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Editorial

Once more this issue of ERT focuses on the renewal of the Church—on its true nature as "God's new society" (to use the title of John Stott's excellent commentary on Ephesians) and on its mission to the world. We make no apology for this emphasis, for there is no doubt that the Holy Spirit is calling the Church back to God and at the same time thrusting her out into the world. In many parts of the world the rising stream of conferences and study programmes on some aspects of revival and renewal is encouraging evidence of this awareness. The focus on the local church is to be welcomed, but only insofar as such communities of believers do not insulate themselves from each other and the universal Body of Christ. The local church needs to see the multiplicity of institutions and organisations with specific ministries not as para-Church, but as para-parochial agencies with goals common to their own. These organisations in turn must not become impatient with the local congregations but believe that God can and will renew His Church, including its structures. The Church is uniquely His agent for accomplishing Christ's mission in the world.

The Wheaton '83 conference, "I will build my Church" (June 20–July 2) is committed to seeking this integration of ministries. Through Bible study, prayer and the evaluation of numerous case studies, the nature and mission of the Church are being studied from the perspective of the local setting, the new frontiers for missions and the response to human need.

This call for renewal must be theological, spiritual and missiological. A deep conviction about the truth of the Gospel and our corporate task in the world is urgently needed. I find that in many countries churches are suffering from an identity crisis. In an age of cultural confusion and enormous human suffering and oppression, this is understandable. But confidence is ultimately found in the reality of interpersonal relationships. It is here that the renewing work of the Holy Spirit binds us to Christ and to each other. Such renewal inevitably results in mission, for only endowment with the power of the Spirit can motivate obedience to the Great Commission and give the sustaining strength to fulfil it. Our hope is in Christ Who said to Peter and the disciples, "I will build my Church and the gates of Hades will not overcome it." p. 172

The Church as Holy and Charismatic

Howard A. Snyder

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"Charismatic" is to the contemporary Charismatic Movement what "Holiness" was to the most lively descendants of John Wesley in the nineteenth century. It is the "key word" and concept which best expresses the organizing center of a movement. Because of this, "charismatic"—like "holiness" and "pentecostal"—quickly becomes a slippery word and begins to take on different meanings for different people. But like so many words with a biblical base, it is too good a word to be abandoned because of differing meanings and

connotations. The danger is too great that in banning the word we may inadvertently close the door to an important area of truth or restrict the free operation of the Holy Spirit among us.[1]

It is fully appropriate, therefore, that we engage in a dialog with Charismatic Christianity. The term "Charismatic Christianity" in this paper is to be taken as referring to the contemporary Charismatic Movement (in its various forms) and, secondarily, to its Pentecostal antecedents. Despite the increasing awareness of common Charismatic, Pentecostal, and Holiness roots in the Wesleyan Revival, there has so far been little dialog between contemporary Wesleyans and the Charismatic Movement. The assignment of this topic is at least tacit recognition of the fact that we as Wesleyans have something to learn from, as well as to say to, contemporary Charismatics, and that in some way God is at work in the Charismatic Movement today. That recognition is, by the way, a thoroughly Wesleyan attitude.

How does a Wesleyan dialog with Charismatic Christianity? Rather than comparing elements of theology or practice point by point, I have chosen to proceed somewhat indirectly. Rather than discussing or evaluating the contemporary Charismatic or Pentecostal movements, I would like to address the central question which, it seems to me, Charismatic Christianity raises for us: In what sense is Christian experience, and the Church, charismatic? If the Charismatic Movement raises valid biblical questions for us (as I believe it does), then it is more important for us to deal with those questions than to merely catalog the pluses or minuses of the movement. p. 173

I will, therefore, first raise the question of the charismatic nature of the Church. Then we will look at Wesleyanism as a charismatic movement, examining history in the light of Scripture. Finally, I will make some remarks about Wesleyans and Charismatics today and offer some suggestions in the direction of a biblical Wesleyan ecclesiology—since the charismatic emphasis inevitably raises questions of ecclesiology.

I. THE CHARISMATIC NATURE OF THE CHURCH

Is the Church, biblically and properly understood, charismatic? W. T. Purkiser affirms, "In the New Testament use of the term, all Christians are charismatic."[2] But the obvious question becomes, what do we mean by "charismatic"?

The Meanings of Charismatic

In the popular mind "charismatic" is almost universally associated with "tongues." Only in very recent years, as the Charismatic Movement has matured and assumed somewhat varying forms, has that association begun to break down.

There are, of course, other associations to the term. We may distinguish three main meanings in popular usage: the sociological, the religious, and the biblical.[3] The

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[1] Note my discussion in *The Community of the King* (Downers Grove, Illinois: InterVarsity Press, 1977), pp.66–68.

[2] W. T. Purkiser, *The Gifts of the Spirit* (Kansas City, Missouri: Beacon Hill Press of Kansas City, 1975), p.17.

[3] See the helpful discussion in John Howard Yoder, "The Fullness of Christ: Perspectives on Ministries in Renewal," *Concern* No. 17 (February 1969), pp.63–64. For a discussion of "charismatic fullness" as this term was used by Daniel Steele, see Delbert R. Rose, "Distinguishing Things that Differ," *Wesleyan Theological Journal*, 9 (Spring 1974), 8–11.

sociological meaning traces back to Max Weber and is common today in the sense of the "charismatic leader"—whether political or religious, whose personal qualities are somewhat independent of official status or position. While this meaning distorts the biblical base, it ultimately springs from it. The popular religious meaning is also a distortion of the biblical base, both because of its almost universal association with tongues and because of the related notion that charismatic gifts are always dramatic and in some sense ecstatic or undisciplined. There is, however, an important biblical basis to what the word "charismatic" denotes. Both the popular sociological and religious meanings make it more difficult, but also more necessary, to go to Scripture with our questions. p. 174

The Biblical Meaning

The historical reasons for the close association of "charismatic" with tongues are obvious enough, and will require some comment later. Biblically, it is at least clear that tongues is one of the *charismata*, however we may understand that gift. But this is not the proper point to begin looking for the biblical meaning of the charismatic emphasis.

We could begin somewhat more broadly, examining the full range of New Testament charisms and discussing their relevance for the personal and corporate experience of believers. But a still broader and more fundamental biblical perspective begins with the very nature of God and His dealings with humankind.

The word "charismatic" derives, of course, from the Greek word *charisma*, "grace gift," and finally from *charis*, "grace." Related is the verb *charidzomai*, "to give freely or graciously as a favor."

With these words we come to the heart of the gospel. "For it is by grace [*charis*] you have been saved, through faith—and this not from yourselves, it is the gift of God—not by works, so that no one can boast" (Eph. 2:8–9).[4] God is graciously self-giving. His mercy and grace toward us as sinners, and toward the Church, are the foundation for the life of the Christian community.

This fact comes out clearly in several of the instances of *charidzomai* in the New Testament. For example, Romans 8:32—"He who did not spare his own Son, but gave him up for us all—how will he not also, along with him, graciously give [*charisetai*] us all things?" God's gift of His own Son is the supreme manifestation of His grace and assures us that in Christ we will be given "all things" necessary to full Christian life and experience.

Paul was concerned to underscore the fact that salvation was a gracious gift, not a matter of works or law. So he argues in Galatians 3:18, "For if the inheritance depends on the law, then it no longer depends on a promise; but God in His grace gave [*kecharistai*] it to Abraham through a promise."[5] Like Abraham, the people of God today are justified and live on the basis of a gracious promise.[6]

It is clear that the Church is in this fundamental sense charismatic. It is constituted and lives by God's grace. It has received the gift of God which is salvation through Jesus Christ. The gift is, in fact, Jesus Christ Himself—and, therefore, the Holy Spirit Himself.

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[4] All Scripture quotations are from the New International Version.

[5] The NIV brings out the force of the verb by saying, "God *in his grace* gave …"

[6] Note also Phil. 2:9; Col. 2:13; 2 Cor. 2:10 and 12:13; Eph. 4:33. The fact that *charidzomai* can also be translated "forgive" (as in the last passage) further underscores the essential nature of this emphasis and its ecclesiological importance.

Biblically, p. 175 this is the indispensable foundation for dealing with the question of the *charismata*.

It is not enough, however, to say only this much—to simply accept the word "charismatic" in this redefined (and more basic) sense without going on to ask how the *gifts* of the Spirit mentioned in the New Testament relate to the fact of the *gift* of the Spirit, of salvation by grace through faith. For the Church is also charismatic in the sense that God has apportioned a special measure of grace and giftedness to each believer (Eph. 4:7–8). God promises and gives gifts of the Holy Spirit for the edification of the Church that are consistent with the gracious work of the same Spirit in regeneration and sanctification.

It is not necessary, I think, to deal extensively here with the familiar Pauline passages on the *charismata* (Rom. 12:4–8; I Cor. 12–14; Eph. 4:7–16), or with such related passages as Hebrews 2:4; 1 Peter 4:10–11; and others. Ephesians 4 clearly indicates that the unity and oneness of the Church (4:3–6) are balanced by the diversity and mutuality of the Church as a gifted, charismatic community (4:7–16). The significant thing is that this understanding of the *charismata* is basic to Paul's whole concept of the Church as an organism created and sustained by the grace of God.

An examination of Ephesians 3:2–11 underscores this point and shows how closely *charis* and *charisma* were linked in Paul's thought. Paul says here that his hearers know of the administration or economy (*oikonomia*) of God's grace (*charis*) that had been given him (3:2). Paul had been given a special understanding of God's grace and a special commission to reveal and proclaim this to the Church, and especially to the Gentiles. In verse 7 he says, "I became a servant of this gospel by the gift of God's grace given me through the working of his power." Paul's phrase here is *dorean tes charitos*, literally "gift of the grace" of God, rather than *charisma*. Still, the meaning is clear: Paul himself had received a special charism, a gift of grace, to proclaim the full meaning of the gospel. In verse 8, Paul says "this grace [*charis*] was given me to preach to the Gentiles the unsearchable riches of Christ." Here he substitutes the word "grace" for "gift of grace." For Paul, the *charismata* and God's grace were so intimately associated that he could sometimes use *charis* in the sense of *charisma*.

Paul thus saw his own ministry in charismatic terms. We know that Paul was very conscious of his apostleship, and further that he considered apostleship as one of the *charismata*—in fact, as the preeminent charismatic gift (1 Cor. 12:28; Eph. 4:11). His description of his own ministry as "grace" and "gift of grace" underscores the fact p. 176 that Paul understood his own apostleship in such charismatic terms.

We see here also that Paul uses "grace" in two somewhat different senses. In Ephesians 2:8–9, it is the grace of salvation, God's gift through Christ by which we are saved. But in Ephesians 3:8 and 4:7 "grace" is associated with gifts and ministry so that *charis* becomes almost synonymous with *charisma*. Thus in Ephesians 4:7 Paul says, "to each one of us grace has been given as Christ apportioned it," and then goes on to speak of spiritual gifts. This distributing or apportioning of God's grace to individual believers for edification and ministry is basic to the discussion of 1 Corinthians 12, especially verse 4–7, and reminds us of the reference to "distributions of the Holy Spirit" in Hebrews 2:4.

Note the progression of Paul's thought in Ephesians 4:7. You have already been saved by God's grace, and so made one, he says. But within this unity is diversity. Grace has been given not only for your salvation, but also in the form of special endowment to enable each believer to be a useful, functioning member of the Body of Christ. What follows then, logically, is a discussion of the gifts of the Spirit.

Thus the Church is charismatic in these two senses. Fundamentally, it is charismatic in that it is called into being and constituted by God's gracious work of salvation effected by the Holy Spirit through faith in Jesus Christ. Secondly, it is charismatic in that God by

His Spirit works graciously in the Church to build up and equip it for ministry through the distribution of a variety of spiritual gifts.

Several things follow from this perspective. For one thing, spiritual gifts are not a peripheral or unimportant aspect of the Church's life but rather are integral to God's gracious action in the events of salvation. Secondly, this perspective underscores the ecclesiological reference of spiritual gifts. Gifts are not given for private spiritual enjoyment only, but for building up the Christian community. Conversely, gifts are not only a matter of the corporate life of the Church but are a very real part of personal Christian experience. In fact, both sanctification and the functioning of spiritual gifts have this in common: Individual Christian experience builds up the Body, and the Church nurtures the lives and ministries of individual believers through the building of a charismatic, sanctifying community. This is the meaning of Ephesians 4:1–16.

From this perspective, therefore, we can affirm that both Christian experience and the Church are charismatic—and that Christian experience *is* the experience of God in the life of the Christian community. p. 177

The Church as Charismatic

The past two decades have seen the emergence of a new awareness that the Church is in some sense charismatic—even though interpretations of just what this means vary widely. The Charismatic Movement has forced nearly all Christian traditions to re-examine what the Scriptures teach regarding the *charismata*. From an initially defensive reaction, a number of church bodies have come to at least some degree of recognition of spiritual gifts and some affirmation of the charismatic emphasis, though with important qualifications and safeguards. This has happened in varying degrees within the Holiness Movement[7] and particularly in my own denomination, the Free Methodist Church.

It is interesting to observe the re-examination of the charismatic emphasis in the Roman Catholic Church through the double impact of Vatican II and the Catholic Charismatic Renewal. One of the finest statements on the *charismata* has come from Catholic theologian Hans Kung. In an essay entitled "The Charismatic Structure of the Church" Kung argues that "to rediscover the charismata is to rediscover the real ecclesiology of St. Paul."[8] He rightly suggests that we misunderstand the charismata when we think of them "mainly as extraordinary, miraculous and sensational phenomena," when we limit them to only one kind or category, or when we deny their universal distribution to all believers.[9] Kung adds, "All this implies … that [the *charismata*] are not a thing of the past (possible and real only in the early Church), but eminently contemporary and actual; they do not hover on the periphery of the Church but are eminently central and essential to it. In this sense one should speak of a *charismatic*

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[7] For growing recognition in the Church of the Nazarene of the practical place of spiritual gifts, see Frank Carver, "Spiritual Gifts and Church Growth: Biblical Perspectives in a Wesleyan Context" (manuscript copy, n.d.), 14 pp. Dr. Carver was the respondent to the present paper at the 1979 WTS meeting.

[8] Hans Kung, "The Charismatic Structure of the Church," in Hans Kung, ed. *The Church and Ecumenism*, Vol. 4 of *Concilium* (New York: Paulist Press, 1965), p.49. See also Kung, *The Church* (Garden City, New Jersey: Doubleday Image Books, 1976), especially pp.236–50.

[9] Kung, "The Charismatic Structure of the Church," pp.50–58.

structure of the Church which embraces and goes beyond the structure of its government."[10]

As Kung indicates, this emphasis becomes intensely practical when one begins to examine the life and ministry of the Christian community. "Where a Church or a community thrives only on office holders and not on all the members," he wonders "in all seriousness whether p. 178 the Spirit has not been thrown out with the charismata."[11]

This perspective obviously raises a number of questions for the Holiness Movement. The fundamental question becomes not exclusively the question of the legitimacy of specific spiritual gifts but the more basic question of whether we are building churches which are charismatic in the full, biblical sense—churches which function not merely on the basis of tradition and ecclesiastical structures but on the basis of the Holy Spirit working through both the individual and corporate life of believers. We need the uninhibited operation of all the gifts the Spirit sovereignly chooses to give us, for both biblical and pragmatic reasons. As James Dunn has written, "The inspiration, the concrete manifestations of Spirit in power, in revelation, in word, in service, all are necessary—for without them grace soon becomes status, gift becomes office, ministry becomes bureaucracy, body of Christ becomes institution, and *koinonia* becomes the extension fund."[12]

If we thus approach the "charismatic question" broadly and biblically, rather than narrowly and apologetically with reference to only one or two gifts, we must affirm that the Church is fundamentally charismatic. This affirmation implies at least four things:

1. *The Church exists and lives by grace*. It is the special sphere and evidence of God working graciously by His Spirit to convert, sanctify, equip, and minister through believers "to the praise of his glorious grace." The Church is charismatic because it is fundamentally a grace-endowed organism, not a legal or primarily institutional structure.

2. *The Church lives and functions by the action of the Holy Spirit and the distribution of the Spirit's gifts*. The charismatic nature of the Church underscores the importance of the Holy Spirit's endowment of believers with His gifts. The work of the Spirit is of course much broader than the distribution of gifts, as Wesleyans are quick to point out, but one cannot omit or downplay the role of spiritual gifts without doing violence to the New Testament.

3. *The charismatic emphasis focuses attention on the Church as community*. The fact of *koinonia*, of the Church as an intimate community of mutually dependent believers who constitute Christ's Body, is too often a casualty to the seemingly inevitable drift toward institutionalization in all churches, including those in our own tradition. Decline in awareness and use of spiritual gifts and decline in *koinonia* go together. Similarly, recovery of a balanced biblical p. 179 emphasis on the *charismata* leads toward a deepening of the awareness and experience of true Christian community. It is no accident that many branches of the Charismatic Movement have led the way in the recovery of a deeper level of Christian community, and it is my observation that many believers who have been attracted to the Charismatic Movement were initially drawn less by the emphasis on tongues or other gifts than by the level of caring, mutual love, and community which they witnessed among "charismatics."

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[10] Ibid, p.58.

[11] Ibid.

[12] James D. G. Dunn, *Jesus and the Spirit* (London: SCM Press, 1975), p.341.

4. Finally, *the charismatic emphasis implies some inevitable tension with institutional expressions of the Church*. The tension between Spirit and structure is ever present in the life of the Church (unless all life has vanished!) as the Wesleyan and Holiness movements can well testify.[13]

This does not mean, of course, that every "charismatic" manifestation is necessarily of the Spirit or that institutional structures are wrong. But it does suggest that whenever.the Spirit moves in the Church tension between "wine" and "wineskins" will result, and that the very immediacy of the work of the Spirit in human experience produces tensions with established patterns of life and order.

Charismatic and Holy

It should be clear that no conflict or *necessary* tension exists between the charismatic and holiness themes in Scripture, and in the life of the Church. In the New Testament there is no conflict between the gifts and the fruit of the Spirit. The same Holy Spirit who sanctifies is the Spirit who gives gifts. The same Jesus Christ who apportions grace-gifts in the Church is the Lord who has become our sanctification. The Church which is biblical will be both holy and charismatic, and all earnest Christians should be concerned that both the holiness and charismatic emphasis are fully biblical.

These two emphases are both necessary and are complementary. Each emphasis needs the other. Certainly this is so in Scripture, and it ought to be so in our personal and corporate Christian experience. The Church needs both the cleansing, sanctifying work of the Spirit and His gracious bestowal of the variety of spiritual gifts taught in Scripture.

The New Testament generally puts the charismatic emphasis in the context of the call for Christians to be God's holy, love-filled people. The teaching about gifts in Romans 12:4–8 is preceded by a call to holiness and followed by an emphasis on love. Ephesians 4:11–16 shows us how the holy, charismatic Christian community is to function. On the one hand, a variety of equipping *charismata* is given "to p. 180 prepare God's people for works of service" so that the body "grows and builds itself up in love, as each part does its work." On the other hand, believers are to attain "the full measure of perfection found in Christ." "Speaking the truth in love," they are "in all things" to "grow up into him who is the Head, that is, Christ." The two emphases go together. The picture here is of believers individually and corporately growing up into the fullness of Christ through the exercise of gifts and through progress in sanctification. And this charismatic theme here underscores something that we in the Holiness Movement have insufficiently emphasized: the "fullness of Christ" which is our goal refers not primarily to individual experience but to the corporate life of the believing community. Sanctification, like the *charismata*, is for the Body and for each individual in the Body, not for isolated believers. This is, in fact, what John Wesley meant when he said that "Christianity is essentially a social religion; and … to turn it into a solitary religion, is to destroy it."[14]

II. WESLEYANISM AS A CHARISMATIC MOVEMENT

Reference to John Wesley provides a convenient point of transition to our second consideration. Is Wesleyan Christianity charismatic Christianity in the proper biblical meaning of the term? Is Wesleyanism a charismatic movement? Here it may be helpful to

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[13] See Jaroslav Pelikan, *Spirit Versus Structure* (New York: Harper and Row, 1968).

[14] John Wesley, "Upon Our Lord's Sermon on the Mount," Discourse IV, *The Works of the Rev. John Wesley, A.M.*, third ed. (London: John Mason, 1829–31), 5:296.

distinguish between the theology of John Wesley himself, the fact of the Wesleyan Revival in England, and the subsequent experience of the Holiness Movement.

John Wesley's Theology

A study of John Wesley's theology in the light of biblical charismatic themes shows that Wesley was charismatic, but that this must be said with certain qualifications. Wesley did not speak in tongues, of course (so far as we know), and in fact did not have to face this issue in the way we do today. He said comparatively little about the *charismata*—though more than most churchmen of his day. But viewing Christianity as charismatic in the proper biblical sense, we can describe Wesley's theology as charismatic.

1. *Wesley's theology is charismatic because it emphasizes God's grace in the life and experience of the Church.* Wesley was deeply conscious of the operation of the grace of God in individual experience and in the life of the Church—God's grace "preventing [or coming before], accompanying, and following" every person.[15] p. 181

Wesley was, if anything, *more* deeply conscious of God's grace than were the earlier Reformers. He had a deep optimism of grace that formed the foundation of his emphasis on the universal atonement, the witness of the Spirit, and Christian perfection. Here his stress on prevenient grace is especially important. As Colin Williams has observed, Wesley "broke the chain of logical necessity by which the Calvinist doctrine of predestination seems to flow from the doctrine of original sin, by his doctrine of prevenient grace."[16]

Thus Wesley argued, "there is no man that is in a state of mere nature; there is no man, unless he has quenched the Spirit, that is wholly void of the grace of God. No man living is entirely destitute of what is vulgarly called *natural conscience*. But this is not natural: It is more properly termed, *preventing grace* … no man sins because he has not grace, but because he does not use the grace which he hath."[17]

Wesley saw the whole plan of salvation as dependent upon the grace of God. It follows that the Church exists and lives by God's grace. Although Wesley said little specifically about the Church, as Church, being dependent on grace, this is the clear implication of his view of grace. Whenever he discusses the Church he stresses the spiritual, living meaning of any valid description or definition of it.[18] In this sense, Wesley's view of the Church is charismatic.

2. *Wesley's understanding of the Church and Christian experience can be described as charismatic because of the place of the Holy Spirit in his theology and because of his openness to the gifts of the Spirit.*

Without entering into the complex debate as to the precise role of the Holy Spirit in Wesley's doctrine of entire sanctification or the appropriateness of terminology which emphasizes the role of the Spirit, one can at least affirm that the Holy Spirit played a significant role in Wesley's thought. It seems to me that Wesley was biblical in understanding salvation in strongly christological rather than primarily pneumatological

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[15] Sermon, "The Good Steward," *Works*, 6:147.

[16] Colin W. Williams, *John Wesley's Theology Today* (New York: Abingdon Press, 1960), p.44.

[17] Sermon, "On Working Out Our Own Salvation," *Works*, 6:512.

[18] See, for example, my discussion in "Wesley's Conception of the Church," *The Asbury Seminarian*, 33:1 (January 1978), pp.38–41.

terms, but in stressing the role of the Spirit in testifying to Christ and making Him real to us in present experience. The "more excellent purpose" for which the Holy Spirit was poured out at Pentecost was "to give them ... the mind which was in Christ, those holy fruits of the Spirit, which whosoever hath not, is none of His."[19] p. 182

Wesley did not elaborate a complete doctrine of the gifts of the Spirit, but did say enough (mainly in response to charges that he himself pretended extraordinary gifts or inspirations) for us to understand his general perspective.

To interpret Wesley's view is complicated by the fact that he distinguished between *extraordinary* and *ordinary* gifts in a way that is not precisely biblical. Among the "extraordinary gifts" he included healing, miracles, prophecy (in the sense of foretelling), discernment of spirits, tongues, and the interpretation of tongues, and he describes apostles, prophets, and evangelists as "extraordinary officers." The "ordinary gifts" include "convincing speech," persuasion, knowledge, faith, "easy elocution," and pastors and teachers as "ordinary officers."[20] The problem for interpretation is that Wesley seems to include more than the usually-identified *charismata* under "ordinary gifts" and he makes a distinction in 1 Corinthians 12 between gifts which are "extraordinary" or "miraculous" and others which are not.[21]

Wesley felt the ordinary gifts were operative in the Church in all ages and should appropriately be desired by Christians—though, of course, governed by love.[22] All the gifts, including the extraordinary ones, had been part of the experience of the Church during the first three centuries, he believed, but "even in the infancy of the church, p. 183 God divided them with a sparing hand," and principally to those in leadership.[23]

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[19] Sermon, "Scriptural Christianity," *Works*, 5:38.

[20] Ibid.; Sermon, "The More Excellent Way," *Works*, 7:27; *Explanatory Notes on the New Testament* (London: The Epworth Press, 1950), p.713 (on Eph. 4:8–11). In the *Explanatory Notes* Wesley usually employs the ordinary/extraordinary distinction, in contrast to Bengel, his source. Note, for instance, Wesley's comment on 1 Peter 4:10. Wesley often departs from Bengel in his comments on the gifts. The ordinary/ extraordinary distinction which Wesley makes with regard to gifts (as well as to offices) did not originate with him, but he took it over and strongly stressed it. See Wesley's "Farther Appeal to Men of Reason and Religion," I, Section V, in *Works* (Oxford ed.), 11:138–76.

[21] It has been suggested to me that Wesley's use of the term "extraordinary" is to be understood in contradistinction to the eighteenth-century ecclesiastical meaning of "ordinary," so that it would mean, in effect, "outside the normal ordained ministry" in a more or less technical sense. A search of several dictionaries does not bear this out, however. Even in Wesley's day "extraordinary" had the common sense of simply "outside of what is ordinary or usual" (*Oxford English Dictionary*, 3:468, 472). Thus a 1706 London dictionary defines extraordinary as "beyond or contrary to common Order and Fashion, unusual, uncommon," and a dictionary published in London in 1790 has "Different from common order and method; eminent, remarkable, more than common." It appears that Wesley was using the term in the general and popular sense, not as a technical ecclesiastical designation. (This is underscored by the fact that Wesley seems to use "extraordinary" synonymously with "miraculous" when referring to the gifts.)

[22] *Works*, 7:27.

[23] *Works*, 5:38.

Did Wesley believe the extraordinary gifts could be expected in the Church in his day? This, of course, is an important question for our dialog with contemporary charismatic Christianity. Wesley writes:

> It does not appear that these extraordinary gifts of the Holy Ghost were common in the Church for more than two or three centuries. We seldom hear of them after that fatal period when the Emperor Constantine called himself a Christian; and, from a vain imagination of promoting the Christian cause thereby, heaped riches and power and honour upon the Christians in general, but in particular upon the Christian Clergy. From this time they almost totally ceased; very few instances of the kind were found. The cause of this was not, … "because there was no more occasion for them." … The real cause was, "the love of many," almost of all Christians, was "waxed cold." … This was the real cause why the extraordinary gifts of the Holy Ghost were no longer to be found in the Christian Church.[24]

The "grand reason why the miraculous gifts were so soon withdrawn," he writes, "was not only that faith and holiness were well nigh lost, but that dry, formal, orthodox men began even then to ridicule whatever gifts they had not themselves, and to decry them all as either madness or imposture."[25]

Wesley believed in the fall of the Church at the time of Constantine. But this did not mean all was hopeless in the present. God was doing a renewing work through Methodism in his own day, Wesley believed. Thus he nowhere rules out the possibility of new manifestations of the extraordinary gifts. He felt such gifts either "were designed to remain in the church throughout all ages" or else "they will be restored at the nearer approach of the 'restitution of all things.' "[26] Wesley had a fundamental, although somewhat hidden, optimism regarding such gifts. He advises Christians that the best gifts "are worth your pursuit, though but few of you can attain them."[27] "Perfecting the saints" in Ephesians 4:12 involves "the completing them both in number and their various gifts and graces." Gifts are given for their usefulness, by which "alone are we to estimate all our gifts and talents."[28] p. 184

Wesley thus believed that if the extraordinary gifts of the Spirit were in little evidence in his day, this was because of the fallen state of the Church and represented a less than ideal situation. In fact God's power was still at work, though hindered by the general coldness and deadness of the church. Wesley certainly did not disparage the gifts, and despite his reticence concerning so-called extraordinary gifts, he valued all gifts and felt that in a fully restored, spiritual Church, all the gifts would be in evidence.

It was in this context that Wesley understood the gift of tongues. He wrote, "It seems 'the gift of tongues' was an instantaneous knowledge of a tongue till then unknown, which he that received it could afterwards speak when he thought fit, without any new

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[24] *Works*, 7:26–27.

[25] *The Journal of John Wesley, A.M.*, ed. Nehemiah Curnock (London: The Epworth Press, 1938 reprint), 3:490 (August 15, 1750).

[26] *Works*, 5:38.

[27] *Explanatory Notes on the New Testament*, p.625 (1 Cor. 12:31). Note his comment on healing, p.623.

[28] Ibid., pp.713, 628 (Eph. 4:12; 1 Cor. 14:5).

miracle."[29] He understood tongues as the miraculous ability to speak an actual language, whether previously known or unknown. Because tongues is a gift of language, God might well not give it "where it would be of no use; as in a Church where all are of one mind, and all speak the same language."[30] But if one possesses the gift of tongues he should "not act so absurdly, as to utter in a congregation what can edify none but" himself. Rather he should speak "that tongue, if he find it profitable to himself in his private devotions."[31]

One cannot logically conclude from this, however, that Wesley would necessarily have opposed the modern phenomenon of glossolalia, for several reasons. First, Wesley never had to face precisely this   p. 185   question.[32] Secondly, Wesley was an experimentalist, keenly interested in religious experience. Considering his reticence either to endorse or condemn rather unusual and emotional manifestations in his own meetings, one may conjecture that he would have taken a similarly moderate attitude regarding glossolalia.

Thirdly, Wesley's strong emphasis on the rational nature of faith does not permit one to say that he would have opposed glossolalia as irrational, for Wesley's view of reason was always tempered by experience. He reacted against an extreme rationalism as much as against any unbiblical "enthusiasm." He was ready to admit that the Christian faith, though rational, also transcends reason. As Albert Outler notes,

> Wesley had a remarkably practical rule for judging *extraordinary* gifts of the Spirit (ecstasies, miracles, etc.) ... No profession of an "extraordinary gift" ("tongues" or whatever) is to be rejected out of hand, as if we knew what the Spirit should or should not

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[29] Ibid., p.631 (a comment not found in Bengel).

[30] Letter to the Reverend Dr. Conyers Middleton, *Works*, 10:56.

[31] *Explanatory Notes on the New Testament*, pp.629, 631 ([1 Cor. 14:15](), [28]()). Here again Wesley inserts his own comment, not following Bengel. Is Wesley here referring to a "prayer language" in the modern Pentecostal sense when he makes this rather surprising remark? Probably not, if by this is meant a form of ecstatic utterance which bears no resemblance to known languages. He does seem to be allowing, however, for the normal use of a miraculously-given ability to use at will, with rational control, a language which the speaker (or pray-er) himself does not, or previously did not, understand. This comes very close to what many "charismatics" mean by a "prayer language," for, contrary to common caricatures, praying in an unknown tongue does not necessarily mean surrendering control of one's rational faculties. Also, it is interesting here thai Wesley allows for the use of tongues in private prayer, even though in that case no one but the speaker would be edified.

[32] Not that Wesley was totally unaware of contemporary instances of tongues-speaking. In his reply to Dr. Middleton he refers to the outbreak of tongues and other gifts among a persecuted band of rural Huguenots in southern France (the "little prophets of Cevennes"), beginning in 1688 (*Works*, 10:56). But little can be made of this, since Wesley gives no indication of what his evaluation was of this instance. Further, some scholars have contested the common claim that tongues-speaking in this case was ecstatic utterance. Several authors claim that this instance was the first recorded outbreak of glossolalia in modern times, after a "silent period" of one thousand years. See, among others, George Barton Cutten, *Speaking with Tongues Historically and Psychologically Considered* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1927), pp.48–66; Morton Kelsey, *Tongue Speaking: an Experiment in Spiritual Experience* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1964), pp.52–55. Both Cutten and Kelsey refer to Wesley in this connection.

do … What he *did* insist on was that such gifts are *never* ends in themselves, that *all* of them must always be *normed* (and judged) by the Spirit's "ordinary" gifts ("love, joy, peace, patience, kindness, etc., etc."). Like faith, all spiritual gifts are in order to *love*, which is the measure of *all* that is claimed to be from God, since God is love.[33]

In the light of these considerations, we have to conclude that precisely what position Wesley would take regarding glossolalia remains an open question, but he certainly would put the primary emphasis on love—both in the personal experience of the believer practicing gifts and in the attitude of others towards him or her.

In any case, Wesley's view of spiritual gifts is largely undeveloped. He was certainly more aware of, and more positive toward, the *charismata*　p. 186　than most churchmen of his day.[34] But his understanding was complicated by the distinction between ordinary and extraordinary gifts, and for this and other reasons he failed to see the full practical significance of the *charismata* for the practical "building up" and ministry of the Christian community.

In summary, we may say that Wesley's theology at this point is charismatic, though not in the fully biblical sense.

3. *Wesley's theology is charismatic in its emphasis on the communitary nature of the Church*. Wesley clearly saw that there could be no true Church without genuine fellowship, and that this was an area where Methodism had a special role to play. Thus Wesley writes in his preface to *Hymns and Sacred Poems* (first edition, 1739),

> it is only when we are knit together that we "have nourishment from Him, and increase with the increase of God." Neither is there any time, when the weakest member can say to the strongest, or the strongest to the weakest, "I have no need of thee." Accordingly our blessed Lord, when His disciples were in their weakest state, sent them forth, not alone, but two by two. When they were strengthened a little, not by solitude, but by abiding with him and one another, he commanded them to "wait," not separate, but "being assembled together," for "the promise of the Father." And "they were all with one accord in one place" when they received the gift of the Holy Ghost. Express mention is made in the same chapter, that when "there were added unto them three thousand souls, all that believed were together, and continued steadfastly" not only "in the Apostles' doctrine," but also "in fellowship and in breaking of bread," and in praying "with one accord."[35]

Wesley goes on to quote from Ephesians 4:12–16, and it is in this connection that he comments, "The gospel of Christ knows of no religion, but social; no holiness but social holiness."[36] Thus in the context, "social" here means "communitary."

By Christian fellowship Wesley understood not merely corporate worship but watching over one another in love; advising, exhorting, admonishing, and praying with the brothers and sisters. "This, and this alone, is Christian fellowship," he said. And this is what Methodism promoted: "We introduce Christian fellowship where it was utterly

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[33] Albert C. Outler, "John Wesley as Theologian—Then and Now," *Methodist History*, 12:4 (July 1974), p.79.

[34] This is indicated both by Wesley's keen interest in all forms of religious experience and by his departure from Bengel in his comments on gifts in the *Explanatory Notes*.

[35] *Works*, 14:320–21.

[36] Ibid.

destroyed. And the fruits of it have been peace, joy, love, and zeal for every good word and work."[37] p. 187

The great instrument for promoting this quality of community or fellowship was, of course, the Methodist organization of society, class meeting, and band. For Wesley, the class meeting was an ecclesiological statement, and one integrally linked to Christian perfection. As Colin Williams writes, "Wesley's view of holiness was woven into his ecclesiology. He believed that the gathering together of believers into small voluntary societies for mutual discipline and Christian growth was essential to the Church's life." He "insisted that there must be *some* form of small group fellowship."[38] In Wesley's view, if believers were really serious in their quest for holiness they would band together in small groups to experience that level of community which is the necessary environment for growth in grace.

It seems clear that from this perspective also Wesley's theology is charismatic—and in a way that puts it in some tension with the more recent experience of Wesleyan groups which have wholly abandoned the class meeting.

4. *Wesley's theology is charismatic in the tension which it experiences with institutional expressions of the Church.* This is, in fact, one of the fundamental tensions in both Wesley's thought and his career—to affirm the validity of the largely decadent institutional church while seeing Methodism as more truly manifesting the essential marks of the Church, and to hold the growing Methodist movement within the bounds of the Church of England. This tension between institutional and charismatic tendencies, and this attempt to hold the two together by the animating power of the Spirit within the institution, goes in fact to the heart of Wesley's ecclesiology.

In summary, Wesley's theology is distinctly and fundamentally charismatic, although not in the full biblical sense. A more fully biblical view would require rethinking the ordinary/extraordinary distinction, relating gifts more fully and normatively to the various forms of Christian ministry, and more fully and adequately treating the question of the gift of tongues.

The Methodist Revival

Granted that Wesley's theology was in a fundamental sense charismatic, does it follow that early Methodism was a charismatic movement?

The parallels between early Methodism and the contemporary Catholic Charismatic Renewal are striking. Both are evangelical movements within a largely liturgical-sacramental Catholic tradition; both emphasize personal appropriation and experience of saving p. 188 faith through Jesus Christ; both combine the emphases of faith and holiness; both put strong emphasis on singing and praise; both maintain a strong sacramental emphasis, conduct separate meetings for worship and instruction, profess loyalty to the institutional church, claim to be biblical, and emphasize the role of the Holy Spirit (but not to the detriment of a balanced christological and trinitarian emphasis). Both employ a large corps of lay preachers. In fact, early Methodism much more resembles contemporary Catholic charismatic Christianity than it does Protestant Pentecostal and Charismatic manifestations. The one major difference between Catholic charismatic

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[37] "A Plain Account of the People Called Methodists," *Works*, 8:251–52.

[38] Williams, pp.151, 150.

Christianity and Methodism is, of course, the peculiar place of the gift of tongues in the origin of Catholic charismatic Christianity.[39]

If we do not make glossolalia or other specific gifts the determining criterion, it is fully appropriate to speak of the Wesleyan Revival as a charismatic movement. It manifested the four features we have been discussing: an emphasis on or rediscovery of grace as the basis of Christian experience and the Church, an emphasis on the role of the Holy Spirit as the source of the Church's life, the recovery of the experience of the Church as community, and tension with the institutional manifestation of the Church.

If the gifts of the Spirit played a relatively minor part in Wesley's own theology and understanding, their exercise played a major role in the growth of Methodism. A key to the Wesleyan system was Wesley's "lay" preachers, whom he considered as "*extraordinary messengers*, raised up to provoke the *ordinary* ones to jealousy."[40] Wesley thus considered his preachers as exercising a charismatic office, and so they did. His preachers were persons who demonstrated gifts for ministry, and Wesley put them to work, confirming their gifts.

The early Methodist system, in fact, gave ample opportunity for exercising a broad range of spiritual gifts. Among the functions within the Methodist societies were class leaders, band leaders, assistants, stewards, visitors of the sick, and schoolmasters.[41] While these functions do not seem to have been understood primarily on the basis of the *charismata*, the whole Methodist system in fact encouraged the kind of spiritual growth in which useful charisms would spring forth p. 189 and be put into useful service. Methodism thus provided considerably more opportunity for the exercise of gifts than did the Church of England, where ministry was severely hedged about by clericalism. In this sense Methodist ministry was much more charismatic than were Anglican forms of ministry.

