

Theological Librarianship



THEOLOGICAL LIBRARIANSHIP • APRIL 2019: VOL. 12, NO. 1

Theological Librarianship

THEOLOGICAL LIBRARIANSHIP • APRIL 2019: VOL. 12, NO. 1
ISSN 1937-8904

EDITORIAL BOARD

- Richard Manly Adams, Jr., Interim Editor-in-Chief, *Theological Librarianship*, Pitts Theology Library
- Barnaby Hughes, Atla
- Keegan Osinski, Vanderbilt University
- Dr. Christopher J. Anderson, Yale University

ADVISORY BOARD

- Jason Christopher Fowler, Southeastern Baptist Theological Seminary
- Jennifer Bartholomew, Sacred Heart Seminary & School of Theology
- Odile Dupont, BETH
- Teresa Cardin Ellis, United States
- Alvaro Perez Guzman, Universidad Bíblica Latinoamericana, Costa Rica
- Mary Linden Sepulveda, Seattle University
- Mariel de Luca Voth, Fuller Theological Seminary

JOURNAL INFORMATION

The purposes of *Theological Librarianship* are: to foster the professional development of theological librarians and to contribute to and enrich the profession of theological librarianship.

TL publishes essays, columns, critical reviews, bibliographic essays, and peer-reviewed articles on all aspects of professional librarianship, within the context of a religious/theological library collection encompassing interactions with faculty and administrators engaged in religious/theological education. The primary intended audience includes: professional librarians in colleges, universities, and theological seminaries and others with an interest in theological librarianship

Further information, including Author Guidelines and instructions on how to submit manuscripts, is available at the journal web site www.theolib.org.

Cover image: Michelle Y. Spomer, Donald G. Miller Librarian and Director of the Clifford E. Barbour Library, Pittsburgh Theological Seminary

This work is licensed under a [Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial 4.0 International License](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/4.0/).



PUBLISHER INFORMATION

© Atla
300 S. Wacker Drive
Suite 2100
Chicago, IL 60606-6701
memberrep@atla.com

Table of Contents

EDITORIAL

In Praise of the Generalist: Reflecting on the Theological Librarian's Challenge

Richard Manly Adams, Jr.

iii

ESSAYS

Small Change, Big Impact

Assessment and Creative Repurposing of Underutilized Space at the BU Theology Library

Sean Smith

1

SPECIAL FORUM

Expressions and Encounters: Experiencing the Histories and Theologies of African Christianity in the Collections of Pitts Theology Library

An Introduction to an Exhibition and a Forum

Richard Manly "Bo" Adams, Jr.

3

Expressions and Encounters: Experiencing the Histories and Theologies of African Christianity in the Collections of Pitts Theology Library

An Essay on Curatorial Challenges and Responsibilities

Jennifer L. Aycock

5

Expressions and Encounters: Experiencing the Histories and Theologies of African Christianity in the Collections of Pitts Theology Library

A Critical Evaluation of an Exhibition

Arun W. Jones

13

Expressions and Encounters: Experiencing the Histories and Theologies of African Christianity in the Collections of Pitts Theology Library

A Visiting Scholar's Reflection

Esther Mombo

16

PEER REVIEWED ARTICLES

Hebrew Language Resources

Shawn Virgil Goodwin

24

Twenty Years of Theological Markup Languages: A Retro- and Prospective

Race J. MoChridhe

40

Understanding Mormonism: Foundational Sources on its Culture, History, and Theology

Gerrit van Dyk

50

CRITICAL REVIEWS

Pushing the Margins: Women of Color and Intersectionality in LIS

Ondrea M. Murphy

61

Inquiry and Research: A Relational Approach in the Classroom

Daniel Smith, MTS, MA, MSLIS

63

A Biblical Hebrew Reference Grammar

Shawn Virgil Goodwin

65

The Religion and Theology Student Writer's Manual and Reader's Guide

Ryan Shrauner

68

In Praise of the Generalist: Reflecting on the Theological Librarian's Challenge

by Richard Manly Adams, Jr.

“So, you’re a librarian. What exactly do you do?”

This is the most common question I receive in those awkward “What do you do for a living?” conversations. Like most, I do not have a very good response for this. I tell myself, though, that the problem is not with me; the problem is with the profession of librarianship. We all know that identifying oneself as a “librarian” does not do much for identifying the specific tasks one might take on in any given day within a library. In the digital age, even the “book” has now been removed as the one thing that binds us together as librarians.

This issue of *TL* makes quite well this point about the disparate set of domains that define “librarianship.” As I reflect over the content of these essays and articles, I am struck by the many things that properly fall within the world of “theological librarianship.” Sean Smith’s essay reinforces the importance of librarians as maximizers of space. Shawn Virgil Goodwin and Gerrit van Dyk show how broad is the set of literature we must provide guidance toward. Our book reviewers note how important conversations in our culture about diversity and inclusion need to be integrated into our collection development policies. Our special forum on an exhibition of African archives highlights the challenges of preserving and providing access to materials that originally belonged to others. Each year, the answer to the question “What exactly do you do?” likely changes, and for those of us who share the title “librarian,” the answer might be completely different.

And yet, as I re-read these articles (again!), I am struck by how important it is for librarians to maintain our broad focus, particularly given the move toward specialization in the academy. Whereas most academic fields offer rewards for the researcher who can uncover new territory in the narrowest of information realms, ours is one of the few that continues to praise the generalist, the one who can maintain not expertise, but familiarity, with a range of topics. And I hope that’s something we continue to value. For if these essays and reviews remind me of anything, it’s that this field, and the domains of knowledge we are responsible for collecting, preserving, and providing access to, is growing quickly, but this growth is a good thing. These essays also make me appreciate the spirit of sharing that is inherent to our discipline, as they provide the guidance I need to continue to expand my work as a librarian. Already I have improved my library’s collections in response to the bibliographies of Goodwin, van Dyk, Aycock, Mombo, and others. Already I have started to reimagine physical space at the prompting of Smith. I have started to consider how I can make more accessible my library’s archival collections that only the privileged few can travel to see, at the invitation of Aycock and Jones. The perpetual growth of what we do as librarians is daunting, but the guidance in these pages reassures me that together we can handle it.

One final thing that occurs to me as I review this issue is that I am struggling with the editorial work that has for the past several years been handled with seemingly little effort by Jennifer Woodruff Tait. Unfortunately for us all, Jennifer has stepped down from the *TL* editorial board, leaving an enormous hole that we will work to fill. Jennifer has been a masterful recruiter, editor, and writer for this journal, but more importantly she has been a wonderful colleague. I know you will join me in offering heartfelt thanks for all the work she has done for this journal and our field of theological librarianship and wishing her well in her future endeavors.

Small Change, Big Impact

Assessment and Creative Repurposing of Underutilized Space at the BU Theology Library

by Sean Smith

The BU School of Theology Library is a small, autonomous library on the campus of the large Boston University in Boston, Massachusetts. The library is primarily committed to serving the School of Theology community of about three hundred graduate students. As a staff, we pride ourselves in creating a welcoming environment for our community and the open public. This small slice of campus was last renovated in 1999. One of our strengths is that we offer many excellent places for individualized, quiet study (e.g., high-walled carrels and a quiet reading room). Unfortunately, the library (and entire School of Theology building) lacks true collaborative study areas. Despite staff knowing this imbalance of study space, there had been no serious conversation about creating these spaces for collaborative study, perhaps due to a perceived lack of demand from students or a sense of resignation that any change would cost more than the budget could bear.

ASSESSMENT: BU THEOLOGY LIBRARY TAKING A HARD LOOK AT ITSELF

In 2016, BU Libraries completed its Library Survey Report, which included faculty and student feedback on the School of Theology Library.¹ Although the staff was happy with the net-positive feedback, the survey identified several areas where the library could improve. The most significant of these was patron demand for better collaborative study options. These survey results served as a wake-up call that suggested the library needed to effect change to better meet the needs of our users by offering more collaborative study spaces. While 76% of graduate student respondents were “very satisfied” with the offering of individual study areas, only 25% felt “very satisfied” about group study spaces. A surprising 40% of respondents answered “not applicable” when asked about group study spaces. It was clear that the library had to begin developing long-term answers to this identified weakness, but do so without forfeiting the relative “strength” of excellent individual study space. The Theology Library had to formulate a response while considering that additional resources were extremely limited. There was proof there was a demand for this space, and for my colleagues and myself, continuing the status quo via resignation was not a tenable option.

The staff decided that intensely local research was needed to determine which underutilized areas within the existing footprint were available for a reimagination to fill the need expressed by our community. Inspired in particular by the work of Given and Leckie and Given and Archibald, we moved forward with a “seating sweeps” project in Spring 2017.² Based on this project, the staff had hard data about underutilized spaces in the library’s footprint. Staff hypotheses about space usage were confirmed by the results of this seating sweeps project, a result likely expected in small, academic libraries, where staff may be more familiar with the ebbs and flows of patron usage than in larger academic counterparts. The data collected were invaluable to the library in its assessment: it helped non-librarian stakeholders and decision makers understand the space’s utilization, and it made more convincing the proposal for a larger-scale remedy.

¹ Boston University Libraries Assessment Committee, “Boston University Libraries 2016 Survey Report,” Boston University, February 2017, <https://hdl.handle.net/2144/20332>.

² Lisa M. Given and Heather Archibald, “Visual traffic sweeps (VTS): A research method for mapping user activities in the library space,” *Library & Information Science Research* 37 no. 2 (2015): 100-108; Lisa M. Given & Gloria J. Leckie, “Sweeping the library: Mapping the social activity space of the public library,” *Library & Information Science Research* 25 (2003): 365-385.

THE IMPERFECT SOLUTION: LIBRARY CONFERENCE ROOM

The focus of this essay is to highlight the creative use of underutilized, if imperfect, zones within a current library's footprint. The assessment project identified that one major underutilized area was our Library Conference Room. This room constituted over 350 square feet of library space, which was reserved for bi-weekly library staff meetings and very little else. The room is located at the end of a dark administrative hallway that a visitor would understandably mistake as being for staff only. However, the bright, well-lit conference room has a large table that can seat about ten people; it was already set up for collaborative discussion, and it would cost the library no additional money to prepare for patron use. Because of the difficulty of access, this was an imperfect solution to meet patrons' needs, a difficulty complicated by the prospect that increased noise and foot traffic in this hallway could disrupt vital operations in the staff offices. However, the staff's desire to provide the community what they needed led us to put these concerns aside. We opened the space up to patron use, and we advertised it as such. Our strategy to market the Library Conference Room for community use involved the following:

- 1) Advertising the study space on the "Library Basics" Research Guide, marketed to incoming students. This guide includes vital information about basic library services, including printing, which causes it to receive heavy traffic from first-year students in our community.
- 2) Using some of our limited time at first-year orientation to introduce the conference room as collaborative study space.
- 3) Advertising on the library's home page.
- 4) Working with the registrar's office to schedule classes in this new space.

Following this aggressive marketing strategy in the months leading up to the Fall 2018 semester, reservations of the Library Conference Room increased over 60% on an hourly basis in September-October 2018 (as compared to September-October 2017). While this represents a small sample size, this small change is paying dividends for the Theology Library, as overall patron visits increased over 10% during that time. It is the staff's belief that this traffic increase is due to the visits of students who would have otherwise opted for a different place to study. Shedding our instinct of resignation to budget realities and embracing imperfect solutions helped in reaching this increase.

Of course, the story does not end here: after our first-year orientation presentation, one first-year divinity student approached me about conference room availability. This student, in particular, sought a space for active, collaborative, group studying. Soon, a reading group for first-year students was launched, scheduled to meet in the Library Conference Room every Monday morning during the Fall 2018 semester. Already, this group has become an official student-interest group. Lines of communication with this group alerted library staff to a demand for a workshop on effective reading. The workshop was suggested by some first-year divinity students who were overwhelmed as they began their journey. Hosted by a library employee, the workshop was held last month during the group's scheduled time in the conference room. It has been a success with its twelve attendees. In an era where the library's overall budget is spread more and more thin, the onus is on librarians to address creatively the shortcomings of their spaces and collections. Librarians should see all corners of the library as an opportunity to better provide for the community. All that is needed is a little imagination.

Expressions and Encounters: Experiencing the Histories and Theologies of African Christianity in the Collections of Pitts Theology Library

An Introduction to an Exhibition and a Forum

by Richard Manly Adams, Jr.

From March 23, 2018, through July 20, 2018, Pitts Theology Library at Emory University hosted an exhibition of its African Christianity collection. The exhibition was curated by Emory PhD student Jennifer Aycock, and it drew upon print, manuscript, and archival holdings of the library. Though the exhibition has now closed, its presence continues. In the most practical sense, the exhibition was accompanied by the release of an exhibition catalog, which readers can access online at <http://pitts.emory.edu/africanchristianity>. Credit for this beautiful exhibition catalog should be given to Jennifer and to Rebekah Bédard, who was at the time the Reference Librarian and Outreach Coordinator at Pitts.

In a much more important sense, though, the physical exhibition has been the beginning of an important conversation at this library about this collection in particular and the general role of the library in collecting, preserving, and providing access to such materials. From the beginning of the curatorial process, it became clear that this exhibition would raise new questions for Pitts to consider, as an American institution that collects, preserves, and displays materials reflecting Christianity on the African continent. Even our name for this collection was called into question, as Jennifer rightly pointed out the problem with identifying something as “African Christianity,” as if it were a monolith.

In celebration of this beautiful exhibition, Pitts hosted an evening event on April 12, 2018, during which the audience heard from the curator and two Candler School of Theology faculty members whose work engages Christianity in Africa and the challenges of American documentation of the theologies and histories of Christianity outside of the US. This event allowed our curator to introduce her work to a public audience and explore the questions it raised for her, and it allowed the faculty members to raise important questions about the specifics of the exhibition and the general challenges libraries face as archival repositories.

Being one of the fortunate audience members at this event, my mind was frantic afterwards about the implications these three wonderful presentations had for how we do our work at Pitts Theology Library. I can only imagine that other librarians, who collect, preserve, and provide access to other collections, would likewise have much to consider in light of this important conversation. I was excited, therefore, that two of our presenters, the curator Jennifer Aycock and Arun W. Jones, Dan and Lillian Hankey Associate Professor of World Evangelism at Candler School of Theology, agreed to share their lectures with *Theological Librarianship*, which appear here with only slight changes. In addition, Professor Esther Mombo from St. Paul’s University in Limuru, Kenya, was at the event that evening. I invited her to offer her own reflections on the exhibition, given her leading role in theological conversations in Kenya and Africa more broadly. I am so pleased with her willingness to offer such a thoughtful response, one which not only offers us much to think about in terms of how we in America understand the diversity of “Christianities” in Africa, but also much necessary context to help us understand how the theological conversations continue to develop in Africa.

And so, I invite you to enjoy these three reflections, not only as a commentary on what we were doing in our exhibition gallery, but rather what we all are doing as we serve as the preservation sites for important

collections. In so doing, I invite you to consider the task of the theological library, particularly as it relates to those who do not have the ability to travel to our spaces and visit our collections. Of all the things that Jennifer and Profs. Jones and Mombo have taught me, perhaps the most significant is that we in the privileged position of holding these materials have a sacred duty to make sure they are as widely accessible as possible. My deepest appreciation goes out to these three, not only for their wonderful reflections published here, but also for their ongoing reminder of that sacred duty.

Expressions and Encounters: Experiencing the Histories and Theologies of African Christianity in the Collections of Pitts Theology Library

An Essay on Curatorial Challenges and Responsibilities

by Jennifer L. Aycock

Former Margaret A. Pitts Professor Emeritus of Theological Bibliography of the Pitts Theology Library Channing Jeschke's cursive scrawls across the lined sheets of legal paper. The copied letter addressed to Reverend Jerisdan Jehu-Appiah, pastor of an independent Ghanaian church Musama Disco Christo Church meeting in London, reads no less poignant than the drama of Jeschke's penmanship. In the letter, he invites Appiah to consider archiving the church's materials in an international computer database.¹ Jeschke reasoned, "What the African churches are doing in Britain and elsewhere is a story that needs to be more broadly known and preserved for future generations of persons yet unborn to learn."² Jeschke spent significant time and energy tracking down published and obscure African church periodicals and records both in continental and diaspora communities in efforts to increase Pitts' holdings in African sources. He also envisioned a bibliography of African Christian periodicals that could be accessed and used collaboratively between research institutions.

Jeschke's development of the Sub-Saharan African Collection was one initiative among many that positioned Pitts as a premier theological research library during his tenure. Jeschke's correspondence and personal notes convey a strategic collecting vision to build Pitts as a competitor with the "Harvards and the Yales," as he wrote it.³ However, weightier theological matters beyond the limited impetus of institutional competition motivated him to recognize this effort as an ecclesiological concern that required international institutional partnership.⁴ He observed that beyond North American and European Christianity, "new linguistic and ethnic differences" could have the adverse effect of perpetuating ecclesial fragmentation rather than promoting the "realization of a universal church of one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Saviour to us all."⁵ He understood his collecting responsibility as developing a means to serve this changing ecclesial landscape in concert with other institutions.⁶

HISTORY OF THE COLLECTION

¹ Jerisdan Jehu-Appiah was the grandson of Musama Disco Christo Church's founder Joseph William Egyanka Appiah (1893-1948) in Ghana, Africa.

² Jeschke hand-written copy of letter to Appiah, August 10, 1984, Pitts Theology Library Records 1914-2016, Box 5, African Serials Project Correspondence 1982-1985 (Pitts Special Collections).

³ Jeschke's handwritten notes, Pitts Theology Library Records 1914-2016, Box 5, African Serials Project Correspondence 1982-1985 (Pitts Special Collections).

⁴ Channing R. Jeschke, "Acquisitions and the African Project at the Pitts Theology Library: A Reflection" (presentation, American Theological Library Association, 1986), 86.

⁵ Channing R. Jeschke, "Acquisitions and the African Project at the Pitts Theology Library: A Reflection," 86.

⁶ Channing R. Jeschke, "Acquisitions and the African Project at the Pitts Theology Library: A Reflection", 87. Jeschke called for "a model of cooperation and coordination of efforts on an international scale that can make a difference in the total resources available to scholars in the future and one in which all institutions can share responsibility."

Jeschke's efforts to develop Pitts Theology Library's holdings in African religious monographs, periodicals, and archival materials began in 1975.⁷ Jeschke's conversations with visiting scholar of world religions Harold Turner between 1971 and 1972 seem to have sparked initial attention to Christian communities and perspectives developing outside Western purview. Reading the United Methodist Church of Rhodesia's (today Zimbabwe) publication *Umbowo* additionally prompted Jeschke to turn the library's collecting attentions to the global south. He commented, "The resources and concerns of African churches are quite unlike those of European and North American Christians." Accordingly, Jeschke argued that theological librarians needed to "anticipate the emerging needs of the scholarly community in the future."⁸ Such emerging needs correlated with developing a collection of sources under-utilized within theological education/scholarship.

Matching his vision and words with actions, Jeschke committed several research trips to work tediously through bibliographies held at various university and mission studies libraries in the United Kingdom. He generated correspondence in the hundreds with notable African religion scholars, ecclesial organizations, national councils of churches, schools of theology, study centers, and individual pastors, bishops, priests, and missionaries in order to request periodicals, member church lists, and addresses for additional contacts. Along with Pitts staff members, most notably Cindy Runyon, Jeschke led Pitts Theology Library to acquire over eight hundred periodicals from over forty African countries. Pitts' Cataloger Fesseha Nega determined that as of 2018, Pitts is the only North American theological institution to hold 209 of these periodicals. Within the fiscal year of 2017, Pitts continued to receive sixty-four issues of African periodicals. The collection cuts across languages, including Afrikaans, Arabic, Chichewa (Malawi), Dutch, English, Ewe (Ghana), French, Hausa (northern Nigeria), Kinyarwanda (Uganda/Rwanda), Malagasy, Portuguese, Shona, Siswati (Swaziland), Swahili, Twi (Togo/Ghana), and Yoruba (Nigeria), to name a few. In addition to periodicals, Jeschke increased Pitts' acquisition of monographs not simply about African Christianity but *by* African historians and theologians.

As he developed the "African project," as he referred to it, Jeschke admitted the "more subtle limitations of cultural and racial boundaries" that prevented him and others from hearing voices beyond Western Christianity. He wrote, "The voice of the Third World is rarely heard in the First, in part because the First World is not convinced that the peoples of the Third World have anything important to say to us. Our cultural arrogance has limited our capacities to hear. The effect is to silence the voice."⁹ Jeschke intended that the African periodicals would demonstrate that "Emory shares in the cultural responsibility of preserving the literary remains of the past for future generations" of communities previously relegated to margins. To this end, he reasoned, the collection "is not a museum or exhibit collection but the stuff of serious, scholarly research."¹⁰ He estimated that the Pitts collection could augment future research by providing accessible and preserved resources in coordinated efforts with other institutions to reflect a more complete set of histories and theological sources in the contemporary emergence of a global church. Jeschke's appeal to his school's administration noted that this effort went far beyond the library: "This decision—for or against the status quo—is a policy decision for which the administration is responsible. [The implications for the future shape of the library's resources] are too important for the librarian to make on her/his own."

CURATING THE EXHIBITION

Jeschke did not intend for the African periodicals, missionary postcards, and archives to be turned into items viewed behind glass. These were and are living documents from living communities that invite scholarly

⁷ Jeschke, "Acquisitions and the African Project at the Pitts Theology Library: A Reflection," 75. In Jeschke's 1986 address he notes "over the past decade," thus I roughly calculate to late mid-1970s.

⁸ Jeschke, "Acquisitions and the African Project at the Pitts Theology Library: A Reflection," 75.

⁹ Jeschke, 1986, 86.

¹⁰ Jeschke's handwritten notes, Pitts Theology Library Records 1914-2016, Box 5, African Serials Project Correspondence 1982-1985 (Pitts Special Collections).

use. In this spirit, I was invited to curate a library exhibition in order to publicize more broadly the resources held at Pitts for the study of global south theologies and histories. The exhibition would also reintroduce a collection seemingly forgotten and little used. I oriented myself to the collection first through scouring finding aids and second through reading Jeschke's administrative files and letters. In so doing, I determined that the exhibition needed to reflect Jeschke's ecclesiological vision across vast but also uneven and, at times, scattered materials. Additionally, I began to see my work as designing an exhibition that served as an introduction for visitors to African Christianity post-1400 CE. I decided that the exhibition materials would need to illustrate important themes in the study of African theologies and histories, but would also invite visitors to make their own connections across time and regions. I took seriously Jeschke's injunction that, in the end, this collection was not intended merely to be exhibited, but rather it is a collection that is to be circulated and utilized for serious research by faculty, students, and visiting scholars, in service of a global and ever-changing church.

As I sifted through the mainstays of the collection—periodicals, missionary postcards, and United Methodist missionary archives—I also began searching for particular items buried in Special Collections and amongst circulating items. Specific searches turned up early orthographies and grammars used in the translation of biblical texts, along with hymn books and pamphlets generated out of 19th- and 20th-century African Christian encounters, such as in Gold Coast (Ghana) and Igboland (Nigeria). The materials coalesced to support an exhibition that familiarized visitors with important themes in the study of African Christianity: cultural exchange and encounter, independence, African agency and initiative, translation, lived theology, resistance, ritual, and hymnody as historical and theological resources.

For example, *encounters* between Ethiopian monks and European Catholic priests beginning in the early 16th century initiated what scholar Matteo Salvatore calls “the Ethiopianist library, the first body of European knowledge dedicated to a specific African society south of the Sahara.”¹¹ Such texts printed and translated in Europe incorporated the new type Amharic. Pitts Cataloger Fesseha Nega identified several held in Pitts Special Collections that provided intellectual insights into early iterations of cultural and religious exchange between Africans and Europeans in this often-overlooked era. Including these texts symbolized a longer history of Christian encounters driven by Ethiopian agents on both European and African continents. The Ethiopian Orthodox Church dates to Christianity's adoption as an imperial religion in the fourth century and enjoys an enduring history as one of the first national churches.¹² Such symbolic emphases within the exhibition complicate the common assumption that Christianity's emergence as an African religion is an imposition of the colonial period.¹³ Moving forward in time, African American missions and African religious movements such as Ethiopianism often drew theological and symbolic inspiration from Psalm 68:31 in the 19th and 20th centuries. The text “Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands to God” (Psalm 68:31, KJV) functioned as a motif to indicate divine providence and inclusion of Africa within redemptive history.¹⁴

I also highlighted *African initiative and agency* throughout the exhibition. An example was highlighted in the legacy and memory of Samuel Ajayi Crowther (1807-1891), born in today's western Nigeria. Crowther led the Church Missionary Society's Niger Mission, and became the first African Anglican bishop consecrated in 1864. Periodicals and photographic records from the Congolese Kimbanguist Movement, initiated in 1921 by Simon Kimbangu (1887-1951), illustrated the threat African religious movements posed to colonial

¹¹ Matteo Salvatore, *The African Prester John and the Birth of Ethiopian-European Relations, 1402-1555* (London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2017), 4.

¹² Kenneth R. Ross, J. Kwabena Asamoah-Gyadu, and Todd M. Johnson, *Christianity in Sub-Saharan Africa*, Edinburgh Companions to Global Christianity (Edinburgh, Scotland: Edinburgh University Press, 2017), 144-151.

¹³ On Christianity as an African religion see Ogbu Kalu, *African Christianity: An African Story* (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 2007); and Kwame Bediako, *Christianity in Africa: The Renewal of a Non-Western Religion* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1995).

¹⁴ Gayraud S. Wilmore, *Black Religion and Black Radicalism: An Interpretation of the Religious History of African Americans*, 3rd ed. (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1998), 2; J. Mutero Chirenje, *Ethiopianism and Afro-Americans in Southern Africa, 1883-1916* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1987).

regimes and missionary control. Kimbangu's healing and preaching ministry drew the ire of Catholic and Baptist missionaries who prodded Belgian colonial officers to intervene, prompting Kimbangu's arrest and imprisonment until his death in 1951. Nevertheless, his wife Mama Mwilu Kiawanga Nzitani Marie (d. 1959) persisted as the spiritual leader of the movement until her death in 1959. The church known today as *L'Église de Jesus Christ sur la Terre par la prophète Simon Kimbangu* (EJCSK) spans the globe from the Democratic Republic of Congo to Angola, Congo-Brazzaville, France, Germany, Portugal, and Atlanta, Georgia. Highlighting African initiatives counters widely held assumptions that Christianity only grew on the continent due to forced baptisms within the transatlantic slave trade and at the hands of Western missionary intervention. Forced baptisms did occur, and the Western missionary movement is indeed an important episode within world Christianity writ large. However, centering external agents within African histories does the unfortunate disservice of denying Africans their agency and ingenuity in Africanizing Christianity. Thus, the cultural work of fashioning Christianity in African garments relevant to shared communal concerns oriented my framework for selecting material in general.

In addition, historian and director of the Marcus Garvey Papers Project at University of California Los Angeles Robert A. Hill described Jeschke's acquisition of the African Orthodox Church of Africa's archive in 1981 as "[what] will probably prove the single most important collection of original manuscripts in the annals of African church independency."¹⁵ To provide some context in grasping the import of the archive, consider that in 1924, South African Daniel William Alexander (1882-1970) read about Antiguan George McGuire's African Orthodox Church, U.S.A., in a sermon circulated through Marcus Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association's *Negro World*. Alexander then convened councils in South Africa to discuss affiliating with the U.S.A.-based church, and the decision was eventually approved. Through an exchange of letters, Alexander and McGuire, along with additional Ugandan and Kenyan clergy, forged a transnational expression of black church doctrine, order, liturgy, and leadership succession independent of white oversight in an era of increasing apartheid and Jim Crow terror. The exhibition offered a fraction of the archive for viewing so visitors could engage themes of *independence, exchange, and encounter* in histories of black Atlantic Christianity.

