

Abstract: The following master's thesis explores the scholastic pneumatology of nineteenth-century, Methodist confessional theologian William Burt Pope. Specifically, it traces the unity of the Spirit's creative work within the loci of creation and soteriology, positing that in both instances, the Spirit creates in a unique way: using a threefold pattern of action. Thus viewed, the Spirit's creative work throughout time and space can be understood as a coherent whole. This in turn offers two theological contributions of great importance for Methodism today. Namely, Pope's unitive account first offers a fresh dogmatic basis for Methodism's historic proclivity towards social reform/social justice, basis which is grounded in pneumatology. Secondly, Pope's overall approach asks new questions—and consequently opens up new horizons—within soteriology, including a different grammar for articulating the nature of sanctification. By using Pope's analogous approach, sanctification is refracted with new light, emerging as a work of “ongoing creation” akin to that first seen in Genesis. This unique approach brings to the foreground emphases often marginalized in more classical articulations of sanctification.

THE UNITY OF THE SPIRIT'S CREATIVE WORK:
CREATION AND SOTERIOLOGY IN THE SCHOLASTIC PNEUMATOLOGY OF
WILLIAM BURT POPE

by

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A master's thesis

submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts, Theological Studies in the School of Theology

Asbury Theological Seminary

May 2020

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Introduction

In recent years, the task of pneumatology has turned an attentive ear to the question of how the Spirit's creative work throughout time and space might be understood in more integrative terms so as to reveal a coherent whole. While the Spirit creates anew in both the loci of creation and soteriology, the tendency is to approach the two creative acts as dis severed and explore each independently of the other. There is no doubt that this approach has been deeply, if unintentionally conditioned by historical influences.¹ However, as the intelligibility of thus fragmenting the Spirit's creative work has become increasingly questioned in recent years, so too has pneumatology seen a flowering of new attempts to articulate precisely how "the 'Spirit of creation' and the 'Spirit of righteousness' are to be understood as the *one* Spirit of God."²

Arguably, this burgeoning dialogue is of particular value for Methodist pneumatology as the tradition's cardinal doctrine—sanctification—has in many ways set the agenda for pneumatological inquiries for some time. A dedicated study that focuses instead on the Spirit's *creative* work would not only broaden the historic focus of Wesleyan pneumatology but offer a complement to her more classical emphases. Ergo, the following paper will take up this task, adding to the bouquet of recent scholarship yet another account of how the Spirit's creative work *can* and *should* be understood as a coherent whole—one written from a distinctly Methodist perspective. Namely, this paper will advance a unitive portrait of the Spirit's creative work in creation and soteriology by looking to the scholastic pneumatology of nineteenth-century, Methodist confessional theologian William Burt Pope.

¹ For an excellent study of the doctrinal developments that indirectly shaped this tendency, see Friederike Nüssel's "Challenges of a Consistent Christian Language for the Creativity of God's Spirit," in *The Spirit of Creation and New Creation*, ed. Michael Welker (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2012), 120-133.

² Michael Welker, *God the Spirit*, trans. John F. Hoffmeyer, (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock Publisher, 2013), 158.

The work of Pope, rather than the work of John Wesley, has been selected for two reasons. First, and more broadly, Pope's work offers Methodist theology what Wesley's simply cannot: a systematized articulation of Wesleyan-Methodist dogmatics. Like the Lutheran and Reformed traditions that preceded her, Methodism's initial reform movement was followed by an era of doctrinal systematization as confessional theologians sought to clarify and defend the distinguishing contours of their nascent tradition. Chief among these, for Methodism, was William Burt Pope. And like his Lutheran and Reformed forebearers, when Pope sought to articulate a confessional theology for his tradition, he utilized a decidedly scholastic approach. The result was a three-volume Wesleyan dogmatics articulated in the elegant logic of scholasticism, and as committed to its continuity with the patristic tradition as it is to Wesleyan particularity.³ Despite the neglect this systematic work has suffered in the last century (being first the casualty of modernity's preference for experience-based theology [such as, Boston Personalism], and then the discarded refuse of the twentieth-century's push for Wesley studies to go "back to the sources"⁴), Pope's dogmatics is deserving of reclamation within Methodist theology today and has indeed been left untouched for far too long. The second reason for selecting Pope's work is that he was somewhat ahead of his time in recognizing the continuity of Spirit's creative work in creation and soteriology. As such, Pope's *Compendium* offers a rich starting place from which to explore the specific question of how the Spirit's creative work *can* and *should* be understood as a coherent whole.

³ William Burt Pope, *Compendium of Christian Theology*, 3 vols, (n.p.: Pantianos Classics Publishing, 2017). Pope also authored a catechism of the Methodist faith—*A Higher Catechism of Theology*—which distills the confessional contours of his *Compendium* into a single, lay-accessible volume. A masterful work both in its scope and its simplicity, Pope's catechetical contribution to Methodism is likewise deserving of reconsideration. See William Burt Pope, *A Higher Catechism of Theology* (London: Hayman Brothers and Lilly, n.d.).

⁴ Justus Hunter, "A Defense of William Burt Pope's Confessional Methodist Theology," *Wesleyan Theological Journal* 54, no. 2 (Fall 2019): 7-17.

It is to this task that this paper now turns; its argument will proceed in three movements. First, this paper will survey Pope's account of the Spirit's creative work in the locus of creation. Second, it will explore the Spirit's subsequent creative work as seen in the locus of soteriology. Third, it will analyze the unity of the Spirit's creative work throughout time and space and then probe the theological contribution that such a unified account might offer Methodist theology today. Specifically, it will claim two implications. It will first argue that Pope's unitive account offers a fresh dogmatic basis for Methodism's historic proclivity towards social reform and contemporary efforts for social justice.⁵ Then, it will argue that Pope's overall approach asks new questions and consequently opens up new horizons within soteriology, including a different grammar for articulating the nature of sanctification.

Part I: The Creative Work of the Spirit in Creation

Reflecting on the Genesis creation account, Pope insists that a scientific reading is misguided and consequently pivots to a theological analysis of the ancient poem, one which relies heavily on the patristic tradition.⁶ Specifically, Pope follows in the thinking of Theophilus, Lactantius, and John of Damascus by affirming that two divine acts of creating are traceable in the poetry of Genesis: one in which God creates the raw material of creation, and one in which

⁵ For examples of historical Methodism's proclivity towards societal reform, see D. D. Thompson's *John Wesley as a Social Reformer* (New York: Eaton and Mains, 1898); cf. William Dwight Porter Bliss and Rudolf Michael Binder, eds., "Methodism and Social Reform," *The Encyclopedia of Social Reform*, 3rd ed. (New York: Funk and Wagnalls Co., 1910), 762-765; cf. Donald W. Dayton's *Discovering an Evangelical Heritage* (n.p.: Hendrickson Publishers, 2000), chapter 7.

⁶ It is worth noting that Pope embraces the theory of evolution, understanding it to be a principle placed in creation by God after the Godhead's initial creation of the universe. In his catechism, on the section, "God and the Creature," question seven offers an affirmative answer to the question: "May evolution be made consistent with our doctrine?" Pope, *Catechism*, 111; cf. Pope, *Compendium*, 1:169, 1:172-173. See also Jerome Van Kuiken's "Pope on Progress: A Constructive Conversation with W. B. Pope's *Compendium* Vol. 1," for a more detailed look at Pope's reception of evolutionary theory. Publication forthcoming in the *Wesleyan Theological Journal*.

God more gradually elaborates creation into subsequent forms.⁷ The first of these Pope describes as an act of verbal fiat that brings the raw material of creation (matter) into existence *ex nihilo* by the will of the Father through the spoken Word, the Son.⁸ In the second, more gradual work, it is instead the Spirit who assumes primary agency; the One who broods over the formlessness and is titled “Giver of Life” in the Creed vivifies the newly created matter and brings forth its intended form.⁹

In Pope’s description of creation, the Spirit’s creative work can be traced in threefold terms: the Spirit 1) unites material creation with the Son and the Father;¹⁰ 2) infuses life into the matter created through the Son at the Father’s will;¹¹ and 3) brings form out of formlessness.¹² Pope describes these three roles severally and beautifully by saying: the Spirit is “the Direct Efficient” of union in the triune economy, the one who “connects the Father and the Son with the visible universe.”¹³ Once united to the Godhead “life was breathed into (“the matter of the universe”) by the Spirit who brooded over our chaos: He is the Lord and Giver of life in every manifestation of it, from the most elementary protoplasm up to that which beholds the face of God.”¹⁴ Lastly, this “forming and fashioning Spirit,” brooding over the formlessness, brings from

⁷ Theophilus of Antioch, “To Autolycus, Book II,” in *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, ed. Alexander Roberts James Donaldson, vol. 2, *Fathers of the Second Century: Hermes, Tatian, Athenagoras, Theophilus, and Clement of Alexandria*, ed. Cleveland Coxe (New York: Christian Literature Publishing Co., 1885), chapters X-XV, 97-101; Lactantius, “The Divine Institutes, Book II,” in *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, ed. Alexander Roberts James Donaldson, vol. 7, *Lactantius, Venantius, Asterius, Victorinus, Dionysius, Apostolic Teaching and Constitutions, 2 Clement, Early Liturgies*, ed. Cleveland Coxe (New York: Christian Literature Publishing Co., 1886), chapter IX, 52-56; John of Damascus, “An Exact Exposition of the Orthodox Faith, Book II,” in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, 2nd series*, ed. Philip Schaff and Henry Wace, vol. 9, *Hilary of Poitiers and John of Damascus*, ed. Alexander Roberts, James Donaldson, Philip Schaff, and Henry Wace, (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing, 2010), chapters II-V, 1656-1670.

⁸ Pope, *Compendium*, 1:155-157, 1:178-179; cf. 2:45.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 1:179, 1:169, 1:156.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 1: 442; cf. 2:45.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 1:179.

¹² *Ibid.*, 1:169, 1:178.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 2:45; cf. 1:442.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 1:179.

“the primitive matter . . . new forms and types of life, from the lowest trace of it scarcely discernible by science up to the soul of man.”¹⁵ Trees, rivers, and hills take shape, and with them dust and the humans made from dust. By the end of Pope’s account of creation, God the Spirit seems to have dirt under his fingernails as the entire cosmos are said to be given form and within them, human persons as well.