Thus Methodism, at least during the life of Wesley, was a charismatic movement. Later, with the decline of the class meeting, the setting up of Methodist ministerial orders, and the general spiritual decline of the movement, Methodism largely ceased to be charismatic in the biblical sense.

The Holiness Movement

The American Holiness Movement grew up in large measure as a reaction to the spiritual decline within Methodism. Its history exhibits some parallels with contemporary Pentecostal and Charismatic Christianity, although perhaps less than is true of original Methodism.

Whereas early Methodism grew up around the recovery of the doctrine of the new birth, the Holiness Movement sprang from a recovery of Wesley's doctrine of entire sanctification as a deeper experience beyond conversion. In this sense, at least, the Holiness Movement has more affinities with modern Charismatic Christianity than does early Methodism.

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[39] There are also, of course, many other significant differences between the two movements. For one, the Charismatic Renewal has no one dominant personality who exercises anything like John Wesley's role in early Methodism. Another significant difference needing more scrutiny is that the Charismatic Renewal is not a movement among the poor masses as early Methodism was.

[40] Sermon, "The Ministerial Office," *Works*, 7:277.

[41] "A Plain Account of the People Called Methodists," *Works*, 8:261.

Viewed from the perspective of this study, the Holiness Revival was indeed a charismatic movement. It emphasized grace, the Holy Spirit, and Christian fellowship, and felt keenly the tension between new life and old forms.

It seems to me that two things characterized the Holiness Movement which, on the one hand, made it less charismatic and, on the other, prepared the way for modern Pentecostalism. In both cases the Holiness Movement failed to carry over the breadth and genius of John Wesley.

1. The first of these was the lessened consciousness of Christian community and of the need for structures for community. We have seen how the class meeting was woven into Wesley's understanding of Christian life and sanctification. It was not for nothing that Wesleyans continued to be called Methodists!

By and large, however, the Holiness Movement failed to perpetuate the intimate, consistent, intense experience of Christian community in the form of the class meeting which so characterized earlier Methodism. In its place was substituted the holiness camp meeting. To some degree the camp meeting became to the Holiness Movement what the class meeting was to Methodism. But by its very p. 190 nature, the camp meeting could not bear the load. Whatever their value, occasional mass rallies cannot do the job of consistent, week-by-week, committed cells of seekers after holiness. It could be argued, in fact, that the camp meeting phenomenon tended to shift the perception of the work of holiness from that of a day-by-day walk with strong ethical implications toward that of an inner emotional crisis experience with periodic renewals—the typical "revival mentality."

This is not to say class meetings died out abruptly, or that this was a wholesale shift. I am speaking rather of what seems to have been a tendency. Class meetings continued in places well into the twentieth century, and the Holiness Movement exhibited other forms of small groups, such as Phoebe Palmer's "Tuesday Meetings." But it is clear that during the last half of the nineteenth century the class meeting was in decline while the camp meeting was in ascendancy. This is a question, however, deserving of further study; I offer it as an hypothesis.[42] Some support for this hypothesis is given by Charles W. Ferguson, who observes in *Organizing to Beat the Devil: Methodists and the Making of America:*

> At first the Methodists [in the U.S.] struck a balance between the camp meetings and the class meetings. In this combination the mini and the mass joined. But when camp assemblies became a sustaining feature in Methodist practice, group meetings subsided and fell gradually into disuse. Many undetermined factors may have entered into the change, but the fact is that the growth of mass efforts during the years before 1805 and 1844 coincided with a shrinking of group activities. Methodism moved toward the mass rather than the group as the primary form in society.[43]

In any case, it appears that the Holiness Movement was less specifically communitary than was earlier Methodism. One consequence of this was that it gave less opportunity for the practical exercise of spiritual gifts.

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[42] On the decline of the class meeting, see especially Samuel Emerick, ed., *Spiritual Renewal for Methodism: A Discussion of the Early Methodist Class Meeting and the Values Inherent in Personal Groups Today* (Nashville: Methodist Evangelistic Materials, 1958), particularly the chapters by Mary Alice Tenney, Robert Chiles and J. A. Leatherman; and Luke L. Keefer, Jr., "The Class Meeting's Role of Discipline in Methodism" (unpublished manuscript, 1974).

[43] Charles W. Ferguson, *Organizing to Beat the Devil: Methodists and the Making of America* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Company, 1971), p.149.

2. The second development in the Holiness Movement was a narrowing of John Wesley's conception of Christian perfection. A careful reading of Wesley's sermons has convinced me that the fundamental strain in Wesley's doctrine of sanctification is that of process: p. 191 Growing up into the fullness of Christ; attaining the mind of Christ and the image of God; loving God with all one's soul, strength, and mind. To this Wesley added, on the basis of experience and seemingly by analogy with his understanding of the new birth, his doctrine of a second crisis experience in which the believer was entirely sanctified, cleansed, and empowered to love God and others fully, without hindrance from an impure "heart," as God intends.

The Holiness Movement in the nineteenth century narrowed this focus by placing primary stress on the second crisis and comparatively less stress on the process of growth in sanctification beginning with conversion and extending throughout life. Holiness came to be conceived of primarily as a state. Thus Seth Cook Rees could write in 1897, "Holiness is a state; entire sanctification is an experience; the Holy Ghost is a person. We come into the state of holiness through the experience of entire sanctification, wrought by the omnipotent energies of the Holy Ghost."[44] Admittedly this "state" was a state of growth, but the accent had shifted.

Concomitant with this shift in emphasis was, as several others have shown, a shift toward pneumatological language and an emphasis on the baptism of the Holy Spirit.

My hypothesis is that these two developments—combining with other trends and currents in late-nineteenth-century society—tended to produce an un-Wesleyan pessimism concerning normative personal and corporate Christian experience and an increasingly subjective focus on the crisis points in one's spiritual life. What for Wesley was a life-long growth in grace enabled by the sanctifying work of the Holy Spirit and particularly by the second crisis of entire sanctification tended to become a series of peak experiences which were seen as carrying the believer through the low points in between. The absence of a consistent normative structure for continued growth in sanctification (such as the class meeting) reinforced this psychology. This tended finally toward a somewhat pessimistic view because it diminished the emphasis on a life of continuing perfecting and understood the primary dimension of perfection possible in this life as being bestowed at one crisis moment subsequent to regeneration.

If this generalization is somewhat oversimplified, I believe it at least contains an important element of truth. And it indicates that at this point the Holiness Movement was less biblically charismatic than early Methodism and was moving more toward modern Pentecostalism. p. 192 In Wesley's view, the Christian is always growing in sanctification. The second crisis is important, but more as a means than as a goal. In contrast, the Holiness Movement increasingly tended to see the second crisis as the goal of Christian experience, the end to which all prior growth in grace tended.[45]

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[44] Seth C. Rees, *The Ideal Pentecostal Church* (Cincinnati: M. W. Knapp, The Revivalist Office, 1897), p. 13.

[45] Some significant work on this tendency has recently been done by several Wesleyan scholars. Note especially Donald W. Dayton, "From Christian Perfection to the 'Baptism of the Holy Ghost' " and Melvin E. Dieter, "Wesleyan-Holiness Aspects of Pentecostal Origins," both in Vinson Synan, ed., *Aspects of Pentecostal-Charismatic Origins* (Plainfield, N.J.: Logos International, 1975), pp.39–54 and 55–80. Dieter notes that Phoebe Palmer's doctrine of entire sanctification, compared with Wesley's, "greatly enhanced the distinctiveness of the second blessing from that of the initial experience of regeneration." The result of such tendencies, says Dieter, "was that the American holiness revival came

From this perspective, late-nineteenth-century Holiness theology logically leads either to Pentecostalism or to a denial of the validity of a second crisis experience. By its very nature, a spiritual peak experience cannot be permanently satisfying. If that experience was a genuine experience of the Holy Spirit in His fullness (which I do not question), we would expect, of course, that the daily presence of the Spirit in the believer's life would be fully satisfying—and of course that was the expectation. But without normative structures for nurturing the life of holiness, and with the increasing emphasis on subjective crises typified by the growing use of Pentecostal crisis language,[46] one can imagine that many common Holiness people sensed an inner lack in their lives, a sense that there must be something deeper, something more, in Christian experience. So then after 1900 the question logically became, could this "something more" be the new phenomenon of speaking in tongues? And on that issue the Holiness Movement divided.[47]

If this line of reasoning is valid, it leads to two conclusions:

1. The fully Wesleyan understanding of Christian perfection as combining both process and crisis must be recovered. Perhaps the real question before us is less that of the appropriateness of Spirit-baptism language than the question of how we in fact teach, encourage, and make structural provision for the life of "all inward and outward holiness." There is a biblical and practical breadth to the Wesleyan understanding of Christian experience that must be recovered p. 193 in our day.

2. In this light, modern Pentecostalism may be viewed in both a positive and a negative way. Positively, Pentecostalism has recovered and magnified much of the spiritual dynamism of the older Holiness Movement and has been responsible, under God, for millions of people on all continents coming to know Jesus Christ as Savior and Lord. Whether we like it or not, in some sense the mantle of the Holiness Movement as a spiritual revitalizing force has passed to Pentecostalism, which has had a much greater impact than has our own tradition in our day. Furthermore, Pentecostalism has raised the question of the *charismata* and the charismatic nature of Christianity in a way that has forced the Church at large to re-examine what the Scriptures say on this subject. The new consciousness of the practical dimensions of the *charismata* which is growing throughout the Church is directly traceable to modern Pentecostalism (and, of course, indirectly to Wesleyanism).

Negatively, Pentecostalism, and to some degree the Charismatic Movement, have not yet recovered the ethical, spiritual, and social depth and breadth of early Methodism. The sanctifying emphasis has not been sufficiently retained. An over-emphasis on the more dramatic gifts has been accompanied by a lack of a positive balancing emphasis on the fruit of the Spirit and the social impact of the Gospel.

It is completely understandable that the Holiness Movement should react as it did to the outbreak of Pentecostalism. Holiness advocates by and large denounced the gift of tongues with the same intensity that Pentecostals promoted it. And the more tongues became the focal point of Pentecostalism, the more it became the focal point of Holiness opposition. Thus it nearly always is at the outbreak of a new movement. The unfortunate

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to emphasize crisis stages of salvation at the expense of an emphasis on growth in grace" (p.62).

[46] Note in Rees the use of such phrases as "Pentecostal fire," "Pentecostal electrocution," "dynamite," "jagged bolts of Pentecostal lightning," "condensed lightning from the upper skies," etc. (Rees, *passim*).

[47] Holiness losses to Pentecostalism seem to have been significant in the early years. See Dieter, "Wesleyan-Holiness Aspects of Pentecostal Origins," p.75.

thing is that in such a circumstance the old movement is left without the dynamic of the new and the new is left without the stability and balance of the old.

We are now in a new period, however. The Pentecostal and Charismatic movements are here to stay, and indeed in some sectors are showing signs of institutionalism and accommodation. Conversely, Holiness bodies are gradually softening their opposition to Pentecostal and Charismatic themes and are beginning to take a second look. It is time to build bridges of understanding and to ask how the Holy Spirit mght be pleased to build in this day a truly, biblically charismatic and holy Church.

III. WESLEYANS AND CHARISMATICS TODAY

Three major considerations should be part of the agenda for P. 194 Wesleyan theology today as it confronts and interacts with Charismatic Christianity.

1. *We should re-evaluate our arguments in opposition to Pentecostalism in general and the gifts of the Spirit in particular*.

Most Wesleyan commentators, conscious of history and of the similarity at certain points of Wesleyan and Pentecostal theology, have understandably approached the question of spiritual gifts from a defensive and apologetic, rather than positive and constructive, perspective. Our primary concern has been to explain why we differ from Pentecostals and to defend our ranks from outbreaks of tongues-speaking. Most of the Wesleyan-Holiness literature on gifts has therefore been of this negative and defensive variety.[48]

More recently, some Wesleyans have begun to approach the question of gifts in a broader and more constructive way, asking how a proper biblical understanding can make us more effective in our work and witness. Two books with similar titles exemplify these two approaches within Wesleyan-Holiness ranks: W. T. Purkiser's *The Gifts of the Spirit*, and Kenneth C. Kinghorn's *Gifts of the Spirit*.[49] We might well heed Dr. Kinghorn's admonition to avoid both "charismania" and "charisphobia" in dealing with the gifts.

Most Holiness writing on the gifts so far has zeroed in on the tongues question, focusing particularly on the Corinthian problem. The general line of reasoning has been

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[48] See, for example, Harvey J. S. Blaney, "St. Paul's Posture on Speaking in Unknown Tongues," *Wesleyan Theological Journal*, 8 (Spring 1973) 52–60; Charles D. Isbell, "Glossolalia and Propheteialalia: A Study in 1 Corinthians 14," *WTJ*, 10 (Spring 1975): 15–22; Charles W. Carter, "A Wesleyan View of the Spirit's Gift of Tongues in the Book of Acts," *WTJ*, 4 (Spring 1969): 39–68; Carter, *The Person and Ministry of the Holy Spirit: A Wesleyan Perspective* (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1974, 1977), especially pp.181–220; Carter, introduction and notes on 1 Corinthians in Charles W. Carter, ed., *The Wesleyan Bible Commentary*, Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1965), especially 5:114–16, 197–208, 214–23; Lloyd H. Knox, *Key Biblical Perspectives on Tongues* (Winona Lake, Indiana: Light and Life Press, 1974); Wesley L. Duewel, *The Holy Spirit and Tongues* (Winona Lake, Indiana: Light and Life Press, 1974). Most of these employ similar arguments, although the contrasting treatment of just what Paul means by "tongues" in 1 Corinthians 14 reveals the difficulty of basing a total prohibition of glossolalia on the New Testament material.

Not all Wesleyan literature has been of this kind, however. Note especially Wilson T. Hogue, *The Holy Spirit: A Study* (Chicago: William B. Rose, 1916), especially pp.321–60.

[49] Kenneth Cain Kinghorn, *Gifts of the Spirit* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1976).

similar to that described by Charles Hummel in his recent book, *Fire in the Fireplace*:

> Most commentaries paint a picture of [speaking in tongues] along the following lines: at Corinth it was an emotional, sensational experience similar to the ecstasy of the pagan religions. The Christians had an exaggerated respect for this gift which they considered of the highest value. Misuse of tongues was the greatest problem in the church. Paul considers it of least value since it appears last on some of his lists. At best he begrudgingly commands that it not be forbidden.[50]

As Hummel notes, there are several logical and hermeneutical problems with this approach. He comments,

> Paul's statements do not support these conjectures. Significantly, these opinions come from a culture for which speaking in tongues is both intellectually and socially unacceptable. Since in every generation Christianity is influenced by its environment, is it not possible that this spiritual gift is far more a problem for the modern church than it was for the Corinthians? The first eleven chapters of 1 Corinthians indicate that for Paul other issues were of much greater concern.[51]

Strictly from the standpoint of logic, some of the most common arguments against glossolalia must be called into question. This does not mean, of course, that glossolalia should be promoted or unrestrictedly permitted, that every outbreak of "tongues" is legitimate or authentic, or that there are no valid arguments against the practice. But it does suggest some need for re-evaluation on the part of Wesleyans.

For example, a sharp distinction is often made between tongues as the miraculous speaking of a known, but unlearned, language and *glossolalia* as "unknown tongue" or ecstatic speech. But this distinction is not so obvious as it seems. In the first place, the New Testament does not make or support this distinction, although it is clear that known languages were involved at least on the Day of Pentecost.[52] Secondly, the idea that non-language tongues-speaking is a highly emotional, irrational, ecstatic form of behaviour involving "mindless utterances"[53] or being "out of control"[54] is a caricature that most Charismatics would reject. Thirdly, it is not clear that it makes any practical psychological or spiritual difference to the tongues-speaker whether he or she is uttering a "known" or "unknown" tongue if in any case the tongue is unknown *to the speaker*. In either case it is to him or her an "unknown tongue" which is in some sense unintelligible.

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[50] Charles E. Hummel, *Fire in the Fireplace: Contemporary Charismatic Renewal* (Downers Grove, Illinois: InterVarsity Press, 1978), p.203.

[51] Ibid.

[52] While different kinds or varieties of tongues-speaking do seem to be reported in the New Testament, no biblical writer makes the language/non-language distinction so common today, at least not as a way of validating the one and condemning the other. The issue in 1 Corinthians 14 is not what is spoken but when it is spoken and whether the congregation is edified through interpretation. In Acts 2 we know for sure that a variety of known languages was spoken; we *do not* know for sure that "unknown tongues" were not also manifested. Apparently that was not an important question to Luke.

[53] Knox, p.18.

[54] Blaney, p.55.

Another problem of logic involves inconsistency between the arguments made against tongues. One writer, for instance, considers tongues (other than known languages) as illegitimate because it involves yielding one's rational control to an irrational, overpowering, ecstatic speech pattern, while another author argues that tongues can't be legitimate because the tongues-speaker can speak in tongues deliberately, at will, whereas a truly valid spiritual gift comes by direct inspiration of the Holy Spirit.[55] One argues that tongues is wrong because it is irrational; the other that it is false because it is rationally controllable. The truth, however, would appear to be that tongues-speaking may sometimes be a non-rational but not necessarily irrational speech pattern which lies within the range of normal and rational human behavior. Such tongues-speaking may or may not be prompted or inspired by the Holy Spirit, and in some contexts may be induced by other forces, whether psychological, social, or demonic. This is no more than what we would admit for some other rather extraordinary forms of behavior which in certain contexts we do not consider abnormal or pathological, including crying, screaming, shouting, or dancing.

Probably the major argument against glossolalia in Holiness circles has been that it is an irrational form of behavior and speech, while p. 197 the gospel always calls us to rational behavior and speech.[56] But this argument also needs re-evaluation, on at least two counts. First, it operates on the basis of an unnecessary rational/irrational dichotomy or polarity. What is not totally rational to us may not be irrational; it may simply be non-rational (in the sense that emotions in general, for instance, are non-rational but not by definition irrational), or it may be beyond our present level of knowledge. Thus we now know Einstein's theory of relativity is not irrational, although it appeared to be so at first. In this sense, tongues-speaking when accompanied by other signs of the work of the Spirit (notably the fruit of the Spirit) may have its own reason and rationality that we have yet been unable to fully discern.[57]

The second problem with this argument is its assumption that modern glossolalia is an overwhelming, highly emotion-packed ecstatic experience verging on frenzy and analogous to such phenomena in pagan religions. But this is a caricature of tongues-speaking as found in the Charismatic Movement today. As Hummel notes,

> Since some pagan religions have a glossolalia involving frenzy and trance, it is often assumed that the Christian experience is similar. These religions also have ordinary prayer, meditation and sacrifice, but their meaning is hardly determinative for the Christian expression. On the contrary, the Corinthians were not possessed by evil spirits but were led by the Holy Spirit. In fact Paul assumed that they could control their speaking in tongues (14:28).

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[55] Knox, pp.16ff.; Duewel, p.21.

[56] Timothy Smith sees this as the most foundational argument against tongues, as do many others. Timothy L. Smith, *Speaking the Truth in Love: Some Honest Questions for Pentecostals* (Kansas City, Missouri: Beacon Hill Press of Kansas City, 1977), pp.42–47. It is not helpful to cite Wesley here, because he never faced the modern question of glossolalia.

[57] Hummel tentatively suggests four possible purposes for tongues-speaking, pp.203–04. See also Kelsey, *Tongue Speaking*, pp.218–33.

The Corinthians may have exercised this gift with strong emotion, just as they may have prayed, prophesied or sung emotionally. But this style of expression is not inherent in the gift.[58]

The real danger in this approach to tongues, however, is that it may lead us to the hyper-rationalism characteristic of dead orthodoxy. Wesleyans, of all people, should be open to the working of God in human experience and reticent to state in advance how the Spirit shall or shall not operate. We should maintain the balance of reason, experience, and Scripture found in John Wesley.

We may justly criticize many Pentecostals (not all) for making tongues the evidence of the fullness of the Spirit or for attempting to p. 198 induce people to seek or experience this gift. But we should be careful that our arguments grow inductively from Scripture and stand the test of the rational logic for which we contend.[59] This has unquestionably been

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[58] Hummel, p.135.

[59] Frank Carver notes that "apart from those who have a pro- or con- tongues axe to grind for ecclesiastical reasons the tongues in 1 Corinthians 14 is normally judged" by New Testament scholarship "to be some form of ecstatic utterance" (Carver, p.13).

The most difficult passages for a rigid anti-tongues position, as some Wesleyan writers have noted, are three of Paul's statements in 1 Corinthians 14—"I would like every one of you to speak in tongues" (v.5), "I thank God that I speak in tongues more than all of you" (v.18), and "Do not forbid speaking in tongues" (v.39).

Some Wesleyan and other writers have gone to great lengths (including suggestions that Paul is employing a psychologically very subtle pastoral approach here) in attempting to establish that these statements do not mean what they seem to say. It appears to me, however, that a sound hermeneutic demands that we take these statements and the whole chapter in as straight-forward and "face value" a manner as possible. Such an approach would have to note several things:

1) There is no sound exegetical basis in this chapter for giving "tongues" two different meanings in Paul's use here or for restricting "tongues" to "known languages." Whatever Paul means when he speaks of Corinthian tongues-speaking, he means the same thing when he speaks of his own experience.

2) Paul's affirmation that "I speak in tongues more than all of you" cannot, by the text or context, be required to mean "I speak in more languages than all of you." In the first place, in the following verse he contrasts his own tongues-speaking with "intelligible words," which would seem to mean that he in fact knew something about speaking in non-intelligible words. Secondly, the context here is the *gift* of tongues, not the acquired ability to speak languages. So even if "tongues" in verse 18 means "languages," the interpretation would have to be, "I thank God that I miraculously speak in languages I never learned more than all of you." But there is no more biblical support for the idea that paul in fact frequently employed Spirit-inspired unlearned known languages in his ministry, than there is that he spoke in "unknown tongues," so the question must be left open.

3) Paul's statement, "I would like every one of you to speak in tongues," cannot with consistency be understood as an encouragement to speak in various known languages unless verse 2 be understood as saying "anyone who speaks in a known language speaks only to God"—which makes little sense.

4) Similarly, in the context of the whole chapter, verse 39 means literally what it says—do not forbid tongues-speaking. Whatever tongues-speaking was going on in Corinth, Paul says: Do not forbid it (or possibly, "Stop forbidding it,"—Hummel, p.158).

the intent throughout the modern Wesleyan polemic against tongues. My question, however, is whether our arguments have been totally sound.

I realize that to suggest even the degree of openness to Pentecostalism called for here will be considered by some as an encouragement to tongues-speaking. It should be clear that this is not my intent. My concern is, rather, that we would sufficiently moderate our position so that we could be more open toward and work more closely with our many Christian sisters and brothers in the Charismatic Movement and appreciate the work God is doing through them. They can learn from us, and we can learn from them.

2. *We should understand what the Charismatic Movement is today*. Many of our conceptions simply do not stand up to the facts. For example, the movement is much more diverse than we have painted it. We find not only the obvious distinction between the older pentecostalism and the newer Charismatic Movement but also widespread p. 199 varieties and differences within each of these. The more recent Charismatic Movement may be divided generally into the Catholic Charismatic Renewal, the Charismatic Movement within the mainline denominations, the somewhat nebulous group associated with The 700 Club and The PTL Club, old-line Pentecostalists who have "made the switch" to the new Charismatic style, and the rather close-knit group associated with Bob Mumford, Charles Simpson, and others. Also, there are now fairly well-organized Charismatic Renewal movements in some smaller, more-or-less evangelical denominations, such as the Mennonite Charismatic Renewal.[60]

These groups vary widely in their understanding of the precise role of tongues-speaking in Christian experience and in the Church, although they all practice tongues-speaking. Many do not hold that tongues is a necessary evidence of being filled with the Spirit. Also, one may make the generalization that in Charismatic groups that now have a decade or more of experience, tongues is not the main p. 200 concern or issue. Many

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Control it according to the teaching of this chapter, yes; but do not forbid. That is the "bottom line" teaching of the whole chapter.

In addition, one should note the positive things Paul clearly *does* say about the very tongues-speaking occurring at Corinth: The person who speaks in tongues speaks to God (v.2). "He who speaks in a tongue edifies himself" (v.4—and there is no suggestion that it is wrong for a believer personally to be edified in this way). Tongues-speaking, if interpreted, is just as important and edifying as prophecy (v.5). Speaking in tongues is of help to a congregation if it is accompanied by "some revelation or knowledge or prophecy or word of instruction" (v.6). The one speaking in tongues "utters mysteries with his spirit" or "by the Spirit" (v.2; no criticism implied *per se*, but only as this relates to public worship). And, finally, when one speaks in tongues, his or her spirit is praying (v.14). Again, no criticism seems to be implied.

1 Corinthians 14 was Paul's (and the Spirit's) perfect opportunity to put a once-for-all prohibition on glossolalia. But Paul did not take advantage of the opportunity. Clearly, he saw the dangers of a total prohibition and was satisfied merely to state some general restrictions in the interest of good order in public worship.

Note well that these comments are not made in any sense an encouragement to tongues-speaking, but only in the interest of an interpretation of Scripture that is logically sound and hermeneutically faithful and out of a concern that we may unintentionally limit the work of the Spirit in our midst. The most balanced policy seems to be the same as that of Wesley and of mid-nineteenth century Holiness leaders toward strong emotional manifestations: Do not encourage; do not forbid; judge by the fruit.

[60] There have also been attempts to initiate a Wesleyan Charismatic fellowship. A small conference was held for this purpose in Cincinnati in January 1979.

charismatic groups are now primarily concerned with questions of Christian community building, discipling, authority, family life, and personal spiritual growth. In other words, there is a growing concern with ethical questions. One need not agree with Pentecostal and Charismatic interpretations of tongues (as I do not) in order to appreciate the diversity and spiritual vitality in much of the movement.

Nowhere do common stereotypes of the Charismatic Movement become more inappropriate than when one examines the Catholic Charismatic Renewal. Here is a movement which is very conscious of historic Christian roots and of the call to a life of holiness. A review of several issues of *New Covenant* magazine (or of the more recent publication, *Pastoral Renewal*) will reveal the blending of evangelical and catholic emphases which are especially characteristic of the Catholic Charismatic Renewal. As noted earlier, the Catholic Charismatic Renewal has many parallels with eighteenth-century Methodism (as well as many differences), and there is no reason why contemporary Wesleyans should not have frequent and close fellowship with this branch of the Body of Christ.[61]

3. *Finally, we should seek a more biblically charismatic expression of the Church.*

I have already indicated the general direction which this concern should take us. We must seek to be charismatic in the fully biblical sense. Among other things, this means:

1) A new awareness of the possibilities and potential of God's grace in human experience, the Church, and in society.

2) A rediscovery of the charismatic nature and structure of the Church. This means a balanced emphasis on gifts, but it also means understanding that the *charismata* provide a foundational insight for understanding the varieties of ministry within the Church. We need to combine an emphasis on gifts with a reaffirmation of the doctrine of the priesthood of all believers.

3) Related to this is a recovery of the understanding and experience of the Church as community. We need to see and experience the Church primarily as a charismatic organism, rather than as an institutional organization. This means recovering some functional equivalent of the class meeting, but it also means a much deeper understanding of the nature of New Testament *koinonia*.

4) A fully charismatic expression of the Church will understand p. 201 itself as a proto-community of the Kingdom of God and seek by God's grace to be a messianic expression of the Kingdom in a world of contrary values.

5) A charismatic expression of the Church must in no way compromise the call to sanctity and holiness. Rather, it will see holiness as encompassing the corporate, as well as individual, experience of believers, and it will see the Christian community as the essential environment for making progress in the life of holiness.

6) Conscious that the life and witness of the Church stem from the work of the Holy Spirit, a biblically charismatic expression of the Church will seek to manifest the "catholic spirit" which John Wesley advocated. It will seek visible expression of the unity of the Church through basing that unity on an openness and sensitivity toward the working of the Holy Spirit in the various branches of the Church.

CONCLUSION

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[61] It is worth noting that a Colloquy on the Loss and Recovery of the Sacred, sponsored by the evangelically-Methodist-oriented Fund for Theological Education November 5–9, 1979, at the University of Notre Dame, included a range of both Wesleyan and Charismatic scholars, among others.

Contemporary Wesleyans may be uniquely placed to be used for a new and dynamic articulation of the gospel message in our day. We have in our tradition the best of the catholic, evangelical, and charismatic emphasis.

Jeremy Rifkin, in his new book *The Emerging Order*, argues:

> If the Charismatic and evangelical strains of the new Christian renewal movement [today] come together and unite a liberating energy with a new covenant vision for society, it is possible that a great religious awakening will take place, one potentially powerful enough to incite a second Protestant reformation.
>
> It is also possible that as the domestic and global situation continues to worsen in the 1980s, the evangelical/Charismatic phenomena, and the waves of religious renewal that follow, could, instead, provide a growing sanctuary for millions of frightened Americans and even a recruiting ground for a repressive movement manifesting all of the earmarks of an emerging fascism.[62]

Wesleyanism already, to some degree, bridges the Evangelical and Charismatic camps today. It has a clear message of present deliverance from inbred sin by the power of the sanctifying Spirit. If it needs anything it is a new infusion of an openness to the power of the Holy Spirit and a new appreciation for the breadth and balance of its own heritage as seen in John Wesley himself.

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Icons as Christian Art

Robert M. Yule

Reprinted from Poyema: The Christian Task in the Arts

Icons (Greek eikōn—*image) have traditionally been used in private and public worship by members of the Orthodox family of Churches as channels of divine blessing and healing. Icons usually take the form of flat images of Christ, the Virgin Mary or Saints painted on wood and are often ornately decorated. Icons featured prominently in the iconoclastic controversy 717–843 between church and state on the use of paintings, mosaics and statues in the Church, ending with the state withdrawing its support for the iconoclasts or image-breakers. The author of this article offers an evangelical reflection on the theology or icons in the context of today's humanistic art.*
(Editor)

In 1967, I heard the Rev. Doug Storkey, then minister of Knox Church, Dunedin, speak about an overseas tour he had just completed. I remember his description of seeing Michelangelo's sculpture of David, in the Accademia in Florence. He was overwhelmed by

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[62] Jeremy Rifkin, *The Emerging Order: God in the Age of Scarcity* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1979), p.xi.

the vastness of this statue, with its heroic proportions, proud face and taut strongly-muscled body. 'I became acutely aware,' he said to us, 'of the great gulf between Michelangelo's David and Mrs. Storkey's Douglas!'

THE PROBLEM OF THE CLASSICAL TRADITION

This amusing anecdote draws attention to a significant problem in the classical artistic tradition. The artists and sculptors of ancient Greece, followed by those (like Michelangelo) who revived their ideals at the time of the Renaissance, sought to embody in their art ideals of human perfection, beauty and form. Yet in the pursuit of this humanistic objective, they created an idealization of humanity that is not corroborated by our experience of ourselves or of other human beings. The classical ideals of perfection are oppressive and daunting. When embodied in art they overwhelm us, for they are too good to be true. When we look at classical sculpture, consequently, we are more likely to be made aware of our weakness and imperfection, than to receive a sense of dignity and nobility which the humanist tradition claims to find in man.

This tendency towards idealization in classical and Renaissance art has given rise to an anti-classical reaction which characterizes the mainstream of modern Western art. This reaction is well documented in H. R. Rookmaker's book *Modern Art and the Death of a Culture*. Beginning with Rembrandt, there is a conscious attempt to portray man in a realistic manner, in terms of the weakness, pathos and suffering of real human experience. In Rembrandt's case, this realism is combined with a Christian outlook, which gives to his paintings and sketches a deeply compassionate quality that evokes a sympathy for the subject depicted and prevents the viewer from gloating over human weakness. But when this Christian perspective was lost, about the time of the Enlightenment in the eighteenth century, realistic art became crude and inhuman. We can see this transition in the etchings of Goya, for instance, which constitute a horrific catalogue of human pettiness and vice. Later still, in the art of Picasso and Francis Bacon in our own century, all that remains of the nobility of man are an assortment of weird geometric shapes and a few grossly contorted hunks of flesh. The question thus arises whether either classicism or realism is capable of setting before us a true and lasting vision of human worth and dignity.

The art of the Eastern Church stands outside these antinomies in the history of Western art. The early Greek and Byzantine theologians came to grips with the problems of idealization and realism when from the first they sought to subordinate their classical inheritance to the Christian gospel. Classical Greek sculpture is of such exquisite beauty and perfection that an act of virtual idolatry takes place in viewing it. This is so even in the case of works which no longer survive in the originals, like the Apollo Belvedere or the Venus of Milo, which are known to us only by way of later Greek or Roman copies. Such sculptures are extraordinarily beautiful, but the beauty is opaque rather than symbolic; it inheres in the work of art itself, rather than transcending it. The sculpture draws the attention of the viewer to itself, it absorbs the viewer in the contemplation of its own intrinsic beauty, rather than evoking an awareness of a beauty and a mystery which extends beyond itself. To overcome the idolatry which is latent in classical aesthetics, the Byzantine theologians and artists repudiated three-dimensional sculpture—with the exception of the bas relief—as a means of expressing Christian truth, and created instead a new and distinctively Christian form of two-dimensional art: the icon.

The distinctive feature of icons is their symbolic character. They are specifically intended to be transparencies of an unseen world, a part of earth that opens on to heaven,

overcoming from our side the tendency to self-absorption and idolatry which is inherent in naturalistic art, and evoking in us an awareness of the glory of God and the beauty of his holiness. Icons are of three main types: mosaics, wall frescoes and panel icons. The techniques and means of construction   p. 204   were taken over from those currently in use in the later Roman Empire, particularly after the Emperor Constantine's acceptance of Christianity in 313 and the inauguration of his massive programme of church building. But the actual content of icons—the treatment of biblical themes, and the reduction of incidents to an outline of the barest essentials—owes more to the wall paintings in the catacombs of Rome, where Christian art was born in the age of the persecutions. Already in the rudimentary art of the catacombs we can see that a sense of humble trust in God has displaced the heroic pride of earlier humanism, and that a concern for clarity and simplicity of expression is beginning to outweigh the classical concern to imitate or idealize nature. I would argue, therefore, that the birth of iconography was not the product of a general Hellenization of Christianity, as Adolf Harnack and some other Western critics of the Eastern Church have maintained. Rather, it was one expression among many of a profound attempt to Christianize Hellenism and subordinate the culture of the Greco-Roman world to Christ.

SEEING THINGS FROM GOD'S PERSPECTIVE

I have already suggested that a significant theme in the history of Western art is the interaction between classicism and anti-classicism. The former, with its tendency to idealization, places too high a value on man; the latter, with the opposite tendency towards realism, gives too low a value to man. Both tendencies, however, are basically humanistic in character, for they start from the premise that man is the measure of all things, and differ only in their estimate of the value of that measure. Either way, man whether he be noble or abject, is still the standard by which all else is judged. In classical or realistic art, the assumption of human autonomy goes unquestioned.

Christian art, acknowledging the primacy of God, has not left this assumption unchallenged. But the challenge has taken a very different form in the art of the Eastern Church from that of the Church in the West, a difference which reflects a significant divergence of theological approach. In the West, the most obvious cultural expression of a Christian alternative to humanism was the Gothic art and architecture of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the age that saw the building of Chartres Cathedral. But like the theological disjunction of nature and grace which underlies it, Gothic architecture, with its soaring columns and towering spires, points heavenwards and away from earth. It suggests that one must leave the realm of nature altogether if one is to honour God. God is acknowledged, and humanism   p. 205   is overcome, but at the price of setting man and nature aside.

Byzantine art, on the other hand, does not try to overcome humanism by pointing away from man to God. Rather, it endeavours to see things from God's perspective, and so points to God as the One in whom man and the world are truly fulfilled. Byzantine architecture, with its rounded Romanesque arches returning again to the earth instead of soaring upwards and its characteristic dome representing the vault of heaven, presents us with a vision of heaven on earth, a cosmos visited and inhabited by its Creator, who has become incarnate in Christ and dwells among us by His Spirit. Justinian's great sixth century Church of the Holy Wisdom in Constantinople is an enduring monument to this vision of heavenly beauty. Similarly, Orthodox iconography presents an alternative to humanism by showing man, not in the disfigurement of his own egoism and autonomy, but fulfilled and transfigured by the radiance of God's glory. Just as Gothic architecture

expresses the Western dichotomy of nature and grace, so the art of the Eastern Church bears witness to the mystery of the Transfiguration. Orthodox aesthetics are not concerned with a world from which God is absent, remote, or just irrelevant, but seek rather to represent the world and man as an object of God's love and suffused with His glory.

There are three ways in which Orthodox icon painters contradict a humanistic way of looking at man. They do so, firstly, by their use of *perspective*. Andrei Rublev's famous icon of the Holy Trinity, now in the Tretiakov Gallery in Moscow, is a splendid illustration of this. We are all familiar with the famous picture of the avenue of poplars diminishing in size and converging towards the horizon. That is natural perspective, how things seem when viewed by us. The mathematical laws of natural perspective were only mastered in the 1420s during the Italian Renaissance, by the architect Brunelleschi. One of the earliest paintings to make use of this new discovery of diminishing perspective was Masaccio's painting of the Holy Trinity, made about 1427. Yet Rublev—as far as I know without any knowledge of the Italian Renaissance—had already anticipated this discovery and contradicted it in his icon of the Trinity, painted about 1410, simply by being faithful to the non-naturalistic methods of representation which the icon painters had already used for centuries.

In this icon Rublev uses reverse perspective. The throne on which the three figures are seated broadens rather than diminishes towards the background of the painting. By this technique, Rublev embodies a critique of naturalism within the work of art itself. The effect is twofold: to contradict our natural way of seeing things, and to make us aware of how things look when seen from God's perspective. In this way the icon does not absorb our attention, but directs us away from the surface of the painting to what it signifies. An icon is a sign of a presence, and the use of reverse perspective draws our attention to the fact that the presence in question is that of the eternal God, uncircumscribed by space and time.

'The Holy Trinity' by Andrei Rublev (1410).

A second contrast with naturalistic art is that whereas naturalism tends to distance the viewer from what he contemplates, the icon creates a sense of *intimacy and*

communion. This is a by-product of the use of reverse perspective. Where natural perspective places objects further and further into the distance, reverse perspective pushes the figures, as it were, out into the space between the viewer and the painting. We can see this very clearly in Rublev's icon, where the inversion of perspective has the effect both of bringing the central figure towards the viewer and of including the viewer in the community of love which so exquisitely characterizes the relationship of the three figures to one another. The icon thus expresses one of the central affirmations of Orthodox theology: that man is made for *theosis*, for 'deification', for fellowship in the very life of the triune God Himself ([2 Peter 1:4](#)). The impact of the icon is therefore the very opposite of what Doug Storkey felt before Michelangelo's David. It abolishes distance and creates intimacy, it overcomes isolation and establishes communion between the viewer and what is represented in the icon, it lifts us from a state of servility and awakens in us a foretaste of the glory of God in which our true worth is to be found. Far from distancing us a good icon has the effect of putting us in the picture.

