

# ‘Our conviction of the truth of Scripture’:

## AN APPRAISAL OF FUNDAMENTALIST & EVANGELICAL APPROACHES TO SCRIPTURE

“Because they come from the Holy Spirit, the sacred writings cannot contain error.”-**Augustine**

“The Bible alone is the Book of God” – **Bishop John Charles Ryle**

“Protestantism, for which only Scripture is infallible” – **Protopresbyter John Romanides**

“If the Bible were not true, then on what did Protestantism, the religion of *sola scriptura*, rest?” **George M. Marsden**

“It ain't what you don't know that gets you into trouble. It's what you know for sure that just ain't so.”- **Mark Twain**

FUNDAMENTALISM & EVANGELICALISM	2
INSPIRATION, INERRANCY & INFALLIBILITY	7
THE CHURCH AND THE BIBLE	10
SCRIPTURE & TRADITION	12
JUDAISM & THE OLD TESTAMENT	15
CANON & SELF-AUTHENTICATION	16
THE CANON & THE SEPTUAGINT	17
TESTIMONIUM SPIRITUS SANCTI	20
“THE SCRIPTURES THAT TESTIFY ABOUT ME”	23
SUPREMACY & ‘SOLA’	23
THE UNITY OF THE CHURCH	25
INSPIRATION AND SUFFICIENCY	25
“NO SCIENTIFIC FALLACY”	28
THE LEGACY OF THE REFORMATION	28
LITERALISM, TEXTUAL SELECTION & DISPENSATIONALISM	29
BAPTISM & THE EUCHARIST	30
‘ON THE READING OF HOLY SCRIPTURE’	34
BIBLIOGRAPHY	36

**N.B.: American spelling used in quotations has not been Anglicised.**

## FUNDAMENTALISM & EVANGELICALISM

John Charles Ryle, the great evangelical first Bishop of Liverpool, wrote in 1877: “Men may easily make an idol of the Church, of ministers, of sacraments, or of intellect. Men cannot make an idol of the Word” (p. 53). In ‘Fundamentalism and the Church of God’, Father Gabriel Hebert defined an idol as standing for “anything which a man worships instead of God, anything which a man makes or finds for himself to spend his life for”. Idolatry means “not worshipping the God that actually exists, but some substitute for Him which is to hand”. Hebert asserted that “our Christianity is beclouded by many sorts of idolatry”. “As there can be idolatry of the Eucharistic sacrament and of the Church, so there can be Bibliolatry, Idolatry of the Bible” (pp. 133, 146, 138). “God was incarnate in a man, not a book” (O’Donovan, p. 50).

I remember, nearly 40 years ago, as a theology student, hearing the charismatic Baptist minister David Pawson for the first time. He remarked that whereas some Roman Catholics had a Trinity of God the Father, God the Son and the Blessed Virgin Mary, some evangelicals had one of God the Father, God the Son and the Blessed Holy Scriptures. While his comment related to what charismatics then perceived as an evangelical lack of emphasis on the Holy Spirit, this accusation of bibliolatry clearly hit another raw nerve.

In a recent article, Dr. Michael Ovey, the Principal of Oak Hill Theological College defended the conservative Evangelical position for ‘Reform’. He maintained that evangelicals never said that the Bible is the same as God, but “that the Bible has its origin in God: it is God’s expression of his thoughts and will” and “has a unique place”. Thus “there is a relation between the Bible’s authority and who God is... This means that evangelical stresses on the Bible’s final authority are simply outworkings of who we believe God is. Conversely, if someone denies the Bible’s final authority, then they are denying either that God is knowing, sovereign and good, or that Jesus was right about the Bible originating with God.”

From the outset, it should be noted that there are clear differences between American Protestant fundamentalism and mainstream (especially British) evangelicalism. For the latter, my former principal at London Bible College and General Secretary of the Evangelical Alliance, Gilbert Kirby, cautioned against writing off “as not being Christians those who cannot fully accept the inerrancy of the Bible” (p.8). The Evangelical Alliance in Britain had protested against “the fundamentalist who demands uniformity and denies the right of private judgment” and insisted that the E.A. sought to “maintain evangelical faith, but not with a shut mind” (Randall & Hilborn, p.190). Nevertheless, in what follows, it needs to be constantly remembered that that fundamentalism is “an historical movement closely related to evangelicalism” (Harris: p. 1), which in turn is itself deeply rooted in the Protestant Reformation. For those who are familiar with the distinction made by James Barr, this paper relates to the primarily ‘Anglo-Saxon’ evangelical fundamentalism rather than that which has been derived from the Continental Reformation, which is rooted “in traditional denominational orthodoxies of the seventeenth centuries” (2002: p. 66), as they were exported to America.

In a lecture delivered in South Africa in 1979, James Barr sought to ‘summarize a few aspects’ of the topic he had covered in ‘Fundamentalism’, his seminal book of 1977. For him, fundamentalism was not thinking that the Bible should be the final ‘absolute controlling authority’ for Christians. It begins when that authority of the Bible “is tied to its infallibility and in particular its historical inerrancy” to affirm “something like a general perfection of scripture” (2002: p. 65). “Fundamentalist interpretation concentrates not on taking the Bible literally, but on taking it so that it will appear inerrant, without error in fact” (2002: p. 77), thus “it has evaded the natural and literal sense of the Bible in order to imprison it within a particular tradition of human interpretation” (2002: p. 79).

Characteristically Richard Dawkins was scathing against religious fundamentalism in 'The God Delusion'. "Fundamentalists know that they are right because they have read the truth in a holy book". They cannot be budged from that belief. "The truth of the holy book is an axiom" rather than the result of reasoning. Seemingly contradictory evidence "must be thrown out, not the book" (p. 319). However, Dawkins has also been labelled a fundamentalist. Alister McGrath portrayed Dawkins as an atheistic fundamentalist, who has shown "little interest in engaging with religious believers", but prefers to flagrantly misrepresent them. In his personal crusading for Darwinism Dawkins has been robust in his atheism. For him science and religion are ultimately incompatible. "Little wonder that many Darwinians have expressed alarm at this attempt to brand the outlook as atheist". According to McGrath, Dawkins has not extinguished religious fundamentalism but merely replicated its vices through his own deeply flawed atheist fundamentalism. McGrath believed that there were "better ways to deal with religious fundamentalism. Dawkins is part of the problem here, not its solution" (2007: pp. xiii, 25).

"A fundamentalist is an evangelical who is angry about something. That is simple and fairly accurate" (Marsden: p.1). "The fundamental theological feature of modern fundamentalisms which are religious", asserted Professor Martin E. Marty, "is oppositionalism" and "what they possess distinctively is a peculiar form of oppositionalism" (Küng and Moltmann, p.1). It has become a "religion of rage ... rooted in fear" and its adherents are "battling against forces that threaten their most sacred values" (Armstrong: pp.216, xviii). The record of American fundamentalism confirms that, as well as "its militant exclusivism" (Miroslav Volf in Küng and Moltmann, p.96), fundamentalism "is essentially a revolt against modernity" (Wallis, p. 66). Thus "an American fundamentalist is an evangelical who is militant in opposition to liberal theology in the churches or to changes in culture or mores" (Marsden: p.1). In more recent times that has been graphically demonstrated by the New Christian Right (NCR). Jerry Falwell, when asked by Pat Robertson who was to blame for 11 September 2001, listed those who had "tried to secularize America" including "the pagans and the abortionists and the feminists and the gays and the lesbians". His words were greeted by Robertson with frequent "amens" (Singh: p. 421).

"Fundamentalists were provoked into campaigning by the cultural and social forces that reminded them of their marginality" (idem, p. 415). Jim Wallis in his book 'God's Politics', published in 2005, sought to express a carefully measured response to the politicised fundamentalism of the New Right. In a perceptive passage, Wallis addressed this in the context of all three religions of 'the book' and of the events of September 11<sup>th</sup> 2001, which had needed a preceding shift or turn in fundamentalism – "to theocracy, to violence and to the reach for power". Wallis argued that the conventional wisdom that "the antidote to religious fundamentalism is more secularism" was a "very big mistake". "The best response to bad religion is better religion, not secularism" and that meant better interpretations of the sacred texts. Better interpretations were "a much more effective response to fundamentalism than throwing the book away". Furthermore the answer to fundamentalism is not to take religion less seriously but "*more seriously* than fundamentalism does. The best critique of fundamentalism comes from faith ... It is faith that leads us to assert the vital religious commitments that fundamentalists often leave out" (pp. 66-7).

Wallis sees those ignored religious commitments in the socio-economic sphere and especially in the eradication of global poverty and the narrowing of the disparities between the developed, developing and under-developed countries. Here he touches the heart of the political matter, for the alliance of American fundamentalism with New Right Republicanism has meant an almost total neglect of these central dimensions of the social teaching of the Christian faith, manifest clearly in the writings of the prophets and confirmed by Dominical imperatives. However the fundamentalists' concentration on moral crusades and the assumed 'moral majority' has, however badly and simplistically presented, demonstrated an

aspect of Christian witness to a secularising society severely compromised by liberal Christianity and, I would argue, particularly by E.C.U.S.A. Here two examples will suffice: its promotion of homosexuality as an acceptable way of life even in the priesthood and episcopate; and its failure to provide a clear ethical stand against abortion in any way comparable to that of the Roman Catholic Church. On the latter issue, bitter feuding has broken out “between ‘pro-choice’ and ‘pro-life’ advocates. Fundamentalist positions leave little or no room for compromise between those who feel most strongly on the issue, making it one of the most divisive in American politics” (Grant: p. 158).

The traditional Catholic and Orthodox Christian can find some common ground with conservative evangelicals in witnessing to the unchanging absolutes of Divine Revelation, as expressed unequivocally in these words of St. Theophan the Recluse. “Christianity must remain eternally unchanging, in no way being dependent on or guided by the spirit of each age. Instead, Christianity is meant to govern and direct the spirit of the age for anyone who obeys its teachings”. Certainly we need to witness to our contemporary culture as those “in the world”, but as we are ‘sojourners’ and not ‘of’ it, then we are called to be lights that blaze from the peak of the hilltop, “so shining before men”, and salt that is full of distinctive flavour (St. Matthew 5: 13-16). Secularisation and relativism are closely interrelated. “With the secularized state goes the amoral state of which Machiavelli was the prophet” (Cooper: p. 20).

David Bebbington sought to answer a common assumption that evangelicals are to be equated with fundamentalists. Self-professed fundamentalism “never developed into a major force” in Britain. Throughout the nineteenth century and the first half of the last century, Bebbington maintained, it was accepted that “the Bible contains some mistakes about inessentials”. Evangelicals “have never been uniformly marked by fundamentalist attitudes. The two terms are far from synonymous” (Brady & Rowdon: pp. 41-2).

I first met John Stott in 1968 and spoke with him last in 1999, when his ‘Evangelical Truth’ had just come out in its first edition. In it he wished to inform his readers “with clarity and conviction, that the great majority of evangelicals (at least in Europe) repudiate the ‘fundamentalist’ label, because they disagree with many self-styled fundamentalists at a number of important points”. Three of those ten points related directly to Scripture. Some fundamentalists “are characterized by an excessive literalism”. They uphold “a somewhat mechanical process” of Biblical inspiration, which “as having been dictated by God, resembles the Muslim view of the Qur’an”. Thirdly they “ignore the cultural chasm which yawns between the biblical world and the contemporary world” and “apply the text directly to themselves as if it was primarily written for themselves” (2003 a: pp.20-22). In his pamphlet ‘Fundamentalism and Evangelism’ (1956), Stott had addressed these points more fully. “Pens and Dictaphones are lifeless instruments; the Biblical authors were living agents. This is plain from any superficial reading of the Bible. The literary style of the writers is different, and their theological emphasis is different and individual”. In ‘Understanding the Bible’, Stott clarified his position in stating that “Scripture is equally the word of God and the word of human beings”. This ‘dual authorship’ meant that God revealed his truth “preserving the human authors preserved from error, yet without violating their personality”. They were “actively engaged in historical research, theological reflection and literary composition. ... Divine inspiration did not dispense with human cooperation, or iron out the peculiar contributions of the authors” (1992; P. 168). Men spoke – “using their own faculties freely, yet without distorting the divine message. Their words were their own words”. God spoke - “they were (and still are) God’s words” (2003 b.: p. 147). “Scripture is equally the Word of God and the words of human beings. Better still, it is the Word of God through the words of human beings” (1992: p. 169).

In these, though not in other, affirmations the Anglican Stott were more akin to the modern Roman Catholic understanding of inspiration than to that of the strict fundamentalist. In its Dogmatic Constitution, ‘*Dei Verbum*’, the

Second Vatican Council made this plain. “Those things revealed by God which are contained and presented in the text of holy scripture were written under the influence of the Holy Spirit. ... In the process of composition of the sacred books God chose and employed human agents, using their own powers and faculties, in such a way that wrote authors in the true sense, and yet God acted in and through them, directing the content entirely and solely as he willed” (Tanner, 1990: pp. 975-6). According to Chadwick, Augustine had great respect for the words of the Bible but denied that inspiration meant that the words were not human but were “expressed in language accommodated to human capacity. But within these human words man hears the word of God” (2009: p. 48). The Anglican Newman commented: “Though the Bible be inspired, it has also the characteristics as might attach to a book uninspired, - the characteristics of dialect and style, the distinct effects of times and places, youth and age, of moral and intellectual character; and I insist on this ... that in spite of its human form, it has in it the spirit and the mind of God” (‘Tracts for the Times’, No. 85; cited in Staley, p. 311).

Thomas Hopko explained the position of the Orthodox Church. Although all words are human, God inspired those human words “to be written in order to remain as the scriptural witness to Himself. As human words, the words of the Bible contain all of the marks of the men who wrote them, and of the time and the culture in which they were written. Nevertheless, in the full integrity of their human condition and form, the words of the Bible are truly the very Word of God”. Metropolitan Kallistos Ware was emphatic that every book in the Bible “reflects the outlook of the age in which it was written and the particular viewpoint of the author”. God enhances our personhood and “Divine grace co-operates with human freedom” so that each Scriptural writer “was not a passive instrument, a flute played by the Spirit, a dictation machine recording a message” (O.S.B., p. 1758). Fr. John Breck rejected “a crude biblical literalism which holds that the words of Scripture were dictated by the Holy Spirit” for there was “an authentic *co-operation* between the Spirit and the biblical author” (p.111).

Of the patristic period, Archbishop Michael Ramsey maintained that “the Fathers pleaded for leaving room for the rationality, the human volition, the thought and literary methods of the individual writers of scripture. While, however, the problems posed by Divine Inspiration and the writer’s human freedom were realised, there was no effort to probe them deeply” (p. 15). On this final point, J.N.D. Kelly concurred that the majority of the fathers “were content to accept the fact of the inspiration of the sacred writers, without examining further the manner or the degree of its impact upon them” (p. 64). Frances Young wrote of Origen, the father of biblical scholarship and exegesis, that he “begins with the presumption of the divine inspiration of Scripture and the fulfilment of prophecy in Jesus Christ, yet notes there are difficulties in interpretation” (Evans, p. 30). For Origen, the ‘certain and undoubted credibility’ of the Scriptures made it necessary to provide evidence of the inspiration of the divine scriptures by the Spirit of God, which for him extended ‘through the entire body of sacred Scripture’ (Booth: pp. 38-42).

Jim Packer’s seminal work ‘Fundamentalism and the Word of God’ appeared two years after John Stott’s pamphlet, which he commended, and sought to clarify terminology and offer a fuller response to the critics of “Fundamentalism”. Packer’s “doctrine of scripture was heavily influenced by Warfield” (Harris: p. 51). He also shared his Calvinism and was in many ways much closer to his American co-religionists. Harris credits him with securing a renewed prominence of the Old Princeton school, citing Mark Noll’s description of this book as “the most intelligent reassertion of biblical inerrancy since Warfield and Hodge” (pp. 51-2).

Packer primarily had in his sights Fr. Gabriel Hebert’s ‘Fundamentalism and the Church of God’, published by S.C.M. in 1957, which Brian Stanley has described as “eirenic in tone”. Stanley accused Packer of being “abrupt in his dismissal of Hebert’s arguments”. Indeed there were some blurring of the distinctions between Fundamentalism and conservative

evangelicalism, but Father Hebert's general tone was conciliatory and his approach to the topic was careful. There was no intention on his part to be offensive and he even found points several points of agreement and some grounds for praise and appreciation for the Fundamentalists themselves. What Hebert objected to was the need that the unity of the church around the gospel should be conditional on acceptance of biblical inerrancy and a particular understanding and experience of 'conversion'. He endorsed Dr. Ramsey's condemnation of the fundamentalist message that required that the mind be stifled or ignored and an appeal to "less than the whole man".

Packer's approach was to emphasise the considerable degree of agreement between Evangelicals and Fundamentalists and only to consider the differences within that context. He lashed out at the anti-fundamentalists for their misrepresentations and misinterpretations and their 'false analysis'. Packer found himself in considerable agreement with Gresham Machen and pointed out that was not really a 'fundamentalist', a nomenclature that Machen rejected for himself. Packer found common ground in the fundamentalist offensive against theological liberalism. "A sound spiritual instinct guided them, and we should thank God for the tenacity with which they held their ground" (p.37). Packer offered three curious reasons why Evangelicals were rejecting the label 'fundamentalist'. None of them were essentially doctrinal. Firstly, it was "a word that combines the vaguest conceptual meaning with the strongest emotional flavour ... a term of ecclesiastical abuse, a theological swear-word... The verdict of history is that the use of vague prejudicial labels ... rules out the very possibility of charitable and constructive discussion. The interests of truth and love seem to demand that such labels be rigorously eschewed". Secondly, "the name suggests Evangelicalism at something less than its best". American fundamentalism "lacked theological energy and concern for Christian learning. It grew intellectually barren. Culture became suspect... The fundamentalist episode has not been a happy chapter in the history of Evangelicalism" (pp. 30 -32). The third reason is somewhat bewildering to those of Catholic and Orthodox persuasions as it only makes sense if your view of church history really begins with the Protestant Reformation, or follows some old Evangelical church histories in an inexplicable long jump from Augustine to Luther. As Khomiakov rightly maintained, Protestants "acknowledge an interruption of ecclesiastical tradition for several centuries" (Schmemmann, 1977: p.41). Nevertheless Packer rejected the fundamentalist label because of the term's modernity for it "derives from a modern controversy ... just one 'ism' among many that our age has thrown up". In contrast Evangelicalism is held up because it is not merely "the oldest version of Christianity...it is just apostolic Christianity".

