From Inscrutability to Concursus

Benjamin B. Warfield’s Theological Construction of Revelation’s Mode from 1880 to 1915
“Few theologians have explored the inspiration of the Holy Scriptures with the depth of Benjamin Warfield. Stivason opens before us Warfield’s doctrine of the mode of inspiration, how God worked in men to produce God’s Word. In a time when much that claims to be Christian veers dangerously toward either pantheism or deism (both of which overthrow the uniqueness of the Scriptures), Warfield’s teaching greatly helps us to affirm the Bible as the Word of God given as the words of truly human writers. Stivason’s careful historical and theological study is a helpful resource in navigating debates both past and present about the Holy Scriptures.”
—Joel R. Beeke, President, Puritan Reformed Theological Seminary, Grand Rapids

“Dr. Stivason’s book comes at a crucial time, bringing Warfield’s incisive voice back into the conversation about Scripture’s inspiration in a fresh way. It is not only a defense of inspiration, but also an exposition of Warfield’s bold opposition to nineteenth-century liberal theology. This gem of a book will equip Christians to defend God’s Word and see through the current deception of our own century’s revisionist liberal attacks on it. Read this book and be inspired to experience how God’s holy Word speaks both to you and for you!”
—Rosaria Champagne Butterfield, writer, speaker, homemaker; former tenured Professor of English, Syracuse University

“The year 2001 marked the 150th anniversary of the birth of Benjamin Breckinridge Warfield. That it passed largely unnoticed merely underscored the fact that the most serious omission in the study of American Christianity and theology was the neglect of Princeton Theological Seminary’s greatest professor. Over the past fifteen years, however, a good beginning has been made with the publication of a number of fine works on Warfield. Jeffrey Stivason adds to this growing body of Warfieldian studies with this book. He takes up the important doctrine of Scripture, examining with exemplary scholarship Warfield’s view of the mode of Scripture’s inspiration. Not only
was this an important doctrine for Warfield’s time, but it is for ours as well.”
—David Calhoun, Professor Emeritus of Church History, Covenant Theological Seminary

“No one has more clearly articulated the mode of divine inspiration than B. B. Warfield. And no one has more clearly explicated his position, and made it relevant for today, than Jeffrey Stivason. Every reader serious about the issue of biblical inspiration needs to read this marvelous book.”
—William Edgar, Professor of Apologetics, John Boyer Chair of Evangelism and Culture, Westminster Theological Seminary

“Readers and lovers of the works of B. B. Warfield may well think there is little more to learn about his well-known doctrine of Scripture. If so, Dr. Jeff Stivason is here to spring a surprise in this fresh and fascinating study that provides us with instruction and stimulation in equal measure. And as a bonus, at times From Inscrutability to Concursus has the flavor of a detective novel as Warfield’s thinking is uncovered layer by layer, and his theological development traced clue by clue. It is fascinating and moving to see such an immensely learned and respected Christian theologian continue to wrestle with the formulation and implications of the high view of Scripture to which he was committed throughout his life. This is not only a very welcome addition to Warfield research but a book with a timely message for the contemporary church.”
—Sinclair B. Ferguson, Teaching Fellow, Ligonier Ministries

“What is unique about Stivason’s project is that his carefully crafted analysis of a theologian who wrote a century ago, a study valuable on its own terms, also provides a foundation by which to think through and analyze problems that confront contemporary thought on the relationship between the human and the divine relative to the production of Scripture. Stivason demonstrates the importance of his
research by taking his reader into the lecture halls of Westminster Seminary Philadelphia and uses Warfield, in a sense, to critique Professor Peter Enns. While that is a fascinating analysis, the lessons as presented by Stivason can be applied to any number of current postevangelical thinkers.

“Furthermore, Stivason’s book is a beautiful model of how theological research should be done. The reader is carefully taken back into the nineteenth century and learns how Warfield understood the events and thinking of his own life and times. Stivason demonstrates the evolution of Warfield’s thought on inspiration, in carefully marked epochs, and also uses the tool of comparison and contrast so that the reader can view Warfield as he agrees or disagrees with other great nineteenth-century theologians.

“Stivason has a writing style that is attractive to contemporary readers. It is not at all easy to communicate complex theological truths in a manner that is accessible to college sophomores, for example, but Stivason is able to do just that. Furthermore, Stivason avoids the pitfall of stringing together a parade of facts that may very well be true but are simply dry as dust. Actually, he sometimes uses turns of phrase that are nothing short of beautiful.”
—Richard C. Gamble, Professor of Systematic Theology, Reformed Presbyterian Theological Seminary

“Generations of scholars have pictured the Princeton Theology, with its devotion to defending Westminster orthodoxy and its debt to the Reformed scholasticism of Francis Turretin, as essentially static—an impressive (if questionable) rock of stability as the currents of modern theology roiled around it. More recently an ironic twist has been given to this picture: the Princetonians, thinking they were simply perpetuating orthodox Calvinism, allegedly skewed it subtly in an Enlightenment direction, setting up evangelical doctrine and apologetics for a bad fall. Central to this picture is the figure of B. B. Warfield,
champion extraordinaire of biblical inerrancy. Jeffrey Stivason offers a pathbreaking new interpretation of Warfield’s doctrine of inspiration, finding it to change significantly, and indeed improve, over time. A meticulous and insightful reading of the development of Warfield’s arguments, this excellent book is a must-read for any theologian or historian interested in the issue of biblical authority.”

