The renaissance of studies in Reformation and Post-Reformation Protestant theology over the last three decades has helped to put to death a number of caricatures, dogmatic and methodological, which had been perpetuated by the older traditions of scholarship. Foremost among these was the idea that Reformed Orthodoxy was increasingly driven by a speculative metaphysical principle, specifically that of predestination, and that the older dogmatics had no interest in biblical exegesis, preferring instead to do theology via proof-texting and crude dogmatism.

While the overturning of these old misconceptions is important, it should also be noted that a further aspect of the reassessment of Protestant Orthodoxy has been an emphasis upon its essential catholicity: Reformed Orthodoxy did not represent a break with the past, either in terms of content or even its own self-understanding; rather, its exponents operated within a framework where the significance of the theological, exegetical, and polemical labors of previous generations were assumed as dialogue partners in the contemporary exposition of the Christian faith. Indeed, Reformed Orthodoxy was, in a very important sense, catholic in terms of both sources and intention, as will be clear from this discussion of John Owen, an outstanding, yet in many respects entirely typical, theologian of the Reformed Orthodox tradition.

John Owen and the Patristics

At the outset, we should note that the standard category of patristics was not one that the Reformed Orthodox would have recognized. The standard historical division with which we now operate (patristic, medieval, Reformation, and post-Reformation/modern) are of later vintage. A writer such as Owen thought rather in terms of earlier and later writers, and of earlier and later schoolmen. Nevertheless, when we examine Reformed Orthodoxy in the light of our later taxonomy, it is very clear that what we refer to as patristic authors played a significant role in the theological construction of Reformation and post-Reformation writers.

The empirical evidence for this is easy to find. The posthumous auction catalog of Owen’s library is replete with patristic texts, indicating the importance that these foundational theological writers had for him. Clearly his library contained all the standard patristic authors on key topics such as Christology, Trinitarianism, grace (Augustine, Athanasius, Cyril, Basil, etc.), as well as numerous other, perhaps more obscure writers: Johannes Climacus, Gregory Thaumaturgus, etc. The holdings are not restricted to Latin or Greek fathers, either, with Syriac authors also being represented. Of course, the mere possession of a book does not indicate that Owen read it, but the constant references throughout his works to patristic authors, and his ease with classical and Ancient Near Eastern languages, would...
suggest that we can take the library catalog as representative of his reading and his scholarly interests.

Indeed, that this is the case, and is indeed typical of Reformed Orthodoxy, is evidenced by the recommended reading list for theological students that was written by Thomas Barlow, Reformed theologian, conformist Bishop of Lincoln under the Restoration, and Owen’s Oxford tutor and lifelong friend. Published posthumously, *Autoschediasmata, De Studio Theologiae*, or, *Directions for the Choice of Books in the Study of Theology* (Oxford, 1699) was found among Barlow’s papers at his death, and clearly represents the kind of basic reading with which he thought a student moving on to a Bachelor of Divinity should be acquainted. In this work, patristic writers feature both in the first section, dealing with the biblical text and canon, where they are seen as significant for discussions of the extent of the canon; but Barlow also lists contemporary works on patristic history, as well as other manuals on how to read the Fathers. He does not bother so much with the listing of primary texts—after all, this is simply an introductory bibliography—but the skill of reading and using the Fathers is clearly considered by him to be a basic element of the theologian’s task. Owen would have been impacted by precisely the kind of curricular emphases outlined by his tutor, Barlow, and thus patristic authors would have formed a staple of his basic theological diet.

This had a wide impact on Reformed Orthodoxy in general and Owen in particular. Indeed, his writings are full of references to ancient Christian authors, so much so that little more can be offered in a short paper than some suggestive notes which might prove fruitful as pointers to further research. For example, when we come to examine the actual substantive impact of patristic writing on Owen’s theology, perhaps the most obvious area is that of the language of polemic. No matter what the theological controversy, Owen is able to relate the battles of Reformed Christianity in the seventeenth century to parallel struggles in the early church. Thus, while Roman Catholicism is typically characterized as Judaism (with its legalistic connotations), other errors are ascribed a more distinctively Christian heretical pedigree: Arminianism is (of course) Pelagianism; while Socinianism, often a catch-all term for numerous radical groups, is a heady mix of Photinianism, Macedonianism, and Pelagianism.

