Theology in Scotland
33.2 (2026): 97–108
https://doi.org/10.15664/tis.v33i2.3270

Reflections on the Gifford Lectures

"The Conversions of Christianity"
Professor Paula Fredriksen
University of Edinburgh, Spring 2026

Paul J. Wilson

Paul Wilson is a PhD Candidate in New Testament and Christian Origins, University of Edinburgh and an Associate Lecturer at the Scottish Baptist College, University of the West of Scotland.

Abstract

This article reflects on Professor Paula Fredriksen's 2026 Gifford Lectures, titled "The Conversions of Christianity". The lectures traced how a first-century apocalyptic movement centred on a Jewish rabbi developed into an imperial religion. Fredriksen's account relies on primary sources without granting canonical texts special authority or appealing to revelation. She situates Paul within Judaism, presents the 'partings of the ways' between Judaism and Christianity as a long and tangled process, and places early Christianity within a Mediterranean world populated by many gods. While her reconstruction may be unfamiliar or controversial for some, her attention to primary evidence and to the diversity of Christianity's origins is to be appreciated. Also, in keeping with Lord Gifford's original mandate for the lectures, this article argues that her approach carries ethical implications for contemporary society, despite Fredriksen's stated focus on the ancient world. By resisting essentialist narratives and attending to the complex reality of lived religious experience, Fredriksen challenges rigid categorisations of identity and offers a cautionary perspective on defining ourselves over against others.

Introduction: The Conversions of Christianity

In the first of her Gifford Lectures, Paula Fredriksen (Professor emerita at Boston University and Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences) opened with two arrestingly juxtaposed images that offered a visual précis of the scope of her six lectures. The first was a Roman nail piercing the heelbone of Yehohanan ben Hagkol, the tip bent when the nail was driven in the cross and struck a knot in the wood.[1] The second was a sixth-century mosaic, *Christus militans*, from the vestibule of the *Cappella di Sant'Andrea* in Ravenna, Italy.[2] Christ is here adorned in royal Roman purple, outfitted like a Roman soldier. The cross in the image is not immediately obvious, but the careful observer will see that there is a short patibulum on the sceptre slung over Christ's shoulder. Yet, the cross of *Christus militans* no longer resembles an instrument of imperial execution. The irony of the images is that Jesus of Nazareth, who suffered Roman torture, is now attired as one who might have driven the nails. Fredriksen stated that the journey from the first image to the second would provide the narrative arc of her Gifford Lectures. This is a grand story about how a movement gathered around an executed apocalyptic rabbi in the first century became a state religion. It was a fitting depiction of the title of the lecture series, "The Conversions of Christianity".

All six lectures were delivered over a fortnight in the University of Edinburgh's Informatics Forum, which was filled to capacity, with hundreds more joining online (an additional seminar was held at the Royal Society of Edinburgh in the second week). This was a fitting venue given

[1] For image see: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Nail_%26_Heel_Bone_Only_Known_Evidence_of_Crucifixion,_Jerusalem,_1st_C._AD_(29347803498).jpg. Very little is known about Yehohanan aside from his name, which is roughly inscribed in Aramaic on an ossuary found in a Jewish graveyard. Archaeologists who have studied his remains have concluded that he led a difficult life, his bones showing signs of malnourishment prior to his execution in his mid-twenties. Despite copious descriptions of crucifixion from the period, this remains our only archaeological evidence of Roman crucifixion to date. For more on the significance of this archaeological discovery, see J. H. Charlesworth, "Jesus and Jehohanan: An Archaeological Note on Crucifixion," *The Expository Times* 84, no. 5 (1973): 147–50.

[2] For image see: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Christus_militans_2.jpg (copyright © woofer, 15 January 2018 via Wikimedia Commons).

Lord Gifford's desire that the lectures that bear his name explore 'Natural Theology'. Gifford described this as the 'duty to discuss natural theology as a science, such as astronomy or chemistry, that is, "without reference to or reliance upon any supposed special exceptional or so-called miraculous revelation."'[3] As for this particular aim of the Gifford Lectures, Fredriksen's account of Christian origins was well suited. Her work is grounded in primary sources and resists privileging texts simply because of their later canonical status; she tells her story without reference to divine providence or the guardrails of theological orthodoxy.