—Bradley J. Gundlach, Professor of History; Director, Division of Humanities, Trinity International University

“Jeffrey Stivason’s From Inscrutability to Concursus tells a story of theological construction at its faithful best and in so doing presents the reader with a compelling example of “progressive orthodoxy” in the thought of B. B. Warfield. According to Stivason, Warfield’s mature understanding of the mode of inspiration did not spring into existence in its final form when he first addressed the matter in 1880. Rather, it emerged over time as he engaged in the battles that raged throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries over the precise nature of the relationship between the divine and the human in the process of inspiration. Carefully researched, incisive in its analysis, and refreshingly attuned to the enduring importance of maintaining the proper balance between the divine and the human in the authorship of the text, Stivason’s analysis is an important contribution to our understanding not just of Warfield’s mature doctrine of Scripture, but also of the central role that the doctrine of concursus played in his thought as a whole. Enthusiastically recommended.”

—Paul Kjoss Helseth, Professor of Christian Thought, University of Northwestern—St. Paul

“Anyone who studies the doctrine of Scripture is bound to encounter B. B. Warfield. Although Warfield is frequently cited, he is not often understood in the context of the tradition of which he was a part; nor is he regularly seen in light of the theological controversies of his own day. Stivason’s able study is illuminating on both counts. He situates Warfield in the flow of Reformed theology, and he shows how
Warfield’s careful formulations were often a response to leading doctrinal challenges in his day. If you are interested in Warfield, in the theology of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, or in a clearer understanding of the foundational doctrine of Scripture, then this book is for you.”
—Jonathan L. Master, Professor of Theology; Dean, School of Divinity; Director, Center for University Studies, Cairn University

“It is my joy and privilege to recommend Dr. Stivason’s historically accurate interpretation of Warfield as a constructive theologian. While Warfield continues to be misanalysed, misrepresented, and maligned by liberal scholars and even some who self-consciously reject theological liberalism, Dr. Stivason reveals the actual Warfield. Jeff shows how Warfield stood within the Reformed heritage but did not merely echo it. Instead, Warfield significantly advanced its defining biblical and theological emphases as his understanding of God’s revelation progressively came into sharper focus. Stivason reveals that he has actually read Warfield, and provides us ample reason, yet again, for doing the same.”
—David P. Smith, Pastor, Covenant Fellowship A.R.P. Church, Greensboro, North Carolina

“Dr. Stivason offers a careful historical reading of the development of B. B Warfield’s doctrine of concursus. For those who are interested in the genesis and refinement of Warfield’s thought on this doctrine, as well as its bearing on some contemporary trends that are fundamentally deviating from the perennially useful theological truths maintained in Warfield’s position, this is a volume that must be consulted. Lucid, compelling, and thought-provoking, Stivason’s offering to us is a first-rate piece of scholarship on one of Warfield’s most valuable theological contributions.”
—Lane G. Tipton, Charles Krahe Chair of Systematic Theology, Westminster Theological Seminary
From Inscrutability to Concursus

Benjamin B. Warfield’s Theological Construction of Revelation’s Mode from 1880 to 1915

Jeffrey A. Stivason
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To my parents: Bob and Sandy Stivason

To my children: Nathaniel and Abigail

And of course, to my wife, Tabatha

I love you.
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Series Introduction

P&R Publishing has a long and distinguished history of publishing carefully selected, high-value theological books in the Reformed tradition. Many theological books begin as dissertations, but many dissertations are worthy of publication in their own right. Realizing this, P&R has launched the Reformed Academic Dissertation (RAD) program to publish top-tier dissertations (Ph.D., Th.D., D.Min., and Th.M.) that advance biblical and theological scholarship by making distinctive contributions in the areas of theology, ethics, biblical studies, apologetics, and counseling.

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We look forward to seeing the RAD program grow into a large collection of curated dissertations that will help to advance Reformed scholarship and learning.

John J. Hughes
Series Editor
B. B. Warfield stands out as a giant among late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century theologians. His contributions to theology are as wide-ranging as they are penetrating.

Warfield believed that Calvinism was Christianity in its purest expression. While the truths of antithetical Calvinism received trenchant and lucid treatment in Warfield’s works as a whole, perhaps he excels most incisively when he treats the nature and authority of Holy Scripture as the inerrant Word of God in written form.

One of the most valuable insights Warfield supplied to the developing debate regarding the nature of Scripture turns on the way he expressed the proper distinction and relation between the phenomena of Scripture and the self-witness of Scripture. The self-witness of Scripture denotes the teaching of Scripture with regard to its own nature. The phenomena of Scripture pertain to everything else in Scripture, viewed particularly in light of its self-witness.

Richard B. Gaffin Jr., professor emeritus of biblical and systematic theology (Westminster Theological Seminary), writing a preface to E. J. Young’s *The God-Breathed Scriptures*, appeals to B. B. Warfield with appreciation and outlines a key difference between orthodox and liberal doctrines of Scripture. Gaffin observes that Warfield, charting the course for a Reformed doctrine of Scripture within the context of encroaching theological liberalism, argued that there are two mutually exclusive approaches to the formation of a doctrine of Scripture. One approach, the orthodox approach,
begins with the explicit self-witness of Scripture regarding its own divine origin, authority, and reliability—which is impervious to change, other than by means of exegetical reconsideration of Scripture’s own self-witness—and then proceeds to deal with the phenomena of Scripture. The other approach, exemplified by Beegle, adopts the reverse procedure. Beginning instead with the so-called historical phenomena and human messiness of Scripture, this approach ultimately winds up denying Scripture’s own self-witness regarding its divine origin, authority, and reliability. No greater contrast seems conceivable.¹

Gaffin’s dependence on Warfield is obvious. Gaffin continues by situating the difference that exists between liberal and orthodox approaches when it comes to fundamental methodological starting points. He says,

The one approach begins with the divinity of Scripture, its divine authorship, and considers its humanity in that light; the other begins with the human authors, and the resulting assessment of that humanness becomes controlling for understanding whatever divine aspects may be attributed to Scripture.²

Gaffin, following Warfield, put his finger on a key methodological difference that divided liberals and conservatives in his day, and continues to do the same in our current context. The Scriptures attest to the fundamental divinity of Scripture, and the church ought to assess the phenomena (or difficult questions) of Scripture in the light of Scripture’s self-witness.