Notably, Pope makes it clear that the creative work found in Genesis has a distinct stopping point. Genesis creation is not ongoing but finished; a reality poetically depicted in God resting on the seventh day.¹⁶ The Godhead’s work then shifts to that of “continuance,” in which the finished creation is both protected from demise and actively maintained.¹⁷ But, for Pope, this work of “continuance” is distinctly *not* a work of ongoing creation, a point which he makes clear in his *Catechism*: “Question: Does not this amount to continual creation?” Answer: Certainly not.”¹⁸ As this work of conservation is *not* an act of creation for Pope, it is notable that his description of Spirit’s contribution to the maintenance of creation lacks the full threefold action seen in the Spirit’s creative work in creation.¹⁹ It is not until soteriology that the creative work of God is once again taken up in a subsequent and new creative act.

¹⁵ Ibid., 1:169.

¹⁶ Ibid., 1:169-170; cf. Pope, *Catechism*, 107.

¹⁷ Pope, *Compendium*, 1:442; cf. *Catechism* 106-107.

¹⁸ Pope, *Catechism*, 106-107. Pope’s understanding of conservation is similar to that of Aquinas in that Pope affirms the Godhead’s conservation is not “merely preservation against danger, but (a) continuing (of) all things in existence in their frame and harmony;” cf. Aquinas, “[W]e must consider that a thing is preserved by another in two ways. First, indirectly, and accidentally; thus a person is said to preserve anything by removing the cause of its corruption, as a man may be said to preserve a child, whom he guards from falling into the fire. In this way God preserves some things, but not all, for there are some things of such a nature that nothing can corrupt them, so that it is not necessary to keep them from corruption. Secondly, a thing is said to preserve another *per se* and directly, namely, when what is preserved depends on the preserver in such a way that it cannot exist without it. In this manner all creatures need to be preserved by God. For the being of every creature depends on God, so that not for a moment could it subsist, but would fall into nothingness were it not kept in being by the operation of the Divine power . . .” *Summa Theologica* Ia. 104.I.

¹⁹ Specifically, the Spirit’s work of bringing form from formlessness is conspicuously missing, as the formation of creation has now been finished. Pope, *Compendium*, 442.

Also noteworthy is that the locus of creation offers the first of four portraits of Divine-creaturely union which Pope develops throughout the *Compendium*. As the Spirit's creative work in creation and soteriology comprise two of these four portraits, the absence of narrating the other two would lead to confusion and lack of clarity. Thus, before continuing on to the Spirit's creative work in soteriology, a survey of how the dynamic of union plays out in Pope's work is needed.

I.1 Four Portraits of Divine-Creaturely Union

Woven throughout the three volumes of the *Compendium* are four unique types of Divine-creaturely union. The first occurs in Eden, the second in the Fall; the third occurs in soteriology (regeneration specifically), and the fourth in the eschaton. Each is qualitatively different than the other, as will be traced below. When the teleological progression of all four are plotted, two foundational themes within Pope's work emerge: 1) the centrality of perichoretic union for describing the nature of God as God exists "*in se*," and 2) one of the ultimate purposes for which humanity was created: to share in the innermost, perichoretic union of the Godhead.²⁰

Pope's First Portrait of Union

For Pope, Divine-creaturely union occurs from in the very first moment of humanity's existence; that is, from the outset, humanity was a creature intended for union. The Genesis

²⁰ Notably, this unfolding progression of union is being explored in terms of "teleological thrust" rather than in the language of "evolution," for, the teleological unfolding of God's eternal purposes for and in creation at times contradicts the logic of evolution. Namely, in the Fall, one will see not the linear, forward advance characteristic of evolution, but an utter loss of what was intended for the creature. Then, in soteriology, Pope explicitly affirms that while a new degree of union is "superadded," the union bestowed in soteriology first a return to, and restoration of, the union experienced in Eden; the logic of retrieval here again contradicting the forward movement of evolution. Pope, *Compendium*, 1:181; cf. 3:204. Thus, the salvific work of God cannot be cleanly plotted along the lines of linear advance, and therefore is best articulated not in the language of science, but in the language of theology: as the revelation of God's eternal purposes for and in creation.

narrative describes humanity being first formed from dust and then given a living soul when the Giver of Life breathed into creature the breath of life.²¹ In this breathing, the Spirit of God not only creates a living soul, but indwells the living soul, thereby bringing the dust creature into union with the Godhead.²² Pope explains that Genesis' poetic description of, "the LORD GOD of the garden," is none other than "the Holy Ghost in the human soul."²³ In this account, life is something which only God contains in himself; it is something that the creature possesses derivatively by participation in, or connection to, the life contained in the "Living One."²⁴ Therefore, the indwelling of the Spirit of Life yields two results: 1) the giving of both life spiritual and life biological to the creature;²⁵ and 2) the guiding and teaching of the soul by the indwelling Spirit.²⁶ The creature thus enjoys an unbroken "communion" with the Godhead through the Spirit's indwelling, one which is the foundation and source of the creature's vivification.²⁷ Like a flower whose roots are in the soil of the Godhead,²⁸ it is by this vital connection alone that the creature is vivified.

Within this dynamic portrait, Pope's threefold typology of life and death takes center stage. Pope introduces this typology by noting that the terms "life" and "death" are—throughout the biblical canon—polyvalent terms.²⁹ One can have life biological, life spiritual, and life eternal. Correspondingly, one can experience death biological, death spiritual, and death

²¹ Pope, *Compendium*, 1:180-181.

²² Ibid.

²³ Pope, *Compendium*, 1:182.

²⁴ This apt title was taken from Steve DeNeff, "Choosing Life," in *College Wesleyan Church*, produced by College Wesleyan Church, podcast, MP3 audio, 2014.

²⁵ Ibid., 1:180. ". . . [T]he origin of his life was the breathing into him of a living soul. . . . there is a spirit in man as well as an animal life." Cf. 1:182. ". . . [T]he Holy Spirit . . . He Who brooded over the chaos . . . was the supreme life inbreathed into the highest creature . . ."

²⁶ Ibid., 1:182; cf. 2:10.

²⁷ Ibid., 2:10.

²⁸ I have Steve DeNeff to thank for developing this simile in his work "Choosing Life."

²⁹ Pope, *Compendium*, 2:19.

eternal.³⁰ This schema also introduces the reality that a creature can be alive in one sense and dead in the other. One can be alive-alive, or dead-dead, or alive though dead, or dead though alive.³¹ And it is this nuanced understanding of life and death that one sees played out in the Genesis account of the Fall. In the Genesis poem, God first warns the human couple that on the day they eat of the forbidden fruit, they shall surely die; yet, when the fruit *is* eaten, the couple does not drop dead—they remain biologically alive.³² For Pope, there is more than one kind of death to be suffered, and more than one kind of life to be resurrected into. It is from this loss of life that the second form of Divine-creaturely union results within Pope's work.

However, before moving to the second form of union experienced by the creature, two points of analysis must be noted. First, this Edenic union is never described as being *mutual*; that is, God indwells the creature, but the creature is never said to participate in, or partially indwell God (a dimension which will emerge later in Pope's development of union). Second, the 'contact person' for union, so to speak, should also be noted. It is the Third Person of the Trinity who assumes primary agency in affecting the union with the soul (*agent* of union), and is also the Person to whom the soul is united (*object* of union). (While the Spirit's agency in affecting union will consistently remain [even throughout eternity], the Divine Person to whom the soul is primarily united will change in later iterations of Divine-creaturely union).

Pope's Second Portrait of Union

³⁰ Ibid., 2:17-20.

³¹ Ibid., 2:18-19. In describing this dynamic within Pope's work, I here again revert to using the terminology coined by Steve DeNeff in his work, "Choosing Life."

³² Steve DeNeff, "Choosing Life;" cf. Pope's description of "spiritual death," vs. "physical death," vs. "eternal death" in *Compendium*, 2:17-20.

The soul is dissevered from the Godhead in the Fall. In describing this change, Pope's hamartiology maintains the language of union by exploring the nature of sin in unitive terms. Namely, sin is defined as the creature's "voluntary separation of the soul from God."³³ This voluntary separation occurs when the creature chooses to make "the SELF . . . the ascendant and ruling principle of the life . . . [i]nstead of the Divine Spirit" who indwells and guides the creature in the Garden.³⁴ In response to this choice, the Spirit departs from the soul.³⁵ And "through His withdrawal the spirits (of creatures) . . . are separated from fellowship with God." The soul is now but "a cut flower. The life it contains in itself is diminishing . . ."³⁶ Dissevered, it is dying.

Pope notes that biological death likewise results from the soul's loss of union with the indwelling Spirit. For, in Pope's creation account, the Godhead makes a sacramental universe—one in which the spiritual realm is enmeshed with the physical realm—and nowhere do the two realms merge more integrally than in the human creature, who is at once both dust and living soul.³⁷ Thus, the Giver of Life's departure from the creature results in not only death spiritual, but death biological as well. Writes Pope, "physical death is the penalty of human sin: not however in itself, but as connected with death spiritual: connected with it in some sense as resulting from the same deprivation of the Holy Ghost."³⁸ Death in all its forms now pervades creation. So metastatic is death's reach that no vestige of life remains untinged: even from the

³³ Ibid., 2:15.

³⁴ Ibid., 2:18, 2:15.

³⁵ Ibid., 2:17-18.

³⁶ Steve DeNeff, "Choosing Life."

³⁷ Pope, *Compendium*, 1:180; cf. 2:8.

³⁸ Ibid., 2:18. In a stunning quote, Pope fleshes this concept out still further, affirming that if Edenic union with the Holy Spirit had not been thus severed, biological death would never have occurred, and there would have been no need for the resurrection. He writes, "Through the Fall, the first Adam became to us all the father of a dying nature: he bereft himself and us of the quickening Spirit Who would have rendered the resurrection needless." Pope, *Compendium*, 1:184.

very first moment that a new life is born, it is born *dying*. Pope's account of the Fall ends with the feeling that a dark mist has seeped into all that was once fully and purely alive, including the human soul, and the stench of death hangs thick in the air. "How fearful sin is, as the darkness which is not in God."³⁹

And, yet, because of the benignity of the Good Creator God, a form of connection and of life-giving still remains intact. Like an umbilical cord through which the Godhead preserves creation is the Godhead's work of conservation. For, in Pope's account of conservation, the Spirit both gives life and continues to affect some form of connection between the Living One and the creature.⁴⁰ This life and connection, however, cannot be understood as being the same as that which was first shared by the creature in Eden. For, this portrait of "continuance" extends past the Fall, and the Fall's account of both 1) "life spiritual" being lost, and 2) the union affected by the Spirit's indwelling being severed. Therefore, the interpreter must conclude that it is the continuance of life biological (not "life spiritual") that God conserves throughout the universe after the Fall and before soteriology;⁴¹ and that whatever the vague connection is that the Spirit affects with the creature after the Fall and before soteriology, it falls short of union. To be sure, the creature's biological life is sustained by God, but it is a connection which lacks the intimacy of indwelling the soul. Therefore, Pope's second portrait of union experienced by the creature is one in which union is now severed and only a connection which sustains creaturely existence remains.