Fredriksen's lectures were a masterclass in public lecturing. To cover the breadth of Christian history over five centuries in a fortnight is no mean feat, but she brought this vast sweep of material together with remarkable clarity and coherence. Fredriksen has a gift for stating big ideas accessibly and bringing primary sources to centre stage. For many Christians, these texts are familiar from being read and sung in church, but she helps us view them afresh and situate them in the world of the ancient Mediterranean. Fredriksen's lectures prompted questions about the implications of this de-familiarising of the familiar. Is reading Paul within first-century Judaism in a 'crowded cosmos' of gods, for example, relevant to people of faith? Do we simply read these texts with different hats, or are there ways to integrate Fredriksen's reading with a view that the Bible is, in some sense, Scripture? In this reflection, it would be impossible to summarise each lecture, nor would this be necessary given that they are all freely accessible to watch online.[4]

The aim of *Theology in Scotland* is to explore 'responses to current issues in the Scottish church and nation […] that represent a faithful wrestling with contemporary challenges, rooted in tradition yet open to

[3] Quoted in Stanley L. Jaki, *Lord Gifford and His Lectures: A Centenary Retrospect* (Scottish Academic Press, 1986), 5.

[4] Video recordings:
Lecture 1 – https://youtube.com/live/-HQpyu39Tig
Lecture 2 – https://youtube.com/live/nu3iCtZCdY4
Lecture 3 – https://youtube.com/live/EtX3A3e3agA
Lecture 4 – https://youtube.com/live/qydZsr26ztw
Lecture 5 – https://youtube.com/live/vBTnAOqj9HE
Lecture 6 – https://youtube.com/live/2iiKpg5SIcE
RSE seminar – https://www.youtube.com/live/d1GM-5C8Ym0.

fresh insight.'[5] Fredriksen's lectures both challenged and enriched our understanding of tradition through fresh insights on how we situate early Christianities in the ancient Mediterranean. Is this focus on the ancient world relevant to current issues in the Scottish church and nation? I believe the answer to that question is 'yes', even if indirectly so, especially as questions of migration and identity dominate the current sociopolitical climate. Whether or not one accepts Fredriksen's reconstruction of early Christianity, like all things in the study of early Christianity, is a matter of debate. Her point about the diversity of early Christianity, however, is salient.[6] Before discussing its significance, I will summarise some of Fredriksen's key arguments to that end.

Christian origins and recognising the plurals

As with Fredricksen's history *Ancient Christianities: The First Five Hundred Years*,[7] it is important to take note of her use of plurals. *Conversions*. *Christianities*. A recurring feature of her history is an emphasis on the diversity she finds in the sources. This results in a picture of Christian history that will be unfamiliar to those more accustomed to confessional histories where biblical sources are harmonised. For example, Fredriksen describes Paul's vision of the kingdom of God as 'bodily, but not fleshly. For him, the kingdom would be celestial, not terrestrial. The believer would ascend to the heavens in a *sōma pneumatikon*, a body made of spirit, above the sublunar realm.'[8] Whereas Luke, which Fredriksen places in the second

[5] "Theology in Scotland," University of St Andrews Open Journal Systems, https://ojs.st-andrews.ac.uk/index.php/TIS/index.

[6] Fredriksen's ideas have garnered both appreciation and criticism. For a summary of her significance within the field of biblical studies, see Matthew V. Novenson, "Whither the Paul Within Judaism *Schule*?" *Journal of the Jesus Movement in Its Jewish Setting* 5 (2018): 79–88, https://www.jjmjs.org/uploads/1/1/9/0/11908749/fredriksen_-_a_response.pdf; for an example of informed dialogue between Fredriksen and her critics, see: Paul Foster, "An Apostle Too Radical for the Radical Perspective on Paul," *The Expository Times* 133, no. 1 (2021): 1–11, https://doi.org/10.1177/00145246211038846 ; Paula Fredriksen, "Paul—Apostle to the Pagans: A Response to Paul Foster," *The Expository Times* 133, no. 1 (2021): 12–20.

[7] Paula Fredriksen, *Ancient Christianities: The First Five Hundred Years* (Princeton University Press, 2024).

