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Goals of the *Africanus Journal*

The *Africanus Journal* is an award-winning interdisciplinary biblical, theological, and practical journal of the Campus for Urban Ministerial Education (CUME). Its goals are to promote:

- a. the mission and work of the members and mentors of the Africanus Guild Ph.D. Research Program of Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary, Boston;
- b. the principles of the Africanus Guild (evangelical orthodox Christian men and women who are multicultural, multiracial, urban-oriented, studying a Bible without error in a cooperative way);
- c. Christian scholarship that reflects an evangelical perspective, as an affiliate of GCTS-Boston. This is an interdisciplinary journal that publishes high quality articles in areas such as biblical studies, theology, church history, religious research, case studies, and studies related to practical issues in urban ministry. Special issues are organized according to themes or topics that take seriously the contextual nature of ministry situated in the cultural, political, social, economic, and spiritual realities in the urban context.

Scholarly papers may be submitted normally by those who have or are in (or are reviewed by a professor in) a Th.M., M.Min., Ed.D., Th.D., S.T.D., Ph.D., or equivalent degree program.

Two issues normally are published per year.

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Life of Julius Africanus

Julius Africanus was probably born in Jerusalem, many scholars think around A.D. 200. Africanus was considered by the ancients as a man of consummate learning and sharpest judgment (*Ante-Nicene Fathers* 6:128). He was a pupil of Heracles, distinguished for philosophy and other Greek learning, in Alexandria, Egypt around A.D. 231–233. In A.D. 220/226, he performed some duty in behalf of Nicopolis (formerly Emmaus) in Palestine. Later he likely became bishop of Emmaus (Eusebius, *History*, VI.xxxi.2). Origen calls him “a beloved brother in God the Father, through Jesus Christ, His holy Child” (*Letter from Origen to Africanus* 1). Fellow historian Eusebius distinguishes him as “no ordinary historian” (*History*, I. vi.2). Eusebius describes the five books of *Chronologies* as a “monument of labor and accuracy” and cites extensively from his harmony of the evangelists’ genealogies (*History*, VI. xxxi. 1–3). Africanus was a careful historian who sought to defend the truth of the Bible. He is an ancient example of meticulous, detailed scholarship which is historical, biblical, truthful, and devout.

Even though Eusebius describes Africanus as the author of the *Kestoi*, Jerome makes no mention of this (*ANF* 6:124). The author of *Kestoi* is surnamed Sextus, probably a Libyan philosopher who arranged a library in the Pantheon at Rome for the Emperor. The *Kestoi* was probably written toward the end of the 200s. It was not written by a Christian since it contains magical incantations (*Oxyrhynchus Papyri* III.412).

The Greek text of Africanus’ writings may be found in Martinus Josephus Routh, *Reliquiae sacrae* II (New York: Georg Olms Verlag, 1974 [1846]), 225–309, and Martin Wallraff, Umberto Roberto, Karl Pinggéra, eds., William Adler, trans., *Julius Africanus Chronographiae: The Extant Fragments, Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller* 15 (New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2007).

The extant writings of Julius Africanus may be found in vol. 1, no 1, April 2009 edition of the *Africanus Journal*.

Other Front Matter

Editorial Team for the issue: Cassidy Jay Gossage, J. Saemi Kim, Seong Park, Nicole Rim, John Runyon, Aída Besançon Spencer, William David Spencer

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Summary of Content:

Several articles on global issues (facial recognition, when Christianity first came to China) and literary studies of contemporary interest are in this issue. The book reviews discuss theology, applied theology to church life, art, and New Testament.

Africanus THE AFRICANUS GUILD *Guild*



L to R: Quonekuia Day, Mark Chuanhang Shan, Jennifer Creamer

“If not for the Africanus Guild, I would not even think of getting a Ph.D. and would not have had the chance to teach my own course at Gordon-Conwell, and be trained to be a Bible teacher, and for this I am most grateful.” –Benjamin Fung

Benjamin Fung’s Ph.D. was received from North-West University in South Africa 2017
Quonekuia Day and Mark Shan are Ph.D. candidates with London School of Theology.
Jennifer Creamer received her Ph.D. from North-West University in 2016.

The Africanus Guild is a support program set up to assist selective, underrepresented constituencies to pursue research Ph.D.s from North-West University and London School of Theology. The Guild is especially oriented to the multicultural, multiracial urban scene. Accepted students are mentored by a Gordon-Conwell faculty member. Candidates may complete the Th.M. at the Boston campus and then apply to the Guild.

Always Known but Rarely Loved: A Christian Ethical Assessment of Facial Recognition Technology

JASON THACKER

In January 2020, Kashmir Hill of *The New York Times* broke a story about a little-known startup company, Clearview AI, that developed a controversial facial recognition application for policing and government surveillance.¹ The simple application allows users, primarily law enforcement, to upload a subject's photo to the Clearview AI database, and then receive a name or identity as well as all known public photos of that person. These photos come from a host of locations across the internet including photos that the subject may not know exist such as pictures where they were in the background of a stranger's photo or someone took their photo without their knowledge or consent. This application became a source of national inquiry and intrigue because Clearview AI has, at the time of this writing, partnered with over 2200 local law enforcement and police departments across the United States and initially had plans to expand into commercial opportunities.² Law enforcement officers found the technology to be extremely useful in identifying suspects and breaking open cold cases, but also found the technology to be incredibly invasive into the personal privacy of the general public who likely had no idea that this application existed before the Hill story or that it has already been deployed in departments and agencies in their local communities.³

Throughout the world, highly sophisticated surveillance systems like facial recognition are being utilized to track, identify, and direct people in all parts of the world.⁴ Recent global events, such as the 2020 outbreak of COVID-19⁵ and the continued systemic persecution of religious minorities in nations like China,⁶ have challenged how the world thinks about government led technology surveillance. Especially in light of the sheer bravado of companies like Clearview AI to push the ethical bounds of data collection and usage, questions about the ethical use of these technologies for the public good abound in our digital age. These ethical issues include, but are not limited to, personal privacy, bias, discrimination, religious freedom, and the nature of security. For all of the good these

1 Kashmir Hill, "The Secretive Company That Might End Privacy as We Know It," *The New York Times*, January 18, 2020, <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/01/18/technology/clearview-privacy-facial-recognition.html>.

2 Ryan Mac, Caroline Haskins, and Logan McDonald, "Clearview AI Says It Will No Longer Provide Facial Recognition To Private Companies," BuzzFeed News, May 7, 2020, <https://www.buzzfeednews.com/article/ryanmac/clearview-ai-no-facial-recognition-private-companies>. Further, Clearview AI has also canceled all contracts working within the State of Illinois, based on a Illinois biometric privacy statute which bans the use of this surveillance for commercial purposes.

3 After Hill's story exposed the company's application and use, Clearview AI founder Hoan Ton-That finally agreed to be interviewed by the *Times*. In the interview, Ton-That demonstrated how the technology works, where the photos to build such a system were collected, and how it can be incredibly beneficial in the hands of the government and local municipalities to identify and ultimately apprehend criminals, including child sex offenders who often were barely caught on camera footage but could be identified by the system and reported to appropriate authorities. See Kashmir Hill, "Unmasking a Company That Wants to Unmask Us All," *The New York Times*, January 20, 2020, sec. Reader Center, <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/01/20/reader-center/insider-clearview-ai.html>.

4 Eric Stoddart describes facial recognition technology as a "silent technology" that is often embedded into other forms of technology. He also calls it a "passive technology," meaning it requires little user interaction, and an "open-ended technology," in terms of its applicability in our society. This technology is also often proprietary, which helps guard against outside scrutiny and commercial competition. For further detail, see Eric Stoddart, *Theological Perspectives on a Surveillance Society: Watching and Being Watched* (Abingdon, England: Routledge, 2016), 96.

5 For more on Clearview AI's public intent to assist with contact tracing during the 2020 COVID-19 pandemic, see Jacob Ward and Chiara Sottile, "A Facial Recognition Company Wants to Help with Contact Tracing. A Senator Has Questions," *NBC News*, accessed May 9, 2020, <https://www.nbcnews.com/tech/security/facial-recognition-company-wants-help-contact-tracing-senator-has-questions-n1197291>.

6 For more on the systemic persecution of religious minorities by authoritarian regimes, see Jason Thacker, "Artificial Intelligence Favors the Powerful. But It Doesn't Have To.," *Christianity Today*, accessed April 21, 2020, <https://www.christianitytoday.com/ct/2019/april-web-only/artificial-intelligence-facial-recognition-muslims-china.html>.

systems often provide for society in terms of security and surveillance, how does one weigh the potential abuses and oppressive uses of this technology in light of the Christian moral tradition? And how does the Christian concept of human dignity inform the role of facial recognition surveillance for government use? Drawing on the concept of the image of God, this article argues that the Christian moral tradition provides a clear and compelling path forward for development and utilization of facial recognition tools that can be deployed in ways that honor God and love our neighbors, uphold personal privacy, and protect the innocent.

This article will examine the ethical implications of this controversial new technology, the foundation of personal privacy in both the secular and Christian moral traditions, the role of the face in Christian theology, and the proper place of these tools for governmental use through policing and surveillance in society in line with the Christian concept of human dignity grounded in the *imago Dei*.

ETHICAL IMPLICATIONS

Hoan Ton-That's, founder of Clearview AI, innovation in facial recognition technology, struck a nerve within the American community. Long gone were the sci-fi fantasies and Hollywood thriller plots that cast a vision of a completely digitized future with facial recognition integrated into every area of society. Clearview AI's new algorithm showed Americans (and the watching world) that this powerful technology could be developed with current computer science and data collection methods, marketed to government agencies such as police and federal agencies, and deployed in mass under the auspices of safety and security. For all of the benefits of this technology, there are major ethical implications that must be addressed by thoughtful citizens, especially Christians.

The New York Times highlighted the fact that the technology that Clearview AI created was not actually that revolutionary or even a massive breakthrough. Most major technology companies such as Google, Facebook, and Microsoft claimed that they have been able to create this exact tool for many years but did not because of the potential legal and ethical issues at stake. Hoan Ton-That chose to push ahead with this innovation despite these ethical and moral issues. He developed the tool to scrape all publicly available photos from major services such as Facebook, Twitter, and even popular financial apps like Venmo. Clearview AI decided to skirt the line of ethics and privacy by collecting these photos without consent or even knowledge of other companies or users in order to build out its algorithmic detection system. Surveillance expert and Harvard professor Shoshanna Zuboff writes about how this practice of pursuing innovation without clear moral guidance is nothing new. "[These] companies [insist] on their right to use facial-recognition systems to identify a 'stranger on the street' without first obtaining the individual's consent."⁷ She goes on to quote a technology lobbyist who told the press during the failed pursuit of US federal biometric guidance in 2015, "everyone has the right to take photographs in public...if someone wants to apply facial recognition, should they really need to get consent in advance?"⁸ Clearview AI's ethical problems were not just limited to the capture and use of photographs from across these various services without personal consent or company knowledge. The use of these tools for identification purposes brings about a host of ethical problems. With the invasiveness and promulgation of facial recognition surveillance systems in civic society, we are beginning to see how these tools may lead to extreme unintended consequences for certain populations in our society where these groups are disparaged based on the color of their skin, sex, or even supposed religious identification from outward appearances.

⁷ Shoshanna Zuboff, *The Age of Surveillance Capitalism: The Fight for a Human Future at the New Frontier of Power*, 1st ed. (New York: PublicAffairs, 2019), 253.

⁸ *Ibid*.

Bias and Discrimination

Facial recognition systems are built on various pieces of image data which make up a personalized facial map. But, if there is any issue with the quality of data, the number of inputs, or even how the system is used as it continues to learn and grow in its accuracy, then the system may give false positives or return without any results.⁹ Any of these errors can lead to certain biases baked into the system.¹⁰ In December 2019, the National Institute of Standards and Technology released a landmark report demonstrating the inherent bias that these systems can exhibit even without malcontent or even knowledge of their creators.¹¹ The researchers evaluated 189 different algorithms from across the industry and found some disturbing trends. The team saw “higher rates of false positives for Asian and African American faces relative to images of Caucasians,” especially those of African American females. These false positives also extended to other native groups in the United States such as Native Americans, Alaskan Indians, and Pacific Islanders.

False positives in these systems might be innocuous, if being deployed in a photo labeling application on a smartphone device, but can lead to devastating effects, if deployed in security or public safety applications used by law enforcement and other government agencies. As Clearview AI made clear, there is a market for these tools and they will be developed with or without substantive thought into the ethical implications of bias and discrimination. These types of discrimination are also seen in terms of religious identification as well, especially when these tools are in the hands of authoritarian regimes bent on gaining and retaining power over their people.¹²

The Chinese Communist Party (CCP) has long been in favor of technological progress and innovation. Alongside the economic benefits of these innovations and tools, they also provide the CCP a level of control over the information shared, freedoms expressed, and dignity afforded to Chinese citizens. The CCP uses these powerful technologies like facial recognition to oppress their citizens and strip them of basic freedoms, such as religious liberty, economic mobility, the ability to gather and learn from dissenting voices, and even the freedom to move about without being tracked. The Chinese government proudly and publicly promotes their powerful tools for the watching world. The BBC reported in 2017 how China has deployed one of the most complex and powerful facial recognition systems in the world with thousands of cameras, including mobile units used by police, in the city of Guiyang.¹³ The CCP touted how powerful the system has become and how it can be used to protect its people and provide security against violent crime, but it is clear that this security only applies to certain citizens in China.

It has been long documented that China has systematically used facial recognition tools to oppress entire people groups, such as the Uyghur Muslims, tracking millions of them down and

9 As Shannon Vallor points out, these algorithmic systems have the same blind spots, flawed assumptions, and biases as the humans who generated and labeled the data they are built upon. She goes on to say that these biases are “all too easily disguised and reinforced by the power of data anonymization and aggregation.” See Shannon Vallor, *Technology and the Virtues: A Philosophical Guide to a Future Worth Wanting* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 193.

10 For more on algorithmic and biometric bias, see Kate M. Ott, *Christian Ethics for a Digital Society* (London: Rowman & Littlefield, 2019), 30-32.

11 Patrick Grother, Mei Ngan, and Kayee Hanaoka, “Face Recognition Vendor Test Part 3: Demographic Effects” (Gaithersburg, MD: National Institute of Standards and Technology, December 2019), <https://doi.org/10.6028/NIST.IR.8280>.

12 Daniel Doneson argues that one of the fundamental problems with technology is humanity’s “boastful pride” and seeking of power over our broken world that leads to many of the issues that we experience with technology in our societies. This argument aligns with the Genesis account of the Fall and rebellion against God. Doneson also argues for the role of liberal arts and the humanities to solve the modern problems of technology, because neither science or technology has the basis for dealing with the ethical implications of technology. See Daniel Doneson, “On Technology and Humanity: A Bibliographic Essay,” *The Hedgehog Review: Critical Reflections on Contemporary Culture* 13, no. 2 (Summer 2011), 47-52. For more on the lust for power and control over others from a Christian perspective, see D. A. Carson, *Christ and Culture Revisited* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2008), 141.

13 “China: ‘The World’s Biggest Camera Surveillance Network,’” *BBC News*, accessed May 4, 2020, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pNf4-d6fDoY>.

forcing them into concentration like camps in the western Xinjiang region.¹⁴ The Chinese Communist party is able to retain so much power by utilizing camera technologies and facial recognition tools from CCP-backed companies like Hikvision, who originally marketed their facial recognition systems with advertisements based on racial and religious profiling, highlighting the difference between a Han and a Uighur Muslim.¹⁵ It has been documented widely that Uighurs have been forcibly captured, sent to internment camps in the western Xinjiang region of China, and forced under pressure to renounce their faith while swearing allegiance to the Chinese Communist Party.¹⁶ While bias and discrimination are serious problems with the widespread adoption of current facial recognition tools, the fundamental issue at stake with these tools is the erosion of personal privacy and the blurring of the public/private divide.

Erosion of Privacy

As facial recognition technology continues to be adopted throughout the world in airports, public spaces, and even now our front doors through the mass adoption of smart camera and doorbell technology, there is a deep sense among many that we have entered a completely different stage of human history where personal privacy may be a thing of the past.¹⁷ We now know that photos may be scraped from various places online or even taken in public without our knowledge or consent and then used to build massive surveillance systems. And with the emerging ubiquity of facial recognition, the United States still does not have a modern digital privacy law at the federal level, much less any federal regulations on the use of facial recognition tools.¹⁸ These systems often go unregulated because governments have a difficult time keeping legislation up to date with the fast pace of technological development. With the lack of regulation and the ability of these tools to centralize power in the hands of the few, many throughout the world feel a deep urgency about this technology and a growing fear that our dignity as humans may be at stake. If these tools end up in the hands of bad actors or institutions where there is already considerable mistrust, such as local or federal governments, the fear might overshadow the benefits of facial recognition.

Brad Smith, president of Microsoft, points out some of these fears by observing “a government might use facial recognition to identify every individual attending a peaceful rally, following up in ways that could chill free expression and the ability to assemble.”¹⁹ He goes on to say, “the police might rely excessively on this tool to identify a suspect without appreciating that facial recognition, like every technology, doesn’t always work perfectly.”²⁰ This is the main factor of fear for many throughout the United States and abroad: the fear that this technology will be misused, abused, or even relied upon to the point where we forget that these tools are made by human beings with our own inherent known and unknown bias, discrimination, or brokenness.²¹ The power and trust

14 Roland Hughes, “China’s Muslim ‘crackdown’ Explained,” *BBC News*, November 8, 2018, sec. China, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-china-45474279>.

15 “Hikvision Markets Uyghur Ethnicity Analytics, Now Covers Up,” IPVM, November 11, 2019, <https://ipvm.com/reports/hikvision-uyghur>.

16 Vicky Xiuzhong Xu, Danielle Cave, James Leibold, Kelsey Munro, and Nathan Ruser, “Uyghurs for Sale,” accessed May 4, 2020, <https://www.aspi.org.au/report/uyghurs-sale>.

17 For more on this radical shift in privacy, see Firmin DeBrabander, *Life After Privacy Reclaiming Democracy in a Surveillance Society* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 2020).

18 Zuboff, *The Age of Surveillance Capitalism*. 251.

19 Brad Smith and Carol Ann Browne, *Tools and Weapons: The Promise and the Peril of the Digital Age* (New York: Penguin, 2019), 213.

20 Ibid. 214.

21 This is often because of the trust factor that we naturally establish with technology. If the tools correctly identify or work without many errors time and time again, it is easy for human reviewers or users to let their guard down and not continually check the results to make sure they are accurate each time. This trust factor, along with the powerful nature of these tools, can lead to dangerous outcomes such as a government agency or police department tracking the wrong individual or, even worse, knowingly tracking people without their knowledge or consent who are actually innocent. Facial recognition used without a moral compass or safety guards could lead to “mass surveillance on an unprecedented scale,” according to Smith and Brown, *Tools and Weapons*, 227.

these tools can command show that they cannot be deployed in the manner of other technologies of the past, because the cost to personal privacy may just be too high for many to allow. But as many people question the role of facial recognition technology in public life, and as our dependence on these emerging technologies continues to grow, we must evaluate the foundations of our sense of personal privacy and why they matter.

FOUNDATION OF PRIVACY

We live in a society of irony. The irony flows from our growing insistence on technological convenience, where we become frustrated with the lack of connectivity between our tools or even clamor for more personalized experiences with our technologies and gadgets. In relation to facial recognition, we clamor to have the latest Apple iPhone with Face ID, which uses a form of facial recognition, as we enjoy the convenience of using our faces as the new age password, thereby opening up some of the most personal and intimate details of our lives. Many airports throughout the United States are beginning to implement facial recognition tools from companies like CLEAR that market their products as “you are your best ID.”²² And, at the same time, there is an intense societal debate going on over the nature and extent of personal privacy. From the European Union’s GDPR in 2016 to the formal implementation of the landmark California Consumer Privacy Act (CCPA) in 2020, privacy legislation is being debated all around us and there are new calls to pass more state level legislation in hopes of forcing the United States Congress to proceed with a federal privacy act that would either come alongside state measures or possibly overrule them all together.

Much of the conversation about modern privacy rights, therefore, is based on some notion of personal property rights, which flows into the notion of a private vs. public divide in an individual’s life. As I will argue, property rights and this notion of privacy is often grounded in the concept of personal autonomy, rather than a concept of human dignity or human exceptionalism, because many modern secularists and politicians reject the idea of human dignity based on its religious undertones and historical grounding. Attempting to ground their concepts of privacy in personal autonomy leads to an entirely new set of difficulties in regulating technologies such as facial recognition or the use of artificial intelligence.²³ First, we will examine the concept of personal autonomy and how this concept has influenced the debates over personal privacy. Then, we will address the Christian moral tradition based in human dignity as the true foundation for personal privacy.

Personal Autonomy

Personal autonomy is a very popular understanding of our rights today. From the highs of the sexual revolution to the libertarian ideals of the least amount of government possible, autonomy has become the central tenet of the modern political project. As we will see, autonomy is often seen through a penumbra of the Bill of Rights, which was influenced by John Locke’s political philosophy as well as the Kantian understanding of individual freedom.²⁴ Many of the founders of the

22 CLEAR primarily focuses on the convenience factor for customers. Their facial recognition technology is currently being used in airports and other venues, where personal identification is required. As of this writing, they highlight over 65 airports and venues using this technology on their website. See [Clearme.com](https://clearme.com).

23 See Francis Beckwith, *Taking Rites Seriously: Law, Politics, and the Reasonableness of Faith* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 81-104. for a comprehensive argument of the validity of the human dignity approach to ethical application. In this section, he addresses a few major arguments against a human dignity approach. First, the concept of dignity is seen as too subjective and based on social or religious norms, making it an unstable grounding. Second, dignity as a concept is seen as unnecessary based on the validity of personal autonomy to address the major issues of the day. Beckwith exposes the flaws in this point by showing how personal autonomy presupposes dignity and how dignity can have greater explanatory power in accounting for certain moral wrongs (98). Beckwith explains that, just because someone has the freedom to make a choice, does not insure that the choice will be a moral one. (99)

24 See John Locke, “Two Treatises on Government,” Online Library of Liberty, 1689, <https://oll.libertyfund.org/pages/john-locke-two-treatises-1689>. and Immanuel Kant, “What Is Enlightenment,” trans. Mary C. Smith, accessed May 9, 2020, <http://www.columbia.edu/acis/ets/CCREAD/etscc/kant.html>.

United States derived much of their understanding of the natural rights to life, liberty, and property from the democratic political philosophies of their day.²⁵ These individual rights are now seen as cut off from concepts of human dignity as seen in the Christian moral tradition based in the image of God.²⁶ These personal rights helped set the foundation for most major privacy debates, because the modern definitions of personal privacy are grounded in the sense of personal freedom and autonomy, where no government should be able to override certain inalienable rights.²⁷

Nowhere is this sense of personal autonomy better seen than in the 1965 United States Supreme Court decision of *Griswold v. Connecticut*. Writing for the majority, Justice William Douglas famously found an “implied constitutional right to privacy” in the penumbra of the Bill of Rights.²⁸ The Bill of Rights enumerated, by design, a process, intended by the Founders, for recognizing certain pre-political rights which run contrary to current debates over privacy. At the time, this right to privacy extended specifically to the right of privacy for married couples to obtain contraceptives, but this right to privacy soon became the foundation for the Privacy Act of 1974, in which a certain level of privacy was enshrined into law by Congress. As Sarah E. Igo describes, “in one fell swoop, [the Privacy Act of 1974] disallowed secret data-gathering systems, prevented information collected for one use to be used for another, and enabled individuals to know of and correct materials in their records.”²⁹

This new privacy act, along with the “implied right to privacy” based in the “penumbra of the Bill of Rights,” raised the alarm for many Americans about how their privacy was being chipped away in the Big Brother or surveillance state. President Gerald Ford, referencing the Privacy Act of 1974, spoke to the government’s role in this surveillance society at Stanford Law School, recommending, “we must protect every individual from excessive and unnecessary intrusions by a ‘Big Brother’ bureaucracy.” He went on to describe the citizens as a “face-less set of digits in a monstrous network of computers.” Little did President Ford know that the invasion of personal privacy in our “Big Brother” digital society would quickly extend to the face as a source of data to be collected, analyzed, and used in the name of public security.

This basis of privacy informed other Supreme Court decisions such as *Roe v. Wade* and later *Lawrence v. Texas*, where the court enshrined the right to privacy as an inherent part of the right to freedom of expression and complete moral autonomy devoid of any reference to religion or faith lived under God. In delivering the *Lawrence* opinion, Justice Anthony Kennedy stated, “Liberty protects the person from unwarranted government intrusions into a dwelling or other private places.”³⁰ He went further to argue that liberty presumes that the state should not have a dominant presence in the homes of Americans, as well as an “autonomy of self that includes freedom of

25 George F. Will, *The Conservative Sensibility*, 1st ed. (New York: Hachette, 2019), 171.

26 See Michael Zuckert, “Human Dignity and the Basis of Justice: Freedom, Rights, and the Self,” *The Hedgehog Review: Critical Reflections on Contemporary Culture* 9, no. 3 (Fall 2007) for a further exploration into the relationship of the concepts of human dignity, human rights, and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948 from the United Nations. Zuckert argues for a concept of human dignity completely cut off from the Christian moral tradition.

27 It should be noted that many technologists and cultural leaders, such as Microsoft president Brad Smith, tend to frame the conversation with the presupposition that privacy is a fundamental human right without examining the core of that foundation. In *Tools and Weapons*, this assumption is made clear with the chapter title on privacy claiming it as a fundamental human right but the chapter itself only referencing modern Western democratic values rather than a philosophical underpinning of those ideals. Such fundamental human rights are often seen as a natural outflow of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948, which serves as the foundation for many of the human rights conversation of the day. See “Universal Declaration of Human Rights,” October 6, 2015, <https://www.un.org/en/universal-declaration-human-rights/>.

28 “*Griswold v. Connecticut*, 381 U.S. 479 (1965),” Justia Law, accessed April 22, 2020, <https://supreme.justia.com/cases/federal/us/381/479/>.

29 Sarah E. Igo, “The Beginning of the End of Privacy,” *The Hedgehog Review: Critical Reflections on Contemporary Culture* 17, no. 1 (Spring 2015).

30 “*Lawrence v. Texas*, 539 U.S. 558 (2003),” Justia Law, accessed April 22, 2020, <https://supreme.justia.com/cases/federal/us/539/558/>.

thought, belief, expression, and certain intimate conduct.”³¹ Self-determination is the lifeblood of modern society in the United States, especially when it comes to the ethics and morality of technology. Any technology or advancement that compromises the autonomy of self can be construed as a power grab by a company or government, as well as a privacy violation of the highest order.

The United States system of governance is based on the notions that the government is instituted in order “to secure these [inalienable] rights [to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness].”³² Notice that Jefferson uses the language of “securing these rights,” which presupposes that the rights of citizens are pre-political rights or natural rights. Especially in Christianity, these natural or pre-political rights are viewed in light of existential beliefs about the nature of God and how he created each one of us.³³ But one need not hold to the Christian moral tradition of human dignity as the foundation for true personal privacy, as I will argue below, in order to agree that the government is not creating rights but simply recognizing the rights that existed well before and long after our current democratic experiment is gone.³⁴

Human Dignity and Privacy

The Christian moral tradition grounds the concept of personal privacy in something far greater than human documents or political philosophies, even as these foundations help to bring a common language to a diverse group of people and are marvels of modern democracies. Most modern Protestant moral ethics are based in the concept of human exceptionalism or dignity based in the *imago Dei* (Gen. 1:26-28), where the God of the universe created every human being in his image (Gen 1:26-28) and bestowed on them dignity above every other part of creation.