Lastly, liturgies, hymns, prayers, and songs provide some of the most incisive and vibrant sources of *embodied, sung, and lived* theological insights into religious communities across the African continent. However, such sources cannot be accessed apart from the local vernacular and cultural categories that give them resonance within specific communities. I included Pitts' circulating item *Jesus of the Deep Forest: Prayers and Praises of Akua Kuma*, Akan-Twi prayers composed by female Afua Kuma (1900-1987) of Obo-Kwahu, Ghana.¹⁶ This work introduced visitors to the local cosmologies that inflect the contextual nature of theologizing. One of the only known theological works recorded by an African woman in a local language, Afua's prayers personify Christ in such Twi motifs as the chief of farmers, lightning, mother, deep forest, moon, the hard-working farmer, and incomparable Diviner. The work of women especially draws attention to the holistic, communal, and vernacular impulses that ground processes in which Christian concepts are translated and made meaningful at local levels.¹⁷

Attention to thematic elements in the study of African Christianity, however, did not necessitate synthesizing a grand or coherent narrative out of disparate materials. We would not expect this in an exhibition entitled "European Christianity!" Rather, the exhibition suggested that library collections function similarly to archives

¹⁵ Robert A. Hill, September 23, 1981, African Orthodox Church Correspondence and Notes, 1979-1983 (Sub-Saharan African Collection, Pitts Special Collections).

¹⁶ Afua Kuma, *Jesus of the Deep Forest* (Accra: Asempa Publisher, 1981).

¹⁷ See Lamin O. Sanneh, *Translating the Message: The Missionary Impact on Culture*, 2nd ed. (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2009) on the "translation principle."

in part as an “instituting imaginary.”¹⁸ Collections provide “fragments of life to be placed in order, one after the other . . . a montage of fragments thus [creating] an illusion of totality and continuity” that scholars tame through interpretation.¹⁹ I intended in some ways to tame critically the collection for visitors to the exhibition while also puncturing any sense of a homogenizing illusion of totality across African Christian histories. At the same time, I wanted to make a subtle argument that to understand Christianity in Africa, it must be understood on its own terms—in the vernacular, through ritual and dance, in oral traditions and hymnody, in the intellectual and religious histories traced across bodies, texts, and communities. Visitors would only be able to access or understand these fragments in part just as I, the curator, did so in part.

In addition to providing a thematic introduction to African Christianity, I became increasingly committed to creating a conversation between the exhibition hall and the library’s holdings. Realistically, I wanted the exhibition to serve as perhaps the only primer in African Christianity visitors might read. For the curious and initiated, however, I sought to invite continued learning from and thinking about multiple African Christian pasts, the indigenous resourcing of African theologies, and how a more geographically and temporally complete collection of historical sources bears upon our imaginations for the future of Christianity. The exhibition hall’s materials intervened in strands of multiple histories and sources that provided limited entry points into a much longer set of conversations between communities across a vast and varied continent. It was my sincere hope that the exhibition’s intentionally disparate and fragmentary display of periodicals, monographs, sacred texts, missionary correspondence, and church archives prompted students, researchers, and faculty deeper into the resources held by Pitts. I wanted the exhibition hall to encourage moving into the stacks and periodicals themselves to begin a conversation between researcher and text in the very way in which the periodicals were themselves part of a living conversation with a previous community of readers.²⁰ In doing so, I hoped to reflect Jeschke’s vision not only for the collection but for the church, that the church’s future depends upon critical analysis of its global past.

THE LIMITATIONS OF CURATION

Working with specific materials cataloged broadly brought challenges and limitations unique to the subject matter, issues relevant to the larger issue of cataloging. First, I curated an exhibition from a collection vaguely entitled the “Sub-Saharan African Collection.” A myriad of finding aids, periodical listings, and postcards are catalogued under this heading, but dated binders detailing the periodicals’ origins and languages were the most useful tool for my initial searching.²¹ Cataloger Fesseha Nega supported my work in the collection by searching items particular to nation, language, and historical period.

In the end, the exhibition drew on materials ranging beyond the “Sub-Saharan African Collection” for two reasons. Selecting from the uniquely catalogued items limited the ways in which one could explore more extensive holdings relevant to histories and theologies of African initiative across the library. More importantly, “Sub-Saharan” and “African” prove difficult and somewhat problematic as collection categories in that they bifurcate a continent and elide linguistic and cultural plurality. They are placeholders at best. We generated subject searches within the broadly cataloged items in order to search out select sources—such

¹⁸ Achille Mbembe, “The Power of the Archive and Its Limits,” in *Refiguring the Archive*, ed. Verne Harris, Carolyn Hamilton, Jane Taylor, Michele Pickover, Graeme Reid, and Razia Saleh (Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2002), 19.

¹⁹ Achille Mbembe, “The Power of the Archive and Its Limits,” 21.

²⁰ Derek Peterson, *Creative Writing: Translation, Bookkeeping, and the Work of Imagination in Colonial Kenya* (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 2004), xi. “Texts do not belong on library shelves, tucked away from the sweat, blood, emotion, and idealism of human life. Readers and writers are participants in a much wider body of composition that goes on off the written page. Texts are part of the real, human world of imagination and action.”

²¹ See <http://www.pitts.emory.edu/collections/selectholdings/subsaharan.cfm>.

as “Congo,” “Kimbanguism,” and “Catholic”—yet there remains a large selection of periodicals I simply did not have the margin to uncover or were not located in the “Sub-Saharan African Collection.” For instance, ethnomusicology journals that included such gems as the music and lyrics for the first Messe Katangaise by a Congolese composer from the Katanga region, or Shona Methodist hymnody from Zimbabwe, along with Swahili hymn books, are not cataloged as held within the specific collection. The issue at stake then was not one of what Pitts holds, but the more epistemically complex problem of how North American libraries organize data and set the perimeters of collections.

Second, in the work of curating African content within a North American space, how does one recognize and navigate the double white gaze—a collection generated under white eyes and curated according to my white analysis? Racialized positionality and histories continue to inflect the ways in which we see and know, and who and how we know. Since troubling the white gaze is an enduring epistemic and social process, curating this project felt initially problematic to me. In my quiet discomfort, I turned to comparative voices writing or speaking on “Africa” within global frameworks. I wanted to augment my gaze and trouble the epistemological waters of visitors, even if only fractionally. To do so, we adopted several strategies such as using the physical display to draw attention to race as a structuring and aesthetic category or to how “Africa” is conceived from within and outside of the continent. Within drawers under display cases, for example, we inserted panels with quotes and excerpts contrasting the ways in which African scholars and white, Western scholars and politicians speak of “Africa” within a global consciousness. Hegel’s “Unhistorical” Africa fades as agency and cultural plurality animates the intellectual resources of communities and countries, such as Nigerian philosopher Olúfẹ̀mi Táíwo underscores in his discussion on African knowledge production.²² While highlighting voices such as Táíwo and others does not remove or alter the white gaze(s), it can bring into focus the ways structurally, historically constructed whiteness erases, dehumanizes, and diminishes African histories as possessing global and local import.

Third, numerous periodicals were printed in languages that require either native fluency or sustained study and use by non-native speakers. I was able to work in English and French sources, as well as skim Portuguese for relevance to selected themes. Africanist colleague in Emory’s History Department Madelyn Stone provided translations of Afrikaans, and a friend of the library provided translations of Amharic. The shortcomings and losses of local insights and contributions due to inability to work in the array of languages in the collection should not be underestimated. Yet, this limitation of the exhibition does not necessarily inhibit use of the collection. Instead, it invites a more significant set of questions requiring sustained reflection and response: What is the role of the theological library in North American seminaries in widening and deepening reflection and analysis beyond global north sources? How does a theological library make resources held in a North American institution, possessing power, prestige, and financial resources to relocate knowledge away from its community of creation, available to those for whom these materials are living documents? Who become the custodians of knowledge and how does this inform the politics and economics of theological and historical knowledge production?

CONCLUSION

Strategic initiatives directed toward keeping theological institutions viable within a competitive marketplace of options, wherein the church and religion appear as disappearing and inutile consumables, undermine perceiving questions about collection accessibility and utilization as first theological questions. I would suggest, however, that the Sub-Saharan African Collection at Pitts presses us to recognize that access to and use of a library’s resources is connected to the flourishing of human communities who live with remnants

²² See Olúfẹ̀mi Táíwo, “Why Africa Must Become a Center of Knowledge Again,” TEDGlobal, August 2017, https://www.ted.com/talks/oluf_mi_taiwo_why_africa_must_become_a_center_of_knowledge_again.

of texts as lived and performed in their midst.²³ Pitts' collection is interwoven with the religious, political, and social lives of ecclesial communities, and thus they are theological, not only in content but in function. Jeschke grasped this point well. He described the changing global reality of the church as "a world made small and fragile," foreseeing tenuous diversifications and social changes to which today's theological educators and ecclesial leaders struggle to adapt.²⁴ He perceptively identified texts that would with time leave traces of Christianity reconceived and practiced as a global faith comprised of multiple centers of belonging.²⁵ So, he bent his strategic attention to theological purposes, prioritizing a future and unknown church nascent within African and African diaspora communities as one of the rudders steering his course.

Excavating the collection in order to curate the exhibition revealed the tenacity and extent of efforts made by Jeschke, his staff, and an international network of scholars, librarians, and ecclesial leaders to collect, catalogue, and generate bibliographies of sources otherwise lost or forgotten. The further labor of publicizing the collection, developing funding that supports visiting scholars to work in the publication's languages, as well as partnering with researchers and institutions in the communities where these documents originate, remains to be undertaken in order to fulfill Jeschke's vision.

²³ I am indebted on this point to the work of Derek Peterson and Emily Callaci whose African intellectual historical scholarship influenced (and influences) my reflections on the exhibition and collection. See Derek Peterson, *Creative Writing*; Emily Callaci, *Street Archives and City Life: Popular Intellectuals in Postcolonial Tanzania* (Duke University Press: Durham, NC, 2017).

²⁴ Jeschke, 1986, 86.

²⁵ Klaus Koschorke, "Transcontinental Links, Enlarged Maps, and Polycentric Structures in the History of World Christianity," *Journal of World Christianity* 6, no. 1 (2016): 34.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

- Jeschke, Channing. Jeschke hand-written copy of letter to Appiah, August, 10, 1984. Pitts Theology Library Records 1914-2016, Box 5, African Serials Project Correspondence 1982-1985. Pitts Special Collections.
- Jeschke, Channing. Jeschke's handwritten notes. Pitts Theology Library Records 1914-2016, Box 5, African Serials Project Correspondence 1982-1985. Pitts Special Collections.
- Jeschke, Channing. African Serials Project Correspondence and notes, 1984-1985, CSTA 005. Pitts Special Collections.
- Hill, Robert A. Letter, September 23, 1981. African Orthodox Church Correspondence and Notes, 1979-1983.

Secondary Sources

- Chirenje, J. Mutero. *Ethiopianism and Afro-Americans in Southern Africa, 1883-1916*. Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1987.
- Jeschke, Channing R. "Acquisitions and the African Project at the Pitts Theology Library: A Reflection." Presentation for the annual meeting of the American Theological Library Association, 1986.
- Koschorke, Klaus. "Transcontinental Links, Enlarged Maps, and Polycentric Structures in the History of World Christianity." *Journal of World Christianity* 6, 1 (2016): 28-56.
- Mbembe, Achille. "The Power of the Archive and Its Limits." In *Refiguring the Archive*, edited by Verne Harris, Carolyn Hamilton, Jane Taylor, Michele Pickover, Graeme Reid, and Razia Saleh, 19-26. Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2002.
- Peterson, Derek R. *Creative Writing: Translation, Bookkeeping, and the Work of Imagination in Colonial Kenya*. Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 2004.
- Ross, Kenneth R., J. Kwabena Asamoah-Gyadu, and Todd M. Johnson. *Christianity in Sub-Saharan Africa*, Edinburgh Companions to Global Christianity. Edinburgh, Scotland: Edinburgh University Press, 2017.
- Salvadore, Matteo. *The African Prester John and the Birth of Ethiopian-European Relations, 1402-1555*. London, UK: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2017.
- Táíwo, Olúfẹ́mi. "Why Africa Must Become a Center of Knowledge Again." TEDGlobal. August 2017. https://www.ted.com/talks/oluf_mi_taiwo_why_africa_must_become_a_center_of_knowledge_again.
- Wilmore, Gayraud S. *Black Religion and Black Radicalism: An Interpretation of the Religious History of African Americans*. 3rd Edition. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1998.

Expressions and Encounters: Experiencing the Histories and Theologies of African Christianity in the Collections of Pitts Theology Library

A Critical Evaluation of an Exhibition

by Arun W. Jones

To begin, let me thank and praise the Pitts Theology Library staff, and especially the curator Jennifer Aycock, for a most enlightening and stimulating exhibition on the histories of African Christianity as these can be gleaned through the archives here at Pitts. I cannot begin to imagine the hours and hours of work that went into curating and then mounting this exhibition – an especially demanding exercise for Jennifer, since she is a full-time graduate student in course work. Normally a project like this is a good excuse to put off working on one's dissertation! We all are deeply in your debt for her service. There is so much to wonder at here, so much to learn, so much to ponder.

This evening I would like to offer two questions that an exhibition such as this – one that is culled from a library's archives – raises for me. These are not questions demanding immediate answers; rather they are questions to help us begin to interpret what we see and hear in the exhibition as we tour it tonight and in the coming weeks. The first question has to do with the reading of non-western archival materials.

Allow me to wander for just a few minutes from Africa to Asia, a continent with which I am much more familiar. In an essay published in 1982, William Henry Scott, late historian of the Philippines, picking up on language of an "iron curtain" and "bamboo curtain" that was prevalent in those pre-perestroika years, wrote about a "parchment curtain" that pervades Filipino archives. Scott acknowledged, but also challenged, a common historiographical assumption of his day, namely that it is impossible "to write a real history of the Filipino people under Spain because the colonial government enjoyed a monopoly on the production of source materials." Scott showed that the curtain of Spanish perspectives and biases covering Filipino perceptions and actions in Spanish documents, contain "cracks . . . , chinks, so to speak, through which fleeting glimpses of Filipinos and their reactions to Spanish dominion may be seen. *These are more often than not unintentional and merely incidental to the purpose of the documents containing them.*"¹ In other words, it is just as important to read archival materials for what they do *not* mean to tell us, as what they *do* mean to tell the reader. Scott gives the example from the report of a Jesuit priest in 1668, who was writing about the gold donned by a Visayan bride: "She was wearing so much gold it made her stoop," wrote the priest, "and it seemed to me it reached 25 pounds or more, which is a great weight for a 12-year old girl." The Jesuit was remarking on the gold; but as Scott puts it, "He incidentally let us know that upper class seventeenth-century Visayan ladies married at a rather tender age."²

Scott's insight is, of course, a theoretical commonplace today, but reading what is not meant to be conveyed is an art that too often evades too many of us historians.³ So it might behoove us to ask, what cracks and spaces

¹ William Henry Scott, "Cracks in the Parchment Curtain," in *Cracks in the Parchment Curtain and Other Essays in Philippine History* (Quezon City: New Day Publishers, 1982), 1. Italics added.

² Scott, "Cracks," 8.

³ One accomplished practitioner of this art is the anthropologist and historian J. D. Y. Peel. For example, see his use of Church Missionary Society archives in *Religious Encounter and the Making of the Yoruba* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000).

show up in the archival materials that are on display here at the exhibit? What do we discover about African Christianity – or anything else – that we are not really meant to discover as we walk around the room? How can we learn something by missing the point of the display?

In display case #12, there is a helpful explanation about frequent religious and diplomatic encounters between Africans and Europeans from the late 13th to the 15th centuries. In the labels in the case, visitors are told that, “Ethiopian monks traveled to Europe and were treated as diplomats and intellectuals, prestigious sources of knowledge on topics including theology, linguistics, and geography.” The illuminating information about Ethiopians and Europeans ends with a passing comment that is attributed to “historian Matteo Ricci (1552-1610).” Now Matteo Ricci was the pioneer Jesuit missionary to China, and the most famous, radical and controversial European translator and adapter of Christianity in China. Curious, I emailed curator Jennifer Aycock to ask her about the Ricci attribution. Back came the reply: the name is supposed to be Matteo Salvadore, not Matteo Ricci. Ah, no connection between Ethiopia and China here. But then I saw that in the same display case #12, there is a beautiful polyglot psalter from 1518, open to a page where a portion of Psalm 68 is written in four columns of Latin, Ge’ez, Greek, and Hebrew. The Psalm is significant; 68:31 says that “Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hand to God” (KJV). This particular psalter was compiled by Johannes Potken (c. 1470-c. 1525) of Cologne, who had heard monks chanting in Ge’ez in Rome, and he set out to learn this language. Now it turns out that Ricci had also studied law in Rome, fifty years after the publication of Potken’s psalter. Being a humanist scholar, Ricci would probably have seen texts in Ge’ez, and likely even seen Ethiopian monks as Potken had. In this way he would have come across a tradition of Christianity that was quite radically different from European Catholicism. Could a group of Ethiopian monks in Rome have been one of the sparks that lit the fire of Ricci’s imagination as he translated and radically adapted Christianity to China?

Let us look closely at this polyglot psalter.⁴ In between each beautifully scripted column of the psalm is, as we would expect, blank space. Blank space is indispensable for writing, as silence is for music: you cannot have the latter without the former. Yet one wonders what those blank spaces, those gaps between languages, signified for Potken. Surely, they were not simply gaps for the convenience of writing. They also signified cultural gaps, racial gaps, ecclesial gaps, even theological gaps. Does the fact that Potken arranged the scripts side-by-side mean that he saw the different worlds of the different languages as equivalents? Or was he merely following literary and sacred convention, which visually implied that very different expressions of the faith were equivalent, and not hierarchically related? In any case, it was just such parallel gaps and silences between different linguistic and cultural worlds that allowed Ricci and other Jesuits in the early modern era to engage in their experiments of radical adaptation of Christianity to Asian contexts. Metaphorically speaking, Ricci and his confreres added a column of Chinese alongside the columns of Hebrew, Ge’ez, Greek and Latin. And so, an unintentional, no doubt embarrassing but also fortuitous, typographical error in a display case has provided for me a crack in the parchment curtain of these archives, to see a 16th century connection between African and Asian Christianity, via Roman Christianity.

There is a second question I would like to raise this evening that this exhibit prompts. There has been quite a good deal of historical work done on missionary and other exhibitions in the 19th and 20th centuries. One exemplary exhibition occurred almost a century ago, when, during the summer of 1919 in Columbus, Ohio, American Methodists put on “an enormous missionary exposition dubbed “The Centenary Celebration of American Methodist Missions.””⁵ One of the many things that strike us, those who look back at exhibitions such as these, is how they reflected the thinking of their era. So, we pay attention to how they portrayed different races and nationalities, how they constructed gender, and the assumptions they held about social classes and even whole societies. What becomes clear from these exhibitions is that what people choose to

⁴ This particular psalter is call number 1518 BIBL in Pitts Theology Library’s collection.

⁵ Christopher J. Anderson, *The Centenary Celebration of American Methodist Missions* (Lewistown: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2012), 1.

display is deeply connected to how they see the world around them, and their place in that world. In a similar spirit, display case #17 in the current exhibition asks us to look at postcards from the past, and to use them to deduce European and missionary views of Africans from the era in which they were produced.

One question we can ask ourselves of *this* exhibition, then, is not simply what does it tell us about African Christianity in the past, but what does it tell us about the mental and physical worlds we all inhabit in the present? In other words, what does this exhibition say to us (and others) about ourselves? There have been, after all, plenty of displays about African Christianity – some of which have included African Christians – in the West. What is it about this exhibition that captures the religious, intellectual, social, material, and spatial peculiarities of our own day and age? Located in the USA, how is this exhibition very much also about American Christian thought and practice? The easy, and wrong, way to proceed would be to try and figure out what the curator had in mind when she put this exhibit together. Borrowing an image recognizable in places as diverse as Kenya and Korea, as Alaska and Australia, the curator is, in a very real sense, simply the medium that has channeled the spirit of our age. As the audience for the work of this spirit medium, our own appreciation of and satisfaction with this exhibition and its explanations of African church life are evidence of how wonderfully and correctly she has channeled us. So, the fact that the exhibit emphasizes the international and transnational dimension of African Christianity reflects our own globalized age, and the highlighting of the Kimbanguist Church and the African Orthodox Church reflects our own religious situation where the rapid reshaping and even invention of religious traditions is quite commonplace. Most importantly, the fact that we are having an exhibit of African Christianity in this time and place reflects our growing appreciation of Africa's importance in the worldwide expressions of Christianity.

The next step, of course, would be to historicize ourselves just as we historicize the past – in other words, to carry out the exercise encouraged in display case #17 for the whole exhibit itself. What might future generations say about this exhibition? Noticeably lacking in the display, for example, is any sign of conflict within African Christianity – except for the case of South Africa so powerfully represented. The conflicts in the exhibition involve Europe and Africa (this is even, in some ways, the case with South Africa). Such critical historicizing is not the work of the spirit medium of our age – she has accomplished her performance with virtuosity. This work comes afterwards, for all of us, as we ponder our own place in representing the histories of African Christianity, which have been so wonderfully presented here and now.

Expressions and Encounters: Experiencing the Histories and Theologies of African Christianity in the Collections of Pitts Theology Library

A Visiting Scholar's Reflection

by Esther Mombo

"When an old person dies, we have lost a library."

Doing research with a colleague a few years ago, I visited several aging people to discuss their encounters with missionaries and the Christian faith. They gave us valuable information; some shared with us letters and pictures they were holding, and they were impressed that we had showed some interest in what they had. They were excited to share, and we were glad to receive. This made us curious about what else was kept in the houses and offices, material that was being eaten away by mold and ants. How would these be recovered and be of use for the young and future generation of researchers of world Christianity and particularly African Christianity? Scholars may not have access to the old people with whom we were privileged to meet with in our field research.

Addressing the group, my colleague reminded them that they were important for the church because they are our living libraries, and meeting with them was such an honour because we got to hear what was not in any of the university libraries we had consulted. He concluded with the remark, "When an old person dies, a whole library is lost." It is with this view that I offer my reflection on the exhibition "Expressions and Encounters: Experiencing the Histories and Theologies of African Christianity in the Collections of Pitts Theology Library." For my experience of the exhibition was nostalgic, a mixture of joy and sadness: joy because I was able to see it myself, sadness because there was much more that could be included but was still rotting away in some homes of early Christian converts, and we have no means to retrieve it for good use. While visiting the exhibition, certain questions came to mind in terms of how many of the students of African Christianity would never have a chance to see and experience such materials. Studying away from home to use the kinds of material that was displayed would be an expensive prospect for them, and they can only get information from secondary data. This raised for me a further fundamental question on the imbalances there are in terms of research and production of knowledge. I am grateful, however, for being there at that time to experience the exhibition. My reflections cover areas that were of interest to me but also are themes that continue to be discussed in the story of the African church. Most significant of these is the role of women in the church.

THE STRENGTH OF NUMBERS IN AFRICAN CHRISTIANITY

The exhibition served for me to be a confirmation of the documented statistics about African Christianity. The exhibition's geographical sphere is widespread, as it includes materials from different locations in Africa. The exhibition's variety of the church families includes African Instituted Churches, Orthodox, Methodist, and the ones known to be mainline in the language of Christianity in Africa, churches that happen to have relations with the World Council of Churches.

The exhibition uniquely tells the African church story thematically within the social realities of each historical period. By including the oldest Christian tradition in Africa, Ethiopian Christianity and its extant literature, including unique manuscripts in Ge'ez, the most ancient literature in Africa, the exhibition provides testimony of many aspects of African Christianity that remain a field of fertile study. Evidence of the progression of African Christianity is shown by the interaction of Africa and the missionary movement from the West, which introduced to Africa Western forms of education and medical work that the African church has continued to develop and grow.

As Kwame Bediako has noted, though, Christianity has become “African religion.”¹ It is no longer about Western missionary work, but rather a faith maintained and sustained by the Africans themselves. The methodologies of passing on the faith have also been indigenous as different groups seek to serve God the best way they understand God’s mission through Jesus Christ. Western Christianity was denominational, and African Christianity has not only maintained the inherited denominations but also created new ones with different names.

The exhibition takes note of African Instituted Churches and shows the different forms of a movement towards a church that enriches the body of the church in Africa through diverse realities of languages, liturgies, and activities. One of the key features of African Christianity was the creation of the African Instituted Churches (AIC), movements out of Protestant and Roman Catholic mission churches established in different parts of Africa.² Known by different names, most of these were founded by men and women who interpreted the Christian faith using African lenses. Some of the reasons for the founding of AICs were the racism in mainline (mission) churches, the negative responses to African culture and worldview, and the missionary paternalism at the time. The characteristics of the African Instituted Churches include a more holistic approach to faith and life, their use and application of the Bible, especially the Old Testament with references to the people of Israel, purity laws, etc., and their identification with the Early Church. Another feature is their positive outlook towards African culture and an African worldview, including the emphasis on community and the acknowledgement of the spiritual world. The exhibition highlights the work of the earliest of the AICs, the Kimbanguist Church. The Kimbanguist Church exhibits the ways of being church in a particular context but also how a church participates in the world church. Students of indigenization of the faith in Africa would always benefit from the ways in which the Kimbanguist Church engaged with the societal issues of its time and how it has developed to be one of the member churches of the World Council of Churches. The Kimbanguist Church is an example of what it meant to be church and what it still means to be church today.

The Kimbanguist Church serves as a representative of the African Instituted Churches across the continent, as they tried to integrate African spirituality and realities of their period with the mission-founded churches of the time. African Instituted Churches responded to the needs and questions of the converts of the time in a creative and imaginative manner. The issues with which the African Instituted Churches dealt were of spirit and matter, and they responded to them in whole without partitioning the body and the spirit, as it appeared to be in the mission-founded churches. As well as responding to the questions of Africans, some of these churches were open to the ecumenical movement both on the continent and in world ecumenical gatherings. The call for ecumenism in Africa was earlier than it was in the world ecumenical movements. In Kenya, for instance, as early as 1905, different mission agencies began questioning the import of European denominationalism for Africa. By 1913, different mission agencies agreed to collaborate, particularly with the training of church leaders. The formation of ecumenical theological institutions was a departure from denominational colleges,

¹ See, for example, Kwame Bediako, “The Roots of African Theology,” *International Bulletin of Mission Research* 13 (1989): 58-62, 64-65.

² See Afe Adogame and Lizo Jafta, “Zionist, Aladura and Roho: African Instituted Churches,” in *African Christianity: An African Story*, ed. Ogbu Kalu, vol. 3, Perspectives of Christianity Series 5 (Pretoria: University of Pretoria, 2005), 310-13.

which were meant to socialize the students in the dogma of the particular denomination.

Different national councils of churches in Africa and the All Africa Conference of Churches were platforms for churches to discuss their role in the society. These institutions were not an end in and of themselves; they developed to enshrine and inculcate a certain vision and perspective of ecumenical imperative. In the African context, the need for ecumenical relations was significant because of ethnic and religious pluralism. Both the mission-founded and the African Instituted Churches, like the Kimbanguist Church, sought platforms outside of their boundaries to be able to attend to wider societal needs. The ecumenical vision was not only an issue related to denominational relations, but a path towards the unity of peoples. At the same time, the ecumenical vision is one in which theology engages with secular issues for renewal and transformation. While this complexity cannot be captured in a single exhibition, this display highlighted nicely the ecumenical vision of different churches in Africa.

AFRICAN AGENCY IN THE LEADERSHIP OF THE CHURCH

The exhibition also focuses on the different roles and personalities in African church leadership. The preparation of African church leadership was significant for the development of the church, and Samuel Ajayi Crowther (c. 1809-1891), the pioneer leader, is prominently featured in the exhibition. In the life and ministry of Samuel Ajayi Crowther, there is an embodiment of what “the self supporting, self governing, and self propagating church” looks like, a theme that was strong in the mission work of Henry Venn.³

Like other pioneer African leaders, Crowther, a captured and freed slave and pioneer student of Furah Bay College, stood juxtaposed against the missionary ideals and African expectation. His life and work is the focus of historians of a number of areas of church life: theological education, the translation of language, and leadership in the church. A gifted person, Crowther was western educated and then ordained and consecrated a bishop to serve the church in Africa.

