

## GRANVILLE SHARP: A MODEL OF EVANGELICAL SCHOLARSHIP AND SOCIAL ACTIVISM

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Granville Sharp is widely known in evangelical circles for his famous Greek rule that has been used to defend the deity of Christ in various NT passages. Outside of evangelical circles, Sharp is better known as the man who did for England what Abraham Lincoln did for America. He was the prime mover in the abolition of slavery in England. One might even say that he was the force behind Wilberforce. But these two foci are only the tip of the iceberg in this man's remarkable life. He launched a Bible society, saved a denomination from annihilation, and even founded a nation. Such activities were matched only by his literary efforts. His writings covered a vast array of topics—from philology and textual criticism to theology, music, and social causes, especially the cause of freedom for the black slave. At all times Sharp's views of human dignity and freedom were grounded in Scripture. Consequently his writings gave theological articulation to the causes of liberty in three American wars: the Revolutionary War, the War of 1812, and the Civil War.

Why is this paper needed?<sup>1</sup> For three reasons: (1) Granville Sharp's name is well known in our circles, yet little is known about the man. (2) Indeed, very little is known about his famous rule—a rule that has been almost universally abused and misunderstood by grammarians and exegetes alike. (3) Further, while many evangelicals who wish to have an impact on society have difficulty finding a role model, Sharp readily supplies one. His story begs to be told afresh.

### I. A SHORT LIFE OF GRANVILLE SHARP

Granville Sharp<sup>2</sup> is one of the great forgotten heroes<sup>3</sup> of history. His biographers sing his praises at every turn. His chief biographer, Prince Hoare

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<sup>1</sup> Quite coincidentally, this draft was completed on November 10, 1995, the 260th anniversary of Granville Sharp's birth. It is equally coincidental that this paper was originally delivered in Philadelphia, the American city with which Sharp had the strongest connections.

<sup>2</sup> There are numerous secondary sources for Sharp's life, although with many discrepancies and errors of fact; cf. e.g. *Cyclopaedia of Biblical, Theological, and Ecclesiastical Literature* (ed. J. McClintock and J. Strong; New York: Harper, 1880) 9.620–621; *Encyclopedia Britannica* (11th ed.; Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1911) 24.809–810; *Encyclopedia Americana* (Danbury: Grolier,

(who penned a two-volume, 900-page work on Sharp's life), goes so far as to say that at the outset of his investigations he intended, out of respect for the dead, to "draw a *veil* over some *peculiarities* of Mr. Sharp's character." When he finished his well-researched and comprehensive biography he happily found Sharp's "character to be of that high and dignified nature, to leave no necessity for such a precaution. . . . I see nothing to veil."<sup>4</sup> Granville Sharp was one of a rare breed of men whose life was characterized by a blend of piety, social conscience, scholarship and Christian grace. Although that which has primarily concerned evangelicals—his *Remarks on the Uses of the Definitive Article* (and the famous rule found in that work)—is but a small chapter in his own life<sup>5</sup> (as it is only one of scores of works published by the man), it may be helpful to see this slender tome in the broader context of Sharp's life and achievements.

Granville Sharp was born on November 10, 1735, in Durham, England, to a heritage of Christian piety and scholarship. He was the youngest of numerous children<sup>6</sup> born to Thomas Sharp and Judith Sharp (née Wheler). Thomas Sharp, a prolific religious writer,<sup>7</sup> the archdeacon of Northumberland, was the youngest son born to John Sharp, dean of Canterbury (1689–

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1988) 24.673. (Surprisingly *Collier's Encyclopedia* has no entry on Sharp, either in the 1974 edition [New York: Macmillan] or in the 1921 edition [New York: P. F. Collier]). The primary materials, however, are few and not readily available. The most accurate sources are the following: (1) Two authoritative biographies: P. Hoare, *Memoirs of Granville Sharp, Esq. composed from his own Manuscripts and other Authentic Documents in the Possession of his Family and of the African Institution* (2d ed.; London: Henry Colburn, 1828), 2 vols., and C. Stuart, *A Memoir of Granville Sharp* (New York: American Anti-Slavery Society, 1836). Stuart's biography is substantially briefer and is highly selective, dealing almost exclusively with Sharp's role in the abolition of slavery. (2) Sharp's own published writings, which are quite extensive. See the following section on Sharp's writings for a brief discussion. (3) Correspondence between Sharp and others, journal entries, and memoranda. These include "twelve large boxes of MSS" (Hoare, *Memoirs* 1.258), only a small fraction of which are accessible in the United States (and hence have been at least cursorily examined for this paper). (4) T. Clarkson, *History of the Abolition of the Slave Trade* (London: J. W. Parker, 1839). (5) A collection of materials by and about Sharp belonging to the British and Foreign Bible Societies, now housed in the Bradshaw Room of the Cambridge University Library, Cambridge, England. The brief sketch that follows is based for the most part on Hoare's *Memoirs* (as the Stuart memoir was derived almost in its entirety from Hoare [Stuart, *Memoir* 70], published to incite the cause of abolition in the United States), supplemented occasionally by a few of Sharp's letters, MSS and books, as well as some materials authored by others.

<sup>3</sup> Hoare, *Memoirs* 1.xxvii: "Although the Memoirs of Granville Sharp do not furnish the history of a *hero*, in the ordinary acceptation of that name, I am persuaded, by my own feelings, that there are few who will not find him to have been one." In particular, William Wilberforce referred to him as such.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* 1.xxix.

<sup>5</sup> Stuart gives it only half a sentence, and then only implicitly ("Collision with a Socinian, who boasted that the original language of the New Testament favored his views, led Sharp to study the Greek" [*Memoir* 1]), while Hoare devotes eight pages to this topic (*Memoirs* 2.360–367), less than one percent of the two-volume biography.

<sup>6</sup> Eight of whom reached adulthood (Hoare, *Memoirs* 1.24, 41).

<sup>7</sup> Among other works he wrote *Concio ad Clerum* (1729), *The Rubric in the Book of Common Prayer* (1753), and *Two Dissertations on the Hebrew Words Elohim and Berith* (1751). Cf. *Cyclopedia* 9.621; Hoare, *Memoirs*, 1.23–24.

91) and archbishop of York (1691–1714).<sup>8</sup> Thomas' eldest son John was to become the trustee of Bamburgh Castle in Northumberland<sup>9</sup> and later take a part in the financial well-being of Granville. But the surgeon William and the engineer-inventor James,<sup>10</sup> both becoming quite affluent, were to figure most prominently in their younger sibling's adult life.

As the youngest child, Granville received a negligible stipend for his education, the bulk of his father's designated funds going to the training of the two eldest sons. He became an apprentice for a London linen-draper at the age of fourteen after receiving a minimal education that did not include even "the first rudiments of the learned languages."<sup>11</sup> Over the next three years Sharp acquired some knowledge of both Greek and Hebrew in response to the challenges of a Socinian and a Jew, both of whom claimed that his interpretations of Scripture were faulty because they were not based on the original tongues. By 1758 both parents had died, leaving Sharp with a measure of freedom about his occupation. He obtained an appointment in the ordnance office, gaining the status of clerk seven years later. By 1765 Sharp had, without tutor or formal instruction,<sup>12</sup> honed his skills in both Greek and Hebrew, though at the sacrifice of sleep and social life.<sup>13</sup>

In that same year he published what was thought to be his first book,<sup>14</sup> a slender volume dealing with OT textual criticism.<sup>15</sup> It was a critique of a paper written by Benjamin Kennicott who had outlined plans for introducing

<sup>8</sup> Sharp was archbishop till his death, though there is some doubt as to its date: February 2, 1713, or February 2, 1714 (see Hoare, *Memoirs* 1.19). He was the last archbishop of York to be buried at Yorkminster.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.* 1.26.

<sup>10</sup> James is the man to whom England "is indebted for the first establishment of its inland navigation" (*ibid.* 1.34).

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.* 1.41.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.* 2.234.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.* 1.45–46, 192–193. After several years of working for the government, Sharp explained his inconsistent and tardy correspondences. To Rutherford (August 24, 1774) he wrote: "We keep no holidays in the Ordnance, as in other public offices, and I am stationed in the most laborious post in the whole office; so that, as my time is not my own, I profess myself entirely incapable of holding a literary correspondence. What little time I have been able to save from sleep at night, and early in a morning, has been necessarily employed in the examination of some points of law." And to A. Benezet (July 7, 1773) he penned: "I am really a sort of slave myself," a somber and tell-tale note that by this time revealed the empathetic motives that were to characterize his life.

<sup>14</sup> Although Hoare calls this his first book (*Memoirs* 1.194), in Sharp's handwritten catalog of his published works he lists *A short Account of that Part of Africa inhabited by Negroes*, stating that it was "first printed at Philadelphia in 1762" (catalog transcribed by Hoare, *Memoirs* 2.343). This work stands fifth in the list of his published works because its first *British* publication date was 1768.

<sup>15</sup> G. Sharp, *Remarks on a printed Paper lately handed about, intituled, "A Catalogue of the Sacred Vessels restored by Cyrus, and of the Chief Jews who returned at first from the Captivity; together with the Names of the returning Families, and the Number of the Persons at that Time in each Family: Disposed in such a Manner, as to shew most clearly the great Corruption of Proper Names and Numbers in the present Text of the Old-Testament"* (London: B. White, 1765). A second edition appeared in 1775.

textual variants into the text of his forthcoming Hebrew Bible.<sup>16</sup> Sharp's critique, followed by correspondence and visits with Kennicott, persuaded the Oxford scholar to leave the text intact and place the variants culled from over six hundred MSS in an *apparatus criticus* at the bottom of each page.<sup>17</sup> Sharp's acumen in Biblical studies was such that he assumed no pretense about the infallibility of the MT,<sup>18</sup> but he thought it imprudent to bury the readings of the MT in the apparatus when the science of OT textual criticism was still in its infant stages. Thus part of the reason that the HB has continued, even to the present, to be a diplomatic text (based on a single MS)—as opposed to an eclectic text—is due to the influence that an untrained clerk had on Kennicott, the great Hebraist of the day.