[8] Fredriksen, *Ancient Christianities*, 93.

century and argues was written in the absence of Christ's return, reneges on Paul's bodies made of spiritual stuff and focuses on flesh and blood resurrection; the kingdom is 'a deeschatologized, this-worldly future.'[9]

Another challenge to traditional formulations is that Fredriksen argues that the modern exclusive notion of 'monotheism' is an anachronism. In the ancient Mediterranean, the world was populated by many gods. Ancient monotheism, then, was not a belief in one god to the exclusion of others, but rather an expression of competition: our god is better than your god. Devotion to that god does not deny the existence of those other gods.[10] These are only a few of the ways in which Fredriksen departs from the 'official' story of Christianity and Judaism that is known to many people of faith. During the question-and-answer session that followed the first lecture, one participant prefaced his question with the remark that Fredrisksen had 'destroy[ed] my Sunday School theologies'. This, of course, was not Fredriksen's intent. The lectures were not solely deconstructive, they also offered a constructive synthesis of the evidence concerning early Christianities, but one not bound by popular confessional biases toward the coherence of the material.

Fredriksen's historical reading of Paul within first-century Judaism bears little resemblance to the Reformed theologies traditionally drawn from his letters, situating him instead as an intra-Jewish apocalyptic thinker who saw gentile inclusion not through conversion or justification by faith, but through pneumatic transformation of their bodies. Fredriksen also offers a different perspective on persecution and martyrdom. While a cult of martyrdom emerges in early Christianity, she describes the persecution at the hands of pagan Roman rulers as sporadic and intermittent.[11] She does not deny that some persecutions at the hands of Roman authorities

---

[9] Paula Fredriksen, *From Jesus to Christ: The Origins of the New Testament Images of Christ*, 2nd ed. (Yale University Press, 2000), 35; the former consensus of a non-eschatological Luke articulated by Hans Conzelmann and maintained in Fredrisksen's work has been challenged in recent scholarship, e.g., Kylie Crabbe, *Luke/Acts and the End of History* (De Gruyter, 2019).

[10] For more from Fredriksen on this description of ancient monotheism, see: Paula Fredriksen, "Philo, Herod, Paul, and the Many Gods of Ancient Jewish 'Monotheism'," *Harvard Theological Review* 115, no. 1 (2022): 23–45.

[11] In addition to Fredriksen, this point is also made in Candida R. Moss, *The Myth of Persecution: How Early Christians Invented a Story of Martyrdom* (HarperOne, 2014).

did happen; however, this was nothing compared to the systematic suppression unleashed once Christianity gained the backing of the state, which triggered a centralising tendency to quash internal diversity. In this new imperial era, doctrine results in domination, 'heresy […] is a disavowal, indeed a condemnation of diversity',[12] and the most significant and systematic persecution of Christians was actually wrought by other Christians. As Fredriksen memorably stated, 'More Christians were persecuted by the Roman state after the conversion of Constantine' than under any pagan emperors.[13]

She substantiates this controversial claim by contrasting the sporadic and localised persecution of Christians before Constantine with the imperial coercion that followed his conversion. She cites Origen, who observed in the mid-third century, 'a few, whose number could easily be counted, have died occasionally for the sake of the Christian religion'.[14] Under Constantine, she argues, imperial patronage enabled Christian bishops to seek state intervention in disputes over theology and ecclesial unity. She identifies the Donatist controversy in North Africa as an early example, as Constantine authorised coercive measures against the Donatists, including the confiscation of church property and the exile of clergy. The significance of this transition, Fredriksen proposes, lies not simply in the quantity of persecution, but in the fact that imperial coercion could now be directed against Christians deemed heretical or schismatic by other Christians.[15]

A thread that runs through the whole of Fredriksen's reconstruction is her refusal to essentialise early Christianity, or Judaism and paganism for that matter, highlighting instead the diversity of human experience.

---

[12] RSE seminar.

[13] RSE seminar.

[14] Origen, *Contra Celsum*, 3.8.

[15] For a fuller statement of Fredriksen's argument, see Fredriksen, *Ancient Christianities*, 61–89 and Paula Fredriksen, "Lambs Into Lions," *The New Republic* 224, no. 25 (June 18, 2001): 35–39, https://www.bu.edu/religion/files/pdf/lambs_into_lions.pdf. In both works, she contrasts the sporadic, localised, and brief nature of pre-Constantinian persecution with the use of imperial power to enforce Christian unity following Constantine's conversion. This argument, associated with Fredriksen and Candida Moss, is by no means without criticism; see Luke Timothy Johnson, "Prosecuting the Persecuted: The Myth of Persecution," *Commonweal* 140, no. 13 (August 5, 2013): 28, https://www.commonwealmagazine.org/prosecuting-persecuted.