The adjective 'evangelical' was first used in relation to Lutheranism in 1531 and as synonymous with 'Protestant' a year later, however it soon became restricted to Lutheranism in contrast to the 'Reformed' and Calvinism. As applied to the usage that Packer employs the adjective was first used only from 1791 and as a noun from 1804, possibly originally as a nickname. While historians of the movement date it from the 1730s, the term 'Evangelicalism' may have been used for the first time as late as 1831. This in terms of two millennia is not very long and that usage is by its nature partisan and sectarian. One is reminded of Newman's assertion. "Whatever be historical Christianity, it is not Protestantism. If ever there was a safe truth, it is this... This is shown in the determination already referred to, of dispensing with historical Christianity altogether, and of forming Christianity from the Bible alone" (p. 72). If it cannot be Protestantism, then it cannot be one of its more recent derivatives. It is an 'ism' thrown up by the divisions within Protestantism itself, that movement of reaction against the late medieval western Church. Fundamentalism is itself culturally reactive against modernity and its enforced symbiosis with it. Thus Karen Armstrong has argued that fundamentalisms are not archaic 'throwbacks' but "essentially modern movements that could take root in no other time than our own" (p. viii). Nevertheless Gilbert Kirby went even further than Packer: "The despised 'fundamentalist' of our day is, in fact, maintaining neither more nor less than that which Christians have believed from earliest times" (p.2).

## INSPIRATION, INERRANCY & INFALLIBILITY

McGrath pointed out “that the reformers did not see the issue of inspiration as linked with the absolute historical reliability or factual inerrancy of the biblical texts” (1984, p.180). Those ideas about “biblical infallibility” or “inerrancy” within Protestantism developed in America in the aftermath of their civil war. Marsden described this era (1865-90) as the one ‘when Evangelicalism reigned’ and it was then that the roots of fundamentalism developed. The debate over inerrancy can be dated to the controversy between Princeton Principal, B.B. Warfield, and the Scotsman James Orr.

Warfield affirmed: “The church has always believed her scriptures to be the book of God, of which God was in such a sense the author that every one of its affirmations of whatever kind is to be esteemed as the utterance of God, of infallible truth and authority” (p. 112). Yet Warfield still maintained that while the Scriptures were “conceived by the writers of the New Testament as through and through God’s book, in every part expressive of his mind”, they were also “given through men after a fashion which does no violence to their nature as men, and constitutes the book also as men’s book as well as God’s, in every part expressive of the mind of its human authors” (p. 153) [‘The Biblical Idea of Inspiration’]. “When the Christian asserts his faith in the divine origin of his Bible, he does not mean to deny that it was composed and written by men or that it was given by men to the world. He believes that the marks of its human origin are ineradicably stamped on every page of the whole volume. He means to state only that it is not merely human in its origin” (cited Lane, 1986, p. 77). Nevertheless the New Testament authors viewed “the whole of Scripture in all its parts and in all its elements, down to the least minutiae, in form of expression as well as in substance of teaching, is from God; but the whole of it has been given by God through the instrumentality of men. There is, therefore, in their view, not, indeed, a human element or ingredient in Scripture, and much less human divisions or sections of Scripture, but a human side or aspect to Scripture; and they do not fail to give full recognition to this human side or aspect” (p. 150). This co-authorship implies “the Spirit’s superintendence over the choice of the words by the human authors” preserving them “from everything inconsistent with divine authorship” and securing “their entire truthfulness” (p. 173). Thus Warfield combined human authorship with verbal inspiration and inerrancy.

There is no suggestion of a doctrine of inspiration where the human factor is nullified as in the Islamic writing of the Qur’an, nor even of the language of the Council of Trent: “tamquam vel ore tenus a Christo, vel a Spiritu sancto dictates” (Tanner, 1990: p. 663). Stott and Packer cited Alan Richardson’s definition of fundamentalism as a “theory of Biblical inspiration which regards the written words of the Bible as divinely dictated”. The American Reformed theologian, Louis Berkhof, portrayed this ‘mechanical’ view, which he himself rejected, “as if God literally dictated what the human authors of the Bible had to write, and as if they were purely passive like a pen in the hand of a writer” (p. 17). The famous Princeton scholar, Charles Hodge, wrote: “The whole Bible was written under such an influence as preserved its human authors from all error”. For him “the Sacred Scriptures (were) filled with the highest truths, speaking with authority in the name of God, and so miraculously free from the soiling touch of human fingers.”

The ‘mechanical view’ does sound perilously close to the Islamic one. “This Qur’an is not such as can be produced by other than by Allah” (Ali: p. 163). Sayyid Mujtaba Musavi Lari summarised the Muslim view of inerrancy. “Inerrancy applies to the receipt of revelation, the preservation of revelation, and the promulgation of the message”. For him ‘comprehensive inerrancy’ means “there is no question of any personal view being intermingled with it”. It is the consequence of “God’s complete vigilance ensuring the propagation of His message removes the possibility of all error and mistake” (pp. 76-7). Ruthven wrote that the Qur’an “is presented by orthodox Islam as the divinely inspired

utterances of the Prophet Muhammad ... the very Words of God”. It is “regarded by the vast majority of Muslims as the Word of God unmediated by human authorship” (pp. 78-9). Elsayed Elshahad affirmed that the reason why Muslims defend their sacred scripture is because for them the Qur’an “is an unfalsified, pure, divine revelation, which is exalted above all errors”. It is “the literal revelation of God fixed in writing in Arabic” and that this Muslim insistence has protected the Qur’an “from being falsified and relativized” (Küng & Moltmann: pp. 55-63).

Arthur W. Pink (1886-1952) concluded his arguments with these affirmations on the Verbal Inspiration of the Bible:

- 1) “To say that a writing is inspired by God necessarily implies, in the very expression, that the words themselves are the words of God” (p. 95)
- 2) “What is predicated by the Scriptures about themselves demonstrates that they are entirely and absolutely the Word of God” (p.97)
- 3) “the Holy Spirit has to superintend the writing of the very letter of Scripture in order to guarantee its accuracy and inerrancy” (p. 98)
- 4) “*words* are used in Scripture with the most exact precision and discrimination. This is particularly noticeable in connection with the Divine titles” (p.99)
- 5) “The most convincing of all the proofs and arguments for the verbal inspiration of the fact that the Lord Jesus Christ regarded them as such. He himself submitted to their authority ... the Lord Jesus regarded the Scriptures as the Word of God in the most absolute sense. In view of this fact let Christians beware of detracting in the smallest degree from the perfect and full inspiration of the Holy Scriptures” (pp. 101-2f).

The Fundamentalists derived their name from their twelve pamphlets known as ‘The Fundamentals’, which began appearing in 1910. It was to be another ten years before a Baptist editor, Curtis Lee Laws, added the ‘-ist’. “Fundamentalists”, he wrote, “were those who were ready to do battle royal for The Fundamentals” (Ruthven: p. 12). Among ‘The Fundamentals’ was James Gray’s pamphlet on the ‘Inspiration of the Bible’, which began by defining ‘inspiration’ primarily by what it was not. It was neither (1) ‘revelation’ nor (2) ‘illumination’ nor (3) ‘human genius’. Fourthly, the ‘*object is not the inspiration of the men but the books – not the writers but the writings*. It terminates upon the record... and not upon the human instrument who made it”. Fifthly, Gray stated most emphatically that “*the record for whose inspiration we contend is the original record... There is no translation absolutely without error*” (Hankins: pp.10 – 12).

The Church Society, itself a merger of several Evangelical Anglican bodies, has provided on its website a useful and short clarification of the confusion of the terms ‘inerrancy’ and ‘infallibility’ when applied to the Bible. The article draws a further distinction between the strict definitions and their theological usage. “In terms of their strict English: **inerrant** = without error / **infallible** = not only without error but incapable of error ... in later theology evangelicals began to draw a distinction between the two terms which actually turns the English on its head: infallible has come to mean **without error in theological assertions**/ inerrant has come to mean **without error in matters of fact**” (bold type theirs). As Professor Harold O. Brown explained: “‘Infallibility’ may be called the subjective consequence of divine inspiration; that is, it defines the Scriptures as reliable and trustworthy to those who turn to it in search of God’s truth... ‘Inerrancy’ is closely related concept, but a later and less widely accepted term. It connotes that the Bible contains neither errors of fact (material facts) nor internal contradictions (formal errors)... infallibility is the broader term. Those who believe in an inerrant Bible also believe in an infallible Bible’ (Comfort: pp. 38-9).

The International Congress on World Evangelization, held at Lausanne in July 1974, marked a watershed in modern evangelicalism, especially in calling evangelicals to once again take up social action, so neglected by the fundamentalists. After several drafts, the committee agreed on a covenant, including fifteen clauses. Clause 2 covered briefly their stand on the Scriptures:

“We affirm the divine inspiration, truthfulness and authority of both Old and New Testament Scriptures in their entirety as the only written word of God, without error in all that it affirms, and the only infallible rule of faith and practice. We also affirm the power of God's word to accomplish his purpose of salvation” (cited in Lane: p. 26).

In America, the infallibility and inerrancy issue was the subject of the Chicago Statement on Biblical Inerrancy (1978) Article 4 of the Short Statement affirmed: “Being wholly and verbally God-given, Scripture is without error or fault in all its teaching, no less in what it states about God's acts in creation, about the events of world history, and about its own literary origins under God, than in its witness to God's saving grace in individual lives”. Article XII of the fuller ‘Articles of Affirmation and Denial’ expressed such affirmations more precisely, clearly upholding that infallibility and inerrancy include Biblical “assertions in the fields of history and science”. According to Wayne Grudem, new historical and scientific discoveries “will never directly contradict Scripture” (2005: p. 15). Morris made a similar statement. “The Bible does not contradict itself and still stands as the fully authoritative and verbally inspired Word of God” (p. 227).

In Britain, evangelicals have traditionally shied away from the inerrancy issue and content themselves with professions of the Bible's infallibility and verbal inspiration. Conservative evangelicals maintain that the Bible is ‘not just a record of revelation, but the permanent form of written revelation. That is what we mean when we say that the Bible is “inspired”’ (Beckwith: Comfort, p.52). Jim Packer agreed with Roger Beckwith. “The inspiration of Scripture was an integral part in the revelatory process” and “guarantees the truth of all that the Bible asserts”. For Packer the very nature of Biblical inspiration was verbal, “for it is of God-given words that the God-breathed Scriptures consist” (Packer: idem, pp. 31-2).

Gregory Beale's book sought to reveal “the fragmentation of evangelicalism, since at its heart, the absolute authority of Scripture, is under threat. There is an erosion of what it means for the Bible to be true”. The dominical affirmation that ‘the Scripture cannot be broken’ (John 10:35) he related to the inerrancy of Scripture, as defined in the Chicago Statement. “This slow process of weakening the traditional, biblical view of the Bible's truth is nothing less than the erosion of the very identity of evangelicalism”. For him therefore infallibility and inerrancy go hand in hand (pp. 220-1).

Charles Gore, later Bishop of Oxford, wrote in the preface to *Lux Mundi*: “it must be urged that since the division of Christendom no part of the Church appears really to have tightened the bond of dogmatic obligation. Our own formularies are of course markedly free from definition on the subject, and the refusal of the Roman Church to define the scope of inspiration, beyond the region of faith and morals, has been remarkable”. In his ‘Doctrine of the Infallible Book’, Gore contended that there is “to be found neither in the Bible nor in the records of the Church any authoritative definition of inspiration. If we are now unwilling to say that the Bible *is* the Word of God in the sense that all its phrases, on all sorts of subjects, were dictated by God and are infallible, yet we are no less sure than our ancestors that it contains and conveys to us the Word of God”.

In 1893, Pope Leo XIII addressed these issues for Roman Catholics in his encyclical letter, ‘*Providentissimus Deus*’. He forbade any admission that “the sacred writer has erred” or any restriction of divine inspiration to “the things of faith and morals, and nothing beyond”. The Scriptures were “written wholly and entirely, with all their parts, at the dictation of the

Holy Ghost; and ... it is impossible that God Himself, the supreme Truth, can utter that which is not true". However the theologian and the scientist must confine themselves within their own limits and that principle apply to "cognate sciences, and especially to History". With regard to those men whom He employed as "His instruments", the Holy Spirit "by supernatural power, He so moved and impelled them to write-He was so present to them-that the things which He ordered, and those only, they, first, rightly understood, then willed faithfully to write down, and finally expressed in apt words and with infallible truth. Otherwise, it could not be said that He was the Author of the entire Scripture". Pope Benedict XV in his encyclical '*Spiritus Paraclitus*' (1920) endorsed Leo's and cited the passage on the narrowing of inspiration, while adding the proviso that "the principle law of history is that the accounts of facts must agree with the facts as they actually occurred" (Neuner & Dupois: p. 82).

For McBrien, Roman Catholic teaching maintains that the "words of the Bible are true in the sense that the human authors conveyed them". "The human authors were not necessarily without error and their opinions and convictions might well have been wrong but inerrancy means that the message itself is not thereby affected. "Insofar as the principle of inerrancy applies, it applies to those essential religious affirmations which are made for the sake of salvation" (1994, p. 61). In a recent authoritative publication, the Roman Catholic bishops in Britain declared: "Ultimately, the inspiration of Scripture remains a mystery of God's loving outreach to us, a mystery which we cannot fully fathom" (The Gift of Scripture', p.18). The Jesuit scholar, Joseph Lienhard drew a helpful analogy on this point. "Perhaps the best analogy is the person of Christ: Christ is true God and true man, yet one person. So the Scriptures are the word of God and the word of man, yet one utterance" (p. 85).

#### THE CHURCH AND THE BIBLE

There is from the Roman Catholic point of view however a basic and underlying difference here between them and the fundamentalists. Fundamentalists begin "with the fact of inspiration – just as they take the other doctrines of fundamentalism as 'givens', not as deductions – and they find things in the Bible that seem to support inspiration, claiming, with circular reasoning, that the Bible confirms its inspiration, which they knew all along". For the Roman Catholic the "same Church that authenticates the Bible, that establishes its inspiration, is the authority set up by Christ to interpret his word" (Keating: pp. 123-4, 133). Among Pope Benedict XVI's pertinent observations on this issue is a passage in his foreword to 'Jesus of Nazareth': "The author does not speak as a private, self-contained subject. He speaks in a living community ... in a living historical movement ... which is led by a greater led forward by a greater power that is at work". "The Scriptures arose from within the heart of a living subject – the pilgrim People of God – and lives within that subject". The Biblical authors 'are not autonomous writers in the modern sense; they form part of a collective subject, the "People of God"' (pp. xx-xxi). Origen wrote: "The Church existed in all the saints who had been from the beginning of time" (Bettenson, 1969: p. 245). The Church, according to the author of 2 Clement, was "created before the sun and moon" (14:6; Holmes: p, 155).

The Anglican scholar John Macquarrie put the point very succinctly: "For scripture is not a frozen or petrified record, but something which comes alive in the ongoing life of the community which first gave birth to scripture and has since proclaimed and interpreted the teaching of scripture" (p. 11). Archbishop Michael Ramsey, who once heard my confession, cited these words after he wrote a paragraph denying Biblical infallibility and demonstrating that denial through both "uncertainty as to the exact Hebrew and Greek text which the authors write; and there are plenty of historical contradictions within it". Furthermore it "contains many literal media besides literal history". "Again *the Bible is not itself revelation*". Revelation is God's 'delivery' of his truth "*through* the words of the Bible to men in their

particular contexts in history”. Revelation is “that *total* process, including the words of scripture, the Holy Spirit and the Christian community”. Revelation through scripture “acts not in a vacuum” but “it is within the common life, the worship and the general mind of the Christian community that the Christian is attuned to the understanding of the biblical message” (pp. 108-9, my italics). Irenaeus wrote: “For where the Church is, there is the Spirit of God; and where the Spirit of God is, there is the Church and every kind of grace but the Spirit is truth”(Adversus Haereses 3: XXIV.i; cf. John 14: 26,16:13; 1 Tim. 3: 15; Eph 3:11 ). St. Cyril of Jerusalem wrote that “in the truth alone and in the ancient Church is both the exactest knowledge, and the truly best set of principles” (Stromata 7: XV; Coke: p. 550).

Fr. George Carleton’s *The King’s Highway*, published in 1924, became one of the most popular classics of ‘Anglo-Catholicism’. Fr. Carleton acknowledged that the “English Church since its separation has been tainted with the Protestant spirit. Being isolated, it suffered from the schism more than did the larger and central part of the Church. Many of its bishops and priests have taught heretical doctrines”. The Church of England “refers its teaching to the authority of the universal church” and “appeals to the authority of scripture” while never claiming “the right to set aside the Catholic tradition”. “We do not accept and believe Christian doctrine on the divine authority of Holy Scripture. Rather we accept and believe it on the authority of Christ and of His Church, and the witness of Holy Scripture is the guardian to us that what we are taught in the Church is the true Church teaching” This ‘twofold way’ means that “neither the Bible without the Church, nor the Church without the Bible, is a guide upon which we can confidently rely” (pp. 135, 156, 162).

*Ekklesia* is used in the Septuagint for the Hebrew *kahal*. Professor F.F. Bruce reflected on the word *ekklesia* and asserted that the reader of the Septuagint would have found it “no new word” when he opened the New Testament, as it was ‘one of the words used to denote Israel as the “assembly” of the Lord’s people... Jesus provides in himself the vital continuity between the old Israel and the new, and his faithful followers were both the righteous remnant of the old and the nucleus of the new. The Servant Lord and his servant people bind the two Testaments together” (Comfort: pp. 11-12). Whiteley demonstrated the various meanings to which St. Paul used *ekklesia* and found at least eleven occasions where it “unquestionably refers to the Catholic church”, twice in Colossians and “beyond doubt in the nine occurrences of *ekklesia* in *Ephesians*” (pp. 186- 90).