Among his many contributions to the church, perhaps of greatest significance is Crowther’s translation work, which continues to engage theologians of the African church. Lamin Sanneh, among others, has observed that the translation of the scriptures to local languages contributed to the rapid spread of Christianity in Africa.⁴ By considering the works and engagement of Crowther, as the exhibition does, one begins to experience as true the observation of Sanneh. Translation of the texts to African languages has continued to be significant in Africa, particularly Bible translations. According to Andrew Walls, “Bible translation as a process is thus both a reflection of the central act on which the Christian faith depends and a concretization of the commission which Christ gave his disciples. Perhaps no other specific activity more clearly represents the mission of the Church.”⁵

Walls summarizes well the importance of translation:

Incarnation is translation . . . The translation of God into humanity, whereby the sense and meaning of God was transferred, was effected under very culture-specific conditions . . . The first divine act of translation into humanity thus gives rise to a constant succession of new translations. Christian diversity is the necessary product of the Incarnation.⁶

³ See, for example, Henry Venn, *Retrospect and Prospect of the Operations of the Church Missionary Society* (London: Church Missionary House, 1865).

⁴ Lamin Sanneh, *Translating the Message: Missionary Impact on Culture* (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1989). See also Ype Schaaf, *On their Way Rejoicing: The History and Role of the Bible in Africa* (Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 1952).

⁵ Andrew Walls, *The Missionary Movement in Christian History* (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1996), 28.

⁶ Walls, *Missionary Movement*, 27.

The exhibition highlights the impact of Crowther's work in his use of vernacular for translation, which Bediako argues is at the heart of incarnation:

The ability to hear in one's own language and to express in one's own language one's response to the message which one receives, must lie at the heart of all authentic religious encounters with the divine realm . . . (the) deeper significance is that God speaks to men and women always in the vernacular. Divine communication is never in the sacred, esoteric, hermetic language; rather it is such that all of us hear in our own language the wonders of God.⁷

He continues by arguing for the necessity of work like that accomplished by Crowther: "Taking the vernacular seriously becomes not nearly a cultural but also a theological necessity, for it is only through vernacular that a genuine and lasting theological dialogue with culture can take place."⁸

The legacy of Crowther in the use of vernacular language is a great foundation for other vernacular studies as far as theology is concerned. In more recent times, theologians have deliberated on ways in which the African people can express their faith through projects such as indigenization, inculturation, contextualization, reconstruction, and Savannah Theology.⁹ These projects have tried to deal with issues of language, experience, and context of African people. There have also been projects developing an African hermeneutic, principles of interpretation that accord well with the African context and ethos, such as the work of the Circle of Concerned African Women Theologians.

In Crowther's ministry, as highlighted in the exhibition, one sees a leader who endeavours to understand his context and provide ways of responding to the needs of the people by using a language they understand. While the specifics of Crowther's context were different, the questions being raised are not different from those that are raised today with regard to the formation of Christian leaders. Crowther dealt with a colonial context, struggling with race and being forced to justify the indigenization of the church. Even though the context of Crowther was different, the questions the church faces are still the same insofar as theology and leadership are concerned: What is the language of theology? What are the contextual realities in the study of theological education?

One other interesting way African agency was highlighted in the exhibition was the use of photography on display, particularly the display of cartoons. Paul Jenkins highlights the importance of this sort of rediscovery of mission photography:

Individual cataloguing of historical photographs is valuable in itself . . . it creates value . . . and introduces a new quality into discussion of the past and should enable new forms of discourse about the past to develop. Using visual sources correctly and with the necessary rigor and accuracy could have as revolutionary an impact as working with oral sources had in African History a generation ago.¹⁰

Even if Jenkins is discussing cataloguing and how this can be a basis for discussing the past and a source for history, other aspects come to light in this exhibition. This is understanding the context in which some of the pictures were taken and the themes the pictures bring to light, but also what they do not say. In any presentation, there is a particular narrative being told, and this exhibition certainly had one. Part of this particular exhibition narrative was to trace the humble beginnings of the Christian story in Africa, using the initiatives and imagination of the African people in particular. In this case, the exhibition, for me, served as

⁷ Kwame Bediako, *Christianity in Africa: The Renewal of a Non-Western Religion* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1995), 73.

⁸ Bediako, *Christianity in Africa*, 60.

⁹ See John S. Pobee, *Skenosis: Christian Faith in an African Context* (Gweru, Zimbabwe: Mambo Press, 1992).

¹⁰ Paul Jenkins, "Much More than Illustrations of What we Already Know: Experiences in the Rediscovery of Mission Photography," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 26 (2002): 157-158.

a part of a teaching curriculum in world Christianity. The exhibition was unique in the presentation of the African church story, but the materials were well selected in regard to themes that could be developed into specific courses. Apart from the African agency in the works of Simon Kimbangu and the Kimbanguist Church and Samuel Ajayi Crowther, among others, the display of cartoons revealed much about the way Christianity engages with society. Cartoons are a source of varied forms of information. As much as they are humorous, behind the humour there is a story of joy, pain, affirmation, but most importantly a story of protest. Through cartoons, issues of social justice can be brought to light and condemned. In a context of repression, people have to find another language to name evil, and cartoons, such as the ones on display, present an ideal medium. The Bible's use of imagery provides the impetus for such use, especially in the context of political repression. In using cartoons, one invites discussion or dialogue about difficult subjects, be they theological or cultural in any context. The exhibition highlights that cartoons provide another example of African agency in teaching theology or history, since cartoons reflect a particular context, and visitors can learn much about a particular historical context by studying the cartoons that were created in it.

The exhibition brought to the fore the themes of theological education and leadership of the churches in Africa. These issues are critical because theological education has a more direct bearing on Christian leadership than perhaps any other single factor. This is because the primary objective of theological institutions worldwide is seen as the equipping and training of church leaders. Theological education is not only significant in the mission-founded churches, but also in the African Instituted Churches, which the exhibition shows. The nature of theological education varies from denomination to denomination, but the role is the same. It is not just the nature of theological education that goes into the formation of leaders, but also the circumstances in which they work. The choices they make and the positions they hold are influenced by the questions they ask and the answers they offer. The practice of leadership contributes a lot to the ways of leadership.

The exhibition's focus on leaders like Simon Kimbangu, Samuel Ajayi Crowther, Abel Muzorewa, and Daniel William Alexander, to name but a few, is confirmation that training occurs not only at the seminary, but also in the practice of ministry. A relevant theological education is one in which the learners are encouraged to ask questions and seek answers, rather than being given answers to questions that no one is asking. In addition, relevant theological education promotes the integration of contemporary issues into the study of theology and history. Contemporary issues are not static, because contexts and historical periods differ from one another. In today's theological education in Africa, issues such as gender, HIV/AIDS, disability, human rights, climate change, and the role of the church in democratization cannot be left out of the curriculum. As noted above, leaders like Samuel Ajayi Crowther were educated in the West and in colonial languages, but they were able to translate and interpret theology into the language of the people. Academic theology in Africa is done in colonial languages in most parts, and in some cases curricula are still colonial where the story of African Christianity is not treated as part of world Christianity. As it is with early leaders of the church in Africa, the language of theology and the mission of the church must carry on an African hermeneutic. The exhibition, therefore, was a reflection of the challenges one faces when one has to teach world Christianity and African Christianities in particular. What sources and lenses does one employ?

FAITH SPREAD THROUGH THE HYMNS

The exhibition is unique in the way hymns from particular traditions are used. The hymns displayed include those that are translated from English into vernacular languages, though the translations may use the same tunes. There are also those that are a creation of Africans themselves, expressing the ways in which the people understand the message of God through the reading and interpretation of the Bible. Even before the missionaries arrived, singing played a large role in the people's religious views. Through song and

dance, Africans passed knowledge about different aspects of their society. The songs aided in learning and entertainment. Through song and dance, community values and ethics were taught and reinforced. There were different types of songs, including praise, scorn, grazing, praying for rain, praying for floods to end, drinking songs, etc. Songs were also composed for practical purposes such as lodging a complaint.

In general, missionaries tended to look down upon African music and instruments in the earlier days of their establishment. In the mission-founded churches, the songs that were sung were those that were translated from English hymnals.¹¹ Alongside the translated hymns, the instrument to accompany singing was primarily the piano. This was not the case with the African Instituted Churches, who formulated their own music and adapted the African instruments to use in their churches.¹² This was the result of the translation of the Bible and the realization that there are many great hymns in the Bible, particularly in the Psalms. Likewise, there are different instruments used to sing praises to the Almighty God. African Instituted Churches indigenized music in view of relating well to the African worldview. In praising God the African way, African Instituted Churches used instruments such as drums that had a lot of symbolism in the community. The beats of the drum would tell what the context is or what information is being passed around. In church music, the drum became an instrument of expressing praise and adoration to God.

The exhibition did a nice job of showing the diverse ways that music has been used in African Christianity, reflecting different cultural and theological viewpoints.

WOMEN AND LEADERSHIP: FROM MAMA MWILU KIAWANGA NZITANI MARIE TO THE CIRCLE OF CONCERNED WOMEN THEOLOGIANS

Another important theme that runs throughout the exhibition is African women. Statistics show that the church in Africa is composed of and is sustained by women and their unceasing devotion. Although men dominate the paid and officially recognized leadership positions in African churches, it is women who support the churches in most places. Their work in the churches, although indispensable, remains unpaid and often unacknowledged. In some churches where women's work is acknowledged, the financial component of the recognition still goes to the official male leaders. Even though women make up the majority of membership in these churches, they continue to be subjected to a subordinate role, and their presence in the churches and their needs are yet to be fully recognized.

This neglect is now beginning to be addressed in most fields of writing, but particularly among those who are writing the stories of mission. Take, for instance, Dana Lee Robert's book *American Women in Missions* and the edited volume *Women and Missions Past and Present*, works that present perspectives on missions from all over the world, including one essay actually written from Kenya.¹³ There are other texts that are slowly bringing to light women's contributions to the church in Africa. However, most of the information about women remains in archives, a fact that highlights the significance of this exhibition. This exhibition brings to the fore women in their various roles as wives, mothers, leaders, partners, and founders of the Church. Notable among these in the exhibition are Mama Mwilu Kiawanga Nzitani Marie, the wife of Simon Kimbangu, and Susan Thompson, the wife of Samuel Ajayi Crowther. While there is not as much information about these women as there is about their husbands, their being named in the exhibition gives them voice and acknowledges the role they

¹¹ For example, see the Nyimbo Standard used in the Anglican Church of Kenya, first published in 1897. The hymns are translated from English to Kiswahili, and they come from English hymnals, including Golden Bells and Hymns of Faith collections.

¹² See Ane Marie Bak Rasmussen, *Modern African Spirituality: The Independent Holy Spirit Churches in East Africa, 1902-1976* (London: British Academic Press, 1996).

¹³ Dana Lee Robert, *American Women in Mission: A Social History of Their Thought and Practice* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1997); Shirley Ardener, Fiona Bowie, and Deborah Kirkwood, eds., *Women and Missions: Past and Present: Anthropological and Historical Perceptions* (Cross-Cultural Perspectives on Women) (Herndon, VA: Berg, 1994).

played as wives and leaders. Women like Marie and Susan were significant in the beginnings of their churches as leaders of the women in the churches. While wives of leaders of the church are often invisible or, when they are visible, they are described through the lenses of patriarchy, this exhibition does a wonderful job of highlighting them as representative of women in leadership roles in African churches.

The large women's groups are pillars of the church, but they can also be seen as churches in and of themselves. These women's groups such as The Guild of St. Monica (The African Orthodox Church's women's organization), Mothers' Union (Anglican), the Women's Guild (Presbyterian), and the United Society of Friends Women (Quakers) provide spiritual and moral support for women. In many cases, women in these groups find a way to exercise their freedom to minister to one another, to explore scriptures together, to speak of their family lives and their lives as a whole. Even though these groups may be seen as aiding patriarchy and lacking hermeneutical tools to critique patriarchy, they remain the source of strength for many women in their denominations. These women's groups are also a source of financial support for the churches through fundraising.

Women's work in the church is not limited to the women in uniform alone. In more recent years, women theologians have made significant strides in the church through different forms of leadership and the writing of theology. The ecumenical organisations, for example the All Africa Conference of Churches, became spaces issues like women's ordination and leadership were discussed.¹⁴ There are two ecumenical organizations that became springboards for African women theologians. The first was the Ecumenical Decade of Churches in Solidarity with Women (1988-1998), set up by the World Council of Churches (WCC), aimed at empowering women to challenge oppressive structures in the global community, their churches, and communities. It was also meant to affirm—through shared leadership, decision making, theology, and spirituality—the decisive contributions of women in churches and communities. It was designed to give visibility to women's perspective and actions in the work and struggle for justice, peace, and the integrity of creation, to encourage the churches to take actions in solidarity with women.¹⁵ The second ecumenical organization is The Circle of Concerned African Women Theologians, which was launched at Trinity College Legon, near Accra, Ghana, in 1989, a year after the Ecumenical Decade of Churches in Solidarity with Women, under the leadership of Prof. Mercy Amba Oduyoye. This is an ecumenical and interfaith body of African women theologians. The Circle aims to empower lay and ordained women to study and write theology that will have an impact on the churches. Since 1989, members have discussed various theological themes and published over a dozen books. The themes addressed include the Bible, an objective critique of African culture, violence against women, and interfaith issues. The exhibition brings women to the center of the African Church by using the literature produced by women and in the way they tell their story.¹⁶ Through theological writing and leadership, women continue to challenge the ideology of patriarchy, which is alive in the African church, theological institutions, and society at large. Women theologians continue to raise issues around theological education curricula, the ordination of women, and role of women after ordination.

MORE THAN AN ART EXHIBITION

As I stated, experiencing the exhibition was both a joyous and painful experience. It was joyful because it was good to experience through art and archival resources the African church story. The exhibition was also painful, however, because it highlighted the imbalance of knowledge production and sharing. Even though it

¹⁴ See Mercy Oduyoye, "Churchwomen and the Church's Mission," pp. 68-80 in J.S. Pobee and Barbel Von Wartenberg-Potter, eds., *New Eyes of Reading: Biblical Reflections from the Third World* (Geneva: World Council of Churches, 1986).

¹⁵ See Irja Askola, *Living Letters: A Report of Visits to the Churches during the Ecumenical Decade of the Churches in Solidarity with Women* (Geneva: World Council of Churches, 1997), 13.

¹⁶ Rachel Nyagondwe Banda-Fiedler, *A History of the Circle of Concerned African Women Theologians 1989-2007* (Mzuzu, Malawi: Mzuni Press, 2017).

has been observed that the center of Christianity is no longer in Europe, but is now in Africa and Asia, there are few African students of church history who have access to the types of material featured in this exhibition. What the exhibition has brought to light is the reality that Africa may have the numbers, but the information about numbers is stored somewhere else.

The reasons for this imbalance include the structural challenges that make it hard for researchers from the majority world to access basic bibliographical data, such as are included in this exhibition, as well as other research that remains inaccessible altogether. In addition to the structural challenges, there is also the financial inhibitions for students and researchers of the African church story. This can clearly be seen in the curricula of courses on the church story that continue to lay emphasis on the Western church and not the African church, curricula that fail to take note of the African agency in the establishment of the church theologically. Courses teaching history or theology need to be inclusive of all groups that make up the church.

In this essay, I have reflected on my experience with the exhibition “Expressions and Encounters: Experiencing the Histories and Theologies of African Christianity in the Collections of Pitts Theology Library.” In my reflection, I have picked some of the themes that I found enriching to the ways in which the African church story and theology come out from the art and archival materials displayed in the gallery, and I have used the exhibition as a launching point to consider major topics for future study of African Christianities. I have noted the ways in which there is a rich tradition and heritage of using images to present a narrative. The topics that I have discussed, including the AIC, African leadership, unity, women, and democratization are ongoing themes in the story of the church in Africa. There is great interest in the study of theology and its varied subject areas, and the study of history is important. The exhibition confirmed this fact very well, as it was not an end in itself but a foundation and call to action for researchers of African church history. Giving attention to the leadership of women and their theological contribution gives voice to those in the margins. The reality of the exhibition is twofold. First, it reflects the imbalance of producing and sharing of knowledge. Second, it highlights the challenge of working towards ending that imbalance. In this case, the exhibition was much more than an art exhibition.

Hebrew Language Resources

by Shawn Virgil Goodwin

ABSTRACT Publications on the Hebrew language are extensive.¹ This essay provides an overview of significant touchstones in the study of Hebrew. Special attention is paid to comparative Semitic linguistics—specifically, the languages most closely related to Hebrew. Surveying Hebrew resources provides a valuable aid to the reference librarian who is helping patrons find quality resources in the study of Hebrew, as well as the acquisitions librarian who needs to select content in the Semitic language section of his or her collection. This guide provides a solid base collection for any library serving students engaged in the academic study of Biblical/Classical Hebrew. These sources are important references for students as they reach advanced levels of study.

From a linguistic standpoint, one of the biggest problems in studying biblical Hebrew is the small size of the corpus. For the intermediate and advanced student of Hebrew to overcome this challenge, she must start looking at the comparative grammar of the other Semitic languages. The purpose of this essay is to provide the bibliographic context for the study of Hebrew grammar with special regard for its closest linguistic relatives. In order to accomplish this goal, I first outline works important for the larger question of Hebrew's place in the Semitic language family. Next, I deal with the languages most closely related to Biblical Hebrew.² In this section, special attention is paid to strong introductory grammars, reference works, and lexical tools. In the next section, I turn to Hebrew itself. In that section, tools for Hebrew are broken down into reference grammars, morphology, verbal semantics, dictionaries, concordances, and software tools. The last section contains some works that introduce the student to later stages of Hebrew. It is the hope that this essay will help librarians and students of Hebrew find the right sources to use the language effectively.

COMPARATIVE SEMITICS AND HEBREW

Neither linguistics nor comparative Semitics have systematically been applied to the study of Biblical Hebrew in a single reference work. The best grammar working with Hebrew in its comparative Semitic setting is Bauer and Leander's *Historische Grammatik der hebräischen Sprache*.³ The translation from Hebrew of Blau's *Phonology and Morphology of Biblical Hebrew*, unfortunately, was not revised as thoroughly as it should have been. The book is disorganized, and the bibliography has been inconsistently updated, leaving the work on a whole unreliable and dated.⁴ Na'ama Pat-El and David Steinberg have written helpful reviews of this work that extend its value. Pat-El emphasizes some important recent work that has not been incorporated, while Steinberg provides a

¹ I would like to thank Andrew Burlingame, Aaron Christianson, and Nathan S. French for reading drafts of this work, suggesting resources, and correcting errors.

² The important languages of Akkadian, Arabic, and Ge'ez are not treated here, but more thorough bibliographies for these languages are found in the works of Stefan Weninger, et al., ed., *The Semitic Languages: An International Handbook, Handbücher Zur Sprach- Und Kommunikationswissenschaft* 36 (Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 2011); Roger D. Woodard, ed., *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of the World's Ancient Languages* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004); Robert Hetzron, ed., *The Semitic Languages, Routledge Language Family Descriptions* (New York: Routledge, 1998); as well as the comparative Semitic section below.

³ Hans Bauer, *Historische Grammatik Der Hebräischen Sprache Des Alten Testamentes (Hildesheim : G. Olms, 1962)*.

⁴ Joshua Blau, *Phonology and Morphology of Biblical Hebrew: An Introduction (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2010)*.

thorough list of corrections.⁵ Murtonen's *Hebrew in Its West Semitic Setting* has the most exhaustive comparative Semitic lexicon of Biblical Hebrew roots, as well as a thorough discussion of non-Masoretic Hebrew dialects.⁶

There has been much work on comparative Semitics since the publication of Brockelmann's *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik*. Nevertheless, Brockelmann's still remains the most comprehensive and systematic look at comparative Semitics.⁷ A modern and thorough introduction to each of the Semitic languages is presented in Weninger's edited collection, which includes a host of essays surveying the grammar of ancient and modern Semitic languages. It also provides introductory essays to the different Semitic language groups, as well as different periods for some of the more broadly attested languages.⁸ Similarly, the collections of essays edited by Woodard and Hetzron, respectively, provide short grammatical sketches of Semitic languages.⁹ The essays in these collections are of varying quality. All provide adequate surveys of the essential grammatical features, but some provide surprising depth, given their brevity. Particularly noteworthy is Pardee's essay on Ugaritic. Two more theoretical works on comparative Semitics are Lipinski's and Moscati's books, respectively.¹⁰ A work that combines the theoretical nature of Lipinski's and Moscati's is Bergstrasser's *Introduction*.¹¹ The additions of Peter Daniels make this book an excellent resource for students of comparative Semitics.

RESOURCES FOR THE LANGUAGES MOST CLOSELY RELATED TO HEBREW

Ugaritic

Ugaritic was discovered and deciphered in the 1930s, and comparative consideration of this language has revolutionized the study of Biblical Hebrew and scholars' understanding of the cultural context of the Bible's creation. Ugarit was a city in modern Northern Syria, close to Turkey. The texts discovered there attest to a language that is closely related to Biblical Hebrew, and the study of this language has provided a wealth of insight into Hebrew grammar and its lexicon. The greatest problem with Bauer and Leander's *Historische Grammatik* work is that it was written before the deciphering of Ugaritic. It speaks to their mastery of the field, that even after the deciphering of Ugaritic, the work continues to have value. The most essential reference work for Ugaritic is Josef Tropper's *Ugaritische Grammatik*.¹² The second edition is a complete re-writing of the grammar in light of new texts, as well as a response and reflection on Pardee's 400-page review of Tropper's first edition.¹³ Pardee's review is nearly a reference grammar in its own right. Because it is a paragraph-by-paragraph response to Tropper's first edition, however, it is not a reference tool that can stand on its own.¹⁴

⁵ Na'ama Pat-El, "Phonology and Morphology of Biblical Hebrew," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 131, no. 1 (January 2011): 139–41; David Steinberg, "A Review of Johsua Blau's *Phonology and Morphology of Biblical Hebrew*," *Houseof david.ca*, 2012, http://www.houseof david.ca/anc_heb_Blau_rev.pdf.

⁶ A. Murtonen, *Hebrew in Its West Semitic Setting: A Comparative Survey of Non-Masoretic Hebrew Dialects and Traditions* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1986).

⁷ Carl Brockelmann, *Grundriss Der Vergleichenden Grammatik Der Demitischen Sprachen* (Reprint of the Berlin edition: Von Reuther & Reichard 1908-13.) (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1999).

⁸ Weninger et al., *The Semitic Languages*.

⁹ Woodard, *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of the World's Ancient Languages*; Hetzron, *The Semitic Languages*.

¹⁰ Edward Lipiński, *Semitic Languages: Outline of a Comparative Grammar*, 2nd ed., *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* (Leuven: Peeters, 2001); Sabatino Moscati et al., *An Introduction to the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages: Phonology and Morphology*, 2nd ed., *Porta Linguarum Orientalium* 6 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1969).

¹¹ Gotthelf Bergsträsser, *Introduction to the Semitic Languages: Text Specimens and Grammatical Sketches*, 2nd ed., trans. Peter T Daniels (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1995).

¹² Josef Tropper, *Ugaritische Grammatik*, 2nd ed., *Alter Orient Und Altes Testament* 273 (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2012).

¹³ Dennis Pardee, "Review Ugaritische Grammatik by Josef Tropper," *Achiv Fur Orientalistik* 50 (2003): 1–404, <http://orientalistik.univie.ac.at/publikationen/archiv-fuer-orientforschung/>.

¹⁴ For a good recent bibliography of Ugaritic, see Gregorio Del Olmo Lete, "A Bibliography of Semitic Linguistics - Aula Orientalis," 2012, <http://www.aulaorientalis.org/semiticbibliography/index.html>.

Both Huehnergard's *Introduction* and Bordreuil and Pardee's *Manual* offer excellent introductions to the Ugaritic language.¹⁵ The strength of Huehnergard's text is his mastery of comparative linguistics, which is very important for a language as poorly preserved as Ugaritic. Bordreuil and Pardee's contribution is a presentation of the language with cuneiform script used at Ugarit (which is absent in Huehnergard's book). Pardee and Bordreuil are masters of Northwest Semitic philology, and this manual is a necessary tool for all students of the language.

The standard Ugaritic lexicon is Del Olmo Lete's dictionary, a thorough treatment of the language.¹⁶ It provides detailed linguistic comparison, as well as references to the few Ugaritic words that appear in Mesopotamian cuneiform.¹⁷ Though it is expensive, no other works are as helpful. Older resources cannot be recommended because the state of knowledge of Ugaritic has changed so quickly in the last thirty years. The grammars and handbooks of Cyrus Gordon, Daniel Sivan, and Stanislov Segret should be used primarily for studying the history of scholarship and not as authoritative reference works. Unfortunately, Schniedewind and Hunt is not reliable for students because of its frequent mistakes and out-of-date bibliography.¹⁸

Aramaic

Aramaic is second in importance only to Hebrew for studying the Old Testament. Much of Daniel and parts of Ezra are written in Aramaic, but Aramaic is important in other respects. Aramaic was a dominant language for commerce in the ancient Near East as well as the *lingua franca* of the Persian and Neo-Assyrian Empires. Moreover, it was the language used by the author of Genesis when Laban names the place where he made a covenant with Jacob (Gen. 31:47). In addition, some of the earliest translations and scholarly treatments of the Bible are in Aramaic (and Syriac). Aramaic has a long, complicated history that touches many disciplines, yet is rarely considered to be its own discipline. Gzella's *Cultural History* does a great job of providing a summary of Aramaic in its different stages and parts.¹⁹

The best reference grammar for Biblical Aramaic is still Bauer and Leander's *Grammatik des Biblisch-Aramäischen*. It is thorough, well organized, and historically oriented.²⁰ Two reliable pedagogical grammars are the works of Rosenthal and Johns.²¹ Both grammars focus on Biblical Aramaic and assume a prior knowledge of Biblical Hebrew. Other more recent teaching grammars include those by Muraoka and Qimron.²²

¹⁵ John Huehnergard, *An Introduction to Ugaritic* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers Marketing, 2012); Pierre Bordreuil and Dennis Pardee, *A Manual of Ugaritic, [English ed.]*. (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2009).

¹⁶ Gregorio Del Olmo Lete and Joaquín Sanmartín, *A Dictionary of the Ugaritic Language in the Alphabetic Tradition*, 2nd rev. ed., trans. W.G.E. Watson, *Handbook of Oriental Studies* 67 (Leiden: Brill, 2004).

¹⁷ A full study of these syllabic spellings for Ugaritic can be found in John Huehnergard, *Ugaritic Vocabulary in Syllabic Transcription, Revised, Harvard Semitic Studies* 32 (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2008). The revised edition has a thoroughly updated appendix where Huehnergard has updated the research as well as corrected earlier mistakes in the work.

¹⁸ William M. Schniedewind and Joel H. Hunt, *A Primer on Ugaritic: Language, Culture, and Literature* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007); Cyrus Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook: Grammar, Texts in Transliteration, Cuneiform Selections, Glossary, Indices* (Analecta Orientalia 38. Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1967); Stanislav Segert, *A Basic Grammar of the Ugaritic Language: With Selected Texts and Glossary* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997); Daniel Sivan, *A Grammar of the Ugaritic Language* (Leiden: Brill, 2001).

¹⁹ Holger Gzella, *A Cultural History of Aramaic: From the Beginnings to the Advent of Islam* (Boston: Brill, 2015).

²⁰ Hans Bauer and Pontus Leander, *Grammatik Des Biblisch-Aramäischen* (Halle/Saale: Max Niemeyer, 1927).

²¹ Franz Rosenthal, *A Grammar of Biblical Aramaic*, 7th ed., *Porta Linguarum Orientalium* 5 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 2006); Alger F. Johns, *A Short Grammar of Biblical Aramaic, Revised edition* (Berrien Springs, Mich.: Andrews University Press, 1972).

²² Takamitsu Muraoka, *A Biblical Aramaic Reader: With an Outline Grammar* (Leuven; Paris: Peeters, 2015); Elisha Qimron, *Biblical Aramaic* (Jerusalem: Mosad Bialik, 2002).

Many of the different periods and corpora of Aramaic have their own grammars. One of the most important is the work of Muraoka and Porten, which focuses on the Aramaic papyri discovered in Egypt.²³ For students of Biblical Aramaic, the most important of these locations is Elephantine. This Jewish settlement had a temple and exchanged important letters with the priests in Jerusalem—letters that offer a unique window into the Jewish diaspora of the Persian period. Muraoka and Porten have supplied a thorough grammar of the Elephantine texts.²⁴

The most exhaustive dictionary for Aramaic in all of its different periods is the online resource from Hebrew Union College: *The Comprehensive Aramaic Lexicon*.²⁵ A treasure trove of Aramaic material, this resource includes both texts and concordance searches for various corpora. Although the website is dated and the navigation less than straightforward, the information is reliable.