In the same year the course of Sharp's life took a dramatic turn that was to mark the rest of his days. A young African slave named Jonathan Strong had been pistol-whipped by his master almost to the point of death. Abandoned, Strong somehow made his way to William Sharp's house where he was nursed back to health. During this time Granville found out about the boy. Once Strong was healthy, the master demanded his return. What followed was a two-year legal battle in which Sharp prepared his case by studying English law,<sup>19</sup> culminating in his third book.<sup>20</sup> Without protracting this section beyond the purposes of our inquiry, suffice it to say here that Sharp's antagonists were intimidated sufficiently never to bring the case to trial. Sharp had won: Jonathan Strong was a free man.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>16</sup> This became a two-volume work published in Oxford (1776–80), based on the MT of E. van dër Hooght, *Vetus Testamentum Hebraicum cum variis lectionibus* (1705). Kennicott's work is still valuable today.

<sup>17</sup> Hoare, *Memoirs* 1.194–203; 2.341–342. Cf. also E. Würthwein, *Text of the Old Testament* (4th ed.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1979) 38. Hoare effervesces over the David versus Goliath proportions of Sharp's accomplishment (*Memoirs* 1.195): "The singularity of the subject, the confidence with which his enterprise was supported, and the success with which it was finally attended, form one of the most remarkable incidents in literary annals."

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.* 1.200, quoting Sharp's letter to the Rev. Mr. Percy (March 23, 1768): "I never contended for the absolute integrity of the printed Hebrew Bibles."

<sup>19</sup> Some secondary sources state that Sharp had been educated for the bar (e.g. *Cyclopaedia* 9.620). This was not the case. This false belief was promoted even by those who worked closely with Sharp. In the collection of papers belonging to the British and Foreign Bible Societies is a beautifully handwritten MS entitled "Granville Sharp (Philanthropist)." Apparently this document is a eulogy commissioned by the General Committee of the BFBS on August 6, 1813. In this short piece we are told that Sharp was "educated for the bar, but never practised." Sharp's interest in the law was borne out of the sufferings of the black man, J. Strong. As Hoare remarks, "his extraordinary action in behalf of the African race did not take its rise in *theory*, but was elicited by the occurrence of natural circumstances" (*Memoirs* 1.51–52). Sharp himself admits that "he had never once opened a law book, to consult it, till on occasion of the present cause" (*ibid.* 1.55, quoting an unspecified MS from Sharp's remains). His biographer adds: "In his difficult task of legal inquiry, he had no instructor; no assistant, except his own diligence; no encourager, except his own conscience" (*ibid.* 1.59). This is the more remarkable since his adversary, the master of the slave, was himself lawyer D. Lisle.

<sup>20</sup> G. Sharp, *On the Injustice of tolerating Slavery in England*. Sharp had circulated a MS to Lisle and his attorneys. This MS was to become the book two years later (1769).

<sup>21</sup> The tenacity and genius of Sharp with reference to this case are well documented in Hoare, *Memoirs* 1.47–68. Sharp's accomplishment was celebrated early on in orthodox circles: Among the collection of papers in the Cambridge University Library is an illustrated gospel tract that uses this story to promote the gospel.

Sharp's brilliance in both Biblical studies and English law, motivated by compassion and truth, prompted his uncle, Granville Wheler, to encourage him to enter the ministry. Sharp turned down the offer, feeling both inadequate intellectually to take up the course of study required of a minister and sensing that he could do the Church more good as a layman.<sup>22</sup> This decision would come back to haunt him thirty-one years later when his *Remarks on the Uses of the Definitive Article* was published.<sup>23</sup>

Over the next several years Sharp gained notoriety in the cause of abolition. He was called on to help in the cases of John Hylas (1768) and Thomas Lewis (1770–71), both of which came to the desired verdicts.<sup>24</sup> But these were only individual victories. Something on a larger scale needed to be accomplished. The case of James Somerset (1772) was carefully chosen by Sharp to set a precedent in England. Somerset had been a slave in Virginia. When brought to England on the business of his master, he was still a slave. Somerset's lawyers argued that either none of the laws of Virginia applied in England or else all of them did.<sup>25</sup> After a lengthy trial the judgment was declared on June 22, 1772, by Lord Mansfield: "As soon as any slave sets his foot on English ground, he becomes free."<sup>26</sup> Ironically, since Sharp was not a lawyer he was not openly involved in the proceedings: "Although Granville directed the whole of the prosecution in behalf of Somerset, he did not profess, nor even acknowledge, his concern in it, to any but those who acted immediately with himself."<sup>27</sup>

In spite of his largely low-key efforts, Sharp's name became so strongly attached to the cause of abolition that his opinions were respected by important figures on both sides of the Atlantic. Over many years he heavily influenced, through frequent correspondence and personal contact, Anthony Benezet (a major abolitionist in Philadelphia), Benjamin Rush, John Jay, Benjamin Franklin and John Adams in America; John Wesley, William Wilberforce, the archbishop of Canterbury, and the dukes of Richmond and Gloucester in England; General Lafayette of France, and many others.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Letter to G. Wheler, November 26, 1767 (recorded in *ibid.* 1.69–70).

<sup>23</sup> In particular he felt that one advantage he had over a minister in the areas of apologetics and interpretation was that he would not be expected to have studied an issue thoroughly. It was precisely because of his lack of formal training and partial preparation that his *Remarks on the Uses of the Definitive Article* would be ridiculed.

<sup>24</sup> Hoare, *Memoirs* 1.71–92.

<sup>25</sup> Part of the defense's argument was that the American colonies were not under parliamentary law because "no Parliament can have a just right to enact laws for places which it does not represent" (*ibid.* 1.118). It was this firm conviction that led Sharp to another major turning point in his life two years later.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. *ibid.* 1.93–141. Sharp's handwritten minutes of the verdict record his own convictions well, for he underlined the refrain constantly used—namely, "that England was too pure an Air for Slaves to breathe in" (G. Sharp, minutes of the case involving J. Somerset [c. June 22, 1772, or later]).

<sup>27</sup> Hoare, *Memoirs* 1.108.

<sup>28</sup> Hoare notes: "His reputation stood high in America, in consequence of his extraordinary acts of philanthropy; and the esteem of his general character had there become established on a far more extensive scale than in his own country" (*ibid.* 1.256). Besides Hoare, *Memoirs passim*, cf.

Sharp's involvement with many influential people in the colonies at this time contributed to their fight for freedom from the British crown. He "became unintentionally, though not unconsciously, an instrument in the great work of American Independence."<sup>29</sup> As his political involvement was always on the side of liberty, in 1774 Sharp published *A Declaration of the People's natural Rights to a Share in the Legislature, which is the fundamental Principle of the British Constitution*. When Benjamin Franklin was in England that summer, Sharp gave him 250 copies of the tract. Franklin dispatched them to America the same day. Once in America several presses throughout the colonies immediately reprinted the book. A press in Boston alone turned out seven thousand copies.<sup>30</sup>

Incidentally, there is some evidence that this slender volume may have influenced Thomas Jefferson, both verbally and conceptually. A cursory look at Sharp's work suggests some remarkable similarities with the Declaration of Independence.<sup>31</sup> Nevertheless, establishing literary dependence in a case such as this is notoriously difficult and quite beyond the scope of this paper.<sup>32</sup>

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especially correspondence from A. Benezet to Sharp (May 14, 1772; November 8, 1772, *et al.*); correspondence between B. Franklin and G. Sharp in the Library of Congress' Miscellaneous Manuscripts collection and in *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, Series 1 (New York: Johnson Reprint, 1968), 3.162–166; correspondence from J. Adams to Sharp (March 8, 1786); M. D. Kennedy, *Lafayette and Slavery: From His Letters to Thomas Clarkson and Granville Sharp* (Easton: American Friends of Lafayette, 1950); G. Sharp, *Letter from Granville Sharp Esq., of London, to the Maryland Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, and the Relief of Free Negroes and others, unlawfully held in Bondage* (Baltimore: Graham, Lundt, and Patton, 1793); G. Sharp, *Extract of a Letter to a Gentleman in Maryland; wherein is Demonstrated the extreme Wickedness of Tolerating the Slave Trade* (4th ed.; London: Phillips and Fardon, 1806).

<sup>29</sup> Hoare, *Memoirs* 1.257.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.* 1.182–183, 257.

<sup>31</sup> Only the first 46 pages of text dealt with America. The second half of the book is concerned with Ireland (the 40-page preface is essentially theological in nature). But even here there are many verbal and conceptual similarities with the American document; cf. e.g. the following excerpts from Sharp's volume (*italics his*): "natural rights . . . plain conclusions . . . common sense" (1); "there can be no legal appearance of *Assent* without some degree of *Representation*" (4); "inequality . . . corrupt . . . *natural Liberty* . . . *Tyrants, Traitors*" (6); "It is manifest, therefore, that the constitutional government of England, even *with all its defects*, is infinitely better than any other form of government whereby *the people* are deprived of their just share in the legislature" (7); "*Law, to bind all, must be assented to by all*" (9); "no Tax can be levied, without manifest *Robbery and Injustice*, where this *legal and constitutional Representation* is wanting" (10); "contrary to the *eternal . . . Laws of God*, which are supreme" (11); "*without their participation and assent*" (11); "taxing the American Subjects *without their Consent*" (24); "Equity, Justice, and Liberty" (27); "their [Americans'] *unalienable* right to the same happy privileges by which the liberties of the mother-country have hitherto been maintained . . . *by the people*" (35); "disunion" (40); "treasonable" (41 and *passim*). There are hints here and there as well of impact on the Constitution, including the Bill of Rights (cf. especially 2–3, 4–5, 7–8, 10–15).