Barr saw the origin of the Bible as “a *product* of the believing community” so that, for modern biblical scholarship (1979), “scripture grew out of the tradition of the believing community but, as having so grown, became in its turn the Word of God to the community ... Thus scripture was preceded by tradition and tradition came from the people of God, from the believing community” (pp. 113-4). He concluded that “the traditional ‘Catholic’ argument, that the Bible derived from church, is entirely valid” while the traditional Protestant one “was basically an anachronism: it universalized, and gave permanent theological validity to, the relations which in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries had seemed valid and important” (p. 116). The implication for our understanding of inspiration is that its process “is located in a history and is thus historical in character. The history in question is the history of the believing community and their traditions” (p. 125).

For Fr. Lawrence Farley, the author of several Orthodox bible commentaries, ‘to use the term “the inspiration of Scripture” is already to step away somewhat from the Orthodox approach to Scripture. The term “inspired Scripture” today seems to the Orthodox to presuppose a text which stands (or at least can stand) apart from the community of faith in which it was produced and in which it is read. It seems to the Orthodox to answer a question about the authority of Scripture, when the Orthodox approach is to deal primarily with the authority of the Church’.

Grigori Benevich is the Professor of Russian Orthodox Church Theology at the St. Petersburg School of Religion and Philosophy. He placed Orthodox exegesis as dependent “on these three associated sources: the Church’s liturgical life, its Holy Scripture, and its doctrine, respectively. Holy Scripture, being the Word of God directed to the Church, is in itself a subject for understanding”. That understanding derives from both the framework provided by “the dogmatic teaching of the Church Fathers”, while the Church’s liturgical life “is precisely where the Church comes to understand and obey the teachings of the Lord and the Holy Fathers”. Dr. Benevich continued: “It is, therefore, the practice of liturgy that provides the true testimony to the Church’s life. That is why Orthodox Christianity shuns any attempt to separate Scripture from the teaching of church authorities, which is a common argument between Catholicism and Protestantism. The liturgical life of the Church, Church tradition, knows no contradiction between the two” (Pecherskaya: p.74).

## SCRIPTURE & TRADITION

In ‘The Theology of Tradition’, the Jesuit scholar, Fr. Anthony Meredith, attempted a short Roman Catholic definition: “Tradition in its strict sense means handing down as an active process, but before long comes to refer to the content of what is transmitted” (p. 19). God makes Himself and His will known through Revelation, to which the human response is faith. Citing the first three verses of John’s first epistle, Meredith comments that the “supreme response is a person and the response to that revelation is one of obedient faith and love” (pp. 15-6). The record of those responses is Tradition, which is “not simply the sum of individual reactions to the divine call” but “rather the reply of the Church to its Lord, of the body of Christ to its head ... of the Spirit-filled Church to the Lord who is Spirit” (pp. 11-12). Fr. Meredith identified two unfortunate tendencies among modern Roman Catholics in response to the controversies that had preoccupied the western church since the Reformation. The first is the Protestant Reformers’ one of reducing “the non-scriptural elements in tradition to the minor role of simply supporting the teaching of scripture. The alternative has been to “have talked as though scripture and tradition formed two separate sources of revelation” (p. 18). He argued that the Council of Trent was “forced to answer the challenge of the Reformers in their own language”. Protestantism’s ‘either-or’ was answered by “not so simple both-and”: faith *and* works, scripture *and* tradition”, thus rejecting categorically *sola scriptura* (pp. 50-1).

The Council of Trent saw the importance of settling this matter early, on 8<sup>th</sup> April 1546. It stressed the necessity “that the purity of the gospel, purged of all errors, may be preserved in the church”, for it had been proclaimed “with his own lips” by Our Lord Jesus Christ, who had “bade it be preached to every creature”. This “truth and rule are contained in written books and unwritten traditions”, from Christ Himself or the apostles, and “have come down to us, handed on ... at the inspiration of the Holy Spirit” (Tanner, 1990, p. 663). Tanner explained that the decree distinguished these two sources in the transmission of the gospel and “has been criticized for making tradition, and the church as the interpreter of tradition, too independent of Scripture”. Nevertheless “the decree emphasizes that the two sources are joined by their common origin, the good proclaimed by Jesus Christ” (2001, pp. 79-80). The failure of the foreshortened Vatican I to add any real clarification on this issue, beyond defining Papal Infallibility, was demonstrated by the almost verbatim repetition of Trent in *Fontes Revelationis*.

By the time of Vatican II, however, Roman Catholic thinking had been influenced by Newman’s doctrine of development. Treatment of Scripture formed considerably the greater part of *Dei Verbum*. While conceding some validity to biblical criticism, an implicit acknowledgement of the churches of the Reformation (Tanner, 2001: p. 107), “the abundant use of scripture in the document is one of its most refreshing aspects” (Meredith: p. 62). There was a marked contrast between the first withdrawn schema and the final accepted one. The first was still imbued with the polemic of Counter-Reformation and opposition to *sola scriptura*. The commission that drew up the second had “an altogether

different focus” and view of revelation. It “put an end to the negative attitudes to the scriptures” (Wansbrough, 2006: pp. 116-120). ‘The Transmission of Divine Revelation’ is the subject of Chapter 2. The Apostles had “handed on their teaching function” to the bishops and, in doing so, linked sacred tradition and sacred scripture. Tradition “progresses in the church under the assistance of the Holy Spirit”. Growth in understanding through the activity of the Holy Spirit continues as “the church holds its course towards the fullness of God’s truth”. “Hence sacred tradition and sacred scripture are bound together in a close and reciprocal relationship. They flow from the same divine well-spring merge together to same extent, and are on course towards the same end”. Scripture is ‘God’s utterance’ set down in writing “under the guidance of God’s Spirit”. Tradition “preserves the word of God” and transmits it to the successors of the apostles. Consequently, the Church’s certainty about revelation is “not drawn from scripture alone”. The same reverence and devotion is given to both scripture and tradition. “Tradition and scripture together form a **single** deposit of the word of God, entrusted to the church” (Tanner, 1990: pp. 973-5). McBrien contrasted pre-Vatican II understanding with that which has since been upheld. Before the Second Vatican Council the usual explanation was that “*Scripture is itself a product of Tradition*”. Now – “Tradition comes *before* and *during*, and not just *after*, the writing of Sacred Scripture”. “Tradition (uppercase) is the living and lived faith of the Church” (italics his, 1994, pp. 62-3). Peter Williamson described the Roman Catholic understanding of “the relationship between Scripture and Tradition” as “reciprocal: each acts upon the other”. On the hand “the canon of Scripture itself is a fruit of Tradition” while, on the other, “meditation on Scripture nourishes and shapes the development of Tradition”. Furthermore “Tradition provides the context in which Scripture is explained”. “Catholics believe that Scripture, Tradition, and the Teaching Office of the church each play necessary and complementary roles” (Vanhoozer: pp. 102-6).

St. Athanasius referred to “the actual original tradition, teaching and faith of the Catholic Church, which the Lord bestowed, the apostles proclaimed and the fathers safeguarded” (cited in Kelly: p. 31). The Fathers upheld both written and oral Tradition. From the Orthodox perspective, Holy Tradition is the source and the context of the Scriptures, for Tradition is “the Church’s living, experiential and faithful response to God ... Scripture exists, lives and reveals its meaning within the tradition of the church”, from which it cannot be separated or isolated and with which it cannot be contrasted, without mutual impoverishment. It “must be read, interpreted and understood” within the context of Tradition (Cronk: p. 24). Tradition does not add to Scripture, according to Father Florovsky, but alone provides the true understanding and disclosure of Scripture. It is ‘co-extensive’ with Scripture, as its ‘authentic interpretation’ (p. 74-5). Only “the Church can distinguish true Scripture from false, because the Holy Spirit always abides in it” (Schmemmann, p. 45). Protopresbyter Michael Pomazansky maintained that the truth and fullness of the ‘catholic faith’ are contained in Sacred Scripture and in Apostolic Sacred Tradition. ‘The truths of Scripture and Tradition, harmoniously fused together into a single whole, define the “catholic consciousness” of the Church, a consciousness that is guided by the Holy Spirit’ (pp. 31-2). Sergei Bulgakov wrote: “Scripture and Tradition belong to the one life of the Church moved by the same Holy Spirit, which operates in the Church, manifesting itself in tradition and inspiring sacred writings ... Scripture and tradition must be comprehended, not as opposed to each other, but as united” (cited in Chrysostomos & Auxentius: p. 59). Professor Theodore Stylianopoulos identified four ‘foundational principles’ in Orthodox Biblical Interpretation: fidelity to Scripture, fidelity to Tradition, fidelity to Critical Study and fidelity to the Holy Spirit. The “long process of the canonization of the Scriptures unambiguously attests to the mutually supportive and interdependent relationship between the Bible and the church”. While the tradition and discernment of the church “gave rise to the biblical canon, the primacy of the biblical canon holds the church accountable to the scriptural witness as the standard of the church’s faith and life” (Vanhoozer: pp. 554-8).

In his classic 'The Church is One', the Slavophile Alexei Khomiakov made much the same point but much more forcibly. "He who takes Scripture only, and bases the Church on it alone actually rejects the Church and is hopes to create her afresh by his own efforts; he who accepts only Tradition and works, and belittles the importance of Scripture, actually rejects also the Church, and becomes a judge of the Spirit of God, who spoke by the Scripture" (Jakim & Bird: p. 35). For Khomiakov, "Protestantism means the expression of doubt in essential dogma. In other words, the denial of dogma as a living tradition; in short a denial of the church" (Schmemmann, 1977: p. 40). "Protestantism tries to replace the entire deep river of grace-filled Church life with but a single current, taken separately and in isolation. Having rebelled against the pope (a man), the Protestants have made the Bible into a "paper pope," and the latter adulation is more bitter than the first" (Hilarion Troitsky).

Professor Panagiotes K. Chrestou had a reputation as a leading Greek Patrologist in the last century and his 'Ελληνική Πατρολογία (Greek Patrology) in 5 volumes comprised some 3,300 pages. He outlined the chronological stages of tradition and scripture.

- 1) Oral tradition "preserved alive and powerful the memory and teaching of Jesus and the apostles, and in the entirety of these events, whereas the literature of the NT covers only a part of it".
- 2) Origen stressed that the preaching of the gospel (kerygma) must be preserved, as it had been handed down through the Apostles and its successors and clearly underlines the importance of the Christian truth by way of living succession".
- 3) The books of the New Testament, "constituting a tangible reality and becoming widely read, were not at all characterized as *Scripture* (Γραφή), as long as Tradition was the dominant factor"
- 4) Their "value increased in comparison to the *Oral Tradition*, they were called *Scripture*.
- 5) They needed to be gathered together into a unified collection and to constitute a *rule* (κανών) that from then on bore the name New Testament
- 6) Tradition not only helped with the selection but contributed to their actual composition
- 7) The Church through the Fathers "placed its seal on their collection"

Conclusion:

- a) The New Testament makes no sense without the Church or the Church without the Fathers.
- b) The books of the NT are not outside Tradition nor distinguished from it.
- c) They are not "something higher than the Tradition".
- d) They are rather "the written part of the Tradition of the Apostles" (pp. 89-91).

Jonathan Knight summarised the nature of early Christianity as "not a homogeneous entity but a growing and developing organism". "What we read in the New Testament is essentially the story of a religion that is in the process of becoming" (p. 322). By the end of the second century there was a growing awareness of a 'rule of faith', in which "the tradition of Church teaching must be proved orthodox by the biblical revelation ... and only tradition can ensure that the interpretation

is sound” (Chadwick, : p. 45). That ‘regula fidei’ was, according to Tertullian (160-225), “altogether one, alone immovable and irreformable” (cited in Vanhoozer: p. 703). In the face of heresies, the early church grappled with the interdependence of Scripture, rule and ministry. One uncertainty needed final resolution – the fixing of the canon of Scripture. The lack of clarity over the canon of scripture added to the difficulties of developing apologetical responses to the heretics. Contemporaneously Tertullian and Irenaeus sought to respond to those issues and provide frameworks. While Irenaeus affirmed that the Scriptures were “the foundation and pillar of our faith”, he also recognised the futility of answering heretics solely from them. Tertullian concluded that the heretics could twist the scriptures to make what they wanted of them because they lacked the constraints of the rule of faith. St. Vincent of Lerins wrote about the great diversity of understanding that results from private interpretation and concluded that it was therefore necessary “in order to avoid these great windings and turnings of errors so various, that the line of expounding the prophets and Apostles be directed and drawn according to the rule of the sense of the Catholic Church” (cited in Aquilina, p. 32). The Bulls of Pius IV in 1564 includes the ‘Profession of the Tridentine (Council of Trent) Faith’. “I also admit the Holy Scriptures according to that sense which our holy mother Church has held and does hold, to whom it belongs to judge of the true sense and interpretation of the Scriptures; neither will I ever take and interpret them otherwise than according to the unanimous consent of the fathers” (Anonymous, p. 176).

## JUDAISM & THE OLD TESTAMENT

The interpretation of the Scriptures has never been simple. According to Martin Goodman, the Jews “varied their ways of interpreting the Bible more in the first century CE than in any other time in Jewish history until ... the nineteenth century” (p. 174). Jews needed to understand their own destiny and that of Israel. The Roman occupation had increased considerably Messianic expectations. The first revolt against Rome (66-74 A.D) resulted in the destruction of Jerusalem and the temple by Titus in 70 and thus of the sacrificial priesthood and Jewish religious establishment. The failure of the second Jewish Revolt (132-135) resulted in the banning of Jews from Jerusalem, the expulsion of the Jews from their homeland and their Diaspora. God’s Shekinah-presence had been traditionally associated with the Temple, which was destroyed in 70 A.D. Rabbinic thought now began to focus more on Israel itself as where Shekinah might be found. Now Judaism went through a major reformulation and a process of increased standardisation. Rabbinic Judaism developed around new creative scholarship on the Torah and in the second century resulted in the Mishnah, which itself contributed to a more expansive Talmud over the next three centuries. The Pseudepigrapha was also being assembled as the Hebrew Canon was fixed. First century Judaism was far from homogeneous and heavily infused with the widespread Hellenisation of the period that was to be imbibed by the Church. Rabbinic Judaism assembled homiletical material in mishrashim (‘interpretations’/ ‘commentaries’) and the targums (‘translations’), Aramaic paraphrases used for biblical interpretation in the synagogues.

The ascetic and esoteric Essenes formed yet another strand to Jewish apocalyptic interpretation. “Theologically, they showed extreme reverence for the Law and were famous for their strictest observance of the Sabbath. Their esoteric teachings were recorded in secret books. Experts in the healing of body and soul, they also excelled in prophecy”. They were fatalistic and advocated “a purely spiritual after-life”, while rejecting belief in a bodily resurrection (Vermes: p. 30). They denied the corrupt Jewish cultic establishment, which had been focussed on the Temple, and claimed for the sect a new divine covenant with God for themselves as the true Israel, “the repository of the authentic traditions of the religious body, from which they had seceded” (idem: p. 32). Their final demise came with the wider Jewish catastrophe following the first revolt.

In Genesis 41: 38, the *ruach-Eloihim* inspired Joseph in the interpretation of Pharaoh's dream. Fr. John Breck, in tracing the origins of Johannine Pneumatology, examined the double meaning of *ruach* and thus affirmed that 'the etymology of our word "inspiration" clearly illustrates the close link between "spirit" and "breath" that was dramatized in the prophetic utterance' (p. 13). For the Hebrew prophets, the Spirit's basic task was 'to *interpret* divine ("mighty") acts within history and to lead the people from "stumbling" and "error" to faithful obedience to their God (p. 21). In Ezekiel 13: 2, "for the first time, Spirit is perceived to be the source of all authentic inspiration: that which enables men to prophesy, but also that which enables them to hear and to *interpret* the prophecy according to the divine will" (p. 25). In answering finally the cry of Moses in Numbers 11:29, (Tertio-) Isaiah prophesies God's new covenant (Isaiah 59: 21) "when Yahweh's spirit will rest no longer upon chosen prophets only, but upon *all* the people, so that all may be empowered to proclaim His Word and redemptive deeds". "The Spirit ... serves as the inspiration behind the Word" (p. 31).

## CANON & SELF-AUTHENTICATION

Wayne Grudem believes that there are two ways that we can be assured that "we have the right books in the canon of Scripture". In the first instance, "the answer must be that our confidence is based on the faithfulness of God". Surely God would not allow "all his church for almost two thousand years to be deprived of something he himself values so highly and is so necessary for our spiritual lives" (2007, pp. 65-66). Yet the Church was not deprived of the 'Apocrypha' until the Reformation removed it from the canonical texts of Protestantism and it has nevertheless remained available even for Protestants ever since. Grudem's second response relied on the alleged operation of 'two factors' in the process of 'assembling' the canon. The first was "the activity of the Holy Spirit convincing us as we read Scripture for ourselves" (in other words the two-sided coin of Calvin's doctrine of internal witness and Protestantism's novel claim to private judgment). These criteria reduce canonicity to an individual subjective response rather than a firmly fixed and permanent canon, authorised and ratified by the Church of God. The arbitrariness of Protestantism can be seen in Luther's desire to reject the epistle of James as 'a letter of straw', probably because the apostle challenged Luther's own central doctrine of justification by faith alone (*sola fide*). Grudem goes on to apply the verb "self-attesting" to the words of Scripture, as they 'cannot be "proved" by appeal to any higher authority' because that would reduce the Bible to a subordinate position depriving it from being "our highest or absolute authority". This he admits is "a kind of circular argument", that is not thereby invalidated (p. 78).