This Christian understanding of dignity is at odds with many modern definitions of dignity, such as the way that Francis Fukuyama describes the basis for dignity as “the inner self” that is by nature “variable and changes over time.”³⁵ Rather than these modern notions of privacy and dignity often grounded in the pursuit of personal autonomy or freedom, the Christian moral tradition is based in the unchanging image of God that reveals humanity’s true freedom and privacy as found living under the reign of God himself.³⁶ God created everything, including us, and he alone is able to tell us how we are to live and how we are to function as his exclusive image bearers. Thus, we really do not have personal autonomy or true privacy in the manner described in the penumbra of the Bill of Rights or any other democratic value system. We live under the reign of the creator God himself, who knows the deepest recesses of our souls as well as the faces that reveal our true personhood and individualism. In this section, we will explore two ways that privacy can be viewed in light of Scripture and the *imago Dei*: personal property and the inner private life of God’s image bearers.

31 Ibid. In an ironic twist, Justice Kennedy’s words about freedom of thought, belief, and expression are challenged by the very outworking of this logic that denies the rights of citizens, namely people of faith, to live out their personal beliefs in the public square on issues such as abortion and same-sex marriage. Many of the most important religious liberty cases in the last decade revolve around government intrusion into the exact expressions of the beliefs that Justice Kennedy names above.

32 Thomas Jefferson, “Politics & Government: Securing Rights,” accessed April 22, 2020, <https://famguardian.org/Subjects/Politics/ThomasJefferson/jeff0150.htm>.

33 For more on how a theological foundation of human dignity undergirds modern understandings of liberalism and democratic values, see Ismail Kurun, *The Theological Origins of Liberalism* (Lanham: Lexington, 2016), 7-30.

34 Pierre Manent provides a thorough explanation of how one can approach human rights through the lens of natural law. He argues that, without a sense of natural law, “there could not be a human law in the proper sense” because humans would have nothing to evaluate the practicality of the law or its morality. See Pierre Manent and Ralph C. Hancock, *Natural Law and Human Rights: Toward a Recovery of Practical Reason*, Catholic Ideas for a Secular World (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2020), 112.

35 Francis Fukuyama, *Identity: The Demand for Dignity and the Politics of Resentment* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2018), 10.

36 For more on the relationship of personal autonomy and the Christian understanding of human dignity, see Jeffrie G. Murphy, “The Elusive Nature of Human Dignity,” *The Hedgehog Review: Critical Reflections on Contemporary Culture* 9, no. 3 (Fall 2007).

Privacy and Personal Property

As we see throughout Genesis, God created humans in his image and calls them to live in accordance with his law (Gen. 1:26-28; 2:15-17). Prior to sin, Adam and Eve did not need to have the same sense of personal privacy as today, because they were fully known and fully loved by God. There was nothing hidden from one another either, as Adam and Eve were naked and unashamed (2:25). There was nothing to hide or keep private, because God and other image bearers never sought to take advantage of another one for personal or even sinful gain. While naturally there was some privacy in the sense of individualism, there was a fullness and togetherness where nothing needed to be hid from one another or from God himself out of fear or because of the need for security. After the Fall of humanity in Genesis 3, people quickly began to treat one another as mere objects rather than image bearers, to be used or taken advantage of for selfish gain. Sin distorted God's good design for humanity and society at large. Humanity no longer lived in open communion with God and sought to hide themselves from him and one another (3:10). Adam and Eve sought the security of privacy in their sinful and rebellious state. Sin not only broke the open communion with God himself, but also distorted how humans saw themselves in relation to one another. No longer did humanity seek the good of God and good of neighbor, but sought to take God's good gifts and use them to dehumanize their neighbors.

In Genesis 4:8-16, we read how Cain grew jealous of his brother. Instead of seeking the good of his brother, Cain sought to dehumanize his brother and sought to take advantage of Abel for his own gain through the use of "ingenuity and technical skill."³⁷ Cain killed his brother out of a sense of jealousy likely using a tool and essentially denied Abel the God-given dignity he deserved. In verse 9, the Lord questioned Cain about Abel, to which Cain responded "Am I my brother's keeper?" This question hits directly at the core of the ethical implications of the doctrine of humanity by exposing the responsibility that each human has for our brothers and sisters who are also made in God's image. This responsibility flows from the *imago Dei* because it reveals the value and worth of our fellow image bearers and the call to love them as we love ourselves (Matt. 22:37-39). This theme of human dignity and uniqueness is also at the core of the biblical Decalogue, which serves as the summation and the foundation of the entire Law and Prophets.

In Christian ethics, the Decalogue often helps define the parameters of what is meant to live as God's image bearers under his reign and rule as we seek to love God and love our neighbor as our self.³⁸ The eighth commandment, found in Exodus 20:15, gives us some insight into how we are to think about personal property and human dignity, especially in our digital age. The eighth commandment states, "You shall not steal." This act of stealing has two main dimensions: first, a denial of the sovereign care and provision of God, and second, the taking of things given by God to another that do not belong to us. Through the act of stealing, we simultaneously deny God and dehumanize our neighbor by taking that which was given to them and what was to remain solely in their possession.

This concept of personal property is seen throughout many places in today's world as it serves as the foundation for many modern ethical and social codes. Stealing is not just limited to modern theft or criminal practices, but also to the taking of personal property from another for personal gain. In the digital age, personal property violation extends to much of the data collected without consent or permission. Everything about our world today has been digitized, tracked, and

37 Craig M. Gay, *Modern Technology and the Human Future: A Christian Appraisal* (Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 2018), 150.

38 For more on the role of the Decalogue in Christian ethics, see Carl F. H. Henry, *Christian Personal Ethics*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1979), 197-99. Also, see Richard B. Miller's article on "Theology and Rules" in Gilbert Meilaender and William Werpehowski, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Theological Ethics*, Oxford Handbooks (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005). and David W. Jones, *An Introduction to Biblical Ethics*, ed. Daniel R. Heimbach, B&H Studies in Christian Ethics (Nashville: B&H Academic, 2013).

cataloged. Digital privacy, much like personal privacy, is a must in order to protect the vulnerable and stand for the oppressed, which serves as one of the roles for government as instituted by God himself. Tracking the faces of individuals, even for security or mass identification purposes, brings about a fear in the minds of many, especially in the West, because of how these tools can pierce through the veil of personal privacy and steal the dignity from the individual created in God's image.

Private life of image bearers. While God knows all things and sees all things, humans are not like God in this sense. There is an obvious and pronounced divide between what is done in public and the private inner life of the individual. Personal privacy is requisite in a broken world, marred by sin, and full of mistrust in order to follow God's command authentically to love our neighbor as ourselves (Matt. 22:39). Sinners often seek to take advantage of one another, as we saw with the example of the first brothers, Cain and Abel. Jesus himself highlights the private life of image bearers in the Sermon on the Mount in Matthew 6. Here he speaks of the reward of seeking God and practicing righteousness in private (v. 1), giving in private (v. 2), and praying in secret in order not to be seen by others (vv. 5-6). But Jesus gives a helpful reminder of the all-seeing and all-knowing eyes of God, who knows what we do in private who will reward those who are faithful (vv. 4, 6). Christ illustrates in this famous sermon about the Christian life that the public life of his followers must coincide with their private life as well so that they seek God with their entirety (Matt. 22:37).

In 2 Samuel 11, we see one of the most vivid and pronounced accounts of the violation of privacy and the corruption of power by King David himself. In verse 2, we read that David was walking on his own roof and saw a beautiful woman bathing on her own roof.³⁹ Ultimately, he impregnated her and had her husband murdered on the battlefield in order to cover up his sin and crime. The Scripture shows that Bathsheba was bathing in the privacy of her own home, as the leader of the government used his power to take away her dignity and privacy.⁴⁰ Not only was she a woman taken advantage of by a powerful man, but an image bearer violated through King David's personal surveillance of her during this intimate moment. David was later rebuked by Nathan and wrote some of the most powerful words of repentance, found in Psalm 51. These powerful words of a broken man are a reminder of the saving nature of God and how the public/private divide is not an eternal reality, but a necessary divide in between the times until Christ's return.

Role of the Face in Christian Theology

Municipalities and state governments have long debated the merits of facial recognition technology, alongside the potential downfalls, with most deciding to put a ban on the technology for police and government use for the time being. In the West, there seems to be an innate hesitation to the deployment of this technology, juxtaposed with most modern technological innovations that are often rushed through development and deployed before the full effects are known and accounted for. So why is facial recognition so different and why does the West in particular seem so hesitant to adopt the widespread use of these tools?

One of the defining features of facial recognition technology is the use of facial data, which is highly personal and intimate. In the West especially, society places a significant value on the face for

³⁹ It should be noted that Bathsheba was bathing on her roof in order to cleanse herself from her menstrual cycle, as Leviticus 15:19 commanded of her. This invasion of her privacy was not simply that of a casual observer or random sexual encounter, but one where a government leader used his power to seduce a woman in the middle of her cleansing, which is a deeply personal and private moment.

⁴⁰ There has been considerable debate as to whether Bathsheba was bathing in private because of her location on the roof, which was common in that time. As Robert D. Bergen describes, "Since no Israelite house had running water at that time, bathing often may have been performed privately, in the enclosed courtyard that was a part of many Israelite houses; alternatively, it may have been done openly near the city's public water source. There is no indication in the text that the woman deliberately positioned herself so as to entice David." *1, 2 Samuel*, Vol. 7, The New American Commentary (Nashville: Broadman & Holman, 1996), 364.

the individual and this importance is often attributed to the Judeo-Christian influence on our Western mindset. Roger Scruton in his book, *The Face of God*, points out that for humans “the face is an instrument of meaning, and mediates between self and other in ways that are special to itself.”⁴¹ The face is the main identifier for humanity with one another, and the place that our emotions and thoughts are often on full display for those around us to see.⁴² From the earliest writings of creation itself in the book of Genesis, humans are seen to be set apart from the rest of creation, mainly in terms of the *imago Dei* discussed above.

God created humans in his image and for a relationship with him. This relationship was a face-to-face relationship, perfect communion between God the creator and the only creature made in his image. Adam had nothing to hide from himself or others and this included his face from God. But, as sin entered the world, Adam and Eve hid themselves from the face of God because of their shame and rebellion (Gen. 3:8). This face-to-face communion was shattered, and humanity could not long be in his presence or even see God’s face (Gen. 3:23-24, Exod. 33:23). No longer could they come face-to-face with God because the face revealed the deepest sense of their personal identity including their shame before a Holy God. Scruton highlights this sense of shame by mentioning Masaccio’s well-known fresco of the “Expulsion from Paradise,” which depicts Adam and Eve being banished from God’s presence in the garden.⁴³ Masaccio shows Eve covering her nakedness, representing the bodily shame, and Adam covering his face, representing the shame of the soul for their rebellion against God and his rule not to eat of the forbidden tree. Thus, the face held a significant place within the earliest accounts of Creation and the Fall, setting the foundation for the rest of Scripture.

By Genesis 4, God asked Cain why his face has fallen because it is obvious through his facial expressions that something is bothering him. This question is not because God does not know what is troubling Cain, but a reminder to Cain that God sees and knows all things, including the deepest recesses of the soul, its emotions and desires. The Bible reveals that Cain was angry over his offering being rejected in light of Abel’s. His face fell because his heart was troubled and distraught. The face is a window into our inner life which reveals the most personal and private aspects of our life. The face is not just another indiscriminate aspect of the body, but the most visible signpost of someone’s identity, worth, and dignity as one of God’s image bearers. Thus, given how our faces are recognizable and revealing of each person’s individual personhood, we naturally feel uneasy about facial recognition systems and surveillance. This one-sided recognition reveals the power dynamic weighted toward one side, where we feel exposed and fully known, but without the reassuring love that we need to feel truly comfortable and cared about as individuals. Robert P. George captures this power differential by saying,

If your interiority is available to me, but mine is not available to you, I might be able to dominate or manipulate you, but our true co-operation (i.e. co-operation in the normative sense that truly realizes the good of interpersonal harmony) would be impossible. Co-operation is possible only if we are each in control of what we communicate to each other and can therefore communicate it freely.⁴⁴

George goes on to show that this “interiority of individuals and communities is their privacy,

41 Roger Scruton, *The Face of God* (London: Bloomberry, 2020), 75.

42 Scruton points out on pages 74-75 how Charles Darwin believed that animals exhibit similar emotive faces, going as far as to find similar facial expressions between animals and humans in order to add additional grounding to his theory of evolution. But, as Scruton rightfully states, while animals can read facial signs among themselves, they are unable to express complex emotions or ideas by these expressions that humans often do, which speaks to a form of human exceptionalism and uniqueness in creation.

43 Scruton, *The Face of God*. 75.

44 Robert P. George, *Making Men Moral: Civil Liberties and Public Morality*, reprinted (Oxford: Clarendon, 2001), 212.

and functions as a moral right of the individual and that governments have a moral right to respect this privacy and even protect it.⁴⁵ Through facial recognition, we feel as though our entire self is revealed and able to be controlled because of the prominence of the face itself. We feel powerless in light of this powerful tool, especially if this tool is in the hands of a government that we may or may not trust as we saw Smith and Browne explain in their book *Tools and Weapons*.⁴⁶ As our face goes, so our whole self goes, privacy and all. We feel as though we are fully known by another but not truly loved, both of which are required for trust that sustains a relationship.

NAVIGATING THE FUTURE TOGETHER

Facial recognition technology feels like a Hollywood sci-fi thriller tool of the future. Today, some may dismiss ethical discussions of this tool as far-fetched and unnecessary. But the widespread adoption of this surveillance technology is no longer in question of if, but when and how soon. Will the church of the Lord Jesus Christ be prepared to give a reason for the hope within her and address one of today's great ethical issues with real threat of an erosion to our personal privacy, that, if in the wrong hands, could lead to massive dehumanization of our fellow image bearers?

In this article, I have shown how already difficult and real the ethical implications of this technology are in our world within the context of such divergent views of personal privacy. Using the Christian moral tradition's grounding of human dignity, we have seen the importance of the *imago Dei* and how that image is presented on full display in the faces of our neighbors. But what role should the government play in these technology policy discussions and how should a society deal with these tough issues if human dignity is the guiding ethic?

First, the role of government in the Christian worldview is to pursue justice for the oppressed, vulnerable, and least among us. As VanDrunen explains, "government authority is a legitimate exercise of human rule...an exercise that respects the dignity and calling of all human beings as divine image-bearers."⁴⁷ This exercise of government will naturally lead Christians to have often divergent views on how governments are to fulfill these God-given responsibilities and mandates, but it is not up for debate whether all people are worthy of our care and respect as people made in God's image. As James K.A. Smith puts it, "A society in which judgement is carried out justly, on behalf of the vulnerable, is a society that reflects the political norms of Yahweh."⁴⁸ Thus, governments must choose to pursue policy measures and legislation that maximize the good and mitigate the evil that may arise in the use of facial recognition technology.

Second, government and civic leaders must be thoughtful about what role facial recognition should play in the hands of government as they base their decisions on the consent of the governed. This means not rushing through legislation on these important matters because of the grand importance and role of the face itself in the lives of human beings. The face is the window to each soul and one of the most unique things about humanity as people made in the likeness of God. This means that rich and diverse debate must occur in all of society before these tools are implemented at mass scale. These debates may allow for testing of technology in a controlled environment in order to mitigate the risk of bias and discrimination in an ecosystem where the weight of failure is low. Certain local, state, and federal regulations are likely to be needed in order to maintain a hold on these tools properly because of how easily they can fall into the wrong hands or be trusted far beyond their proven usefulness. Societies also must decide to what extent we want to maintain any semblance of personal privacy and a private life.

45 Ibid., 212-213.

46 Smith and Browne, *Tools and Weapons*, 213-214, 227.

47 David VanDrunen, *Politics after Christendom: Political Theology in a Fractured World* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Academic, 2020), 329.

48 James K. A. Smith, *Awaiting the King: Reforming Public Theology*, Cultural Liturgies, Volume 3 (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2017), 71.

Third, policy proposals for regulating facial recognition technology must be designed in order to maintain trust and accountability for any governmental use of this technology. Openness and transparency about how these tools are built, designed to function, and how they will be reviewable should be central to these proposals, because these safeguards will help protect the dignity of citizens as fellow image bearers.⁴⁹ Any regulatory proposal also must include provisions for the protection of personal privacy against unwarranted government intrusion or abuse. These policy provisions must also extend past mere consent to be tracked or have one's data collected. The Christian human dignity approach to personal privacy, as shown, holds that while consent is requisite, there are additional responsibilities and ethical burdens placed on individuals to love other fellow image bearers and seek human flourishing for all. By extension, these mandates extend to governments to respect the rights of the individual, as a divine image bearer, and uphold justice for all.⁵⁰ With the tendency of privacy policy consent waivers layered in legal jargon and nearly unreadable to the average consumer, many may not even know the extent of their consent when signing up for digital services or agreeing to the use of tools like facial recognition. While the political grounding for privacy will vary in a pluralistic society, personal privacy must be paramount in proposed legislation while balancing the needs of the public with any given technology.⁵¹

CONCLUSION

Privacy is not a discovered right, nor is it made up of other rights granted to us by governments or its leaders. In the Christian tradition and understanding of government, these entities do not grant rights but recognize certain pre-political realities as instituted by God himself in creation. Personal privacy is a God-given reality for his creatures who live in a broken and sin-tainted world often at odds with itself. While God himself knows all things and acts in love consistent with his character at all times, his image bearers do not and often choose their own selfishness and pride over and above our neighbor in direct contradiction to the greatest commandment given to us by the Son of God himself in Matthew 22:37-39. Humanity seeks power and knowledge, but often without the unceasing love and sacrifice that God shows to the world (John 3:16). God himself gave up his own privacy in order for his people to know and cherish him properly. As the prolific public theologian Carl F.H. Henry stated, God “alone turns his personal privacy into a deliberate disclosure of his reality.”⁵² God chose to disclose to humanity who he is and what he did for a people who would be his own. Personal privacy will also be a thing of the past once God finally comes to redeem this world as he promises in Acts 1:7-11.

If Clearview AI has taught society anything, it is that facial recognition technology is here to stay. With all of the potential benefits of tracking, security, and convenience, our society cannot simply reject this innovation at face value. Society must have an ethical framework robust enough to recognize and wield these tools to benefit the flourishing of all our neighbors and the communities they form. The Christian moral tradition, grounded in the dignity, value, and worth of all people made in the *imago Dei*, has the foundation and framework to help society navigate these thorny ethical questions of facial recognition technology for governmental use with clarity, conviction, and compassion for humanity.

49 For further background of the need for transparency in any AI or facial recognition legislation, see Alex Engler, “The Case for AI Transparency Requirements,” *Brookings* (blog), January 22, 2020, <https://www.brookings.edu/research/the-case-for-ai-transparency-requirements/>.

50 The Christian ethical standard based on human dignity referenced here is also the basis for “Artificial Intelligence: An Evangelical Statement of Principles,” April 11, 2019, <https://erlc.com/resource-library/statements/artificial-intelligence-an-evangelical-statement-of-principles>. This ethical statement and framework was led by this article's author and expands on the ethical mandate to care for the oppressed, vulnerable, and weak regardless of current consent policies. See also George, *Making Men Moral*, 212-213.

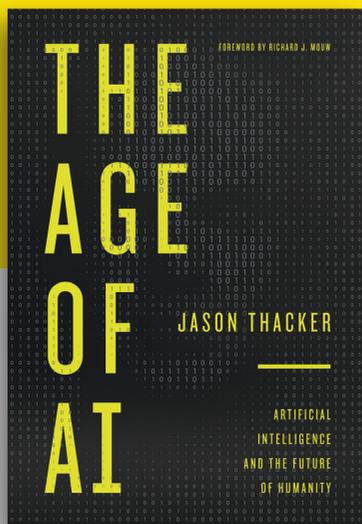
51 For more on the tensions between privacy and the public good, see Stoddart, *Theological Perspectives on a Surveillance Society*, 132-140.

52 Carl F. H. Henry, *God, Revelation, and Authority*, vol. 2, 6 vols. (Wheaton, IL.: Crossway, 1999), 17.

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Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde: An Allegory of Indwelling Sin

JONATHAN MENN

One of the most enduring of Victorian literary works is Robert Louis Stevenson's 1886 novella, *The Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*. The reason undoubtedly lies in the fact that the story is not the "straightforward horror story" (or "fine bogey tale") of the first draft; rather, following the critique and suggestion of Stevenson's wife, Fanny, the work was redrafted as an allegory "which possessed so obviously a single dominant motive and one which was recognizably of universal application."¹ The book "has exercised a profound impact on our literature, most notably on such tales as Oscar Wilde's *The Picture of Dorian Gray* (1891) and Wells's *The Invisible Man* (1897)."² Beginning in the year of its publication, *Jekyll and Hyde* has spawned an ongoing host of theater productions, radio, television, and film adaptations, parodies and stories.³ Indeed, the multiple film adaptations have so popularized the story that many thousands are familiar with the basic plot who have never read the book and who probably could not name the author.⁴

This paper will briefly survey the different analyses that have been made of *Jekyll and Hyde*. We will then discuss how the story is best viewed—as an allegory of the nature and power of indwelling sin.

Analyses of *Jekyll and Hyde*

The analytical starting point probably should come from the narrative itself. In "Henry Jekyll's Full Statement of the Case," Jekyll himself states the essence of the issue:

It chanced that the direction of my scientific studies, which led wholly towards the mystic and the transcendental, reacted and shed a strong light on this consciousness of the perennial war among my members. With every day, and from both sides of my intelligence, the moral and the intellectual, I thus drew steadily nearer to that truth, by whose partial discovery I have been doomed to such a dreadful shipwreck: that man is not truly one, but truly two. . . . It was on the moral side, and in my own person, that I learned to recognize the thorough and primitive duality of man; I saw that, of the two natures that contended in the field of my consciousness, even if I could rightly be said to be either, it was only because I was radically both.⁵

1 J. R. Hammond, *A Robert Louis Stevenson Companion* (New York, NY: Macmillan, 1984), 115. Accord, Brian Doyle, "A Bogey Tale," *American Scholar* 75, no. 3 (Summer 2006): 144; see also, Eugene Limerdorfer, "The Manuscript of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde," in *The Definitive Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde Companion*, ed. Harry M. Geduld (New York, NY: Garland, 1983), 99. It goes without saying that the work's endurance was augmented, if not guaranteed, in that the story itself is one of "sombre dramatic power" and, at the craft level, the structure "is of exceptional interest," which evinces "care and artistry in the use of language . . . throughout the narrative." Hammond, *Companion*, 116, 119. As one early reviewer commented, "while one is thrilled and possessed by the horror of the central fancy, one may fail, at first reading, to recognise the delicate and restrained skill of the treatment of accessories, details, and character." *Ibid.*, 15.

2 Hammond, *Companion*, 125.

3 See, "The Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde," "Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde in Film," "Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde in the Theatre," and "Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde on Radio and Television," appendices in *The Definitive Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde Companion*, ed. Harry M. Geduld (New York, NY: Garland, 1983), 185-218; Larry Kreitzer, "R. L. Stevenson's *Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* and Romans 7: 14-25: Images of the Moral Duality of Human Nature," *Journal of Literature & Theology* 6, no. 2 (June 1992): 133-34.

4 Hammond, *Companion*, 116. Irving Saposnik adds that the popular adaptations have reduced the story to "a colloquial metaphor for the good-evil antithesis," and obscured the book's "formal complexity and its moral depth," thus leading those who rely on the adaptations to "see Jekyll or Hyde where one should see Jekyll-Hyde." Sylvia Bowman, ed., *Twayne's English Authors Series, Robert Louis Stevenson*, by Irving Saposnik (Boston: Twayne, 1974), 88.

5 Robert Louis Stevenson, *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde & The Suicide Club* (New York, NY: Arco, 1964), 78. Subsequent references to the book will be in parentheses in the text, rather than as footnotes.

Since the days in which Western society had at least a culturally Christian worldview, other analyses of *Jekyll and Hyde* have predominated. Veeder and Hirsch note that analytical essays concerning the book “employ such divergent methodologies as deconstruction, feminism, psychoanalysis, intellectual and cultural history, and genre study, as well as close textual analysis.”⁶ This has led to analyses dominated by concerns over patriarchy, misogyny, oedipal drives, and homoeroticism.⁷ Socio-political explanations also have been made. Accordingly, “while Jekyll represents a man ‘in the pink of the proprieties,’ Hyde is the brutal embodiment of the moral, social, political, and economic threats which shook the uncertain Victorian world.”⁸

The above analyses may be helpful at certain levels. However, they all appear to read into *Jekyll and Hyde* material that was not intended by the author. For example, Irving Saposnik notes that Hyde “is not the physical manifestation of Jekyll’s id too long repressed by a leering ego. This sexual reading has contributed perhaps more than any other to the vulgarization of Stevenson’s intentions.”⁹ Stevenson himself, in responding to a sexually-based theatrical adaptation of the book as early as 1887, wrote that Hyde:

was not . . . Great Gods! a mere voluptuary. There is no harm in a voluptuary; and none with my hand on my heart in the sight of God, none—no harm whatever in what prurient fools call “immorality.” The harm was in Jekyll, because he was a hypocrite—not because he was fond of women; he says so himself, but people are so full of folly and inverted lust, that they can think of nothing but sexuality.¹⁰

Further, the psychological approaches may indeed tell us something of Stevenson himself and the working of the mind, but miss much of the deeper elements of the narrative, and certainly neglect the *moral* import of the story and of the Jekyll-Hyde duality.¹¹ Indeed, as Larry Kreitzer points out, the story is profoundly memorable for the way in which it “portrays the moral conflict which lies deeply rooted in human beings.”¹² Those deeper, moral aspects of *Jekyll and Hyde* can only be reached by a theological analysis of the story.¹³

6 William Veeder and Gordon Hirsch, “Introduction,” in *Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde After One Hundred Years*, eds. William Veeder and Gordon Hirsch (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), xiv.

7 William Veeder, “Children of the Night: Stevenson and Patriarchy,” in *Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde After One Hundred Years*, eds. Veeder and Hirsch, 107-60; Jerrold Hogle, “The Struggle for a Dichotomy: Abjection in Jekyll and His Interpreters,” in *Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde After One Hundred Years*, eds. Veeder and Hirsch, 161-207. A number of psychological interpreters have seen the book as a form of autoanalysis of Stevenson’s own life and psychological makeup. Mark Kanzer, “The Self-Analytic Literature of Robert Louis Stevenson,” in *The Definitive Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde Companion*, ed. Geduld, 118-26; Edwin Stefan, “A Psychological Walk with Robert Louis Stevenson,” *The Journal of Religion and Psychical Research* 16, no. 4 (October 1993): 212-17; Program Notes, “Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Stevenson,” *Legal Studies Forum* 29, no.2 (2005): 759-63; Patrick Brantlinger and Richard Boyle, “The Education of Edward Hyde: Stevenson’s ‘Gothic Gnome’ and the Mass Readership of Late-Victorian England,” in *Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde After One Hundred Years*, eds. Veeder and Hirsch, 280-81; Kreitzer, “Romans 7: 14-25,” 129-30.

8 Saposnik, *Stevenson*, 100. Accord, Hogle, “The Struggle,” 167 (“some able Marxist critics have recently shown how much that very kind of fiction is concerned with the quest for a coherent self-image amid the class conflicts of a widespread shift in economic patterns during the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries”).

9 Saposnik, *Stevenson*, 98.

10 Letter to John Paul Bocock, editor of the *New York Sun*, November 1887, quoted in Kreitzer, “Romans 7:14-25,” 141, and Saposnik, *Stevenson*, 98.

11 In that regard we should recall that Jekyll himself said, “It was on the moral side, and in my own person, that I learned to recognize the thorough and primitive duality of man” (78).