<sup>32</sup> Still, four points are worth pondering: (1) Sharp's tract reached America almost eighteen months before T. Paine's *Common Sense* was published; (2) Jefferson admitted that his ideas were not original, but borrowed heavily from previous written sources (in a letter from Jefferson to J. Madison, August 30, 1823); (3) Sharp's volume circulated widely in the colonies and was known by influential dignitaries such as B. Franklin and J. Adams, both of whom were originally assigned to help write the Declaration; (4) Sharp was an Englishman on the side of the Americans, a fact that would enhance the credibility of their cause and almost certainly impact the wording and thinking of several American statesmen.

When news that war had broken out reached Sharp the next year he took leave of his duties in the ordnance office, not wishing to have anything to do with the war. The letter to his employer reveals his reason: "I cannot return to my ordnance duty whilst a bloody war is carried on, unjustly as I conceive, against my fellow-subjects."<sup>33</sup> When it became clear that the war would be protracted, Sharp resigned his post on April 10, 1777. Since he had no means of support, his brothers mutually agreed to take on the burden of his financial needs.<sup>34</sup> Being now freed from the long and taxing hours at the ordnance office, Sharp began to devote himself more thoroughly to his studies and to religious and social causes.<sup>35</sup>

One such cause was taking shape because of America's new independence. Up until America severed political ties with England, Episcopal clergy had sworn allegiance to the throne. Now that that was impossible, there was, *de jure*, no Episcopal church in America.<sup>36</sup> Sharp began to work for an independent Episcopal church as soon as he realized the colonies could not be brought back under England's rule.<sup>37</sup> As with the abolition issue, Sharp worked strenuously behind the scenes. He was the principal liaison between the archbishop of Canterbury and the American church.<sup>38</sup> On August 4, 1784, when the archbishop had authorized the ordination of priests, Sharp was not satisfied. He wanted the ordination of bishops as well. He continued to argue with the archbishop, in writing and in person, on the justice and necessity of such a measure. And he continued to encourage the Americans not to give up the fight. Finally in 1787, "in consequence of the repeated assurances, which Mr. Sharp had been thus authorised to give to the Convention of the Episcopal clergy at Philadelphia, of the readiness on the part of the English Church to consecrate proper persons, two Bishops were elected,

<sup>33</sup> Quoted in Hoare, *Memoirs* 1.185.

<sup>34</sup> "He had expended the remains of his paternal inheritance and the fruits of his employment in acts of bounty; and the protector of the helpless stood himself without the means of sustenance. But the cordial attachment of his brothers (all now prosperous) brought them instantly around him" (ibid. 1.188–189).

<sup>35</sup> Among other works produced at this time was a tract decrying the practice of impressing seamen entitled *An Address to the People of England, being the Protest of a private Person against every Suspension of Law that is liable to injure or endanger Personal Security*. Though not listed in the catalog of works that he acknowledged writing, *Remarks on Impressing Seamen* (1777) was generally attributed to Sharp as well (Hoare, *Memoirs* 1.247). This little pamphlet was reprinted in 1810 on the verge of the War of 1812.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. Hoare, *Memoirs* 1.313; C. E. Olmstead, *History of Religion in the United States* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1960) 221–224.

<sup>37</sup> In his journal entry for August 31, 1779, he wrote that he had taken steps "for more than two years past, to persuade the Americans here in London of the necessity of adopting and introducing Episcopacy into America" (quoted in Hoare, *Memoirs* 1.310).

<sup>38</sup> Remarkably, as thorough as Olmstead's *History* is he fails to mention Sharp at all for the part he played. The account in Hoare is not to be discounted, for many of the very details of the story, including dates, principals and motivations, are identical. Further, Hoare's account is far more comprehensive than Olmstead's, and the latter's is slow to mention any of the English principals, including the archbishop himself. Cf. Hoare, *Memoirs* 1.314–342, with Olmstead, *History* 221–224. (It is no less remarkable that Sharp does not merit the attention of C. J. Abbey, *The English Church and Its Bishops 1700–1800* [London: Longmans, Green, 1887] 2.184–190, in his discussion of the consecration of White and Provost or other incidents leading up to this event.)

Dr. White for Pennsylvania, and Dr. Provost for New York.”<sup>39</sup> When they arrived in England, Sharp thus presented them to the archbishop of Canterbury to be consecrated on February 4, 1787.<sup>40</sup> His hoped-for satisfaction of “being the first mover and promoter”<sup>41</sup> of an independent episcopacy in America had come to fruition.

Sharp’s connection with America was continuing to grow. Esteem for him had risen to the point that in the space of five years (1786–91) he had been granted honorary membership in two abolition societies and had received three honorary doctorates.<sup>42</sup> His affection for the United States was displayed by his numerous and substantial donations to college and public libraries as well as to one black church.<sup>43</sup> Further, not a few of his books and pamphlets were specifically directed to politics and religion in America.<sup>44</sup>

Sharp’s influence and magnanimity stretched both west and south. Before the chapter on American episcopacy had been closed, Sharp’s attention turned toward Africa. After the American Revolution many former slaves who had fought on the side of the British were now homeless in the streets of London. A Mr. Smeathman suggested to them the possibility of establishing a colony of freed slaves on the west coast of Africa. Eager but cautious, they came to Sharp for advice. After careful investigation about the feasibility, Smeathman and Sharp together laid plans for a free colony in Sierra Leone. At the very inception of the undertaking Smeathman died (c. April 15, 1786),<sup>45</sup> leaving Sharp with the burden of adding flesh to the plan.<sup>46</sup> Over

<sup>39</sup> Hoare, *Memoirs* 1.331–332.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.* 1.342. Once this was accomplished, Sharp then began to persuade the archbishop about the episcopacy in Canada (*ibid.* 1.347).

<sup>41</sup> Letter to his brother, J. Sharp, c. 1779 (mentioned in *ibid.* 1.310–311).

<sup>42</sup> The Pennsylvania Society for promoting the Abolition of Slavery and the Relief of free Negroes (Sharp’s membership was conveyed in a letter by B. Franklin, June 9, 1787); The New York Society for Abolition of Slavery (communicated to Sharp by J. Jay, September 1, 1788); Doctor of Laws conferred by the College of Providence, Rhode Island (September 1786); University of Cambridge, Massachusetts (November 9, 1790); University of Williamsburg, Virginia (c. 1791). Cf. Hoare, *Memoirs* 1.374–381.

<sup>43</sup> Sharp contributed to public libraries in New York, Philadelphia and Virginia and to college libraries at Harvard, Dartmouth, Yale and Princeton as well as several others (*ibid.* 1.348–351). I have possession of a copy of one of Sharp’s letters (one that is not mentioned in Hoare) to the public library in Philadelphia (February 7, 1785). In it he catalogs the titles that were donated by himself and his brother William. On this occasion William donated 23 books, all written by relatives (especially his grandfather and father); Granville donated 18 books, all of which were versions of or aids to the Bible (such as concordances, Vg, Stephanus text, etc.) and patristic works. The nature of the gift to the black church is unknown, as Sharp kept no record of his own letter. But a grateful reply for his recent “humane donation to our church” is mentioned (letter from the African Church of Philadelphia to Sharp, November 25, 1793, mentioned in *ibid.* 1.380–381).

<sup>44</sup> See next section for a discussion.

<sup>45</sup> Hoare, *Memoirs* 2.16.

<sup>46</sup> It is important to note that although Sharp did not initiate the plans for this colony he had contemplated such a colony three years before he and Smeathman were in contact (as noted in his journal entry of August 1, 1783, given in *ibid.* 2.11–15). And once he collaborated with Smeathman, Sharp apparently authored the constitution by which the colony would govern itself (*ibid.* 2.15). He is thus justly considered as the father of Sierra Leone (*ibid.* 2.269).

a quarter million acres of land, including an excellent harbor (St. George's Bay), were purchased from a native chief. Four hundred former slaves and about sixty Europeans, mostly women, took the maiden voyage to the new colony in April 1787. Sharp was able to procure both ships and funds from the British government for those who chose to relocate.<sup>47</sup> Out of gratitude for "their original protector and friend" the colonists named their first settlement Granvilletown.<sup>48</sup> The name was later changed to Freetown, and Granvilletown was the name given to the second settlement.<sup>49</sup> In spite of many struggles with slave traders, the French, and disease, the little colony grew and became established.<sup>50</sup> Throughout the nineteenth century Sierra Leone became "the center of Western intellectual life in . . . West Africa."<sup>51</sup> Its borders expanded through acquisitions from local chiefs. In 1961 it became an independent state and ten years later a republic. The census of 1991 records over four million inhabitants.

Concurrent with the establishing of Sierra Leone and because of the high visibility of this colony and Sharp's relationship to it, the fight for abolition was able to reach a new plane. Although Sharp had won the freedom of slaves in England, the British empire still allowed the slave trade. A committee met on May 22, 1787, for the express purpose of abolishing this trade. The designation given to the group was the Committee for the Abolition of the Slave Trade. All members of the committee approved of this name except Sharp. He wanted "slavery" to be part of the title, as his intention was to eradicate both the trade and its results from the British empire.<sup>52</sup> The majority won out for the time being. Even though its name never changed, Sharp, the idealist, won out in the end (when slavery was abolished in 1833).