Some conservative evangelicals fall back on the notion of Scripture's 'self-authentication', so that the fixing of the canon was no more than the formal acknowledgement of a self-evident reality, the ratification of a virtual *fait-accompli*. Dr. Henry M. Morris was President of the Christian Heritage College and the Institute of Creation Research. He was the co-author of 'The Genesis Flood' and is considered by many to be the 'father of modern creation science', regarding evolution as "the root of all manner of anti-Christian systems of belief and practice" (Ruthven: p. 19). Morris was of the opinion that canonisation processes for both testaments were historically uncertain and therefore the "most realistic conclusion, in both cases, is that each book was essentially self-authenticating from the very time it was written" (p. 38). Cornelius Van Til saw self-authentication as part of the Protestant case for the finality of Scripture in response to 'Romanism'. "The idea of a self-authenticating Scripture implies the idea of an exhaustive interpretation by God, in finished form, of the whole course of history" (Warfield, p. 57). Oliver O'Donovan maintained that Scripture was to the Anglican reformers "an authoritative sphere where Christ is made known". He found in the Anglican articles a clear implication that "the books of Scripture were not authoritative because the church views them in a certain way; the church views them in a certain way because they are authoritative" (pp. 51, 50).

## THE CANON & THE SEPTUAGINT

The evidence demonstrates that this is a fallacious argument from assumed silence and that will not suffice. Rowan Williams maintained that by the time of the condemnation of Montanism in the late second century, authority “lay firmly with ... a set of texts interpreted by a limited group of people”, the bishops “standing in unbroken succession of teaching and hearing from the apostles” (Hazlett, p. 87). The bishops were thus defining the canon and authorising its texts. The Church struggled for centuries before the canon of the New Testament was finally and authoritatively fixed and its final form was hotly debated. There was no self-evident ‘self-authentication’.

Mc. Brien defined (the Roman Catholic understanding of) the ‘canon’ as “the list of books accepted by the Church as inspired and, therefore, as part of the Bible”, these books “the Church officially regards as inspired and normative for faith” (1994: pp. 44, 59). The issue of a biblical canon was of paramount importance by the second half of the second century. Marcion needed to be answered and Irenaeus responded to that necessity. In his radical exclusivism, Marcion wished to provide the Church with sacred writings that were independent of the Septuagint and he denied that the Old Testament could not be accepted in the Christian holy writings. The only books needed by the Church were the Gospel of Luke and ten of the Pauline letters, as demonstrative of a loving God. From the opposite direction, the Montanists were claiming that their special charismatic experiences were providing them with new revelations, which supplemented the apostolic writings. Docetism presented a similar threat.

*Biblia* in Latin is singular but in the original Greek it is the plural of *biblion*. The Scriptures are plural as well (*hai graphai, ta grammata*). Traditionally the five books of Pentateuch were the ‘books of Moses’ and therefore dated from after the exodus from Egypt. This attribution has been shown to be problematic and is generally dismissed today, except among some fundamentalists and other traditionalists. According to Fr. Wansbrough: “The stories placed first in the Bible ... are among the last to be composed... the Pentateuch grew and developed gradually, not reaching its final form until after the return from exile in Babylon” (2006: p. 4). Professor Soggin claimed that oral tradition “preceded the redaction of the written redaction of ancient texts, sometimes by several centuries”, as any student of Homer is aware. These “various traditions acquired a notable degree of fixity, so that with the written redaction the means of transmission changed, but not necessarily the content ... Oral tradition, then, first produced written tradition, and then continued parallel to it, so that each exercised a kind of constant control over the other” (pp. 64 - 7).

Therefore some parts of the Old Testament may well originate at least a thousand years before Christ. Many books remain in reality anonymous. The writing was in many cases complicated by being the compilations of several authors, sometimes stretching over centuries and drawing on oral traditions. John Barton demonstrated the long process by which both the Tanakh of the Jewish Scriptures and the canon of the New Testament were established. For him the writing of these books was merely the first stage of the process. “A single scroll could only hold about as much writing as there is in the book of Isaiah” (p. 36). These scrolls then needed to be collected. The invention of the codex (a volume with a spine) did not occur until the first century A.D. Thus even the collection of these ‘books’ created a library of scrolls not a single volume. Then the attribution of scriptural status needed to be deliberated upon. Finally the canon needed to be fixed. Viewed from this perspective, Barton argued: “A moment of revelation cannot be identified. If we are to speak of God giving the Scriptures to people, it can only be in and through the human process” (p. 52). He cites the Jewish scholar, S. Z. Leiman, as providing a good definition of the Jewish Scriptures as books that are “accepted by Jews as authoritative for religious practice and/or doctrine, and whose authority is binding upon the Jewish people for all generations” (p. 56, Leiman: p. 14). Thus there had to be an actual acceptance of their specifically authoritative status.

According to Sundberg, there were three final stages in the formation of the Tanakh. The Pentateuch (*Torah*) was the first collection to be canonised about 400 B.C. The second collection was that of the Prophets (*Nabim*), canonized about 200 B.C., while the Writings (*Kethûbim*, Greek: *Hagiographa*) were canonised about 90 A.D. This last canonisation “was understood as ratifying a commonly used, complete collection since the second or first century B.C.E.”. Josephus had given it some credence. The Jews had not arrived at a final decision on their authoritative texts by the time that most of the New Testament was written. Even then many Jews of the Diaspora still accepted several of the Greek deuterocanonical books. The ‘Tanakh’ was therefore only decided after the separation of Christianity from Judaism. By the time of Justin Martyr, the LXX had been replaced by a new translation for the Jewish Greek-speaking Diaspora (Barnard: p. 147). Furthermore the very term ‘canon’ derived from Christian not Jewish usage, as Robert Newman explained: “In the rabbinical discussions of the canonicity of the Old Testament, the term "canon" and its derivatives are only used in periphrastic English translations, as this is a later technical term developed in Christian circles” (p. 337).

This Hebrew ‘canon’ was later accepted by Jerome (vide Bettenson: p. 187). He came to that view through contact with Jewish scholars in Bethlehem, where he had been taught Hebrew under the tutelage of firstly a Jewish convert and latterly of Rabbi Bar Anina of Tiberias. His scholarly Jewish contacts criticised the LXX for its supposed ‘inaccuracies’. Henry Wansbrough points out that recent scholarship has shown that the Hebrew text on which Jerome relied was ‘inferior’ to and later than that used by ‘the seventy’, whose textual sources were almost half a millennium earlier. The Hebrew text therefore could well have been corrupted by errors and changes over the intervening centuries (Wansbrough, 2010: pp. 55-6).

That same Hebrew ‘canon’ was revived at the Protestant Reformation, and the labelling of the deuterocanonical books as ‘the Apocrypha’ is a Protestant designation within biblical scholarship. Gladstone unintentionally pointed out the anomalous position of Anglicanism, in concurring with St. Jerome: “in so far as something of an *afflatus* is to be found in the books which form the Apocrypha, which are esteemed by a large division of Christendom to be actually a part of the Sacred Canon, and which in the Church of England have a place of special, though secondary, honour” (p. 93). However, in retaining the Greek order of the books, Protestant Bibles “are hybrids” as the Reformation “produced a Bible which no Christian had ever seen until that moment” (Barton: p. 81). “In Protestant editions ... the books of the second and third divisions are rearranged in sequence and several are divided, making a total of thirty-nine” (N.R.S.V., p. xxi) of what in the Hebrew ‘canon’ had been 22 books. There is a revealing first sentence in Henry Morris’s treatment of the Protestant canon: “Our *present* Old Testament consists of 39 books” (p. 38, italics mine).

Dr. Roger Beckwith defended the approach of the Reformers. “Such doubt about the canon could only be resolved, and can only be resolved today, in the way it was resolved at the Reformation – by returning to the teaching of the New Testament and the Jewish background against which it was understood” (Comfort: p. 64). However the whole language of canonicity was alien to the writers of the New Testament. It was imposed much later. For “the New Testament church the *exact* boundaries of the Old Testament were still undefined, and the question of their definition was not considered an urgent one” (Barr, 1984: p. 49). One cannot simply resolve the matter by referring to their citations. There are no references to such ‘proto-canonical’ books as Ecclesiastes, Esther or the Song of Songs, whereas there are clear allusions to ‘deuterocanonical’ Wisdom, while Jude refers definitely to the Book of Enoch and probably to the Assumption of Moses. The prophetic witness of the Book of Enoch is cited alongside the Pentateuch, the Jewish Torah. “He quoted Enoch because it was an authoritative utterance of a prophet of ancient times, accepted as such by the church” (idem: pp. 43). It has been argued that “no unbiased scholar could have any hesitation in declaring that the inspiration of such a book as Wisdom or the Testaments of the XII Patriarchs is incomparably higher than that of Esther” (Charles, Vol. I, p.

X). Wisdom “as written by the friends of Solomon in his honour” was listed in the fragment of Muratori, with the books of the New Testament as being “accepted in the Catholic Church” (Stevenson: p. 124).

The Septuagint (LXX) was used in the writings of the New Testament and the Fathers, including those books which the Protestants were to consign to the ‘Apocrypha’ more than a millennium later. These were their sacred scriptures, “in the early church it was simply ‘the Bible’ ” (Wansbrough, 2010: p. 55). Boadt maintained that all seven of the deuterocanonical books were “known and referred to by authors of the New Testament” (p. 18). John Rogerson maintained that the Greek Bible was authoritative because it foretold “the Incarnation, the sacrificial death and the exaltation of Christ”, enabling “high Christology to be expressed, as in the letter to the Hebrews” (Evans: p. 19). Several of the early fathers had no knowledge of Hebrew and thus inevitably Irenaeus, Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria, Cyprian and others used the Septuagint and quoted from books outside of the Hebrew canon. By the fourth century several Greek fathers were having doubts and recognised a distinction between those books in the Hebrew canon and the others. St. Athanasius drew a clear line between them in his Festal letter of 367. Modern Roman Catholic theology uses the terms ‘proto-canonical’ and ‘deutero-canonical’. Rather than refer to the latter as apocryphal (hidden), the term deutero-canonical is used to mean those books whose inspiration was later recognised and were thus added to the canon. This reflected back to the patristic period when “it was never the case that the affirmation of the wider canon simultaneously affirmed that all the books within that canon had equal weight and significance” (McGuckin: p. 52). F.F. Bruce wrote in 1954: “The books of the Apocrypha, while they were written in Greek or translated into Greek by Jews, first received canonical recognition from Greek-speaking Christians. The early Greek Fathers acknowledged in theory that these books were not on the same canonical level as the books in the Hebrew Bible, but in practice they made little distinction between the two classes. The Latin Fathers in general (with the notable exception of Jerome) made no distinction either in theory or in practice.” Nevertheless Professor James O’Donnell affirmed the emergence of “a remarkable agreement to accept the Septuagint collection of Hebrew and Jewish–originating Greek texts as authoritative” (p. 277). St. Cyril of Jerusalem affirmed that the Septuagint was “no human invention of words and contrivance of human wisdom. On the contrary, the translation was effected by the Holy Spirit, by whom the Divine Scriptures were spoken” (Jurgens: p. 352). According to Eusebius, St. Clement of Alexandria in his *Miscellanies*, “made use of the Disputed Books: the ‘Wisdom of Solomon’, the ‘Wisdom of Jesus the son of Sirach’, the Epistle to the Hebrews, and those of Barnabas, Clement and Jude” (VI: 13.6: p. 253).

The full Roman Catholic canon of 46 books was acknowledged by local church councils in North Africa in the fourth century, specifically at Hippo in 393 and at Carthage in 397 and again in 417. Ambrose had accepted the full Septuagint and Augustine acknowledged 44 books in the Old Testament. He listed them in *De doctrina Christiana*, including Tobias (Tobit), Judith, the two books of Maccabees, Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus. Henry Chadwick pointed out that St. Augustine “would no doubt have wished to study Hebrew had he not believed that the Greek version of the Seventy (Septuagint) commissioned by King Ptolemy I is no less divinely given than the Hebrew original” (2009: pp. 82-3). It was “for Augustine an inspired text” (Burnaby: p. 14). There were, for example, several references from both Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus in *De Trinitate* (Burnaby: p. 357). St. Augustine made his position clear in ‘The City of God’. The Church had “accepted this Septuagint as if it was the only version” and “the very same Spirit that was in the prophets when they uttered their message was at work also in the seventy scholars when they translated them” (pp. 820-2). “We are justified in supposing that the seventy translators received the spirit of prophecy: and so, if they altered anything by its authority and used expressions in their translation different from those of the original, we should not doubt that these expressions also were inspired of God” (p. 640). The Greek canon was ratified by Canon 47 of the Council of Carthage in 397, which also confirmed the canon of the New Testament in 27 books, while prohibiting the public reading of non-canonical

books. For those to whom the authority of the Church is not the final arbiter, scholarship today seems to concur with the view of the late David Edwards, “that the problem of the contents of the Old Testament cannot nowadays be regarded as settled” (p. 16).

Before describing the differences between ‘the three great codices’, Martin Hengel drew attention to the fact that they all included several books not in the Tanakh: Judith, Tobit, Sirach and Wisdom plus “the expanded books of Daniel, Esther and Psalm 151”. Vaticanus is without all four books of Maccabees, while books 2 & 3 are missing from Sinaiticus. Alexandrinus, from a century later, included all the Septuagint, plus fourteen odes, including the wonderful Prayer of Manasseh (pp. 57-8). It should be remembered that Dr. Tischendorf’s account of the discovery of what became the Codex Sinaiticus described how much had already just been destroyed, whether that included more of the codex itself we shall never know. “In visiting the library of the monastery, in the month of May, 1844, I perceived in the middle of the great hall a large and wide basket full of old parchments; and the librarian, who was a man of information, told me that two heaps of papers like these, mouldered by time, had been already committed to the flames” (p. 23).

It was not until the reformers of the sixteenth century demanded a return to the Hebrew canon “that Christians fought over two distinct canons” (Boadt, p. 180). Protestantism “followed the canon of the synagogue rather than the practice of the earlier church” (Barr, 1984, p. 41). The reformers disagreed with Wycliffe by excluding the ‘apocryphal’ books. Wycliffe had only removed 2 Esdras. Zwingli initially had included the ‘Apocrypha’ in the Zurich Bible. The reasons for the Protestant rejection of their canonical status is still debateable, though by demoting 2 Maccabees they removed a clear reference to and justification of the practice of prayers for the departed and possibly some form of Purgatory (12: 39-45). Atonement for the fallen was made through a sin offering because they had been found wearing what the law forbade. Furthermore these words of the prayer in Baruch cause Protestants some difficulty: “O Lord Almighty, the God of Israel, hear the prayers of the dead of Israel”, which ‘suggests the intercessions of the departed saints with the Lord’ (see Lk. 16: 22-31) (3:4 and footnote, O.S.B., p. 1168). However the rendering of *methe* as ‘dead’ is problematic as it could also just mean ‘men’. Later verses refer to the living Israelites as being “defiled with the dead” and “counted among those in Hades” (vs. 11-12, N.R.S.V.).

#### TESTIMONIUM SPIRITUS SANCTI

While John Calvin had pleaded with Castellio “that he should not rashly reject the age-long interpretation of the whole of the Church” [cited in MacCulloch (2004), p. 242], he saw no need for the Church to stamp its own authority on the Scriptures.

“A most pernicious error has very generally prevailed; viz., that Scripture is of importance only in so far as conceded to it by the suffrage of the Church; as if the eternal and inviolable truth of God could depend on the will of men”.(1: 7.1)

“In vain was the authority of Scripture fortified by argument, or supported by the consent of the Church, or confirmed by any other helps, if unaccompanied by an assurance higher and stronger than human judgement can give. ... For the truth is vindicated in opposition to every doubt, when, unsupported by foreign aid, it has its sole sufficiency in itself.

“... no human writings, however skilfully composed, are at all capable of affecting us in a similar way ... but turn from them to the reading of the Sacred Volume, and whether you will or not, it will so affect you, so pierce your heart, so work its way into your very marrow ... making it manifest that in the Sacred Volume there is a truth divine, a something which makes it immeasurably superior to all the gifts and graces attainable by man.”(1: 8.1)

For Calvin, the knowledge of God that was obtainable through nature and reason (Romans 1:19-20) was genuine but nevertheless imperfect, inadequate and fragmentary. Only in the Scriptures was clear knowledge received by the illumination of the Holy Spirit to the believer, in union with Christ.

“... the Scriptures are the only records in which God has been pleased to consign his truth to perpetual remembrance, the full authority which they ought to possess with the faithful is not recognised, unless they are believed to have come from heaven, as directly as if God had been heard giving utterance to them. ... No one can get even the slightest taste of right and sound doctrine unless he be a pupil of scripture.” (I: 7.1).

“Scripture exhibits fully as clear evidence of its own truth as white and black things do of their colour or sweet and bitter things of their taste” (I: 7.2).

The authority of Scripture rested on the ‘testimonium Spiritus Sancti internum’: “our conviction of the truth of Scripture must be derived from a higher source than human conjectures, Judgments, or reasons; namely, the secret testimony of the Spirit.

... the testimony of the Spirit is superior to reason. For as God alone can properly bear witness to his own words, so these words will not obtain full credit in the hearts of men, until they are sealed by the inward testimony of the Spirit. The same Spirit, therefore, who spoke by the mouth of the prophets, must penetrate our hearts, in order to convince us that they faithfully delivered the message with which they were divinely entrusted” (I: 7.4).

The evidence of Divine authorship was derived from the internal testimony of the Holy Spirit. The authority of the Scriptures did not depend on the Church, but visa versa. This view was echoed in the Westminster Confession of 1643: “our full persuasion and assurance of the infallible truth and divine authority thereof, is from the inward work of the Holy Spirit bearing witness by and with the Word in our hearts ... we acknowledge the inward illumination of the Spirit of God to be necessary for the saving understanding of such things as are revealed in the Word” (Chapter 1, V & VI).

Beale limited the conditioning of the bible reader’s mind by “forces outside the Bible”. He accepted that “all our interpretations are colored by our socially constructed history and situation” but believed that “God’s sovereign revelatory power” can break through those “internal and external elements”. Thus while the reader does not start with a tabula rasa, he can receive “God’s subjective though true perspective on truth” to “break through the distorting lenses we wear and lead us into all truth” (pp. 257-9).