Pope's Third Portrait of Union

³⁹ Ibid., 2:14.

⁴⁰ Pope, *Compendium*, 1:442.

⁴¹ Notably, *before* the Fall and *after* soteriology, the conservation of spiritual life would also be included as part of the Godhead's work of conservation.

In soteriology, the estranged creature is once again brought into union with the Triune God and vivified with life spiritual. In this third portrait of union, all that was lost in Edenic indwelling is here returned: the Spirit once again indwells the soul and infuses into the soul life (the content of Pope's doctrine of regeneration).⁴² However, while regeneration constitutes nothing less than the complete recovery of Edenic indwelling of the Spirit and the vivification which results, the union wrought in soteriology likewise surpasses any previously experienced by humanity. For, in soteriology, the soul is invited into "a superadded union with the Son of God as Adam had not;" that is, the soul is "mystically united" to the divine-human Person of Christ.⁴³ Now, the indwelling is mutual: the united soul verily exists "IN CHRIST and . . . CHRIST IN" the soul.⁴⁴ It is a "reciprocal indwelling" in which the One is in the other, and the other is in the One.⁴⁵ This description of *mutual interiority* is nothing less than an approximation of the Godhead's own inner perichoretic existence, one accommodated to the finitude of the creature. For, just as the Divine Persons ever exist in their coinhering of each other, so too does the human soul now forever exist inhering the Person of Christ, and Christ the soul. In this way, the creature has now been invited into an even more penetrative and intimate relation with the Triune God. Soteriology thereby restores Edenic union fully, but also surpasses it with a new level of mystical and mutual interiority shared between the creature and the Son.

Here Pope's theological brilliance shines. The advent of a "mutual" or "reciprocally" interior union occurring for the first time in soteriology is both nuanced and masterful. However, Pope nonetheless fails to offer a dogmatic rationale for this qualitative change. In the absence of

⁴² Ibid., 2:18; cf. 2:23; cf. "Most certainly . . . man is crowned in regeneration with the Holy Ghost fully restored . . ." Pope, *Compendium*, 1:186.

⁴³ Ibid., 3:240.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 2:177, capitalization original.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 2:177.

a rationale, one is left wondering why this new level of interiority was suddenly opened to the creature? Why could this reality not also be enjoyed in Eden? What changed? The missing rational can be found in the doctrine of the Ascension. In order to provide the missing link in Pope's reasoning—and thereby evidence his claim that a mutually interior union is now extended to the human creature only in soteriology—a brief survey of the Ascension event is needed.

The Theological Import of the Ascension for Divine-creaturely Union

To fully understand the theological significance of the Ascension for Divine-creaturely union, one must start with the pre-Ascension Trinity, and indeed, the pre-Incarnation Trinity. Patristic theology affirms that all three Divine Persons are consubstantial with each other, comprised of the same divine nature. Moreover, they affirmed that this divine nature is not corporeal, but invisible. Affirming this, the biblical writer penned, “God is Spirit;”⁴⁶ likewise, Gregory Nazianzen writes of the pre-temporal Trinity, “The Godhead is in its nature invisible.”⁴⁷ In the Incarnation, however, the Second Person assumed an additional and different nature: human nature. After having assumed this second nature throughout his Incarnation, the Son did not cast it off when the time came for him to return to the Father. Rather, as the doctrine of perpetual incarnation affirms, Christ retained his human nature, carrying it with him into heaven, and remains incarnate still. Writes Tertullian,

[T]he Word—flesh and blood, yet purer than ours . . . ascended into heaven the same both in substance and form . . . so as even to be recognized by those who pierced him . . . He keeps in His own self the deposit of the flesh which has been committed to Him . . . and has carried it with Him into heaven . . .⁴⁸

⁴⁶ John 4:24 (NLT).

⁴⁷ Gregory Nazianzen, “To Cledonius the Priest Against Apollinarius, Ep. CL,” in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, 2nd ed., vol. 7, *Cyril of Jerusalem, Gregory Nazianzen*, ed. Philip Schaff and Henry Wace, trans. Edwin Hamilton Gifford (Peabody, Mass: Hendrickson, 2004) 440.

⁴⁸ Tertullian of Carthage, *De Resurrectione Carnis Liber: Tertullian's Treatise on the Resurrection*, trans. Ernest Evans (London: S.P.C.K., 1960), 51.

Likewise arguing this point, Gregory Nazianzen writes,

If any assert that He has now put off His holy flesh, and that His Godhead is stripped of the body, and deny that He is now with His body and will come again with it, let him not see the glory of His Coming.⁴⁹

This aspect of the Ascension event cannot be overstated, for when the preceding premises are held together, they establish that *the Ascension event was the very first moment in which human nature was taken into the interior life of the Triune God*. The inner circle of the Divine Community—previously composed of only Divine nature—opened wide to include, for the first time, a nature that was not its own: human nature.⁵⁰ Now, in the post-Ascension Trinity, human nature exists within the interior life of God: God “*in se*.”

In this post-Ascension Trinity, the incarnate, ascended Son forms a bridge between the creature and the innermost life of the Triune God. Thus, the creature mystically joined to Christ in soteriology is likewise welcomed into the inner life of God in a way hitherto unexperienced by humanity, even in the idyllic perfection of Eden; for in Eden, humanity was still not yet to be found *inside* the Trinity. A new level of Divine-creature interiority has since been wrought by, in, and through Christ. The soul united to Christ now experiences *in part* the innermost life of the Triune God: an approximation of the Trinity’s perichoretic indwelling, the soul “IN CHRIST and . . . CHRIST IN” the soul.⁵¹

And, yet, this “reciprocal indwelling” experienced by the soul wed to Christ is only the first pledge and deposit, the first foretaste of the fullness of union still to come. For, this union,

⁴⁹ Gregory Nazianzen, “To Cledonius the Priest Against Apollinarius, Ep. CI.,” 440.

⁵⁰ In a separate article, I make the case that exploring the Ascension through the patristic categories of substances and natures, consubstantiality and the *homoousion*, offers the Church a dynamic portrait of the Godhead welcoming the “other.” From this portrait, a theological framework can be crafted for engaging the nation’s ongoing discussion of immigration and immigration policy. See, Laura Garverick, “Build a Wall? Triune Borders and their Implications for the Church,” *Wesleyan Theological Journal* 54, no. 1 (Spring 2019): 143-150.

⁵¹ Pope, *Compendium*, 2:177, capitalization original.

while perichoretic in nature, is still only partial. It lacks fullness in three ways: 1) the creature's *knowing* of God is still akin to seeing through a dark glass dimly; 2) the creature's *relationship* with God is still through the mediation and intercession of Christ; and 3) the creature's *experience* of God is that of being united to the economic Trinity, not the immanent Trinity. The fullness of Divine-creaturely union—of which soteriology's union is both pledge and promise—remains yet to be experienced.

Pope's Fourth Portrait of Union

The promised fullness of union comes only in the eschaton as the creature's *knowing* of, *relationship* with, and *experience* of God are described by Pope as being made complete. The creature is finally and fully consummated into the divine life of God—God as God is in Godself. For, in the eschaton, the economic or mediatorial Trinity ceases, and only the immanent Trinity remains. Writes Pope, “The mediatorial economy will cease . . . The Son Incarnate will cease to mediate . . . the Intercessor will pray for us no more,” for “Man taken up into the US of the Triune God will need a mediator no longer.” It is, therefore, into the inner life of the immanent Trinity that the creature is brought at last, seeing God with unveiled face and sharing in God's innermost life without impediment or barrier.

This union, Pope maintains, is always and only owed to the creature's mystical, soteriological union with the Son: “an everlasting and most intimate union with Christ” which “Adam had not.” Notably, the Spirit is still the one who affects this union between the soul and Christ; as such, the Spirit is both now and forever the eternal Agent of Union. Through the creature's “eternal union with Christ” wrought by the Spirit, the creature is made “*one* with the Holy Trinity,” and “the prayer of our Lord (is) fulfilled: that they also may be *one* in Us.” “Of

such a union as this there is no analogy on earth, nor among created things: it has its type in the Holy Trinity itself.” The Trinity “*in se*” fully indwells the creature, and the creature ever plumbs the depths of God—God revealed, God shared.⁵²

Theological Implications

The progression of Divine-creaturely union within Pope’s systematic theology is a dynamic both fascinating and unique. As a traceable subplot woven throughout the *Compendium*, the theme of Divine-creaturely union furnishes the reader with a heuristic device, if not a full-blown interpretative key, for probing the logic of Pope’s theology as a whole. This dynamic also sets apart Pope’s articulation of salvation from that of Wesley’s; for in Wesley’s thought, *unio cum Christi* and *unio cum Trinitate* are merely emphases which operate in the background, not recurrent themes developed with nuance. The potential for using Pope’s work to narrate a thoroughly Wesleyan *ordo salutis* articulated exclusively in the language of union and severance, life and death, is overt, dazzling, and worthy of dedicated exposition. Doing so would bring into the foreground emphases frequently marginalized in more traditional, Wesleyan articulations of the *ordo*. Namely, in more traditional formulations, the language of sin and purity take center stage (not life and death)⁵³, and the concepts of union and severance are peripheral, if present at all. Much is to be gained by the addition of Pope’s language.

⁵² It is worth nothing that because the creature is finite, it cannot fully indwell that which is infinite. Meaning, while God fully indwells the creature, the creature is instead found in God, unable to “indwell” God. Hence, to preserve this distinction between the finitude of the creature and the infinity of the Creator, the language of the creature “plumb(ing) the depths of God,” was used, rather than employing the same language used of God, that of indwelling the other fully.

⁵³ The language of sin and purity is a rightly placed emphasis, for Levitical temple and priestly motifs trade heavily on these terms. However, the poetry of Genesis—where union is first narrated—operates with a different set of antinomies: life and death. Both frameworks, and the distinct emphases each language carries, are needed in order to craft a more fully orbbed understanding of the Godhead’s salvific work.