Sharp was elected to chair the committee, being recognized as the "*father of the cause in England*."<sup>53</sup> William Wilberforce was its main spokesman. Beginning in 1789 Wilberforce addressed the Parliament with a series of bills that would ultimately ban slavery. The proposals were tabled until the following year; when renewed, they were defeated. Thus began a battle both within Parliament and among the populace over the slave-trade issue. Almost annually Wilberforce made his proposals. Though frequently passing in the House of Commons, they were always defeated in the House of Lords. While Wilberforce was eloquently arguing his case before the politicians, Sharp and

<sup>47</sup> Sharp's principal contact was W. Wilberforce. The friendly association of these two would play a large role in the annals of British abolition over the next three decades.

<sup>48</sup> Hoare, *Memoirs* 2.25.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.* 2.131.

<sup>50</sup> See a detailed history up until 1828 in *ibid.* 2.1–182. The growth of the colony got its greatest momentum from the abolition of slavery in England in 1807.

<sup>51</sup> *Collier's Encyclopedia* (1974 ed.) 21.14, s.v. "Sierra Leone."

<sup>52</sup> Hoare, *Memoirs* 2.233–236; cf. also Stuart, *Memoir* 54–56, for insights on the committee's debate.

<sup>53</sup> Hoare, *Memoirs* 2.230. In over seven hundred meetings of the committee, Sharp never sat in the chairman's seat but rather preferred the least conspicuous chair at the opposite end of the table (*ibid.* 2.231).

the committee were disseminating information to the people of England.<sup>54</sup> Finally in March 1807 a bill banning the trade passed both houses.<sup>55</sup>

When the fight for abolition was drawing to a close, Sharp divided his attentions among other concerns. In 1804 he was unanimously elected (by about three hundred individuals) the first chairman of the newly formed British and Foreign Bible Society.<sup>56</sup> He remained in this role until his death in 1813. From the first report of the Society one gains an insight into Sharp's linguistic capacity. One of his first acts was to donate almost forty different versions of the Bible and NT from his own library in modern and ancient Greek, Hebrew, Arabic, Coptic, Latin, Ethiopic, Gothic, Syriac, French, German, Dutch, Irish, Scotch Gaelic, Mohawk, Hungarian, Italian, Polish and Spanish, as well as another half-dozen languages.<sup>57</sup> Although it would be gratuitous to assume that Sharp was well acquainted with all of these languages, it would be equally gratuitous to assume that his knowledge of even some of them was nonexistent.<sup>58</sup>

<sup>54</sup> One pamphlet, written by J. Newton, had a rather significant impact. Since Newton had been a slave trader himself (*Thoughts upon the African Slave Trade* [London: Buckland, 1788] 40), there was immediate credibility to his opinions. As a sidenote, one of the interesting comments in the treatise was Newton's preference for the designation "Black" as opposed to "Negroe" for those enslaved, calling the latter a "contemptuous" designation (*ibid.* 8).

<sup>55</sup> For a detailed account of the committee's work cf. Hoare, *Memoirs* 2.183–254.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.* 2.256–260; J. Owen, *The History of the Origins and First Ten Years of the British and Foreign Bible Society* (New York: James Easburn, 1817) 22. Elsewhere Owen gives the reasons why Sharp was chosen: "Perhaps it would not have been possible to find, throughout the British dominions, a man in whom the qualities requisite for the first Chairman of the British and Foreign Bible Society were so completely united as they were in this venerable philanthropist. A churchman in faith, in charity a universalist, he stamped upon the institution, while it was yet tender, those characters which suited its constitution and its end" (*ibid.* 83).

<sup>57</sup> Hoare, *Memoirs* 2.260–263. A letter of thanks on behalf of the Committee of the Bible Society, dated January 9, 1805, was penned by Lord Teignmouth (unpublished, in the possession of the BFBS collection). Upon Sharp's death the Society noted that he was "the earliest and largest benefactor to their library" (resolution quoted in *ibid.* 2.317). A. F. Jesson, now curator of the "British and Foreign Bible Society's Collection," has ably documented the early history of the Society in *The Libraries of the British and Foreign Bible Society and the American Bible Society, New York: A Comparison* (dissertation; Loughborough University of Technology, 1977). He notes that Sharp was not only the first to respond to a public appeal for Bibles but also contributed in the second round of donations. This second round included a total of 36 books by 22 donors, showing how remarkable was Sharp's first gift (*ibid.* 15).

<sup>58</sup> In Sharp's own hand is the list of Bibles he donated to the BFBS, recorded in the *ms British & Foreign Bible Society Miscellaneous Book Commencing 1804* (unpublished document in the British and Foreign Bible Society's Collection) 1–4. A look at this annotated list, together with a first-hand examination of the Bibles, did not reveal as much as I had hoped. But four points deserve mention: (1) A few of the Bibles were given to Sharp, but most were apparently gained by purchase. Not once does the name of his father or grandfather appear in them, suggesting that he bought them himself (indicating that they were not kept as mere heirlooms but probably served some utilitarian purpose). (2) He made few marks in the Bibles, even in the bilingual and trilingual Bibles and those that involve languages that Sharp had demonstrated a knowledge of (e.g. French, English, Latin, Greek). Thus the absence of markings is no proof of a linguistic handicap. (3) Most of the Bibles were handsome folio or quarto editions, rendering them probably too expensive both to mark in and to have purchased on impulse. (The only Bible with extensive markings is the smallest in the collection, an octavo Spanish NT from 1556.) (4) A few of the Bibles do, however, have notes in Sharp's handwriting, usually concerning the morphology and syntax of the language (e.g. Syriac, Gothic, Malaya, Hungarian/Magyar, Caledonian/Scotch Gaelic, modern Greek, Italian).

Sharp also served on many other committees and societies in the last years of his life. Chief among them was the African Institution (founded in April 1807, one month after the slave trade had been outlawed). The African Institution jointly owned, with his family, Sharp's literary effects. Hoare's *Memoirs* were commissioned under their auspices. Other groups of which Sharp was a member (and usually a director, sometimes chairman) included the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, the London Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews, Protestant Union, African Association, Refuge for the Destitute, Hibernian Society, Society for the Protection of Young Women, and so on.<sup>59</sup>

He thus remained true to his multifaceted calling of philanthropist, promoter of Christianity, and scholar. Though Sharp traveled extensively within England, he apparently never ventured outside his homeland (an interesting irony in light of his tremendous influence overseas). His life, which ended on July 6, 1813, was commemorated by many notable statesmen and churchmen. He was buried in the family vault in Fulham. A memorial was erected for him in the Poets' Corner in Westminster Abbey. John Owen, rector of Paglesham in Essex, wrote his epitaph.<sup>60</sup> In 1816 the African Institution added a monument, next to the epitaph, in which many of his accomplishments were declared. As if to anticipate a response of incredulity a note was added to the monument: "IF, ON PERUSING THIS TRIBUTE TO A PRIVATE INDIVIDUAL, THOU SHOULDEST BE DISPOSED TO SUSPECT IT AS PARTIAL, OR TO CENSURE IT AS DIFFUSE, KNOW THAT IT IS NOT PANEGYRIC, BUT HISTORY." The memorials did not stop at his graveside, however. In 1824 a bust of Sharp was erected in the council chamber at the Court of Common Council in Guildhall, London, inscribed with the following: "GRANVILLE SHARP, TO WHOM ENGLAND OWES THE GLORIOUS VERDICT OF HER HIGHEST COURT OF LAW, THAT THE SLAVE WHO SETS HIS FOOT ON BRITISH GROUND BECOMES AT THAT INSTANT FREE."<sup>61</sup>

In sum, the man after whom a rule of Greek grammar was named was known more for his heart than his mind. Philanthropist, abolitionist, scholar<sup>62</sup> and linguist, Sharp's legacy was to live on in the lives he touched. Though a lifelong bachelor, Sharp was a father of many causes,<sup>63</sup> the bulk of which

<sup>59</sup> Cf. Hoare, *Memoirs* 2.255–282.

<sup>60</sup> Three years later Owen wrote to Hoare about Sharp's character and accomplishments. Among other things he noted that "he had, in a measure, the spirit and power of Elijah" and that he had acquired, on his own, a good grasp of "French, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and the Syriac and Chaldee dialects" (March 25, 1816, cited in Hoare, *Memoirs* 2.334).

<sup>61</sup> Cited in *ibid.* 1.xxxix.

<sup>62</sup> Though almost universally regarded as a scholar (most notably by the scholars of the day), Sharp adopted the opinion of some of his Socinian adversaries. When he was requested to peruse a biographical sketch of himself written up for a periodical he objected to the glowing expressions of his academic prowess. In the margin he wrote the comment: "G. S. is by no means entitled to the character of 'a good scholar, well read, &c.' for he never read or studied more than what was unavoidably necessary on those few subjects which from time to time seemed to demand his unexperienced endeavors, on each particular occasion which excited his attention" (cited in *ibid.* 2.355). His biographer poignantly noted: "Under the influence of this principle [of humility], he seems almost to have trespassed on veracity."