Dr. Milton C. Fisher is Emeritus Professor of Old Testament at the Reformed Episcopal Seminary in Philadelphia. This evangelical scholar regarded it as “an unfortunate aspect of reformation thinking” that some reformers sought means of reassurance on the canon of Scripture. God “in his providence had determined for his people the fixed content of Scripture, that became a fact of history and was not a repeatable process”. Fisher asserted that Luther and Calvin had been equally subjective. Luther had asserted that the test of true scripture is the inculcation (treiben) of Christ. All ‘genuine sacred books preach and inculcate Him and whether a book does so is the “true test of by which to judge all books”’ (cited in Lienhard: p. 90). Calvin had insisted “that the Spirit bears witness to each individual Christian in any age of church history as to what is his Word and what is not” (Comfort: pp. 75-6). Unfortunately this throws us once more back on to subjective criteria. ‘For the evangelical (early Protestant) reader is persuaded of the truth of his or her reading (and therefore of his or her salvation) by, and only by what Tyndale calls a “*feeling faith*”, an inner, passionate conviction of being chosen and forgiven’ (Simpson: p. 30). Of his salvation the believer “*fele[th]* it to be true”, for

membership of the (invisible) True Church is “written on the heart” of God’s elect. The scriptures belong to the elect. “God shall write it in their hearts with His holy Spirit”. Thus, as Simpson pointed out, for Tyndale: ‘Lection... presupposed election’ (idem: p.139). Though John Wesley, the founder of Methodism, was an Arminian for whom predestination was “a doctrine full of blasphemy”, he concurred with Tyndale’s “feeling faith”, as his account of his conversion experience clearly demonstrated. “In the evening I went very unwillingly to a society in Aldersgate Street, where one was reading Luther’s preface to the Epistle to the Romans. About a quarter before nine, while he was describing the change which God works in the heart through faith in Christ, I *felt my heart strangely warmed. I felt I did trust in Christ, Christ alone, for salvation; and an assurance was given me that He had taken away my sins, even mine, and saved me from the law of sin and death*” (all italics mine).

According to John Foxe, when a visiting priest remarked to William Tyndale that it was “better be without God's law than the Popes”, the bible translator famously replied: “I defy the Pope and all his laws; if God spare my life, ere many years I will cause a boy that driveth the plough shall know more of the Scripture than thou dost”. “The Reformation’s emphasis on a personal relationship with Christ”, asserted Charles Colson, “also meant that every person should be able to read God’s Word” (Colson & Neuhaus, p. 26). Dr. Pusey, writing from within the Catholic Anglican tradition, stated: “We acknowledge that Holy Scripture is the source of all saving truth; but it does not therefore follow that everyone, unguided, is to draw for himself the truth out of that living well” (‘The Rule of Faith’; cited in Staley: p. 322).

A famous Anglican ‘convert’ to Roman Catholicism, Monsignor Ronald Knox wrote: “When the Bible was thrown open to the survey of the ordinary lay Christian, the Protestant assumption was that everybody would be guided by the Holy Spirit to interpret it for himself in the right sense: all God’s people would be taught by the Holy Spirit”. However, there was a problem for these ‘simple folk’ for “their rule of faith was not, in fact, to be any private inspiration of their own. They were to be guided by the Scripture as interpreted by Luther, and Calvin, and Zwingli, and Beza, and Knox – by the pundits” (pp. 134-5).

Karl Barth maintained that in the seventeenth century Bible became divorced from its Christocentric and Pneumatological context and thereby ‘was grounded upon itself’. ‘It became a “paper pope” and unlike the living pope in Rome it was given into the hands of its interpreters. It was no longer a free and spiritual force, but an instrument of human power’ (p. 525). Paul Tillich went further in referring to the eventual petrification “into a system of doctrine that raises an unconditional claim to truth... It was claimed that man has an objective possession of a truth that is identical with the content and letter of an inspired Scripture. The Scripture is in the hands of the church and its theological experts, and it can be used like an untouchable, unfailing and completely sufficient document of what is true”. A ‘quasi-sacramental dignity’ had replaced Protestantism’s ‘critical power’, to which its “pure doctrine” was no longer subjected (p. 254). Truth became an unambiguous possession “encased in the letter of Scripture and properly dispensed in the doctrine of the church” (p. 198).

#### “THE SCRIPTURES THAT TESTIFY ABOUT ME”

Fr. John Behr claimed that Orthodoxy, in reflecting the mind of the early church, starts from a very different perspective. Inspiration does not “solely reside within the text or in the mind of the inspired prophet as he uttered or wrote his words ... As it is only when Christ opens the scriptures, to show how they all speak of him and his Passion, that the inspired meaning of the scriptures is brought to light, the inspiration of the scriptures cannot be separated from the opening of the sealed book of the Lamb (Rev 5)” [p. 64]. Reflecting on the marriage feast of Cana in St. John’s Gospel, Origen wrote:

“In truth, before Jesus, Scripture was like water, but since Jesus it has become for us the wine into which Jesus changed the water”. St. Gregory the Great found a typological significance with the two testaments in both the two angels at Christ’s tomb and the two cherubim at the mercy seat. The mercy seat represented the incarnate Lord and the two cherubim are the two testaments facing each other, both with their gaze fixed on the mercy seat and “looking at the Lord between them and they ... are recounting in harmony the mystery of his loving purpose” (cited in Clément: pp. 97-8).

For St. Gregory, “the Old Testament foretells what the New Testament declares accomplished in the Lord”. In ‘Quaestiones in Heptateuchum’ (2: 73), St. Augustine expressed a similar truth more succinctly: “in Vetere Novum lateat, et in Novo Vetus pateat” [“the New (Testament) lies hidden in the Old and the Old (Testament) is opened up in the New”]. Progressive revelation is an important key towards a Christian understanding of the relationship between the two testaments. In response to fundamentalism, Stott acknowledged it in his pamphlet of 1956. ‘Much of the Old Testament is “pre-Christian” not only in time but also in truth’.

### SUPREMACY & ‘SOLA’

In 1989, Kenneth Hylson-Smith’s history of ‘Evangelicals in the Church of England’ concluded that “in scanning the past two-and-a-half centuries, no Christian tradition glories more than Evangelicalism in the supremacy of the Bible and the truths it contains” (p. 351). The great Evangelical polemicist, John Charles Ryle, wrote in 1867: “The first leading feature in Evangelical Religion is the *absolute supremacy it assigns to Holy Scripture*, as the only rule of faith and practice, the only test of truth, the only judge of controversy... The supreme authority of the Bible is the one of the cornerstones of our system. Our faith can find no resting-place except in the Bible, or in Bible arguments. Here is rock: all else is sand” (cited in Jay: p. 13). In this Ryle was confusing the supremacy of Scripture, as defined in the Anglican sixth Article of Religion, with the Continental Reformation’s ‘*sola scriptura*’. His repeated usage of the adjective ‘only’ refers to the latter, concurring with William Chillingworth that “the BIBLE, I say, the BIBLE only, is the religion of Protestants” (More & Cross: p. 104). On the subject of the sufficiency of Scripture, Richard Hooker wrote of two extreme and opposite opinions, “both repugnant to the truth”. One was the Roman Catholic teaching of its insufficiency, while the other upholds that it suffices not only for all that is necessary for salvation but “all things simply” (idem: p. 89). Francis White, Bishop of Ely, affirmed: “We reject not all Traditions, but such as are ... not consonant to the prime rule of faith, to wit, the Holy Scripture” (cited in McAdoo: p. 8). Dr. Eric Mascall maintained that Anglicans “adhere to that appeal to primitive wholeness which so notably distinguishes the great post-Reformation Anglican divines with their emphasis upon Scripture and the Fathers” (p. x).

The power of ‘sola’ as the war-cry of the Protestant cause was in its assumed contrast to late medieval Roman Catholicism: *solī Deo Gloria, solo Christo, sola gratia, sola fide* and *sola scriptura*. Rome was portrayed as attaching ‘nature’ to grace, works to faith and tradition to scripture, and thereby diminishing the absolute necessity of Divine revelation, sovereignty and grace by making their operations conditional on human factors. “Scripture alone is a core affirmation of the Lutheran Reformation, in addition to grace alone, faith alone, and Christ alone. However *sola scriptura* does not mean that Scripture is the only authority, but that it is the primary or chief authority to which all others are subordinate” (Hanson: p. 66). Hence while the preface to the Formula of Concord (1577) proclaimed that the Bible was “the only rule and guiding principle according to which all teachings are to be evaluated and judged”, it confessed adherence to the three catholic creeds and to several confessional documents of the Reformation itself. However the Augsburg Confession firmly stated that those creeds and confessions “are not judges, they are only witnesses and explanations of the faith” (citations from Hanson: pp. 66-67).

*Sola scriptura* required that, in Calvin's phrase, the Church "reverently subjects herself to the Word of God" and that the authority of the Church was co-extensive with her fidelity to the Scriptures. Calvin circumvented Augustine's testimony: "I should not have believed the gospel, unless I was moved by the authority of the Catholic Church". John Eck argued against Luther in 1519, "Scripture is not authentic without the authority of the church". Zwingli stated categorically in 1522: "The foundation of our religion is the written word, the Scriptures of God". Ironically only the radical Reformation, which Zwingli's Zurich persecuted, could indubitably claim consistency with the principle of *sola scriptura*, as the magisterial reformers fenced it with qualifications.

"Protestantism has generally elevated the Scripture as something far and above all other things in the church. Assigned as a composition of the Spirit of God ... it has been made to stand alone, towering over any other thing that could be ascribed to church traditions. The one is seen as the infallible Word of God, the other as the words of fallible human beings" (McGuckin, 2010, p. 101)

"Scripture was never for Irenaeus *sola scriptura*, Scripture as an isolated phenomenon", insisted Maurice Wiles as Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford. "Scripture does not for him stand as an independent authoritative record on its own. Scripture and tradition go together, not as two distinct things but as interlocking parts of a single reality". As the 'emergence of the Scriptures and the development of doctrine' occurred concurrently then it would require one to 'falsify the facts' to maintain that the early church upheld *sola scriptura*. Scripture was *a* source not *the* source. (pp. 41-45). The problem has been exacerbated by Protestant polemics and hermeneutics according to John Barton. *Sola scriptura* had originally a negative meaning that denied the "indefinite development of Christianity into an ever-changing religion" upholding that scripture was its own interpreter. It became a standard by which many later Protestants acknowledged "simply Catholic tradition with all the bits that happen not to lie within the pages of the Bible artificially removed". "*Sola scriptura* should never be "the central pillar of anyone's understanding of the Christian faith. *Sola scriptura* is a metaphor... In turning *sola scriptura* from a symbol by which the God-given character of the gospel is defended into a literal and positive statement about where its heart can be found, the Protestant Churches sold their birthright for a mess of hermeneutics". Thus Protestants "replaced one kind of human tradition with another" (1988, pp. 83-6).

In 'West of Jesus', Anthony (that is all we told of the author's name) highlighted some of the consequential teachings of *sola scriptura*. Firstly the Protestant insistence "that the interpretation of the Bible is a personal matter", which departed from the consistently universal belief of the Church, while contradicting the apostolic teaching of 2 Peter, chapter 1, verse 20. Secondly in its secession from the Roman Church, it removed itself from ecclesiastical authority and from "all reliance on apostolic teaching, the Church and the Church Fathers". By not reconciling itself with the Orthodox Church after severance from Rome, "Protestantism was left at sea in an every-man-for-himself dilemma". Thirdly it fell in error. The "once saved, always saved" proposition of 'eternal security' stemming from 'instant salvation' is an unbalanced doctrine, which ironically ignores much Scriptural teaching, as does its understanding of Eucharistic and sacramental theology. Furthermore "Scripture unequivocally condemns a fractured spiritual state". Visible unity is central to Scriptural ecclesiology and "Protestantism seems to recognize the impropriety of its fragmented state". Finally private reasoning and personal interpretation has replaced the continuity of teaching from the apostles and the Fathers. Neglect of the two other components of Holy Tradition and the abandonment of some of the Scriptures themselves resulted in dangerous and useless individual ideas. Patterns of worship can descend into a "make-it-up-as-one-goes" predicament. (Chapter 3)

## THE UNITY OF THE CHURCH

Fundamentalism has that danger implicit in the Continental Reformation, of producing its own self-appointed ‘popes’. It therefore defies the apostolic exhortation in the first chapter of St Paul’s first letter to the Corinthians, verses 10 to 17, *inter alia*. Newman rightly perceived an inbuilt tendency to fragmentation in Protestantism which ran counter to that call for unity which was a central theme of New Testament teaching. Our Lord prayed for such perfect unity that it would mirror the one He shares eternally with the Father (St. John, chapter 17). St. Paul constantly exhorts local congregations to a visible unity within the universal church. It is thus an essential hallmark of the Catholic Church, demonstrated, according to St. Ignatius of Antioch, by unity under the episcopate. For this early Apostolic Father and holy martyr, the bishop was ‘in the mind of Christ’ (Ephesians 3:2 – Holmes: p. 185). He exhorted the faithful to be united with their bishop “and with those who lead” (Magnesians 6: 2 – Holmes: p. 207), to respect “the bishop, who is the model of the Father” (Trallians 3: 1) and to be subject to him “that there may be unity, both physical and spiritual” (Magnesians 12: 2 – Holmes: p. 211). The bishop’s position ‘in the place of God over the church rather than his function gave him his authority’ (Martin & Davids, p. 109). “The one who is in the sanctuary is clean, but the one who is outside the sanctuary is not clean. That is, whoever does anything without the bishop and the council of presbyters and deacons does not have a clean conscience” (Trallians 7: 2 – Holmes p: 219). “Wherever the bishop appears, there let the congregation be: just as wherever Jesus Christ is, there is the Catholic Church” (Smyrneans 8: 2 – Holmes: p. 255). Unity is to be visible, hierarchical and sacramental. “Take care, therefore, to participate in one Eucharist (for there is one flesh of our Lord Jesus Christ, and one cup that leads to unity through one blood); there is one altar, just as there is one bishop, together with the council of presbyters and the deacons, my fellow servants), in order that whatever you do, you do in accordance with God” (Philadelphians 4 – Holmes: p. 239). St. Cyril of Alexandria affirmed that “pre-eminence of the church, as the principle of union, is its oneness, in this surpassing all things else, and having nothing like or equal to itself” (Stromata 7: XVIII – Coxe: p. 555). St. Augustine believed “that there is nothing more serious than the sacrilege of schism. There is no just necessity for cutting up the unity” (Giles: p. 183).

## INSPIRATION AND SUFFICIENCY

The sixth article of the Church of England maintained that Holy Scripture contained “all things necessary to salvation” so that what was not contained in or proved by Scripture was not “to be thought requisite or necessary to salvation”. Thus the article not only maintained that supremacy of Scripture, which James Packer identified as the first of four general tenets of evangelicalism, but also confined its sufficiency to “all things necessary to salvation”. ‘Scripture is authoritative precisely because of what it is and what it contains: within it “everlasting life is offered to men by Christ”’ (O’Donovan, p. 51; citing Article VII). According to Dr. Timothy Ward: “The sufficiency of Scripture claims that Scripture is sufficient only for a particular divine purpose” (Vanhoozer: p. 731). Stott commented: “some of the Bible is metaphorical and symbolical. The Bible was given us as a handbook of salvation, not as a text-book of science. ... A sound interpretation of each Biblical passage will take note of the literary form in which it is deliberately presented” (1956: p.4). In ‘Understanding the Bible’, Stott stated that “the Bible is primarily a book neither of science, nor of literature, nor of philosophy, but of salvation” (p. 4). He made the point more clearly in ‘The Contemporary Christian’. The Bible’s purpose was ‘practical’, “more a guidebook than a textbook, more a book of salvation than a book of science... God’s purpose in Scripture is not to reveal facts that can be discovered by the scientific method of observation and experiment, but rather to reveal truths which are beyond the scope of science, in particular God’s way of salvation” (p. 167). James Barr has described the Bible as “more a battleground than a book of true facts. Holy Scripture has a function in the winning of salvation ... Scripture thus has a soteriological function... Scripture is fundamental to the church of God ...

because it is built into the way in which salvation itself is achieved” (p. 53). For him “the authority of the bible derives from the saving content” of the events it records “and the faith that responds to it and not the accuracy of its historical reporting” (cited in Harris: p. 185). In his Catechetical Lectures, St. Cyril of Jerusalem affirmed: “The salvation in which we believe is proved not from clever reasoning, but from the Holy Scriptures” (Jurgens: p. 351).

The sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures related therefore to “all things necessary to salvation”. The classic Pauline text on inspiration is 2 Timothy 3: 16: “All scripture is inspired of God”. In the preceding verse, St. Paul reminds Timothy “How from childhood you have known the sacred scriptures that are able to instruct you for salvation through faith in Christ Jesus” (NRSV) – sufficient for salvation. The references to the Scriptures in both verses refer of course to the LXX as there was no New Testament. It is commonplace to point out that the Greek word θεόπνευστος literally means ‘God-breathed’ (as correctly translated in the N.I.V., - expired, in the literal not colloquial sense, by God). Thus the only direct text for ‘inspiration’ refers to a far more definite Divine action, reminiscent of God breathing his spirit into Adam so that he became a living soul [or being] (Gen 2: 7) and of Our Lord breathing on the disciples and saying: “Receive the Holy Spirit” (John 20: 22). “All scripture is...useful/profitable/serviceable for teaching, for reproof, for correction and training in righteousness” - in Bullinger’s phrase, it “teacheth abundantly all things that belong to true godliness” (Bromiley, p. 221). It is not there for subtle points or for encyclopaedic reference but “so that everyone who belongs to God may be proficient, equipped for every good work”. Raymond E. Brown stressed that the verse was primarily concerned “less on the inspiration of all Scripture passages than on the utility of inspired Scripture ... to teach and correct and thus to counteract evil impostors” (p. 678). St. Gregory of Nyssa through the analogy of the ‘beacon light’ that brings sailors “back on course by a clear sign”, “so Scripture may bring those adrift in the sea of life back into the harbour of the divine will”. To be instructed by the Scriptures, was according to Bernard of Clairvaux, gives knowledge of “what to avoid and what to pursue” (Adels: p. 174).