There are other dictionaries that are specifically oriented to Biblical Aramaic, but because the widely available *BDB* and *HALOT* cover this material well enough, it is not necessary to acquire a specifically Biblical Aramaic lexicon.²⁶ Jastrow's *Dictionary* is a unique resource for studying early Jewish Aramaic texts in that it is a dictionary of both the Aramaic and Hebrew portions of early Rabbinic material.²⁷ Unlike *BDB* and *HALOT*, there is only one alphabetic ordering of the texts, so both Hebrew and Aramaic words will be found next to each other. This resource is valuable but should be supplemented by the more recent works of Sokoloff, who has made massive contributions to Aramaic lexicography.²⁸ His dictionaries provide a comprehensive glossary for different corpora of Aramaic texts; they are invaluable resources for lexical studies in Aramaic.

Syriac

Though Syriac was a dialect of Aramaic, because of its cultural importance for Christians in the Middle East, and the abundant material written in Syriac, I treat it separately from Aramaic. Syriac is an important language for the study of the Hebrew Bible for two reasons: 1) it provides an important early edition of the text of the Hebrew Bible—as well as the New Testament; and 2) it is the best attested Northwest Semitic language that includes some vowel markers, which makes it a language helpful for restoring the vowels in non-Masoretic Hebrew and Ugaritic texts. A flurry of activity in the 19th century pushed Syriac studies forward, though scholarship has not continued as rigorously in the 20th and 21st centuries. Thus, many of the standard reference works on Syriac were published over one hundred years ago.

Robinson's *Paradigms* was originally published in 1915. This grammar has been revised by Coakley, and the 6th edition is now available.²⁹ With the 5th and 6th editions, this is still one of the standard pedagogical grammars for Syriac. One caution is worth considering: this work assumes some knowledge of Semitic languages. Muraoka has two pedagogical grammars that have slightly different foci.³⁰ Both are also solid resources for Syriac grammar.

²³ Takamitsu Muraoka and Bezelal Porten, *A Grammar of Egyptian Aramaic*, 2nd rev. ed., Handbook of Oriental Studies 32 (Leiden: Brill, 2003).

²⁴ For other periods and corpora of the Aramaic language see Gzella and the bibliographies in Weninger et al., *The Semitic Languages*; Woodard, *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of the World's Ancient Languages*; Hetzron, *The Semitic Languages*

²⁵ <http://cal1.cn.huc.edu/>

²⁶ For *BDB* and *HALOT*, see the section below on Hebrew Dictionaries.

²⁷ Marcus Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature* (New York: The Judaica Press, 1996).

²⁸ Michael Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic of the Byzantine Period* (Ramat Gan: Bar Ilan University Press, 1990); Michael Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic of the Talmudic and Geonic Periods* (Ramat Gan: Bar Ilan University Press, 2002); Michael Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Judean Aramaic* (Ramat Gan: Bar Ilan University Press, 2003). Sokoloff's Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic is now in its third edition with a copyright date of 2017.

²⁹ Theodore H. Robinson, *Robinson's Paradigms and Exercises in Syriac Grammar*, ed. J.F. Coakley, 6th ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

³⁰ Takamitsu Muraoka, *Classical Syriac for Hebraists* (Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 1987); Takamitsu Muraoka, *Classical Syriac: A Basic Grammar with a Chrestomathy* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1997).

The best Syriac dictionary is Payne Smith's *Compendious Syriac Dictionary*.³¹ This book was originally published in 1903, but was reprinted by Eisenbrauns in 1998. An important reference supplement is Sokoloff's translation and update of Brockelmann's *Lexicon Syriacum*.³²

Phoenician

Phoenician and Punic, two of the closest languages to Biblical Hebrew, provide unique insight into the language and culture of the Canaanites. Phoenician is primarily known through inscriptions.³³ Such languages are difficult to study for two reasons. First, inscriptions tend to be short and laconic, making it challenging to fill in gaps in understanding through the narrative logic of a text. Second, each new archaeological season uncovers new texts that can shed light on previous difficulties or overturn established theories. This makes the study of inscriptions fascinating, but also makes it difficult to keep up with the state of knowledge, particularly for those publishing reference works. Krahmalkov has attempted to provide reference materials that bring personal names as well as details of the Latin texts, which contain Phoenician texts.³⁴ However, these works provide an idiosyncratic view of Phoenician and do not provide a bibliography in which alternative views are discussed. In addition, the citation of primary literature is incomplete.³⁵ The most beneficial aspect of Krahmalkov's works is that they are convenient, especially for Anglophones. The standard reference grammar is Friedrich's *Phönizisch-Punische Grammatik*.³⁶ Segert's Phoenician grammar is also worth consulting.³⁷ Additionally, the encyclopedic character of Lipiński's *Dictionnaire* makes it a valuable resource to consult.³⁸

Though the dictionary of Krahmalkov is convenient, Hoftijzer's is a more reliable reference tool.³⁹ The latter not only covers the inscriptions of Phoenician and Punic, but also those of Aramaic, Hebrew and other Canaanite dialects.

Canaanite in the Amarna Letters

One of the earliest attestations of West Semitic is embedded in the Amarna Letters. These letters were written in Akkadian by the city rulers of Syria and Palestine during the Early New Kingdom period of Egypt. Even though they were not written in Canaanite, they display some marks of the authors' first language. Distinguishing between what is a shared Akkadian pidgin and true West Semitic is difficult but necessary for those interested in the history and development of the Hebrew language.⁴⁰

³¹ R. Payne Smith, *A Compendious Syriac Dictionary: Founded Upon the Thesaurus Syriacus of R. Payne Smith* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1998).

³² Michael Sokoloff, *A Syriac Lexicon: A Translation from the Latin: Correction, Expansion, and Update of C. Brockelmann's Lexicon Syriacum* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns ; 2009).

³³ There are distinctions between the different periods and eras of the Phoenician and Punic languages, but for simplicity's sake I will refer to them both generically as Phoenician.

³⁴ Charles R. Krahmalkov, *Phoenician-Punic Dictionary, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 90* (Leuven, Belgium: Peeters, 2001); Charles R. Krahmalkov, *A Phoenician-Punic Grammar, Handbook of Oriental Studies 54* (Leiden: Brill, 2000). See especially Act V of Poenulus which contains lengthy samples of Punic.

³⁵ For a full critique of the grammar, see Dennis Pardee, "Review of Phoenician-Punic Dictionary, Charles Krahmalkov," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 64, no. 3 (2005): 201–2, <https://doi.org/10.1086/491549>.

³⁶ Johannes Friedrich, *Phönizisch-Punische Grammatik*, 3rd ed. (Rome: Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 1999).

³⁷ S. Segert, *A Grammar of Phoenician and Punic* (Munich: Beck, 1976).

³⁸ Edward Lipiński, ed., *Dictionnaire de La Civilisation Phénicienne et Punique* (Paris: Brepols, 1992).

³⁹ J Hoftijzer et al., *Dictionary of the Northwest Semitic Inscriptions* (Boston: Brill, 2003).

⁴⁰ There are three aspects to the Canaanite-Akkadian texts. Standard Akkadian and West Semitic are the two obvious aspects. But there is a shared innovation of Western Peripheral Akkadian that neither reflects the local languages of the West Semitic speakers, nor the Standard Akkadian they are trying to write. This third aspect, then, is an innovation that the scribes of Western Peripheral Akkadian all adopted. For lack of a better term, I have called this Akkadian pidgin.

The single most important work on the grammar of the Amarna Letters is Rainey's *Canaanite in the Amarna Tablets*.⁴¹ It is thorough, covering most topics related to untangling and elucidating the Amarna Letters. Nonetheless, it sprawls over four volumes, many topics are covered multiple times, and they are not always treated consistently. This work alone is a major contribution to the study of the Amarna Letters, but Rainey has also had an edition of the Amarna Letters published posthumously.⁴² Rainey's edition of the Amarna Letters is a careful and valuable work. It corrects many of the errors that are contained in Knudtzon's edition, yet Knudtzon's remains preferable.⁴³ Ebeling has provided a complete index to Knudtzon's edition of all of the words and forms and where they can be found in the Amarna Letters. The glossary found in Rainey's edition should be a convenient reference tool, except that it is at the back of a book that is already too large, and this negates the one purpose it would serve. Also, some of the texts in Rainey's edition are simply re-transcriptions of Knudtzon, as the texts have been lost after his collations. Tropper and Vita have produced a much more recent and systematic treatment of the Canaanite Letters from Amarna; it is a good companion volume to Rainey's treatment.⁴⁴

HEBREW LANGUAGE RESOURCES

Hebrew Reference Grammars

Hebrew language study is in a better position currently than that of New Testament Greek from the perspective of the availability of recent reference works on grammar. One of the most thorough and up-to-date references for every aspect of the Hebrew language is Geoffrey Khan's *Encyclopedia of Hebrew Language and Linguistics*.⁴⁵ Each article in this work presents a different aspect of Hebrew grammar and linguistics with an up-to-date bibliography and linguistic sophistication, and it is edited by one of the foremost experts on Hebrew linguistics today. For reference grammars particularly, Muraoka translated and updated the footnotes of Joüon's Hebrew grammar in the early 1990s. In 2009, Muraoka thoroughly revised the text and updated the bibliography to make it an excellent summary of the current state of research and a good guide to contemporary discussions of Hebrew grammar.⁴⁶ Paragraph numbering largely remains the same across the different editions.

Joüon did not intend his grammar to be an exhaustive reference work, but rather a reference for intermediate students. Not every grammatical problem of the Hebrew Bible can be found in Joüon's book, making it similar to the *Biblical Hebrew Reference Grammar*, also designed for intermediate students.⁴⁷ Both grammars are very good at what they do. Muraoka provides a better bibliography, which is a bit more thorough. Van der Merwe provides easily comprehensible overviews of grammatical topics, which are arranged logically, rather than pedagogically. Another outstanding feature of Van der Merwe's work is the incorporation of modern linguistics. Joüon and Muraoka are more thorough than Van der Merwe, while Joüon and Muraoka are more philologically oriented. Joüon and Muraoka also cover morphology of Hebrew better than Van der Merwe.

⁴¹ Anson F. Rainey, *Canaanite in the Amarna Tablets: A Linguistic Analysis of the Mixed Dialect Used by Scribes from Canaan* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1996).

⁴² Anson F. Rainey and William M. Schniedewind, ed., *The El-Amarna Correspondence: A New Edition of the Cuneiform Letters from the Site of El-Amarna Based on Collations of All Extant Tablets*, Handbook of Oriental Studies = Handbuch Der Orientalistik, Section 1, Ancient Near East, volume 110 (Leiden: Boston: Brill, 2015).

⁴³ J.A. Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna-Tafeln*, (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1908).

⁴⁴ Josef Tropper and Juan-Pablo Vita, *Das Kanaan-Akkadische Der Amarnazeit* (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2010).

⁴⁵ *Encyclopedia of Hebrew Language and Linguistics* (Leiden: Brill, 2013).

⁴⁶ Paul Joüon and Takamitsu Muraoka, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, 2nd ed. (Rome: Editrice Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 2008).

⁴⁷ Christo H. J. Van der Merwe, Jacobus A. Naudé, and Jan H. Kroeze, *A Biblical Hebrew Reference Grammar*, 2nd ed. (London: Bloomsbury T & T Clark, 2017).

In German, the works of Meyer and Richter are particularly noteworthy. Richter provides a solid exploration of morphology and syntax from a linguistic perspective.⁴⁸ The examples in his grammar are illustrative rather than comprehensive, and the use of linguistic categories can be confusing to students less familiar with the terminology. Meyer's *Hebräische Grammatik* is a shorter reference grammar than GKC (see the next paragraph), but is also clearly organized and thorough.⁴⁹ Meyer makes extensive use of Arabic and Ugaritic in his work even though the primary Ugaritic references he provides are to Cyrus Gordon's book. Despite this shortcoming, this work is a valuable reference, especially for its clear exposition and organization.

The most thorough reference grammar of the Hebrew language is Gesenius, Kautzsch, and Cowley (GKC).⁵⁰ The one place where GKC is beginning to show its age is in its discussion of syntax, especially the syntax of the Hebrew verbal system. Even in issues of syntax, however, GKC is a very reliable guide to the discussion of Hebrew grammar. The ongoing value of GKC is primarily found in its discussion of Hebrew morphology. GKC is available in many editions: the cheap Dover paperback reprints the uncorrected text of 1910; the later Oxford printings have a corrected index, but the most recent printings from Oxford have a lower quality of printing, paper, and glue than the Dover edition.

Putnam has compiled a scripture index of many different Hebrew grammars.⁵¹ It is better than many of the Bible software programs that will be mentioned below because he has included numerous German sources. On the other hand, the sources he chooses to include are not always intuitive. The biggest oversight is his omission of König's magnum opus. And because Arnold and Choi's syntax and Van der Merwe's grammar were both published subsequently, Putnam's work was not able build upon them.⁵²

Hebrew Morphology

Some of the best reference works on morphology have already been covered in the section above on comparative Semitics. One further book that deserves special mention is Fox's *Semitic Noun Patterns*.⁵³ This dissertation was written at Harvard under John Huehnergard and provides an exhaustive look at Semitic nominal patterns. It is an extremely useful source for looking into Hebrew nominal patterns, as well as for reconstructing vowels in Ugaritic and other Northwest Semitic languages. Bauer and Leander's *Historische Grammatik* still provides one of the most detailed accounts of Hebrew noun patterns. In some respects, Sagarin's *Hebrew Noun Patterns* provides a certain utility, but is neither a replacement for Bauer and Leander nor for Fox.⁵⁴

Other aspects of Hebrew morphology can be found in journal articles and essay collections gleaned from the footnotes of Joüon and the bibliography of M. Smith.⁵⁵

⁴⁸ Wolfgang Richter, *Grundlagen Einer Althebraischen Grammatik*, Arbeiten Zu Text Und Sprache Im Alten Testament 8, 10, 13 (St. Ottilien: EOS Verlag, 1973).

⁴⁹ Rudolph Meyer, *Hebräische Grammatik*, 3rd (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1966).

⁵⁰ Wilhelm Gesenius, *Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar*, ed. Emil Kautzsch, trans. Arthur Ernest Cowley, 2nd English ed. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1910).

⁵¹ Frederic C. Putnam, *A Cumulative Index to the Grammar and Syntax of Biblical Hebrew* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1996).

⁵² The first edition of the later being Christo H. J. Van der Merwe, Jacobus A. Naudé, and Jan H. Kroeze, *A Biblical Hebrew Reference Grammar*, Biblical Languages: Hebrew 3 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999)

⁵³ Joshua Fox, *Semitic Noun Patterns* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2003).

⁵⁴ Bauer, *Historische Grammatik Der Hebräischen Sprache Des Alten Testaments*; James L Sagarin, *Hebrew Noun Patterns (Mishqalim): Morphology, Semantics, and Lexicon* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987); See also the recent essay by John Huehnergard, "Biblical Hebrew Nominal Patterns," in *Epigraphy, Philology, and the Hebrew Bible; Methodological Perspectives on Philological and Comparative Study of the Hebrew Bible in Honor of Jo Ann Hackett*, Society of Biblical Literature Ancient Near East Monographs 12 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2015), 25–64.

⁵⁵ Mark S. Smith, "A Bibliography of Ugaritic Grammar and Biblical Hebrew Grammar in the Twentieth Century," 2004, <http://oi-archive.uchicago.edu/OI/DEPT/RA/bibs/BH-Ugaritic.html>

Hebrew Verbal Semantics

The study of Hebrew Syntax is producing a number of quality monographs. Waltke and O'Connor's *Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax* provided a much needed update to GKC and Joüon's work on syntax, as well as an excellent bibliography.⁵⁶ Arnold and Choi provides a convenient and reliable outline to students of Waltke and O'Connor's basic approach to Hebrew syntax.⁵⁷ Muraoka's update to Joüon's grammar also provides a current bibliography to many of the debates that are continuing to be hashed out regarding both Hebrew tense and the Hebrew stem system.⁵⁸ Van der Merwe has done an excellent update that incorporates some leading syntactical studies that Muraoka didn't incorporate as systematically.⁵⁹

The study of tense in the Hebrew verbal system has been hotly debated since the Middle Ages. McFall has chronicled this debate in his book-length survey.⁶⁰ Providing a brief but excellent survey of medieval Hebrew grammarians' understanding of the tenses, McFall's book excels with the period between 1827 and the early 20th century. Unfortunately, comparative approaches to the issue are not treated well.⁶¹ Though McFall ends his survey in the 1950s, the debate continues unabated. Three excellent scholars have entered the fray: Cohen, Joosten, and Cook. Each has presented well-researched and convincingly-argued contemporary theories on the tense system.⁶² Cohen's study concentrates on late Biblical Hebrew.⁶³ Joosten focuses on the prose literature and argues for the temporal quality of the verbal system, but he is careful to distinguish it from a tense system.⁶⁴ Cook argues for a system that is primarily aspectual, but also has a place for temporal reference.⁶⁵

Hebrew Lexicography

The study of Hebrew lexicography still stands in the shadow of Barr's work of the 1960s, which heavily criticized the methodological foundations of the *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament (TDNT)*.⁶⁶ This critique precipitated a change in approach in the later volumes of *TDNT*, as well as the *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament (TDOT)*. Barr's linguistic approach, however, was already dated when he wrote his book, and several advances in linguistics should be applied to the practice of lexicography. A notable recent approach to linguistics that is gaining influence is systemic functional grammar, as practiced notably by Halliday.⁶⁷ An excellent guide for students is Walton's "Principles for Productive Word Studies"; it is a clear and practical introduction to doing word studies in Hebrew.⁶⁸

⁵⁶ Bruce K. Waltke, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1990).

⁵⁷ Bill T. Arnold and John H Choi, *A Guide to Biblical Hebrew Syntax* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

⁵⁸ Joüon and Muraoka, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*.

⁵⁹ Van der Merwe, Naudé, and Kroeze, *Biblical Hebrew Reference Grammar*.

⁶⁰ Leslie McFall, *The Enigma of the Hebrew Verbal System: Solutions from Ewald to the Present Day* (Sheffield: Almond Press, 1982).

⁶¹ This weakness is filled somewhat by both Waltke, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax*, 343-377, and Cook (mentioned below).

⁶² Cook reviewed Joosten's work in John A. Cook, "Putting Old Wine in New Wineskins: A New Synthesis of the Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew That Is Neither New nor a Coherent Synthesis," *Hebrew Studies* 55 (2014): 379-88.

⁶³ Ohad Cohen, *The Verbal Tense System in Late Biblical Hebrew Prose* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2013).

⁶⁴ Jan Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew: A New Synthesis Elaborated on the Basis of Classical Prose* (Jerusalem: Simor Publishing, 2012).

⁶⁵ John A. Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb: The Expression of Tense, Aspect, and Modality in Biblical Hebrew* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2012).

⁶⁶ James Barr, *Comparative Philology and the Text of the Old Testament: With Additions and Corrections* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2001); James Barr, *The Semantics of Biblical Language* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961).

⁶⁷ M. A. K. Halliday, ed., *Lexicology and Corpus Linguistics: An Introduction, Open Linguistics Series* (London ; New York: Continuum, 2004); Much of Halliday's work has been in elucidation of syntax. For a theoretical foundation for his methodology, see M. A. K. Halliday, *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*, 3rd ed. (London: Arnold, 2004).

⁶⁸ John H. Walton, "Principles for Productive Word Study," in *New International Dictionary of Old Testament Theology and Exegesis*, ed. Willem A VanGemeren, vol. 1 (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1997), 161-71.

Hebrew Dictionaries

The most recent dictionary of Biblical Hebrew in English is Clines's *Dictionary of Classical Hebrew (DCH)*.⁶⁹ This enormous project applies a sophisticated linguistic methodology and a near-concordance-level comprehensive analysis of all the words of the Hebrew Bible. One significant weakness of this work is its hesitance to use comparative Semitic data. In the Hebrew Bible, there are many, many words that are only attested a few times. In these cases, the comparative approach is a necessary tool for understanding what some of these words might mean. *DCH* is not always consistent in its methodological commitment to synchronic linguistics.

Kohler and Baumgartner's dictionary *Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament (HALOT)* provides an important update and translation of the 1970s German lexicon.⁷⁰ This dictionary utilizes both the insights from the publication of the Dead Sea Scrolls, as well as more recent developments in comparative Semitics. The two-volume student edition is a bit more difficult to use than the five-volume edition, but the price difference is considerable. As good as *HALOT* is, however, Brown, Driver, and Briggs's lexicon (BDB) is still a formidable resource. One of the biggest advantages of BDB is its treatment of particles and prepositions.⁷¹ The depth of insight and compact presentation is unmatched in any Biblical Hebrew resource. BDB is organized by root, which is both an advantage and a disadvantage. The advantage of organization by root is that all of the related lexemes are close together. The disadvantage is that occasionally the roots are divided incorrectly. For example, *hšthwh* is classified as *šhh* and not *hwy*, but these missed roots are few and should not be exaggerated. Also, organization by root presupposes knowledge of Hebrew morphology, which can be a challenge for students.

Three other dictionaries worth considering are Clines's *Concise Dictionary*, Kaddari's *Milon*, and the 18th edition of Gesenius's dictionary.⁷² Clines's concise dictionary lacks many of the advantages of *DCH*, and the weaknesses of the more comprehensive volumes are amplified. It is an affordable resource for students and easier to use than BDB, but not a replacement for it. Kaddari's book is a good dictionary in modern Hebrew, providing glosses, ample examples, and some comparative Semitic discussion. The 18th edition of Gesenius is thoroughly revised: the etymological sections as well as the lexicographical discussions. The organization is strictly alphabetical and a good resource for Hebrew lexicography in German.

Hebrew Theological Dictionaries

Despite Barr's critique, the production of theological dictionaries has continued. The Old Testament companion to the *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament* has taken Barr's critique seriously and provides an encyclopedic approach to each word.⁷³ Though it is a wellspring of information, students should be warned about the potential pitfalls of using dictionaries like this. The biggest strength of *TDOT* is the presentation of information, but one weakness is that there is not much synthesis in most of the articles. VanGemenen's *NIDOTTE* provides a bit more synthesis than *TDOT*, but the articles are shorter.⁷⁴ Both are solid works in the category of theological dictionary.

⁶⁹ David J. A. Clines, ed., *The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993).

⁷⁰ Ludwig Köhler, *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament, Study ed.* (Leiden: Brill, 2001).

⁷¹ Francis Brown, S.R. Driver, and Charles A. Briggs, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament with an Appendix Containing the Biblical Aramaic, Based on the Lexicon of William Gesenius as Translated by Edward Robinson* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1907).

⁷² David J. A. Clines, ed., *The Concise Dictionary of Classical Hebrew* (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2009); Menahem Zevi Kaddari, *A Dictionary of Biblical Hebrew (Alef-Taw) Ošar Lešar Ha-Miqra' Me-Alef 'ad Taw* (Ramat Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press, 2007); Herbert Donner et al., *Hebräisches und Aramäisches Handwörterbuch über Das Alte Testament: Gesamtausgabe*, 18th ed. (Berlin Heidelberg: Springer, 2013).

⁷³ G. Johannes Botterweck et al., ed., *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1974).

⁷⁴ Willem A. VanGemenen, ed., *New International Dictionary of Old Testament Theology & Exegesis* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1997).

Hebrew Concordances

Although computer tools have revolutionized the study of Hebrew grammar and semantics, there is still a place for hard copies of concordances. Pride of place amongst concordances goes to Even-Shoshan's *New Concordance*, published by Baker.⁷⁵ Unfortunately, the Baker edition is now out of print, though the concordance is still available through Israeli publishers. The Baker edition has two advantages over the Israeli printings. First, the verse references have been translated into English references, while the Israeli printings use Hebrew book names as well as Hebrew letters for the chapter numbers. Second, John Sailhamer provided an excellent insert for the Baker edition that both describes how to use Even-Shoshan's concordance and provides some principles for good word studies.⁷⁶

Another standard concordance for the study of Hebrew is Mandelkern's concordance, which is also out of print.⁷⁷ This concordance stands out by being both more thorough in its citations and organized by root like BDB, making it easier to find all the forms of a given root.

Both Even-Shoshan and Mandelkern provide a level of accuracy and syntactical information that has not yet been matched by computer programs and databases.

Databases and Tools for Biblical Hebrew

Increasingly scholars are using digital tools to aid their work with Hebrew, and the major Bible software products improve with each release. Logos and Accordance are frequently used tools with benefits for the student of biblical Hebrew, and the now-defunct Bibleworks continues to have value.⁷⁸ Logos provides a research-library quantity of tools and secondary texts for Biblical studies. Many of their resources should only be used with caution, however, or not at all. For example, Logos provides a pricey Ugaritic library add-on. None of the texts in this library provide up-to-date resources for the study of Ugaritic. Many of them are by Dahood, whose work was considered to be on the fringe even as it was being produced and has not stood up under the pressure of subsequent research. Likewise, Gordon's *Handbook for Ugaritic* was a great service when it was first written but has since been surpassed by the works of Pardee and Tropper.⁷⁹ In addition, resources in other modern languages are thin or non-existent, while others are products of poor scholarship. In earlier releases, Logos lagged behind other programs in the ability to search Hebrew. The last few releases have shown great strides in improving primary language resources.

Accordance has emerged as a strong alternative to Bibleworks, which has in the past been the preferred tool of Biblical scholars, though Bibleworks is no longer being updated or supported. The most recent releases of Accordance have more resources than the last releases of BibleWorks, and historically Accordance has done a better job of curating its collection. It also excels at providing powerful search capabilities for the primary languages and sources. The biggest disadvantage of Accordance is its higher price. Logos and Accordance both run on both Windows and MacOS, though Accordance runs best on MacOS and Logos runs about the same on both Windows and MacOS, though it is slower than Accordance.

There are also several open source resources for the study of the Hebrew Bible, of which the most sophisticated is SHEBANQ.⁸⁰ Built on a special database, Emdros, which uses MQL as its query language, SHEBANQ provides several significant advantages over XML, one being that SHEBANQ data can use

⁷⁵ Avraham Even-Shoshan, *A New Concordance of the Bible: Thesaurus of the Language of the Bible, Hebrew and Aramaic Roots, Words, Proper Names, Phrases and Synonyms* (Jerusalem: "Kiryat Sefer" Publishing House, 1993)

⁷⁶ John H Sailhamer, *Introduction to a New Concordance of the Old Testament (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1989)*.

⁷⁷ Solomon Mandelkern, *Veteris Testamenti Concordantiae Hebraicae Atque Chaldaicae* ([s.l.]: Margolin, 1925).

⁷⁸ BibleWorks as a company closed in June 2018, but the company did hope to continue providing some security updates. See the announcement here: <https://web.archive.org/web/20180602183155/https://www.bibleworks.com/news/nr20180601ec.html>.

⁷⁹ See the above section on Ugaritic.

⁸⁰ <https://shebanq.ancient-data.org/>.

overlapping elements. MQL is a powerful language, but it does require some effort to learn. Yet, as easy as the major Bible programs have tried to make searching, it is still difficult to learn how to get the most out of a Bible program. Furthermore, any accommodations for ease of use will also make sacrifices for power and malleability. MQL will do much more than even the most convoluted search in other Bible programs. The SHEBANQ syntax analysis is also available as an Accordance module. Another open source tool, CATSS, has its Septuagint and lexical data available online, though in plain text Betacode format, which requires some knowledge of computer programming for use.⁸¹ There are other free tools for the Biblical languages online.⁸²

Those considering computer tools should consider licensing concerns. Porter accurately addresses the issues involved in computer tools for the New Testament in his first two chapters.⁸³ For example, he points out that there are many errors in the text, and when it comes to much more involved analysis where there are many disagreements, it is not clear who decides what is an error and what is not. As Bible programs encode more and more interpretive decisions, this becomes a more significant problem. There is one strength of open source texts: there is (or can be) a clear procedure for discussing differences of opinions and opening tickets for errors in the metadata. Second, open source tools are only limited by the user. For the Bible programs, many questions that a user can ask cannot be answered because of the constraints of either the user interface or the nature of the database underlying the software. With open source texts, if the user can create the algorithms, she can run the query. This is what makes the difficult learning curve of MQL worth the effort: there is no limit to the tool if one learns how to use it! One final note about Bible Software is the consideration of ownership. When a user buys a physical book, it is hers until she loses it, sells it, or destroys it. When she buys commercial Bible software, however, it is hers to use only as long as she maintains the operating system that came out when she bought it, or continues to pay a few hundred dollars every few years to upgrade to the latest version. If any of these companies should ever close, as Bibleworks did recently, or should a company decide that older licenses will no longer be honored, legacy users could be at risk of losing everything. Materials that are protected under a digital rights management system are never owned by the user; they are only rented by the user. This becomes even more disheartening to realize when some modules are more expensive in digital form than they are in print. Computer tools are a great resource for analyzing Hebrew, but the total cost is much more than the initial sticker price.