12 Kreitzer, “Romans 7: 14-25,” 126.

13 Jekyll’s reference to “the perennial war among my members” (78) is a direct reference to Rom 7:23. Kreitzer, “Romans 7: 14-25,” 131. Further, even within the realm of psychological analysis and therapy “theological assumptions are often, if not always, the bedrock of practical values, theories, and methods.” Brent Slife and P. Scott Richards, “How Separable Are Spirituality and Theology in Psychotherapy?” *Counseling and Values* 45 (April 2001): 204. The reason is that “theological beliefs . . . provide the basis from which other values and biases are derived, including the ‘values’ of rationality itself.” *Ibid.*, 195. See, James Sire, *The Universe Next Door*, 4th ed. (Downers Grove, Ill.: InterVarsity, 2004); Ronald Nash, *Faith and Reason* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1988), chs. 1-12, 20; J. P. Moreland, *Scaling the Secular City* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 1987), ch. 3; Victor Reppert, *C. S. Lewis’s Dangerous Idea* (Downers Grove, Il: InterVarsity, 2003); C. S. Lewis,

Jekyll and Hyde as an Allegory of Indwelling Sin

The book early-on became the subject of sermons, as “preachers found that the Jekyll/Hyde figure lent itself as an illustration of the human character and were not slow to employ it, especially when preaching from the epistles of Paul.”¹⁴ Such sermons, in part, used the story to illustrate what Francis Schaeffer has called “the dilemma of man”—his ability “both to rise to great heights and to sink to great depths of cruelty and tragedy.”¹⁵

Two relatively recent theological analyses of *Jekyll and Hyde* have been made, by Kreitzer and by Kevin Mills.¹⁶ Both Kreitzer and Mills discuss the several Pauline references and Biblical allusions in the story.¹⁷ Kreitzer concentrates on Stevenson’s story vis-à-vis Romans 7, particularly to counter an interpretation of Romans 7:7-25 which identifies Paul’s moral struggle in that passage as primarily a sexual one which had occurred prior to his conversion to Christianity.¹⁸ Mills, on the other hand, analyses how Stevenson “explores subjectivity in a way that both echoes Paul’s text and brings to light the puzzling fecundity of the self.”¹⁹ Both articles are valuable contributions; but neither deals specifically with what I see as the central allegory of the book—the innate, sinful depravity of humankind, with Hyde representing the nature and power of indwelling sin.

Humanity’s Innate, Sinful Depravity

The Bible states that humankind originally was created good and in the image of God (Gen 1:26-31). However, mankind sinned, and was subject to God’s curse (Genesis 3). Since that time, although retaining the image of God (Gen 5:1-3; 9:6; Psalm 8; Jas 3:9-10), every human being also has inherited both the guilt of sin, and a corrupt nature that is enslaved to sin (Gen 5:1-3; Ps 51:5; John 8:31-34; Rom 3:9-18; 6:6, 20-21; 7:14-25; Eph 2:1-3; Titus 3:3; 2 Pet 2:18-19). That is the Christian doctrine of “original sin,” which Jonathan Edwards defines as “the innate sinful depravity of the heart.”²⁰ Humanity, thus indeed, inherently has a “dual nature”;²¹ that dual nature is seen in the person of Dr. Jekyll.

Jekyll knew that the good and evil within him were inextricably linked:

I was no more myself when I laid aside restraint and plunged in shame, than when I laboured, in the eye of day, at the furtherance of knowledge or the relief of sorrow or suffering. . . . I saw that, of the two natures that contended in the field of my consciousness, even if I could rightly be said to be either, it was only because I was radically both.²²

Miracles (New York, NY: Macmillan, 1960; Collier, 1978), ch. 3; and Richard Taylor, *Metaphysics*, 2d ed., Foundations of Philosophy Series, eds. Elizabeth and Monroe Beardsley (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1974), ch. 10.

14 Kreitzer, “Romans 7: 14-25,” 126. For an example of the genre, see Jesse Bowman Young, “Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde’ in Every Man,” *Methodist Review* 96 (July 1914): 545-54.

15 *The Complete Works of Francis A. Schaeffer: A Christian Worldview*, vol. 1, *A Christian View of Philosophy and Culture, The God Who Is There* (Westchester, IL: Crossway, 1982), 109.

16 Kreitzer, “Romans 7: 14-25,” 125-144; Kevin Mills, “The Stain in the Mirror: Pauline Reflections in *The Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*,” *Christianity and Literature* 53, no. 3 (Spring 2004): 337-48.

17 “There is sufficient evidence to suggest that, given Stevenson’s Calvinistic upbringing, the Pauline view of man’s struggle depicted in Romans 7 formed part of his ‘mental furniture’, helping to construct part of his world view.” Kreitzer, “Romans 7: 14-25,” 133. Mills calls *Jekyll and Hyde* “that most Pauline of tales.” Mills, “Reflections,” 338.

18 Kreitzer, “Romans 7: 14-25,” 137-43.

19 Mills, “Reflections,” 338. Mills’ point is that Stevenson indicates an “irreducible complexity of subjectivity, weaving for us a multi-voiced narrative at the heart of which is the profound mystery of human personality,” which is akin to the “dynamic, conflictual selfhood” and “shifting, centerless, protean self” of Paul. *Ibid.*, 340, 342, 347.

20 Jonathan Edwards, *The Works of Jonathan Edwards*, with a memoir by Sereno E. Dwight, revised and corrected by Edward Hickman, vol. 1, *The Great Christian Doctrine of Original Sin Defended* (Edinburgh: Banner of Truth Trust, 1974; reprint 1984), 143; See also, Bernard Ramm, *Offense to Reason: A Theology of Sin* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1985).

21 Stevenson, *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*, 77. Stevenson did not use the terms “sin” or “indwelling sin” in describing Jekyll’s dual nature, but spoke of “good and ill” (77), “just” vs. “unjust” (79), the “spirit” vs. “lower elements in my soul (79), and “good and evil,” the “evil side of my nature” (81-82).

22 Stevenson, *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*, 78. See also Jekyll’s statements at 77, 79, 81, 82, and 87. Jekyll’s use of

The inherent joinder of good and evil in the person of Jekyll is indicated by the common handwriting of Jekyll and Hyde.²³ It is also seen in the ambiguous and shifting referent of the “I” in Jekyll’s narrative. As Mills points out:

throughout the whole of Henry Jekyll’s narrative, the “I” shifts silently between participant roles: sometimes it appears to be the mysterious third person who views both Jekyll and Hyde objectively (even expressing a preference for Jekyll over Hyde at one point); at other times the compound figure in whom both Jekyll and Hyde reside seems to be narrating; on yet other occasions a residual, de-Hyded Jekyll takes up the story. On one occasion Hyde himself seems to speak in the first person, yet in the passage just quoted the image of Hyde is objectified as an “it” that is also “myself.”²⁴

Consequently, Theodore Dalrymple observes:

Both [James] Hogg [author of a similar story, *The Private Memoirs and Confessions of a Justified Sinner*, whose protagonist was Robert Wringhim] and Stevenson make it clear that, far from being extraneous to the characters of Robert Wringhim and Henry Jekyll, evil is intrinsic to them, and by extension, to the whole of humanity. They believe in original sin, not original virtue.²⁵

Because indwelling sin stems from the “original sin” of humanity’s “fall” (Genesis 3), all humans bear the imprint of corruption of original sin. That corruption is implied in Stevenson’s description of Hyde’s appearance. Jekyll commented that “evil was written broadly and plainly on the face of [Hyde],” and evil “had left on that body an imprint of deformity and decay.”²⁶ The program notes for the Cleveland Play House production of *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* note that in Stevenson’s book:

it is striking to note that Mr. Hyde was not physically monstrous. He looked human, but those who saw him found something indefinably repellant in his appearance; something in his countenance and manner that set him apart at the first glance. As Mr. Enfield observed, “There is something wrong with his appearance, something displeasing, something downright detestable. I never saw a man I so disliked, and yet I scarce know why.”²⁷

The humanity (despite the repulsion), rather than the frank monstrosity, of Hyde denotes sin as interior, manifesting itself in the distortion or corruption of the person, his thoughts, acts, and relationships, rather than as exterior and wholly alien or “other.” At the same time, Jekyll said that

“radically” in the above quote is significant, as both the good element in man (stemming from the image of God in which he was created), and his evil, “go to [the] root or source,” are “fundamental” or “basic” to man’s nature. “Radical,” in *The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language*, ed. William Morris (New York, NY: American Heritage, 1969). Solzhenitsyn recognized the same thing:

If only it were all so simple! If only there were evil people somewhere insidiously committing evil deeds, and it were necessary only to separate them from the rest of us and destroy them. But the line dividing good and evil cuts through the heart of every human being. And who is willing to destroy a piece of his own heart?

Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, *The Gulag Archipelago 1918-1956*, trans. by Thomas Whitney and Harry Willetts, abridged by Edward Ericson, Jr. (New York, NY: Harper & Row, 1985), 75.

23 Peter Garrett, “Cries and Voices: Reading *Jekyll and Hyde*,” in *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde After One Hundred Years*, eds. Veeder and Hirsch, 66; Ronald Thomas, “The Strange Voices in the Strange Case: Dr. Jekyll, Mr. Hyde, and the Voices of Modern Fiction,” in *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde After One Hundred Years*, eds. Veeder and Hirsch, 78-79.

24 Mills, “Reflections,” 346.

25 Theodore Dalrymple, “Mr. Hyde & the Epidemiology of Evil,” *The New Criterion* 23, no. 1 (Sept. 2004): 26. Jekyll himself appears to have understood this. When he first effected the change into Hyde, he recalled, “I knew myself, at the first breath of this new life, to be more wicked, tenfold more wicked, sold a slave to my original evil.” Stevenson, *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*, 80, *emph. added*.

26 Stevenson, *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*, 81.

27 Program Notes, “Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Stevenson,” 762.

when he “looked upon that ugly idol in the glass, I was conscious of no repugnance, rather of a leap of welcome.”²⁸ Further, “several of the other characters try to dissociate themselves from Hyde, but the ‘instinctive’ repulsion they feel toward him also binds them to him, as Lanyon is held by ‘a disgusting curiosity.’”²⁹ That is much like the one Paul paints in Romans 1:18-25 and 7:14-25 of people who know the difference between right and wrong, and may even desire the right, but nevertheless choose the wrong.

Because people originally were created good and in the image of God (Gen 1:26-31), there is a “derivative” nature to evil, even though both are inherent within each person. C. S. Lewis describes this, as follows:

The two Powers, the good and the evil, do not explain each other. Neither Ormuzd nor Ahriman [the “good” and “evil” of Zoroastrian Dualism] can claim to be the Ultimate. More ultimate than either of them is the inexplicable fact of their being there together. Neither of them chose this *tête-à-tête*. . . . In reality, cruelty does not come from desiring evil as such, but from perverted sexuality, inordinate resentment, or lawless ambition and avarice. That is precisely why it can be judged and condemned from the standpoint of innocent sexuality, righteous anger, and ordinate acquisitiveness. . . . Good and evil, then, are not on all fours. Badness is not even bad *in the same way* in which goodness is good. Ormuzd and Ahriman cannot be equals. In the long run, Ormuzd must be original and Ahriman derivative.³⁰

Jekyll and Hyde implies this “derivative” (if now intrinsic) nature of evil by demonstrating both Hyde’s dependence on Jekyll, and Jekyll’s fear of Hyde’s independence. As Ronald Thomas states:

Hyde is from the outset the product of Jekyll’s pen. Not only does Hyde begin his existence as the chemical formula Jekyll writes out in his notebook; he is sustained by the banknotes and account books Jekyll writes for him. . . . Jekyll’s deepest fear about Hyde is that he will usurp his authority as the master and definer of his own identity—take from him the power he has wielded through his voice and pen.³¹

As exemplified by Jekyll, humanity has been corrupted by original sin. Each person is an inseparable mixture of good and evil impulses—and in each person dwells the power of radical evil known as indwelling sin, which strives to dominate and direct the mind, emotions, and will to the person’s “utter and eternal ruin” and estrangement from God.³²

The Nature and Power of Indwelling Sin

In addition to humanity’s being subject to “original sin,” Romans 7 describes the “war” that exists within each person, which Paul makes clear is a war with the power or “law” of indwelling sin. Paul refers to indwelling sin in the third person, as of a foreign power or substance which has invaded the soul. Indwelling sin is not merely passive, a relative deprivation of goodness, or a “less evolved” or “primitive” aspect of human nature. Rather, indwelling sin has been described by John Owen as active and malign, “a powerful and effectual indwelling principle, inclining and pressing unto action agreeable and suitable unto its own nature.”³³ Owen points out that “the *seat* and subject of this law of sin [is] the heart,” which in Scripture, “is variously used; sometimes for the

28 Stevenson, *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*, 81.

29 Garrett, “Cries and Voices,” 67.

30 C. S. Lewis, “Evil and God,” in *God in the Dock*, ed. Walter Hooper (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1970), 22-23.

31 Thomas, “Strange Voices,” 78. See also Daniel Wright, “‘The Prisonhouse of My Disposition’: A Study of the Psychology of Addiction in *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*,” *Studies In The Novel* 26, no. 3 (Fall 1994): 255 (Hyde “exists only by the will of Jekyll; he has no independent being. Hyde is not *other* than Jekyll; he *is* Jekyll”).

32 See Edwards, *Original Sin*, 149.

33 *The Works of John Owen*, ed. William Goold, vol. 6, *The Nature, Power, Deceit, and Prevalency of the Reminders of Indwelling Sin in Believers* (Edinburgh: Johnstone & Hunter, 1850-53; reprint, Edinburgh, Banner of Truth Trust, 1967), 158. Even in the Old Testament, sin had been pictured as a wild animal, ready to pounce (Gen 4:7).

mind and understanding, sometimes for the *will*, sometimes for the *affections*, sometimes for the *conscience*, sometimes for the *whole soul*.”³⁴ Owen finally notes that the essence of indwelling sin is “enmity against God,” “It is not only an enemy,—for so possibly some reconciliation of it unto God might be made,—but it is *enmity* itself, and so not capable of accepting any terms of peace.”³⁵ Thus, the “law” of indwelling sin is a radical, active, power for evil within all human beings; it affects all aspects of one’s person and life. Unless checked by God’s special grace and the overcoming power of the Holy Spirit, indwelling sin effectually results in woman or man’s “utter and eternal ruin.”³⁶ That power of indwelling sin is seen in the person of Mr. Hyde.

Jekyll recognized in Hyde the manifestation of the “powerful and effectual indwelling principle” of indwelling sin:

I have observed that when I wore the semblance of Edward Hyde, none could come near to me at first without visible misgiving of the flesh. This, as I take it, was because all human beings, as we meet them, are commingled out of good and evil: and Edward Hyde, alone, in the ranks of mankind, was pure evil.³⁷

The power and consequences of indwelling sin are suggested in a perceptive article by Daniel Wright, who sees Jekyll as “not so much a man of conflicted personality as a man suffering from the ravages of addiction.”³⁸ Wright’s description of the processes and psychology of chemical addiction in large measure apply to humanity’s addiction to *sin*. Dalrymple summarizes the process of indwelling sin’s influence in Jekyll, as follows:

Jekyll does not start out as a paragon of virtue. He is, he informs us, 90 percent virtuous (and it is not given to many of us, after all, to be more virtuous than that). The evil is already within him, waiting to pounce, as it is within all of us. The chemicals do not *create* the evil—they release it from the chains in which virtue has hitherto imprisoned it. Jekyll is a very fortunate man, blessed with money, high intelligence, and great gifts, and he starts out with decent sentiments and principles. But once he gives in to the attractions of evil, he decisively changes the balance between good and evil within him.³⁹

At first, Jekyll describes something “incredibly sweet . . . a heady recklessness . . . an unknown but not an innocent freedom of the soul” that “braced and delighted me like wine” when “the bonds of obligation” and morality were thrown off.⁴⁰ The result, however, was not “freedom” but “slavery.”⁴¹ Jekyll’s description of his own odyssey exactly corresponds to the biblical diagnosis of humankind as being in bondage to the power of sin.⁴² However, the fact that Jekyll cooperates with the power of indwelling sin makes him a “culprit,” not a “victim.”⁴³ One is reminded of Romans 1:19-20 (NASB), “that which is known about God is evident within them, for God made it evident to them . . . being understood through what has been made, so that they are without excuse.”

34 Ibid., 169-70.

35 Ibid., 176.

36 Edwards, *Original Sin*, 149.

37 Stevenson, *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*, 86. Jekyll likewise observed that Hyde “was wholly evil” (82), and noted his “depravity” (84); Hyde “was a being inherently malign and villainous; his every act and thought centered on self” (84), who was both “indifferent to” and “hated of” Jekyll (87, 89); Hyde had a “complete moral insensibility and insensate readiness to evil” (88); Jekyll described him as “my devil” (88) and “the spirit of hell” (89); and ultimately saw him as a “creature,” a “child of Hell” (93), and “as of something not only hellish but inorganic” (95). All of those attributes well describe the nature and power of indwelling sin.

38 Wright, “Prisonhouse,” 254.

39 Dalrymple, “Epidemiology,” 27.

40 Stevenson, *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*, 80.

41 Ibid., 83.

42 John 8:34; Rom 6:6, 16-20; Gal 5:1; Titus 3:3; 2 Pet 2:19.

43 Saposnik, *Stevenson*, 101.

That changed balance between good and evil within Jekyll was reflected in the change in Hyde's stature. Jekyll explained:

The evil side of my nature, to which I had now transferred the stamping efficacy, was less robust and less developed than the good which I had just deposed. Again, in the course of my life, which had been, after all, nine-tenths a life of effort, virtue, and control, it had been much less exercised and much less exhausted. And hence, as I think, it came about that Edward Hyde was so much smaller, slighter, and younger than Henry Jekyll.⁴⁴

However, as he progressively gave in to the power of indwelling sin and assumed the persona of Hyde, Jekyll observed:

That part of me which I had the power of projecting had lately been much exercised and nourished; it had seemed to me of late as though the body of Edward Hyde had grown in stature, as though (when I wore that form) I were conscious of a more generous tide of blood; and I began to spy danger that, if this were much prolonged, the balance of my nature might be permanently overthrown, the power of voluntary change forfeited, and the character of Edward Hyde become irrevocably mine.⁴⁵

That is in fact what happened. Jekyll began to assume Hyde's countenance involuntarily.⁴⁶ In himself, Jekyll "was found wanting in the strength to keep to" the "better part" of life.⁴⁷ Further, his potion for effecting the change in countenance lost its potency,⁴⁸ and:

I was led to remark that whereas, in the beginning, the difficulty had been to throw off the body of Jekyll, it had of late gradually but decidedly transferred itself to the other side. All things therefore seemed to point to this: that I was slowly losing hold of my original and better self, and becoming slowly incorporated with my second and worse.⁴⁹

Jekyll indeed finally and irrevocably became Hyde. No longer able to "think his own thoughts or see his own face (now how sadly altered!) in the glass (96), he ended as Edward Hyde, a suicide—a "self-destroyer."⁵⁰ As Dalrymple explains:

Far from implying that evil is an alien force over which we have no control—that invades us as an alien—Stevenson is telling us that our capacity for evil will be indefinitely enlarged, until it overwhelms us utterly, if we make a habit of indulging in it. To claim to be a Jekyll and Hyde character is not a mitigating but an aggravating circumstance.⁵¹

Conclusion

In accord with Genesis 2:17; 3:19; Ezekiel 18:4, 20; Romans 5:12-18; 6:16, 21-23; and Ephesians 2:1, Jekyll came to realize that, ultimately, evil and the principle of indwelling sin is "the

44 Stevenson, *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*, 81.

45 Ibid., 86-87. Interestingly, both C. S. Lewis in *The Great Divorce* and Stephen Vincent Benét in *The Devil and Daniel Webster* portray the *spiritual* effects of a life of sin as a profound *shrinking* in the size of the soul. C. S. Lewis, *The Great Divorce* (London: Geoffrey Bles, 1946; reprint 1962), 112-14; Stephen Vincent Benét, *The Devil and Daniel Webster* (New York, NY: Farrar & Rinehart, 1937), 24-26.

46 Stevenson, *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*, 86.

47 Ibid., 88.

48 Ibid., 87.

49 Ibid.

50 Stevenson, *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*, 61. See, Masao Miyoshi, "The Divided Self," in *The Definitive Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde Companion*, ed. Geduld, 104-05, which discusses the significance of Jekyll's name, *je-kyll* ("self-destroyer").

51 Dalrymple, "Epidemiology," 28. Dalrymple adds, "In other words, if you practice evil, you become evil. Character is habit." Ibid., 27.

lethal side of man.”⁵² Jekyll’s initial desire was to separate the good and evil “elements” within the human person so that “life would be relieved of all that was unbearable; the unjust might go his way . . . and the just could walk steadfastly and securely on his upward path.”⁵³ Instead, he found that it was “the *curse* of mankind that these incongruous fagots were thus bound together.”⁵⁴ Hyde “exemplifies the impossibility of any successful separation of man’s natural being.”⁵⁵ Jekyll followed the paradigm of Adam and Eve: seeking to be like God—to change the fundamental nature of man—he destroyed himself and ended in death.

In *Jekyll and Hyde* Stevenson leaves the remedy for overcoming the overwhelming power of indwelling sin unstated, but implicit. Jekyll, like every person, had within him the “law” of indwelling sin, but was “wanting in the strength” to overcome its power. Doyle suggests the beginning of the solution, as follows:

How will we win the war in ourselves, a battle of every hour, in every heart? A gaunt Scot dreamed the answer to this final human question long ago: the victory begins when we speak the hard truth about the Jekyll in us all.⁵⁶

An accurate diagnosis of our condition and inherent sinfulness, however, does not give us the ability to “win the war in ourselves” any more than Jekyll had that ability. Rather, as Saposnik states, “in a postlapsarian world, any attempted return to Eden (he proves) must be made at the cost of one’s life.”⁵⁷ Or, as Christ, the only source and guarantor of such victory, put it, “whoever wishes to save his life shall lose it; but whoever loses his life for My sake shall find it” (Matt 16:25).

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52 Stevenson, *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*, 81.

53 *Ibid.*, 78-79.

54 *Ibid.*, 79, *emph. added, per* Gen 3:17-19.

55 Saposnik, *Stevenson*, 100.

56 Doyle, “Bogey,” 144.

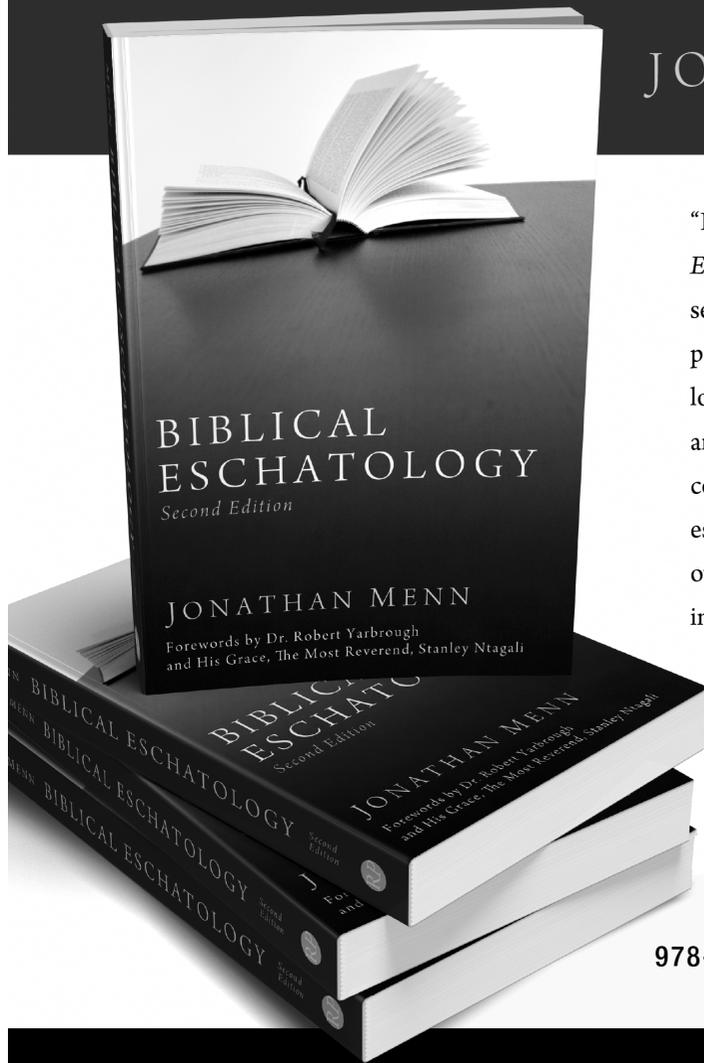
57 Saposnik, *Stevenson*, 100.

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Silk Road Christianity in Tarim and Turpan Basins Prior to AD 640 When Tang China Took Over Kocho Kingdom

MARK CHUANHANG SHAN

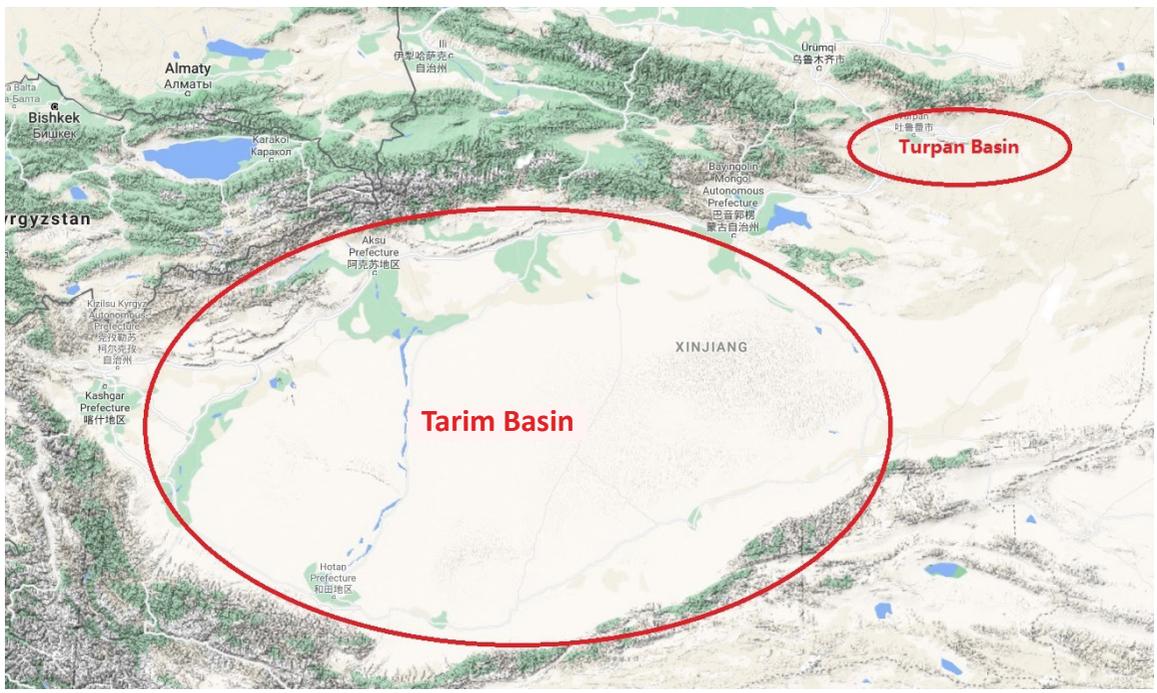
By adopting an historical anthropology framework, through an approach of a history discipline coupled with religious studies and engaging carefully in textual analysis of the original historical records, this article follows a five-dimensional system of geography, history, ethnicity, religion, and civilization, created in my PhD thesis, in constructing an identity model as a progressive organism to explore the historical changes and transformation of the Uyghur ethnic identity, with the hope of offering to the Uyghurs who live in Xinjiang, China today an alternative construction and statement of their identity.

This article shows that ancient Christianity in the eastern part of central Asia passed along the Silk Road among the inhabitants as the lost spiritual heritage whose legacy needs to be restored for today's northwest part of China. My intention is to correct a current misunderstanding of the religious dimension of Uyghur history related to Christianity of the East-Syriac Church which was called *Jing* Religion in ancient China.