However, for the present, the details of such implications are beyond the scope of this paper. The above narration of Divine-creaturely union is offered only to supply the reader with a roadmap of sorts, onto which the Spirit's creative work can then be superimposed (seeing as the Spirit's creative work includes, in part, the work of affecting union). Doing so allows the reader to better understand where the Spirit's creative work in creation and soteriology fits within the broader teleological thrust unfolding within Pope's theology (a teleological thrust traced by following the progression of Divine-creaturely union). Hence, with this foundation now laid, it is to the Spirit's second creative work—located within soteriology—that this paper now turns.

Part II: The Creative Work of the Spirit in Soteriology

Flatly in the middle of Pope's locus of soteriology one finds a "paligenesis" event described in terms which parallel the Genesis creation account.⁵⁴ This soteriological event is a "renewal that is no less than a creation."⁵⁵ Namely, it is the "new creation" one becomes when joined to Christ.⁵⁶ In describing it thus, Pope takes seriously the allusion to Genesis made in the Pauline term "new *creation*," and therefore explores this aspect of soteriology in light of the first creation event—a move that is almost recapitulative at times. For, here the Spirit once again takes up the work of creating. Perhaps most striking is that this "paligenesis" takes place not in

⁵⁴ Ibid., 3:6.

⁵⁵ Ibid., 3:5.

⁵⁶ Ibid.; cf. "If anyone is in Christ, he is a new creation." 2 Cor. 5:17 (ESV). Pope's use of the term "renewal" here reveals the relationship existing between the Spirit's first and subsequent creative acts, for the language of renewal both *distinguishes* and *establishes continuity*. It distinguishes because a renewal is a creative work distinct from, and subsequent to, the first state which it renews. It establishes continuity because a renewal is a return to or towards original form, not a discontinuous change unrelated to the original. In this way, Pope can speak of the epoch of original creation as finished, and yet affirm that ongoing creative acts are being done by the Spirit in soteriology; the latter being a "renewal that is no less than a creation but a creation that is only a renewal." The Spirit both has created and is creating still.

justification, but in regeneration. In locating it thus, Pope follows the classically Pietist affirmation that regeneration—not justification—is the event in which real, actual change is wrought in the human soul.⁵⁷

Because regeneration is yet another instance of the Spirit engaging in the work of creation, the Spirit's same threefold work reemerges with marked clarity. That is, the Spirit creates once more by: 1) affecting union, 2) infusing life, and 3) bringing form from formlessness. In terms analogous to, if not recapitulative of, the original creation event, Pope describes the Spirit as once again affecting union between the Godhead and material creation, the creature that has become relationally estranged.⁵⁸ This time, however, the union is even more penetrating in quality—if not perichoretic in nature—than any union which has preceded it.⁵⁹ For, in regeneration the Spirit unites the soul with the person of the Son in a “mystical union” within which a “reciprocal indwelling” now takes place. The united soul now verily exists “IN CHRIST and . . . CHRIST IN” the soul.⁶⁰ It is only within the context of this “mystical union” wrought by the Spirit that the Spirit then creates through the second means: that of infusing life. Yet, this time, the life infused by the Spirit is of a particular kind: the soul is given nothing less than Christ himself, the one revealed in the scriptures as “THE LIFE.”⁶¹ And through the giving of his Person, the divine life of Christ is infused into the soul dead in transgressions. In a single moment, the soul is thereby regenerated, bursting into spiritual animacy.⁶²

⁵⁷ John Wesley, “The Great Privilege of Those that are Born of God,” 0.2.

⁵⁸ Pope, *Compendium* 2:147; cf. 1:149.

⁵⁹ For Pope's descriptions of the union affected by the Spirit and creation prior to the soul being wed to Christ in regeneration, see *Compendium*, 2:17-19 (pre-Fall description of union) and 1:442 (post-Fall description of union). As noted above, the union wrought in regeneration is more penetrative in quality—if not perichoretic in nature—than the preceding relational union shared by the Godhead and creation.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 2:177, capitalization original.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 2:145, capitalization original; cf. John 14:6.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 3:4-5; cf. 2:180.

For Pope, regeneration does not take place without this union. Consequently, he forcefully insists that the doctrine of mystical union can never be reduced “simply into (a) union with the Church and the fellowship of Christ by a genuine Christian profession, a style of interpretation which reduces the IN always to BY, in defiance of sound grammatical exegesis.”⁶³ Neither can it be understood as merely “a federal fellowship in (Christ’s) death and life, such as results from faith in the common Redeemer and exhibits regeneration in some sense as a corporate blessing.” For it is “*more* than a federal fellowship in (Christ’s) death and life . . . it is the mystical communication of a certain Divine-human virtue of the Saviour’s [sic] *being* which cannot be defined in words. Thus, we become partakers of the Divine nature . . .” and thus, “. . . we are regenerated.”⁶⁴ Lastly, the third work of the Spirit—that of bringing form from formlessness—completes the regeneration event. Here the Spirit is described as bringing order and form to the soul that has regressed back into chaos.⁶⁵ Brooding over the chaos once more, the Spirit impresses upon the soul the moral image of God—that is, the original form the soul was intended to bear. Here again the Spirit’s creative work marries the instantaneous with the gradual as the image of God is both impressed initially upon the soul in a single moment and ongoingly formed in the soul through a processive “filling up and deepening of the outline.”⁶⁶

⁶³ Ibid., 2:178.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 3:7, emphasis added. Though it is beyond the scope of this paper, this writer would like to suggest that Pope’s nuanced description of *unio cum Christi* and its dimensions of participation may offer a new articulation with which to engage once more in the ongoing ecumenical dialogue between Wesleyan-Methodists and the so-called Finnish interpretation of Luther. For an example of this dialogue which uses instead the theology of John Wesley, see John L. Drury’s “Luther and Wesley on Union and Impartation: Reopening the Dialogue in Light of Recent Finnish Luther Research,” *Wesleyan Theological Journal* 40, no. 1 (Spring 2005): 58-68.

⁶⁵ Pope, *Compendium*, 3:5.

⁶⁶ Both of which are part of regeneration proper: “Regeneration is the renewal of man in to the Divine image. . . . At the moment of the impartation of the new life that image was restored While the mysterious regenerating act was the restoration of that likeness, it is implied that the renewal, for this is the term, is a process ever going on towards completion. . . . but by many successive stages it is entirely restored.” Pope, *Compendium*, 3:7.

Therefore, speaking of the regeneration event, Pope reminds the reader, “Here we must remember the analogy of the genesis of all things at the beginning: there was an absolute creation of matter, or calling that which was not into being; and there was the subsequent fashioning of that matter into forms which constitute the inhabitable Cosmos,” akin to the “reduction of the soul to order out of its chaos by the renewing of the Holy Ghost.” Hence, while this regeneration “is only a renewal . . . the renewal is no less than a creation,” a “palingenesis” of that which was first undertaken by the *Creator Spiritus*.⁶⁷

Part III: Analysis and Implications

When the loci of creation and soteriology are held together in Pope’s systematic theology, a fuller and more cohesive understanding of the Spirit’s creative work throughout time and space emerges. Creation is not something merely done long-ago in the primordial past; rather, it is an ongoing activity and one of the chief works of the Spirit today. For, the Spirit’s creative work is found not only in original creation, but in the “new creation” wrought in each instance of human salvation. It is precisely because Pope explores that latter in terms of the former, that both the Spirit’s unique means of creating is highlighted, and its ongoing nature is underscored.

Such a unitive portrait of the Spirit’s creative work has clear implications for Methodist doctrine. First, in it, Methodists can find fresh dogmatic grounding for both their historic proclivity towards social reform and their contemporary efforts for social justice. Second, a new posture is offered from which to further plumb the depths of classical soteriology—one that

⁶⁷ Pope, *Compendium*, 3:5-6.

furnishes a new grammar for exploring the nature of sanctification. Each implication will here be explored in turn.

III.1 A Pneumatological Basis for Working towards Social Reform

A unitive portrait of the Spirit's creative work accentuates the reality that the Spirit is ongoingly re-creating within fallen creation during the in-between times (the time between Christ's resurrection and the eschaton); particularly, the Spirit is working within fallen creation to restore it towards God's original intent for it. It is precisely because the Spirit is ongoingly re-creating in this way here and now that Methodism finds a pneumatological basis for her historic emphasis on social reform and her contemporary efforts for social justice.⁶⁸ Social justice efforts that work towards God's original and final intent for humanity—a creation without racism, poverty, or oppression—are recast as living in light of the Spirit's work of re-creation here and now. While social justice is often anchored on a christological basis (i.e. living into Christ's Kingdom) the Spirit's ongoing work of re-creating within fallen creation offers a distinctly pneumatological argument as reinforcement and complement to christological ones.

However, while the Spirit's ongoing creative work inherently issues a call to live in light of the renewal unfurling within fallen creation here and now, the Spirit's work also places an important limitation on human efforts for social justice. Namely, Pope notes that the Spirit's ongoing re-creative work does not extend to the human body—part of the fallen creation is being remade now, and part of the fallen creation is awaiting its full and final remaking.⁶⁹ This is a timely reminder that the Spirit's economic work is never untethered from that of Christ's, whose Kingdom is here now in part but not in full. As such, the Spirit's creative work in the in-between

⁶⁸ Here I go beyond Pope's work and begin the task of application by drawing implications for social justice.

⁶⁹ Pope, *Compendium*, 3:7, 3:190-191.

times is one of both proleptic foretaste and first deposit of the eschatological renewal still to come at Christ's return in the eschaton. This dual reality simultaneously issues two calls: first, it guides us to live in light of a God who is actively making fallen creation new in part here and now. Second, it guides us to look ultimately to Christ and Christ's second coming for the full and final making new of fallen creation.⁷⁰

III. 2 A New Approach in Soteriology

Pope's probing of regeneration in terms analogous to Genesis creation raises an interesting question. Namely, to what extent can soteriology be understood as a recapitulation of original creation? The New Testament was the first to cast salvation in light of original creation by using the term "new creation," and at first glance, many parallels exist between the two creative events. Creation in Genesis is comprised of an initial instantaneous event, followed by a gradual process. So too does new creation unfold by means of an initial instantaneous change, justification, followed by, a gradual process, sanctification. Luther himself explored this parallel with regard to justification specifically. Lutheran scholars have long contended that Luther saw

⁷⁰ Pope, *Compendium*, 3:190. For a fuller treatment of Pope's eschatology, to which I here owe a clear debt, as well as a nuanced argument for social justice made from a specifically christological foundation rather than a pneumatological one, see John L. Drury's "Scholastic Eschatology in the Wesleyan Tradition: The Case of William Burt Pope." *Wesleyan Theological Journal* 54, no. 2 (Fall 2019): 18-25.

creation as being the primary referent for what occurs in justification,⁷¹ and that he consequently described justification at times in the language of creation, speaking of justification *ex nihilo*.⁷²

But alas, the second half—the gradual creative process that follows the instant—has yet to be engaged in such analogous terms. Following Luther’s precedent in justification, could sanctification likewise be explored in terms of creation? When approached in this way, sanctification is refracted with new light, emerging then as a process in which the person is being ongoingly created, ever more brought into being, and ever progressively moved towards one’s chief, intended form. The paint is still wet, the clay is still being molded, and the *Creator Spiritus* still has dirt under his fingernails as he midwives out the chaos a form that has been eternally purposed from the beginning.⁷³ Thus, the earthen creatures once formed from dust are continually being formed by the divine hand in an ongoing work from which God will rest only on the final seventh day: when he sits down among creation once more in her consummation into the divine life of God.