A third contrast with naturalistic art is that icons show humanity *transfigured* by God, not disfigured by evil and suffering. This too grows out of the attempt to view reality from God's perspective. Orthodoxy, in common with the outlook of the early Church (and in contrast with the rather morbid quality that has characterized much Catholic religious art), sees man in the joy of the Gospel, already surrounded by the light of the resurrection and the glory of God's kingdom. Its vision is one of glad tidings to men. It presents a God-orientated rather than a sin-orientated view of human life. In this respect the icons of the Eastern Church follow the precedent of early Christian art, in not showing the sufferings or hardships of the martyrs but rather the attitude or bearing which a Christian should show towards them. The wall paintings in the catacombs, for example, frequently show Christians standing in an attitude of prayer, or portray the exemplary faith in God of Old Testament believers like Daniel in the lions' den or the three men in the fiery furnace. Sin and suffering are certainly not ignored in such art, but the emphasis is not on the sin or sufferings themselves, or even on their effects; it is on how these evils may be overcome.

THE THEOLOGICAL JUSTIFICATION OF ICONS

The place of icons has not gone unchallenged in the Eastern Church. The Iconoclastic Controversy of the eighth and ninth centuries raised **P. 208** the issue of their validity in an acute form. The controversy was precipitated by an edict of the Emperor Leo III in 726, banning icons on the ground that their making and veneration is idolatry, contrary to the second commandment. The opposition to icons was suspended in 786, but renewed again, by Leo V, in 815. Their validity was not finally recognized until 843, in what has come to be known as 'The Triumph of Orthodoxy'. Modern historical research indicates that two main factors influenced the outlook of the iconoclasts: a desire to purify Christianity of visual images to enable it better to withstand the challenge of nascent Islam; and a suspicion of matter and material representations, reflecting the continued impact of Platonic intellectualism on Christian thought. The antipathy of the Puritans to the visual arts in more recent times has a good deal in common with the attitude of the Byzantine iconoclasts. Since these Puritan attitudes still hinder the development of Christian artistic endeavour today, it is worth considering the main arguments in defence of Christian art put forward by the Orthodox in their debate with the iconoclasts of long ago.

The leading defender of icons was the theologian John of Damascus, who wrote three treatises on the subject between 726 and 730. His argument hinges on the significance of the Incarnation. He agreed with the iconoclasts that God in His eternal nature, prior to the Incarnation, cannot be represented in any way. But, he argues, the Incarnation has made

it possible for art to represent what God has revealed of Himself. As he puts it at the beginning of his first treatise, 'I represent God, the Invisible One, not as invisible, but insofar as He has become visible for us by participation in flesh and blood.' John's emphasis is on the change which occurred in the relationship between God and the visible world when the Son of God became man:

> In former times, God, without body or form, could in no way be represented. But today, since God has appeared in the flesh and lived among men, I can represent what is visible in God. I do not venerate matter, but I venerate the Creator of matter, who became matter for my sake, who assumed life in the flesh, and who, through matter, accomplished my salvation.

The meaning of the Incarnation lies precisely in the fact that the Son of God assumed all the characteristics of man, including material existence and describability. Therefore, iconographic art is not only legitimate; it is also a way of drawing attention to the full meaning of the Incarnation and the reality of God's coming among men. _{p. 209}

Three important secondary principles for regulating the making and use of icons follow from this normative principle of the Incarnation. The first is what I would call the principle of *clarity*. Canon 82 of the Trullan Council (692) sets forth a surprising rule which declares that Christian art, in the light of the Incarnation, should eschew obscure symbolism and pursue instead the unambiguous clarity of representing the person or incident itself. Alluding to the traditional practice of representing Christ allegorically as a lamb—a practice which has continued in the Western Church to the present day—the Council decreed that 'henceforth Christ our God must be represented in His human form, and not in the form of the ancient lamb.' This rule has important implications, for it shows that Orthodox iconography, by presenting the spiritual significance of persons or events directly and not allegorically, aims to be clear, meaningful and unambiguous. Nothing could be further from the spirit of icons than the current fad in some art circles to treat them as bearers of esoteric wisdom. The principle of clarity, in my view, also governs the use of colour in icons. A number of icon painters—like the brilliant artists who painted the murals on the walls of the monastery and the church at Mistra (the ancient Sparta) in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries—used colour with a boldness and an immediacy that was unrivalled until the coming of the Impressionists in the nineteenth century. But, unlike the Impressionists, they always used colour in subordination to form and meaning, never in the abstract as an appeal to the emotions alone.

A second corollary of the Incarnation is the principle of *historicity*, by which I mean the rule that an icon—even a doctrinal icon—should describe an episode or persons in the history of salvation. Icons are not speculative or conceptual art. The Trinity, for example, can be represented legitimately only in one of two ways. One type, known as the 'New Testament Trinity', is based upon the Gospel narrative of Christ's baptism, in which the Spirit descended upon Him in the form of a dove and the Father's voice from heaven attested, 'This is my beloved Son, with whom I am well pleased.' This type of icon serves a double function, signifying both the Baptism and the Trinity. The other type is known as the 'Old Testament Trinity', based upon the incident recorded in [Genesis 18](), when the patriarch Abraham gave hospitality to three strangers under the tree at Mature and received the message that he and Sarah would have a son. The narrative of this incident is unique and numinous, for it uses both singular and plural in speaking of the strangers. They are described as three men, yet Abraham addressed them as 'My Lord'. This peculiarity of _{p. 210} language led the early Christian commentators to see this episode as the first revelation of the trinitarian nature of God. Similarly, from as early as the fourth century, Christian iconography began to make use of the three messengers to represent

the three persons of the Godhead. Rublev's icon of the Holy Trinity is the finest icon of this type. Its basic plan is a circle, representing unity, encompassing a triangle, representing threeness. Building on this outline, Rublev developed the biblical imagery in a way that surpassed the work of all his predecessors. Through his supreme artistry the meal which Abraham prepared comes to signify the Christian Eucharist, the tree of Mamre symbolizes the tree of life and the patriarch's tent the Christian Church, and the shimmering heat of midday even becomes evocative of the luminescence of God's glory.

The principle of historicity was not always observed in the Eastern Church, and there is a third—and in my view illegitimate—representation of the Trinity, known as 'the Paternity', which appeared in later Russian iconography as a result of Western influence. It shows the Father as a bearded old man, with the Son as a child seated on His lap, holding a dove which signifies the Spirit. It has striking affinities with the common representation of the Trinity in post-Renaissance ecclesiastical art in the West, in which the Father is represented holding a cross on which Christ is crucified. (The Holy Trinity by Masaccio, which I have already referred to in connection with perspective, is a typical example.) John of Damascus and the early fathers of the Eastern Church would have shunned this manner of representation, for they took seriously the fact that the Father—unlike the Son—had not become incarnate and therefore could not be described in human terms. Indeed, basing itself on the views of these theologians, the Russian Church finally forbade the depiction of the Father on icons, at the Council of Moscow in 1667.

The third principle concerns the *degree of respect* to be given to icons. One of the reasons why the iconoclasts rejected icons as idolatrous was because of the excessive devotion which had come to be accorded to them in Christian worship. In this respect, I consider that the protest of the iconoclasts was justified. However, it seems to me that the excesses of popular iconophile devotion and the accusation of idolatry by the iconoclasts both arose from the same misunderstanding: by confusing the image with its prototype, both parties wrongly identified the icon with God. John of Damascus rejected this identification, pointing out that only the Son and the Spirit are 'natural images', consubstantial with the Father. Icons on the other hand, are by nature created and essentially different from God; p. 211 they are, therefore, not idols, but symbolic images, which point away from themselves to their prototype. This distinction formed the basis of the decree of the Seventh Ecumenical Council, which met at Nicaea in 787, prescribing how icons are to be used. An icon, since it is distinct from the divine prototype, is not to be worshipped (for worship is due to God alone), but to be treated only with relative veneration or honour, in the same way as the Book of the Gospels or the Cross. As John Meyendorff says in his book *Byzantine Theology*, 'This authoritative statement by an ecumenical council clearly excludes the worship of images often attributed to Byzantine Christianity.'

TRIUMPH OF ORTHODOXY OVER ICONOCLASM

In my view the triumph of Orthodoxy over iconoclasm has important implications for a Christian attitude towards the material world, and for Christian aesthetic activity in particular. The iconoclasts of the Eastern Church, like the Puritans in the West, lapsed into a sort of dualism. While not necessarily going to the extreme of viewing matter as evil, they certainly did tend to regard the realm of matter as an inappropriate subject for Christian concern, as something alien to God and remote from spiritual activity. Eusebius of Caesarea, the well-known fourth century Church historian, is a reminder that these attitudes are not uncommon even among the Church's leadership. When asked by Constantia, the sister of the Emperor Constantine, to provide her with an image of Christ,

Eusebius refused, commenting that her desire to have a material image of Jesus was unworthy of the faith; now that Christ had been glorified, he said, He can be contemplated only 'in the mind'.

Such an attitude has two consequences, both of which can be seen in the legacy of Puritan iconoclasm in our own culture. Firstly, there is a tendency to identify the realm of God and the spiritual life with the realm of the intellect, and thus make Christianity the preserve of educated people. The intellectualism and loquacity of so much modern Protestantism—even, I would hazard, its middle class character as well—amply testify to this. By contrast, icons have always been valued as a medium of visual instruction among the Orthodox, 'books for the illiterate' as John of Damascus once called them. And secondly, the world of material and cultural endeavour is abandoned to the prey of secular forces, instead of being transformed by Christian influences. I cannot help feeling that the prevalence of pornographic images in Western societies today is an expression of this abandonment of the material world to secularism. For, if Christian p. 212 iconoclasts refuse to allow what is truly good, honourable and beautiful to be set before people in the visual media of culture (Philippians 4:8), it is hardly cause for surprise that debased images arise to fill the vacuum. The human heart cannot live without contemplating something and the images of the flesh are always to hand if the image of God is withheld.

Where iconoclasm drives a wedge between the spiritual and the material, Orthodoxy affirms that matter can be transfigured by the glory and holiness of God. In the Incarnation the Son of God took a material body like ours; and in the Transfiguration this body revealed His divine glory to the three disciples on the mountain. 'The Word was made flesh … and we saw his glory', says the apostle John (John 1:14), and his words are echoed by John of Damascus at the time of The Iconoclastic Controversy: 'The Word made flesh has deified the flesh.' The Transfiguration is the central mystery of the Orthodox faith. Matter is not outside the scope of redemption, nor is it intrinsically hostile to the spiritual life. On the contrary, God has redeemed and glorified matter, making it 'Spirit-bearing', a vehicle of His divine life to us. And if our human flesh can become a vehicle of the Spirit, then so too—though at a subordinate level and in a different way—can wood and paint, the material constituents of an icon. Thus, as Timothy Ware puts it in his book *The Orthodox Church*, 'The Orthodox doctrine of icons is bound up with the Orthodox belief that the whole of God's creation, material as well as spiritual, is to be redeemed and glorified.'

Matter, of course, is not intrinsically spiritual and 'God-bearing'. It must be transformed and made holy by being offered to God for His use and blessing. The Orthodox icon painters take this very seriously, and we would do well to allow their approach to instruct our own artistic and cultural endeavour. An icon is painted as an act of worship. The wood is chosen and blessed, the paint (which is usually egg tempera) is blessed, and the painter prepares himself by prayer, by fasting and by receiving communion. An important aspect of this prayer is confession, the artist's renunciation of his own egoism and sinfulness, so that the icon may not merely set forth his distorted vision and inflict this on those who view the finished work, but may come to embody the healing radiance and beauty of God. In this way the icon painters sought to overcome their sin and the limitations of their own temperament, and offer themselves as instruments of the Holy Spirit. Few icon painters, accordingly, ever signed their work, and those who did wrote 'Through the hand of the sinful servant of God …' in front of their name. Prayer, of course, does not remedy p. 213 deficiencies in the artist's technical ability, any more than technical virtuosity can make up for a lack of spiritual discernment. It is the interplay of both the divine and the human factors that distinguishes a good icon from a defective one.

In addition to his own spiritual preparation, the icon painter followed traditional rules of technique and representation, which were handed down by word of mouth from master to pupil over the centuries, and are now preserved in iconographic manuals. The best known of these manuals is probably that of Dionysius of Fourna, written about 1730. The most reliable and authoritative, however, is the *Explanation of Orthodox Iconography* (Athens, 1960), written by Fotis Kontoglous, the leading contemporary Greek icon painter, which is based on older sources than those used by Dionysius. Unfortunately, it has not yet been translated into English. The iconographic rules prescribed in detail how icons and frescoes are to be made and, in particular, how each person or theme is to be depicted. This has assured astonishing continuity of representation over the centuries, so that one acquainted with icons can tell at a glance what is the scene and who are the saints illustrated. I have a reproduction of a sixth century wall painting of the apostle Peter, from St. Catherine's Monastery on Mt. Sinai, which is recognizably the same person as that shown on Russian icons of Peter made ten centuries later—without (so far as I am aware) any possibility of direct copying.

The primary object of these iconographic rules, however, is to ensure that icons express God's truth, beauty and holiness, and thereby instruct, uplift and sanctify the worshipper. By following them, the icon painter sets himself to avoid everything that is arbitrary or novel, everything that is vague or superfluous, everything that is individualistic, subjective or sensual; in short, to avoid what belongs to the old order in which our perception of God's truth is blurred and the image of God in us is disfigured. The iconographic tradition is therefore diametrically opposed to those modern ideas with which we are all familiar, that art should faithfully copy nature, reveal the spirit of the times, or express the imagination and personality of the artist. Iconographic art seeks to transcend the limitations of our fallen, secular world: it is an art of the new creation, an art of redemption, of God, and humanity transfigured. As Western Christians who seek to respond to the challenge of secular attitudes in the arts, we would be foolish to overlook the lessons of the iconographic tradition of the Eastern Church, which is perhaps the most rigorous and sustained attempt yet made to create a specifically Christian art. Today, when visual images exercise an ever increasing influence over people p. 214 through the new media of cinema and television, it can hardly be denied that the recovery of a Christian vocation in the visual arts is a matter of great urgency and importance.

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The Claims of Jesus in the African Context

David Gitari

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The *Letter to the Hebrews* opens with these words:

> In many and various ways God spoke of old to our fathers by the prophets; but in these last days he has spoken to us by the son whom he appointed the heir of all things, through whom he created the world. He reflects the glory of God and bears the very stamp of his nature, upholding the universe by his word of power.

These words are as relevant to the Christians in Africa today as they were to the Jews to whom the letter was addressed. In *many* and *various* ways God spoke to our forefathers in the continent of Africa. He did not speak to African tribes and cultures in one particular way; he spoke in *many* and *various* ways. Hence we do not speak of African religion, but we speak of African religions. We do not speak of one religious experience but of many varied encounters with God.

When the Gospel was first proclaimed to the African traditionalists, it was not preached to people who were in a spiritual vacuum. Rather it was preached to religious people who knew something about God but who were longing to know more. The claims of Jesus—to be the life of the world, the Son of God who comes on the stage of human history to reveal the Father—are usually received enthusiastically by the African people. The missionary effort of the last 150 years in Africa, south of Sahara, has been very successful. Today we are witnessing a tremendous growth of the church in some parts of Africa and the problem is how to cope with this unprecedented growth. In my own diocese, a new congregation begins at least once every month; we confirm an average of 500 candidates every Sunday. Statistics are, of course, not the best criteria for measuring church growth; growth in numbers can be deceptive. The church is faced with the problem of nurturing the Christians so that they grow in Christ and fully understand the implications of the Gospel.

THE GOSPEL AND CULTURE

If the Gospel of Jesus Christ is to have a deep impact on the African people, so that "they may have life and have it abundantly", then we must allow the Gospel to speak in the cultural situation of the Africans. **P. 216**

> When God took the initiative to redeem mankind, he came as a man among men. He became human, a man in culture. He took a cultural name, Jesus. He spoke a cultural language. He received a cultural education, conformed to the cultural mores of his people. He did not become a Roman, an Egyptian or an Asian, but a Jew. He became a universal man, but he also became a member of a Jewish home, a part of a small town community. The Roman officials saw him as a radical insurrectionist. He spoke of God, his Father, from within his culture, and performed deeds of mercy among his people. A universal man must first become a particular man. The Son of Man revealed the Father in a particular cultural tradition. It is the will of the Father that this should be the pattern of Christian nurture and evangelism.[1]

The incarnational principle therefore points the way to effective evangelism and strengthening of the church in Africa. If Jesus Christ had been born among the Ngombe people of Zaïre, he would have revolutionized their thinking about God. They live in a very deep forest and everything revolves around the forest; their understanding of God is based on the understanding of life in the forest. Jesus Christ would have revolutionized their forest-based religion without destroying it completely. He would also have revolutionized the religion of the Kikuyu people, which is based on mountain phenomena, without destroying it. The Kikuyu believes that God comes occasionally to visit his people

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[1] Don Jacobs, *A New Look at Christianity in Africa*, p.5.

on the mountain top and that he has temporary homes on the tops of mountains like Mount Kenya and so on. Jesus said: "Think not that I have come to abolish the law and the prophets, I have not come to abolish them but to fulfil them." This same Jesus would have visited the African traditionalists without necessarily destroying their religion, but rather fulfilling their deep spiritual longings.

This, of course, does not mean he would have compromised with anything in the culture which is not true to the Gospel. He told the Jews:

> You have heard that it was said, "you shall love your neighbour and hate your enemy", but I say to you "love your enemies and pray for those who persecute you". ([Matt. 5:43–44](#)).

Jesus, speaking to the Masai, would tell them:

> You have heard that it was said, "All the cows in the world belong to the Masai, hence taking cows from Wakamba or other places is not stealing, but rather bringing them back to their folds". But I say to you "if you love the Wakamba, you should not steal their cows".
> p. 217

The Gabbra, a small nomadic tribe of about 20,000 people, live in a semi-desert area of northern Kenya. Their whole life is centred around camels, cows and goats. They move from place to place in search of water and grass. They know God as he who brings rain whenever and wherever he wishes. They travel over a wide area to find the place where God has brought the blessing of rain. In our evangelism we must go to the Gabbra people not as to pagans, but as to people who can hear the Good News from their own cultural context and express the Gospel in their own nomadic thought forms and philosophy.

Andrew Adano was born in this nomadic tribe. He was very reluctantly taken to school where he became a Christian. He felt called to the ministry and after theological training I ordained him a priest, about five years ago. His first wish was to return to his own people to bear witness to Jesus Christ. We asked, "What can we do to help you in your evangelism?" He replied, "Buy me a camel and a mule and 40 goats." So we bought him a camel and a mule and the goats. He went to live among his own people, followed them wherever they went, pitched a tent where they camped, grazed his goats with them and proclaimed the message of the Good News of Jesus Christ.

Six months after starting his ministry the first person was ready for baptism. Andrew asked me: "Where shall I baptize him?" In the past he had only seen people being baptized in a church building. And I told him to baptize him any place considered holy by the people. The second question was: "How much water shall I use? We have so little water here." I said: "When you have plenty of water, baptize him by full immersion: when there is little water, baptize him by sprinkling."

At a clergy meeting Andrew was asked: "How many churches do you have?" And his answer was: "If a church means a building where people meet every Sunday, I have no church. But if it means a gathering of people regularly for worship then I have 25 churches, as I visit 25 magnattas, camping places, and there I organize worship. Not necessarily on a Sunday, but whenever I get an opportunity to go there." This is a Christian church literally on the move, moving from place to place, bearing witness to Jesus Christ.

The diocese is working together with Andrew Adano to alleviate the living conditions of these people. There is a great need for water and we are thinking of ways and means in which we can help them in the construction of dams … There is also the current problem of famine and we are engaged in famine relief. To overcome these problems we need to go to the root causes of poverty. In addition to p. 218 the natural shortage of rain, there are also inter-tribal feuds, cattle rustling and poor planning by the authorities. Some of

these problems need to be tackled by working together with the government, influencing government policies among the nomadic people.

FEEDING THE HUNGRY

I have no doubt that the Good News of the kingdom includes feeding the hungry. In some areas of Kenya we have recently been hit by famine. And I have personally been involved in famine relief activities. I have also challenged policies that have been responsible for famine such as bad planning, smuggling, etc. While acknowledging this as a part of our evangelism, I would like to make two observations from my own personal experience.

"FEED ME" MENTALITY

If our efforts to help the poor make them dependent on us, then we have not liberated them. Canaan Banana, the president of Zimbabwe, makes this point convincingly when he says:

> The dynamics of being poor are such that the oppressed poor finally accept the inhumanity and humiliation of their situation. They accept the status quo as the normal course of life. Thus to be poor becomes both the state of things and an attitude to life, an outlook and even a world view. The vicious circle is completed when the oppressor in turn internalizes an attitude of permanent supremacy and paternalism towards the poor and undertakes to speak, think and act on behalf of the poor. The poor are thus made dependent and made to feel dependent on the rich.[2]

We do not liberate the poor by merely giving them their daily bread. This can also dehumanize them, when they have daily to queue so as to be served with porridge. We must work together with them in seeking ways and means of self-sufficiency. We must go to the very roots of the cause of hunger and poverty.

BREAD OF LIFE

After feeding the five thousand, Jesus told those who were looking for him:

> Truly, truly I say to you, you seek me not because you saw signs, but because you ate your fill of the loaves. Do not labour for the food which perishes but for the food which endures to eternal life which the Son of man gives to you, for on him has God, the Father, set his seal (John 6:26–27). p. 219

Asked what this food was, Jesus said: "I am the bread of life; he who comes to me shall not hunger, and he who believes in me shall not thirst." We know that the Jews murmured when he said this, but he confused them the more, when he told them:

> Unless you eat the flesh of the Son of man and drink his blood, you have no life in you. He who eats and drinks my blood has eternal life, and I will raise him up at the last day. For my flesh is food indeed and my blood is drink indeed (John 6:53–55).

The Good News to the hungry world must not stop at giving the bread which perishes. Evangelism is the proclamation of the Good News of Jesus Christ so that people

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[2] CWME, *Your Kingdom Come* (Report on the World Conference on Mission and Evangelism), WCC, 1980, p.106.

understand the message, receive him as the bread of life, and are incorporated into the eucharistic life of the church.

In the culture from which I come, eating together is the highest expression of love for one another. People who drink tea from the same cup are said to love one another. Reconciliation includes not only settling a quarrel and seeking forgiveness, but also having a meal together. The worst punishment one can give to one's wife is to refuse to eat the food she has prepared; every meal one eats is an affirmation of one's love. When two families quarrel, the way of reconciliation is to slaughter a bull and eat it together; then the past is forgotten.

The eating of the bread and drinking of the blood of Christ at the eucharist table is an affirmation of our vertical love to God and horizontal love to one another, as we eat the bread from the same plate and drink the wine from the same eucharistic cup. Refusal to eat and to drink the flesh and the blood of Christ is an indication of our lack of love for Christ and for our neighbours. If we eat and drink in an unworthy manner, that is, without consideration for our brother, we are guilty of profaning the body and blood of Christ, of the Lord (I Cot. 11:27). So Paul says: "Let every man examine himself, and so eat of the bread and drink of the cup." That self-examination which leads to repentance must be the basis of our relationships, our relationship with God and our relationship with our neighbour. If I have wronged my neighbour or if I intend to wrong him, then there is no love in me and I ought not to drink the same cup of love with him. This is why Judas, by accepting to eat and drink the first supper, committed an unforgivable crime. By eating and drinking from the same cup and the same plate he was affirming his love for Jesus Christ and his disciples when his mind was determined to betray him. Hence, the eating and drinking brought judgement upon him rather than a p. 220 blessing. As Paul says: "For anyone who eats and drinks without discerning the body, eats and drinks judgement upon himself" (I Cor. 11:29).

Any system that makes it difficult for a human being to express love to fellow human beings is contrary to the love that the Gospel proclaims. This is why the apartheid system in South Africa, which is supported by people who claim to be Christians, is totally contrary to the Christian Gospel. The system that provides separate eating places for whites and blacks does not permit the demonstration of love in the act of eating and drinking together. Even if the system allowed our eating together in the same dining hall, it is not yet adequate. It must be eating the same bread and drinking the same cup at the same dining table. Such eating must be an affirmation that I love Jesus and I love you who is sharing this eucharistic meal with me. But such love must not be only at the table of eating and drinking, after which we go and exploit one another, betray one another, and persecute one another. It must be genuine love. Apartheid is the greatest stumbling-block in demonstrating that Jesus is the life of the world in Africa. The black South African Christians want to express their love to their white brethren, but they find great walls blocking their way of love. Sending famine relief to the hungry black South Africans is not sufficient expression of that love. Love can be best expressed by breaking the barriers, and eating and drinking together is the highest expression of love.

MEANING OF "MAN"

In African culture, the way in which man can be man is within the family. The African culture knows no isolated individuals. Man is man because he belongs. He is a part of a larger family, a clan or a tribe. Hence John Mbiti says: "I am because we are." As a member of the family, man cannot be left on his own. His problem is a problem of everyone else in the family. The family includes both the living and the dead. The African man must be

careful to ensure that the dead ancestors are pleased by his behaviour and his decisions. If they are displeased, they must be placated. The Africans do not worship the spirits of ancestors; they honour and give reverence to them.

In some parts of Africa, the Christian Gospel has been preached as if it were relevant only to an isolated individual. A person has to make an individual decision to accept Christ. This is an importation of individualistic cultural thinking of the West. The Philippian jailor was baptized in the middle of the night with his household. Whenever an p. 221 African person wants to make an important decision, he has to consult the whole family. Our evangelism in Africa must be aimed at families and groups of people.

A story is told of how some missionaries went to a village in West Africa and preached the Gospel to the chief of the tribe. The chief was impressed by the message and he wanted to accept Christ. He was told, however, he could only be baptized if he expelled his ten wives and remained with only one wife. He counted the cost of expelling his wives and his children and he concluded that the so-called Good News was bad news. He expelled the missionaries and told them never to appear again in his chiefdom. A few weeks later, Muslim missionaries arrived and preached Islam and told him to keep his wives. And he and his entire tribe embraced Islam.

REFUGEE SITUATION IN AFRICA

There are more refugees in Africa than in any other continent. Can those who live in refugee situations know Jesus as the life of the world? There are some people who think running away from one country to another is cowardly. They would like everybody to become a martyr. We should not only think in terms of dying for our countries, however, but also of living for our countries. Jesus became a refugee in Africa for two years and so he sanctified the refugee situation. He also said: "But when you see Jerusalem surrounded by armies, then let those who are in Judea flee to the mountains, and let those who are inside the city depart" (Luke 21:20–21). Many of the refugees tend to be too dependent, instead of making good use of their refugee situation. The message of Jeremiah of the exiles in Babylon is relevant to African refugees today:

> Thus says the Lord of hosts, the God of Israel to all the exiles whom I have sent into exile from Jerusalem to Babylon: "Build houses and live in them. Plant gardens and eat their produce. Take wives and have sons and daughters and give your daughters in marriage that they may bear daughters and sons; multiply there and do not decrease. But seek the welfare of the city where I have sent you into exile, and pray to the Lord on its behalf, for in its welfare you will find your welfare" (Jer. 29:4–7).

It was the exiles who kept alive the hope of restoration and who became better equipped to bring a new Israel. It was among the exiles that the leadership was to be found— Ezekiel, Ezra, Nehemiah, Zerubbabel, etc. The exiles and refugees must not live in desperation. In them may be the hope of liberation of their countries. It may be that they will come up with a new hope, a new theological p. 222 understanding of their situation and of the signs of the time. It was during the exile that the theology of hope was formulated by those who were in exile in Babylon. It was there that synagogues began. The persecuted and exiled should know that the persecutor can never persecute forever and ever. Ian Smith of former Rhodesia said there would be no majority rule in Rhodesia in his lifetime. Now Zimbabwe is liberated. St. Peter writing to the exiles of dispersion in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia and Bithynia tells them: "In this you rejoice, though now for a little while you may have to suffer various trials ..." (1 Peter 1:6). The emphasis there is "a little while", not forever and ever.

POLITICAL SITUATION

In the fifties and sixties, the continent of Africa was preoccupied with political liberation, liberation from the shackles of colonialism. The coming of independence was hailed as the day of salvation. We still await anxiously the liberation of the last remnant of colonialism and the coming of majority rule, especially in Southern Africa. Our few years of independence, however, have taught us the hard lesson that political liberation cannot be an end in itself; it must be liberation from something to liberation for loving service. Self-determination and freedom to make political and economic decisions for oneself is good, but all has not been well for the continent of Africa. There have been military coups d'états, wars and rumours of wars, exploitation of the poor by the powerful, corruption and murder.

We cannot assume that Jesus as the life of the world comes when people are politically liberated. If the former colonial rulers were sinners, the new masters are also human beings, indeed fallen human beings, who are prone to the same temptations of exploitation, selfishness and so on. It is here that the church is called upon to exercise the prophetic ministry of reminding those who are in positions of authority that if God has allowed them to have authority over his people, then they should uphold justice which God requires.

The church cannot exercise this ministry unless it is both separate and, at the same time, involved. The Christian community that does not live a different life—that within itself has hatred, division, quarrels, corruption, injustices—has nothing to tell others. The message of the Gospel as proclaimed by the church can only be heard if the church lives up to its calling. The church in Africa must not be so closely associated with governing authorities that it will always be speaking in praise of them. The church should constantly praise p. 223 those in authority whenever they uphold the justice and righteousness that God requires and then criticize them fearlessly whenever they depart from the justice that God requires.

If, however, Christian leaders are put in positions of authority, they should demonstrate what justice means. A Christian leader who continues with exploitation and oppression of people does great disservice to God and the church. Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia was internationally known as a great Christian statesman. But within Ethiopia he maintained a feudal system, which promised no hope for the poor, until the advent of the present government. Had the official Ethiopian Church boldly exercised a prophetic ministry to the Emperor and others, it would have done a great service. The Emperor worshipped every Sunday in St. George's Cathedral where his throne was. The church and the state were the same. The feudal system continued. If the Ethiopian Church at that time had demonstrated what is meant by righteousness, Ethiopian history would have taken a different route. President Tolbert of Liberia was a pastor of his church as well as the president of Liberia. But he did little to correct the oppressive system, which was removed by the power of guns, rather than by the Gospel that he was privileged to proclaim every Sunday.

The Dutch Reformed Church has, since 1949, given the racist nationalist government the mandate and the blessing to continue oppressing the majority of South African blacks. They support an oppressive system primarily because of fear. Where there is fear there is no freedom and no life. If Jesus came to give life, liberation in South Africa will bring a new lease of life to those who are oppressed as well as those who are in the bondage of fear.

Political liberation, however, does not solve all the problems of the people. The liberator and the liberated must seek Jesus Christ. Not so that he can daily give them bread to fill their stomachs, but rather that they may believe in him, who is the bread of life.

Patterns of Chinese Theology

Wing-hung Lam

The problems of indigenization discussed in this article are common to many cultures and must be faced as churches search for their cultural identity. Will these issues of pre-revolutionary China again be faced in post-Mao China?
(Editor)

The problem of indigenization is intrinsic to the task of evangelism. When the missionary attempts to communicate the Gospel to his audience, a process of indigenization begins which involves the psychology, the language, and the culture of both parties. The western missionary is brought up in a culture which has been for many years closely associated with Christianity, and whose content and expression are alien to the non-Christian country. His very presence in the mission field, his life-style and value are often identified, rightly or wrongly, with the religion he advocates. This inevitably imparts to the Christian message a foreignness that easily becomes a source of irritation to the local people. If dislike for foreignness is to be regarded as constitutive of human nature, such dislike is easily recognizable among the Chinese.

The necessity of indigenization was long ago felt by the Jesuit missionaries to China. In their effort of preaching Christianity, they were culturally conciliatory in their approach. They put on a Chinese appearance in their activities and mingled with the Confucian intelligentsia. Using western scientific knowledge to establish Chinese confidence in their message, they sought to accommodate their religion to the local civilization. Over the delicate issue which later provoked the Rites Controversy, the Jesuits took a moderate position, respecting the traditional practice of the Chinese. How successful was the Jesuit mission is a question outside our discussion, but it is undeniable that they had won the hearing and admiration of the Chinese literati.

The 1920s were a unique period in the history of Chinese Christianity when there was a host of experiments to indigenize the Christian faith. Before this time, there had been little, if any, theological reflection among Chinese Christians in confessing Christ in the context of traditional Chinese experience. Foreign missionaries were largely the spokesmen for the local Christian communities. And the Gospel consisted primarily in a western Christ presented to the humanistic and pragmatic Chinese mind. It is the purpose of this essay to analyze the various emerging patterns of theological construction by Chinese Christian intellectuals.

Theological contextualization in the twenties was the ideological side of the broader indigenous movement of the Chinese Church which was an effort to establish independence from western **p. 225** churches through self-support, self-government, and self-propagation. Impetus was given to this movement as a reaction to the nation-wide anti-Christian campaigns which ran through the decade. The outbreak of anti-Christian

activites occurred in 1922 when the World Student Christian Federation decided to hold its conference in Tsing Hua University near Peking in April. It sparked a chain-reaction of emotion-filled campaigns against Christianity all over the country. Demonstrations, speeches, telegrams, and pamphlets were employed to oppose it as the tool of imperialism and agent of denationalization, Numerous student strikes occurred in Christian schools, supported by political parties, that crippled the function of the institutions. The government restoration of educational prerogatives from mission schools challenged the place of Christian education, both as a mediator of western culture and as a means of religious proselytism. The anti-Christian force was of such a magnitude as seemed to threaten the existence of the Christian movement. Evidence of such possibility was seen in the massive exodus of foreign missionaries after the Nanking Incident in March, 1927.[1] The Chinese Church was caught in turmoil, puzzled about the viability of its message and perplexed with the uncertainty of its future. For the first time in the history of Chinese Christianity, indigenous leaders significantly stood to defend the Christian faith.

The efforts of theological reflection during these critical years must be seen in the wider context of cultural relationship between China and the West. Three different contemporary trends were perceivable among Chinese intellectuals who were struggling to establish the cultural identity of the nation. Some scandalized Confucianism as a product of traditional feudalism incompatible with the new age. The only hope to modernize China was to follow the path of "total westernization". Mr. Science and Mr. Democracy must be introduced. On the other hand, there were conservatives who held a relatively low view of the western way. The recent World War I was interpreted as the result of cultural bankruptcy of the West. They believed that the salvation of China depended on the renaissance of traditional Confucianism. A middle position was held by the advocates for a cultural synthesis of both East and West. They regarded culture as a dynamic, flexible force ready to undergo interaction with its environment. Intellectual openness had to be exercised to assimilate western p. 226 ideology and technology and to evaluate Chinese tradition. The debate on cultural identity continued into the thirties and influenced the programme of theological indigenization undertaken by the Chinese Christians.

TOWARD THE MAKING OF AN INDIGENOUS THEOLOGY

The formation of Chinese theology is a task that involves two kinds of loyalty in the mind of the Chinese Christian. As Chinese, he wants to be faithful to his cultural tradition; as Christian, he has to present his religious message without diminution. Indigenization of the Christian faith can be regarded as an intellectual movement between the two loyalties. Some contemporary Christian scholars felt the conflict between traditional Chinese values and the Christian ethos. Their indigenous effort became a competition of commitments. Others were at home with both, confessing that Christianity and Confucianism are different names of the same truth. Most Chinese Christians stayed in between these two views, sympathetic with the ethnic culture and critical in relating Christianity to it. A persistent question occurs when the patterns of indigenization are examined: is the effort meant to render Christianity more acceptable to the Chinese or to preserve the Chinese cultural values?

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[1] See Shirley Stone Garrett, "Why They Stayed: American Church Politics and Chinese Nationalism in the Twenties," in *The Missionary Enterprise in China and America*. Edited by John K. Fairbank (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1974), pp.283–310.

Contemporary Chinese Christians took Confucianism as the mainstream of Chinese culture. The school of Lao Tzu and Mo Tzu were considered as side currents. Buddhism and Taoism, though they may have been popular in the religious experience among the mass, did not gain as much intellectual attention among the students as Confucianism. In the current debate on cultural relations between East and West, most Chinese Christians took the middle position. They did not favour traditionalism, because Christianity came from the West and claimed their allegiance. They could not go for "total westernization", because the upsurge of nationalism in the era of anti-Christian movement stigmatized Christianity as foreign. A main line of apologetics was to assert that Christianity was not denationalizing. Yet, to them, nationalism posed an ideological dilemma. On the one hand, nationalism was "somehow linked with the disintegration of Chinese civilization".[2] On the other hand, the Chinese Christians had to witness to the hostile world that Christianity did not betray the national culture. The attempts at indigenization were influenced, consciously or unconsciously by the dilemma. A viable solution p. 227 seemed to be a sympathetic criticism of the Chinese culture with a calculated accommodation of the Christian faith. Many Christian intellectuals adopted this approach toward indigeneity although their stations on the journey were different.

What, then, is indigenization? Amidst the vast Christian literature of the decade, we can construct a general consensus of opinions offered by the representative figures in the indigenous church movement. Indigenization is not a retreat to the ancient culture, imitating traditional customs and practices. Nor is it reluctance to co-operate with the West, following a form of anti-foreignism. Also it is wrong to conceive of indigeneity as the abandonment of the rich Christian experience of the past and the establishment of a new Christianity by merely fusing it with the local civilization, which would become, as one contemporary Christian scholar said, "neither a horse nor a donkey".[3]

Positively speaking, indigenization, in Ch'eng Ching-yi's view, is to "render Christianity suitable to the needs of the Chinese and to accommodate it to the customs, environment, history, and thinking of the Chinese culture."[4] Chao Tzu-ch'en, professor of Yenching University, defined indigenous church as "one which conserves and unifies all truths contained in the Christian religion and in China's ancient civilization and which thus manifests and expresses the religious life and experiences of the Chinese Christians in a fashion that is native and natural to them."[5] Indigenous Christianity must be a local growth, subsequent to the transplant of the western religion, that absorbs the nourishment of Chinese culture and is suited to the spirit and psychology of the Chinese.[6] From these definitions it is easy to see the urgency and importance of the indigenous task.

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[2] J. R. Levenson, *Confucian China and Its Modern Fate: A Triology* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1968), p.105.

[3] Ch'eng Ching-yi, "Pen-se chiao-hui chih shang-ch'üeh" (Discussion of Indigenous Church), *Wen-she yüeh-k'an* I. 6 (May 1926):8. Ch'eng was elected General Secretary of the National Christian Council of China and served in that position until 1933.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp.9–10.

[5] Chao Tzu-ch'en (T. C. Chao), "Indigenous Church," *The Chinese Recorder*, LVI (1925), p.497.

[6] See Wang Chih-hsin, "Pen-se chiao-hui yü pen-se chü-cho" (Indigenous Church and Indigenous Literature), *Wen-she yüeh-k'an*, I. 6 (May, 1926):1–17.

Few would doubt the necessity of the indigenous movement. The question is not why but how.