Indeed, in Owen’s earliest published work, *A Display of Arminianism* (1642), he sets the scene in the Epistle Dedicatory, with a quotation from Augustine, a reference to holy war taken from Gregory Nazianzus, and a clear rhetorical connection between the fifth century Pelagian controversy and the differences between Calvin and Arminius (“One church cannot wrap in her communion Austin [Augustine] and Pelagius, Calvin and Arminius”). Then, throughout the work there are constant reminders that what is being witnessed is simply a recapitulation of the age-old Pelagian fascination with the idea of human free will and the repudiation of divine sovereignty.

This approach is interesting and is no doubt the result of various factors that underlie the self-understanding of Reformed Orthodox theologians. First, we can see it as evidence of the desire of premodern theologians to avoid novelty. Orthodoxy is the norm; heresy is the innovation. Thus, by setting up contemporary debates using the categories of archetypal
heresy, a twofold polemical point is being made about both the opponents’ theology and the time-honored orthodoxy of the Reformed. The Reformed Orthodox, as did the Reformers themselves, conducted their polemics in significant measure over the reception and interpretation of historic Christian texts, particularly those patristic authors of universal significance. That this is the case is demonstrated by Owen’s concern even to establish quintessentially Protestant doctrines on the basis of patristic precedent. For example, when it comes to the scripture principle, Owen will cite extensively from Clement of Alexandria to establish his point. He does much the same with justification by faith, where he particularly uses patristic citations to support his argument for mystical union as the basis for justification and imputation.

Second, it indicates the limited sense of historical development with which the Reformed Orthodox operated. To say that they had no conception of historical development would be incorrect, but that development was generally seen as theological, more specifically covenantal. Thus, in his discussion of the role and place of liturgy in the church, Owen sees church history as a continual ebbing and flowing of idolatry; and, under the impact of the work of Cocceius, Reformed Orthodoxy developed an understanding of the flow of history, from creation to consummation, which was aware of the different epochs of covenantal history as they unfolded. Nevertheless, the kind of historical consciousness that is prevalent in today’s post-Hegelian world where there is a distinct sensitivity to development and change over time, was really alien to men like Owen. Thus, not only could past texts be plundered with minimal attention to the wider original context, but it was inevitable that the taxonomy of the past could be transposed to the present with little or no difficulty. This was not a cyclical view of history because it was heading towards eschatological consummation; but it was a view of history which minimized the contextual differences between eras.

Having said this, there is some evidence that the Reformed Orthodox had developed a somewhat more nuanced sense of the significance of their polemics than had been the case, say with Luther. Luther saw the struggle over justification as the equivalent of the Augustine-Pelagius controversy; but it is clear that the issue at stake in the fifth century was the framework of salvation (the nature of grace) more than the content of that salvation (imputation of Christ’s righteousness). In Luther’s thinking the two seem to be different sides of the same coin; but in actual fact they are conceptually separable. For Owen and his contemporaries, however, it was clear that within Catholicism itself there was a struggle which paralleled that between Calvinists and Arminians: that between Jansenists and Jesuits; and Owen saw this, again, as the result of residual Augustinian influence in the Roman Church:

The system of Doctrines concerning the Grace of God, and the wills of men, which now goes under the name of Jansenisme, as it is in general agreeable unto the Scripture; so it has firmed itself in the common profession of Christians, by the Writings of some excellent persons, especially Augustin, and those who followed him, unto such a general acceptance, as that the belief and profession of it could never be utterly rooted out from the minds of men in the Roman Church itself.... Moreover, one whole Order of their Fryers, out of zeal for the Doctrine
of Thomas, (who was less averse from the sentiments of the Antients in this matter, than the most of that litigious crew of Disputers, whom they call Schoolmen;) did retain some of the most material Principles of this Doctrine, however not a little vitiated with various intermixtures of their own. Not a full Age since.... after the lesser attempts of some more private persons, Jansenius, a Bishop in Flanders, undertakes the explication and the vindication of the whole doctrine of the Effectual Grace of God, with the annexed Articles principally out of the works of Austin [Augustine].