Throughout more than a century, studies on the ancient religions of the modern-day Turpan Basin and the Tarim Basin of Central Asia in northwest China, have relied on historical journals and collections of ancient transcripts discovered in the Turpan Basin (and *Dun-huang*) early last century to conclude that the Uyghurs, after migrating from the modern-day Mongol Steppes to the Western Regions around the Tian-shan Mountains to become the Kocho Uyghurs in the ninth century, initially remained Manicheans, then converted to Buddhism with Christianity as a minority religion among them. Overlooked evidence, however, reveals that many do not understand that the Kocho Uyghurs were mostly Christians that converted from Manichaeism after a period of time and were never officially Buddhists, with maybe only a handful of Uyghurs actually accepting Buddhism. In addition, Uyghur Manichaeism did not disappear, but continued to exist in a highly mutated form through a concealed way until the Islamic conquest at the end of the fourteenth century.

To clarify the religious landscape of the Kocho-Turpan Basin and the Northeastern Rim of the Tarim Basin prior to and after the Uyghurs fell and officially migrated to these regions in AD 841¹ in order to promote a better understanding of ancient Uyghur religions, research should be primarily based on relevant Chinese classics. These shed much-needed light on ethnical diversity and social background in these regions, serving as a key to correct the long-time confusions on the religious landscape in academia. In addition, society as a larger picture provides an important platform for better assembling the puzzle pieces of their religions, especially in the Kocho-Turpan Basin and the Tarim Basin where Buddhism, Christianity, and Manichaeism used to prevail before the conquest of Islam.

1 The specific year that the Uyghurs Empire fell and officially migrated from the East Asia Steppes, present-day Mongolian grasslands, to present-day Xinjiang, China was actually 841, and not 840 which is generally accepted by academia. The great late French scholar René Grousset states that "In 840 their capital Karabalgasun was taken, their Khagan slain, and their empire thrown by those..." René Grousset, *The Empire of the Steppes: A History of Central Asia*, Naomi Walford (tr.) (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1970), 124. The great contemporary American scholar Valerie Hansen also states that "The Kirghiz defeat of the Uighurs in 840 prompted the mass migration of the core Uighur populations..." Valerie Hansen, *The Silk Road* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 226.



<https://www.google.com/maps/@40.7577955,82.8097548,5.5z/data=!5m1!1e4>

The Ethnical Natives in the Northeastern Rim of the Tarim Basin and the *Jushi-Kocho-Tupran* Basin Prior to AD 640 when Tang China Took over the Kocho Kingdom

According to my research, the original inhabitants of South Xinjiang were Aryan Indo-Europeans and the Tarim Basin actually used to be part of what I refer to as the Bactria-Tocharian civilization block. Today, only a very small number of them still live in Xinjiang, mostly in remote isolated places around the Tarim Basin. These are the people whom Greek historians called Sarmatians type or Bactrian type and Chinese historians called *Da-xia* and *Tu-huo-luo* or *Du-huo-luo* (“Tocharians” as a Germanic transliteration), noted by the geographer Ptolemy as *Thagouri* people, and also known in Greek as Tokharoi and Sanskrit Tukhara.² They were mighty warriors and the lance was their characteristic weapon.³ Beginning in about the third century BC, many of them appeared on the Russian steppes, pushing out the Scythians⁴ and settling there in their stead. They may have later become Russians along the Caspian Sea and the Volga River, although modern archaeological discoveries suggest that, in ancient times, many Sarmatians also lived in the region of the Bactria-Tocharian civilization block bordered by the Syr River on the north, the upper Hindu River (south of Hindu Kush Mountains) on the south, the eastern Iran Plateau on the west, and on the east was today’s Xinjiang, south of the Tian-shan mountain range and the Tarim Basin, along the Silk Road from Kashgar to Kucha and to Khotan, through Kocho (present-day Turpan Basin),⁵ and *Dun-huang* even to Kumul (present-day Hami).⁶

During China’s Han dynasty, many of them lived in the Bactria and the Sogdiana Basin, which included both sides of the Amu (Oxus) River, and the Tarim Basin, stretching all the way to *Dun-huang* in the east to the entrance of the *He-xi* Corridor in today’s Gansu province, China. Due to the unique and natural geographical protection provided by the Tarim Basin, which was surrounded by large mountains and the Gobi Desert, the Tocharian-Aryan Indo-Europeans living there were able to preserve their civilization and culture for the longest amount of time.

The origin of the Tocharian language has been the source of considerable debate and confusion among scholars. My hypothesis is that it was the language of the Tocharians, the people of the Bactria-Tocharian civilization block. It is the traditional language of the native Aryan Indo-Europeans who were known as the *Da-xia* (Bactrian) people by the Chinese Han dynasty.

Some scholars have suggested the language should be named after the two places where it was originally discovered, that is, the Kucha-Karasahr/Turpan (*Jushi-Kocho*) language, instead of Tocharian. The research of British scholar D. Q. Adams and American scholar J. P. Mallory led them to write: “Surprisingly Tocharian seems to share more vocabulary with Germanic than with any other Indo-European language branch and its general lexical and morphological closest kin seems to be the western Indo-European languages rather than those of the eastern rim.”⁷ This is a rather important piece of linguistic evidence, supporting the view that the Tocharians were Aryan Indo-Europeans and of the same race as Germanic Europeans, even though they were not from Europe but had been living in this area for a couple thousand years. Furthermore, the fact that modern Indo-European linguists in the West call the native Indian language groups of the Punjab (which was part of Bactria or the Tocharian Region and which straddles present-day Eastern Afghanistan, Pakistan, northwest India, and the Tarim Basin), Indo-Aryan is another convincing piece of linguistic evidence.⁸

2 Grousset, *Empire*, 28.

3 *Ibid.*, 15.

4 *Ibid.*, 15-16.

5 *Ibid.*, 28-29, 125; Gao Yongjiu, *General Study on Ancient Ethnic Religions of the Western Regions* (Beijing: Higher Education Press, 1997), 31.

6 J. P. Mallory and Victor H. Mair, *The Tarim Mummies: Ancient China and the Mystery of the Earliest Peoples from the West* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2000), 14-16.

7 J. P. Mallory and D. Q. Adams (eds.), *Encyclopedia of Indo-European Culture* (London: Fitzroy Dearborn, 1997), 591.

8 Colin P. Masica, *The Indo-Aryan Languages* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 8; Michael Witzel, “Autochthonous Aryans? The Evidence from Old Indian and Iranian Texts” in *Electronic Journal of Vedic Studies*, vol. 7, No

Archaeological breakthroughs in Xinjiang by Chinese and foreign scholars in the past forty plus years and the further research conducted by British and American scholars into the Tocharian language adequately prove that the original inhabitants of South Xinjiang, mainly including Tarim Basin and Turpan Basin, were Indo-European whites, specifically, those Tocharians whom I call the Aryan Indo-European.

Chinese archaeologists began in 1978 to excavate many ancient mummies from the Tarim Basin and its adjacent regions at the east along the southern foot of the Tian-shan Mountains to Hami, where they were well-preserved by the dry Gobi Desert. Surprisingly, their physical characteristics were those of Western people, including the Germanic European type. In the summer of 1988, Victor Mair, a sinologist and Indo-European linguist from the University of Pennsylvania, visited the Urumqi Museum and saw many of these mummies, which date from 1200 BC to 1800 BC, with most from around 1000 BC.⁹

When Mair, along with some Chinese and other international archeologists, traveled that same year to Kizilchoka near Kumul (Hami), south of the Tian-shan mountain range at the eastern end of Tarim Basin, *Dun-huang* area, where the “blue eyed, red-headed” *Wu-sun* people used to live, according to Chinese Han dynasty court history, to the excavated ancient (c.1200 BC) graves and began to study and identify their contents, Mair was shocked by the facial characteristics of the mummified remains of these local residents who had lived approximately during the time of China’s late Shang dynasty when the oracle bones of Chinese written language started. He described himself as being “awed by the sight of the bodies...preserved for over three millennia” and by how “they are clearly of Caucasoid/Europoid extraction (long noses, deep-set eyes, blondish, light-brown or red hair, and so forth).”¹⁰ DNA testing of several mummies and preliminary evaluation showed that some were typically European, some of them more typically European than others.¹¹ These were the earliest mummies to be excavated in the Hami area of East Xinjiang, and were discovered by Chinese archaeologist Wang Binghua in 1978 with the help of a local Uyghur, Imit. By 1991, experts had excavated 113 graves.¹²

The leading Chinese physical anthropologist Han Kangxin made an essential contribution to the study of Xinjiang inhabitants when he “analyzed 300 skulls assigned to the period 1800 BC to AD 300 and demonstrated that the oldest skulls in the series, those of the Gumugou burial ground (1800 BC) [in the eastern area of the Tarim Basin along the rivers and lakes] belonged to the Caucasoid type, which had a western origin and had remained there to a much later time, being present in the area of Hami in the Yanbulaq burial ground (dated by C¹⁴ to 1300-500 BC), and in later sites (Khotunsumbul, Alwighul, and Miran).”¹³ Alwighul is located at the transitional area between the northeastern Tarim Basin and the Kocho-Turpan Basin.

Han Kangxin noted “the arrival of a second population” in the late Bronze Age and early Iron Age (c.750 BC in Europe, 600 BC in China), and in the age of Saka (c.600 BC). He described this group as “also Caucasoid and Western by origin and belonged to the East Mediterranean type.” (These were the aforementioned Scythians from the north who moved south.) These people also spread into the area in present-day Xinjiang of Tashkorgan and southwestern Tarim Basin, extending east to Lop Nor Lake and north to Alwighul.¹⁴ In the Saka age, a third group of European whites arrived in Xinjiang; they were of the Pamiro-Ferghanian type, with the physical characteristics of the

3 (2001), 1–93, citing 17-18, footnote 64 on page 20 (Electronic Journal of Vedic Studies web site: <http://crossasia-journals.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/index.php/ejvs/article/viewFile/830/808>, accessed 21 July 2017).

9 Mallory and Mair, *Mummies*, 8, 10.

10 Ibid., 14, 16.

11 Ibid., 247.

12 Ibid., 13-14.

13 Victor H. Mair and E. E. Kuzmina (eds.), *The Prehistory of the Silk Road* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), 91.

14 Ibid.

Kazak Scythians. They were represented “by the skulls from the burial grounds of Alwighul (sixth to first centuries BC) in Turfan and Mongghul Kura (first century AD) at the border of Semirechye [Zhetysu], etc.”¹⁵ Since they are Kazakh Scythians, they should have the characteristic round faces of Kazakhs today and belong to the Alpine race, the third type of European race.

Furthermore, a woolen tapestry has been excavated from the ancient cemetery of the village of Sampul of the third-to-second century BC, located on the southern rim of the Tarim Basin, in Lop county near Khotan (ancient name: *Yu-tian*.) “A centaur occupies the top panel, while a soldier with Western-looking facial features stands below.”¹⁶ The soldier depicted in this artwork has big blue eyes, a typical Northern European feature, and his clothing is of a Grecian style from the period of the colonization of the Greco-Bactria kingdom. The soldier carries a lance, which is a characteristic Sarmatian weapon. This shows that this Sampul soldier was a Tocharian, the Aryan Indo-European Sarmatian of the Tarim Basin. So, it would seem that the earliest inhabitants of the area around the Tarim Basin and Turpan Basin in South Xinjiang were Aryan Indo-Europeans who belonged to the ancient Germanic European type.

In addition to evidence from archaeological, anthropological, and linguistic research, there is also material from ancient Chinese historical records showing the same type of Aryans at both sides of the Pamirs. According to Tang Chinese classics, residents were “blue-green-eyed” in *Shu-le* (present-day Kashgar region), the eastern side of Pamirs.¹⁷ At the borders of Afghanistan and China, a group of blue-eyed white natives are still living in the present-day Xinjiang’s Tashkorgan Tajik Autonomous County connected through Wakhan Corridor in Pamirs to Afghanistan. The Buddhist master Xuan-zang, who did a pilgrimage to India in the 630s from Tang-China, mentions in his *Great Tang Records on the Western Regions* that residents were “blue-green-eyed” in *Hu-mi* (Kumul?), and that their facial features were similar to the people of Persia and Rome, which matches with the records of Tang China classics.¹⁸ *Hu-mi*, according to Xuan-zang’s geographical descriptions and calling it part of “the home land of *Du-huo-luo* state” (Tocharian kingdom, Bactria), is situated at the western side of the Pamirs. Xuan-zang also stated that there are more than ten Buddhist temples, but with very few monks.

In addition, due to the fact that the Buddhist master Xuan-zang stated that the “blue-green-eyed” state-empire was part of the former Tocharian kingdom and was located by the Oxus River (Amu River), and the current state name means “iron gate” in the Iranian language, according to the commentary, suggests the state was located at the upper Oxus river and its southern bank, and also between the “two mountains,” according to additional geographical features that Xuan-zang included. The “two mountains” are the Pamir Mountains in the north and east, and the Hindu Kush Mountains in the south. At about 120 km north of the river is the famous Iron Gate which goes through the western wing of the Pamir Mountains. About 70 km south of the river is the former Tocharian capital Bactria, which was known as *Lan-shi* or *Jian-shi* city, according to the Chinese Han dynasty court history. It was located at approximately present-day Balk at the northern tip of Afghanistan. Xuan-zang also gives more detailed description about the former Bactria-Tocharian kingdom which was divided into twenty-seven states then.¹⁹ Therefore, based on the two references by Xuan-zang, we can confirm that the “blue-green-eyed” *Hu-mi* state Xuan-zang visited was situated at the eastern

15 Ibid.

16 Hansen, *Silk Road*, 202 (see plate 13 and jacket of the book).

17 Wang Guowei, *Guantang Jilin* (Beijing: Zhonghua, 2004), 609-610. 王国维：《观堂集林》（上），第609-610页：“西域记及唐书皆言疏勒护蜜人并碧瞳，均与波斯大秦人相似。”

18 [Tang dynasty] Xuan-Zang, *Bian-ji*, annotations by Dong Zhiqiao, *Great Tang Records on the Western Regions*, No. 12 volume, “Twenty-Two States” (Beijing: The Commercial Press, China Travel & Tourism Press, 2016), 393. 玄奘：《大唐西域记》（辩机撰，董志翘译注），卷第12：“二十二国”：“从此东北，登山入谷，途路艰险，行五百余里，至达摩悉铁帝国。亦名镇侃，又谓护蜜。达摩悉铁帝国在两山间。睹货逻国故地也，东西千五六百余里，南北广四五里，狭则不逾一里。临缚乌河，盘纤曲折，……眼多碧绿，异于诸国。”

19 Ibid. 24. “出铁门至睹货逻国 旧曰吐火罗国，讹也。故地，南北千余里，东西三千余里。东厄葱岭，西接波斯刺斯，南大雪山，北据铁门，缚乌大河中境西流。自数百年王族绝嗣，酋豪力竞，各擅君长，依川据险，分为二十七国。”

end of the former Bactria-Tocharian kingdom close to its former capital which was west of the Pamir Mountains.

The late Chinese scholar Wang Guowei in his research work “Studies on the Western *Hu*,” published in the early 1920s, quotes the Tang dynasty records confirming that “*Yu-tian* and *Tu-huo-luo* are the people of the same ethnicity.” In “Further Studies on the Western *Hu*,”²⁰ he quotes from the *History of the Northern Dynasties: Yu-tian Chronicles* suggesting that only the people of *Yu-tian* did not have the “deep-set eyes and prominent noses” of the people in all the kingdoms west of Kocho; instead their facial features were more like the Chinese.²¹ Note that these are the characteristics that differentiate some northern and western Europeans from other Europeans.

Furthermore, a ninth or tenth century fresco in one of the Bezeklik Thousand Buddha Caves near the Turpan city in the Kocho-Turpan basin adjacent to the northeastern rim of the Tarim Basin, shows two monks, one a Tocharian and the other an East Asian. The indigenous Tocharian monk has red hair, blue eyes, and fair skin. An early sixth century depiction of “knights with long swords” found in the Kizil Buddhist caves in Baicheng county, about 70 kilometers west of Kucha (*Qiu-zi*) on the northern rim of the Tarim Basin and at the southern foot of the Tianshan mountain range, likewise shows them with light-colored skin, hair, and eyes. In other frescoes from the Kucha Buddhist caves that date from about AD 700, “the benefactors [are] depicted as Caucasoids with blond or red hair...the women wear tight bodices over long flowing skirts” and “...the figures are identified as the nobility of the people who left us the Tocharian documents.”²² One shows a blonde or red-haired noblewoman on the left who is a benefactress; on the right is a painter with a sword. Their appearance and adornments are both typical of the ancient Greek culture style. The hair style of the knights matched the description from the *Book of Jin*, which states: “In the kingdom of *Qiu-zi*...both the men and women cut their hair to be hanging around their necks.”²³

These were Tarim basin indigenous people, the Tocharians, or *Da-xia* people, that is, Aryan Indo-Europeans. The elegance and confidence of the woman’s demeanor in the presence of the man brings to mind the impression the Han dynasty-Chinese had toward the Greek civilized Indo-European locals when Zhang Qian was sent as emissary in the second century BC to the Western Regions, especially in *Da-yuan* kingdom: “Women are highly respected. What the wife says, the husband strictly follows.”²⁴ Such an elevated status for women in Saka society was a shock to the Han-Chinese, who were already under the influence of male-dominated Confucianism.

The strong Greek civilization and culture that Han Chinese envoys first encountered in the second century BC in the *Daxia*-Bactria kingdom can be traced back to Alexander the Great, who conquered the Bactria-Tocharian regions and further colonized the regions through one of his generals by promoting the splendid Greek civilization on the foundation of Iran-Persian civilization, which impacted the regions first. *Da-yuan* in Fergana Basin west of the Pamirs was the kingdom Alexander conquered with much effort and he highly appreciated the state as the best candidate to model inculcating Greek civilization in these regions. The impression of Zhang Qian in *Da-yuan* kingdom endorsed the will and success of Alexander.

Before the Huns (*Xiong-nu*) instigated the great migration of the Scythian *Yue-zhi* and Aryan *Wu-sun* on the East Asian plateaus and until the Uyghurs migrated and dominated these regions

20 Wang, *Guantang*, 613, 617.

21 Li Yan-shou, *History of the Northern Dynasties (Bei-shi, AD 659)*, Chronicle 85, “Western Regions” (Beijing: Zhonghua, 2000), 2130. 李延寿:《北史·列传第85·西域》:“自高昌以西诸国人等,深目高鼻,唯此一国,貌不甚胡,颇类华夏。”

22 Mallory and Victor, *Mummies*, 24, 172-175.

23 Fang Xuanling, *Book of Jin (Jin-shu, AD 648)*, Chronicle 67, “Four kinds of foreigners” (*Si-yi*) (Beijing: Zhonghua, 2000), 1697. 【唐】房玄龄:《晋书·列传第六十七·四夷》:“龟兹国.....人以田种畜牧为业,男女皆翦发垂项。王宫壮丽,焕若神居。”

24 Ban Gu, *Book of Han (Han-shu, the early second century AD)* annotations by Yan Shigu around 640, Chronicle 66 I, “Western Regions” (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1999), 2870-2871.

beginning in the mid-ninth century, the three natural barriers of the magnificent Tian-shan mountain range—the Syr River, the mighty Amu River, and the Hindu Kush-Kunlun Mountains—had long protected the Aryan Indo-European residents of the Tarim Basin and Bactria and greatly slowed the mix of their Aryan blood and the disintegration of their Outer European, Outer Iran, and Outer Greek civilizations.

To sum it up, the eastern border of ancient Bactria prior to and during the time of Tang-China was not, as commonly believed by academia, the natural barrier of the Pamir Mountains but rather extended along the eastern side of the Pamir Mountains, stretching deep into the area southeast of the Tarim Basin between Khotan and Charchan. Contrary to popular belief, the journey to Kashgar from the west along the Silk Road is not too difficult, which means the Tarim Basin, this paradise where the Aryan-Tocharians resided for centuries, is not as isolated as commonly believed. Therefore, it is reasonable for the Tarim Basin to have been part of Bactria, given the fact that the residents were the same race and culture and likely spoke the same language as the Tocharians and an eastern Persian-Iranian dialect related to present-day Tajiks. If the *Wu-sun* people, “as blue-eyed, red-bearded people” described by Chinese historians,²⁵ prior to the arrival of the westward-migrating Uyghurs, are included in the Bactria civilization block, then the extent of the Bactria territory in the time of the Chinese Han dynasty would have stretched east to *Dun-huang*, Kocho-Turpan Basin, and Hami (Kumul) at further East.

Such an understanding can facilitate the logic behind the claim that, since the people who lived on both sides of Pamirs shared the same Buddhism because of the same geographical, racial, and civilization block, so it is not hard to accept that they later shared the same Christianity.

By the time of Tang-China in the middle of the seventh century, the eastern border of Bactria seemed to retreat to Kashgar-*Shu-le* and its territory reduced by about one-third, though the native Tocharian population still dominated the whole Tarim Basin and Kocho-Turpan basin. About 200 years after the Buddhist monk Xuan-zang passed through the region, the steppe Uyghurs from present-day Mongolian grasslands formally entered westward the Bactria area in the Tarim Basin and Turpan Basin and began the process of Uyghurizing this region.

A Brief History of Kocho-Turpan and the Northeast Rim of the Tarim Basin Prior to the Mid-Seventh Century and the Variety of Immigrating People Groups Setting up Conditions of Religious Diversity

The history of the kingdoms in the Kocho-Turpan Basin and its adjacent regions at the northeastern rim of the Tarim Basin prior to the mid-seventh century was ethnically diverse. The Kocho-Turpan region was a basin abundant of natural resources, including a surplus of water from the Tian-shan Mountains, fine fruits, especially grapes, due to the hot dry weather, and a mild temperature in the winter. Both the agriculture and livestock benefitted from the environmental resources, so it was a paradise for the residents.

Kocho-Turpan region first appeared officially in the court history of China as *Gu-shi* (soon after as *Ju-shi*) kingdom in the second or the third year of *yuan-feng* (109 or 108 BC) during the reign of *Xiao-wu*, emperor during the first stage of the Han dynasty of China. According to the *Records of the Grand Historian*, dated around 91 BC, the emperor sent a regiment of over 700 cavalry from the *Jiu-quan* military base at the western gate of *He-xi* Corridor in today's Gansu province of China, defeated *Gu-shi* and its neighboring state *Lou-lan* kingdom at the south by taking over their capitals, arresting one or both kings, forcing both states to surrender and ensuring that no more Chinese envoys passing by on the Silk Road to visit those states in central Asia and Persia

²⁵ Grousset, *Empire*, 29; Ban Gu, *Book of Han*, Chronicle 66 II, “Western Regions,” 2875. Also Zhang Shoujie of Tang China annotated in *Records of the Grand Historian (Shi-ji)*, by Si-ma Qian, completed between 92 BC and 89 BC) “Chronicle 63: *Da-yuan*” that *Yue-zhi* people who were originally living in *He-xi* Corridor (present-day Gan-su province of China) were “red-white color [skin],” which is the feature of a Mediterranean type of white Europeans, reddish face and white skin. (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1999), 2398.

would be obstructed on behalf of the Huns.²⁶ *Xiao-wu* emperor sent a few armies to attack the Huns in 90 BC, the third year of *Zheng-he*, and one of the armies took over and held the people of the royal city of the *Ju-shi* kingdom captive on their way to attack the Huns north of Tian-shan.²⁷ The captives were later released after the war.

The geographical location of the *Gu-shi* or *Ju-shi* (Turpan) Basin remains strategic since it is situated south of the Tian-shan Mountains and the northeastern entrance of the Tarim Basin. Before its surrender to Han China, *Gu-shi* kingdom submitted to the Huns whose tents were set up north of Tian-shan. Both the Huns and the Chinese wanted to control *Gu-shi* and *Lou-lan*, because they were at the hub of the Jade-Silk Road connecting East Asia and Central Asia, which included the Tocharian regions in both the Tarim Basin and west of Pamir Mountains, through Persia all the way to Asia Minor. Collecting taxes at the hub and subjecting those states remained a great interest for both the Huns and the Chinese.

The succeeding emperors of Han China went further west and militarily controlled the states along the northeastern rim of the Tarim Basin at the southern foot of Tian-shan Mountains, which included the *Qiu-zi* (Kucha) kingdom, located near the mid-northern rim of the basin, that was conquered by general Chang Hui in 71 BC, the third year of *Ben-shi* in Han China.²⁸ From this point forward, the name *Ju-shi* will be used instead of *Gu-shi*. In 68 or 67 BC, the second or the third year of *Di-jie*, the united army of the kingdoms in the Tarim Basin led by Chinese general Zheng Ji attacked and defeated the *Ju-shi* kingdom as punishment for allying with the Huns.²⁹ Afterwards, the Han Chinese army settled in and established military farms in the *Ju-shi* Basin.³⁰ After its defeat, *Ju-shi* kingdom divided into two sub-kingdoms known as the “Front Section,” and the “Back Section,” which included six city states located on the northern side of Tian-shan.³¹ The Huns dominated the northern route of the Silk Road and China controlled the southern route of the Silk Road which goes through the “Front Section” in the *Ju-shi* Basin which was south of Tian-shan.³²

Due to their unique geographical position, *Ju-shi* and other neighboring states were stuck between the overwhelming Huns and Chinese. From then on, they also suffered aggressive immigration from different ethnic and racial groups in waves. In the fourth century, the *Rou-ran* (*Ru-ru*) people, who were likely the ancestors of later Jurchen Manchurian people, dominated East Asia steppes after the Huns and the *Xian-bei*. According to *Book of Wei*, in the middle of the fifth century (AD 442-450), *Ju-qu* people, who were likely Scythian *Yue-zhi* type Indo-Europeans in *He-xi* corridor, moved west and took over *Ju-shi* kingdom.³³ Then, at the first year of *He-ping* (about 460)

26 Si-ma Qian, *Records of the Grand Historian*, Chronicle 63, “Da-yuan” (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1999), 2405, 2251. 司马迁:《史记·大宛列传第六十三》:“其明年,击姑师,破奴与轻骑七百馀先至,虏楼兰王,遂破姑师。”

27 Ban, *Book of Han*, Chronicle 64 I, “Huns (*Xiongnu*),” 2795. “是时,汉恐车师兵遮重合侯,乃遣闾陵侯将兵别围车师,尽得其王民众而还。”

28 Ibid., Chronicle 66 II, “Western Regions,” 2878, 2885; Chronicle 40, “Chang Hui,” 2256-2257.

29 Ibid., Chronicle 64 I, “Huns,” 2801. “壶衍鞞单于立十七年死,弟左贤王立,为虚闾权渠单于。是岁,地节二年也。……其明年,西域城郭共击匈奴,取车师国,得其王及人众而去。单于复以车师王昆弟兜莫为车师王,收其馀民东徙,不敢居故地。而汉益遣屯士分田车师地以实之。”

Ibid., Chronicle 66 II, “Western Regions,” 2889. “地节二年,汉遣侍郎郑吉、校尉司马意将免刑罪人田渠犁,积谷,欲以攻车师。至秋收谷,吉、意发城郭诸国兵万馀人,自与所将田士千五百人共击车师,攻交河城,破之。”

30 Ibid., Chronicle 64 I, “Huns,” 2801.

31 Ibid., 2856. “至宣帝时,遣卫司马使护鄯善以西数国。及破姑师,未尽殄,分以为车师前后王及山北六国。时汉独护南道,未能尽并北道也,然匈奴不自安矣。”

Chen Shou, *Records of the Three Kingdoms* (*San-guo-zhi*, the late third century AD), annotated by Pei Songzhi, Chronicle 30, “Wu-wan, Xian-bei and Dong-yi” (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1999), 639. 【晋】陈寿:《三国志》,“魏书”三十:“乌丸·鲜卑·东夷传第三十”,【南朝宋】裴松之注解(北京:中华书局,1999)第639页。引用《魏略·西戎传》:“北新道西行,至东且弥国、西且弥国、单桓国、毕陆国、蒲陆国、乌贪国,皆并属车师后部王。”

32 Ban, *Book of Han*, Chronicle 66 I, “Western Regions,” 2856.

33 Wei Shou, *Book of Wei* (*Wei-Shu* AD 554), Chronicle 90, “Western Regions: Gao-chang,” “*Ju-shi* Kingdom” (Beijing: Zhonghua, 2000), 1517, 1532.