Five patterns of indigenous thought are recognizable. Not every one is by itself unique and distinct, but their different emphases reflect their presuppositions and approaches to the problem.

1. Presence of Classical Precedents

Proponents of this pattern of indigenous theology had intimate knowledge of the Confucian tradition. Their love for and confidence in it did not flag although Confucianism was under attack during this time. Even their professed allegiance to Christianity did not weaken their emotional and intellectual tie to the ancient tradition. Instead, Christianity offered them opportunity to defend its value in the hour of adversity. They sought to maintain the double loyalties, though sometimes hard to tell which was higher, without betraying any conflict between them. If there were areas of tension, they either ignored their existence or explained them away. Their conviction was that the Chinese heritage was good and deserved our continual respect in the modern age. Its values had to be preserved not because they were Chinese but because they were universally true. They saw Christianity not as the ultimate, absolute religion to substitute the time-honoured deposit of cultural excellences but as a colleague for mutual service. Christianity and Chinese culture would enrich each other. And Christianity was interpreted from the standpoint of Chinese culture, seeking elements from the Christian doctrines that would agree to certain classical precepts.

A key representative of this pattern was Wu Lei-ch'uan of Yenching University. Wu came from a strong Confucian background and was well-versed in the knowledge of the Four Books and Five Classics. The basic premise in his thought lies in the identity of the sources of truth. Truth is one and its expressions are many. Christianity and Confucianism are different expressions, due to their backgrounds and traditions, of the same truth, *Tao*.[7] Whether it is Christianity absorbing Confucianism or Confucianism accommodating Christianity, the true *Tao* will bear its fruit in China. With this conviction, the uniqueness and finality of Christianity had no place in Wu's system. And his indigenous effort was governed by the intention of building up continuity between the two. He went back to the early Chinese sages and examined their original doctrines. Wu was not surprised at all to find that many basic Christian concepts already had their classical counterparts in the teaching of Chinese classics. And the Chinese should welcome Christianity as a like-minded friend, instead of as an ideological foreigner, who would vindicate the worth of its culture.

In Wu's view, the idea of a personal deity is present in *Shih Ching (The Book of Odes)* and *Shu Ching (The Book of History)*, signified by the term "Shang-ti". But at a later time Chinese intellectuals sought to accommodate it to the understanding of the people and altered their concept of deity. The personified "Shang-ti" ceased to be used.[8]

Isaiah's prophecy of the Messiah was identified by Wu with the expectation of the coming saint as seen in *Chung Yung (The Doctrine of the Mean)*, chapter 31. The Holy One was to arise and rule the nations in peace and to manifest the example of perfect virtues. According to Wu Lei-ch'uan, both accounts were written in the hour of crisis when

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[7] See Wu Lei-ch'uan, "Problem of the Christian Church in China: A Statement of Religious Experience," *The Chinese Recorder*, LII (1921), pp.97–102.

[8] See Wu Lei-ch'uan, "Chi-tu-chiao yü Ju-chiao" (Christianity and Confucianism), *Chen-li chou-k'an*, 1.43 (Jan. 12, 1923).

political unrest provoked the people to look for a saviour to rectify the situation. Thus Tzu Ssu, author of this chapter in *Chung Yung*, and Isaiah shared the same thought. To the Israelites, Isaiah was a prophetic voice; to the Chinese, Tzu Ssu was an optimistic theoretician.[9]

Jen (Humanity), the central doctrine in Confucianism, was, in Wu's argument, equivalent to the Holy Spirit. When the Confucian scholars referred to *jen*, a dimension of spirituality was present. We should pray for *jen* to dwell in us, and when jen is applied, it will prevail over the nation.[10]

Wu's primary concern was not conformity to the Chinese past but to transform the present. Social reform was a universal principle for human life, a goal which Jesus followed in his ministry. This was the way to bring in the kingdom of God. The same ideal was found in the Confucian programme from self-cultivation to the rule of the nation, until the great harmony was achieved.

2. Harmonization of Cultures

A second approach to indigenize the Christian faith emphasized the possibility of harmonizing it with Chinese culture. Harmonization did not mean a passive attitude to acknowledge weakness in traditional China. Nor was it compromise, surrendering the cultural characteristics in order to come to terms with another ideology.

In the understanding of Wang Chih-hsin, professor of Nanking Theological Seminary, culture is a world property which is not to be monopolized by any one nation. Culture itself is subject to constant changes and exchanges.[11] History is full of examples of cultural p. 230 absorption and assimilation. Western civilization emerged from the contacts between the Greco-Roman and the Hebrew cultures. Neo-Confucianism in Sung and Ming Dynasty was the integrated product of Confucianism and Buddhism. In Wang's view, Christianity is a universal culture into which western and eastern cultures can be synthesized. The possibility of such harmonization has the scriptural warrant in Jesus' words: "I have other sheep, that are not of this fold; I must bring them also and they will heed my voice. So there shall be one flock, one shepherd" ([John 10:16](#)). Wang considered China as a sheep outside the fold to be gathered to the Good Shepherd in the future. His indigenous effort was directed by the vision of a universal Christian culture—a vision tempered by nationalistic flavour.

According to Wang, Chinese culture is ethical in orientation, established on filial piety. *Hsiao* (filial piety) fills all aspects of life, and from a religious perspective, it is the Chinese religion with the parents playing the role of God.[12] Christianity, if properly understood, is not against the doctrine of *hsiao*. He urged that,

> We have to understand the differences in cultural backgrounds. In Jewish culture, religion
> is the centre; so God is the first premise. In Chinese culture, ethics is the centre; so parents

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[9] See Wu Lei-ch'uan, "Chi-tu-chiao ching yü Ju-chiao ching" (The Christian Scripture and the Confucian Documents), *Sheng-ming yüeh-k'an*, III. 6 ([Mar. 1923](#)).

[10] See Wu Lei-ch'uan, *Chi-tu-chiao yü Chung-kuo wen-hua* (Christianity and Chinese Culture), (Shanghai: Ch'ing-nien hsieh-hui shu-chü, 1936), pp.57–58.

[11] Wang Chih-hsin, *Chung-kuo wen-hua yü chi-tu-chiao* (Chinese Culture and Christianity), (Shanghai: Ch'ing-nien hsieh-hui shu-chü, 1927), pp. 1–9.

[12] Wang Chih-hsin, "Chi-tu-chiao yü Chung-kuo wen-hua" (Christianity and Chinese Culture), *Chen-kuang tsa-chih*, XXVI. 6 (1927):1–6.13.

come first. The Jews look upon God as Father; the Chinese regard parents as God. The meaning is the same.[13]

In this way harmony is achieved by showing our love for God through loving our parents. Even Jesus did not allow people to usurp the portion due to their parents by pretending that it was to be offered to God ([Mark 7:11](#)). Therefore, there should be no conflict between Jesus' ethics and the Confucian *hsiao*.

In discussing the doctrine of *jen* and *i* (righteousness), Wang was not hesitant in searching for Christian analogy. He took *jen* as love-for-others and *i* as love-for-oneself, which is mentioned in [I Corinthians 13](#). Mencius rejected Mo Tzu's all-embracing love as the extreme of *jen* and Yang Chu's self-centred interest as the extreme of *i*. The harmony between *jen* and *i* is clearly seen in Mencius' synthesis in teaching a love of gradation and discernment. In Christianity, the balance of love and truth is embodied in Jesus' words: "Give to those who ask of you," and "Cast no pearl before the swine."[14]

Advocates of cultural harmonization like Wang Chih-hsin cannot entirely conceal their cultural predilection. In their programme they p. 231 are eager to show that Chinese concepts really have something positive to be synthesized. They hold on to the best of orthodox Confucianism as a protection for the survival of the tradition. Their effort seems to look for Christian sanction for the selected portion of Confucian thought. Thus, Christianity and Confucianism are not equal partners in the programme. Such inequality indicates their concern for the preservation of Chinese culture with the aid of Christianity. Their indigenization is the attempt to maintain the double loyalties—to Christianity and to China. In this way they can profess themselves as Chinese Christians.

3. To Fulfil, Not to Destroy

Advocates of this third position believed that Christianity would improve on traditional culture and thereby enrich it. They were willing to admit similarity, but not identity as Wu Lei-ch'uan did, between Christian doctrines and Chinese classical thought. It did not mean that their love for the ethnic culture was less or that they favoured complete westernization. They were interested in preserving Chinese values, but they went beyond seeking for points of cultural contacts. They saw the inadequacy of Chinese culture, not so much because of the current anti-Confucian iconoclasm as because of having a higher, theological conviction.

Several premises were shared in this pattern of theological thought. Firstly, they believed that God has not left himself without witness to his activities in Chinese society. Chinese culture is simultaneously the work of God and of man. Glimpses of divine revelation are perceivable in the teaching of the Chinese sages. The attitude of superiority among former missionaries was now replaced by that of humility. Secondly, they were optimistic about the future of the ethnic culture. Modern China was still in the making, and she had to undergo an inevitable process of cultural assimilation. Thirdly, they accepted the finality of Christianity in one way or another. The centrality of Christ was the focus of their message. As Chao Tzu-ch'en said, "The greatest contribution that Christianity can make to Confucian culture is its experience of God as revealed in the Word Incarnate, Jesus, the Christ."[15]

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[13] *Ibid.*, p.3.

[14] See Wang Chih-hsin, *Chung-kuo wen-hua*, p.7.

[15] T. C. Chao, "Christianity and Confucianism," *International Review of Missions*, XVII (1928), p.595.

According to these convictions, proponents of this theological pattern sympathetically and critically examined their cultural inheritance. Very often their sympathy outweighed their criticism. They p. 232 looked for areas where the Chinese sages and the Christian faith could meet, and pointed them to the way of greater truth. They felt that the humanistic basis of Chinese thought lacks adequate perspective to give a sound philosophy of life. The finiteness and sinfulness of man obscure his metaphysical glasses.

In Chao's analysis, Chinese thinkers value the harmony between man and nature. When nature maintains internal and external equilibrium, life will prosper. The Confucian theory does not teach the conquest of nature, but seeks to understand its ways.[16] The Chinese mind seldom goes beyond nature itself, yet stays constantly within the sphere of human affairs. Such practical emphasis partially accounts for the weakness of its metaphysics and the vagueness of its religious dimension.

Confucian ethics mainly deal with human relationships. In Chao's view, the teaching of *hsiao*, however, is for men not for God, in the world not beyond the world. Man requires no other god than himself in the realization of the true, the good, and the beautiful. But the over-confidence in human ability defeats its own moral structure. Christianity will enable the Chinese doctrine to establish its foundation, beyond the maintenance of the man-nature harmony, upon the religious experience of a God-man relationship. From this, the Christian doctrine of the Fatherhood of God will enrich the Chinese view of family which includes the living and the dead bound together through *hsiao*, by the extended idea of a universal family. The Chinese individual is now liberated from the bondage of the traditional family to a heavenly fatherhood and a world brotherhood which is also the Confucian aspiration. As Chao put it, "the depth and height of brotherhood will not be reached without the religious homogeneity of a world God-consciousness that Christianity alone can give."[17]

4. Cultural Dualism

Standing apart from the intellectual main current of indigenous theology was a most popular preacher at Peking, Wang Ming-tao. In a time of social disorder and political instability, members of Wang's church found psychological comfort and spiritual renewal from his conservative message. Wang's indigenous thought was governed by his theology of history. In his view, the world and the church are two competing forces, different in nature and in institution, that move the p. 233 wheel of history toward a definite end. The world is controlled under satanic authority and inhabited by sinners who rebel against God in their immorality and impiety. Such thoroughly corrupted social order is beyond any possibility of redemption.[18]

Wang was not concerned with the preservation or reformation of cultural values for they would inevitably pass away. Logically, Wang did not expect any divine activity in culture or God would have to destroy his own work in the last day. Yet, in introducing a Christianity detached from the world, Wang was aware of the impossibility of living out of contact with culture. How did he resolve this dilemma?

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[16] T. C. Chao, "Our Cultural Heritage," in *China Her Own Interpreter*, ed. by M. Stauffer (New York: Missionary Education Movement of the United States and Canada, 1927), pp.3–4.

[17] See Chao, "Christianity and Confucianism," p.598.

[18] Wang Ming-tao, *Yeh-su shi-shei* (Who is Jesus) (1927), (Reprint; Hong Kong: Hung Tao Press, 1962), p.3.

Wang's solution was founded in his hope for the Church Triumphant. The church is the bride of Christ purged with his blood of sacrifice, saved by his substitutionary death, and united to him without blemish.[19] To Wang, only the redemptive history of the people of God matters. His ecclesiology is strongly eschatological in outlook and other-worldly in emphasis. His theological dualism is extended to the status of individuals before God. Sonship to God is exclusively given to believers; non-believers in the world are enemies of God. The contact between these two opposite groups is evangelistic mission. Chinese culture, which has been contaminated by human sinfulness, is not to be harmonized with, or fulfilled by, Christianity, but to be evangelized by it. His theological order is that only changed man can change the world. And Wang took a low view of the effort of social reconstruction by the liberal wing of the Chinese church.

In Wang's theology, we see a constant dichotomy between faith and reason, the church and the world, individual Gospel and social Gospel. This bias has naturally led to a form of monastic retreat from the world in turmoil and to a breeding of self-righteousness in social relationship. The shortcoming of his position is that Wang had an incomplete theology of culture and was still living in the mentality of the majority of missionaries of the previous century.

5. Christianity Judges Culture

Although theologically conservative like Wang Ming-tao, Chang I-ching, a prolific writer in the South, was more positive in his view of Chinese culture and more comprehensive in his apologetic effort. Unlike the liberal Chinese Christians, he was more critical than sympathetic in his examination of Chinese tradition. Instead of showing areas of similarities between Christianity and Chinese culture, Chang **p. 234** was ready to point out the differences and weaknesses of Confucian thought. He entered into a cultural debate with Confucian scholars from a theological standpoint.

Chang acknowledged the presence of divine activity in Chinese civilization. The lordship of Christ prevails over both the creative and redemptive dimensions. Equal attention should be given to both in the formulation of an indigenous theology. However, the gravity of man's sin has deeply and widely affected his cultural function. Even the best of Chinese culture is not exempted from it. The sages of the past had only glimmers of light that were to be gathered to the True Light in Jesus Christ.

Chang adopted a sun-moon analogy to compare Jesus with Confucius.[20] Jesus is the sun whose light is intrinsic and intense. Confucius is the moon whose light is a reflection of sunlight, having no illumination of its own. Wu Lei-ch'uan looked upon Jesus and Confucius in the same human category. Chao Tzu-ch'en regarded Jesus as a supreme man. But Chang argued that the difference between Jesus and the Chinese sage is that between God and man. Jesus' stupendous claims, his miraculous deeds, and his fulfilment of prophecy are unique evidence of his divinity, incarnate in human form. Like other sages of China's past desirous of knowing the *Tao* of heaven, Confucius sought after it without the aid of special revelation from God. This explains his agnostic reserve in commenting on the religious and supernatural realm of reality. And this *Tao* is none other than Jesus Christ.

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[19] Wang Ming-tao, *Chi-tu ti hsin-fu* (The Bride of Christ) (1926), (Reprint; Hong Kong: The Bellman House, 1970), pp.l–6.

[20] Chang I-ching, "Yeh Ju pien" (Debate Between Christianity and Confucianism), *Chen-kuang ts'ung-k'an* (Shanghai: China Baptist Publication Society, 1928), II, 32–33.

Chang encouraged the Confucianists to consider the credibility of Christianity without abandoning their Confucian interest and respect. However, unlike Wu Lei-ch'uan, he was reluctant to admit the existence of precedents of Christian teaching among the ancient classics. Similarity cannot be taken as equivalence, for they are qualitatively different in their metaphysical structures. This is also due to the difference in epistemology. The Confucian way of knowing begins in man and nature, whereas Christianity has its starting point in the self-revelation of God.[21] Man's blind search gives rise to religious polytheism in Chinese experience which has to be corrected with the monotheistic faith in Christianity.

Regarding the national crisis, Chang's hope was dependent upon his theology of divine grace and judgement. It is improper to argue p. 235 that China should adopt Christianity for political modernization. Chang felt that the core of the issue of national reconstruction lies in the transformation of individuals and the community together. For human effort alone is not sufficient to turn egoism to altruism, selfishness to sacrifice, and exploitation to service. The kingdom of God is both a task of man and a gift of God.

THEOLOGICAL COMMON GROUND

The problem of indigenization is ambiguous as well as complex. Its nature defies a final solution, for an indigenous theology is a task that involves at least three aspects of intellectual effort—the definition of the Christian faith, the identification of culture, and the expression of the former in the latter. Each of these presupposes a context which is conditioned by both time and space.

In the missionary activities during the nineteenth century, the problem was largely tackled by preaching a "Western Christ against Chinese culture". Since the late nineteenth century, due to the ineffectiveness of the missionary approach and the growing appreciation of the Chinese tradition, the emphasis of the Christian message consisted in a "Western Christ of Chinese culture". The emergence of the Christo-centric apologetics in the Chinese church in the 1920s, occasioned by the anti-Christian movement, sought to present a "Chinese Christ of Chinese culture". They longed to see that the Chinese Christ would save the nation in crisis. These five patterns of indigenous experiments represent almost the entire spectrum of theological reflection.

Among these patterns of indigenous thought, we can establish three premises of durable value regarding the problem of contextual theology. First, no culture is beyond the redemptive activity of God, which is the common basis of Christian hope of all five patterns. The current situation of the nation intensified this theological expectation among the Chinese Christians. Though pessimistic about the world, Wang Ming-tao's enthusiasm for evangelism expressed certain belief in cultural redeemability. And Wu Lei-ch'uan's national reconstruction was more explicit of this conviction. Secondly, no definition of Christianity is absolute, for culture itself is relative. There exists a mutual necessity between culture and Christianity. Culture needs Christianity for enlightenment; and the Christian faith requires culture for a better interpretation. Any claim to a full expression of the Christian religion is simply blind dogmatism. If such claim is not possible within a culture, the possibility is even less in cross-cultural missions. p. 236 No pattern above is completely sufficient to give an indigenous theology, for indigenization is an ongoing process as the Christian church fulfils its *Missio Dei* in God's world. Therefore, a full identification of traditional concepts with Christian doctrines will usurp the unique

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[21] Chang I-ching, "Tu Ch'en Kuan-chang po-shih Kung-chiao tsan-i pien-mu" (A Critique of Dr. Ch'en Kuan-chang's Lecture on Confucian Religion) in *Chen-kuang ts'ung-k'an* II, 118.

value of revelation in Jesus Christ. Here, Chang I-ching's distinction between common and special revelation would help Wu Leich'uan to avoid the danger of cultural idolatry. And Wu had a hard time to answer the question: why choose Christianity if the Chinese sages already have the truth? To some extent, Wang Chih-hsin had to face the same question in his programme of cultural harmonization.

Thirdly, no culture is exempted from divine judgement although every culture has traces of God's work. Chang was right to urge for cultural repentance of all nations. And Chao Tzu-ch'en's argument that the Confucian sages were agents of truth is also well taken. Any recognition of truth, good, and beauty assumes the existence of an absolute, which may not be viable in the ambiguity of life. And it is this absolute reality that judges all cultural decisions made in existential contexts. p. 237

The Kingdom Strikes Back: The Ten Epochs of Redemptive History

Ralph D. Winter

Man has virtually erased his own story. Human beings have been pushing and shoving each other so much that they have destroyed well over 90 per cent of their own handiwork. Their libraries, their literature, their cities, their works of art are mostly gone. Even what remains from the distant past is fiddled with evidences of a strange and pervasive evil that has grotesquely distorted man's potential. This is strange because apparently no other species of life treats its own with such deadly malignant hatred. The oldest skulls bear mute witness that they were bashed in and roasted to deliver their contents as food for still other human beings.

We are not surprised then to find that the explanation for this strangeness comes up in the oldest, detailed, written records—surviving documents that are respected by Jewish, Christian and Muslim traditions, whose adherents make up more than half of the world's population. These documents, referred to by the Jews as "the Torah," by Christians as the "Books of the Law" and by Muslims as "the Taurat" not only explain the strange source of evil but also describe a counter-campaign and follow that campaign through many centuries.

To be specific, the first eleven "chapters" of Genesis constitute a trenchant introduction to the whole problem. These pages describe three things: 1) a glorious and "good" original creation; 2) the entrance of a rebellious, evil, superhuman power who is more than a force, actually a personality; and the result 3) a humanity caught up in that rebellion and brought under the power of that evil.

In the whole remainder of the Bible, we have a single drama: the entrance into this enemy-occupied territory of the kingdom, the power and the glory of the living God. From [Genesis 12](#) to the end of the Bible, and indeed until the end of time, there unfolds the single, coherent drama of "the Kingdom strikes back." In this drama we see the gradual

but irresistible power of God reconquering and redeeming His fallen creation through the giving of His own Son at the very center of the 4000-year period we are now ending. p. 238

This counter-attack clearly does not await the appearance of the central Person in the center of the story. Indeed, there would seem to be five identifiable epochs before the appearance of the Christ. While the purpose of this article is mainly to describe the five epochs following His "visitation," in order for those to be seen as part of a single ten-epoch continuum, we will pause to give a few clues about the first five epochs.

The theme that links all ten epochs is that of the grace of God intervening into history in order to contest the enemy who temporarily is "the god of this world." God's plan for doing this is to reach all peoples by blessing Abraham and Abraham's children-by-faith. This blessing of God is in effect conditioned upon its being shared with other nations, since those who receive God's blessings are, like Abraham, men of faith who subject themselves to God's will, become part of His kingdom, and represent the extension of His rule throughout the world among all other peoples.

In the first epoch of roughly 400 years, Abraham was chosen and moved to the geographic center of the Afro-Asian land mass. The story of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Joseph is often called the Period of the Patriarchs and displays only small breakthroughs of witness and sharing with the surrounding nations even though the central mandate (Gen. 12:1–3) is repeated twice again to Abraham (18:18, 22:18) and to Isaac (26:4) and Jacob (28:14, 15). Joseph observed to his brothers, "You sold me, but God sent me," and was obviously a great blessing to Egypt. Even the Pharaoh recognized that Joseph was filled with the Holy Spirit. But this was not the intentional missionary obedience God wanted.

As we push on into the next four roughly-400-year periods: 2) the Captivity, 3) the Judges, 4) the Kings and 5) that of the second captivity and diaspora—the promised blessing and the expected mission (to share that blessing with all the nations of the world) often all but disappears from sight. As a result, where possible God accomplished His will through the voluntary obedience and godliness of His people, but where necessary, He does His will through involuntary means. Joseph, Jonah, the nation as a whole when taken captive represent the category of involuntary missionary outreach intended by God to force the sharing of the blessings. The little girl carried away captive to the house of Naaman the Syrian was able to share her faith. On the other hand, Ruth, Naaman the Syrian and the Queen of Sheba all came voluntarily, attracted by God's blessings to Israel.

We see in every epoch the active concern of God to forward His mission, with or without the full co-operation of His chosen nation. p. 239 Thus, when Jesus appears, it is an incriminating "visitation." He comes to His own, and His own receive Him not. He is well received in Nazareth until He refers to God's desire to bless the Gentiles. Then a homicidal outburst of fury betrays the fact that this chosen nation—chosen to receive and to mediate blessings (Ex. 19:5, 6; Ps. 67; Isa. 49:6)—has grossly departed from that. There was indeed a sprinkling of fanatical Bible students who "traversed land and sea to make a single proselyte." But their outreach was not so much to be a blessing to the other nations as it was to sustain and protect the nation Israel. They were not making sure that their converts were circumcised in heart (Jer. 9:24–26; Rom. 2:29).

In effect, under the circumstances, Jesus did not come to give the Great Commission but to take it away. The natural branches were broken off while other "unnatural" branches were grafted in (Rom. 11:13–24). Even so, despite the general reluctance of the chosen missionary nation, many people groups were in fact touched: Canaanites, Egyptians, Philistines (of the ancient Minoan culture), Hittites, the Moabites, the Phoenicians (of Tyre and Sidon), the Assyrians, the Sabeans (of the land of Sheba), the Babylonians, the Persians, the Parthians, the Medes, the Elamites, the Romans.

And now, as we look into the next 2000 year period, it is one in which God, on the basis of the intervention of His Son, is making sure that the other nations are both blessed and similarly called "to be a blessing to all the families of the earth." Now, for them, "Unto whomsoever much is given, of him shall much be required." Now the Kingdom strikes back in the realms of the Armenians, the Romans, the Celts, the Franks, the Angles, the Saxons, the Germans, and eventually even those ruthless pagan pirates, the Vikings. All were to be invaded, tamed and subjugated by the power of the gospel, and expected to share their blessings with still others.

But the next five epochs are not all that different from the first five epochs. Those that are blessed do not seem terribly eager to share those blessings. The Celts are the only nation in the first millenium who give an outstanding missionary response. As we will see, just as in the Old Testament, the coming of blessings brings sober responsibility, dangerous if unfulfilled. And we see repeated again and again God's use of the full range of his four missionary mechanisms.

The "visitation" of the Christ was dramatic, full of portent and strikingly "in due time." Jesus was born a member of a subjugated people. Yet in spite of her bloody imperialism, Rome was truly an instrument in God's hands to prepare the world for His coming. Rome controlled one of the largest empires the world has ever known, p. 240 forcing the Roman peace upon all sorts of disparate and barbaric peoples. For centuries Roman emperors had been building an extensive communication system, both in the 250,000 miles of marvelous roads which stretched all over the empire, and in the rapid transmission of messages and documents somewhat like the Pony Express on the American frontier. In its conquests, Rome had enveloped at least one civilization far more advanced than her own—Greece—and highly educated artisans and teachers taken as slaves to every major city of the empire taught the Greek language. Greek was understood from England to Palestine. How else could a few gospels and a few letters from St. Paul have had such a widespread impact among so many different ethnic groups in such a short period of time?

Jesus came, lived for 33 years on earth, confronted the wayward, missionary nation, was crucified and buried, rose again, underscored the same commission to all who would respond, and ascended once more to the Father. Today even the most agnostic historian stands amazed that what began in a humble stable in Bethlehem of Palestine, the backwater of the Roman Empire, in less than 300 years had taken control of the Lateran Palace of the emperors of Rome, a gift of Constantine to the church. How did it happen? It is truly an incredible story.

NO SAINTS IN THE MIDDLE?

Let us interrupt the story here briefly. We can do well at this point to confront a psychological problem. In church circles today we have fled, or feared, or forgotten these middle centuries. Let us hope evangelicals are not as bad in this respect as the Mormons. They seem to hold to a "BOBO" theory that the Christian faith somehow "blinked out" after the Apostles and "blinked on" again when Joseph Smith dug up the sacred tablets in the 19th century. The result of this kind of BOBO approach is that you have "early" saints and "latter-day" saints, but no saints in the middle. Many Protestants may have roughly the same idea. Such people are not much interested in what happened prior to the Protestant Reformation: they have the vague impression that before Luther and Calvin the church was apostate and whatever there was of real Christianity consisted of a few persecuted individuals here and there. In a series of twenty volumes on "Twenty Centuries of Great Preaching" only half of the first volume is devoted to the first *fifteen* centuries! In Evangelical Sunday Schools children are busy as beavers with the story of God's work

from Genesis to Revelation, from Adam to the Apostles, and Sunday School publishers may even boast about their "all-Bible curriculum." But this only really means that the children do not get exposed at all to what God did *with the Bible* between the times of the Apostles and the Reformers, a period which is staggering proof of the uniqueness and power of the Bible! To all such people it is as if there were no saints in the middle.

In the space available, however, it is possible to trace only the Western part of the story of Christianity—and only its outline at that, but to do that we must recognize certain clear stages that make the whole story fairly easy to grasp.

Note the pattern in the chart below:

Romans	Barbarians	Vikings	Saracens?	Ends of the Earth
0	400	800	1200	1600	2000
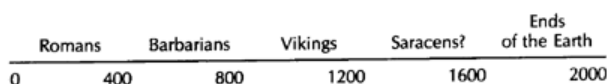
In Period I, Rome was won but did not reach out with the Gospel to the barbaric Celts and Goths. Almost as a penalty, the Goths invaded Rome and caved in the whole Western part of the empire.

In Period II, the Goths were added in, and they briefly achieved a new "Holy" Roman Empire. But they also did not effectively reach further north with the Gospel.

Thus, in Period III, again almost as a penalty, the Vikings invaded the area of these Christianized Celtic and Gothic barbarians, and the Vikings, too, became Christians in the process.

In Period IV, Europe, for the first time united by Christian faith, reached out in a sort of pseudo-mission to the Saracens and pointed further East in the aftermath of the great abortion of the Crusades.

In Period V, Europe now reached out to the very ends of the earth. In this period reaching out has been the order of the day, but with highly mixed motives; commercial and spiritual interests have been both a blight and a blessing. Yet, during this period, the entire non-Western world has suddenly been stirred into development. Never before have so few affected so many, and never before has so great a gap resulted between two halves of the world.

What will happen before the year 2000? Will the non-Western world invade Europe and America like the Goths invaded Rome and the Vikings overran Europe? Will the "Third World" turn on us in a new series of barbarian invasions? Will the OPEC nations gradually buy us out and take us over? Clearly we face the reaction of an awakened non-Western world that now suddenly is beyond our control. What will the role of the Gospel be? Can we gain any light from these previous cycles of outreach?

WINNING THE ROMANS (0–400 A.D.)

Perhaps the most spectacular triumph of Christianity in history is its conquest of the Roman Empire in roughly twenty decades. We know very little about this period. Our lack of knowledge makes much of it a mystery, and what happened to Christianity sounds impossible, almost unbelievable. Only the early part starts out blazoned in the floodlight of the New Testament epistles themselves. Let's take a glance at that. There we see a Jew named Paul brought up in a Greek city, committed to leadership in the Jewish tradition of his time. Suddenly he was transformed by Christ and saw that the faith of the Jews as fulfilled in Christ did not require Jewish garments, but could be clothed in Greek language and customs as well as Semitic. In this one decisive struggle it should have once more been clarified that anyone could be a Christian, be transformed in the inner man by the living Christ—whether Jew, Greek, Barbarian, Scythian, slave, free, male or female. The Greeks

didn't have to become Jews, undergo circumcision, take over the Jewish calendar of festivals or holy days nor even observe Jewish dietary customs, any more than a woman had to be made into a man to be acceptable to God.

Paul based his work on the radical biblical principle (unaccepted by many Jews to this day) that it is circumcision of the heart that counts ([Jer. 9](#)), and that the new believers of a new culture did not have to speak the language, wear the clothes, or follow all the customs of the sending church. This meant that for Greeks, the cultural details of the Jewish law were no longer relevant. Therefore, to the Jews Paul continued as one "under the law of Moses," but to those unfamiliar with the Mosaic law, he preached the "law of Christ" in such a way that it could be fulfilled dynamically and authentically in their particular circumstances. While to some he appeared to be "without law," he maintained that he was not without law toward God, and indeed, as regards the basic purpose of the Mosaic Law, the believers in the Greek church immediately developed the functional equivalent to it, in their own cultural terms, and they held on to the Old Testament as well.

We may get the impression that missions in this period benefited very little from deliberately organized effort. But Paul apparently worked within a "missionary team" structure, borrowed from the Pharisees. Paul's sending congregation in Antioch did undertake a definite responsibility. But they sent him off more than they sent him out. Let no one suppose that every new Christian in those days opened his Bible to the Great Commission and dutifully turned over his life to this objective. There is good reason to suppose, for example, that the Christian faith expanded in many areas by the "involuntary-go" mechanism, that is, merely because Christians were dispersed as the result of persecutions. We know that fleeing Arian Christians had a lotto do with the conversion of the Goths. We have the stories of Ulfilas and Patrick, whose missionary efforts were in each case initiated by the accident of their being taken captive. Furthermore, it is reasonable to suppose that Christianity followed the trade routes of the Roman Empire, and we know that there was a close relationship and correspondence between Christians in Gaul and Asia Minor. Yet we must face the fact that the early Christians of the Roman Empire (as are Christians today) were only rarely both willing and able to take conscious practical steps to fulfill the Great Commission. In view of the amazing results in these early decades, however, we are all the more impressed by the innate power of the Gospel itself.

One intriguing possibility of the natural transfer of the Gospel within a given social unit is the case of the Celts. Historical studies clarify for us the fact that the province of *Galatia* in Asia Minor was so called because it was settled by *Galatoi* from Western Europe (who as late as the fourth century still spoke both their original Celtic tongue and also the Greek of that part of the Roman Empire). Whether or not Paul's Galatians were merely Jewish traders living in the province of Galatia, or were from the beginning Celtic Galatoi who were attracted to synagogues as "God fearers," we note in any case that Paul's letter to the Galatians is especially wary of anyone pushing over on his readers the mere outward customs of the Jewish culture and confusing such customs with essential Christianity. A matter of high missionary interest is the fact that Paul's preaching had tapped into a cultural vein of Celtic humanity that may soon have included friends, relatives, and trade contacts reaching a great distance to the west. Thus Paul's efforts in Galatia may give us one clue to the surprising early penetration of the Gospel into the main Celtic areas of Europe—comprising a belt running across southern Europe, clear over into Galicia in Spain, Brittany in France and into the western and northern parts of the British Isles.

There came a time when not only hundreds of thousands of Greek and Roman citizens had become Christians, but Celtic-speaking peoples and Gothic tribes-peoples as well had developed their own forms of Christianity both within and beyond the borders

of the Roman Empire. It is probable that the missionary work behind this came about mainly through unplanned processes involving Christians from the eastern part of the Roman Empire. In any case this achievement certainly cannot readily be credited to Latin-speaking Romans in the West. This is the point we are trying to make. One piece of evidence is the fact that the earliest Irish mission compounds (distinguished from the Western Roman type by a *central* chapel) followed a ground plan derived from Christian centers in Egypt. And Greek, not Latin, was the language of the early churches in Gaul. Even the first organized mission efforts of John Cassian and Martin of Tours, for example, came from the East by means of commune structures begun in Syria and Egypt. Fortunately, these organized efforts carried with them a strong emphasis on literacy and literature and the studying and copying of Biblical manuscripts and ancient Greek classics.

As amazed pagan leaders looked on, the cumulative impact grew to prominent proportions by 300 A.D. We don't know with any confidence what personal reasons Constantine had in 312 for declaring himself a Christian. We know that his mother in Asia Minor was a Christian, and that his father, as a co-regent in Gaul and Britain, did not enforce the Diocletian edicts against Christians in his area. However, by this time in history the inescapable factor is that there were enough Christians in the Roman Empire to make an official reversal of policy toward Christianity not only feasible, but politically wise. According to Professor Lynn White, Jr. at U.C.L.A., one of the great medieval historians of the world today, even if Constantine had not become a Christian, the empire could not have held out against Christianity more than another decade or two! The long development of the Roman Empire had ended the local autonomy of the citystate and created a widespread need for a sense of belonging—he calls it a crisis of identity. Then as now, Christianity was the one religion that had no nationalism at its root. It was not the folk religion of any one tribe. In White's words it had developed "an unbeatable combination."

Thus, it is the very power of the movement which helps in part to explain why the momentous decision to tolerate Christianity almost inevitably led to its becoming (over 50 years later) the official religion of the Empire. Not long after the curtain rises on Christianity as an Rome turns out astonishingly to be the strongest and most trusted man around. Why else would Constantine, when he moved the seat of government to Constantinople, leave his palace (the famous Lateran Palace) to the people of the Christian community as their "White House" in Rome? Nevertheless, it is simply a matter of record that by 375 A.D. Christianity became the official religion of Rome. For one thing, of course, it couldn't have existed as just another type of tolerated Judaism since it had so much wider an appeal. If it had been merely an ethnic cult, it could not have been even a candidate as an official religion.

More important for us than the fact that Christianity became the official religion is the fact that western Roman Christianity made no special effort to complete the Great Commission, not in this period. This is not because the Romans were unaware of the vast mission field to the north. Their military and political leaders had had to cope with the Germanic tribes people for centuries. We shall see how willingly those peoples became Christians.

WINNING THE BARBARIANS (400–800 A.D.)

Curiously, as the Barbarian tribes people became Christianized, they became a greater and greater threat to Rome. Somewhat unintentionally, they wrecked the network of civil government in the West long before they were to try to rebuild it. In fact, the only reason the city of Rome itself was not physically devastated by the invasions, which began in 410,

was that the Barbarians were, all things considered, really very respectful of life and property and especially the churches. Why? Because missionary efforts (for which Western Romans could claim little or no credit) had brought the Visigoths, the Ostrogoths, and the Vandals into at least a superficial Christian faith. Even secular Romans observed how lucky they were that the invaders held high certain standards of Christian morality.

We are tantalized by the reflection that this much was accomplished by the informal and almost unconscious sharing of the blessings of the Gospel. How much better might it have been for the Romans had that brief hundred years of official toleration of Christianity (310–410) prior to the first invasion been devoted to energetic, constructive missionary efforts. Even a little Christianity prevented the Barbarians from that total disregard of civilization which was to be shown by the Vikings in the third period. Perhaps a little more Christianity might have prevented the complete collapse of the governmental structure of the Roman Empire in the West. Today, for p. 246 example, the ability of the new African states to maintain a stable government is to a great extent dependent upon their degree of Christianization. (That is, both in knowledge and morality.)

In any case, we confront the ominous phenomenon of a partially Christianized barbarian horde being emboldened and enabled to pour in upon a complacent, officially Christian empire that had failed effectively to reach out to them. This may remind us of our relation to the present-day colossus of China. The Chinese, like the Barbarians north of Rome, have been crucially affected by Christianity. In the past twenty years they have adopted extensively and profoundly a kind of superficial faith which embodies a number of distinctly Christian ingredients—despite the grave distortion of those Christian elements in the Communist milieu. Just as a modicum of Christian faith in some ways strengthened the hand of the Barbarians against the Romans, so the Chinese today are awesomely more dangerous due to the cleansing, integrating and galvanizing effect of the Communist philosophy and cell structure which is clearly derived from the West, and in many ways specifically from the Christian tradition itself. You can imagine the Barbarians criticizing the softness and degeneracy of the Roman Christians just as the Chinese today denounce the Russians for failing to live up to Communist standards.

Whether or not the Romans had it coming (for failing to reach out), and whether or not the Barbarians were both encouraged and tempered in their conquest by their initial Christian awareness, the indisputable fact is that, while the Romans lost the western half of their empire, the Barbarian world, in a very dramatic sense, gained a Christian faith.

The immediate result was that right in the city of Rome there appeared at least two "denominations," the one Arian and the other Athanasian. Also in the picture was the Celtic "church," which was more a series of missionary compounds than it was a denomination made up of local churches. Still less like a church was an organization called the Benedictines, which came along later to compete with the Celts in establishing missionary compounds all over Europe. By the time the Vikings appeared on the horizon there were, up through Europe, over 1,000 such mission compounds.

Protestants, and perhaps even modern Catholics, must pause at this point. Our problem in understanding these strange (and much mis-understood) instruments of evangelization is not so much our ignorance of what these people did, as our prejudice that has been developed against monks who lived almost a thousand years later. It is wholly unfair for us to judge the work of a traveling evangelist like p. 247 Colomban or Boniface by the stagnation of the wealthy Augustinians in Luther's day—although we must certainly pardon Luther for thinking such thoughts.