Fredriksen is not content with the lines drawn by the theologians of late antiquity, whom she sees as drawing boundary lines from their positions of political influence and the need for governable unity. Rather, she peels back the layers of sources to understand what early and ordinary Christians were actually doing.



Essential to avoid essentialism

Throughout this series on Christian origins, Fredriksen frequently reiterated Lord Gifford's stipulation that lectures be presented 'without reference to or reliance upon any supposed special exceptional or so-called miraculous revelation.'[16] However, one feature of Gifford's vision for the lectures that appeared absent was reflection on the ethical relevance of Natural Theology:

> [T]he true and felt knowledge (not mere nominal knowledge) of the relations of man and of the universe to Him, and of the true foundations of all ethics and morals, being, I say, convinced that this knowledge, when really felt and acted on, is the means of man's highest well-being, and the security of his upward progress.[17]

During the question-and-answer session at the Royal Society of Edinburgh seminar, Professor Stewart J. Brown, the co-convenor of the Gifford Lectures, asked this very question:

> The Gifford Lectures were endowed to explore natural theology, that is to look for a sense of order in the universe, and secondly, to explore the foundations of ethics and morals. I wonder if the panellists could comment at all upon whether there is […] a distinctive Christian social ethics that emerges? A morality? And if so, what are the characteristics of that ethics?[18]

Fredriksen responded:

[16] Quoted in Jaki, *Lord Gifford*, 5.
[17] Quoted in Jaki, 71–2.
[18] RSE seminar.

> [T]here is an idealisation of ethics, just as there is in Judaism, just as there is in paganism; there is an ideal of moral behaviour and then there's how people are actually behaving […] people act like themselves more than they level up.[19]

In response, the University of Edinburgh's Paul Foster, Professor of New Testament Language, Literature and Theology, stated that in the Judeo-Christian tradition we can see the value placed on human life, the *imago Dei*, citing the cessation of gladiatorial games as one example. This, for Fredriksen, is a point of contention, which she supports by reading against the grain of early Christian sermons; if a preacher rails against it, it was probably happening. She cites examples of Augustine complaining about Alypius attending gladiatorial contests[20] and the exposure of infants.[21] According to Fredriksen's reading of the sources, the need for statements against such things implies they were happening.

In the ensuing discussion in the Royal Society of Edinburgh seminar, a different approach to the sources emerged, or at least, varying degrees of hermeneutic suspicion regarding the gap between moral instruction and the obedience of the addressees of such instruction. The University of Edinburgh's Professor of Christian Origins Helen K. Bond noted that a distinctive feature of the Judeo-Christian tradition in comparison with the Graeco-Roman world lay, with a nod to the Sermon on the Mount, in the call to service. Rather than striving after glory, it involves 'behaving like a woman because these are womanly ways of existing in the world.'[22] The disagreement between the panellists appeared to concern the breadth [extent] of that divide in antiquity. Foster concluded with a wry quip about how some leaders today claim to be Christian for social clout, whilst ignoring its moral instruction, stating 'It has ever been this way, I think.'[23]

Fredriksen expresses some hesitancy to venture into ethics given the gap between the 'ideal of moral behaviour and […] how people are actually behaving.'[24] Yet, to return to Foster's comment, experience tells us 'it's ever been this way'. Fredriksen complicates our understanding of

[19] RSE seminar.
[20] *Confessions*, 6.8.
[21] E.g., *Didache* 2.2; *Epistle of Barnabas* 19.5; Justin Martyr, *Apologia* 1.27.
[22] RSE seminar.
[23] RSE seminar.
[24] RSE seminar.

the ancient world, and in doing so, makes the ancient world appear less distant, and more recognisably human. Even if Fredriksen is wary of extracting moral generalities from her sources, I think that there is an ethically relevant aspect to her methodology. That is, her testimony to the diversity of early Judaism, Christianity, and paganism. Her work honours not just what Christian leaders were proclaiming as orthodox but appreciates the messy and contradictory lives of early Christians and Jews, refusing to deny them the designation of 'Christian' if what we can reconstruct of their experience does not always fit within the lines drawn by theologians with regard to what would become 'orthodox'.[25]

In the current sociopolitical climate, there is something to learn from Fredriksen's refusal to essentialise peoples of the past into simplistic categories. Human experience, in the past and present, does not fit into tidy boxes. There is room for diversity and overlap within her definitions of Christians and Jews. Moreover, throughout the Gifford Lectures, ancient peoples are not defined by the worst, or best, examples of their activities, or singularly through the pronouncements of their leaders. This is a posture that runs counter to popular, and often morally corrosive, ways of engaging with people who are often described as 'other'.

