Andrews University
SEMINARY
STUDIES

A refereed journal, *ANDREWS UNIVERSITY SEMINARY STUDIES* provides a scholarly venue, within the context of biblical faith, for the presentation of research in the area of religious and biblical studies. *AUSS* publishes research articles, dissertation abstracts, and book reviews on the following topics: biblical archaeology and history of antiquity; Hebrew Bible; New Testament; church history of all periods; historical, biblical, systematic, and philosophical theology; ethics; history of religions; and missions. Selected research articles on ministry and Christian education may also be included.

The opinions expressed in articles, book reviews, etc., are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the views of the editors or of the Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary.

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ECCLESIOLOGY AND DIVERSITY

The 58th world session of the General Conference of Seventh-day
Adventists, convening in St. Louis, Missouri, U.S.A., from June 30 to July
9, 2005, seemed like an appropriate occasion for an issue highlighting
ecclesiology. Hence the call for papers in the Autumn 2003 issue of *AUSS*
"on the intersection of ecclesiology and diversity," with its implicit
concern for the challenge of experiencing and sustaining ecclesiastical
unity in the presence of the many dimensions and varieties of human
diversity. The responses to that call for papers exceeded our expectations.
Besides the nine articles on ecclesiology included here, two more are
scheduled for publication in the Autumn 2005 issue of *AUSS*.

Introducing the challenges of seminary education in the face of global
diversity is a guest editorial by the Andrews University Seminary Dean
Emeritus, Werner Vyhmeister, who is now the founding president of the
Adventist University of Africa.

Not to be overlooked are additional articles on science and religion,
NT studies, and amillennialism.

Finally, we respectfully dedicate this issue of *AUSS* to Raoul Dederen,
beloved professor, administrator, editor, and the "foremost living scholar
of Adventist ecclesiology"[1] (see next page).   JM

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[1]Gerald A. Klingbeil, "Ecclesiology in Seventh-day Adventist Theological Research,
1995-2004: A Brief Introduction and Bibliographical Guide," *AUSS* 43 (2005): 12.

DEDICATION

Raoul Dederen, Emeritus Professor of Systematic Theology
Andrews University, Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary

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- Pastor, Belgium
- Professor of Systematic Theology
- Chair, Department of Theology and Christian Philosophy
- Dean, Seminary
- Associate Editor, *Andrews University Seminary Studies*
- Observer, World Council of Churches, Geneva, Switzerland
- Editor, *Handbook of Seventh-day Adventist Theology*

GUEST EDITORIAL: SEMINARY EDUCATION AND ECCLESIOLOGY

WERNER VYHMEISTER
President, Adventist University of Africa and
Dean Emeritus, Seventh-day Adventist
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Seminary education and ecclesiology are closely linked. Without the church, the seminary would not need to exist; without the seminary, the church would have to look for other ways of preparing its ministers and leaders. A clear ecclesiology serves as a beacon that guides the seminary in preparing the future leadership of the church.

Our reflections on seminary education will be largely confined to the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. We will reflect mostly from the perspective of the Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary, which publishes this journal. "Seminary education" will be understood as encompassing all significant forms of theological and ministerial education, which lead to professional ministry, church leadership, and the teaching of the different disciplines and/or ministry-related skills in seminaries.

Early Developments

The roots of the Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary may be traced back to the establishment of Battle Creek College (1874). Yet, Battle Creek College was far from being a seminary. It first offered an undergraduate "classical course," with a few elective courses in religion, and a "special course," later lengthened to a three-year "biblical course," with comparatively few enrollees. By 1883, it was offering short programs for denominational workers. This was followed by the abolition of classical studies and the discontinuation of academic degrees (1898-1899). Overall, the central objective of the institution was to prepare church workers. A number of its graduates became ministers, and others became teachers in the expanding educational system of the church.

By the time Battle Creek College was relocated to Berrien Springs, Michigan, and renamed Emmanuel Missionary College (1901), the rapidly growing Seventh-day Adventist Church had already established other post-secondary (or "training") educational institutions in North America and in some of its "mission fields" on several continents. Their purpose was

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essentially the same as that of the first college. Distance, cost, language, regional or cultural differences, and other factors made it more practical to establish learning centers in key regions and countries. On the other hand, after the disastrous Battle Creek fires of 1902, the denomination was more sensitive to the strategic importance of not concentrating its assets in one place.

Thus, starting in the late nineteenth century, the basic preparation for the Seventh-day Adventist ministry began to be offered in several regions of North America and the world. By the early twenty-first century, more than eighty Seventh-day Adventist educational institutions offer some form of post-secondary theological education—eight of them at the diploma/certificate level only—for the benefit of the church already established in over two hundred countries (or areas recognized by the United Nations).

Beginning of Seventh-day Adventist
Graduate Theological Education

In most countries of the world today, Christian churches appear to agree that three to five academic years of full-time post-secondary theological/ministerial studies are needed to provide basic preparation for the pastoral ministry. This harmonizes with patterns of studies in many other professional programs, where most—if not all—of the three to five years of study are devoted to the specific professional studies being pursued. Normally, no graduate degrees are required beyond the basic degree to enter the chosen profession. Yet, one- or two-year master's programs, as well as doctoral programs, are offered by a number of institutions, especially for those who want to pursue a teaching career.

A significant exception to these patterns is the North American graduate-level Master of Divinity (M.Div.) program. It follows a four-year undergraduate degree program and lasts three academic years. It does not require previous studies in religion and ministry.

By the time the Association of Theological Schools in the United States and Canada (ATS) designated the M.Div. (called Bachelor of Divinity before 1970) as the first theological degree, a number of Seventh-day Adventist colleges in North America had been offering four-year undergraduate programs with a religion/theology major for decades. Depending on the school, these undergraduate programs usually offered the equivalent of two to three years of religion/theology and pastoral studies, plus a number of general education courses. During the twentieth century, most Seventh-day Adventist ministers in North America took one of these undergraduate programs.

The establishment of the Theological Seminary as a graduate institution of the General Conference of the Seventh-day Adventist Church in the late 1930s slowly began making its impact. However, the new school initially emphasized the preparation of teachers of religion, not regular pastors. Most of the students registered for an M.A. degree program. The denominational leaders in North America, by and large, continued to depend on students' completion of the undergraduate Religion program as a prerequisite for the appointment to ministry positions. Even after the Theological Seminary was transferred to Berrien Springs (1959-1960) to become one of the schools of the newly chartered Andrews University, the undergraduate program in religion taught at the former Emmanuel Missionary College continued to be offered on the same campus.

It took several decades for the Theological Seminary to be perceived as the primary center in North America for the preparation of Seventh-day Adventist ministers. The first three Bachelor of Divinity (B.D.) degrees were granted in 1950. By 1981, data provided by the local "conferences" in North America indicated that of 2,135 Seventh-day Adventist ministers, only 22 percent had completed the B.D./M.Div. and 16 percent had an M.A. in Religion degree. In a similar survey (1997), which included 2,825 ministers, 39.8 percent had finished the M.Div. degree, while 20 percent had completed other master's degrees.

The Mission of the Theological Seminary

After seven decades of existence, the Theological Seminary is enjoying its highest student enrollment and its largest full-time faculty. Both the student body and the faculty have a strong international flavor. During the last four decades, the Seminary has added several master's and four doctoral programs (each with its own set of subspecialties). Some of these have been offered partially or totally by extension throughout North America and in overseas locations on virtually all continents.

As of 2004, at least two of the other North American institutions of higher education, which have traditionally offered an undergraduate program in religion, are offering graduate programs in religion or ministry. At the same time, during the last three decades a few overseas institutions have started to offer their own graduate programs in religion and ministry, including some doctoral programs. These developments raise the question of the mission of the Theological Seminary (Berrien Springs) as an institution of the General Conference of the Seventh-day Adventist Church.

It is not surprising that the Seventh-day Adventist Church outside of North America has felt the need to start graduate-level institutions for the upgrading of the pastoral ministry. With more than 90 percent of the

church membership and more than 80 percent of the ministers living in North America, the original Theological Seminary is unable to adequately serve the church in those areas. Some overseas pastors attend the Theological Seminary, including a few who are financially sponsored, to prepare them to teach in theological schools in their areas of origin. Of the ones who come to the Seminary unsponsored, a number never return home. Thus there is an urgent need to provide graduate education in different areas of the world. However, financial limitations, the recognition that "graduate" theological education is not generally indispensable overseas in order to serve in ministry, and the fact that not all ministers qualify academically for master's-level work have kept the number of institutions offering graduate-level programs in religion and ministry comparatively small.

With a few exceptions, each of the thirteen world "divisions" of the Seventh-day Adventist Church has only one graduate theological institution. A few of these division-sponsored institutions have a central administration and a number of distance-learning centers on the campuses of existing undergraduate institutions that operate for two months or so each year during the yearly academic break. Thus they do not face the expense of building classrooms, housing, and other facilities. They do not need to move the pastoral family for one or two years, with the almost inevitable chain reaction of ministerial transfers. They can recruit the best faculty available throughout their territory and beyond for the yearly session. Students are normally experienced pastors who do not need to abandon their ministry for a year or more in order to earn a graduate degree. And they are able to apply immediately in the field what they have just learned in the yearly session.

It is more difficult to see the need for additional graduate theological institutions in North America with only some one million church members. It is true that the Baptists have more than one theological seminary, but their North American membership runs into many millions. The Theological Seminary (Berrien Springs) has been able throughout its existence to accept all qualified applicants from North America. It offers, in addition, the option of an M.Div. that requires residence during only half of the program. It has been offering for decades the M.A. in Pastoral Ministry and, more recently, the Doctor of Ministry, mostly by extension, in strategic locations throughout North America.

In the context of world developments in Seventh-day Adventist graduate education, what is the special mission of the Theological Seminary? With its many programs, its large faculty, and its library, it is intended to continue as the highest and most comprehensive center for theological education and

research of the Seventh-day Adventist Church. It will go on preparing some of the best professors of religion needed for the developing theological schools around the world. Seminary teachers can also contribute worldwide to the preparation of pastors by serving as guest professors in these developing schools. Seminary faculty will also be most valuable as participants in the work of committees, assisting specialized entities of the General Conference, such as the Biblical Research Institute and the Geoscience Research Institute, and dealing with a variety of other issues, as requested by the church.

Seminary Education and Ecclesiology

A clear understanding of ecclesiology is essential for the effectiveness of a theological seminary in preparing ministers and others to serve the church. The nature of the Christian community is differently perceived by different Christian bodies. Differences in organization, beliefs, mission, and other areas may be such that only ministers and other leaders who fully understand and identify with a specific understanding of the nature and mission of the church may be able to successfully lead.

Seventh-day Adventist seminaries are established and owned by the Seventh-day Adventist Church. They are inextricably linked with this church. They are most valuable when they understand their mission as servants of the church. They are needed to sharpen the church's understanding of its nature, its message, and its mission.

Seminaries are not graduate schools of religion. Their focus is not just the search for and transmission of knowledge. They must excel in their responsible use of scholarly methodologies and resources. But their ultimate objective is not information, but transformation.

Seminaries are most effective as they better understand and fulfill, in their respective areas of influence, their basic role in preparing ministers, Bible teachers, and other leaders equipped to face with vision, realism, and dedication the multifaceted challenges of the church in mission.

ECCLESIOLOGY IN SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTIST THEOLOGICAL RESEARCH, 1995-2004: A BRIEF INTRODUCTION AND BIBLIOGRAPHICAL GUIDE

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*The Importance of Theological
Reflection about the Church*

The term "church" can refer to an imposing building, whose architecture powerfully communicates something about how close or far away God resides from human beings.[1] "Church" can also be an abstract institutional entity—characterized by boards, commissions, synods, or assemblies—that makes and administers policy and plans for the future. However, "church" is, foremost, the way we live, pray, worship, study, dialogue, and work together. The "church" is made up of people, but it has been designed by God and reflects his presence.

Questions about ecclesiology, such as what constitutes the church and what type of organizational structures the church should adopt, have been addressed from various angles. One option is a sociological approach, which suggests that social change and cultural realities determine theological and ecclesiological realities.[2] A better paradigm, which will be

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[1]The tendency to utilize architecture as a means of theological expression about a particular religious community or a certain deity is not only a characteristic of Christianity, but apparently represents a conscious strategy of religion throughout the ages. See, e.g., Martin Fitzenreiter, "Richtungsbezüge in ägyptischen Sakralanlagen oder: Warum im ägyptischen Tempel das Sanktuar hinten links in der Ecke liegt (Teil I)," *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 31 (2003): 107-15; idem, "Richtungsbezüge in ägyptischen Sakralanlagen oder: Warum im ägyptischen Tempel das Sanktuar hinten links in der Ecke liegt (Teil II)," *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 32 (2004): 119-147. Pertinent studies dealing with Israelite sacred architecture include Clifford Mark McCormick, *Palace and Temple: A Study of Architectural and Verbal Icons*, BZAW 313 (New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2002); and John M. Monson, "The Temple of Solomon: Heart of Jerusalem," in *Zion, City of Our God*, ed. Richard S. Hess and Gordon J. Wenham (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999), 1-22. Discussions of these tendencies to modern religious architecture can be found in Klemens Richter, "Heilige Räume," *Liturgisches Jahrbuch* 48/4 (1998): 249-264; and Rainer Volp, "Space as Text: The Problem of Hermeneutics in Church Architecture," *Studia Liturgica* 24 (1994): 168-177.

[2]See, e.g., Rolf J. Pöhler, who seems to argue the immense influence of social change and cultural realities in the theological discussion of Seventh-day Adventist theology ("Change in Seventh-day Adventist Theology: A Study of the Problem of Doctrinal Development" [Ph.D.

used as the basis for selection in this bibliographic review, is to evaluate
and formulate ecclesiological principles with biblical exegesis and
theological reflection.

This review of Seventh-day Adventist ecclesiology begins in 1995[3] with
an important article "Church Authority: Its Source, Nature and Expression,"[4]
which was released just prior to the 1995 General Conference of Seventh-day
Adventists at Utrecht, Netherlands. The author, Raoul Dederen, who was at
the time Professor of Systematic Theology at the Seventh-day Adventist
Theological Seminary, Andrews University, is considered to be the foremost
living scholar of Adventist ecclesiology. Dederen's article, which called for a
biblically based ecclesiology, examined the future of Adventist ecclesiology
in light of the first church council held at Jerusalem (Acts 15:1-35). Dederen
called for continued global unity, based upon the precedent set by the
Jerusalem Council.

Dederen's article was especially significant in light of the General
Conference agenda for 1995. A major issue of discussion and policy,
argued heatedly prior to the 1995 General Conference session and which
threatened the continued global unity of the Seventh-day Adventist
Church, concerned the issue of the ordination of women to the pastoral
ministry. This discussion involved not only practical and administrative
questions, but also exegetical and theological issues.

From the outset, it should be clear that theological reflection about the
nature of the church is not a subject reserved solely for specialists and
theologians. Theological thinking is done by everyone who has contact with
Scripture in the context of faith and, thus, is relevant for the entire church.[5]

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dissertation, Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary, Andrews University, 1995]). See also
the updated, published volume: idem, *Continuity and Change in Adventist Teaching: A Case Study
in Doctrinal Development*, Friedensauer Schriftenreihe: Reihe A: Theologie, Band 3 (Frankfurt
am Main: Peter Lang, 2000). The danger of overemphasizing the sociological factor in
doctrinal/theological development has been made in a critical review of the book by Sergio E.
Becerra, review of *Continuity and Change in Adventist Teaching: A Case Study in Doctrinal
Development*, by Rolf Pöhler, *DavarLogos* 1/2 (2002): 198.

[3]Mention should be made of Alberto Timm's important review of Seventh-day
Adventist ecclesiology, which covers the period from 1844-2001. He covers the years from
1950-2001 in six pages and titles this phase "Challenged by Disrupting Voices." Cf. idem,
"Seventh-day Adventist Ecclesiology, 1844-2001: A Brief Historical Overview," in *Pensar la
iglesia hoy: Hacia una ecclesiología Adventista. Estudios teológicos presentados durante el IV
Simposio Bíblico-Teológico Sudamericano en Honor a Raoul Dederen*, ed. Gerald A. Klingbeil,
Martin G. Klingbeil, and Miguel Ángel Núñez (Libertador, San Martín, Argentina: Editorial
Universidad Adventista del Plata, 2002), 283-302, esp. 295-301.

[4]Raoul Dederen, "Church Authority: Its Source, Nature and Expression," *Ministry*
Supplement (May 1995): 1-10.

[5]Ekkehardt Müller, "Theological Thinking in the Adventist Church," *DavarLogos* 1/2

Method and Delimitations

This bibliographic review will examine the following areas: the major theological academic journals published by Seventh-day Adventist institutions of higher learning; Th.D. and Ph.D. dissertations and M.A. theses, which deal with ecclesiological issues and are written at Seventh-day Adventist institutions of higher learning; and monographic studies on ecclesiology. The review will conclude with a brief assessment of the evidence. This review should not be understood to be an extensive bibliography of Seventh-day Adventist ecclesiology over the past ten years; rather, it is a helpful tool to spotlight a topic that requires more reflection, and exegetical and theological work, as well as dialogue and prayerful interaction. The review will exclude other important elements connected to ecclesiology, such as missions, church growth, church planting, or practical church leadership.