In this way, the language of ongoing creation opens up a new grammar and logic within the regnant understanding of sanctification; one that is complementary, not competitive. It is

⁷¹ Paul Althaus, *The Theology of Martin Luther*, trans. Robert C. Schultz (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1966), 120; cf. Oswald Bayer, *Martin Luther’s Theology: A Contemporary Interpretation*, trans. Thomas H. Trapp (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing, 2003), 95-100; cf. Friedrich Lohmann, “Die Bedeutung der dogmatischen Rede von der ‘creation ex nihilo,’” *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche* 99, no. 2 (Juni 2002): 196-225; cf. Johannes Schwanke, “Luther’s Theology of Creation,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Martin Luther’s Theology*, ed. Robert Kolb, Irene Dingel, and L’ubomir Batka (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 210; cf. Johannes Schwanke, “Martin Luther’s Theology of Creation,” *International Journal of Systematic Theology* 18, no. 4 (October 2016): 399-413; cf. Koert Verhagen, “Justified *ex nihilo*: Retrieving Creation for Theological Anthropology with Luther and Bonhoeffer,” *International Journal of Systematic Theology* 21, no. 2, (April 2019): 199-216.

⁷² As one example from Luther’s writings, “*Ratio: Deum delectate ex tenebris lucem, ex nihilo facere etc. Sic creavit omnia. Sie iuvat desertos, justificat peccatores, vivificat mortuos, salvat damnatos.*” / “God enjoys bringing light out of darkness and making things out of nothing etc. Thus he has created all things and thus he helps those who have been abandoned, he justifies the sinners, he gives life to the dead, and he saves the damned.” Martin Luther, WA 40^{III} 154; cf. Althaus 120. For a treatment of this dynamic in Luther’s catechisms, see Bayer and Schwanke.

⁷³ Importantly, the intended form towards which one is being ongoingly created is that of Christ. Without the explicitly christocentric end so clearly articulated in more classical understandings of sanctification, the language of “ongoing creation” could easily derail into a gospel of self-actualization (that is, a gospel whose goal is self-actualization).

complementary because it brings to the fore emphases within classical Wesleyan articulations of sanctification that often remain in the background. Namely, many classical articulations of Wesleyan sanctification emphasize the exercising of one's will—a will divinely freed in regeneration—and one's intentional effort in the process of ever more putting to death the sin nature.⁷⁴ Here three realities are rightly named: mortification of the old self, the divinely freed will which is now capable of choosing good, and the need for human effort in the process. The language of creation, however, teases out the companion halves of these emphases: to mortification it adds the narrative of *coming alive*. To the affirmation of the freed and divinely empowered will it likewise offers the *limitations of creatureliness* by affirming that those who are made from dust are ever and only dependent on the activity of the Creator for existence. And to the emphasis on human effort it adds the other half of cooperant grace, *the primacy of divine action*. For, in creation, it is divine agency that brings the creature to life and gives the creature its intended form. Both articulations of sanctification—the one which underscores human free will, effort, and mortification, and the one which emphasizes the primacy of divine action, creaturely dependence, and vivification—are needed; for, the apostle Paul speaks of both the “old man” passing away (mortification) and of a “new man” that is created in the shell of the old (new creation).⁷⁵

Moreover, the grammar of ongoing creation teases out a facet of sanctification that can be appreciated in both articulations of sanctification: that is, its *giftedness*. Creation of the creature can only be received by the creature as *gift*. The creature's very existence—both original and ongoing—is bestowed out of an overflow of, and as a diffusion of, the Creator's goodness and

⁷⁴ For examples of such emphases, see John Wesley, “The Scripture Way of Salvation,” I.8, III.4-10; cf. John Wesley, “On Sin in Believers,” III.3, III.8, IV.8-V.2; cf. John Wesley, “The First-fruits of the Spirit,” I. 3, II.6.

⁷⁵ Pope, *Compendium*, 3:92-93; cf. Col. 3:9-10; cf. Rom. 13:14, 6:6-8.

love. As such, it is sheer, unmerited gift. Emphasis on the giftedness of sanctification is not antithetical to the claim that human effort is required; rather, affirming the giftedness of sanctification rightly situates creaturely participation as being only and ever a *response* to the free and gracious action of the good Creator God. Thus, when sanctification is explored in the grammar of ongoing creation, it emerges as: 1) a process in which the earthen creature is being ever ongoingly created towards its intended form; 2) a process in which divine agency precedes any invitation for the creature to participate in their own becoming, and 3) a process in which the creature receives their remaking as divine gift, one overflowing from the sheer benignity and love of God towards fallen creation.

In like manner, how might eclipsed emphases within other aspects of the *ordo salutis* be brought to the foreground when explored using this analogous/recapitulative approach? What might be newly accentuated within a Wesleyan understanding of baptism—the sacrament linked to regeneration—when analyzed through the lens of the Spirit hovering over the primordial waters in Genesis and bringing forth life from them?⁷⁶ In what sense might a Wesleyan understanding of justification be reframed when explored, like Luther’s, in the language of creation *ex nihilo*? By reengaging each in light of creation, one would be inviting a complementary emphasis to stand as companion to those more classical.⁷⁷ For, although the framework of recapitulation is admittedly inadequate for explaining the whole of salvation, like all other theories of soteriology, it might be most helpfully explored when added to the bouquet

⁷⁶ For Wesley’s association of baptism with regeneration, see “A Treatise on Baptism,” specifically II.4. It is worth noting that several patristic writers pave the way for this inquiry by understanding the Holy Spirit’s hovering over the primordial waters in Genesis as being the antecedent and referent for the activity of the Spirit in the waters of baptism. For examples, see Tertullian, “On Baptism,” chapter 4; cf. John of Damascus, “An Exact Exposition of the Orthodox Faith, Book II,” chapter 9; cf. survey of Clement of Alexandria in Everette Ferguson, *Baptism in the Early Church: History, Theology, and Liturgy in the First Five Centuries* (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 2009), 310.

⁷⁷ Pope himself models this approach by likewise exploring the regeneration event in non-analogous terms, employing also the more classical lenses of the “new birth,” “resurrection,” and “generation.” Pope, *Compendium*, 3:4-6.

of classical articulations crafted throughout Church history—a bouquet in which each contributing theory more fully brings to light, and dynamically tensions, aspects of the others.

Conclusion

With such fresh expressions of classical, Wesleyan thought emerging from his *Compendium*, it is clear that the theology of William Burt Pope has been allowed to lie dormant for far too long. Pope's scholastic pneumatology provides a unique articulation of the Spirit's creative work throughout time and space. When the loci of creation and soteriology are examined with an eye towards the Spirit's specific role, what emerges is a unitive portrait of the Spirit's creative work: one in which the Spirit creates time and again by affecting union, infusing life, and bringing form; a work that is always both instantaneously and gradually wrought. Such a cohesive understanding of the Spirit's creative work offers a fresh dogmatic basis for Methodism's historic emphasis on social reform and contemporary efforts for social justice. Furthermore, Pope's analogous approach to one aspect of soteriology opens up a new horizon yet to be traversed: the extent to which other aspects of soteriology might be understood anew in light of original creation—a horizon which may yet unlock a new grammar for articulating the heart of sanctification.

As one looks to the future of Methodist theology, it is clear that the time has come to correct the twentieth-century misstep of believing that confessional theology's task of systematization holds little value for a tradition birthed in experiential "religion of the heart."⁷⁸

⁷⁸ For an excellent overview of twentieth-century critiques of Pope and an able refutation of those critiques, see Justus Hunter, "A Defense of William Burt Pope's Confessional Methodist Theology," *Wesleyan Theological Journal* 54, no. 2 (Fall 2019): 7-17.

For, what Gerhard contributed to Luther, and what Turretin contributed to Calvin,⁷⁹ the era of Methodist scholasticism contributes to the progeny of Wesley—a richer and fuller articulation of our iconic doctrines and a veritable cache of theological insight with which to do dogmatics today. May we, like our Lutheran and Reformed friends before us, realize the wealth of theological inheritance resting in our confessional theologians and heed their call to consider anew the identity of our distinct theological tradition and its unique voice within the universal Church.

⁷⁹ John L. Drury is to thank for first pointing out this parallel in his article, “Scholastic Eschatology in the Wesleyan Tradition: The Case of William Burt Pope,” *Wesleyan Theological Journal*, *Wesleyan Theological Journal* 54, no. 2 (Fall 2019): 18-25. In it, he notes that “in this allegory, Richard Watson and Adam Clarke play the characters of Philipp Melancthon and Theodore Beza.” Drury, “Scholastic Eschatology,” 20.

Annotated Bibliography

Althaus, Paul. *The Theology of Martin Luther*. Translated by Robert C. Schultz. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1966.

The Theology of Martin Luther is a single volume analysis of key themes within the theology of Martin Luther. Since Luther was not a systematic writer, Althaus does the work of organizing Luther's thought according to topic and tracing the intersections of themes which recur throughout Luther's works. This source was used to evidence the claim that Luther interprets justification in light of the Genesis one account of creation. Althaus offers examples of this motif within Luther's theology of justification and explores how Luther sees the two doctrines as mutually conditioning one another. Namely, justification, like creation, is a work done *ex nihilo* by God, without the involvement of the creature.

Aquinas, Thomas. *Summa Theologica*. Translated by Fathers of the English Dominican Province. Milton Keynes, England: Authentic Media Limited, 2012.