RESOURCES FOR THE LATER STAGES OF HEBREW

Mishna

Mishnaic grammar contributes to the study of Biblical Hebrew both in its demonstration of the continuation of Hebrew as well as in displaying grammatical features that are important for elucidating some grammatical forms of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Bar Kokhba letters. The dictionaries by Jastrow and Even-Shoshan are adequate for covering the unique vocabulary of the Mishna.⁸⁴

In terms of grammar, the biggest problem in studying the Mishna is the quality of the texts. Most of the printed editions of the Mishna have gone through a process of editing to try to make Mishnaic Hebrew read more like Biblical Hebrew. Therefore, individual manuscripts are primary tools for the study of Mishnaic

⁸¹ Aaron Christianson has made a very valuable tool in the Python computer language that takes Betacode Greek and Hebrew and turns it into Unicode text. See <https://github.com/ninjaaron/betacode>.

⁸² See for example Crosswire (<http://crosswire.org>), Davar4 (<http://www.davar3.net/faq.html>), and StepBible hosted by Tyndale House Cambridge (<https://www.stepbible.org/>).

⁸³ Stanley E. Porter, *Linguistic Analysis of the Greek New Testament: Studies in Tools, Methods, and Practice* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2015).

⁸⁴ Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature*; Avraham Even-Shoshan, *Milon Even Shoshan* (Jerusalem: ha- Milon he-Ḥadash B. 'A.M., 2006).

grammar. Fortunately, many of these texts have been digitized, and seminal studies have been published on others.

Many of the best studies on Mishnaic Hebrew today are published in Modern Hebrew. A few works in English that should be mentioned are Segal's *Grammar* and Perez's *Introduction*.⁸⁵ Segal's is older, but still serviceable. Perez covers more than the period of the Mishna. In Hebrew, Azar's book has provided a detailed look at the syntax of the Mishna.⁸⁶ Also, Yalon's work gives a good presentation of the vocalization found in the various manuscripts of the Mishna.⁸⁷

Modern Hebrew

Israeli scholars are publishing a wealth of scholarship in all periods of Hebrew, and there are many good tools to aid in reading that scholarship. Glinert's *Modern Hebrew* is a good practical grammar for beginning students of Modern Hebrew.⁸⁸ The chapters are clear and well laid out, and the exercises are well planned. For reference questions, Coffin's grammar is serviceable.⁸⁹ For questions of Hebrew grammar beyond these two works, one will need to look at either textbooks for the 5th and 6th levels of Hebrew or special publications.

The best dictionary for Modern Hebrew is Even-Shoshan's.⁹⁰ It is a comprehensive dictionary with ample citations from all periods of Hebrew. For quick lookup of Hebrew words for English speaking students, Morfix is an excellent website.⁹¹

CONCLUSION

Research into the Northwest Semitic languages continues to progress, though not always evenly. The understanding of Hebrew syntax is in a much better state than it was at the turn of the 20th century, when Kautzsch and Cowley published their update of Gesenius's venerable grammar. The comparative work of that period, however, is still enduring through the works of Bauer and Leander, and even Brockelmann. Moreover, scholarly understanding of Ugaritic has improved in leaps and bounds, so much so that even works published twenty-five years ago must be used with great care.

The future of computational work on Hebrew and the surrounding languages is bright and exciting, especially if the dangers of closed and proprietary systems can be balanced with an openness to progressing scholarship. Not all of the recent research into Semitic grammar has replaced the work of previous generations, and even the most sophisticated algorithm should be developed in dialogue with the masters of the last century, whose work continues to endure.

⁸⁵ M. H. Segal, *A Grammar of Mishnaic Hebrew* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1927); Miguel Pérez Fernández, *An Introductory Grammar of Rabbinic Hebrew*, trans. John Elwolde (Leiden: Brill, 1997).

⁸⁶ Moshe Azar, *Sheṭaḥ ya- 'omeḳ Ba-Taḥbir*. (Haifa: Universitāt Ḥefah, 737AD).

⁸⁷ Henoah Yalon, *Mavo Le-Niḳud Ha-Mishnah* (Jerusalem: Mosad Byaliḳ, 1964).

⁸⁸ Lewis Glinert, *Modern Hebrew: An Essential Grammar*, 3rd ed. (New York: Routledge, 2005).

⁸⁹ Edna Amir Coffin, *A Reference Grammar of Modern Hebrew* (Cambridge; Cambridge University Press, 2005).

⁹⁰ Even-Shoshan, *Milon Even Shoshan*.

⁹¹ <http://www.morfix.co.il/>.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Arnold, Bill T., and John H. Choi. *A Guide to Biblical Hebrew Syntax*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.
- Barr, James. *Comparative Philology and the Text of the Old Testament: With Additions and Corrections*. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2001.
- . *The Semantics of Biblical Language*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961.
- Bauer, Hans. *Historische Grammatik Der Hebräischen Sprache Des Alten Testamentes*. Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1962.
- Bauer, Hans, and Pontus Leander. *Grammatik Des Biblisch-Aramäischen*. Halle/Saale: Max Niemeyer, 1927.
- Bergsträsser, Gotthelf. *Introduction to the Semitic Languages: Text Specimens and Grammatical Sketches*. 2nd Edition. Translated by Peter T. Daniels. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1995.
- Blau, Joshua. *Phonology and Morphology of Biblical Hebrew: An Introduction*. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2010.
- Bordreuil, Pierre, and Dennis Pardee. *A Manual of Ugaritic*. English Edition. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2009.
- Botterweck, G. Johannes, Helmer Ringgren, John T. Willis, David E. Green, and Heinz-Josef Fabry, Editors. *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1974.
- Brockelmann, Carl. *Grundriss Der Vergleichenden Grammatik Der Demitischen Sprachen*. (Reprint of Berlin: Von Reuther & Reichard 1908-13). Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1999.
- Brown, Francis, S.R. Driver, and Charles A. Briggs. *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament with an Appendix Containing the Biblical Aramaic, Based on the Lexicon of William Gesenius as Translated by Edward Robinson*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1907.
- Clines, David J. A., Editor. *The Concise Dictionary of Classical Hebrew*. Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2009.
- , Editor. *The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew*. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993.
- Coffin, Edna Amir. *A Reference Grammar of Modern Hebrew*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- Cohen, Ohad. *The Verbal Tense System in Late Biblical Hebrew Prose*. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2013.
- Cook, John A. "Putting Old Wine in New Wineskins: A New Synthesis of the Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew That Is Neither New Nor a Coherent Synthesis." *Hebrew Studies* 55 (2014): 379–88.
- . *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb: The Expression of Tense, Aspect, and Modality in Biblical Hebrew*. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2012.
- Del Olmo Lete, Gregorio. "A Bibliography of Semitic Linguistics - Aula Orientalis." 2012. <http://www.aulaorientalis.org/semiticbibliography/index.html>.
- Del Olmo Lete, Gregorio, and Joaquín Sanmartín. *A Dictionary of the Ugaritic Language in the Alphabetic Tradition*. 2nd Revised Edition. Translated by W.G.E. Watson. *Handbook of Oriental Studies* 67. Leiden: Brill, 2004.
- Donner, Herbert, Wilhelm Gesenius, R. D. Meyer, and Johannes Renz. *Hebräisches Und Aramäisches Handwörterbuch über Das Alte Testament: Gesamtausgabe*. 18th Edition. Berlin Heidelberg: Springer, 2013.
- Even-Shoshan, Avraham. *A New Concordance of the Bible: Thesaurus of the Language of the Bible, Hebrew and Aramaic Roots, Words, Proper Names, Phrases and Synonyms*. Jerusalem: "Kiryat Sefer" Publishing House, 1993.
- . *Milon Even Shoshan*. Jerusalem: ha- Milon he-Ḥadash B. 'A.M., 2006.
- Fox, Joshua. *Semitic Noun Patterns*. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2003.
- Friedrich, Johannes. *Phönizisch-Punische Grammatik*. 3rd Edition. Rome: Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 1999.
- Gesenius, Wilhelm. *Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar*. Edited by Emil Kautzsch. 2nd English Edition. Translated by Arthur Ernest Cowley. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1910.
- Glinert, Lewis. *Modern Hebrew: An Essential Grammar*. 3rd Edition. New York: Routledge, 2005.
- Gzella, Holger. *A Cultural History of Aramaic: From the Beginnings to the Advent of Islam*. Boston: Brill, 2015.
- Halliday, M.A K. *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*. 3rd Edition. London: Arnold, 2004.
- , Editor. *Lexicology and Corpus Linguistics: An Introduction*. *Open Linguistics Series*. London; New York: Continuum, 2004.
- Hetzron, Robert, Editor. *The Semitic Languages*. *Routledge Language Family Descriptions*. New York: Routledge, 1998.

- Hoftijzer, J., K. Jongeling, Richard C. Steiner, A. Mosak Moshavi, Bezalel Porten, and Charles-F Jean. *Dictionary of the Northwest Semitic Inscriptions*. Boston: Brill, 2003.
- Huehnergard, John. *An Introduction to Ugaritic*. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 2012.
- . “Biblical Hebrew Nominal Patterns.” In *Epigraphy, Philology, and the Hebrew Bible; Methodological Perspectives on Philological and Comparative Study of the Hebrew Bible in Honor of Jo Ann Hackett*. Society of Biblical Literature Ancient Near East Monographs 12. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2015.
- . *Ugaritic Vocabulary in Syllabic Transcription*. Revised. Harvard Semitic Studies 32. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2008.
- Jastrow, Marcus. *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature*. New York: The Judaica Press, 1996.
- Johns, Alger F. *A Short Grammar of Biblical Aramaic*. Revised edition. Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 1972.
- Joosten, Jan. *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew: A New Synthesis Elaborated on the Basis of Classical Prose*. Jerusalem: Simor Publishing, 2012.
- Joüon, Paul, and Takamitsu Muraoka. *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*. 2nd Edition. Rome: Editrice Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 2008.
- Kaddari, Menaḥem Zevi. *A Dictionary of Biblical Hebrew (Alef-Taw) Ošar Lešar Ha-Miqra’ Me-Alef’ ad Taw*. Ramat Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press, 2007.
- Khan, Geoffrey, Editor. *Encyclopedia of Hebrew Language and Linguistics*. Leiden: Brill, 2013.
- Knudtzon, J.A. *Die El-Amarna-Tafeln*, Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1908.
- Köhler, Ludwig. *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament*. Study Edition. Leiden: Brill, 2001.
- Krahmalkov, Charles R. *A Phoenician-Punic Grammar*. Handbook of Oriental Studies 54. Leiden: Brill, 2000.
- . *Phoenician-Punic Dictionary*. *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 90. Leuven: Peeters, 2001.
- Lipiński, Edward, Editor. *Dictionnaire de La Civilisation Phénicienne et Punique*. Turnhout: Brepols, 1992.
- . *Semitic Languages: Outline of a Comparative Grammar*. 2nd Edition. *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta*. Leuven: Peeters, 2001.
- Mandelkern, Solomon. *Veteris Testamenti Concordantiae Hebraicae Atque Chaldaicae*. [s.l.]: Margolin, 1925.
- McFall, Leslie. *The Enigma of the Hebrew Verbal System: Solutions from Ewald to the Present Day*. Sheffield, Eng.: Almond Press, 1982.
- Meyer, Rudolph. *Hebräische Grammatik*. 3d., neubearb. Aufl. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1966.
- Moscatti, Sabatino, Anton Spitaler, Edward Ullendorff, and Wolfram Von Soden. *An Introduction to the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages: Phonology and Morphology*. 2nd Edition. *Porta Linguarum Orientalium* 6. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1969.
- Muraoka, Takamitsu. *A Biblical Aramaic Reader: With an Outline Grammar*. Leuven: Peeters, 2015.
- . *Classical Syriac for Hebraists*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1987.
- . *Classical Syriac: A Basic Grammar with a Chrestomathy*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1997.
- Muraoka, Takamitsu, and Bezalel Porten. *A Grammar of Egyptian Aramaic*. 2nd Revised Edition. Handbook of Oriental Studies 32. Leiden: Brill, 2003.
- Murtonen, A. *Hebrew in Its West Semitic Setting: A Comparative Survey of Non-Masoretic Hebrew Dialects and Traditions*. Leiden: Brill, 1986.
- Pardee, Dennis. “Review of Phoenician-Punic Dictionary, Charles Krahmalkov.” *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 64, no. 3 (2005): 201–2. <https://doi.org/10.1086/491549>.
- . “Review Ugaritische Grammatik by Josef Tropper.” *Achiv Fur Orientalistk* 50 (2003): 1–404. <http://orientalistik.univie.ac.at/publikationen/archiv-fuer-orientforschung/>.
- Pat-El, Na’ama. “Phonology and Morphology of Biblical Hebrew.” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 131, no. 1 (January 2011): 139–41.

- Payne Smith, R. *A Compendious Syriac Dictionary: Founded Upon the Thesaurus Syriacus of R. Payne Smith*. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1998.
- Pérez Fernández, Miguel. *An Introductory Grammar of Rabbinic Hebrew*. Translated by John Elwolde. Leiden: Brill, 1997.
- Porter, Stanley E. *Linguistic Analysis of the Greek New Testament: Studies in Tools, Methods, and Practice*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Academic, 2015.
- Putnam, Frederic C. *A Cumulative Index to the Grammar and Syntax of Biblical Hebrew*. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1996.
- Qimron, Elisha. *Biblical Aramaic*. Jerusalem: Mosad Bialik, 2002.
- Rainey, Anson F. *Canaanite in the Amarna Tablets: A Linguistic Analysis of the Mixed Dialect Used by Scribes from Canaan*. Leiden: Brill, 1996.
- Rainey, Anson F., and William M. Schniedewind, Editors. *The El-Amarna Correspondence: A New Edition of the Cuneiform Letters from the Site of El-Amarna Based on Collations of All Extant Tablets*. Handbook of Oriental Studies = Handbuch Der Orientalistik, Section 1, Ancient Near East, volume 110. Leiden: Brill, 2015.
- Richter, Wolfgang. *Grundlagen Einer Althebraischen Grammatik. Arbeiten Zu Text Und Sprache Im Alten Testament* 8, 10, 13. St. Ottilien: EOS Verlag, 1973.
- Robinson, Theodore H. *Robinson's Paradigms and Exercises in Syriac Grammar*. Edited by J.F. Coakley. Sixth edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.
- Rosenthal, Franz. *A Grammar of Biblical Aramaic*. 7th Edition. Porta Linguarum Orientalium 5. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2006.
- Sagarin, James L. *Hebrew Noun Patterns (Mishqalim): Morphology, Semantics, and Lexicon*. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987.
- Sailhamer, John H. *Introduction to a New Concordance of the Old Testament*. Grand Rapids: Baker, 1989.
- Schniedewind, William M., and Joel H. Hunt. *A Primer on Ugaritic: Language, Culture, and Literature*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007.
- Segal, M. H. *A Grammar of Mishnaic Hebrew*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1927.
- Segert, S. *A Grammar of Phoenician and Punic*. Munich: Beck, 1976.
- Smith, Mark S. "A Bibliography of Ugaritic Grammar and Biblical Hebrew Grammar in the Twentieth Century." 2004. <http://oi-archive.uchicago.edu/OI/DEPT/RA/bibs/BH-Ugaritic.html>.
- Sokoloff, Michael. *A Dictionary of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic of the Talmudic and Geonic Periods*. Ramat Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press, 2002.
- . *A Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic of the Byzantine Period*. Ramat Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press, 1990.
- . *A Dictionary of Judean Aramaic*. Ramat Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press, 2003.
- . *A Syriac Lexicon: A Translation from the Latin: Correction, Expansion, and Update of C. Brockelmann's Lexicon Syriacum*. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns ; 2009.
- Steinberg, David. "A Review of Johsua Blau's Phonology and Morphology of Biblical Hebrew." Houseofdauid.ca, 2012. http://www.houseofdauid.ca/anc_heb_Blau_rev.pdf.
- Tropper, Josef. *Ugaritische Grammatik*. 2nd Edition. Alter Orient Und Altes Testament 273. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2012.
- Tropper, Josef, and Juan-Pablo Vita. *Das Kanaano-Akkadische Der Amarnazeit*. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2010.
- Van der Merwe, Christo H.J., Jacobus A. Naudé, and Jan H. Kroeze. *A Biblical Hebrew Reference Grammar*. Biblical Languages: Hebrew 3. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999.
- . *A Biblical Hebrew Reference Grammar*. 2nd Edition. London: Bloomsbury T & T Clark, 2017.
- VanGemeren, Willem A., Editor. *New International Dictionary of Old Testament Theology & Exegesis*. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1997.
- Waltke, Bruce K. *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax*. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1990.

- Walton, John H. "Principles for Productive Word Study." In *New International Dictionary of Old Testament Theology and Exegesis*, ed. Willem A. VanGemeren, 1:161–71. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1997.
- Weninger, Stefan, Geoffrey Khan, Michael P. Streck, and Janet C.E. Watson, Editors. *The Semitic Languages: An International Handbook. Handbücher Zur Sprach- Und Kommunikationswissenschaft* 36. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 2011.
- Woodard, Roger D., Editor. *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of the World's Ancient Languages*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- Yalon, Henoah. *Mavo Le-Niḳud Ha-Mishnah*. Jerusalem: Mosad Byalik, 1964.

Twenty Years of Theological Markup Languages: A Retro- and Prospective

by Race J. MoChridhe

ABSTRACT: ThML—the first open, XML-based markup language designed specifically for digital libraries handling theological collections—was conceived in 1998, sparking a period of development in discipline-specific markup languages for theology that lasted until the early 2000s, when the dominance of the TEI standard led the field to stagnate. Despite the disappearance of the active developer communities behind most of the projects and technical improvements in TEI, however, ThML and other languages developed during that period remain in use. After presenting a brief history of theology-specific markup, this article seeks to understand what its persistence tells us about the discipline-specific needs of biblical and theological studies that are still not being met by TEI, and offers insights as to the lessons that may be drawn from these projects for the future of theological markup.

In 1998, Harry Plantinga, a computer science professor at Calvin College, began work on the Theological Markup Language (ThML)—the first open, XML-based markup language designed specifically for digital libraries handling theological collections.¹ Over the past two decades, ThML has provided critical technical infrastructure to a wide range of projects, both academic and popular, that have disseminated theological literature to millions of users. In 1999, a consortium of leading organizations in biblical studies and Bible publishing started development on projects that became the Open Scripture Information Standard (OSIS)—another XML-based language intended for specialized theological use. This markup, too, made its way into a wide array of projects, and it was particularly favored by Bible translators and publishers. Throughout the early 2000s, these two flagship initiatives were joined by a host of smaller endeavors with much more limited adoption: OpenSong (XMM), Unified Scripture Format XML (USFX), Zefania XML, and others. By 2006, however, interest in discipline-specific markups for theology began to wane as wider adoption of the Text Encoding Initiative (TEI) encoding schema—a technical standard meant to promote compatible styles and expressions of XML across disciplines—increased in appeal to a variety of digital humanists. By the end of the 2000s, the period of active markup development specific to theology projects had largely come to an end.

Nevertheless, the tools developed over the preceding years, particularly ThML and OSIS, remain in use even until today, despite their now limited interoperability and lack of active development and support. This essay briefly surveys the history of these projects and their distinctive features in an effort to understand why they have not been replaced. Analysis shows that, despite TEI's refinement over the past twenty years, many of the critiques made by developers of discipline-specific markups for theology remain unaddressed, such that TEI remains a suboptimal tool for certain kinds of discipline-specific work. The paper concludes by identifying elements of ThML and OSIS that might still be profitably incorporated into TEI, either as custom extensions for current projects or, potentially, as canonical additions to future TEI versions.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF THEOLOGY-SPECIFIC (XML) MARKUP

Just as the Bible was the first book to be set by movable type, so it was also one of the earliest texts to receive specific attention for computer encoding. By the late 1990s, decades of work had produced a plethora of

¹ Harry Plantinga, "ThML: Theological Markup Language for the Christian Classics Ethereal Library," *Christian Classics Ethereal Library*, February 23, 2001, <http://www.ccel.org/ThML/ThML1.02.pdf>.

“markup languages” for setting biblical text in newly digitized publishing processes, with each publisher generally employing its own proprietary standard.

By the turn of the century, however, the World Wide Web Consortium’s (W3C) Extensible Markup Language (XML) began rapidly to overtake such idiosyncratic systems. XML was simultaneously human- and machine-readable, readily compatible with the Web, and easily customized for a wide variety of uses. Its overarching “syntax” for how documents are to be described in machine processing is more a standard for the creation of markup languages than a markup language in itself. Various projects realize their own languages through XML by adding to its basic set of “tags” marking “elements” and “attributes” in the text, in order to be able to describe the features they deem important. Basic tags included in all XML-based languages mark such “elements” as titles, paragraphs, quotations, and points of emphasis. Implementations of XML in the form of specific markup languages customize the available “tags” to enable more sophisticated and precise descriptions of the physical features of a document, the literary devices found in the text, variants among manuscripts in particular locations, or whatever may be of interest within a particular discipline or a specific project.

Combined with this flexibility, the openness of XML’s technical standards promised not only a way out of the publishers’ Babel, but also an extension of the benefits of computer-aided publishing to smaller enterprises, such as missionary groups printing Bibles in indigenous languages or digital libraries using the Internet to disseminate materials for theological study.

ThML

The release notes for Harry Plantinga’s 2001 Theological Markup Language (ThML) identified several objectives of a markup language for theological study, stating that it should support:

- 1) special processing for scripture references
- 2) synchronization and alignment of texts in multiple versions (variants, translations, etc.)
- 3) representation of hymns and mixed media
- 4) cross-referencing of Strong’s numbers, diverse indices, commentaries, etc.
- 5) library-wide searching of texts by multiple facets (subject, scripture reference, etc.)
- 6) user annotation of texts without alteration to the original file
- 7) direct incorporation of bibliographic metadata
- 8) royalty-free use and redistribution of the markup language itself
- 9) web-based access without need of software beyond the web browser

“Existing markup languages,” Plantinga concluded, “do not meet all of these needs.” He dismissed word processor formats and HTML as lacking adequate representation for semantic information and rejected commercial formats of the time (such as STEP and the Logos Library System) as prohibitively expensive and not fully Internet ready. While these judgments would likely be shared by any digital humanist today, what stands out from Plantinga’s assessment of the state of the art at the beginning of the 21st century is his critique of the Text Encoding Initiative (TEI).

TEI describes both a technical standard and a scholarly community of practice, inaugurated in 1987 with the aim of providing a common framework for text encoding across humanities disciplines. In 2002, the “P4” release of the TEI Guidelines embraced XML as the underlying architecture for TEI encoding, establishing an array of hundreds of XML elements to provide a thorough toolkit for all manner of digital humanities (DH) projects while ensuring the greatest possible interoperability among resulting data and documents. Its broad success in this endeavor is shown by the fact that today it is the *de facto* standard within humanities, used for everything from the British National Corpus and the New Zealand Electronic Text Centre to the Perseus Project and Epidoc.

Plantinga readily acknowledged the influence of TEI on his work, but in light of the broad adoption of TEI, his reasons for not adopting it directly command attention twenty years on. “The Text Encoding Initiative,” he concluded, “is semantically rich for literary analysis but not easy to learn or tuned for theological study. It doesn’t offer special handling of scripture references or Strong’s-like reference systems . . . [It] is very large and the overhead required to learn and process the language is high.” It was to supply these perceived deficiencies that ThML was developed and deployed for the Christian Classics Ethereal Library (CCEL) hosted at Calvin College. Although Plantinga has never made any deliberate effort to missionize ThML as a standard beyond the CCEL, its example prompted adoption by a number of other projects, such as the OpenBible software project for Unix, the Go Bible mobile app, and most notably the SWORD project of the Crosswire Bible Society.

These applications reaped benefits from several elements in the ThML schema that facilitated work on Bibles and related texts. Most obvious is the element `<verse>`, providing a ready and unambiguous encoding for this common unit, which is almost unaccountably absent from TEI. Plantinga also offered the element `<argument>` for chapter or section subheads or summaries of topics of discussion, as are frequently found in Bibles (and other early modern books) to summarize the contents of chapters. The easy differentiation of these from other kinds of headings and titles made their inclusion or suppression in various displays easy to implement. The elements `<scripRef>`, and `<scripture>` helped to distinguish references and allusions to scripture from direct scripture quotations, as well as neatly separating both from all other forms of intertextuality, in order to build more readily automated indices of the use of scriptural texts in Patristic writings and elsewhere. Likewise, `<scripCom>` conveniently designated passages that functioned as commentaries on scripture, with type attributes allowing fine grains of distinction in identifying commentary as diverse as prose treatises and sections of canonical hymns.

Representation of hymns was a major focus of Plantinga’s design. Not only did they receive their own `<hymn>` element, but this was permitted to take child elements designating `<meter>`, `<author>`, `<tune>`, `<composer>`, an `<incipit>` (providing opening measures transposed to the key of C), and `<music>` (embedding recordings or sheet music). All of these features are now richly deployed in a sister-project to the CCEL—hymnary.org—which has received sponsorship from the Hymn Society of the United States and Canada as well as funding from the National Endowment for the Humanities.

Perhaps ThML’s most distinctive feature is the element `<sync>`, which Plantinga designed for “dates, keywords, or Strong’s numbers [that] aren’t really links to other documents . . . Therefore XLL links, element IDs, etc., don’t capture the semantics of such information.”²

Although now largely restricted in use to the CCEL and hymnary.org, ThML has influenced many subsequent projects and earned indirect notice from the academic community through the features it has made possible at those websites (in large part by making them easy to implement by student and community volunteers who have encoded hundreds of books). The shortness and simplicity of the ThML schema is especially notable in reading appraisals like that of Brian Kooy, who, reviewing the CCEL for *Reference Reviews*, described it as “a well-executed and technically rich site with . . . features unmatched by any other online digital collection of its kind.” He paid particular attention to the search options “for definitions [and] for scripture passages,” which were directly enabled by the specific design features of ThML mentioned above.³

XSEM AND OSIS

One year after Plantinga began development of ThML, Dennis Drescher approached SIL International—a Christian organization that promotes linguistic research in support of translation and mission efforts—with

² XLL links are now more commonly known as XLinks—an XML-based standard for the formatting of links to Web content.

³ Brian K. Kooy, “Christian Classics Ethereal Library,” *Reference Reviews* 25.7 (2011): 12.

the idea of developing an XML-based system for scriptural markup. The result was a consortium formed with the United Bible Societies, the American Bible Society, the Society of Biblical Literature, and several smaller stakeholders, known as the Bible Technologies Group. The group's initial effort was the XML Scripture Encoding Model (XSEM), which differed from Plantinga's approach in a number of respects. Notable differences were that XSEM was based on a W3C XML Schema rather than a Document Type Definition (DTD), and XSEM focused exclusively on markup for scripture, as opposed to other forms of theological literature.⁴ XSEM was short-lived as an independent standard, however, and was quickly expanded into a more ambitious undertaking—the Open Scripture Information Standard (OSIS)—from 2000 on.⁵ The range of application was extended beyond XSEM's narrow focus in order to include both “scripture and related text,” and plans were laid to market OSIS as an industry standard. The OSIS FAQ sheet even provided a thirty-second “elevator speech” for pitching it to supervisors at publishing companies.⁶

Like ThML, OSIS took inspiration from TEI, inheriting large numbers of elements directly and retaining TEI form attributes to enable processors to make equivalences.⁷ Also like ThML, but in marked contrast to TEI, it aimed at the slimmest possible profile. The user manual boasted that, apart from construction of the document header, “the average user can produce a professional quality encoding of a Bible text with fifteen (15) or fewer elements.”⁸

A much richer set than fifteen was available, however. Like ThML, a <verse> element was offered, joined by a <chapter> element. The latter was admitted by OSIS' documentation to be a case of “syntactic sugar”—an element marking a function easily marked in another way—but it did clarify document structures for lightly-trained encoders already working with <verse>.