Journals

Andrews University Seminary Studies (ISSN 0003-2980), a refereed journal published biannually by the Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary at Andrews University, is the oldest Seventh-day Adventist academic theological publication.[6] However, during the past ten years the journal did not publish a single study on ecclesiology—an omission being amended by the publication of the present edition. A possible exception is a study by Denis Fortin, dealing with current perspectives on Petrine ministry and the issue of papal primacy.[7] While this is not necessarily a contribution to the formulation of a Seventh-day Adventist ecclesiology, it nevertheless contains important biblical and theological observations. Fortin argues against papal primacy and examines the larger hermeneutical and methodological issues involved in this discussion.

Asia Adventist Seminary Studies (ISSN 0119-8432) is an academic theological journal published annually since 1998 by the Adventist International Institute of Advanced Studies in the Philippines.[8] Two articles that make a contribution to ecclesiological thought in Seventh-day Adventism

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(2002): 125-147. Müller mentions many substantial challenges to profound theological thinking in the Seventh-day Adventist Church.

[6]For a brief history of the journal, see Karen K. Abrahamson, "A Brief History of *Andrews University Seminary Studies*: 1963-2003," *AUSS* 40 (2003): 165-168.

[7]Denis Fortin, "Current Perspectives on Petrine Ministry and Papal Primacy," *AUSS* 41 (2003): 199-214.

[8]It seems that the editorial team is a bit behind schedule, since the latest available issue is vol. 5 and dates to 2002.

are by Ronald Bissell, who asks if the characteristics of the eschatological, remnant church are visible in Seventh-day Adventism,[9] and by Enrique Espinosa, who discusses the question of authority and orthodoxy in the context of the early apostolic church.[10] Espinosa raises an issue that could definitely affect a Seventh-day Adventist ecclesiology, and which seems to be highly relevant in the larger context of cultural hermeneutics and postmodern concerns about *relevance*.[11]

DavarLogos (ISSN 1666-7832), a recent addition to Seventh-day Adventist academic publications, is published biannually by the Theology Faculty of River Plate Adventist University in Argentina.[12] It is a peer-refereed academic journal, with a representative international review board comprised of distinguished scholars who share a similar conservative outlook concerning the hermeneutics of Scripture.[13] Most of its published articles involve hermeneutical or specific exegetical studies, with the occasional study dealing with more practical church aspects. To date, the journal has not published any studies on ecclesiology; however, its sponsoring organization, River Plate Adventist University, sponsors ongoing and indepth research in this area, which will be discussed more fully below.

Beginning in 2001, the Instituto Adventista de Ensino do Nordeste, Brazil, began to publish the academic journal *Hermenêutica* (ISSN 1518-9724), which appears annually and contains biblical and theological studies and a section on book reviews. None of its four editions include any study dealing with ecclesiology.

The *Journal of the Adventist Theological Society* is published biannually by the Adventist Theological Society. In 1996, Jack Blanco presented a

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[9]Ronald D. Bissell, "Reflections on the SDA Church as the Eschatological Remnant Church," *Asia Adventist Seminary Studies* 4 (2001): 69-75.

[10]Enrique Espinosa, "The Principle of Authority and the Criteria of Orthodoxy in the Early Church," *Asia Adventist Seminary Studies* 4 (2001): 77-88.

[11]For a more in-depth discussion of cultural hermeneutics (i.e., cultural criticism) and its pervading influence in biblical and theological studies, see Gerald A. Klingbeil, "Cultural Criticism and Biblical Hermeneutics: Definition, Origins, Benefits, and Challenges," *Bulletin for Biblical Research* 15/1 (2005), forthcoming.

[12]I must confess partiality here, since I am presently the editor of this journal. It has been published since 2002 and includes three complete years with a total of six issues published.

[13]E.g., Bill T. Arnold (Asbury Theological Seminary, Wilmore, KY), David W. Baker (Ashland Theological Seminary, Ashland, OH), Lucien-Jean Bord (Abbaye Saint-Martin de Ligugé, France), Carroll R. Daniel (Denver Seminary, Englewood, CO), Craig A. Evans (Acadia Divinity School, Wolfville, Nova Scotia, Canada), Daniel Fleming (New York University, New York, NY), James K. Hoffmeier (Trinity Evangelical Divinity School, Deerfield, IL), and Elizabeth Ann R. Willett (Summer Institute of Linguistics International, Mexico).

well-documented study "The Church in the Light of Scripture," in which he discusses the biblical basis of the authority, unity, and universality of the church in dialogue with recent Catholic and Protestant thought.[14] In 1997, Gerhard Pfandl discussed the biblical concept of the "remnant" and its application to the Seventh-day Adventist Church.[15] In 1999, Pfandl again focused upon a particular distinctive feature of Seventh-day Adventist ecclesiology and evaluated, in light of Scripture, the attempts to unify the Christian church by the ecumenical movement. He suggests that scriptural unity involves faithfulness to the inspired Word of God and does not manifest itself in political or social manifestos.[16] In 2000, Ekkehardt Müller discussed the characteristics of the end-time remnant in the book of Revelation. After careful exegetical work, in which he defined seven distinctive characteristics, he suggests that the Seventh-day Adventist Church, although far from being perfect, bears the characteristics of the remnant of Rev 12–14 and "therefore represents God's end time church of the remnant."[17] In 2001, Müller offered a careful study of the ecclesiology of the book of Revelation[18] that also appeared in a slightly different form in the 2002 volume *Pensar la iglesia hoy*, which will be introduced in more detail below.[19] In 2002, Gerhard Pfandl tackled the issue of Israel and the church, focusing upon the increasingly popular notion that the Christian end-time remnant will have a Jewish counterpart.[20] Pfandl rejects this idea on the basis of the "one body" metaphor found throughout the NT.

Spes Christiana (ISSN 0935-7467) is published annually by Theologische Hochschule Friedensau in Germany.[21] Most issues are thematically oriented. The 1995 volume, "Church and World," contained three contributions that are significant for the present review. The discussion of unity and differences

[14]Jack J. Blanco, "The Church in the Light of Scripture," *JATS* 7/2 (1996): 1-22.

[15]Gerhard Pfandl, "The Remnant Church," *JATS* 8/1-2 (1997): 19-27.

[16]Gerhard Pfandl, "Unity—But at What Cost?" *JATS* 10/1-2 (1999): 184-190.

[17]Ekkehardt Müller, "The End Time Remnant in Revelation," *JATS* 11/1-2 (2000): 188-204, esp. 203.

[18]Ekkehardt Müller, "Introduction to the Ecclesiology of the Book of Revelation," *JATS* 12/2 (2001): 199-215.

[19]Ekkehardt Müller, "Introduction to the Ecclesiology of the Book of Revelation," in *Pensar la iglesia hoy: hacia una eclesiología adventista. Estudios teológicos presentados durante el IV Simposio Bíblico Teológico Sudamericano en honor a Raoul Dederen*, ed. Gerald A. Klingbeil, Martin G. Klingbeil, and Miguel Ángel Núñez (Libertador, San Martín: Editorial Universidad Adventista del Plata, 2002), 147-164.

[20]Gerhard Pfandl, "Israel and the Church," *JATS* 13/2 (2002): 15-29.

[21]I would like to express my appreciation to Stefan Höschele from Theologische Hochschule Friedensau, who in a speedy manner replied to some of my bibliographical queries.

in the early apostolic church, by Bernhard Oestreich,[22] attempts to answer the question of the relationship between unity and diversity. Johannes Hartlapp focuses, in a historical review, upon the use of the term "Babylon" in church history in general and in the history of the Seventh-day Adventist Church in particular,[23] while Johann Gerhardt favors the concept of mediation as the dominant church model.[24] Gerhardt's contribution is particularly oriented toward sociological and pragmatic issues, rather than exegetical or theological considerations. In 2000, Edgar Machel reviewed the conceptual position of Seventh-day Adventist churches in the process of "Verkirchlichung" (i.e., becoming a church). He draws heavily upon sociological studies and assesses characteristics of "movements" and so-called "orthodox" churches, including ratios of churches/members/pastors and others.[25] An article published by Daniel Heinz in 2001 evaluated the tension between exclusivity and contextualization in the history of the German Adventist Church.[26]

The biblical-theological journal *Theologika* (ISSN 1022-5390) is published biannually by the Theology Faculty of Peruvian Union University in Lima, Peru, and is the second oldest academic journal (after *AUSS*) of the Seventh-day Adventist Church. None of the articles in *Theologika* deal specifically with ecclesiology, focusing instead upon particular exegetical, historical, missiological, or theological problems.

The final journal to be briefly reviewed is *Ministry* (ISSN 0026-5314), which—while not strictly an academic journal—focuses upon issues that are of theological and practical relevance to Seventh-day Adventist clergy. Due to its large circulation and the fact that many articles are translated and republished in regional ministerial journals in other parts of the world, it wields considerable influence. *Ministry* appears monthly, and each issue contains between 30 and 36 pages. I note four articles that discuss important aspects of ecclesiology from a Seventh-day Adventist perspective. In the July/August issue of 1995, coinciding with the General Conference session in Utrecht, Netherlands, Rex D. Edwards focused upon the nature and design

[22]Bernhard Oestreich, "Meinungsstreit und Einheit in der frühen Christenheit," *Spes Christiana* 6 (1995): 14-25.

[23]Johannes Hartlapp, "Der Gebrauch des Begriffes 'Babylon' in der Kirchen—und STA-Geschichte in kurzer Übersicht," *Spes Christiana* 6 (1995): 33-50.

[24]Johann Gerhardt, "Gemeinde als Vermittlungsinstanz. Ein Plädoyer für das Vermittlungsmodell," *Spes Christiana* 6 (1995): 51-68.

[25]Edgar Machel, "Verkirchlichung: Schicksal oder Herausforderung? Eine Standortbestimmung der Gemeinschaft der Siebenten-Tags-Adventisten," *Spes Christiana* 11 (2000): 72-82.

[26]Daniel Heinz, "Exklusivität und Kontextualisierung: Geschichte und Selbstverständnis der Siebenten-Tags-Adventisten in Deutschland," *Spes Christiana* 12 (2001): 121-139.

of the church and reviewed four important metaphors employed in Scripture: family, body, building, and bride.[27] In 1997, Joel Musvosvi discussed the servant nature of the church.[28] Walter Douglas returned to the subject of the church a month later, concentrating upon the important topic of the relationship between unity and diversity.[29] In a fourth article, which appeared in September 2000, Richard Marker tackled the issue of diversity, particularly from a cross-cultural perspective.[30]

Dissertations and Theses

As in the previous section, I will briefly present in alphabetical order the relevant data concerning doctoral dissertations and M.A. theses that deal in a decidedly theological or exegetical manner with issues relevant to ecclesiology. Three major Seventh-day Adventist institutions which grant doctoral degrees in theological or biblical studies are the Adventist International Institute of Advanced Studies in the Philippines, the Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary at Andrews University, and River Plate Adventist University in Argentina.[31] There are other educational institutions which grant doctoral-level degrees: the Peruvian Union University in Peru; São Paulo Adventist University College (Campus 2) in Brazil; and Montemorelos University in Mexico. However, as with the previous two institutions, these doctoral degrees are in practical theology or ministry. This is not to suggest their lack of relevance for the church, but the dissertation content generally reflects the practical rather than exegetical/theological focus. An example is the doctoral dissertation of Bruno Raso, defended at the Peruvian Union University in Peru in 2004, which deals with personal, ecclesiological, pastoral, and community factors that influence the mission of making disciples.[32]

[27]Rex D. Edwards, "The Church: Its Nature and Design," *Ministry* 68/7 (1995): 36-42.

[28]Joel N. Musvosvi, "The Church: Born to Serve," *Ministry* 70/7 (1997): 19-21.

[29]Walter Douglas, "Unity in Diversity in Christ," *Ministry* 70/8 (1997): 5-8.

[30]Richard A. Marker, "Meeting the Challenge of Diversity," *Ministry* 73/9 (2000): 19-21.

[31]I would like to express my appreciation to Lester Merklin, director of the Institute of World Mission, Andrews University, who without much ado and in a highly efficient manner sent me a list of completed doctoral dissertations and M.A. theses from his former institution, the Adventist International Institute of Advanced Studies, Philippines. Thanks also to John McVay, dean of the Seventh-day Adventist Seminary at Andrews University, who, with theological research librarian Terry Robertson, responded immediately to a call for help and explained the best way to extract the required information from the online library catalogue of the James White Library at Andrews University.

[32]Bruno Raso, "Un estudio de factores personales, eclesiásticos, pastorales y

The Adventist International Institute of Advanced Studies has granted M.A. and Ph.D./Th.D./D.Min. degrees since 1988. A brief examination of completed dissertations and theses shows a strong practical theology section, often combined with relevant Asian contextualization of important biblical principles.[33] Three dissertations/theses fall within the general field of ecclesiological research. In 1995, Peranginangin Joseph Syukur, who completed a Doctorate in Practical Theology, discussed in his dissertation the role of laity in the larger context of the church,[34] and presented his findings in a case study of the Batak Karo Seventh-day Adventist Church. A second relevant thesis presented in the same year by Jeong Kwan Choi reviewed the hierarchical structures of ecclesiastical authority as implemented within the Roman Catholic Church.[35] An M.A. thesis was presented in 2003 by Gideon Ondap and focused on diversity in the remnant concept in Seventh-day Adventism.[36]

The Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary at Andrews University, the largest postgraduate theological institution in the Seventh-day Adventist Church, produces a large number of doctoral dissertations, including Ph.D., Th.D., and D.Min. dissertations and a smaller number of M.A. theses. During the period of 1995-2004, the Seminary produced 51 Ph.D./Th.D. dissertations, 159 D.Min. dissertations, and 20 M.A. theses.[37]

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comunitarios que inciden sobre la misión de hacer discípulos" (D.Min. dissertation, Theology Faculty, Universidad Peruana Union, 2004).

[33]See, e.g., Lee Sung Bae, "Towards an Evangelistic Strategy to Reach Koreans in China: Preliminary Studies" (M.A. thesis, Theological Seminary, Adventist International Institute of Advanced Studies, 1996); Gebre Worancha, "Toward a Wholistic Strategy to Approach the Ethiopian Orthodox People with the Seventh-day Adventist Message: A Case Study" (D.Pr.Th. dissertation, Theological Seminary, Adventist International Institute of Advanced Studies, 1997); Eddy Kartagi, "The Slametan Ceremony in Communicating the Gospel to the Javanese: A Case Study" (D.Pr.Th. dissertation, Theological Seminary, Adventist International Institute of Advanced Studies, 1998); Sutrisno Tjakrapawira, "A Church Planting Strategy for the Sundanese People in the Territory of the West Java Conference of Seventh-day Adventists" (D.Min. dissertation, Theological Seminary, Adventist International Institute of Advanced Studies, 2001).

[34]Peranginangin Joseph Syukur, "The Role of Laity: Its Theological Foundation and Application in the Batak Karo Seventh-day Adventist Church: A Case Study (D.Pr.Th. dissertation, Theological Seminary, Adventist International Institute of Advanced Studies, 1995).

[35]Jeong Kwan Choi, "A Critical Study of the Hierarchical Paradigm of Ecclesiastical Authority as Implemented within Roman Catholicism" (M.A. thesis, Theological Seminary, Adventist International Institute of Advanced Studies, 1995).

[36]Gideon Duran Ondap, "Diversity in the Remnant Concept in the History of the Seventh-day Adventist Church" (M.A. thesis, Theological Seminary, Adventist International Institute of Advanced Studies, 2003).

[37]I am basing these statistics on the excellent database maintained by the James White

Out of these, one highly significant Ph.D. dissertation by Roberto Pereyra dealt with the Pauline concept of the Greek term ἐκκλησία ("church") in 1 Thessalonians and its relationship to the fixed phrase ἐν Χριστῷ ("in Christ").[38] In 1997, Keith Mattingly defended his Ph.D. dissertation, which dealt with the ritual importance of the laying on of hands on Joshua in Num 27:12-23 and Deut 34:9. Mattingly's study reviewed this important ritual, which also plays an important role in the Christian ordination ritual. The laying on of hands remains a current issue in Seventh-day Adventist theology, and has definite ecclesiological repercussions.[39] Mattingly noted that a possible implication that may arise from further study is that "the laying on of hands is *the* essential element of the Christian rite of ordination" (emphasis original).[40] In the same year, John Reeve submitted an M.A. thesis focusing upon a particular organizational characteristic of the early church: the presbyter and its possible OT predecessor, the elder.[41] In 1999, Trust Ndlovu presented a dissertation on the function of the church in the thought of South African Anglican bishop Desmond Tutu. Ndlovu was particularly interested in Tutu's perception of the church's role in the South African reconciliation process.[42] While not necessarily an Adventist ecclesiological perspective, contrasts with other positions help to sharpen and focus one's own position.

Among the 159 D.Min. dissertations submitted to the Adventist Theological Seminary between 1995 and 2004, three are relevant for the present bibliographical survey. In 1998, Viesturs Rekis discussed the Seventh-day Adventist understanding of the church and its mission,[43] while two years later Stefan Radu tackled the controversial issue of church discipline and grace.[44] Clearly, one's understanding of church discipline and authority is

Library at Andrews University. It may be possible that some dissertations defended during November/December of 2004 are not yet in the database.

[38]Roberto Pereyra, "Paul's Earliest Statement Concerning the Christian Church: A Review and Evaluation of Research into Paul's Association of the Term ὁ ἐκκλησία τὸ ἐν Χριστῷ in 1 Thessalonians" (Ph.D. dissertation, Theological Seminary, Andrews University, 1995).

