returned to the said Paris, to share with his friends the inestimable goodness of the knowledge of eternal salvation. Several in the home where Claude was lodging while exercising his work as a goldsmith, could not handle this flavorful odor of the Gospel of the Son of God, accused him before Morin, criminal lieutenant of the Chastelet, by whom the said Claude incontinent was constituted prisoner. And after he had maintained before him a pure and entire confession of the faith and of the doctrine announced, Morin condemned him to be burned alive. Claude asked for an appeal of his sentence, but the court of the parliament at that time governed by Liset, first president, seeing the perseverance of the young companion, added to the said sentence, that he would have his tongue cut off. I was among the number of those who were spectators of his death and very-happy ending, which confirmed to many who were beginning and had several sentences of the truth, for whom the Lord gave before our eyes through the person of Claude a true and living testimony. It was a thing of admiration to see the constancy and the behavior of this young man, handling with cheerfulness the infinity of humiliations that were thrown on him at Place Maubert, ordained location for the last suffering [*supplice*]: at which place he endured death with a cheerful heart, the year 1541.⁴

Four years later Crespin himself was condemned of being a heretic, whereupon he fled to Strasbourg, and then in 1548 to Geneva. Crespin established a publishing house in Geneva, and in 1550 his publishing house produced 11 books. His first book was by Théodore de Bèze titled *Abraham Sacrifiant* ("Abraham sacrificing"). Crespin's next seven books were by Jean (John) Calvin,⁵ including books on catechism, predestination, scandals (in Latin and French), the Christian life (in Latin and French), and the Nicodemites. In 1550 Crespin also printed two books in Italian, and a re-edition of Luther's 1523 *Praefatio methodica Scripturae* ["On the preliminary means of Scripture"]. In 1551 Crespin published Calvin's second revision of what was to become the French Geneva Bible, adding the innovation of an alphabetical index. By the time of his death (1572), Crespin's Geneva publishing house had printed over 257 different imprints (see Tables 1 and 2 at the end of this article), including 53 books by Jean Calvin (such as his 1560 *Institutes of the Christian Religion*). Among his English language imprints were three

⁴ Crespin, 97v.

⁵ This paper will use the French spelling of most names.

books by John Knox and a 1569 edition of the English Geneva Bible. However, the work for which Crespin is most well known among the French is his French martyrology, *Histoire des vrais tesmoins de la verite de l'evangile* . . . The remainder of this paper will focus on the final edition of Crespin's martyrology, that of 1570.

Why a paper on the French martyrology of Jean Crespin? The Franco-Helvetic Reformation had several particularities. First, it was a French Reformation that took place outside of France. Second, it was a Reformation wherein many evangelists, Bible colporteurs, and other Huguenots were burned alive. Third, it was the Reformation that gave us John Calvin, his *Institutes*, and what was to become Calvinism. And fourth, it was a Reformation that was accompanied by a significant amount of urgent evangelism. My thesis is that, as the book of Acts provides the context for understanding the epistles of Paul, so Crespin's martyrology provides the context for understanding Calvin's theological writings.

In fact, the evangelism from Geneva into France between 1545-1560 was counter-intuitive. As the fires of martyrdoms increased, so did the number of martyrs who were trained and went out from Geneva. Rather than shrink the growth of Protestantism, the martyrs provided a witness of their spiritual strength,⁶ and the Protestant churches in France grew as the martyrdoms increased.⁷ Some were aware, as was Balthasar Hubmaier, that sending martyrs to the fire was itself unchristian, unbiblical, and even heretical.⁸ As for the Huguenots, rather than relax into a culturally-acceptable form of evangelism, the transplanted French

⁶ "From there he [Pierre Serre] was attached to the post, to be burned alive: where he lifted his eyes to heaven, and held them there until his death: regardless of the heat and vehemence of the fire, he did not stir any more than if he had been unfeeling. All the people were amazed by this: so that it was said by one of the counselors to the parliament, that they should not make the Lutherans die in this way, being that this would not diminish but profit their religion" (Crespin, 277).

⁷ "Without depreciating the value of various explanations which have been discussed, it must be admitted that they do not fully account for the spectacular failure of the judiciary to check and squash heresy. . . . The rapidly increasing number of heresy accusations [notwithstanding the missing years] would seem to be but a reflection of the growth of Protestantism" (Raymond A. Mentzer, Jr., *Heresy Proceedings in Languedoc, 1500-1560* [Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1984], 163-66).

⁸ "Article 13: So it follows that the slayer of heretics are the worst heretics of all, in that they, contrary to Christ's teaching and practice, condemn heretics to the fire. By pulling up the harvest prematurely they destroy the wheat along with the tares." (Balthasar Hubmaier, "Of Heretics and Their Persecutors: a Comparison of Documents Assembled by Dr. Balthasar von Friedberg, Pastor at Waldshut, at the Command of Brother Anthony, Vicar at Constance and a Distinguished Guardian of the Gates," from "The Writings of Balthasar Hubmaier," collected and photographed by W. O. Lewis, translated by G. D. Davidson [1524; Liberty, MO: Archives, William Jewell College Library, 1939], 1:29).

returned to their homeland to spread the gospel to their relatives and neighbors. Their many mission trips and their missional repatriation not only led to their arrest and martyrdom, but also to the possible martyrdom of any who listened to them or lodged them.

In order to consider the evangelistic zeal of Calvin's Geneva, based on Crespin's martyrology, several topics must be addressed: (1) the use of Crespin as a historical source; (2) a look at the 67 named Geneva martyrs (from 1522-1560); (3) particular methods of evangelism used by those Geneva martyrs; (4) the principles behind the evangelistic practices of the Geneva martyrs; and (5) some concluding thoughts related to Geneva's theology.

Now 437 years since its 1570 edition, attention to Crespin fits into two categories: use as a credible historical source and strongly emotive antagonism. On the antithetical side, in 1556 Crespin's 1554 martyrology was censored by the Sorbonne (University of Paris),⁹ and then in the seventeenth century, French Catholics published a series of antimartyrologies to counter the impact of Crespin in France.¹⁰ It was not long until the Bishop of Meaux Jacques-Benigne Bossuet's 1688 *History of the variations of protestant churches* strongly castigated the Protestant movement.¹¹ Unfortunately, Bossuet's framing of the question seems to have guided most Reformation studies since that time.

Among contemporary opinions questioning the historical reliability of Crespin were the 1997 doctoral dissertation of David Watson,¹² as well

⁹ Jean François Gilmont, *Bibliographie des éditions de Jean Crespin 1550-1572* (Veveys, Switzerland: P. M. Gason, 1981), 50.

¹⁰ Arthur Piaget, *Notes sur les Livres des Martyrs de Jean Crespin* (Neuchatel: Secrétariat de l'université, 1930). Four of the ten chapters in this book are in a section titled "The antimartyrologies." They include: Chap 5, Florimond de Raemond's *La naissance de l'Hérésie* (Paris, 1605); Chap 6, the Père Garasse' *Le Rabellais réformé* (Bruxelles, 1619); Chap 7, Jacques Servet's *Antimartyrologe* (Lyon, 1622); and Chap 8, Louis Maimbourg's *L'Histoire du Calvinisme* (Amsterdam, 1682).

¹¹ "If the Protestants knew at its depth how was formed their religion, with how many variations and inconsistencies their confessions of faith have been dressed; how they separated themselves first from us, then from each other; by how many subtleties, detours, and equivocations they have worked to repair their divisions, and to reassemble the distant members of their dis-unified Reformation, this Reform, in which they pride themselves, would not please them; and frankly to say what I think, it would inspire them to despise themselves" (Jacques-Benigne Bossuet, *Histoire des variations des églises protestantes* [Paris: Chez la veuve de Sebastien Mabre-Cramoisy, 1688; Paris: Librairie monarchique de N. Pichard, 1821], 5. Translation mine).

¹² David Watson, "The Martyrology of Jean Crespin and the Early French Evangelical Movement, 1523-1555" (Ph.D. diss., University of St. Andrews, 1997). Watson also contributed a chapter for David Loades: David Watson, "Jean Crespin and the First English Martyrology of the Reformation," in David Loades, *John Foxe and the English Reformation* (Aldershot, England: Scolar, 1997), 192-209.

as the 2004 essay of Mark Greengrass and Thomas S. Freeman.¹³ Of these publications, Greengrass and Freeman seem determined to undermine Crespin's martyrology in any way that they can, using:

- ◆ Form criticism to frame Crespin's martyrology as using a predetermined form;
- ◆ Source criticism to find fault with Crespin's sources; and
- ◆ Psycho-analytical criticism to question his psychological stability as an "illegal immigrant" and cultural transplant.

Further, Greengrass and Freeman apply the following criticisms to discredit Crespin:

- ◆ Indiscriminate use of sources from doubtful provenance;
- ◆ Incomplete sources;
- ◆ Outright plagiarism;
- ◆ Changes in material from one edition to another;
- ◆ Microscopic focus;
- ◆ Furtive analogy; and
- ◆ Unscrupulous financial motivation.

These attacks on Crespin, however, appear to be buttressed by a number of historical and logical fallacies. For example:

- ◆ Fallacy of false analogy or proof by analogy;
- ◆ Circular reasoning;
- ◆ Fallacy of composition;
- ◆ Arguments *ad hominem*;
- ◆ Fallacy of irrelevant proof;
- ◆ Fallacy of historical probability, fallacy of presumptive continuity, or fallacy of prediction by analogy.¹⁴

While an analysis of the handling of the material by Greengrass, Freeman, and Watson is beyond the scope of this paper, Halkin's words regarding "passion" seem applicable here.

Markedly contrasted to these English scholarly efforts are the French writings of Léon-E. Halkin and Jean-François Gilmont. Halkin, professor

¹³ Mark Greengrass and Thomas S. Freeman, "The Acts and Monuments and the Protestant Continental Martyrologies" (copyright 2004, The John Foxe Project), from <http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/johnfoxe/apparatus/greengrassessay.html>; accessed 11 Oct 2007; Internet.

¹⁴ See David H. Fischer, *Historians' Fallacies: Toward a Logic of Historical Thought* (New York: Harper Colophon, 1970).

of the University of Liège, Belgium, detailed his analysis of Crespin in several essays.¹⁵ In his 1950 essay on Crespin, Halkin wrote, "The historical value of the martyrologies nevertheless subsists, but it is of a delicate interpretation."¹⁶ Later in 1952, Halkin made some even more interesting comments:

We know today that the victims of religious repression were far more numerous than a reading of the martyrologies would lead us to suppose.

For the Low Lands, the diverse martyrologies cite near 1,000 martyrs. . . . For only this principality [Liège], our personal research has convinced us that number of martyrs known through the martyrologies must be multiplied at least by ten.¹⁷

Then Halkin commented on the historical value of Crespin:

Our research was limited to the Low Lands—in the large sense of the term—and it was fixed on thirty cases. In each one of these cases, of which the enumeration is joined to the present exposition, the martyrologies were revealed as being documents of unequal but of true importance for religious history.¹⁸

Jean-François Gilmont, from the *Université Catholique de Louvain* (Belgium), authored numerous essays and several books on Crespin as a publisher.¹⁹ His research seems to have taken up the mantle of Halkin. He spoke with a tone of honor for the work of Crespin:

This study of a 16th Century editor had the good fortune of finding an editor with class [*classe*]. The welcome [detail] given to the manuscript, as the constant attention with which he watched over the birth of books, are worthy of Crespin! I will not resist the temptation to apply to him the

¹⁵ Léon-E. Halkin, "Hagiography Protestant," 453-63; Léon-E. Halkin, "Les martyrologes et la critique: contribution à l'étude du Martyrologe protestant des Pays-Bas," in "Mélanges Historiques offerts à Monsieur Jean Meyhoffer" (Lausanne: Faculté de Théologie de l'église évangélique libre du canton de Vaud, 1952), 52-70; Léon-E. Halkin, "Intolérance et inquisition", *Initiation à la critique historique* (Cahiers des Annales 6; Paris: Armand Colin, 1963), 197-219.

¹⁶ Halkin, "Hagiography Protestant," 461. Translation mine.

¹⁷ Halkin, "Les martyrologes et la critique," 65-66.

¹⁸ Halkin, "Les martyrologes et la critique," 69.

¹⁹ Jean-François Gilmont, "Les centres d'intérêt du martyrologe de Jean Crespin (1554-1570) révélés par la cartographie et les statistiques," *Miscellanea historiae ecclesiasticae* (Vol 5, Issue 61): 358-69; Jean François Gilmont, *Bibliographie des éditions de Jean Crespin 1550-1572* (Veveys, Switzerland: P. M. Gason, 1981); Jean François Gilmont, *Jean Crespin: Un éditeur réformé du XVIe Siecle* (Geneva: Dros, 1981).

eulogy that François Portus addressed to Crespin in one of his prefaces: *ἡμμελέστατα σπουδαζοντος, προθυμουμένου καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῖς περὶ τοὺς λόγους φιλοσοφοῦσιν βιωφελὲς αἰεὶ τι συντελεῖν, ἔρμαιον τῶν πολυτίμων τοῦτο ἡγησάμην.* [“Now, then, to have met a wise man, who shows a constant zeal for modeling/shaping the most elegant art/training, who eagerly offers himself to always perfect something useful for life to those philosophizing about words, I consider it a treasure-trove of the highly honored”].²⁰

While Gilmont did not seem to make comments on the historical reliability of Crespin, he expressed a high regard for his ethical and critical standards.

Jean Crespin brought the first edition of his martyrology for the approval of the Geneva Town Council (as presumably he did with all of the works that he published). Their meeting minutes were as follows:

Of the book of M. Crespin. In relation to the lord committed to showing the presented book for printing and that it is something that can well be printed, it is affirmed that he will be able to print [it] after correcting the word *saint* and that of *martyr*, and putting some other name, and also that he must include others that are not [found] there also.²¹

Two results from this positive 1554 decision of the Geneva Town Council were:

- ◆ Crespin changed the title to read, *Collection of several people who endured death with constancy for the name of our Savior Jesus Christ* (thereby omitting the words “saint” and “martyr”), and
- ◆ The Geneva Town Council requested that he add further names to his list of martyrs.

²⁰ Jean François Gilmont, *Bibliographie des éditions de Jean Crespin 1550-1572*, iii. Translation of French, mine; translation of Greek, Radu Gheorghita.

²¹ The original French reads as follows: “*Du livre de M. Crespin.* Sus la relation du seigneur commys a faire veoir le livre présenté pour faire imprimer et que c’est chose que peult bien imprimé, et est arrêté qu’il porra imprimer en corrigeant celluy moct *sainct* et celluy de *martire*, et mettant quelque aultre nom, et aussy que l’on y doibge mettre des aultres qui n’y sont pas encore” (Arthur Piaget, *Notes sur les Livres des Martyrs de Jean Crespin*, 13; from *Registre du Conseil*, vol XLVIII, n. 1). Jean François Gilmont explained that the original request for publication was on 14 Aug 1554, with the above quoted response coming eight days later, or on 21 Aug 1554 (Jean François Gilmont, *Bibliographie des éditions de Jean Crespin 1550-1572*, 49-50). Translation mine.

It is likely that the Geneva Town Council was aware of the significantly growing body of literature already available on martyrs, which dated back to 1523.²² Also, as explained in the title, Crespin made a confessional determination as to whether each martyr was doctrinally qualified to be a martyr to be listed in his book of martyrs, nor did he include those who recanted prior to their martyrdom. It may be that the execution of the Socinian Servetus in Geneva in 1553 was fresh in their memory, as were also the corresponding martyrdoms of 33 Huguenots in France from 1552-1554 (including the five schoolboys from Lausanne martyred in Lyon in 1552) listed in Crespin. As far as the beliefs of the martyr, the Latin adage from Augustine is often repeated when discussing martyrs and martyrdom, *Martyrem non facit poena, sed causa* ["Punishment does not make the martyr, but the cause"].²³ Therefore, the beliefs of the martyr were important to be considered a worthy martyr for the name of Christ.

With the above mandate from the Geneva Town Council, Crespin's book [of martyrs] grew from 180,000 words in 1554 to 1,190,000 words in its 1570 edition. Crespin died April 12, 1572, just four months prior to the unbelievable St. Bartholomew Day massacre on August 24, 1572 in Paris, in which approximately 100,000 "Huguenots" were killed within a few days.

There was also geographic selectivity in the martyrology of Crespin. Jean-François Gilmont produced several tables which portray the selectivity of Crespin. First, as it relates to the locations of martyrdoms included in his 1570 Martyrology (see Table 3). As regards his editorial choices, Crespin showed a particular interest in martyrs on French soil, with almost half of his words related to those martyrs (the Brazilian martyrs included pastors sent from Switzerland and France to plant

²² Martin Luther, *Neues Lid* (Wittenberg, 1523); Martin Luther, *Der Actus und hendlung der Degradation und verprennung der Christliche dreien Ritter und merterer Augustiner ordens geschehen zu Brussel* (Wittenberg, 1523); Leonhard Guttmann, *Verantwortung Caspar Taubers der zu Wien verprant ist worden* (1524); Balthasar Hubmaier, *Von Ketzeren and ihren Verbrennern [On Heretics and Those Who Burn Them]* (Schaffhausen, 1524); François Lambert d'Avignon, *Le Martyre de Jehan Castellain* (Strasbourg, 1525); François Lambert d'Avignon, *Commentarii in Micheam, Naum et Habacuc* (Strasbourg, 1525); *Alle Acta Adolphi Clarenbach . . .* (Cologne: E. Hirtzhorn, 1529); N. Volcyr, *Traité nouveau de la desecration et execution actuelle de Jehan Castellain* (Paris, 1534); *The first examinacyon Anne Askew, Lately martyred in Smythfelde* (London: J. Bale; Wessel: Dirik van der Straten, 1546); *The latter examinacyon Anne Askewe . . .* (London: J. Bale, 1546); C. Senarclens, *Historia vera de morte sancti uiri Ioannis Diazzi Hispani . . .* (Basel: J. Oporinus, 1546); *Troys Epistre de Godefroy de Hamaelle, natif de nivele en Brabant . . .* (1552); G. da Milano, *Passione di fanino martyre* (1552).

²³ Halkin, "Hagiographie Protestante," 456; Gilmont, "Les centres d'intérêt," 361.

Reformed churches in Brazil). Gilmont also compared Crespin's sixteenth-century martyrs (1554 edition), with the 1554 German martyrology of Ludwig Rabus. Gilmont compared them both geographically and chronologically (see Table 4). The differences were quite dramatic.

Gilmont therefore explained that there were geographic preferences established in these martyrologies (as well as perhaps confessional differences). If one added the 17 Provinces (or the Low Lands) to Rabus, German martyrs accounted for over 80% of his work. Likewise, 71% of Crespin's martyrs were martyred on French soil. Therefore it is clear that neither Jean Crespin nor Ludwig Rabus (nor even John Foxe) gave us a complete or entire picture of the Reformation martyrs. Each has its geographic market niche²⁴ (Anabaptist martyrs were not compiled until 1562, [1617], and 1659).²⁵

Much as Halkin noted of the total number of martyrs in the Low Lands actually being over 10 times those reported in Crespin and the other martyrologies, William Monter likewise noted that the martyrs reported in Crespin for certain sectors of France were quite scant. He also showed the percentage of records available (some of which were destroyed seemingly after the Edict of Nantes [an edict of toleration]; see Table 6).

According to Monter's study, Crespin wrote of only one third of the known martyrs for heresy in France. Monter also used Crespin as a credible primary source to help provide information on some of the destroyed or missing government records. Note that nearly half the records from the parliament of Rouen, "a region filled with heretics,"²⁶ were destroyed. There are also the non-existent official and non-official records for nearly all of the presidential heresy courts established by Henry II (reigned 1547-1559) in 1552:

In addition, we are ignorant of the executions for heresy decided after 1552 by the presidential [heresy] courts from the other locations, especially those of Toulouse, Bordeaux, or Rouen: these three comprised of 23 of the 28 [heresy courts] established outside of Paris.²⁷

²⁴ Halkin, *Hagiographie Protestante*, 458.

²⁵ Menno Simons, *Een fundament ende clare aenwijzinghe van de salichmakende Leere Jesu Christi* (Dutch: 1562); [Hoom, *Historie der warachtighe getuygen Jesu Christ* (1617)]; and Thielemans J. van Braght, *Martyrs Mirror* (Dutch: 1659; German: 1748; English: 1886).

²⁶ Monter, 216.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

Similarly, Raymond A. Mentzer, Jr. studied the numbers of heretics convicted in the Languedoc region.²⁸ In Languedoc alone, Mentzer calculated a total of 1,074 arrests for heresy from 1500-1560,²⁹ whereas Jean Crespin in his 1570 martyrology listed only 316 martyrs for all of France from 1500-1570. Thus it is clear from comparing research that Crespin included only a limited number of his martyrs. Monter concluded:

Grosso Mondo, and taking account of all of the gaps in the series of arrests of which we currently know, the number of Protestant martyrs burned in the Kingdom of France approaches five hundred [1523-1560], of which approximately half from the jurisdiction of Paris. The large martyrology of Crespin encloses only one fourth; outside of Paris, Crespin found only one out of six.³⁰

Additionally, it must be kept in mind that the official records were notarized by antagonists of the martyrs, and were therefore tainted. Calvin wrote to Richard Lefevre, "The notary will not write if not something that pleases him: but your confession will not be left unregistered before God and His angels: and will be profitable to His own as he desires it to be."³¹ Therefore, the use of the "official" records as more credible than Crespin brings another historiographic problem. Reasons for the low numbers of martyrs in Crespin may be:

- ◆ He had no knowledge of them, as he knew of martyrs only:
 - Through secret prison informants;³²
 - Through the writings of family members and friends;³³

²⁸ His researched entailed archival records of the various principalities in Languedoc (Albi, Anduze, Montauban, Montpellier, Nîmes, Pamiers, and Toulouse, as well as manuscripts in the French *Archives nationales* and the *Bibliothèque nationale*).

²⁹ Mentzer, *Heresy Proceedings in Languedoc, 1500-1560*, 4-6.

³⁰ Monter, 217.

³¹ Crespin, 278.

³² Crespin wrote that the prisoner wrote the testimony of his interrogation "from his own hand" (*ibid.*, 433); Archambaut Sepharon wrote of the martyrdom of his cellmates, Philippe Cene and Jacques (*ibid.*, 454).

³³ Pendigrat, a room mate of Guillaume Gardiner, brought news of his martyrdom in Portugal (Crespin, 194v); Antoine Magne, "this personnage from Orleanc in the mountains of Auvergne, brought news to the Church of Geneva, of the imprisonment of the aforementioned martyr [Nicolas Nail], and of others, detained at the same time in Paris for the word of the Lord, in order to recommend them in particular to the prayers of the faithful" (*ibid.*, 269); the father of a martyr, Jean Louys Pascal, wrote to his son Charles in Geneva of his efforts to gain the freedom of Jean Louys, and of his subsequent martyrdom in Rome (*ibid.*, 555).

- Through the work of colporteur letter carriers who were sometimes arrested with their letters,³⁴ which were used as evidence against the sender or recipient and then destroyed; and
- Remembering as well that sometimes official city records of martyrs were burned,³⁵
- ◆ Crespin did not deem them noteworthy martyrs for confessional reasons or for reason of a last minute abjuration (which would disqualify them);³⁶ or as,
- ◆ He did not have the space to include more martyrs.

David Watson seemed to use Crespin's lack of including all the martyrs as a sign of historical inaccuracy. Not necessarily. Each of these studies shows that the martyrs in Crespin were actual martyrs with very few factual problems (such as exact location or date of martyrdom).³⁷ Many Roman Catholic commentators, on the other hand, maintained and continue to maintain that the Protestant martyrologies are either fictional or grossly exaggerated, and consist primarily of anti-Catholic propaganda.³⁸ This conclusion prior to the examination of the facts may

³⁴ Such was the martyr Martin Gonin who was being released for lack of evidence: "As he was leaving [the prison], the jailor searched him and found several letters with holy writings, that Guillaume Farel, Antoine Saunier, and other ministers from Geneva addressed to certain people of the Piedmont who feared God, and loved his word. Thus the jailor told him, 'Return in there, for you are Lutheran'" (Crespin, 87v).

³⁵ "Few people understand the difficulty of snatching the judicial acts and confessions of those who were prisoners for the true doctrine; inasmuch that Satan knew well to suggest this trick in the minds of his accomplices, to entirely burn the [legal] proceedings of people" (Crespin, 174v). Likewise, Mentzer included in Figure 1 a table showing the open spaces where registers were missing in the records of criminal chamber of the *Parlement de Toulouse* (an area which includes approximately 8 French departments today)—including a period of over 5 full years from October 1531 to October 1535 (Mentzer, *Heresy Proceedings*, 5). See also Table 6 below.

³⁶ Speaking about the 1561 persecution in L'isle (Lille, Belgium), Crespin wrote: "But we will state the case only of unto whom the special grace was given of confessing in true constancy this truth, and having sealed it with their blood" (Crespin, 572).

³⁷ See Watson's chapter 2, which is made up primarily of innuendo and *ad hominem* arguments.