<sup>63</sup> He almost surely considered himself a father of the many he helped. The men and women of Sierra Leone, for example, he called "his 'orphans' and showed all a father's spirit towards them" (Stuart, *Memoir* 35).

he could claim no vested interest in. As one friend put it, Sharp was “a churchman in faith, in charity a universalist.”<sup>64</sup>

## II. THE WRITINGS OF GRANVILLE SHARP

By any account Granville Sharp's literary fruits were as profound as they were versatile, as scholarly as they were passionate. In his close to seventy volumes<sup>65</sup> he addressed topics from abolition to the pronunciation of Biblical Hebrew, from agriculture to lessons in reading music. Some works were mere pamphlets, comprising as few as two or three pages. Others were substantial and scholarly pieces, involving several hundred pages. Most were written in English, though three were in French.<sup>66</sup> He was productive even in his early years (1765–1777) while virtually enslaved (as he put it)<sup>67</sup> to his job at the ordnance office, completing his first eighteen books and pamphlets in his rather limited spare time.<sup>68</sup>

A topical breakdown of Sharp's works reveals something of his general interests.<sup>69</sup>

<sup>64</sup> Owen, *British and Foreign Bible Society* 83.

<sup>65</sup> Among Sharp's remains was a catalog in his own hand of his published works, comprising 63 books or pamphlets (for a transcript of the catalog see Hoare, *Memoirs* 2.341–354). This catalog includes 61 numbered items. The discrepancy between these two numbers is to be accounted for as follows: Two of the items were each a seven-part series of pamphlets, later bound in one volume. Two items were counted twice, one for each edition. Eight items were documents written by others in response to Sharp's works. This brings the total to 63. This does not account for all of his writings, however. It is believed that he wrote at least one more book anonymously (Hoare, *Memoirs* 1.247). Further, even Sharp's own records are not exhaustive. Not listed are *An Essay on Slavery, Proving from Scripture its Inconsistency with Humanity and Religion* (Burlington: Isaac Collins, 1772) and *An Account of the Ancient Division of the English Nation into Hundreds and Tithings* (London: Galabin and Baker, 1784). There may be others that could be added to this list but that are unknown in the United States. In addition he wrote a few other treatises that were not published because his adversaries recanted of their views before such tomes went to press, thus satisfying Sharp. Hence we have firm evidence of at least 65 published works from Sharp, a probable suspicion of at least one more work, knowledge of a few mss that Sharp refrained from publishing, and a suspicion that some works though published are not catalogued in the libraries of the United States.

<sup>66</sup> E.g. G. Sharp, *Nécessité et Moyens d'établir la Force publique sur la Rotation continue du Service militaire, et la Representation nationale sur la Proportion exacte du Nombre des Citoyens* (Paris, 1792), the most substantial of the three, dealt with the right of the populace to be organized according to frankpledge as a means of self-defense against a despotic government.

<sup>67</sup> Correspondence to A. Benezet, July 7, 1773.

<sup>68</sup> Some of these works were rather substantial (e.g. G. Sharp, *A Tract on the Law of Nature, and Principles of Action in Man* [London: B. White, 1777], principally an exegetical-theological work that argued for evidence of the Trinity in the OT, comprising almost 450 pages). Sharp took a leave of absence from his duties in 1775, and although he did not resign his post until two years later his time was his own beginning in 1775. Still, his first eleven works were published before he took his leave.

<sup>69</sup> Many of his works overlap in their themes. Such works are listed by their main emphasis. Although we believe that Sharp wrote at least 70 published volumes, only 67 are listed here (for explanation see n. 65 *supra*).

<i>Social concerns, government, English law</i>	41
abolition	14
against dueling	2
against impressing seamen <sup>70</sup>	2
agriculture	3
military defense	7
relief for the poor	2
right of representation, principles of democracy	10
other	1
<i>Religious issues</i>	22
Biblical studies	(16)
OT	
textual criticism	1
grammar	2
exegesis and theology	3
NT	
translation principles	1
grammar	1
exegesis	2
theology (especially on prophecy)	5
miscellaneous	1
applied ecclesiology (Episcopalianism, Quakerism, Roman Catholicism)	(6)
<i>English language</i>	3
pronunciation	2
reading primer for children	1
<i>Music</i>	1

In spite of his complete lack of formal training in Biblical criticism, English law, linguistics and philology, Sharp was regarded as an expert in them all. The accolades pronounced upon his works were not from generalists and laymen but from some of the best scholars of the day. The response to his work in the field of law is documented in the courts of England: The slave trade and ultimately slavery were abolished because of the catalyst Sharp provided. In Biblical criticism<sup>71</sup> and philology we merely note the

<sup>70</sup> The number for this category includes an anonymous work attributed to Sharp.

<sup>71</sup> One of the best evidences that Sharp had far more than a layman's understanding of Biblical studies can be seen in his views on textual criticism. As we have already noted, he recognized early on that the MT did not always replicate the original (cf. above discussion of his first work, a book on OT textual criticism). And although he did not write any work on NT textual criticism per se, he was well acquainted with the *apparatus critici* of various editions as well as with several mss firsthand. Most remarkably in this regard, Sharp felt allegiance neither to the KJV nor to the Textus Receptus (TR). And although his text-critical views were hardly as sophisticated as those of a Griesbach or a Lachmann (he defends, for example, the authenticity of θεός in 1 Tim 3:16 [A Tract on the Law of Nature 252–253]), Sharp's treatments give further testimony that although

following. Christopher Wordsworth, who would later become master of Trinity College, Cambridge University, extensively praised Sharp's work on the Greek article, even penning a book defending the rule in patristic Greek. Thomas Fanshaw Middleton (whose grammar on the article in Greek is still regarded as the finest treatment ever done) devoted fifteen pages to a discussion and defense of Sharp's rule.<sup>72</sup> Henry Lloyd, regius professor of Hebrew at Cambridge, lauded Sharp for his insights into the pronunciation of Hebrew,<sup>73</sup> as did Bishop Horsley on Sharp's new insights on Hebrew syntax—especially on the *wāw*-consecutive.<sup>74</sup> A refrain seen in many reviews, regardless of the nature of the topic, was that Sharp's treatment was the finest in print, the ablest defense of a view, a great insight that would stand the test of time.

Letters from those who knew him only through his writings frequently addressed him as "Rev[erend],"<sup>75</sup> a designation that implied, in the least, a recognition of formal training in Biblical and classical languages and Biblical studies. When his *Remarks on the Uses of the Definitive Article* was published, Sharp's Socinian adversaries, however, seized his Achilles' heel in this matter. Their frequent *ad hominem* attacks often unmasked a lack of substance in argument.

### III. SHARP'S REMARKS ON THE USES OF THE DEFINITIVE ARTICLE

1. *Remarks and the Granville Sharp rule.* The only tome Sharp wrote on any aspect of NT grammar was a monograph on the Greek article, appearing in 1798 and bearing the title *Remarks on the Uses of the Definitive Article in the Greek Text of the New Testament: Containing many New Proofs of the Divinity of Christ, from Passages which are wrongly Translated in the Common English Version.*<sup>76</sup> The slender volume, which when originally published contained less than sixty pages, had actually been written twenty years earlier.<sup>77</sup> But it remained dormant until a friend and scholar urged Sharp to

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the TR was the only printed text until 1831 this situation was hardly due to consensus of its authority.

<sup>72</sup> See discussion below.

<sup>73</sup> Correspondence from Lloyd to Sharp, January 15, 1798, cited in Hoare, *Memoirs* 2.374.

<sup>74</sup> Correspondence from Horsley to Sharp, July 5, 1805, cited in *ibid.* 2.373–374. Horsley's praise was in reference to some refinements on the use of *wāw* that Sharp had introduced in his *Three Tracts on the Syntax and Pronunciation of the Hebrew Tongue, with an Appendix, addressed to the Hebrew Nation* (London: Vernor and Hood, 1804). Horsley was sufficiently impressed with Sharp's insights that he began translating Sharp's comments into Latin in order that they might thereby gain recognition in the rest of Europe. Horsley's untimely death prevented the completion of the translation (Hoare, *Memoirs* 2.367–371).

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.* 2.376.

<sup>76</sup> This is the title of the first American edition. There are slight differences in earlier editions. Unless otherwise noted, the edition used in this paper is the latest, the first American edition (a clone of the third British edition), published in Philadelphia by B. B. Hopkins in 1807.

<sup>77</sup> The first 24 pages (26 in the 2d ed.) of his *Remarks* are in fact a duplication of that letter to an unnamed minister friend (dated June 10, 1778). All six rules are laid down, with several examples. Sharp's usual practice was to make an ἀντίγραφον of his letters. On this occasion, however, Sharp "had not leisure to copy the original letter" and, after repeated attempts to retrieve it over a span of several years, was able to obtain only a part of it (*Remarks* 24).

get it published.<sup>78</sup> Most likely an outgrowth of his extensive treatise on the Trinity published in 1777,<sup>79</sup> this little book was destined to become the center of a linguistic and theological storm and the only piece in Biblical studies for which Sharp is remembered.

*Remarks* went through four editions in ten years.<sup>80</sup> What may be of interest to note here is that the second and subsequent editions include excerpts from a lengthy rebuttal by one pseudonymously named Gregory Blunt.<sup>81</sup> The pun was not missed by Sharp: His last edition (1807) adds a 26-page preface (ix–xxxiv) in which he interacts with Blunt. Several exchanges were more rhetorical than substantive, dealing with the wordplay between *Sharp* and *Blunt*.

In this work Sharp articulated six principles of syntax involving the Greek article, though what has commonly become known as “Sharp’s rule” is the first of these. It is the only rule that directly impacts the Christologically significant passages and hence “is of much more consequence than the rest.”<sup>82</sup> As the weapon by which Sharp made his theological jabs against Socinians, it is this rule that has been largely debated, misunderstood and abused. Sharp’s definition of it is as follows:

*When the copulative και connects two nouns of the same case, [viz. nouns (either substantive or adjective, or participles) of personal description, respecting office, dignity, affinity, or connexion, and attributes, properties, or qualities, good or ill], if the article ὁ, or any of its cases, precedes the first of the said nouns or participles, and is not repeated before the second noun or participle, the latter*

<sup>78</sup> T. Burgess, lord bishop of St. David’s, editor of the first and second editions of Sharp’s work, apparently examined many of Sharp’s unpublished mss, selecting this one for publication. He saw it apparently for the first time in 1792 (correspondence from Burgess to Sharp, December 15, 1792 [quoted in Hoare, *Memoirs* 2.372]). The essay was not originally intended by Sharp for publication (cf. Sharp, *Remarks* iv; Hoare, *Memoirs* 2.300–301, citing a memorandum by Sharp on this work).