² Ibid., 8–9.
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What is the self-witness of Scripture with regard to its nature? In a word taken from 2 Timothy 3:16, the Scripture is God-breathed. Warfield’s treatment of 2 Timothy 3:16 remains unmatched in its clarity and penetration of the issue. Commenting on the Greek term theopneustos (literally, God-breathed or God breathing) that characterizes the nature of Scripture as the Word of God, Warfield states that,

What it says of Scripture is, not that it is “breathed into by God” or is the product of the Divine “in-breathing” into its human authors, but that it is breathed out by God, “God-breathed,” the product of the creative breath of God. In a word, what is declared by this fundamental passage is simply that the Scriptures are a Divine product, without any indication of how God has operated in producing them.3

The primary author of Scripture, then, is God. Human authors are genuine, secondary authors of Scripture, but all of Scripture is breathed out by God, and, as such, essentially divine in its authority and reliability.

Warfield’s formulation aids the church in avoiding the ideas that Scripture is, at its root, either pious and fallible human feeling set forth in speech (Schleiermacher) or an erroneous human witness to a supernal event of revelation in Christ (Barth). Whatever their differences, the liberal and Neorthodox conceptions of Scripture unite in their insistence that Scripture is essentially a human product that God somehow takes up or adopts in an instrumental way to communicate something (however fallibly and errantly) about himself that might come to be given the honorific title of “revelation.” The errant humanity of Scripture on the liberal and Neorthodox view becomes the essential feature of Scripture simpliciter, so that Scripture is a

fundamentally human document that *comes to be* an (imperfect and flawed) instrument of divine communication.

Over against these views, and affirming the true humanity of Scripture *via* an organic notion of inspiration, Warfield argued that Scripture is a divinely authored self-revelation of God—inerrant and infallible in every part and every word—yet the Scriptures are at the same time written by men. Warfield says,

The Scriptures, in other words, are conceived by the writers of the New Testament as through and through God’s book, in every part expressive of His mind, given through men after a fashion which does no violence to their nature as men, and constitutes the book also men’s book as well as God’s, in every part expressive of the mind of its human authors.\(^4\)

Yet there is a greater nuance to be grasped along these lines. Warfield observes,

It would be inexact to say that they [the N.T. authors] recognize a human element in Scripture: they do not parcel Scripture out, assigning portions of it, or elements in it, respectively to God and man. In their view the whole of Scripture in all its parts and in all its elements, down to the least minutiae, in form of expression as well as in substance of teaching, is from God; but the whole of it has been given by God through the instrumentality of men. There is, therefore, in their view, not, indeed, a human element or ingredient in Scripture, and much less human divisions or sections of Scripture, but a human side or aspect to Scripture; and they do not fail to give full recognition to this human side or aspect.\(^5\)

\(^4\) Ibid., 153.
\(^5\) Ibid., 150.
The theological construction that Warfield used to explain this reality is the notion of concursus by which, through the superintending agency of the Holy Spirit, what prophets and apostles wrote is fully and in every part the inerrant Word of God delivered through the words of men. Along these lines Warfield incisively observes,

That the Scriptures are throughout a Divine book, created by the Divine energy and speaking in their every part with Divine authority directly to the heart of the readers, is the fundamental fact concerning them which is witnessed by Christ and the sacred writers to whom we owe the New Testament . . . providence is guidance; and guidance can bring one only so far as his own power can carry him. If heights are to be scaled above man’s native power to achieve, then something more than guidance, however effective, is necessary. This is the reason for the superinduction, at the end of the long process of the production of Scripture, of the additional Divine operation which we call technically “inspiration.” By it, the Spirit of God, flowing confluent and graciously determined work of men, spontaneously producing under the Divine directions the writings appointed to them, gives the product a Divine quality unattainable by human powers alone. Thus these books become not merely the word of godly men, but the immediate word of God Himself.\(^6\)

The spontaneous, confluent, and superintending agency of the Spirit invests the words of men with a divine quality that cannot be attained by mere human agency. What we have in the above quotation is merely a sample of the depth of penetration present in Warfield’s nuanced discussion of concursivity.

\(^6\) Ibid., 150, 158.
I had the pleasure of supervising Dr. Stivason as a doctoral student during his time of study at Westminster Theological Seminary. The present volume, a modification of his excellent doctoral dissertation on the development of Warfield’s doctrine of concursus, brings Warfield’s contributions to life by situating his work in its original historical milieu. Stivason’s exposition and assessment of the development of Warfield’s doctrine of Scripture, drawn from a careful and responsible reading of relevant primary sources, situates the work of Warfield in the context of his own theological development and ongoing doctrinal refinement. We come away from the work appreciating the intellectual Sitz em Leben out of which Warfield developed his doctrine of Scripture.