³⁸ For example: "Long did old-fashioned English Protestants and other anti-Catholics put their attention upon words such as 'jesuitical,' 'popish,' 'jansenistic,' and 'inquisitorial' in their polemics. But possibly the most odious, and the most successfully repromoted, is the idea of the hated Inquisition as the cruel tool of the Catholic Church to crush its enemies. By this means, especially for English-speakers, Catholic Spain was portrayed as the arch-enemy of all Protestantism. . . . All properly baptized persons, being *ipso facto* Christians and members of the Catholic Church, came under the jurisdiction of the Inquisition. Foreign heretics, therefore, appeared from time to time in autos held in Spain. The burning of Protestants at Seville in the mid-1500s shows a gradual increase in the number of foreigners seized, a natural phenomenon in an international seaport. . . .

be expected by those who have made a vow of absolute obedience,³⁹ and whose faith by definition holds to the absolute perfection of the Roman Catholic church and its hierarchy.⁴⁰ By the way, the Reformer François

The discovery of the riches of inquisitorial documentation, and its exploitation first by Llorente and then by Henry Charles Lea, has helped to restore the balance of information but has also created new dangers. Scholars are in danger of studying the Inquisition in isolation from all the other dimensions of State and society, as though the tribunal were somehow a self-explanatory phenomenon: as a result old misconceptions are being reinforced and the Inquisition is once again being assumed to have played a central role in religion, politics, culture and the economy. . . . Finally, only one more document need be mentioned, and, according to Peters, it synthesized forty years of anti-Inquisition propaganda. It is the *Apologie* published by William of Orange. It completes the "portrait" of Montanus, and lays stress upon the Spanish Inquisition as the enemy of all political liberty, thus validating the Dutch Revolt. The Spanish king was merely the dupe of the Inquisition, and so legitimacy was not itself directly attacked in the political realm. Needless to say the *Apologie*, written by a French Huguenot, found wide audiences in France, England, and even Germany. . . . From Acton's day to our own, however, most Catholic and non-Catholic historians have tended to use identical historical methodology and to have ceased to approach the history of inquisitions from the perspective of Black or White legends. Although there have been several exceptions to this generalization on both sides of the confessional line, the historical achievements of the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries have made a return to the myths, among professional historians of any creed at least, virtually impossible" (Brian Van Hove, S.J., "Beyond the Myth of Inquisition: Ours is 'The Golden Age'"; available at: <http://www.catholiceducation.org/articles/history/world/wh0027.html>; accessed 10 Nov 2005; Internet). Van Hove made extensive use of two sources: Edward Peters, *Inquisition* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989) and Henry Kamen, *Inquisition and Society in Spain in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985).

³⁹ "Thirteenth Rule. To be right in everything, we ought always to hold that the white which I see, is black, if the Hierarchical Church so decides it, believing that between Christ our Lord, the Bridegroom, and the Church, His Bride, there is the same Spirit which governs and directs us for the salvation of our souls. Because by the same Spirit and our Lord Who gave the ten Commandments, our holy Mother the Church is directed and governed" ("Rules for Thinking within the Church," from *Medieval Sourcebook: St. Ignatius Loyola: Spiritual Exercises*; available from: <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/source/loyola-spirex.html>; accessed 26 Aug 2005; Internet). See also "Obedience of the Jesuits" (Henry Bettenson, *Documents of the Christian Church* [London: Oxford University Press, 1963], 261).

⁴⁰ "This is my spiritual testament. I begin it by declaring, in the presence of eternity that will open itself before me, that I want to die with the same convictions in which I have always lived, that being obedience and devotion without limits to the Holy Apostolic Seat and to our Holy Father the Pope, Vicar of Jesus Christ on the earth. I have always believed, and I believe all that they teach and in the sense that they teach it. I have always believed, and I believe that outside of the Pope or against the Pope, there can be in the Church nothing but trouble, confusion, error, and eternal loss. He alone was created as the foundation of unity and as a consequence [of that] of life, and all that regards things of salvation" (Cardinal Lavigerie [1825-1892], *Ecrits d'Afrique* [Paris: Bernard Grasset, 1966], 235-36. Translation mine).

Lambert d'Avignon believed these types of vows to be contrary to the Christian profession.⁴¹ Yet Watson seemed to follow the Roman Catholic *a priori* when he wrote:

By concentrating on certain aspects of the story, such as the savagery of the persecutors, and other conventions of the martyrology-writing, the tangible evidence that can be gleaned from these accounts needs to be specifically identified. In accounts such as Caturce and Pointet, the propagandistic and pedagogical value of the stories outweighs their historical value.⁴²

Watson, however, was not able to bring to bear one piece of evidence that Crespin was exaggerated, as he vehemently argued from a form-critical analysis. The sobering reality is, however, that not only were the Protestant martyrologies historically accurate, they only memorialized a small number of the true martyrdoms for heresy (when combined).

Whatever the reason, neither Rabus, nor Foxe, nor Crespin were exhaustive. Yet all of their volumes were massive and achieved a specific geographical and confessional purpose. These presumed purposes, however, did not necessitate *sine qua non* a rewriting of history. On the contrary, it has been shown that the Protestant martyrologies were subdued. Their power was and continues to be because of their historical and ecclesial credibility.

It follows logically, then, that the best martyrology to gain information about the Franco-Helvetic Reformation martyrs in France is that of Jean Crespin. For the purposes of this study, the evangelistic zeal of Calvin as expressed in Crespin's Martyrology, we will focus on 67 martyrs (see Table 7) listed in Crespin (1523 to 1560) who were said to have spent some time in Geneva, most of whom were martyred in France.

This listing ends in 1560, which was the end of my specific research. Reasons for including such a detailed list of these martyrs in this paper were:

- ◆ To show that many Geneva martyrs were going out prior to the publication of the compendiums of martyrologies;

⁴¹ "Hitherto fore seduced and ignorant of what I was doing, I pronounced vows contrary to the Christian profession of faith. Oh well! I renounce to all these inventions of the *minorites* [Franciscans] and recognize that the holy Gospel is my rule and should be that of all Christians" (François Lambert d'Avignon, "Histoire du moine racontée par lui-même, traduite du latin" [story of a monk told by he himself, translated from Latin], in Franck Puaux, *Histoire de la Réformation Française* [Paris: Michel Lévy Frères, 1859], 1:416; taken from Gerdesius, *Historia christianismi renovati*, vol IV; translation mine).

⁴² Watson, 66.

- ◆ To give examples of the number of martyrs that came from various walks of life;
- ◆ To show what kind of ministry they accomplished.

These colporteurs were the echo of the call of Jacques Le Fèvre for diligent workers in his 1522 commentary on the four Gospels, "May the Master of the harvest send new and diligent workers."⁴³ The converted French responded. Calvin wrote of these men:

Students and gentlemen, transformed themselves into colporteurs, and, under the shadow of selling their merchandise, they offered to all the faithful the weapons for the holy war of the faith. They journeyed across the kingdom, selling and explaining the Gospels.⁴⁴

Lelièvre added, "These colporteurs, or *carriers* [of] *packages*, were the valiant *avant-garde* of the Evangelical army, exposed to the first blows and decimated by fire."⁴⁵ It would seem that the ministry of these colporteurs began with the Albigenes and Waldenses, and was later adopted by the Geneva church.⁴⁶

Some of these colporteurs ran printing presses in Geneva. Others were barbers, bakers, cobblers, carpenters, merchants, students, cabinet makers, goldsmiths, and the makers of eyeglasses. Many had families. Some were former priests and monks. The commonality was that they had a passion to share the gospel with those of their native land who would otherwise have no opportunity to hear it. Thus, they returned ready to spread the word of God, either through mission trips or by resettling in France.

Likewise it must be noted that Crespin included letters from Geneva pastors to the soon-to-be martyrs while they were yet in prison (see Table 8).

The general tone of these letters was that the prisoners ought to persevere in believing justification by grace alone through faith alone, outside of sacraments and other accoutrements of the Roman Catholic church, and not give in to the torture and promises of their captors in

⁴³ Lelièvre, 273; quoting *Commentarii Initiatorii in quatro evangelia* (1522); cited by Lutteroth, *La Réformation en France*, 3.

⁴⁴ Samuel Lortsch, *Histoire de la Bible en France* (British and Foreign Bible Society, 1910), 6.2.1; available at http://www.bibliquest.org/Lortsch/Lortsch-Histoire_Bible_France-1.htm; accessed: 4 Mar 2005; Internet.

⁴⁵ Lelièvre, 274.

⁴⁶ Lortsch, section 6.2.1; citing M. Petavel, *La Bible en France*.

order to seek to save their lives or minimize their pain in death.⁴⁷ For example, Calvin encouraged the prisoner Richard Lefevre to persevere in the faith, even seeking the salvation of his interrogators:

- ◆ “I will touch briefly several points upon which they have sought to molest you. To give you to understand that we are not justified by the grace alone of God, they have alleged to you that Zachariah and many others were named righteous.”⁴⁸
- ◆ “Meanwhile pray to Him that He would cause you to feel always better the treasure of the doctrine for which you are fighting: in order that as you consider the same your life will not be precious to you.”⁴⁹
- ◆ “Arm yourself of only this word [Jesus Christ], to bring them [the interrogators] back to the pure doctrine on the Gospel.”⁵⁰
- ◆ “As for the rest, you are able to protest, that we do not deny that Jesus Christ has given us his body, understanding that we seek for it in heaven.”⁵¹
- ◆ “Rejoice that you are able to sustain his quarrel in good conscience, hoping that he will give you the strength to carry what it will please him for you to suffer. We have likewise remembrance of you in our prayers, as we ought: by pleading this good God, since it has please him to employ you to maintain his truth, that he may give you all that is necessary in this honorable calling: that he may strengthen you with true perseverance: that he may give you true spiritual prudence: so that you seek nothing but the advancement of his name, without having a thought about yourself; and that he shows himself so much your protector, that you will feel it as your consolation, and that others will perceive it, and be edified by it.”⁵²

Crespin’s martyrology also included numerous confessions, testimonies, and interrogation proceedings of the French martyrs.

⁴⁷ It must be noted that Halkin wrote an unusual chapter in which he unconvincingly argued that the sentences of judges and the practices of the executioners were in actuality quite humane (Léon-E. Halkin, “La cruauté dans les supplices,” in *Initiation à la critique historique* [Cahiers des Annales 6; Paris: Armand Colin, 1963], 159-75).

⁴⁸ Calvin answered the questions of the prisoner Richard LeFevre: (Crespin, 278). Translation mine.

⁴⁹ Crespin, 277v. Translation mine.

⁵⁰ Crespin, 278v. Translation mine.

⁵¹ Crespin, 278v. Translation mine.

⁵² Crespin, 279v. Translation mine.

With this credibility and content in mind, what can be learned about the evangelistic zeal of Calvin's Geneva? This question will be addressed as we consider the martyrs' methodology of evangelism, their urgency of evangelism, and their underlying theology of evangelism.

Several types of evangelism methodology of these martyrs stand out. Firstly, there was the silent evangelism of selling spiritual books. Such was the case of the silent witness of Bibles, hymnbooks, and other spiritual books being sold by Pierre Chapot at various markets. Pierre was arrested in Paris by the vigilant Jean André, a bookseller bent on trapping those who sold the contraband Geneva books. Chapot was burned over a fire and strangled in Paris, being forcefully admonished by doctor Maillard of the Sorbonne to say "Jesus Maria" in order to avoid death by fire.⁵³

Lortsch explained the colporteurs approach to the "silent evangelism" of selling Bibles and other spiritual books:

Let us allow Crespin, as summarized by Mr. Matthieu Lelièvre, speak to us of the pioneers of this work of the Bible: "Their books formed only one part of their wares, as the Waldensian pastor which Guillaume de Félice brought forth by his touching story, they started by offering their clients beautiful fabric and gold jewelry, before they would present them the 'pearl of great price.' One must remember that in the 16th Century, as in the Middle Ages, the sale of merchandise, outside of towns, was being done almost exclusively by traveling salesmen, who brought all kinds of merchandise, including books. The authorities did not dream to disturb these modest salespeople and were quite slow to discover that the heresy was hiding between pieces of fabric."⁵⁴

Secondly, some were arrested only for warning others of their blasphemous speech. Such was the case for the 18-year-old colporteur Thomas of Saint Paul.⁵⁵ Thomas was followed to his lodging and arrested. Although maliciously tortured, he gave no information on any other Christians. He was burned alive at Place Maubert in Paris in 1551.

Thirdly, those who did not like the gospel called the evangelism of some of these martyrs "dogmatizing" (perhaps "proselytizing" today) or

⁵³ Crespin, 169-170v.

⁵⁴ Lortsch, section 6.2.1. Translation mine.

⁵⁵ "Having therefore arrived in Paris, and selling some merchandise he had difficulty suffering the blasphemes of a certain person. Therefore he reprov'd him with a gentle admonishment with the humanity and tenderness that were a part of his nature. But having irritated the said person, incontinent he became suspicious that he was a Lutheran (as they call them), because he had admonished him in a way that was not the custom among the Papists, but are only used by those people who place the honor of God above that of their own lives" (Crespin, 185; translation mine).

trying to teach others the way of salvation. Such was the case for Bible colporteur Barthélémy Hector, who was arrested in the Piedmont area for having religious books, and was burned at the stake in Turin, Italy in 1556.⁵⁶

Fourth, there were examples of personal evangelism. Philbert Hamelin, a former priest, converted at Saintes, France, was imprisoned in 1546 for the gospel. For fear of his life, he faked a renunciation. He fled to Geneva where he established a printing press. After 12 years in Geneva, being married with children, he returned to share the gospel in the place where he had renounced it. So as a Bible colporteur, he planted churches [*petites communautés évangéliques*] in the area of his hometown. He was arrested in Saintes, and refused to escape jail, lest the jailor be put at risk, and because:

... Those who have the work of announcing the Gospel to others [should not] seek to escape and break out of prisons for fear of danger, instead of maintaining, even in flames, the doctrine that he had announced.⁵⁷

Hamelin was brought before the tribunal of Bordeaux, where he was degraded of his rank as priest and burned alive in 1557. For fear of his preaching, trumpets were sounding at his funeral, and he was strangled before his body was burned.

The following paragraph described Hamelin's ministry of personal evangelism:

Many faithful spoke of him, how when he went along in the country, often he would spy out and find the field workers at the hour of their break, as they are accustomed to do, at the foot of a tree, or in the shade of a haystack. There he would feign like he was resting with them, taking the opportunity by little methods and easy speech, to teach them to fear God, and to pray both before and after the break, inasmuch as it was him [God] who gave them all things for the love of His Son Jesus Christ. And after that, he would ask the poor peasants if they would like it if he prayed to God on their behalf. Some took great pleasure in this, and were edified, others were astonished, hearing things that they were not accustomed to hearing. Not a few would run after him with hostile intent [*aucuns luy couroyent-sus*], because he would show them that they were on the way to damnation, if they did not believe in the Gospel. When he received their curses and outrage, he often had this warning in his mouth, My friends, you do not now know what you are doing, but one day you will understand, and I pray God to do such a grace on your behalf.⁵⁸

⁵⁶ Crespin, 438.

⁵⁷ LeLièvre, 125. Translation mine.

⁵⁸ Crespin, 450. Translation mine.

Such was the personal evangelism of Hamelin in the 1550s.

Fifth, Jean Rabec was arrested for being overheard reading from the book of martyrs as an evangelism technique.⁵⁹

Sixth, there was tract distribution. Two examples are Guillaume Husson in 1544 and François de St. Roman in 1544. While it is not clear if these men sojourned in Geneva, as the 67 listed above. Although Husson was called a fugitive, which implies that at one time he had fled France for Geneva. Of Husson, Crespin wrote:

During these approximate times of the year 1544, Guillaume Husson pharmacist, fugitive of Blois for the word of God, arrived in Rouen, and found lodging near the gate Martin-ville, with a widow: of whom among other things he inquired the hour that the Court of the Parliament was dismissed. Having heard from her that it was at ten o'clock, he went to the palace, and sowed several little booklets containing the doctrine of the Christian religion, and the abuses of human traditions: of which the the Court became so shaken, that incontinent they shut the doors of the city, and made inquiries of all the hotel keepers to know what people they had in their [hotels]. The priormentioned widow told them that a man had come in the morning to lodge at her home, that he had asked the time of the dismissal of the Court, and having stayed several two hours in the town, returned for lunch, and this done mounted a horse, and left. Having heard this they hurried off couriers to go after him: of which those who took the way to Dieppe, retained him midway, and brought him back to Rouen: where he inquired incontinent of his faith, of which he confessed without constraint: and that he came solely for the purpose of sowing thesaid booklets, and that he was heading for Dieppe to do the same.

The next week he was condemned to be burned alive, and being that he was a man of some learning, they brought him a Doctor of the Sorbonne named De-landa, the Provincial Head of the Carmelite Order, in order to convert him to the faith that they call Catholic. After his sentence was pronounced against him, he was brought from the prison in a chariot before the Cathedral church, accompanied by this doctor: who had secured a torch to the fist of the patient, wanting to persuade him to make honorable ammdment to the image that they call Our-Lady: but Husson not listening to him, on purpose allowed the torch to fall. For this reason his tongue was cut out, and thereafter he was brought to the veal market, where the said doctor gave a sermon that lasted for a long time. When this charlatan [*caphar*] said something of the grace of God, the patient gave him audience. But when he returned to the merits of the saints and similar dreams, he turned his head back. The venerable doctor seeing the countenance of Husson, lifted up his arms and with great

⁵⁹ Crespin, 408v.

exclamation said to the people that this man was damned, and from this moment on possessed of the devil.

Hence after all the joking of the Monk was achieved, Husson was attached and hung in the air by a large pulley, his hands and feet tied behind his back. When the fire was lit, he stayed over the flame for a period of time without moving, if not to render his spirit he was seen to move by dropping his head. Upon leaving this spectacle was heard diverse comments and opinions of the people. Some said that he had a devil in his body: others maintained the contrary, alleging that if such was the case, he would have been in despair, being that the end which comes from the devil, is despair. This holy Martyr in the midst of the flame, brought astonishment to a number of people: for some they remained foolish, the others were incited to know more clearly the true God of Israel, who in the midst of the blazing furnace can save those who invoke the name of his Son, only protector and liberator of his own.⁶⁰

Likewise, the story of François de St. Roman is likewise fascinating (though it appears that he never lived in Geneva), as it recounts a Spanish man saved on a business trip to Breme [Germany]. He began immediately preaching to and teaching the ignorant. He also wrote letters of his salvation to his relatives, and he wrote the Emperor, deploring the Spanish Inquisition. Crespin explained further:

He also wrote several little books in Spanish, which dealt with articles of religion: and sharing all that has been written above [his testimony] (which is a marvellous thing) he began to write, and this in one month, or at the most forty days, while he was waiting for a response from the people of Anvers.⁶¹

They wrote him back that they were touched by what he wrote, and thought that he may help remedy the problem. Several monks were positioned to arrest him before he entered Anvers [Belgium]. He was arrested, tried, and burned on a heap of wood in 1544.

Seventh, there was the evangelism of the interrogators after the soon-to-be martyrs were arrested. While they were in jail, sometimes for up to nine months, the prisoners sometimes sought to share the gospel to those who came to convict them for their beliefs. These prosecutors included priests, monks, and bishops, as well as the secular court. Calvin, as we noted above, told Richard Lefevre, “Arm yourself of only this word [Jesus Christ], to bring them [the interrogators] back to the pure doctrine on the Gospel.”⁶²

⁶⁰ Crespin, 131-131v. Translation mine.

⁶¹ Crespin, 133. Translation mine.

⁶² Crespin, 278v. Translation mine.

Eighth, when there were brief times of peace (a six month reprieve in 1559), the newly called "Huguenot" churches advanced the gospel through public preaching:

Nevertheless meanwhile the assemblies in order to hear the word of God, carried themselves with less fear, and the things [laws to release all prisoners of Religion] allowed a marvelous advance all across the kingdom; as far as, that preaching was begun to be done in public in many places.⁶³

Hence the evangelism methods of the Huguenot martyrs who spent time in French Switzerland were both low-key (silent evangelism) and aggressive (remonstrating people for their lack of faith). Ye, it was:

- ◆ An urgent evangelism, understanding the urgent need of their French compatriots to hear the Gospel, and receive Bibles and salvific literature;
- ◆ A self-sacrificing evangelism, pressing on although they would likely die for the Gospel cause;⁶⁴
- ◆ A persevering evangelism, regardless of the likelihood of imprisonment and death; and
- ◆ They were willing to sacrifice their very lives for those who were openly hostile to the Gospel, praying that some may be foreordained to eternal life if only they heard the life-saving message of truth.

It was:

- ◆ A proclamational type of evangelism, they proclaimed (and "protested") the Gospel that they believed, not only prior to

⁶³ Crespin, 559. Translation mine.

⁶⁴ Note the testimony of Jean Bertrand, martyred in Blois, France, in 1556: "Also, among other things that happened while in those chains, on a certain day as the council was in its process, and made him rise for his questioning, a certain gentleman of papal persuasion who was in the room, after the prisoner had gone out from before the judges, approached him and said, 'My friend, after what I see and hear, you are hear for your opinionatedness. You must cease from holding your errors, that you may repent of them, and live as the others. Do you want to be more knowledgeable than everyone? If you would like, the sirs will be merciful.' Bertrand, not astonished of this, said, 'Sir, I thank you, I am not hear for maintaining an error. I have not said anything that is not true. And God is a sufficient witness for me.' The gentleman said to him, 'If you do not speak otherwise, they make you die. Do you want to be the cause of your death?' Bertrand responded again, 'If they think, and you also, sir, that in order to avoid that penalty of which you speak to me, I do anything against God, to be deprived of his grace, they abuse themselves greatly'" (Crespin, 434). Translation mine.

their arrest (in the case of most), but all of them proclaimed it freely after their arrest to those who questioned them (Matt 10:17-18; Luke 12:11);

- ◆ An evangelism by faith: (1) faith that God would utilize their lives and testimony as they obeyed His Word, and (2) faith that God would accomplish through their testimony (and even death) that which was His sovereign will for them (Job 13:15 [Eng Geneva], “Loe, though he slay me, yet will I trust in him”);
- ◆ They were considered obstinate and opinionated, as those who believed the Gospel went against the teaching of the Roman Catholic majority; likewise those who held to assurance of salvation based on the finished work of Christ were said to be pernicious and impertinent, heretical and schismatic.⁶⁵

In his letters, rather than discouraging them, Calvin told them that they were doing a noble and necessary work. He encouraged them to press on and persevere, regardless of personal cost. Calvin’s Geneva was definitely evangelistic!⁶⁶

It must have been a humbling thing for Calvin to see so many go to the fire because they adhered to the teaching in his *Institutes*. For example, listen to this explanation of interrogation of Michel Robillart who was martyred in 1564:

My brothers and friends, I make known to you the many propositions and demands that they make to me, first one, and then the other immoderately. And when I think that I have responded to one, the other suddenly starts another proposition, like, And who gave orders to your Calvin? Why do you get yourself burned in this way? I have read the books of Calvin; I have heard him preach; he has preached 4 sermons⁶⁷

⁶⁵ Of Thomas de Saint-Paul, that he had “pertinacite et opiniastrete” (Crespin, 185); of Jean Bertrand, that he was a “pernicieux Lutherien” (ibid., 433) and “opiniastrete” (ibid., 434); of Pierre Chevet, “heretique et schismatique” (ibid., 517); of Philbert Hamelin, “pertinax et obstine” (ibid., 540v); of Jean de Lannoy, “pertinacement persisté et persiste” (Crespin, 578).

⁶⁶ Note in the conclusion of his “Excuse of the Nicodemites...”: “May the people value the doctrine that it has received, and may all cause it to fructify, by publishing it [spreading it in public] from hand to hand” (Jean Calvin, “Excuse de Jehan Calvin a messieurs le Nicodémites sur la omplaincte qu’ilz font de sa trop grand’ rigueur,” with notes from Albert Autin [Geneva, 1544; Paris: Éditions Bossard, 1921], 254). Translation mine.

⁶⁷ The four sermons are now available in English, in *Come Out From Among Them: Anti-Nicodemite Writings of John Calvin*, trans by Seth Skolnitsky (Dallas: Protestant Heritage, 2003), 127-237.

expressly to incite his own [people] to get themselves burned. And so he is only one man; and opinionated [at that]; and is contrary to Luther; and when Calvin will be dead, another will be raised up who will be contrary to him. He rejects the books of Maccabees, as they are contrary to him . . .⁶⁸

Others heard similar questions in 1553, "Item: Have you seen the institution of Calvin, called Christian? I said yes. Here is what I was asked in my first interrogation."⁶⁹ Or again in 1558:

Q. What books have you read. Rx. I have read the Bible and the Institution of Calvin. Q. Why do you believe Calvin, rather than saint Augustine and other ancient doctors? Rx. I do not believe in Calvin, if not being that he is conforming to the Word of God. What more, he quotes in his Institution the ancient doctors, and proves his sayings with testimonies of the same . . .⁷⁰

Similar lines of questioning were fairly common in Crespin.⁷¹ While it must have weighed heavy on his heart, it would have forced him to be sure that his opinions lined-up with the Scriptures.⁷² Yet, as the last martyr witnessed, his faith was not based on the words of Calvin, but on the word of God.