It is clear from this kind of statement that Owen sees both his own movement within Protestantism and the attempts at theological reform within Catholicism as essentially recovery of Augustine’s thinking on grace.

The archetypal nature of the early church for contemporary church life was not restricted merely to polemics or the citation of authorities for establishing the antiquity of Protestant distinctives. Augustine is particularly significant here. Of course, the role of Augustine in later anti-Pelagian thought, both Catholic and Protestant is basic. Indeed, we have already noted how Owen understood the Reformed-Arminian struggle as a recapitulation of the Augustine-Pelagius battle of the early church. Yet the influence of Augustine in this matter is not restricted simply to issues of more or less abstract doctrinal significance. In his major work on the Holy Spirit, Owen uses Augustine’s Confessions, the classic statement of Christian psychology, as the paradigm for understanding the nature of conversion and the Spirit’s role in the same. Whether Augustine means the same by conversion in the fourth century as Owen does in the seventeenth might be a moot point; what is significant is, once again, the archetypal use of patristic sources as keys to understanding the present, if not perennial truths of Christian experience. Thus, Owen uses Augustine’s narrative as proof that human beings are born sinful, and that courses in specific sins leads to a significant changes in moral psychology which increasingly harden the individual and lead to alterations in behavior as we grow and mature, both physically and mentally. Further, general moral dysfunction manifests itself in specific sins which manifest the basically divided nature of each individual as one who knows, by the light of nature, the difference between good and evil, and yet cannot help sinning. Most significant perhaps is the way in which Owen sees Augustine as paradigmatic for the immediate pre-conversion struggles, where the two sides of the individual—the one driving towards sin, the other wanting to follow the way of God—are effectively engaged in mortal combat, powered by the Spirit working through the word. The psychological urgency and conflict which pervades Augustine’s work clearly had a significant impact upon Owen’s understanding of Christian experience. For example, see how he moves here from the specific case of Augustine to a general observation on the pre-conversion state of an individual under conviction of sin:

And he confesseth that although, through the urgency of his convictions, he could not but pray that he might be freed from the power of sin, yet through the prevalency of that power in him, he had a secret reserve and desire not to part with that sin which he prayed against.... These endeavours do arise unto great perplexities and distresses; for after a while, the soul of a sinner is torn and divided between the power of corruption and the terror of conviction.
While Owen is nonetheless careful to qualify what he says by indicating that God is sovereign and is not required to work conversion through a pre-conversion struggle of this kind, the overall thrust of the chapter is that Augustine’s experience perhaps represents more of the norm than the exception.  

Nevertheless, it is true to say that Owen’s use of Augustine represents a reception of his *Confessions* rather than a simple restatement of, or running commentary on, what the book actually says. There is little to nothing about the intellectual aspects of Augustine’s pilgrimage or the impact of crowd psychology on the individual, both themes that are significant for Augustine. Rather, it is the individual experience, and then what one might call the peculiar providences—so precious to the Puritan mind—which are so attractive and useful to Owen in his seventeenth century context.  

**Post-Chalcedonian Christology and John Owen**  
One example of where the more rarified climes of patristic theology provided the Reformed such as Owen with extremely important paradigms and insights is that of Christology. Of course, the Reformed did not question the basic formulation of the Chalcedonian Creed, but they were aware both of the questions it generated and left unanswered, and of the need to connect it to the specific requirements of the kinds of debate with the Lutherans that marked the era of orthodoxy for both traditions. Furthermore, the Protestant emphasis on Christ as mediator according to his person (and thus both natures) and not simply according to his human nature, as was the normative position in medieval Catholicism, gave Christological discussion of subsistence/natures a renewed urgency. 

In this context, the patristic distinctions between *Logos asarkos* and *Logos ensarkos*, and, crucially, between *anhypostatic* and *enhypostatic* human nature in the incarnation proved extremely fruitful. The latter was developed by the sixth century theologian, Leontius of Byzantium, as a way of explaining why the union of divinity and humanity in Christ did not lead to the positing of two persons, or better, two subsistences, in Christ: Christ’s human nature was like ours in every way except that, in itself, it had no subsistence outside of its union with the divine nature. In other words, its hypostatic status was the result of the union with the second person of the Trinity, and totally dependent upon the divine. 