Another simplification for encoders was the attribute @canonical, which could be applied to any element to distinguish core material in a work from editorial apparatus and inclusions, regardless of whether those inclusions came from preparation of the markup or were present in the source (such as distinguishing the text of a Bible chapter from headings introducing subsections of a chapter by theme). This could be reflected otherwise through the use of @resp, of course, but @canonical provided a more convenient shorthand for a very common binary distinction. OSIS also provided preset <div> types such as “bookGroup,” “book,” “commentary,” “concordance,” “devotional,” “majorSection,” “section,” and “subSection,” the latter three offering particular functionality in representing common exegetical subdivisions of Biblical books that are not expressly indicated in the chapter-verse system, such as the “Servant Songs” within Isaiah.

Similarly, <note> types were included in the base schema for “allusion,” “background,” “crossReference,” “devotional,” “exegesis,” “explanation,” “study,” “translation,” and “alternative/variant,” facilitating the process of manipulating textual notes at fine degrees of granularity. Special elements were included for epistles (<salute>, <signed>, <closer>), as well as special attributes for <l> (used to mark lines of poetry) to represent particularities in the structure of Old Testament verse (@doxology, @selah). The <divineName> was given its own element, to allow easy transformations when it was necessary to suppress representation, substitute, or transform by special rules in the stylesheet. Other names benefitted likewise from special attributes for the standard <name> element (@holiday, @nonhuman, @ritual). The @see attribute aided in the encoding of scriptural cross-references in automatically generated indices.

⁴ Dennis Drescher, “XSEM: XML Scripture Encoding Model,” SIL, September 6, 2001, <https://scripts.sil.org/xsem>.

⁵ Patrick Durusau, *OSIS Users Manual*, American Bible Society (https://web.archive.org/web/20120226061942/http://img.forministry.com/7/7B/7BB51FB8-84B3-4FF3-939ED473FA90A632/DOC/OSIS2_1UserManual_06March2006_-_with_O'Donnell_edits.PDF), 2.

⁶ Bible Technologies Group, *OSIS FAQs* (<https://web.archive.org/web/20131107020309/http://www.bibletechnologies.net:80/vsItemDisplay.dsp&objectID=B25323FC-E8BB-49C2-A6C98E74A377F721&method=display>).

⁷ Durusau, *OSIS Users Manual*, 2.

⁸ Durusau, *OSIS Users Manual*, 11-12.

The most technically significant OSIS distinctives, however, were three other features. The <date> element, normally limited to describing year/month/day/hour/minute/second, was augmented with types for times independent of the clock, such as sunrise and sunset, the Catholic canonical hours, and Muslim calls to prayer, and the element was also given a modified syntax enabling easy encoding of dates as repeating at intervals. This allowed lectionaries, prayer books, and other such works to be encoded with machine-readable indications of the ritual dates and times on which specific texts were to be used.

The @editions attribute allowed units of the text at virtually any size to be quickly designated for inclusion or suppression in particular generated expressions of the encoded work. For example, the books of the Apocrypha might be encoded with <div=book edition="Catholic Study"> to include them when Catholic and Study editions of the Bible are rendered from the XML file, but not when Protestant editions are produced.

OSIS' most enduring legacy has been its "Trojan milestone" (also known as CLIX) method for encoding elements that cross the boundaries of other elements (as when a single verse falls across two paragraphs). This was a variation on previous methods using anchors and standard milestones that "has the advantage that milestones representing a given type of element have the same name as the element, and automatically have the same attributes."⁹ This method has since been incorporated by other markups, including TEI. It represented a significant innovation at the time, particularly for enabling the simultaneous mapping of different versification schemes, as found, for example, in the differences in numbering of Psalm verses between Jewish and Christian traditions.

Though the website of the Bible Technologies Group went offline in 2006 and active development of OSIS ceased, it has had a long afterlife. It remains in currency with the SWORD project and pops up from time to time in the work of individual scholars, like Robie and Bulkeley.¹⁰

Both OSIS and ThML continue to receive interest from initiatives working specifically on scriptural and theological materials.¹¹ On the publication and software development front, too, both languages continue to be represented. Kayode Sowole, who won the University of Lagos' "Best Student App" award for mobile development with Wazobia (an app that allows offline reading of the Bible in multiple Nigerian languages), cited both ThML and OSIS as "the most significant part of my preparation" and as having been necessary for the development of the app.¹²

CONTINUING LIMITATIONS OF TEI

TEI largely became the "de facto standard for encoding DH texts" from 2002 on, following its conversion from SGML to XML.¹³ It is now widely regarded as "standard practice" for digital humanities projects.¹⁴ Nonetheless, it remains true, as Plantinga originally asserted, that "[m]ultiple formats for electronic resources are a reality in today's computing environment." Given TEI's ambition to provide an overarching structure capable of accommodating the widest range of needs on the part of textual scholars, it is therefore worth asking why

⁹ Durusau, *OSIS Users Manual*, 54.

¹⁰ Jonathan Robie, "Querying Greek texts in XML: Part 1," *BiblicalHumanities.org*, November 13, 2015, <http://biblicalhumanities.org/xquery/tutorial/greek/2015/11/13/querying-000.html>; Tim Bulkeley, "Returning to E-commentary," *Sansblogue*, "Returning to e-commentary," April 8, 2016, <https://bigbible.org/sansblogue/bible/biblical-interpretation/returning-to-e-commentary/>.

¹¹ See, for example, Leonid Dubinsky, "Digital Judaica Done Right," *DigitalJudaica*, <http://www.digitaljudaica.org/judaica/html/index.html>.

¹² Dayo Adesulu, "Meet UNILAG Undergraduate who Developed Wazobia Bible Application," *Vanguard*, March 27, 2014, <https://www.vanguardngr.com/2014/03/meet-unilag-undergraduate-developed-wazobia-bible-application/>.

¹³ Desmond Schmidt, "The End of XML," *Multi-Version Documents*, March 18, 2018, <http://multiversiondocs.blogspot.com/2018/03/the-end-of-xml.html>.

¹⁴ UNL Center for Digital Research in the Humanities, "Best Practices for Digital Humanities Projects," https://cdrh.unl.edu/articles/best_practices.

it has not been able to fully supersede either ThML or OSIS, which continue to find user communities despite their age, lack of active support, and limited interoperability across TEI-dominated fields of scholarship.

Such supersession might have been expected for reasons beyond the simple desire for interoperability in texts and tools. For one thing, many of the key institutions and individuals that contributed to theology-specific projects were also engaged with TEI. The Society of Biblical Literature, for example, was a participant in the TEI Consortium throughout the years it participated in the Bible Technologies Group, and Patrick Durusau, who worked for the SBL on OSIS, also served on the TEI Character Set Working Group.¹⁵ As one would expect, these close connections facilitated technology transfer, and TEI was enriched by ideas emanating from other projects. The P5 release, for instance, incorporated the “Trojan milestone” method for encoding overlap in non-hierarchical structures, citing the work of Steven DeRose.¹⁶ DeRose served as the chair of the Bible Technologies Group and developed the Trojan milestone method as part of the OSIS development team.

Despite this cross-fertilization and its general growth and refinement over the past twenty years, however, TEI has not overcome the two major critiques offered by Plantinga back in 1998—it is difficult to learn and apply consistently, and it is not tuned for theological work. The following sections address each of these critiques from a discipline-specific perspective in light of more recent literature on TEI, before the conclusion offers notes toward possible resolutions and the enrichment thereby of both TEI as a standard and theological digital humanities as a community.

DIFFICULTY AND INTEROPERABILITY

The first of the two reasons Plantinga gave back in 1998 for not embracing TEI for his digital theological library was that it was “not easy to learn” and that this would inhibit the willingness and ability of others to contribute to the project. Twenty years on, TEI has not become appreciably easier. That the language itself retains a steep learning curve is, of course, to be expected in light of the inherent complexity of the vast range of tasks it seeks to accomplish, but it is disquieting that more tools have not appeared to ease the end-user into the process. Hence, ease-of-use and interoperability quickly begin to fuse into a multifaceted yet singular concern, because low ease-of-use is partly the result of a paucity of software tools for facilitating the markup process, and partly the result of the proliferation and consequent ambiguity of the element set, which in turn inhibits software development.

There are, at present, 567 TEI elements—twenty-three more than there were in 2012, when Desmond Schmidt observed the perverse effects that this daunting range has on the Initiative’s *raison d’être*. Beyond simply intimidating the non-specialist and thus excluding potentially valuable contributors to DH projects (just as Plantinga had worried), the breadth of the element set works to ensure ambiguity in the selection of elements for even basic editorial tasks.¹⁷ An almost absurd example familiar to biblical scholars is that of selecting an element to encode verses in standard chapter/verse reference systems. The P5 guidelines suggest the use of the <ab> element (“anonymous block”—typically used as a catch-all for non-paragraph structures with paragraph-like functions) for encoding “canonical verse divisions of Biblical text,” but counsel in the very next paragraph that the <seg> element (“segment”—typically used for otherwise unspecified structures below the level of a sentence) may be preferred for the same purpose in order to avoid conflicts with <p> (“paragraph”) structures. Meanwhile, an example of reference system encoding elsewhere on the same page demonstrates the use of the <div> element (“division”—typically used as a generic descriptor for structures

¹⁵ Society of Biblical Literature, “Biblical Scholars, Standards and the SBL,” SBL Forum, 2.6 (2004), <https://www.sbl-site.org/publications/article.aspx?ArticleId=45>.

¹⁶ Steven DeRose, “Markup Overlap: A Review and a Horse,” Proceedings of Extreme Markup Languages 2004, <http://xml.coverpages.org/DeRoseEML2004.pdf>.

¹⁷ Desmond Schmidt, “The Role of Markup in the Digital Humanities,” *Historical Social Research / Historische Sozialforschung* 37 (2012): 125, 128.

above the level of a paragraph) for Bible verses. Given that encoding for theological projects often aims at the most intensive levels of interoperability in order to facilitate sophisticated cross-indexing, parallel alignment, and commentary attachment, the unpredictability of any given text's encoding of something as basic as a verse unit is a severe impediment to exchange of research data.

Of course, it is not expected by TEI that any project will use the full range of elements, and customization by narrower selection of element modules is actively encouraged. Two difficulties commonly arise from this. One is that customization of TEI is even more daunting from a technical standpoint than using it. Because the customizations do not come pre-packaged for consumer use but instead arise ad hoc from the user base, projects that do not have in-house tech specialists and cannot afford to contract any often attempt to shoehorn their work into an ill-fitting but ready-made customization, as evidenced by the widespread use of TEI Lite, which was intended originally as a technical demonstration and not meant to be used for real-world projects at all. This creates an interoperability divide between well-resourced and/or tech-savvy projects and those which are not. Even in ideal cases, however, customization at high levels of technical proficiency often serves only to solidify incompatibilities when projects select different elements for similar or even identical purposes when building their customizations. Selecting narrower ranges of elements for particular projects may increase consistency, and therefore interoperability, within those projects, but it does little to achieve those goals *across* projects. Neither should the present system of customization be overestimated in its effectiveness on this point at even the project level. UCLA's introductory tutorial for digital humanities warns its reader that "even the same individual working on different days can use tags differently. The range of interpretation is difficult to restrict, and individual acts of tagging are rarely consistent."¹⁸ It thus seems difficult to disagree with Schmidt, noting that the foundational goal of TEI was a ready data exchange and maximized interoperability that no one has achieved, owing to the subjectivity inherent in TEI. This, of course, is only the double-edge of the sword XML designers originally forged—ambiguity being the inescapable result of its core goals of "flexibility, extensibility, [and] modularity."¹⁹

Jerome McDonough has given as much thought as anyone to finding a way out of this bind. "One possible response . . ." he has suggested, "would be to say that perhaps our community cares less about interoperability than we thought . . . and [that] the adoption of metadata standards that impeded interoperability is merely a reflection of that underlying reality, and not a major problem to resolve."²⁰ The fact that significant projects like CCEL and SWORD continue to use what are now highly idiosyncratic encodings would seem to offer some support for this conclusion. At the same time, however, they also lend support to McDonough's following suggestion—that libraries can favor interoperability by more severely restricting the range of encoding options and thus "decreasing the possibility for local variation in encoding."²¹ This was, in fact, an implicit design goal of both ThML and OSIS as against TEI, and necessarily contributed to their isolation as TEI's influence grew—an outcome McDonough recognized when he speculated that "removing local capacity for variation will also tend to reduce the number of institutions who are willing to use such a markup language."²² McDonough ultimately rejected this approach as not flexible enough to engage successfully with publishers and other communities and instead favored a shift in priorities that would see crosswalk development elevated to the same level of respect and resource-commitment presently enjoyed by the development of independent markups.²³ This, too, can be found among theological markup communities today, with projects frequently developing tools

¹⁸ UCLA Center for Digital Humanities, "Text Encoding: Mark-up and TEI," *Intro to Digital Humanities: Concepts, Methods, and Tutorials for Students and Instructors*, September 2013, http://dh101.humanities.ucla.edu/?page_id=60.

¹⁹ Jerome McDonough, "XML, Interoperability and the Social Construction of Markup Languages: The Library Example," *digital humanities quarterly* 3.3 (2009), <http://digitalhumanities.org/dhq/vol/3/3/000064/000064.html>

²⁰ McDonough, "XML," paragraph 30.

²¹ McDonough, "XML," paragraphs 32-33.

²² McDonough, "XML," paragraph 33.

²³ McDonough, "XML," paragraph 34.

for transformation between ThML, OSIS, Zefania XML, and even older non-XML systems like General Bible Format (GBF) as a way of combating the Babel that has arisen. This prevalence of crosswalking, however, ultimately further removes disincentives from the use of narrowly tailored standards and has arguably helped to facilitate their proliferation.

LACK OF SPECIFIC TOOLS

These small encoding languages have survived principally because they offer tools fitted to theological work that are still not to be found elsewhere. Given the difficulties already noted in encoding verses in TEI, for example, and the common use of chapter/verse structures to organize not only the Bible, but the Qur'an and other important texts, it is somewhat unaccountable that there is no specific element to be found for this among the 567 elements defined by TEI. ThML and OSIS, as we have seen, both offer one. This and many other features of those markups could, potentially, be seen simply as streamlining the encoding process for aspects of a text that can also be represented in a technically equivalent fashion by standard TEI. In many cases, this is true, but the streamlining should not be underestimated, especially when it helps to reduce ambiguity in element selection.

TEI's emphasis on flexibility and extensibility has made it extremely powerful for the encoding of literary material, where unexpected permutations of format or style are common. For literary texts, it is unquestionably the present best practice.²⁴ It is also appropriately favored where there is strong emphasis on exact transcription of source documents and manuscripts, where one must also expect the unexpected.²⁵ That TEI should predominate even in biblical studies is not without reason. Theology, ethics, and other such disciplines, however, extract little benefit from the flexibility and extensibility offered by TEI, as they are generally concerned with texts in the abstract more than specific documents (with their attendant idiosyncrasies) and particularly with texts that have long-established standards of structure and reference already in place. In these cases, trying to apply overly broad tools to represent such structures creates needless vagaries hindering interoperability and can even compromise the integrity of the text, insofar as the attempt to map traditional textual structures to more general categories in the markup can introduce problematic forms of interpretation, not unlike translation into another language.

The streamlining enabled by the highly specific elements and attributes of ThML and OSIS had a practical benefit as well, in that it lowered barriers to learning the system for individuals with little technical background. This category generally includes scholars in theology and religion, whose departments are often severely under resourced compared even to other humanities faculties, such as English (which generally dominates discussions of digital humanities). Additionally, theology and religious studies departments and centers are, in Western countries, focused on the study of Abrahamic traditions. If usefully interoperable encoding is possible only for projects able to recruit and support dedicated encoding specialists, these traditions will remain significantly overrepresented in the corpus of encoded documents as compared with Eastern religions, indigenous religions, and New Religious Movements. TEI thus carries the potential to parochialize digital theology as a result of the need for intensive institutional support.

For many years, it has been expected that the development of new software tools would enable wider participation by reducing the need for specific technical skills, but this has not happened at nearly the speed or to nearly the extent that was generally anticipated, largely because, as Schmidt recognized, even when individual projects successfully customize appropriate, consistent, and streamlined implementations of

²⁴ UCLA Center for Digital Humanities, "Text Encoding."

²⁵ H. A. G. Houghton, "The Electronic Scriptorium: Markup for New Testament Manuscripts," pp. 31–60 in *Digital Humanities in Biblical, Early Jewish, and Early Christian Studies*. Claire Clivaz, Andrew Gregory, and David Hamidović, eds. (Leiden: Brill, 2013).

TEI, the need to accommodate the full range of TEI elements when building broadly compliant tools inhibits software development.²⁶ The result is that significant costs, whether in money or in needed volunteer labor, are imposed on projects for custom-building software solutions. This burden is particularly onerous in theological DH, where even projects backed by colleges and universities are often located in chronically under-resourced departments and many projects are driven by the volunteer efforts of professional practitioners, ranging from pulpit ministers with interest in formal theology to missionaries translating texts into indigenous languages.

Lowering the technical bar for participating in encoding was not the only advantage of ThML and OSIS. In many cases, they offered meaningful technical features for which TEI in its standard form does not provide, such as direct representation of verses as distinct from other structures, encoding of recurring dates and non-clock times for lectionaries, semantically accurate synchronization of Strong's numbers, semantic distinction of the Divine Name, detailed representation of hymns as components of larger textual settings, or close granularity in indexing diverse uses of scripture as distinct from other intertextual features. Twenty years on from Plantinga's original decision not to use TEI, the now-standard digital humanities markup language continues to miss specifics of theological texts, even for quite common features.

FUTURE POSSIBILITIES

The way forward is not clear. Despite the advances made by the OSIS team, overlap of elements remains a serious problem without an elegant solution under existing XML frameworks, and it is only one of many stumbling blocks.²⁷ There are signs that XML itself may be reaching crucial limits in its development. In the meantime, however, it remains ubiquitous, and TEI continues to reign as *the* markup language of choice for textual encoding. Under these conditions, it would seem that a few useful lessons can be learned from theology-specific markup experiments.

There is real value to offering a streamlined markup with low technical overhead for learning—at least at its basic levels of execution. Given the nature of its constituencies, theological digital humanities work would likely benefit from a TEI customization scoped down to approximately the size and complexity of OSIS, but this would have to be, like OSIS itself, a coordinated effort. Basic agreement would have to be reached on the representation of verses, the encoding of overlap, and other such issues—agreements for which OSIS can perhaps offer a starting point in discussions. To this point, TEI customizations have largely been themed around the kind of material being represented, and it may be something of a shift to think of customizations in terms of a clientele served, or of the nature of the outputs to be produced. This can have not only technical benefits, however, but also cultural ones. Phrasing a markup language as general purpose can create the impression that it is for technical specialists, who bring that particular expertise to a variety of teams, and that it may largely be set aside by others. The presentation of a specifically *theological* markup language, however, suggests a disciplinary skill to be acquired by all serious participants in the discipline and may encourage more uptake of technical skills among scholars.

If TEI is to fully capitalize on the lessons of ThML and OSIS, however, it must not only be scaled back in some areas to focus on the particular purposes of theological work, but it must also be expanded in other areas to meet the unique needs of that work. TEI holds as an objective that it should provide modularity and extensibility to cover all kinds of textual encoding work. If that aim is to be realized, it would do well to look at the features that have made ThML and OSIS so stubbornly enduring within their narrow communities, and to take their longevity as proof of the distinctive value of many of their features. Some will be implementable through compliant customizations in the near future; others may await incorporation into a more distant P6 release. In either case, a TEI customization offering a smaller but more precisely defined toolkit for the

²⁶ Schmidt, "The Role of Markup," 128-129.

²⁷ Schmidt, "The Role of Markup," 129.

purposes of working with biblical and theological texts could finally allow TEI to fill the niches that ThML and OSIS have been forced to hold these many years and thus to enhance interoperability within the theological community, if not outside of it as well.

REFERENCES

- Adesulu, Dayo. "Meet UNILAG Undergraduate who Developed Wazobia Bible Application." *Vanguard*, March 27, 2014, <https://www.vanguardngr.com/2014/03/meet-unilag-undergraduate-developed-wazobia-bible-application/>.
- Bible Technologies Group. 2013. *OSIS FAQs*. Retrieved from <https://web.archive.org/web/20131107020309/http://www.bibletechnologies.net:80/vsItemDisplay.dsp&objectID=B25323FC-E8BB-49C2-A6C98E74A377F721&method=display>.
- Bulkeley, Tim. "Returning to E-commentary." *Sansblogue*, April 8, 2016, <https://bigbible.org/sansblogue/bible/biblical-interpretation/returning-to-e-commentary/>.
- DeRose, Steven. "Markup Overlap: A Review and a Horse." *Proceedings of Extreme Markup Languages 2004*. <http://xml.coverpages.org/DeRoseEML2004.pdf>.
- Drescher, Dennis. "XSEM: XML Scripture Encoding Model." *SIL*, September 6, 2001, <https://scripts.sil.org/xsem>.
- Dubinsky, Leonid. "Digital Judaica Done Right." *DigitalJudaica*, <http://www.digitaljudaica.org/judaica/html/index.html>.
- Durusau, Patrick. *OSIS Users Manual*. American Bible Society, 2006, https://web.archive.org/web/20120226061942/http://img.forministry.com/7/7B/7BB51FB8-84B3-4FF3-939ED473FA90A632/DOC/OSIS2_1UserManual_06March2006_-_with_O'Donnell_edits.PDF.
- Houghton, H. A. G. "The Electronic Scriptorium: Markup for New Testament Manuscripts." Pages 31–60 in *Digital Humanities in Biblical, Early Jewish, and Early Christian Studies*. Edited by Claire Clivaz, Andrew Gregory, and David Hamidović. Leiden: Brill, 2013.
- Kooy, Brian K. "Christian Classics Ethereal Library." *Reference Reviews* 25.7 (2011): 11–12.
- McDonough, Jerome. "XML, Interoperability and the Social Construction of Markup Languages: The Library Example." *digital humanities quarterly* 3.3 (2009), <http://digitalhumanities.org/dhq/vol/3/3/000064/000064.html>.
- Plantiga, Harry. "ThML: Theological Markup Language for the Christian Classics Ethereal Library." *Christian Classics Ethereal Library*. February 23, 2001. <http://www.ccel.org/ThML/ThML1.02.pdf>.
- Robie, Jonathan. "Querying Greek Texts in XML: Part 1." *BiblicalHumanities.org*. November 13, 2015. <http://biblicalhumanities.org/xquery/tutorial/greek/2015/11/13/querying-000.html>.
- Schmidt, Desmond. "The End of XML." *Multi-Version Documents*. March 18, 2018. <http://multiversiondocs.blogspot.com/2018/03/the-end-of-xml.html>.
- _____. "The Role of Markup in the Digital Humanities." *Historical Social Research / Historische Sozialforschung* 37 (2012): 125–46.
- Society of Biblical Literature. "Biblical Scholars, Standards and the SBL." *SBL Forum*, 2.6 (2004). <https://www.sbl-site.org/publications/article.aspx?ArticleId=45>.
- UCLA Center for Digital Humanities. "Text Encoding: Mark-up and TEI." *Intro to Digital Humanities: Concepts, Methods, and Tutorials for Students and Instructors*. September, 2013. http://dh101.humanities.ucla.edu/?page_id=60.
- UNL Center for Digital Research in the Humanities. "Best Practices for Digital Humanities Projects." https://cdrh.unl.edu/articles/best_practices.

Understanding Mormonism: Foundational Sources on its Culture, History, and Theology

by Gerrit van Dyk

ABSTRACT: Over the past couple of decades, the media and popular culture have shown growing interest in members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, its leadership, its practices, and its splinter groups. With all of this recent interest, it is possible that a religious studies librarian at an institution of higher education or at a theological seminary could receive a query regarding Mormonism, the broad term used to include all groups within the Church tradition, either out of popular culture curiosity or for academic investigation. This essay reviews major sources in this growing field for any who wish to either assist patrons in comparative religion projects related to Mormonism, develop a working collection in Mormon studies, or both.

In 2002, the Olympics came to Utah for the first time. It was on this global stage that the traditionally mysterious members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (hereafter the Church or members of the Church) were visible, in some cases for the first time, to the world. The Church launched a public relations initiative to assuage concerns about having the Games in such an openly religious location. Instead, journalists from all over the United States raved about the Games and the local hospitality, including Mitt Romney's last-minute rescue of an Olympics plagued by poor management and scandal.

Over the twenty years since the Games, Church members have become increasingly visible in the media. Novelists like Shannon Hale (*Princess Academy* and *Goose Girl*), Brandon Sanderson (*Mistborn*, *Wheel of Time*, and *Stormlight Archive*), and Stephenie Meyer (*Twilight*), have played a significant role in contemporary young adult and fantasy fiction. Brandon Flowers from *The Killers* and Dan Reynolds from *Imagine Dragons* both are outspoken about their faith, as is fellow musician and YouTube sensation Lindsey Sterling. Athletes who practice the faith, like Jimmer Fredette and Jabari Parker, have also made a splash in the ocean of contemporary life. Mainstream pop culture creators have even found ways to explore outsider (mis) conceptions of Mormonism in such works as the satire *The Book of Mormon Musical* (2011) and HBO's *Big Love* (2006-2011). Mitt Romney's speech "Faith in America," delivered in 2007, has been seen as a parallel to John F. Kennedy's speech to the Greater Houston Ministerial Association in 1960, in which Kennedy addressed his Catholic background as a candidate for the presidency.

In academia, Mormonism has similarly blossomed as a discipline, in which hundreds of scholarly monographs, a similar number of dissertations, and thousands of peer-reviewed articles have been published since 2000. Oxford University Press alone has published over fifty volumes in the past twenty years related to Mormon culture, history, or theology. As is to be expected, there are various programs and initiatives related to Mormonism in Utah, the headquarters of the Church, at the University of Utah, Utah Valley University, the University of Wyoming, and the Utah State University. This development has spread, however, to institutions in other states and regions. In 2008, Claremont Graduate University established the Howard W. Hunter Chair for Mormon Studies. Four years later, the University of Virginia created the Richard Lyman Bushman Chair for Mormon Studies. In 2015, the University of Southern California announced the John A. Widtsoe Chair for Mormon Studies. Most recently, in 2017, the Graduate Theological Union appointed Robert A. Rees Director of Mormon Studies.

With all of this recent activity and interest in Mormon studies, a religious studies librarian at an institution of higher education or at a theological seminary could conceivably receive a query regarding Mormonism,

either out of popular culture curiosity or for academic investigation. This essay reviews major sources in this growing field for any who wish either to assist patrons in comparative religion projects related to Mormonism, develop a working collection in Mormon studies, or both. Due to space, I concentrate primarily on recent sources, even when historical classics exist in a genre or on a topic.