Rong Xinjiang, Relations of the Gaochang Kingdom under the Kan Family with the Rouran Qaghanate and the Western Regions during the Second Half of the 5th Century (Chinese version), *Historical Research*, No. 2 issue, 2007 (Beijing: Chinese Social Science Academy), 4-14, citing 4. 荣新江:《阚氏高昌王国与柔然、西域的关系》,刊于《历史研

of the Northern Wei, *Rou-ran* Khanate Empire took over the *Ju-shi* kingdom, and, five years later, the *Gao-che* people rebelled against *Rou-ran* and took over the *Ju-shi* kingdom.³⁴ At the same time, the name Kocho (*Gao-chang*) appeared in the *Book of Wei* as the former name for the basin kingdom or an old Han Chinese city in the Back Section of *Ju-shi* kingdom, so, from then on, Kocho and *Ju-shi* became interchangeable names for the kingdom. According to *Book of Wei*, Kocho kingdom had eight cities,³⁵ and increased to sixteen cities according to *Book of Zhou*,³⁶ then to eighteen cities in *Book of Sui*,³⁷ over the course of more than two centuries.

In addition, according to the research done by the Chinese scholar Duan Lian-qin, based on the Chinese classics, such as *Book of Wei* and *History of the Northern Dynasties*, in AD 487, about a few hundred thousand people from the *Fu-fu-luo* tribe of *Gao-che*, the red-faced white people (Scythian Indo-European type), led by A-fu-zhi-luo, escaped from *Rou-ran* Khanate and migrated to the northwest Kocho region and established the *Gao-che* kingdom (or *A-fu-zhi-luo* Kingdom).³⁸ Later the kingdom expanded further southwest to the area around Karasahr and Bosten Lake, east to the *Shan-shan* area which was the former *Lou-lan* kingdom, north to the present-day Urumqi area, and also subjugated the Kocho kingdom³⁹ in AD 488.⁴⁰ It seems that 300 years later when Uyghurs migrated west here they copied the kingdom map of *Gao-che*.

According to *Book of Wei* “Western Regions” (see also *History of the Northern Dynasties* and *Book of Zhou*, etc.), the *Yan-qi* kingdom⁴¹ had an abundance of treasures and enjoyed peace for a long time, famous for its wine and music. It had nine cities. The founding emperor (AD 408-452) of Northern Wei sent General Zhou Wandu to attack the *Yan-qi* kingdom because they often robbed passing envoys sent from the emperor. After an intense battle, General Zhou defeated the King of *Yan-qi* (Karasahr) and sacked the royal city. The kingdom and its neighbors submitted to Northern Wei. The general also attacked and defeated *Qiu-zi* (Kucha), 900 *li* west of *Yan-qi* along the Tarim northern rim.⁴² In *Yan-qi*, only men cut their hair,⁴³ which is different from *Qiu-zi* where both men and women cut their hair.

In the beginning of the sixth century, the *ye-da* (or *Yi-da*, *Yi-tian*, *Hua*)⁴⁴ Empire established by Yeptailtha or Hephthalites, the so called “white Huns,” expanded eastward along the Tarim Basin and took over the Kocho Kingdom from the hand of the *Gao-che* people in AD 479, *Yan-qi* (Karasahr) and present-day Urumqi region north of Tian-shan mountains during 497-509, and even further eastward subjugated some *Rou-ran* people at the north of Dun-huang in 522.⁴⁵ During the

究》2007年第2期（北京：中国社会科学院主办）第4-14页。

34 Rong Xinjiang, Relations of the Gaochang Kingdom, citing 4; Wei Zheng, *Book of Sui* (Sui-shu, AD 636), Chronicle 48, “Western Regions” (Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 2000), 1238.

35 Wei, *Book of Wei*, “Gao-chang,” 1517.

36 Ling-hu De-fen, *Book of Zhou* (*Zhou-shu*, AD 636), Chronicle 42, “Foreign Regions II: Gao-chang” (Beijing: Zhonghua, 2000), 620.

37 Wei Zheng, *Book of Sui* (Sui-shu, AD 636), Chronicle 48, “Western Regions: Gao-chang” (Beijing: Zhonghua, 2000), 1239.

38 Duan Lian-qin, *Ding-ling, Gao-che and Tie-le* (Shanghai: Shanghai People, 1988), 218-219. (段连勤：《丁零、高车与铁勒》)。

39 Duan Lian-qin, *Ding-ling, Gao-che and Tie-le*, 226-227, 232-233.

40 Rong, “Relations of the Gaochang Kingdom,” citing 4.

41 Wei, *Book of Wei*, “Western Regions: Yan-qi kingdom,” 1533. “恃地多险，颇剽劫中国使。世祖怒之，诏成周公万度归讨之，约赍轻粮，取食路次。度归入焉耆东界，击其边守左回、尉犁二城拔之，进军向员渠。鸠尸卑那以四五万人出城守险以拒。度归募壮勇，短兵直往冲，鸠尸卑那众大溃，尽虏之，单骑走入山中。度归进屠其城，四鄙诸戎皆降服。”

42 *Ibid.*, 1534.

43 *Ibid.*, 1533. “丈夫并翦发以为首饰。”

44 These are different transliterations in Chinese classics.

45 Editor: B. A. Litvinsky, co-editors: Zhang Guang-da and R. Shabani Samghabadi, *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, Volume III: The crossroads of civilizations: A.D. 250 to 750 (Paris: the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization [UNESCO], 1996), 112 (Chinese version translated by Feng Xiaohe) (俄) B. A. 李特文斯基 (B. A. Litvinsky) 主编; 马小鹤 (译), 《中亚文明史第3卷: 文明的交汇: 公元250年至750年》(北京: 中国对外翻译出版公司, 2003) 第112页。

time of the conquest, the Kocho king sent his second son to the king of *Yan-qi*.⁴⁶ In 541, the *Rou-ran* khanate attacked and destroyed the *Gao-che* kingdom.⁴⁷ In 552, the Turks who congregated at the Altai Mountains under the rule of *Rou-ran* rebelled against and defeated the *Rou-ran* Empire, and established the Turkic Khanate according to *Book of Sui*.

Turks were mixed-blood *Hu* people according to the Chinese classics, and they were not the later Uyghurs who are not ethnically Turks or Turkic (or even Mongolic) yet many have wondered about the term for over a century with much confusion, likely misled by Islamic sources since ancient time, although the ethnical name for Uyghurs was changed from “Turk” to be “Uyghur” officially in the 1930s by local Chinese government, based on the discovery of Soviet Russian scholars and its wide acceptance among Uyghur elites.⁴⁸ Therefore, in the late sixth century, ethnical and racial diversity among minorities in Kocho Basin naturally existed, as the majorities were the native Tocharian type people, the Aryan Indo-European, and the *Yue-zhi* type people, the Scythian Indo-European. The Chinese became the largest minority with over ten thousand households in AD 460,⁴⁹ with the *Rou-ran* people as another influential minority who were “looking like *Gao-li* [ancient Korean] people with braid hanging on their back.”⁵⁰

In AD 590, the tenth year of *Kai-huang* in Sui China, when the Turks took over four cities of the Kocho kingdom, the Kocho king with the royal family name *Qu* died and his son *Bo-ya*, whose mother was the princess of the Turkic Khan, succeeded to the throne. In AD 608, the fourth year of *Da-ye*, the king *Bo-ya* paid tribute to Sui China and in the following year visited the Chinese capital *Luo-yang*, and even followed the Chinese army to attack the *Gao-li* (Korea) kingdom, therefore being awarded marriage with the Chinese *Hua-rong* princess of the *Yu-wen* family and going back to Kocho in 613.⁵¹

In AD 640, the fourteenth year of *Zhen-guan*, Tang China sent the army and took over the Kocho kingdom that had twenty-two cities, then set up a military base with over a thousand soldiers and renamed the kingdom *Xi-zhou* (Western Prefecture) of China.⁵² The Tang army attacked Kocho along with other western kingdoms including *Yan-qi*, which had been attacked by Kocho eight years previously in the sixth year of *Zhen-guan* (632), and then again two years later in the twelfth year of *Zhen-guan* (638), due to a dispute over the control of the Silk Road.⁵³ The Western Turks, who were the overlord and ally of Kocho, gave up without supporting Kocho and retreated westward when Tang China’s army arrived.⁵⁴ Therefore, the name of the Kocho kingdom symbolically ended after lasting a total of 180 years from AD 460, while the name *Ju-shi* kingdom ended

46 Wei, *Book of Sui*, “Gao-chang,” 1238.

47 Duan Lian-qin, *Ding-ling, Gao-che and Tie-le*, 252.

48 Hansen, *Silk Road*, 226. The author mentions “In 960 Muslim chronicles record that ‘200,000 tents of the Turks’ converted to Islam.” Contemporary American scholar James Millward mentions the official name change for Uyghurs in 1930s-1940s by Uyghurs and local Chinese government. James A Millward, *Eurasian Crossroads: A History of Xinjiang* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), 208. According to the founding father of contemporary Uyghur study, American scholar Justin Jon Rudelson, the ethnic name from Turk changed to be Uyghur by the local Chinese government in 1934. Justin Jon Rudelson, *Oasis Identities: Uyghur Nationalism Along China’s Silk Road* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), 7, 149. Contemporary Chinese academia begins to challenge the narrative which also prevails in Chinese academia such as holding Uyghur and Turks are the same race and ethnicity. Li Sheng, ed. *Historical and Current Xinjiang, China* (Urumqi, China: Xinjiang People, 2003), 39. 厉声主编：《中国新疆历史与现状》（乌鲁木齐：新疆人民出版社），2003，第39页。

49 Litvinsky, *Civilizations of Central Asia*, 258.

50 Li Yan-shou, *History of the Southern Dynasties (Nan-shi, AD 659) Chronicle 69*, “All Foreign States in Western Regions” (Beijing: Zhonghua, 2000), 1322. [唐]李延寿：《南史·列传第六十九·西域诸国》：“面貌类高丽，辫发垂之于背。”

51 Wei, *Book of Sui*, “Gao-chang” (Kocho), 1239. “炀帝嗣位，引致诸蕃。大业四年，遣使贡献，帝待其使甚厚。明年，伯雅来朝。因从击高丽，还尚宗女华容公主。八年冬归蕃，……”

52 Liu Xu, *Old Book of Tang (Jiu-tang-shu, 945) Chronicle 148*, “Western Rongs” (*Xi-rong*) (Beijing: Zhonghua, 2000), 3603-3604, 3607.

53 Ibid., 3603; Ou-yang Xiu and Song Qi, *New Book of Tang (Xin-tang-shu, 1060)*, Chronicle 146 I, “Western Regions I” (*Xi-yu I*) (Beijing: Zhonghua, 2000), 4727.

54 Liu, *Old Book of Tang*, “Western Rongs,” 3603.

in AD 450.⁵⁵ Worthy of note is that in just a few decades, Kocho kingdom increased by four more cities, seemingly due to a large population of immigrants flowing in since the time of Sui China. Such a rapid urban development during ancient times was very impressive. Following that influx, other racial-ethnic groups such as the Sogdians, Tibetans, Uyghurs, Khitans, Mongols, and again the Manchurian-Chinese, continued immigrating from all directions in the following millennium.

Based on the above review of the history of Kocho-Turpan Basin and its neighboring northeastern rim of Tarim Basin, especially with the knowledge about the Tocharian natives and other immigrants such as the Scythian Indo-Europeans, one can easily understand various religions spreading from west of Pamirs all the way along the Silk Road through Tarim Basin to Kocho-Turpan Basin, especially among the same racial and ethnical groups with the same or similar languages, and most importantly among the people in the same Greek-influenced Tocharian civilization. The overwhelming natural geographical barriers in these regions can easily confuse us with a distorted historical picture based on the assumption that these people and their many kingdoms were foreign to each other from civilization and cultural perspectives, when in fact it is otherwise.

East-Syriac Christianity and Buddhism in the Kocho Basin and Northeast of Tarim Basin Prior to the Mid-Seventh Century Highlighting the “Custom to Serve [Worship] the Heavenly God” and the “Foreign Religion from Persia”

Academia also generally holds to this narrative: during the time of the Uyghur Khanate (AD 744-841) before the Uyghurs’ westward move to Kocho, Buddhism and Zoroastrianism dominated all of the Kocho area and the oasis of the Tarim Basin, and their followers were mainly the local Indo-Europeans. In addition, Christianity was also practiced, but it was a minor religion, mainly concentrated among the foreign Sogdian (*Su-te*) merchants and diaspora community and Christian refugees along the Silk Road.⁵⁶ However, the records in some ancient Chinese texts about religious phenomenon offer a new version of this history in which Christianity from the East-Syriac Church in Persia spread over central Asia by a large scale.

The *Book of Wei* from the mid-sixth century is a record of the history of the Northern Wei and Eastern Wei dynasties (380-550) in China. “Chronicle 89: Kocho” clearly explains Kocho’s geography, local conditions, social relationships, and religion:

Kocho is the state of the former kingdom of *Ju-shi* “Front Section King” that was the “Front Section” of Han-China. From east to west, it is 2,00 *li*, and from south to north 500 *li*, and is surrounded on all sides by many mountains....The kingdom has eight cities, all of which have Chinese [inhabitants]....There is much wine. Their custom is to serve [worship] the heavenly God, and they also believe in Buddhism....There is a red rock mountain, and 70 *li* [north] of it is the *Tan-han* Mountain [Bogda Peak of Tianshan Mountains], which is snow-covered [even] in summer. North of this mountain is the border with the *Tie-le* [Huns-Uyghurs].⁵⁷

55 Rong, “Relations of the Gaochang Kingdom,” citing 4.

56 Li, *Xinjiang*, 90, 101-02. Mark Dickens-Peter Zieme, “Syro-Uigurica I: A Syriac Psalter in Uyghur Script from Turpan” in Johannes den Heijer, Andrea Barbara Schmidt, and Tamar Pataridze (eds.), *Scripts Beyond Borders: A Survey of Allographic Traditions in the Euro-Mediterranean World* (Belgium: The University of Louvain, Institute Orientaliste de Louvain, PEETERS, 2014), 291-633, citing 292-293: “Although the origins of the Christian community in Turpan are unclear, it may very well be linked with the period of anti-Buddhist persecution in Tang dynasty China, which peaked in the year 845...” in the east and “the steady advance of Islam into Central Asia in the west,;...” or “the ongoing mission of the Church of the East to extend its network of bishops and metropolitans throughout Central Asia or perhaps the influence of Christian merchants and traders travelling along the Silk Road, at some point Christianity was established in the oasis and, judging by the few texts which have been reliably dated, the faith lasted in Turfan from at least the ninth century to the fourteenth century.”

57 Wei, *Book of Wei*, “Gao-chang,” 1517-1518. 【北齐】魏收：《魏书·列传第八十九》：“高昌者，车师前王之故地，汉之前部地也。东西二千里，南北五百里，四面多大山。……国有八城，皆有华人。……多葡萄酒。俗事天神，兼信佛法。……北有赤石山。七十里有贪汗山，夏有积雪，此山北铁勒界也。”【注：铁勒或特勒，即匈奴一回鹳的过渡民族形态。】 *Tie-le* or *Te-le* is the transitional ethnical status from Huns to Uyghurs according to Chinese classics, including *Book of Tang*.

Note that the reference to wine culture shows that the subjects here were still the native Indo-European whites, and that “they also believe in Buddhism” is also easy to understand. But how should readers understand “their custom is to serve [worship] the heavenly God,” which was always mentioned first, before “they also believe in Buddhism”? Even though this is but a passing mention, nevertheless it is worth getting to the bottom of it.

The *Book of Wei* (Chronicle 90: Western Regions) has this passage:

The Kingdom of *Yan-qi* [Karasahr] is to the south of *Ju-shi*, its capital is the city of *Yuan-qu*, it is 70 *li* south of the White Mountain and was formerly a state of Han-China....This region has nine cities....The script is the same as Sanskrit. Their custom is to serve [worship] the heavenly God, and they also believe in Buddhism....Their custom is a love for wine and music. Heading south more than 10 *li* is the sea [Bosten Lake], which is abundant in fish, salt and flowering reeds. Heading east, Kocho is 900 *li* away, and heading west 900 *li* is *Qiu-zi* [Kucha]; everything in between is desert.⁵⁸

Some other later ancient Chinese historical records also mention Kocho and the Karasahr religion of “serve [worship] the heavenly God.” The accounts of Kocho in Chronicle 48 of the *Book of Sui* from the mid-early seventh century are more or less similar to that of the *Book of Wei*, including, “The Kingdom of Kocho, ...the kingdom has 18 cities. ...much wine. Their custom is to serve [worship] the heavenly God, and they also believe in Buddhism.”⁵⁹ Furthermore, there is more detailed information here, for instance, explaining that Kocho had been conquered in succession by the Han-Chinese, the *Ru-ru* people, the *Gao-che* people, and the Turks. In addition, Chronicle 42 of the *Book of Zhou* from the mid-early seventh century states, “The Kingdom of *Yan-qi*...their custom is to serve [worship] the heavenly God, and they also venerate and believe in Buddhism.”⁶⁰ Chronicle 85 of the *History of the Northern Dynasties* from the mid-seventh century also says in its “Traditions of the Western Regions,” “The Kingdom of *Yan-qi*...their custom is to serve [worship] the heavenly God, and they also venerate and believe in Buddhism.”⁶¹ Apparently, all these records were following the corresponding account in the *Book of Wei*.

Summarizing the above descriptive records in the ancient Chinese court historical texts and their contexts, it is evident that the “serve [worship] the heavenly God” religion in Kocho was the main religion and that Buddhism was secondary, while in Karasahr, even though the “serve [worship] the heavenly God” religion also was the main religion, Buddhism was a stronger force than in Kocho. Some scholars⁶² think “serve [worship] the heavenly God” referred to the heavenly God of Zoroastrianism, but this argument was questioned by the prominent Central Asia scholar Lin Wushu, who points out that a very important proof lies in the fact that extremely few religious cultural relics related to Zoroastrianism have been unearthed in the Kocho area, so it does not represent the major religion of this area, while “Buddhism, which had merely a ‘complementary faith’ position actually left behind massive numbers of historical remains.”⁶³

58 Wei, *Book of Wei*, “Western Regions,” 1533. 魏收:《魏书·列传第九十·西域》:“焉耆国,在车师南,都员渠城,白山南七十里,汉时旧国也。.....国内凡有九城。.....文字与婆罗门同。俗事天神,并崇信佛法。.....俗尚葡萄酒,兼爱音乐。南去海【博斯腾湖】十馀里,有鱼盐蒲苇之饶。东去高昌九百里;西去龟兹九百里,皆沙磧;东南去瓜州二千二百里。”

59 Wei, *Book of Sui*, “Western Regions,” 1238-1239. 【唐】魏徵:《隋书·列传第48·西域》:“高昌国者,则汉车师前王庭也,.....国内有城十八。.....多蒲陶酒。俗事天神,兼信佛法。”

60 Ling-hu, *Book of Zhou*, “Foreign Regions II: Yu-tian,” 621. 【唐】令狐德棻:《周书·列传第42·异域下》:“焉耆国在白山之南七十里,.....俗事天神,并崇信佛法。”

61 Li, *Northern Dynasties*, “Western Regions,” 2134. “焉耆国,.....俗事天神,并崇信佛法也。”

62 The late great Chinese scholar Chen Yuan and the late great Japanese scholar Toru Haneda, both asserted the “heavenly God” in Kocho was Zoroastrian God. Lin Wushu, *Analysis on the Custom of Serving [Worshipping] Heavenly God in Kocho* (Chinese version), *Historical Research*, No. 4 issue, 1987 (Beijing: Chinese Social Science Academy), 89-97, citing 89. 林悟殊:《论高昌“俗事天神”》,刊登于《历史研究》1987年04期(北京:中国社会科学院主办)第89-97页,引用第89页。

63 Ibid., citing 89-90.

I agree: calling Zoroastrianism into question is logical and sound. To date, both a great many Buddhist cultural relics, including texts, that can be traced back to the eighth century have been discovered, and a significant number of archeological discoveries unearthed in the Kocho area have included cultural relics, including texts, that are related to East-Syriac Christianity and Manichaeism, most of which date to the ninth century and later. Scholars acknowledge the existence of Christianity in the ancient Kocho area but often neglected to recognize data earlier than the ninth to the fourteenth centuries and, therefore, speculate Christianity was just a small scale religion incomparable to Buddhism as the dominant mainstream. The neglecting is mainly due to ignoring the related texts in the above Chinese classics, thus lacking a comprehensive understanding.

Based on the above questions, I go a step further to say that the “serve [worship] the heavenly God” religion is, in fact, East-Syriac Christianity. “*Tian shen*” is God, similar to the modern translation used by the Catholic Church of *tian zhu* (“heavenly Lord”) for God. Of course, if this can be confirmed and proven, it would certainly be a light at the end of the tunnel for the study of the religious history of Kocho and other cities along the northwestern rim of Tarim that Christianity dominated the areas together with Buddhism instead of only the latter.

Of first importance to note is that Chinese historical materials also use “Heavenly God” (*tian shen*) when referring to the object of worship by the Shamanist peoples of the steppes. In the same Chronicle 42 of the *Book of Zhou*, we read this about the Turkic Khanate: “The khan’s permanent residence is in the [sacred] *Yu-du-jin* [Otuken] mountain, and his royal yurt opens to the east, to venerate the direction of the sun’s rising. Every year, leading noblemen go to caves to worship their ancestors. And in mid-May, [they] collect water from the people to worship with sacrifice the heavenly god.”⁶⁴ The characters used in this description for “worship with sacrifice the heavenly god” are “*bai ji tian shen*,” with “worship with sacrifice” conveying the distinguishing feature of Shamanism. The *Book of Wei* and *History of the Northern Dynasties* also recount the Shamanistic rituals of the *Gao-che* people: “Five *Gao-che* tribes gathered together to sacrifice [to worship] heaven, with several tens of thousands in attendance. In this big gathering, people rode horses and slaughtered cattle to be sacrificed, they circumambulated while joyfully singing. It was said there had never been such a large scale gathering in former generations.”⁶⁵ The characters used in this description are “*ji tian*” (meaning “sacrifice to worship [sky] heaven”), and they highlight the Shamanist characteristic of sacrificing animals.

But, the Chinese characters for “their custom is to serve [worship] the heavenly God” used in the same Chronicle of the *Book of Zhou* to describe the religion of Kocho are clearly different from the “worship with sacrifice the heavenly god” and “sacrifice [to worship] heaven” used for Shamanism. If a further comparison is made with Buddhism, the completely different verbs used to describe religious “belief” in these three religions are evident: “serve” (*shi*), “sacrifice” (*ji*), and “believe” (*xin*), respectively.

Second, in the same *Book of Wei: Western Regions* (see also *History of the Northern Dynasties: Western Regions*), after saying of Kocho and Karasahr that “their custom is to serve [to worship] the heavenly God” and that they also believe in Buddhism, the text also makes special mention of the Persian situation and says of the religion of the Persians, “their custom is to serve [worship] the fire god and the heavenly God.”⁶⁶ These are very specific and valuable words in this description that provide the crucial information that is needed. “Serve [worship] the fire god” here clearly by word choice and context is a Zoroastrian characteristic, proving, therefore, that the mention in the earlier descriptive record of “their custom is to serve [worship] the heavenly God” could not in any way be about Zoroastrianism. So to what “God” does this refer?

64 Ling-hu, *Book of Zhou*, Chronicle 42, Turks (*Tu-jue*), 617. “可汗恒处于都斤山，牙帐东开，盖敬日之所出也。每岁率诸贵人，祭其先窟。又以五月中旬，集他人水，拜祭天神。”

65 Wei, *Book of Wei*, Chronicle 91, “*Gao-che*,” 1563. “高宗时，五部高车合聚祭天，众至数万。大会，走马杀牲，游绕歌吟忻忻，其俗称自前世以来无盛于此。”

66 Ibid., Chronicle 90, “Western Regions,” 1537. “俗事火神、天神。文字与胡书异。”

Furthermore, the *Book of Wei* was completed in the mid-sixth century. At this time, the East-Syriac Church had grown quite large in Persia, posing a challenge to traditional Zoroastrianism. Its believers were numerous, including many who had abandoned their Zoroastrianism and converted to Christianity. For instance, the East-Syriac Church Catholicos Aba I (AD 540-552), a powerful leader, was originally a high-ranking leader of Zoroastrianism who held the post of secretary to the governor of Beth Garmai in the province of Persia.⁶⁷ So, since at this time in Persia the main religions were Zoroastrianism and Christianity, “serve [worship] heavenly God” here can only refer to Christianity, and, therefore, “serve [worship] heavenly God” in Kocho and Karasahr would also refer to Christianity. Note also that, in the middle of China’s Tang dynasty, when the Chinese classics mention that Arabs in Persia “worship heavenly God five times a day,” the reference is to Muslims. The verb used is “*bai*,” in other words, “worship,” relating to those Muslims who promoted pious martyrdom with “killing enemies to be blessed.”⁶⁸

Finally, in the *Book of Sui: Gao-chang* (and *History of the Northern Dynasties: Western Regions*), after introducing Persia, there is this description as its introduction of the Kingdom of Cao: “The Kingdom of Cao is located north of the Pamirs and in the time of Han-China was called the Kingdom of *Ji-bing*. The family name of its king was *Zhao-wu* as surname and Shun-da as first name, and his ancestors were from the Kingdom of *Kang*. ... Their custom is to have luxurious temples.”⁶⁹ This kingdom was situated north of the Pamir Mountains, and it belonged to the “nine tribes of *Zhao-wu*”—most likely the descendants of Greater *Yue-zhi* Scythians. The meaning of “their custom is to have luxurious temples” is that they held luxurious and extravagant churches in high esteem. The next part says, “In the Pamirs are a people who are obedient to the heavenly God, whose rituals and institutions are extremely luxurious, with houses made with gold and silver and the ground paved with silver. More than 1,000 people worship in the church each day. In front of the church is the backbone of a fish, its [bones form a] hole [large enough for] a horse and rider to pass through [to go into and leave the church].”⁷⁰

The references of “north of the Pamirs” and “in the Pamirs” in addition to the kingdom’s family name was “Zhao-wu” suggest that the people here also included the Aryan descendants of former Bactria (*Da-xia*) who became a vassal of Greater *Yue-zhi* Scythians. Their location should be somewhere in the valley of the Pamirs near the capital of the former Bactria. Earlier in this article, we noted that the region was mentioned by the Tang Buddhist traveler Xuan-zang as the homeland of the former Bactria kingdom, now “blue-green-eyed” people’s *Hu-mi* state with a depressing situation for Buddhism. From the *Book of Wei* and other Chinese historical materials, we learn that, from the Kocho area to west of the Pamir Mountains, though likely the majority of the Indo-European states were Buddhists, while some of them were Zoroastrian. How far did Christianity spread within the Kocho area?

Christianity was a widespread religion and even the dominate one at least in *Yan-qi* (Karasahr), Kocho and likely in Cao as well. Therefore, since the *Book of Wei* recounts the history of the Northern Wei and Eastern Wei dynasties, it is reasonable for us to speculate that East-Syriac

67 Wilhelm Baum and Dietmar W. Winkler, *The Church of the East: A Concise History* (New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003), 33-34.