[39]Keith E. K. Mattingly, "The Laying on of Hands on Joshua: An Exegetical Study of Numbers 27:12-23 and Deuteronomy 34:9" (Ph.D. dissertation, Theological Seminary, Andrews University, 1997).

[40]Ibid., 377.

[41]John W. Reeve, "The Presbyter: Jewish Elder to Christian Priest" (M.A. thesis, Theological Seminary, Andrews University, 1997).

[42]Trust J. Ndlovu, "The Church as an Agent of Reconciliation in the Thought of Desmond Tutu" (Ph.D. dissertation, Theological Seminary, Andrews University, 1999).

[43]Viesturs Rekis, "A Seventh-day Adventist Understanding of the Church and Its Mission" (D.Min. dissertation, Theological Seminary, Andrews University, 1998).

[44]Stefan Radu, "Church Discipline and Grace" (D.Min. dissertation, Theological

closely related to one's notion about structure and the function of the church. In 2004, Steven Walikonis studied the dynamics of power in the church, particularly in the context of administrative hierarchies and authority.[45]

The Ph.D./Th.D. program at River Plate Adventist University is relatively new and has, up to this point, produced only a handful of doctoral dissertations. Relevant to the topic of theological reflection about the church is Carmelo Martines's careful analysis of Seventh-day Adventist concepts of the remnant and its present perception in the church.[46] He analyzes a number of traditional, as well as more "progressive," remnant interpretations by Seventh-day Adventist scholars, and sees repercussions in the areas of mission, interchurch relations, and ecclesiology.[47] In the same year, Daniel Plenc defended a Ph.D. dissertation on the theological criteria for a Seventh-day Adventist theology of worship. He includes a significant section focusing upon worship and ecclesiology, emphasizing particularly the communal element of worship, its missiological importance, and the structural relevance of the church for worship.[48]

It appears that while a systematic and wide-ranging formulation and theological reflection of a Seventh-day Adventist ecclesiology has not yet been undertaken, important elements have been studied in the past ten years. Recurring topics include the remnant, unity/diversity, and authority/power structures of a Seventh-day Adventist ecclesiology.

Monographic Studies

This final bibliographic section will review published monographic studies on Seventh-day Adventist ecclesiology. While not all of the studies presented here are systematic or treat the entire range of ecclesiological issues, they show definite, general tendencies in theological thinking. As already indicated above, I will focus on academic studies that include exegetical/theological elements. I will present the studies in order of publication, which should not be construed as an indication of their respective value.

Seminary, Andrews University, 2000).

[45]Steven R. Walikonis, "The Phenomenon of Power in the Church: An Investigation and Analysis of the Relational Dynamics Experienced in the Context of the Assertion of Authority" (D.Min. dissertation, Theological Seminary, Andrews University, 2004).

[46]Carmelo L. Martines, "El concepto de remanente en la Iglesia Adventista del Séptimo Día: razones subyacentes en el debate contemporáneo" (Ph.D. dissertation, Theology Faculty, River Plate Adventist University, 2002).

[47]Ibid., 208-214.

[48]Daniel O. Plenc, "Hacia un criterio teológico para la adoración adventista: elementos para su evaluación litúrgica" (Ph.D. dissertation, Theology Faculty, River Plate Adventist University, 2002), esp. 325-370.

The first important monographic contribution falls slightly outside the present time frame. In 1994, Johannes Mager edited *Die Gemeinde und ihr Auftrag* (*The Church and Its Mission*), which contains seven chapters written by different scholars and six appendices.[49] Some chapters examine issues such as the nature, mission,[50] origin,[51] and authority of the church,[52] while others study the remnant and its mission,[53] the relationship between the ecumenical movement and the Seventh-day Adventist Church,[54] the interaction between church and world,[55] and a discussion of the theology and practice of the laying on of hands in the church.[56] The appendices include a sermon on Ezek 40:1-4,[57] an attempt at formulating an Adventist theology of worship,[58] a discussion of the unity of the church,[59] ideas on the Seventh-day Adventist Church and her youth,[60] thoughts about the church of the future and the future of the church,[61] and a brief sketch of an Adventist worldview.[62]

Church historian George Knight published *The Fat Lady and the Kingdom* in 1995. While he did not address an academic audience nor include a major theological section, his book should, nevertheless, be considered an important contribution, particularly in its historical outlook. He warns of two risks: institutionalism in the Seventh-day Adventist Church, which may,

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[49]Johannes Mager, ed., *Die Gemeinde und ihr Auftrag*, Studien zur adventistischen Ekklesiologie 2 (Hamburg: Saatkorn Verlag, 1994).

[50]Roberto Badenas, "Wesen und Auftrag der Gemeinde," 9-30. In the following references, I will indicate only the author, chapter title, and pagination. The complete reference to the book appears in fn. 49.

[51]Raoul Dederen, "Wollte Jesus eine Gemeinde gründen?" 31-50.

[52]Raoul Dederen, "Autorität der Gemeinde: Ihr Ursprung, Wesen und Wirken," 51-72. It seems that this is a translation of Dederen's important article that appeared in *Ministry* in 1995.

[53]Richard Lehmann, "Die Übrigen und ihr Auftrag," 73-102.

[54]Hans Heinz, "Ökumenische Bewegung und Adventgemeinde," 103-126.

[55]Bernhard Oestreich, "Gemeinde in der Welt," 127-156.

[56]Rolf J. Pöhler, "Zur Theologie und Praxis der Handauflegung Sendung—Segnung—Weihe," 157-207.

[57]Johannes Mager, "'Dazu bist du hierher gebracht...' Predigt über Hesekiel 40, 1-4," 209-216.

[58]George W. Reid, "Versuch einer Theologie des adventistischen Gottesdienstes," 217-236.

[59]Raoul Dederen, "Die Einheit der Gemeinde—Probleme und Spannungen," 237-250.

[60]Johann Gerhardt, "Die Adventgemeinde und ihre Jugend," 251-272.

[61]George W. Reid, "Die Gemeinde der Zukunft und die Zukunft der Gemeinde," 273-280.

[62]George W. Reid, "Adventistische Weltsicht," 281-288.

in turn, lead to the secularization of the church's mission.[63] The first risk addresses the issue of organizational structure,[64] while the second addresses questions of worldview and the relationship between church and culture.

In 1998, Nancy Vyhmeister edited *Women in Ministry: Biblical and Historical Perspectives*,[65] which included the research of Andrews University faculty members who participated in a Special Committee of the Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary on Hermeneutics and Ordination. The Committee was constituted in the wake of the negative vote of the General Conference session at Utrecht, Netherlands, to the request of the North American Division to be permitted to ordain women pastors within its territory. The twenty chapters included in this volume are generally pro-women's ordination, while not necessarily agreeing in all the details of biblical and theological issues connected to the question. Due to space limitations, I will examine only relevant studies from the volume's five sections. In section 1, four authors discuss the question of ministry in the Bible: the priesthood of all believers;[66] the absence of women priests in Israel;[67] the characteristics of ministry in the NT and in the early church;[68] and the ritual of ordination, particularly the laying on of hands.[69] Sections 2 and 3 examine the concept of ordination in early Christianity and Adventism, and the issue of women in ministry and leadership. These sections are primarily historical in content. Section 4 contains three relevant chapters, which discuss questions of headship, submission, and equality in Scripture,[70] and an examination of two critical NT texts that may indicate the subordinate status of women in the early church.[71]

The publication of *Women in Ministry* resulted in a flurry of critical

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[63]George R. Knight, *The Fat Lady and the Kingdom: Adventist Mission Confronts the Challenges of Institutionalism and Secularization* (Boise, ID: Pacific Press, 1995).

[64]See more references in Timm, "Seventh-day Adventist Ecclesiology, 1844-2001," 299-300.

[65]Nancy Jean Vyhmeister, ed., *Women in Ministry: Biblical and Historical Perspectives* (Berrien Springs: Andrews University Press, 1998), 335-354.

[66]Raoul Dederen, "The Priesthood of All Believers," 9-27. As before, I will include only the author, chapter title, and pagination.

[67]Jacques B. Doukhan, "Women Priests in Israel: A Case for Their Absence," 29-43.

[68]Robert M. Johnston, "Shapes of Ministry in the New Testament and Early Church," 45-58.

[69]Keith Mattingly, "Laying on of Hands in Ordination: A Biblical Study," 59-74.

[70]Richard M. Davidson, "Headship, Submission, and Equality in Scripture," 259-295.

[71]See W. Larry Richards, "How Does a Woman Prophesy and Keep Silence at the Same Time? (1 Corinthians 11 and 14)," 311-333; and Nancy Jean Vyhmeister, "Proper Church Behavior in 1 Timothy 2:8-15," 335-354.

appraisals, the most extensive being *Prove All Things: A Response to Women in Ministry*, edited by Mercedes Dyer and published by Adventists Affirm.[72] It contains 22 chapters divided into four distinct sections, which focus on methodology, biblical issues, theological and historical questions, and women and ministry. Not all contributions are academic in style. The biblically and theologically relevant chapters present alternative views concerning headship, submission, and equality in Scripture;[73] the priesthood of all believers;[74] the types of ministry found in the NT;[75] the laying on of hands in the ordination ritual;[76] and a discussion of 1 Tim 2:11-15.[77] These studies reflect nearly verbatim the outline and titles of the earlier *Women in Ministry*. Unfortunately, neither *Women in Ministry* nor *Prove All Things* tackles the more difficult question of a Seventh-day Adventist ecclesiology, but rather focus upon limited aspects of the church: the priesthood and ordination. Without belittling these two volumes, it should be noted that other ecclesiological questions deserve the same—or perhaps even more—attention. Clearly, both volumes reflect the questions and perspectives of North American and Seventh-day Adventists and First World concerns, which are not necessarily on the agenda of other parts of global Adventism.

One of the major events in the thinking about and formulation of a Seventh-day Adventist ecclesiology was the publication of the *Handbook of Seventh-day Adventist Theology* in 2000 as volume 12 in the Commentary Reference Series. The project was initiated and supervised by the Biblical Research Institute of the General Conference and thus represents an official position of the Seventh-day Adventist Church. All chapters were refereed and discussed by the Biblical Research Institute Committee, which includes theologians from around the world.

The article on ecclesiology was written by Raoul Dederen, who also edited the volume.[78] Dederen's article includes nine major sections, including the church in God's plan; its nature and scope; biblical images of the church;

[72]Mercedes H. Dyer, ed., *Prove All Things: A Response to Women in Ministry* (Berrien Springs: Adventist Affirm, 2000).

[73]Samuele Bacchiocchi, "Headship, Submission, and Equality in Scripture," 65-110. As before, I will include only the author, chapter title, and pagination.

[74]P. Gerard Damsteegt, "The Priesthood of All Believers," 111-122.

[75]P. Gerard Damsteegt, "Shapes of Ministry in the New Testament," 129-153.

[76]P. Gerard Damsteegt, "The Laying on of Hands," 155-160.

[77]C. Raymond Holmes, "Does Paul Really Prohibit Women from Speaking in Church? A Look at 1 Timothy 2:11-15," 161-174.

[78]Raoul Dederen, "The Church," in *Handbook of Seventh-day Adventist Theology*, ed. Raoul Dederen, Commentary Reference Series (Hagerstown, MD: Review and Herald, 2000), 12: 538-581.

its mission, government, ordinances, authority, and characteristics; and a sobering look into the future of the church. After these theological observations, Dederen also provided a helpful review of the church from its NT origins, as well as a selection of Ellen White's comments on the church. True to the purpose of the volume, Dederen followed a systematic methodology, which presents the basic concepts together with crucial biblical references, without necessarily going into detailed exegetical discussions.[79]

Another major event for Seventh-day Adventist ecclesiological discussion was the Fourth South American Biblical-Theological Symposium, held from August 30 to September 2, 2001, at River Plate Adventist University in Argentina.[80] The Seminar resulted in 88 presentations on the topic of ecclesiology. Most South American countries and institutions were represented, as well as representatives from the General Conference and from some North American Seventh-day Adventist universities. Thirty-five of these studies were published as *Pensar la iglesia hoy* (*Thinking About the Church Today*)[81] in honor of Raoul Dederen's contribution to Seventh-day Adventist ecclesiology. The volume, which is divided into five different sections, examines exegetical and biblical issues of the church, larger theological questions, historical reflections, topics related to both the church in the world and the church and the world, and practical applications of a rethought Seventh-day Adventist ecclesiology. The book is also characterized by an important interdisciplinary focus; not all contributors were theologians, but their input was based upon biblical and theological considerations. Some examples may suffice:[82] Carlos Cerdá evaluated the relationship between Laodicea and postmodern society and the resulting effects upon the current church from a sociological perspective.[83] Fernando Aranda Fraga examined the relationship between state and church from the

[79]A similar layout can also be found in the systematic theologies of Wayne Grudem, *Systematic Theology: An Introduction to Biblical Doctrine* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1994), 853-953; and Stanley J. Grenz, *Theology for the Community of God* (Nashville: Broadman & Holman, 1994). Both were written from an evangelical perspective.

[80]I must, again, confess a lack of neutrality. Having been part of the planning, organization, and publication of the event has undoubtedly etched its importance in my mind, which may be considered differently by a more neutral outside observer. Nevertheless, the sheer numbers of participants (mostly theology students, professors, and pastors), together with the high volume of presented papers, seem to underline its importance.

[81]See n. 16 above for the complete bibliographical reference.

[82]More space is dedicated to the introduction of this volume due to fact that most of the studies are Spanish.

[83]Carlos H. Cerdá, "Relación entre Laodicea y la sociedad posmoderna: efectos en la iglesia," 377-388. The complete bibliographical data of the volume can be found in n. 16 above.

perspective of the English political philosopher Ockham.[84] René Smith studied the interaction of education and the book of Revelation from the perspective of a Seventh-day Adventist ecclesiology.[85] Some innovative ideas about ecclesiology can also be found in the exegetical section of the volume. For instance, Efraín Velásquez looked at the tribe from the perspective of social science as a possible paradigm for a Seventh-day Adventist ecclesiology that also takes the OT seriously.[86] The dichotomy between individualism and collectivism as portrayed in relevant OT texts was studied by Gerald Klingbeil,[87] while Martin Klingbeil examined divine metaphors in the Psalms and wondered which metaphor about God would speak to the church today.[88] Other studies involve careful attention to particular biblical contexts, as, for example, the unity of the church according to Ps 133,[89] the remnant motif in the wisdom literature of the OT,[90] ecclesiological principles in the book of Daniel,[91] ecclesiology in its cosmic dimensions in the epistle to the Hebrews,[92] and exegetical studies of John 1:47-51[93] and Acts 1:8.[94]

Several studies examined the concept of the remnant—an important element of traditional Seventh-day Adventist ecclesiology that has lately come under fire.[95] Besides Hector Urrutia's study of this concept in OT Wisdom literature, Fernando Canale surveyed the underlying hermeneutical issues connected to the questioning of the remnant concept in contemporary

[84]Fernando Aranda Fraga, "La metamorfosis en la relación iglesia-estado a partir de la filosofía política y jurídica premoderna de Ockham," 401-418.

[85]René Rogelio Smith, "Educación y Apocalipsis en la eclesiología adventista," 481-487.

[86]Efraín Velásquez, "La tribu: hacia una eclesiología adventista basada en las Escrituras Hebreas," 25-40.

[87]Gerald A. Klingbeil, "Entre individualismo y colectivismo: hacia una perspectiva bíblica de la naturaleza de la iglesia," 3-22.

[88]Martin G. Klingbeil, "'De lo profundo, Jehová, a ti clamo.' Conocer al Dios de Israel a través del himnario veterotestamentario," 41-56.

[89]Richard W. Medina, "La unidad de la iglesia según el Salmo 133," 57-69.

[90]Héctor Urrutia, "El mensaje del remanente final en los libros sapienciales," 71-92.

[91]Carlos Elias Mora, "Principios eclesiológicos hallados en el libro de Daniel," 93-103.

[92]Merling Alomía, "Dimensiones cósmicas de la iglesia reveladas en la epístola a los Hebreos," 131-145.

[93]Gluder Quispe, "La escalera de la iglesia: una interpretación exegética de Juan 1:47-51," 105-117.

[94]Efraín Choque, "Las prioridades para la misión en la iglesia primitiva según Hechos 1:8: modelo para la iglesia de hoy," 119-129.

[95]Cf. Alberto R. Timm, "Seventh-day Adventist Ecclesiology, 1844-2001," 300-301.

Adventism[96] and Ángel Rodríguez presented a helpful review of current Adventist thinking about the remnant.[97] A number of chapters deal with the issue of church authority, including the question of whether it is absolute or relative.[98] The priesthood of all believers was studied by Juan Millanao,[99] while Miroslav Kiš examined the holiness of the church[100] and Lael Caesar weighed the unity/diversity issue in recent Seventh-day Adventist ecclesiology.[101] The church and culture was the topic of two important studies: the influence of worldview upon the church and its possibilities in terms of mission,[102] and the impact of culture upon Adventist education.[103]

In the practical application section, George Reid described three major challenges that the Seventh-day Adventist Church faces today: the tendency to replace objective truth with experience, the challenge to our unity as a church, and the redefinition of spirituality.[104] Ron Clouzet observed the challenge to leadership formation in theological education,[105] while Gerhard Pfandl tackled the difficult and often unsettling issue of independent ministries.[106] Other studies that are part of this section include the significance of the eschatological mission for the church,[107] the importance and value of nature from a biblical and ecological perspective,[108] and practical implications of the pre- and postbaptismal process in evangelism.[109] As can be seen from

[96]Fernando Canale, "Hermenéutica, teología y remanente," 167-176.