It is indisputable that the chief characteristic of these "Jesus People" in this second period, whether they were Celtic peregrini or their parallel in Benedictine communes, was the fact that they loved the Bible, that they sang their way through the whole book of

Psalms each week as a routine discipline, and that it was they, in any case, who enabled the Kingdom and the power and the glory to be shared with the Anglo-Saxons and the Goths.

It is true that many strange, even bizarre and pagan customs were mixed up as secondary elements in the various forms of Christianity that were active during the period of the Christianization of Europe. The headlong collision and competition between Western Roman and Celtic forms of Christianity undoubtedly eventuated in an enhancement of common biblical elements in their faith. But we must remember the relative chaos introduced by the invasions, and therefore not necessarily expect to see, dotting the landscape, the usual parish churches that are familiar in our day. Under the particular circumstances then (similar to many chaotic corners of the world today) the most durable structure around was the *order*—a fellowship much more highly disciplined and tightly knit than the usual American Protestant congregation today. We must admit, furthermore, that these Christian communities not only were the source of scholarship during the Middle Ages, but also preserved the technologies of the Roman tradesmen— tanning, dyeing, weaving, metal working, masonry skills, bridge building, etc. Their civil, charitable, and even scientific contribution is, in general, grossly underestimated. Probably the greatest accomplishment of these disciplined Christian communities is seen in the simple fact that almost our total knowledge of the ancient world is derived from their libraries, whose silent testimony reveals the appreciation they had, even as Christians, of the "pagan" authors of ancient times. In our secular age it is embarrassing to recognize that, had it not been for these highly literate "mission field" Christians who preserved and copied manuscripts (not only of the Bible but also of ancient Christian and non-Christian classics as well), we would know no more about the Roman Empire today than we do of the Mayan or Incan empires, or of many other empires that have long since almost vanished from sight. As a matter of fact, Barbarian Europe was won more by the witness and labors of Celtic and Anglo-Saxon converts than by the efforts of missionaries deriving from Italy or Gaul. This fact was to bear decisively upon the apparently permanent shift of power in Western Europe to the northern Europeans. Even as late as 596, when Rome's first missionary headed north (with great faintheartedness), he crossed the path of the much more daring and widely travelled Irish missionary Colomban, who had worked his way practically to the doorstep of Rome, and who was already further from his birthplace than Augustine was planning to go from his. Thus, while Constantinople was considered the "Second Rome" by people who lived in the East, and Moscow was later to become the "Third Rome" to the descendants of the newly Christianized Russians, neither Rome as a city nor the Italian peninsula as a region was ever again to be politically as significant as the chief cities of the daughter nations—Spain, France, Germany, and England.

Toward the end of the second period, or at the end of each of these periods, there was a great flourishing of Christianity within the new cultural basin. The rise of a strong man like Charlemagne facilitated communication throughout Western Europe to a degree unknown for three hundred years. Under his sponsorship a whole range of issues—social, theological, political—were soberly restudied in the light of the Bible and the writings of earlier Christian leaders in the Roman period. Charlemagne was a second Constantine in certain respects, and his political power was unmatched in Western Europe during a half a millenium. But he was much more of a Christian than Constantine and industriously sponsored far more Christian activity. Like Constantine, his official espousal of Christianity produced many Christians who were Christians in name only. There is little doubt that the great missionary Boniface was slain by the Saxons because his patron, Charlemagne (with whose policies he did not at all agree) had brutally suppressed the

Saxons on many occasions. Then, as in our own recent past, the political force of a colonial power not so much paved the way for Christianity, but as often as not turned people against the faith. Of interest to missionaries is the fact that the great centers of learning established by Charlemagne were copies and expansions of newly established mission compounds deep in German territory, outposts that were the work of British and Celtic missionaries from sending centers as far away as Iona and Lindisfarne in Britain.

Indeed, the first serious attempt at anything like public education was initiated by this great tribal chieftain, Charlemagne, on the advice and impulse of Anglo-Celtic missionaries and scholars, such as Alcuin, whose projects eventually required the help of thousands of literate Christians from Britain and Ireland to man schools founded on the Continent. It is hard to believe, but Irish teachers of Latin (never a native tongue in Ireland) were eventually needed to teach Latin in Rome, so extensively had the tribal invasions broken down the civilization of the Roman Empire.

The Celtic Christians and their Anglo-Saxon and continental heirs especially treasured the Bible. A sure clue to their chief source of inspiration is the fact that the highest works of art during these "dark" centuries were marvelously "illuminated" biblical manuscripts and devoutly ornamented church buildings; manuscripts of non-Christian classical authors were preserved and copied, but not illuminated. Through the long night of the progressive breakdown of the Western part of the Roman Empire, when the tribal migrations reduced almost all of the life in the West to the level of the tribesmen themselves, the two great regenerating ideals were the hope of building anew the glory that was once Rome, and the hope of making all subject to the Lord of Glory. The one really high point, when these twin objectives were most nearly achieved, was during Charlemagne's long, vigorous career centered around the year 800. As one recent scholar puts it,

> In the long sweep of European history, from the decline of the Roman Empire to the flowering of the Renaissance nearly a thousand years later, his [Charlemagne's] is the sole commanding presence.

No wonder recent scholars call Charlemagne's period the Carolingian Renaissance, and thus discard the concept of "the dark ages" for a First Dark Ages early in this period, and a Second Dark Ages early in the next period.

Unfortunately, the rebuilt empire (later to be called the *Holy Roman Empire*) was unable to find the ingredients of a Charlemagne in his successor; moreover, a new threat now posed itself externally. Charlemagne had been eager for his own kind to be made Christian—the Germanic tribes. He offered wise, even spiritual leadership in many affairs, but did not throw his weight behind any kind of bold mission outreach to the Scandinavian peoples to the north. What was begun under his son was too little and too late. This fact was to contribute greatly to the undoing of the empire.

WINNING THE VIKINGS (800–1200 A.D.)

No sooner had the consolidation in Western Europe been accomplished under Charlemagne than there appeared a new menace to peace and propriety that was to create a second period of at least semi-darkness to last 250 years: the Vikings. These savages further north had not yet been effectively evangelized. While the tribal invaders of Rome, who created the First Dark Ages, were rough forest people who, for the most part, were nevertheless nominally Arian Christians, the Vikings, by contrast, were neither civilized nor Christian. There was another difference: they were men of the sea. This meant that key island sanctuaries for missionary training, like Iona, or like the off-shore

promontory of Lindisfarne (connected to the land only at low tide), were as vulnerable to attacking seafarers as they had been invulnerable to attackers from the land. Both of these mission centers were sacked more than a dozen times, and their occupants slaughtered or sold off as slaves in middle Europe. It seems unquestionable that the Christians of Charlemagne's empire would have fared far better had the Vikings had at least the appreciation of the Christian faith that the earlier barbarians had when they overran Rome. The very opposite of the Visigoths and Vandals, who *spared* the churches, the Vikings seemed attracted like magnets to the monastic centers of scholarship and Christian devotion; they took a special delight in burning churches, in putting human life to the sword, and in selling monks into slavery. A contemporary's words give us a graphic impression of their carnage:

> The Northmen cease not to slay and carry into captivity the Christian people, to destroy the churches and to burn the towns. Everywhere, there is nothing but dead bodies—clergy and laymen, nobles and common people, women and children. There is no road or place where the ground is not covered with corpses. We live in distress and anguish before this spectacle of the destruction of the Christian people. (Christopher Dawson *Religion and the Rise of Western Culture*, p.87.)

Once more, when Christians did not reach out to them, pagan peoples came where they were. And once more, the phenomenal power of Christianity manifested itself: the conquerors became conquered by the faith of their captives. Usually it was the monks sold as slaves or the Christian girls forced to be their wives and mistresses who eventually won these savages of the north. In God's eyes, their redemption must have been more important than the harrowing tragedy of this new invasion of barbarian violence and evil which fell upon God's own people whom He loved. (After all, He had not even spared His own Son in order to redeem us!)

In the previous hundred years, Charlemagne's scholars had carefully collected the manuscripts of the ancient world. Now the majority were to be burned by the Vikings. Only because so many copies had been made and scattered so widely did the fruits of the Charlemagne p. 251 literary revival survive at all. Once scholars and missionaries had streamed from Ireland across England and onto the continent, and even out beyond the frontiers of Charlemagne's empire. Thus the Irish volcano which had poured forth a passionate fire of evangelism for three centuries cooled almost to extinction. Viking warriors, newly based in Ireland followed the paths of the earlier Irish *peregrini* across England and onto the continent, but this time ploughing with them waste and destruction rather than new life and hope.

There were some blessings in this horrifying disguise. Alfred successfully headed up guerilla resistance and was equally concerned about spiritual as well as physical losses. As a measure of emergency, he let go the ideal of maintaining the Latin tongue as a general pattern for worship and began a Christian library in the vernacular—the Anglo-Saxon. This was a decision of monumental importance which might have been delayed several centuries had the tragedy of the Vikings not provided the necessity which was the mother of invention.

In any case, as Christopher Dawson puts it, the unparalleled devastation of England and the continent was "not a victory for paganism" (p.94). The Northmen who landed on the continent under Rollo became the Christianized Normans, and the Danish who took over a huge section of middle England (along with invaders from Norway who planted their own kind in many other parts of England and Ireland) also were soon to become Christians. The Gospel was too powerful. One result was that a new Christian culture spread back into Scandinavia. This stemmed largely from England from which came the

first monastic communities and early missionary bishops. What England lost, Scandinavia gained.

It must also be admitted that the Vikings would not have been attracted either to the churches or to the monasteries had not those centers of Christian piety to a great extent succumbed to luxury. The switch from the Irish to the Benedictine pattern of monasticism was an improvement in many respects, but apparently allowed greater possibilities for the development of the unchristian opulence and glitter which attracted the greedy eyes of the Norsemen. Thus another side-benefit of the new invasions was its indirect cleansing and refinement of the Christian movement. Even before the Vikings appeared, Benedict of Aniane inspired a rustle of reform here and there. By 910, at Cluny, a momentous step forward was begun. Among other changes, the authority over a monastic center was shifted away from local politics, and for the first time (as dramatically and extensively) whole networks of "daughter" houses were related to a single, strongly spiritual "mother" house. The Cluny revival, moreover, produced a new reforming attitude toward society as a whole.

The greatest bishop in Rome in the first millenium, Gregory I, was the product of a Benedictine community. So, early in the second millenium, Hildebrand was a product of the Cluny reform. His successors in reform were bolstered greatly by the Cistercian revival which went even further. Working behind the scenes for many years for wholesale reform across the entire church, he finally became Pope Gregory VII for a relatively brief period. But his reforming zeal set the stage for Innocent III, who wielded greater power (and all things considered, greater power for good) than any other Pope before or since. Gregory VII had made a decisive step toward wresting control of the church from secular power—this was the question of "lay investiture." It was he who allowed Henry IV to wait for three days out in the snow at Knossis. Innocent III not only carried forward Gregory's reforms, but has the distinction of being the Pope who authorized the first of a whole new series of mission orders—the Friars.

Our first period ended with a barely Christian Roman Empire and a somewhat Christian emperor—Constantine. Our second period ended with a reconstitution of that empire under a Christianized barbarian, Charlemagne, who was devoutly and vigorously Christian. Our third period ends with a pope, Innocent III, as the strongest man in Europe, made strong by the Cluny, Cistercian and allied spiritual movements which together are called the Gregorian reform. The scene was not an enlarged Europe in which no secular ruler could survive without at least tipping his hat to the leaders in the Christian movement. It was not a period in which European Christians had reached out in missions, but they had at least with phenomenal speed grafted in the entire northern area, and had also deepened the foundations of Christian scholarship and devotion in the Europe of Charlemagne. The next period would unfold some happy and unhappy surprises. Would Europe now take the initiative in reaching out with the Gospel? Would it sink in self-satisfaction? In some respects it would do both.

WINNING THE SARACENS? (1200–1600 A.D.)

The fourth period began with a spectacular, new evangelistic instrument—the Friars, and it would end with the greatest reformation of all, but was meanwhile already involved for a hundred years in the most massive, tragic misconstrual of Christian mission in all of history. Never before had any nation or group of nations launched as energetic and sustained a campaign into foreign territory as did Europe in the tragic debacle of the Crusades. This was in part the carry-over of the Viking spirit into the Christian church. All of the major Crusades were led by Viking descendants. Yet while the Crusades had many

political overtones (they were often a unifying device for faltering rulers), they would not have come about apart from the vigorous sponsorship of the Christian leaders. They were not only an unprecedented blood-letting to the Europeans themselves and a savage wound in the side of the Muslim peoples (a wound which is not at all healed to this day), but they were a fatal blow to the cause of Christian unity east and west and to the cultural unity of eastern Europe. In the long run, though they held Jerusalem for a hundred years, the Crusaders by default eventually gave the Byzantine inheritance over to the Ottoman sultans, and far worse, they established a permanent image of brutal, militant Christianity that alienates a large proportion of mankind to this day.

Ironically, the mission of the Crusaders would not have been so successfully negative had it not involved so high a component of abject Christian commitment. The great lesson of the Crusades is that good will, even sacrificial obedience to God, is no substitute for a clear understanding of His will. It was a devout man, Bernard of Clairvaux, to whom are attributed the words of the hymn *Jesus the Very Thought of Thee*, who preached the first crusade. In all this period two Franciscans, Francis of Assisi and Raymond Lull, stand out as the only ones whose insight into God's will led them to substitute the gentle words of the evangel for warfare and violence as the proper means of extending the blessings God committed to Abraham and his children of faith.

At this point we must pause for reflection. We may not succeed, but let us try to see things from God's point of view, treading with caution and tentativeness. We know, for example, that at the end of the First Period, after three centuries of hardship and persecution, just when things were apparently going great, invaders appeared and chaos and catastrophe ensued. Why? This is the period that could be called the "Constantinian Renaissance"—that is, it was both good and not so good. Just when Christians were translating the Bible into Latin and waxing eloquent in theological debate, when Eusebius was editing a massive collection of previous Christian writings (as the official historian of the government), when heretics were thrown out of the empire (and became, however reluctantly, the only missionaries p. 254 to the Goths), when Rome finally became officially Christian … then suddenly God brought down the curtain. It was now time for a new cluster of people groups to be confronted with the claims, blessings, and obligations of the expanding Kingdom of Christ.

Similarly, at the end of the Second Period, after three centuries of chaos during which the rampaging Gothic hordes were eventually Christianized, tamed and civilized, when Bibles and biblical knowledge proliferated as never before, when major biblical-missionary centers were established by the Celtic Christians and their Anglo-Saxon pupils, when, in this Charlemagnic (actually, "Carolingian") renaissance, thousands of public schools led by Christians attempted mass biblical and general literacy, when Charlemagne dared even to attack the endemic use of alcohol, great theologians tussled with theological/political issues, and the Venerable Bede became Eusebius of this period (indeed, when both Charlemagne and Bede were much more Christian than Constantine and Eusebius), once again invaders appeared and chaos and catastrophe ensued. Why?

Strangely similar, then is the end of the Third Period. It only took two and a half centuries for the Vikings to capitulate to the "counterattack of the Gospel."

The flourishing period was longer than a century and far more extensive than ever before. The Crusades, the cathedrals, the so-called Scholastic theologians, the universities, most importantly the blessed Friars, and even the early part of the Humanistic Renaissance make up this outsized 1050–1350 outburst of a Medieval Renaissance. And then suddenly, a new invader appeared, more virulent than ever, and chaos and catastrophe greater than ever occurred. Why?

Was God unsatisfied with incomplete obedience? With the blessings being kept by those who received them and not sufficiently and determinedly shared with the other nations of the world? The plague that killed one third of the inhabitants of Europe killed a much higher proportion of the Franciscans (120,000 were laid still in Germany alone). Surely He was not trying to judge their missionary fire. Was He trying to judge the Crusaders, whose atrocities greatly outweighed the Christian devotional elements in their movement? If so, why did He wait so long to do that? And why did He inflict the Christian leadership of Europe so greatly rather than the Crusaders themselves? Why didn't the Crusaders die of the Plague?

Perhaps it was that Europe did not sufficiently listen to the saintly Friars; that it was not the Friars that went wrong but the hearers who did not respond. God's judgment upon Europe then, was to take the Gospel away from them, to take away the Friars and their message. p. 255 Even though to us it seems that it was a judgment upon the messengers rather than upon the resistant hearers, is this not one impression that could be received from the New Testament as well? Jesus Himself came unto His own, and His own received Him not, and *Jesus* rather than the people was the one who went to the cross. God's judgment may often consist of the removal of the messenger.

In any case, the invasion of the Bubonic plague, first in 1346 and every so often during the next decade, brought a greater setback than either the Gothic or the Viking invasions. It first devastated parts of Italy and Spain, then spread west and north to France, England, Holland, Germany and Scandinavia. By the time it had run its course 40 years later, one third to one half of the population of Europe was dead. Especially stricken were the Friars and the truly spiritual leaders. They were the only ones who stayed behind to tend the sick and to bury the dead. Europe was absolutely in ruins. The result? There were three Popes at one point, the humanist elements turned menacingly humanistic, peasant turmoil (often based in justice and even justified by the Bible itself) ended up in orgies and excesses of violence. The poverty, confusion and lengthy travail led to the new birth of the greatest reform yet seen.

Once more, at the end of one of our periods, a great flourishing took place. Printing came to the fore, Europeans finally escaped their geographical cul de sac and sent ships for commerce, subjugation and spiritual blessings to the very ends of the earth. And as a part of the reform, the Protestant Reformation now loomed on the horizon: that great, permanent, cultural decentralization of Europe.

Protestants often think of the Reformation as a legitimate reaction against the evils of a monstrous Christian bureaucracy sunken in corruption. But it must be admitted that the Reform was not just a reaction against decadence in the Christian movement. This great decentralization of Christendom was in many respects the result of an increasing vitality which, unknown to most Protestants, was as evident in the return to a study of the Bible and to the appearance of new life and evangelical preaching in Italy, Spain, and France as in Moravia, Germany, and England.

In the Reformation, the Gospel finally succeeded in allowing Christians to be German, not merely permitting Germans to be Roman Christians. Unfortunately, the emphasis on justification by faith (which was preached as much in Italy and Spain as in Germany at the time Luther loomed into view) became identified with German nationalistic hopes and thus was suppressed as a dangerous doctrine by political powers in the South. But it is merely a typical Protestant p. 256 misunderstanding that there was not as much a revival of deeper life, Bible study, and prayer in Southern Europe as in Northern Europe at the time of the Reformation. The issue may have appeared to the Protestants as faith versus law, or to the Romans as unity vs. division, but popular scales are askew because it was much more Latin uniformity vs. national diversity. The vernacular had to eventually

conquer. Paul had not demanded that the Greeks become Jews, but the Germans had been obliged to become Roman. The Anglo-Saxons and the Scandinavians had at least been allowed their vernacular to an extent unknown in Christian Germany. Germany was where the revolt would have to take place. Italy, France, and Spain, formerly part of the Roman Empire and extensively assimilated culturally in that direction, had no nationalistic steam behind their reforming movements, which became almost lost in the shuffle that ensued.

However, despite the fact that the Protestants won on the political front, and to a great extent gained the power to formulate anew their own Christian tradition, they did not even talk of mission outreach, and the period ended with *Roman* Europe expanding both politically and religiously on the seven seas. Thus, entirely unshared by Protestants, for at least two centuries, there ensued a worldwide movement of unprecedented scope in the annals of mankind in which there was greater Christian missionary presence than ever before.

TO THE ENDS OF THE EARTH (1600–2000 A.D.)

The period from 1600 to 2000 began with European footholds in the rest of the world. Apart from taking over what was almost an empty continent by toppling the Aztec and Inca empires in the Western hemisphere, Europeans had only tiny enclaves of power in the heavily populated portions of the non-Western world. By 1945, Europeans had virtual control over 99.5% of the non-Western world. Twenty-five years later, the Western nations had lost control over all but 5% of the non-Western population of the world. This 1945–1969 period of the sudden collapse of Western control, coupled with the unexpected upsurge of significance of the Christian movement in the non-Western world, I have elsewhere called "the twenty-five unbelievable years." If we compare this period to the collapse of the Western Roman Empire's domination over its conquered provinces of Spain, Gaul, and Britain, and to the breakdown of control over non-Frankish Europe under Charlemagne's successors, we can anticipate—at least by the logic of sheer parallelism—that by the year 2000 the Western world itself will be dominated by non-Westerners. P. 257

Indeed, ever since the collapse of Western power became obvious (during the "twenty-five unbelievable years"), there have been many who have decried the thought of any further missionary effort moving from the West to the non-Western world, perhaps confusing the absence of political control for the absence of the need for foreign missions. The true situation is actually very different. Rather, the absence of political control for the first time in many areas has now begun to allow non-Western populations to yield to the Kingdom of Christ without simultaneously yielding to the political Kingdoms of the Western world. Here we see a parallel to the Frankish tribespeople accepting the faith of Rome only after Rome had become politically powerless, and the continued relative acceptability of the Roman faith among the Anglo-Saxons, Germans, and Scandinavians up until the point where the emergence of strong papal authority mixed with power politics became a threat to legitimate national ambitions, and led to a Reformation which allowed nationalized forms of Christianity.

The present spectacle of a Western world flaunting the standards of Christian morality in more obvious ways than ever is not as likely, therefore, to dissuade others from embracing the Christian faith in non-Christian lands as it is to disassociate the treasure of Christian ideals from a Western world which has, until this age, been their most prominent sponsor. When Asians accuse Western nations of immorality in warfare, they are appealing to Christian values, certainly not the values of their own pagan past. In this

sense, Christianity has already conquered the world. No longer, for example, is the long-standing Chinese tradition of skillful torture likely to be boasted about in China nor highly respected anywhere else, at least in public circles.

But this world-wide change has not come about suddenly. Even the present, minimal attainment of world Christian morality on a tenuous public level has been accomplished only at the cost of a great amount of sacrificial missionary endeavor (during the four centuries of period five) labors which have been mightier and more deliberate than at any time in 2000 years. The first half (1600–1800) of this fifth period was almost exclusively a Roman show. By the year 1800, it was painfully embarrassing to Protestants to hear Roman missionaries writing off the Protestant movement as apostate simply because it was not sending missionaries. But by the year 1800, Roman missionary effort had been forced into sudden decline due to the curtailment of the Jesuits, and the combined effect of the French Revolution and ensuing chaos in the cutting of the European economic roots of p. 258 Catholic missions.

However, the year 1800 marks the awakening of the Protestants from two and a half centuries of inactivity, if not actual slumber, in regard to missionary outreach across the world. Now, for the first time, Protestants equipped themselves with structures of mission comparable to the Catholic orders and began to make up for lost time. Unheralded, unnoticed, all but forgotten in our day except for ill-informed criticism, Protestant missionary efforts in this period, more than Catholic missions, led the way in establishing all around the world the democratic apparatus of government, the schools, the hospitals, the universities and the political foundations of the new nations. Rightly understood, Protestant missionaries along with their Roman brethren are surely not less than *the prime movers* of the tremendous energy that is mushrooming in the Third World today. Take China, for example. Two of its greatest modern leaders, Sun Yat Sen and Chiang Kai-shek were both Christians.

If the Western home base is now to falter and to fail as the tide is reversed by the new power of its partially evangelized periphery (as is the pattern in the earlier periods), we can only refer to Dawson's comment on the devastation wrought by the Vikings—that this will not be a "victory for paganism." The fall of the West will be due in part to a decay of spirit. It will be due in part to the pagan power in the non-Western world emboldened and strengthened by its first contact with Christian faith. It may come as a most drastic punishment to a Western world that has always spent more on cosmetics than it has on foreign missions—and lately ten times as much. From a secular or even nationalistic point of view, the next years may be a very dark period for the Western world, in which the normal hope and aspirations of Christian people for their own country may find only a very slight basis for optimism. But if the past is any guide at all, even this will have to be darkness before the dawn. While we may not be able to be sure about our own country, we have no reason to suppose—there is no historic determinism that assures us—that the Christian faith will not survive. The entire Western world in its present political form may be radically altered.

For one thing, we can readily calculate, in regard to population trends, that by the year 2000 Westerners will constitute less than half as large a percentage of the world (8%) as they did in the year 1900 (18%). This does seem inevitable. But certainly, judging by the past, we cannot ultimately be pessimistic. Beyond the agony of Rome was the winning of the Barbarians. Beyond the agony of the Barbarians was the winning of the Vikings. Beyond the agony of the Western p. 259 world we can only pray that there will be the winning of the "two billion" who have not yet heard. And we can only know that there is no basis in the past or in the present for assuming that things are out of the control of the living God.

If we in the West insist on keeping our blessings instead of sharing them, then we will, like other nations before us, have to lose our blessings for the remaining nations to receive them. God has not changed his plan in the last 4,000 years. But how much better not to lose but to use our blessings, without reserve, in order "to be a blessing to all the families of the earth"? That is the only way we can continue in God's blessing. The expanding Kingdom is not going to stop with us. "This gospel must be preached in the whole world as a testimony to all people groups, and then shall the end come" ([Matthew 24:14](#)).

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Righteousness and Justice

Sidney Rooy

Reprinted from Justice in the International Economic Order *(1978), with permission.*

The stark drama of suffering, uncertainty, and indifference unfolds before a conscience-stricken world. Many clamor for justice. Others say it is too late. But it is no new story. Man's history is shot through with the power of evil and its tragic consequences. Let me give two examples.

Jeremiah laments the sorrows of captive Zion. Judah is gone into captivity; she finds no rest. Her gates are desolate, her virgins raped. Her sons are slaves, her faith laughed at. All her people sigh; they seek bread. And to slowly realize, after all is said and done, that no one really cares is just too much. She cries aloud: "Is it nothing to you, all you who pass by?" Comes the great doubt: Has God forgotten too? Is all this his anger upon my sin?

> Behold and see if there be any sorrow
> > like unto my sorrow
> Which God has brought upon me …
> > in his fierce anger.

([Lamentations 1:12](#))

Whole peoples today are victims of another captivity. Like Israel, some are God's people. Before the crushing weight of what others call progress they often stand alone. Their world is coming apart. Many of them tend to see organized religion as part of the problem rather than part of the solution. The Chilean poet Pablo Neruda writes:

> I did not purchase property in heaven
> Sold by priests, nor did I accept

The darkness fabricated by philosophers
For the uncaring, powerful rich.

I want to die with the poor,
Who had no time to think of death,
While being beaten down by those
Who have heaven all divided up and settled.[1]

To all of this the Bible speaks its word:

But let justice roll down like waters
and righteousness as a mighty stream.

<div align="right">(Amos 5:24) p. 261</div>

He that is righteous, let him do righteousness still.

<div align="right">(Revelation 22:11c)</div>

But what is this torrent of justice and righteousness that rushes down the mountains to the valleys of suffering and wickedness below? And who are the righteous ones doing righteousness still, the just ones doing yet more justice before the mighty coming of the Alpha and Omega, the Judge who gives each man his due?

We shall give three partial answers which in their cumulative effect may help us on the way to finding a more just road amidst the perplexities of the suffering, doubt, and injustice of our time.

I. JUSTICE IS RIGHTEOUSNESS AND RIGHTEOUSNESS IS JUSTICE

One of the first discoveries that our family enjoyed upon moving to Argentina and sharing worship with the people there was the new insight another language gave to Bible reading. The reading about rich people and poor people became terribly relevant to what we experienced every day. Soon we discovered that in the Spanish version both *righteousness* and *justice* are everywhere translated *justicia*, our word for justice. Suddenly the Bible was full of texts about "justice." But why should that surprise us? Much later we learned that the English word *justice* does not occur in the New Testament of the King James Version. Rather the word *righteousness* is nearly universally used.[2] What makes this even more remarkable is that *justice* was used in this and other versions with some frequency in the Old Testament. Let us begin by asking why this is so.

A. Etymological Considerations

Several words, in both noun and verbal usages, provide a rich variety of nuance in the language of the Old Testament: legal judgment, correctness of life, a natural sense of right, statutes and commandments, radical salvation, mercy, loving kindness, clemency, benevolence, that which is due, divine or human rule. Many of these meanings, though not

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[1] Pablo Neruda, *Canto General*, XV *Yo Soy*, xxi, "La Muerte", in *Obras Completas* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Losada, 1956). Translation by Dianne Zandstra.

[2] The word *justice* also does not occur in the New Testament of the English revision of 1884, rarely in the American Standard Version of 1901, and sparsely in the more recent English and American versions.

all, are combined in our words *justice* and *righteousness*.[3] The multidimensional character of these terms clearly indicates how basic their meanings are to the character of Christian faith and discipleship. p. 262

But the problem arises with the New Testament usage as it relates to our modern languages. Leaving several aspects aside for now,[4] let us consider only what is subsumed under the original New Testament words, traditionally rendered *justice* and *righteousness* in our English versions. These Greek words come from one basic root, *deik*, which originally referred to stretching out the hand, thus "to show," "to indicate," "to posit," "to establish."[5]

For Jesus and the apostles, *justice* and *righteousness, justification* and the *equitable*, the *right* and *judgment* all come from the same root word (in Greek) and are expressed in eight derivatives, each with various shades of meaning. To them it was transparently clear that justification, righteousness, and justice were integrally part of the same reality. We, on the other hand, tend to make tight compartments for each idea. I think the following definitions generally represent how these three terms are perceived by Christians today.

1. *Justification* is that legal act of God that changes our status and which subsequently has implications for our religious life.
2. *Righteousness* is that spiritual quality which we receive and which subsequently has implications for our conduct.
3. *Justice* is the form in which we conduct ourselves in relation to our fellowmen and seek for them that to which they have a right.

But when one reads his Bible in Spanish (as in Greek), such neat categories tend to disappear. There one reads *justification, justificado, justicia, justo*.[6] These all come from one root word, as in the language of the New Testament. In this formal sense, Spanish and other Latin languages are etymologically closer to the language of the earliest Christians. The Saxon-Germanic languages have chosen two different words to express aspects of the same concept. An investigation of certain theological implications of these terms is necessary to clarify these differences of formulation. p. 263

B. Theological Implications

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[3] Two basic words are also used in the Dutch (*rechtvaardigheid* and *gerechtigheid*) and in the German (*rechtfertigung* and *gerechtigkeit*). However, their usages in their respective Bible versions do not correspond to that of the English.

[4] I am thinking particularly of *mishpat* and *hesedh*, whose meanings are often translated as *judgment* and *mercy*, respectively, and which are not included in the English words *justice* and *righteousness*. It ought to be added that when *hesedh* is translated *eléos* by the Septuagint, the sense of faithlessness (disloyalty) to the covenant is lost and a tendency to spiritualization has already occurred. *Hesedh* could then better have been translated by *pistis*, by *faithfulness* and not simply by *faith* which in English often lacks that basic sense of loyalty to the covenant. See F. J. Pop, *Palabras Biblicas y Sus Significados* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Escaton, 1972), translated from Bijbelse Woorden en hun Beteekenis, 1964.

[5] Taken from Kittel's *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, vol. II, p.180.

[6] These words are based directly on the use of the Latin *justificare* in the Vulgate which is followed by the Douay and then by later Roman Catholic editions of the New Testament. In the Douay version, for example, *justice* is nearly exclusively used. *Righteous* is used only five times in the New Testament and *righteousness* twice.

The definition of biblical concepts requires precision, but not at all in a modern scientific sense. Words signify attempts to capture meanings of living people and concrete events, of divine speech and creational mysteries. Amos, in a typically hebraic, poetic way, uses *justice (mishpat)* and *righteousness (tsedaqah)* as synonyms. You can interchange them without touching the heart-meaning of the passage. The Revelation text likewise could be read: "He that is just, let him do justice still,"[7] without altering the author's intent. That is to say, whether the texts translate *justice* or *righteousness*, the content of the word must be sought in the life of the passage, and not from preformed definitions. The two different words used by Amos include not only the legal and forensic connotations (just judgments), but also the need for concrete decisive action (defense of the poor). These are not two separate matters; rather they are two aspects of the same theological concern that men be imbued with righteousness—read *justice*—in the totality of their life.

The righteousness-justice that man needs is God's righteousness-justice. God's righteousness-justice, like his love, is transcendent and qualifies his essential otherness from us. But his righteousness-justice, like his love, is incarnate in Christ and realized through him. His righteousness-justice, which is given by his justifying act, does not occur and remain on a transcendent level quite apart from this earthly life. In Christ eternal justice is temporal justice.[8] We know judgments in the dynamic encounter between good and evil.

There has been, I fear, a fateful narrowing-down of the full import of justice. Justice reflects the character of the one who names himself the righteous (read just) judge (see Deuteronomy 32:3, 4), but we have castrated its power in a needy world by spiritualizing it. We have conceived a "heavenly justice" (read righteousness) which receives God's gracious pardon for our personal sins, which makes us "brand-new persons inside,"[9] and which inspires us to be forgiving and kind to others. Then we give to earthly authorities (Christian or otherwise) the secular sword to administer an "earthly justice" to restrain crime and promote the external public order. The definitions (given above) of terms for righteousness and justice fall neatly into line: *righteousness* is "heavenly justice" and justice is earthly-ordered relationships. We forget that justice is a sort of materialization of existence; i.e., it is the incarnation in time and space of God's relation to his world; it is the creation-form of life in divinely given structures for society without which man cannot even exist.

We must emphasize the integral and active inter-relational character of our being made just (righteous). The thought of *judicial* righteousness may logically be distinguished from other aspects. However, it cannot in reality be separated from the rule of him who is both king and judge. Justice, as we shall note below, is an essential dimension of divine salvation.[10] As such it should be clear that justice and righteousness alike signify a transcendent reality present both in creation and in redemption which takes on flesh-and-blood concreteness in ordinary historical experience. This is not to relativize divine prerogatives; rather it is the only way to take divine action in history with the seriousness it requires. Jahweh's throne is established on "justice and righteousness";

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[7] So it occurs in the Douay version.

[8] See Jacques Ellul, *The Theological Foundation of Law* (London: SCM Press, 1960), p.39ff.

[9] This translation is used in the *Living Bible*, II Cor. 5:17.

[10] See part III, "Justice is Restoration." See also G. Quell and G. Schrenk, *Righteousness* (London: A. and C. Block, 1951), published section of *Theologisches Wörterbuch des Neuen Testaments*.

hence it qualifies also his dealing with the nations (cf. [Psalm 9](), [11](), [82](), [96](), [97](), [98](); [Amos 1:3–2:3](); etc.).

These theological considerations have several crucial implications. Most important is to note that when the Bible speaks of justice and righteousness it often does so in the context of the covenant. One of the key words for justice (righteousness) in the Old Testament accentuates the loyalty and solidarity of that relationship covenanted by God with his people—a permanently continuing love demonstrated by his faithfulness to his people.[11] God's justice in this relationship is that he fulfills his promises. Ellul has said that the covenant is God's righteousness in motion.

It is not strange that God's righteousness-justice is indissolubly linked to that covenant. God's justice brings help and salvation to his people. [Hosea 2:19ff](). expresses the permanency of his marriage relationship to his people: "And I will betroth thee unto me forever; yea, I will betroth thee unto me in righteousness (b𝑓 etsedeq), and in justice (b𝑓 mishpat), and in steadfast love (b𝑓 hesedh), and in mercies (b𝑓 rah‡ min). I will betroth thee unto me in faithfulness (be'‡ munah)   p. 265   …"[12] Note here the close association of meanings suggested by the juxtaposition of these words. The God of justice requires like justice from his people. To fulfill justice is "the condition made possible by the covenant and it is the promise and hope for renewal in the 'new covenant.' "[13] In the biblical vision, doing justice or being righteous is not merely a horizontal inter-personal relationship or only a social or private virtue; rather, it is the very essence of covenant-life because it is the covenant of the Lord of history who practices justice to the oppressed, the widow, and the orphan.

In the uses that we have briefly discussed it is clear that for etymological and theological reasons we can say: justice is righteousness and righteousness is justice.

II. JUSTICE IS POWER-IN-ACTION AND RIGHTEOUSNESS IS LOVE-IN-ACTION

This is our second answer, and, as in the case of our first answer, the predicates are interchangeable.

It was Disraeli who said: "Justice is truth in action." Our texts likewise make that clear. The seer of Patmos says implicitly that being righteous (just) and doing righteousness

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[11] *Hesedh* is faithful and concrete mercy based in covenant relationships. See [Deuteronomy 7:9](), [12](); [Isaiah 54:10]() (where it is used synonymously with *covenant*); [I Kings 8:23]() (where keeping covenant and walking rightly are compared). The word signifies an unmerited act of goodness, roughly equivalent to grace in the New Testament. When *hesedh* is inadequately translated *eléos* in the LXX (see note 4 above), it gives more the idea of godliness, saintliness, pious compassion. Twenty of the twenty-five times that *eléos* occurs in the New Testament, it is the translation of *hesedh*, but loses the covenant depth. (F. J. Pop, *op. cit.*)

[12] See also [Micah 7:9](), [Isaiah 46:12ff](), [51:5](), [59:17](), [61:10ff](); [Psalms 70:15](), [98:2](), where righteousness-justice signifies salvation. The equation of righteousness with salvation is still more explicit when the Septuagint uses *dikaiosune* as the translation of *hesedh*; cf. [Genesis 19:19](), [20:13](), [21:23](), [24:27](), [32:10](), [Exodus 15:13](), [34:7](), [Proverbs 20:13]() (Quell, *op. cit.*, p.30).

[13] José Miguez-Bonino, *Christians and Marxists* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1976), pp.31, 35.

(justice, good, right) are concomitant realities. The injunction is not to be more righteous, but rather to do yet more righteousness (justice), as though that were the key to becoming more righteous (just). Amos uses more forceful, metaphorical language. He depicts semi-arid Palestine where sudden torrential rain transforms dry arroyos into raging, violent walls of water rushing down the mountainside: "Let justice roll down like waters."

Even in dry Palestine a few streams carry water the year around. These provide life-sustaining refreshment for people, animals, and plants. The second phrase of our text repeats the synonym in a different form: "... and let righteousness [flow] like an unfailing stream." Dynamic justice and righteousness are what God seeks. Not eternally repeated burnt and meal offerings nor ten thousand rivers of oil, but ever-flowing justice and righteousness. Not isolated nor repeated acts of moralistic virtue, but a living, unbroken embodiment of the norms of the covenant. p. 266

A. The Dynamics of Power-in-Action

Let us see how justice is power-in-action by viewing its relation to justification, which literally means "to make just," although traditionally we interpret it to mean "to declare just." The question is whether or how we ought to distinguish between justice and justification.