Yes, it may be advantageous for those who study Calvin to be aware of both the evangelistic and deadly setting in which he lived and wrote. In this case one may be benefited from having Calvin's *Institutes* in one hand, and Crespin's martyrology in the other. However, unfortunately for English-only readers, Crespin has never been translated into English, except for portions for a small excerpt in 1894.⁷³ Reading both Calvin and Crespin simultaneously may help English readers better understand Calvin's teachings on perseverance and sovereignty. He taught that a true believer would persevere in the faith, even if a fire was lit at his feet while a monk was whispering in his ear that he should recant and return to the Roman Catholic church. In fact, those who recanted under pressure of death by fire were not considered persevering, but rather weakened by Satan. Such was almost the case for Philippe Cene and Jacques:

⁶⁸ Crespin, 632. Translation mine.

⁶⁹ Crespin, 259. Translation mine.

⁷⁰ Crespin, 503. Translation mine.

⁷¹ Crespin, 269v, 461v, 466v, 486v, 487v, 528v, 529, 552, 555v-556, 560v, 568v, 595-595v, 602v, 605, 609, 632.

⁷² See for example, Jean Calvin, *Excuses de Messieurs les Nicodémites* (1544; 1921).

⁷³ Jean Crespin, *The Fourteen of Meaux*, trans. by H. M. Bower (London: Longmans, Green, 1894), 121 pages. This 1546 account comes from the beginning of Crespin's 3rd volume.

Therefore you should know that in the beginning these were firm and constant, and their process would soon be completed as you know. They were brought up to the foot of the place of suffering [*supplice*] with great constancy. But because of some appeal, were brought back to prison, saying, to the other prisoners, “We have a little more to live.” Being in their first state, and as if at rest, Satan who is slick and wily assailed them, and made them breach, to the point of making them waver and stumble. But the Lord, having foreordained all things, arriving at this point, where I was very sad and remorseful having been brought to such desolation. Briefly, of my small strength I placed on myself the duty of closing the breach by the strength of the Holy Spirit. [they were burned alive five or six days later, “regretting always their fault, believing God for grace before the people”].⁷⁴

Jean des Buissons was said to have perseverance to death, “If it is not similar for many others [martyrs] previously placed, if he did not nevertheless truly persevere, by which he maintained up to the shedding of his blood the pure truth of the Gospel.”⁷⁵ Likewise, as noted above, Calvin, in his letters encouraged the soon-to-be martyrs as prisoners to persevere in the faith. Thus there was no disconnect between the theology of Calvin and urgent evangelism, quite to the contrary.

Therefore, Crespin’s martyrology provides the context for understanding both Geneva’s methodology and theology of evangelism. It will be up to the reader to apply these evangelism methodologies and theologies to the current day.

⁷⁴ Crespin, 454-54v. Translation mine. Likewise also note the weakness of Pierre Annood, of which he repented and apologized (Crespin, 569)

⁷⁵ Crespin, 569v. Translation mine.

Table 1
Imprints per Author per Year from Crespin's Publishing House
 (based on Jean-François Gilmont, *Bibliographie* [1981])*

| Year | Augustin | Théodore de Bèze | Bibles (English, French, Greek, Hebrew, Italian, Latin, Spanish, portions) | Bible Helps (indexes, concordances, lexicons, theological dictionaries) | Henri Bullinger | Jean Calvin (Latin, French, English) | Classical (Homer, Aristotle, Theophrastus) | Jean Crespin (volumes, portions, French, Latin) | Guillaume Farel | Grammars (French, Greek, Italian) | John Knox | Martin Luther and Philip Melancthon | Jean Oecolampade | Jean de Hainaut, Jean de Serre, and Jean Sleidan | Other (French, Italian, Spanish, English, Latin) | Total |
|------|----------|------------------|--|---|-----------------|--------------------------------------|--|---|-----------------|-----------------------------------|-----------|-------------------------------------|------------------|--|--|-------|
| 1550 | | 1 | | | | 7 | | | | | | 1 | | | 2 | 11 |
| 1551 | | 1 | 4 | | | 9 | | | | 1 | | 1 | | | 4 | 19 |
| 1552 | | | 2+ | | | 11 | | | | | | 2 | | | 5 | 20 |
| 1553 | | | 2 | | | 2 | | | 1 | 2 | | | | | 1 | 9 |
| 1554 | | | 2+ | 2 | | 3+ | 1 | | | 1 | | | | | 1 | 10 |
| 1555 | 1 | | 4 | | | | 2+ | | | | | 1 | | | 1 | 9 |
| 1556 | | | 1 | | | 2+ | 5 | | | 1 | | | | 3 | 6 | 18 |
| 1557 | | | 1 | | 3 | 2+ | 1 | | | | | 2 | | 4+ | 4 | 17 |
| 1558 | | | 1 | 1 | 3+ | | 1 | | 1 | 2+ | | 1 | 4+ | 6 | 4 | 20 |
| 1559 | | | 1 | | 1 | 3 | 2 | | | | | | | 3 | 2+ | 12 |
| 1560 | | | 1 | 1 | | 2+ | 1 | 1 | | | 1 | | | | 1+ | 8 |
| 1561 | | 2 | | | | 1+ | 1 | | | 2 | | | | 2+ | 1+ | 9 |
| 1562 | | | | 1 | | 2 | | | | | | | | 1 | | 4 |
| 1563 | | 1 | 2 | | | 4 | 1 | | | | | | | 1 | 3 | 12 |
| 1564 | | 1 | 2+ | | | | 1 | | | | | | | | 2 | 6 |
| 1565 | | | | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | 4 |
| 1566 | | 1 | | 3 | | 3 | | | | 1+ | | | | 1 | 3+ | 12 |

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|----------|-----------|----------|----------|----------|-----------|-----------|------------|
| 1567 | | 1 | | | | 1 | 2 | | | 2 | | | 1 + | | 5 | 12 |
| 1568 | | 1 | | 1 | | | | 1 | | | | | | | 4 | 7 |
| 1569 | | 1 | 1+ | | | | 3 | | | | | | | | | 5 |
| 1570 | | 2 | 1+ | | | 2 | 2+ | 1 | | | | | | 1 | 3 | 12 |
| 1571 | | 4 | | | | | 1 | | | | | | | 3 | 4 | 14 |
| 1572 | | | | | | 2 | | | | | | | | 1 | 2 | 7 |
| Total | 1 | 19 | 25 | 10 | 7 | 53 | 14 | 15 | 1 | 11 | 3 | 8 | 5 | 26 | 59 | 257 |

*Jean François Gilmont, *Bibliographie des éditions de Jean Crespin 1550-1572* (Vevey, Switzerland: P. M. Gason, 1981).

Table 2
Languages per Imprint per Year Represented
in Crespin's Publishing
 (based on Jean-François Gilmont, *Bibliographie* [1981])

| Year | English | French | Greek | Hebrew | Italian | Latin | Spanish | Total |
|--------------|----------|------------|----------------|------------|--------------|------------------|----------|------------|
| 1550 | | 2 | | | 2 | 7 | | 11 |
| 1551 | | 12 | | | | 7 | | 19 |
| 1552 | | 12 | | | | 8 | | 20 |
| 1553 | | 3 | 1 | | 1 | 4 | | 9 |
| 1554 | | 6 | 0.5 | | 1 | 2.5 | | 10 |
| 1555 | | 7 | | | 1 | 1 | | 9 |
| 1556 | 2 | 6 | | | | 7 | 3 | 18 |
| 1557 | | 11 | | | | 2 | 4 | 17 |
| 1558 | 3 | 13 | | | | 3 | | 20 |
| 1559 | | 6 | 1.5 | | | 2.5 | 2 | 12 |
| 1560 | 1 | 2 | | 0.5 | 1 | 3.5 | | 8 |
| 1561 | | 6 | | + | | 3 | | 9 |
| 1562 | | 1 | 0.5 | | | 1.5 | | 4 |
| 1563 | | 9 | | | | 3 | | 12 |
| 1564 | | 5 | 1 | | | | | 6 |
| 1565 | | + | 1 | | | 3 | | 4 |
| 1566 | | 2 | 0.5*2 | | | 9 | | 12 |
| 1567 | | 1 | 1.5+0.5 | | 0.5 | 7.5+0.5*2 | | 12 |
| 1568 | | 4 | | | | 3 | | 7 |
| 1569 | 1 | | 1.5 | | | 2.5 | | 5 |
| 1570 | | 4 | + | | | 8 | | 12 |
| 1571 | | 1 | 1 | | | 12 | | 14 |
| 1572 | | | | | | 7 | | 7 |
| Total | 7 | 113 | 5+0.5*7 | 0.5 | 6+0.5 | 106+0.5*7 | 9 | 257 |

"0.5" refers to book whose content contains two languages, such as lexicons, Greek-Latin New Testaments, or such as Homer's *Odyssey* (with Greek text and Latin translation).

Table 3

"Table II, Geographic partition of the 16th Century notices [of martyrs] (1570 edition)"⁷⁶

(1) absolute number; (2) percentage; (3) average words per martyr

| | Number of words | | Number of martyrs | | (3) | | | | | |
|----------------|-----------------|---------|-------------------|------|-------|----|-----|-----|-------|-------|
| | (1) | (2) | (1) | (2) | | | | | | |
| France | 495,000 | 45 | 316 | 37.5 | 1,560 | | | | | |
| XVII Provinces | 271,000 | 25 | 210 | 25 | 1,290 | | | | | |
| Great Britain | 199,000 | 18.5 | 246 | 29 | 800 | | | | | |
| Italy | 60,000 | 128,000 | 5.4 | 11.5 | 19 | 71 | 2.3 | 8.5 | 3,150 | 1,820 |
| Germany | 21,000 | | 1.9 | | 12 | | 1.4 | | 1,750 | |
| Brazil | 21,000 | | 1.9 | | 3 | | 0.3 | | 7,000 | |
| Spain | 15,000 | | 1.3 | | 36 | | 4.4 | | 410 | |
| Portugal | 3,000 | | 0.3 | | 1 | | 0.1 | | 3,000 | |
| VARIA | 8,000 | | 0.7 | | - | | - | | - | |
| Total | 1,093,000 | 100% | 843 | 100% | | | | | | |

Table 4

"Table III.1, Geographic comparison of the Martyrologies of Rabus and Crespin (1554 eds)"⁷⁷

| | L. Rabus | J. Crespin |
|----------------|----------|------------|
| France | 8.5% | 71% |
| Germany | 43.5% | 15% |
| XVII Provinces | 37.5% | 12% |
| Italy | 4.5% | 2% |
| Spain | 3.5% | -- |
| Great Britain | 2.5% | -- |
| Total | 100 | 100 |

⁷⁶Jean-François Gilmont, "Les centres d'intérêt du martyrologe de Jean Crespin (1554-1570) révélés par la cartographie et les statistiques," *Miscellanea historiae ecclesiasticae*, Vol 5, Issue 61, 363.

⁷⁷ Jean-François Gilmont, "Les centres d'intérêt," 365.

Table 5

“Table III.2, Chronological comparison of the Martyrologies of Rabus and Crespin (1554 eds)”⁷⁸

| | L. Rabus | J. Crespin |
|-------------|----------|------------|
| Before 1531 | 58% | 8% |
| 1531-1540 | 4.5% | 0.5% |
| 1541-1550 | 31.5% | 27.5% |
| After 1550 | 6% | 64% |
| Total | 100 | 100 |

Table 6

“Executions for heresy by the French parliaments, 1530-1560”⁷⁹

| Parliaments | Arrests leading to death | (in Crespin) | % of arrests conserved [in official records] (1540-1560) | [%of Crespin compared to known arrests leading to death] |
|-------------|--------------------------|--------------|--|--|
| Paris | 206 | (88) | 85% | 43% |
| Toulouse | 62 | (8) | 85% | 13% |
| Bordeaux | 26 | (9) | 57% | 35% |
| Rouen | 36 | (5) | 52% | 14% |
| Aix | 34 | (1) | 70% | 3% |
| Grenoble | 2 | (1) | 92% | 50% |
| Dijon | 11 | (9) | 10% | 82% |
| Chambéry | 8 | (6) | ? | 75% |
| Turin | 7 | (2) | 15% | 29% |
| [Total] | [392] | [129] | [% of incomplete official records] | 33% |

⁷⁸ Jean-François Gilmont, “Les centres d’intérêt,” 366.

⁷⁹ From William Monter, “Les exécutés pour hérésie par arrêt du Parlement de Paris (1523-1560),” *Bulletin de la Société de l’Histoire du Protestantisme Français*, 142 (1996), 216. Final row mine.

Table 7
Early Geneva Evangelist-Martyrs (1533-1560)⁸⁰
Pre-1554 Martyrs

| # | DATE OF MARTYRDOM | NAME | PAGE (in Crespin, [1570]) | BIRTHPLACE | [FORMER] TRADE | [PLANNED] MINISTRY | PLACE OF MARTYRDOM |
|----|-------------------|---|---------------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|--|-----------------------|
| 1 | 1533 | Alexandre Canus | 78-78v | Evreux, Normandy, France | Dominican monk | Evangelist | Paris, France |
| 2. | 1535 | Pierre Gaudet | 83 | Val de Gallie, St. Cloud, France | Order of the Cavaliers of Rhodes | Living peacefully in Geneva | Penay, Savoye, France |
| 3 | 1536 | Martin Gonin | 87v-88v | Unsure | Unsure | Minister in the Piedmont valley of Angronne | Grenoble, France |
| 4 | 1539 | Jérôme Vindocin | Lelièvre, 77-78 | Unsure | Dominican monk | Evangelist to Gascogne | Agen, France |
| 5 | 1541 | Claude le Peintre | 97v | Saint-Marceau, Paris | Assistant goldsmith | Evangelizing while working | Paris, France |
| 6 | 1546 | Pierre Chapot | 169-170v | Dauphin, France | Printer's aid in Paris | Brought Bibles to Paris to sell | Paris, France |
| 7 | 1547 | Michel (Miquelot) | 171 | Tournay, Belgium | Assistant tailor | Evangelist | Tournay, Belgium |
| 8 | 1547 | Leonard du Pré | 171-171v | Limoges | Unsure | Evangelist | Paris, France |
| 9 | 1548 | Sanctin Nivet | 173v-174 | Meaux, France | Unsure | Evangelist | Paris, France |
| 10 | 1549 | Augustin [Dumarchiet] | 176v-177v | Hanover | Barber | Planning a trip to England | Beaumont, Belgium |
| 11 | 1549 | Marion [Fournier], wife of Augustin (above) | 176v-177v | Hanover | Wife | Planning a trip to England | Mons, Belgium |
| 12 | 1549 | Estienne Peloquin | 178 | Blois, France | From a noble family | Was ministering to the faithful in Orleans and Blois | Paris, France |
| 13 | 1549 | Leonar Gallimar | 179 | Vendome, Paris, France | Priest | Evangelist | Paris, France |
| 14 | 1550 | Claude Thierry | 179v | Chartres, France | Assistant pharmacist | Traveling salesman | Orleans, France |

⁸⁰ Taken from Crespin; supplemented by Matthieu LeLièvre, *Portraits et récits Huguenots*, première série (Toulouse: Société des Livres Religieux, 1903).

| | | | | | | | |
|----------|----------------------|---|---|-----------------------------------|--|---|-----------------------------|
| 15 | 1550 | Jean Godeau | 181 | Chinon, Touraine | Unsure | Evangelizing | Chambery, Savoy, France |
| 16 | 1550 | Gabriel Beraudin | 181-181v | Lodun | Unsure | Companion of Godeau | Chambery, Savoy, France |
| 17 | 1550 | Macé Moreau | 181v-182 | France | Seller of religious images | Bible colporteur | Troyes, France |
| 18 | 1550 | Claude Monier | 182-184 | St. Amand, Auvergne, France | School teacher | School teacher | Lyon, France |
| # | DATE OF MARTYRDOM | NAME | PAGE (Crespin, 1570) | BIRTHPLACE | [FORMER] TRADE | MINISTRY | PLACE OF MARTYRDOM |
| 19 | 1551 | Thomas de Saint Paul | 185 (Lelièvre, 95-98) | Soissons | Unsure | Traveling salesman | Paris, France |
| 20 21 | 1551 | Jean Joëry and his young assistant | 185v-186 (Lelièvre, 98-100) | Albi, France | Traveling salesman | Seller of good books | Toulouse, France |
| 22 | 1552 | Martial Alba | 197-202v, 234-236 (Lelièvre, 100-103) | Montauban, France | Student | Mission trip to evangelize in their hometown | Lyon, France |
| 23 | 1552 | Pierre Escrivain | 197-198, 202v-209v, 234-236 (Lelièvre, 100-103) | Boulogne, Gascogne | Student | Mission trip to evangelize in their hometown | Lyon, France |
| 24 | 1552 | Bernard Seguin | 197-198, 209v-219, 234-236 (Lelièvre, 100-103) | Reole, Bazadois | Student | Mission trip to evangelize in their hometown | Lyon, France |
| 25 | 1552 | Charles Favre | 197-198, 226-228, 234-236 (Lelièvre, 100-103) | Blanzac, Angoulmois | Student | Mission trip to evangelize in their hometown | Lyon, France |
| 26 | 1552 | Pierre Navihères | 197-198, 219-226, 234-236 (Lelièvre, 100-103) | Limoges | Student | Mission trip to evangelize in their hometown | Lyon, France |
| 27 | 1552 | Pierre Bergier | 236-239 | Bar-sur-Seine, France | Pastry baker | On business, betrayed by his brother- in-law | Lyon, France |
| 28 | 1552 | Hugues Gravier | 239 | Viré, Maine | Schoolmaster in Courtaillou, Neuchatel | Domestic business | Bourg-en- Bresse, France |
| 29 | 1552 | René Poyet | 239v | Anjou | Cobbler | Planning trip to Anjou | Saulmur, Anjou |
| 30 | 1552 | Denis Peloquin | 239v-252v | Blois, France | Unsure | Unsure | Ville-Franche- sur-Saône |
| 31 32 | 1553 | Louys de Marsac [and | 258-263 | Bourbon, France | Soldier | Went to Lyon to help the | Lyon, France |

| | | | | | | | |
|----------|--------------------------|--------------------|------------------------------|--------------------------|---|---|---------------------------|
| | | his cousin] | | | | "Five of Lyon" | |
| 33 | 1553 | Etienne Gravot | 263-264 | Cyan-sur-Loire, France | Carpenter | Arrested in Lyon | Lyon, France |
| 34 | 1553 | Nicolas Nail | 268v | Mans, France | Former Franciscan monk | Bible colporteur | Paris, France |
| 35 | 1553 | Simon Laloé | 274-274v (Lelièvre, 108) | Soissons | Optometrist or eyeglass maker | Arrested while traveling | Dijon, France |
| 36 | 1553 | Pierre Denocheau | 274v (Lelièvre, 108-109) | Unsure | Clerk for a notary | "Taught the ignorant and reproving blasphemy" | Chartres, France |
| 37 | 1553 | Pierre Serre | 276v-277 (Lelièvre, 110-111) | Lese, Languedoc, France | [Former] Priest; in Geneva became cobbler | Evangelizing family members | Toulouse, France |
| # | DATE OF MARTYRDOM | NAME | PAGE (Crespin, 1570) | BIRTHPLACE | [FORMER] TRADE | MINISTRY | PLACE OF MARTYRDOM |
| 38 | 1554 | Guillaume Dalençon | 277-277v (Lelièvre, 112) | Montauban, France | [Former] priest | Evangelist and Bible colporteur | Montpellier, France |
| 39 | 1554 | Richard le Fèvre | 277v-287 (Lelièvre, 113-117) | Rouen, France | Goldsmith | Bible colporteur | Lyon, France |
| 40 | 1554 | Thomas Calbergue | 290v-291v | Tournay | Carpet weaver | Hymn writer | Tournay |
| 41 | 1554 | François Gamba | 291v-293 | Bresse in Lombardy | Unsure | Traveling home | Côme |
| 42 | 1554 | Denis le Vair | 293-293v (Lelièvre, 117-119) | Bayeux, Normandy, France | Former priest | Bible colporteur and evangelist | Rouen, France |

Post-1554 Martyrology Publication Martyrs

| # | DATE OF MARTYRDOM | NAME | PAGE (Crespin, 1570) | BIRTHPLACE | [FORMER] TRADE | MINISTRY | PLACE OF MARTYRDOM |
|----|-------------------|-----------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------------|--------------|-------------------------|
| 43 | 1555 | Jean Vernou | 340-358 (Lelièvre, 119-121) | Poitiers | | Evangelizing | Chambery, Savoy, France |
| 44 | 1555 | Antoine Laborie | 340-358 (Lelièvre, 119-121) | Chambery, Savoy, France | One of the "Five of Chambery" | Evangelizing | Chambery, Savoy, France |
| 45 | 1555 | Jean Trigallet | 340-358 (Lelièvre, 119-121) | Nimes, Languedoc | Licensed in law | Evangelizing | Chambery, Savoy, France |
| 46 | 1555 | Guyraud Tauran | 340-358 (Lelièvre, 119-121) | Cahors, Quercy | Merchant | Evangelizing | Chambery, Savoy, France |

| | | | | | | | |
|----------|--------------------------|---------------------------|----------------------------------|---|---|---------------------------------------|---|
| 47 | 1555 | Bertrand Bataille | 340-358 (Lelièvre, 119-121) | Unsure | Schoolboy | Evangelizing | Chambery, Savoy, France |
| 48 | 1556 | Jean Rabec | 408v-414 | Cerisy-Monpinson, Normandy | Franciscan monk in Vire, France | Evangelizing | Angers, France |
| 49 | 1556 | Pierre de Rousseau | 414 | Anjou | Unsure | Evangelizing | Angers, France |
| 50 | 1556 | Barthélémy Hector | 437v-440v | Poitiers, France | Conductor or transporter | Bible colporteur (9 months full-time) | Turin, Italy |
| 51 | 1556 | Nicolas Ballon | 520v-521 | Poitiers, France | Bible colporteur | Bible colporteur | Arrested in Poitiers; martyred in Paris, France |
| # | DATE OF MARTYRDOM | NAME | PAGE (Crespin, 1570) | BIRTHPLACE | [FORMER] TRADE | MINISTRY | PLACE OF MARTYRDOM |
| 52 | 1557 | Philibert Hamelin | 449v-450v (Lelièvre, 122-125) | Tours | Former priest | Bible colporteur and evangelist | Bordeaux, France |
| 53 | 1557 | Archambaut Sepharon | 451-455 | Lamoleyere, Bazadais | Traveling salesman | Evangelizing | Dijon, France |
| 54 55 | 1557 | Philippe Cene and Jacques | 454-455 | Saint-Pierre-sur-Dyne [Dives], Normandy | Pharmacists assistant | Evangelizing | Dijon, France |
| 56 | 1557 | Pierre de Rousseau | 455-456v | Angouleme | Lawyer | Overseer of church in Paris | Angers |
| 57 | 1558 | Jean du Bordel | 460v-464v | Unsure | Unsure | Minister of the Gospel | Brazil |
| 58 | 1558 | Matthieu Vermeil | 460v-465 | Unsure | Unsure | Minister of the Gospel | Brazil |
| 59 | 1558 | Pierre Bourdon | 460v-465v | Unsure | Unsure | Minister of the Gospel | Brazil |
| 60 | 1558 | Benoit Romyen | 470-472 | Arennes, Daulphin | Cabinet maker | Traveling salesman | Toulouse, France |
| 61 | 1558 | Gilles Verdickt | 509v-510v | Flanders | Greek student in Emden and Norden in Frisia | Minister in Anvers | Anvers |
| 62 | 1559 | Jean Barbeville | 514v-515v | Normandy | Stone mason | Evangelist | Paris, France |
| 63 | 1559 | Marin Marie | 522 | Lisieux, Normandy, France | Unsure | Bible colporteur | Paris, France |
| 64 | 1559 | Adrian Daussi | 523-523v | Douliancourt, France | Assistant merchant | Bible colporteur | Paris, France |
| 65 | 1559 | Jean de Léon | 543v-544 | Mexico, New Spain | Tailor | Planning trip to England | Seville, Spain |

| | | | | | | | |
|----|------|-------------------|----------|----------------|---|------------------|----------------|
| 66 | 1559 | Julien Hernandez | 543-543v | Seville, Spain | Assistant to Spanish Minister in Geneva | Bible colporteur | Seville, Spain |
| 67 | 1560 | Jean Louys Pascal | 544v-557 | Cuny, Italy | Soldier; Bible and tract printer in Italian | Bible colporteur | Rome, Italy |

Table 8
Letters in Crespin from Switzerland-Based Ministers to Prisoners

| NAME | MINISTRY | NUMBER OF LETTERS | LOCATION OF LETTERS (Crespin [1570], page) |
|---------------------|----------------------|-------------------|---|
| Jean Calvin | Minister in Geneva | 11 | 228-229, 229-229v, 251-252, 254v-255, 255-255v, 261v-262, 262, 277v-279, 350v-351, 357-357v, 468-468v |
| Guillaume Farel | Evangelist | 4 | 142v-144v, 144v-145, 145-148v |
| Pierre Viret | Minister in Lausanne | 2 | 229v-232v, 255v-258 |
| François Bourgoïn | Minister in Geneva | 1 | 237 |
| Jean de Saint André | Minister in Geneva | 1 | 237-237v |

Isaiah 2:1-5 and Micah 4:1-5: An Exegetical and Comparative Study

N. Blake Hearson

*Assistant Professor of Old Testament and Hebrew
Midwestern Baptist Theological Seminary
Kansas City, MO 64118*

Abstract

This article provides an exegetical and comparative study on Isaiah 2:1-5 and Micah 4:1-5. The paper serves as a model for students to do papers of this kind.