[97]Ángel M. Rodríguez, "The Remnant in Contemporary Adventist Thinking," 269-279.

[98]See Roberto Pereyra, "La autoridad de la Escritura y la autoridad de la iglesia organizada: ¿absoluta/relativa?" 189-198. Cf. Miguel Ángel Núñez, "Cristo, cabeza de la iglesia: ¿jefe, caudillo u otro significado?," 237-249; and Humberto R. Treiyer, "La autoridad de la iglesia: el dilema de la sucesión apostólica—aportes de E. G. de White y Hans Küng," 319-329.

[99]Juan Millanao, "Elementos básicos para la elaboración de una teología adventista del sacerdocio de todos los creyentes," 199-211.

[100]Miroslav M. Kiš, "Holiness of the Church," 213-225.

[101]Lael Caesar, "Una nación bajo Dios, indivisible," 227-236.

[102]Chantal J. Klingbeil, "Iglesia y cultura: ¿amigas o enemigas?" 351-367.

[103]Carlos A. Steger, "Cristianismo y cultura: el dilema de las instituciones educativas adventistas," 369-376.

[104]George W. Reid, "Three Significant Changes Facing Today's Church," 421-426.

[105]Ron E. M. Clouzet, "El desafío de la formación de líderes en la educación teológica: la lección de Eliseo," 427-435.

[106]Gerhard Pfandl, "Independent Ministries," 445-453.

[107]Enrique Becerra, "El significado de una misión escatológica," 455-464.

[108]Antonio V. Cremades, "El valor de la naturaleza para la iglesia," 465-479.

[109]Rubén R. Otto, "La evangelización: un proceso pre- y post-bautismal," 437-444.

these brief comments, *Pensar la iglesia hoy* includes a wide variety of topics and approaches and covers the major areas of ecclesiology from a distinct Seventh-day Adventist perspective in a predominantly non-North American context.

In 2003, Norman Gulley published the *Prolegomena* of a comprehensive Seventh-day Adventist systematic theology.[110] Gulley places his systematic theology within the larger biblical worldview of cosmic controversy[111] and bases his entire system upon the revelation/inspiration of Scripture.[112] Unfortunately, the section dealing with ecclesiology will only appear in the next volume of Gulley's *Systematic Theology*, but judging from the quality of the introductory volume, it should prove to be detailed, biblically based, and informed.

A forthcoming research project, sponsored by the Postgraduate Studies section of the Theology Faculty at River Plate Adventist University and led by Mario Veloso, is *La iglesia, cuerpo de Cristo y plenitud de Dios* (*The Church, Body of Christ and Fullness of God*). This project includes five distinct research groups, comprised of fifteen specialists in distinct theological fields. The volume takes the ecclesiologically significant epistle to the Ephesians as its point of departure, as well as the more systematic elements of ecclesiology that may not be fully present in this particular biblical book. Some individual studies resulting from this work have already been accepted for publication or are in the process of publication.[113] It is hoped that the final publication of the complete project will occur in early 2006. In connection with this project, the Fifth Postgraduate Research Seminar at River Plate Adventist University, held on February 20, 2005, in Libertador San Martín, Argentina, focused on the same topic under the title "The Church in Ephesians: From Exegesis to Theology."

Outlook and Future Perspectives
for a Seventh-day Adventist Ecclesiology

As can be seen from this concise bibliographical review, Seventh-day Adventist ecclesiological studies are emerging, particularly on the

[110]Norman R. Gulley, *Systematic Theology: Prolegomena* (Berrien Springs: Andrews University Press, 2003).

[111]Ibid., xxiii.

[112]Ibid., xxvii.

[113]E.g., Gerald A. Klingbeil, "Metaphors and Pragmatics: An Introduction to the Hermeneutics of Metaphors in the Epistle to the Ephesians," *Bulletin for Biblical Research* 15/2 (2005), forthcoming. See also Martin G. Klingbeil, "Exclusivism and Inclusivism: The Concept of Citizenship in the Pentateuch and Its Metaphorical Usage in Ephesians," unpublished paper.

"periphery." By the term "periphery," I refer to Seventh-day Adventism outside the U.S.A., which, historically and administratively, has been and still is, to a certain degree, the center of Seventh-day Adventism.

The first issue I foresee, based on this bibliographical review, concerns geographic changes in global Adventism. The ratio of Adventists in the U.S.A. to Adventists in Asia, Africa, and Central and South America is decreasing. This has a direct bearing upon decision-making and trends, since in the administrative system of the Seventh-day Day Church voting power is based upon membership. Besides the theological issues surrounding women's ordination, this may have been one of the main reasons for the resounding negative vote in Utrecht against women's ordination because women's ordination is not necessarily a major issue in developing countries, which represent a growing percentage of global Adventism. As a result of the geographic change, more theological research is appearing in languages other than English.[114]

A second issue that will require further research and increased attention is the administrative structure of the Seventh-day Adventist Church concerning the issue of congregationalism and the biblical concept of the unity of the body. Will the Seventh-day Adventist Church remain a global and united church?

Another crucial issue is whether the church will be able to maintain not only administrative unity, but the spiritual/mental unity that is important for accomplishing the divine imperative of bringing the gospel to all nations, kindred, tongues, and people.

Fourth, Adventist theologians are beginning to discuss the relationship between world and church. This is by no means a modern question. Paul often counseled the nascent Christian church about this issue.

Another relevant item on the agenda of Seventh-day Adventist ecclesiological research concerns the study of the remnant. Recent developments suggest that this particular concept, which has been a mainstay of Adventist theology for many generations, is increasingly under fire. Closely related to this issue is the Adventist approach to reading apocalyptic texts. While still maintaining a historicist stance, can Adventists afford to question the identity of the end-time remnant?

Finally, theological reflection of ecclesiological issues needs to grapple

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[114]This trend has also been observed in general biblical hermeneutics and has been described as the "globalization of hermeneutics." For examples see Craig L. Blomberg, "The Globalization of Hermeneutics," *JETS* 38/4 (1995): 581-593; Heikki Räisänen et al., eds., *Reading the Bible in the Global Village: Helsinki* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2000); and Musa W. Dube, "Villagizing, Globalizing, and Biblical Studies," in *Reading the Bible in the Global Village: Cape Town*, ed. Justin S. Ukpong et al., Global Perspectives on Biblical Scholarship 3 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2002), 41-63.

with the concept of worldview and its influence in theological thinking. This, in turn, requires careful hermeneutical decisions. After all, we are looking for valid biblical understanding of particular concepts which then will affect our lifestyle and choices and not vice versa. The next years will be exciting and crucial in Seventh-day Adventist ecclesiological discussions.[115]

[115]The next international Bible Symposium, sponsored by the Biblical Research Institute of the General Conference, the Adventist Theological Society, and the Andrews University Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary, to be held in Turkey (July 7-17, 2006), will focus particularly upon ecclesiology. The general title of the conference is "The Adventist Theologian and the Nature, Mission, and Unity of the Church." The Biblical Research Institute is also working on the publication of a volume dealing exclusively with the Seventh-day Adventist perspective of the church.

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REVIEW ARTICLE: *PENSAR LA IGLESIA HOY*

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Klingbeil, Gerald A., Martin G. Klingbeil, Miguel Ángel Núñez, eds. *Pensar la iglesia hoy: Hacia una eclesiología Adventista. Estudios teológicos presentados durante el IV Simposio Bíblico-Teológico Sudamericano en honor a Raoul Dederen* (Thinking about the church today: toward an Adventist ecclesiology: theological papers presented at the fourth South American biblical-theological symposium, in honor of Raoul Dederen). Libertador, San Martín, Argentina: Universidad Adventista del Plata, 2002. xxxi + 524 pp. Paper, $20.00.

A recent, growing interest in ecclesiology among Seventh-day Adventists is a result of a perceived change in the way Adventists worldwide—though more prominently those in the Western world—understand the nature, authority, and mission of the church. The forces of change are multiple and diverse, including, among others, the economic and structural pressures of a worldwide mission; the cultural diversity of a fast-growing international movement, whose membership majority has shifted from the Western to the Third World; theological stress caused by the apparent delay of the Second Advent; and, probably greatest of all, the "spirit of the age" or postmodernism that has redefined the world and truth itself. *Pensar la iglesia hoy* seeks to add the South American voice to this debate.

South American Adventist theological thinking has found a vibrant expression in the annual Simposio Bíblico-Teológico Sudamericano (South American Biblical-Theological Symposium) that, in four years of existence, has grown to more than 500 participants, 88 papers, and presenters from six different countries, representing fourteen institutions, seven of which were universities (ix). The Symposium has also produced a book on hermeneutics (M. Alomía, G. Klingbeil, M. Klingbeil, y J. Torreblanca, eds. *Entender la Palabra: Hermenéutica Adventista para el Nuevo Siglo* [Understanding the word: Adventist hermeneutics for the new century] [Cochabamba, Bolivia: Editorial UAB, 2000]).

Pensar la iglesia hoy offers a collection of thirty-five papers that "think the church" from an impressive array of biblical and nonbiblical disciplines, expertise, and geographical provenance. Its five sections include "Exegesis and Biblical Foundation," "Theological Reflection," "Historical Studies," "Cultural Context," and "Praxis and Application." This structure witnesses to the broad focus of the book, whose main purpose is to give voice to the

biblical and theological thought of South America. The work is dedicated to
Raoul Dederen, Professor Emeritus of Systematic Theology at Andrews
University, who has made the most significant contribution to the
christological and ecclesiological thought of Adventists in that region and
probably the world. In addition to the thirty-five papers selected for the
book, there is a biographical sketch and a bibliography of Dederen's works,
prepared by his former student and current colleague Miroslav M. Kiš, Chair
of the Department of Theology and Christian Philosophy. The work closes
with an appendix containing a voted declaration of the vision and theological
conviction of the Symposium regarding the doctrine of the church (489-490),
and indices of Authors and Biblical Passages, facilitating access to information
in the book.

The majority of papers published in the book were prepared by scholars
with expertise in the areas of biblical exegesis and systematic, applied, and
historical theology. There are, however, several authors whose expertise falls
outside the area of religion, but who have enriched the dialogue by "thinking
the church" from the perspective of their own disciplines. Carlos H. Cerdá
(D.Soc. cand., "Relación entre Laodicea y la Sociedad Posmoderna: Efectos
en la Iglesia" [The relationship between Laodicea and the postmodern society:
effects in the church]) analyzes the relationship between the church and its
environment from a sociological perspective, showing the impact of
postmodernism on Adventism as evidenced in polls and surveys. Chantal J.
Klingbeil (M.Phil., "Iglesia y Cultura: ¿Amigas o Enemigas?" [Church and
culture: friends or foes?]) studies the same relationship from a philosophical
perspective and methodology. Mario Pereyra (Dr.Psic., "La Iglesia y el
Mundo en la Escatología Apocalíptica, desde el Contexto Posmoderno" [The
church and the world in apocalyptic eschatology from a postmodern
context]) offers a psychological diagnostic of Laodicea and Babylon in John's
Revelation, where the first suffers from narcissism and the latter of an
antisocial personality disorder. Antonio V. Cremades (Dr.Cs.Biol., "El Valor
de la Naturaleza para la Iglesia" [The value of nature for the church])
emphasizes the importance of nature for the church not only because of the
stewardship entrusted to humanity at creation, but as an object of reflection
and tool for study, discovery, and evangelism. Finally, René Rogelio Smith
(D.Ed., "Educación y Apocalipsis en la Eclesiología Adventista" [Education
and the book of Revelation in Adventist ecclesiology"]) finds in the three
angels' messages of Rev 14 a historical-theological validation for Christian
education. He suggests that the church has been called to invite the world to
an alternate system of education that does not bear the marks of Babylon's
system of error, as described in the book of Revelation.

The authors are also diverse in levels of expertise, from a fourth-year

undergraduate theology student to world leaders in Adventist scholarship. The majority of articles show a strong emphasis on high degrees of specialization: twenty-five of the thirty-five authors have doctoral degrees and five others are doctoral-degree candidates. The quality of the papers is also diverse. For example, a few papers resemble the transcript of the research process and work of the author rather than a concise and forceful presentation of research and publication results. As a consequence, these unnecessarily long papers, which contain information not directly relevant or essential to the topic, detract from the ability of the reader to stay focused and interested in the contributions of the book in general.

Pensar la iglesia hoy conveys, however, more than the voice of South America. The geographical provenance of its authors is also diverse. Although twenty-nine of the articles are written in Spanish, six are written in English, and at least seven of the authors are from outside South America. Finally, while the majority of the articles come from authors in the five Adventist universities of South America (Universidad Adventista del Plata, Argentina; Universidad Adventista de Bolivia; Centro Universitario, Brazil; Universidad Adventista de Chile; Universidad Peruana Union, Peru), the focus of the articles is not limited to the Adventist church in South America. The book is concerned with the Adventist church as a worldwide entity and includes contributions of foreign authors from institutions such as Andrews University, Southern Adventist University, the Biblical Research Institute, and the Seventh-day Adventist world headquarters in Washington, D.C.

Given the systematic nature of the book, I will evaluate *Pensar la iglesia hoy* from a matrix of three fundamental questions of ecclesiology: What does the book say about (1) the nature, (2) the mission, and (3) the authority of the church? The book is structured according to theological disciplines; however, in my opinion, the evaluation should be guided by the general aim of the book, stated in the subtitle: *Hacia una eclesiología Adventista* (Toward an Adventist ecclesiology). Alberto R. Timm's essay "Seventh-day Adventist Ecclesiology, 1844-2001: A Brief Historical Overview" provides a helpful, brief history of Adventist ecclesiological thinking. Timm's article is probably the best place to start reading the book, and contains excellent introductory bibliographies in the footnotes.

Pensar la iglesia hoy *and the Nature of the Church*

The articles on the nature of the church gravitate around two important tenets of Adventism that are being challenged by *progressive* theological and cultural trends: the corporate unity (for a helpful bibliography in this regard, see p. 4 n. 4), and its self-identification as the eschatological remnant.

Regarding the corporate unity of the church, several writers point out

that Scripture contains a dialectical tension between individualism and collectivism. Gerald Klingbeil ("Entre Individualismo y Colectivismo: Hacia una Perspectiva Bíblica de la Naturaleza de la Iglesia" [Between individualism and collectivism: toward a biblical perspective of the nature of the church]) describes this tension in the OT. He notes that both modern and postmodern worldviews undermine the importance of the group and suggests that Adventists "renegotiate their culturization," following the OT's worldview. Efraín Velásquez ("La Tribu: Hacia una Eclesiología Adventista Basada en las Escrituras Hebreas" [The tribe: toward an Adventist ecclesiology based on the Hebrew Scriptures]), who argues in similar terms, explores the tribe as a model for ecclesiology. His article is a prime example of the dyadic culture described by G. Klingbeil. Velásquez suggests, without further elaboration, that the idea of a tribe-church is continued in the NT as the οἰκός-church (40). This suggestion deserves further study. Ekkehardt Müller ("Introduction to the Ecclesiology of the Book of Revelation") points out the same dialectical tension in the book of Revelation, in which the church is local and universal, militant and triumphant, visible and invisible. Merling Alomía ("Dimensiones Cósmicas de la Iglesia Reveladas en la Epístola a los Hebreos" [Cosmic dimension of the church as revealed in the letter to the Hebrews]) considers the cosmic and universal nature of the church in the epistle to the Hebrews. Unfortunately, however, he makes only fleeting mention of Heb 12:22-23, which not only gives the clearest expression in Hebrews of the cosmic nature of the church, but also connects the church to the major theological topics of the epistle to the Hebrews.

While G. Klingbeil, Velásquez, Müller, and Alomía emphasize collectivism, Juan Millanao ("Elementos Básicos para la Elaboración de una Teología Adventista del Sacerdocio de Todos los Creyentes" [Basic elements for the elaboration of an Adventist theology of the priesthood of all believers]) explores the other pole of the dialectical tension: the place of the individual. He proposes seven essential characteristics of an Adventist doctrine of the priesthood of all believers. Far from undermining corporate unity, he concludes, the doctrine of the priesthood of all believers helps to foster and maintain the cohesion of the universal church (210). One point in his biblical argument needs more precision. He argues that the books that speak of the Christian's priesthood (i.e., Revelation and 1 Peter) do not speak of Christ as priest, and the book that develops Christ's priesthood (i.e., Hebrews) does not speak expressly of the priesthood of believers (210). I would argue, however, that Hebrews does refer to the believers' actions in priestly terms. For example, believers have an "altar" (13:10), where they are invited to "continually offer a sacrifice of praise to God . . . for such sacrifices are pleasing to God" (Heb

13:15-16, NRSV; see also 9:14; 12:28-29; and John M. Scholer, *Proleptic Priests: Priesthood in the Epistle to the Hebrews, JSOT*sup, ed. David E. Orton, 49 [Sheffield: JSOT, 1991]).