What is so unique and helpful in Stivason’s work turns on his attention to the historical development of Warfield’s doctrine of the mode of inspiration over the course of his teaching career. Stivason gives careful and extensive attention to Warfield’s developed (and developing) notion of concursivity as a critical concept that enabled the great Princetonian to avoid polarizing extremes of immanence (pantheism) or transcendence (deism) and laid the groundwork for a rigorously theological doctrine of biblical inspiration that would assist the church in avoiding the dangers of encroaching liberalism in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

In addition to this, and equally important, Stivason shows us the bearing of Warfield’s foundational insights on contemporary proposals that radically recast the historic, Reformed doctrine of Scripture, ranging from Karl Barth to Peter Enns. As Stivason demonstrates with a clear command of the primary sources, Warfield’s insights are not akin to museum pieces that need to lie in a dark place, secluded from interaction with the real world. Rather, his insights on the nature and authority of Scripture are like light from the sun that casts out the darkness of liberalism and neoorthodoxy.

Stivason achieves not only an accurate historical exposition of Warfield’s theological development of a doctrine of Scripture, but he also shows us the perennial relevance of Warfield’s formulations in
FOREWORD

relation to a host of recent deflections from the biblical self-witness regarding the nature and authority of Scripture, understood as God's inerrant Word written. We owe a debt of gratitude to Dr. Stivason for his responsible handling of primary sources and his probing engagement of current theological problems that face the church.

I heartily commend Dr. Stivason’s work on Warfield and believe that it will repay richly those who encounter within its pages a top-notch exposition of a top-tier theologian who continues to offer much needed guidance on the doctrine of Holy Scripture as God’s inspired, inerrant, and infallible Word.

Lane G. Tipton
Westminster Theological Seminary
July 2016
Preface

Benjamin B. Warfield has always been a favorite theologian of mine. As a seminary student, I heard the likes of R. C. Sproul and Sinclair Ferguson offer their own admiration for this great man. At the time, none of my peers seemed to know much about him personally. Perhaps the only story I heard was that of his husbandly devotion to his beloved and invalid wife, Annie. However, the writings of Warfield were most impressive to me. Here was a brilliant man with a balance of wit and wisdom. At one moment, he could pierce the heart of the argument with theological acumen while in the next explain that the arguers had retrieved their logic from the wastebasket of the past and wrapped it in the swaddling clothes of rationalism before offering it to the church as a “new idea.” Warfield had the gift of challenging theological nonsense. We need that today.

So, when Dr. Lane G. Tipton suggested that I do a little digging in order to discover the identity of that “certain school of writers” Warfield mentions who appealed to the divine-human personality to explain the Bible as a divine-human book I was hooked.¹ However, that initial question led me to think not only about the analogy that Warfield used to describe the Divine-human relationship in the authorship of the Bible but the mode of inspiration itself. And what I have uncovered from the primary sources is a picture of a theologian doing theology at an extremely high level.

Archibald Alexander Hodge had invited young Warfield into a theological controversy with Union Theological Seminary and

particularly Charles Briggs. Both Hodge and Warfield described the American theological landscape at that time with regard to inspiration as underdeveloped and in need of improvement. Warfield would invest nearly the remainder of his life in this work. Consequently, Warfield’s doctrine of Scripture might rightly be called a doctrine under theological construction.

However, before the eyebrows begin to rise, let me explain what I mean. When Warfield was twenty-nine years old, Western Theological Seminary called him to the chair of New Testament Literature and Exegesis. During his inaugural address, he said of the Westminster Standards, “I sign these standards not as a necessary form which must be submitted to, but gladly and willingly as the expression of a personal and cherished conviction.” In other words, for Warfield, the confessional standards of the Westminster Assembly supplied both a theologically orthodox place to stand and room to move. Therefore, the construction that we will witness is an exegetically, biblically, apologetically, and confessionally orthodox construction, but it is construction nonetheless.

I realize that what I offer in the following pages may be described as a new perspective on Benjamin B. Warfield. However, I would describe it a bit differently. I have gotten close enough to the man to see how human he really was, and that has simply added to my already extensive admiration. Warfield began his career faithful to the Scriptures and the standards of the church; and as he matured in both life and faith, he grew to love both more and more, not less. Of course, he did not love the standards because they were equal to the Scripture but because the standards are the norma normata or the rule that is ruled by the norma norms, which is, of course, Scripture. Warfield is the kind of model we need today. That is, we need men like him, men who end their career with more love for God’s Word than when they started. Though the limitations and failures of this

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2 Ibid, 419.
work are, of course, my own, it is this Warfield that I hope you will see in these pages.

Jeffrey A. Stivason
2016
Acknowledgments

It would be a tragic understatement to say that I owe an enormous debt to many people, without whose help I would not have completed this project: to Dr. Lane G. Tipton for his perceptive theological mentoring, encouragement, and friendship. Dr. Tipton’s insights and assistance were among the many benefits of being his doctoral student. Not only is Dr. Tipton an enthusiastic and insightful teacher and scholar, he is a Barnabas among professors.

To Jack White for his kindness early in my program; to my friends who read my manuscript, Dr. Richard C. Gamble, Dr. Rosaria Butterfield, and Alexa Howald, thank you for your very helpful suggestions along the way. To Dr. Calvin L. Troup for our Friday meetings and friendship; to my fellow elders on session at the time I completed my work, Dr. Wayne R. Spear, Bernie Zimmovan, and Dr. Calvin L. Troup, for their kind support and friendship; and to the members of Grace Reformed Presbyterian Church for their constant prayers and encouragement. To Dr. Edward and Gretchen Robson, who saw to my encouragement and the care of my lawn while I was writing.