Translation¹

Micah 4:1-5

1. And² it will come about in the last days that the mountain of the house of the LORD will be established as the highest mountain³, it will be raised up above the hills and the people will stream to it.
2. And many nations will come, and say, “Come, let us go up to the mountain of the LORD, and to the house of the God of Jacob, that He may teach us out⁴ of His ways that we may walk in His paths.” For the law (instruction)⁵ will go forth from Zion and the word of the LORD from Jerusalem.

¹ This article is meant to serve as an example of an exegetical paper. I would like to thank Dr. J. Niehaus for his insight and Ms. Julie Harrison, Ms. Teresa Moody, and Dr. Terry Wilder for their assistance in its production.

² KJV has “but,” RSV, NRSV and NIV lack the conjunction, NAS has “and,” NKJ has “now.”

³ NAS and NIV have “as chief of the . . .,” KJV “in the top of . . .,” NKJV has “on the top of . . .,” RSV and NRSV have “as the highest of . . .” This is the same for Isaiah 2:2.

⁴ KJV has “of his ways,” NAS has “about his ways,” NIV, RSV, NRSV, NKJV all have “his ways.”

⁵ NRSV has “instruction,” NIV, KJV, NAS, RSV, NKJV all have “law.” This is the same for Isaiah 2:3.

3. And He will judge between many peoples and decide for⁶ mighty nations afar off. Then they will hammer their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruning hooks; nation will not lift sword against nation, neither will they learn war any more.
4. But each man⁷ will sit under his vine and under his fig tree, and none will cause fear; for the mouth of the LORD of hosts has spoken.
5. For though all the peoples walk each in the name of its god, but we⁸ ourselves, will walk in the name of the LORD our God forever and ever.

Isaiah 2:1-5

1. The word which Isaiah the son of Amoz envisioned concerning Judah and Jerusalem.
2. And it will come about in the last days, the mountain of the house of the LORD will be established as the highest mountain and will be raised up above the hills and all the nations will stream to it.
3. And many peoples will come and say, "Come, let us go up to the mountain of the LORD, to the house of the God of Jacob, that He may teach us out of⁹ His ways, that we may walk in His paths." For the law (instruction) will go forth from Zion, and the word of the LORD from Jerusalem.
4. And He will judge between the nations and will decide for¹⁰ many peoples. Then they will hammer their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruning hooks; nation will not lift up sword against nation, neither will they learn war anymore.

⁶ KJV and NKJV have "rebuke," NAS has "render decisions for," RSV has "decide for," NRSV has "arbitrate between," NIV has "settle disputes for."

⁷ KJV, RSV and NRSV have "they," NAS has "each of them," NKJV has "everyone," and NIV has "every man."

⁸ NAS has "as for us, we . . .," all others ignore the emphasis of the Hebrew אִנַּחְנוּ and simply have "we will . . ."

⁹ NAS has "concerning . . .," KJV has "of his ways," NIV, RSV, NRSV, NKJV all have "his ways."

¹⁰ NRSV has "shall arbitrate for." For all other translations, see footnote 5.

5. O house of Jacob, come, let us walk in the light of the LORD.

Text Critical Notes¹¹**Micah 4:1-5**

1. ^a נָכוֹן is transposed to a different location in Isaiah 2:2. It makes no difference in the translation. || ^b The Septuagint omits בַּיָּהּ completely. The more difficult MT reading is preferred. The LXX most likely represents an attempt to smooth out the phrase. || ^c Isa. 2:2 leaves out הוּא. The lack of this pronoun in Isaiah may be a dropout or a paraphrasing in Micah. || ^{d-d} Isa. 2:2 has אֱלֹהֵי כָל-הַגּוֹיִם instead of עַמִּים. The apparatus recommends comparison with the Syriac Peshitta. The difference is mainly stylistic if one understands הַגּוֹיִם and עַמִּים to be synonyms in this context.

2. ^a Isa. 2:3 uses עַמִּים instead. These terms should probably be understood as synonyms in the context of the two passages. || ^b Apparatus postulates that וְאֶמְרֵי might be an addition. There is no apparent reason to think an addition has been made.

3. ^{a-a} Stylistic difference with Isa. 2:4. Inverse of 2:3a above. || ^{b-b} Again, stylistic difference but same idea. Isa. 2:4 has לְעַמִּים רַבִּים || ^{c-c} עַד-רְחֹק is omitted in Isa. 2:4. Therefore, apparatus suggests that it might be an addition. This would depend on Isa. 2:4 being the original text. If Micah is the original then Isa. has dropped the phrase. || ^d Isa. 2:4 has the singular instead of יְשָׁא. Again, it seems to be a stylistic difference as the translation is essentially the same.

4. The textual apparatus has no comments on this verse.

5. ^{a-a} the Septuagint has τῆς ὁδοῦ αὐτοῦ (“his way”) in place of אֶלֶהּי בְּשֵׁם (“in the name of his god”). The Septuagint might be making a theological interpretation here or it may just be a misreading. Either way, the theological context makes the MT reading preferable.

Isaiah 2:1-5

1. The textual apparatus makes no comment on this verse.

¹¹ These are comments in relation to the text critical apparatus of the BHS. Further text critical insights are to be found in the main body of the paper.

2. ^a גְּבוֹן is transposed with the Syriac Peshitta after יְהִיָּה. See Micah 4:1^a above for comment. || ^{b-b} Stylistic difference. See Micah 4:1^{d-d} above. 3-5. The textual apparatus makes no comment on these verses.

Prolegomena

The passages which this study will examine and compare are in the books of Isaiah and Micah. Much ink has been spilled concerning the authorship and date of both books, but with the focus of this paper in mind, the assumptions of the author will be stated succinctly.

Isaiah was the son of Amoz, whom Jewish tradition holds to be the brother of King Amaziah of Judah. This tradition is conjecture at best, but Isaiah did seem to have some influence with the royal court. He may have been a scribe (2 Chr. 26:22) or an official.¹² The book named after him is composed of his oracles to God's chosen people. Some have argued for multiple authors of the book, but as H. Wolf points out, there is really no historical attestation for this idea. Also, with the possible exception of Malachi, all of the other prophets have their names preserved with their books.¹³ The final date of the book's compilation was probably somewhere between 740 and 680 B.C.

Micah was a contemporary of Isaiah. His hometown was Moresheth-gath (1:14) and he was mentioned by Jeremiah (26:18) long after his death. He probably witnessed the fall of Samaria and the Assyrian attack on Jerusalem in 701 B.C.¹⁴ He prophesies the fall of Samaria in 1:6-7 but the rest of his book focuses on Judah. It seems logical that he would have given most of his oracles in Jerusalem.¹⁵ The date of the final compilation of his book was probably between 739 and 686 B.C..

In dealing with Isa. 2:1-5 and Micah 4:1-5, it is important to see them in their contexts. Chapter 1 of Isaiah serves as a general introduction to

¹² See C. H. Bullock, *An Introduction to the Old Testament Prophetic Books* (Chicago: Moody Bible Institute, 1986), 126.

¹³ *Interpreting Isaiah: the Suffering and Glory of the Messiah* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1985), 36. For more information on the authorship of Isaiah see Rachel Margalioth, *The Indivisible Isaiah* (New York: Yeshiva Univ. Press, 1964); O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 1-12* (trans. R.A. Wilson; London: SCM, 1972); C. Westermann, *Isaiah 40-66* (trans. D.M.G. Stalker; London: SCM, 1969); R. K. Harrison, *Introduction to the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1969); J. Barton Payne, "The Eighth Century Israelitish Background of Isaiah 40-66," WTJ 29 (1967): 179-90.

¹⁴ W. J. Dumbrell, *The Faith of Israel: Its Expression in the Books of the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1988), 98.

¹⁵ Jerusalem and the Temple are given a high profile in the book (1:2, 5; 3:10; 4:4, 8, 10, 13). Additionally, Micah was well acquainted with the activities of the leaders, prophets, and priests (3:1-7, 9-11). It was these very leaders that Micah addressed concerning their evil. See Bullock, 104.

the book and 2:1 begins a new section which introduces the prophet's message to the people.¹⁶ The message of 2:1-5 is certainly of a different nature from what is in chapter 1 and, for that matter, from what follows.¹⁷ Despite this fact, the message of the passage itself is undeniably one of eschatological hope and this certainly is a theme that is manifest elsewhere in Isaiah.¹⁸

The passage in Micah also stands in contrast to its surroundings. However, Micah's employ of 4:1-5 is deliberately and artistically linked with its surrounding material. This restoration oracle comes on the tail of a pronouncement of judgment (3:9-12) and continues the theme of the fate of Jerusalem. The contrasts are evident: the role of Zion in 3:10, 12 and 4:2 versus the reduction (3:12) and exaltation (4:1) of the temple mountain; the evil heads of Jacob (3:9, 11) in contrast with the mountain of YHWH as head of the mountains (4:1); Zion built with bloodshed (3:10) and yet established by God (4:1-2); and the evil judgment by Jerusalem's leaders (3:11) versus God's righteous judging (4:2-3).¹⁹ In both Isaiah and Micah, it is clear that the passage was eschatological for the *Sitz im Leben* in which it was given. The sin of the people and their evil social practices literally "stank to high heaven." The Jerusalem of the passage and the Jerusalem of the eighth century B.C. were very different. This section, with its elevated poetic prose, serves as both a challenge to righteous living and a promise of restoration after judgment.

As to the structure, it has been noted that Isaiah 2:1 is a starting point. Isaiah and Micah are, in essence, identical in 2:2-4 and 4:1-3. Micah 4:4 is not present in Isaiah. Verse 5 in both passages expresses a similar thought. The following outlines are suggested for each passage:²⁰

| Isaiah 2:1-5 | | Micah 4:1-5 | |
|--------------|---|-------------|---|
| 2:1 | Introduction | 4:1-2a | Celebration of Jerusalem's exaltation |
| 2:2-3a | Celebration of Jerusalem's exaltation | 4:2b-4a | Expansion and results of the Lord's instruction |
| 2:3b-4 | Expansion and results of the Lord's instruction | 4:4b | Attestation |
| 2:5 | Call for change | 4:5 | Ecumenical response |

¹⁶ Cf. 1:1. E.J. Young, *The Book of Isaiah* (vol. 1; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1969), 94.

¹⁷ Many scholars disagree over what the relation of Isa. 2:1-5 is to the surrounding context and how far the section that 2:1 introduces goes.

¹⁸ Cf. Isa. 27:13; 32:17-18; 51:4; 56:7; 66:20.

¹⁹ See B. Waltke, "Micah" in *An Exegetical and Expository Commentary: The Minor Prophets* (T. E. McComiskey, ed.; Grand Rapids: Baker, 1993), 676.

²⁰ There is chiasmus and parallelism employed throughout the passage.

The Micah passage has no introductory verse and uses the contrasts present to blend into the cycles of the book fairly smoothly. There are many parallel pairs that give the passage structure and meter.²¹ Micah 4:5 seems to be a conclusion to 4:1-4. On the other hand, Isaiah 2:5 may be transitory between sections or may merely belong to the next subsection.

Exegetical Comment

With the setting briefly laid out, we will now examine the passages in depth. Where the passages coincide we will treat them together. In Isaiah 2:1 we have a rather unusual construction. We are told that Isaiah “envisioned the word” concerning Judah and Jerusalem. A more common construction was “the word of the Lord which came to . . .”²² The word, הַדְּבָרִים, is, in either case, an announcement of some sort from the Lord. On the basis of what follows, הַדְּבָרִים apparently carries the broader meaning of “event, thing, or matter.” The article lends it some force; it is a specific “word” that Isaiah saw.²³ The verb הִזָּהוּ²⁴ is often associated with prophetic activity. It is always used in the Qal stem and has to do with seeing, experiencing or perceiving. In this context, it is a synonym of הַדְּבָרִים. Isaiah is “envisioning” the “vision” or events that follow. The subjects of the vision are Judah and Jerusalem.

With Isa. 2:2 we begin the parallel with Mic. 4:1. The phrase הַיָּמִים הַבְּאֲחֵרִיתִים, “in the last days,” is a reference to the future.²⁵ It is often a temporal phrase that refers to a specific point in history. However, it can also refer to an eschatological period.²⁶ For example, in Dan 10:14, this phrase is explained as pertaining to “days yet *future*.”²⁷ Keil feels that the

²¹ Mountains and hills, peoples and nations, ways and paths, swords and spears.

²² Cf. Jer. 14:1; Ezek. 13:1; Hos. 1:1; Joel 1:1; Jon. 1:1; Mic. 1:1; Zeph. 1:1. Amos (1:1) has a similar phrasing as that of Isaiah 2:1. John N. Oswalt, *TNICOT: Isaiah Chapters 1-39* (R.K. Harrison, ed.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1986), 114.

²³ Young, 95. The lack of the phrase “of the Lord” does not mean that what follows is not inspired revelation.

²⁴ “It is important to note that *chazah*, etc. refers to a special type of divine revelation, probably during the night, but distinct from a dream.” *TDOT* 4:290. See Num. 24:4, 16; 2 Sam. 24:11; Job 19:26, 27; Ps. 11:7; 46:9; Prov. 24:32; Isa. 1:1; 13:1; 26:11; 30:10; 33:20; 48:6; Lam. 2:14; Ezek. 12:27; 13:6-9, 16, 23; 21:34; 22:28; Amos 1:1; Mic. 1:1; 4:11; Hab. 1:1; Zec. 10:2.

²⁵ הַיָּמִים The article gives it the meaning of totality of the days. The Hebrew method of designating history. The Hebrew title for Chronicles is “The Books of the Days.” (Young, 98).

²⁶ G. W. Buchanan, “Eschatology and the End of Days,” *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 20 (1961): 188ff.

²⁷ Italics are from NASB. It is literally, “days yet,” but the idea of future is implied.

term always denotes the messianic era: "It was therefore the last time in its most literal and purest sense, commencing with the New Testament aeon and terminating at its close."²⁸ Peter associated the coming of the Spirit at Pentecost with "the last days" by quoting Joel in Acts 2:17. Hebrews 1:2 says that the church is living in a period known as "these last days." Given the context of the Isaiah/Micah passage, it is best to interpret the phrase eschatologically. However, it is not prudent to try to define the time beyond simply the idea that "it is coming."²⁹

The "mountain of the house of the Lord" is used to express the idea of the seat of YHWH's rule. This mountain will be established (נָבִיחַ). The word is in a different position in Isaiah than in Micah. Delitzsch notes that the positioning of נָבִיחַ with יְהוָה in Micah gives the "establishment" a permanent sense.³⁰ There is a question as to how בְּרֵאשׁ should be translated. In particular, the preposition בְּ is troublesome. Some interpret it as "upon" and others as "at." Perhaps the best way to understand it is as a בְּ of identity.³¹ Coupled with רֵאשׁ as a superlative, we can translate the phrase as "as the highest mountain."³² The phrase which follows, "and will be raised up above the hills," is a parallel to the establishment of the mountain.³³ In the ancient near east, local gods were often associated with the high places or hills.³⁴ The Israelites themselves, when they succumbed to the sin of idolatry, went to the high places and worshipped at pagan altars. Preaching against such practices was a constant theme of the prophets (Isa. 36:7; Jer. 19:5; Ezek. 6:3; Hos. 10:8; Amos 7:9; Mic. 1:3; Hab. 3:19). By establishing the mountain of the house of the Lord high above all the other hills, YHWH is demonstrating His superiority over all of the false gods.³⁵

²⁸ C. F. Keil, *Commentary on the Old Testament: Minor Prophets* (Vol. 10; trans. James Martin; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1989), 456. F. Delitzsch, *Commentary on the Old Testament: Isaiah* (Vol.7; trans. James Martin; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1991), 113. Cf. Heb. 1:1; 1 Pet. 1:20, with 1 Cor. 15 and Rev.

²⁹ Cf. Gen. 49:1, Num. 24:14, Deut. 4:30, Deut. 31:29, Isa. 2:2, Jer. 23:20, Jer. 30:24, Jer. 48:47, Jer. 49:39, Ezek. 38:16, Dan. 2:28, Hos. 3:5. Waltke disagrees (677).

³⁰ *Commentary on the Old Testament: Isaiah*. (Vol. 7; trans. James Martin; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1991), 456.

³¹ B. K. Waltke and M. O'Conner, *Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1990), 198.

³² The other mountains look on Zion with jealousy. (Ps. 68:16-18)

³³ A parallel in Hebrew poetry is more than mere repetition of an idea. The parallel expands on the original statement in some way.

³⁴ Lev. 26:30; Num. 22:41; 33:52; Deut. 12:2; 32:13; Jdg. 5:18; 2 Sam. 1:19, etc. See *Theological Wordbook of the Old Testament* (R. L. Harris ed.; Chicago: Moody Press, 1980), 147.

³⁵ H. Wolff, *Micah the Prophet* (trans. R. D. Gehrke; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1978), 120. The enthronement of YHWH is equivalent to the dethronement of all other gods.

The result of this exaltation of the Lord's house is that "all the nations will stream to it."³⁶ Micah has "peoples" instead of "nations" and lacks the "all" (כָּל). It is interesting to note that Isaiah and Micah will often have גוֹיִם where the other has עַמִּים and vice versa. These terms seem to be interchangeable and the switching is of little significance in this passage.³⁷ The verb יַהֲרֹר is unusual. It is apparently a derivative of the noun for "river." The nations are literally viewed as flowing like water to the mountain. This gives us the interesting picture of a river flowing up hill! Such is the attraction of YHWH to the people!³⁸ Some have seen this as an undoing of what happened at the Tower of Babel (Gen. 11).³⁹ The Tower of Babel (i.e. confusion) was the place where the nations streamed out into the world and now that is being reversed as the nations stream to Jerusalem (i.e. city of peace).

Isa 2:3 and Micah 4:2 continue with the results of the exaltation of the mountain of the house of the Lord. The peoples or nations are now speaking. They are exhorting one another in the cultic language of Israel⁴⁰ as they are in the process of streaming to Zion. Delitzsch points to the desire of the nations to receive salvation as their motivation for the journey.⁴¹ It is interesting that the name Jacob is invoked instead of the more common epithet, Israel.⁴² This is the name that was often cited as part of the formula, "the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob," and so might very well be a reference to God's care and relationship with the patriarchs and His salvific plan. God has been working providentially from the very beginning to bring about this flow of the nations to Himself. These peoples go to be taught out of YHWH's ways (מִדְרָכָיו).⁴³

³⁶ The "holy mountain" is found in those Isaianic passages that depict the coming of the Jews and Gentiles to Jerusalem in the last days (11:9; 27:13; 56:7; 57:13; 65:11, 25; 66:20).

³⁷ The "nations" may be slightly more specific in the sense that the term usually excludes Israel whereas "peoples" doesn't necessarily carry this distinction. However, even this distinction is somewhat artificial (cf. Mic 5:6-7 [Eng. 7-8]).

³⁸ The only other passage which uses the word with the sense of stream or flow is Jer. 51:44, in which it is said that the nations will no longer stream to Babylon.

³⁹ Young, 102. See also R. L. Smith, *Micah-Malachi*. (Word Biblical Commentary 32; Waco: Word Books, 1984), 37.

⁴⁰ "Go up" and "God Of Jacob." Three times a year all male Israelites were to "go up" or make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Only the citizens and priests of Jerusalem itself knew it as a daily center of worship. For the people of the countryside it was a pilgrim center. (D. R. Hillers, *Micah: A Commentary on the Book of the Prophet Micah* [Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1984], 50).

⁴¹ 114.

⁴² Keil and Delitzsch see this as a term of affection from the mouth of Micah. *Isaiah*, 114.

⁴³ Metaphorical usage. See *TWOT*, 197.

It is important to note that YHWH Himself is the one doing the teaching here.⁴⁴ The priests and leaders have failed and are corrupt (Mic 3:11) so YHWH Himself has replaced them! The ׀ is not partitive, but rather refers to the source.⁴⁵ The teachings are coming “out of His ways” like coffee comes out of a pot. The ways of YHWH are distinctly His. They are the ways that He himself takes. They are the revealed ordinances of both His will and His actions. The fact that the people are coming to learn implies that they must be taught. They have little to no knowledge of Him, so they must partake of His ways. This presents an interesting contrast with Israel, who had previously received such instruction and yet does not know Him (Isa. 1:3).

The phrase, ׀גלכה בארצהו, parallels the “learn His ways” statement structurally, but it is a result of the knowledge the people have gained ideologically. The phrase “we will walk,” expresses either subjective intention or subjective conclusion. Young explains, “This walk is the entire course of a man’s life, what he thinks and says as well as how he lives.”⁴⁶ It is also noteworthy that “a way” entails a certain amount of confinement. To walk in God’s ways is to stay within their bounds.⁴⁷ By walking in the paths of YHWH the people will take what they have learned from the mountain of the Lord and live it. This in turn will challenge others to join in the stream of nations going to the mountain.

This ends the speech of the peoples, and the emphatic ׀ affirms why the people are streaming to Zion.⁴⁸ YHWH’s presence means that the law goes forth from Zion and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem. The emphasis of the clause is on “from Zion” and “from Jerusalem” as the center of the divine activity. The term תורה⁴⁹ is the true instruction which God gives to mankind. The term can probably be taken as incorporating more than just the Pentateuch. This is confirmed by the parallel, ׀בריהוה, which belongs to and comes from God. It is an expression of His will.⁵⁰ The “law” also parallels and is connected with “His ways.” Taken together these terms encompass the entirety of God’s revelation of Himself and its implications for the lives of men.

⁴⁴ ׀וירנו - waw with the imperfect indicates purpose. See Lambdin, *Introduction to Biblical Hebrew*, 119.

⁴⁵ See Waltke, 680. Hillers sees this as implying less than complete acceptance of the Torah (51).

⁴⁶ 105.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ O’Conner and Waltke, 665.

⁴⁹ For a broader meaning of “instruction” see Hos 4:6; 8:12; 1 Chron. 16:46; 22:12; Sir. 41:4; Zeph 3:4. For the “written” law see Ex. 20:1 24:3; 34:1.

⁵⁰ O’Conner and Waltke, 106. The “word of the Lord” often refers to prophetic activity (Mic. 1:1; Jer. 18:18; Ezek. 33:30; Amos 3:1) so it may here too refer to the word of the prophet. See Hillers, 51.

In Isa. 2:4 and Micah 4:3, God is represented as the divine judge who settled the disputes between the peoples. This is a result of the nations adopting the teaching of the YHWH. The submission and obedience of the peoples to YHWH is a prerequisite to their being able to learn His ways. So by streaming to His mountain, the nations are acknowledging YHWH as their true ruler and שָׁפֵט (judge). This is true even for those nations who are far off.⁵¹ The verb וְהוֹכִיחַ means “to decide or arbitrate.” It is a synonym for וְשָׁפֵט in the previous clause. God, the Judge, is pronouncing judgments for the nations and arbitrating their disputes. There might be a sense of rebuking or chastening those nations that still resist the flow towards Zion.⁵² The use of the terms “mighty” or “strong” in regard to the nations supports this idea, but the overall context and וְשָׁפֵט tend to support the translation of “decide.”

The result of God’s judgments and arbitration, and the submission of the peoples to them, is a universal peace.⁵³ It is the peace that can come only from the teaching of God being thoroughly incorporated into men’s lives. This peace will be so all encompassing that the weapons of war will be reshaped so that they can be utilized in peaceful pursuits.⁵⁴ The fact that the weapons will become agricultural tools is reminiscent of the basic task of man in the Garden of Eden (Gen. 2:15) before the Fall. It will also be a lasting peace, for the concept of war will be completely forgotten. In other words, it is not a temporary peace between wars but the divine peace of God, held in place by His presence on the mountain.

Isaiah and Micah cease to mirror each other at this point. Micah 4:4 does not appear in the Isaiah passage at all, but continues the thought of 4:3. The phrase וְהָיָה שָׁלוֹם וְיָמִין וְיָמִין is mirrored in 1 Kings 5:5 (Eng 4:25), 2 Kings 18:31 and Isa. 36:16. This shows the phrase to be a common expression for peace and rest.⁵⁵ It carries the idea of secure possession of one’s own land for a long time.⁵⁶ This is confirmed by the fact that “none will cause fear.”⁵⁷ Gone will be the days of nations having to be ever vigilant in watching their borders. Each one will be content, so

⁵¹ Isaiah lacks the phrase וְהוֹכִיחַ. The significance of this variation is dealt with below.

⁵² See Waltke, 681.

⁵³ This is the inverse of Joel 4:10 [Eng 3:10]. It represents the utter destruction and chaos of the Lord’s judgment whereas the Micah/Isaiah section shows complete restoration.

⁵⁴ וְהוֹכִיחַ A resultative piel (O’Conner and Waltke, 407).

⁵⁵ It was a symbol of God’s blessing. Cf. Dt. 8:8; Hos. 2:14, 17 [Eng 12, 15].

⁵⁶ Vines take at least three years to become productive and fruit trees take even longer. See Hillers, 51 and Wolff, 122.