Finally, Richard W. Medina's call to unity ("La Unidad de la Iglesia según el Salmo 133" [The unity of the church according to Psalm 133]) is ambiguous. While he criticizes the individualist tendency of postmodern culture, his definition of unity as "fellowship" provides room for a "postmodern practice" of ecclesiology, where it is the "experience" of brotherhood that remains important. Other authors also addressed the causes for an individualist/congregationalist trend in Adventism. Lael Caesar ("Una Nación Bajo Dios, Indivisible" [One nation under God, indivisible]) identifies the attitude of "being-better-than" as the greatest challenge to the unity of the Adventist Church. He warns that the church is not immune to this problem, as observed in the necessity to assign resources to confirm those deserving of recognition (232). George W. Reid's excellent article "Three Significant Changes Facing Today's Church" analyzes the powerful impact of postmodernism on the way Adventists think (he identifies a shift from objective truth to experience), understand unity (he identifies "fractures along ethnic, language, tribal, and economic social fault lines"), and define their identity (he identifies a "migration from a doctrinal to a relational platform" in defining the essence of Adventism). This insightful and provocative article also serves as an internal evaluation of the Symposium itself. Raúl Kerbs ("¿Cuál es el *Logos* de la Eclesio-*logía* Adventista?" [What is the *logos* in Adventist ecclesio-*logy*?]) studies three theological paradigms throughout history (classic, modern, and postmodern) and their impact on ecclesiology. He concludes that Adventists should not try to define their ecclesiology from any of these paradigms, but find its own paradigm in Scripture.

On the issue of individualism and congregationalism, however, there remain important questions that the Symposium did not address: Is the tension between collectivism and individualism, which is present in Scripture, appropriately reflected in the current organizational structure of the church; and do present policies give enough, too much, or too little authority and economical and political resources to the local church? It is evident that congregationalist tendencies represent a threat to the historic ecclesiological understanding of Adventism. However, are these congregationalist tendencies due only to the impact of postmodernism and the cultural diversity of the church, as the book seems to imply? Prominent Adventist voices, who suggest that this may not be the case, have called attention to the advantages of some structural changes in the church's organization (e.g., Robert S. Folkenberg, "Church Structure—Servant or

Master?" *Ministry* [June 1989]: 14-53; George R. Knight, *The Fat Lady and the Kingdom: Adventist Mission Confronts the Challenges of Institutionalism and Secularization* [Boise, ID: Pacific Press, 1995]). With regard to the political aspect, Raoul Dederen suggests that there is room for progress in policies dealing with the way local congregations appoint their representatives to the worldwide General Conference Session ("The Church: Authority and Unity: Its Source, Nature, and Expression," *Ministry* Supp [May 1995]: 2-16). The Symposium's silence on this aspect is significant.

A related omission is also significant: What are the signs of unity? In the Symposium, unity is emphasized more than it is sufficiently defined and explored. For example, the unity of the church is expressed both in visible organizational structures and in charismatic structures derived from the Holy Spirit through individual spiritual gifts. What is the relation of these two types of structures to each other? Do the present organizational structures allow enough room for the charismatic structures to function adequately? It is clear that the Adventist understanding of its worldwide mission requires a worldwide structure; however, this does not make the meaning and expression of unity obvious.

A tenet of Adventist ecclesiology that is being undermined by progressive tendencies is Adventists' self-identification as the eschatological remnant, which has often been misunderstood as an exclusive claim. Ángel M. Rodríguez ("The Remnant in Contemporary Adventist Thinking"), who identifies reasons for these undermining tendencies, lists the new proposals being made and provides a supporting bibliography in the footnotes. Rodriguez demonstrates that Scripture uses the remnant concept in several ways, and suggests how a healthy self-concept of "remnant" should account for them. His study brings to the fore the vital role of an eschatological perspective for Adventist ecclesiology.

David P. Gullón ("Exposición y Evaluación Crítica del Concepto de Iglesia, Israel y de su Papel Escatológico en la Concepción Teológica del Dispensacionalismo" [Exposition and critical evaluation of the concept of the church and Israel and their eschatological role in the theological conception of dispensationalism]) offers a critical evaluation of evangelical dispensationalism and its eschatological understanding of the nature of the church. The evaluation is good as far as it goes, but has a surprising omission: it doesn't offer an analysis of Rom 9-11, the importance of which is mentioned in the introduction and conclusion of the article, but is absent from its body.

Another important topic on which the Symposium is relatively silent is the relationship of Adventism to other denominations. Several articles mention the issue in passing, but do not really discuss it. For example, the

role that Adventism should play in ecumenical movements is not clear. This has been a hotly debated issue among Adventists and the cause of disaffection in some sectors. This silence about the church's relation to other denominations is also related to the little attention that the Symposium gives to the church as a visible and invisible entity, but which is touched on by Müller and Rodríguez.

Pensar la iglesia hoy *and the Mission of the Church*

The Adventist understanding of the church's mission is inextricably tied to the debate over the nature of the church. *Pensar la iglesia hoy* affirms that this mission is *worldwide* in scope and unique because of its eschatological *timing* and its distinctive doctrinal *content*. The Adventist understanding that the scope of the church's mission requires a worldwide, unified organizational structure is the reason for the Symposium's constant call to unity.

The worldwide scope of the Adventist mission is emphasized by Efraín Choque ("Prioridades para la Misión en la Iglesia Primitiva Según Hechos 1:8: Un Modelo para la Iglesia Hoy" [Priorities for mission in the primitive church according to Acts 1:8: a model for the church today]) and Rubén R. Otto ("La Evangelización: Un Proceso Pre- y Pos-Bautismal" [Evangelism: a pre- and post-baptism process]). Ron E. M. Clouzet ("El Desafío de la Formación de Líderes en la Educación Teológica: La Lección de Eliseo" [The challenge of leadership formation in theological education: a lesson from Elisha]) offers a study on the formation of leaders for the fulfillment of this mission.

The importance of the historical timing of the Adventist mission is expounded by Enrique Becerra ("El Significado de una Misión Escatológica" [The significance of an eschatological mission]) and René Rogelio Smith ("Educación y Apocalipsis en la Eclesiología Adventista" [Education and the book of Revelation in Adventist ecclesiology]), who both affirm the eschatological nature of the Adventist mission.

The eschatological nature of the Adventist message is inseparably connected with its distinctive doctrines, such as the heavenly sanctuary and the preadvent judgment, which find an obvious basis in the eschatological books of Scripture without excluding the importance of Leviticus, Hebrews, Ezekiel, Psalms, portions of the Gospels, and other Scriptures to these doctrines. However, Héctor E. Urrutia ("El Mensaje del Remanente Final en los Libros Sapienciales" [The message of the final remnant in wisdom literature]) shows how these doctrines are also present in wisdom literature. Fernando Canale ("Hermenéutica, Teología y Remanente" [Hermeneutics, theology, and remnant]) goes a step further by identifying the hermeneutical

principles underlying the differing attitudes toward and understandings of the remnant in contemporary Adventism and their relation to its distinctive doctrines. He concludes that the current crisis is the result of an abandonment of the eschatological hermeneutics of early Adventism. In other words, since the distinctive doctrines of Adventism (e.g., Sabbath, the heavenly sanctuary, and preadvent judgment) were conceived to be a harmonious and comprehensive system of biblical truths essential to the world in the time of the end, the loss of an eschatological perspective would entail the loss of Adventism's uniqueness and *raison d'etre*, with the result that the Adventist self-understanding as an end-time remnant would become untenable. Canale's article suggests other questions not addressed in his article or elsewhere in the Symposium: How can Seventh-day Adventism's fundamental beliefs be articulated to meet the challenges of postmodern and non-Western cultures? Does the Adventist message remain relevant to the twenty-first-century person? Though beliefs may remain unchangeable, is Adventism engaged in a continuous process of contextualization? These are questions that deserve further exploration.

Pensar la iglesia hoy *and the Authority of the Church*

Roberto Pereyra ("La Autoridad de la Escritura y la autoridad de la iglesia organizada: ¿Absoluta/Relativa?" [The authority of Scripture and the authority of the organized church: absolute or relative?]) frankly addresses the issue of church authority and concludes that the church's authority originates from and depends on Scripture. The organized church has authority only to the degree that it remains obedient and faithful to Scripture. Miroslav M. Kiš ("Holiness of the Church") studies holiness as a characteristic and supreme vocation of the church, noting its implications for church discipline. The church was intended to be a "structure" that nurtures a life of holiness; therefore, it lives according to specific standards of conduct and makes discipline necessary. That discipline, however, must be preventive and redemptive in nature. Kiš suggests specific ways in which this can be achieved.

Miguel Ángel Núñez ("Cristo, Cabeza de la Iglesia: ¿Jefe, Caudillo u otro Significado?" [Christ, head of the church: chief, leader, or some other signifier?]) studies the concept of "head" in Scripture and its relationship to authority. He argues correctly that the concept of "head" in NT times did not convey the idea of authority—as it does today—but that of nurturing. He remains unconvincing, however, in the relationship between the concept of "head" as nurturer of the body and the instruction to submit. His assertion that "there is no passage in the whole New Testament that suggests that 'to be the head' of the church may suggest in the case of Christ a relationship of

authority" (249) is an overstatement. First, his study has not analyzed all the relevant NT passages that deal with the concepts of "head," "authority," and "Christ." For example, he omits 1 Cor 11:3, 10. Second, Eph 5:22-23 uses the relationship of head to body between Christ and the church as an analogy for the instruction to wives to submit to their husbands. In other words, the fact that the concept of "head" in the NT world conveyed the idea of "nurturing" does not prevent NT authors also from using the idea of "nurturing" in a relationship of submission-authority. Even leading feminist NT scholars, such as E. Schüssler Fiorenza, recognize this point (cf. *In Memory of Her: A Feminist Theological Reconstruction of Christian Origins* [New York: Crossroad, 1983], 269; cited by Andrew T. Lincoln, *Ephesians*, WBC, 42 [Dallas: Word, 1990], 368). The issue is complex and deserves a less categorical conclusion.

Regarding apostolic succession and its relation to authority, Humberto R. Treiyer ("La Autoridad de la iglesia: El Dilema de la sucesión apostólica—Aportes de Elena de White y Hans Küng" [The authority of the church and the dilemma of the apostolic succession—the contributions of Ellen White and Hans Küng]) finds parallels between Ellen G. White and Hans Küng. He argues that both writers maintain that apostolic succession is not authority conferred on certain individuals, but a commission to engage in ministry to the world. Fernando Aranda Fraga ("La Metamorfosis en la Relación Iglesia-Estado a Partir de la Filosofía Política y Jurídica Premoderna de Ockham" [The metamorphosis in the relationship between church and state, starting from the premodern political and juridical philosophy of Ockham]) offers a historical study of the fourteenth-century political and juridical theories of William of Ockham. Ockham's definition of the state as a sphere distinct from the church, with its authority coming only indirectly from God and primarily from its people, led the way to a parallel understanding of the nature and authority of the church. Ockham's ideas were developed throughout modernity and lie at the heart of contemporary evangelical views on ecclesiology.

Several articles explore how the authority of the church may be appropriately exercised. Pfandl ("Independent Ministries") analyzes the challenges posed by some independent Adventist organizations, which often seem to be working at cross-purposes with the organized church. He explores the causes of their success and suggests appropriate responses. Within the discussion on ecclesiastical authority, however, three articles focused on the challenges of a postmodern worldview, and of applying the church's lifestyle standards in differing cultures. Chantal J. Klingbeil ("Iglesia y Cultura: ¿Amigas o Enemigas?" [Church and culture: friends or foes?]) shows how

culture impacts both an individual's actions and one's understanding of the world. Carlos A. Steger ("Cristianismo y Cultura: El Dilema de las Instituciones Educativas Adventistas" [Christianity and culture: the dilemma of Adventist educational institutions]) explores the relationship between culture and church standards in the context of Christian educational institutions. Daniel Rode ("El Modelo de Adaptación de Pablo Según 1 Cor 9:19-23" [Paul's model of adaptation according to 1 Cor 9:19-23]) suggests a biblical model for adaptation to different cultures, following Paul's example. C. Klingbeil, Steger, and Rode provide an excellent beginning in their clarification of principles for applying church standards in diverse cultures, but there is still much more to do. The writers agree that there are core principles that remain consistent across cultures. However, what is included in that core? What should be the distinguishing marks that identify an Adventist lifestyle across cultures? While the task of defining Adventism as "culture" is difficult, it has been addressed. For example, William G. Johnsson ("Living as Adventists: Christian Lifestyle in a World Church," unpublished paper [1987], Center for Adventist Research, Andrews University) has proposed some characteristic elements of Adventism as a *supra*-culture.

In summary, the Symposium has clearly identified the challenges that postmodernism and cultural diversity pose to the church, but has been less explicit in identifying the opportunities they offer. Spiritual needs, moral values, God, and truth itself have not so much disappeared from the horizon of postmodern society as they have been redefined. The identification of challenges is important, even essential for survival, but it calls for a second step: the identification of strategies for confronting those challenges with success. With some significant exceptions, this book has remained reactive. It is time that the Adventist ecclesiological debate progresses from reaction to proaction.

Pensar la iglesia hoy remains, however, an outstanding contribution to the ongoing debate on ecclesiology among Adventists. As far as I know, a meeting and a work of this nature, totally focused on ecclesiology, are unprecedented in the history of the Seventh-day Adventist Church. Its authors engage the topic from surprisingly diverse perspectives and academic disciplines. Despite the varying quality of scholarship in its articles and some neglected issues as noted above, the book presents an informed and faithful picture of the current debate, and, in many cases, advances it to new stages. No study of Adventist ecclesiology can ignore this book and still claim to be informed on the topic.

"YOUR DAUGHTERS SHALL PROPHESY" :
JAMES WHITE, URIAH SMITH, AND
THE "TRIUMPHANT VINDICATION
OF THE RIGHT OF THE
SISTERS" TO PREACH[1]

BEVERLY BEEM   GINGER HANKS HARWOOD
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College Place, Washington   La Sierra, California

In 1861, the *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*[2] featured an article written by J. A. Mowatt, "Women as Preachers and Lecturers,"[3] reprinted from the *Portadown News*. The *Review* carried the piece with an introduction written by the editor, Uriah Smith, that indicated the enthusiastic support of the official organ of the Sabbatarian Adventist believers for Mowatt's thesis that "neither Paul nor any other apostle forbade women preaching, or lecturing." Mowatt had contended that "such a command is nowhere in the Bible, and I shall proceed to prove it; and, besides, I will prove that Paul taught the very opposite." Uriah Smith, a respected Bible scholar and church leader, had this to say in his introduction of the piece:

> [We consider the following a triumphant vindication of the right of the sisters to take part in the public worship of God. The writer applies the prophecy of Joel—"Your daughters shall prophesy," &c., to female preaching; but while it must embrace public speaking of some kind, this we think is but half of its meaning. We have nothing to say upon what the writer claims to have been done by certain females. That to which the attention of the reader is especially called is the argument by which he shows that they have a *right* to do this, or any amount besides in the same direction.—U.S.]

The topic of women's spiritual leadership in the church had been, periodically, a subject in the *Review* ever since James White first formally

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[2]This journal circulated among the scattered bands of believers who continued to hope for the imminent return of Christ, even after the Great Disappointment of 1844, and who embraced the seventh-day Sabbath. The full name of the journal reflects these two key elements, the Sabbath and the Second Advent, which identified them as a group, though in popular usage it was frequently shortened to *The Review and Herald* or simply the *Review*.

[3]J. A. Mowatt, "Women as Preachers and Lecturers," *Review and Herald*, July 30, 1861, 65-66. Extracted from the *Portadown News*, Ireland, of March 2, 1861.

addressed the topic in September of 1857.[4] In the period between the beginning of the *Review* in 1850 and the formal organization of the Seventh-day Adventist Church in 1863, movement leadership took a strong stand on the inclusive nature of spiritual gifts and the Christian obligation to exercise them in public assemblies and religious meetings. This was not a rhetorical discussion: women were involved in the preaching ministry of the church. Women traveled to evangelize; spoke in the churches and gatherings of believers; wrote theological, devotional, and scriptural articles; exhorted the believers; and exercised spiritual leadership. In addition to the records of Ellen White's constant public addresses, references to individuals such as Sister Lindsey and her evangelism in New York State and Sister S. F. Shimper, who traveled with Brother W. Morse in Vermont teaching "the third angel's message," provide evidence of the practice.[5]

In the Sabbatarian Adventist Movement, the smallest of the Millerite siblings on its way to becoming a recognized entity in its own right, the expectations for women believers did not end with modest examples of pious and commendable lives and the support of the cause with financial resources and presence in meetings. Church leaders consistently exhorted women to exercise the full range of spiritual gifts. Elder Merritt Cornell, for example, noted that all members of the church were "licensed exhorters,"[6] an established leadership position involving a commentary on and application of the sermon provided during the worship service after the sermon concluded. This expectation that women would address religious assemblies ran counter to traditional assumptions concerning the prescribed place of women in society and church settings, silent and subordinated. It naturally encountered resistance and opposition from individuals indoctrinated into entrenched cultural attitudes.

A careful screening of the pages of the *Review* yields a number of articles that address the question of women's public spiritual leadership in the church. Eight articles devoted specifically to the topic, all of them unambiguously supportive of women's preaching, prophesying, and exhorting, appeared during this thirteen-year period.[7] No articles, letters

[4]James White, "Paul Says So," *Review and Herald*, September 10, 1857, 152. James White was one of the founders of the Seventh-day Adventist Church and the earliest editor of the *Review*.