I thank P&R for publishing the Reformed Academic Dissertation (RAD) series of which this dissertation is a part. I thank Dr. William Edgar for his excellent teaching, kindness, and encouragement to publish this project. Thanks also belong to my editor John J. Hughes who bore with me and patiently guided this “green” author through the process of publishing. He is a sure and steady guide, and I have been thankful for his wisdom, direction, and prompt replies any time I had a question.
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

To Bob and Sandy, my father and mother, who have been a constant source of love, support, and encouragement to me; and to Nathaniel and Abigail for sacrificing time with their dad while he spent it getting to know Mr. Warfield. And certainly thanks belong to my wife, Tabatha, who bore many responsibilities in my absence, listened patiently and offered helpful comments, and is my best friend. And ultimately, I thank the triune God, who, by his Holy Spirit, has wrapped me in the robe of his Son's righteousness (Isa. 61:10) and who has told me so by the authors he has borne along by the inspiration of that same Spirit (2 Peter 1:21).
Part 1

Warfield and Inspiration in Historical Perspective
1

The Mode of Biblical Inspiration

Introduction

The liberal theology of the nineteenth century was decidedly different from that of the eighteenth century, though this is true with qualification. They were similar in that each had an inward man-centered focus. They differed in that each era stressed only certain anthropological aspects. In the eighteenth century, man’s logical faculties featured prominently in any and every discussion having to do with autonomy, reason, progress, and optimism. Philosophers and deistic theologians of the period focused on the radical transcendence of God, casting off the tutelage of an absentee god and crying out, “Sapere aude!”¹

The liberalism of the nineteenth century, on the other hand, focused not on man’s cognitive but his experiential side. Unlike the earlier theologians who had accepted the transcendental idealism of Immanuel Kant and had reconciled themselves to the fact that cognitive theological knowledge was impossible, these theologians were not content to relegate God to the realm of the unknowable, or at least were not willing to accept that God was beyond their experience in any and every way. These theologians began teaching that access to God could be found in the area of feelings.

Ironically, though Kant appeared to have closed the door of the physical world to God, nineteenth-century theology invited him in the back door through the vehicle of the feelings. This point of access would ultimately lead to the hypostatization that Kant had feared and against which he had so stridently argued. The result was simple. The God who had once been radically transcendent would become so immanent as to be, at times, described in pantheistic terms. This concept of immanence was not an abstraction; it had a concrete application. Nineteenth-century theologians began to teach that God was so immanent that even their thoughts were divinely inspired. All one needed to do to connect with the deity, said one prominent nineteenth-century theologian, was to develop or submit to the conscious feeling of absolute dependence.\(^2\) This was supposedly what it meant to be in relationship to God.

Benjamin Breckinridge Warfield (1851–1921) understood the implications of this radical immanence. He took stock of the situation in the following way:

The task has come to be to distinguish between God’s general and God’s special revelations, to prove the possibility and actuality of the latter alongside of the former, and to vindicate for it a supernaturalness of a more immediate order than that which is freely attributed to all the thought of man concerning divine things.\(^3\)

At least two lines of thought emerge from this quote. First, nineteenth-century liberal theology had blurred, if not obliterated, the distinction between God’s general and God’s special revelation,


replacing it with a pervasive pantheistic expression of God’s immanent presence emanating in and through the thoughts of man.

Second, the need of the hour was to find a way that provided for the actuality of a special revelation and vindicate a truly supernatural revelation. Warfield realized that when all is supernatural nothing is supernatural. Thus, one can stress the divine origin and supernatural character of the Scriptures; but if all thought is divine, then such arguments do little to distinguish God’s special revelation as something truly special. There was a need for something else, and Warfield knew exactly what that something was.

Warfield reasoned that when arguments for divine origin and character meet with little or no impact it becomes “necessary . . . to emphasize the supernatural in the mode of knowledge and not merely in its source.”4 According to Warfield, the biblical mode of inspiration taught in the Scriptures and rooted in the likes of the Fathers, the Reformers, and the best modern theologians is the theory of concursus. For Warfield, only this theory, which is built upon the philosophical basis of God’s transcendence as well as his immanence is able to provide both a biblical and rational response to the conundrum established by nineteenth-century liberal theology.5

From the vantage point of this brief summary, first, we can begin to understand just how important mode is in the discussion of the doctrine of Scripture in the nineteenth century. Second, we can appreciate Warfield’s ability as a theological diagnostician in a day of rapid theological change. Third, and perhaps most importantly, in the context of this theological dialogue and debate, we are given the opportunity to see this theologian at his best: namely, when he engages not in criticism, but theological construction.

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4 Ibid.
5 Benjamin B Warfield, Selected Shorter Writings, ed. John E. Meeter (Phillipsburg, NJ: P&R Publishing, 2005), 2.629. (“Inspiration,” Universal Cyclopaedia, 1909. However, Meeter and Roger Nicole list it under 1894 in their bibliography.)
Those who have read Warfield might be surprised that no one has produced a sustained treatment of his understanding of the mode of the inspiration of Scripture. The apparent reason for this lack in Warfield studies is obviously due to the fact that Warfield, as a theologian, is not well known beyond a certain few topics. Carl Trueman of Westminster Theological Seminary believes that Warfield is best known for his arguments for the inspiration and authority of Scripture, for the cessation of miracles, and in favor of theistic evolution.\(^6\) Apologetics could very well make a fourth topic. But the point is well taken; Warfield is known best for a handful of topics. As Raymond D. Cannata aptly puts it, “Warfield has achieved the more dubious distinction of being habitually dishonored and not much read.”\(^7\)

What is more, despite his popularity due to his work on the inspiration and authority of Scripture, most works on Warfield’s doctrine of Scripture have been decidedly apologetic in nature. Few, if any, have dealt specifically with Warfield’s concept of mode. And why Warfield saw a proper understanding of the mode of inspiration as crucial to the discussions in nineteenth-century theology has been left untouched.