An example of this has been another summer marred by riots in the UK and Ireland around the perceived threat of immigration, with Muslims being targeted especially.[26] Sociologist Damjan Mandelc has described much of the social media content that fuels these fears and erupts into street violence as the curation of 'cultural essentialism'.[27] This is a belief that a

[25] Such analysis has proven illuminative in contemporary discussions of religious movements; for example, I see some parallels with Kristin Kobes Du Mez's analysis of white American evangelicalism, which she views as less defined by the theological distinctives of the 'Bebbington quadrilateral', but the 'evangelical culture of consumption' is more influential in forming morality and, likewise, such popular media is more important for understanding what makes them tick: Kristin Kobes Du Mez, *Jesus and John Wayne: How White Evangelicals Corrupted a Faith and Fractured a Nation* (Liveright Publishing Corporation, 2020), 8.

[26] Alastair Bonnett and Peter Hopkins, "Understanding the 2024 UK Riots," *The Geographical Journal* 192, no. 1 (2026): e70047, https://doi.org/10.1111/geoj.70047; Tine Munk and Juan Ahmad, "When Lies Go Viral: Social Media and the 2024 UK Riots," *Safer Communities* 25, no. 2 (2026): 154–76.

[27] Damjan Mandelc, "Religion, Migration, and the Far-Right: How European

whole group can be defined according to a supposed underlying, fixed essence; for many, their perception of this essence is formed through the influence of viral and increasingly AI-generated content [28] that amplifies existing fears. Of course, Muslim migrants are not the only people subjected to essentialisation. Nearly two decades ago, and prior to the current pervasiveness of social media, the social psychologists Peter Holtz and Wolfgang Wagner showed how Jews and Africans were vilified in internet forums.[29] Such prejudice is fuelled by etic declarations that 'that is what they are all like'. However, the way in which the misdemeanour of one bad actor defines an entire people is often not applied to the in-group.

An example of the double standard of essentialisation can be seen in the Belfast riots in July 2026, which occurred after the attempted murder of Stephen Ogilvie by Hadi Alodid, a Sudanese refugee.[30] At the same time, the trial of Jeffrey Donaldson, the former leader of the Democratic Unionist Party, was ongoing with horrific evidence of his crimes emerging from the court session. Two weeks after the riots, Donaldson was convicted of 18 counts of child sex abuse and one count of rape. There was shock over the extent of Donaldson's double life, especially given that, in his own words, 'my approach to politics and leadership is grounded in my Christian faith'.[31] During his trial, Donaldson continued to wear an *ichthys* pin on his lapel. In the trial, it emerged that he perpetrated his abuse through his Christian institutional networks. The horrific nature of Donaldson's

---

Populism Frames Religious Pluralism," *Religions* 16, no. 9 (2025): 1192, https://doi.org/10.3390/rel16091192.

[28] E.g., Charlotte Green, "Video of Muslims Praying in Tube Carriage Is Fake," *Full Fact*, 5 August 2026, https://fullfact.org/culture-and-society/muslims-praying-london-underground-fake-ai/.

[29] Peter Holtz and Wolfgang Wagner, "Essentialism and Attribution of Monstrosity in Racist Discourse: Right-wing Internet Postings about Africans and Jews," *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology* 19, no. 6 (2009): 411–25.

[30] Rory Carroll, "How the Belfast Stabbing Was the Spark to a Fuse Loaded with Grievance and Provocation," *The Guardian*, 11 June 2026, https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2026/jun/11/how-the-belfast-stabbing-was-the-spark-to-a-fuse-loaded-with-grievance-and-provocation.

[31] Quoted in Marcus Jones, "Jeffrey Donaldson: NI's Longest-serving MP on the Faith That Sustains Him," *Premier Christianity*, 16 December 2021, https://www.premierchristianity.com/interviews/jeffrey-donaldson-nis-longest-serving-mp-on-the-faith-that-sustains-him/5836.article.

crimes was not generally extended to all white evangelical Northern Irish men. Blanket 'safety concerns' were not raised about this demographic. At least, not in the way that Alodid's actions were extended to other refugees and asylum seekers.[32] Whilst Donaldson is excused as the proverbial bad apple within the institutions he exploited, others still seem ready to stand by with a single brush to tar entire communities based solely on the basis of a single individual's actions.