Given the Reformed acceptance that Chalcedon reflected sound biblical teaching, it was inevitable that the conceptual problems which the language of Chalcedon created, even as it solved others, would also be of interest. Indeed, the distinctions introduced by Leontius actually allowed the Reformed to provide terminological clarification for their belief that Christ’s mediation was an act of the one person and not of either nature in particular. A good example of the use of the anhypostatic distinction is provided by Thysius’s disputation on the incarnation in the *Synopsis Purioris Theologiae*. While the human nature never has any anhypostatic existence outside of the union with the Logos, nevertheless, its personhood or subsistence is that of the Logos. This avoids Nestorianism while yet maintaining the integrity of the human nature.

Owen uses this patristic insight, as adopted by the Reformed, to address the issue of the communication of attributes
within a Trinitarian context. This is in somewhat polemical contrast with both the Lutherans and the Socinians. While Lutherans too held to the idea of the anhypostatic nature of Christ’s humanity, they believed that communication of divine attributes to the human nature of Christ took place directly between the natures, and this was regarded as the necessary result of the hypostatic union.16 This was the christological underpinning of Luther’s insistence that God was manifest as gracious only in and through the flesh of Jesus Christ, and that Christ was present according to both natures in the sacrament of the Lord’s Supper. The Socinians—for Owen the more immediate threat—denied any consubstantial divinity between God the Father and Jesus Christ.17 Thus, what Owen has to do is tread a line between a Lutheran position which faces potential difficulties in accounting for the limitations of Christ, and that of the Socinians, which suffers from the opposite: accounting for Christ’s uniqueness and apparent access to supernatural knowledge and power. In contrast to both of these positions, Owen describes the hypostatic union as follows:

The only singular immediate act of the person of the Son on the human nature was the assumption of it into subsistence with himself…. That the only necessary consequent of this assumption of the human nature, or the incarnation of the Son of God, is the personal union of Christ, or the inseparable subsistence of the assumed nature in the person of the Son…. That all other actings of God in the person of the Son towards the human nature were voluntary, and did not necessarily ensue on the union mentioned.18

In other words, the only direct act of the Logos on the human nature was the assumption of the latter into a union that gave it personhood. The anhypostatic human nature of Christ had personhood enhypostatically. The argument has a strange feel to it, given what one might call the “common sense” notion that human nature and personhood are inseparable; but in fact that refinement makes perfect sense given the new problems that the Chalcedonian formula generates even as it solves others.

Owen’s conceptual presuppositions here are impeccably patristic: the idea of the anhypostatic nature of Christ, which Owen articulates very clearly in his christological discussions elsewhere;19 and the desire to give an appropriate Trinitarian account of all God’s external actions.20 What we see, therefore, is the deployment of patristic creedal theology and concepts in the service of contemporary Protestant debates. Faced with the challenges posed by Lutheranism and then by Socinianism, Owen is able to offer an orthodox Christology which answers both sets of contemporary concerns while yet drawing on, and remaining consistent with, trajectories of Chalcedonian thought.

Indeed, we might go further and point beyond the polemical exigencies of Owen’s time to the constructive use of this distinction in emphasizing the historical movement within the life of Christ himself as Owen conceives of it. Protestant, especially Reformed, Christology, placed such dynamic development and movement at the heart of its project, moving away from the more abstract and metaphysical concerns of the Middle Ages. This is reflected in the standard categories of humiliation and exaltation which both Luther and Reformed used to characterize the earthly ministry of Christ.21 That the attributes of deity are communicated to the incarnate person via
the work of the Spirit, and not by virtue of the union in and of itself, allows Owen to give an account of Christ’s growth in knowledge which grounds the historical growth of Jesus in knowledge once again in solid Christology which draws on patristic formulations and trajectories. Thus, the historical insights of Reformation Protestantism build directly upon, and mesh seamlessly with, established catholic theology.22