Consider a select number of dissertations, books, and articles that have dealt with Warfield’s doctrine of Scripture and notice that none of them deals primarily with the mode of inspiration. Lane G. Tipton, for example, does deal with the mode of inspiration but Warfield’s view of mode is mentioned only briefly, with primary attention given to exegesis from an incarnational perspective.\(^8\) Man Chee Kwok compared Warfield’s doctrine of illumination to that of

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Calvin with a decidedly apologetic focus. John Jacob Markarian examined Warfield’s doctrine of biblical revelation in light of reason and evidence. John Gerstner, Moises Silva, and Paul Helm were concerned to vindicate Warfield’s biblical case for the inerrancy of Scripture. William Livingston dealt with the Princeton apologetic under which the doctrine of Scripture was subsumed. Peter Maarten van Bemmelen drew a helpful comparison between William Sanday’s model of inspiration and that of Warfield. Kern Robert Trembath reviewed Warfield’s deductive methodology as applied in his doctrine of Scripture alongside other evangelical theories. Jack B. Rogers and Donald K. McKim included Warfield in their historical review of the authority and interpretation of the Bible. And R. C. Sproul dealt with Warfield’s view of the authority of Scripture in connection with evangelism.


Despite the fact that each of these works, in some way or another, contributes to our understanding of Warfield’s view of Scripture, none of them focuses attention on why Warfield viewed mode as foundationally important or on the long, slow process of theological development on a subject that engaged Warfield’s time and thought for two and a half decades. This study will attempt to answer those concerns as well as critically and constructively engage Warfield on a doctrine that meant so much to him and the church he loved.

**The Argument in Overview**

Given the centrality of Warfield’s view of the mode as the primary antidote for dealing with a theology that has begun to confuse the biblical doctrine of immanence with pantheism, there is little doubt that the dearth of study with regard to Warfield’s view of the mode of inspiration is in dire need of attention. However, our recovery of Warfield’s labor will not simply honor our rich Reformed theological heritage but will serve also to help strengthen a scripturally anemic church, not to mention a church currently assailed with similar theological arguments, which find their genealogy in nineteenth-century liberalism.

In order to see the development of Warfield’s doctrine of the mode of inspiration I have divided his intellectual life into three basic periods. The first period covers the years from 1880 to 1893. Even from the beginning of his academic career in 1880 Warfield was concerned for the Bible. Having a keen mind and an understanding of the direction of the exegetical methods arriving almost daily from Germany, Warfield delivered his inaugural address for the chair of New Testament Literature and Exegesis at Western Theological Seminary on the topic of criticism and inspiration. What is more, Warfield seems to have had a firm conviction that God superintended the entire process of inspiration, exercising a dominating influence over the human writers.
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However, though influence of the divine, to his way of thinking, was well defined, what was less clear was the relationship that existed between the divine and human roles, an issue that Warfield would struggle with in future years.

Nonetheless, in 1893 two things had become clear to Warfield. First, the war over the Bible was not primarily a war over the Bible’s source or character. In the days of pantheistic tendencies or extreme immanence, the mode of inspiration was the primary battleground. In order to preserve special revelation it would be essential to define inspiration’s mode or the manner and method of God’s communicative activity. Second, during this time Warfield had become convinced that the biblical way to express the relationship between the divine and human was by the concept of concursus.

The second period of Warfield’s development covers the years between 1894 and 1898. Having arrived at the firm conviction that concursivity was the biblical mode of inspiration, Warfield published an article in 189 wherein he articulated three propositions explaining concursive as God’s method of inspiration. What is more, Warfield grew more and more convinced that the battle for the Bible rested on how one construed the mode of its inspiration, and therefore he gave a great deal of energy and thought to developing his understanding of concursus. However, this more clearly articulated statement of his views led to an inevitable question. If the mode of inspiration is truly concursive, then how can one party superintend the process? How can God dominate over the human? This question led to the third stage of Warfield’s development.

The third period covers the years from 1899 to 1915. Two segments structure this period. From 1899 to 1910, Warfield wrote his most exegetically based articles on the topic of Scripture. These articles are incredibly thorough investigations of words, phrases, grammatical constructions, and historical autopsies of one text after another, biblical or otherwise. Interestingly, during this period Warfield left behind the work of systematic construction and focused on the exegesis of Scripture.
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During the second segment of this period, from 1911 to 1915, Warfield produced only two articles on the doctrine of Scripture, and both were written in 1915. They present Warfield’s mature view of the doctrine of Scripture. These articles display the united fruits of his systematic study and exegetical labor. Not surprisingly, Warfield has much to say in these articles about the mode of inspiration, and his conclusions are as surprising as they are scholarly.

Having laid out the historical argument, we will take notice of how Warfield has been interpreted. As we have already, albeit briefly, noticed, the historical aspect of Warfield’s development is important for a proper understanding of the doctrines as they developed in the documents. However, this historical timeline has not always been taken into account when dealing with Warfield’s doctrine of Scripture. He is too often treated as if his ideas were monolithic throughout his academic career, and we will see how this, among other issues, has affected Warfield studies.

Next, I will summarize Warfield’s doctrine of the mode of inspiration and then draw out several of its implications, including Warfield’s understanding of revelation and its periods, the divine and human relationship, the role of the divine in the entire process, and the analogies that Warfield used to teach a mode of inspiration that he deemed biblical.

Following this analysis, I will demonstrate how Warfield, though dead, still speaks into the present controversies surrounding Scripture, showing how the present theological crisis ought to be analyzed in terms of the pantheism of nineteenth-century liberal theology. In so doing, I will compare J. Paterson Smyth, a contemporary of Warfield and proponent of the new views, with a present-day figure like Peter Enns. I will then demonstrate how Warfield’s emphasis on the proper view of inspiration’s mode is the need of the hour.