The Scriptural teaching on justification must always be seen in the light of the covenant. The richness of that key concept for biblical theology cannot be captured in a few words.[14] Perhaps for that reason it is so widely disputed and so little understood. Of justification by faith, Paul Tillich once wrote:

> The idea is strange to the man of today and even to Protestant people in the churches; indeed, as I have over and over again had the opportunity to learn, it is so strange to modern man that there is scarcely any way of making it intelligible to him.[15]

Not only is the concept little understood, but many perversions have become prevalent as well. As one man put it: "For God's sake (literally) be careful about justification by faith; it's the greatest escape mechanism in history."[16]

For Paul, God's righteousness (justice) relates dynamically to humanity and creation as a whole by imparting justice (righteousness). God's justification, like his creation, should be considered in its root meaning as a verbal noun, the action of "setting things right."

> To proclaim divine righteousness means to proclaim that God sets things right; that it is of his nature and the nature of his covenant that he is a right-setting kind of God.[17]

Although the Scriptural analogy of the judge and court are helpful, it does not cover the fullness of the relationship signified. The illustration is inadequate for the reality. Let us compare this to the act of creation. An artist sets himself to create a work of art, a research engineer a new machine. He labors and strives to realize his goal. But this is wholly

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[14] Here the reader is referred to such authors as G. C. Berkouwer (*Faith and Justification*), H. Ridderbos (*Paulus*), etc.

[15] Quoted in Arthur Miller, *The Renewal of Man* (New York: Doubleday and Company, 1955), p.81.

[16] *Ibid.*

[17] John Yoder, *The Politics of Jesus* (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1972), p.229.

inadequate to describe God's act of creation. His word is power. To declare is to make dynamic, to make living, to accomplish. There is no declaration separated from realization. To say "let there be light" was enough. Light was there.

So it is with justification. When God says, "Let there be new men," it is done. God's power is at work. When God justifies we can say p. 267 that we have been justified (Romans 4:24). The power of that redemptive word gives new and constantly renewing life under the royal reign of grace (Romans 5:17). God's righteousness is the power of new life in us so that "in Christ we might become the righteousness of God" (II Corinthians 5:21). The righteousness belongs to God, but the identification through the union with Christ is forceful. In Romans it is difficult to separate "justification" and "in Christ."[18] That righteousness does not belong to the believer; it is not now his private possession; rather, it is that normative force-principle which possesses him, exercises divine authority over and through him, and defines to him his covenant obligations.

To use an etymological equivalent, man is rectified. As Miller puts it:

> To be justified is to have life *rectified* so that it is not organized around the false and idolatrous center of the self (nor around any large or expanded idolatrous self such as family or nation) but moves upon its true and authentic fulcrum … Christ reigns where self was, and man is restored from the prison of his autonomous selfhood to the spontaneous "new covenant" relationship to God and the neighbors.[19]

Thus the righteousness-justice of God effectively establishes his lordship over his covenant people. The Christian does not first of all become a brand-new person inside as if the ontology of the person or his psychological and neurological equipment were transformed. Rather, "if anyone is in Christ, new is creation," or more smoothly, "there is a whole new world, the old order is gone, and a new order has already begun."[20] The Christian already sees and participates in reality with a new perspective.

B. The Dynamics of Love-in-Action

Justice is God's power-in-action made effective through his justifying grace in Christ. That power becomes real and efficacious through his rulership, his reign over and through us. His judgments and commands become incarnate in human judgments and laws. This we will discuss below, but we want to emphasize here that without power human justice, like divine justice, is ineffective, it fails. As Pascal said, "Justice without power is impotent and power without justice is p. 268 tyrannical."[21] This points to the manner in which justice is carried out. To that we now turn, citing a few biblical examples.

Righteousness-justice is love-in-action. Here we want to first point to the Johannine literature. John clearly equates love and righteousness.

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[18] Romans 8:10: "And if Christ is in you … the Spirit is life because of righteousness" (ASV of 1901). See also G. Quell, *op. cit.* p.51. For an excellent study of the concept "in Christ" as union with Christ, consult L. Smedes, *All Things Made New* (Grand Rapids, Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1970).

[19] Arthur Miller, *op. cit.*, pp.91, 75.

[20] As the New English Bible has it (II Cot. 5:17). See J. Yoder *op. cit.*, pp.227–228. Cf. Ephesians 6:15.

[21] Quoted in Heinz-Horst Schrey, Hans Hermann Walz, and W. A. Whitehouse, *The Biblical Doctrine of Justice and Law* (London: SCM Press, 1955), p.18.

The man who does right (justice) is born of God.	(I John 2:29, 3:7b)
Likewise he who loves his neighbor is born of God.	(I John 4:7)
He who does justice knows God.	
He who loves also knows God.	(I John 4:7)
He who does not do justice, as he who does not love, does not know God—because God is love.	(I John 3:10, 4:8)

John not only equates justice and love, he makes them the indispensable lived-out reality of knowing God.

This is no new doctrine. It is the universal message of the prophets. Jeremiah identifies doing justice and righteousness to the poor and needy with "knowing" God (Jeremiah 22:13–16). "He understands and knows me" who recognizes that "I am Jehovah who exercises love, justice, and righteousness" (Jeremiah 9:23). This is true for God; it is likewise his requirement for man. "My people are destroyed for lack of knowledge," cries Hosea (4:6), but that has nothing to do with an intellectualization of the message; rather, they have not observed God's commands—there is no justice. "What I want is love (loyalty, goodness), not sacrifice, knowledge of God, not holocausts" (Hosea 6:6, Jerusalem Bible). This relation of love-loyalty to one's fellow man is the unalterable condition of the covenant, of having communion with God. "Sow for yourselves justice, and you will reap what loyalty (love) deserves … for it is time to seek Jehovah" (Hosea 10:12). This becomes the call to conversion for Israel—"Turn again, then, to your God. Hold fast to love (loyalty) and justice, and always put your trust in your God" (Hosea 12:6, Jerusalem Bible).

Isaiah directly connects this love-in-action with the doing of righteousness by the messianic king (isaiah 11:1–9). He who is the root of Jesse receives the Spirit of Jehovah. He will not judge by what he sees or hears. Righteousness, justice, and faithfulness characterize his ministry. The pacification of all creation is possible only when the whole earth is full of this knowledge of the Lord. Knowing God is not theological reflection; it is doing justice and righteousness. Or, to say it the other way around: p. 269

> Obedience is not the consequence of our knowledge of God, just as it is not a pre-condition for it; obedience is included in our knowledge of God. Or, to put it more bluntly: obedience is our knowledge of God.[22]

Enough has been said, I trust, to make clear what we mean when we say: Justice is power-in-action and righteousness is love-in-action. That, in part, is what Paul is driving at when he says:

> I shall take the measure of these self-important people, not by what they say, but by what power is in them. The kingdom of God is not a matter of talk, but of power.

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[22] I am dependent here on José Miguez-Bonino, *op. cit.*, p.40.

III. JUSTICE IS RESTORATION AND RIGHTEOUSNESS IS REHABILITATION

A. The Ethical Imperative of Justice

The ethical imperative of justice-righteousness directly relates to the foregoing. This is inevitable, for we have been making theoretical distinctions of what at root is one existential reality. Justice and righteousness, like justification and sanctification, come from one root source and flow out into one historical reality. They are united in the indivisible mediator of creation and redemption. So Paul writes,

> But of him are ye in Christ Jesus, who was made unto us wisdom from God, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption.

> ([I Corinthians 1:30](#), KJV)

Calvin interprets:

> But you cannot attain justification without *at the same time* attaining to sanctification. For these benefits are *perpetually* and *indissolubly connected* … We may distinguish between justification and sanctification but Christ contains both *inseparable*.[23]

That is to say, what Calvin and we distinguish in theological talk are really united in their origin and destiny. We properly stress forensic justification—as did Paul—when we confront the work-righteousness of modern "churchianity" and tithing Pharisees. Indeed, by this work-righteousness ("religiosity") shall no flesh be justified in his sight. For merits pave no roads to Zion. But what we call forensic justification is vitally integrated in God's creation of the new humanity. Luther says: "… for when God saves a man, he performs an act of creation and that is a miracle."[24] The new-creation man is p. 270 characterized by obedience. Man participates in a new reality.[25] Thus obedience and faith are neither a consequence of nor a precondition to justification; they are man's experience of it.

> … [T]here is not a causal relationship between Christ's righteousness and the righteousness of faith, but a correlative association in which the subjectivity of faith has meaning and significance only as it lives off grace.[26]

The life of the new man is what Berkouwer calls a "faith-righteousnes" and Barth "the lived-out reality of faith." The works of faith do not deny but confirm *sola fide*.[27]

Faith must not be seen as assent to noetic notions about God. It would be more true to the biblical concept to translate faith as faithfulness with the idea of loyalty, solidarity. Here we must warn against the adaptations which Christian theology has made to the

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[23] *Institutes*, II, 36. My emphasis.

[24] Quoted in G. Quell, *op. cit.*, p.51.

[25] H. Ridderbos, *Paulus: de ontwerp van zijn theologie:* "… de imperativus op de indicativus rust in dat deze order niet omkeerbaar is." (Kampen: J. H. Kok, 1966), p.281.

[26] G. C. Berkouwer, *Faith and Justification* (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1954), pp.79, 85.

[27] *Ibid.*, pp.107, 109, 112.

Graeco-Roman world. The idea of a pure, divine essence, knowable only by intellectual comprehension, mystical contemplation, or natural conscience, came prior to the concrete action of the divine in a specific historical moment. Catholic scholasticism, and to a lesser extent Protestant intellectualistic tendencies, integrated this structure into Christian theology, notably in the definition of God's essence and his attributes. This, as M[guez points out, robs

> God of his particular identity … his "I am" for us and for the world. We make an image apart from his own action, his *debarim*, that is, the words and commandments in which he has defined the conditions of the covenant.[28]

That we have not always been conscious of this danger, some emphases in pietistic withdrawal and social irresponsibility bear witness. But also the danger exists (and becomes a reality in much of modern fundamentalism) of separating certain noetic element in faith from the life of discipleship. This may be done by either requiring assent to a super-simple "belief" statement or by the meaningless memorization of catechetical doctrine. To divorce intellectual knowledge from discipleship is, to put it bluntly, a contradiction in terms and a denial of biblical righteousness and justice. Or, to put it in Bonhoeffer's terms: it is cheap grace that costs nothing. p. 271

There is, of course,

> an imperfect faith, a faltering faith, but there cannot be, in the nature of the case, a *believing* disobedience—unless it is the "dead faith" of which James speaks, and which "profits nothing."[29]

We do not know God in his essence, that is, as the object of a pure gospel which we accept and from which we deduce ethical consequences. "Rather we know God in the synthetic act of responding to his demands."[30] Our response is historical, earthy, concrete—what Miranda calls "truth in deeds."

Deeds of justice and righteousness are the concrete historical manifestation that the "normal" relationships and responsibilities of life are

> rehabilitated and made relative to the kingdom and to the kingship of Christ. At the center is the kingdom and all wills and wishes must be bent in its direction. Self-denial is not negative; it is the positive re-direction of the total being.[31]

The ethical imperative is thus part and parcel of the restoration of man to a right relation to God and his fellow man as well as the rehabilitation of his creaturely capacity for just and right living. The crucial problem arises because many Christians and churches do not function as rehabilitated and restored agents for justice and righteousness. Yet this is often judged to be of secondary importance because, after all, they believe the gospel and are justified by faith and not by works. Let us not be deceived. A more diabolical escape mechanism cannot be conceived. No such divorce between justification and justice exists. Many lamp-bearers will indeed come to the closed door of the wedding feast—having had the form of godliness but not the power thereof.

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[28] Miguez-Bonino, *op. cit.*, p.39ff.

[29] *Ibid.*

[30] *Ibid.*

[31] G. C. Berkouwer, *op. cit.*, p.139.

B. The Church' p. Task

It has been said that "the ultimate manifestation of God's justice is God's will to restore."[32] How does God restore justice and righteousness upon the earth?

1. The Church must *learn* justice-righteousness. We have noted that it is inadmissible to confess a divine righteousness and a human justice divorced from each other and forming two coexisting but independent realities. Therefore it will not do to conclude that the people of the covenant have no responsibility for human justice. It is p. 272 inseparably integrated, rooted into, grafted into the righteousness of God. Human justice unrelated to God's justice cannot but erode into utopian humanism or pessimistic otherworldliness. The tendency of the covenant people to escape into their churches is a living demonstration of the latter.

Amos and Isaiah condemn out of hand the cultic escape by ordering the halt to burnt offerings and sacrifices. Grave social crimes cannot be remedied by grand cultic ceremonies. Close down your churches, stop paying the rich ministers, call a halt to the construction of fancy buildings ... For I hate, I despise, your communion services and polished sermons. I am not happy with your congregational meetings; even though you offer me your tithes for missions and your offerings for the building fund, I will not even look at them. Stop the noise of your hymn-sings, and all your special music with trumpets and quartets ... But let justice and righteousness roll down over the countryside into the little villages and great cities until it covers the earth. Justice within the four walls of the church means nothing, absolutely nothing, if it is not a reality outside the church.

So the church must begin by learning. A canyon greater than those of the Rocky Mountains exists in the contemporary theologies of the churches. Well-meaning pastors have educated us to a spiritual righteousness divorced from earthly justice. We reap fruits as bitter as the prophet's wormwood. Is it not tragic that any church which dares to speak of politics and economics and social justice is gravely suspect? Old Testament prophets were suspect, too. Oh Lord, will human nature never change? When will we learn?

2. The Church must *teach* justice. Before God's justice all human justice is unjust (Psalm 64:6). Yet God takes human justice into account because it is the analogy of his justice. He channels his justice and righteousness through his ambassadors (Psalms 74:1–4, 7:8). God's justice is the dynamic norm which gives ultimate validity to ethics. God's law is the inseparable associate of his grace; indeed, grace is the loving exercise of his justice-righteousness in society and in creation.

The Church must teach the State of the Church's right to exist. The Church is born of the word of God and must claim the right to proclaim that word. The message of the full Lordship of Christ, the judgment upon and the forgiveness of public and private evils needs to be known. When the State refuses this right, God's justice is violated. The Church must disobey the constituted authorities, for it must obey God rather than men. This is civil disobedience, but that may be part of its pedagogical ministry. p. 273

The Church must teach God's justice-righteousness in God's world. The Church is God's minister in the world; as such it manifests God's presence in the world by its life. It does not do charity, it is charity; it does not talk, it witnesses (literally, martyrs the gospel); it does not seek comfort, it shares Christ's afflictions. It is the mouthpiece for God in the midst of an unjust world.

The Church must teach human rights. It is the prophetic mouthpiece for human need. When the Church takes a clear stand on fundamental political or economic issues, it *is*

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[32] Jacques Ellul, *op. cit.*, p.47.

preaching the gospel of Jesus Christ. When it maintains silence before a hungry and suffering man it *has* broken covenant with the Lord of hosts ([Isaiah 24:5](#)).

3. The Church must *incarnate* justice. It is not enough to teach, not when three billion people do not know the justice-righteousness of the Kingdom, not when half the world goes to bed hungry at night, not when totalitarian governments systematically negate elemental human rights, not when the minority of the world's population—the majority of whom are Christians—use the greatest part of creation's resources for themselves. How can the Church minister justice to a needy world?

It is inspiring to speak of rapid church growth, of winning the world in this generation for Christ, of organizing continent-wide evangelistic campaigns, and of revitalizing our dying churches. I do not criticize the little we do. I only ask—does this sort of action fulfill the demands of God's justice in a needy world? Our preachers, our evangelists, our missionaries cannot touch more than half the world's population, but our national and international policies do. Our economics, our politics, our sociology, our corporations, our tariffs, our communications media, all touch them indeed. These are the Church's testimony—like it or not—to the needy world. These are the hands with which we touch the beggar's lips, the hearts with which we show indifference or compassion, the minds with which we calculate for his gain or for our own, the eyes which we avert so as to see neither his plight nor our riches.

It hurts to hear the cry of impotence from the poor.

Penniless …
A while
Without food
I can live;
But it breaks my heart
To know
I cannot give. p. 274

Penniless …
I can share my rags,
But I—
I cannot bear to hear
Starved children cry.

Penniless …
And rain falls,
But trust is true.
Helpless I wait to see
What God will do.[33]

4. The Church must *righteous* the future. *Righteous* and *justice* are also old English verbs that mean to *set right*. We have long since lost that verbal usage; one fears that we may have also lost the art. Here the pendulum comes full swing. We began by noting that justicerighteousness means to re-establish right relations with God and man. In God's dealings with his people we learn to know him as a right-setting kind of God. When he puts things right he does so integrally and wholly. Justification and justice-righteousness are but two sides of God's coin of grace; they are inseparably united in the Christ of

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[33] Poem "Penniless" by the Japanese Christian, Toyohiki Kagawa.

history. It is he who calls us to *righteous* history: "Let justice roll down" and "Let the righteous do more righteousness still."

Justice-righteousness is realized fully in the consummation of history. But that consummation does not negate the historical process. Righteous and just judgment will be pronounced, not upon the human finiteness which limits human possibility, but upon the selflove which broke faith with man and creation.

> ... According to his promise we wait for new heavens and a new earth in which righteousness-justice dwells.

<div align="right">(<u>II Peter 3:13</u>)</div>

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A Pastor's Workshop: The Gospel of Mark and Conflicts with Evil Today

Cor Bronson

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A Case Study of a small group Bible Study whose method raises important hermeneutical questions on the relationship of text and context.

INTRODUCTION: AN INTENSIVE TEE COURSE ON THE GOSPEL OF MARK

Flexibility, surprise, variety, challenges and risk describe theological education by extension (TEE). I know of no better way to say "amen" to those words than to describe an intensive TEE class I taught recently. Although conventional TEE demands a lot of flexibility to begin with, this six-hour class on the Gospel of Mark pulled the students and myself in directions that surprised, sometimes frightened and always challenged us.

First of all, as a self-respecting North American missionary, I might have been celebrating U.S. Thanksgiving Day with my family and friends instead of spending three days with Indian pastors from the denomination I work with. Alas, the pastors had planned this session without taking into consideration my designs on a turkey dinner. Secondly, this workshop, while not part of an established TEE program, was an intensive course for pastoral enrichment and Biblical orientation to some pressing social and political issues confronting the denomination of these pastors. They were all pastors from one of the many tribal groups in their country, members of a church whose majority is Indian, but whose powerful minority is Spanish speaking. Thirdly, to deal with such issues as racism, majority rights, political freedom and so on in their country and church invites misunderstanding at best and accusations of wrenching the gospel into categories alien to it at worst. Fourthly, most of the fifteen pastors at the workshop had no more than a

fourth-grade education. Finally, we had to communicate in Spanish, a second language for both the pastors and myself. Such was the framework within which we worked for three exciting, challenging and even threatening days.

THE TEMPTATION EPISODE AS KEY TO THE GOSPEL'S CONFLICT MOTIF

I arrived at the workshop armed with a sheaf of printed Bible study guidelines that gave an overview of the Gospel of Mark by listing P. 276 forty-one passages from the book.[1] I introduced the passages by claiming that all had the central common element of Jesus taking part in some kind of conflict.[2] In order to help the pastors focus on the core of the conflict and unify the Bible study, I listed the following questions to answer when studying each passage:

1. Who are the characters here?
2. What does Jesus do here?
3. Is there a representative of evil here?
4. If so, what or who is that representative?
5. What does the representative of evil do?
6. How do Jesus and that representative struggle against each other?
7. What is the outcome of the struggle in this episode?

Since we had only three two-hour sessions to work through these passages, the pastors divided into five small groups, each taking eight passages. In that way we covered all the passages in the small groups. We came together to share results and to study in the full group selected passages that I considered key links in the long chain of Jesus' conflicts.

Although this was an inductive Bible study, my role as a teacher here was to help the group discover for itself an important theme in Mark. Here "to help" required that in the first steps of the process I direct the study by following a strict method applicable to all the passages under consideration. One might, I suppose, complain that my direction forced the group into a hermeneutic straitjacket. I think, however, that the following results speak for themselves. Once the pastors grasped the system, they went off on their

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[1] Here follows the list of passages: 1:12, 13; 1:21–28; 1:29–31; 1:32–34; 1:40–45; 2:1–12; 2:13–17; 2:18–22; 2:23–28; 3:1–6; 3:20–25; 5:1–20; 5:21–43; 6:1–6; 7:1–13; 7:24–30; 7:31–37; 8:11–13; 8:22–26; 8:31–33; 9:14–28; 10:1–10; 10:17–22; 10:35–45; 10:46–52; 11:15–19; 11:27–33; 12:1–12; 12:13–17; 12:18–27; 12:28–34; 12:35–40; 14:1, 2; 14:10–11; 14:34–42; 14:43–50; 14:53–65; 15:1–20; 15:21–32; 15:33–41; 16:1–8.

[2] The idea of elucidating a conflict in Jesus' ministry is by no means original with me or with this group Bible study I am describing. Especially helpful in broaching the subject and suggesting some possible pathways to follow are these sources: Rubén R. Dri, "*La Conflictividad en la Vida de Jesús*," *Iglesias*, April, 1980, Mexico City: CENCOS; pp.7–17. F. Ross Kinsler, *Estudio Inductivo de Marcos*, San Felipe, Retalhuleu, Guatemala: Seminario Evangélico Presbiteriano, n.d. William L. Lane, *The Gospel According to Mark*, Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1974, pp.59–62; 91–120, *et al.* Helmut Thielicke (*Between God and Satan*, C. C. Barber, tr., Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1973) deals extensively with the temptation episode in Matthew and views it there as a cosmic struggle. Some of Thielicke's general insights apply equally to Mark's Gospel-long conflict motif.

own, using the guidelines freely to raise perplexing questions and point to some answers.

Our first full-group session began by dealing with Mark's brief temptation account, 1:12, 13. As we followed the prepared questions, I asked one person about the temptations Jesus endured. He listed the three from Matthew's and Luke's accounts, and noted that for some reason Mark does not mention them. I thought that was a sophisticated insight into Synoptic studies, so I asked him why he thought that Matthew and Luke detail the temptations while Mark does not.

That question led nowhere until I asked the pastors *where* Matthew and Luke place the temptation episode and *how* that differs from Mark. Someone responded that Mark leads off with the temptation whereas Matthew and Luke relate the story as part of Jesus' life. To reinforce that, I pointed out how Mark's temptation report—hardly an episode—concludes the introduction to Mark's gospel. Matthew and Luke tell a longer story about the temptation itself as part of their own narratives, outside the respective introductions.

When the pastors agreed that Satan himself was the representative of evil in this passage, I told them that I considered Mark 1:12, 13 a key to the entire book of Mark and that the other forty passages related directly to the temptation report. After that the Bible study flowed in some expected and some surprising directions. I will summarize some highlights that show how the pastors began both to come to grips with the Gospel of Mark as a unit and to see themselves as contemporary participants in the struggle against evil that forms just one motif in Mark.

FOCUSING THE FIRST CONFLICTS IN EXORCISMS AND HEALINGS

Our group discussions on succeeding passages introduced us to Jesus, fresh from the difficult first encounter with Satan in the wilderness. The pastors were not sure of the outcome there (question 7). We reached a concensus that Jesus won the first round of an extended match, helped along by the ministering angels, much as by seconds in a boxing match. Two people protested that of course we knew that Jesus won that first encounter with Satan himself because he beat death in the last chapter; he simply could not lose because he was God's Son. Others put a stop to such hasty conclusions. The victory was yet to come. For now, all we knew was that a crucial fight was on, one that could not be won simply by declaring a *priori* that God's Son would win automatically before the battle was fought. To do that would not take seriously either why Jesus came to earth or the struggle in which he was involved.

In the first and second chapters the succeeding rounds in the struggle give Jesus no time to rest. Without help from the angels, Jesus hits the various representatives of evil head-on, although Satan himself does not appear in person. Jesus casts out demons, heals Peter's mother-in-law, a leper and a paralytic. One pastor pointed out that the way Mark tells this, Satan was able to rest at times, letting his subalterns carry on while Jesus never got a break. Everyone clearly saw Satan at the root of the struggle. One person made a timely reference to the experience of all the pastors by pointing to the way in which many village medicine men still treated all sickness as coming from evil spirits. The spirit world, I thought, is much closer to these people than it is to me.

With the opposition gathering in the spirit world, the jump to the realm of civil and religious authorities as a second focus in Jesus' struggle was harder to make. No one had difficulty identifying the Pharisees as Jesus' opponents in Mark 2:18–22 and 23–27. Still they were not ready to lump them together with Satan's forces. Our study of Mark 3:1–6 proved the turning point.

INCLUDING POLITICAL-RELIGIOUS AUTHORITIES IN THE CONFLICT

When the group answered the seven questions in reference to Mark 3:1–6, they disagreed about who represented the powers of evil here. Some thought that it was the disease that had withered the man's hand, while others said that the Pharisees and Herodians were the culprits. When they discussed what the agent of evil was doing, they decided that this was a struggle on two fronts. Here both disease and people were fighting against Jesus. Here too they appreciated that the final outcome of the struggle appeared to be in doubt. Whereas Jesus could handle himself against sickness, powerful people were another matter.

The meaning of Jesus' struggles grew for the participants here because not everyone was certain who the Herodians were nor how they related to the Pharisees. Two pastors rightly suggested that Herodians supported Herod. Still, they were surprised that the Herodians and Pharisees joined forces against Jesus. That was precisely the point, I emphasized, since normally the Pharisees wanted nothing to do with the compromising political games that the Herodians played. According to the Pharisees, they were trying to get the best of two irreconcilable worlds—Hellenism and Judaism—as they supported Herod, a scion of dubious lineage, while dismissing unconditional   p. 279   allegiance to Jewish law. Under all other circumstances the Pharisees and Herodians were enemies, but common opposition to Jesus made them pragmatic allies during Jesus' ministry.

LINKING BIBLICAL NARRATIVE AND CONTEMPORARY POLITICAL ISSUES

There it was: the normally taboo question of Jesus' association with political forces was broached. To appreciate how dangerous this particular conclusion was, one must recall that in much of Latin American Protestantism, any attempt to relate Biblical teachings and Christian political responses meets with stunned silence or fearful rejection. Additionally, in the area from which these pastors came, numerous Roman Catholic priests and catechists had been forced to leave their parishes or had been kidnapped and killed because local governmental military authorities had accused them of doing the very thing we had just begun to do in the workshop: relate Biblical narrative to contemporary political conditions. In such a situation, large sectors of the area's Protestant churches reinforce their traditional anti-Catholic identity by emphasizing the physical safety that their own supposed apolitical stance offers, in contrast with the daring stance taken by some of their Roman Catholic counterparts.

I had two choices: either ignore the issue and accept the traditional division between spiritual and political struggles or try to see Jesus' struggle including these elements as part of a much wider spiritual warfare. One pastor's question did not permit me to take the first choice. Apropos of the context and related to a question that had been nagging the entire pastors' group due to one member's political activity, he asked me: "Can Christians be members of political parties and actively campaign for candidates?" I knew he was baiting a fellow participant, since the two men's political leanings represented opposite ends of the limited spectrum recognized in their country. Regardless, there was no escaping the implications of the question. Unwilling to play along with personal disagreements, I decided to take a tack that I hoped would bring us back on Mark's course by briefly touching on related Pauline territory.

We concluded the session by reading and reflecting on Paul's summary of spiritual warfare in Ephesians 6:10–20. I asked the pastors how the principalities and powers took on concrete forms in their lives. All were ready to reply that they had seen enough

corruption in their political leaders and witnessed enough oppression from the military to identify at least some of Paul's message with those sad parts of their own lives. With that step our Bible study began going in a direction that I was sure was following lines of Biblical political thought. It was precisely where I had hoped the pastors would want to go with Mark's Gospel. Nevertheless, given the political climate that the men had just talked about, I was uncomfortable. Our Bible study was touching on risky ground.

SHIFTING THE FOCUS TO DISCOVER POLITICAL GUIDELINES FROM MARK

Following sessions of our Bible study on Mark left out many elements of Jesus' conflicts. The pastors were convinced by that time that Jesus was almost always in conflict with someone or other of Satan's team. They felt that they had sufficiently treated in their small groups the conflicts as represented in the many healing episodes, opposition from family and disciples.[3] They were particularly interested in focusing on this political element.

Dealing with homegrown politics as a result of Bible study was something entirely new, strangely attractive and risky to them. All had seen previously some political struggle within the Gospel narrative, but only a few had ever before thought of looking for principles for their own political activity from Bible study. They felt that for the first time they were able to deal with something that was a fiery issue among themselves as pastors who were reflecting on the Bible, their source of spiritual strength, and not merely arguing political differences without some common base. Here they saw a way to discuss their differences using some elements from the Gospel as a guide. Thus they chose to focus on something they had not dealt with in this way before and let other elements of Mark's Gospel (e.g., healing, exorcisms) that were more or less common coin among them pass for the time being.

MARCAN VOCABULARY HIGHLIGHTING AUTHORITIES AS SATAN'S REPRESENTATIVES

Thus it was natural that we spent more time on Mark 8:11–13, 10:1–10 and 12:13–17 than on other passages in the conflict motif. These three passages share elements crucial to a full understanding of Mark's conflict theme. These are the familiar episodes in which some Pharisees come to Jesus asking him for a sign (8:11–21). They later question him about divorce (10:2–12), and finally about paying taxes to Caesar (12:13–17). Mark's treatment of these episodes differs significantly from Matthew's and Luke's.[4] Because of this, they form indispensable links in the chain of conflicts that Mark presents.

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[3] Although we did not treat this in detail, Satanic opposition from within the disciples' ranks helped us see how pervasive were Satan's attempts to thwart Jesus' ministry and task. Nowhere was that more dramatic than in 8:31–33 where Jesus lashes out at Peter's well-meaning rebuke when Jesus' predicted his own death, "Get behind me, Satan."

[4] Of the Synoptic reports, only Mark's treatment permits us to make a Gospel-long thematic relation between the temptation episode and the three episodes that highlight the Pharisees' opposition because Mark uses *peiradzō* (to tempt, try, test) only in those four passages. (See below for more detailed explanation.) Additionally, the Marcan temptation episode governs all other conflicts as Mark places it in the introduction to his Gospel and not as a part of the general flow of narrative as do Matthew and Luke. As part

First of all, the passages depict the Pharisees trying to ensnare Jesus with questions relating to application of Jewish law or accommodation to an occupying political power's demands. Secondly, the Herodians again team up with the Pharisees in the tax question episode.[5] As we have seen, Mark introduces them early in the book (3:6) and then again in this episode that occurred by all Synoptic accounts during the last week of Jesus' life. Together the accounts give us the picture of a surveillance operation that had possibly hounded Jesus throughout his ministry. Thirdly, Mark unites these three episodes with the temptation episode (1:12, 13) we mentioned earlier by stating that the Pharisees (and in chapter 12 the Herodians also) were following Jesus to "tempt" (*peiradzo*) him.[6] The result of this vocabulary unity among the four episodes is that the activity that characterizes Satan—i.e., *tempting* Jesus to do wrong—in 1:12, 13 is what the Pharisees, and later the Herodians, do three times in rapid succession. Thus Mark unmistakably portrays the Pharisees as Satan's personal representatives in the all-out struggle against Jesus.

As one could expect, our careful examination of these three passages took more than a full two-hour session. Nevertheless, the pastors were able not merely to follow whatrsuggested, they also contributed several points that had earlier escaped my notice. As they were using the 1960 version of the Spanish Reina-Valera Bible translation, they readily picked up Mark's use of the temptation motif p. 282 that links the Pharisees with Satan.[7] Furthermore, one pastor pointed out the by now long alliance between the Pharisees and the Herodians.

Finally, not contented with this complex only, other pastors noted that the tax question (12:13–17) was tied closely to Mark's description of Sadducees (12:13–17) and Scribes (12:28–34) in the two episodes immediately following. One person ventured the solid opinion that in this triple complex of episodes in chapter 12, along with those from chapters 8 and 10, all the ruling classes in Jesus' Jewish society came together against him. Besides that, in chapter 12, they attack Jesus on a political issue (Pharisees and Herodians on taxes to an occupying power); a religio-doctrinal issue (Sadducees on the resurrection); and an ethical-legislative issue (Scribes on the greatest commandment).

SEEING THE CONFLICT IN CONTEMPORARY TERMS

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of the introduction, the temptation episode carries more thematic weight than it can as part of the narrative.

[5] '*Hrōdianoi* appears only three times in the New Testament: once in Matthew 22:16; twice in Mark—3:6 and 12:13.

[6] Here we must note that Matthew and Luke also use this word in the parallel episodes included in their gospels. However, given the almost unanimously presumed priority of Mark, we must assume that Mark "invented" the literary motif that Matthew and Luke later borrowed though used differently. For example, Mark is more chary about using *peiradzo* or the derivative *peirasmos*, employing the words only five times in all. Matthew and Luke, however, less choosy because their purposes differ, use the words eight and nine times respectively.

[7] Instead of attempting to broaden the idea of *peiradzō* by rendering it "tenderle a Jesús una trampa" ("entrap Jesus") or something similar, as both the Versión Popular in Spanish and modern English versions do, the 1960 revision (and the King James Version in English) maintains the simple and accurate, if limited, translation of "to tempt".

For some pastors, the conflict in which Jesus found himself was now fully developed. They had read all of Mark together and arrived at some conclusions that were new to them. Other members of the group were not satisfied to stop with those conclusions. They insisted that we deal with some elements of obvious conflict in the arrest, trial and crucifixion of Jesus. Again in this series of discussions, by now familiar points were made, with the added feature that Jesus' conflict with political authorities broadened beyond his relatively narrow circle of the Jews and reached to Herod and Pilate—the representatives of compromising Judaism and the occupying forces of Rome respectively.

The pastors who carried our discussion in this direction prevented a sectarian, and thus at root unbiblical, interpretation from carrying the day. Besides emphasizing the political opposition, they connected that with the ultimate opposition that death brought. However, instead of leaving it there, the group was then able to integrate the varied complex of opposition and draw some implications from it that began to sound like a traditionally Reformed ethical teaching of transforming their society.

THE CONTEMPORARY ISSUE FINDING SOME CONCRETE SUGGESTIONS

The risks inherent in dealing with Mark's Gospel in a way that P. 283 focused so closely on *Jesus*' conflict were that pastors would again revert to a merely moralistic and individualistic interpretation. Regardless of that danger, the pastors as a group were willing to come to some tentative conclusions that avoided that pitfall. For example, despite the constant institutionalized political repression in which half the men at the workshop lived, the group was willing again to look at its own society in order to try to identify concrete manifestations of the "powers of this dark world" (Ephesians 6:12), as well as manifestations of the other side. The physical risk of doing this is obvious, but their commitment overrode the threat.

To make lists and concretize always runs risks of oversimplification. It can encourage more of the lamentable "them-us" mentality so prevalent among evangelicals in Latin America who so strongly separate themselves from "worldly" people or "things of the world," defining those terms in narrow moralistic ways. Or it can readily be manipulated into an equally hideous aberration, that of considering all authorities connected with rightist dictatorial powers as Satan's puppets, while evaluating any opposition to them as activity uniquely blessed by God.

A third option being taken by some Christian groups in several Latin American countries shares more with the latter position than the former and hence is fraught with the same risks. After analyzing their situations, some Christians are forming temporary strategic alliances with groups that follow the second option described above. Yet those who choose a temporary alliance do so precisely because they know they will not bring on God's Kingdom. Still, having chosen to oppose undeniable viciousness and brutality of the powers ruling their countries, these "third option groups" hope to take part in a concrete way in changing the course of their countries' history in a direction giving greater chance for justice than is possible under present systems. By working for justice with revolutionary groups, some of whose ultimate aims they do not share, they will still gain a future right to criticize, to act as spokespersons for the Kingdom and for God's people within the society they help bring on.

Given the limitations we were working with, I am convinced that the pastors chose neither the first nor second options. Most, but not all, shared cautious affinity with the third option, for which reason I sketched it in some detail. Due to their particular situation and the suffering that a large section of the Roman Catholic Church in their region and some of their own people were undergoing at the hands of the national army, the pastors

characterized the ruling authorities as the people who could be expected to subvert the progress of the Kingdom over which Jesus rules and which he will bring. It was precisely that felicitous phrase—the "Kingdom of God"—that prevented the group from caricaturing Mark's message.

Although the pastors had no time to study Mark's concept of the Kingdom of God in detail, the breadth of the term "kingdom" permitted them to envision Jesus' conflict and, *mutatis mutandis* their own conflicts as Christians, in personal, political and cosmic terms. Perhaps since they are people largely untainted by the extremes of Western individualism, they saw themselves and their people as representatives of God's people today who were experiencing among themselves as a people the conflicts articulated by Mark.

One person identified, for example, the powers of darkness in the agricultural practices of one-family ownership of large land tracts, mechanization that reduced employment, migrant labour that destroyed family stability, a limited number of export cash crops at the expense of basic food crops and so on. His people suffered, he said, because they were the victims of a political force that was ruining the land and the people. Another pastor essentially agreed with him, but warned, "Our people take part on both sides. Some are the owners' agents, others are the workers. Some are agronomists who help mechanize and overload the soil with pesticides and herbicides; others are victims of those practices."

We did not solve that particular complex problem that arose from the mutual analysis the pastors were making of Mark's Gospel and their own lives. But that is not the point. These people were reflecting biblically on the original Marcan motif of Jesus' conflict and trying to incorporate themselves into the struggle. They were trying to live incarnationally as a result of a process of inductive Bible study.

The pastors found more problems than solutions suddenly arising from a new way to study the Bible. What had been to them familiar though disparate passages from Mark, turned into a series of episodes thoroughly unified and integrated into the entire book. Although they were overwhelmed by the complexity of what they were discovering—and a few confessed puzzlement by this time—they were not willing to leave the *ultimate* outcome between Jesus and Satan in doubt any more as they had earlier. They triumphantly—not triumphalistically—and joyfully pointed to the eschatological victory in the resurrection. Furthermore, several of them wished aloud that they could move their people in a unified direction to grasp the contemporary challenge they faced in their attempt to be on God's side in the political process in which they had seen, for the first time, that Jesus had also taken part in his day.

CONCLUSION: PROCESS AS IMPORTANT AS THE CONTENT

The examples could go on and on, but the problems discovered and the solutions suggested would go on apace. What we found of immense significance here was not a concensus for a strategy. We never hoped for that, since to do so in three days would have been pretentious. Rather our workshop produced for a small group of Christians a new way to look at one book of the Bible in reference to other biblical concepts and in reference to the daily lives of the participants. A process already underway to some extent was given a needed push forward in the workshop, not through outside imposition, but through the dynamics of TEE methods and inductive Bible study. The process and the content were clearly of equal value here, since without the interpersonal dynamics highlighted above, precious little of the contemporary biblical reflection could have resulted. As a teacher I clearly directed the study in its initial direction, but I was also part of the process. I was

never in total control of where the pastors were going to go with their reflections. By the same token I could never have forced the pastors to follow my lead, even if I had wanted to.

The pastors and I came together here, worked together, discovered together in circumstances of societal repression and found concrete ministry for our communities and ourselves in reflecting on one part of God's written Word.

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The Ministry of Management for Christian Workers: A Biblical Basis

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"*For if the bugle produces an indistinct sound, who will prepare himself for the battle*" (1 Cor. 14:4).