⁵⁷ וְיָמִין - Distinctive *waw* is circumstantial (Waltke, 682). This is reminiscent of Lev. 26:6. This security is heightened in Ezek. 34:28 and Isa. 11:6-9.

there will be no need to worry about anyone trying to take from anyone else. The verse ends with the words “for the mouth of the Lord has spoken.” This serves as a type of “Amen” to the vision that has preceded. It is a statement affirming the authenticity of the vision as from the Lord.

Micah 4:5 serves as a liturgical response to the preceding vision. The form of the verbs in the verse, *וַלְכוּ* and *וַלֶּךְ*, require that they be understood in the same way. The plural “we will walk” stands in contrast to the individualizing *אִישׁ* previous. To walk in the name of a god is not just regulating one’s conduct according to a belief system. It is to literally be partaking of the god’s strength in order to live one’s life.⁵⁸ It is reminiscent of a suzerain-vassal covenant. Therefore, the other nations walk in the strength of gods that have no real strength. God’s people answer the challenge implicit in the passage by saying that they will walk in YHWH’s strength. They will follow in the ways of the Creator and Judge of the world.

Isaiah 2:5 serves somewhat of a similar purpose to Micah 4:5, despite its very different wording. It is a challenge to the people of God to turn away from their sin and to take an active part in pursuing the realization of the vision. The phrase *לָכוּ וְנִלְכֶה*, “Come let us walk,” echoes the *וְנִשְׁלַח* *וְנִלְכוּ* of verse 3 (cf. 1:18). Likewise, the *אִוֵר* of YHWH is the teaching and word mentioned in verse 3.⁵⁹ It is time for the people of YHWH to start living like the people of YHWH.

The Question of Authorship

Since Isaiah 2:2-4 and Micah 4:1-3 are almost identical, the question of who wrote the section has been a source of much debate. We now turn our attention to this debate.

Isa. 2:2; Mic. 4:1: The first textual difference is between the MT and LXX. Both the passages have *בֵּית* but the LXX lacks a translation equivalent (*οἶκόν*). However, the MT is supported by the existence of the same expression in 2 Chron. 33:15. It is the more difficult reading and is preferable over the LXX.⁶⁰ The first difference *between* the passages is in the positioning of *נִבְּן*. It comes after *הַיְמִים* in Isaiah but after *בֵּית־יְהוָה* in Micah. This creates no difference in translation into English but it does

⁵⁸ Keil and Delitzsch, *Minor Prophets*, 458.

⁵⁹ The word “light” has many uses in the OT. The sense here is that of being open before the Lord because His countenance is shining upon you and your deeds and actions are just. See Isa. 5:20 (evil for good, light for darkness), 9:1 (people who walk in darkness . . .), 18:4 (Lord’s countenance), 60:1, 3, 19-20 (God as light), Jer.4:23 (like Gen. 1:1), 13:16 (darkness as judgment), Jer 31:35 (Lord of hosts is source of light), Hos. 6:5 (light as judgment on evil), Mic 7:8 (Lord is a light for me), 7:9 and Zeph 3:5 (light shows deeds).

⁶⁰ Hillers (49) disagrees. See also Waltke (677).

smooth the poetic meter of Micah (3+3). Unfortunately, this doesn't provide much evidence in deciding authorship, however, because the change could arguably be made to point in either direction.⁶¹ The next textual difference is the lack of the indefinite pronoun הוּא in Isaiah. This adds emphasis in the Micah passage and thus makes it smoother. As with the placement of וְכִן, this inconsistency can be presented as evidence for the authorship by either prophet.

The next discrepancy is that Micah has עָלָיו whereas Isaiah has אֵלָיו. The automatic assumption is that Isaiah's rendering makes more sense. However, the verb associated with these prepositions is rare (וְקָרָה) and its sense is in doubt. Thus, there is no firm basis for preferring one rendering over another. The last variance in these verses is seen in Micah's use of עַמִּים where Isaiah uses כָּל-הַגּוֹיִם. Waltke has pointed out that "Isaiah and Micah, who reverse these terms, probably intend no sharp differentiation between them."⁶² The כָּל is not significant as a support one way or the other but underscores the universality of worship involved.

Isa. 2:3; Mic. 4:2: The first difference in these verses is the switching of גּוֹיִם and עַמִּים.⁶³ Again, no meaning or significance can be derived from this and it is unhelpful in deciding the issue of authorship. Micah has בְּיַחַד whereas Isaiah has אֶל-בַּיִת, lacking the conjunction. The conjunction in Micah seems to make the reading smoother and emphasizes the parallelism. Micah has וְיִזְכְּנוּ where Isaiah uses the defective spelling (וְיִזְכְּנוּ). This is consistent with the overall truncation seen in the Isaiah passage.⁶⁴

Isa. 2:4; Mic. 4:3: Micah has רַבִּים in the first clause where Isaiah has no such adjective. Additionally, Micah has עַד-רְחוֹק where Isaiah simply has עַמִּים רַבִּים and רַבִּים can be viewed as synonyms (although they don't have to be) but עַד-רְחוֹק is completely missing even in idea from Isaiah. Joel 4:8 (Eng 3:8) contains a similar phrase, אֶל-גּוֹי רְחוֹק.⁶⁵ Hillers views the Micah text as a conflation of the textual variants "far-off nations" and "mighty nations."⁶⁶ However, there is no basis for such an

⁶¹ The change could be evidence of Isaiah quoting /borrowing a finished poem or of the polishing work of a poet borrowing a less refined work.

⁶² Waltke, 679.

⁶³ This will not be commented on further when it occurs in the following verses.

⁶⁴ *Matres lectionis* were added to the biblical text at a later date however making the point moot.

⁶⁵ Cf. Jer. 5:15; 31:10

⁶⁶ Hillers, 50.

assumption, for it implies a lack of originality on Micah's part.⁶⁷ Micah and Isaiah have a different spelling when it comes to the word *חַרְבוֹתֵיהֶם* (*חַרְבוֹתָם* in Isaiah). There seems to be no significance in this change beyond the style of the authors. The same is true for the verbs *יִשְׂאוּ* (Micah) and *יִשְׂאֵהוּ* (Isaiah). Finally, *יִלְמְדוּ* lacks the paragogic nun found in Micah. The paragogic nun represents an earlier form⁶⁸ and thus may favor Micah's authorship but it alone is not enough to yield a decision.

It has been noted above that Micah 4:4 is missing from Isaiah 2 but seems like a natural part of verses 1-3. Isa. 2:5 and Mic. 4:5 are similar in their aim, but that is where the resemblance stops. Overall, no decision can be made on the basis of the textual variations alone. As Hillers has pointed out, any conclusions based on form would be suspect, if for no other reason than that the transmission of the texts may have been kinder to the borrower's book than to the original author's, or vice versa.⁶⁹

This being the case we must look at some other arguments. There are four main possibilities that need to be considered:⁷⁰ (1) The passage was interpolated into Isaiah and/or Micah by a later redactor, (2) Both prophets borrowed the passage from a common pre-existing source, (3) Isaiah authored the passage and Micah is quoting it, or (4) Micah authored the passage and Isaiah quoting it. We will address these possibilities in the order given here.

L. C. Allen seems to support the idea of a later editor splicing in the passage from another text.⁷¹ Yet this is a very unlikely option. J. N. Oswalt explains, "That a passage of this beauty and power came from an unknown is akin to believing an unknown could have written the 'Moonlight' sonata and have remained unknown."⁷² Anonymity is difficult to justify. This means that the position of Micah and Isaiah both borrowing from a common source, while slightly more tenable, is also unlikely.⁷³ The very presence of the passage in both eighth century prophets indicates that it is probably from the eighth century.⁷⁴ Thus, it

⁶⁷ There is no reason not to think that Micah wanted "mighty nations far-off" here. It is the more difficult reading and is therefore to be preferred.

⁶⁸ O'Conner and Waltke, 347.

⁶⁹ Hillers, 52.

⁷⁰ See H. Bullock, 111.

⁷¹ He says the work was influenced by the "Songs of Zion" found in Psalms 46, 48, and 76. NICOT: The Books of Joel, Obadiah, Jonah and Micah (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1976), 244.

⁷² Oswalt, 115. E. J. Young echoes this thought (112).

⁷³ It has been noted that Jer. 23:30 would support the idea that one of the prophets wouldn't have taken the vision from the other. However, the context in Jeremiah is the condemnation of false prophets not true prophets quoting one another.

⁷⁴ Young (111) supports this. E. Cannawurf argues that the passage is by a post-exilic author. ("The Authenticity of Micah IV:1-4," *Vetus Testamentum* 13 (1963): 26-33.

most likely originated with either Isaiah or Micah. It is possible that the Holy Spirit revealed the vision to both men so that they both wrote it down. However, this doesn't fit with the fact that the Holy Spirit doesn't eliminate the personalities of His messengers. The passage is too similar in both books.

So we are left with the last two options. There are several points in favor of Isaiah being the originator of the vision. The first and most obvious is the claim of Isa. 2:1 to be a vision that Isaiah received. Second is that there are several terms and themes that are echoed in the rest of the book of Isaiah.⁷⁵ Additionally, Micah 4:4 contains two phrases, "none shall make them afraid" and "the mouth of the Lord has spoken," that are found nowhere else in Micah but are found in Isaiah.⁷⁶

J. L. Mays has put forth several arguments in favor of Isaianic authorship of the passage.⁷⁷ He states that the vocabulary and style of the passage has no correspondence with the rest of Micah, whereas, as noted above, it does with Isaiah. Furthermore, he holds that the passage has no place in the mission of Micah as defined by the other oracles and his own statement of mission (Mic. 3:8). Finally, the material in Mic. 4:1-4 flat out contradicts Mic. 3:12.

D. R. Hillers has noted the weaknesses in Mays' tenets.⁷⁸ The lack of similar vocabulary in Micah is a poor criterion because there are similarities with the rest of Micah. For instance, 3:12 is linked with 4:1 by the words *וְהָרַר הַבְּרִית* and 3:11 is linked to 4:2, 3 by the verbs *וַיִּשְׁפֹּטוּ* and *וַיִּירֶוּ*. Additionally, the size of the book of Micah gives us but a small sample of his vocabulary in comparison to what we have in the book of Isaiah. As to Micah's statement of mission in 3:8, the verse comes at the end of a polemic and should be taken in that context. It is not meant to be an all encompassing statement of what Micah was called by God to do or even as a formal pericope of Micah's call.⁷⁹ Finally, to say that 4:1-5 is contradictory to 3:12 is to miss the point of the passage. The passage stands as a challenge to the people to repent and follow God. It is as if the prophet was saying, "If the nations of the world can someday see the glory of God and repent, why can't you, to whom it has already been revealed, change your ways this day?" The only way the future glory of

⁷⁵ See Isa. 9:5; 11:3, 6; 27:13; 32:17; 35:9; 42:1; 51:4; 56:7; 58:1; 60:1, 3, 14, 19; 66:20.

⁷⁶ Isa. 1:17, 20; 40:5; 58:14. See Oswalt, 115. Additionally, the imagery of the vine is not foreign to Isaiah (5:1-7).

⁷⁷ See his commentary, *Micah: A Commentary* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1976).

⁷⁸ Hillers, 52-53.

⁷⁹ Cf. Isa. 6.

Zion would be contradictory to the image of 3:12 would be if the passage made the claim that Jerusalem would not fall. 4:1-5 is the hope and promise of restoration after the punishment for sin has been carried out. Finally, Mays' argument that universalism was an exilic or post-exilic idea is completely unfounded. Incorporating all the nations in the plan of salvation was God's idea from the very beginning.⁸⁰ Finally, some have seen Jer. 26:28 as an argument in favor of Isaianic originality because Micah is remembered for his condemnation and not for the restoration vision. Yet, this cannot be conclusive, since Jeremiah chose what was applicable to his context.

There are several arguments that support the view that Micah was the original author. The passage actually forms an integral part of the book of Micah and its cycles of judgment and hope, whereas it is abrupt in Isaiah and seemingly unrelated to the preceding material. The material flows quite naturally in Micah. For example, the opening conjunction in Micah 4:1 makes good sense but it doesn't fit very well in Isaiah. Yet, isn't it possible that this very smoothness smacks of Micah taking Isaiah's scribbled vision and blending it carefully into his own work? This is certainly a possibility. As is seen in the textual variants between the passages, the work in Isaiah shows signs of adaptation and truncation.⁸¹ Amos (1:2) apparently did this with a verse from Joel (3:16). This is supported by the presence of verse 4 in Micah which is missing in Isaiah. This verse rounds out the vision and flows naturally from the rest of it. The phraseology in Mic. 4:4 does sound Isaianic but it seems strange that the verse would have dropped out of Isaiah if it had been there originally.⁸²

The prophecy in Isaiah is abrupt,⁸³ yet it serves as a suitable introduction for what follows in the rest of the section.⁸⁴ Thus, it cannot be ruled out completely. The idea of Micah writing the passage disturbs some because of Isaiah's claim in 2:1. Yet, this is not a problem if Isaiah saw a similar vision and used the quote from Micah under inspiration.⁸⁵ Ultimately, the text is more literarily proximate to Isaiah. However, whether or not the section is originally from Isaiah, it is genuine and inspired.⁸⁶ J. N. Oswalt states the crux of the matter well: "It is enough

⁸⁰ See Gen. 12:1-3; 18:18. See also J. D. W. Watts, 28.

⁸¹ See H. Wolf, 76-77.

⁸² See Oswalt, 115.

⁸³ It is the only prophecy in Isaiah to begin with וְהָיָה

⁸⁴ Isaiah proclaims judgment but then returns to promises of a similar type to those found in the vision in question.

⁸⁵ This is the view of Keil and Delitzsch. (*Isaiah*, 112).

⁸⁶ See Young, 96.

to believe that inspiration can involve guidance in the utilization of existing materials.”⁸⁷ This is the situation with the Synoptics as well.⁸⁸

New Testament Use and Interpretation

The phrase “last days” appears in several places in the New Testament (Acts 2:17; Heb. 1:2; Jas. 5:3; 1 Pet. 1:5, 20; 2 Pet. 3:3; 1 Jn. 2:18). The issue at hand then, is to decide whether the “last days” of the Micah/Isaiah passage is the same as that of which the New Testament authors speak. B. Waltke thinks it is.⁸⁹ He feels that the prophecy was completely fulfilled at Pentecost (Heb. 8:13; 9:26). This means that most of what is said in the passage is symbolic. It also means that the peace talked about is prophetic hyperbole. However, this seems to minimize the power of the passage.

On the other hand, L. C. Allen believes it is impossible to tell whether the elevation of the mountain is literal or symbolic.⁹⁰ This is certainly honest! This author’s preference lies with the view expressed by Keil and Delitzsch.⁹¹ They point out that נִבְּרָא favors both a physical change and the change in the estimation of the nations. In a sense our passage was fulfilled at Pentecost (Acts 2:17). The Torah in its most complete form was preached to all the nations in all languages. This fulfillment, however, is but a prelude to the conclusion that is yet to come. The “last days” have begun but are not yet finished. As to the vision of Jerusalem’s exaltation, the prophet was most likely “telescoping.” In other words, he saw the Jerusalem of the last days and the new Jerusalem of the new earth (Rev. 21:10). This makes sense of both the New Testament’s interpretation and the grandeur of the passage.

For the prophets themselves, the passage was a message of hope. It meant that no matter how corrupt God’s people became and how much they played the harlot and broke covenant, God would still accomplish His purposes. The passage demonstrated God’s love and grace to His messengers and His people. Despite their sin that would bring terrible consequences, there would come unmerited restoration. The prophet and the people could take comfort in the fact that God would be glorified and they would reap the benefits of that glorification via fellowship and peace. However, the passage also served as a swift kick in the pants for

⁸⁷ Oswalt, 115.

⁸⁸ Hillers (51) points out that substantially the same verses appear in Obad. 1-10 and Jer. 49:7-22. Thus the situation of Micah 4:1-5 and Isaiah 2:1-5 is not completely unique.

⁸⁹ Waltke, 678-82. He ties this passage closely to Jer. 31; Isa. 42:6; Ezek. 36:24-31 and Gal. 3:26-29.

⁹⁰ Allen, 324-25.

⁹¹ Keil and Delitzsch, *Isaiah*, 113-14.

the original audience. If the Jews, who were “getting in on the ground floor,” didn’t appreciate what they had by turning away from their sin and living in God’s light, then the Gentiles eventually would (cf. Mal. 1:11, 14). God was waiting for His people to return to Him.

Application

To see the application of Isaiah 2:1-5 and Micah 4:1-5 to our own lives is not that difficult to do. We too have our idolatry and evil ways. We too become callous to our Lord and actively walk after sinful pursuits. This passage challenges us to repent of these things. It encourages us to seek the peace and unity that comes from following God’s word and walking in His strength. This encouragement comes from the evidence of God’s plan that is seen in the passage. He is shown to be the only true God. Salvation cannot come until we acknowledge that fact and are willing to partake of His ways and live by them. From the passage we can also see how corrupted our current situation is. It gives us a gauge by which we can measure ourselves and consequently His grace! We can have a sense of peace and unity with our fellow believers from following God’s paths! Finally, we must acknowledge that it is only through God overcoming sin and ruling in our hearts that this vision will come about. It is up to God, for such a glorious and complete change is beyond our power. Knowing this, however, is to know that this change will certainly come, for, “He who has begun a good work in you is faithful to complete it . . .” (Phil. 1:6). In this we can rejoice, “for the mouth of the LORD of hosts has spoken!”

Bibliography

- Allen, Leslie C. *The New International Commentary on the Old Testament: The Books of Joel, Obadiah, Jonah and Micah*. Harrison, R.K., gen. ed. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1976.
- Botterweck, G. Johannes and Helmer Ringgren. *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament*. Trans. John T. Willis. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1974.
- Buchanan, G.W. “Eschatology and the End of Days.” *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 20, 1961.
- Bullock, C. Hassell. *An Introduction to the Old Testament Prophetic Books*. Chicago: Moody Bible Institute, 1986.

- Cannawurf, E. "The Authenticity of Micah IV:1-4." *Vetus Testamentum*, 13, 1963.
- Delitzsch, F. *Commentary on the Old Testament: Isaiah* (Vol. 7). Trans. James Martin. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1991.
- Dumbrell, William J. *The Faith of Israel: Its Expression in the Books of the Old Testament*. Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1988.
- Harris, R. Laird, Gleason L. Archer, Jr. and Bruce K. Waltke, eds. *Theological Wordbook of the Old Testament*. Volumes 1, 2. Chicago: Moody Bible Institute, 1980.
- Harrison, R.K. *Introduction to the Old Testament*. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1969.
- Hillers, Delbert R. *Micah: A Commentary on the Book of the Prophet Micah*. P.D. Hanson, ed. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1984.
- Kaiser, Otto. *Isaiah 1-12*, trans. R.A. Wilson, London: SCM, 1972.
- Keil, C.F. *Commentary on the Old Testament: Minor Prophets* (Vol. 10). Trans. James Martin. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1989.
- Lambdin, Thomas O. *Introduction to Biblical Hebrew*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1971.
- Mays, James Luther. *Micah: A Commentary*. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1976.
- Margalioth Rachel, *The Indivisible Isaiah*, New York: Yeshiva Univ. Press, 1964.
- O'Connor, M. and Bruce Waltke. *Biblical Hebrew Syntax*. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1990.
- Oswalt, John N. *The New International Commentary on the Old Testament: The Book of Isaiah, Chapters 1 – 39*. R.K. Harrison, gen. ed. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1986.
- Payne, J. Barton. "The Eighth Century Israelitish Background of Isaiah 40-66," *Westminster Theological Journal*, 29 (1967): 179-90.

- Smith, Ralph L. *Word Biblical Commentary: Micah-Malachi*. (Vol. 32). D.A. Hubbard; G.W. Barker, gen. eds. Waco: Word Books, 1984.
- Waltke, Bruce. "Micah" in *An Exegetical and Expository Commentary: The Minor Prophets*. (Vol. 2). T.E. McComiskey, gen. ed. Grand Rapids: Baker, 1993.
- Watts, John D. W. *Word Biblical Commentary: Isaiah 1-33*. (Vol. 24). D.A. Hubbard; G.W. Barker, gen. eds. Waco: Word Books, 1984.
- Westermann, C. *Isaiah 40-66*, trans. D.M.G. Stalker, London: SCM, 1969.
- Wolf, Herbert M. *Interpreting Isaiah: The Suffering and Glory of the Messiah*. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1985.
- Wolff, Hans Walter. *Micah the Prophet*. Trans. R.D. Gehrke. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1978.
- Young, Edward J. *The Book of Isaiah*. (Vol. 1). Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1969.

Revelation: Christian Epilogue to the Jewish Scriptures

Radu Gheorghitã

*Associate Professor of Biblical Studies
Midwestern Baptist Theological Seminary
Kansas City, MO 64118*

Abstract

This article advances the idea that one of John's motives for writing Revelation was to offer a closure for the Hebrew Scriptures, a Christian epilogue developed in light of the life and ministry of Jesus Christ, the faithful and true witness. John provides in Revelation an integration of the Jewish Scriptures with the new revelation in Christ—Scriptures with many points left in suspension but brought to a finality through theological reflection on the life and work of Jesus.

I can think of no better way to begin a paper on Revelation than letting two quotes, quite at odds with one another, set the stage for the considerations to follow. At one end of the spectrum one finds Herder's accolade:

Where a book, through thousands of years, stirs up the hearts and awakens the soul, and leaves neither friend or foe indifferent, and scarcely has a lukewarm friend or enemy, in such a book there must be something substantial, whatever anyone may say.¹

At the other end, stands Luther's:

They are supposed to be blessed who keep what is written in this book; and yet no one knows what that is, to say nothing of keeping it. This is just the same as if we did not have the book at all.²

No pair of classical quotations about the book of Revelation—which are found in astonishing abundance—can more suitably capture the ambivalence experienced by the readers as they draw near to this unique

¹ Johann Gottfried Herder, quoted in Carl Holladay, *A Critical Introduction to the New Testament* (Nashville: Abingdon, 2005), 535.

² Martin Luther, Preface to the Revelation of St. John, in *Luther's Works*, 35: 398-99.

yet unusual book. For this is the kind of book we have in John's Revelation, a writing in the biblical canon which remained among the few books untouched by Calvin in his series of biblical commentaries, while at the same time, it is also a writing that has been over-explored by Tim La Haye and Jerry Jenkins who authored the "Left Behind" series of theological fiction which sold millions of copies.³

My exposure to the book of Revelation has gone through the same extremes. For the first 15 years of New Testament studies, the book remained in the shadows, seen more as an exegetical plague from which I had to protect myself, rather than a fascinating text which summons me to deeper study. Moreover, the fact that after every major international event in recent times one would find a new round of commentaries and analyses, explanations and interpretations of world events in light of Revelation did not help much to correct my almost visceral reluctance to draw near to this book. Who would want, I asked myself, to become yet another voice to succumb to the temptation to "break the code" of Revelation once and for all? The more books in this category I read the more I realize that the source of error is not in the ideas of the Revelation itself, nor in the complexities of the contemporary events, but rather in the fact that more often than not Revelation ends up by being interpreted in the light of the current events and not the other way around, as, all would agree, the author intended.

Recently I saw an ad for the liquidation of books that had been difficult to sell; the book in question, which will have to remain unnamed, was selling like hot cakes during the first Iraq war in 1990 and now was being sold for less than two dollars for a dozen. This is the outcome waiting for any author who forgets that Revelation is not a tame lamb being led to slaughter but rather a roaring lion around whom it is wise to be careful.

Despite these reservations, I well remember the impact of a radio broadcast of Revelation when I was just 10 years old. The distinctive world of sounds and images in this book is still as vivid, albeit as unsettling, now as it was 30 years ago. A book whose first encounter leaves such a powerful mark on one's soul cannot be set aside or ignored indefinitely and for that reason I decided that the time had come to try and engage it first hand. I chose my preferred study method which consists of memorization of the biblical text, followed by a focused analysis of its message from the vantage point of the author and the

³ In case I might sound uncharitable about LaHaye and Jenkins, I only want to remind the reader that in their books the Antichrist, Nicolae, comes from Romania, my native country.

original audience.⁴ The resulting fascination was limitless. I found in Revelation a book of the Scriptures which is not easily befriended, but once that friendship is won, it remains a lifelong source of inspiration, encouragement, and faith.

My only regret for the format of this study is that the ink and paper have to replace my favorite way of presenting the book, which consists of a dramatic presentation of the book, a definitely more memorable and uplifting event than the reading of this article. In fact, I am ever more convinced that precisely this is the best method with which to engage Revelation, as the author himself affirms in the opening lines, “blessed is the one who reads aloud the words of this prophecy, and blessed are those who hear it and take to heart what is written in it, because the time is near” (Rev. 1:3, TNIV). Perhaps more than any other biblical book Revelation best lends itself to being read out loud before the church in order to create the maximum impact for its hearers, regardless of how familiar or not they might be with its message.