Thus, the basic observation of this study is that for many years Warfield believed and taught that concursus was chiefly and primarily the mode of inspiration that would protect the Scriptures as special
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revelation from the polarizing extremes of immanence (pantheism) and transcendence (deism). For Warfield, concursivity was a concept that had to be carefully crafted in order to maintain a divine and human aspect, which could flow together fluently and harmoniously to produce a common product. This meant that Warfield had to maintain the harmony of divine and human authorship while at the same time arguing for the Spirit’s primary authorship. Of course, for him, this meant the abandonment of terms like superintendence because, although they preserved the primacy of the Spirit, they seemed to argue against the concept of concursivity. Thus, Warfield replaced terms that seemed to indicate a lack of confluence with the biblical term “bearing.”

Chapter Outline and Summary

Because of Warfield’s popularity and usefulness among Reformed scholars in the formulation of the doctrine of Scripture, it will be important for us to see him in light of the Reformed stream of thought. But of equal, if not greater, importance will be to understand Warfield in historical context. We will, therefore, begin chapter 2 by exploring how European theological trends with regard to immanence and transcendence came to bear on the doctrine of Scripture.

We will then move closer to Warfield’s situation by examining Charles A. Briggs, who was instrumental in uniting Union Theological Seminary and Princeton Theological Seminary in a venture to publish a theological journal that would move current discussions taking place within the church forward in a constructive way. For Briggs, this journal became a vehicle for introducing the European method of biblical criticism that he had been taught while studying abroad. Though this happy cooperation between these two schools was short-lived, we will examine Briggs’s position on both immanence and Scripture as set forth in his early journal article in the Presbyterian Review.
We will then examine Warfield’s early position regarding the doctrine of the mode of inspiration. We will notice that between the years of 1880 and 1892 Warfield did not use the term *concursus* to identify his understanding of the divine and human relationship in Scripture, though in 1889 he cautiously suggests that *concursus* is where the evidence leads. We will also notice that his reluctance to lay claim to the term as a theological descriptor arises from deference to his old theology professor Charles Hodge. However, later Warfield would seemingly come to embrace the idea of *concursus* as the proper biblical mode of inspiration after reading and reviewing August Wilhem Dieckhoff’s *Die Inspiration Und Irrthumslosigkeit Der Heiligen Schrift* for the *Presbyterian and Reformed Review* in 1893.

We will also notice that from the outset of Warfield’s academic career he was committed to speaking of God’s primary role in the process of the inspiration of Scripture. Finally, we will examine some early analogies Warfield provided for thinking about his view of the mode of inspiration.

Chapter 3 will once again take us back to an examination of Warfield’s wider context, so that we might learn what was happening in the broader church, especially in Europe and Germany as they influenced the theological drift in America, in the wake of Schleiermacher, Hegel, Schelling, Dorner, and others. We will take particular but brief notice of Albrecht Rischl and his desire to move beyond the subjectivism of Schleiermacher. In all of this, we will give special attention to the doctrine of immanence and its effect upon the doctrine of Scripture, especially the mode of inspiration.

From there we will move inside of Warfield’s situation, examining the state of the Presbyterian Church. We will notice that issues with Briggs, rather than cooling off over the decade, were heating up again. In 1889 Briggs wrote *Whither?*, which was a brutal attack on Princeton and her theologians, but far worse, it was an attack on the doctrine of Scripture itself. Nor did Briggs let up there. In 1889, in his inaugural lecture to the chair of Biblical Theology at Union Seminary, he once again sought to blow the church’s doctrine of
inspiration with its view of inerrancy and infallibility to bits. All of this would eventually lead to Union Seminary’s withdrawal from affiliation with the Presbyterian Church.

We will also take some time to consider an all but forgotten document printed in the Detroit Free Press during 1891. The document, which was originally an interview between the board of Union Theological Seminary and Briggs, became the basis by which Warfield sharpened the difference between himself and Briggs and those that followed these men. In particular, we will notice how, in Briggs’s theology, revelation and history were becoming an organic and inseparable one. Furthermore, we will notice that Briggs, like other liberals of the nineteenth century, increasingly believed that fallen man has the ability to find God of his own power.

Finally, we will take the opportunity to examine Warfield’s view of the mode of inspiration from the years of 1894 to 1898. We will take special notice of his development of the doctrine of concursus at the outset of 1894 and then notice how often Warfield returns to it throughout his other articles on inspiration. For Warfield, concursus would become not only the best model for explaining the mode of inspiration but also for understanding other theological issues like those raised in the debates over science and religion.

However, of equal interest will be Warfield’s seemingly unsettled position on the notion of divine superintendence. It will be our contention that with the adoption of a genuine view of concursus Warfield will struggle with how one element may take primacy over the other. This will lead us back to one of the criticisms that Hodge laid against the doctrine of concursus. However, rather than critique the doctrine of concursus, Warfield sought to adjust the superintendence of God in the process.

This era in Warfield’s thought will also bring us back to considering analogies for the relationship between the human and the divine. According to Warfield, God’s work in inspiration is analogous to his other works. However, it is in this time frame that Warfield
will once again deal with the christological or theanthropic analogy that he dealt with in 1893.

Chapter 4 will take us through the years of 1899 to 1915, or the last stage of Warfield’s theological development of the doctrine of the mode of inspiration. We will begin with a brief survey of the theological landscape, looking at Hermann, Harnack, and Rauschenbusch before once again making our way back to the more immediate world where Warfield lived. It will be of interest to notice how the new methods had begun to affect the doctrine of Christ in a similar way to that of Scripture.