Vatican II’s Decree on Divine Revelation demanded of Roman Catholics that “we must acknowledge that the books of scripture teach firmly, faithfully and without error such truth as God, for the sake of our salvation, wished the biblical text to contain (*quam Deus nostrae salutis causa litteris sacris consignari voluit*)” (Chapter 3: 12). The Catechism of the Catholic Church includes this sentence in the summary of its teaching on Scripture. “Interpretation of the inspired Scripture must be attentive above all to what God wants to reveal through the sacred authors for our salvation” (p. 35 – no. 137). For McBrien: “revelation is always for salvation (1994, p. 263). Newman claimed inspiration throughout the Bible but denied that to affirm biblical inspiration on matters relating to faith and morals required any extension to subjects such as astronomy and chronology (see Wansbrough, 2010: p. 156).

Bishop Ryle defended the historicity of the Bible: “Nothing is found that overturns one jot or tittle of the Bible’s historical statements” (p. 16). However he answered on ‘Alleged Scientific Errors’: “The Bible was not written to teach a system of geology, botany, or on a history of birds, insects, and animals” (p. 38). John Hapgood, who showed us round Bishopsthorpe when he was Archbishop of York, pinpointed a related problem when he accurately defined the Bible as ‘pre-scientific’. Therefore any reader who expects to find in it information “on all sorts of subjects which lay outside the ken of its authors” can expect to be disappointed. Its contents should be treated as documents of their time and under its ‘particular constraints’. Then it “can reveal God’s presence in history and in the world of nature” and be found to speak “albeit in a different mode”. Hapgood asserted that while God may not directly cause thunderstorms, His glory can still be revealed “through such phenomena” and His awesomeness “is reflected in their power” (Cohn- Sherbok: pp. 137-8). The writers of the Old Testament had “little interest in the questions which scientific historians ask” (Edwards: p. 275).

The Revised Catechism of the Church England asked the question: “What is the Bible?” It gave the answer: “The Bible, in both the Old and the New Testaments, is the record of God’s revelation of himself to mankind through his people Israel, and above all in his Son, Jesus Christ” (p. 12). The purpose of the Holy Scriptures was not to provide any kind of textbook. Inaccuracies in the historical, scientific, geographical or any other disciplinary detail do not invalidate that central revelation, of which the anonymous author of Hebrews wrote: “Long ago God spoke to our ancestors in many and various ways by the prophets, but in these last days he has spoken to us by a Son” (1:1). Speaking from the Orthodox perspective, Father Hopko commented: “There may be incidental inaccuracies of a non-essential character in the Bible. But the eternal spiritual and doctrinal message of God, presented in the Bible in many different ways, remains perfectly consistent, authentic, and true.” The evangelist who first invited Billy Graham to England was Tom Rees. I knew his widow and son. Rees was capable of going to what he perceived as the heart of the matter very directly and simply. “The power of this Book is to be found in the theme of the Book ... Jesus Christ Himself is the theme of this Book ... When you read this Book you will come face to face with our Lord, Jesus Christ, God manifest in the flesh” (pp. 33-4). Harold O. Brown, former Professor of Biblical and Systematic Theology at Trinity Evangelical Divinity School, stated the obvious truth, so often understated. “Christians affirm that Jesus Christ, not the doctrine of Scripture or of biblical infallibility, is the central reality of the Christian faith” (Comfort, p. 47). In a similar vein, James Barr stated emphatically that that Christian faith is not in the Bible but in Christ and therefore the Bible is “the instrument of faith and the expression of faith, rather than the object of faith” (p. 55).

Four priests born in 1921 were to have enormous and overlapping impacts on the Church of England: Robert Runcie, John Fenton, John Stott and Graham Leonard. I am grateful to God for the acquaintance and guidance of the last three. Canon Fenton was at one time my spiritual director. Graham Leonard had an enormous personal influence on my Christian development over several decades, stretching through his time as an Anglican bishop (Willesden, Truro and London) and beyond. As a Roman Catholic priest, he helped me explore again the Roman Catholic faith and remained in contact with me into his eighties. In an excellent little paperback, written as Bishop of London, he summarised his faith through the medium of Newman’s famous lines in the Dream of Gerontius, which became the hymn: ‘Firmly I believe and truly’. One long paragraph encapsulated that central revelation. Here he wrote of “the testimony of the Scriptures, which the Church formally recognized as having unique authority for Christians”.

“Our faith in God is rooted in events which actually took place. Of these we have a record in the New Testament documents, which have always been the cornerstone of Christian belief. ... The Old Testament as a whole speaks of a time of preparations for the coming of our Lord in Bethlehem. He was born of a particular woman, Mary, at a particular time, of a particular people with a history. He did not suddenly appear without any relation to human history. The biblical history is necessary as the context in which we can understand what Christ did and who he is” (p. 4).

“NO SCIENTIFIC FALLACY”

In his Bampton Lectures of 1884, the future Archbishop of Canterbury (and father of another), Frederick Temple, tackled the thorny issue of ‘The Relations between Religion and Science’. He upheld that the doctrine of evolution strengthened the argument for an intelligent Creator and its compatibility with the ‘substance of Revelation’. “It is distinctly the fault of religions, not of scientific men” that great contrasts existed between the Bible on one side and Astronomy and Geology on the other; and that “there is still a great contrast between the Bible and Evolution. In no one of these cases was the Revelation contained in the Bible in danger, but only the interpretation commonly put on the Bible. ... There was no doctrine involved whatever; there was nothing at stake on which the spiritual life depended” (Cosslett: p. 211).

Nevertheless fundamentalists remain intransigent. Henry M. Morris expressed that position dogmatically. “The real truth of the matter is that the Bible indeed is verbally inspired and literally true throughout. Whenever it deals with scientific or historical matters of fact, it means exactly what it says and is completely accurate. When figures of speech are used, their meaning is always evident in context, just as in other books. There is no scientific fallacy in the Bible at all. Science is *knowledge*, and the Bible is a book of true and factual knowledge throughout, on every subject with which it deals. The Bible *is* a book of science” (p. 229).

An interesting example of the concession to figurative language occurred during the notorious ‘Monkey Trial’ of John Scopes for introducing as a textbook Hunter’s ‘Civic Biology’ and teaching evolution from it to his students in Dayton, Tennessee in 1925. At the request of the founder of the World Christian Fundamentals Association, the former Presidential candidate, William Jennings Bryan, acted as prosecuting counsel for the State of Tennessee. He had made himself into ‘a sort of Fundamentalist Pope’. Bryan had written: “All the ills from which America suffers can be traced back to the teaching of evolution. It would be better to destroy every other book ever written and save just the first three verses of Genesis” (Ruthven: p. 19). Bryan agreed to be cross-examined as a witness, by the renowned attorney, Clarence Darrow, for the defence.

**DARROW**-‘You claim that everything in the Bible should be literally interpreted?’  
**BRYAN**-‘I believe everything in the Bible should be accepted as it is given there: some of the Bible is given illustratively. For instance: "Ye are the salt of the earth." I would not insist that man was actually salt, or that he had flesh of salt, but it is used in the sense of salt as saving God's people.’

#### THE LEGACY OF THE REFORMATION

Fr. John Meyendorff defined fundamentalism as a reaction to liberalism and “the blind and often naive acceptance of a literal inerrancy of the biblical texts, which implies refusal of history and of any form of cooperation between God and man in the act of revelation. The Bible is transformed into something it has never pretended to be: a universal, informational text-book about history and science” (p. 95). Protestant Fundamentalism is a religion of the Book. Anything that assails the protective walls that fundamentalism constructed around the Book comes from hostile forces. Roman Catholicism has a special place in its demonology as a religion that subverts the uniqueness of the Scriptures not only by the supplementation of tradition but by the subservience of Scripture to the teaching authority of the Church. Protestant fundamentalists still largely ignore Orthodoxy or parody it as some esoteric variant or deviant of Roman Catholicism and thus only demonstrate their ignorance. They fail to grasp the historical pedigree of theological liberalism, seeing it merely as the surrender to the Enlightenment, to secularism and to relativism. Its roots lie in the Protestant Reformation, as does Evangelicalism and Fundamentalism. Packer contended that when ‘Fundamentalism’ means ‘consistent Evangelicalism’, it is “in principle nothing but Christianity itself ... the oldest orthodoxy, grounded four-square upon the teaching of Christ and his apostles” (p. 22). “The evangelical insistence on the factuality of what Scripture presents as fact is neither new nor untheological. It goes back to the Reformation, when the allegorical method of exposition was abandoned in favour of the sounder principle that Scripture must be taken in its literal sense” (p. 99).

Evangelicalism is the mother of Fundamentalism and shares a common DNA. However much Evangelicalism may seek to disown her prodigal son and deplore his intellectual immaturity, she cannot deny maternity. The mother of Evangelicalism was the Protestant Reformation. *Sola Scriptura* – the Bible only – that was the answer that Protestantism gave to Rome and held aloft her hybrid scriptures. “The Bible must be first”, demanded Charles Haddon Spurgeon, “and

God's ministers must lie under it. We must not stand on the Bible to preach, but we must preach with the Bible above our heads". On another occasion, the great Baptist preacher exclaimed: "Defend the Bible? I would just as soon defend a roaring lion."

#### LITERALISM & TEXTUAL SELECTION

In the first of his famous Bampton Lectures of 1940 in which he contrasted 'Fathers and Heretics', Dr. Prestige affirmed: "The voice of the Bible could be plainly heard only if its text were interpreted broadly and rationally, in accordance with the apostolic creed and the evidence of the historical practice of Christendom. It was the heretics that relied most on isolated texts, and the Catholics who paid more attention on the whole to scriptural principles" (p. 21). On the misuse of the prophetic Scriptures by heretics, St. Clement of Alexandria pointed to the stages through which they go astray. They fail firstly 'to make use of all the scriptures'; secondly they 'will not quote them entire, nor as the body and texture of the prophecy prescribe'. Thirdly they select ambiguous expressions and twist them to fit their opinions, "gathering a few expressions here and there; not looking to the sense, but making use of of the mere diction", Thus they alter the meanings of these isolated texts and ignore the context that provides the 'natural meaning' (Gwatkin: p. 109).

The Catholic Bishops' Conferences of England, Wales and Scotland produced 'The Gift of Scripture' in 2005. In one sizeable paragraph they outlined the dangers of Fundamentalism. "Fundamentalist reading will often focus on a particular text or texts, and disregard others which express different perspectives, thus making absolute what is a partial and incomplete understanding within Scripture... The fundamentalist approach disregards the diversity of views and the development of understanding which is found in the Bible and does not allow for the presence of 'imperfect and time-conditioned elements' within Scripture (*Dei Verbum* 15) ... it favours a superficial interpretation of biblical texts, in which there is insufficient consideration of the place of a given text within a developing tradition. Fundamentalism will often take a simplistic view of literary genre, as when narrative texts which are of a more complex nature are treated as historical (*Interpretation of the Bible* I.F). In essence, fundamentalist reading disregards the various human dimensions of the Scriptures, and thereby undervalues the gift of Scripture and the 'divine condescension' which gives us God's word in human language" (pp. 20-21).

God Himself in His essence is unknowable and his self-revelation limited to the bounds of our human comprehension. Hence He is described in anthropomorphisms that cannot be understood absolutely literally. Thomas Aquinas recognised this. "When Scripture speaks of God's arm, the literal sense is not that God has such a member, but only what is signified by this member, namely spiritual power" (Galloway: p. 115).

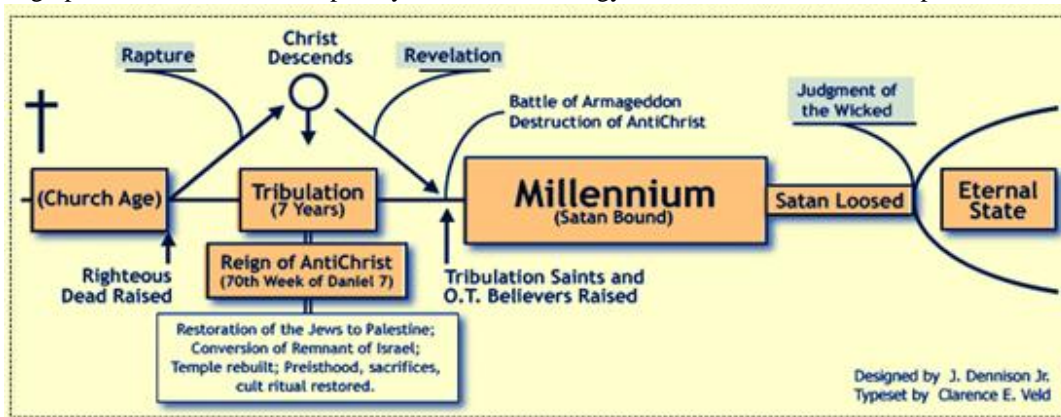
Malise Ruthven charged fundamentalists with being "nothing if not selective about the texts they use and their mode of interpretation. They are also much more innovative in the way they interpret the texts they select than is often supposed. In this respect they may be contrasted with traditionalists" (p. 15). Here my own experience of fundamentalism confirmed Ruthven's statement in its entirety.

Dispensationalist exegesis displays all the worst hallmarks of Fundamentalism. It combines extraordinary degrees of literalism with regard to the apocalyptic writings with notorious examples of diverse private interpretations. Premillennialism is then marshalled as a tool for evangelism to instil fear and dread of Armageddon into 'unbelievers'. 'I wish we'd all been ready' was the title of a song by Larry Norman, which sought to alarm the audience into an urgency of decision before the imminent possibility of the 'rapture'. Those who are 'left behind' will then fall victim to the

‘Great Tribulation’. It is small wonder therefore that several heretical cults have adopted premillennialism and used it much the same ends. For many Dispensationalists the Scofield Bible is their definitive Reference Bible. According to C. J. Scofield, there were seven dispensations:

1. Innocence - from the beginning to the fall
2. Conscience - from the fall to Noah
3. Human Government - Noah to Abraham
4. Promise - Abraham to Moses
5. Law - Moses to Christ
6. Church - the present age
7. Kingdom - beginning at the Second Coming of Christ (B.B.C.)

This graph demonstrates the complexity of their eschatology of the sixth and seventh dispensations.



[http://www.nyu.edu/fas/projects/vcb/ChristianMedia/prophecy\\_premdisp.html](http://www.nyu.edu/fas/projects/vcb/ChristianMedia/prophecy_premdisp.html)

## BAPTISM

I did state however that I would not be drawn into that debate and therefore I shall pass on to the selectivity of Evangelical literalism in relation to what Protestants accept as the two sacraments of the Gospel. Baptism is the Christian rite of initiation. That it was ordained by Christ to be by water in the name of the Holy Trinity is also acknowledged by most Christians, across denominational divisions. Differences arise as to who are the right subjects for baptism, its mode, its relation to faith, its connection to other Christian rites, such as Chrismation and Confirmation, and admission to Holy Communion in the Eucharist. Evangelicals, who are divided along denominational lines over paedobaptism and credobaptism as well as over the mode of baptism, are generally united against baptismal regeneration. Their credobaptists demand a clear profession of personal faith, usually linked with a ‘testimony of conversion’. Their paedobaptists hide behind some form of Covenant Theology, finding parallels with the Jewish rite of circumcision, as rites expressive of the old and new covenants. Evangelical Anglicans have had to find ways around references to baptismal regeneration in the Prayer Book, but are then faced with similar references in the New Testament. In both cases they turned their backs on literalist interpretations and literal meanings.

Evangelicals and fundamentalists who set great store on biblical literalism elsewhere find that they must deny any such exegesis to Biblical sacramental teaching. Linking the ‘new birth’ to the experience of personal conversion, they see John 3:5 as primarily referring to that event. Thus the reference to being ‘born of water and Spirit’ was once explained to me

by an evangelical lecturer in dogmatics as referring to what baptism symbolises and thus, ‘water’ referred not the sacrament itself but to the act of repentance. This I found unconvincing, even as an evangelical. St. Peter on the day of Pentecost linked baptism not only with the call for repentance but with the forgiveness of sins (as in the Creed) and the reception of the Holy Spirit (Acts 2: 38).

One pamphlet that helped restore my belief in the scriptural warranty of infant baptism nearly forty years ago was Canon John Stafford Wright’s ‘The Child’s Right to Baptism’. He maintained that the Prayer Book was scriptural in referring to the baptised as ‘regenerate’ as it relates to “the blessings of the Gospel associated with baptism”. Scriptural references, Stafford Wright insisted, must however be harmonised “with the rest of the New Testament which speaks of faith as the means of our initiation into the blessings of the Gospel”. However he made little attempt to do so with the passages he cited from the Authorised (King James) Version.

Acts 22:18 - “...arise, and be baptised, for the washing away of thy sins”

Romans 6:4 – “We are buried in baptism into death”

Gal. 3: 27 – “For as many of you as have been baptised into Christ have put on Christ”

1 Peter 3: 21 – “The like figure whereunto baptism doth now save us”

Titus 3: 5 – “He saved us, by the washing of regeneration, and renewing of the Holy Ghost”

The second reference should be looked at more fully. Those were “baptized into Christ Jesus were baptized into his death” (v. 3), as well as being “buried with him by baptism unto death, so that, just as Christ was raised from the dead by the glory of the Father, so we too might walk in newness of life” (v.4) [NRSV]. Baptism initiates us into Christ, into His Church and in the Holy Spirit: “For just as the body is one and has many members, and all the members of the body, though many, are one body, so it is with Christ. For in the one Spirit we were all baptized into one body—Jews or Greeks, slaves or free—and we were all made to drink of one Spirit” (1 Cor. 12: 12-13; cf. Eph. 4: 4-5). Stafford Wright intimated that Titus 3:5 might be either an allusion or a reference to baptism. The same is true of 1 Cor. 6: 12, where the same author, St. Paul, refers to Christians as having been washed, sanctified and justified “in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ and in the Spirit of our God”.