68 Ou-yang and Song, *New Book of Tang*, Chronicle 146 II, “Western Regions II” (*Xi-yu* II), 4749. “The *Da-shi* [Tarzi, i.e. Arab Caliphate] occupies what was originally the land of Persia. The men have high noses, dark complexions and heavy beards. The women are very fair and cover up their faces when they go out. [They] worship the heavenly God five times a day, wear silver belts, carry silver knives, and do not drink or engage in entertainment. Their worship hall can accommodate several hundred people. Every seven days, the king sits on his throne and speaks to his people below, saying “Those who are killed by the enemy will live in heaven, and those who kill the enemy will be blessed.” 《新唐书·西域下》：“大食，本波斯地。男子鼻高，黑而髯。女子白皙，出辄鄣面。日五拜天神。银带，佩银刀，不饮酒举乐。有礼堂容数百人，率七日，王高坐为下说曰：死敌者生天上，杀敌受福。”

69 Wei, *Book of Sui*, “Western Regions,” 1245. “漕国，在葱岭之北，汉时罽宾国也。其王姓昭武，字顺达，康国王之宗族。……其俗淫祠。”

70 Ibid. “葱岭山有顺天神者，仪制极华，金银鏤为屋，以银为地，祠者日有千余人。祠前有一鱼脊骨，其孔中通，马骑出入。”

Christianity had already arrived in the Kocho area and prospered by at least the mid-sixth century through the Silk Road after crossing over the oasis around the Tarim Basin or along the north side of the Tian-shan mountain range. Even a quick examination of the historical materials of the East-Syriac Church reveals that its records of this period and the Chinese historical materials are consistent and in agreement. As we will see shortly below, the very same Zoroastrian-converted-to-Christian Catholicos Aba I sent a bishop to the Hephthalites (white Huns) who ruled the Central Asia-Xinjiang area. During this time, Christianity was already widely spreading among the indigenous Indo-Europeans of Central Asia and an episcopal church institution had formed, and it later also spread to the Western Turks.

Old Book of Tang notes that, during the time when Tang China conquered Turpan Basin and the northeastern rim of Tarim Basin, at the southwest regions of Tarim Basin (mostly consisting of *Shu-le* kingdom), “their custom is to serve [worship] the Zoroastrian God,” and of *Yu-tian* kingdom they “serve [worship] the Zoroastrian God fervently and venerate Buddhism.”⁷¹ It seems the eastern Iranian language and Persian civilization dominated the regions while other parts of Tarim Basin were dominated by Tocharian language and civilization. Very likely, the Persian civilization has been passed down to today among Tajiks at both sides of Pamirs. This matches what the Tang Buddhist Monk Xuan Zang recorded that, from *Yu-tian* eastwards were regions of the Bactrian block.⁷² Therefore, the Persian civilization block, though comparatively small, situated along the Wakhan Corridor in Pamirs to the western part of *Yu-tian* kingdom (including the present-day Khotan region) and along another route of the Silk Road through Pamirs to *Shu-le* (including present-day Kashgar region), contributes a civilizational and religious diversity though these descendants belong to the same “blue-green-eyed” Aryan-type people.

In summary, through analyzing the phrase “serve [worship] the heavenly God” in the contexts provided by the Chinese classics, apparently Christianity prevailed at both sides of Pamirs, sharing the field with Buddhism and Zoroastrianism.

Persian East-Syriac Christianity in Central Asia—Its Spread in the *Jushi-Koho* (Turpan) Basin and the Northeastern Tarim Basin

As early as 225, as the Persian Sassanid dynasty was beginning to replace the ancient Parthian dynasty, the East-Syriac Church already had “more than 20 Bishoprics in North Mesopotamia and in Persia,” including Dailams or Deylem, on the southern edge of the Caspian Sea, in the present-day Iranian province of Gilan.⁷³ And Christianity had even already spread to the kingdom of the Bactria (*Da-xia*)] people by no later than 196, according to the *Book of the Laws of the Lands* by the Christian thinker Bardaisan of Edessa (154-222/3; later declared a heretic). That Christianity spread so far so fast demonstrates once again its mission spirit and how greatly the Silk Road facilitated East-West civilizational exchanges in the continent of Asia.

It would seem that, by at least the end of the second century, Christianity had, via the Syriac-speaking church, extended east beyond the borders of Persia to Central Asia, including the region of Bactria (*Da-xia*, *Torcharin*) civilization west of Pamirs. In 424, the East-Syriac Church held its third

71 Liu, *Old Book of Tang*, “Western Rongs” (*Xi-rong*), 3609. “疏勒国，即汉时旧地也。西带葱岭，……俗事祆神，有胡书文字。贞观九年，遣使献名马，自是朝贡不绝。……于阗国，西南带葱岭，与龟兹接，……好事祆神，崇佛教。”

72 Xuan-Zang, *Great Tang Records on the Western Regions*, No. 12 vol. “Twenty-Two States,” 414. Xuan-zang recorded that, after traveling about 180 kilometers more westward after he left the city of *Ni-rang* (Nina, in present-day Min-feng county of Xinjiang, China), he arrived at the former Tocharian state. The state was forsaken for a long time and its cities all were deserted with no explanation given by him. The record confused academia since scholars generally hold that the former Tocharian state should be only west of Pamirs as the annotator mentions here. From here Xuan-zang continued to travel northeast about 450 kilometers and arrive at the former land of *Lou-lan*. What Xuan-zang recorded was not a mistake because it matches what I discovered, based on my research, that the Bactria civilizational block stretched from west of Pamirs all the way through Tarim Basin to Turpan Basin, *Dun-huang* and *Hami*. “行四百余里，至睹货逻故国。国久空旷，城皆荒芜。……复此东北行千余里，至纳缚波故国，即楼兰地也。”

73 Alphonse Mingana, *The Early Spread of Christianity in Central Asia and the Far East* (Piscataway, NJ: Georgia, 2010), 298.

synod, the Synod of Dadyeshu, and announced that it was leaving the Church of Rome and establishing an independent Church of the East. According to Alphonse Mingana's research, among the bishops in attendance were those from four large cities in the Amu (Oxus) river area: Ray, or Rey, Shahr-e-Ray, Arsacia, present-day northeast Iran; Naishabur (Nishabur or Nishapur), present-day northeast Iran; Herat, in present-day Afghanistan; and Merw or Merv, known in Chinese histories as *Ma-lei*,⁷⁴ etc., in present-day Turkmenistan.⁷⁵

Therefore, by the beginning of the fifth century, East-Syriac Christianity already existed in the Central Asia-Kushan/Bactria-*Yuezhi* area in the form of a mature institutional structure: the Merv diocese. In the mid-fifth century, the Hephthalites, whom Byzantine historians called White Huns or Ephthalites and whom the Persians called Hayathelites, and in the *Book of Wei* were called *Ye-da* and labeled as another kind of *Yue-zhi* or *Gao-che* people,⁷⁶ expanded westward from the area of the Altai Mountains. I maintain that they were native to the Altai Mountains, but by then were living in *Kang-ju*, that is the lower reaches of the Syr Darya River, and had expanded in three directions, east, west, and south, occupying northern Xinjiang and the adjacent area of Kazakhstan, including the large area of Zhetysay region from the Ili River valley to Lake Balkhash. By 440, the Hephthalites, who were predominately Zoroastrians, conquered Sogdiana, and part of Bactria and Persia.⁷⁷ They then crossed the Hindu Kush and invaded Kabul valley and the Punjab in northwest India.⁷⁸ Between 436 and 451, the Hephthalites annihilated the Scythian *Yue-zhi* Kushan kingdom south of the Amu Darya River and occupied all of the Bactria civilizational block, including about half of the Tarim Basin. In 479 they took over the *Jushi-Kocho* (Turpan) Basin. In 484, they defeated Persia's Sassanid dynasty, killing its king Peroz, and occupied some territory in Persia's northeast. According to the *Book of Wei*, they "set their capital *Ba-di-yan*" and "it was located at more than 200 *li* south of Oxus (Amu) River" and "the city was more than 10 *li* of circumference."⁷⁹ Therefore, most likely, the city was in present-day Balkh area of Afghanistan, which was *Lan-shi-cheng*, the capital of former Bactria (*Da-xia*), of which Han China envoy Zhang Qian had spoken of. They gradually transitioned to an urban, settled lifestyle. Thus, all of Central Asia became part of the Hephthalite Empire.

This degree of expansion would have exposed the Hephthalites in this area, who believed in Zoroastrianism,⁸⁰ to come in contact with East-Syriac Christians. Chinese researcher Yu Taishan notes that, while the Hephthalites were still in Central Asia, they were influenced by *Jing* Christianity.⁸¹ According to the *Book of Liang*, dated AD 636, which records the history of *Liang* dynasty from 502-557, the Hephthalite Empire conquered Persia in the west and the Tarim Basin in the east. The Hephthalites "serve [worship] the heavenly God and fire God, stepping out of house daily to worship God and eat afterward."⁸² Here, "heavenly God" refers to East-Syriac Christianity and "fire God" refers to Zoroastrianism, which likely underlies that they were part of the Persian civilization. The wording order shows that Christianity was the prominent religion for these Hephthalites. According to the journal by Song Yun, the envoy of Northern Wei visiting the states in the west regions including the Hephthalite Empire, the Tocharian regions "do not believe in Buddhism,

74 Different Chinese transliterations: *Ma-lei*, *Ma-lu*, *Mu-lu*, *Ma-lan*.

75 Mingana, *Christianity*, 298.

76 Wei, *Book of Wei*, "Western Regions," 1541. "嚙哒国，大月氏之种类也，亦曰高车之别种，其原出于塞北。"

77 Grousset, *Empire*, 67-68.

78 *Ibid.*, 69.

79 Wei, *Book of Wei*, "Western Regions," 1541-1542. "嚙哒国，大月氏之种类也，亦曰高车之别种，其原出于塞北。自金山而南，在于阗之西，都乌许水南二百余里，去长安一万一百里。其王都拔底延城，盖王舍城也。其城方十里余，……"

80 Gao Yongjiu, *General Study on Ancient Ethnic Religions of the Western Regions*, 47-48; Yu Taishan (ed.), *Cultural History of Western Regions* (Beijing: China Friendship, 1996), 145.

81 Yu, *Cultural History*, 146.

82 Litvinsky, *Civilizations of Central Asia*, 118; Yao Silian, *Book of Liang (Liang-shu, AD 636) Chronicle 48*, "All Foreigners: all *rong* people at Northwest" (Beijing: Zhonghua, 2000), 562-563. [唐]姚思廉:《梁书·列传第四十八·诸夷:西北诸戎》:"滑国者……事天神、火神,每日则出户祀神而后食。"

but mostly serve foreign God [or Gods].”⁸³ In *History of the Southern Dynasties*, dated AD 659, which records the history of four dynasties from 420-589, we find the same thing, no doubt based on the same source.⁸⁴ These valuable records confirm again one of my arguments in this article that the Aryan Tocharians were not dominantly Buddhists as academia held for over a century.

Litvinsky suggests that, though there is no proof to know what the religions were among the Hephthalites, it is quite possible that they belonged to Iranian religions.⁸⁵ I hold the “foreign Gods” here refer to Christianity and Zoroastrianism, which matches the record in the *Book of Liang*. “Tocharian region” means the former Tocharian land west of the Pamir Mountains along the Oxus River, where Buddhism formerly was the dominant religion and Zoroastrianism was also practiced among the *Zhao-wu* people, the descendants of *Yue-zhi*,⁸⁶ who were a Scythian type, not necessarily among the highly Graecized native Aryan Tocharians, while the region was then part of the Hephthalites Empire. In the Tocharian land, at this time, Manichaeism existed as well, though as a marginalized religion.

How the Hephthalites got access to Christianity remains unclear. However, because of the increased threat of Hephthalite expansion that was going on at this time, the local churches and those bishops in the Amu river regions must have sent missionaries to initiate mission work among the Hephthalites and the mother Church might have used their status as missionaries to engage them in diplomatic efforts on behalf of the Persian dynasty. This dual role of mission work and diplomacy will be evident later during the Tang-China and Mongol Empire times. In addition, the previously dominant Zoroastrianism among the Hephthalites at least helped share a sense of common identity with the Persians who created the religion Zoroastrianism a millennium ago. In 549,⁸⁷ the following account in the Syriac text *Histoire De Mar Jab-Alaha* details the Christian influences in the region:

After a short time Haphtar [the Syriac form of Hephthalite] Khudai sent a priest as a messenger to the King of Kings (Chosrau Anushirwan), and the Haphtreye, who were Christians, wrote also a letter to the holy Patriarch (Aba I.) requesting him to ordain as Bishop to all the kingdom of the Haphtreye the priest who was sent from their country. When the priest saw the King of Kings, and the latter learned the nature of the mission on which he was sent, he was astonished to hear it, and amazed at the power of Jesus, and at the fact that even the Christian Haphtreye counted the Patriarch as their head and administrator. He therefore ordered him to go and adorn the Church as was customary on such occasions, and to ordain Bishop the man whom Haphtar Khudai had sent to him. On the following day the Church was adorned, and the Haphtrian priest was ordained Bishop for the Haphtrians, and joy increased with the people of the Lord.⁸⁸

Thus, East-Syriac Christianity had by this time already become the state religion of the Hephthalites, whose king had even taken the initiative to send a request to the Catholicos to appoint a bishop for them. This conversion from Zoroastrianism to Christianity was a dramatic change that occurred under the leadership of a monarch and is a classic event in the religious history of the steppes, just as is the later Uyghur conversion from Shamanism to Manichaeism in the eighth century. Even though the exact process of the conversion of the Hephthalites is unclear, the formerly Zoroastrian Catholicos Aba I should have been able to impact them effectively on faith matters. The fact that, before their occupation of Persia, the Hephthalites had wantonly destroyed the local

83 Litvinsky, *Civilizations of Central Asia*, 118. “不信佛法，多事外神。”

84 Li Yanshou, *History of the Southern Dynasties*, Chronicle 69, “All Foreign States in Western Regions,” 1323. 李延寿：《南史·列传第六十九·西域诸国》：“滑国者……事天神、火神，每日则出户祀神而后食。”

85 Litvinsky, *Civilizations of Central Asia*, 118.

86 Ou-yang and Song, *New Book of Tang*, “Western Regions II: Kang,” 4737. 康者，……君姓温，本月氏人。……世谓“九姓”，皆氏昭武。……尚浮图法，祠祆神，……

87 Mingana, *Christianity*, 304.

88 *Histoire de Mar Aba*, cited from Mingana, *Christianity*, 304.

Buddhist civilization, when they conquered the Scythian *Yue-zhi* Kushan (Bactria) kingdom,⁸⁹ might have had something to do with their Zoroastrianism faith. In short, that the Hephthalites, who were called the White Huns and were a Hunnified “Pamiro-Ferghanian type,” round-faced-white of Indo-European people, were the first kingdom in the Central Asia-Xinjiang region to accept the Christian faith as a national religion is of great significance and had far-reaching impact, propelling the later spread of Christianity to other ethnic groups of the East Asian grasslands, including the Turks and the Uyghurs.

The event recounted in *Histoire De Mar Jab-Alaha* of the Hephthalites “White Huns” asking for a bishop to be dispatched to them, we noted, occurred in AD 549, while the earliest Chinese records of the popularity of Christianity among the Aryan Indo-Europeans of Kocho (Turpan Basin) was in the *Book of Zhou*, which was completed between 551 and 554. The agreement of these dates is intriguing. By no later than the first half of the fifth century (424), Christianity was already organizationally established in the Central Asia-Bactria area, and, by the time of the appointment of a bishop among the Hephthalites, the Kocho area already had the “custom to serve [worship] the heavenly God.” It would seem then that, before the Hephthalites became Christians, Christianity from the Bactria area west of Pamirs had already spread along the Tarim Basin to Karasahr (*Yan-qi*) and Kocho, and this happened even in the fifth century.

According to the accounts related by John of Resh’aina, a Syriac Jacobite or West-Syriac Church monk from a monastery in Ishakonai, near Amed, he and Thomas the Tanner were forced to go into exile in the country of the Turks with the Persian Sasanian king Kavadh I (who reigned from 488 to 531 and whose father, Peroz, was killed by the Hephthalites). (Mingana calls it the Huns’ country which shows his fine scholarship in recognizing that the Turks were a Hunnified group). There they married and had children, returning to Persia only after thirty years had passed.⁹⁰ They narrated their missionary endeavors there: Karadusat, the bishop of Arran (present-day Azerbaijan), and four priests, as well as John of Resh’aina and Thomas the Tanner, formed a seven-man missionary team and went into the kingdom of the Turks to serve the Turks and their Byzantine captives. These were the Persian missionaries of the East-Syriac Church who lived among the Turks for seven years and helped the Turks create their written language, which matches the scripts’ description of Turks in the *Book of Zhou*.⁹¹ John reports they preached the Gospel to “a considerable number” of Turks and baptized them.⁹² These historical records also reveal that missionaries of the East-Syriac Church helped to create the earliest Turkic written language in about AD 550, and the scripts system impacted all of Hunnic language groups in central and east Asia, including the Uyghurs, and later Kirgiz, Kazaks, and other ethnic groups.

At that time, the Byzantine emperor Justinian I (483-565) sent an envoy, Probus, to the Turks to carry out a special mission. This envoy saw with his own eyes all that the missionaries had done and was thoroughly astonished.⁹³ So, on his return, he sent from the Persian city closest to the Turkic empire thirty mules carrying food, textiles, and church supplies to the missionaries. A short while later, a practical and competent Armenian bishop joined the ranks of these seven missionaries and taught the Turks how to plant vegetables and corn. At the time the Jacobite author was writing

89 Grousset, *Empire*, 70.

90 Mingana, *Christianity*, 303.

91 Ling-hu, *Book of Zhou*, “Turks,” 617. “其书字类胡……” “Their written scripts is kind of *Hu* scripts.” During this time *Hu* people refer generally to the Indo-Europeans in the Tarim basin and the west of Pamir mountains.

92 Mingana, *Christianity*, 303; Zacharias, Bishop of Mytilene, *The Syriac Chronicle Known as That of Zachariah of Mytilene* (tr. F. J. Hamilton and E. W. Brooks; London: Methuen, 1899), 329-331.

93 *Ibid.*, 303-304. According to the East-Syriac Church historian John of Ephesus, in the seventh year of his reign (534), Justinian I sent his first envoy to the Turks. They arrived a year later. Perhaps because diplomatic relations were established with the Turks during this visit, this resulted in the Western Turkic khan Istami sending an envoy to Constantinople in 567 to establish an alliance with Byzantine emperor Justin II to launch a pincer attack on the Persian Sassanid Empire that lay between them. Robert Payne Smith (tr.), *The Third Part of the Ecclesiastical History of John Bishop of Ephesus* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1860), 425.

the accounts of these events, this bishop was still living among the Turks. The Persian King Kavadh I was also moved by Christianity and not only gave up eating unclean meat but also deeply revered Joseph the doctor who later became the East-Syriac Catholicos in 552.⁹⁴ In approximately 498, Kavadh I twice sought refuge with the Hephthalites, and the Christians there helped him win back his throne.⁹⁵

In short, before the founding of the Western Turkic Khanate in 581, Christianity had already spread throughout the Huns' descendants (*Te-le* or *Tie-le* in Chinese) and Turks of the Central Asia-Xinjiang region. This matches well the Chinese classics to confirm that the fifth and sixth centuries were the golden early age for East-Syriac Church missions in central Asia, including present-day Xinjiang province of China. In the mid-ninth century, as a group of Uyghurs were moving into the area west of the Pamir Mountains, some Christian Ghuzz tribes, especially the Seljuk Ghuzz, the forefathers of modern Turkish people, showed up in the historical records. These Christian Ghuzz tribes should be the descendants of the Christian Turks (Western Turks or Ten Arrow Turks) of Central Asia-Xinjiang. Compared with the settled Indo-European peoples of the Central Asia-Xinjiang region, these mixed-blood *Hu*, the Hunnified Turks, were still all-out nomadic barbarians. The Turks of this period were already powerful and would soon overthrow the *Rou-ran* Khanate and establish the East and West Turkic Khanates. They would first jointly launch a north-south pincer attack with the Persians and crush the Hephthalite Khanate, then form an alliance with the Byzantine Empire to attack and defeat the Persians from the east and west, becoming the hegemon of the East Asian steppes and Central Asia.

The growth of East-Syriac Christianity in Central Asia entered its golden period from the mid-sixth century to the mid-seventh century. During the time of Catholicos Ezechie (AD 570-582), the Persian Empire expanded south to the Arabian Peninsula and occupied Yemen. So East-Syriac Christianity at this time had already spread to the Arabs in Sana and even the island of Socotra before Islam existed, and they were under the administration of the bishops.⁹⁶ The situation in the Far East was impressive. East-Syriac Christianity officially spread into the Tang-China capital Chang'an in 635 and won the support of the emperors. According to the Nestorian Stele's praise of the Tang emperor Gao-zong (649-683), who had overthrown the Western Turkic Khanate, during his reign "Church buildings have been erected in every prefecture... the doctrine has spread to ten regions [of China] and church buildings fill a multitude of cities." The growth of East-Syriac Christianity in China had reached its first peak.

Concluding Remarks

To understand religions in the ancient Kocho-Turpan Basin and adjacent regions of northwest the Tarim Basin all the way to the other side of the Pamirs correctly, one needs to seek their origins and shifting contexts. In this article, considering the civilizational and cultural pieces in history such as the influx of immigrants, conquests, the attractive influence of dominant urban civilizations, fills out the larger societal puzzle and clears up long-term misunderstandings.

In discussing the main religions in ancient Kocho-Turpan and adjacent regions before the Uyghurs migrated in AD 841, one should focus on Christianity and Buddhism. If one talks about the ethnical groups in these regions, the dominant one was native Tocharian and Scythian white people, and the minorities were mostly Chinese and *Rou-ran* people.

Mark Chuanhang Shan, originally from Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region of China, authored a few books on Central Asia-Xinjiang studies. Two of his related articles were published in the *Africanus Journal* including "The Scythians of Colossians 3:11: Their Origin and Their Legacy in Xinjiang, China Today" (*Africanus Journal*, Vol. 5: No. 21, Nov. 2013), and "The Kingdom of God in Yurts: Christianity among Mongols in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries" (*Africanus*

94 Ibid., 303-304; Zacharias, *The Syriac Chronicle Known as That of Zachariah of Mitylene*, 329-331.

95 Ibid., 302.

96 Baum and Winkler, *Concise History*, 34.

Journal, Vol. 3: No. 2, Nov. 2011). Mark Shan has a MA degree in religion from Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary (2006) and a S.T.M degree in theology (2007) from Boston University, School of Theology. This article is part of his PhD research with North-West University, South Africa.

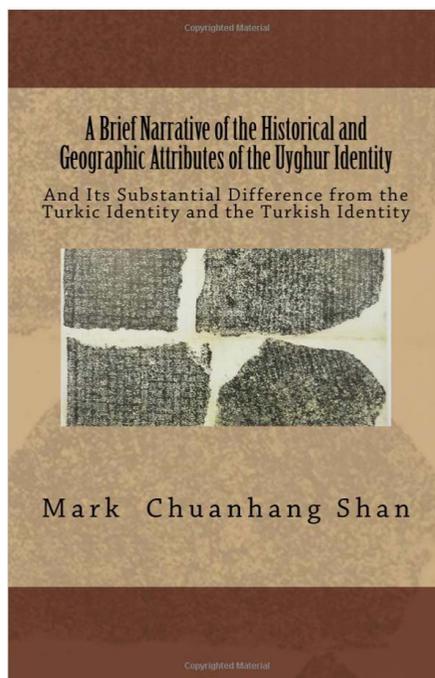
A Brief Narrative of the Historical and Geographic Attributes of the Uyghur Identity

---- And Its Substantive Difference from the Turkic Identity and the Turkish Identity

Mark Chuanhang Shan (2018)

The 144-page book is slightly modified from a portion of Shan's doctoral dissertation. The four-chapter English version of Shan's dissertation, *The Historical Uyghur Identity and its Attributes from Kocho Civilization and East-Syriac Christianity*, was submitted in the summer of 2018.

Shan's dissertation adopts a historical anthropology approach coupled with religious studies, historical analysis and careful textual analysis of original historical records to formulate a **five-dimensional attributes system of geography, history, ethnicity, religion and civilization** that is used to explore the historical transformation of the Uyghur ethnic identity and ultimately to construct a new understanding of the Uyghur identity that fully reflects Uyghur history. Shan undertook the study with the hope of offering to the Uyghur people an alternative choice of their identity.



Through careful study of the historical and geographic attributes, this book traces the changes of the Uyghur identify, and reveals that the Uyghurs are neither Turks nor Turkish, thus clarifying a long-standing misunderstanding of the Uyghur identity. Given that the history of the Uyghurs is complex, this book provides valuable research results from an academic perspective to this field of study.

This book is published in November of 2018 by the Chinese Christian Academic Association (formerly as Chinese Christian Theological Association), Boston (www.ccaa2009.org) was founded in 2009 as a platform where Chinese Christian scholars can freely voice their academic viewpoints and encourages them toward great academic achievements in their academic pursuits.

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Use the link to purchase a hard copy of the book on amazon.com:

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Review Article of *Trinity without Hierarchy: Proclaiming Nicene Orthodoxy in Evangelical Theology* edited by Michael F. Bird and Scott Harrower (Grand Rapids, MI: Kregel Academic, 2019)

WILLIAM DAVID SPENCER

Prolific biblical theologian, academic dean, and lecturer Michael F. Bird along with Scott Harrower, Lecturer in Christian Thought, both at Australia's Ridley College, continue the successful blend of biblical theology with practical apologetics that has yielded previous Michael Bird productions, such as *Are You the One Who Is to Come? The Historical Jesus and the Messianic Question*; *How God Became Jesus: The Real Origins of Belief in Jesus' Divine Nature—A Response to Bart Ehrman*; *Jesus the Eternal Son: Answering Adoptionist Christology*, among many other useful volumes.

With its bold title and subtitle, this book is a substantial contribution to the current debate about the structure of the Trinity, introducing a multicultural number of new wave voices, some from the British Commonwealth. In his orienting preface, Michael Bird targets “volumes by complementarians, where the language of subordination and hierarchy are championed,” deploring “(1) an overreliance on the economic Trinity in Scripture for formulating immanent Trinitarian relationships, (2) leading to a robust subordinationism characterized by a hierarchy within the Godhead, (3) consequently identifying the Son as possessing a lesser glory and majesty than the Father.” While not “pure semi-Arians,” he recognizes such proponents are “arguing for something analogical to a semi-Arian subordinationism” (10).

Such rhetoric might lead readers to believe the book is an attack by evangelical egalitarian authors on complementarian perspectives, but this would be a mistake. The authors instead appear to be drawn from both the complementarian as well as the egalitarian camps, but united in their opposition to the positing of eternal functional subordination/submission as the correct understanding of the nature of the Trinity. Instead, the “central thesis of this book is that the evangelical consensus, in keeping with the catholic and orthodox heritage, affirms that the Trinity consists of one God who is three distinct and equal persons, and the distinctions do not entail subordination or hierarchy” (11).

That the book contains complementarian authors as well as egalitarians we note in Florida's Trinity International University Prof. Jules A. Martínez-Olivieri's objection in chapter 10 to the “ontological legitimatizing of the *status quo* in what is already in the great majority of human societies: patriarchal hierarchy.” He reports, “This is the burden of those of us who serve in complementarian ecclesial traditions. In fact, we are called to speak and act as mutual servants, according to patterns of *imitatio Christi* in the wisdom of an ecclesial order of complementarity.” His conclusion, shared in print by many of this book's authors, is to separate gender decisions on church leadership from the equality in the Trinity historically affirmed by orthodoxy, as echoed in the Nicene and Athanasian Creeds: “We might call the notion of ‘Trinitarian complementarism’ an exercise in ‘illegitimate Trinitarian transfer,’ that is, an illegitimate application of categories of the doctrine of the Trinity to anthropology” (235).