Aquinas' *Summa Theologica* is an unrivaled masterpiece of medieval systematic thought. Its contents cover the full range of classical theological loci, explored in the elegant logic of medieval scholasticism. Aquinas was used in this thesis as a comparison to Pope's theology, specifically the two thinkers' theology of conservation. The doctrine of conservation, as part of the doctrine of providence, varies greatly within classical theology; thus, to introduce a lesser known theologian's work (Pope's) a more well-known and ubiquitously accepted theologian's work (Aquinas') was furnished for comparison. A comparison of this sort establishes Pope's credibility and evidences his

continuity with the Great Tradition—both of which are important goals when working with a lesser-known or obscure theologian’s work.

Bayer, Oswald. *Martin Luther’s Theology: A Contemporary Interpretation*. Translated by Thomas H. Trapp. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing, 2003.

Like Althaus, Bayer’s *Martin Luther’s Theology: A Contemporary Interpretation* is a single volume analysis of key themes within the theology of Martin Luther. Since Luther was not a systematic writer, Bayer does the work of organizing Luther’s thought according to topic and tracing the intersections of themes which recur throughout Luther’s works. This source was used to evidence the claim that Luther interprets justification in light of the Genesis one account of creation. However, whereas Althaus explores this dynamic in Luther’s commentaries, Bayer more pointedly looks at how this dynamic plays out in Luther’s catechisms. Namely, Bayer identifies the same language being used in both the catechisms’ description of creation and justification; both are described as coming from the unmerited, free goodness of God who provides for his creation in the manner of a Father.

Bliss, William Dwight Porter and Rudolf Michael Binder ed. “Methodism and Social Reform,” *The Encyclopedia of Social Reform*, 3rd ed. New York: Funk and Wagnalls Co., 1910.

The Encyclopedia of Social Reform, 3rd edition is an early twentieth-century work which catalogues a history of reform movements. In it, early Methodism (that is, Methodism during and immediately after the life of Wesley) is given a detailed account. This work was chosen specifically because of its publication date. Because it is not written by a contemporary author, it lacks any discussion of contemporary politics. Contemporary

surveys of Wesleyan reform movements are all too likely to fall along political lines, and therein involve emphases that simply were not a focal point for Wesley himself, and that create a politically charged distraction from the thesis' focus. Returning to another century's chronicling of Methodism's reforming impetus provides an accurate picture of historic Methodism while avoiding the pitfalls often introduced by more contemporary treatments of Methodist social justice/social reform.

Dayton, Donald W. *Discovering an Evangelical Heritage*. N.p.: Hendrickson Publishers, 2000.

Discovering an Evangelical Heritage chronicles the historical origins and nascent development of several key theological movements and their chief figures. For example, the influence of Charles Finney, Theodore Weld, and Oberlin College are detailed, as is the influence of Orange Scott, Luther Lee, and the "Wesleyan Methodists." It is this latter focus which contributes to the thesis, offering a portrait of the abolitionist impulse of later Methodist reforms. Whereas *The Encyclopedia of Social Reform, 3rd edition* provided a portrait of reforms during Wesley's lifetime, this second source supplies a look at how that reforming impulse was continued in later generations, specifically as regards race relations.

DeNeff, Steve. "Choosing Life," in *College Wesleyan Church*. Produced by College Wesleyan Church, podcast, MP3 audio, 2014.

Admittedly, as a sermon, this source can only be considered scholarly because Wesley's sermons are likewise considered as such. I heard this sermon in church six years ago; in it, the pastor probes the motifs of life and death as they are found in the Torah, and by extension, woven throughout the biblical canon as a whole. While the theology surveyed

in this thesis was all Pope's, I found myself articulating Pope's theology in ways which used the terminology deeply ingrained in my mind from long ago—terminology which is rightfully Dr. DeNeff's. Therefore, I wanted (and needed) to give him credit for coining the distinct terminology that would best give voice to the dynamics Pope's was advancing in his systematic theology. This sermon was cited as the source for several memorable terms such as referring to God as the "Living One," and the comparison of the human soul to "a cut flower" after the departure of the Holy Spirit from Eden.

Drury, John L. "Luther and Wesley on Union and Impartation: Reopening the Dialogue in Light of Recent Finnish Luther Research." *Wesleyan Theological Journal* 40, no. 1 (Spring 2005): 58-68.

This journal article explores two concepts: 1) the validity of the so-called Finnish interpretation of Luther as a recovery of the more participative dimensions of Luther's doctrine of justification; and 2) the overlap that this new interpretation of Luther might have with Wesley's insistence on imparted righteousness. In it, Drury first summarizes the Finnish position; then "tests" the interpretative lens by demonstrating how it emphasizes certain features of various passages of Luther's writing. Lastly, Drury explores the commonality and differences that emerge when this way of interpreting Luther is placed in dialogue with John Wesley's writings. This paper was used in the thesis as a survey of the ecumenical dialogue that has hitherto taken place between Wesleyans and the Finnish school of thought. As Pope's theology features the theme of *unio cum Christi* more prominently than Wesley's, this paper suggested that a reopening of the dialogue was merited, using instead the work of Pope.

Drury, John L. "Scholastic Eschatology in the Wesleyan Tradition: The Case of William Burt Pope." *Wesleyan Theological Journal* 54, no. 2 (Fall 2019): 18-25.

This article was one of the first works published on Pope in the last few centuries. It focuses on Pope's eschatology; specifically, the robustly Christocentric nature of Pope's eschatological thought. In it, Drury explores Pope's eschatology through the dialectic of "continuity and change," concluding that the life to come has both deep continuity with one's earthly life while also possessing dramatic dimensions of change. Drury then draws implications from Pope's eschatology for contemporary efforts for social justice. This article was one of my first introductions to the work of William Burt Pope and was used in the thesis' discussion of both eschatology and social justice.

Ferguson, Everette. *Baptism in the Early Church: History, Theology, and Liturgy in the First Five Centuries*. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 2009.

This source surveys the Church's earliest practices and liturgies for the sacrament of baptism, and the theology expressed thereby. Among the many early church voices contained in this volume is an excellent treatment of Clement of Rome's baptismal theology. Clement of Rome's baptismal theology was referenced in this thesis because the thesis posits that a Wesleyan understanding of baptism might be refracted with new light if explored in terms analogous to Genesis one account of the Spirit of God hovering over the primordial waters and bringing forth from them new life. To evidence the validity of this approach, several patristic writers who make similar moves in their own baptismal theologies were cited, Clement of Rome being among them. In his baptismal theology, Clement of Rome clearly connects the Spirit of God's activity in and through the baptismal waters with the Spirit of God's hovering over the primordial waters in

Genesis. As such, it offers an interesting precedent for new constructive endeavors of a similar nature.

Gregory Nazianzen, “To Cledonius the Priest Against Apollinarius, Ep. CI.” In *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, 2nd ed. Vol. 7, *Cyril of Jerusalem, Gregory Nazianzen*, Edited by Philip Schaff and Henry Wace. Translated by Edwin Hamilton Gifford. Peabody, Mass: Hendrickson, 2004.

As one of the three Cappadocian Fathers, Gregory Nazianzen is renowned as one of the most influential of the early church thinkers. In his treatise, *To Cledonius the Priest Against Apollinarius*,” Gregory Nazianzen explores, among other topics, the doctrine of the perpetual incarnation of Christ. A subset of Ascension theology, this doctrine affirms that the Son’s taking on of human nature was not a temporary arrangement, but rather was a permanent change; meaning, the Son is now and forevermore at the right hand of the Father while still enfleshed in human flesh. This doctrine was integral for the thesis as part of establishing the premise that the Ascension event was the first introduction of human nature into the inner life of the Trinity. The thesis then argued that the doctrine of the Ascension furnishes the missing logical rational needed to undergird Pope’s observation that a mutually interior union is wrought for the first time in locus of soteriology.

Garverick, Laura. “Build a Wall? Triune Borders and their Implications for the Church.” *Wesleyan Theological Journal* 54, no. 1 (Spring 2019): 143-150.

This article submits the Ascension event as being the first introduction of human nature into the Trinity by exploring the Ascension event through the patristic categories of substances and natures, consubstantiality and the *homoousion*. The article’s central claim

is that the Ascension event, when viewed through these lenses, reveals a homogenous community—the Trinity who was previously comprised of exclusively divine nature—opening its inner circle to welcome in a nature qualitatively “other” than its own: human nature. The article then engages draws the implications for how the Church can and should welcome the “other” in an age of rising xenophobia and racial tensions. However, this article was cited in the current thesis paper because it argues in detail the premise that the Ascension event was, in fact, the first introduction of human nature into the inner life of God, a premise needed for the thesis’ argument that the union wrought in soteriology possesses a level of mutual coinherence previously untasted by humanity. This argument was part of the third phase of Pope’s development of Divine-creaturely union, and its central concern is the way in which soteriological union surpasses that of Edenic union.

Hunter, Justus. “A Defense of William Burt Pope’s Confessional Methodist Theology.” *Wesleyan Theological Journal* 54, no. 2 (Fall 2019): 7-17.

This article was one of the first pieces of scholarly written about Pope in recent decades. In it, Hunter explores the twentieth-century objections which modernist theologians to dismiss and discard Pope’s work. Namely, it details the rise of liberal, experience-based theology, such as Boston Personalism, which, while short-lived, was closely followed by a push within Wesley studies to go back to the sources (i.e. Wesley’s own writings). The article then turns to the task of assessing the critiques made by Pope’s detractors and offering a refutation of those critiques. This source was used to introduce the work of Pope to the reader in the paper’s introduction by giving some of the background history for why Pope’s work has been largely neglected.

John of Damascus. "An Exact Exposition of the Orthodox Faith, Book II." In *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, 2nd series*. Edited by Philip Schaff and Henry Wace, vol. 9, *Hilary of Poitiers and John of Damascus*. Edited by Alexander Roberts, James Donaldson, Philip Schaff, and Henry Wace. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing, 2010.

In Pope's creation theology, he affirms that the Godhead brings the world into existence through two distinct types of creating: one in which the raw materials are made by God, and one in which this raw material is shaped into subsequent forms. While Pope details this twofold process in unique ways as regards the appropriations of divine agency, the concept of God first making matter (or the raw materials of creation) *ex nihilo* and then subsequently shaping the materials into forms is an idea that goes back as far as the patristic era. To demonstrate that Pope was not inventing new material, but rather was working within the received patristic tradition, the creation accounts of several patristic writers were cited, John of Damascus being one of them. John of Damascus goes so far as to detail the "raw materials" which God creates out of nothing as being quotidian elements such as fire, water, and earth; from these all subsequent creation was then made. While Pope instead affirms that God first creates the more generalized substance of "matter," the two-step progression is nonetheless intact and demonstrates one instance of the patristic tradition's reflections on the subject.