Justin Martyr, writing about 150 A.D., cited John 3:3-5 and Isaiah 1: 16-20 in reference to baptism after this comment about it (the “then” relates back to those “made new in Christ” having already been catechised with prayer and fasting). “Then they are brought by us where there is water, and are born again in the same manner of rebirth by which we ourselves were born again, for then they receive washing in water in the name of God the Father and Master of us all, of our Savior Jesus Christ, and of the Holy Spirit” (Barnard: p. 66). Two centuries later, St. Cyril of Jerusalem in ‘The Procatechisis’: “16. Great is the Baptism which is offered you. It is a ransom to captives; a remission of offences; the death of sin; the regeneration of the soul; the garment of light; the holy seal indissoluble; the chariot to heaven; the luxury of Paradise; a procuring of the kingdom; the gift of adoption” (Cross: p. 50).

## THE EUCHARIST

The fact that there was no denial of the Real Presence in the Early Church and that the language of *symbolon* and *typos* in relation to the Eucharistic elements was so closely connected with that of reality, stem from the clear language of the New Testament. The heresy of Zwinglianism, common among modern evangelicals and fundamentalists, would have been totally foreign to the milieu of the New Testament and indeed of the Early Church. So too would have been the

definitive precision of medieval Scholasticism. Christ meant what he said and St. Paul interprets by affirming what Christ said. "There is certainly no support in St. Paul for the thought that the sacrament is a mere memorial, or that it is only in some metaphorical sense that Christ is present and his body given and received." (Meeks: pp. 159-160).

The record of Our Lord's institution of the Eucharist has come down to us in the three narratives of the Synoptic Gospels and in the first Pauline epistle to the Corinthians. The interpretation of the Institution Narratives needs very careful exegesis. Fr. Moloney contrasts "the two basic traditions, that of Luke-Paul being primarily eschatological, and that of Mark-Matthew being primarily sacrificial" (Moloney: p.47). The key eschatological reference in Paul is 1 Corinthians 11: 26. "For as often as you eat this bread and drink the cup, *you proclaim the Lord's death until he comes*". These words come immediately after the second anamnesis at the end of the record of the Institution. The commemoration of the Lord's death is to be kept by the Church throughout the intervening period between the two 'comings' of Christ. In the Lucan account of the Last Supper itself, Jesus and the apostles had just taken their places at the table. 'He said to them, "I have eagerly desired to eat this Passover with you before I suffer; for I tell you, *I will not eat it until it is fulfilled in the kingdom of God*". Then he took the cup and after giving thanks he said "Take this and divide it among yourselves; for I tell you that *from now on I will not drink of the fruit of the vine until the Kingdom of God comes*" ' ( Luke 22: 14 - 18). If one puts this reference beside Paul's, it shows the temporary nature of the Eucharist. The Church celebrates the Eucharist until the Second Coming. Our Lord abstains from the elements until the fulfilment of the Kingdom.

In that Kingdom, he invites his disciples to his table. "You have stood by me in my trials; and I confer on you, just as the Father has conferred on me, a kingdom, so that you may eat and drink at my table in my kingdom, and you will sit on thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel" (vs. 28 - 30). The Passover was commonly interpreted in such eschatological terms as anticipatory of the Messianic banquet. Thus Jesus was identifying Himself again as that Messiah and the Eucharist as a foretaste of that banquet. "The early Christians, celebrating the Eucharist, looked forward and backward: backward to the cross, whose memorial they were making, and forward to the second coming, which they eagerly awaited" (Moloney: p.21).

Closely connected to the eschatological dimension in Luke and Paul is the complex notion of *anamnesis*: "Do this in remembrance / commemoration of me". "In the Jewish world, remembrance was not understood as a purely mental activity. For example, when the penitent thief asked Jesus to 'remember me when you come into your kingdom' (Luke 23.42), he did not expect Jesus merely to think about him, but to act, to do something about his situation" (Wybrew: p. 16). In the Eucharist the past meets the present and the present meets the future. Time is caught up in Eternity. "The notion of *memorial* as understood in the passover celebration - i.e. the making effective in the present of an event in the past- has opened the way to a clearer understanding of the relationship between Christ's sacrifice and the Eucharist." (ARCIC I: p.14, cf. pp.18-20 in 'Elucidations').

The proper understanding of the Hebrew notion of memory requires a cultural and mental leap for Westerners, with a merely linear approach to time, because "in the context of Jewish liturgy, it is really a technical term. As worshippers recall the events of sacred history, they enter, not only into the thought of the past, but also, in some sense, into the actuality of what has happened" (Moloney: p.44). The same is true of the Greek *anamnesis* which "means much more than just remembering a past event: it calls into the present the reality of a past event" (J. D. Crichton: 'A Theology of Worship' in **SL**: p.17).The existential reality of *anamnesis* for those first believers has been well summarised by Canon Wybrew: "The early Eucharist was no memorial service for the dead founder of the community. When thanks were given

over the bread and the cup, and when the community ate and drank, the crucified and risen Christ was invisibly among them, present no longer in the flesh but in the Spirit. .... Christ was not absent from them, he was present with them; and where he was, there was the Kingdom of God. The Eucharist was a foretaste of that Kingdom." (Wybrew: p.16).

Unity is a cardinal issue for St. Paul. He begins his first letter to the Church in Corinth with an appeal against party - spirit which was dividing the Christian community. Christian unity for Paul was founded upon identity. That identity involved being "united in the same mind and the same purpose" (1: 10). Identity was rooted in 'belonging'. "What I mean is that each of you says, 'I belong to Paul,' or 'I belong to Apollos,' or 'I belong to Cephas,' or 'I belong to Christ.' Has Christ been divided?" (1: 12-13, cf.3:5-9). "So let no one boast about human leaders ....you belong to Christ, and Christ belongs to God"(3:21-23). Being "in the same mind" means that "we have the mind of Christ"(2:16). The same purpose is found only in the service of Christ. Unity in Christ is unity in the Spirit for "no one can say 'Jesus is Lord' except by the Holy Spirit"(12:1). It is that unity which binds the Church together in "one body". Belonging to Christ means belonging to His Church. Belonging to the Church comes through the work of the Holy Spirit who in baptism brings us into the unity of Christ's Church. All this is involved in taking on the identity of a Christian (12:12-13). It is within this context that Paul develops his thinking about 'the Lord's Supper'. Paul focuses on this issue of *koinonia* and uses it both to expose what was lacking at Corinth and to explore the true meaning of the Lord's Supper. Those who come to Communion with selfishness rather than sharing, do so unworthily and may well incur some form of Divine judgment and discipline (11: 27-32). They come not heeding the only context in which one can *really* "eat the Lord's supper"; the context of Christian *koinonia* which alone gives substance, identity and witness to the Church of Christ. "So, then, my brothers and sisters, when you come together to eat, wait for one another" (11:33).

The exclusivity which surrounds the table of the Lord has everything to do with identity, allegiance and 'belonging'. Here is the central act of *koinonia*. "The cup of blessing that we bless, is it not a *koinonia* of the blood of Christ? The bread which we break, is it not a *koinonia* of the body of Christ?" St. Paul's answer is an emphatic "Yes"! "Because there is one bread, we who are many are one body, because we all partake of the one bread."(11:16-17) The bread over which Our Lord affirmed "This is my Body" is the one bread in which we partake of Him and share in Him. As the Sacrament of Baptism unites us *into* the Body of Christ, so the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper unites us *in* the Body Christ. In his homilies on St. John's Gospel, St. John Chrysostom exhorts his readers: "Let us learn the wonder of this sacrament, the purpose of its institution, the effects it produces. We become a single body, according to Scripture, members of his flesh and bone of his bone. That is what is brought about by the food that he gives us. He blends himself with us so that we may all become one single entity in the way the body is joined to the head"(cited in Clément: p. 115).

St. John does not include the Institution in his account of the Last Supper. The other four accounts predated his and, as was so often the case, St. John wished to concentrate on what was not covered by the Synoptic writers. After the washing of the disciples' feet, John concentrates on the 'Great Discourse'. Within that discourse, Our Lord refers to Himself as the Vine. This may well have Eucharistic significance, especially when the reader recalls that He Who said "I am the true vine" had also proclaimed "I am the Bread of life". Luther denied any Eucharistic reference in Chapter 6 and many Protestant scholars have followed his lead. Polemicists tend to polarize and consequently force their audience into unnecessary choices. There are ways of combining the two interpretations. One such approach is offered by Bertold Klappert: "John 6 is not about the Lord's Supper; rather, the Lord's Supper is about what is described in John 6. It concerns that eating and drinking which is belief in Christ (6: 35), which is eternal life (6:54), which in other words is described as abiding in him (6: 56). The discourse in Jn. 6 represents these activities as central to faith and to men's

relationship with Jesus. They are not confined to a sacramental meal." ('The Lord's Supper', in Brown, Colin: p.535) This exegesis has the additional merit of linking the central themes of the Bread and the Vine discourses. Cullmann presented a good case for a Eucharistic exegesis for the parable of the vine. The Didache referred to the wine as the "holy vine of David".

Raymond Brown focuses on the passage in its overall context. "First, in John 6: 35 - 51a, Jesus is the Bread of Life in the sense that his revelation constitutes teaching by God (6:45), so that one must believe in the Son to have eternal life. ...Second, in John 6: 51b - 58 Jesus is nourishment in another sense, for one must feed on his flesh and blood to have eternal life. The themes of 6:35-51a are duplicated but now in language evocative of the Eucharist. ... Taken as a whole the two parts of the discourse would reveal that Jesus feeds his followers both through his revelation and his Eucharistic flesh and blood" (p.346). If one accepts the latter interpretation as being more consistent with traditional exegesis, concurring with Cullmann that St. John "had the Eucharist in mind ...without actually saying so" (p. 98), then one is faced with the sheer realism of the language involved. This proves even more graphic in the Greek text.

"In John's gospel he (Jesus) said: 'Unless you *scrunch the flesh* of the Son of Man and drink his blood, you have no life in you'. So the wording is extremely physical" (Buchanan: p.4). Colin Buchanan added this footnote. "The Greek verb 'trogo' used in John 6 might be rendered 'scrunch' or 'munch' and at least has some hints of ingestion and not merely the result". Westcott found another flaw in a merely figurative approach. "Now it is easy to say that 'eating of the bread of life' or 'eating the flesh of Christ' is a figurative way of describing faith in Christ. But such a method of dealing with the words of Holy Scripture empties them of their divine force. This spiritual eating, this feeding on Christ, is the last result of faith, but it is not faith itself". Westcott was also opposed to any exclusively Eucharistic interpretation. "It is equally wrong to regard the words as a simple prophecy of that Sacrament, and to dissociate them from it. .... We do not presume to say that Christ gives Himself only in this, but we have 'believed and know' that in this He does give Himself" (Westcott: pp.40-41).

The martyrdom of St. Ignatius of Antioch occurred in about 107 A.D., so his letters may have been written little more than a decade after the Johannine writings. His ecclesiology and sacramentology stemmed directly from an unambiguous Christology, thus it is tempting to regard him as the first extant Christian writer to develop them as 'extensions of the Incarnation'. The reality of the Eucharist is predicated upon the reality of the Incarnation; for "the Eucharist is the flesh of our savior Jesus Christ, who suffered for our sins and which, in his goodness the Father raised up" (Smyrneans 6:2 – Holmes, p. 254). Lightfoot commented: "The eucharist implies the reality of Christ's flesh. To those who deny this reality, it has no meaning at all; to them Christ's words of institution are false; it is in no sense the flesh of Christ" (Lightfoot: pp.306-307 [he includes this passage under 6:5]). Facing martyrdom, St. Ignatius referred to the Eucharist as "the medicine of immortality, and the antidote we take in order not to die but to live forever in Jesus Christ" (Ephesians 20: 2 – Holmes, p. 199). "I take no pleasure in corruptible food or the pleasures of this life. I want the bread of life, which is the flesh of Christ who is the seed of David: and for drink I want his blood, which is incorruptible love" [ἀγάπη ἄφθαρτος - an "immortal love feast" - Richardson: p. 105] (Romans 7 – Holmes, p. 233). Justin Martyr commented: "We do not receive these gifts as ordinary food and drink ... - the food by which our blood and flesh are nourished through its transformation - is, we are taught, the flesh and blood of Jesus who was made flesh" (Apology 1: 66 [Bettenson (1969): p.62]). The phrase "we are taught" indicates that Justin had himself 'received' this teaching and therefore that it was already part of acknowledged tradition. In his famous 'Commentary on the Divine Liturgy', Nicholas

Cabasilas reflected: “Now God makes these holy offerings so much his own that he transforms them into the Body and Blood of his only-begotten Son ... for God accepts our bread and wine, and gives us in return his own Son” (p. 105).

#### ‘ON THE READING OF HOLY SCRIPTURE’

Lord Hailsham wrote about his approach to the Bible. “I am not a purveyor of texts to support exact doctrines. I believe that the Bible is an inspiration, a light to guide the feet ... It is when it is treated as a living source of inspiration and enlightenment that it does its work. It can only be used in conjunction the life of meditation, self-criticism and prayer. But so used there is nothing like it, and there is no substitute for it” (p. 71). One is reminded of George Herbert’s country parson, who was ‘full of knowledge’ of practical matters, “even to tillage and pastorage”, and had read “the Fathers also, and the schoolmen, and the later writers, or a good proportion of all”. “But the chief and top of his knowledge consists in the book of books, the storehouse and magazine of life, the Holy Scriptures. There he sucks, and lives. In the Scriptures he finds four things: precepts for life, doctrines for knowledge, examples for illustration, and promises for comfort; these he digested severally. But understanding of these, the means he uses are first, a holy life... The second means is prayer”. In preaching, “the character of his sermons is holiness... by choosing texts of devotion, not controversy ... so that the auditors may plainly perceive that every word is heart-deep” (Martz: pp. 193-198, *passim*). I read Betty Knott’s loose translation of Thomas à Kempis’s great classic in my twenties. What follows is extracted from her rendering of his section ‘On the Reading of Holy Scripture’ (1.V). “All Scripture must be read in the spirit in which it is written, and in the Scriptures we should look for what will help us, not for subtle points... If you want to drink in spiritual benefit, read in humility, simplicity and faith and at no point desire to be known for your learning”. St. Athanasius assured Marcellinus that “the entire Holy Scripture is a teacher of virtues and of the truths of faith” (Gregg: p. 112). In his *Life of Anthony*, he wrote of that great desert saint that was his father in God. “He prayed constantly, since he learned that it is necessary to pray unceasingly in private. For he paid such close attention to what was read that nothing from Scripture did he fail to take in – rather he grasped everything, and in him the memory took the place of books” (*idem*: p. 32). As St. Athanasius concluded his great treatise ‘On the Incarnation of the Word of God’, he wrote: “But for the searching and right understanding of the Scriptures there is need of a good life and a pure soul” (St. Athanasius: p. 96).

St. Clement, Bishop of Rome, wrote to the Corinthian church around 95 A.D. “Therefore let us abandon empty and futile thoughts, and let us conform to the glorious and holy rule of our tradition; indeed let us note what is good and what is pleasing and what is acceptable in the sight of the one who made us. Let us fix our eyes on the blood of Christ and understand how precious it is to his Father, because, being poured out for our salvation, it won the whole world for repentance” (Holmes: pp. 54-55). The reader is here reminded of the exhortation of the writer of Hebrews to “keep our eyes fixed on Jesus, who leads us in our faith and brings it to perfection” (12: 2; N.J.B.). Luther once recalled that he had lost Christ in the scholastics and found him again in Paul. For David Livingstone, while the Old Testament began with man in the image of God, the New introduced God in the image of man. St. Jerome regarded ignorance of the Scriptures as ignorance of Christ.

How truly awesome it must been for those two dejected disciples on the road to Emmaus listening to Jesus when “beginning with Moses and all the prophets, he interpreted to them the things about himself in all the scriptures”. As he vanished from their sight, they recalled how their hearts had been “burning within us on the road, while he was opening the scriptures to us” (St. Luke 24: 27, 32, N.R.S.V.). Let us not be like those Jewish leaders that were rebuked by Our Lord Himself. “You diligently study the Scriptures because you think that by them you possess eternal life. These are the Scriptures that testify about me, yet you refuse to come to me to have life” (St. John 5: 39-40, N.I.V.).