This trend toward decay was also apparent closer to home. The faculty of Princeton was beginning to change and with it the curriculum, which Warfield argued would simply lower the level of the theological education to that of superficiality. However, if the catalog of Warfield’s writings is surveyed, one will discover that between the years of 1911 and 1915 relatively little has been written on the subject of Scripture. However, there is, not surprisingly, a clear emphasis on Christology in order to counter the liberal trends. Clearly, the researcher comes away thinking that the nineteenth-century liberal doctrine of immanence had begun to affect more than the doctrine of Scripture.

As we bring chapter 4 to a close, we will again look at Warfield’s developing doctrine of the mode of inspiration; and though Warfield did not write much on the topic of Scripture during these years, the articles he wrote are significant, especially “Revelation” and “Inspiration,” both penned in 1915 for The International Standard Bible Encyclopedia. These two works are quite obviously the culmination of years of thought and study. They are the fruit of constructive theology, and in these works we see Warfield rise above all his other articles on the subject.

In “Revelation” Warfield supplies a grid for us to look at the different eras of revelation and the modes that God used to reveal himself in those times. Though “Revelation” clues us in to some adjustments in Warfield’s thinking, it is “Inspiration” that is most
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surprising. There Warfield determines that we must do away with the word *superintendence* and its synonyms when speaking of the role of the divine in the process of inspiration. In its place, Warfield says, we must go with the more biblical “bearing” in order to describe God’s role in the process.

In chapter 4 we will also turn our attention to exegetical matters. We will take Warfield and his view of *concursus* findings back to Scripture. It is vital that we understand Warfield’s position from the Bible itself. Consequently, we will examine key texts, such as 2 Peter 1:20–21 and 2 Timothy 3:16 in order to establish Warfield’s philosophical and theological position on the mode of inspiration.

In chapter 5 we will witness Warfield’s criticism of Evans and his constructive assistance with Shedd. Warfield’s active mind was always thinking about the life of the church and the academy. He saw the encroachment of the doctrine of immanence and knew that an overemphasis on immanence would lead to the undermining of God’s special revelation. Not only did Warfield analyze the intruding immanence, but he also engaged in doctrinal construction: he was developing his own understanding of inspiration’s mode.

Because Warfield loved the academy and the church, he was always looking for ways to articulate and describe his theological formulations. How could he use analogy in order to help others see what he saw? He was not alone in these aspirations. Others were using analogy too, but according to Warfield, they were not having much success. Therefore, the Princeton theologian not only critiqued other attempts to create an analogy between the incarnation and inspiration, but he strongly argued for a *conservative* understanding of inspiration. In this, we will see a great theologian at work, at once tearing down and building up the ramparts.

In chapter 6 we will find those in the church who were friendly to the new critical methods accusing Warfield and his positions of creating problems in the life of the church. Smyth and those theologically like him were determined to find the new methods of criticism safe passage into the church. The extent of their ingenuity and
treachery knew no bounds, some of which we will see in Smyth’s
willingness to vilify verbal inspiration. Advocates of the new criticism,
like Smyth, were convinced that men of scientific and critical method
stood authoritatively over Scripture and were able to declare their
findings unreservedly. Warfield understood the situation differently.

For Warfield, no man has the authority, much less the capability, to stand in judgment over the Scripture. The Bible is God’s book.
And because the testimony of Scripture is not less than God’s own
self-testimony, any question as to the Bible’s phenomena must take
on a subsidiary role. Questions regarding the Bible’s phenomena
ought to be dealt with from the standpoint that what Scripture says
about itself takes priority over all such phenomena. What is more,
phenomena that appear inconsistent with the Scripture’s inerrancy
and infallibility are so in appearance only. Warfield’s answer to Smyth
and those like him was the right one. The Bible’s self-testimony takes
precedence over our understanding of its phenomena.

Finally, in chapter 7 we will summarize the argument in the
body of the dissertation and develop a few implications of the thesis
in light of contemporary discussion on the doctrine of Scripture. We
will take time to assess the three points to which we continued to
return throughout the study: first, the divine and human relationship
in the process of inspiration; second, the role of God as the primary
figure in the relationship. Third and finally, we will examine the
analogies for inspiration. And near the end of the chapter we will also
suggest the relevance for this study within the context of Warfield
studies.

**Conclusion**

Having our map in place, we now turn to the historical context
that Warfield found himself in as he assumed his post as professor of
New Testament at Western Theological Seminary in Allegheny,
Pennsylvania. In so doing, we will set the stage for Warfield’s develop-
ment of a most inscrutable doctrine of the inspiration of Scripture.
BENJAMIN B. WARFIELD, one of the Reformed world’s most celebrated theologians, was a theological diagnostician who demonstrated a remarkable ability to grasp the origin and direction of theological trends. The challenge in Warfield’s day was to explain how God communicated. Pursuing the answer to that question led him on the theological journey that is chronicled in this book. Our day is like Warfield’s: the need of the hour is not to explain revelation’s source but God’s mode of communicating, if we are to maintain that Scripture is indeed God’s Word.

“A beautiful model of how theological research should be done.”
—RICHARD C. GAMBLE, Professor of Systematic Theology, Reformed Presbyterian Theological Seminary

“Stivason’s analysis is an important contribution to our understanding not just of Warfield’s mature doctrine of Scripture, but also of the central role that the doctrine of concursus played in his thought as a whole. Enthusiastically recommended.”
—PAUL KJOSS HELESTH, Professor of Christian Thought, University of Northwestern, St. Paul

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—JEFFREY C. WADDINGTON, Articles Editor, Confessional Presbyterian Journal

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