[5]Brian E. Strayer, "Sarah A. H. Lindsay: Advent Preacher on the Southern Tier," *Adventist Heritage* (Fall 1986): 16-20, cited by Josephine Benton, *Called by God* (Smithsburg, MD: Blackberry Hill Publications, 1990), 161-162.

[6]M. E. Cornell and R. J. Lawrence, "Tent Meetings in Lapeer, Mich. Closed," *Review and Herald*, September 9, 1857, 133.

[7]White, 1857; Hewitt, 1857; White, 1858; Robbins, 1859; anon., 1858; Robbins, 1860; Welcome, 1860; Mowatt, 1861.

to the editor, opinion pieces, or theological expositions during this period endeavor to restrict women's preaching or speaking ministry. Additional pieces endorse women's public-speaking roles indirectly or by inference, such as Joseph Clarke's appeal that all find and use their voices in "conference, or social meeting, or in the *Review*," which he characterizes as "a weekly conference of all the remnant."[8] Writing for the *Review* during this time was to address the largest and most public gathering of the Sabbatarian Adventists, and women as well as men were regularly exhorted to speak through its pages.

"Let Your Women Keep Silence"

The eight *Review* articles focused on women's speaking ministry tackled the arguments given to exclude women from the preaching, speaking, and prophetic ministries in the church. The most ubiquitous objection focused on Paul's injunction found in 1 Cor 14:34: "Let your women keep silence in the churches." For a people who based their practice upon Scripture, this verse could not be ignored. A formal articulation of the group's understanding of the scriptural warrant for such a departure from conventional religious practice was needed.

Any meaningful response had to respect scriptural inspiration and textual integrity. The *Review* articles addressed the topic with a characteristic Adventist hermeneutic: Scripture was compared with Scripture, the meaning of each verse nuanced by the general argument in which it is situated, viewed in the context of the cultural realities in which it was given, compared with other statements by the same author, and, finally, understood in light of all the scriptural information on the subject, a step mandated by their insistence upon the harmony of revelation. This was the careful hermeneutic that the movement demanded on all doctrinal issues and which served them well in a period when the prime objective of the group was to replace tradition, creed, and convention with a biblically based practice and understanding. This hermeneutic provided the foundation for their response to those who asserted that Scripture reserved spiritual leadership for men.

An examination of the eight articles—with attention given to the author's purpose, arguments employed to develop the positions presented, and the selection and hermeneutic of Scripture—demonstrates the serious intention of early church leaders to provide the movement with a well-articulated statement concerning the inclusive nature of spiritual gifts and the Christian obligation to exercise them publicly. It also served as a solid

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[8]J. Clarke, "Why," *Review and Herald*, December 8, 1859, 22.

defense to offer those who claimed a scriptural basis for the exclusion of women from the speaking ministry (i.e., preaching, prophesying, public praying, or exhorting).

James White: "Paul Says So"

James White offers the first formal attempt to address the topic of women preaching.[9] White's comfort with the role of women in spiritual leadership may be tied to his original affiliation with the Christian Connexion, a group unusual in its acceptance of women preachers and exhorters,[10] as well as his experience in the Millerite movement, where certain women were hailed as some of the most effective of the public evangelists.[11] White tackles the objections to women's speaking and preaching in the brief article "Paul Says So" with the intention of answering those who would silence women in the church arena by quoting Paul. White's general tone is one of frustration and exasperation that some followers of God allowed isolated, uncontextualized verses to override the obvious scriptural and practical evidence that God calls women into the ministry of the Word. His no-nonsense attitude displays no empathy for those who "do not like to hear the Marys preach." He responds to those who believe they have solved the whole issue by saying "Paul says so," with a question. "Says what?" he asks. "Let your women keep silence in the churches" is the definitive answer that comes back. Again, White answers with his own question, "But what does this prove?" He continues the dialog: "'It proves' say some, 'that women should not rise in social meeting and speak.'"

White's argument is that it is necessary to take a position on this text "which will harmonize with both revelation and reason," and that when Paul asked that women be silent and learn at home from their husbands he could not have meant to include all parts of church life. He suggests that Paul was probably referring to church business meetings, which, he asserts, the men would handle. He reasons that if the injunction applied to religious meetings, there would be no reason for the women to attend, as they should be learning what they needed to know from their husbands. Arguing from common sense, he says: "It is evident that if Paul meant that women should not speak in religious meetings, his words prove also that the sisters should not attend religious meetings."

White's offer to harmonize Paul's teachings for those "who do not

[9]White, 152.

[10]George R. Knight, *Millennial Fever and the End of the World* (Boise, ID: Pacific Press, 1993), 119.

[11]Ibid., 189-121.

like to hear the Marys preach a risen or coming Saviour" confers on preaching women the status of disciple and evangelist, as the Mary of the Gospels was authorized by Jesus to take the good news of the resurrection to the male disciples. This reference to the biblical precedent undermines the assertion that women could not speak with spiritual authority or have a divine charge to instruct the church. It infers that individuals objecting to women's preaching did so in opposition to biblical precedent and example. This also suggests that the problem with women preaching was located not in the gender of the "messengers," but in the unwillingness of some to accept the Word of God when it was delivered to them.

While being neither a careful exegesis of the passage nor an exhaustive exploration of the objections, both the tone and the content of this initial essay on the subject provide the reader with an unambiguous understanding of the movement's official position on women's preaching. White's first excursion into this area reveals the basic hermeneutic that will be developed more fully in future articles.

David Hewitt: "Let Your Women Keep Silence in the Churches"

The next effort to address the same issue appears a month later in David Hewitt's article, "Let Your Women Keep Silence in the Churches."[12] In a more systematic treatment of the subject and the principles of hermeneutics to be used when addressing Bible topics, Hewitt marshals Scripture to establish that women have a legitimate place in the speaking ministry of the church. Acknowledging that "many sincere and honest souls have been very much perplexed respecting this declaration of the apostle Paul," he asserts that there are "other declarations of the same apostle that must be brought to harmonize with this in order to get a clear understanding of the Apostle's meaning in 1 Cor. xiv."

Hewitt proceeds by reminding Bible students that "no one should found a theory on one single isolated passage," and that "it is a custom with all Bible students to find all the important texts that bear on any one subject, and compare them together until they come to a satisfactory understanding of what the inspired penman means." He then turns the reader's attention to the Corinthian verses that instruct women to have their heads covered when praying or prophesying and concludes that these texts demonstrate that "a woman can pray or prophesy in the church."

Hewitt walks the reader through Paul's general discussion on prophecy (a gift for the edification and comfort of the church, with rules

[12]D. Hewitt, "Let Your Women Keep Silence in the Churches," *Review and Herald,* October 18, 1857, 190.

as to how it is to be exercised), as well as the specific verses in 1 Cor 14:34 and 35 ("Let your women keep silence in the churches: for it is not permitted unto them to speak") and 1 Tim 2:12 ("But I suffer not a woman to teach, nor to usurp authority over the man, but to be in silence") that are cited as determinative of women's role in the church. He examines 1 Cor 14:34-35 in the context of its time and place and determines that the counsel "appears to be a check on the women that were too forward in meeting in asking questions, &c.," restricting the admonition to a local application. In response to the Timothy citation, Hewitt states that Paul "says that he suffers not a woman to teach, nor to usurp authority over the man, but to be in silence. Hence we discover that simply praying, or singing, or speaking in meeting would not be usurping authority over the man, but edifying the man, and pleasing the Lord."

Finally, Hewitt reminds the reader of two additional scriptural evidences that must be considered before conclusions on the matter are reached: "Philip the evangelist, had four daughters, virgins, which did prophesy; [Acts xxi: 8,9] and if they were forbidden to exercise their gift in meeting, their prophecies must have been circumscribed and very limited." As a final argument, he turns the reader's attention to Acts 2:17, 18, where the Spirit of God is promised to be poured out upon all flesh in the last days—the very "last days" these faithful believed they were witnessing. As he notes: "These texts teach that daughters and hand-maidens shall prophesy. Please read on to the 21st verse, and you will ascertain that the point of chronology is just before the great and notable day of the Lord comes."

In the course of the treatise, Hewitt compares Scripture with Scripture to dispute the claim that Paul's instructions in Corinthians or Timothy disqualify women from exercising their spiritual gifts publicly. In addition, he ties the acceptance of women's speaking to true belief that the world was experiencing the end times. The preaching and prophesying of women in their midst was evidence that the "day of the Lord" was at hand and that their community qualified as the remnant people. Hewitt's use of Acts 2, which applies the prophecy of Joel to the end times, becomes an important model for subsequent discussions. The promise and experience of the gift of the Holy Spirit to both sons and daughters becomes the controlling metaphor for the group, and all other passages must be harmonized with it.

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James White: "Unity and Gifts of
the Church, No. 4"
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In "Unity and Gifts of the Church, No 4," which may be seen as a further development of Hewitt's argument concerning the gifts of the Holy Spirit, James White focuses specifically on the gift of prophecy, poured out upon

women, as well as men.[13] The gift is a "glorious promise to the waiting, trusting people of God," people who must neither despise nor quench the Spirit. Introducing the topic with the scriptural example of Anna the prophetess's role in the story of Jesus, he offers a number of examples of the prophetic gift exercised within the NT. He is clear from his first example of prophetic gifts in the apostolic age that "we find both men and women having the spirit of prophecy."

White examines the source, nature, and purpose of prophecy, using as a model Paul's testimony before King Agrippa in Acts 26. Paul tells the story of his conversion on the road to Damascus when Jesus says to him: "'I have appeared unto thee for this purpose, to make thee a minister and a witness both of these things which thou hast seen, and of those things in the which I will appear unto thee; delivering thee from the people, and from the Gentiles, unto whom now I send thee, to open their eyes, and to turn them from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God.'" Using this passage as a foundation, White defines prophecy as the personal and direct communication of God to an individual for the purpose of making that person "a minister and a witness" to what has been seen for the purpose of redeeming the lost.

White is clear that prophecy is one gift among many, quoting Eph 4:11 that Christ "gave some apostles, and some prophets, and some evangelists," and the Corinthian admonition that God has given the church apostles, prophets, teachers, miracles, healers, and other types of gifts. White uses Paul's writings to demonstrate the validity of the prophetic gift within the church. In an important move to establish the connection between Paul's writings about spiritual gifts and the church of the last days, White cites Thess 4:13-18 and 5:1-8 as having "direct reference to the Christians of the last days, who are looking for the Lord."

White emphasizes that the gift of prophecy needs to be valued and examined closely by "those who are watching for the day of the Lord." He maintains that prophecy is a gift of the Spirit, and if the Spirit is grieved and not cherished, the gift will be withdrawn. He directs the reader's attention to Paul's trifold admonition in 1 Thess 5:19-21: "quench not the Spirit;" "despise not prophesyings;" and "prove all things; hold fast that which is good." At this point in his argument, he reasserts the inclusive nature of the gift, citing Joel 2:28: "I will pour out my Spirit, and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy." He notes that those who "reject all that comes in the name of prophesyings" slight an important means of salvation provided by God for their benefit. White acknowledges the

[13]James White, "Unity and Gifts of the Church, No. 4," *Review and Herald*, January 7, 1858, 68-69.

presence of false prophets and deceptions, such as spiritualism, but answers that Scripture provides rules whereby prophetic claims may be tested.

After reviewing the biblical principles given to test prophets, White turns the discussion once more to Joel 2:28-32 in order to consider it carefully. He quotes it completely and notes that "the Spirit is to be poured out" and that "under the influence of the Holy Spirit both sons and daughters will prophesy." He stops to comment that "some have excluded females from a share in this work, because it says, 'your young men shall see visions.' They seem to forget that 'man' and 'men' in the Scriptures generally means both male and female. The infidel Paine would have been ashamed of a quibble involving such ignorance."

White ends the discussion with the assertion that while the Spirit has always been given to God's people, there is a promised abundance to be experienced by the remnant. He warns that prophecy is to be an expected part of the latter-day experience and is indeed a sign of the remnant people. Further, the prophetic gift is given as an aid to salvation and should not be despised. Finally, he addresses the issue that creates the most discomfort for many: the prophetic gifts exercised by women. He is clear throughout the article that women as well as men have been granted the gift of the Holy Spirit and have throughout scriptural history been selected by God to exercise the prophetic function for their communities. Women are given messages from God for the churches, and these messages need to be accepted and embraced. Prophecy is not only a matter of revealing the future, but of relating messages to the community that God has impressed upon an individual for the edification and sanctification of the community. Clearly, women may be ministers to the church, and their ministry is rejected only at the risk of "grieving the Spirit" and its potential withdrawal.

B. F. Robbins: "To the Female Disciples in the Third Angel's Message"

Robbins's 1859 essay is directed specifically to the "female disciples in the third angel's message," and applies the lesson from White's "Gifts" article to women's religious participation.[14] The piece does not examine the Pauline texts, but instead focuses on the positive promises of Christ to the believer and the true disciple's expected response. Brother Robbins suggests that women's reluctance to exercise spiritual leadership is a sign that they have not fully consecrated themselves to God:

> You will pardon my special address to you when I say it is because I have my fears that many of you who I believe are sincerely endeavoring to keep

[14]B. F. Robbins, "To the Female Disciples in the Third Angel's Message," *Review and Herald*, December 8, 1859, 21-22.

the commandments of God and the faith of Jesus, are lacking in that entire heart consecration to God and his cause which he requires of us all; and a want of the experience of the promise of the Father to his sons and daughters of the gift of his Spirit, the endowment of power from on high in order to their usefulness.

According to Robbins, the woman fully submitted to God will accept the spiritual gifts given and employ them for the edification of the church and the glory of God despite potential negative reactions. He asserts that God's promise of the Holy Spirit and the gift of prophecy was given "as much to the female as male disciples of Jesus."

Robbins recognizes that the cultural mores and religious training of the period discouraged women's leadership functions, and he addresses the issue directly. After emphasizing that "here in the precious promise there is neither male nor female," he turns his attention to the prevailing sentiment against women's public ministry. "I know," he admits, "that the most of us have been gathered into the message of the third angel from the sectarian churches where we received our religious training, which we now, in the clear light of God's truth see was defective, both in doctrine and practice."

The defects of these earlier associations included their teaching concerning the role of women in the religious arena. He then asserts that "in some of them the prejudice against woman's efforts and labors in the church, have crushed out her usefulness. This kind of training has in many of you caused timidity, and discouragement, and the neglect of the use of gifts designed to edify the church and glorify God." Robbins stresses that the female disciple must overcome "the embarrassing influence of our former associations" and "conformity to the world" and fully exercise her spiritual gifts.

He expands his argument for the obligation of women's spiritual gifts as callings with an invitation to "go with me in imagination to the gathering of the few disciples of Jesus on the day of Pentecost. There with their brethren in humble expectation sat the faithful Marys." Using this scene as a backdrop, he sketches the Marys' faithfulness as disciples, and then draws attention to the Pentecost moment. He asks: "And did not the tongue of fire descend alike upon them as upon their brethren? Assuredly it did. And think you that their Spirit-baptized lips were closed in silence in that solemn assembly? No: the servants and the handmaidens prophesied there as the Spirit gave them utterance."

Robbins follows his discourse on the obligation of all believers to use spiritual gifts given for the edification of the church with a personal experience where a woman's testimony "in a public assembly" increased his faith. He adds that he mourned the fact "that in our social religious

interviews she is so prone to inactivity and silence, in prayer and exhortation, when by divine grace she may be so abundantly qualified to edify and encourage." He encourages women to put away their reluctance to participate vocally in public worship services and "seek unweariedly the endowment of the promise of the Father, the power from on high, which is alike the privilege of both the servants and handmaidens of God." Exercising their spiritual gifts simultaneously strengthens the church and wins "the commendation of the Master, 'She hath done what she could.'"

Throughout the article, Robbins utilizes Scripture to encourage women to identify with the female disciples of Christ who were empowered to assume the gospel charge and participate publicly in the redemption of humanity through the gifts of the Spirit. A woman may be a "most efficient fellow-laborer in the gospel," as she exercises the power for edification given to her by God. Robbins's article offers an antidote to "the embarrassing influence of our former associations" that taught the public silence of women: the promise of the Father to give power and gifts to "both the servants and handmaidens of God." And according to Robbins, only those who accepted the call and responsibility of discipleship could expect to "'receive the glad word, / Well and faithfully done! / Enter into my joy, and sit down on my throne.'"

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"On Keeping Silence: Ought Women
to Keep Silence in the Churches?"

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In the December 16, 1858, issue of the *Review*, the editors inserted a short column clipped from an exchange under the heading "On Keeping Silence."[15] The article, "Ought Women to Keep Silence in the Churches?" is identified as a query submitted by the wife of a Congregational minister and stands without the polemical commentary that the editors offered when they ran an article for the sake of drawing the reader's attention to what they considered heterodox teaching or evidence of "end times."

Since it is written as a query, the reader is expected to answer the burning question of whether a woman should keep silence in the church, thereby eschewing spiritual leadership. The author leads the reader through a series of rhetorical questions concerning the authority of women mentioned in both the OT and NT, women who wielded several different kinds of leadership positions. She calls attention to Miriam the prophetess, Deborah the judge, Huldah the theologian, Anna the prophetess who preached of Christ in the temple, Paul's colaborer Phoebe, and others, asking questions concerning who called and empowered them

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[15]Anonymous, "On Keeping Silence: Ought Women to Keep Silence in the Churches?" *Review and Herald*, December 16, 1858, 27.