Before discussing the proposed topic, a minimum of hermeneutical considerations, which I found particularly necessary in the study of Revelation, is in order. I refer, of course, to the importance of the hermeneutical triad in exploring the book: its literary dimension—an apocalyptic-prophetic epistle, its historical dimension—a book addressing foremost the needs and concerns of its original readers, and its theological dimension—the theological beliefs and perspective of its author. I am convinced that no other book imposes on the exegete a more stringent need to follow the balancing act of the components of this triad than the book of Revelation. To read Revelation, taking in consideration in equal measure its literary dimension (a book written in an apocalyptic genre, a genre which knew unprecedented growth in the latter part of the Second Temple period), together with its historical dimension (which includes consideration for the concrete historical situation of the author and of his original audience) and, last but not least, its theological perspective that shaped the prophetic vision revealed to him, it is not only the desired goal but also the necessary route in case of Revelation. If an imbalance among these three dimensions leads to hermeneutical distortions in other canonical books, certainly when we explore Revelation this imbalance leads to disastrous results. Not without reason,

⁴ For a detailed presentation of my personal approach to Scripture memorization, see Radu Gheorghită, “*Ad Fontes Purissimi*: Is There a Place for Scripture Memorization in Biblical Studies?” *Midwestern Journal of Theology* 3.1 (2004): 69-95.

did G. B. Caird, one of my favorite commentators on the book, characterize Revelation as “the paradise of fanatics and sectarians.”⁵

What then is my conclusion about Revelation at this point in time? The thesis which I intend to present in this paper is relatively simple to state and even to understand but unfortunately extremely difficult to prove and for that reason perhaps not so easily convincing. In a nutshell the thesis advances the idea that one of John’s motives for writing Revelation was to offer a closure for the Hebrew Scriptures, a Christian epilogue developed in light of the life and ministry of Jesus Christ, the faithful and true witness.

Let me further clarify two aspects of the thesis. On the one hand the Jewish Scriptures include many ideas that unfolded in history but were not quite brought to finality: unfulfilled prophecies, promises yet awaiting their fulfillment, and a multitude of questions without final answers, which all awaited to be pondered and explored by future generations. For example the author of Hebrews is one such theologian, who explores in his epistle several passages in the OT that express an insufficiency and lack of finality, captured so well by Caird’s famous phrase “self-confessed inadequacy of the Old Order”.⁶ Speaking about the way the author of Hebrews explores Ps. 8, 95, 110, and Jer. 31, he comments:

by these four arguments the epistle seeks to establish its main thesis, that the Old Testament is not only an incomplete book but an *avowedly* incomplete book which taught and teaches men to live by faith in the good things that were to come.⁷

It is quite obvious to the careful reader of the New Testament that all its authors, behind whom arguably stands the towering figure of Jesus himself,⁸ seek to provide in their own way that closure. The Jewish Scripture, in the form in which it was handed down to them, closes with the promise of the restoration of the Davidic kingdom, of the temple and of the messianic era. But the people just returned from exile continued to find themselves for centuries on end in a series of most dreadful historical, religious and national crises. As N. T. Wright proposes, a return from exile to a country in which you continue to find yourself

⁵ George B. Caird, *A Commentary on the Revelation of St. John the Divine*, Black’s New Testament Commentaries (London: A & C Black, 1984), 2.

⁶ George B. Caird, “The Exegetical Method of the Epistle to the Hebrews,” *Canadian Journal of Theology* 5 (1959): 47.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 49; emphasis mine.

⁸ Nowhere is this assertion argued more succinctly, yet profoundly than in the classical study of C. H. Dodd, *According to the Scriptures: The Sub-Structure of New Testament Theology* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1952).

under a foreign power is nothing but a virtual continuation of the exile.⁹ The last chapter of the Scripture, so to speak, had yet to be written.

On the other hand one finds another undeniable reality, the life of a Jewish young man who claims that He is the way, the truth, and the life, that no one can come or can know the Father except through Him. In his teaching and ministry lies the definitive fulfillment of the Scripture: the law, the prophets and the writings, all three components of the Hebrew canon. In and through this Jesus of Nazareth God commits himself to accomplishing an unrivaled work not only in his people the Jews but in all of humanity, a radical and definitive intersection of God with the history and destiny of mankind for which only the label “new creation” does sufficient justice.¹⁰

Here then are two realities which were offered to the first Christian theologians—realities which solicit and necessitate an integrated perspective. The thesis which I propose in this work is that John offers in Revelation a book that accomplishes precisely this integration of Jewish Scriptures with the new revelation in Christ—Scriptures with many points left in suspension but brought to a finality through John’s theological reflection on the life and work of Jesus Christ.

Certainly the first question raised when we probe this thesis is that of method, and how exactly one can investigate a proposal such as this. The methodological parameters must be clearly established in order to avoid a speculative gallop on one of the four horses riding through the book.

We must answer that which would most certainly be the first objection raised when tracing the authorial intent not only in this book but also in any other book of the Bible. The quest for that unique intent which led to the genesis of any particular writing is often a chimera, due, in part, to the fact that the process by which an author’s intent and motivation is to be discerned is a very complex process indeed.¹¹ These are difficult to determine even for those canonical books which explicitly mention them, such as John 20 and Rom. 15. However, anyone reading the gospel of John or the epistle to the Romans immediately realizes that

⁹ This, of course, is the overriding argument in many of N. T. Wright’s books; see, *inter alia*, N. T. Wright, *Jesus and the Victory of God: Christian Origins and the Question of God, Volume 2* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1997).

¹⁰ See also the ample way in which N. T. Wright develops the theme of “new creation” in connection with the resurrection of Jesus, N. T. Wright, *The Resurrection of the Son of God: Christian Origins and the Question of God, Volume 3* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2003).

¹¹ For example, see Kevin J. Vanhoozer, *Is There a Meaning in This Text? The Bible, the Reader and the Morality of Literary Knowledge* (Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 1998), or any textbook on hermeneutics that takes to task the author-centered school of interpretation of the Bible.

in parallel with the author's intent explicitly mentioned, there may well be other important reasons which emerge only after a careful reading of the book. I would not therefore wish to claim that the reason stated in my proposal would be the sole or even the most important motivation behind John's writing of Revelation; a careful evaluation of the textual observations, however, leads to the plausibility of the thesis.

There are complementary reasons which led to the genesis of the book, foremost among them being the act of revelation which John encountered, the experience of the prophetic vision. This is not the place to scrutinize the revelatory process, by questioning whether the revelation received by John was in fact a concrete experience or rather a literary device chosen by John to communicate a special message to the seven churches.¹² In light of the strong tradition of prophetic revelatory phenomena in the Jewish Scriptures, it seems wiser to take John's testimony at face value and not question the veracity of his other-worldly encounter. If that is the case, we must start from what seems to be a most straight-forward reason that explains why John wrote: when the risen Christ issues the command: "write what you see and send it to the seven churches," or "write these things which you have seen" the main reason for recording the vision cannot be clearer: it was done out of obedience to Christ's command.

Furthermore, one must also take into consideration the specific historical conditions of those to whom the message was written. On the pages of Revelation the reader encounters a group of seven representative churches strategically chosen by John, churches found in the midst of a very difficult period of their existence, times in which "give to Caesar that which is Caesar's" no longer had the same resonance as it had in the first half of the century. They found themselves in that period of the first century when the church came into direct conflict with the imperial powers as the principal representatives not of God, but of the principalities of darkness. The battle lines are much more clearly drawn now and the church must be warned and prepared to face this new reality.

These complementary reasons, both the objective foundation of the revelatory act as well as the immediate historical context, remain unaffected if a further motivation for the writing is proposed, a reason

¹² See the thorough discussion on genre and sources in any of the standard commentaries on Revelation, such as David E. Aune, *Revelation 1-5; 6-16; 17-22* (3 vols.; Word Biblical Commentary 52A, 52B, 52C; Dallas: Word, 1997-2000), G. K. Beale, *The Book of Revelation: A Commentary on the Greek Text*, New International Greek Testament Commentary (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), and Grant R. Osborne, *Revelation* (Baker Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament; Grand Rapids: Baker, 2002).

perhaps more theological than circumstantial in nature. In essence then, John, alongside the prophetic message about the present and future conditions of the church and mankind, offers also his understanding of how these realities are to be anchored in the Jewish Scriptures and in the life and work of Christ.

Which therefore are the supporting arguments for this thesis? Perhaps the best departure point would be a simple cataloging of the points of intertextuality between the first chapters of the book of Genesis and the book of Revelation. If there were a writing pretending either to continue an already existing book or to bring it to a resolution it is legitimate to expect that common points between the two writings would be both noticeable and numerous. This is in fact one of the most evident aspects detected by the reader of Genesis and Revelation, especially between the first chapters of the former and the final chapters of the latter. The following list is far from exhaustive:

| Revelation ESV | Genesis ESV |
|---|--|
| 21:1 Then I saw a new heaven and a new earth | 1:1 In the beginning, God created the heavens and the earth. |
| 21:3 And I heard a loud voice from the throne saying, "Behold, the dwelling place of God is with man. He will dwell with them, and they will be his people, and God himself will be with them as their God. | 3:8 And they heard the sound of the LORD God walking in the garden in the cool of the day |
| 21:5 And he who was seated on the throne said, "Behold, I am making all things new." | 1:26 Then God said, "Let us make man in our image, after our likeness |
| 21:7 The one who conquers will have this heritage, and I will be his God and he will be my son. | 5:1 This is the book of the generations of Adam. When God created man, he made him in the likeness of God. ² Male and female he created them . . . When Adam had lived 130 years, he fathered a son in his own likeness, after his image, and named him Seth. ¹³ |

¹³ While Adam is not explicitly called "son" in the text, the implicit sonship was noticeable to the reader, as evidenced in Luke 3:38, who concludes the genealogy of Jesus with "the son of Enos, the son of Seth, the son of Adam, the son of God."

| | |
|---|--|
| 22:1 Then the angel showed me the river of the water of life, bright as crystal, flowing from the throne of God and of the Lamb | 2:10 A river flowed out of Eden to water the garden, and there it divided and became four rivers. |
| 22:2 through the middle of the street of the city; also, on either side of the river, the tree of life with its twelve kinds of fruit, yielding its fruit each month. The leaves of the tree were for the healing of the nations. | 3:22 Then the LORD God said, "Behold, the man has become like one of us in knowing good and evil. Now, lest he reach out his hand and take also of the tree of life and eat, and live forever . . ." |
| 22:5 They will need no light of lamp or sun, for the Lord God will be their light, and they will reign forever and ever. | 1:3 And God said, "Let there be light," and there was light. |
| 22:14 Blessed are those who wash their robes, so that they may have the right to the tree of life and that they may enter the city by the gates. | 1:28 And God blessed them. |
| 22:5 and they will reign forever and ever. | 1:28 . . . "Be fruitful and multiply and fill the earth and subdue it and have dominion over the fish of the sea and over the birds of the heavens and over every living thing that moves on the earth |

These examples emphasize elements of continuity between the passages. Just as important for appreciating the links between the two books are the elements stressing discontinuity.

| Revelation ESV | Genesis ESV |
|--|---|
| 21:1 Then I saw a new heaven and a new earth, for the first heaven and the first earth had passed away, and the sea was no more. | 1:9 And God said, "Let the waters under the heavens be gathered together into one place, and let the dry land appear." And it was so. ¹⁰ God called the dry land Earth, and the waters that were gathered together he called Seas. And God saw that it was good. |
| 21:4 and death shall be no more, | 2:17 but of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil you shall not eat, for in the |

| | |
|---|---|
| | day that you eat of it you shall surely die." |
| 21:4 . . . neither shall there be mourning, nor crying, nor pain anymore, for the former things have passed away. | 3:16 To the woman he said, . . . in pain you shall bring forth children. . . . ¹⁷ And to Adam he said, . . . in pain you shall eat of it all the days of your life |
| 22:3 No longer will there be anything accursed, | 3:14 The LORD God said to the serpent, "Because you have done this, cursed are you . . ." ¹⁷ And to Adam he said, . . . cursed is the ground because of you. |
| 22:5 And night will be no more. They will need no light of lamp or sun, for the Lord God will be their light, and they will reign forever and ever. | 1:5 God called the light Day, and the darkness he called Night. And there was evening and there was morning, the first day. |
| 21:4 for the former things have passed away." | 1:31 And God saw everything that he had made, and behold, it was very good. |
| 22:14 Blessed are those who wash their robes, so that they may have the right to the tree of life and that they may enter the city by the gates. | 3:24 He drove out the man, and at the east of the garden of Eden he placed the cherubim and a flaming sword that turned every way to guard the way to the tree of life. |

It is well known that the book of Revelation uses scriptural material not only from the book of Genesis but also from a host of other prophetic books such as Ezekiel, Daniel, Zechariah, as well as from the books of Exodus and Psalms. Furthermore, in his use of Scriptures, John does not limit himself to allusions to biblical passages, but also to broader elements of the Jewish religion and its fundamental elements and structures: the temple, the holy city, the nation, the king, and the people. However, when taking into consideration both the number of individual allusions to the first chapters of Genesis, as well as their cumulative effect, it becomes very plausible to conclude that the literary dependency of Revelation on the book of Genesis is not unintentional or inconsequential. Rather, it was done with the author's intent to offer a sequel in the form of an epilogue to most of the "seals" opened in the first chapters of Genesis.

For support of this thesis, secondly, one can consider not only the large number of intertextual connections with Genesis but also their

placement in the structure of the book of Revelation. Even a superficial statistic of these allusions reveals that most of the allusions from the first chapters of Genesis appear in the final chapters of Revelation. Certainly Revelation's final vision of the new heaven and earth with all the splendor of the city-temple and its physical dimensions form the theme of at least two major prophetic books, Isaiah and Ezekiel. Nevertheless, that which Isaiah and Ezekiel could not have offered as a fulfilled messianic perspective is now being offered by John. In fact, Revelation not only recycles the imagery and ideas from these prophetic books, as Austin Farrer correctly observed,¹⁴ it also formulates them in a way in which perhaps these prophets might have written them if they had lived and prophesied not before but after the Jesus event.

Both the number and the placement of the echoes from Genesis than are important arguments to support the thesis that John wrote with the intent of offering an inclusio-type closing not only for the history of humanity but also for the Jewish Scriptures. He offers to its opening literary masterpiece, Genesis, an intertextual theological correspondent.

If this proposal stands as a reasonable hypothesis for explaining the stark similarities between the first book of the Scriptures and the last chapters of Revelation, there are at least two implications that are worth highlighting.

First and foremost, at the level of intertextuality, the way Revelation makes use of Genesis offers its reader a privileged perspective for identifying the dominant theological themes running not only in these two books, but also in all the canonical books written in between. From Creation to Eschaton, from the Garden of Eden, through the tabernacle of the desert, the Jerusalem Temple, the embodied Temple and culminating with the city-temple structure in Revelation, one can clearly see that the primary desire of God with regard to his creation has been and will always be his presence among them, fellowshiping and cohabitating with the human beings he created. The very essence of that "walk in the coolness of the morning" to be with the human beings he created, is echoed in one of the last messages of the book of Revelation, "Look! God's dwelling place is now among the people, and he will dwell with them" (Rev 21:3 TNIV). God's presence in the midst of his creation, the former one bestowing on them his blessing and the latter receiving it and responding in worship, clearly emerges as the dominant tenor of the theology of Revelation. This aspect has been brilliantly explored by G.

¹⁴ Austin M. Farrer, *A Rebirth of Images: The Making of St. John's Apocalypse* (Westminster: Dacre, 1949).

Beale in the presidential address for ETS 2004, and needs not be repeated here.¹⁵

It should be emphasized that the new creation is not simply a restoration of the old creation, such as one could see in the wake of the Genesis flood, or of the Exodus or the return from the Exile. The new creation, which has its origin in the Incarnate Temple and its culmination in the New Heaven and New Earth, has its own ontological identity. In this way the necessary context for worship has been recreated, rebuilt, as the frequent worship in the book of Revelation attests.

The second implication of reading the book of Revelation as an intended ending to the Jewish Scriptures would be to allow the phenomenon of intertextuality to work in both directions. That is to say, if an epilogue has finally been written, then one needs to read not only Revelation in light of the Jewish Scriptures but also the Jewish Scriptures in light of Revelation. This *reverse intertextuality* presents itself as a legitimate theological project that John himself would have sanctioned. In the book of Revelation John offers the reader a hermeneutical key to the Jewish Scriptures, and by extension to its dominant subject matter – the history of humankind and of its relationship with their Creator. To put it differently, not only are there echoes of Scripture in Revelation, but there are echoes of theological reflection provided by the book of Revelation for the reading of the chronologically antecedent Jewish Scriptures. And yes, not only of the Jewish Scriptures but also of the Gospels and of all the Christian writings that were very much in the process of becoming the Scriptures of the New Covenant.

Granted, this area is a work in progress for me, and more substantial proof will have to wait for another paper. But it would be hard to believe that, after giving us several bird's-eye views of creation's history, John would hesitate to read the accounts of Creation, Fall, Exodus, as well as Jesus' Incarnation and Exaltation from the perspective of the Revelation's visions. This phenomenon would indeed be an obvious facet of what I. Howard Marshall proposed almost two decades ago in advancing a master-slave paradigm for the proper understanding of the relationship between the Scriptures of the New and Old Covenants.¹⁶

This reverse intertextuality encompasses not only the Creation and the subsequent history of mankind, but also the main actors involved, including the person of God as the Creator and Redeemer. In fact it

¹⁵ G. K. Beale, "Eden, the Temple, and the Church's Mission in the New Creation," *Journal of Evangelical Theological Society* 48, no. 1 (2005).

¹⁶ I. Howard Marshall, "An Assessment of Recent Developments," in *It Is Written: Scripture Citing Scripture* (eds. D. A. Carson and H. G. M. Williamson; Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

seems that in this particular aspect, John's innovative theology shines just as brightly as his literary creativity. The way in which John integrates the person and work of Jesus Christ in the personhood and plan of God is a piece of theological reflection at its best, matching even the most brilliant New Testament Christological passages, as R. Bauckham, among others, has amply demonstrated.¹⁷

Perhaps the best way to close these considerations would be to rephrase the original thesis in the form of a question. If a writer would have ventured to offer a literary closing for the story and history of humankind, beginning with the original creation, a creation profoundly destroyed by a malefic plan, yet anticipating and hoping for a new creation; if someone would have wanted to offer an epilogue to the Jewish Scriptures, what would that epilogue look like?

I propose that among the plausible options we should include the book of Revelation. The similarities and the points of intertextuality between John's Revelation and the book of Genesis in particular, offer an inverted parallelism that makes a lot of theological sense. It would not be too far-fetched to suggest that the very genesis of the book of Apocalypse led to an apocalypse-ending for the book of Genesis.

John, as other New Testament authors have done before him, undertook the daring mission to combine two essential sources for his theological reflection: the Jewish Scriptures and the person and ministry of Jesus Christ. For John, just as for all canonical Christian theologians, both dimensions are essential for a correct understanding both of the old and the new creation, as well as, of the path the humanity has trodden from the former to the latter. As readers of the book of Revelation, we have before us John's solution. In it we do not find a precise or detailed map of the future, even though it is not completely void of such interests; nor is it a thorough map of the past, even though at no point does it suspend its connection with the historical realities. By giving us an apocalyptic perspective on the history of creation and redemption, John offered a theological legacy with the intention as well as the desire to be read as a fitting, Christian closing to the Hebrew Scriptures. With hindsight, one can affirm, that the Church granted him even more than this desire, by placing the book of Revelation not as the epilogue of the Hebrew Scriptures but of the entire Christian biblical canon.

¹⁷ Richard Bauckham, *The Theology of the Book of Revelation*, New Testament Theology (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

**Hear Christ and His Word:
A Sermon on John 5:24
by Scottish Baptist Preacher,
Peter Grant of the Songs**

Terry L. Wilder
Academic Acquisitions Editor
B&H Publishing Group
Nashville, TN 37234

Abstract

This article provides a transcribed sermon and communion service from a collection of unpublished writings by the nineteenth-century Scottish Baptist, Peter Grant of the Songs, a hymn-writer, pastor and preacher in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland for 60 years.

Introduction

In a previous journal issue I informed readers that I have had the privilege of transcribing and editing numerous sermons of the Scottish Baptist, Peter Grant *of the Songs*, a hymn-writer,¹ pastor and preacher in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland for about sixty years.² This article offers another transcribed sermon from that collection.

By way of review, Grant was born in Ballintua, Strathspey, Scotland in 1783 and died in 1867. He had a considerable ministry, as Donald E. Meek, Professor of Celtic Studies at the University of Edinburgh, shows in the following description of Grant's life.

Baptist pastor and celebrated Gaelic evangelical poet. Born of small-farming stock, Grant became the precentor in the local parish church when the Haldane movement was beginning to affect certain parts of the Highlands. He was later converted under the preaching of Lachlan Mackintosh, the founder and first pastor of the Baptist church at Grantown-on-Spey. He then became an itinerant missionary. When

¹ Grant was known as Peter Grant *of the Songs*, no doubt because of his popularity as a songwriter.

² These sermons will appear in a book titled, *The Highland Herald: Sermons of Scottish Baptist Preacher, Peter Grant of the Songs* (Joshua Press).

Mackintosh left Grantown in 1826, Grant succeeded him as pastor of the church, and was formally ordained in 1829. He possessed considerable evangelistic gifts. Under his ministry and that of his son, William, the church achieved a membership of almost 300, and experienced intermittent revivals.

Grant's hymns owe some themes to Dugald Buchanan, but are noticeably different in style and content. Their main focus is the "pilgrim's progress" in the life of faith. The Christian pilgrimage is followed from conversion until the believer's arrival in heaven. Grant extols the efficacy of Christ's blood, emphasises the inevitability of death, and anticipates the joy of the eternal home. The world is depicted as a cold place, a vale of tears; the Christian Hope compensates for the sorrow of believer's parting with loved ones. The experiential emphasis is reminiscent of Methodist hymnology. Set to well-known tunes, Grant's compositions became extremely popular in the Highlands, and helped establish an enduring trend in Gaelic hymnology.³

May God use the words of this faithful man of God to revive and edify us.

"Hear Christ and His Word"

April 6, 1851, Communion Sabbath
Lecture, Forenoon

Mr. Grant
John 5:24

Verily, verily, I say unto you, He that heareth my word, and believeth on him that sent me, hath everlasting life, and shall not come into condemnation; but is passed from death unto life.

Consider the state and condition of those spoken of in our text before they hear the Word of Christ.

1. *It is evident that those who do not hear Christ have not life.* Their condition is fixed before they hear Christ—under condemnation! Whatever they say against it, no matter, they are under sentence of death. That is their condition before they hear Christ or before they hear the Word of God. Paul traces it, not only to our own transgression. It is the old sentence passed in paradise and that sentence renewed on account of our actual transgressions. Not only under condemnation, but assigned to death, dead in himself, his very soul affections are dead, dead within, slaves of sin. Under gods and lords, many passed from innocence to a

³ Donald E. Meek, "Grant, Peter" in *Dictionary of Evangelical Biography, 1730-1860* (2 vols.; Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2004), I: 467.

state of death. Death answers for deafness and blindness. It accounts for all the deadness they use in going about the ordinances of God.

2. *What are we to understand by hearing God's Word and believing on Him that sent Him?* It implies something more than a mere rational hearing. Thousands hear Him so. It is hearing the awakening Word of Christ. It was His awakening voice that made Paul fall down on his way to Damascus. It was this voice that awakened the 3000 on Pentecost. As God is true, unless we are delivered from the state we are in by nature, everlasting perdition is our lot! Conviction is Christ's act. It may not be the letter of the Law that Christ uses, but it is the substance of the Law. Mere awakening does not confer everlasting life. It has taken away, but never conferred. It merely makes them to see their condition, and after they fall back, very little hope remains for them. How does He quicken a dead soul? How did He bring light out of darkness? It is not for you or me to answer. It is enough for us to know that such is the case. The substance of hearing the Word of Christ is coming to Him for salvation. Receiving Him is having life. Before we receive Christ we must be living souls. Power is then given to receive the Son of God. The righteousness he then received in being made alive from the dead, he then believes and receives Christ, and has everlasting life.

3. *The privilege conferred on those who hear the Word.* First, he hath everlasting life. He hath it implies more than a mere existence. If a period could be put to the existence of the soul, even that would be some hope to the damned in Hell. The true believer has everlasting existence that the glories of Heaven may be conferred upon him. It is not a reward conferred upon him merely in Heaven; he has it at present. It is the reward forfeited by the first Adam but recovered by the second Adam, Christ. It is the reward of the covenant of works merited and made honourable by Christ. It is conferred on the sinner by being disconnected with the first Adam. If no mind could describe the curse of breaking this covenant, no more can they describe the blessedness of recovering it from the second Adam. This everlasting life implies full enjoyment of God, nearness to God, the presence of God; he has access to God. It is this that is worthy of the name life. Second, he shall not come under condemnation. Because of the absolute perfection of Christ, he shall never fall under it again. He is brought to judgment, true, but the object is to be justified before men and angels. Third, the stability of his condition is that he has passed from death into life. Where is the believing on Him that sent Him? Believing on Him that sent Him is not only believing on one supreme being, but it is believing in a way which

signifies that the person has a conception of the unity subsisting between the Father and the Lord—that He was expressly sent by God. He understands the unity of purpose in the work of redemption and possesses peace of soul.

4. *Some reasons why believing and hearing confers such benefits.* First, because he is transferred from the state Adam was in after the Fall to the state he was in before the Fall. He has this life by his union with the second Adam. He is, in a word, passed from death into life. These are high privileges indeed, but they are not greater than Him who purchased them. Let us not be surprised that the obedience of Christ secured them. Consider Him on Calvary, bearing the sins of His people in His own body on the tree and you may indeed wonder at the free grace of Christ in conferring them on such vile sinners as we. But again consider for whose sake they are conferred and you will cease to wonder.