Before continuing, however, I wish briefly to address the complexities and assumptions behind using the term “Mormon.” After Joseph Smith was murdered by a mob in Carthage, Illinois, in 1844, the young religion faced a succession crisis. There were many individuals who believed they should lead the Church. This led to several different splinter groups, or what some refer to as “Restoration” schismatic groups from the Church, the largest of which is the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (now called the Community of Christ). While the field of Mormon studies includes all sects in the Restoration tradition, when the members of the general public think of “Mormons,” they are almost certainly equating this term with the adherents of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, which is headquartered in Salt Lake City, however naively erroneous that equation may be. Even in the field of Mormon studies, many of the publications discussed in this article follow this general trend of equating the term “Mormon” with members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, specifically.¹ Accordingly, while some works discussed focus on schismatic groups, most of those in this essay focus on the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

CITATION INDEX DATA AND THE STUDIES IN MORMON HISTORY DATABASE

This bibliography draws heavily from the citation data found in the *Studies in Mormon History Database* (SMH), the most comprehensive index of scholarship in Mormonism available. SMH is based on the book *Studies in Mormon History, 1830-1997*.² This work attempted to find and index all works of scholarship related to Mormonism from the founding of the Church to the end of the 20th century. Shortly after publication, one of the authors, James Allen, worked with BYU personnel to move the content to a free online database and to keep the dataset updated with new publications. Since that time, it has been managed by my predecessor, Michael Hunter, and now I co-manage it with Trevor Alvord, Curator for Contemporary Mormonism at BYU. Between us, we have added nearly 6,000 books, 1,600 articles, 4,000 book chapters, and 700 theses and dissertations to the database in addition to the original sources in the print bibliography. In 2017, we began adding citation index information in which citations are linked to other citations whose sources cite them. In this way, we hoped to discover the most-cited works in Mormon studies.

GENERAL WORKS AND ENCYCLOPEDIAS

As with any religious tradition, it is difficult to grasp a religion without first understanding its origins—its history, theology, rites, culture, and quirks. Richard Bushman’s *Mormonism: A Very Short Introduction* serves as a brief primer for anyone interested in an overview of the Church and its people.³ Jan Shipps’ *Mormonism: The Story of a New Religious Tradition* offers a nicely contextualized history of the faith, with particular emphasis on

¹ While this essay was in the composition and publication process, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints published a preferred style guide for referring to itself and its members in media outlets. The term “Mormon” is now discouraged. However, this new preference creates with it some confusion with regard to past publications (many of which are reviewed in the current study) in the scholarly field known as Mormon studies. The author has attempted to follow the guide where possible, using the full name of the Church or simply “the Church” and “members of the Church” to speak particularly about that branch of Mormonism. Where all schismatic groups in the religious tradition and/or their members are implied or explicitly stated (and not just the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and its practicing members), the term “Mormon” or “Mormonism” is used as a broader, that is, generic, inclusive.

² James B. Allen, Ronald W. Walker, and David J. Whittaker, *Studies in Mormon History, 1830-1997: An Indexed Bibliography* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2000).

³ Richard L. Bushman, *Mormonism: A Very Short Introduction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008).

its place in American religious history.⁴ Matthew Bowman's *The Mormon People: The Making of an American Faith* is also an important overview of the tradition, meant primarily for a general audience.⁵ In 1992, Macmillan published an *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, a comprehensive guide to various aspects of the faith and its history.⁶ The resource has since migrated to an online platform and is updated periodically by Brigham Young University personnel. More recently, Oxford and Columbia have released two volumes that complement the *Encyclopedia*, the *Oxford Handbook to Mormonism* (2016), and the *Columbia Sourcebook to Mormons in the United States* (2014).⁷ The *Handbook* is an edited volume with dozens of article-length chapters written by leading Mormon studies scholars. Topics range from Mormon history and culture to the growth of the religion globally. While not as comprehensive as the *Encyclopedia*, to be sure, these chapters offer an in-depth look at the major issues and questions asked by Mormon studies scholars today. The *Sourcebook* instead allows Mormons to speak for themselves on these same topics. The editors include sermons, opinion editorials, speeches, letters, and poetry written by Mormons throughout the history of the faith. *Mormonism: A Historical Encyclopedia* is a more condensed but still valuable reference book, with entries from over fifty scholars in the field.⁸ Finally, the Church itself published in 2004 a glossary of terms entitled *True to the Faith: A Gospel Reference*, named after a beloved hymn in the tradition.⁹ This small volume contains brief descriptions of what members of the Church believe about such doctrines as baptism for the dead and eternal marriage, or social issues like abortion, gambling, or homosexuality. It can be found free online on the Church's website, www.lds.org.

SACRED TEXTS

Any serious study of a religious tradition must include time, effort, and space for the sacred texts of that people. Aside from the Book of Mormon, the sacred work from which Church members gained their nickname "Mormons," the Church also has two other canonized scriptures in addition to the King James Version of the Bible. The first, the Doctrine and Covenants, is a text of recorded revelations to early church leaders about the management of the Church itself; it contains some doctrine as well. The second, called the Pearl of Great Price, is a collection of other translated sacred works by Joseph Smith, as well as a personal history he wrote in which he relates his claims of theophany, visitation by angels, and his call as a prophet, like Moses and Elijah. The King James Version is likely readily available in any theological library, and one can purchase the other three "Standard Works," as members call them, in a "triple combination." They can also be found for free online at www.lds.org/scriptures. Penguin Books has also published a popular edition of the Book of Mormon, which includes a fine introduction by Laurie Maffly-Kipp.¹⁰

A fair amount of scholarship has been written on the Book of Mormon and on the Mormon reception of the Bible. Philip Barlow's trailblazing work, *Mormons and the Bible*, opens the scholarly discussion of how Mormons create, adapt, and engage with sacred texts.¹¹ Barlow reviews how Mormons have utilized the Bible in their praxis and doctrine over time. In a landmark study *By the Hand of Mormon*, Terryl Givens approached the Book of Mormon for the first time as an academic (rather than polemical or apologetic) enterprise, using reception

⁴ Jan Shipps, *Mormonism: The Story of a New Religious Tradition* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1985).

⁵ Matthew Burton Bowman, *The Mormon People: The Making of an American Faith* (New York: Random House, 2012).

⁶ Daniel H. Ludlow, *Encyclopedia of Mormonism* (New York: Macmillan, 1992).

⁷ Terryl Givens and Philip L. Barlow, *The Oxford Handbook of Mormonism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015); Terryl Givens, Reid L. Neilson, and Michelle Taormina, *The Columbia Sourcebook of Mormons in the United States* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014).

⁸ W. Paul Reeve and Ardis E. Parshall, *Mormonism: A Historical Encyclopedia* (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2010).

⁹ *True To The Faith: A Gospel Reference* (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, 2004).

¹⁰ *The Book of Mormon* (Penguin Classics; New York: Penguin Books, 2008).

¹¹ Philip L. Barlow, *Mormons and the Bible: The Place of the Latter-Day Saints in American Religion* (Updated Edition; Religion in America Series; New York: Oxford University Press, 2013).

theory to discuss the book's cultural and theological impact.¹² Grant Hardy later published *Understanding the Book of Mormon: A Reader's Guide*, in which he reviews the Book of Mormon from a literary perspective.¹³ Paul C. Gutjahr's *The Book of Mormon: A Biography*, part of the "Lives of Great Religious Books" series, adds to the conversation some of the reception history of the book by other schismatic groups, like the Community of Christ, as well as depictions of the text and its stories in literature and film.¹⁴ Finally, *The Journal of Book of Mormon Studies*, now in its twenty-fifth volume, publishes peer-reviewed articles, book reviews, and interviews related to the Book of Mormon and its impact on believers. Hardy also recently published a Study Edition of the Book of Mormon highlighting parallels with other scripture and formatting the text according to genre (e.g., poetry is written in verse form).¹⁵ Unfortunately, this subfield of sacred text analysis in Mormonism is still too young to have a corresponding set of monographs directed toward the academy examining the Doctrine and Covenants and the Pearl of Great Price. While there are several books on these two texts written by reputable scholars, their target audience is invariably believing members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. The one exception is Brian Hauglid's *A Textual History of the Book of Abraham*, focusing on one of the books in the Pearl of Great Price.¹⁶ Hauglid's work fits alongside Royal Skousan's *The Book of Mormon: The Earliest Text* in textual criticism of these sacred writings.¹⁷

OTHER PRIMARY SOURCES

While the Church has designated the Bible, the Book of Mormon, the Doctrine and Covenants, and the Pearl of Great Price to be official scripture, the organization also has several extra-canonical works which help clarify doctrine and practice. Since it began in 1830, the LDS Church has held a regular "general" conference—general in that all members are invited to attend but also general in the sense that it is conducted by *general* leaders over the entire church, as opposed to *local* leadership. Over the decades this has taken several different forms, but today it is an opportunity twice per year to hear from executive officers of the church who are over the global membership of more than 16,000,000 today. These leaders deliver sermons on a variety of topics related to worship and to living as a Mormon. Practicing members of the church treat these sermons close to, or at the same level as, canonized scripture. A group of Brigham Young University professors maintains a website called the Corpus of General Conference Talks, which allows anyone with Internet access to search across the sermons of these meetings, dating back to 1851.¹⁸ This is a valuable resource for anyone doing research on doctrinal or practical theology as it relates to Mormons. A researcher can get a sense of how the LDS Church understood a particular doctrine, practice, or political issue at any given time since the second half of the 19th century. The Church also publishes online a manual for local lay leadership, *Handbook 2: Administering in the Church* (2010).¹⁹ The Handbook has official policies on issues such as euthanasia, cremation, and birth control.

With regard to its earliest history, for the past two decades the Church has published the *Joseph Smith Papers*, an archival project in which it has tried to find and reproduce documents created by Joseph Smith or by staff

¹² Terryl Givens, *By the Hand of Mormon: The American Scripture That Launched a New World Religion* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002).

¹³ Grant Hardy, *Understanding the Book of Mormon: A Reader's Guide* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2010).

¹⁴ Paul C. Gutjahr, *The Book of Mormon: A Biography* (Lives of Great Religious Books; Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2012).

¹⁵ Grant Hardy, *The Book of Mormon: Another Testament of Jesus Christ*, Maxwell Institute Study Edition (Provo, UT: Neal A. Maxwell Institute, BYU Religious Studies Center, 2018).

¹⁶ Brian M. Hauglid, *A Textual History of the Book of Abraham: Manuscripts and Editions, Studies in the Book of Abraham* (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press, 2011).

¹⁷ Royal Skousen, *The Book of Mormon: The Earliest Text* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009).

¹⁸ <https://www.lds-general-conference.org/>.

¹⁹ https://www.lds.org/bc/content/shared/content/english/pdf/language-materials/08702_eng.pdf?lang=eng.

whose work he directed, including journals, revelations and translations, contemporary reports of discourses, minutes, business and legal records, editorials, and notices.”²⁰ The volumes are still being published, but researchers can freely access much of the content online at <https://www.josephsmithpapers.org/>.

The Church also is active in publishing its own periodicals. Since its earliest days, the members of the Church have published newspapers and magazines. Many of these works have been fully digitized and are available through the Internet Archive. Today the Church publishes three periodicals, the *Ensign*, for general readers, the *New Era*, for youth, and the *Friend*, for young children. Each of these periodicals can be a valuable resource for anyone studying the lived religious experience of practicing Mormons. The Community of Christ has its own periodical, the *Herald*, published since 1860.

ACADEMIC JOURNALS

Before reviewing current trends in monographs, I submit a quick review of major scholarly journals in the field. According to the SMH, the most-cited academic journal in Mormon studies is *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*. Founded in 1966, *Dialogue* has provided an academic forum for scholars interested in Mormon culture (including literary studies) and theology. Close on *Dialogue*'s citation heels is *BYU Studies Quarterly* (*BYUSQ*). *BYUSQ* began its run in 1959 and publishes articles on Mormon studies, culture, sociology, and Brigham Young University history. The next most-cited journal is *Utah Historical Quarterly* (*UHQ*), which began publishing in 1928. *UHQ* focuses on the history of Utah, which in many cases is inseparable from the history of Mormonism. In spite of not seeing the most citations across its entire journal, the *Journal of Mormon History* (1974-present) is regarded as the premier journal in Mormon studies. It is the official journal of the Mormon History Association. The *John Whitmer Historical Association Journal* (1981-present) is another important contributor to Mormon studies, focusing on early Mormon history and schismatic traditions, particularly the Community of Christ. The *Religious Educator* (2000-present) is a scholarly pedagogical journal focusing on teaching Mormon theology to youth and adults. In 2014, the annual *Mormon Studies Review* was launched, which presents scholarship and review essays on the state of Mormon studies as a field.

CURRENT TRENDS IN SCHOLARSHIP

It is beyond the scope of this essay to list every major subfield in Mormon studies, but I discuss a handful that are popular in the scholarly zeitgeist. Currently, there are several Mormon studies academic conferences, such as *Mormon Scholars in the Humanities Conference*, sometimes co-sponsored by the *Association for Mormon Letters*, the *Mormon Studies Conference*, held annually at Utah Valley University, the now biannual *Church History Symposium*, sponsored by BYU and the LDS Church, the *John Whitmer Historical Association Conference*, focusing on early Mormon history and schismatic groups, and the premier *Mormon History Association Conference*, which welcomes studies related to Mormonism and all of its different facets. Many of the books highlighted in this essay received best book or biography honors through these associations. In addition to holding annual awards for best monograph or article in their focused fields, these conferences consistently have panels and papers discussing the following topics identified below.

Works Covering the 19th Century

Until recently, Mormon studies scholarship was dominated by 19th century history. Joseph Smith, the founding prophet of the faith, and Brigham Young, Smith's successor in the LDS Church, governed the Church for almost half a century. Accordingly, most works in 19th century Mormonism rely heavily on sources and research related to these two colorful figures. In addition to the *Joseph Smith Papers* mentioned above, several

²⁰ <https://www.josephsmithpapers.org/articles/about-the-project>.

biographies have been published on Joseph Smith. Two of these have had the greatest impact: Fawn Brodie's *No Man Knows My History* and Richard Bushman's *Joseph Smith: Rough Stone Rolling*.²¹ Both books take as their titles quotations attributed to Smith. Brodie's approach to Smith was a landmark in Mormon studies. She psychoanalyzed the farm boy prophet and attempted to write about his life in an academic way, whereas older biographies came closer to polemics. According to the *Studies in Mormon History* database, *No Man* is the second-highest cited work of secondary criticism. Contemporary scholars have found multiple flaws in Brodie's methodology and conclusions, so her work has fallen out of fashion considerably, but its impact on the field cannot be overstated. The premier Smith biography for scholars today is *Rough Stone Rolling*. Of the top ten most-cited works in SMH, Bushman's critically acclaimed biography, published less than fifteen years ago, is already number five. All other works in the top ten were published before 1995 and most before 1970. It is not outside of the realm of possibility that *Rough Stone Rolling* will one day be the most-cited work of criticism in Mormon studies.

As a counterpoint to the Smith biographies, Linda King Newell and Valeen Tippetts Avery's *Mormon Enigma: Emma Hale Smith* devotes itself to telling the story of Emma Smith, the first wife of Joseph Smith.²² Emma was married to Joseph until his death, despite her opposition to her husband's polygamy. She would later sponsor their son, Joseph Smith III, as Smith's successor, leaving the LDS Church and laying the foundation for what would become the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. The book spends most of its pages on the one major issue upon which Joseph and Emma disagreed: polygamy. Indeed, relatively little space is devoted to the thirty-five years Emma lived after Joseph was murdered. Despite this, or perhaps because of it, Newell and Avery's otherwise excellent contribution to the field is the 15th most-cited book in SMH.

As with Smith, Brigham Young has been the subject of a number of biographies. The most recent is *Brigham Young: Pioneer Prophet* by John Turner.²³ Turner's work, while at times a bit tongue-in-cheek about Young's quirks, perhaps even sensational in parts, is a highly regarded biography of the religious leader with the most recent scholarship behind it. Young's most-cited biography, however, and indeed the 9th most-cited work in SMH, is *Brigham Young: American Moses* by Leonard Arrington.²⁴ Although over thirty years old, *American Moses* is still the standard Young biography in the field, in spite of its age and dated sources.

Polygamy, what Mormons officially refer to as *plural marriage*, is a major topic in 19th century Mormon studies. Practiced publically for close to forty years and privately for twenty years before that, the institution, famously called one of the "twin relics of barbarism" (alongside slavery), influenced every aspect of Mormon life in the second half of the century. While today the LDS Church consistently distances itself from the practice, which has been forbidden in the Church since 1890, the general public still commonly associates polygamy with Mormons. Historians and scholars focus on plural marriage because of its social and cultural impact on the membership of the church prior to, and immediately after, the conclusion of the practice. Of the 28,000 items in SMH, over 1,000 have the subject tag *plural marriage*. Not surprisingly the highest-cited monograph with *plural marriage* as its heading is Arrington's *Great Basin Kingdom*.²⁵ This title concentrates on the economic history of the church during its first century. It is widely considered to be the first serious academic treatment of Mormonism, ushering in what would later be known as the New Mormon History, or a history dedicated to presenting the story of the Latter-day Saints to scholars to further the academic understanding of the faith

²¹ Fawn M. Brodie, *No Man Knows My History: The Life of Joseph Smith, The Mormon Prophet* (New York: A.A. Knopf, 1945); Richard L. Bushman, *Joseph Smith: Rough Stone Rolling* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2005).

²² Linda King Newell and Valerie Tippetts Avery, *Mormon Enigma: Emma Hale Smith, Prophet's Wife, "Elect Lady," Polygamy's Foe, 1804-1879* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1984).

²³ John G. Turner, *Brigham Young: Pioneer Prophet* (Cambridge; London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2012).

²⁴ Leonard J. Arrington, *Brigham Young: American Moses* (New York: Knopf, 1985).

²⁵ Leonard J. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter-Day Saints, 1830-1900* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958).

rather than for polemical motives. The next most-cited book about polygamy is Brodie's *No Man*. The third is a relatively new player in the field: Thomas Alexander's *Mormonism in Transition: A History of the Latter-day Saints, 1890-1930*.²⁶ Alexander opens a new line of inquiry discussing the political and social changes in the Church after it denounced polygamy. It was during this period that the Church overcame its complicated relationship with the United States, and members instead sought to be seen and known as patriots and contributors of the growing national power.

Other important contributions to the study of polygamy and early Mormonism are Kathryn M. Daynes' *More Wives than One: Transformation of the Mormon Marriage System, 1840-1910* and Sarah Barringer Gordon's *The Mormon Question: Polygamy and Constitutional Conflict in Nineteenth Century America*.²⁷ Kathleen Flake lays the groundwork for 20th-century work in Mormonism and politics in her book *The Politics of American Religious Identity: The Seating of Senator Reed Smoot, Mormon Apostle*.²⁸ Flake explores the debate over Reed Smoot, a practicing polygamist and elected senator. Additionally, Brian C. Hales's three-volume work *Joseph Smith's Polygamy* is the most up-to-date source on Smith's concept and practice of plural marriage.²⁹ Hales also published *Modern Polygamy and Mormon Fundamentalism: The Generations After the Manifesto*, documenting the history of polygamy after the LDS Church banned it, including the rise of the schismatic group, the Fundamentalist Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.³⁰ The most recent contribution to polygamy in Mormon studies is Laurel Thatcher Ulrich's *A House Full of Females: Plural Marriage and Women's Rights in Early Mormonism, 1835-1870*.³¹ Ulrich uses diaries, letters, and other primary sources to tell the story of polygamy from the perspectives of the women living it in 19th-century Utah.

Outside of the biographies of prominent LDS leaders and the subject of polygamy, LDS theology—particularly its growth over time—and the general Utah period of the 19th-century Church has also received significant attention. For the Utah period of 19th-century Mormonism, Arrington's *Great Basin Kingdom* and Alexander's *Mormonism in Transition*, both discussed above, are still the standouts in quality and citations. Spencer Fluhman's *A Peculiar People: Anti-Mormonism and the Making of Religion in Nineteenth-Century America* and Patrick Mason's *The Mormon Menace: Violence and Anti-Mormonism in the Postbellum South* also discuss public perception of Mormonism in the 19th century.³²

Aside from titles already mentioned above, several important books have scrutinized LDS theology. Thomas F. O'Dea published *The Mormons* in 1957, reviewing various religious practices of the Mormons and how they relate to, are contrasted by, or are otherwise contextualized by American Christianity.³³ Sterling McMurrin continued this trajectory ten years later with *The Theological Foundations of the Mormon Religion*.³⁴ Grant Underwood focused his work *The Millenarian World of Early Mormonism* on the millenarian theology of

²⁶ Thomas G. Alexander, *Mormonism in Transition: A History of the Latter-Day Saints, 1890-1930* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986).

²⁷ Kathryn M. Daynes, *More Wives than One: Transformation of the Mormon Marriage System, 1840-1910* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2001); Sarah Barringer Gordon, *The Mormon Question: Polygamy and Constitutional Conflict in Nineteenth-Century America* (Studies in Legal History; Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002).

²⁸ Kathleen Flake, *The Politics of American Religious Identity: The Seating of Senator Reed Smoot, Mormon Apostle* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004).

²⁹ Brian C. Hales, *Joseph Smith's Polygamy*, 3 vols. (Draper, UT: Greg Kofford Books, 2013).

³⁰ Brian C. Hales, *Modern Polygamy and Mormon Fundamentalism: The Generations after the Manifesto* (Salt Lake City: Greg Kofford Books, 2006).

³¹ Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, *A House Full of Females: Plural Marriage and Women's Rights in Early Mormonism, 1835-1870* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2017).

³² J. Spencer Fluhman, *A Peculiar People: Anti-Mormonism and the Making of Religion in Nineteenth-Century America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012); Patrick Q. Mason, *The Mormon Menace: Violence and Anti-Mormonism in the Postbellum South* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2011).

³³ Thomas F. O'Dea, *The Mormons* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1957).

³⁴ Sterling M. McMurrin, *The Theological Foundations of the Mormon Religion* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1965).

early Mormons in the context of other American religious traditions.³⁵ One final important contribution is Charles R. Harrell's *This is My Doctrine: The Development of Mormon Theology*.³⁶

Works Covering the 20th and 21st Centuries

Scholarship concentrating on the last 100 years of LDS history and culture tends to fall into the following major categories: LDS Church growth, public perception of Mormons, race and the LDS Church, women's studies, and interfaith dialogue. During the 20th century, there was significant growth in Church membership reaching quickly the levels of one million, two million, and eventually ten million global marks in the latter half of the century. Gregory A. Prince's and William Roberts Wright's *David O. McKay and the Rise of Modern Mormonism* tracks the shifts in Mormon leadership during the early period of this growth, including the consolidation of authority from radical pioneers in the wilderness to conservative capitalists in mainstream America.³⁷ J.B. Haws's *Mormon Image in the American Mind: Fifty Years of Public Perception* documents the American perceptions of the Church and its members as they increasingly found themselves in the cultural spotlight, including myths and common misconceptions.³⁸

Due to the Church's restriction on priesthood and temple ordinances for any persons of African descent until 1978, it goes without saying that the LDS church has had a complex history of race relations. The most-cited work in SMH regarding the subject of race is Armand L. Mauss' *All Abraham's Children: Changing Mormon Conceptions of Race and Lineage*.³⁹ More recently, W. Paul Reeve published his study of the Church and its complex relationship with ethnicity and race in *Religion of a Different Color: Race and the Mormon Struggle for Whiteness*.⁴⁰ Reeve discusses the 19th-century tactic used by non-Mormons to define LDS church members as non-white in an effort to justify their poor treatment and violence toward Mormons before the Utah period. The LDS Church responded through various means to demonstrate their own whiteness, including what would later be known as the priesthood ban. Another important work, Russell W. Stevenson's *For the Cause of Righteousness: A Global History of Blacks and Mormonism*, presents the story of LDS race relations and policies through documents and oral histories.⁴¹ Finally, Jared Farmer's *On Zion's Mount: Mormons, Indians, and the American Landscape* focuses on the relationship between the Mormon settlers of Utah and the Native Americans in the region.⁴² While some of these other studies on race and Mormonism touch on the Church's cultural and theological connection to indigenous populations (particularly North and South American and Pacific Islanders), Farmer concentrates primarily upon tribes in the Utah basin and colonization under Brigham Young.⁴³

There has been a recent burgeoning interest in Mormon women's studies. Beginning with *Sisters in Spirit: Mormon Women in Historical and Cultural Perspective*, most Mormon women's studies volumes have been

³⁵ Grant Underwood, *The Millenarian World of Early Mormonism* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993).

³⁶ Charles B. Harrell, *This Is My Doctrine: The Development of Mormon Theology* (Salt Lake City: Greg Kofford Books, 2011).

³⁷ Gregory A. Prince and William Robert Wright, *David O. McKay and the Rise of Modern Mormonism* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2005).

³⁸ J. B. Haws, *The Mormon Image in the American Mind: Fifty Years of Public Perception* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2013).

³⁹ Armand L. Mauss, *All Abraham's Children: Changing Mormon Conceptions of Race and Lineage* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2003).

⁴⁰ W. Paul Reeve, *Religion of a Different Color: Race and the Mormon Struggle for Whiteness* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015).

⁴¹ Russell W. Stevenson, *For the Cause of Righteousness: A Global History of Blacks and Mormonism, 1830-2013* (Draper, UT: Greg Kofford Books, 2014).

⁴² Jared Farmer, *On Zion's Mount: Mormons, Indians, and the American Landscape* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008).

⁴³ The Book of Mormon maintains that some of the ancestors of Native Americans were a group of trans-oceanic Jewish refugees who fled Jerusalem during the time of Nebuchadnezzar.

collections of essays by major Mormon studies scholars on a variety of Mormon women's experiences.⁴⁴ In 2016, two of these works were published: *Women and Mormonism: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives* and *Mormon Feminism: Essential Writings*.⁴⁵ Most recently *Mormon Women's History: Beyond Biography* attempts to broaden the conversation surrounding Mormon women to include more than just biographies.⁴⁶

To conclude this essay, I address another current publishing trend: interfaith dialogue and comparative religious studies. Donald W. Musser and David L. Paulsen published *Mormonism in Dialogue with Contemporary Christian Theologies*.⁴⁷ Stephen H. Webb issued a call to Mormons and non-Mormons to be more understanding of each other in his *Mormon Christianity: What Other Christians Can Learn from the Latter-day Saints*.⁴⁸ Later, Webb co-authored another work with Alonzo L. Gaskill: *Catholic and Mormon: A Theological Conversation*.⁴⁹ Other anthologies on Mormons in dialogue with Christians include *Talking Doctrine: Mormons and Evangelicals in Conversation* and the dialogue between Gerald R. McDermott and Robert L. Millet, published as *Claiming Christ: A Mormon-Evangelical Debate*.⁵⁰

CONCLUSION

The field of Mormon studies continues to grow. In the past twenty-five years there has been a dramatic increase in the number of journals and imprints that have published Mormon studies materials directed at an academic audience. While there are still polemical works being published, most scholarly studies of Mormonism are more concerned with understanding the various groups in the tradition than in justifying or attacking their history and theology. History continues to dominate this scholarly landscape, but there has also been significant development in sociology, literary studies, women studies, and theology. One of the great tasks of Mormon studies scholars in the 21st century is to dive into more global studies of Mormonism, examining the growth and history of the various schismatic groups in countries around the world.

⁴⁴ Maureen Ursenbach Beecher and Lavina Fielding Anderson, *Sisters in Spirit: Mormon Women in Historical and Cultural Perspective* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987).

⁴⁵ Kate Holbrook and Matthew Burton Bowman, eds., *Women and Mormonism: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives* (Salt Lake City: The University of Utah Press, 2016); Joanna Brooks, Rachel Hunt Steenblik, and Hannah Wheelwright, eds., *Mormon Feminism: Essential Writings* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2016).

⁴⁶ Rachel Cope et al., *Mormon Women's History: Beyond Biography* (Fairleigh Dickinson University Press Mormon Studies Series; Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2017).

⁴⁷ David L. Paulsen and Donald W. Musser, eds., *Mormonism in Dialogue with Contemporary Christian Theologies* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 2007).

⁴⁸ Stephen H. Webb, *Mormon Christianity: What Other Christians Can Learn From the Latter-Day Saints* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2013).

⁴⁹ Stephen H. Webb and Alonzo L. Gaskill, *Catholic and Mormon: A Theological Conversation* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2015).