Some Concluding Proposals

Recent years have seen a resurgence of interest in evangelical quarters regarding patristic theology. In the hands of Thomas C. Oden, this has led to a resurgence of interest both in patristic biblical commentary and devotion, placed, one might add, in the service of an evangelicalism with a simple, ecumenical aesthetic which bears comparison, say, with the mere Christianity that has been such a part of the evangelical heritage.23 Oden’s work is a treasure trove of theology; but the tendency of the project overall to relativize that which comes later, not least the great Protestant truths of justification by grace through faith, and personal assurance of God’s favor, render the overall project, in my opinion, less than Protestant. In the hands of others—most notably the recent work of Craig Allert—the patristic testimony has been placed in the service of contemporary critiques of established evangelical positions, such (in the case of Allert) as that on the inspiration and authority of scripture.24 Of the two movements, that symbolized by the life and work of Oden is arguably constructive and helpful even to those, like myself, who wish to maintain a more elaborate doctrinal confession; the latter is rather an iconoclastic phenomenon, less easy to assimilate to orthodox, creedal Protestantism.

I would suggest that sound orthodox theology of today, however, can find a third way to do theology which both respects the insights of patristic theology while yet avoiding both the tendency to downplay later confessional developments and the desire to set the ancient church against the modern. It is that represented by the approach of such as Owen in the seventeenth century. Owen had an acute sense of the fact that there are a limitations to patristic theology, yet his Protestantism, far from making him dismissive of patristic theology, requires that he take patristic writers seriously. A commitment to scriptural perspicuity means that he examines in detail the history of exegesis relative to any passage of scripture he addresses. A commitment to the church as God’s means of transmitting the gospel from age to age means that he takes very seriously what the church has said about scripture and about God throughout the ages. A realization that there are a set of archetypal heresies, particularly focused on God, Christology, and grace, means that the early church provides him with much fuel for contemporary debate. A commitment to the fact that the church’s theological traditions, especially as expressed in her creeds, provides both resources, parameters and, at times, unavoidable conceptual problems for doctrinal formulations in the present drives him again and again to look at traditions of theological discussion from the early church onwards. Further, a belief that theology is talk about God, and not just communal reflection upon the psychology of the church in particular context, means that Owen regards it as having universal, referential significance; and thus he sees those who have worked
in formulating doctrine over the years as having a significance which transcends their own time and geographical locale. In this context, he also understands that each solution to a doctrinal problem generates new problems of its own, and thus to understand why the church thinks as she does, one needs to understand how the church has come to think as she does (e.g., the anhypostatic nature of Christ’s humanity, a point likely to be incomprehensible to biblical theologians and/or no-creed-but-the-Bible types, but surely central to a sound understanding of incarnation in the post-Chalcedonian era). Each of these makes interaction with patristic authors necessary as Owen and others in his tradition work to ensure that the gospel is not reinvented anew every Sunday but, rather, is faithfully communicated from generation to generation.

In short, biblical orthodoxy is, and always has been, catholic in its ambitions and its sources. The sorry state of contemporary theological thinking, cut off from its roots by ideological commitments to radically imperialistic, monopolistic, anti-historical, anti-systematic, anti-metaphysical, anti-ecclesiastical forms of biblical theology or no-creed-but-the-Bible evangelism, has de-catholicized Protestantism, particularly conservative Protestantism, in a way that would have been unthinkable in the seventeenth-century. For example, negatively, Arianism now is as deadly as it was in the fourth century; we should learn the lessons from that time and apply them today, for time does not improve the value of heresy. Positively, the Trinity is as life-giving now as it was in the fourth century, for time has not diminished the being or the power of God. Let us learn from the past, not waste time reinventing the wheel or, worse still, naively inviting back into the camp those our ancestors threw out, at great cost to themselves, so many centuries ago.

Patristic theology is indeed the inheritance that orthodox evangelicals have all but forgotten; thus we should be striving even now to recover its historic usefulness, refusing to cede the ground either to those friends who see patristics as a way of returning to a simpler Christianity or as a means of undermining central truths of Protestantism. Our Protestant forefathers built their theology upon the basis of careful patristic study; and indeed our Protestantism demands that we continue to do so if we are not to squander our inheritance.