Among the refreshing features this book offers are that four chapters are written by scholarly women, reminding us that Rachel Miller and Aimee Byrd were among the first prominent complementarians to raise the current objection against eternal divine subordination, a concern prominent as well among egalitarian female scholars before them like Catherine Clark Kroeger, Aída Besançon Spencer, Rebecca Merrill Groothuis, Mimi Hadad, and many others. One of these authors, the Rev. Dr. Adesola Akala,¹ who holds a PhD in Biblical Studies from Asbury Theological

¹ “Dr Adesola Akala is an ordained minister and biblical scholar whose ministry experience spans decades of

Seminary, starts the first chapter, “Sonship, Sending, and Subordination in the Gospel of John” with this insight: though the Son is “divinely equal with God the Father,” “the mission is strategically unveiled within a Johannine ‘theology of sending,’” thus, the Son “explains his obedience and devotion to the Father using the subordination language expected of emissaries” (23-24).

Dr. Madison N. Pierce, who earned her PhD from Durham University and is assistant professor of New Testament at Trinity Evangelical Divinity School of Trinity International University, in chapter 2 begins to fulfill editor Michael Bird’s promise that the book will make “attempts to wrestle the doctrine of the Trinity away from the trenches of American evangelical debates about gender and equality” (11), by taking on Joseph Fitzmyer, Bruce Ware, Wayne Grudem, and, “primarily” (40) Kyle Claunch’s hierarchical interpretations of head (*kephale*) in 1 Corinthians 11:3, “arguing that hierarchy is not essential to the term, whereas order [*taxis*] is” (47).

Wheaton College, IL Associate Professor of New Testament and Episcopal Associate Rector, the Rev. Dr. Amy Peeler, with a PhD in New Testament from Princeton Theological Seminary, asks in chapter 3’s title, “What Does ‘Father’ Mean?” and answers “Trinity without Tiers in the Epistle of Hebrews,” as she focuses “on the equality of glory, power, and will of the Father and the Son” (57). As she explains, “Hebrews notes the distinction but equality of the Father and the Son in the enactment of the one divine will, which is the sending of the Son. In other words, the way that Hebrews uses Father/Son language affirms personally distinguishable sovereignty but no eternal submission” (68). “Hebrews offers no indication” the Son has a “lower rank,” but affirms “the Son shares the same glory, power, and supremacy as the Father...God the Father and God the Son, distinct persons, are both gloriously sovereign and in their sovereignty have acted out their one will to redeem humanity” (78).

Ordained by the Church of England, Dr. Ian Paul (PhD from St. John’s College, Nottingham, “on metaphor in Paul Ricoeur and the Book of Revelation”²) is noted for his award-winning blog “*Psephizo*: scholarship. serving. ministry” and his many books, including IVP’s *Tyndale New Testament Commentary on the Book of Revelation* (2018). In chapter 4, “The Trinitarian Dynamic in the Book of Revelation,” he works through the titles identifying Jesus (88-96), and observes, “John in Revelation actually gives the same titles to Jesus and God the Father quite explicitly.” The Father and the Son “actually perform many of the same actions” (104), as “Revelation presents the equality of the persons of the Godhead,” revealing “Jesus is depicted as an agent in his own right” and “the object of divine praise in his own right” (105).

In chapter 5, “No Son, No Father: Athanasius and the Mutuality of Divine Personhood,” the widely published Rev. Dr. Peter J. Leithart (PhD, University of Cambridge), echoes the verve he displays in his Canon Press book *Against Christianity* (2003), as he dives into “the recent evangelical brawl about the Trinity,” which he charges “has been a chaotic debate, and less than illuminating.” Centering in on the “notion, advanced by Drs. Bruce Ware and Wayne Grudem, that the Son is eternally ‘subordinate’ to the Father,” he separates these two hierarchical scholars, explaining “Grudem has produced an impressive catalog of reliable Protestant theologians who also talk of the eternal ‘subordination’ of the Son. If nothing else, he has demonstrated that his terminology is not novel” (109). Given Prof. Leithart’s attack “against theology” in chapter 2 of *Against Christianity*, this is not necessarily an endorsement by him. Of Bruce Ware, he writes, “Ware’s views on eternal subordination take some odd twists,” labeling the claim that the Father can work “unilaterally,” but chooses to “involve the Son and the Spirit” as “*problematic* if not worse. If Ware is speaking of God’s *ad intra* activity, this does suggest something like the Arian view that the Father wills to have a Son and Spirit.” Instead, Prof. Leithart turns to the early church theologians, eventually centering on Athanasius, who suits his “against theology” ideal³ as

international preaching and teaching.” <https://hopechurchcolchester.org.uk/united-conference>.

² <https://www.psephizo.com/about>.

³ See ch. 2, “Against Theology,” in Peter J. Leithart, *Against Christianity* (Moscow, ID: Canon, 2003). An “extract” is

only having “received a smattering of classical education,” being “mainly a Bible teacher, his most basic convictions, passions, instincts, beliefs, and views shaped not by Plotinus or Stoicism but by Scripture.”⁴ As a corrective, “Athanasius insisted, if we deny the Son we deny the Father: No Son, no Father.” Therefore, it is not a matter of choice if the Trinity works together. In fact, “Whatever ‘hierarchy’ exists within the Trinity has a self-canceling quality” (120). Instead, “in the economy, the eternal mutuality among the Persons manifests itself in a dynamic mutual glorification” (121).

While including the more prominent Cappadocians Gregory of Nazianzus and Basil of Caesarea, Gordon College assistant professor Amy Brown Hughes (PhD in Historical Theology, Wheaton College) invests chapter 6, “Beholding the Beholder: Precision and Mystery in Gregory of Nyssa’s *Ad Ablabium*,” in its emphasis on “how to conceive of God as one undivided essence as well as three distinct persons” that “resists hierarchical notions of God that lead to the subordination of the Son and the Holy Spirit” (123). In this way, she points out, Gregory avoided “tritheism or some version of Arianism” (125). Envisioning a complete community among the divine Persons without “divergence of will” (127) and no “filial subordination,” or “any kind of subjection in the unity of the immutable God,” since “mutability and subjection to the Father is not predicated of the preexistent Word,” “Gregory reads 1 Corinthians 15 not as the ‘Son’s inferiority to the Father, but the salvific submission of all humans, which constitute the body of Christ.’” Thus, “‘it is Christ’s humanity that will submit to the Father, not Christ’s divinity’” (129).

Tyler R. Wittman (Ph. D. St. Andrews), an assistant professor of theology at New Orleans Baptist Theological Seminary, focuses on the Trinitarian thought of Thomas Aquinas in chapter 7, “*Dominium naturale et oeconomicum*: Authority and the Trinity,” observing that Thomas “Aquinas devotes most of his space to an analysis of names ‘proper’ to the persons” of the Trinity (143), because “Biblical names like ‘Father,’ ‘Son,’ and ‘Holy Spirit’ signify the persons and help us to grasp their personal properties, which are the means by which we understand their intrinsic distinction” (146). Thomas explains, “Although we attribute to the Father something of authority,” due to “authorship of the Son,” “still we do not attribute any kind of subjection or inferiority to the Son, or to the Holy Spirit.” Thus, Prof. Wittman notes, “‘Authority’ therefore belongs equally to the Father and the Son, their order being preserved” (151). “It follows that the relation between the Father and Son as such may not be characterized by any command-obedience structure... ‘authority’ is devoid of all associations with dominion and commanding power.” Thus, in Thomas’s thought, to suggest “a difference in dignity or rank” is “inapplicable” (152).

University of Wales lecturer in theology and religion Timothy Robert Baylor applies his 2016 St. Andrews PhD expertise on outspoken British Puritan John Owen (1618-1683) to chapter 8: “‘He Humbled Himself’: Trinity, Covenant, and the Gracious Condescension of the Son in John Owen.” Prof. Baylor explains theologian Owen understood the humiliation of the Son as an act of grace undertaken for our sake, and not as a natural or necessary property of the Son’s life as he is the second person of the Trinity, but a “contingent aspect of the Son’s mission,” “a gracious act and therefore an act of divine freedom” (167). So, “his evident inequality with the Father throughout his early mission actually has its foundation in an act of unparalleled equality and liberty...conditioned by the freedom and independence of his divine nature.” Thus, “The claim that the Father has some natural authority over the Son, as to his divine person, would disrupt the entire logic of Christ’s mission.” How so? By interpreting Christ’s gracious sacrifice as ordered and done under compulsion, it would simply vindicate a charge of divine child abuse, as it “fails to grasp the full extent of Christ’s love for us” (192).⁵

also available at <https://www.patheos.com/blogs/leithart/2017/08/against-theology-2/>.

4 See Peter J. Leithart, *Athanasius* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2011), 6.

5 Such a view would substantiate misinterpretations by opponents like Richard Dawkins’s, who claims, “The doctrine of atonement, which Christians take very seriously indeed, is so deeply, *deeply* nasty that it deserves to be savagely ridiculed” (Richard Dawkins, *Outgrowing God: A Beginner’s Guide* [New York: Random House, 2019]), 89, rather than reveal the great love of our Savior Jesus Christ.

Prof. Jeff Fisher, Grand Rapids, MI's Kuyper College's Academic Dean (PhD, Trinity International University), in chapter 9 tackles "Protestant Scholastics on Trinity and Persons," clarifying "the theology of the eternal relationship between the Father and the Son" in post-Reformational Protestant theology. Expanding Ignatius's affirmation that the Son is⁶ "both fleshly and spiritual, begotten and unbegotten, God having come in flesh,"⁷ to feature the doctrine of the eternal generation of the Son, Prof. Fisher writes, "although he is begotten of the Father, the Son has the attribute of aseity [i.e., being ingenerate, as well] and therefore is *autotheon* (God of Himself)...so that the personhood of the Son is generated, but not his deity." He adds, "The Reformed orthodox made this distinction in order to reject any implication of eternal hierarchy or subordination in the divine nature. They explained that any Scripture passages that taught the subordination of the Son exclusively corresponded to the functional or economic implementation of the divine plan" (195). Citing documents like the Heidelberg Catechism and scholars like Theodore Beza and Zacharias Ursinus, who "sought to maintain both the unity of God and the distinction of persons without falling into heretical or erroneous forms of subordinationism" (199), he summarizes their positions in six tenets that both capture the doctrinal positions of this important era and the point of the present book itself. The summary alone of this often neglected but transitioning period to present Reformed theology is itself worth the price of this book.

While other chapters have cited Wayne Grudem and Bruce Ware as archetypical examples of eternal functional submission (or subordination) (EFS) doctrine, Florida's Trinity International University Associate Professor Jules A. Martínez-Olivieri (PhD in systematic theology, Trinity Evangelical Divinity School) applies Polonius's awakening response to Hamlet's veiled sarcasm, "Though this be madness, yet there is method in't"⁸ to EFS in chapter 10, "There Is a Method to the Madness: On Christological Commitments of Eternal Functional Subordination of the Son" (217). His is a major, extended critique of "EFS methodology...that Jesus Christ's relationship of authority and submission to the Father in the economy of salvation is epistemically basic for conceptualizing the Son's ontological divine filiation from eternity past, present, and future" (223), as we see in Prof. Grudem's contention in *One God in Three Persons* that "the testimony of Scripture is clear that the Son consistently, throughout eternity, submits to the authority of the Father."⁹ Prof. Martínez-Olivieri, however, questions such a position as "problematic for a host of reasons" he discusses in his critique. (223).

Vice Principal of Christ College, Sydney, Australia, Dr. John McClean (PhD, Melbourne College of Divinity), next draws Wolfhart Pannenberg's insights into the present discussion in chapter 11,

6 Ignatius, "Letters of Ignatius: To the Ephesians," *The Apostolic Fathers: I: I Clement; II Clement; Ignatius; Polycarp; Didache*, Bart D. Ehrman, ed. and trans. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003), Loeb Classical Library 24, sec. 7, no. 2 (p. 226).

7 The entire phrasing is "*Eis iatros estin, sarkikos te kai pneumatikos gennētos kai agennētos, en sarki genomenos theos, en thanatōi zōē alēthinē, kai ek Marias kai ek theou, prōton pathētōs kai tote apathēs, Iēsous Christos ho kupios ēmōn.*" (Literally, "One Physician exists, both fleshly and spiritual, begotten and unbegotten [or generate and ingenerate], God having become in flesh, true life in death, and out of Mary and out of God, first suffering and then not suffering, Jesus Christ our Lord." Interesting to note is that Athanasius, who is featured in chapter 5 and elsewhere throughout the present book we are reviewing, endorses this insight by Ignatius in chapter 3 of his critique of the Arian and Semi-Arian councils, the *De Synodis*, "We are persuaded that the blessed Ignatius was orthodox in writing that Christ was generate on account of the flesh, (for He was made flesh,) yet ingenerate, because He is not in the number of things made and generated, but Son from Father," Athanasius, "Epistle of S. Athanasius, Archbishop of Alexandria, Concerning the Councils Held at Ariminum in Italy and at Seleucia in Isauria" (a.k.a. *De Synodis*) in *Select Treatises of S. Athanasius, Archbishop of Alexandria, in Controversy with the Arians*, translated by Members of the English Church (John Henry Newman) in *A Library of Fathers of the Holy Catholic Church, Anterior to the Division of the East and West* (Oxford: Parker; Rivington, 1842), vol. 8:1, ch. 3, sec. 18, para. 47.

8 William Shakespeare, "Hamlet, Prince of Denmark," Act 2, scene 2, lines 207-08, in William Shakespeare, *The Living Shakespeare: Twenty-Two Plays and the Sonnets*, ed. Oscar James Campbell (New York: MacMillan, 1949), 770.

9 Wayne Grudem, "Doctrinal Deviations in Evangelical-Feminist Arguments about the Trinity," in Bruce A. Ware and John Starke, *One God in Three Persons: Unity of Essence, Distinction of Persons, Implications for Life* (Wheaton, IL: Crossway, 2015), 20.

“Pannenberg: The Submission of the Son and the Heartbeat of Divine Love.” Initially, the ideas he quotes from Pannenberg seem to fluctuate to and from the thesis of the book with statements such as, “The Son’s submission cannot be merely located in the economy, though it is most certainly economic” (242). And, “Jesus is the Son inasmuch as it is in his message of the nearness of the royal rule of the Father, his subjection to the Father’s will, and especially the function of his sending as a revelation of the love of God, that this God may be known as Father” (245). But, Pannenberg also sees what is missing in EFS’s interpretation of such ideas as, a “reciprocity of the relation between the Son, who freely subjects himself to the Lordship of the Father, and the Father, who hands over his lordship to the Son,” “the monarchy of the Father” being “mediated by the trinitarian relations” (250). Thus, Prof. McClean concludes, “While he uses the terms [sic.] ‘subordination,’ it is not right to describe his view of the Son as subordinationist, because the Father is dependent on the Son...‘his kingship [is] dependent on whether the Son glorifies him and fulfills his Lordship’” (251). Thus, “Pannenberg’s view of God’s triune life is not one of submission and authority but intimate dynamic love” (252).

Senior Lecturer in Theology at St. Mary’s College, School of Divinity, at St. Andrews University, Stephen R. Holmes (Ph.D. King’s College, London and author of the noted *The Quest for the Trinity*), invests chapter 12, “Classical Trinitarianism and Eternal Functional Subordination: Some Historical and Dogmatic Reflections” in a major theme that runs through all the chapters of this book: testing the hierarchical doctrine of eternal functional subordination (EFS) against the early church doctrine of the eternal generation of the Son and finding it wanting. Capturing this book’s employment of the Nicene Creed as the definer of orthodoxy, Prof. Holmes speaks for all the authors, as he contends, “To deny eternal generation is certainly to deny the doctrine of the Trinity, and, given that ‘eternally begotten of the Father’ is a confession of the Nicene Creed, is in grave danger of departing from what can meaningfully be called Christianity,” and choosing “to side with Unitarians and Jehovah’s Witnesses in claiming that the Christian doctrine of God is unbiblical” (268).¹⁰ Prof. Holmes rules, “It is not just that our putative account of EFS (eternal

10 For the record, though immensely popular in the early church, the doctrine of the eternal generation of the Son is nowhere explicitly taught in the Bible (and there is no Bible proof offered in this chapter). It does not appear in the Apostles’ Creed (c. 180), nor was it chosen to be included in The Creed of Nicaea (AD 325), or added to the “Old Roman Creed” or the creed of Marcellus, Bishop of Ancyra (c. 340), later adaptations of the Apostles’ Creed. Instead, this doctrine appeared in the thought of Justin Martyr (c. AD 100- c.165), was developed by Theophilus, overseer of Antioch, (c. late 100s), and increasingly found acceptance for providing a firm link between the Father and Son as a proof for the Son’s divinity, when it was “found in Epiphanius, *Ancoratus*, 118, c. AD 374, and extracted by scholars, almost word for word, from the Catechetical Lectures of S Cyril of Jerusalem; read and approved at Chalcedon, 451, as the creed of ‘(the 318 fathers who met at Nicea and that of) the 150 who met at a later time’ (i.e. at Constantinople, 381).” Thus, it was “thought by many to be a revision of the creed of Jerusalem held by Cyril” and “often called the Constantinopolitan or Nicaeno-Constantinopolitan creed.” Henry Bettenson and Chris Maunder, eds., *Documents of the Christian Church*, 4th ed. (New York: Oxford, 2011), 27. Those interested in reading my further questions about this doctrine, please see William David Spencer, “The Need for Caution in the Use of Eternal Birth Language for Jesus Christ in the Early Church and Today” in *Africanus Journal*, vol. 10: No. 1 (April 2018), <https://archive.org/details/africanus10n1apr2018>. I think this is a solid chapter and Prof. Holmes is right on target with his argument that “classical Trinitarianism” does not have “space” for a “relationship” of unilateral “authority and submission” in the Godhead. What I’m simply saying is that, to avoid conflict between those who affirm the eternal generation of the Son as the cause of the Son’s aseity and those who simply affirm the Son as always existing as a Person of the Trinity and birth language as strictly prophetic of the incarnation, we should consider the irenic and open discussion that Athanasius provides in *De Synodis*, chap 3, sec. 17, para. 17, which is the paragraph and section previous to his affirmation of Ignatius’s insight, cited in the previous footnote. Athanasius explains that “we have not derived the word ‘Ingenerate’ from Scripture, (for no where does Scripture call God Ingenerate).” So, Athanasius decided to study “the term and found it had different senses.” He discovered “some” mean “neither generated, nor has any cause at all” and “others, the increate.” Thus, “a person, having in his mind the former of these senses, viz ‘that which has no cause,’ might say that the Son was not ingenerate, yet would not be blaming any one he perceived looking to the other meaning, ‘not a work or creature but an eternal offspring.’” Therefore, he points out “the Fathers have spoken variously concerning the One in substance, let us not dispute about it.” I think we might apply this insight to the way we regard those who see the doctrine of the Father as the eternal “cause” of the Son and those who see the term “Son” as strictly incarnational and not about a birthing in eternity but simply a way to describe the three uncaused Persons of the one Triune God when exploring God’s salvific plan, what is popularly called in this scholarly discussion the “economic Trinity”

functional subordination) or ERAS (eternal relationships of authority and submission) (259) has to be coherent with eternal generation; it has to be shown to derive from that doctrine, because there is nothing other than eternal generation that we can say of the Father-Son relation” (268). Against this creedal standard, since “the language of Father and Son points to an asymmetrical relationship of origin and nothing more; it cannot be grounds for asserting EFS/ERAS, because to do so would be to offend against other necessary Trinitarian claims, particularly divine simplicity” (271). Therefore, its proponents lacking logical proof that “eternal generation is a relationship of authority and submission” (269), he concludes, “I argue... that there is no possible space for EFS/ERAS in classical Trinitarianism; any such doctrine will necessarily be a departure from that tradition” (260).

Dean of Trinity Evangelical Divinity School, Graham S. Cole, who holds a ThD from the Australian College of Theology, notifies us at the outset of chapter 13, “The Trinity without Tiers: A Response to the Eternal Subordination/Submissiveness of the Son Debate,” that “my concern is with any suggestion of hierarchy or ‘tiers’ that involves some notion of a difference in rank or class especially in the light of the Athanasian Creed (fifth century),” which confesses the Trinity’s “whole three persons are co-eternal, and co-equal” (276). After reviewing a variety of subordinationist positions ancient and modern, he affirms the “economic subordination view persuades me,” as “it is correct at key points in ways that the eternal subordination view is not” (282). This position prominently held by scholars like Millard Erickson (281) recognizes a temporary submission of the Son for the purpose of human salvation. However, near the end of his chapter he clarifies that this position does not transfer to human relations, “It seems to me that Bible-believing Christians need to affirm some form of complementarianism because of the head-body analogy used by Paul of husbands and wives in Ephesians 5, and of Christ and the church in Ephesians 4-5” (284), though he also reports, “Not all who argue for some kind of eternal submissiveness in the essential Trinity think that the eternal inner life of the Godhead provides a paradigm for social relations.” And he notes, “Michael Bird and Robert Shillaker argued that it is time for a moratorium on appealing to the inner life of the Trinity to support any particular view of marital relationships” (283). For himself, he concludes, “If what I have argued is sound then one of the putative barriers to unrestricted women’s ministry in the church falls” (285). So, he appears to be amassing an eclectic view that posits an egalitarian temporary economic submissiveness of the Son to the Father, without eternal subordination. At the same time, Trinitarian relationships do not model human relations. So, egalitarian or soft complementarian relationships between women and men need to be determined by appropriate scriptural passages on the home, but rules for the home would not transfer by necessity to the ministry of women in the church, which may be unrestricted.

James Gordon, who earned his doctorate in systematic theology from Wheaton College’s Department of Philosophy and continues as Visiting Professor of Philosophy, invests chapter 14: “The Presence of the Triune God: Persons, Essence, and Equality,” in examining the arguments of two defenders of Eternal Functional Subordination, Philip R. Gons and Andrew David Naselli,

(311). In other words, we might want to temper extreme statements like “to deny eternal generation is certainly to deny the doctrine of the Trinity,” and “side with Unitarians and Jehovah’s Witnesses in claiming that the Christian doctrine of God is unbiblical,” since “there is nothing other than eternal generation that we can say of the Father-Son relation.” Such a charge condemns all historically orthodox evangelicals like B.B. Warfield and Millard Erickson (and perhaps the “blessed Ignatius” before them), who do not enthusiastically embrace this extra-scriptural explanation as heretics. “Eternal generation” is a non-biblically based speculation included in some creeds and not in others. It is embraced by many respected orthodox thinkers. But it is also rejected by others who cannot accept that one God became three in eternity but maintain a static understanding that one God was always triune eternally with each Person of the one God having everlasting personhood. Room should continue to exist in orthodoxy for both points of view. After all, the foundational goal is to preserve the doctrine of the full eternal deity of each Person of the Trinity: one perspective seeks to explain how the triunity of God came about; the other simply takes that fact as an eternal given. Neither side is Arian, Semi-Arian, Unitarian, or equivalent to being with the Jehovah’s Witnesses, and labeling any trinitarian evangelical Christian as such is simply wrong.

to show such defenses are “independently problematic and inadequately aligned with traditional Trinitarian reflection.” Eventually, focusing on “the divine attribute of omnipresence,” he demonstrates “that more traditional accounts of the Trinitarian persons are able better to account for the scriptural witness to God’s saving presence in general and in the work of redemption in particular” (290).

This book’s arguments close with chapter 15 by co-editor Scott Harrower, who earned his PhD in systematic theology at Trinity Evangelical Divinity School under the school’s dean and chapter 13’s author Graham A. Cole. His subject is “Bruce Ware’s Trinitarian Methodology.” Prof. Ware himself is a former chairman of the Department of Biblical and Systematic Theology at Trinity Evangelical Divinity School, an Evangelical Theological Society past president, and, at this writing, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary’s T. Rupert and Lucille Coleman Professor of Christian Theology (1998). Of particular interest to Dr. Harrower is what he rightly terms as Prof. Ware’s “landmark *Father, Son, and Holy Spirit: Relationships, Roles, and Relevance*” (307), since its publication by Crossway Books, a kind of one-stop shopping for anyone imbibing or objecting¹¹ to the idea that, in Prof. Ware’s words, “an authority-submission structure marks the very nature of the eternal Being of the one who is three. In this authority-submission structure, the three Persons understand the rightful place each has. The Father possesses the place of supreme authority...the Son submits to the Father just as the Father, as eternal Father of the eternal Son, exercises authority over the Son. And the Spirit submits to both the Father and the Son.”¹² An objector, Prof. Harrower charges, “A number of theological and hermeneutical pressures drive Ware toward an inconsistent use of Scripture. This is accompanied by an inconsistent interpretation of, and theological construction with respect to, the relationships between the Father, Son, and Spirit in both the economy of salvation and in eternity” (307).

Prof. Harrower demonstrates his first claim by pointing out, among other examples, that in Bruce Ware’s reading of John 1:14-18, “he imports his view of fatherhood and sonship. The specifics in the passage, and the Johannine view of what fatherhood and sonship mean, are not dealt with” (319). Such an approach makes Dr. Ware’s reading of Scripture suspect as eisegesis, since he interprets the Scripture not by word study of the texts but by superimposing external definitions on them as his interpretive principles. The resulting hermeneutical pressure comes from applying a circular approach, already bringing an understanding to the text deductively rather than deriving it inductively from the text itself, that is to say, searching for proof of a theory in a text, rather than letting a text reveal its own meaning. Prof. Ware’s intention is “to avoid agnosticism about God” (324), but theological pressure bears down from his “selective” (323),¹³ strict reading of Karl Rahner’s “rule” that “*The ‘economic’ Trinity is the ‘immanent’ Trinity and the ‘immanent’ Trinity is the ‘economic’ Trinity*” (311). The difficulty, Prof. Harrower explains, with taking such a strict reading is that “the extent and degree to which God’s eternal triune relationships are revealed is limited by both the nature of revelation and our possibilities for comprehending God.” Therefore, critics of a strict reading recognize it entails “well-documented, insurmountable problems” (313). As Prof. Harrower concludes, “There is a danger that a desire for certainty by evangelicals may lead to nonbiblical and inappropriate assumptions and bases for theology” (326).

A wise final chapter 16, “The Intergenerational Impact of Theological Beliefs,” from Scott Harrower, warning scholars debating the Trinity today to remember they are also shaping “the theological cultures of future generations” (331), closes the book with the same excellence that Michael Bird’s helpful and informative “Introduction” opened it.

11 For my most recent response, at this writing, to Dr. Ware’s book, see William David Spencer, “Equal Leadership: God’s Intention at Creation,” ch. 4 in Aída Besançon Spencer and William David Spencer, eds., *Christian Egalitarian Leadership: Empowering the Whole Church according to the Scriptures*, House of Prisca and Aquila Series (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock, 2020), 60-68.

12 Bruce Ware, *Father, Son, and Holy Spirit: Relationships, Roles, and Relevance* (Wheaton, IL: Crossway, 2005), 21.

13 Scott Harrower invents a new title for Bruce Ware’s approach: “a Selective Strict Realist Reading of Texts (SSRRT) as an alternative Trinitarian norm,” 323.

For anybody serious about current discussions on the Trinity, this is a book not to be missed. Michael Bird is a bridge-builder and he and his worthy co-editor have managed to include what appear to be both complementarians and egalitarians together in one volume, not to debate each other, but to amass together a collection of harmonious theological analyses, built on their common faith in the Triune God and their shared loyalty to the Nicene Creed and the doctrine of the eternal generation of the Son. What is remarkable is that they all hit the same theme – equality not hierarchy is God’s triune nature – but each author does so from a different specialty in a different way to build a satisfying theological statement. We may not have complete consensus on all nuances of the discussion, but we do find intentional coherence on the main points.