<sup>79</sup> Sharp, *A Tract on the Law of Nature*. One might note the cautious stance that Sharp took on his own work. In the Scripture index to this tract there is no mention of Eph 5:5; 1 Tim 5:21; 2 Tim 4:1; Titus 2:13; 2 Pet 1:1—all passages that Sharp would later argue fit his rule and thus bore testimony to Christ’s deity. A year after it was published, however, Sharp wrote to a friend about his rule on the article (which letter is reproduced at the beginning of his *Remarks*). There he alludes to his having worked on the article-noun-και-noun construction for some time and that he had in fact sent a preliminary draft of his views to “a very learned friend” who found several exceptions to Sharp’s first rule as he had at the time stated it (*Remarks* 1–2). Although the many time references are not precise (e.g. “I have so long neglected” to write; “I had written”; “I was willing to wait”) it is possible, even likely, that Sharp had worked up a rough sketch of his rule while writing his *Tract*. If so, he most likely would have hesitated to include the rule in the tract because it had not yet been processed through sober reflection by himself or judicious examination by others. Hence he does not mention the Christologically significant texts involving the construction in his *Tract*.

<sup>80</sup> The first and second editions were published in Durham by L. Pennington in 1798 and 1802. The third edition was published in London by Vernor and Hood in 1803. The fourth, known as the first American edition, was merely a reprint of the third with a few typographical and spelling changes. It was published in Philadelphia by B. B. Hopkins in 1807.

<sup>81</sup> Blunt’s work was originally published as a 218-page book entitled *Six More Letters to Granville Sharp, Esq., on his Remarks upon the Uses of the Article in the Greek Testament* (London: J. Johnston, 1803). Blunt’s real name was apparently Thomas Pearne.

<sup>82</sup> Sharp, *Remarks* 2. The rest of the rules were intended “to illustrate the particularity of the several sentences which fall under the first rule” (ibid. 7).

*always relates to the same person that is expressed or described by the first noun or participle: i.e. it denotes a farther description of the first-named person.*<sup>83</sup>

In the statement of this rule, Sharp only discussed substantives—that is, nouns, substantival adjectives, substantival participles—of personal description, not those that referred to things, and only in the singular, not the plural. But whether he intended the rule to apply to impersonal nouns and/or plurals can hardly be determined from this definition. In addition, he did not clearly exclude proper names from the rule's application. A perusal of his monograph, however, reveals that he felt the rule could be applied absolutely only to personal, singular, nonproper nouns. For example, two pages later he points out that "there is no exception or instance of the like mode of expression, that I know of, which necessarily requires a construction different from what is here laid down, EXCEPT the nouns be *proper names*, or *in the plural number*; in which case there are many exceptions."<sup>84</sup> Later on he explicitly states that impersonal constructions are within the purview of his second, third, fifth and sixth rules but not the first.<sup>85</sup> In an appendix Sharp refutes Blunt for bringing in impersonal constructions as exceptions to the rule.<sup>86</sup>

In other words, in the construction article-noun-καί-noun Sharp delineated four requirements that he felt needed to be met if the two nouns were necessarily to be seen as having the same referent:<sup>87</sup> Both nouns must be (1) personal (they must refer to a person, not a thing), (2) common epithets (not proper names), (3) in the same case,<sup>88</sup> and (4) singular in number.<sup>89</sup> The significance of these requirements can hardly be overestimated, for those who have misunderstood Sharp's rule have done so almost without exception because they were unaware of the restrictions that Sharp set forth.

The bulk of Sharp's *Remarks* was a discussion of eight Christologically significant texts (Acts 20:28; Eph 5:5; 2 Thess 1:12; 1 Tim 5:21; 2 Tim 4:1; Titus 2:13; 2 Pet 1:1; Jude 4), encompassing more than two-thirds of the body of the work.<sup>90</sup> Thus, for example, Sharp regarded τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ in Titus 2:13 to refer to one person: "of our great God and Savior, Jesus Christ." Sharp backed up the validity of his arguments with twenty-five non-Christologically significant examples that he

<sup>83</sup> Ibid. 3 (italics his).

<sup>84</sup> Ibid. 5–6.

<sup>85</sup> Ibid. 120. Sharp also notes that the fourth rule embraces impersonal substantives exclusively (ibid. 121).

<sup>86</sup> Ibid. 140–142.

<sup>87</sup> It is not enough to say that both nouns have equal referents (as some have misunderstood Sharp to mean), or that the single article simply unites them somehow. The point of Sharp's rule is that both noun A and noun B refer to the same person (thus an identical referent).

<sup>88</sup> Sharp did not specify that it must have complete grammatical concord, e.g. by also having the same gender. Thus whether Sharp would have applied his rule to 1 John 5:20 is not known.

<sup>89</sup> These criteria can also be seen from Sharp's examples. He produces 25 undisputed examples (i.e. those that do not impact the deity of Christ) from the NT. Every one involves singular, nonproper, personal substantives in grammatical concord with the article.

<sup>90</sup> Sharp, *Remarks* 25–62. He also discussed Phil 3:3 as a pneumatologically significant text, according to the reading of Alexandrinus and other ancient authorities (ibid. 29–31).

believed were undisputed in their semantic force.<sup>91</sup> Included in his disquisition are the following illustrations:<sup>92</sup>

- 2 Cor 1:3 (*bis*)    Εὐλογητὸς ὁ θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ,  
ὁ πατὴρ τῶν οἰκτιρῶν καὶ θεός . . .  
Blessed is *the God and Father* of our Lord Jesus  
Christ, *the Father* of compassion and *God* . . .
- Eph 6:21            Τυχικός ὁ ἀγαπητὸς ἀδελφὸς καὶ πιστὸς διάκονος  
Tychicus, *the beloved brother and faithful servant*
- Heb 3:1             τὸν ἀπόστολον καὶ ἀρχιερέα τῆς ὁμολογίας ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν  
*the apostle and high priest* of our confession, Jesus
- Jas 3:9             ἐν αὐτῇ εὐλογοῦμεν τὸν κύριον καὶ πατέρα  
in him we confess *the Lord and Father*
- 2 Pet 2:20          ἐν ἐπιγνώσει τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν καὶ σωτῆρος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ  
in the knowledge of our *Lord and Savior*, Jesus Christ
- Rev 16:15          μακάριος ὁ γρηγορῶν καὶ τηρῶν τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ . . .  
blessed is the one who is awake and who keeps his  
garments . . .

Sharp's judgment was that in these texts "the sense is so plain that there can be no controversy."<sup>93</sup> As is evident even without a context, his assessment was correct. None of the rest of Sharp's examples required any discussion either, as is obvious from the reactions to his work: No one disputed the validity of these examples. A number of other things were disputed, however, especially the validity of such texts for the Christologically pregnant passages.

2. *Nearly two centuries of abuse.* The reactions to Sharp's rule over the next two centuries cannot be easily summarized.<sup>94</sup> Our discussion will be necessarily truncated. Not one of Sharp's critics ever demonstrated an invalid

<sup>91</sup> Ibid. 3–7. He further recognized that these 25 examples were not all the passages that came under the rubric of his rule: "There are several other texts wherein the mode of expression is exactly similar, and which therefore do necessarily require a construction agreeable to the same rule" (ibid.). On the other hand, Sharp did not know explicitly of any other texts (cf. his response to C. Winstanley, *A Dissertation on the Supreme Divine Dignity of the Messiah: in reply to a Tract, entitled, "A Vindication of certain Passages in the common English Version of the New Testament"* [London: B. Edwards, 1806] 4).

<sup>92</sup> Some of his examples involved readings found in the TR that have little claim to authenticity (e.g. τὸν τύφλον καὶ κώφον in Matt 12:22, Sharp's lone example from the gospels).

<sup>93</sup> Sharp, *Remarks* 6.

<sup>94</sup> For a detailed treatment see D. B. Wallace, *The Article with Multiple Substantives Connected by Καὶ in the New Testament: Semantics and Significance* (dissertation; Dallas Theological Seminary, 1995) 50–80. This dissertation is to be published (under a different title) by Peter Lang. The present article is in fact essentially an expansion of a part of the dissertation and contraction of another.

example within the pages of the NT. Calvin Winstanley, however, was able to produce four classes of exceptions to Sharp's rule in Greek literature outside the NT.<sup>95</sup> Nevertheless none of these exceptions impacted in any way the Christologically pregnant texts that Sharp's rule was aimed at.<sup>96</sup>

Three years after Winstanley's book appeared, a volume dedicated to the usage of the Greek article was published.<sup>97</sup> Written by the first bishop of Calcutta, Thomas Fanshaw Middleton, it is still highly regarded among NT grammarians today.<sup>98</sup> It gives an extensive treatment on the use of the article in classical Greek, followed by hundreds of pages of exegetical discussions of the article in the NT. Middleton clearly felt the force of Sharp's rule and lent it credibility from the circle of philology. He believed that Sharp's canon was valid both for the NT and classical Greek. In addition he understood the restrictions of the rule to personal, singular, nonproper names.