⁵⁰ Richard J. Mouw and Robert L. Millet, eds., *Talking Doctrine: Mormons and Evangelicals in Conversation* (Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 2015); Robert L. Millet and Gerald R. McDermott, *Claiming Christ: A Mormon-Evangelical Debate* (Grand Rapids, MI: Brazos Press, 2007).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Alexander, Thomas G. *Mormonism in Transition: A History of the Latter-Day Saints, 1890-1930*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986.
- Allen, James B. *Studies in Mormon History, 1830-1997: An Indexed Bibliography*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2000.
- Arrington, Leonard J. *Brigham Young: American Moses*. New York: Knopf, 1985.
- . *Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter-Day Saints, 1830-1900*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958.
- Barlow, Philip L. *Mormons and the Bible: The Place of the Latter-Day Saints in American Religion*. Religion in America Series. New York: Oxford University Press, 1991.
- Beecher, Maureen Ursenbach, and Lavina Fielding Anderson. *Sisters in Spirit: Mormon Women in Historical and Cultural Perspective*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987.
- Bowman, Matthew Burton. *The Mormon People: The Making of an American Faith*. New York: Random House, 2012.
- Brodie, Fawn M. *No Man Knows My History: The Life of Joseph Smith, The Mormon Prophet*. New York: A.A. Knopf, 1945.
- Brooks, Joanna, Rachel Hunt Steenblik, and Hannah Wheelwright, eds. *Mormon Feminism: Essential Writings*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2016.
- Bushman, Richard L. *Joseph Smith: Rough Stone Rolling*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2005.
- . *Mormonism: A Very Short Introduction*. Very Short Introductions 183. New York: Oxford University Press, 2008.
- Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, ed. *True To The Faith: A Gospel Reference*. Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, 2004.
- Cope, Rachel, Amy Easton-Flake, Keith A. Erekson, and Lisa Olsen Tait. *Mormon Women's History: Beyond Biography*. Fairleigh Dickinson University Press Mormon Studies Series. Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2017.
- Daynes, Kathryn M. *More Wives than One: Transformation of the Mormon Marriage System, 1840-1910*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2001.
- Farmer, Jared. *On Zion's Mount: Mormons, Indians, and the American Landscape*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008.
- Flake, Kathleen. *The Politics of American Religious Identity: The Seating of Senator Reed Smoot, Mormon Apostle*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004.
- Fruhman, J. Spencer. *A Peculiar People: Anti-Mormonism and the Making of Religion in Nineteenth-Century America*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012.
- Givens, Terryl. *By the Hand of Mormon: The American Scripture That Launched a New World Religion*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2002.
- Givens, Terryl, and Philip L. Barlow. *The Oxford Handbook of Mormonism*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2015.
- Givens, Terryl, Reid L. Neilson, and Michelle Taormina. *The Columbia Sourcebook of Mormons in the United States*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2014.
- Gordon, Sarah Barringer. *The Mormon Question: Polygamy and Constitutional Conflict in Nineteenth-Century America*. Studies in Legal History. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002.
- Gutjahr, Paul C. *The Book of Mormon: A Biography*. Lives of Great Religious Books. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2012.
- Hales, Brian C. *Joseph Smith's Polygamy*. 3 vols. Draper, UT: Greg Kofford Books, 2013.
- . *Modern Polygamy and Mormon Fundamentalism: The Generations after the Manifesto*. Salt Lake City: Greg Kofford Books, 2006.
- Hardy, Grant. *The Book of Mormon: Another Testament of Jesus Christ, Maxwell Institute Study Edition*. Provo, UT:

- Neal A. Maxwell Institute, BYU Religious Studies Center, 2018.
- . *Understanding the Book of Mormon: A Reader's Guide*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2010.
- Harrell, Charles B. *This Is My Doctrine: The Development of Mormon Theology*. Salt Lake City: Greg Kofford Books, 2011.
- Hauglid, Brian M. *A Textual History of the Book of Abraham: Manuscripts and Editions*. Studies in the Book of Abraham. Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press, 2011.
- Haws, J. B. *The Mormon Image in the American Mind: Fifty Years of Public Perception*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2013.
- Holbrook, Kate, and Matthew Burton Bowman, eds. *Women and Mormonism: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives*. Salt Lake City: The University of Utah Press, 2016.
- Ludlow, Daniel H. *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*. New York: Macmillan, 1992.
- Mason, Patrick Q. *The Mormon Menace: Violence and Anti-Mormonism in the Postbellum South*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2011.
- Mauss, Armand L. *All Abraham's Children: Changing Mormon Conceptions of Race and Lineage*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2003.
- McMurrin, Sterling M. *The Theological Foundations of the Mormon Religion*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1965.
- Millet, Robert L., and Gerald R. McDermott. *Claiming Christ: A Mormon-Evangelical Debate*. Grand Rapids, MI: Brazos Press, 2007.
- Mouw, Richard J., and Robert L. Millet, eds. *Talking Doctrine: Mormons and Evangelicals in Conversation*. Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 2015.
- Newell, Linda King, and Valeen Tippetts Avery. *Mormon Enigma: Emma Hale Smith, Prophet's Wife, "Elect Lady," Polygamy's Foe, 1804-1879*. Garden City: Doubleday, 1984.
- O'Dea, Thomas F. *The Mormons*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1957.
- Paulsen, David L., and Donald W. Musser, eds. *Mormonism in Dialogue with Contemporary Christian Theologies*. Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 2007.
- Prince, Gregory A., and William Robert Wright. *David O. McKay and the Rise of Modern Mormonism*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2005.
- Reeve, W. Paul. *Religion of a Different Color: Race and the Mormon Struggle for Whiteness*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2015.
- Reeve, W. Paul, and Ardis E. Parshall. *Mormonism: A Historical Encyclopedia*. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2010.
- Shippo, Jan. *Mormonism: The Story of a New Religious Tradition*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1985.
- Skousen, Royal. *The Book of Mormon: The Earliest Text*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009.
- Smith, Joseph. *The Book of Mormon*. Penguin Classics. New York: Penguin Books, 2008.
- Stevenson, Russell W. *For the Cause of Righteousness: A Global History of Blacks and Mormonism, 1830-2013*. Draper, UT: Greg Kofford Books, 2014.
- Turner, John G. *Brigham Young, Pioneer Prophet*. Cambridge; London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2012.
- Ulrich, Laurel Thatcher. *A House Full of Females: Plural Marriage and Women's Rights in Early Mormonism, 1835-1870*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2017.
- Underwood, Grant. *The Millenarian World of Early Mormonism*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993.
- Webb, Stephen H. *Mormon Christianity: What Other Christians Can Learn From the Latter-Day Saints*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2013.
- Webb, Stephen H., and Alonzo L. Gaskill. *Catholic and Mormon: A Theological Conversation*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2015.

Pushing the Margins: Women of Color and Intersectionality in LIS

Chou, Rose L., ed. *Pushing the Margins: Women of Color and Intersectionality in LIS*. Sacramento, CA: Library Juice Press, 2018. 488 pp. \$41.00. Paperback. ISBN: 97816340000529.

Pushing the Margins: Women of Color and Intersectionality in LIS is a potent and well-presented resource that serves as a guide into the world of marginality and oppression through the lens of intersectionality for Women of Color (WOC). The book is “a monograph that allows for conversations to pivot away from the traditional diversity paradigm by applying an explicit feminist and intersectional framework” (8). The various contributing author essays take on the challenge of oppression that Women of Color who have been historically overlooked in the Library and Information Science field have faced, and the contributors provide an opportunity long overdue to share their collective scholastic knowledge. *Pushing the Margins* is a safe space that allows for true expression of identity along with experiences encountered in a field that is overwhelmingly white, and the collection invites readers to obtain a greater understanding of how those challenges were met. The essays are living documents from Women of Color that can be used to break down barriers, provide real time reflections, and serve, as the editors explain, as “a platform for others who are interested in researching and writing about intersectionality within LIS” (6). While the intended audience of this resource is professionals in the Library and Information Science field, these principles can be adopted by other professional fields dealing with similar challenges.

The strengths of *Pushing the Margins* include not only the powerful essays themselves, but also the manner in which the editors organized the presentation of the content. Rose L. Chou and Annie Pho, both academic librarians and former Hack Library School editors, provide as Women of Color a window into their interpretation of intersectionality. They create an intentional path into the communal space where crucial dialogue can take place, while maintaining a necessary distance and allowing the contributing authors’ words to speak. For example, the editors write, “Within the chapters, the authors have chosen to identify, name, and capitalize social identities as they saw fit, and the only time that we tried to enforce edits was to change cisnormative language” (11). Use of personal voice and experience is a theme throughout the essays, enhanced by outstanding scholarship, a combination which makes this a refreshing read. The intentional use of the “consciousness-raising” technique is an excellent choice, as each essay shines a light on this ongoing, powerful, and diverse work, challenging readers to engage in their own journey of deep thought combined with action.

The choice to focus only on public services, though necessary to keep the book from becoming unwieldy, is disappointing. This decision mutes the voices and experiences of WOC who are part of the LIS world of cataloging and technical services, for example. Professionals in technical services share similarities but have unique challenges. I found hope in the acknowledgement of this missing segment when the editors concede, “We recognize we are missing many voices in this volume, but our hope is that this book is a beginning to many more works on examining the complexities of being a WOC working in LIS” (30).

It is clear that the editors’ and contributing authors’ goals have been achieved. Each clearly defines the focus as providing a safe space for WOC to share their research and encounters with oppression in ways that created and sustained action fueled by a sense of community. The book’s call to action encourages readers to break down the barriers of marginalization that are reinforced in silence. As LaVerne Gray, American

Library Association Spectrum Doctoral Fellow and contributing author, writes, “The text will not lay blame on the numerically dominant White professionals or assume support networks for Black and women of color librarians. However, the text seeks to reveal how macro-discriminatory and oppressive systems reinforce marginality and limit the use of voice” (148). This silence includes a gap in literature that the editors and authors have recognized needs to be addressed. With this volume, the gap is filled with excellent resources that can aid in a librarian’s discussion within his or her own institution and beyond.

The editors’ presentation of the essays is clearly explained as providing a space for expression according to the essays’ common themes. Thus, connected by way of intersectionality, they together acknowledge, “There is no one practical solution that could truly address the systemic underpinnings of oppression that frame our society at large and trickle into how libraries and archives operate” (4). In addition to providing this space for calling out, the essays unveil recent scholarly literature that discusses these issues. Through their clear, and at times painful, writing, these professional women share their interconnected findings that only reinforce the repeating theme of oppression and marginalization.

The volume is specifically focused on the discussion of intersectionality in the LIS field. As the editors write, “Intersectionality is a tool for studying, understanding, and responding to the ways in which axes of identities intersect and how these intersections contribute to unique experiences of oppression and privilege” (5). There is no confusing the topic, nor its audience. The goal is not to be objective in the approach to oppression and marginality, but instead to be, as the editors express, “unapologetic in centering women of color and in making the statement that above all else, we matter, our experiences are valid, and that we will be heard” (12). This is a must-read for all who want to listen to Women of Color and their unique prophetic lens in the LIS field.

Pushing the Margins: Women of Color and Intersectionality in LIS is a worthwhile addition to any library’s collection and is recommended without reservation as a resource for every LIS professional.

Ondrea M. Murphy
Cataloging and Collection Development Librarian
Delaware State University
Dover, Delaware

Inquiry and Research: A Relational Approach in the Classroom

Reale, Michelle. *Inquiry and Research: A Relational Approach in the Classroom*. Chicago: ALA Editions, 2019. 136 pp. \$56.00. Paperback. ISBN: 0838917848.

How can we as librarians ignite curiosity and wonder in researchers? In her third book, Michelle Reale, Associate Professor and Access Services and Outreach Librarian at Arcadia University, explores how the age-old concept of research can be expanded to include inquiry. She begins this exploration by naming the power of curiosity and its potential to propel research. Sadly, many times, because of expediency or impatience, researchers often bypass this stage and move directly to identifying resources to inform their research. By skipping this step, they miss the opportunity to question and wonder about their research query, and as a result, their final product suffers. Reale argues that librarians should intentionally reclaim this vital part of the research process by partnering with students and professors to promote the value of patiently engaging the research process and thereby establish meaningful relationships with researchers. This will likely require all involved to change the ways that they have traditionally understood research and their roles therein; however, this effort will be worth the effort in the long run, because researchers will produce a better product, will gain invaluable transferrable skills, and will be empowered in the process. It will also require all to be reflective and open to transformation during the research process.

Throughout the book, Reale engages with numerous educational theorists, exploring how concepts like questioning pedagogy, learning-center learning, reflective teaching, and inquiry-based approaches can inform and transform the ways that librarians approach information literacy instruction in its different forms, both inside the classroom and in the library. Each chapter of the book contains helpful suggestions and relevant anecdotes from the author's own experience as a teaching librarian. At the end of each chapter, there are strategies that relate to the chapter's topic and provide helpful tips and suggestions for implementing the topic, while also offering nuggets of wisdom and words of caution from a seasoned practitioner. The overall structure moves from a broad exploration of the role of inquiry in research to a much more focused examination of the ways it can be applied to specific educational contexts and practices.

In many ways, this small text accomplishes a lot. The book is based on the author's reflection on her experience, but it is practical and approachable. She is knowledgeable about how different educational and information behavior theories inform and support her argument. Her hope for the book is that it "will be the catalyst for many to take the first step in changing the approach to research from a tools-based focus to one in which thinking, curiosity, and the search for questions (not answers—at least initially) is the driving force in research" (xi). Her approach is focused on "the need to reorient ourselves to a new way of teaching through our own reflection and adaptive stance of inquiry and the need to be more student centered with our goals" (115). By exploring the different ways librarians can integrate these new ways of being and doing into our approaches to information literacy, Reale offers concrete suggestions and possibilities for teaching librarians, while acknowledging the potential difficulties and resistance that may arise from implementing some or all of

her suggestions. She explores the different ways inquiry can be integrated into the research process, namely through particular approaches in classroom instruction, one-on-one consultations, and various assignments. Her humility and openness throughout the book make her arguments even more persuasive. If anything, the book could be expanded and offer more thorough exploration of the role of inquiry in research. Nevertheless, the current publication is sufficient and satisfying.

This text is most appropriate for librarians who are responsible for instruction, reference, and research, and it intersects well with key ACRL Framework principles, particularly the emphasis on the constructed nature of knowledge and research as inquiry. While it was likely written for librarians who work with undergraduates, given the author's current position and experience, the book is relevant for theological librarians in seminaries and theological and divinity schools. Encouraging researchers to ask questions and allow their curiosity and sense of wonder to inform their research process is a valuable reminder and challenge for researchers at any stage. This commitment to wonder and the spirit of inquiry has theological promise and potential. As theological librarians participate in the formation of present and future faith leaders, promoting the value of wonder and the spirit of inquiry cannot be overstated as an invaluable skill. Also, our role as reflective, humble practitioners is a crucial part of this process. Overall, this work is highly recommended to anyone who is engaged in teaching and research as a librarian.

Daniel Smith, MTS, MA, MSLIS
The Styberg Library
Garrett-Evangelical Theological Seminary
Evanston, Illinois

A Biblical Hebrew Reference Grammar

Van der Merwe, Christo H. J., Jacobus A. Naudé, and Jan H. Kroeze.
A Biblical Hebrew Reference Grammar. Second Edition. London:
 Bloomsbury T & T Clark, 2017. pp. xxxiv, 605. \$47.95. Paperback.
 ISBN: 9780567663337

The first edition of van der Merwe, Naudé, and Kroeze's *A Biblical Hebrew Reference Grammar* (Sheffield Academic Press, 1999) was a great tool for the intermediate student of Biblical Hebrew. This edition continues offering an easy reference for Hebrew grammar and syntax. The focus of the grammar is the Masoretic Text of the Bible to the exclusion of Hebrew inscriptions, the Dead Sea Scrolls, and later Hebrew texts. There are also occasional references to historical reconstructions, but they are never treated systematically in the grammar. The biggest difference between this second edition and the first is more inclusion of modern linguistic categories. Traditional categories are still kept, but when these traditional terms lead to confusion, modern linguistic ones are chosen (xxxii). The authors strive, however, to present "a solution-oriented source of grammatical information to users which is as theory neutral as possible" (xxxii).

This book stands out for its interaction with and incorporation of cutting-edge linguistics. One standout way that this is presented in the grammar is in Chapter 3, "Key Terms and Concepts," where the authors lay out their methodology and an overview of what grammar is. This chapter is helpful, particularly for the intermediate student, as it helps the reader think about how to put the pieces of beginning Hebrew grammar together to paint a broader picture of the language. Another obvious place to see the pronounced influence of modern linguistics on the grammar is in the detailed and clear glossary in the back of the book. In the content of the grammar, linguistics has also shaped the way that the syntax of the verb has been presented. The analysis of verbal conjugations, verb chains and sequences, and finite and non-finite verbs have all been clarified with categories from modern syntax. Specifically, the section on the verbal conjugations and how tense and aspect are encoded in Hebrew grammar is one of the clearest sections on verbal conjugations I have encountered. The section balances clarity of explanation without the oversimplification that is often found in many Hebrew grammars written for beginning students.

Further application of modern linguistics to Hebrew grammar is found in the way the authors present spatial prepositions. On the one hand, the authors do not present a systematic presentation of the linguistic terminology of "Trajector" (the clause being modified) and "Landmark" (the object of the preposition). On the other hand, they have the terminology well defined in the glossary, and after reading the different descriptions of how those terms apply to different prepositions, the meaning is clear. The grammar would benefit, though, from a more systematic explanation of the spatial terminology used in description of these prepositions. Also, it should be pointed out that it is only the spatial uses of the prepositions that have linguistic descriptions; the non-spatial prepositions are treated in a manner commonly found in more traditional grammars.

One other section of note is the consideration of Hebrew word order. This is another place where the grammar illustrates the usefulness of modern linguistics in providing clear explanations and clear distinctions that help further scholars' understanding of Hebrew grammar. The basic distinction between "marked" and "unmarked" is foundational for all discussion of word order. For Van der Merwe, et al., a marked construction is anything that precedes the verb. Though the authors are not the first to make this distinction, they helpfully apply it to explain these syntactical constructions to the intermediate student.

Unfortunately, linguistic analysis of Hebrew morphology has received the same intense focus as syntax has—and this book also reflects such comparative lack of interest. The morphology sections of this work are adequate. They are generally accurate and helpful, but they do not reach the same competency as Bauer and Leander or Gesenius’s presentation.¹ One frustrating aspect of this presentation is that when presenting ungrammatical forms, the authors do not indicate them as such. For example, the authors write:

יָמַר instead of יָמַר

This layout suffers from requiring the reader to switch reading directions in the midst of the line, which adds to the confusion and lack of clarity. Traditionally, ungrammatical forms are identified with two asterisks; their absence in this work is surprising.

Hebrew nouns can be classified by vocal patterns that have discernible semantic value, yet the authors skip over them. The intermediate student is in the ideal position to start learning these patterns, not only for her understanding of grammar, but also for the expansion of her vocabulary. Waltke and O’Connor include a section on noun patterns, as do the classic reference grammars of Hebrew.² In addition to this, several places throughout the grammar point to a historical reconstruction of the Hebrew language, but there is no place where these are presented systematically or where the authors state the rules of this reconstruction to the student.

Some of the terminology used is a bit confusing. The authors use the term “other words” because “the term ‘particle’ is ambiguous” (322). They include the following categories in “other words”: prepositions, conjunctions, adverbs, predictors of existence, interrogatives, discourse markers, interjections, and oaths. This term, however, is even less descriptive and more ambiguous than the traditional categories used by other reference grammars. In addition, the authors use the term “left dislocation” to refer to clauses or nouns that are placed at the beginning of the sentence or clause and then referred to with a pronoun in the main body of the sentence or clause. As Hebrew is written right to left, these terms are not *left* dislocated, they are actually *right* dislocated. This term is neither illuminating nor descriptive of the grammatical feature it labels. However, the distinction that the authors make between “fronting” and “left dislocation” is an important and helpful distinction, despite the terminology.³

One final problem with this grammar is the citation of statistics for how many times a preposition, particle, or conjunction occurs in the Hebrew Bible. The citation of the number itself is meaningless without context. When dealing with the *waw*, for example, they provide the statistics of the *waw* in relation to the total number of words in the Hebrew Bible, which is slightly more helpful, but this is the only example in the book of the relative value. On the other end of the spectrum, the authors only cite the occurrences of the prepositions אֶת and עַם in the Pentateuch, which skews these raw numbers, rendering them with little importance.⁴

¹ Hans Bauer and Pontus Leander, *Grammatik des biblisch-Aramäischen* (Halle/Saale: Max Niemeyer, 1927); Wilhelm Gesenius, *Gesenius’ Hebrew Grammar*, ed. Emil Kautzsch, trans. Arthur Ernest Cowley, 2nd English ed. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1910).

² Bruce K. Waltke and Michael O’Connor, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1990).

³ The term fronting describes the placing of an element at the beginning of the sentence to focus on its importance. The authors give the following example: “*Me (and no-one else)* has the Lord sent to anoint you as king” (1 Sam 15:1 [*Me* as the direct object]). For left dislocation they give this example “*Everything I am commanding you today, that* you must take care to do” (Deut. 13:1). Fronting is moving constituent parts to the front of the sentence, while left dislocation is a clause constituent that is placed outside the clause, and then referred to with a pronoun or reference. See pages 492 and 493.

⁴ It is also problematic that these two prepositions are only illustrated with examples found in the Pentateuch. A reference grammar of this scope should cover the full range of the corpus involved.

Despite the negative features noted in this review, this work is an excellent contribution to Hebrew grammar. Moreover, it is an indispensable reference tool for intermediate students, translators, and exegetes. The clarity of explanation and distillation of the most important aspects of Hebrew grammar is praiseworthy, as is the introduction of modern linguistic terminology and resources. This is an important addition to any library that services students who are moving beyond the basics of Hebrew grammar.

Shawn Virgil Goodwin
Metadata Control Analyst
ATLA
Chicago, IL

The initial printing of this review had printed the Hebrew words left to right, rather than the normal right to left order of the Hebrew writing system. This has been corrected.

The Religion and Theology Student Writer's Manual and Reader's Guide

Hopko, Joel, Gregory M. Scott, and Stephen M. Garrison. *The Religion and Theology Student Writer's Manual and Reader's Guide*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2018. 195pp. \$34.00. ISBN 978-1538100943.

Gregory M. Scott and Stephen M. Garrison have written a number of student writer's manuals, though this volume is their first foray into religion and theology. In 1995 they published *The Political Science Student Writer's Manual* bringing together the experience of Scott as Professor (now emeritus) of Political Science and Garrison as Professor of English and Creative Writing (both from the University of Central Oklahoma). The retitled *The Political Science Student Writer's Manual and Reader's Guide* is now in its 8th edition (2016). Subsequently they have addressed other disciplines, bringing in subject specialists to coauthor with them. The current publisher has available their manuals in sociology (2016), psychology (2018), and philosophy (2017), although previous endeavors have also covered other disciplines. For their religion and theology manual, they have collaborated with Joel Hopko, coordinator of the Jornada de Fe for the Archdiocese of Santa Fe. Hopko is also the Region XIII representative of the National Association for Lay Ministry.

This book consists of four parts divided into twelve chapters, with a target audience of undergraduate students (vii) and, to a lesser extent, their instructors (ix). The first part focuses on reading and writing in introductory religion and theology courses, and the second seeks to build on the first in developing scholarly skills. Part three considers some dimensions of the study of religion, and part four envisions a pivot to theology, the study of scriptures, and homiletics and liturgics. The parts are not equal in length or depth, with the first comprising half the work (103 pages) and the other three being 37, 23, and 18 pages, respectively. The work includes both brief (iii) and detailed (iv-vii) tables of contents, a glossary of religious and theological terms (184-7), a reference list (188-90), and an index (191-5).

The book includes forty-four "Read & Write" exercises, one for each chapter subsection. These exercises range widely from the relatively brief and manageable to the surprisingly long and complex. "Freewrite" (31) and "Correct a Sentence Fragment" (45), for example, are brief and manageable tasks that students might even explore on their own. Most exercises in the volume, however, are much more expansive and complex assignments, with many requiring outside research and significant time. One particularly curious example is "Explore Doctrinal Options for the Separation of Church and State" (19, 20), in which students are asked to "find more information about Pastafarian doctrine on a variety of websites" and write an essay of up to ten pages considering what constitutes the establishment of religion and what qualifies as legitimate religion and religious doctrine. This is a fairly wide-ranging and complex task for just the fifth exercise a student reading this manual would encounter. While the overall plan of the book tries to scaffold learning, this strategy is not always consistent in application. The book repeats the idea that writing is the best method of learning (vii, 21), but without proper guidance, support, and evaluation, it is a stretch to imagine that many of these exercises will result in significant learning for students on their own.

The work is, at root, a writer's manual, and the strengths of the book are the chapters on writing (Chapters 2 and 3), which give attention to motivation, an overview of the writing process, and detailed advice on mechanics, formatting, and citation. The advice is rigorous ("follow the directions in this manual exactly" [66]), cautionary ("language errors spread doubt like a virus" [44]), and detailed ("do not overuse semicolons" [59]).

These sections may provide novice writers with detailed advice on common writing errors. It is unfortunate that the citation section of Chapter 3 makes consistent reference to the 16th edition of the *Chicago Manual of Style* (2010). While the differences are likely minimal, one would expect a 2018 imprint to refer to the current, 17th edition (2017) of the style manual.

The book is also a reading guide, but this is more of a mixed bag. The first chapter and section 6.1 provide helpful guidance for readers new to the disciplines of religion and theology. Other sections, especially Chapter 8 (“Study the History of Religion”), tend to interpret passages for the reader and generalize from limited information in ways that are less helpful. This may be a function of space; an eight-page chapter is a tight fit to introduce even parts of the origins and histories of religion as well as comparative religion.

The weakest part of the manual is Chapter 4: “Become Familiar with Quality Information Sources.” It advises students to find quality information sources through five means: The American Academy of Religion website, The Society of Biblical Literature website, dissertations and theses (especially the CRL search engine), studies by think tanks, and the Library of Congress website. The list of sources presented here is disappointing for its glaring omissions. Mentioning neither monographs, journal literature, nor subject-specific reference works, the authors bypass a student’s local institution completely in finding resources for *introductory* religion and theology courses. Although there are references at other points about consulting “a library to see how much published work on your issue exists” (26) and moving on from *general* encyclopedias “to academic articles that you will find by following links on your college library’s web page” (133), there is no real guidance on how to effectively search and navigate a library catalog, an academic database, or even Google Scholar.

The five “quality information sources” highlighted by Chapter 4 are also noteworthy (and perplexing) for the sources they actually include. The AAR and SBL websites provide a lot of information about their respective memberships, publications, and related topics. They are effective for discovering information about the *study* of religion and biblical literature, but they are not (and not designed to be) good sources of quality information *about* religion and biblical literature themselves. Theses and dissertations are seldom advisable information sources for introductory students for various reasons: the best bits are often eventually published elsewhere in a more usable form and, given their nature and typical length, they are usually not user-friendly sources. The advice to conduct a “Google search on ‘think tanks’” (101) to discover quality information is as bizarre as it is irresponsible, especially for introductory students. Advanced students, adept at recognizing and filtering out bias, *may* find valuable reports made available by think tanks, but novice students should probably avoid private research institutes of unknown provenance and agenda. This think tank section is one of the shortest in the book and is (thankfully) contradicted by instruction later in the book about evaluating resources (138). Finally, visiting the Library of Congress website as a source of quality information is vastly more sound advice, but it still assumes a level of information and digital literacy that many undergraduates in introductory courses have yet to attain. Access is a concern here, too, for non-digitized resources; they may not be held locally. This entire section should either be drastically restructured or omitted altogether; this is a writer’s manual and reading guide, and so it could merely point readers to quality research manuals and guides.

In its present form, this book is not recommended for purchase; its deficiencies outweigh its strengths. The chapters on writing could benefit students seeking a resource in that area, but there is likely very little in them for which an equivalent might not be easily located. The care and detail of these sections only highlight some of the disorder and confusion in others. While the chapter on finding quality information sources is certainly the low point, other sections have their own problems. It is likely that the work in its present form is trying to do too many things to do them all adequately and cohesively. Chapter 5 provides cursory information about conducting interviews, focus groups, case studies, and surveys on religious topics, but the book later acknowledges that most “college papers will be based on your use of secondary sources” (133). Chapter 6 encompasses only ten pages but purports to teach students to read scholarship, critique an academic article,

write a book review, and write a literature review. Many of the later chapters suffer from the same dynamic, resulting in potential confusion, almost certain oversimplification, and poorly considered material. The book concludes with the 44th “Read & Write” exercise: “Select an actual person whom you love or who you know is well loved. Write a homily in which you imagine that person is departed.”

Ryan Shrauner
Librarian
Baptist Seminary of Kentucky
Georgetown and Louisville, Kentucky