Lactantius. "The Divine Institutes, Book II." In *Ante-Nicene Fathers*. Edited by Alexander Roberts James Donaldson, vol. 7, *Lactantius, Venantius, Asterius, Victorinus, Dionysius, Apostolic Teaching and Constitutions, 2 Clement, Early Liturgies*. Edited by Cleveland Coxe. New York: Christian Literature Publishing Co., 1886.

As stated above, Pope's creation theology affirms that the Godhead brings the world into existence through two distinct types of creating: one in which the raw materials are made by God, and one in which this raw material is shaped into subsequent forms. While Pope

details this twofold process in unique ways as regards the appropriations of divine agency, the concept of God first making matter and then subsequently shaping the materials into forms is an idea that goes back as far as the patristic era. Several patristic writers were cited who fall within this two-step understanding of creation so as to demonstrate that Pope was not inventing new material, but rather was working within the received tradition. Lactantius is one such writer; he refutes the idea that God is like a carpenter who makes something out of material which he did not himself bring into existence, and then argues that for God to be God, he must first make the materials and then fashion them into their intended form (or in keeping with the analogy, God is a carpenter who both creates the wood *ex nihilo* and then fashions the wood in to its intended form). While Lactantius stops short of offering a full cosmology like John of Damascus', the presence of this carpentry analogy is a clear example of the two-step process of creation embedded in his thought. Lactantius is one of the earlier patristic writers, and as such demonstrates the sheer antiquity of this line of thinking within the Christian tradition.

Lohmann, Friedrich. "Die Bedeutung der dogmatischen Rede von der 'creation ex nihilo.'" *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche* 99, no. 2 (Juni 2002): 196-225.

This article, "The Importance of Dogmatic Speech on Creation Ex Nihilo," as it reads in English, was translated by the thesis writer out of the German because it honed in on the importance of creation *ex nihilo* in the work of Luther and Augustine (the latter being an important influence of the former in general). As regards Luther, the article posited that Luther's insistence on creation *ex nihilo* was driven less by cosmological concerns than it was by his understanding of, and doctrine of, justification. This thesis claimed that Luther

scholars have long since argued that Luther understood justification in terms of creation *ex nihilo*. To evidence this claim, a sampling of Lutheran scholars noting this connection was provided, this being one of example.

Luther, Martin. *D. Martin Luthers Werke: kritische Gesamtausgabe*. Vol. 40^{III}, *Vorlesungen über die Stufenpsalmen und Ps. 90 1532/35; Vorlesungen über Jesaia 9 und 53 1543/33; Auslegung von Hosea 13 1545*.

As noted above, this thesis claimed that Luther scholars have long since argued that Luther understood justification in terms of creation *ex nihilo*. To evidence this claim, a sampling of Lutheran scholars' work in which this connection is noted was provided. In addition to furnishing secondary sources, this thesis also provided a passage of Luther's own writing in which justification is explored explicitly in connection with, and in the terms of, creation *ex nihilo*. This facet of Luther's theology was imperative to demonstrate because the thesis claimed that Wesleyan's could follow in Luther's footsteps and explore not only justification in terms analogous to creation, but also sanctification. Without evidencing that Luther previously had made a similar move—interpreting the “new creation” wrought in soteriology in light of original creation—the suggestion to explore sanctification in such terms would be somewhat diminished in its weight or sway.

Nüssel, Friederike. “Challenges of a Consistent Christian Language for the Creativity of God's Spirit.” In *The Spirit of Creation and New Creation*, edited by Michael Welker, 120-133. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2012.

In a compendium analyzing how the Spirit is active in both creation and “new creation,” German theologian Friederike Nüssel's chapter offers a fascinating look at the historical

and theological influences that contributed to theology's regnant tendency of approaching the Spirit's creative work in the loci of creation and soteriology as disconnected events; thus, it was offered as source for the history of doctrine in the thesis' introduction. In her chapter, Nüssel notes at least three intriguing influences: the emergence of the doctrine of appropriations within trinitarian theology, which, she argues, indirectly created a reductionistic schema that eclipses—if not mutes—a robustly trinitarian articulation of the synergy of divine action operative severally within each creation, redemption, and sanctification. Second, she points to the post-Reformational infusing of Melancthon's loci-method with of an Aristotelian-based analytic method that emphasizes the causes and media of salvation; a modification which, she argues, rather obscured the possibility of seeing the Spirit's creative work as either a whole or as a distinct theological inquiry. Third, she reflects on the pivoting of Protestant theology to “the performative character of language” in the creation account—a la Luther's *theologia verbi*—as Protestant theology's response to the wake left by Darwin's theory of evolution and the historical-critical method's debunking of Genesis one as a literal account of creation. Nüssel argues that this was an important dogmatic move, as was Barth's offering of Christ “as the epistemological basis for any doctrinal proposition on creation;” but nonetheless, both “did not encourage (and) rather impeded reflection on the distinctive character of the divine Spirit's activity *as Spirit*” (120-127).

Pope, William Burt. *A Compendium of Christian Theology: Being Analytical Outlines of a Course Theological Study, Biblical Dogmatic, Historical*. Volume 1. N.p: Pantianos Classics Publishing, 2017.

Pope's *Compendium of Christian Theology* is a three-volume work of Wesleyan-Methodist dogmatics written in the mid-nineteenth century. Using the elegant logic of scholasticism, this first volume treats the topics of the nature of theology and revelation, the inspiration and formation of the canon, the existence and nature of God, and God's first economic work: creation. Because this thesis explored the Spirit's work as seen in the loci of creation and soteriology, this first volume was integral for the first half of the thesis' argument. Namely, within the first volume's account of the Godhead's work of creation, the Spirit's unique threefold contribution—that of affecting union, giving life, and bringing form from formlessness—can first be traced.

Pope, William Burt. *A Compendium of Christian Theology: Being Analytical Outlines of a Course Theological Study, Biblical Dogmatic, Historical*. Volume 2. N.p: Pantianos Classics Publishing, 2017.

Volume two of Pope's *Compendium* explores the nature of sin, the Fall, and Godhead's plan of redemption (i.e. the person and work of Christ, the person of the Spirit, and the first half of the Spirit's work). While this volume was the one least interacted with in this thesis, it nonetheless played an important role within the thesis' argument in two keyways. Namely, volume two's account of the Fall provided the crucial portrait of both Divine-creaturely union being lost, and the creature's spiritual life being lost; without which, the recovery of both narrated in regeneration would be unintelligible. Secondly, Pope's first portrait of the *unio cum Christi* wrought in soteriology is found at the end of volume two, offered as the foundation for all of soteriology and then detailed further within the doctrine of regeneration. Likewise, volume two establishes that the Spirit

assumes primary agency throughout the whole of personal salvation, a premise integral, though implicit, to the thesis' argument.

Pope, William Burt. *A Compendium of Christian Theology: Being Analytical Outlines of a Course Theological Study, Biblical Dogmatic, Historical*. Volume 3. N.p: Pantianos Classics Publishing, 2017.

The third volume of Pope's work continues with the other half of the Spirit's economic work in soteriology (from regeneration through entire sanctification), but also includes a chapter on Christian ethics, as well as the loci of ecclesiology and eschatology. As with volume two, this third volume was primarily mined for its first and final section; that is, its discussion of regeneration and eschatology. The Spirit's creative work resumes in the locus of soteriology, specifically in regeneration; thus, this volume contained the material needed for the second half of the thesis' argument. Namely, the Spirit's threefold work of affecting union, infusing life, and bringing form from formlessness once again emerges in volume three's treatment of the soul's regeneration. While the Spirit's creative work cannot be found in Pope's eschatology, the eschatology section was integral for tracing the development of Divine-creaturely union throughout the *Compendium*, a distinct subplot in Pope's work which was outlined in the first section of the thesis.

Pope, William Burt. *A Higher Catechism of Theology*. London: Hayman Brothers and Lilly, n.d.

In addition to furnishing the Wesleyan-Methodist tradition with a three-volume confessional theology, Pope also created a *Catechism* for the Methodist faith which distills the *Compendium*'s confessional contours into a single, lay-accessible volume. Because it largely follows the organization of the *Compendium*, one can use the

Catechism as a quick cross reference for key ideas, or to clarify and confirm aspects of Pope's systematic theology which might be articulated in more poetic language within the pages of the *Compendium*. Primarily, for this thesis, the *Catechism* was used in explaining concisely the contours of Pope's theology of conservation, and how it differs his concept of renewal (though both, at times, involve the term "renewal"). Namely, Pope understands conservation to be a distinct act from original creation, and rejects that conservation is in any way an act of ongoing creation.

Schwanke Johannes. "Luther's Theology of Creation." In *The Oxford Handbook of Martin Luther's Theology*. Edited by Robert Kolb, Irene Dingel, and L'ubomir Batka, 210. New York: Oxford University Press, 2014.

This encyclopedia entry served as an expedient example of the claim made in the *Implications* section of the thesis: namely, that Luther understands justification in light of creation *ex nihilo*. While the other sources offered within the paper as evidence of this dynamic admittedly treat the topic in more detail and with more nuance, the inclusion of this dynamic in *The Oxford Handbook of Martin Luther's Theology* demonstrates that the idea is far from fringe; rather, it evidences that the idea is central to Luther's framework and is both well-known and well-documented within Luther studies. Namely, in exploring Luther's theology of creation, this article includes a discussion of the doctrine's influence on Luther's understanding of, and formal doctrine of, justification.

Schwanke, Johannes. "Martin Luther's Theology of Creation." *International Journal of Systematic Theology* 18, no. 4 (October 2016): 399-413.

This article specifically explores the dimensions of individuality, contemporaneity, corporeality and dialogical character of God's work within Luther's doctrine of creation.

Within this broader focus, part of the article offers an excellent discussion of how Luther understood the doctrine of justification in light of creation and even employed the same language in describing each. Within this discussion, the author highlights the emphasis that is placed on the individual in each doctrine, and then warns that this emphasis on individuality can lead to some problematic conclusions; for example, a self-focused view of soteriology in which the individual only understands salvation in terms of their own life. While this more limited discussion of individuality is not itself immediately pertinent to the paper's thesis, the article evidences two things: first, and more generally, it is yet another example of a Lutheran scholar claiming that Luther understood justification in terms of creation *ex nihilo*. Secondly, and more specifically, it demonstrates that this intersection is still an area of ongoing research in which new facets of this dynamic in Luther's thought are being teased out and explored in new ways.