After Middleton the next major player was Georg Benedict Winer, the great Greek grammarian of the nineteenth century. Winer's assessment of Titus 2:13 is as follows:

In Tit. ii. 13 . . . considerations derived from Paul's system of doctrine lead me to believe that σωτήρ is not a second predicate, co-ordinate with θεοῦ. . . . [In n. 2 at the bottom of the same page] In the above remarks it was not my intention to deny that, in point of *grammar*, σωτήρ ἡμῶν may be regarded as a second predicate, jointly depending on the article τοῦ; but the dogmatic conviction derived from Paul's writings that this apostle cannot have called Christ *the great God* induced me to show that there is no grammatical obstacle to our taking the clause καὶ σωτ. . . . Χριστοῦ by itself, as referring to a second subject.<sup>99</sup>

What is most interesting about Winer's comments on this text is that though he advances no real grammatical arguments, because he was a highly regarded grammarian he was apparently able to cancel out (by the intimidation of his own opinion) the use of Sharp's rule in these passages. This statement virtually sounded the death knell to Sharp's rule. Ironically, what Winstanley could not do in a tightly argued, compact book of fifty-five pages (all in eight-point type), Winer did in a single footnote.

<sup>95</sup> C. Winstanley, *A Vindication of Certain Passages in the Common English Version of the New Testament. Addressed to Granville Sharp, Esq.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1819). The first edition was published in 1805, still during Sharp's lifetime (Liverpool: W. Jones).

<sup>96</sup> For a detailed discussion see Wallace, *Article* 56–57, 59–61, 64–66, 122–132, 258–259, 267–271.

<sup>97</sup> T. F. Middleton, *The Doctrine of the Greek Article Applied to the Criticism and Illustration of the New Testament* (1808). The edition ("new edition") used in this essay was published in 1841, incorporating notes by H. J. Rose (London: J. G. F. & J. Rivington, 1841). The latest edition (1855) is merely a reprint of the 1841 edition.

<sup>98</sup> Note especially C. F. D. Moule, *An Idiom Book of New Testament Greek* (2d ed.; Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1959) 94, 94 n. 1, 109 n. 3, 113 n. 2, 114–117, 122. S. E. Porter, *Idioms of the Greek New Testament* (Sheffield: JSOT, 1992) 103 n. 1, acknowledges that Middleton's tome is the "most thorough treatment of the Greek article to date."

<sup>99</sup> G. B. Winer, *A Treatise on the Grammar of New Testament Greek* (3d ed.; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1882) 162.

Proof of this is readily available. For example, J. H. Moulton is strongly influenced by Winer's comment on Titus 2:13, reading it as though borne from a sober grammatical judgment. In his *Prolegomena* he writes: "We cannot discuss here the problem of Tit 2<sup>13</sup>, for we must, *as grammarians*, leave the matter open: see WM 162, 156n."<sup>100</sup> Other scholars have followed suit. Some scholars explicitly cite Winer as their authority for doubting the grammatical perspicuity of the construction.<sup>101</sup> Others, though not mentioning Winer by name, consider the grammar to be vague.<sup>102</sup>

Winer's influence, then, seems sufficiently to account for the neglect of Sharp's rule in discussions of Christologically significant passages where it would otherwise be applied. But what about the abuse of the rule? Almost without exception, those who seem to be acquainted with Sharp's rule and agree with its validity misunderstand it and abuse it. This widespread misunderstanding shows no partiality—grammarians, exegetes and theologians alike are culpable. Typically the rule is usually perceived to extend to plural and impersonal constructions, in spite of the fact that Sharp restricted the rule to personal singular nouns. What are the reasons for such abuse? For one thing, as we have seen, the statement of Sharp's rule is not clear. Only an examination of his monograph explicitly reveals his requirement of personal singular nouns. Second, the last clear statement of the limitations of

<sup>100</sup> J. H. Moulton, *A Grammar of New Testament Greek* (3d ed.; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1908) 1.84 (italics his).

<sup>101</sup> Cf. e.g. C. J. Ellicott, *A Critical and Grammatical Commentary on the Pastoral Epistles* (Andover: Draper, 1897) 207; H. Alford, "The Epistle to Titus," *The Greek Testament with a Critically Revised Text, a Digest of Various Readings, Marginal References to Verbal and Idiomatic Usage, Prolegomena, and a Critical and Exegetical Commentary* (Chicago: Moody, 1958) 421; R. M. Pope, *The Epistles of Paul the Apostle to Timothy and Titus* (London: C. H. Kelly, 1901) 157; H. Windisch, "Zur Christologie der Pastoralbriefe," *ZNW* 34 (1935) 226; Taylor, *Person of Christ* 132; R. W. Funk, *The Syntax of the Greek Article: Its Importance for Critical Pauline Problems* (dissertation; Vanderbilt University, 1953) 68. In passing it should be noted that Funk's appeal to Winer and Moulton for ambiguity contradicts his earlier (on the same page) approbation of Blass-Debrunner's citing of Titus 2:13 as an example of identical referent.

<sup>102</sup> Cf. e.g. N. J. D. White, "The Epistle to Titus," *The Expositor's Greek Testament* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1897) 195; J. H. Bernard, *The Pastoral Epistles* (CGTC; Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1899) 171; A. Plummer, "The Pastoral Epistles," *The Expositor's Bible* (ed. W. R. Nicoll; London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1894) 269; E. F. Scott, *The Pastoral Epistles* (New York: Harper, n.d.) 169–170; N. Brox, *Die Pastoralbriefe* (4th ed.; RNT; Regensburg: Friedrich Pustet, 1969) 300; M. Dibelius and H. Conzelmann, *The Pastoral Letters* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1972) 143; C. Spain, *The Letters of Paul to Timothy and Titus* (Austin: R. B. Sweet, 1970) 183; E. Stock, *Plain Talks on the Pastoral Epistles* (London: Robert Scott, 1914) 89. Among grammarians cf. W. H. Simcox (*The Language of the New Testament* [London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1890]): "In Tit. ii. 13, 2 Peter i. 1, we regard θεοῦ and σωτηρος as indicating two Persons, though only the former word has the article" (50); A. Buttmann (*A Grammar of the New Testament Greek* [Andover: Warren F. Draper, 1873]), who heavily relies on Winer throughout his grammar, argues that "it is very hazardous in particular cases to draw important inferences, affecting the sense or even of a doctrinal nature, from the single circumstance of the use or the omission of the article; see e.g. Tit. ii. 13; Jude 4; 2 Pet. i. 1" (97); M. Zerwick (*Biblical Greek Illustrated by Examples* [Rome: Pontificii Instituti Biblici, 1963]) states that the rule is only suggestive, "since the unity of article would be sufficiently accounted for by any conjunction, in the writer's mind, of the notions expressed" (60).

Sharp's canon in any major work was published over one hundred and fifty years ago in Middleton's *Doctrine of the Greek Article*.<sup>103</sup>

For whatever reason, modern grammarians have perpetuated the ambiguity of the original statement, bypassing Middleton's clear articulation of the rule altogether. To take but three examples: A. T. Robertson in his large grammar discusses the article-noun-καί-noun construction quite extensively. He was well acquainted with Sharp's rule—in fact, he was an adamant defender of its validity.<sup>104</sup> Without interacting with either Sharp or Middleton on the point, however, he felt that the rule applied to impersonal nouns as well as personal.<sup>105</sup> Second, Dana and Mantey—on whose grammar many American students have been weaned—actually reproduce (almost) verbatim Sharp's rule but neglect to specify more clearly the limitations.<sup>106</sup> And third, in his recent intermediate grammar, Stanley Porter states: "Unfortunately, this rule has been widely misunderstood."<sup>107</sup> But Porter both misstates the rule (ignoring the restriction to personal substantives) and consequently applies Sharp's canon to an impersonal construction (Eph 3:18).<sup>108</sup> Robertson, Dana and Mantey, and Porter are simply the tip of the iceberg of grammarians' misunderstanding of Sharp's canon.<sup>109</sup>

<sup>103</sup> See n. 97 *supra*.

<sup>104</sup> A. T. Robertson, "The Greek Article and the Deity of Christ," *The Expositor* 21 (1921) 182–188. He concludes his discussion of Winer's influence by saying that "Winer did not make out a sound case against Sharp's principle as applied to 2 Peter i. 1 and Titus ii. 13. Sharp stands vindicated after all the dust has settled" (ibid. 187).

<sup>105</sup> A. T. Robertson, *A Grammar of the Greek New Testament in the Light of Historical Research* (4th ed.; New York: Hodder & Stoughton, 1923) 785–789. The title of the first section is "Several Epithets Applied to the Same Person or Thing" (ibid. 785–786).

<sup>106</sup> H. E. Dana and J. R. Mantey, *A Manual Grammar of the Greek New Testament* (New York: Macmillan, 1927) 147 (they give but three examples, two of which are among the exegetical cruxes that concern this paper). Dana and Mantey modify the statement of the rule in several minor points, however.

<sup>107</sup> S. E. Porter, *Idioms of the Greek New Testament* (Sheffield: JSOT, 1992) 110. The error is repeated in the second edition (1994).