"Is management a carnal deviation from trusting the Holy Spirit?"

This article is a response to the above question. It has two objectives: (1) to discuss the biblical basis for management, and (2) to challenge Filipino pastors to develop management leadership.

First, let us define some critical terms.

1. Leadership is the process of securing results through and with others, according to Louis Allen.[1] Essentially, this is the same definition of *management* by Lawrence Appley[2] and Olan Hendrix.[3] Kenneth Gangel, moreover, defines *administration* as "getting things done through people."[4]

   I will be using Allen's definition. I also agree with Allen that administration is more comprehensive than management, and management than leadership.
2. *A natural leader* is a person who, primarily by using his intuitive, inborn aptitudes, skills and personal characteristics, enables people to work together to achieve objectives.[5]

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[1] *The Louis A. Allen Common Vocabulary of Professional Management*.

[2] Olan Hendrix, *Management for the Christian Worker*.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] Kenneth O. Gangel, *Competent to Lead: A Guide to Management in Christian Organizations*.

[5] Allen, *op. cit.*

3. *A management leader* is a person in a leadership position who, primarily by planning, organizing, leading, and controlling, enables people to work together to achieve objectives.[6]
4. A Christian organization is any organization that sees as its primary purpose giving glory to God.[7]

Next, let us consider some misconceptions about management. Dr. Kenneth Gangel describes three myths in the minds of many Christian workers concerning administration. Those may be the reason church management is of no significant moment in Bible school curricula.

1. *Administration is not essential*. Some pastors think that the work of the local church will be carried on purely by pietistic endeavors, p. 287 without the dreary, paper-shuffling tasks associated with administration.
2. *Administration is uninteresting*. After all, the real glory of Christian leadership is the preaching, teaching, counselling, and similar interpersonal ministries. Most people who hold this view may grudgingly agree that somebody has to handle the administration, but they have no inclination to offer an Isaiah-like "here am I; send me."
3. *Administration is not spiritual*. Perhaps this is the most dangerous myth of all, for it suggests that some ministries are "sacred," while others are "secular." People who think this way do not realize that administration is a spiritual gift.

These myths are responsible for the dichotomy between the sacred and the secular, the spiritual and the physical, and the heavenly and the earthly which still prevails among Evangelicals. The worldwide cry now is to recover the *wholistic* nature of the ministry.

I believe that the recovery (not rediscovery) of wholism will contribute to the development of ministers as managers. Biblically, there is no question that a pastor is a "manager or minister."[8]

The gift of administration[9] necessitates and includes management. Management is a ministry and "all ministry is God's ministry."[10] Ray Anderson points out, moreover, that "the practice of ministry … is itself intrinsically a theological activity." The question it seems to me is not whether management is spiritual or secular but whether the Christian worker is spiritual or not.

Granting, then, that management is a ministry, does it also follow that the minister is a manager? The answer is No! However, a minister can and ought to be a manager. I believe, moreover, that the minister-manager is the biblical model. I will try to substantiate this thesis by discussing five subjects.

A. GOD IS A GOD OF ORDER

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[6] *Ibid.*

[7] Ted W. Engstrom and Edward R. Dayton, *The Christian Executive*.

[8] Engstrom and Dayton.

[9] 1 Cor. 12:28.

[10] Ray S. Anderson, *Theological Foundation for Ministry*.

God created man in His image and made him vice-regent of His creation. But man willfully sinned against God and marred God's image in him. Hence, sin entered the world and sin has been warring against God's created order and harmony since then. Sin has also enslaved humanity and is the cause of lawlessness in this world. The Bible simply but graphically describes sin's effects: "And God saw **P. 288** that the wickedness of man was great in the earth, and that every imagination of the thoughts of his heart was only evil continually."[11]

But God is rich in His kindness and forbearance and patience. He acted to bring order in society by His institution of governments and by the incarnation of His Son Jesus Christ. The government is to provide social order, with physical existence as the necessary presupposition for hearing "God's Word, inheriting His kingdom, and thus fulfilling the real purpose of our lives."[12] Without law, everyone would do what is right in his own eyes. Without Christ there would be no restoration of order in God's creation.

This order is in Christ Jesus. This order then, though still imperfect, must also be in the Church, Christ's body. This means that the whole of the church's life is to be ordered primarily through participation in the ordered life of Jesus Christ, the new Adam, the Head of the new creation. This ordering process, however, cannot take place in a church in isolation, because while she is not of this world she is sent into the world.

Necessarily, the visible church must still participate in the empirical life of this fallen world. In fact, to actualize order within itself, the church can use the patterns and forms of the law of this age in the service of its new life in the risen and ascended Lord. This seems paradoxical, but, as Torrance says, "in history God has given the church its historical order and structure while it participates in the form of this passing world."[13] This includes corporation organizational models and the integration of effective and unified management systems.

I believe that Paul had this in mind also when he wrote to the Corinthian church: "God is not a God of confusion,[14] and that all things be done properly and in an orderly manner.[15] For order is the coordinating of the life of the church in its fellowship worship, and mission in the service of the glory of God."[16]

From the fact that God is a God of order, and that this order should be in the church, one can easily conclude the need for the minister in the local church to become a management leader.

B. GOD IS A TRIUNE GOD

The statement of faith of PCEC says: "One God eternally existing in **P. 289** three distinct Persons: Father, Son, Holy Spirit …" This confident confession is given of biblical revelation. Can an inference be taken out of this theological reality in relationship to management?

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[11] Genesis 6:5.

[12] Helmut Thielicke, "Politics," *Theological Ethics*.

[13] Thomas F. Torrance, *Theological Foundation for Ministry*, p.395.

[14] 1 Corinthians 14:33.

[15] 1 Corinthians 14:40.

[16] Torrance.

Roger Nicole reduces in three propositions the doctrine of the Trinity. They are concurrently and simultaneously affirmed.

1. There is one God and one only.
2. This God exists eternally in three distinct persons: The Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit.
3. Those three are fully equal in every divine perfection.
They possess alike the fulness of the divine essence.[17] With those propositions, more may be adduced from Scripture.
4. The authority of the Father.
5. The dignity of subordination.
6. The harmony of God's eternal fellowship.
7. The community of action.
8. The diversity of functions.
9. The unity of purpose.

As I look at the Trinity, I see order—the very order that the church ought to have. I also see the model for government and administration. The pastor, as Christ's undershepherd, should take a closer look at Christ's ministry not only in His revealed humanity but in His economic participation in the Trinity.

C. CHRIST AND THE KINGDOM OF GOD

Traditional Protestant theology has a threefold division of Christ's mediatorial work. He is prophet, priest and king. His anointing as mentioned in Luke 4:18 combines all these offices in Him.

Christ is King! The ironic superscription on the cross was nevertheless true. His messianic kingship is clear in the Davidic covenant. He was thought of as King, declared a King, and expected to return in regal power and splendour.

Integral to the understanding of Christ's kingship is the biblical teaching on the kingdom of God. This kingdom is a reality that has already come and yet is still to come. As to its exact nature and form, however, the biblical data has no complete description.

Spiritually, the kingdom of God is "the rule of God established and acknowledged in the hearts of sinners by the powerful regenerating influence of the Holy Spirit, insuring them of the inestimable blessings of salvation—a rule that is realized in principle here on earth."[18] p. 290 It carries two dimensions: (1) Christ in the Christian and His life lived in him (Galatians 2:30).

The kingdom of God, however, does not limit its reality to individual lives. It has a corporate application in the church. Undeniably, the local church is not the kingdom of God—but inescapably, she is a part of it, in fact "even the most important visible embodiment of the forces of the kingdom."[19] The church must be governed by kingdom principles and is expected to demonstrate the kingdom life here on earth.

But how do we understand the kingdom of God and the kingship of Christ—much more experience their realities? I suggest that it is primarily in terms of the church and its

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[17] Roger Nicole, *One God in Trinity*.

[18] Berkhoff, *Systematic Theology*.

[19] Berkhoff, *op. cit.*

government. The church, like the kingdom, has authority (leadership), subjects (membership), relationship (laws governing), and objectives (rationale for being).

Probably, a glimpse of this kingdom government is in the administration of the Davidic kingdom in Ezekiel 37:24–28:

> And My servant David will be king over them, and they will all have one shepherd; and they will walk in My ordinances, and keep My statutes and observe them. And they shall live on the land that I gave to Jacob My servant, in which your fathers lived; and they will live on it, they, and their sons' sons, forever; and David My servant shall be their prince forever. And I will make a covenant of peace with them; it will be an everlasting covenant with them. And I will place them and multiply them, and will set My sanctuary in their midst forever. My dwelling place also will be with them; and I will be their God, and they will be My people. And the nations will know that I am the Lord who sanctified Israel, when My sanctuary is in their midst forever.

May I underscore the fact that God appoints a human executive to manage the affairs of the kingdom. May I suggest, moreover, that pastors have the same responsibility under God.

D. THE NATURE OF THE CHURCH

There are three popular definitions of a local church. Each of these has an emphasis. Consistent with the subject of this paper, the focus of study will be on church government and management.

(1) **The church is the place where God's Word is heard.** The emphasis is *locative*, the place where God speaks and where His presence is. God speaks through His minister in the pulpit, and He is present in the midst of His people. Only in the church is the proclaimed One, the proclaimer.[20] Where His p. 291 word is, there He is the Logos. The implication is that there is a place where God's Word is preached and lived by His people.

(2) **The Church is the Body of Christ.** The anatomical analogy describes organic *relationship*—Christians "belong to Christ and to one another in His body." There is the head and the many parts. Each of these parts has specific ministries to do according to the manifestation of the Spirit.

As the human body grows, so must the church members mature to do service and edify one another. For these reasons, God called pastor-teachers to lead and equip the members in the context of an organization and an organism chosen to proclaim His excellences.

(3) **The Church is the Community of God's people.**[21] Peter says that God's people is a holy nation. The analogy is political, that of nationhood or community. The emphasis is organic *structure*. Nations and communities have governments. Moreover, this community of believers is referred to as the new Israel.[22] Perhaps this consciousness may explain the titles of offices and the evolution of local church governments.

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[20] James Daane, *Preaching With Confidence*.

[21] Howard Snyder, *New Wine and Wineskins*, p.158.

[22] Galatians 6:16; Rom 9:6.

From these definitions, and considering related Bible passages, some church policy statements may be drawn up. Francis A. Schaeffer, today's popular apologist, has enumerated eight biblical norms concerning the local church as a church.

1. *The local congregations are to exist and are to be made up of Christians ([Acts 16:4, 5](#)).*
2. *These congregations are to meet together in a special way on the first day of the week ([1 Corinthians 16:2](#) and [Acts 20:7](#)).*
3. *There are to be church elders who have responsibility for the local churches ([Acts 14:23](#)).*
4. *There should be deacons responsible for the community of the church in the area of material things ([Acts 16:1–6](#)).*
5. *The church is to take discipline seriously ([1 Cor. 5:1–5](#)).*
6. *There are specific qualifications for elders and deacons ([1 Tim. 3:1–13](#) and [Titus 1:5–9](#)).*
7. *There is a place for form on a wider basis than the local church ([Acts 15:1](#) describes a church council).*
8. *Two sacraments—baptism and the Lord's Supper—are to be practiced.*

What has this to do with church management? Simply this: the church is central in God's agenda for the world. The reconciliation of p. 292 the world to the Father and the restoration of the kingdom of God is still Christ's work. And the Church is Christ's body, His presence and power on earth. It is an organization with government. It is an institutional ministry or ministerial order to administer God's work. Hence, it must maximize its effectiveness to carry out the Great Commission. This corporate operational function is a management task and the minister is called to be a manager.

E. THE CALLING OF THE MINISTER

Paul wrote to Timothy, "If any man aspires to the office of overseer, it is a fine work he desires to do."[23] To the Ephesians, Paul wrote that God gave some as pastors and teachers.[24] In effect, God's gift to me as a sinner is Christ, but as a Christian, the minister.

I will make a general resumé of the evolution of church organization from the primitive church to the present form to accentuate my thesis on the role of the minister. This will show us the church's expectations from the pastor in history. Then I will discuss some key words in relation to the pastor's understanding of the biblical description of his call.

F. HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

It seems a common belief that there was no solitary leader (such as the vicar, the minister, the pastor) in the primitive Christian church. Along with this, Andrew Kirk suggests six helpful principles of Christian ministry:

1. No distinction either in form, language or theory between clergy and laity was ever accepted by the New Testament Church.
2. The ministry is co-extensive with the entire church ([1 Cor. 12:7](#)).

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[23] [1 Tim. 3:1](#).

[24] [Eph. 4:11](#).

3. The local church in the apostolic age always functioned under a plurality of leadership.
4. There are no uniform models for ministry in the New Testament; the patterns are flexible and versatile.
5. In the New Testament church can be found both leadership and authority, but no kind of hierarchical structure.
6. There is one, and only one, valid distinction which the New Testament appears to recognize within the ministry, apart from p. 293 the different functions to which we have been alluding: the distinction between local and itinerant ministries.[25]

The norm of church rule was plurality and shared leadership. This may understandably have been so because the church was a "new creation" and the apostles had no existing pattern of leadership to follow. While the fact of government in church was evident, still no biblical *form* was described. The church had the freedom to evolve within the general framework of church polity.

Nevertheless the organization and management system to evolve was already embryonic in the short-lived rule of the apostles which was later on replaced by the more permanent gift of the pastor and teacher. Also, the church may have reacted to the Jewish persecution and refused to follow the pattern of its temple government. Yet, it seems that eventually the Jewish organizational influence prevailed.

The case for study is Acts 15. James became the leader of the Jerusalem elders. F. F. Bruce says that if the elders were organized as a kind of Nazarene Sanhedrin, James was their president.[26] He remained in Jerusalem, exercising wise and judiciary leadership over the Nazarene community there. In the administrative responsibilities, he had a band of colleagues—the elders of the Jerusalem Church.[27]

Paul's teaching of the gift of administration in 1 Cor. 12 and Romans 12 was also indicative of the need for government and the future form of the church.

The New Testament, especially in the pastoral epistles, mentions three church officials: elders,[28] bishops,[29] and deacons.[30] The office of elders and bishops are one and the same.[31] The proof texts principally are in Acts 20. In verse 17, Paul called the eiders of the church in Ephesus to come to him and when they did, he referred to them as *bishops* in verse 28. Again in Titus 1:5–7, an elder and a bishop are considered as one office and belonging to the same person. Also, they have the same qualifications.[32] The standard

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[25] Watson, *op. cit.*

[26] F. F. Bruce, *Commentary on the Book of Acts*.

[27] *Ibid.*, p.249.

[28] Acts 20:17; 1 Tim. 5:17–19.

[29] Acts 20:28; 1 Tim. 3; Phil. 1:1.

[30] Acts 6:4ff.

[31] Thomas M. Lindsay, *The Church and the Ministry in the Early Centuries*.

[32] 1 Tim. 3:1ff. Cf. Tit. 1:5ff.

pattern of church government was a bishop, a body of elders, and a board of deacons.[33] The bishop was frequently called the pastor.[34]

How did this one-man leadership develop? It is said that "if we inquire the reason of the change, the simplest answer would probably be the most appropriate; it was recognized that in difficult times … the concentration of *power* in the hands of a single person offered the sure guarantee of good leadership."[35] However, Thomas M. Lindsay's analysis of Dr. Harnack's well-accepted hypothesis on the church's organizational development is very helpful to me. This evolution has three distinct stages which, for convenience, I call (1) the charismatic, (2) the institutional, and (3) the sacerdotal stages. Here is Lindsay's development analysis:

1. The Charismatic Stage. *The primitive church by the end of the apostolic age had already a completely organized congregation made up of (1) "prophets and teachers," who spoke the "Word of God," (2) a circle of "presbyters" or "elders" also the court of arbiters to decide all church disputes, whose special duty was to watch over the life and behavior of the members of the community, and (3) the administrative officer—"episcopic" and deacons—who possessed the gifts of government and public service. But it is to be noted that only those who possessed in peculiar measure the "gift" of speaking the "Word of God," the apostles, prophets, and teachers, held a special rank in the congregation.*

2. The Institutional Stage. *Due to the general dying out of the "charismatic" elements during the second century, the church organization took a new structure which was more hierarchical and led to the eminence of the pastor. This shows three elements: (1) The "prophets and teachers" gradually died out or probably the calling led to so many abuses that these men lost their original preeminence, and their places were taken by the "episcopi." (2) The worship and other things made it more and more necessary for one man to be at the head of the administration—the "episcopi" coalesced into one "episcopus" or "pastor." (3) The college of presbyters lost much of its earlier standing and became more an advising college supporting the "episcopus" or "pastor." Thus the organization became a threefold order of ministry— "episcopus" or "pastor," "presbyters" or "elders," and deacons—and these officials formed a consecrated body of men set over the laity.*

3. The Sacerdotal Stage. *The final form of organization was adopted by the first half of the third century. It is characterized* *by attributing a sacerdotal character to the clergy, who had this character fixed upon them by a solemn service, by a comprehensive adoption of the complicated forms of heathen worship, of the temple service, and of the priesthood, with a corresponding idea of the magical power of priestly actions, by strictly and thoroughly including within the clerical order everything of ancient dignity and rule, and by the complete extinctions of the old "charismatic" gifts of edification, or other relegation to a very subordinate place.*[36]

The institutional pattern is what we now have in our local churches. But what is the value of such a historical perspective? There are two: (1) the biblical and existential

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[33] *Baker's Dictionary of Practical Theology*.

[34] Thomas Lindsay, *The Church and the Ministry in the Early Centuries*.

[35] *Baker's Dictionary*.

[36] Lindsay, p.365–366.

reality of church structures, and (2) the importance of the pastor in the church organization. Clearly emerging is the management responsibility of ministers. In fact, it can be argued that the pastor-teacher gift is the same as the manager-minister concept.

THE SPECIFIC CALL OF THE MINISTER-MANAGER

Four New Testament words may be considered to appreciate better the pastoral call—its nature and functions. Again, this study is focused primarily on the managerial duties of the minister.

(1) Elder (*presbuteros*). The term means a spiritually mature and wise old man. It was a position of responsibility in the Jewish nation referring to the heads or leaders of the tribes and families.[37] In Matthew 16:21, they are members of the Sanhedrin and are learned in the law. In the Christian churches, those who, being raised up and qualified by the work of the Holy Spirit, were appointed to have the spiritual care of, and to exercise oversight over the churches. In fact his qualifications include: (1) a man of good report, (2) a man who is apt to teach God's Word, and (3) with managerial abilities.[38] The Unger Bible Dictionary considers the elders of the New Testament church as the pastors in Ephesians 4:11.

(2) Bishop (*episkopos*) literally means overseer. The emphasis is on the character of the work undertaken, i.e. exercising the oversight.[39] It is not assuming a position but the discharging of p. 296 duties. In the Old Testament, an overseer is an officer who supervises a household[40] of workmen,[41] and even of the Levites.[42]

(3) Pastor (*poimen*) means a *shepherd*. It is used metaphorically of *pastors* in Eph. 4:11. Hence, a pastor shepherds (leads) and feeds (teaches) his flock. It is in this sense also that the Bible speaks of pastor and teacher as one office. When one is a pastor, he is also a teacher although the converse statement may not be true.

(4) Administration (*kubernesis*). The gift of administration is clearly given in 1 Cor. 12:28. It means a *helmsman*. With reference to a congregation, he is the *director* of its order and life. Kittel suggests that the exclusion of *kubernesis* in the question in v.29 may make the office *elective.* If necessary, any church member may step in to serve as ruler although for their proper discharge the *charismata* (spiritual gifts) from God are indispensable.

In Acts 27:11, the helmsman is a *ship administrator*. The centurion paid no attention to Paul's warning of the impending storm because the helmsman had the correct knowledge to direct the ship. Building on this concept, Rev. 18:17 refers to him as a responsible decision-maker on the ship. Hence, he is the captain of the ship who is in complete charge of the ship's activity in behalf of the owner. The use of "pilot" in Ezekiel 27:8 has a thought similar to this.

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[37] Num. 11:16; Deut. 27:1.

[38] 1 Tim. 1:7.

[39] 1 Peter 5:2.

[40] Gen. 39:4,5.

[41] 2 Chron. 2:18.

[42] 2 Chron. 31:13; 34:12.

In the Old Testament, *kubernesis* is found primarily in the Proverbs. In Proverbs 1:5, the emphasis is on *wisdom* because one who has understanding will perceive truth and act correctly. In Proverbs 11:14, the central thought is the competence of the leader to make good decisions, otherwise, the people will fall. Similarly, in Proverbs 24:6 only with *wise administration* can war be won.

Having examined the key New Testament words related to the minister, the one question that comes to mind is: "Is the gift of administration inherent in the pastoral call?" The implications from the study favor an affirmative answer. Calvin, commenting on 1 Cor. 12:28ff., said that "the Lord did not appoint ministers without first endowing them with the requisite gifts, and qualifying them for discharging   p. 297 their duties."[43] God calls to the ministry multi-gifted leaders.

The managerial duties of the minister is beyond doubt. The question is not whether the pastor is a leader. He is! The heart of the issue is—Is he a management leader? His call is that of a minister-manager. Is he already one?

CONCLUSION

God gave leaders to His church. But, as Louis Allen has established, "there is an infancy, an adolescence, and a maturity of leadership."[44] The immature leader, he calls *natural* leader, and the mature one, he calls *management* leader. The thesis of Allen's Academy of Management award-winning book, *The Management Profession*, is summed up thus: "There is an evolutionary development of leadership from natural leadership to management leadership."[45] Dr. Gangel likewise maintains that "the gift of administration is a capacity for learning executive skills."[46] Calvin challenges "true pastors … that they abound in necessary qualifications, that they execute the trust committed to them."[47]

The commonly used argument against ministerial involvement in management is Acts 6:2 where the apostles declared, "It is not desirable for us to neglect the Word of God in order to serve tables." It seems to me that the context was different. The apostles were the foundation of the church and must preach the Word for there were not many preachers. But as the church grew, the community became a preaching community. Also, the decision of the apostles was in itself a management decision. The issue is not spirituality but priority.

Leadership is a position of responsibility. This is the emphasis of Ephesians 4:11–12. The pastor is accountable for but not necessarily to personally do the work of the ministry. His main job is to enable his members, with their weaknesses and strengths, to effectively work together to accomplish God's objectives in heaven and on earth.

Two quotes would be appropriate to summarize the need for organizational leadership development.

Peter Drucker, in *The Effective Executive*, says:

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[43] John Calvin, *Commentary on the Epistles of Paul the Apostle to the Corinthians*.

[44] Allen, *The Management Profession*.

[45] *Ibid.*

[46] Gangel.

[47] Calvin.

The effective executive makes strength productive. He knows that one cannot build on weakness. To achieve results, one has to use all available strength—the strength of associates, the strength of the superior, and one's own strengths. These strengths are the true opportunities. To make strength productive is the unique purpose of organization. It cannot, of course, overcome the weaknesses with which each of us is abundantly endowed. But it can make them irrelevant. Its task is to use the strength of each man as a building block for joint performance.

Killinski and Wofford, in *Organization and Leadership in the Local Church*, say:

Organization and personnel objectives should be helpful in guiding the church in the coordination of its efforts toward the recognition, development, and use of spiritual gifts and toward the activities of church members in fulfilling other primary objectives. We are concerned with the establishment of an organization and the development of people who can most effectively fulfill the purposes of the church.

In effect, the minister must be a manager multiplying ministries in his local church. He is to evolve and develop managerial expertise to maximize his ministry to the glory of God. He must be a faithful steward. Otherwise, he is guilty of sinful neglect.

The prophet Elijah has a simple rule for success. "If the Lord is God follow Him" (1 Kings 19:21).

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Philosophy and Structure of Accreditation: Theological Education Standards Today and Tomorrow

Robert W. Ferris

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This Keynote address of the 1981 Annual Meeting of Philippine Association of Bible and Theological Schools (PABATS) held at Cebu Foursquare Bible College, Cebu City, September 14–15, 1981 has perceptive insights for evaluating theological training in any part of the world.

My assignment is to discuss with you the very important subject of standards in theological education. Schools in the West have historically taken two approaches to the maintenance of standards. European nations reserve to their state universities the right to grant academic degrees. Students attending colleges which are not part of the state university system are required to take "external" examinations prepared by university faculty. By establishing a criterion for the knowledge and competence of degree

candidates, these examinations have effectively maintained educational standards in European education.

In North America we have taken a different approach. In order to make educational opportunities available to everyone, many schools and colleges have been empowered to grant degrees. Control of education by the state (as in Europe) has been exchanged for control by educators themselves. Associations of schools and colleges have been established for the express purpose of setting educational standards and certifying the adequacy of programmes.

Each model has its strengths and weaknesses. The examination model, with its focus on control at the point of programme outcomes, has proven more effective in assuring high standards of education. It also promotes elitism and is susceptible to philosophical, theological, and cultural bias. The accreditation model has traditionally focused on control at the point of programme processes, with wide variation observed in competency of graduates. Nevertheless, accreditation has proven a more adaptable model, preferable for application to the theological education in Asia and throughout the world. p. 300

Today accreditation is an idea which is gaining acceptance at an accelerating rate. The third TAP-ASIA consultation in Hong Kong approved a resolution to create a theological accrediting programme in 1974 (Ro, 1976:1), anticipating the scheme offered by Asia Theological Association today. Subsequent years have seen regional associations established in Africa, the Caribbean, and Europe. In March, 1980, the International Council of Accrediting Agencies for evangelical theological education (ICAA) was formed to provide a world-wide network for educators engaged in accreditation (ICAA, 1980). ICAA sponsored its second international consultation in Malawi, Southern Africa in August, 1981.

Inasmuch as the founding of PABATS in 1968 anticipated by more than a decade the rise of theological accreditation world-wide, it is appropriate that we should also assume leadership in the clarification and development of accreditation philosophy and structure. It is that task to which we now must turn.

A RATIONALE FOR ACCREDITATION

Every housewife knows she must keep her yard swept if her plants are to look their best. It is also useful to clear away ideological weeds before cultivating a constructive rationale. This is the approach I will assume—first to identify and expose inappropriate reasons for accreditation, and then to examine reasons which seem to me to justify accreditation within evangelical theological education.

Inappropriate Reasons for Accreditation

There is no shortage of inappropriate reasons for accreditation; perhaps the most discouraging factor is the frequency with which I encountered them in the course of preparing this paper. The first I would mention is the *perpetuation of colonial patterns*. No one would claim this as a reason for promoting accreditation, but anyone reading the literature begins to sense this is a hidden agendum for some. I would not even accuse anyone of consciously seeking to perpetuate colonial patterns. The stated commitment is always to "maintaining standards". Sometimes we discover, however, that "maintaining standards" means doing things the way they are done in the West. Courses are designed, curricula planned, classes conducted, teachers hired, and buildings constructed all on the assumption that "West is best". Doing things in non-Western ways is to "lower" standards. Accreditation standards are drafted, therefore, to assure that these colonial patterns do not change—in the name of "maintaining standards". p. 301

The most unfortunate outcome of accreditation which perpetuates colonial patterns is that it creates dependency on Western resources. This is most noticeable with respect to faculty and finances. If standards for faculty are set to require Western scholastic credentials and degrees, then our schools will be forever bound to graduate institutions in the West.[1] If standards for programmes and facilities are set without sensitivity to the resources and economy of the Filipino church, then our schools will be forever dependent on dollars from the West. Accreditation, if it is valid at all, should assist us in breaking these colonial patterns. Accreditation standards which have the effect of perpetuating colonialism in theological education are wrong.

A second inappropriate reason for accreditation is the *imposition of irrelevant standards*. As noted above, the accreditation model has traditionally focused on process factors as criteria for programme evaluation. It generally has been assumed that a school with a highly trained faculty, a large research library, a low faculty-student ratio, and stringent requirements on student performance will produce graduates who are able to function effectively. As a matter of fact, research designed to test these assumptions reveals little or no correlation between the process factors listed and graduates' effectiveness in the field (Troutt, 1979). In another study, Carkhuff found that the effectiveness of professional counselling trainees was *negatively* related to the involvement of faculty in scholarly research (Carkhuff, 1969:201).

Why should this amaze us? At a common sense level we see that more Ph.D.s on a faculty cannot assure graduates who are more effective in ministry. Similarly, there is no self-evident reason a school with 10,000 books should produce better pastors than another with 1,000 books only. We see these things at a common sense level, why not when we set standards for accreditation?

It is high time for us to call irrelevancies by their name. We need to acknowledge that accreditation standards which major on irrelevant criteria tell little or nothing about programme quality. We need to affirm that accreditation criteria purged of irrelevancies represent a higher, not lower, standard for theological education. p. 302

A third reason for accreditation entirely inappropriate in theological education is the *enhancement of elitist values*. This is a subtle one; we all have to watch our motives carefully in this respect. Have you made a word study of use of the terms "haughty" and "proud" in Proverbs and the Old Testament prophets? It is enough to sober anyone! Jesus characterized himself as "meek and lowly in heart" and taught that the one who humbles himself like a little child best reflects the values of the kingdom of heaven. Secular education may strive for elitism, but this mentality has no place among evangelical educators. Any institution which seeks accreditation in order to boast of its high quality programme, seeks accreditation for the wrong reason. Accreditation is not just a ploy in the game of one-upmanship, and we must denounce every tendency to make it so. Yet I have seen this, and probably you have too. May God preserve us from this sin!

Appropriate Reasons for Accreditation

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[1] If institutions in this country simply mimic graduate programmes in the West, our dependency is not reduced, it is increased. Any programme which is heavily dependent on expatriot personnel or Filipinos with Western training should make us nervous. There are colonial assumptions not far below the surface, and the sooner we recognize them, the better we can deal with them.

I do not mean to imply that all reasons for accreditation are inappropriate. (That would make for a very short paper and an equally short tenure as your Executive Director!) In fact there are at least three reasons which seem to me entirely valid.

First, I would mention *programme classification*. PABATS has identified four levels of ministry training programmes, ranging from "certificate level" to "post-college level". It is useful for the guidance of churches and students to identify at which level each institution or programme is training. Prospective students and those who counsel them within your own denomination may (or may not) be aware of the level of training you offer. What about those from other churches, however? Prospective students may be the first to benefit from classification of your programme.

Programme classification is also important for meaningful transfer of credits from one institution to another. We all design our training programmes with the intention that students will begin and complete their training at our school. We also know that does not always happen. When a student is forced to shift from one institution to another, how are credits evaluated and what work must be repeated? From the perspective of the school this is a question of maintaining standards, but from the student's standpoint the issue is justice. The considerations are complex, and it is not my intention to sort through them here. The task is certainly simplified, however, if we know the two programmes function at the same level.

Programme classification of PABATS member institutions also opens a door to meaningful interaction among schools with shared interests and concerns. I am sure this was the intent of the founders of this association when they provided for "Councils" corresponding to the levels of our programmes. I am personally eager to see these councils begin to function. I believe they would provide a context of commonality in which problems could be aired and strategies and solutions shared to great benefit.

A second reason why I believe every institution should seek accreditation is for *programme improvement*. I was greatly impressed by expressed desires for programme improvement on the part of delegates to the Southern Regional Meeting held in Davao City last July. The accreditation process can be a major stimulus to that end. Contrary to the expectations of many, this does not result from long lists of "standards" to which the school must conform. A well designed accreditation process, like programme evaluation studies in other fields, begins with identification and clarification of institutional goals. It is not my responsibility to tell you what your goals should be, but rather to assist you in defining goals to which you are already committed. Having defined our goals, however, we have a criterion both for measuring effectiveness and for planning improvement.

Measuring effectiveness must involve a comparison of institutional goal statements with programme process and outcome factors. Process factors should be examined for logical and empirical contingency (Stake, 1969). These factors afford only inferential data related to programme quality, however. Direct measures of programme quality necessarily involve studies of alumni in ministry (McKinney, 1980:6).

Accreditation can also contribute to instructional improvement by providing the necessary background and context for consultation. At this point it is advisable for an institution to look outside its own faculty. As a resource for consultation, PABATS is best able to help you improve your programme. By drawing on the skills and experience within our association we can provide the consultative services many of our schools both need and seek.

A third reason for accreditation is *institutional certification*. We are all aware that some schools are educationally irresponsible. We have each heard of institutions which are grossly mis-managed or which divert funds in unscrupulous ways. None of us belong in that camp, but the camp does exist. One of the valid functions of accreditation is to

assure financial donors, the families and churches of students, and the public at large that this institution has its house in order. We owe it to our respective constituencies to provide them that assurance.

Programme classification, programme improvement, and institutional p. 304 certification. These, it seems to me, are the best reasons for seeking accreditation. I would suggest, furthermore, that these reasons are sufficiently important to place each of us and our institutions under obligation to proceed toward accreditation without further delay.

A PHILOSOPHICAL BASIS FOR ACCREDITATION

Philosophical statements about accreditation standards are necessarily statements about the nature of theological education per se. Only by answering the question "What is the task of theological education?" can we establish a basis for evaluating and accrediting Bible school and seminary programmes.

It is also important to note that accreditation standards are value statements. To the extent that values are shared, standards can be agreed upon. Where significant differences exist regarding the task of theological education, there is little hope of developing meaningful criteria for programme evaluation. (That, by the way, is the principal argument for evangelical accrediting agencies.)

As evangelicals, we are far ahead of others who seek bases for agreement regarding the purposes, and thus the criteria, of education. Our concept of theological education is derived from our concept of the church and ministry. Our concept of ministry, in turn, is rooted in our shared commitment to the Scriptures as our final and sufficient rule of faith and practice. It is entirely feasible, therefore, for us to develop a philosophy of theological education which will serve as a basis for designing an accreditation programme.

My procedure in this section will be to propose a statement regarding theological education, and then elaborate some of the implications I see both for our training programmes and for accreditation.

Theological Education Should Serve the Church

Jesus Christ did not found a seminary; He did found the church. Theological education programmes, therefore, derive their legitimacy from relationship to the church. That relationship, furthermore, must be one of service. The seminary exists for the church, not the church for the seminary. If Bible school and seminary graduates are unprepared to provide spiritual leadership required by the church and consistent with the Scriptures, their training institutions are in a state of default. The school has forfeited its right to exist.

I doubt that many would challenge the statement that theological education should serve the church. Yet repeatedly we hear the complaint from pastors, "I wasn't taught *that* in Bible school!" Churches p. 305 also grumble that Bible school and seminary graduates are ill-prepared for ministry. How can it be that some schools seem to be missing the mark in spite of good intentions and highly qualified faculty? When this condition exists, let me suggest that you look at the relationship between school and church. Almost inevitably you will find a gap has developed between the training institution and the congregations it serves. That gap must be closed if the school is to serve the church.

The first step toward closing this gap requires that *multiple linkages to the church should be developed*. The ivory tower syndrome is probably the seminary's greatest impediment to serving the church. It is not that we want to seal ourselves off in ivory towers (although sometimes we do revel in the joy of uninterrupted study). More often the problem is overloading—the massive task of keeping the school running while carrying an unrealistic teaching load due to lack of teachers. Contact with the church is

just squeezed out. The problem is endemic and overcoming it requires deliberate action, building linkages to the church.

A logical place to begin is with the board of trustees. A well constituted board of trustees will include a broad representation of the church—businessmen and women, professionals, pastors, elders, Sunday school teachers. If such a board is drawn into decision making regarding the nature of the school and its programme, it can provide the most important single linkage between school and church. A wise administration will avail of its board of trustees as a contact point for building linkages to the church.

Any school that takes seriously the task of developing multiple linkages to the church can find other opportunities, as well. Selected laymen or pastors can make valuable contributions to almost every area of seminary life. Is there a reason why a churchman should not be invited to sit as a member of a school's administrative council? Men or women who understand the church and its needs could also make important contributions to the admissions committee, the curriculum committee, the Christian service committee, the student life committee, and most other committees which are a part of the machinery of our schools.

Some of you may be aware that Asian Theological Seminary is planning to offer a second Th.M. programme, currently scheduled for 1984. As part of the preparation for that programme, a curriculum advisory committee has been formed, consisting of prominent theological educators throughout developing Asia. I have personally applauded this step by A.T.S., but at the same time I have suggested to Dr. Dyrness that a parallel committee be established consisting of Filipino churchmen. The danger of any curriculum designed by theological educators is that it may serve their specialized interests better than those of the church. A curriculum advisory committee of churchmen would provide a powerful corrective against such a danger. One or two churchmen on your standing curriculum committee could have the same effect.

A third means of developing linkages to the church is through deliberate employment of part-time faculty. It has long been assumed that full-time faculty are to be preferred whenever possible, and parttimers represent a second-best alternative to which we fall back in extremities. Research on training for helping professions has demonstrated, however, that students are better able to function effectively when their trainers are also directly engaged in professional service (Carkhuff, 1969:149). Applied to ministry training, this research would imply that pastors employed as part-time members of our faculties will *improve* our training programmes, increasing the probability of graduates' effectiveness in ministry. Part-time faculty-pastors also provide an important linkage between Bible school and church.

A second step to ensure that the seminary serves the church requires that *the goals and objectives of the seminary should be defined with the church*. This suggestion is threatening, but I believe it is necessary. As long as we resist yielding control over our programmes, we will encounter doubts that the school exists truly to serve the church. By inviting the church to join as an equal partner in the process of goal-setting, we will put an end to all doubt and provide a demonstration of the servanthood role we all confess.

Shared goal-setting may be a traumatic experience for us. We may find some of our cherished values are not shared by the church. We may find our concept of appropriate leadership is challenged by the church. We may find the levels on which we prefer to train are not those most needed by the church.[2] But since our purpose is to serve the church,

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[2] McKinney proposes a procedure for broad-spectrum leadership planning to assist the church in establishing theological education priorities. See McKinney, 1980:3ff.

we will welcome these correctives. Only with the participation of the church can we truly serve the church.

Ultimately, our commitment to goals and objectives defined with the church will be reflected in the ways those goals are employed. It seems reasonable that administrators should be held responsible to implement stated goals. Likewise, steps toward programme improvement, including faculty development, should be justified in terms of p. 307 goals agreed upon with the church. ("Programme improvement" which leads in directions other than established goals simply dissipates energy and focus, and is not improvement at all.) Finally, mutually established goals should be the criteria of programme effectiveness. If graduates are able to serve the church in ways envisioned in goal statements, our programme of theological education is a success. To the extent that goals are unrealized, programme adjustments are still required.

Service to the church, then, is the first principle of evangelical theological education. When multiple linkages to the church are developed and goals and objectives of the seminary are defined with the church, service to the church and servanthood within the church is enhanced.

Theological Education should equip Leaders for Ministry of the Word in the Context of our Churches and our Communities

You will note this statement combines two aspects—ministry of the Word and contextualization. It is my opinion the two must always be taken together.