Tertullian of Carthage. *De Resurrectione Carnis Liber: Tertullian's Treatise on the Resurrection*. Translated and Edited by Ernest Evans. London: S.P.C.K., 1960.

At times hailed the founder of Latin theology, Tertullian of Carthage is inarguably one of the most influential early church thinkers. In his treatise, "On the Resurrection of the Flesh," Tertullian explores, among other emphases, the doctrine of the perpetual incarnation of Christ. While the treatise's main focus is the resurrection, Tertullian also details that the resurrected Christ did not cast off his truly human flesh when it came time for him to ascend to the right hand of the Father; thus, Christ is now and forevermore still incarnate. Establishing this concept was key for the thesis as part of the broader argument that the Ascension event was the first introduction of human nature into the inner life of the Trinity. In making this argument, this thesis offered that the doctrine of the Ascension

furnishes the missing logical rational needed to undergird Pope's observation that a mutually interior union is wrought for the first time in locus of soteriology.

Tertullian, "On Baptism." In *Ante-Nicene Fathers*. Edited by Alexander Roberts James Donaldson. Vol. 3. *Latin Christianity: Its Founder, Tertullian*. Edited by Cleveland Coxe. New York: Christian Literature Publishing Co., 1886.

This patristic era treatise details the Latin Church's theology of baptism. Tertullian's baptismal theology was cited in this thesis because the thesis argues that a Wesleyan understanding of baptism might be refracted with new light if explored in terms analogous to the Genesis account's description of the Spirit of God hovering over the primordial waters and bringing forth from them new life. To evidence the validity of using this analogous approach to construct baptismal theology, several patristic writers who make similar moves in their own baptismal theologies were cited, Tertullian of Carthage being among them. In his baptismal theology, Tertullian clearly connects the Spirit of God's activity in and through the baptismal waters with the Spirit of God's hovering over the primordial waters in Genesis. As such, it evidences a patristic precedent for those who would take up the challenge of exploring a Wesleyan theology of baptism using a similarly analogous approach.

Theophilus of Antioch, "To Autolycus, Book II." In *Ante-Nicene Fathers*. Edited by Alexander Roberts James Donaldson. Vol. 2. *Fathers of the Second Century: Hermes, Tatian, Athenagoras, Theophilus, and Clement of Alexandria*. Edited by Cleveland Coxe. New York: Christian Literature Publishing Co., 1885.

Pope's account of creation traces two methods of creating as being used by the Godhead: one in which the Godhead first creates the raw materials of the universe, and one in which this raw material is then shaped into subsequent forms. While Pope's

appropriations of primary agency to the various divine persons throughout his narration of the event makes his work, among other traits, unique, the concept of God first creating the raw material of the universe *ex nihilo* and then subsequently shaping that material into is an idea that can be found in several patristic writers. To evidence that Pope was not inventing new doctrine, but was instead working within the received patristic tradition, several patristic accounts of creation were referenced, Theophilus of Antioch being one of them. Of the three patristic accounts of creation cited in this thesis, Theophilus of Antioch's is the one which most closely resembles Pope's; for Theophilus also names the raw material which God first makes as being "matter" and proceeds to describe it as a "clod" which is then sculpted. Thus, in addition to the two-step progression being an area of overlap, the specifying of the raw material as "matter" is a unique distinctive Pope and Theophilus both share.

Thompson, D. D. *John Wesley as a Social Reformer*. New York: Eaton and Mains, 1898.

D. D. Thompson's classic monograph is a late nineteenth-century work which details the reforming work of John Wesley. This work was chosen specifically because of its publication date; namely, because it is not written by a contemporary author, it lacks any infiltration of identity politics. Contemporary surveys of Wesleyan reform movements often fall along political lines and engage issues that simply were not a focal point for Wesley himself. Thus, returning to another century's chronicling of Wesley's reforming impetus provides an accurate picture of historic Methodism without the pitfalls introduced by more modern contextual accounts. This account was furnished within the thesis because the thesis claims that Methodism has a long history of working for social

reform; this monograph gives one account of the earliest stages of this history, one which focuses primarily on the movement's founder.

Van Kuiken, Jerome. "Pope on Progress: A Constructive Conversation with W. B. Pope's *Compendium* Vol. 1." Publication forthcoming in the *Wesleyan Theological Journal*.

This article was presented at the 2020 annual meeting of the Wesleyan Theological Society, specifically within the Dogmatics Working Group. In it, Dr. Van Kuiken notes that Darwin's *Origin of Species* was released just twenty years before Pope's birth and argues that Darwin's work has traceable influences within Pope's theology. Namely, Dr. Van Kuiken identifies the logic of evolution as being present and operative within three spheres of Pope's thought within volume one of the *Compendium*: 1) Pope's doctrine of creation; Pope's doctrine of divine revelation and scripture/canon formation; and Pope's theology of religions. Pope sees points of consonance between the biblical canon's description of creation and divine revelation and Darwinian model of evolution. This paper was cited within the thesis' articulation of Pope's theology of creation, as the thesis notes that Pope saw evolution as being amenable to the Genesis one account of creation, albeit within certain parameters.

Verhagen, Koert. "Justified *ex nihilo*: Retrieving Creation for Theological Anthropology with Luther and Bonhoeffer." *International Journal of Systematic Theology* 21, no. 2, (April 2019): 199-216.

This article probes Martin Luther's theology of justification and creation, with an eye towards how each was understood in light of the other, and the proceeds to place Luther's theology in dialogue with that of Dietrich Bonhoeffer. Additionally, Luther's justification-based description or definition of what a human person is (anthropology) is

explored with reference to Luther's intersection of creation and justification. This article serves two purposes within the thesis: first, it is yet another example of Lutheran scholars affirming that Luther understood the doctrine of justification in light of, or in the terminology of, creation *ex nihilo*. And secondly, it evidences that this area of Luther's theology is still something that's being actively engaged, researched, and debated in new ways (i.e. in dialogue with later German theologians such as Bonhoeffer). This thesis claimed that Luther looked to creation *ex nihilo* as being a primary referent for his doctrine of justification; ergo, this article serves to evidence that claim as being valid.

Welker, Michael. *God the Spirit*. Translated by John F. Hoffmeyer. Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock Publisher, 2013.

Welker's monograph offers a focused study of pneumatology that, among others, explores the unity of the Spirit's work throughout time and space. Welker names the challenge of articulating in unitive terms how the Spirit of creation and the Spirit who brings righteousness are indeed one and the same. So divorced are the two works that it can become easy to think of them as unrelated; however, Welker's work explores this, as well as other, more classical aspects of pneumatology proper. This work was used in the argument of the thesis to establish, and give an example, of the current concern for within contemporary pneumatology regarding how the Spirit's work can and should be understood as a unitive whole.

Wesley, John. "On Sin in Believers." In *The Sermons of John Wesley: A Collection for the Christian Journey*. Edited by Kenneth J. Collins and Jason E. Vickers. Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2013.

Written in 1763, “On Sin in Believers” is Wesley’s exposition of the regenerate soul’s battle with inbred sin. In it, Wesley makes the distinction between outward sin and inward sin, noting that the indwelling of the Holy Spirit in the soul has delivered the regenerate soul from the power of sin, though the being of sin remains. Within this context, Wesley refers to the progressive mortification of the remaining inbred sin through the volitional will and endeavor of the regenerate person. In this regard, “On Sin in Believers” serves as one example of the emphases commonly articulated within classical formulations of the Wesleyan doctrine of sanctification. To these classical emphases, this thesis argues to the addition of the others which the grammar of creation furnishes.

Wesley, John. “The First-fruits of the Spirit.” In *The Sermons of John Wesley: A Collection for the Christian Journey*. Edited by Kenneth J. Collins and Jason E. Vickers. Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2013.

Written in 1746, “The First-fruits of the Spirit” is yet another of Wesley’s portraits of the regenerate life. In it, Wesley argues that those who abide in Christ Jesus do not sin, for they have crucified the flesh; here he refers to outward, volition sin which Wesley insists has ceased after regeneration. Wesley goes on to note that inward sin, or inbred sin, still remains stirring in the hearts of the regenerate, tempting and inciting the soul to sin; however, the regenerate soul fights such stirring and walks in victory. Here again the Wesley’s portrait of the victorious life implicitly underscores the role of volitional will, endeavor, and progressive mortification of the sin nature. This sermon was cited as evidence that these emphases are frequent and prominent within Wesleyan articulations of sanctification, a premise foundational to the thesis’ argument that the companion

emphases each and all classical emphases within a Wesleyan doctrine of sanctification which the grammar of creation provides are both needed and complementary.

Wesley, John. "The Scripture Way of Salvation." In *The Sermons of John Wesley: A Collection for the Christian Journey*. Edited by Kenneth J. Collins and Jason E. Vickers. Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2013.

Written in 1765, "The Scripture Way of Salvation" is Wesley's survey or overview of the sinner's way to heaven, in which he describes salvation as being comprised of justification and sanctification. Within this sermon, sanctification is described as starting at the very same moment that one is justified, and the nature of sanctification is explored in the terminology of mortifying one's sinful deeds and desires, taking up one's cross, and denying oneself again and again. Implicit to these actions are, yet again, the use of a will freed in regeneration and need for human effort. Though articulated in slightly different terms, this sermon is yet one more example of how prominent and prevalent the three emphases named in this thesis are; a survey which inherently argues for the need for tensioning counterparts, or companion halves of such emphases to be explored.

Wesley, John. "The Great Privilege of Those that are Born of God." In *The Sermons of John Wesley: A Collection for the Christian Journey*. Edited by Kenneth J. Collins and Jason E. Vickers. Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2013.

Whereas "The Scripture Way of Salvation" explored salvation in terms of justification and sanctification, "The Great Privilege of Those that are Born of God" narrates an event which takes place between the two: the "new birth" or regeneration. Here Wesley defines the "new birth" as being a real, inwrought change in the soul (in contrast to justification's mere relative change) by which the soul is given the indwelling of the Holy Ghost and

consequently made free from the power of sin. Wesley explains that those who have been regenerated are only able to stay free from outward sin if they are intentional and attentive to abiding daily in the faith and consistent in their receiving of inspiration from the Holy Spirit. Though couched in different terms, the same predominant emphases reemerge those of intentional endeavor and the freed will. Therefore, this sermon adds to the host of other examples cited in this paper that Wesley's primary emphases within the doctrine of sanctification are that of: the will freed in regeneration, the progressive mortification of the sin nature, and the need for human effort in the process.