Fredriksen's description of the complexity of the ancient world resists the urge to essentialise and instead highlights human complexity. As we grapple with the theological challenges presented by populism and migration, we would do well to do likewise, even for those in our own self-defined out-groups. A golden rule of dialogue is that we engage with others as we would hope to be engaged with, past and present. Fredriksen might have avoided making statements on moral principles, but I imagine Lord Gifford would be pleased with the example of how this pursuit of knowledge, in all its human complexity, can show us a better way of understanding.

Conclusions: You and I too, can be Christians

Given the sociopolitical connotations, many – particularly among liberal and progressive Christians in Europe and North America – find 'Christian' to be a difficult label to use when it is so easily misunderstood,[33] especially given how it is wielded by extreme voices who are given prominence in the algorithmic bias for rage-fuelling content.[34] This difficulty of labels, of course, does not only apply to Christians. For those who empathise with this struggle, attempting to define our faith against what we see as aberrations of our faith, there is something hopeful in Fredriksen's lectures

[32] Even by politicians from Donaldson's political party; e.g., Rebecca Black, "DUP MP Defends Photo with Masked Men at Scarva Protest," *The Independent*, 7 June 2026, https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/dup-naomi-long-ireland-gavin-robinson-hanna-b2991371.html.

[33] Laura M. Krull, "'I Want to Reclaim Christianity': Boundary Work Among Inclusive Christians," *The Sociological Quarterly* 62, no. 4 (2021): 712–33.

[34] Michael Adelmund, Jan-Erik Hahn, and Sebastian Grochowicki, "The Unifying Anger in Social Media: On the Symbiosis of 'Humans and Algorithms' and Its Effect on Fear, Anger and Hatred," *Polizei & Wissenschaft* 1 (2025): 2–19, https://nbn-resolving.org/urn:nbn:de:0168-ssoar-106596-5.

in which she attempts to honour the complicated experience of the earliest Christians. Indeed, the gap between moral ideals and practice cuts both ways. Can we presume that if all early Christians did not follow their leaders in shunning the violence of gladiatorial games, we then need to assume that all early Christians were in lockstep with Patristic misogyny?[35] As there were ancient Christianities, Judaisms, and paganisms, so there are today.

When it comes to the very public struggle over contested definitions, a final and sobering challenge comes with Fredriksen's observation about persecution. Some of the worst Christian persecution happened at the hands of Christians.[36] Recognition of this in the political and social machinations of early Nicene orthodoxy does not necessarily mean that definitions of orthodoxy today follow the same trajectory, nor does it render absent the genuine theological concerns over the need for some shared definition of what 'Christian' means.[37] Indeed, the knowledge and study of the ancient creeds and orthodoxy can be liberating[38] and serve as a locus for Christian ecumenical agreement across traditions.[39] The lesson from history, that Fredriksen reminds us of so memorably, is to not repeat the mistake of denying our faith, and harming others, as we attempt to describe who we are.

---

[35] Rosemary Radford Ruether, *Religion and Sexism: Images of Woman in the Jewish and Christian Traditions* (Simon and Schuster, 1974), 150–83.

[36] Fredriksen, *Ancient Christianities*, 147–49.

[37] For an argument that recognises Constantine's political motivations in the Council of Nicaea, but appreciates the theological concerns, see Christopher A. Hall, "The Nicene Creed: Foundation of Orthodoxy," in *On Classical Trinitarianism: Retrieving the Nicene Doctrine of the Triune God*, ed. Matthew Barrett (IVP Academic, 2024), 58–77.

[38] Marina Ngursangzeli Behera, "Confessing the One Faith in Many Tongues: A Decolonial Reading of the Nicene Creed," *International Review of Mission* 113, no. 2 (2024): 341–54; Joerg Rieger, "On the Homoousia: The Liberative Potential of the Nicene Creed," *International Review of Mission* 113, no. 2 (2024): 261–79, https://doi.org/10.1111/irom.12510.

[39] Christopher R. Seitz, ed., *Nicene Christianity: The Future for a New Ecumenism* (Brazos Press, 2001).