## BIBLICAL STUDIES

Barr, James	The Scope and Authority of the Bible	(S.C.M., 2002)
Barton, John	Making of the Christian Bible	(D.L.T., 1997)
Barton, John	People of the Book? The Authority of the Bible in Christianity	(S.P.C.K., 1988)
Boadt, Lawrence	Reading the Old Testament	(Paulist Press, 1984)
Brown, Colin (editor)	Dictionary of New Testament Theology: Vol.2	(Zondervan,1980)
Brown, Raymond E.	An Introduction to the New Testament	(Doubleday, 1997)
Browning, W. R. F. (editor)	A Dictionary of the Bible	(O.U.P., 1996)
*Bruce, F.F.	The Canon of the Old Testament	(‘Inter-Varsity’, Autumn 1954)
*Bruce, F.F.	The English Bible	(Lutterworth Press, 1961)
Charles. R.H. (editor)	The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English	(O.U.P., 1913)
Cohn-Sherbok, Dan	Using the Bible Today	(Bellew, 1991)
Comfort, Philip Wesley (editor)	The Origin of the Bible	(Tyndale House Publishers, 2003)
Cronk, George	The Message of the Bible: An Orthodox Christian Perspective	(St. Vladimir’s Seminary Press, 1982)
Cullmann, Oscar	Early Christian Worship	(S.C.M.,1953)
**Edwards, David L.	A Key to the Old Testament	(Collins, 1989)
Farley, Lawrence R.	The Gospel of John - Beholding the Glory	(Conciliar Press, 2006)
Gladstone, W. E.	The Impregnable Rock of Holy Scripture	(Isbister, 2 <sup>nd</sup> edition, 1892)
Hengel, Martin	Septuagint as Christian Scripture	(T. & T. Clark, 2004)
International Bible Society	Holy Bible, New International Version	(Hodder & Stoughton, 1984)
McConville, Gordon	Old Testament	(Hodder & Stoughton, 1996)
Martin, Ralph P. & Davids, Peter H. (editors)	Dictionary of the Later New Testament & Its Developments	(I.V.P., 1997)
Meeks, Wayne A.	The First Urban Christians	(Yale, 1983)
Metzger, Bruce M. & Coogan, Michael D. (editors)	The Oxford Illustrated Companion to the Bible	(Tess Press, 2008)
Metzger, Bruce M. &		

Murphy, Roland E. (editors)	The New Oxford Annotated Bible <b>[N.R.S.V.]</b>	(O.U.P., 1991)
Newman, Robert C.	Council of Jamnia and the Old Testament Canon	(Westminster Theological Journal, Spring 1976)
Rogerson, John	The Oxford Illustrated History of the Bible	(O.U.P., 2001)
Soggin, J. Alberto	Introduction to the Old Testament	(S.C.M., third English edition, 1989)
St. Athanasius Academy of Orthodox Theology	The Orthodox Study Bible <b>[O.S.B.]</b>	(Thomas Nelson, 2008)
***Stott, John	Understanding the Bible	(Scripture Union, revised edition, 2003) [2003b]
Tischendorf, Dr. C.	Codex Sinaiticus	(Lutterworth Press, no date)
Vanhoozer, Kevin J. (editor)	Dictionary for Theological Interpretation of the Bible	(S.P.C.K. & Baker Book House Co., 2005)
***Wansbrough, Henry (editor)	The New Jerusalem Bible <b>[N.J.B.]</b>	(D.L.T., 1990)
***Wansbrough, Henry	The Story of the Bible	(D.L.T., 2006)
***Wansbrough, Henry	The Use and Abuse of the Bible: A Brief History of Biblical Interpretation	(T. & T. Clark, 2010)
Westcott, B.F.	The Revelation of the Father	(Macmillan, 1887)

## ON FUNDAMENTALISM

Armstrong, Karen	The Battle for God: A History of Fundamentalism	(Random House, 2001)
Barr, James	Escaping from Fundamentalism	(S.C.M., 1984)
Hankins, Barry	Evangelicalism and Fundamentalism: Documentary Reader	(New York University Press, 2008)
Harris, Harriet A.	Fundamentalism and Evangelicals	(O.U.P., second edition, 2008)
Hebert, Gabriel	Fundamentalism and the Church of God	(S.C.M., 1957)
Keating, Karl	Catholicism and Fundamentalism	(Ignatius Press, 1988)
Küng, Hans & Moltmann, Jürgen (editors)	Fundamentalism as an Ecumenical Challenge	(Concilium, 1996)
Marsden, George M.	Understanding Fundamentalism and Evangelicalism	(Eerdman's, 1991)
Packer, J. I.	Fundamentalism and the Word of God	(I.V.F., 1958)
Ruthven, Malise	Fundamentalism: The Search for Meaning	(O.U.P., 2004)
***Stott, John R.W.	Fundamentalism and Evangelism	(Crusade, 1956)

## PATRISTICS

Aquilina, Mike	The Way of the Fathers	(Our Sunday Visitor, 2000)
Bernard, L. W. (editor)	St. Justin Martyr: The First and Second Apologies	(Paulist Press, 1997)
Bettenson, Henry (translator)	Augustine: City of God	(Penguin, 1972)
Bettenson, Henry (editor)	The Early Christian Fathers	(O.U.P., 1969)
Bettenson, Henry (editor)	The Later Christian Fathers	(O.U.P., 1970)
Burnaby, John (editor)	Augustine: Later Works (L.C.C.)	(Westminster Press, 1965)
**Chadwick, Henry	Augustine of Hippo: A Life	(O.U.P., 2009)
**Chadwick, Henry	The Early Church	(Penguin, revised edition, 1993)
Cross, F. L. (editor)	St. Cyril of Jerusalem's Lectures on the Christian Sacraments	(S.P.C.K., 1951)
Evans, G.R. (editor)	The First Christian Theologians	(Blackwell, 2004)
*Frend, W.H.C.	The Early Church from the Beginnings to 461	(S.C.M., 1991)
Giles, E.	Documents illustrating Papal Authority: A.D. 96 – 454	(S.P.C.K., 1952)
Gregg, Robert C. (editor/translator)	Athanasius: the Life of Antony and the Letter to Marcellinus	(S.P.C.K., 1980)
Gwatkin, H.M.	Selections from Early Christian writers: illustrative of Church History to the Time of Constantine	(Macmillan, 1902)
Hazlett, Ian (editor)	Early Christianity	(S.P.C.K., 1991)
Holmes, Michael W. (editor)	The Apostolic Fathers	(Baker Academic, 3 <sup>rd</sup> edition, 2007)
Jurgens, William A. (editor)	The Faith of the Early Fathers: Volume One	(Liturgical Press, 1970)
Lightfoot, J. B.	The Apostolic Fathers	(Hendrickson, 1989 - reprint of 2 <sup>nd</sup> edition)
Kelly, J.N.D.	Early Christian Doctrines	(A. & C. Black, 5 <sup>th</sup> Edition, 1977)
McGuckin, John Anthony	The Westminster Handbook to Patristic Theology	(Westminster John Knox Press, 2004)
O'Donnell, James J.	Augustine, Sinner and Saint A New Biography	(Profile Books, 2005)
Prestige, G. L.	Fathers and Heretics	(S.P.C.K., 1940)

Religious of C.S M.V.  
(editor/translator) St. Athanasius on the Incarnation (Mowbray, 1953)

Richardson, Cyril C, (editor) Early Christian Fathers (Macmillan, 1970)

Roberts, A. ; Donaldson, J.  
& Coxe, A. C. (editors) The Ante-Nicene Fathers Vol. II. :  
Fathers of the Second Century (Eerdmans, American edition, 1967)

Roberts, A.; Donaldson, J.  
& Coxe, A. C. (editors) The Writings of Irenaeus (Apocryphile Press, 2007)

Stevenson, J. & \*Frend, W.H.C. The New Eusebius (S.P.C.K., revised edition, 1987),

Wiles, Maurice The Making of Christian Doctrine: A study in  
the principles of early doctrinal development (C.U.P., 1967)

Williamson, G.A. (translator) Eusebius: The History of the Church from  
Christ to Constantine (Penguin, 1965)

## EVANGELICAL

Beale, G.K. The Erosion of Inerrancy in Evangelicalism (Crossway, 2008)

Berkhof, Louis A Summary of Christian Doctrine (The Banner of Truth Trust, 1938)

Brady, Steve &  
\*\*\*Rowdon, Harold For such a time as this (Scripture Union, 1996)

Bromiley, Geoffrey W. Historical Theology: An Introduction (T. & T. Clark, 1978)

Buchanan, Colin Eucharistic Consecration (Grove Worship Series, No.148, 1998)

Church Society, The The Inerrancy and Infallibility of the Bible (www.churchsociety.org)

Grudem, Wayne Christian Belief (I.V.P., 2005)

Grudem, Wayne Systematic Theology (I.V.P., 2007)

Hodge, Charles Systematic Theology (Scribner, 1871)

\*\*Hylson-Smith, Kenneth Evangelicals in the Church of England:  
1734-1984 (T.& T. Clark, 1989)

\*\*\*Kirby, Gilbert Too Hot to Handle (Lakeland, Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1978)

Lane, A. N. S. B.B. Warfield and the Humanity of Scripture (Vox Evangelica 16,1986)  
([http://www.biblicalstudies.org.uk/pdf/vox/vol16/warfield\\_lane.pdf](http://www.biblicalstudies.org.uk/pdf/vox/vol16/warfield_lane.pdf))

Lane, Tony A Concise History of Christian Thought (T.& T. Clark, 2006)

\*\*McGrath, Alister Christian Theology: An Introduction (Blackwell, 1994)

\*\*McGrath, Alister Reformation Thought: An Introduction (Blackwell, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, 1993)

\*\*McGrath, Alister & McGrath,

Joanna Collincutt	The Dawkins Delusion: Atheist fundamentalism and the denial of the divine	(S.P.C.K., 2007)
Morris, Henry M.	Many Infallible Proofs	(Creation Life Publishers, 1974)
***O'Donovan, Oliver	On the Thirty-Nine Articles: a Conversation with Tudor Christianity	(Paternoster Press, 1990)
Ovey, Mike	The Authority of the Bible	( <a href="http://www.reform.org.uk">http://www.reform.org.uk</a> )
Pink, A. W.	Divine Inspiration of the Bible	(Sovereign Grace, 2003)
Randall, Ian & ***Hilborn, David	One Body in Christ	(Paternoster Press, 2001)
Rees, Tom	Can Intelligent People Believe?	(Hodder and Stoughton, 1971)
Ryle, J. C.	Is All Scripture Inspired?	(Banner of Truth Trust, new edition, 2003)
Stafford Wright, J.	The Child's Right to Baptism	(Church Book Room Press, 1970)
Stanley, Brian	Post-War British Evangelicalism: Shifting Identities and Global Trajectories	( <a href="http://www.eauk.org/efb">www.eauk.org/efb</a> )
***Stott, John	Evangelical Truth	(I.V.P., 2 <sup>nd</sup> edition, 2003) [2003a]
***Stott, John R.W.	Fundamentalism and Evangelism	(Crusade, 1956)
***Stott, John	The Contemporary Christian	(Inter-Varsity Press, 1992)
Wallis, Jim	God's Politics: Why the American Right Gets It Wrong and the Left Doesn't Get It	(Lion Hudson, 2005)
Warfield, B.B.	The Inspiration and Authority of the Bible	(Presbyterian & Reformed, 1948)
Wenham, John	Christ and The Bible	(Eagle, 1993)

### PROTESTANT (non/pre-Evangelical)

Barth, Karl	Church Dogmatics, Volume 1, Part 2	(T. & T. Clark, 2004)
Calvin, John	Institutes of the Christian Religion	( <a href="http://www.ccel.org/ccel/calvin/institutes.html">http://www.ccel.org/ccel/calvin/institutes.html</a> )
Hanson, Bradley	Grace That Frees: The Lutheran Tradition	(D.L.T., 2004)
Tillich, Paul	The Protestant Era	(Nisbet, 1951)

### ANGLICAN (non-Evangelical)

Carleton, G. D.	The King's Highway	(Tufton Books, 2001)
Gore, Charles	Lux Mundi	(John Murray, 10 <sup>th</sup> edition, 1890)
Gore, Charles	The Doctrine of the Infallible Book	(Project Canterbury – <a href="http://anglicanhistory.org/gore/infallible1924.html">http://anglicanhistory.org/gore/infallible1924.html</a> )
**Hailsham, Lord	The Door Wherein I Went	(Collins, Fount, 1978)

The General Synod of the Church of England	The Revised Catechism	(S.P.C.K., 1962)
***Leonard, Graham	Firmly I believe and truly	(Mowbray, 1985)
Martz, Louis (editor)	The Oxford Authors: George Herbert and Henry Vaughan	(O.U.P., 1986)
*Mascall, E. L.	Corpus Christi	(Longmans, Green and Co., 1953)
*McAdoo, Henry	Anglican Heritage: Theology and Spirituality	(Canterbury Press, 1997)
**Macquarrie, John	Principles of Christian Theology	(S.C.M, revised edition, 2003)
More, Paul Elmer & Cross, Frank Leslie (editors)	Anglicanism: The Thought and Practice of the Church of England, illustrated from the Religious Literature of the Seventeenth Century	(S.P.C.K., 1935)
The Archbishop of Canterbury (*Ramsey, Arthur Michael)	The Authority of the Bible	(Thomas Nelson, 1962)
**Ramsey, Arthur Michael	God, Christ and the World	(S.C.M., 1969)
Staley, Vernon	The Catholic Religion: A Manual of Instruction for Members of the Anglican Church	(Mowbray, 1895)

## ROMAN CATHOLIC

Adels, Jill Haak	The Wisdom of the Saints	(O.U.P. 1987)
Anonymous editor	Dogmatic Canons and Degrees	(Tan Books, 1977)
Benedict XVI, Pope	Jesus of Nazareth	(Bloomsbury, 2007)
Catholic Bishop' Conferences of England & Wales, & of Scotland	The Gift of Scripture	(Catholic Truth Society, 2005)
Knott, Betty I. (editor/translator)	The Imitation of Christ by Thomas à Kempis	(Collins, Fount, 1963)
Knox, Ronald A.	Enthusiasm	(Collins, 1987)
Leo XIII, Pope	Providentissimus Deus (1893)	( <a href="http://www.vatican.va">http://www.vatican.va</a> )
Libreria Editrice Vaticana	The Catechism of the Catholic Church	(Geoffrey Chapman, 1994)
Lienhard, Joseph T.	The Bible, the Church and Authority: The Canon of the Christian Bible in History and Theology	(Michael Glazier Inc., 1995)
McBrien, Richard	Catholicism	(Geoffrey Chapman, 1994)
McBrien, Richard (editor)	Encyclopedia of Catholicism	(Harper Collins, 1995)
**Meredith, Anthony, S.J.	The Theology of Tradition	(Mercier, 1971)

Moloney, Raymond	Problems in Theology: The Eucharist	(G. Chapman, 1995)
Newman, John Henry (still just an Anglican 1845)	An Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine	(Penguin, 1974)
Neuner, J. & Dupois, J. (editors)	The Christian Faith in the Doctrinal Documents of the Catholic Church	(Collins, revised edition, 1983)
*Tanner, Norman P.	The Councils of the Church: A Short History	(Herder & Herder, 2001)
*Tanner, Norman P. (editor)	Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils	(Sheed & Ward and Georgetown University Press, 1990)

## ORTHODOX

Anthony	West of Jesus: The Bible's Answer to the Protestant Departure from Orthodox Belief	(Regina Orthodox Press, 2006)
Behr, John	The Mystery of Christ: Life in Death	(St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2006)
Breck, John	Spirit of Truth: The Origins of Johannine Pneumatology	(St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1991)
Breck, John	The Power of the Word in the Worshipping Church	(St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1986)
Chrestou, Panagiotis K.	Greek Orthodox Patrology: An Introduction to the Study of the Church Fathers	(Orthodox Research Institute, 2005)
Chrysostomos, Archimandrite & Auxentius, Hieromonk	Scripture and Tradition	(Center for Traditionalist Orthodox Studies, 1984)
Clément, Olivier	The Roots of Christian Mysticism	(New City, 1998)
Farley, Lawrence R.	The Inspiration of Scripture & the Orthodox Church	( <a href="http://www.allsaintsofalaska.ca">http://www.allsaintsofalaska.ca</a> )
Florovsky, Georges	Collected Works: Vol.1 – The Bible, Church, Tradition, An Eastern Orthodox View	(Nordland Publishing Company, 1972)
Hopko, Thomas	The Orthodox Faith	( <a href="http://www.o.ca.org/OCorthfaith.asp?SID=2">http://www.o.ca.org/OCorthfaith.asp?SID=2</a> )
Hussey J. M. & McNulty, P.A. (editors)	Nicholas Cabasilas: A Commentary on the Divine Liturgy	(S.P.C.K., paperback edition, 1977)
Jakim, Boris & Bird, Robert (editors/translators)	On Spiritual Unity: A Slavophile Reader	(Lindisfarne Books, 1998)
McGuckin, John Anthony	The Orthodox Church: An Introduction to its History, Doctrine & Spiritual Culture	(Wiley-Blackwell, 2010)

Meyendorff, John	Catholicity and the Church	(St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1983)
Pecherskaya, Natalia (editor)	The Emancipation of Russian Christianity	(Edwin Mellen Press, 1995)
Pomazansky, Michael	Orthodox Dogmatic Theology	(St. Herman of Alaska Brotherhood, 3 <sup>rd</sup> edition, 2005)
Romanides, John	An Outline of Orthodox Patristic Dogmatics	(Orthodox Research Institute, 2004)
Schememann, Alexander	An Anthology of Modern Russian Thought	(St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1977)
Schememann, Alexander	The Historical Road of Eastern Orthodoxy	(St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1992)
Theophan the Recluse, St.		<a href="http://www.impantokratoros.gr/saint_theophan_christianity.en.aspx">http://www.impantokratoros.gr/saint_theophan_christianity.en.aspx</a>
Troitsky, New Hieromartyr		
Hilarion	Holy Scripture and the Church	(Orthodox World, Vol. 45: 264-5, 2009)
***Wybrew, Hugh (Anglican)	The Orthodox Liturgy	(St. Vladimir's Press, 1990)

## JEWISH

Leiman, S. Z.	The Canonization of the Hebrew Scripture: The Talmudic and Midrashic Evidence.	(Anchor Books, 1976)
Sundberg, Albert C. Jr	“The Old Testament of the Early Church” Revisited	<a href="http://department.monm.edu/classics/Speel_Festschrift">http://department.monm.edu/classics/Speel_Festschrift</a>
Vermes, Geza	The Dead Sea Scrolls	(Folio Society, 2000)

## MUSLIM

Ali, Abdullah Yusuf (translator)	The Holy Qur'an	(Wordsworth, 2000)
Lari, Sayyed Mujtaba Musavi (Alagar, Hamid – translator)	The Seal of the Prophet and His Message: Lessons on Islamic Doctrine – Book Two	(Sayyed Mujtaba Musavi Lari Foundation of Islamic C. P. W. , 2005)

## POSTSCRIPT

It has been my privilege to have ‘sat under’ and listened to (\*), met (\*\*\*) and in a few cases to have become acquainted with (\*\*\*) some of the authors cited in this paper. They have all, without exception, earned my respect, admiration and gratitude. Most have helped me to “grow in grace and the knowledge of the Lord Jesus Christ”. In the third category, I especially wish to pay tribute and show gratitude to Metropolitan Kallistos Ware, the late Monsignor (formerly Bishop) Graham Leonard, the Revd. Dr. Oliver O'Donovan, the Revd, Dr. Roger Beckwith and the Revd. Dr. John Stott.