Further, although the book is firm on the absence of hierarchy in the Trinity,¹⁴ neither today’s gender complementarians nor egalitarians will have many objections, because the book intends to avoid applying these arguments on the nature of the Trinity to the relationships among humans.¹⁵

In the introduction, Michael Bird told us: “This volume tries to do two things. First, it constitutes a robust restatement of Trinitarian orthodoxy with special attention paid to a non-subordinationist and non-hierarchical account of the relationships within the Godhead” (11). This the book accomplishes: its writers seek to support a doctrine of God freed from discussions of human gender roles, hoping they will promote trinitarian orthodoxy rather than heterodoxy. Their emphasis on equality in the Godhead helps them find other ways to differentiate the Persons of the Godhead than positing unshared distinguishing attributes of unilateral authority/command and subjection/submission that necessitate ranks in tandem and degrees of power and glory, hanging only on shared divine substance to avoid tri-theism.

“Second,” Prof. Bird explains, “it attempts to wrestle the doctrine of the Trinity away from the trenches of American evangelical debates about gender and authority.” This, Prof. Bird, himself born in West Germany, holding a University of Queensland PhD, and serving as dean of Australia’s Ridley College, only partially achieves. The authors certainly fire heavy shots of disapproval of the USA’s Trinity vis á vis human gender debate and, specifically, correction into foundational hierarchical theologies, but wrestling the Trinity discussion out of largely American hands can hardly be achieved when at least eight (and possibly one or two others¹⁶) of the book’s fifteen chapter contributors appear to be North Americans, seven have earned PhDs from USA institutions and four others with British Commonwealth degrees have preliminary degrees from the USA. Nine of the fifteen authors are also presently teaching in North American institutions, a clear majority. I think what the book has actually done is introduced fresh North-American-born and related voices, along with those from the British Commonwealth and others from a wider global context to these generational Trinity feuds.

This is an important book. Though I’ve quoted from each chapter, what I’ve given are simply highlights, so much more pulses in these pages. Whether one embraces these arguments or not, this book well articulates to contemporary readers a major historical position on the nature of the Trinity that will definitely do its part in shaping the “theological cultures” of future generations.

William David Spencer is distinguished adjunct professor of theology and the arts at Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary’s Boston Campus for Urban Ministerial Education. He earned his Th.D. in theology and ancient literature at Boston University School of Theology and has taught theology for Gordon-Conwell since 1983, from 1992 on at CUME. He

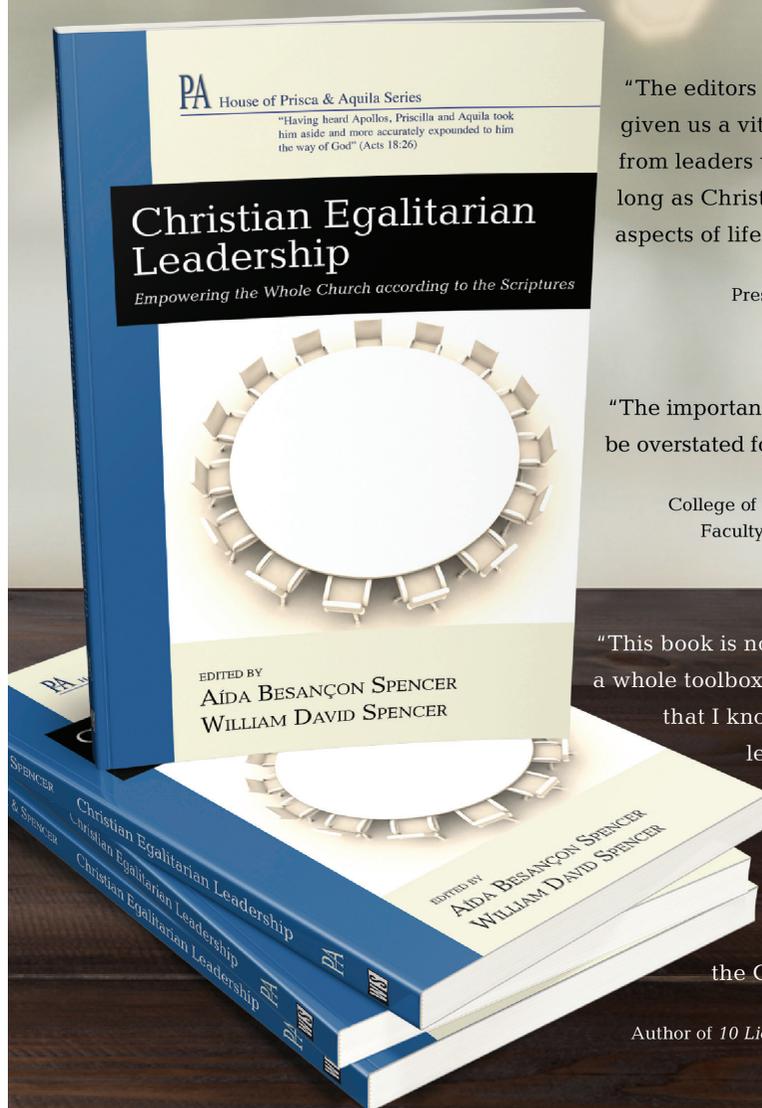
14 As noted, wisely referencing Athanasius, the later Athanasian Creed, and the Cappadocian fathers, among others, rather than their more heavily platonically-influenced predecessors Justin Martyr and Theophilus of Antioch, who first articulated and developed the eternal generation doctrine.

15 Surprising is the nearly total absence of Dr. Kevin Giles, one of Australia’s leading theological lights with just three references, since he has argued eloquently against hierarchy in the Trinity and has been an outspoken champion of the doctrine in *The Eternal Generation of the Son* (Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 2012). Michael Bird explains on page 9 (reference omitted in the index) that he and Dr. Giles differ over whether or not “an economic submission of the Son to the Father did inform relationships within the immanent Trinity” (9).

16 A brief biographical sketch for each author would have introduced those not yet known in readers’ circles.

has also served as founding pastor of encouragement for more than thirty years at Pilgrim Church of Beverly, MA. He edited Christians for Biblical Equality's journal *Priscilla Papers* for ten years and for twelve has coedited *Africanus Journal*. He also coedits the Wipf and Stock book series *House of Prisca and Aquila*. He has authored about three hundred articles, chapters, editorials, poems, stories, and features, including authoring or editing eighteen books, including *Christian Egalitarian Leadership*, *The Prayer Life of Jesus*, *Dread Jesus*, the upcoming *Three in One: Analogies of the Trinity*; two novels, *Cave of Little Faces* and the award-winning *Name in the Papers*; as well as a related CD of his original music: *Songs from the Cave, Ballads from the Papers* (2019). Two of his books, *Mysterium and Mystery* and *Chanting Down Babylon* have been declared by critics the definitive works in their fields and he has won twenty editing and writing awards. He and Aída's blog is *Applying Biblical Truths Today* at <https://aandwspencer.blogspot.com>.

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Review of *Preaching Hope in Darkness: Help for Pastors in Addressing Suicide from the Pulpit* by Scott M. Gibson and Karen Mason (Bellingham, WA: Lexham, 2020)

MATTHEW D. KIM

In *Preaching Hope in Darkness*, Scott M. Gibson, professor of preaching, holder of the David E. Garland chair of preaching, and director of the PhD in preaching program at Truett Seminary, Baylor University, and Karen Mason, professor of counseling and psychology and director of the counseling program at Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary have tag-teamed to provide the Church a tremendous resource in helping pastors navigate the complex world of suicide and suicide prevention from the pulpit. To my knowledge, this is the first full-length treatment on the topic of bridging preaching and suicide/suicide prevention. Gibson and Mason are two leading experts in their fields of homiletics and counseling, respectively.

The book contains seven chapters covering foundational background on the topics of understanding suicide (ch. 1), preaching to your culture (ch. 2), preventing suicide (ch. 3), preaching to protect against suicide (ch. 4), pastoral care after a suicide crisis (ch. 5), the funeral sermon and post-suicide care (ch. 6), and young adult and youth group preaching and teaching (ch. 7). Additional resources are provided in nine Appendices providing sample handouts, liturgies, response protocol, two sample sermons addressing suicide as well as four sample sermons post-suicide, Bible study materials for youth and young adults, a bibliography, assistance for parents of suicide victims, and more.

In the introduction, the authors explain some of the unique features of this book, namely, that it “will help you apply what is known about homiletics *and* suicide prevention to preaching, the activity that is the focus of so much of your time and effort” (3). What I appreciate about this book is how practical it is. Each of the chapters starts with a case study and discussion questions on the particular case. Another significant aspect of the book is that the authors have conducted significant research, as they explain: “Scott interviewed twenty pastors, suicide bereaved persons, and funeral directors. Karen and her colleagues have interviewed or surveyed over a thousand clergy. For this book, Karen interviewed three survivor congregants and surveyed 258 evangelical clergy and 370 evangelical congregants” (4). As such, the project has gravitas and real-life substance providing a rich human element that cannot be replicated through books and articles alone. For this, I applaud the authors for taking the extra steps to validate their findings, arguments, and principles. Toward the end of the introduction, they make the following caveat, which is a necessary one to commence their volume: “In this book, we are not suggesting that preaching will eliminate the risk of suicide in your church. Suicide is unpredictable and the result of a delicate mix of risk and protective factors” (5). The rest of the book guides preachers, pastors, and ministry leaders to draw out these complexities and provide a way forward to seek to prevent and handle post-suicide tragedies.

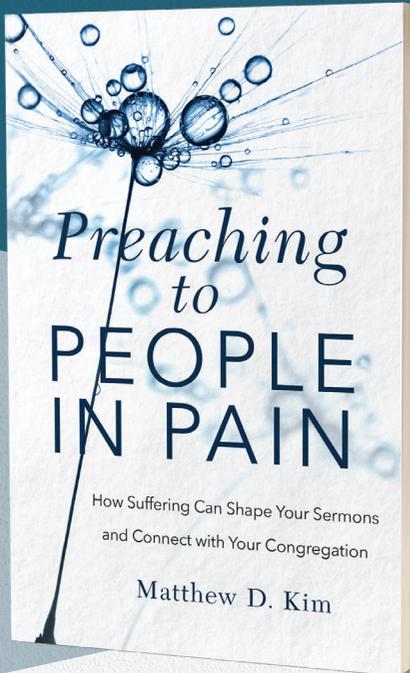
Rather than dryly spelling out the contents of each of the chapters, I would like to offer brief commentary on what I found most valuable in this book as a whole. First, as a book written on biblical preaching and suicide, the authors astutely brought in Scripture throughout the book, whether highlighting biblical characters who became suicide victims or laying out passages on the *imago Dei*, dealing with suicide, and more. Thus, the book has biblical and theological depth for which I am grateful. Second, the book covers almost every necessary issue relating to preaching and pastoral care for suicide prevention and post-suicide instruction. Whenever I had a question in my mind, Gibson and Mason provided an answer at some point in the book. Third, *Preaching Hope in Darkness* demonstrates a mastery of cultural understanding, particularly of secular culture, the world/culture of literature, and Christian/church culture. Fourth, I commend the authors for

securing the book on the anchor of gospel as being the solution for suicide prevention and post-suicide response. Apart from Christ and the gospel, preachers have little of value to offer hurting and wounded souls. Fifth, noticing the trend toward younger victims of suicide, Gibson and Mason wisely inform us how to minister hope and gospel-eminence to millennials and youth today. Finally, the numerous Appendixes round out the book by providing practical, hands-on tools for pastoral ministry and preaching on this salient topic.

There is much more that I could share about the quality of biblical, homiletical, sociological, psychological, and ecclesial wisdom in this resource. The authors have enriched the Church where there was a dearth of literature on preaching and suicide. I encourage pastors to read the book with their ministry leaders as well as with fellow ministers in their denominations and surrounding towns. Preventing suicide from the pulpit will “take a village” and cannot be undertaken by individual pastors and congregations alone. Thank you, Dr. Gibson and Dr. Mason, for guiding pastors and congregations on this crucial matter affecting and infecting this world. As I close, I offer up a prayer to the Lord for anyone in this world who is contemplating suicide. May God grant you His peace, presence, and protection.

Matthew D. Kim, Ph.D. is the George F. Bennett Professor of Preaching and Practical Theology, director of the Haddon W. Robinson Center for Preaching, and director of Mentored Ministry at Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary. He is the author or editor of many books, including *Preaching to People in Pain*, *The Big Idea Companion for Preaching and Teaching*, and *Preaching with Cultural Intelligence*, the 2018 *Preaching Magazine* Book of the Year.

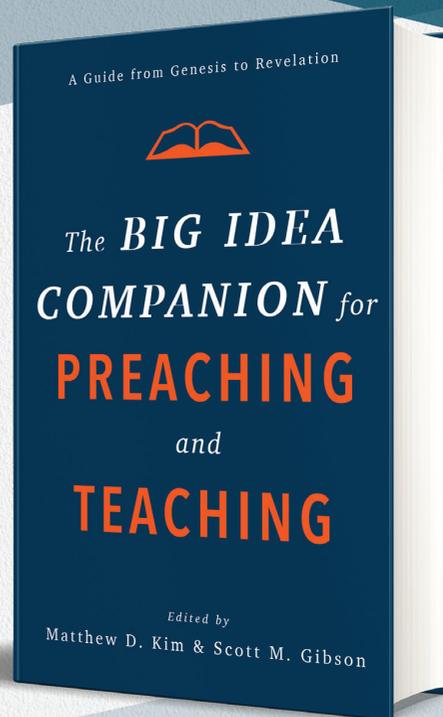
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Review of *The Broken Leaf: Meditations on Art, Life, and Faith in Japan* by Roger W. Lowther (Eugene, OR: Resource, 2019)

AUSTIN M. FREEMAN

The Martin Scorsese film *Silence* brought Japanese novelist Shūsaku Endō to mainstream attention in 2016. The eponymous novel tells the story of persecuted Jesuit missionaries during the closure of Japan in the seventeenth century. The themes of the novel draw heavily on Endō's own theology. A rather non-traditional Roman Catholic, Endo also wrote *A Life of Jesus*, portraying Jesus as a sort of living *fumi-e*, welcoming us to trample upon Him and take on His brokenness. Before this, theologian Kazoh Kitamori wrote *Theology of the Pain of God* only one year after the bombing of Nagasaki destroyed the largest population of Christians in the country. In it, Kitamori follows Moltmann in arguing that God not only feels pain but invites us to share it with Him as a way of being made into the image of the Crucified One. All this to say, many prominent strains of Japanese theology accentuate Christ's brokenness, and these in unorthodox ways.

That is not the whole story, of course. Other theologians such as Kanzō Uchimura or Uemura Masahisa, artists such as Makoto Fujimura, or novelists like Ayako Miura paint a more doctrinally sound picture of Christ's life poured out for us. Roger Lowther's tiny book--more a pamphlet at a mere fifty pages--follows this latter stream. Lowther, the founder of arts mission Community Arts Tokyo, here collects ten meditations from gatherings and conversations he has had with artists over the years, all surrounding the theme of brokenness.

The term "meditation" is a good guide by which to read this book. Each reflection is only three to four pages long, and written in a direct, conversational style. Each takes an element of traditional Japanese arts and crafts and finds an application to Christian faith, tying in scriptural citations and a bit of pastoral theology. The entire book can be read in an hour, but the reader would be better served by taking one meditation a day and mulling it over before proceeding to the next.

The Japanese seem to have a particular name for every paper and paint brush, but the audience need not fear being overwhelmed, Kanagawa-like, by a torrent of *kanji*. Lowther selects artistic practices familiar to Western audiences and intersperses them with a few more obscure techniques. In order, he covers: the tea ceremony; *kintsugi*; *urushi* bowls; repairing the *shoji* paper that forms the walls in traditional Japanese houses; *koto* harp music; the Tokyo Rainbow Bridge; Mikimoto pearls; the Murakami novel *Coin Locker Babies*; *kabuki* theatre; and the incense ceremony.

Theologically, only two points require quibbling with. First, Lowther cites Sally Lloyd-Jones's *Jesus Storybook Bible* (p. 27 note), which seems to adopt the position that the Father pours out wrath on the Son. This notion, though popular, is foreign to the New Testament and to the Reformers as well. Second, Lowther writes that Jesus loses the love of the Father in the cry of dereliction on the Cross (p. 37). This is in effect a repetition of the theory of atonement just mentioned. But neither of these statements take up much space and do not mar the work overall.

Austin M. Freeman (Ph.D., Trinity Evangelical Divinity School) is a systematic theologian focusing on theology and literature, and in particular on the work of J.R.R. Tolkien. He teaches New Testament, moral philosophy, and rhetoric in Dallas, and online for Houston Baptist University. He has a longstanding interest in Japanese theology and has lectured at Christ Bible Institute in Nagoya.

Review of *Reading Romans with Eastern Eyes: Honor and Shame in Paul's Message and Mission* by Jackson W. (Downers Grove: InterVarsity, 2019)

JAE-SEUNG LIM

In *Reading Romans with Eastern Eyes*, Jackson W. attempts to interpret the book of Romans through the honor-shame lens and emphasizes the importance of such an interpretation. His primary concern is not the center of Paul's theology in Romans *per se*, but the way Paul's message supported "the purpose of his mission within an honor-shame context" (3). The title and subtitle of this book seem to imply two presuppositions of the author: Romans needs to be read with the Eastern worldview, and the perspective of honor and shame represents Eastern thoughts. Nevertheless, he does not have an intention to suggest Eastern cultures as a better interpretative tool than Western cultures; instead, he wants to offer another possibility that the message of Romans may be applied to non-Western cultures (4).

In chapter one, Jackson introduces an Eastern standpoint that he employs throughout the book. He presents similarities between Eastern and Ancient Eastern cultures such as tradition, relationship, and hierarchy to legitimize his use of the Eastern perspective. Moreover, he finds a close relationship among honor and shame in the Western world, honor and shame in the Bible, and "glory" in Romans. Jackson lays his methodological foundation, which enables non-Eastern readers to approach and interpret Romans through Eastern eyes. Chapter two examines the reason Paul wrote Romans. Paul wanted to request the Roman Christians' support for his Spanish mission, and at the same time, he needed to comment on several issues they were confronting. Paul had "acute sensitivity to honor and shame," which enabled him to deal with sensitive issues like ethnocentrism.

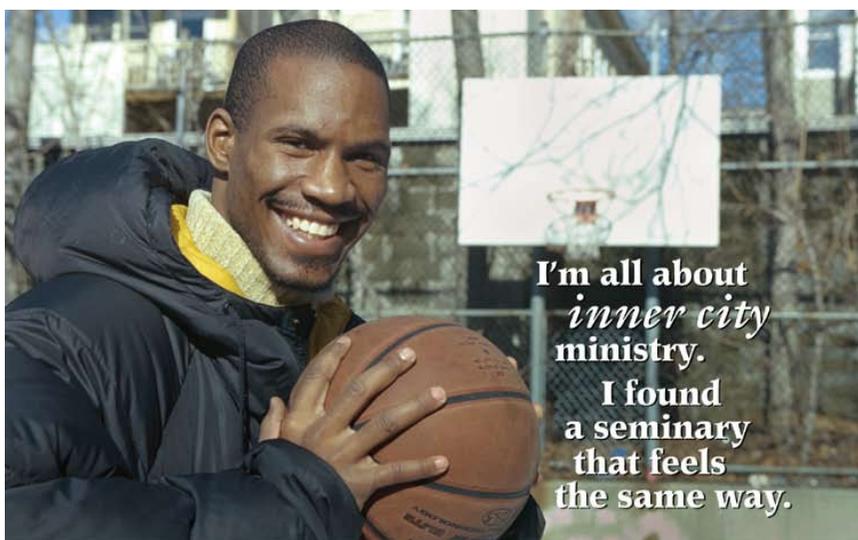
Chapters three through six applies honor-shame lens to Romans 1–4. Chapter three shows Paul's view of sin, which led sinners to make God lose "face" in Romans 1–3 based on the honor and shame frame. In chapter four, Jackson finds a boundary marker, a collective identity, from Romans 2–3 that distinguishes insiders and outsiders. Chapter five argues that Romans 3 describes Christ as the one who honored God. Christ's death opened a way for believers to be loyal, which gives God honor. In chapter six, Jackson examines Paul's answers to a few questions regarding justification by God from Romans 4: who is justifiable and how it is possible. Subsequently, Romans 5–8 are explored in chapters seven through nine. Chapter seven looks into Romans 5–6 and regards Christ as "filial son," and, thus, his followers may glorify God the Father together with him. Chapter eight criticizes the vague language of salvation of the gospel in the Western world and interprets Romans 5–8 with an emphasis on the hope of glory. In chapter nine, Jackson highlights Paul's use of inclusive "we/us" language in Romans 7 that shows the inclusiveness of the exodus motif in his understanding of salvation.

Lastly, chapters ten through twelve focuses more on providing applications of Paul's message, especially of Romans 9–16. Chapter ten studies the use of Old Testament passages in Romans 9–11 and clarifies the meaning of Paul's quotation, "will not be put to shame" (Rom 9:33; 10:11). In chapter eleven, Jackson casts and tries to answer the question concerning Christian collectivism and the church's response based on Romans 12–13. Finally, chapter twelve reads Romans 14–16 as Paul's application of the gospel to the Roman church. Jackson offers ways to establish a church as a "harmonious society" with the eyes of honor-shame values.

The book provides a thorough interpretation of the whole book of Romans through a particular lens: honor and shame perspective. Although the presentation of the methodology seems to be a little insufficient, and the way of application is likely somewhat unclear at first, it

soon becomes more and more understandable when one reads through the book. To illustrate, he does not profoundly examine the honor and shame framework, nor does he perform modelling to fit the framework into the study of Romans in the first chapter. Granted, he proficiently utilizes the concept in accordance with each chapter of Romans. Furthermore, his intention to fill the gap between the Ancient Eastern world and modern Western understanding works well, and his consistent application of honor-shame lens to interpret Romans is convincing. Most of all, I believe the most beneficial element of this book is the author's endeavor to be both academic and practical. Thus, I strongly recommend this book to anyone interested in the book of Romans.

Jae-Seung Lim is a Ph.D. candidate in the New Testament at McMaster Divinity College in Hamilton, ON, Canada. Also, he is preaching to children grades 1-6 as an assistant pastor every Sunday at Eaglesfield Community Church in Burlington, ON. He finished his Th.M. (*Cum Laude*) in New Testament studies at Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary in South Hamilton, MA, in 2015. He had served as a Byington Scholar for Dr. Aída Besançon Spencer from Fall 2016 to Spring 2017 while he was enrolled in M.A. in Religion at Gordon-Conwell. Also, he holds an M.Div. degree from Chongshin Theological Seminary (Seoul, South Korea), and a B.A. from Yonsei University (Seoul, South Korea).



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Review of *Apostle of Persuasion: Theology and Rhetoric in the Pauline Letters* by James W. Thompson (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2020)

DASOL CHANG

Apostle of Persuasion: Theology and Rhetoric in the Pauline Letters is written for anyone who is interested in Pauline studies, but especially for those whose interests are Paul's theology and/or rhetoric. Having written his "Pauline trilogy" (*Pastoral Ministry according to Paul*, *Moral Formation according to Paul*, and *The Church according to Paul*), respected and seasoned New Testament scholar James W. Thompson examines the close relationship between the theology and the rhetoric of Paul, which are usually treated as separate disciplines. The author persuasively argues that Paul's theology and rhetoric are inseparable and vital instruments of persuading his readers toward moral (trans)formation.

The book has eleven chapters in addition to the introduction and the conclusion. The first four chapters explore the background of Paul's theology and rhetoric. Chapter 1, "The Rhetoric of Paul's Letters," demonstrates that, despite its similarities with the rhetoric of his time, Paul's rhetoric is a new kind of prophetic and authoritative rhetoric created by the gospel. Chapter 2, "Paul and the Pharisaic Tradition," explores Paul's Jewish heritage, which formed the substructure of his theology. Chapter 3, "Where Christian Theology Began: Jesus and the Early Church," examines the convictions that Paul inherited from Jesus and the early church, which allowed him to reinterpret his Jewish legacy. Chapter 4, "Paul's Ethos and His Theology," explores Paul's Christ-encountering moment that reshaped his theology and self-understanding as an apostle sent to speak for God and to suffer with Christ.

The remaining seven chapters demonstrate the author's thesis that Paul's theology and rhetoric are aimed at persuading his readers toward life transformation. Chapter 5, "First Thessalonians: A Template for Theological Reflection," presents 1 Thessalonians not as an example of Paul's early stage of theology, but as Paul's first letter and template for his later letters, written to persuade his readers to live in a manner worthy of the gospel. Chapter 6, "Christology and Persuasion," demonstrates that Christology was not a matter of debate for Paul, but that Paul uses it, especially in Philippians and 1 Corinthians, to shape the behavior of his readers. Chapter 7, "Greco-Roman Values and the Theology of the Cross: The Corinthian Correspondence," shows that the new issues that arose in the Corinthian church motivated Paul to elaborate on the meaning of the cross in the life of the church to challenge his readers to live not by the values of their Greco-Roman culture, but by the message of the cross.

Chapter 8, "The Theology of the Cross and Justification by Faith," examines how the new issues that arose among the Galatians prompted Paul to elaborate on justification by faith to persuade his readers "to reject life under the law and to maintain a life governed by the Spirit" (18). Chapter 9, "Romans, the Righteousness of God, and the Defense of Paul's Ministry," demonstrates that the new problems and questions, like an ethnically divided church in Rome, led Paul to elaborate further on justification by faith and the transforming power of the gospel, with the goal of persuading his readers to be a sanctified and unified people of God.

Chapter 10, "Seek the Things That Are Above: Persuasion in Colossians and Ephesians," explores the continuity of Paul's persuasive goals between the undisputed letters of Paul and Colossians and Ephesians. The author argues that Paul's theology of "the cosmic Christ" (in Colossians) and "the cosmic church" (in Ephesians) is aimed at life transformation of his readers (246). Chapter 11, "Pauline Theology and Rhetoric in the Pastoral Epistles," examines the continuity of Paul's persuasive aims between his undisputed letters and the Pastoral Epistles. The author contends that, despite the different nature of the Pastoral Epistles, "the concern in all three

letters is the ethical life of Paul's emissaries and his churches" (264-65), and that these letters "maintain the Pauline theology of transformation" (265).

The most important contribution of the book in this reviewer's opinion is its unique and integrative approach to Paul's theology. Primarily focusing on arrangement and invention, the author demonstrates Paul's use of rhetoric in his letters (chapter 1 as well as throughout the book). The author also identifies the major theological themes found in Paul's letters (e.g., Christology, the theology of the cross, justification by faith, the righteousness of God, and sanctification). However, by paying careful attention to the theology and the rhetorical situations of each of Paul's letters, the author persuasively presents Paul as pastor and apostle of persuasion, whose rhetoric and theology are both integral and inseparable parts of his aim to persuade his readers toward life transformation (chs. 5-11). The author shows that many of the debates among scholars about Paul's theology might be unfruitful and even unnecessary, as Paul's "new rhetorical situations call[ed] for theological elaboration on various themes" (17). The author, therefore, establishes the continuity and unity of all of Paul's letters.

This book has tremendous implications for the church and its ministry. As theology plays an essential role in Paul's persuasive task, the church is to heed the importance of theology in its life and to reevaluate its ministry according to sound and solid theology. But more importantly, as the consistent feature of Paul's letters is ethical exhortation to the community of believers, the church must preach, teach, and live in a way that "ensure[s] the ultimate transformation" of believers for the Parousia (269).

This reviewer recommends this book not only to seminary students, but to anyone who is looking to study Paul's letters in greater depth. A working knowledge of Greek will be certainly helpful for deeper engagement and further study, but it is not necessary. This book is highly recommended for any exegesis of Paul's letters and for theology classes.

This book, the newest book of highly regarded Pauline scholar James W. Thompson, offers a fresh, new insight into Pauline studies and has significant implications for the contemporary church and its ministry. The book will leave the reader not only with a greater appreciation of God's Word, but with a greater desire and a more earnest prayer for the transformation of the church, the body of Christ.

Dasol Chang is an ordained pastor in the Korean Presbyterian Church Abroad (KPCA). He holds a B.S. in Psychology from Purdue University (West Lafayette, IN) and an M.Div. and a Th.M. (New Testament) from Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary (South Hamilton, MA).