(obviously God), and whether they were considered "out of their place" when they exercised their leadership functions (obviously not).

In an allusion to Joel, the writer inquires: "Whose spirit was prophesied and poured out upon the sons and the daughters, the servants, and *the handmaidens,* that they might all prophesy?" (emphasis original). She continues by querying, "And *what did they do* when they prophesied?" (emphasis original). The reader, supplying the answers to these questions, is led to her next series of questions concerning what various NT women did in their recorded church functions as cited by Paul. They are compelled to acknowledge women's active role in "primitive Christianity," the original church. Further, the reader cannot refute the implicit argument that the roles women played were a direct result of God's intention and will. Finally, the author leaves the reader with the query that ties directly into the primary argument used to silence women in the church: "Did Paul forbid women to pray and prophesy in public, and then give them directions as to how they should appear to honor the gospel when they did pray and prophesy in public?"

Throughout this piece, scriptural evidence is marshaled to demonstrate God's calling of women into public ministry and leadership in all its various forms. The net impact of the rhetorical questions is to demonstrate the ridiculousness of the argument that women should be excluded from spiritual leadership because "Paul says so."

B. F. Robbins: "The Promise of the Father, Luke xxiv:49"

B. F. Robbins provides further reflection on women's role in the church based on the model found in Acts 2 that cites the promise of the Holy Spirit to both sons and daughters.[16] In this piece, he focuses on the NT directive to repent and receive the Holy Spirit in order to be prepared for "usefulness." This essay echoes his earlier one,[17] both in the language and the appeal for "entire sanctification," and so the concerns and objectives of this piece may be more fully understood in light of the first article. His primary intention here is to demonstrate that Jesus' promise to the disciples that the Holy Spirit would come to them in power was not restricted to first-century Christians, but applies to present times as well. He asserts that the accepted practice of denying the applicability of the promise is the cause of current religious worldliness and formality and

[16]B. F. Robbins, "The Promise of the Father, Luke xxiv, 49," *Review and Herald,* January 5, 1860, 53.

[17]Robbins, "To the Female Disciples in the Third Angel's Message."

must be renounced so that the baptism of the Spirit may ensue with its "endowment of usefulness and success."

Robbins makes a point to ask who received the Pentecostal empowerment, so that he might answer: "The disciples, male and female, mentioned in the 13th and 14th verses of the first chapter [of Acts]." He cites the verses that note that cloven tongues like fire appeared and "sat upon each of them," and "they were all filled with the Holy Ghost." He notes that the effect of the outpouring was to give the power "which was to qualify them for the work to which they were called." He adds that Peter's sermon given at that time "was a simple application of the prophecy of Joel . . . [,] a demonstration of his [Christ's] exaltation to the right hand of God by the fulfillment of the promise of the Father in the pouring out of his Spirit upon his servants and handmaidens."

At this point in the article, Robbins returns to the question of the current applicability of the promise. He answers that it extends to the end, to "embrace all the servants and handmaidens of God whom he shall call until the end, so that his called ones now are included in the prediction and promise." He reiterates the nature of the promise, "the promise of the Father in the prophecy of Joel, the pouring out of his Spirit upon his servants and handmaidens as many as the Lord shall call." Thus Robbins underscores God's ongoing empowerment of women as well as men.

Robbins concludes his essay with remarks upon the requirements for receiving the promise. He notes that such individuals must desire the blessing and consecrate themselves entirely to the service of God, as "holiness, usefulness and happiness are inseparably connected." He warns that there is a price associated with the promised gift; "possessions, friends, reputation, life" must be set upon the altar. Only then "in the confidence of faith we may look with certainty for the 'promise of the Father,' the baptism of the Holy Spirit, as an endowment of power from on high to qualify us for usefulness."

Overall, Robbins's treatise is a call to all the faithful to examine their experience and ascertain whether or not they have received the promised gift of the Spirit and if they are willing to pay the attached cost. He repeatedly uses the phrases "sons and daughters" and "servants and handmaidens" to stress that women as well as men are the recipients of both the promise and the ensuing obligation to participate in public evangelism. This appeal has direct implications for the understanding of women's religious leadership. The church as a whole must be willing to acknowledge the inclusive nature of spiritual gifts. Both men and women must be willing to sacrifice their pride and receive edification and blessing from women, while women must be willing to sacrifice their reputations to exercise socially forbidden gifts. The

common challenge is to surrender all concerns outside that of discipleship. It is that sacrifice that allows God to make "his sons and daughters" useful and empowered witnesses to the world. For servants and handmaidens alike, complete happiness and holiness depend upon willingness to accept and exercise their spiritual gifts.

<p style="text-align:center">S. C. Welcome: "Shall the Women
Keep Silence in the Churches?"</p>

S. C. Welcome's essay on 1 Cor 14:34-35 was featured in the *Review* one month after Sister Hallock (later Sister S. H. Lindsey, the evangelist) sent in a request that the sentiments of Robbins's December 8, 1859, article on the leadership obligations of "female disciples" be harmonized with 1 Cor 14:34-35 and 1 Tim 2:11, the two texts most frequently cited to exclude women from a public role.[18] This lengthy article inspects these verses, along with the Timothy passage so frequently "construed as an objection to women's speaking in public," despite "the great amount of evidence which can be brought to prove that all who are made partakers of such love have a right to speak forth his praises."[19]

Welcome intends to demonstrate that the silence enforced upon women is a result of the "false construction put upon these passages," and that this silence has a negative effect upon the spiritual life of women and the church. He compares the situation of the woman forbidden to speak the message God has given her for the church to bondage ("she was an unwilling slave to the laws of the church"), compelling imagery at a time when slavery was a reprehensible reality. Welcome examines the passages used to defend women's oppression in their cultural context. He then refers the reader to familiar scriptural examples of women's public roles in the spiritual life of the OT, in Jesus' lifetime, and in the early church. He then makes his final appeal, bringing reason and revelation together. He concludes that the enforced silence of women grieves the Holy Spirit and must be halted.

In his initial efforts to deal with the Corinthian passage, Welcome points to evidence throughout the Pauline corpus that the first preaching of the gospel excited all sorts of astonishment and disputations. Concerning the command for silence, he understands it "to mean a troublesome asking of questions, which could be better answered at home than in their religious meetings." To buttress his point, he draws from Paul's instructions to Timothy and Titus to avoid and disallow "foolish and unlearned questions,"

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[18]Sarah A. Hallock, "A Query.—Bro. Smith," *Review and Herald*, January 12, 1860, 64.

[19]S. C. Welcome, "Shall the Women Keep Silence in the Churches?" *Review and Herald*, February 23, 1860, 109-110.

asked primarily to engender strife and endless debates. He concludes that
given the evidence, it is apparent that the asking of argumentative questions
had become disruptive to their religious meetings, and that "it is at least a fair
inference that he designed to put a stop to this, but had no allusion to the
exercise of a gift in the ministry or in exhortation."

Welcome alerts the reader that the instruction to ask questions at
home could not be applied to the issue of speaking or exhorting in public.
"What question," he inquires, "could a pious female ask at home, that
would relieve her mind from the burden of a message she had received to
deliver in the church?" The logical conclusion is that the passage "had no
relation to the exercise of a gift which God had given them to use for the
advancement of his cause." He further instructs the reader that verses that
forbid women's usurpation of authority over men are not applicable, as
"preaching, prophesying, exhorting or praying in public, is not usurping
authority and has nothing to do with it."

After a brief reminder that Paul "gave directions how the women
should behave in the exercise of their gifts," which "he certainly would not
have done had it been prohibited," and that Paul "mentions, with peculiar
regard, certain women that had labored with him in the gospel," Welcome
shifts the argument to a review of the scriptural passages that detail
women's public role and evangelistic efforts in both the OT (e.g., Miriam,
Deborah, Huldah) and the NT (e.g., Philip's daughters, Anna, Elizabeth,
the Samaritan woman, and the daughters at Pentecost). He makes a special
point to comment that "it was a woman that first announced the glorious
tidings of the resurrection of our blessed Lord; and let it be remembered
that these 'glad tidings' were preached to the apostles themselves." This
section ends with the pithy reflection that

> seeing that females were admitted to the high office of prophecy under the
> old dispensation, and in the promise of the more general effusion of this
> gift, the daughters and handmaidens were equally included with the other
> sex, that they were among the first messengers of the gospel, and after the
> churches were formed and settled received particular instruction how to
> conduct themselves in the church in the exercise of their gifts, it is strange
> that the privilege should have ever been called in question.

The essay concludes with a reference to oneness in Christ, the
breaking down of distinctions between male and female, as well as those
between Gentile and Jew, and an invitation to the readers to use their
reason along with revelation. Welcome asks the readers to examine the
evidence that women possess the natural qualifications for speaking God's
good news in public, just as do men. His final sentence is an appeal: "Then
let no stumbling-block be thrown in their way, but let them fill the place

that God calls them to fill, let them not be bound down to silence by
church rules, but let their tongues speak forth the praises of God, and let
them point sinners to the Lamb of God, and grieve not the Holy Spirit by
silence in the congregation."

J. A. Mowatt: "Women as Preachers and Lecturers"

The next article to address the issue of women's right to preach, the final
one before the organization of the Seventh-day Adventist Church,
emerged a little more than a year later in 1861.[20] This article by J. A.
Mowatt, which Uriah Smith, the editor of the *Review*, introduced as "a
triumphant vindication of the right of the sisters," was written as a
response to a previous letter (signed "An Admirer of Woman in Her
Proper Place," and printed in the *Portadown News*) that argued that
Scripture forbids women to be public speakers.

As mentioned above, Mowatt's response to "An Admirer" is that
"neither Paul nor any other apostle forbade women preaching, or
lecturing," and that "I affirm such a command is nowhere in the Bible, and
I shall proceed to prove it; and, besides, I will prove that Paul taught the
very opposite." The bulk of the piece is devoted to considering the familiar
Pauline "women" passages in the larger context of Paul's writings,
demanding that all be harmonized. He makes a case, as well, on the basis
of Paul's commendation of Phoebe as a church official and his directive to
the men in Rome to respond to her directions. He then lists various
biblical women and the positions of spiritual leadership entrusted to them
by God. The paper continually engages the "Admirer" in dialog,
challenging his view of women as a subordinated and silenced gender, and
concludes that the case he presents is vastly ill informed and an insufficient
basis for women to be "justified in ceasing to labor in his cause."

The work begins with the observation "that if a woman can effect
good in a world like ours, where so much is yet to be done for its
reformation, I would think twice before I would discourage her or throw
any obstacle in her way." For Mowatt, "each individual in this world is
morally bound to do as much good to others as he or she can." Mowatt
reviews the work of several outstanding women of the day, including
abolitionist Harriet Beecher Stowe, Methodist holiness teacher Mrs.
Phoebe Palmer, the English preacher Miss Buck, Salvation Army leader
Catherine Booth, and the noted temperance speaker Mrs. Theobald, as
examples of women effecting great work for God that should not be
stopped. He asks if such women are not to use their powers for the

[20]Mowatt, 65-66.

salvation of the perishing, and why the "Admirer" would "silence such an advocate?" He argues that since no one "would object to a woman rescuing his friend from temporal death," it is unreasonable to object "to a woman rescuing men from eternal death." The "Admirer" is left to answer a difficult question: "Why object to woman going to seek and to save those that are pining in the dungeons of sin and iniquity?"

After this appeal to the argument of Christian moral obligation to effect good in the world, Mowatt turns his attention to the "Admirer's" elevation of 1 Cor 14:34-35 to determine women's "place." Mowatt responds with an appeal to logic: "Surely the fourteenth chapter does not contradict the eleventh, which was necessarily written before it." He notes that in 1 Cor 11, Paul makes the statement that "'every woman that prayeth or prophesieth with her head uncovered dishonoreth her head.'" Mowatt contends that, far from forbidding women to perform church functions, Paul is instructing women on appropriate attire when they "conduct public worship—for that is what praying and prophesying mean." He goes on to say that "whatever every man was to do in the church in praying and prophesying, woman was to do the same; and, instead of Paul forbidding the woman, he merely tells herself and the man how they are to dress—one with the head uncovered, the other with it covered." He buttresses his exegesis by citing the recognized Bible authority Dr. Adam Clarke. Clarke, he notes, is "entirely in favor of female preaching, and contends that the verses quoted by 'An Admirer' bear no such meaning as that attached to them by those who oppose female preaching." Further, Clarke contends that the prediction of Joel 2:28 "would not be fulfilled unless women prophesied, preached or taught." He also puts Paul's counsel in its cultural context when he notes that for women of Paul's day, the uncovered head was associated with prostitution, "and this portion of his directions does not apply at all to our fashions."

Proceeding from the proposition that if Paul authorized women's preaching in chapter 11, he cannot be forbidding it in chapter 14, Mowatt turns to the meaning of chapter 14. He concludes from the information concerning instructions of how the men were to speak, by twos, and in turn. They were also to "let the others judge" that what is being described is not a regular religious meeting or service, but a church court. He sees the women as excluded from these sessions in order to "prevent much discussion." Women were to keep silence in the court proceedings and ask their husbands at home about issues they did not understand.

Once he has dealt with the Corinthians' passage, Mowatt turns to 1 Tim 2:12-14, where Paul says that he does not allow a woman to teach or usurp authority. He argues that this injunction is not against public speaking, but the usurping of authority. Paul, he insists, has nothing against modest women

adorning themselves with good works, including those of bringing the gospel to the perishing. He directs the reader to back up and read the previous verse: "The woman is to learn in silence with all subjection." He asks: "Subjection to whom?" At this point, he refers the reader to another Pauline passage, Col 3:18: "Wives, submit yourselves unto your own husbands, as it is fit in the Lord." He states that "this is the subjection spoken of in Timothy, as is clearly shown by Adam and Eve—husband and wife—representatives of all our race of husbands and wives—being brought in by way of illustrating his subject, and the object which he had in view. A woman is not to teach, nor to usurp authority over the man, that is, a wife is not to act so toward her husband." Mowatt reiterates his point so none could miss it: "The passage has nothing whatsoever to do with regard to Total Abstinence lecturers, or gospel preachers. On the contrary, a woman is to pray and prophesy [1 Corinthians xi:5] just as the man, and with equal power and authority; and this is according to the prediction of the Holy Ghost. Joel ii, 28; Acts ii, 17."

Once he has cited the case of Phoebe, commended to Rome by Paul, Mowatt reviews the way in which God appointed OT women as spiritual leaders in Israel, citing the cases of Huldah, Miriam, and others, asking the "Admirer" how he would have responded to the leadership of those women. He also reminds the reader of the women referred to in Rom 16:12, who "labored much in the Lord," as further example of the active public ministry of NT women. He notes that Clarke contends that these women prophesied and, therefore, they preached.

Before closing, Mowatt pauses to refute the "Admirer's" proposition that women are denied spiritual authority because Eve sinned first. His response is to remind all that "if, through Eve, sin first entered into this world—and that too, with the hearty concurrence of Adam—then let it not be forgotten that by woman, without the concurrence of man, a Saviour came to bring deliverance." Developing the logic, he asks, since redemption came by a woman, "why should not women preach that redemption also?" It is no surprise that Mowatt closes with the final reflection that "judging by the results which have followed the labors" of notable women, "I rather think the Lord of the vineyard will require some more satisfactory excuse for even female timidity and backwardness in his service than the one given by 'An Admirer,' before they will be justified in ceasing to labor in his cause."

It is little wonder that church leaders regarded this piece as a "triumphant vindication of the right of the sisters to take part in the public worship of God." From first to last, Mowatt demands that the Scriptures used to disqualify and disenfranchise women be reappraised with an eye toward the integrity of the biblical author's intention, the scriptural record of God's

appointment of women to a wide array of spiritual leadership positions, and the precious promise of spiritual gifts to God's sons and daughters. Mowatt has skillfully and lucidly articulated the Sabbatarian movement's position on the issue of women's public role in the work of human redemption, using a recognizable and sound Adventist hermeneutic.

Conclusion

The *Review* addressed the issue of women's public ministry in eight major articles during the formative period from 1850 to 1863, when the Seventh-day Adventist Church was organized. All of these articles, beginning with James White's challenge to "Paul Says So" and closing with Uriah Smith's "triumphant vindication," supported the participation of women in the preaching ministry, often seeing it as a distinguishing mark of the Adventist movement and setting it apart from the established churches which denied women an active role in preaching and teaching. Their conviction of the right of the sisters to publicly proclaim the Word was based on their understanding of spiritual gifts as given to men and women equally according to the will of the Spirit. Their defense of women's preaching, particularly against those who would cite the Pauline injunction that women should keep silent in the church, was based on their interpretation of the Bible and modeled the principles of Adventist hermeneutics used to establish the doctrines and practices of the church. Most specifically in this discussion, the principles of biblical interpretation used in this study of women's role included comparing Scripture with Scripture, understanding the context of a biblical text, and examining the functions that women filled in biblical history. These principles led the early Adventist Church to defend vigorously the right of the sisters to engage in public ministry against those who "do not like to hear the Marys preach a risen or coming Saviour."

LEADERSHIP FORMATION IN MINISTERIAL EDUCATION—PART 3: A COMPARISON OF TRANSFORMATIONAL EFFECT IN THREE SELECTED PROGRAMS

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Part 1 of this study[1] sought to establish frames of reference for measuring success in pastoral ministry and to evaluate the relationship between leadership practices and those criteria. The purpose was twofold: to discover correlations between leadership practices and success in pastoral ministry, and to move toward evaluating effectiveness of leadership formation in graduate theological education.