ENDNOTES


5 Ibid., 3:8. Cf. William Perkins, *The Arte of Prophecying* (London, 1607), 27-28, where he advises the preacher to study ancient writers because “the Antitrinitaries have newly varnished that opinion of Arius and Sabellius. The Anabaptists renew the doctrines or sects of the Essees, Catharists, Enthusiasts, and Donatists. The Swenfeldians revive the opinions of the Eutychians, Enthusiasts, etc. Menon followeth Ebion, and the Papists resemble the Pharisees, Encretites, Tatians, Pelagians. The Libertines renew
the opinions of the Gnosticks ad
the Carcopratians. Servetus hath
revived the heresies of Samosate-
nus, Arrius, Eutyches, Marcion
and Apollinaris. Lastly the Schis-
matiques, that separate themselves
from evangelical Churches, receive
the opinions, facts, and fashions of
Pupianus in Cyprian, of the Audi-
ans, and Donatists. Therefore in like
manner, wee must not so seeke for
new repealings and confutations
of these heresies as wee are for
our use to fetch those ancient ones
out of Councils and Fathers, and
to accompt them as approved and
firme.”

Owen, Works, 10:7. Interestingly
enough, on this same page, Owen
also speculates that the introduc-
tion of Arminianism into England
was the result of a Spanish conspir-
acy between the Cardinal of Lor-
raine and the German Lutherans,
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7Ibid., 4:111-12.

8Ibid., 5:176-77, citing Leo, Augustine,
Irenaeus, Origen, Cyprian, Athana-
sius, and Eusebius.

9From Owen’s preface to Theophilus
Gale, The True Idea of Jansenisme

10Book 3, chapter 6, “The Manner
of Conversion Explained in the
Instance of Augustine”: Owen,
Works, 3:337-66.

11Ibid., 3:355.

12Ibid., 3:360-61.

13See, for example, Ibid., 3:346-48,
where “outward means” are not
what one might usually expect
(word, sacraments) but providences,
afflictions, miraculous deliverances,
etc.

14See Aloys Grillmeier, Jesus der
Christus im Glauben der Kirche 2.1
(Freiburg: Herder, 1989), 210. This
became a standard distinction in
Lutheran Orthodoxy as well: see
the quotations from Hollazius,
Quenstedt, and Gerhard in Hein-
rich Schmid, The Doctrinal Theology
of the Evangelical Lutheran Church
(trans. Charles A. Hay and Henry
E. Jacobs; Minneapolis: Augsburg,
1961), 300-01.

15Synopsis Purioris Theologiae (ed. H.
Bavinck; Leiden, 1881), Disp. XXV.
xxiv.

16See J. T. Mueller, Christian Dogmat-
ics (St. Louis: Concordia, 1934), 272;
H. Schmid, Doctrinal Theology of the
Evangelical Lutheran Church (Augs-
burg: Minneapolis, 1961), 322. On
the anhypostasis, see Schmid, Doc-
trinal Theology, 295-96, 300-01.

17On Socinianism, see H. J. McLachlan,
Socinianism in Seventeenth-Century
England (Oxford: OUP, 1951); Carl R.
Trueman, The Claims of Truth: John
Owen’s Trinitarian Theology (Carlisle:


20Ibid., 3:162.

21On Lutheran notions of humiliation,
see Mueller, Christian Dogmatics, 290
ff.; Schmid, Doctrinal Theology, 381
ff; for the Reformed, see Louis Berkh-
hof, Systematic Theology (Edinburgh:


23Oden is the General Editor of the
series for InterVarsity Press, Ancient
Christian Commentary on Scripture,
which has done brilliant work in
making ancient exegesis available
to the general Christian public; also,
his three volume Systematic Theo-
logy (New York: HarperOne, 1992)
draws deeply on patristic writings.
Most recently, his Ancient Christian
Devotional (Carol Stream: InterVars-
ity, 2007) is a superb introduction
to patristic Christian devotion,
practically applied to the Christian
today.

24Craig Allert, A High View of Scrip-
ture? The Authority of the Bible and
the Formation of the New Testament
Canon (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2007).
This is part of a series, Evangelical
Ressourcement: Ancient Sources for the
Church’s Future, designed to bring
patristic study to bear on contem-
porary evangelical theology.
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