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>109</sup> For example, K. Wuest ("The Greek Article in New Testament Interpretation," *BSac* 118 [1961]) alleges: "Another function of the Greek article is in the construction called Granville Sharp's rule, where two nouns in the same case are connected by *kai*, the first noun, articular, the second, anarthrous, the second referring to the same person or thing expressed by the first noun and being further description of it" (29). Here he assumes that impersonal nouns fit the rule and further argues that "Sharp's rule makes the words [in Titus 2:13] 'the hope' and 'the appearing' refer to the same thing, and 'God' and 'Saviour' to be the same individual" (ibid.). Wuest also thinks that plural nouns fit the rule: "The same rule identifies the 'pastors and teachers' of Ephesians 4:11 (AV) as one individual" (ibid.). L. Radermacher (*Neutestamentliche Grammatik* [2d ed.; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1925]), though not mentioning Sharp, seems to imply that a single article uniting two substantives joined by *kai* speaks of an identical referent: "Wenn mehrere Substantiva [*sic*] in der Aufzählung miteinander verbunden werden, genügt oft der Artikel beim ersten Wort und zwar nicht allein bei gleichem Genus" (115). He lists τὰ ἐντάγματα καὶ διδασκαλίας (Col 2:22) as evidence. He goes on to say that the same phenomenon occurs in Hellenistic Greek, citing ὁ ἥλιος καὶ σελήνη as an example (ibid.). His two examples are both impersonal, one being singular and the other plural. A case could almost be made for the first example expressing identity, but certainly not the second. Similarly S. G. Green (*Handbook to the Grammar of the Greek Testament* [rev. ed.; London: Religious Tract Society, 1912]) has both impersonal and plural constructions and speaks of such constructions "as forming one object of thought" (198, 232), a comment that equals Radermacher's in its ambiguity.

The reason therefore for the abuse of the rule seems to be that few have taken the time to read Sharp's *Remarks* or Middleton's *Doctrine*—in spite of the fact that “Sharp's rule” is still, here and there, mentioned with approbation. And the reason that few have actually read Sharp or Middleton, it seems, is either inaccessibility or the natural tendency in Biblical studies to think that only the most recent literature makes much of a contribution.<sup>110</sup>

The upshot of the present-day imprecise knowledge of Sharp's limitations is that those who invoke his canon on behalf of the argument for Christ's deity in Titus 2:13 and elsewhere, since they include plurals and impersonals in the rule, are unable to regard the rule as absolute. Since these same scholars find exceptions to what they perceive to be the rule, they can only regard it as a general principle. For example, Murray Harris, in an otherwise excellent and detailed article, makes much of the argument that “two co-ordinate nouns referring to the same person are customarily linked by a single article.”<sup>111</sup> Yet he gives in defense of this proposition three proof texts, two of which involve nouns in the plural (which even he concedes do not speak of identity, and thus they contradict his version of Sharp's rule).<sup>112</sup> Harris is hardly alone in his misunderstanding of Sharp's rule. Indeed, he simply follows in a long train of exegetes who have been unaware of the restrictions laid down by Sharp.<sup>113</sup>

<sup>110</sup> I am reminded here of C. S. Lewis' delightful essay, “On the Reading of Old Books,” *God in the Dock: Essays on Theology and Ethics* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1970) 200, in which he quips that “if the average student wants to find out something about Platonism, the very last thing he thinks of doing is to take a translation of Plato off the library shelf and read the *Symposium*.” Much of what he has to say in this essay, it seems, is applicable to our present concern.

<sup>111</sup> M. J. Harris, “Titus 2:13 and the Deity of Christ,” *Pauline Studies: Essays presented to Professor F. F. Bruce on his 70th Birthday* (ed. D. A. Hagner and M. J. Harris; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1980) 267.

<sup>112</sup> The passages he cites are Acts 15:2 (τοὺς ἀποστόλους καὶ πρεσβυτέρους); 16:4 (τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ πρεσβυτέρων); 2 Cor 1:3 (ὁ θεὸς καὶ πατήρ). Harris himself admits that elsewhere in Acts “the repeated article in the phrase οἱ ἀπόστολοι καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι (Acts 15:4, 6, 22) shows that the apostles of the Jerusalem church were a group distinct from the elders” (ibid.). He sees the single article constructions of Acts 15:2; 16:4 as indicating “a single administrative unit.” But if true, even this does not conform to his statement of the rule, for though elder + apostle might = a unit, that is much different from saying that elder = apostle, which is the very point of Sharp's rule, even as Harris has expressed it. Elsewhere in his essay Harris indicates that he views impersonal nouns also to fall within the purview of the rule: “If the parallelism is intentional, ὁ μέγας θεός is the σωτήρ, just as ἡ μακαρία ἐλπίς is the ἐπιφάνεια” (ibid. 270).

<sup>113</sup> This can be illustrated by reference to two passages: Eph 4:11 and Titus 2:13. In Eph 4:11 the plural construction is used (τοὺς δὲ ποιμένας καὶ διδασκάλους) while in Titus 2:13 there are two constructions, one impersonal (τὴν μακαρίαν ἐλπίδα καὶ ἐπιφάνειαν) and one that Sharp believed fit his rule (τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ καὶ σωτήρος ἡμῶν). As mentioned earlier, Sharp restricted the rule to personal singular nouns. Yet the plural construction in Eph 4:11 and the impersonal construction in Titus 2:13 are usually seen as fitting the rule, though with no proof that the rule could be expanded to include either construction. With reference to Eph 4:11, most commentators are agreed that one group is in view in this construction. Alford argues that “from these latter not being distinguished from the pastors by the τοὺς δέ, it would seem that the offices were held by the same persons” (*Epistle* 117). But he gives no cross references, nor does he demonstrate that this is the normal usage of the plural construction. B. F. Westcott (*Saint Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians* [New York: Macmillan, 1906] 62) argues for one class “not from a necessary combination of the two functions but from their connexion with a congregation.” C. Hodge (*A Commentary on the Epistle to the Ephesians* [New York: Robert Carter, 1856] 226) boldly states: “The absence of the article before

To sum up, the validity of Sharp's canon was called into question—on theological grounds—by the great nineteenth-century grammarian Winer. His stature as a grammarian, even though he spoke in this instance outside his realm, has apparently brought about the neglect of the rule in the vast majority of studies of these passages in this century. Consequently, and certainly related to this, the rule has been abused even by those who agree with its validity because the limitations Sharp laid down are almost never observed.

Nevertheless, when properly understood, Sharp's canon is clearly valid for the NT. And the exceptions to the rule that Winstanley articulated in no way impinge on the Christologically significant texts.<sup>114</sup> As Robertson quipped: "Winer did not make out a sound case against Sharp's principle as applied to 2 Peter i. 1 and Titus ii. 13. Sharp stands vindicated after all the dust has settled."<sup>115</sup>

#### IV. CONCLUSION

If this essay were to lack a conclusion, the inattentive might think that we have been discussing three different men. Indeed it is perhaps most surprising to find that Sharp, the thoroughly orthodox NT scholar, was a layman and was far better known for abolishing slavery than for his rule of Greek grammar.

If I may be permitted a pastoral reflection: There is a temptation for those in academia to think that to excel—to make a real contribution in our field—we must never venture outside this realm. Further, evangelical scholars often question the doctrinal convictions of those who are social activists.

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διδασκάλους *proves* that the apostle intended to designate the same persons as at once pastors and teachers" (italics mine). But then he curiously backs off from such grammatical dogma by adding that "it is true the article is at times omitted between two substantives referring to different classes" (ibid. 227), citing Mark 15:1 as evidence. Finally he reverts to his initial certitude by concluding: "But in such an enumeration as that contained in this verse . . . the laws of language *require* τοὺς δὲ διδασκάλους, had the apostle intended to distinguish the διδάσκαλοι from the ποιμένες" (ibid.; italics mine). No evidence is given to support this contention. With reference to Titus 2:13, several scholars see the rule applying to "the blessed hope and appearing," an impersonal construction; e.g. R. St. John Parry (*The Pastoral Epistles* [Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1920] 81) argues that τὴν μακαρίαν ἐλπίδα καὶ ἐπιφάνειαν means "that manifestation which is our hope." Some scholars explicitly invoke Sharp's name when they discuss "the blessed hope and appearing" (e.g. E. K. Simpson, *The Pastoral Epistles* [London: Tyndale, 1954] 108); others do so implicitly (e.g. W. Hendriksen, *Exposition of the Pastoral Epistles* [Grand Rapids: Baker, 1957] 372–373). Some scholars assert that the single article with "God and Savior" is sufficient evidence that only one person is in view; cf. e.g. P. Schepens, "De demonstratione divinitatis Christi ex epistula ad Titum II. 13," *Greg* 7 (1926) 243. These few examples of scholars' misunderstanding of Sharp's principle could be reproduced manifold. They are given to show that it is hardly an exaggeration to say that, almost without exception, those who seem to be acquainted with Sharp's rule and agree with its validity misunderstand it and abuse it.

<sup>114</sup> For a comprehensive treatment of the semantics of both Sharp's rule and the article-noun-καὶ-noun construction in the NT see Wallace, *Article*.

<sup>115</sup> Robertson, "Greek Article" 187.

Granville Sharp shows that that is a false dichotomy. But lest we think that the world has changed, that no Granville Sharps could be found in today's society, it may be helpful to note some similarities between his age and ours.

J. C. D. Clark, perhaps the leading authority on eighteenth-century English history, wrote: "The correlation between theological heterodoxy and a preference for political reform was strong, but not exclusive. Exceptions stood out, however. One was Granville Sharp . . . a Trinitarian."<sup>116</sup>

And John Adams, when he was American ambassador in London, in a letter to the Marquis de Lafayette (January 31, 1786) stated that Granville Sharp was "very amiable & benevolent in his dispositions, and a voluminous writer, but as Zealously attached to the Episcopacy & the Athanasian Creed as he is to civil and religious Liberty—a mixture which in this country is not common."<sup>117</sup>

Even in his day, Sharp stood against the tide. Precisely because of this, he is a model for us today as well.

<sup>116</sup> J. C. D. Clark, *The Language of Liberty 1660–1832* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1994) 37.

<sup>117</sup> The letter is quoted in C. Bonwick, *English Radicals and the American Revolution* (Chapel Hill, 1977) 7.