5. *The assurance given by Christ.* It seemed very unlikely to the Jews that believing on Him, a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief, could secure eternal life. But it is declared here by Him who cannot lie on account of His own people. Often they are tempted to sink into unbelief. We see here room for self-examination to see if we possess everlasting life, whether we are united to the second Adam. If you have not Christ, why eat and drink damnation? The happy state of the true believer is that they have everlasting life and never can be deprived of it.

Communion

I come now a solemn duty of the day. When excommunicated, it is by the direct authority of the Lord Jesus Christ, and never did He pass but a righteous sentence.

1. *I debar all those who come to the Lord's Table because the church has nothing to say against them and who stand on that as a ground to come to the Lord's table.* They are not in a better condition than Simon Magus. I debar them because they keep God out of view. God says they eat and drink damnation to themselves because they can have no dealings with Christ there. They and Christ are apart. The Lord's Table does not give life; it only sustains the living.

2. *I debar every soul who has not a full reliance on Christ*—all who are not killed by the Law, for they are under the Law and the curse of the Law. Others say it is a sealing ordinance. True, but it seals them as they

are, and take care that it does not seal you to perdition. These make the death of no account.

3. *I debar all on whose mind a change came over and who really did change, if immoral before now—moral but still the same man.* No change took place in him. I debar them because he is not a child of God's because he is not born again. It was only nature that came over him.

4. *I debar all those who do not attend the means of grace.* They and Christ are strangers. If they were not, they would be where He is declared.

5. *I debar all who are not in Christ*—the swearer, the Sabbath breaker, or any of the dogs or swine spoken of by Paul in his epistles, all who violate the Law of God in life or conversation. I debar every unbeliever.

1. *I invite all those who have heard and known the voice of Christ speaking to them from every other voice among a thousand.* He is their Redeemer. I invite them because they stand in covenant relation to Him. The love of God is shed abroad in their hearts.

2. *I invite all who feel their need of Christ that He might revive, refresh, and comfort them.*

3. *I invite all those who feel their need of quickening in their souls.* They are among the living in Jerusalem. They have a view of the rest that remaineth for the people of God.

4. *I invite all those who think themselves the most sinful.* Men like me, an object of pity. I invite you on that ground because it is for the poor hungry people of God. I invite the penitent, the prayerful who wish to be conformed to Christ, who have experienced Him in the power of His resurrection, all spoken of in Matthew 5 from 3 to 13.

Book Reviews

Early Christian Mission (Volumes One and Two). By Eckhard Schnabel. Downers Grove, Illinois: Intervarsity Press, 2004, 1,928 pp., \$90.00 hardcover.

Eckhard Schnabel's two-volume set *Early Christian Mission* humbly yet authoritatively reveals the author's unapologetic, intelligent, exhaustive, and very lucid defense of his conservative understanding of the Christian church's early evangelistic mission. The sheer scope of Schnabel's research and presentation is daunting to the most energetic reader because of its breadth and scope.

Early Christian Mission is comprised of two volumes and thirty chapters, the first volume regarding primarily Israel's eschatological expectations as well as Jesus' and the Twelve's mission, and the second volume regarding Paul and the Early Church. The introduction for volume one consists of three chapters exploring the history early Christianity as the history of missions, questions and issues of method, and chronology and events. Part one presents chapters dealing with God's promises reflected in Israel's eschatological expectations and expansion of the theme of 'God's people' in early Jewish texts and the Second Temple period. Part two reveals God's fulfillment of the promises through the mission of Jesus (including in and to Israel, the mission of the Twelve, and Jesus and the Gentiles). Part three presents new beginnings as reflected in the mission of the apostles in Jerusalem. Part four discloses Schnabel's viewpoints on the mission of the Twelve from Jerusalem to the ends of the earth. Volume two continues with part five, beginning with pioneer missionary work as reflected in the mission of the apostle Paul. Part six promotes the theme of growth as revealed through the consolidation and challenges of the early Christian churches. Part seven concludes with some implications, namely, the identity, praxis, and message of the early Christian mission. Back matter includes maps and figures, a very extensive bibliography, and equally extensive indices.

There are many strengths in Schnabel's text. First, Schnabel shows clear support for the precedent of house church planting which he exegetes especially from the Pauline writings, while also showing balance by noting that house church planting is not the *only* legitimate form of New Testament church planting, making clear that house church planting is not the de facto or default approach in each respective church planting situation. This shows the author's balance, practical honesty, and openness. Based upon Schnabel's textual research, I counted at least *thirty* references or inferences to house churches revealed in the book of Acts and the Pauline epistles.

A second strength is Schnabel's extensive use of primary sources (the Scriptures themselves) and also secondary sources such as the early church fathers, especially from the earliest centuries of church history. This is

especially important for Western evangelical workers serving in Eastern, Greek, and Russian Orthodox contexts.

A third strength is shown by how Schnabel gives reasonable, logical alternatives when addressing, questioning, and refuting historical-critical liberal scholars and their challenges, rather than merely spouting pre-understandings and presuppositions as so many classical and current liberal scholars tend to do in their writings. When Schnabel offers alternatives or critiques to the viewpoints of others, he is intellectually and historically honest enough to term conjecture as conjecture or hypothesis, especially when it is his *own* conjecture about a matter. When he calls the hand of liberal scholars, Schnabel does so with humility and with level-headedness as he offers reasonable alternatives and lucid defense of the historicity of Lukan and Pauline accounts. He offers firm yet fair refutations of critical scholars who speak (regarding missiological and evangelistic points in scripture) from the confines of declining state churches. There is strong implication in such rebuttals that such scholars really are not qualified to be speaking to the issues of church planting, church growth, missiology, etc., when in fact such scholars themselves are not part of vibrant churches practicing intentional obedience and discipleship regarding the missionary task of the church. How can a scholar or leader point someone in a direction in which they have not been themselves, or genuinely and intelligently speak to a discussion of such things?

A fourth strength is Schnabel's extensive use of citations, especially of the annotated type. I found myself often highlighting the annotated citations as much as the text itself in order to aid later follow-up research.

A fifth strength of the text is the theological and missiological depth of the listed bibliography. It is a treasure trove in and of itself and has already shown itself useful to me within my own church-planting context of Russia. The bibliography includes various useful lists and appendices such as extensive charts and maps, sources referenced in both volumes including Second Temple literature, New Testament-era Apocrypha, Apostolic Fathers, Church Fathers and Christian authors, pagan authors, inscriptions, and papyri, names referenced within the text, all subjects referenced, an index of scriptural and ancient text citations, and a geographical index assisting with the multitude of references made regarding actual and possible sites visited by Paul and the other apostolic leaders. Additionally, Schnabel includes many very useful lists especially relating to Paul's church planting work and missionary journeys.

A final strength is that the text regularly impacts the reader with its devotional nature and tone, even providing seed material for missiological sermons. Schnabel adds tremendous value to the text via presentation of his exhaustive research within a myriad of disciplines as well as an excellent grasp of a plethora of extra-biblical and rabbinic literature which can be brought to bear upon the subject of early Christian mission. These are fields in which there seems to be a contemporary dearth of competent, published, conservative, evangelical missional scholars willing to reference such literature while at the same time maintaining a reasonable and conservative evangelical balance in hermeneutic and application balance in using such sources.

A prime reason which Schnabel gives for writing his text (with which many will agree) is that contemporary mission proponents, especially mission societies and sending agencies, in his words, “are not seeking to provide exegetical explanations or to engage in theological discussion when presenting models for missionary work and paradigms for effective evangelism . . . typically, understanding among evangelicals about the early Christian period and about the endeavors of the earliest Christians is, more often than not, unconsidered, and sometimes naïve or romanticized.” This is why Schnabel goes into such exhaustive detail exegeting pertinent Biblical texts along with presenting his research concerning the historical and social conditions of life in the first century. The author admirably fulfills the purpose of building a solid exegetical and theological base for mission. In this sense, his work fills a sizable gap (especially in the conservative evangelical realm) that has existed primarily since the last full study of the early Christian missionary movement was published a little over 100 years ago (Adolf von Harnack’s *The Mission and Expansion of Christianity in the First Three Centuries*). *Early Christian Mission* integrates old and new insights and both historical-geographical and exegetical-theological material into a comprehensive description of the missionary movement of the first Christians. Schnabel has provided the modern evangelical church with a crucial, up-to-date resource to better ground mission efforts.

A few limitations should be observed. *Early Christian Mission* is a formidable text because of its length and scope of issues treated, and therefore is more suited to doctoral-level students and perhaps some upper-level master’s students in the fields of church history, missiology, and mission praxis courses. The breadth and the depth of the material at times can be overwhelming and may seem superfluous, until the reader remembers that Schnabel is systematically not only making his own points, but also methodically refuting well-entrenched moderate and liberal viewpoints within the world of academia regarding the accuracy and historicity of the biblical books of Lukan and Pauline authorship. Such a meticulous presentation of a myriad of well-documented, well-thought out, and well-presented scholarship is necessary in order to reasonably and effectively interact with other scholars holding such differing positions. Further, at times it is difficult to follow the paragraph structure of the text because of the use of different text fonts and sizes, causing confusion as to whether the discussions presented are wholly Schnabel’s arguments or those of someone else. Additionally, if the reader is not familiar with the Apostolic Fathers, early church Fathers, Greek, Hebrew, Latin, and strategic Hebrew-language material such as the Targums, Talmud, Midrashim, etc., the full usefulness of Schnabel’s work cannot be realized.

Chris Carr
International Mission Board
Ufa, Russia

Four Views on the Warning Passages in Hebrews. Edited by Herbert W. Bateman IV. Grand Rapids: Kregel Academic and Professional, 2007, 480 pp., \$29.99 paper.

Four Views on the Warning Passages in Hebrews is a compilation of papers delivered to the Hebrews Study Group at the annual ETS meeting in 2004, and was edited by Herbert W. Bateman IV (Professor of Bible at Moody Bible Institute). Bateman identifies four warning passages, noticed in a chiasmic structure, under the headings: “Warnings to Hear” (2.1-4; 12.14-29), and “Warnings to Trust and Obey” (3.7-4.13; 10.19-39), centered around “A Harsh Warning” (5.11-6.12). Given that Arminian and Reformed systems differ in their conclusions on any number of passages—and the Epistle to the Hebrews contains several interpretive difficulties in its own right—the warning passages in Hebrews provide an apt ‘playing field’ of discussion. Generally the four presentations range along the spectrum of Arminian and Reformed thought (averaging forty three pages each), and are followed by responses from the other three participants (average fifteen pages each). Author, Greek Word, Scripture, and Subject indices compose the back matter.

Bateman’s aim here is to “expose existing tensions and provide various ways in which four scholars with differing theological grids interpret them in the literary and historical context of Hebrews” (83). In the conclusion George H. Guthrie states that “more discussion on the problem of apostasy in the church” would be an apt outcome of this volume (435). *Four Views on the Warning Passages in Hebrews* accomplishes both the editor’s aim, and sets the stage for further dialogue and study. It is a work related to systematic, biblical, and pastoral theology, placing in one publication what those in biblical studies would have to gather from a number of commentaries and/or journal articles. The limits of this review do not permit extended interaction with the four interlocutors; the briefest of summaries will have to suffice, followed by a statement of Guthrie’s concluding remarks, and criticism.

Grant R. Osborne (Trinity Evangelical Divinity School) provides “A Classical Arminian View.” Osborne takes a “commentary” approach, analyzing the various texts under the headings: “The Danger of Drifting Away,” “The Greater Danger of Losing God’s Rest,” “The Danger of Apostasy,” “The Consequences of Apostasy,” and “Facing the Consuming Fire.” Osborne concludes that several propositions should be set aside, including that the warnings are merely hypothetical and intended primarily to stimulate endurance, and that any who commit apostasy were not true believers in the first place—since they didn’t persevere (the Calvinist position). In the end Osborne argues that “Hebrews is describing a very real danger of apostasy that true believers can commit, and if they do so it is an unpardonable sin from which there is no possibility of repentance, but only of eternal judgment” (128).

“A Classical Reformed View” is presented by Buist M. Fanning (Dallas Theological Seminary). Fanning takes a synthetic approach, analyzing the five warning passages in light of five themes apparent in each: “Description of Those Who Fall Away,” “Nature of This Fall,” “Consequences for Such a Fall,” “Desired Positive Response,” and “Encouragement to the Readers About God’s Faithfulness.” He proposes that “The warnings in Hebrews about falling away and the exhortations to endure are intended to urge the readers to maintain faith

in Christ's high priestly work, not to provoke fear that they may lose their standing with God, nor primarily to test the genuineness of their faith" (218).

Gareth Lee Cockerill (Wesley Biblical Seminary) presents "A Wesleyan Arminian View." He begins by citing that "The author of Hebrews has formulated these passages as part of his pastoral strategy in addressing the condition of his hearers" (257-258). The structure of his comments follow Osborne's, analyzing the five warning passages and providing a conclusion. Cockerill concludes that "Hebrews envisions the possibility of an apostasy from which those once in faith cannot or will not return because they have severed themselves from the culmination of God's plan of salvation in the Son of God" (289).

Randall C. Gleason (The International School of Theology—Asia) provides "A Moderate Reformed View." At the outset he states that "it is critically important to exhaust our understanding of the original context of the book" (337)—which in his view was written "to genuine Jewish believers facing persecution by their countrymen prior to the destruction of Jerusalem" (337). Gleason's major chapter headings: "The Historical Setting of Hebrews," "The Old Testament Background of Hebrews," "The Nature of Judgment," and "Assurance in Hebrews" provide the basis for his conclusion: "I offer my treatment as a means to achieve a greater balance between warning and assurance by interpreting the warnings in light of the author's primary Old Testament example—the Exodus generation" (377), which leads him to believe that Hebrews' warnings concern "the threat of covenant discipline rather than the loss of salvation" (171).

George H. Guthrie (Union University) presents the conclusion, which in itself is a critical review of the book. He begins by rightly commending the contributors for their passionate analysis of the text, and ethos toward one another. He admits that while his views parallel Fanning's, he is not the referee of the presentations, but simply one "attempting to cast light on the broader canvas, along the way raising a number of open-ended questions for further reflection and study" (431). This reviewer agrees with Guthrie's suggested areas of further study and dialogue: 1) Discourse-Analysis, 2) the "echoes" (437) of the Old Testament, 3) identification of the original audience, and 4) Hebrews' corporate, eschatological, and spatial tensions.

While the variegated structure of the presentations prevented the book from becoming dull, for greater clarity on the matters one wishes that the four contributors were forced to follow the same format (i.e., commentary or thematic), and/or come to terms on the same issues. This would have reduced the need for each contributor to re-qualify their ideas when responding to each other; while these responses were insightful, at times they were also redundant. Nevertheless, due to the quality of scholarship and courtesy of dialogue, this reviewer finds *Four Views on the Warning Passages in Hebrews* a valuable resource for biblical studies, and recommends it to every student of the book of Hebrews.

Todd R. Chipman
The Master's Community Church
Kansas City, Kansas

Arminian Theology: Myths and Realities. By Roger E. Olson. Downers Grove, IL: IVP, 2006, 250 pp., \$25.00, Hardcover.

Surely no controversy has foisted itself upon the Protestant psyche and ethos so persistently and tenaciously as the Calvinist/Arminian debate. Roger Olson does not believe the differences between these two theological camps, tracing back at least to the Arminian Remonstrance of 1610 and the Calvinist response at the Synod of Dort (1618 & 1619) are ultimately bridgeable. But he does believe that much ignorance and confusion prevails on both sides of the chasms separating these fellow believers. Olson argues that those chasms are real but fewer and narrower than most realize. He is convinced that a fresh attempt to recover something of the full-blown shape of Arminian theology on the basis of its historical roots and subsequent development according to primary sources will prove his point.

A quick review of the ten myths Olson attempts to de-bunk make clear the provocative, fascinating and, I believe, timely and welcome nature of this volume: Myth 1: Arminian Theology Is the Opposite of Calvinist/Reformed Theology; Myth 2: A Hybrid of Calvinism and Arminianism Is Possible; Myth 3: Arminianism Is Not an Orthodox Evangelical Option; Myth 4: The Heart of Arminianism is Belief in Free Will; Myth 5: Arminian Theology Denies the Sovereignty of God; Myth 6: Arminianism Is a Human-Centered Theology; Myth 7: Arminianism Is Not a Theology of Grace; Myth 8: Arminians Do Not Believe in Predestination; Myth 9: Arminian Theology Denies Justification by Grace Alone Through Faith Alone; Myth 10: All Arminians Believe in the Governmental Theory of the Atonement.

Olson's audience includes both Calvinists and Arminians. Neither group evidences the kind of clear grasp of the controverted issues needed where the unity of the body of Christ is threatened and where the Golden Rule in theological converse ought to be practiced. Calvinists need to know what they are shooting at so that they can shoot straight and Arminians need to recover the breadth and depth of their own tradition.

Olson acknowledges that one often encounters semi-Pelagian and even Pelagian ideas sporting around as Arminian theology. But rather than acquiesce to such theological amnesia, drift, or distortion, Olson believes in "turning to history for correct definitions and not allowing popular usage to redefine good theological terms." Thus Olson "turns to leading Arminian theologians past and present to define true Arminianism." Surely Calvinists caricatured as hyper-Calvinists can empathize with these sentiments on a personal level. In many ways, Olson is simply calling for and contributing to the possibility of fair play where the inevitable Calvinist/Arminian controversy plays itself out.

Olson's treatment of this very relevant theological controversy provides a major and illuminating contribution to all who wish to clarify the issues involved. As a reformed theologian, I found myself both chastened and better educated upon reading Olson's clear delineation of the Calvinist/Arminian divide. The great strength of the volume is simply the light it sheds on the character of classic Arminian Theology. But the by-products of Olson's work

promise equal benefits. Olson's treatment offers welcome warnings to those who carry the label of Arminianism but actually hold semi-Pelagian and Pelagian views. For Calvinists, the book makes clear that the distance between us and our Arminian brothers is narrower than many of us imagined while sharpening our comprehension of differences that remain.

Chapter Four, which refutes the myth that the heart of Arminianism is belief in Free Will, should prove especially helpful and undoubtedly corrective for many Calvinist readers. I published an article several years ago in which I designated Arminian protectiveness of libertarian free-will as "the Arminian holy of holies." I was wrong. Olson makes it clear that the crux of Arminian antipathy for Calvinism stems from the threat it poses to their notion of God's loving character. Over the years my own suspicion has grown that something like this tends to simmer just below the surface, sometimes even unconsciously, where Calvinism is encountered.

Such protectiveness for the loving character of God, expressed in a desire to see all sinners saved, presents a much more formidable challenge to Calvinism than mere fixation upon the wholly extra-biblical notion of libertarian free will ever could. From both a Calvinist and perhaps even more so, from a Barthian standpoint, the question arises as to whether "loving character expressed as a desire to save every sinner saved" arises from biblical teaching or actually comes from outside the witness of scripture and then functions as an alien norm before which difficult passages such as Romans 9 and Ephesians 1 (and arguably the whole trajectory of biblical teaching on election in both testaments) are compelled to yield.

But never mind. Olson's purpose in this volume is not to engage in the inevitable and ongoing contention between Calvinists and Arminians, but rather to make that debate more honest. And Olson has succeeded. Fair reading of classic Arminianism proves the orthodox and evangelical character of this stream of Christianity. Further, it argues for the possibility and wisdom of accommodating Calvinists and Arminians within a denomination such as for example, the Southern Baptist Convention, to which I belong. I heartily recommend this book to all who wish gain a true grasp of authentic Arminianism. Olson provides an opportunity to get the facts "from the horse's mouth" as it were.

Mark DeVine
Midwestern Baptist Theological Seminary
Kansas City, Missouri

Mary for Evangelicals: Toward an Understanding of the Mother of Our Lord.
By Tim Perry. Downers Grove, Illinois: IVP Academic, 2006, 320 pp., \$24.00,
Paperback.

Over the last twenty years Protestants, especially evangelical Protestants, have given new and serious attention to Mary, the mother of Jesus. This new look at Mary represents one stream within the now rising tide of evangelical voices determined to participate in ecumenical engagement with both Roman Catholic

and Orthodox theology. Timothy George, J. I. Packer and Charles Colson among many others have embraced such dialogue as the necessary response to biblical concern for unity within the body of Christ. By surveying key Marian Scripture texts and the development of Mariology from the patristics to the present, Perry has made a genuine contribution such ecumenical conversation.

Perry argues that the New Testament treats Mary in two distinctly different ways; as person and as symbol. The development of Marian doctrine has seen the virtual eclipse of Mary the person by Mary the symbol. Such loss of the person of Mary compromises evangelical faith because of her significance for the doctrine of the incarnation. The centrality of both the incarnation and Christology and their interrelatedness for any authentically biblical, or indeed any historically grounded Christian theology, seems secure within the evangelical psyche and ethos. What has not been sufficiently realized, according to Perry, is the crucial role Mariology must play in any fully biblical comprehension of the Incarnation. For evangelicals, a robust biblical Christology provides the chief protection against the lapse of Mariology into unbiblical encroachment upon the soteriological and mediatorial turf reserved for the one mediator between God and humanity, Jesus Christ. Faithful reading of scripture and survey of historical theology, Perry contends, will provide resources for such evangelical re-assessment of Mary, the person who always "leads us to Christ."

Mary "the person" provides an abiding model for believers of all times, primarily in terms of her perseverance in faith. Mary believed God's word to her and clung to His and her son in the face of extraordinary declarations by God's messengers, her own inability to see the whole picture of God's doings, and plans for either herself or her son, and eventually, threatened persecution. Mary the symbol, as depicted in Luke, John, and Revelation, serves to model the corporate body of Christ extended in space and time.

In a controversial concluding chapter entitled "Advocate: Toward a Doctrine of Mary's Work" Perry offers some preliminary musings regarding what he calls "an attenuated Mariology." Perry defends the notion of viewing Mary as in some sense an "advocate" and "mediator!" Such a brief and provocative crescendo seemed somehow disappointing given the lengthy biblical and historical theological foundation already in place. One expects that Perry will explore and defend his provocative conclusions more fully in future publication.

Perry approaches the possibility of intercession by departed saints by first noting the universal practice of intercession for fellow believers here on earth, even at great geographical distance. Such intercession is not considered either remarkable or as an encroachment upon redemptive or mediatorial prerogatives achievable only by Jesus Christ. Against this background, if one believes that departed saints enjoy an awareness of earthly believers, the suggestion that they might intercede on behalf of their earthly brothers and sisters seems likewise unremarkable. Whether earthly prompting of intercession should obtain is another matter but, according to Perry, not obviously outlandish either. Perry does concede that no direct biblical mandate or even sanction for such advocacy or intercession exists. Still, on the basis of "cumulative evidence" within the

scriptures, he defends the practice of expecting and even prompting such intercession as at least plausible.

The church militant might count on intercession by the church triumphant if such departed brothers and sisters are, as the scriptures teach, one with the church universal and a “great cloud of witnesses.” Our communion with any believer anywhere rests upon the sole basis of our communion with Jesus Christ. The possibility of intercession implies no mediatorship except by the one mediator, our savior and lord Jesus Christ. The One who intercedes for us is not only our way to Him, He is our way to them, and theirs to us. Still, Perry concedes that, lacking biblical injunction to seek intercession from the “saints above,” most protestant theologians would not sanction the practice, especially given the history of idolatrous attachment to such saints by many who plunge headlong into such practices.

Perry finally argues for the relegation of this practice as a matter of secondary importance; thus allowing for both its practice and its denial within the church. For those who choose to make use of this possibility, requests for intercession by Mary rests upon the same basis as does such access with regard to other saints, only that, as with other saints, the intercessor is a specific person with a unique history, not a generic intercessor. And, what a unique history Mary brings to the table! Still, Perry does view as blasphemous the notion that Mary is in a position to sway or overturn verdicts of God the Son against which Luther railed so insistently.

On the highly contentious notions of Mary as mediator and co-redemptorist, Perry offers serious and typically Protestant refutations but also notes that these matters remain mired in older discussions and thus cry out for a fresh look. Explicit calls for non-Roman Catholic contribution regarding these subjects issued in Vatican II ought to be embraced, contends Perry, if for no other reason than to ensure that current Protestant rejection of the controverted titles for Mary rests not upon blithe and sloppy adherence to “the faith of our fathers” but upon our own convictions, confirmed by the fathers but also authentically ours.

Perry’s effort does provide a serious contribution to current re-appropriation of the doctrine of Mary, especially in his tracing of the history of development of Marian doctrine. And Perry’s consideration of the possibility of Marian intercession and even a kind of mediation by Mary models a kind of openness of spirit without which the pursuit of Christian unity cannot advance, much less succeed. Nevertheless, as Perry concedes, unity at the expense biblical truth, where primary tenets of faith are in view, can never be truly “Christian.” Perry’s attenuated Mariology will likely prove unpalatable in certain key respects by both Protestant and Roman Catholic observers; a plight that often befalls would-be peacemakers within the church. The usefulness of Perry’s work for the advancement of ecumenical understanding or even achievement will depend not only upon its openness to Roman Catholic sensibility but first and foremost, its serious comprehension of Protestant sensibility.