In 1972 I taught a class titled "Introduction to Theology" to incoming students at Febias College of Bible. I began the class with a discussion of the meaning of theology. After talking about several proposed definitions, I introduced Paul Tillich's suggestion that theology is the science which seeks to give answers to matters of ultimate concern. In contrast to Tillich, I pointed out that theology, to be Christian, must seek the answer to those questions not in human experience or existential encounter, but in the Holy Scriptures. Building from this suggestion, I asked, "What is Filipino theology?" The answer cannot lie in the resource to which we turn for answers—whether it is Western or Filipino, theology which does not derive its answers from the Bible is non-Christian. The answer lies in the source of the questions. If the questions are Western, the theology is too. If the questions, on the other hand, spring from those issues of ultimate concern which constitute the life-breath of men and women in our cities and our barrios, then the theology is Filipino. To bring the water of life and the power of God to our people, the answers must be Christian answers, derived through prayerful and responsible study of the Scriptures.

I relate this because I think it illustrates the necessary relationship between contextualization and ministry of the Word. Christianity will lack authenticity and cultural fit unless our graduates are prepared to address the questions people are asking. Our churches will fail to p. 308 communicate the power and Spirit of God to our communities unless church leaders are also prepared to provide the answers of God's Word. We are bound to deal with both aspects together.

I see two implications of this principle for our training programmes. First, *theological education should focus on training for ministry in context*. One of the interesting realizations to come out of research on training for helping professions relates to the issue of programme focus. It was observed that professional counsellot training programmes are ineffective when focus is on preferred mode of treatment, rather than on training in counselling (Carkhuff, 1969:160). If we are to avoid the same error and benefit from this insight, we should establish training for ministry in context as the focus of our theological education programmes.

We have already observed that culture raises the questions we need to address in training for ministry. I also see in contextual issues organizing principles for our curricula. As we plan our courses and our subjects, contextual sensitivity and concern can guide us and determine the perspective from which we speak.

I do not mean to say all topics of contextual significance can or should be incorporated into our training programmes. Ministry experience must be allowed to dictate the limits of curriculum scope. We must scour our courses for any subjects unrelated to immediate demands of ministry. Pet subjects or topics of scholarly interest can be shown no partiality. On the other hand, churches and alumni should be polled to discover any aspects of ministry which have escaped appropriate attention. To train for ministry in context must become our controlling principle.

The second implication is equally important—*theological education should enable leaders to minister the Word with power*. We are all committed to the Word. We know that the Word alone is able to make men wise unto salvation. We know that the Word is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, and for instruction in righteousness. Our commitment to train for ministry in context does not diminish in the least our parallel commitment to equip our students for ministry of the Word. Mastery of the Word is indispensible.

The Bible provides the content of theological education. Just as contextual sensitivity guides its organization and ministry experience defines its scope, so the Bible provides its content. Only in this way can our training programmes effectively equip men and women to minister the Word in context.

Theological Education should prepare Leaders for Servant Ministry p. 309

Servanthood is a term which is encountered more frequently today than in the past, although I doubt it will ever become popular. For many the expression "servant leadership" seems a self-contradiction—either one is a servant or a leader, but not both. Richards has built an interesting study of Old Testament servanthood on the servant songs of Isaiah and the concept of the bond-servant in Exodus 21 (Richards, 1980:103ff.). The principal didactic passages on servant leadership, however, are all found in the New Testament—Matthew 23:1–12; Mark 10:35–45; John 13:1–17; 2 Timothy 2:23–26; 1 Peter 5:1–4. This rather massive body of biblical data is absolutely normative for those, like us, who train church leaders.

This is neither the time nor place for a full study of the biblical concept of servant leadership. A couple of quotations, however, will help to focus issues. Richards summarizes his own study in this way:

> Here then we see the commitment of the servant to remain a servant always and to reject totally the leadership style of the world.
>
> - Our attitude is a servant's attitude, one of gentleness and humility.
> - Our resource is the quality of our own lives, and gentle instruction in the truth.
> - Our expectation is that God will act to change hearts.
>
> (Richards, 1980:110)

In another helpful study, Ward contrasts the biblical pattern of servanthood with the common cultural pattern of tyranny. (Common in Filipino culture, as it is in contemporary North America and was in First Century Palestine.) Ward defines a tyrant as "a leader who aspires", and goes on to warn: "Make no mistake, *anyone who aspires to leadership within the Christian community is potentially a tyrant*" (Ward, 1978:15). Self-seeking vs. self-

giving; arrogant vs. humble; powerful vs. gentle; domineering vs. modeling; aspiring vs. serving. The contrasts bear consideration.

Preparing leaders for servant ministry cannot be relegated to six lectures in "Introduction to Pastoral Theology". It cannot be relegated to lectures at all. There are two factors, however, which can contribute significantly to training for servant ministry.

First, *the school and its faculty should model servant ministry roles*. For the school, this may begin with a formal acknowledgement that the institution exists to serve the church, but it cannot stop there. It will only become meaningful as servanthood is manifested through the implementing measures suggested above—as multiple linkages to the church are developed and goals and objectives for the school are defined with the church.

At a more personal level, this requires each of us to examine our own leadership style, assuring true servanthood in our roles and relationships in the church and on campus. An arrogant, powerful, domineering, and aspiring faculty cannot produce servant leaders for the church. A humble, gentle, self-giving, and serving faculty both can and will provide a continuing supply of leaders who conform to the example of Jesus. It is an immutable law of learning that we reproduce ourselves in our students. Only as our own lives and those of our co-faculty reflect the attitudes and priorities of The Servant can we expect our students to do so.

A second factor which can contribute to training for servant ministry suggests *training should be rooted in on-going ministry experience*. As a result of extensive research on training for helping professions, both Carkhuff (1969:151) and Combs (1974:149) have criticized traditional training programmes for inadequate involvement of trainers and trainees in helping relationships. With respect to trainers, the problem is similar to the one noted above. Trainers who are observed by students only in scholarly research and teaching roles tend to produce graduates who most naturally perceive themselves in similar ways. Likewise, students whose classroom training is not carefully integrated with continuing experience in helping relationships have difficulty making the transition from theory to practice.

For theological education, the implications are clear. Faculty members who are personally pastoring a church provide the best models for students in training for ministry. When faculty are engaged in ministry, they find it natural to draw from their own experience illustrations and applications of lessons taught. Better yet is the situation when students are able to accompany their teachers into ministry in the church and community. There is no more effective way to communicate servant attitudes or train for servant relationships. I am deeply impressed by Bible school administrators I meet who set an example for their faculty by their own discipling of students in pastoral ministry. I am convinced the hours they spend in this way contribute as much or more toward the goals of their schools than any other hours all week.

The principles stated regarding theological education and the implications drawn in this section provide significant criteria for evaluating our training programmes. Theological education should serve the church. Therefore multiple linkages to the church should be developed and goals should be defined with the church. Theological education should equip leaders for ministry of the Word in the   context of our churches and our communities. Therefore the training programme should focus on preparation for ministry in context and should enable leaders to minister the Word with power. Theological education should prepare leaders for servant ministry. Therefore the school and its faculty should model servant ministry roles and training should be rooted in on-going ministry experience. Corollaries of these principles should offer a guide to some of the most important standards of any evangelical accreditation programme.

A STRUCTURE FOR ACCREDITATION

At this point we have completed the theoretical portion of this paper; what remains is to determine the steps required to implement an appropriate pattern of accreditation in the Philippines. We must first survey where we are before we can expect to identify procedures to move us toward that goal.

A Survey of the Present

The present situation with respect to accreditation of evangelical theological education is not at all discouraging. PABATS exists and is, without doubt, best able to provide accreditation services which are culturally, educationally, and economically attuned to the Philippine church. Considerable progress has been made, furthermore, toward the goal of providing accreditation for Filipino Bible schools and seminaries. A procedure for accreditation is outlined in the PABATS By-Laws, and certificate, diploma, college, and post-college programme levels have been defined. As a result of the untiring efforts of Orman Knight, Harold Matthews, Felipe Ferrez Jr., and others, a *Diploma Manual* has been published. (This slim publication is much bigger than its name implies, since it includes information and standards for certificate level, as well as diploma level programmes, plus perhaps 80% of the information needed for college level.) We also have a self-evaluation guide which lays down a rationale and procedure for self-study.

In addition to all this, we are presently negotiating with Asia Theological Association for regional and world-wide recognition of PABATS accreditation. The proposal which has been presented to A.T.A. calls for direct A.T.A. accreditation of post-college programmes, with PABATS assisting in arrangements for the A.T.A. "visiting evaluation team". At the college, diploma, and certificate levels, I have proposed that PABATS be fully responsible for establishing standards and conducting on-site examinations, with agreement that A.T.A. will provide recognition of PABATS accreditation when this is p. 312 needed internationally. At present I am still in correspondence with Dr. Bong Ro on this matter.

The other fact which must be acknowledged relates to the current PABATS membership list. Thirty-five institutions are included in the membership list provided to me by our corporate secretary. Of these, I understand thirty-four are "provisional members", and only one, Ebenezer Bible College, has completed the accreditation process outlined in our documents.

A Proposal for Action

While we are thankful for the good work of the past, I believe PABATS is now in a position to fulfil its promise to theological education and to the church in the Philippines. I would propose, this evening, a six-point programme of action.

1. College and diploma committees should be appointed to review and/or draft standards appropriate to the respective levels related to training programme resources and curricula.

2. The PABATS *Manual* and "Self-Evaluation Guide" should be reviewed and up-dated. In my view, they are basically consistent with the principles suggested above.

3. The revised and up-dated PABATS *Manual* and "Self-Evaluation Guide" should be published and distributed to each member institution.

4. Accreditation procedures should be simplified by entrusting to the Executive Director initial review of self-evaluation reports.

5. A checklist for use by examination teams should be prepared. This is advisable both for the guidance of examiners and for the protection of schools being examined.

6. Active assistance should be available to schools initiating self-examination. As necessary, and within the limits of my time and budget, I am prepared to visit schools to render this assistance. I would expect, however, that Regional Chairmen and other members of the PABATS Board would also be able to provide assistance to schools seeking guidance.

A Vision for Tomorrow

This paper is sub-titled "Theological Education Standards Today and Tomorrow", reflecting the theme of our meetings this year. It may appear this paper has related primarily to theological education today. As the rationale set forth is adopted, however, as the principles suggested are applied, and as the proposals above are implemented, I believe we can see significant improvement in our training p. 313 programmes and an up-grading of educational standards in the years ahead.

It is obvious that the member institutions of PABATS have made tremendous contributions to the church in this country over the past decades. It is not necessary to minimize that fact in order to acknowledge that most of us desire more. This is a healthy, and greatly encouraging, dissatisfaction.

My vision for tomorrow is of a healthy church that is vigorously growing throughout the Philippines. My vision is for formal and nonformal theological education programmes working hand-in-hand to train leaders for this growing church. My vision is for schools all over this archipelago that exist for the single purpose of serving the church. My vision is for schools that equip leaders to minister the Word of God with power in the context of our churches and our communities. My vision is for schools that faithfully prepare leaders for servant ministry.

I have another vision, too. It is for an association of theological schools working together to these ends. Not just the thirty-five schools which now make up our association, but also the many other schools in this country that share our basic commitments.

Are these just empty visions? Perhaps. But I am convinced an important determinant rests in the action we take regarding accreditation. If we continue to hesitate, programme improvement in our schools will come haphazardly and PABATS will founder. The other alternative is to make our next meetings a point of new beginning. The task of developing our philosophy and refining our structures for accreditation must continue. It is only as we pursue accreditation for our schools, however, that these visions can become realities. Theological education tomorrow is in our hands.

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Book Reviews

FAITH AND CHURCH

James Sire, *Scripture Twisting: 20 Ways the Cults Misread the Bible*
Reviewed by Charles O. Ellenbaum
I. Howard Marshall, *Acts: An Introduction and Commentary*
Reviewed by Stephen S. Smalley

THEOLOGY AND CULTURE

James H. Cone and Gayraud S. Wilmore, *Black Theology: A Documentary History*
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MISSION AND EVANGELISM

Peter Cotterell, Church Alive and The Eleventh Commandment: Church and Mission Today
Reviewed by Derek Tidball
Waldron Scott, *Bring Forth Justice: A Contemporary Perspective on Mission*
Reviews compiled by Carol Gregory

ETHICS AND SOCIETY

Robert G. Clouse (ed.), *War: Four Christian Views*
Reviewed by Charles E. Moore
Verard Eller, *War and Peace from Genesis to Revelation*
Reviewed by Paul M. Schrock

PASTORAL MINISTRY

James Daane, *Preaching With Confidence: A Theological Essay on the Power of the Pulpit*
Reviewed by Harry Uprichard

THEOLOGICAL AND CHURCH EDUCATION

Locke E. Bowman Jr., *Teaching Today: The Church's First Ministry*
Reviewed by Scott Hawkins

Faith and Church

SCRIPTURE TWISTING: 20 WAYS THE CULTS MISREAD THE BIBLE
by James W. Sire
(IVP, 1980), pp. 180, $4.95

Reviewed by Charles O. Ellenbaum in *TSF Bulletin*, March 1981.

As evangelicals, we strongly affirm the centrality of Scripture and the necessity to live under its authority and guidance. Yet there are positions being promoted today as "biblical" which are the result of twisting Scripture. For me, Scripture and hermeneutics are inseparable. I must continually interpret and apply what Scripture says. Being human and fallible, I make mistakes and need the healthy corrective of the Christian community. I cannot point a finger at cults and accuse them of interpreting Scripture as if this were not something we all do. However, we can examine what they do to Scripture and see if we are both following the same principles of literary interpretation. As Sire so graphically and readably points out, we are following two sets of principles. We should not let the excesses of biblical criticism keep us from using the many valuable tools of literary interpretation which often bear only a tenuous resemblance to the radical literary critics and their methods.

"Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God", becomes "Yes, blessed are those who purify their consciousness, for they shall see themselves as God" (p.7). It is a dreary historical fact that heresies build on the Bible an edifice of dangerous fiction (e.g. Mormons, Christian Science, Jehovah's Witnesses). We live in a pluralistic society and have a great tolerance for the legal rights of the various cults. We should not be lulled into granting a freedom from informed biblical criticism of the various cults. But you say, "How do I deal with people who do not grant that Scripture is the revealed and inspired Word of God?" Sire's book, while not neglecting informed biblical criticism, emphasizes looking at cults in terms of universal principles of sound literary criticism and interpretation. We are being given tools of examination which appeal to that audience.

We must admit that there are obscure or unclear biblical passages. Cultic teaching often enters at that point (e.g. Mormon baptism of the dead is partly on I Corinthians 15:29). Sire's book is not about the doctrines of the various cults but how they use our Scripture for their own ends. Sire helps us to examine, to analyze, to think logically, and to see the common devices of persuasion distorted. Sire states his purpose in two ways (pp.13–14), "How do religious groups that significantly diverge from orthodox Christianity use the Scripture?" and "… the purpose of this book is to provide a guide to the methodology of misunderstanding that characterizes cultic use of Scripture." Some of the techniques of misreading are inaccurate quotation, ignoring the immediate context, overspecification, figurative fallacy, worldview confusion, and esoteric interpretation. These are only a few of the twenty techniques that Sire examines. After going through all these errors, Sire ends with a chapter on the discipleship of the Word.

We are all busy with too much to do and read. Why read this book? I can give you several reasons. First of all, the cults are not the only groups that use these techniques of twisting. They are widely used in both religious and non-religious circles. We are not immune to them in our own work. It is a good reminder of what good exegesis and hermeneutics are not. Cults are a clear danger and we must be active in battling against them. For those who accept Scripture as the Word of God, we can point to the cults' distortions of the biblical message. For those who do not accept Scripture as the Word of God, we can attack the cults on the ground that they twist the rules of logic and sound literary interpretation. If their thinking is dishonest and we can help expose it, we have probably kept them from gaining one or more potential converts and this may also begin a personal relationship with an individual who is now open to hearing the good news of Jesus Christ. The book is readable, enjoyable, and deceptively simple: the simpleness of some profound truths.

ACTS: AN INTRODUCTION AND COMMENTARY
by I. Howard Marshall
(IVP, 1980), pp.427, £5.50

Reviewed by Stephen S. Smalley in *Churchman*, Vol. 95, No. 3.

We are already indebted to Howard Marshall for two books on the gospel of Luke: an introduction which has become standard, and a magisterial commentary on the Greek text. Now, in the series of Tyndale NT Commentaries, Professor Marshall has completed the trilogy appropriately by producing an excellent commentary on the English text of Acts. This volume replaces the one by E. M. Blaiklock in the same series, published in 1959. Marshall gives two reasons for providing p. 318 this fresh treatment. First, studies over the past twenty years have emphasized the *theological* importance of Acts, and he has wished to take account of this interest. Second, in answer to the approach of scholars such as E. Haenchen, who in the past quarter-century have been sceptical about Luke's trustworthiness as an historian, Marshall has felt it necessary to defend the *historical*, as well as theological, content of Acts.

This new commentary is a concise, but not superficial, treatment of the text, each section of which is headed by an introduction drawing out the main themes. Marshall's exegesis is sound, and he writes with balance and ease; he has the gift, indeed, of condensing a scholarly understanding of the material without confusing issues or bewildering the reader! A useful introduction deals with the current critical issues (although the "Paulinism" of Acts receives less attention than it might), and footnotes throughout the volume refer to a wealth of up-to-date literature for further study. There are, however, no indexes.

At times the writer is rather too defensive in his treatment of historical questions in Acts (cf. Paul's voyage and shipwreck, pp.401–20); and on other occasions he appears cryptic in his handling of "salvation history" events (for example, what does he think *really* happened at the ascension?). Also he is inclined every now and then to repeat what is in the text, at the expense of probing critical questions more thoroughly. Despite these observations, it is nonetheless pellucid that Professor Marshall has given us here a first-rate commentary which admirably fulfils its declared aim of helping the general reader (and the theological student) to understand completely and clearly as possible the meaning and contemporary relevance of the NT text.

Theology and Culture

BLACK THEOLOGY: A DOCUMENTARY HISTORY, 1966–1979
by James H. Cone and Gayraud S. Wilmore
(Orbis Books, Maryknoll, NY, 1979), pp.657, $12.95

Professors James H. Cone and Gayraud S. Wilmore have, by their book, made additional significant contributions to the cause of Black   p. 319 Theology. Some of the contributions of the book are: (1) A definitive but not necessarily convincing answer to the question, What is Black Theology?; (2) A chronological history of Black Theology's development; (3) An attempt to bring Black Theology into the public arena for recognition, discussion, debate or attack on terms that make it impossible to disdain or ignore it; (4) An edited compilation on Black Theology.

It is appropriate that these two seminary professors edit the anthology. Cone, after all, wrote the first book on Black Theology, *Black Theology and Black Power*, in 1969, and a plethora of books and articles have subsequently issued from his keen mind and pioneering spirit. Dr. Cone can be called the Father of modern Black Theology.

Wilmore has also been an early and articulate proponent of Black Theological apologia in USA and overseas. He too has a long list of articles on Black Theology to his credit, and his oft times eloquent voice has been heard in judicatories of the church of which he is a member, the United Presbyterian Church in the United States of America.

No two theologians have had more to do with shaping, preaching, and explaining Black Theology than Cone and Wilmore. They were participants in the history of Black Theology. We owe them a profound debt of gratitude for providing us with a basic resource book of 623 pages divided into six parts. The reader is introduced to each part by one of the editors. These introductions serve to place the divisions of the book into their proper topical and chronological order. Some of the more interesting topics are: Black Theology and the Response of White Theologians, Black Theology and Black Women, and Black Theology and Third World Theologies.

Our indebtedness, however, must not blind us to a few troublesome spots in the anthology. This reader was concerned by the fact that the matrix of the articles in the book appears to be the Black experience rather than the Black experience in juxtaposition with divine revelation. The clearest revelation of love, truth, and freedom in the Bible is seen in Jesus Christ. One would not reach this conclusion from reading many of the articles. There are, to be sure, some passing references to the Bible in a few of the articles but they are minimal.

Another concern issues out of the fact that the careful reader of *Black Theology* cannot always be successful in determining where theological reflection ends and rhetoric begins. This raises a question: Is the articulation of the responsibility of the Black church born out of theological reflection or of rhetoric? p. 320

The anthology contains a heavy sprinkling of ambiguities and of esoteric language. The reader does not move far into the book without being waylaid by such words and phrases as "frenetic", "doxial dimension", "hybris", "fructify expectations", "transcendent reference", "ontological conditions", "a new metanoia".

It seems to me that some of the purposes of the book are to challenge, encourage, motivate and enable its readers to *do* theology. Wilmore seems to be sensitive to this point. Several times he calls for Black Theology to break out of the classroom and

theological discussion groups and filter down "to the people in the pews" (pp.241–254). But how can you do theology if what is suggested is couched in the "in talk" that is foreign to plain, everyday talk?

The troublesome spots of this important documentary do not siphon away its historic significance and value. The truth is: the wealth of information in the articles, the Epilogue and the Annotated Bibliography of *Black Theology* make the money spent on purchasing the book a wise investment.

Mission and Evangelism

CHURCH ALIVE
AND
THE ELEVENTH COMMANDMENT: CHURCH AND MISSION TODAY
both by Peter Cotterell
(IVP, 1981), pp. 127, £1.50; pp. 174, £4.75

Abstract of reviews by Derek Tidball in *London Bible College Review*, Spring, 1982.

Church Alive is a popular look at Church Growth written for the ordinary church member and designed to be used in discussion groups. Above all it is concerned for churches to do something concrete as a result of their studies.

This is not just another monotonous book on the latest craze in evangelism; another subtle, almost imperceptible, variation of a much tried theme. It is fresh—not least because Peter is prepared to take an independent line and question some of the sacred cows of American Church Growth. Unlike many he believes it important to spell out the two indispensable presuppositions which must be p. 321 accepted if churches are to grow, namely, the authority of Scripture and the sovereignty of the Holy Spirit.

Building on that foundation he looks at the purposes of the church; types of church growth; using people's gifts in the church; concentrating on responsive people; the unnecessary cultural strangeness of the church; the effect of group dynamics; goal-orientated action and discipleship. Each punchy chapter will come as a startling revelation to many. If I were to pick one which would hold the key to unlock many churches from their inability to grow it would be the chapter on "Spoiling the Egyptians" which sets out what is the appropriate behaviour for different sized groups. So often we expect and force groups to act in inappropriate ways with the result that where we hope to see life we meet the stone wall of death.

In an appendix Peter sets out his disagreement from some common Church Growth ideas such as the Homogeneous Unit Principle and the Engel Scale. I share his concerns and realize how difficult it is to tackle such issues adequately in a popular book but even so I felt that sometimes he was demolishing straw men here.

However, as the first page says "This book isn't written for scholars to review but for church people to use." With that, what more can I say? Except a loud Amen.

In his second recent book *The Eleventh Commandment* Peter tackles the major issues which confront the world of missions today. It thus takes its place with a number of other recent works, all of similar size and scope, by missionary statesmen such as Stephen Neill,

Max Warren and Leslie Newbigen, and it can take its place with confidence. Its distinctiveness lies in its firm and uncompromising commitment to biblical truth.

Rejecting Karl Rahner's thesis of the anonymous Christian, Peter defines mission as "rebuking, refuting, confuting and calling to repentance the peoples of the world". Having discussed the nature of mission and theology of the church, Peter begins to stride through every major issue confronting missions today including liberation theology; the need for new mission structures which fit our contemporary world; the Church Growth School; the need to confront the world of Marxism and other religions.

As one would expect, the book ends by pointing the way forward in very practical terms by spelling out the implications of what has been said for theological colleges and missionary societies.

The argument is necessarily close and sometimes condensed. Occasionally, therefore, one would want to question further his arguments, or his exposition of an alternative viewpoint. Occasionally p. 322 one would wonder how he arrives at some conclusions such as his expectation that Marxism will shed its idealism. But these are minor quibbles.

The dominant note must be one of gratitude for such a clear and competent statement of an evangelical approach to missions. But let that not be misunderstood as saying that it will feed the complacency of evangelicalism. It will not. It is provocative and disturbing for us as well as others and calls us to repentance in many ways and above all to a renewed commitment to the task of making disciples worldwide. It is to be heartily recommended.

BRING FORTH JUSTICE: A CONTEMPORARY PERSPECTIVE ON MISSION
by Waldron Scott
(William B. Eerdmans, Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1980), pp.318

Waldron Scott's thesis is that Christian mission must be understood in triangular connection with discipleship and justice. "Evangelism aims at discipleship, and discipleship requires commitment to the King and commitment to the purposes of the King in history."

God's ultimate mission is the establishment of his kingdom, his order of perfect justice. Rectification is the aim of mission; both a vertical rectification with God and a horizontal rectification with society and nature.

In the Old Testament, God's mission reflects God's character as the God of justice demanding social justice. Salvation in the Old Testament has a "strong social and this worldly flavour" (p.51). In Jesus, the arrival of the kingdom is the beginning of a "great reversal", a "restoration of justice" and it is "for the poor" (p.86).

The special mandate given to God's people within the context of his overall mission is disciple-making. This is the central focus of the Great Commission. Evangelism, baptizing and teaching are subordinate to disciple-making. They are means of producing disciples of Jesus Christ just as discipling is penultimate to the larger end of fulfilling God's mission.

Reviewers welcome Scott's book as "must" reading. C. B. Samuel p. 323 from Delhi notes that he uses many non-Western sources. This shows the shape of the future of evangelical theology. It will be shaped by those belonging to the developing and underdeveloped countries, in the context of the church among the oppressed and harassed peoples of the world.

Reviewers add qualifiers and point directions for further study. Mortimer Arias suggests that there is a need to work out systematically all the implications of the biblical witness beyond our traditional formulations. The problem there may no longer be between so called evangelicals and ecumenicals, but between a reductionist interpretation of scripture and a holistic one.

James Skillen, the executive director of the Association for Public Justice welcomes Scott's linking of mission and the whole of life and feels that he does not do enough to show how Christians can work together in non-ecclesiastical ways to strengthen their common service in business, education, politics and every other area of life.

David Howard, ScoWs successor as WEF General Secretary asks for a biblical definition of the poor in light of the difficulty of comparing the poor in North America with the poor in India; he also asks that if Scott argues that Christian mission must address the cause of poverty, and if these causes include rich people then some attention should be given in Christian mission to the rich as individuals.

Ethics and Society

WAR: FOUR CHRISTIAN VIEWS
Edited by Robert G. Clouse
(IVP, Downers Grove, Illinois, 1981), pp.210, $5.95

Abstract of a review by Charles E. Moore in *Themelios*, January 1982.

War is one of the evil necessities which arises from the fallen state of humanity. War is evil! As Samuel Shoemaker said, "You do not wait for a war to look at the problem of evil; war is simply the problem of evil writ large." How then are we to respond to the problem of war? How is the Christian to tackle the moral dilemma of resisting evil?

In his attempt to grapple with the problem of war, Robert Clouse brings together four differing Christian views on the subject. By allowing four contributing authors to state and defend their respective views, Clouse hopes to give his readers the needed information to make an intelligent choice as to the proper Christian response to war. In a very readable fashion, Clouse introduces the problem of war by briefly surveying the different approaches Christians have taken towards it historically. Beginning with the early church and ending with the present arms race, Clouse considers Augustine's Just War, the crusade spirit of the twelfth century, the Reformers' and Anabaptists' positions and Clausewitz's concept of the "total war".

The first position to be argued for is by Hermon A. Hoyt. His stance is one of non-resistance. He contends that contrary to much opinion the doctrine of non-resistance is very positive and active. He essentially argues that though the use of force and going to war may be legitimate for government, it is wrong for Christians. The church is separate from the state and thus the method for defence and offence should be different for the believer. From Hoyt's perspective, non-resistance is a spiritual principle which runs through the Word of God. As to the wars in the Old Testament, Hoyt argues that the church age of grace is qualitatively distinct from the dispensation of law in which Israel lived and fought. Hence the New Testament advances from justice to love and thus establishes God's

will of non-resistance for his children. Christians are responsible to obey their government only when it promotes God's will.

The second view to be considered is that of Christian pacifism. Like Hoyt, Myron S. Augsburger questions the moral responsibility of taking human lives for whom Christ died. Because of Christ's death, every life is "of infinite worth". Augsburger also argues that the way of non-resistance (or pacifism) is a positive and constructive mode of operating in the world. Peace is much more than the absence of war. Non-violence is a total way of life touching upon one's values at every level. The Christian, unlike the secular man, is armed with love, which if given a chance to work will actively and redemptively penetrate society. Only love can counteract the evil violence in the world. Augsburger differs from Hoyt in that he calls for a thoroughgoing and non-discriminate pacifism. The Christian must consciously separate himself from all identification with the world's military programme. This includes non-combatant associations.

Arthur Holmes takes quite a different view of war in arguing that Christians are obligated to fight in those wars that are just. Holmes denies the radical distinction between the two Testaments and argues that love does not supersede the law of justice. Holmes contends that the teachings of Jesus actually capture the true spirit and intention of the law, namely, "justice tempered by love". Love, according to Holmes, not only goes the extra mile but also demands p. 325 the protection of the innocent. Moreover, owing to man's fallen state, not all evil can be avoided. Every action, no matter how pure the intentions, has some evil results. The apostle Paul appeals to the principle of justice in [Romans 13](#) and in so doing gives the government the right and authority to punish evil-doers with the sword. This principle of justice, argues Holmes, is universally binding on all men ([Romans 1–3](#)). Therefore the just war theory insists that the only just cause for going to war is a defence against aggression. Because justice tempered by love calls for the protection of the innocent, Holmes forcefully opposes the use of non-strategic nuclear weapons. He is aware that in the present day the application of the just war theory is frustratingly complex.

A step beyond the just war theory is that of the crusade or preventative war. Represented by Harold O. J. Brown, this position calls for participation in war efforts which attempt to prevent or correct outrageous injustices. If self-defence is justifiable, as Brown assumes it is, then under some circumstances a pre-emptive strike must also be justifiable. Severely menacing behaviour is as much an act of aggression as an actual physical first strike. Thus, in principle, one might urge that the best way of preventing war is to be well and fully armed. If one is to have a proper zeal for justice, one may call for a crusade if it should be in one's power to stop terrible acts of violence.

Clouse has done his Christian audience a great service by bringing together various views addressing a very difficult and controversial issue. The strength of the book lies mainly in its format. The various responses and criticisms made by each author help highlight the theological, philosophical and ethical difficulties with war. However, his book at best only introduces the problems associated with war. Except for Holmes, I found the representative positions lacking in balance, theological precision and exegetical insight. Hoyt and Augsburger fail, for instance, to distinguish between violence and physical force, killing and murder. In addition, Hoyt, Augsburger and Brown fail to show the relationship between love and justice. In addition to love and justice, such issues as the relationship between special and general revelation, Church and state, and Old and New Testaments need much more consideration. Holmes' article on the just war is particularly well written. Holmes introduces his readers to the importance of a sound normative ethic. However, he fails to address the necessity of securing a just means in addition to a just cause. Overall, this book is introductory material at best. p. 326

WAR AND PEACE FROM GENESIS TO REVELATION
by Vernard Eller
(Herald Press, Scottdale, Pennsylvania and Kitchener, Ontario), $8.95

Abstract of a review by Paul M. Schroek.

"If there is one biblical prophecy that was fulfilled the moment it was uttered and has been re-fulfilled continuously ever since, it is Jesus' prediction about wars and rumours of wars ([Mark 13:7–8](#))", Vernard Eller, an active minister in the Church of the Brethren and Professor of Religion at the University of La Verne (California), notes in *War and Peace from Genesis to Revelation*. The book is an updated, somewhat expanded edition of his earlier Abingdon Press book, *King Jesus' Manual of Arms for the 'Armless.* It is a selection of the Christian Press Shelf, a collection of books and pamphlets devoted to the promotion of Christian peace principles and their application. (The Christian Peace Shelf is a joint effort of a Mennonite Central Committee Peace Advisory board with representation from the Brethren in Christ Church, the General Conference Mennonite Church, the Mennonite Brethren Church and the Mennonite Church.)

Eller argues that Jesus consciously and deliberately set out to practice and fulfil what this book calls the Old Testament Zion/Suffering Servant model. Mark Olsen in *The Other Side* magazine says,

> In a firm but witty style, Eller argues that the whole of Scripture is a call to join the Lamb's war. It is not a call to lay down and play dead in the face of evil and injustice. Rather it is a call to join in the King's triumph, a triumph wrought not through power but weakness, not through glory but humiliation, not through assertion but absorption. But be warned: This is a book that pro-war and anti-war warriors alike will—at times—want to throw down in disgust. Eller lets the biblical message fall where it will ... What Eller is talking about is not "technique". It is an act of faith. It's a confident trust in the neverfailing God who had the power to raise Jesus from the dead and who has actually won the victory we so earnestly seek.

Young people especially will like this book. Excellent for church libraries. p. 327

Pastoral Ministry

PREACHING WITH CONFIDENCE: A THEOLOGICAL ESSAY ON THE POWER OF THE PULPIT
by James Daane
(Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1980), pp.80, £2.40

Reviewed by Harry Uprichard.

A veritable plethora of writers, many within the reformed tradition, have expressed themselves on the importance of preaching—Bridges, Spurgeon, Dabney and more recently J. S. Stewart, D. M. Lloyd-Jones, C. H. Dodd, J. Stott, R. H. Mounce and E. P. Clowney, to name but a few. Dr. James Daane comes at the end of this list chronologically, with a forceful modern word on the subject in *Preaching with Confidence.* Dr. Daane addresses

himself to a modern evangelical world, whom he regards as having largely lost the biblical vision of the importance of preaching. He is concerned particularly about those who hold doctrinally a very high view of the Bible as the Word of God and yet inconsistently attach a low importance to the preaching of that Word.

Perhaps his most significant contribution to this line of study is the masterful way in which he asserts that the Word of God preached is in reality the Word of God. Luther and Calvin were quite explicit about this, and Dr. Daane examines this concept of the Word of God in the Bible to substantiate this claim. The Hebrew DABAR meaning "event" as well as "word" sets the tone for the active and energetic nature of the Word of God within scripture. Both in creation and in prophecy the Old Testament asserts this. The New Testament LOGOS (Word), while in classical Greek was more of a static concept, becomes living and active with overtones of the Hebrew DABAR. Usage of "the word of the Lord" in Gospels and Epistles demonstrates this vital quality, so that, when the church preached, it was indeed the Word of God in that very act. The examination of this concept of the Word of God is a necessary prerequisite to a study dealing with preaching, and this key theme of the book is of basic importance.

Although the Bible expresses its true nature as the Word of God in preaching, Dr. Daane is quite clear that the Bible is the Word of God itself, independent of the act of preaching, for expository preaching is regarded as the norm, and all preaching must truly expose or expound p. 328 the given word, whether that word be Christ or scripture. This does not exclude so-called topical sermons, but simply brings them to the touchstone of scripture. Dr. Daane quotes Peter Berger, "Put simply: Ages of faith are not marked by 'dialogue' but by proclamation" (p.16). His chapter, "The Inescapable Offense" is a healthy counterbalance to much of the weak presentation of modern evangelistic preaching, while that on "Constructing A Sermon" advocates the sermon making only one point and forms a helpful practical conclusion to the book.

For those who think the day of preaching is over and that we must give way to group Bible-study and discussion in its place, in which ministers act as "enablers" or "coaches", Dr. Daane's book comes as an incisive, stimulating, biblical challenge. It is well worth examining, and should help do what it proposes—instil confidence in preaching within a somewhat confused and disillusioned evangelical world.

Theological and Church Education

TEACHING TODAY: THE CHURCH'S FIRST MINISTRY
by Locke E. Bowman Jr.
(Westminster Press, 1980), pp.212, $8.95

Reviewed by Scott Hawkins in *Christianity Today*, April 24, 1981.

Dr. Locke Bowman states his theme clearly: teaching should be the church's "primary ministry worthy of our focused and unrelenting attention".

The author has integrated three problem areas (shall we label them possibilities?) into a concise, at times too-brief treatment. First, Bowman reviews learning theories, then suggests that to define learning as "creating"—the active making and building of something new and useful—is a concept worthy of the Christian tradition. With this

theme Bowman builds successive chapter discussions on the nature of learning. One can only agree with the author that to achieve quality teaching we need to throw ourselves into the training and making of teachers more than we need attractively published materials. The latter are useful only as teachers can adapt them to their personal class settings. p. 329

The second section of the book is given to an examination of teaching. Bowman helps us sort through our understandings of the teaching ministry and preaches its priority ("all Christians are in some degree teachers"). The concept of the teacher as activator of learning is well developed. Attention is given to vital concerns such as open classroom, memorization, Bible translations, and teaching through conversation. A slightly technical though commendable chapter on the "generative" power of language to assist in Christian formation concludes this section.

I recommend *Teaching Today* for those who are serious about the church's task of educating its young and old. Certainly Christian education committees can benefit from a study and discussion of carefully selected portions. p. 330

Journal Information
Publications Referred to in This Issue

Churchman
Published by Church Society (Anglican), 186 Kennington Park Road, London, SE 11 4BT, England. Rates: £5.50 p.a. (4 issues).

Christianity Today
Subscription Services, P.O. Box 354, Dover, NJ 07801, U.S.A. Rates: $18.00 p.a.; $20.00 outside U.S.A. (22 issues).

Evangelical Thrust
Published monthly by Philippine Council of Evangelical Churches, P.O. Box 30, Valenzuela, Metro Manila, Philippines. Subscription rates: Air mail $15.00 for one year, $25.00 for two years, Regular mail $7.00 for one year, $10.00 for two years.

International Review of Mission
Published by the Commission of World Mission and Evangelism of the World Council of Churches, 150 Route de Ferney, 1211 Geneva 20, Switzerland. In U.S.A., WCC Office, Room 1062, 475 Riverside Drive, New York 10115. Rates: £6.90 or $13.50 p.a.

London Bible College Review
Published by the London Bible College, Green Lane, North wood, Middlesex, England.

The Princeton Seminary Bulletin
Published three times annually by the Theological Seminary of the United Presbyterian Church at Princeton, New Jersey 08540, U.S.A. Each issue is mailed free of charge to all alumni/ae and on exchange basis with various institutions.

Themelios

Published by the British Theological Students Fellowship and the International Fellowship of Evangelical Students. All orders for addresses in the British Isles and for overseas subscribers to the Christian Graduate (available with Themelios) to TSF, 38 De Montfort Street, Leicester, LE1 7GP, UK. North American orders to TSF, 233 Langdon, Madison, Wisconsin 53703, U.S.A. All other orders for addresses outside the British Isles should be sent to IFES, 10 College Road, Harrow, HA1 1BE, Middlesex, UK. Rates: £1.40 or £3.50 p.a. (3 issues). **p. 331**

TSF Bulletin
Published by Theological Students Fellowship, 233 Langdon, Madison, Wisconsin 53703, U.S.A. Rates: $6.50 per year.

Wesleyan Theological Journal
Published by the Wesleyan Theological Society, 215 East 43rd Street, marion, Indiana 46952, U.S.A. Rates: $6.00 (2 issues).

Poyema: The Christian Task in the Arts
Published under the auspices of the Nez Zealand Tertiary Students's Christian Fellowship. Further information from the author, the Rev. Robert Yule, 27 Amyes Road, Hornby, Christchurch 4, New Zealand.