Mark DeVine
Midwestern Baptist Theological Seminary
Kansas City, Missouri

God, Marriage, and Family. By Andreas J. Köstenberger, with David W. Jones. Wheaton: Crossway, 2004, 448 pp., paperback, \$15.99.

Andreas J. Köstenberger serves as professor of New Testament at Southeastern Baptist Theological Seminary. David W. Jones serves as assistant professor of Christian Ethics at Southeastern. Daniel Akin, president of Southeastern, wrote the foreword for the book, and the preface lists others who made significant contributions. The front matter of the book opens with nearly six pages of commendations from such noteworthy evangelical names as J. I. Packer, John Piper, Wayne Grudem, and Paige Patterson.

The authors wrote *God, Marriage, and Family* out of conviction that the cultural crisis in this arena is in fact a spiritual one, and that “the only solution is a return to, and rebuilding of, the biblical foundations of these institutions (p. 19).” They purposely placed “God” at the forefront of the title to reflect their goal of putting God “back at the center of marriage and the family (p.20).” Chapter 1 is merely six pages and clarifies the purpose, approach, and scope of the book. The authors note not only the cultural confusion and decay with regard to marriage and family, but also the lack of distinction between the world and the church. Their solution is an attempt to provide a “biblical theology” of marriage and family, one that investigates and is founded upon the Bible itself.

Chapters 2-4 deal with marriage in the Bible. Chapter 2 examines marriage in the Old Testament as the authors explore Creation, Israelite history, the wisdom literature, and numerous Old Testament examples. Chapter 3 examines marriage in the New Testament as the authors explore Jesus’ view on marriage, Peter’s comments on marriage, Paul’s vision for marriage, and the paucity of specific New Testament examples. Chapter 3 deals primarily with Paul’s contribution since his is by far the most extensive treatment in the New Testament. Chapter 4 evaluates three commonly held views on the nature of marriage: marriage as a sacrament; marriage as a contract; and, marriage as a covenant. After making a biblical case for marriage as a covenant, Chapter 4 finishes with some specific implications of this view for today.

Chapters 5-8 look beyond the marriage relationship to biblically answer the question, “What is a family (p. 93)?” These chapters cover several issues, but the bulk of the material relates to children and parenting. Chapter 5 explores the Old Testament view of family by examining the Israelite conception of family, the roles of fathers, the roles of mothers, procreation, the roles of children, the training of children, and specific examples of families. Chapter 6 explores the New Testament view of family by examining Jesus’ example, Paul’s teaching, more specific examples, and the implications for today. Chapter 7 tackles contemporary issues such as childlessness, abortion, contraception, artificial reproduction, and adoption. The authors evaluate several methods and options relating to these issues in light of biblical principles. Chapter 8 discusses special issues in parenting (discipline, single parenting, etc.) and spiritual warfare as it relates to marriage and family. Chapters 7 and 8 essentially deal with contemporary issues and dilemmas in light of principles gained from previous chapters.

Chapters 9-12 attempt to provide a biblical guidance for specific issues. Chapter 9 deals with singleness. The authors examine singleness in the Old Testament, the New Testament, and the early church while carefully noting differences between the ancient and current situations. Chapter 9 then addresses some specific issues and groups. Much of Chapter 9 deals with sexual concerns.

Chapter 10 deals with homosexuality. The authors critique the morality of this issue against the nature of marriage and family, the Old Testament teachings on the subject, and the New Testament teachings. Much of chapter 10 interacts with and evaluates contemporary material and stances on this issue. The chapter ends with a summary of the biblical verdict against homosexuality.

Chapter 11 deals with divorce and remarriage by examining the Old Testament, the teachings of Jesus, and the teachings Paul. The authors basically examine New Testament teachings in light of Old Testament precedent, paying particular attention to the “exception” clauses that allow for divorce. Chapter 11 interacts with and critiques a plethora of contemporary positions. The authors are careful not to be more demanding or vocal than Scripture, yet they are equally careful not to ignore scripture.

Chapter 12 deals with qualifications for church leadership that have to do with marriage and family. The authors discuss marital faithfulness, divorce and remarriage, children, and singleness as these issues pertain to church officers. Chapter 12 demonstrates that church leaders must exemplify the principles drawn out in the Chapters 2-11.

Chapter 13 is merely six pages and “synthesizes” the material in Chapters 1-12. The book contains a great deal of back matter: an extensive, chapter-by-chapter bibliography (pp. 277-300); a personal and group study guide (pp. 301-352); in-depth notes pertaining to each chapter (pp. 353-416); and, multiple indexes (pp. 417-448). The back matter totals 171 pages and constitutes more than one-third of the total book.

There are no major weaknesses in *God, Marriage, and Family*. The authors accomplish what they set out to do—provide a biblical, God-centered foundation for this arena. In so doing, they also prove their thesis—the cultural problems (and church problems) in this arena are essentially spiritual problems. The primary weakness of the book is its personal and group study guide. Many of the questions simply ask for participants to look up and regurgitate statements or definitions in each chapter. At times this section seems more like preparation for a weekly quiz than guidelines for a group study. That said, the application questions and weekly assignments should provide, respectively, some nice group discussions and some effective conversation starters for couples at home.

God, Marriage, and Family certainly has its strengths. First, the format is appealing. The flow of the chapters is logical. The headings and subheadings are clear, making it easy to find specific material later. The charts are clear and help visualize the argumentation. Due to the exhaustive nature of the notes, the book helpfully uses endnotes instead of footnotes. Busy pastors or teachers who might use this book will definitely benefit from this format.

Next, the authors display a thorough grasp of and interaction with contemporary views and stances on each topic. The reader gets the feeling that the authors have really “heard” those with whom they disagree and understand their argumentation. Although the authors clearly disagree with many

contemporary views, they are gentlemen about it and manage to evade simple “straw man” depictions. In short, the authors are fair.

Finally, the conclusions are biblical. This aspect of the book is by far its primary strength. The authors examine specific passages and are careful to place texts within contexts. Surely not everyone in Evangelical life will agree with each interpretation (a staple of Evangelicalism), but no one can accuse the authors of making the Bible say what they want it to say. They provide clear reasoning and argumentation for their interpretations of texts and for their disagreements with other interpretations. The book aims to provide a biblical foundation and it accomplishes this goal.

God, Marriage, and Family will make a nice reference volume for the pastor or teacher who wants to explore these issues and educate the church on them. Each chapter provides a starting point for study and the format provides a nice outline for teaching. Plus, the teacher will find an incredibly helpful bibliography for further, more in-depth study of each issue. The bibliography alone is a tremendous asset. The book would also make a fine addition to a Christian ethics class, particularly as outside reading to supplement classroom discussion. I recommend *God, Marriage, and Family* as a starting point for study and as a useful format for teaching.

R. Michael Fox
Concord Baptist Church
Bates City, Missouri

Septuagint Research: Issues and Challenges in the Study of the Greek Jewish Scriptures. Edited by Wolfgang Kraus and R. Glenn Wooden. Leiden / Boston: E. J. Brill, 2006, xvi + 416 pp. € 155.00 / US\$ 209.00 hardcover, cloth binding.

This captivating volume stands as one of the clearest proofs to date of just how much the Septuagint studies have evolved in recent years. Only a few decades ago one could hardly find a comprehensive, reliable guide to the field of Septuagint research. Today the same reader would stand amazed at the variety and usefulness of resources available to a wide range of readers and interests. The volume edited by Kraus and Wooden continues and complements the steady stream of earlier studies focusing on the Septuagint, such as N. Fernández Marcos *The Septuagint in Context* (ET; Leiden: Brill, 2000), M. Müller *The First Bible of the Church* (Sheffield: SAP, 1996), M. Hengel *The Septuagint as Christian Scriptures* (ET; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 2002), E. Tov *The Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint in Biblical Research* (Jerusalem: Simor, 1997), K. Jobes and M. Silva *Invitation to the Septuagint* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2000) and most recently T. McLay *The Use of the Septuagint in New Testament Research* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003). The editors designed their volume primarily for the more advanced reader, student and scholar alike, collecting the most recent developments in the field as well as exploring their importance for a

variety of adjacent fields: biblical theology, textual criticism, and the theory of translation, to name just a few.

The task of bringing an up-to-date presentation of the field is undertaken by the editors themselves in the opening study, "Contemporary 'Septuagint' Research". They divide the issues and challenges in the study of the Greek Jewish Scriptures into four domains of research, highlighting the recent progress in the area of LXX translation and interpretation of either the LXX as a whole or of its individual books, charting the theological landscape of several particular books or passages, and ending with a pertinent analysis of the history of the LXX reception in Early Judaism and Christianity. Each of these major fields of inquiry are treated in turn in the four major sections of the book.

In the first section, the reader is introduced to one of the most recent developments in the Septuagint studies, the much needed and overdue modern translation(s) of the Septuagint. The seminal work *La Bible d'Alexandrie* originated under the guidance of Marguerite Harl, with over 14 volumes already published, is now reciprocated by the English language effort of New English Translation of the Septuagint (very recently published by Oxford University Press in 2007) and the German project *Septuaginta Deutsch* (LXX.D). Several cardinal issues regarding the very essence of the Septuagint as translation are rehearsed in W. Kraus' article "Contemporary Translations of the Septuagint: Problems and Perspectives", in which one finds an overall, informed presentation of the problems and challenges involved in translating the Septuagint. Equally relevant and astute is the contribution of A. Pietersma addressing the tension between those who see in the LXX primarily an exegetical-theological reworking of the source text as opposed to those who see it simply as the result of bona fide translation done with the best tools available at the time. In their respective chapters, C. Boyd-Taylor explores further the importance of the Septuagint as a theological mirror reflecting the beliefs of its times and translators, while B. Wright probes the LXX influence on the pseudepigraphic *Letter of Aristeas* and the writings of Philo.

The second section of the book will be of particular interest for the researcher dealing with case by case matters emerging either from various books: R. Hiebert on Genesis, K. De Toryer on Joshua, G. Wooden on 2 Esdras, and A. Schart on Amos; or from various passages: W. White on Job 1:8b and P. Ahearne-Kroll on Zechariah 1-6.

The third section assembles studies that cast a wider net on the theological data-base provided by the LXX. While each individual LXX book deserves to be approached in its own right, room must be made for a more comprehensive understanding of various LXX theological themes, such as the studies of Messianism in the Septuagint, by H.-J. Fabry, or idol worship, by C. Bergmann. S. Kreuzer traces the intricate history of the Septuagint *qua* text from the Old Greek to the various recensions. Particularly engaging is the contribution of M. Rösel in "Towards a 'Theology of the Septuagint'". His convincing case that such a theology not only ought to, but also can be written rests on two cardinal requirements: no forced uniformity across the books, and no failure to recognize the distinctive nuances of a Greek based text as opposed to a Hebrew based text. This latter issue has to be one of the most fundamental questions confronting

those undertaking a comparative study of the Hebrew and Greek textual traditions in which the Jewish Scriptures have been preserved.

The last group of articles explores with sharpness and clarity the importance of the Septuagint as a theological text in the furnace of ideas of the Early Judaism and Christianity. It would be difficult to find a finer collection of analyses on the use of the Septuagint in the New Testament: from its use in Paul (F. Wilk), to its use in Hebrews (M. Karrer); from the use of LXX Minor Prophets (H. Utschneider), to the investigation of a potential allusion to Ps 40 in Mark (S. Ahearne-Kroll) and the study of the reception and development of the Psalms in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity (R. Brukner). The complexities involved in tracing textual relationships are handled with mastery by K. Jobes' analysis of the textual traditions in 1 Peter, and by B. Ego in a study of textual variants in Tobit.

Compared with the suffocating density of activity in both research areas of Hebrew Scriptures and Greek New Testament, the field of Septuagint studies, hardly out of their infancy, offers the biblicist opportunities and challenges available only in the open spaces not yet overcrowded. Guided by the eloquent contributions presented in this volume, the future participants will find a worthy and reliable chart for the research awaiting them as they push the frontiers even further. The editors are to be congratulated for mapping the field with both rigor and enticement. The enthusiasm in recommending this volume is tampered only by its sizzling price tag for the cloth edition, as impeccable as it stands. E. J. Brill succeeded in maintaining their reputation of offering valuable resources for biblical studies at very challenging prices. Fortunately, the SBL, as the copyright holder for the volume, has stepped in and reissued a paperback edition in their Septuagint and Cognate Studies series at a much more affordable price tag (details available at www.sbl-site.org). Regardless of the reader's choice for either one of the editions available, the substance of the studies in this collection makes it imperative reading for any serious student of the Septuagint.

Radu Gheorghîță
Midwestern Baptist Theological Seminary
Kansas City, Missouri

Come Out From Among Them: 'Anti-Nicodemite' Writings of John Calvin. Translated by Seth Skolnitsky. Dallas: Protestant Heritage Press, 2001, 317 pp. \$22.00.

Come Out From Among Them includes translations of several writings of John Calvin that, amazingly enough, have not yet appeared in English, gathered under the sub-heading of 'anti-Nicodemite' writings.

It's hard to believe that there are any writings of John Calvin that have not yet been translated into English. However, Seth Skolnitsky is to be congratulated, not only for finding these untranslated pieces, but also for the potent content of these writings.

Come Out From Among Them gathers two letters, two treatises, and four sermons of Calvin directed to those who had tasted of the Reformation and yet remained within the Roman Catholic church. The first letter was written in 1540, a year which included two French Protestant martyrs as recorded in Jean Crespin's 1570 Martyrology. The next writings were written in 1543, 1544, 1552, and 1562 respectively. From this vantage point they overview Calvin's thinking from four years after his first edition of the *Institutes* (1536) to two years prior to the death of the Reformer in 1564. Regardless of the dozens of French Protestants martyred almost every year during this entire time, Calvin's arguments became more lucid and forceful over time—"Come out from among them!"

The book begins with a 23-page introduction by the publisher. The remainder of the book comprises the translation into English of the primary material from the French, as found in the standard source for Calvin, *Ionnis Calvini opera quae supersunt omnia* (1863-1900). Skolnitsky included the occasional explanatory footnote providing the French original and an expansion on his translation.

The translation style is quite literal for the most part. In several instances, as compared to the original in my possession (a reprint with notes from Albert Autin [Paris: Brossard, 1921]), there may have been noted some rounding off of forceful figures of speech. For example, "there is none that would like to chew on it" is rendered "there is none who shows himself to have understood" (99). Also, "they cannot suffer that one scratches their itch" is translated "they cannot bear for anyone to cross them" (100). While these slight differences may betray different originals, they may also note some dynamic influence on some points. For the majority of the text, however, the translation is clear, lucid, accurate, and sound.

Come Out From Among Them may in fact provide insight into several contexts. First, it provides the polemical context from and for which Calvin's theology was developed. As such, it speaks of evangelism and worship, fellowship and separation, and persecution and martyrdom during the Reformation era. Second, it reminds a contemporary audience of the reasons for the Protestant Reformation. Third, it provides a lens through which to view some current theological fads.

I heartily recommend *Come Out From Among Them* as a singular primary resource for all students and scholars interested in the shoe leather issues of the Reformation era.

Thomas P. Johnston
Midwestern Baptist Theological Seminary
Kansas City, Missouri

UnLearning Church: Just When You Thought You Had Leadership All Figured Out. By Michael Slaughter with Warren Bird. Loveland, CO: Group Publishing, 2002, 224 pp, \$19.99 hardcover.

The title of the book *UnLearning Church* is captivating. This is particularly true at a time when many churches find themselves in the midst of cultural changes

and some are unable to contextualize the Gospel to the culture. This is a book that you will love or hate but nevertheless one that clearly calls the church to be on mission.

Michael Slaughter is the Chief Dreamer (Pastor) of Ginghamburg Church in Tipp City, Ohio. He has pastored the church since 1979 and seen the attendance grow from 100 to 4,000.

The purpose of the book is threefold. One, it is an urgent call for spiritual and prophetic leadership. Two, it is a call to break the rules of conventional wisdom in order to translate God's ancient purposes to today's postmodern world. Three, it is about visualizing and articulating alternative pathways of ministry. Slaughter provides a framework for the journey by dividing his book in three sections. The first section shows how unlearning churches are connecting people with a high-touch experience in a high tech-world. The second section shows how unlearning leadership empowers the people of God to be on mission. The final section shows how unlearning life creates an authentic demonstration of kingdom living.

Slaughter writes from the perspective that the church must move past the jargon of church to the practice of our faith in Jesus Christ within the context of our culture. He states, "It's time to go beyond knowing and believing God's truth to experiencing and demonstrating God's presence" (front flap). While this book dates back a few years it is worthy to review in light of the changing cultural setting in North America. This is one book of many that has been written in the last few years calling the church to be on mission. Others include, Reggie McNeal's *Present Future*, George Barna's *Revolution*, Bob Roberts, *Transformation* and Jim Wallis *Irresistible Revolution*, to name a few. Though not all are anchored on sound theology, each of these is calling the church to be a participant rather than a spectator.

One of the strengths of the book is the practical section at the end of each chapter asking "How are you unlearning? It calls for the reader to think through their journey and identify what are those things that perhaps need to be unlearned. A second strength is the short stories at the end of each chapter. The reader is introduced to people that are learning to "unlearn church." His examples are drawn from various denominations and pastors of different age groups. I find this section particularly helpful and at times thought provoking. A third strength I found was Slaughter's emphasis on discipleship. He calls for the development of leaders as trainer-coaches. He highlights the importance of the relational aspect of mentoring. This, unfortunately, is one of the missing links of many churches. Slaughter's contribution in this area is valuable.

Some weaknesses of the book are the different size fonts throughout the book making reading difficult. While it may highlight areas of importance and may be appealing to a younger generation it was distracting. I felt, at times, as if someone was shouting at me-which may have been the author's intent. The spiritual thread that is found throughout each chapter unravels with the lack of a solid biblical anchor. This was disappointing to me. Slaughter calls the reader to develop spiritual discipline. "Leaders influence people most through integrity of heart. Spiritual influence goes beyond methodologies to the passion of the Spirit.

UnLearning leaders begin to smell like God” (117). Each of these statements, by itself, creates excitement. However, Slaughter seems to talk about spirituality and Christianity as the same thing. Slaughter rightly recognized that the modern world was “either/or” and the postmodern world is a “both/and” world. There seems to be a movement to syncretism and at the least openness to it. When statements such as “Postmodern churches are both Catholic and evangelical . . . Many [members of Ginghamburg Church] go to Mass as well as participate with us in the same weekend . . . their number included our assistant music director, who remains an active Catholic” (49) one cannot help ask if our anchor is relevancy or the Word of God?

I believe that the single strength of the book is the urgent call for the church to be authentic and on mission. This includes churches that seriously embody Christ in a way that intentionally responds to their cultural context.

Gustavo V. Suárez
Midwestern Baptist Theological Seminary
Kansas City, Missouri

Intelligent Design: William A. Dembski & Michael Ruse in Dialogue. Edited by Robert B. Stewart, Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2007, 257 pp., paperback, \$22.00.

Robert B. Stewart, the editor, is associate professor of Philosophy and Theology at New Orleans Baptist Theological Seminary, where he is Greer-Heard Professor of Faith and Culture. He is also director of the Greer-Heard Forum, an annual event organized to provide a forum for an evangelical and a nonevangelical scholar to publicly dialogue on a particular issue of religious or cultural significance. The dialogue between Dembski and Ruse occurred at the 2006 Greer-Heard Forum held in Atlanta.

In 1859 and following Charles Darwin provoked a long drawn out cultural war in Western culture over creationism versus evolution. In the last decade or so, particularly in the USA, this war has greatly intensified. Many leading scientists and others have fueled the flames by advocating a very compelling, revitalized, “intelligent design” (ID) argument challenging the validity of evolution at its core. Evolutionists and atheists have responded vehemently to the ID challenge.

Combatants in this war are both numerous and diversified. No less than 80+ works dealing specifically with the revitalized intelligent design argument have been published in just the last two years (according to the relevant Library of Congress catalogues). These works have been penned by scientists, philosophers, lawyers, educators, journalists, and theologians. Thus, this war engages combatants from all cultural domains, indicating the tremendous degree of importance the conflict’s outcome is to the future establishment of our country’s cultural norms.

To the many works already published dealing with ID, Robert Stewart has added yet another very important work. Stewart’s work is a standout from most of the others because in one volume he clarifies “what the fuss is all about” and

then allows individual combatants on both sides to “speak for themselves.” Rather than argue for either position, thus introducing personal bias, his approach to the overall conversation allows the reader to form his/her own opinion based on leading combatants’ individual arguments. The book consists of an Introduction by the author, twelve chapters involving fourteen different contributors, and an Afterword by the renowned German theologian Wolfhart Pannenberg.

Subjects broached in the book include: “The Evolution Wars: Who is Fighting with Whom about What;” “Naturalism and Intelligent Design;” “The Collapse of Intelligent Design;” “Dawkins, God, and the Scientific Enterprise: Reflections on the Appeal to Darwinism in Fundamental Atheism;” “The Universe as Creation;” along with many others. These discussions cover almost every aspect of the debate including philosophical, legal, educational, scientific, and theological issues. The documented dialogue between William Dembski and Michael Ruse is especially illuminating concerning the foundational issues between the two sides in the war and the tone of the combatants.

Contributors to the book are typically well-known and well-published professionals representing both sides of the war. These include mathematicians/philosophers William Dembski, Michael Ruse, and John C. Lennox; lawyer/philosopher Francis J. Beckwith; theologian/philosophers William Lane Craig and Nancy Murphy; molecular biophysicist/theologian Alister McGrath; particle physicist/theologian John Polkinghorne.

Two contributors, Wesley R. Elsberry and Nicholas Matzke, are associated with the National Center for Science Education, an organization created specifically to maintain the hegemony of evolution in the science classroom by excluding any other theory of origins as “religious” in nature. To include these voices attest to Stewart’s sincere attempt at remaining unbiased in revealing “what the fuss is all about.”

Stewart’s book is particularly valuable in presenting succinctly both sides of the debate for each reader’s own assessment. What is at stake? The outcome of this war will determine, I believe, whether our nation remains a truly Christian nation that continues to embrace its historic Judeo-Christian values as its cultural norms or becomes a totally secular nation that fully embraces modern and postmodern relativistic values—derived from secular humanistic and naturalistic worldviews—as its cultural norms. The stakes are enormous. Therefore, I highly recommend this book as a primary source for gaining insight into the key issues surrounding the Intelligent Design movement.

Charles E. Warren
Midwestern Baptist Theological Seminary
Kansas City, Missouri

Book Review Index

- Bateman, Herbert W. IV. *Four Views on the Warning Passages in Hebrews* (Todd R. Chipman) 74
- Köstenberger, Andreas, with David W. Jones. *God, Marriage, and Family* (R. Michael Fox) 81
- Kraus, Wolfgang and R. Glenn Wooden (eds.). *Septuagint Research: Issues and Challenges in the Study of the Greek Jewish Scriptures* (Radu Gheorghiuță) 83
- Olson, Roger E. *Arminian Theology: Myths and Realities* (Mark DeVine) 77
- Perry, Tim. *Mary for Evangelicals: Toward an Understanding of the Mother of Our Lord* (Mark DeVine) 78
- Schnabel, Eckhard. *Early Christian Mission (Volumes One and Two)* (Chris Carr) 72
- Skolnitsky, Seth (trans.). *Come Out From Among Them: 'Anti-Nicodemite' Writings of John Calvin* (Thomas P. Johnston) 85
- Slaughter, Michael, with Warren Bird. *UnLearning Church: Just When You Thought You Had Leadership All Figured Out* (Gustavo V. Suárez) 86
- Stewart, Robert (ed.). *Intelligent Design: William A. Dembski & Michael Ruse in Dialogue* (Charles E. Warren) 88

List of Publishers

Brill Publishers, P.O. Box 605, Herndon, Virginia, 20172; (800) 337-9255 (USA and Canada only)

Crossway Books, 1300 Crescent Street, Wheaton, Illinois, 60187; (630) 682-4300

Fortress Press, P. O. Box 1209, Minneapolis, Minnesota, 55440-1209; (800) 328-4648

Group Publishing, Inc., P.O. Box 481, Loveland, Colorado, 80539; (800) 447-1070

InterVarsity Press, P.O. Box 1400, Downers Grove, Illinois, 60515; (630) 734-4000

Kregel Publications, P.O. Box 2607, Grand Rapids, Michigan, 49501; (616) 451-4775

Protestant Heritage Press, P.O. Box 180922, Dallas, Texas, 75218; (n.t.)

Midwestern Journal of Theology

Subscription Form

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____ Country _____

Phone () _____ E-mail _____

___ One year—\$20 ___ Two years—\$35 ___ Three years—\$50

___ Please find payment enclosed.

___ Please add me to your general mailing list.

Please send my friend a subscription (payment enclosed):

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____ Country _____

Clip and mail to: Editor, *Midwestern Journal of Theology*,
MBTS, 5001 N. Oak Trafficway, Kansas City, MO, 64118

The faculty of Midwestern Baptist Theological Seminary
invites you to subscribe to the
Midwestern Journal of Theology,
a scholarly journal written to assist Christians and churches
in making disciples throughout the world.

Published biannually, each issue includes exegetical and theological
articles, inspirational sermons, and reviews of recent important books.

Please visit the MBTS website at www.mbts.edu.