The study demonstrated a strong correlation between success in pastoral ministry and a pastor's leadership practices. We concluded that "using superior leadership practices enables pastors to be more successful in their ministry."[2] Given the correlation between leadership practices and pastoral success, the formation of key leadership practices that prepare a person for success in ministry is an appropriate goal of graduate theological education.

The second stage of research measured the effect of graduate theological education on the leadership practices of persons in pastoral ministry in the Seventh-day Adventist Church.[3] No significant variation was found between pastors with a graduate theological education and those with only an undergraduate degree. In the research process, a valuable benchmark for Seventh-day Adventist pastors in North America was formed.

The purpose of this third research stage is to investigate potential correlations between three selected programs in graduate theological education, offering increased emphasis on leadership development and actual leadership formation among their graduates in pastoral ministry.

[1]Skip Bell and Roger Dudley, "Leadership Formation in Ministerial Education—Part 1: Assessment and Analysis of Leadership Traits in Seventh-day Adventist Pastors in North America," *AUSS* 40 (2002): 277-299.

[2]Ibid., 290.

[3]Skip Bell and Roger L. Dudley, "Leadership Formation in Ministerial Education—Part 2: The Impact of Graduate Theological Education on Leadership Development in the Local Pastorate," *AUSS* 42 (Spring 2004): 203-216.

Further, this research will identify the specific curricular distinctions of these programs as compared to the usual Master of Divinity (MDiv) program in seminaries belonging to the American Association of Theological Schools (ATS).

The degree of correlation between leadership emphasis in graduate curriculums and growth in leadership practices, as well as the distinctive curricular elements, provides a significant factor in forming seminary curriculum and church policy for pastoral education.

The Three Selected Programs

The three institutions selected for this study are the Biblical Institute for Leadership Development (BILD), Vanguard University (formerly Southern California College), and Dallas Theological Seminary. Vanguard University and Dallas Theological Seminary were among the institutions identified by a panel of researchers as demonstrating significant emphasis on leadership formation within their graduate theological program curriculum in Alen Nelson's doctoral dissertation "Leadership Training of Ministerial Students in Evangelical Institutions of Higher Education" for the University of San Diego in 1994. Nelson found that ATS seminaries generally, by contrast, provide minimal emphasis on leadership development.[4]

Vanguard offers a Master in Church Leadership, taken as an alternate to an MDiv degree by persons desiring a career in pastoral ministry. Dallas Theological Seminary offers a traditional ATS-accredited program, but with an unusual leadership-formation emphasis.

BILD is known as a leader in church-based theological education, working formally with groups of churches or associations of churches in fourteen countries to develop church-based theological education paths and resources that meet needs for church leadership. The curriculum offered by BILD is recognized by a growing number of seminaries, although BILD is not an ATS seminary.

Research Method

Curricular distinctions in the three institutions relevant to leadership formation were examined. A list of graduates from each of the three chosen institutions between 1994 and 2000 was secured. Those presently serving congregations were requested to give copies of the Leadership Practices Inventory (LPI)[5] to three of their congregational lay leaders. The LPI was the

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[4]Alen E. Nelson, "Leadership Training of Ministerial Students in Evangelical Institutions of Higher Education" (Ed.D. dissertation, University of San Diego, 1994).

[5]A technical presentation of the Leadership Practices Inventory may be obtained from

same assessment tool used in the first two stages of this research, and it was applied in the same manner as in the previous research stages.[6] Lay leaders were asked to rate the performance of their pastors on each of the 30 items included in the LPI and to return the survey to the offices of the Institute of Church Ministry at Andrews University. Fifty-two surveys were received and form the basis for this report of graduates of the three institutions. By comparison, 160 surveys formed the basis of the report of graduates of the Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary (SDATS).

Five scales are formed in the LPI from 30 questions to describe five leadership practices: Challenging the Process, Inspiring a Shared Vision, Enabling Others to Act, Modeling the Way, and Encouraging the Heart. In addition, all five scales are combined into one total scale to provide an overall leadership score. Each rating sheet is assigned a score for each of the five practices and a total score. Means are calculated for each practice and for the total score.

The means of the ratings of graduates from the leadership-emphasis institutions were compared with the means of the ratings for Seventh-day Adventist pastors who had graduate theological education but who, in most cases, did not receive a specific emphasis on leadership-practices training. This latter group was described in Part 2 of this research project.

Literature Review

The direction of any leadership formation program is significantly impacted by the model or theory of leadership upon which it is built. Bernard M. Bass and Ralph Melvin Stogdill describe twenty-two of the more familiar leadership models and theories.[7] J. Robert Clinton provides an overview of five dominant leadership theories, which, he asserts, define the leadership studies of particular eras.[8] More recently, Robert J. Banks and Bernice M. Ledbetter provide an evaluation of leadership theories

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the authors at www.kouzesposner.com.

[6]Bell and Dudley, "Leadership Formation in Ministerial Education—Part 1"; idem, "Leadership Formation in Ministerial Education—Part 2."

[7]Bernard M. Bass and Ralph Melvin Stogdill, *Bass & Stogdill's Handbook of Leadership: Theory, Research, and Managerial Applications*, 3d ed. (New York: Free Press; Collier Macmillan, 1990), 37-52.

[8]J. Robert Clinton, *A Short History of Modern Leadership Theory* (Altadena, CA: Barnabas, 1992), 8.

from biblical, historical, and contemporary perspectives.[9] After reviewing leadership literature, ranging from the apostle Paul to Fred Fiedler to Stephen Covey, it was concluded that any Christian critique of leadership theories must be open to discovering truth wherever it is found and yet maintain a keen sense of "discernment to sort out what is true and false, fitting and inappropriate, abstract and practical, timely and outdated."[10]

Viewing leadership development from the perspective of the employing or educating organization, Cynthia McCauley, Russ Moxley, and Ellen Van Velsor built a comprehensive three-point model of leadership development that outlines the responsibilities of the organization to the emerging leader in his or her development process. They state that the organization is responsible for providing assessment, challenge, and support to emerging leaders who are being exposed to a variety of developmental experiences.[11] The responsibility of the emerging leaders, McCauley et al. assert, is to learn how to learn from experience. In their development of the spiral of experience and action-observation-reflection models, Richard Hughes, Robert Ginnett, and Gordon Curphy focus on the critical aspect of a leader's ability to learn from experience.[12] Both models describe processes that impact a leader's ability to accurately perceive experiences, analyze and compare them with previous knowledge, and extract new knowledge from them. In harmony with the leadership development models of Hughes et al., Stephen Kaagan contends that the most efficient and cost-effective method of leadership development is to carefully structure opportunities for leaders to meet in groups and reflect on the actual experiences in their current roles as leaders.[13] Merle Strangway identifies five developmental factors in a study of Protestant pastors, who scored exceptionally high as transformational leaders. Each of the five factors (Drive to Achieve, Intentional Learning, Leadership as

[9]Robert J. Banks and Bernice M. Ledbetter, *Reviewing Leadership: A Christian Evaluation of Current Approaches* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2004).

[10]Ibid., 93.

[11]Cynthia D. McCauley, Russ Moxley, and Ellen Van Velsor, *The Center for Creative Leadership Handbook of Leadership Development*, 1st ed. (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass; Center for Creative Leadership, 1998), 4-17.

[12]Richard L. Hughes, Robert C. Ginnett, and Gordon J. Curphy, *Leadership: Enhancing the Lessons of Experience* (New York: Irwin/McGraw Hill, 1999), 79-82.

[13]Stephen S. Kaagan, "Leadership Development: The Heart of the Matter," *International Journal of Educational Management* 12/2 (1998): 74-83.

Praxis, Challenging Leadership Experiences, and Shift of Values) relate in some way to the responsibility of the leader to learn from experience.[14]

A considerable amount of the relevant literature focuses on the responsibility of the emerging leader over the span of an entire lifetime. Bass begins his discussion of the research on leadership development with issues such as birth order, parental modeling, and leadership opportunities in childhood and adolescence.[15] Curtis Brungardt, in his comprehensive review of leadership and education literature, summarizes research findings into three broad categories. According to him, the broadest category is Leadership Development, which includes every experience during one's lifetime that might enhance one's leadership abilities. The next two categories are subsets of Leadership Development. Leadership Education refers to any intentional intervention to foster leadership abilities. The smallest subset, Leadership Training, attempts to improve specific skills for a particular role or job.[16] These observations are consistent with Clinton's research, which identifies predictable leadership development phases during the entire life of a Christian leader.[17] These observations are also consistent with the principles Jesus used to develop the twelve disciples into world-class leaders, as demonstrated by Robert E. Coleman, who discusses eight similar principles used by Jesus in the four Gospels.[18]

"Leadership development is a fundamental responsibility of colleges and universities," according to Stacey Connaughton, Francis Lawrence, and Brent Ruben, all of whom are from the Student Leadership Development Institute at Rutgers University.[19] Throughout North America, an increasing number of colleges and universities are adding undergraduate courses or entire degree programs in leadership concentrations. According to the descriptive lists

[14]Merle Douglas Strangway, "The Development of Transformational Leadership in Pastors of Protestant Churches" (Ed.D. dissertation, University of Georgia, 1999), 91.

[15]Bass and Stogdill, 807-811.

[16]Curtis Brungardt, "The Making of Leaders: A Review of Leadership Development and Education," *Journal of Leadership Studies* 3/3 (1996): 81-95.

[17]J. Robert Clinton, *Leadership Emergence Theory* (Altadena, CA: Barnabas Resources, 1989), 311-337.

[18]Robert E. Coleman, *The Master Plan of Evangelism* (Westwood, NJ: Fleming J. Revell, 1964), 21-114.

[19]Stacey L. Connaughton, Francis L. Lawrence, and Brent D. Ruben, "Leadership Development as a Systematic and Multidisciplinary Enterprise," *Journal of Education for Business* 79/1 (2003): 46.

maintained by the Center for Creative Leadership, there are hundreds of colleges and universities that offer courses in leadership development, some of which offer entire degree programs in leadership development.[20] However, the number of graduate-degree programs devoted to leadership development is significantly less. A research team from Fort Hays State University recently located only 44 such programs—38 at the master's level and six at the doctoral level.[21]

Several themes reoccur in most of the literature regarding leadership development in academic settings. The most successful programs seem to be characterized by "a holistic, practical approach";[22] a combination of "academic study, extensive service, and mentoring";[23] the coupled use of "service and reflection";[24] an emphasis on students who are engaged with social justice and the needs of their local community;[25] and "citizen leaders" who engage in a "reflective learning process."[26]

The literature indicates a critical need for leadership development in the curriculum of traditional seminaries. As we concluded in Part 2 of this study: "Graduate theological education is not doing a superior job of developing leadership practices."[27] Our study of 200 North American Seventh-day Adventist pastors revealed no significant difference in leadership skills between pastors who had a seminary education and those who did not. The leadership development deficiency does not appear to be localized to any particular seminary, denomination, or even geographic region. A variety of

[20]Mary K. Schwartz, Kristin M. Axtman, and Frank H. Freeman, eds., *Leadership Education: A Source Book of Courses and Programs*, 7th ed. (Greensboro, NC: Center for Creative Leadership, 1998), 1-458.

[21]C. B. Crawford, Curtis L. Brungardt, Robert F. Scott, and Lawrence V. Gould, "Graduate Programs in Organizational Leadership: A Review of Programs, Faculty, Costs, and Delivery Methods," *Journal of Leadership Studies* 8/4 (2002): 64.

[22]John Nirenberg, "Toward Leadership Education that Matters," *Journal of Education for Business* 79/1 (2003): 6.

[23]Mary Sue Polleys, "One University's Response to the Anti-Leadership Vaccine: Developing Servant Leaders," *Journal of Leadership Studies* 8/3 (2002): 117.

[24]Frederick W. Gibson and Amy Pason, "Levels of Leadership: Developing Leaders through New Models," *Journal of Education for Business* 79 (2003): 23.

[25]Frank Fear, Margaret Adamek, and Gail Imig, "Connecting Philosophic and Scholarly Traditions with Change in Higher Education," *Journal of Leadership Studies* 8/3 (2002): 42-52.

[26]Crawford et al., 49.

[27]Bell and Dudley, "Leadership Formation in Ministerial Education—Part 2," 203.

studies produced similar results in each case. C. Weese, in a study of 146 senior pastors of various denominations and regions of the United States, consistently found that the pastors in their study did not believe that their seminary training had equipped them with the leadership abilities needed in their ministry.[28] In a study of 400 California pastors from five mainline denominational churches, T. J. Naman found that "only 36% of the respondents felt that as a direct result of their seminary education that [sic] they were equipped to lead the local congregation."[29] D. Mascaskill conducted research on the pastoral leadership abilities of the ministers of the Church of Scotland. Twenty percent of all ordained ministers in the Church of Scotland participated in the study. "The substantial majority of interviews conducted and comments expressed about training in this survey were of a negative nature, suggesting that the ministers felt ill-prepared and ill-equipped for the realities of the task which they faced within the parish."[30] A study conducted by Alen E. Nelson, which evaluated the curricula of 64 seminaries and 77 undergraduate theology programs in the United States, found that only six of the 141 programs—three graduate and three undergraduate—offered significant leadership development as part of the required curriculum.[31]

Pastors and researchers have expressed the deficiency in seminary leadership development in various ways. Often, they describe the traditional seminary curriculum as being too academic and disconnected from daily pastoral demands.[32] Another typical assessment is that the seminary is not responsive to the needs of the local church.[33] Some point to the lack of

[28]C. Weese, *Standing on the Banks of Tomorrow!* (Granada Hills, CA: Multi-Staff Ministries, 1993), 1-53.

[29]T. J. Naman, "Pastoring the Church into the Twenty-first Century (D.Min. dissertation, Pepperdine University, 1998), 143.

[30]D. Macaskill, "Ministerial Training: Toolkits or Compasses? A Study of Training with the Church of Scotland," *British Journal of Theological Education* 11/1 (2000): 24.

[31]Nelson, 111.

[32]R. D. Beach, "Managerial Leadership Instruction: Assessing Contemporary Seminary Coverage in Light of Biblical Standards" (MBAMA dissertation, Regent University, 1994); B. Brainard, "Professional Education and the Preparation of Assemblies of God Ministries in Oregon" (Ed.D. dissertation, Portland State University, 1996); Macaskill; C. N. Shaw, "A Philosophy of Education Leadership Development through Theological Studies" (D.Miss. dissertation, Fuller Theological Seminary, 1989); Weese; C. S. Wong, "Christian Religious Education in Hong Kong: Professional Ministry and Ministerial Preparation" (Ph.D. dissertation, Trinity Evangelical School, 1998).

[33]R. M. Franklin, "Future Directed: Trends in Theological Education," *Theological*

training in specific skills, such as decision making, conflict resolution, administration, financial planning, time management, or problem solving.[34] Other concerns include the failure to learn critical-thinking skills,[35] learning individualistic rather than team-building skills,[36] lack of self-development, and the disconnection of intellectual from affective development.[37] Nelson[38] and T. C. Turner,[39] respectively, conclude that leadership training in the average seminary is virtually nonexistent.

Members of ATS have formally debated the effectiveness of the traditional seminary curriculum—specifically its impact on pastoral leadership formation—for at least fifty years. The debate began with the publication of ATS's 1954 self-study of every accredited theological school in North America,[40] and took specific form later with the publication of Edward Farley's two classic critiques of contemporary seminary education.[41] Joseph Hugh Jr. and John B. Cobb Jr. summarize decades of ATS research: "Theological education is torn between academic norms, defined chiefly as excellence in the historical disciplines, and modern professional norms defined in terms of excellence in performing the functions church leaders are expected to perform. . . . Partly as a result of this tension, theological schools do not succeed well by either standard."[42]

Education 37/2 (2001): 113-116.

[34]E. M. Clouzet, "A Biblical Paradigm for Ministerial Training" (D.Min. dissertation, Fuller Theological Seminary, 1997); E. L. Dower, "A Needs Assessment of the Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary's Master of Divinity Program as Perceived by the Graduates, Faculty, Students, and Employers of Graduates" (Ed.D. dissertation, Andrews University, 1980).

[35]Brainard, 1-28.

[36]A. Le Cornu, "The Shape of Things to Come: Theological Education in the Twenty-first Century," *British Journal of Theological Education* 14/1 (2003): 13-26.

[37]Macaskill, 32-34.

[38]Nelson, 165.

[39]T. C. Turner, "Seminary Practices and Ministerial Realities: A Dichotomy That Calls for Change" (Ph.D. dissertation, Washington State University, 2001), 108.

[40]H. R. Niebuhr, D. D. Williams, and J. M. Gustafson, *The Advancement of Theological Education* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1957).

[41]Edward Farley, *Theologica* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1983); and idem, *The Fragility of Knowledge* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988).

[42]Joseph C. Hugh Jr. and John B. Cobb Jr., *Christian Identity and Theological Education* (Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1985), 16-17.

In 1994, ATS devoted an entire issue of its quarterly journal, *Theological Education*, to the reporting of another self-study.[43] In one of the key articles in that issue, "What Is the Character of Curriculum, Formation, and Cultivation of Ministerial Leadership in the Good Theological School?" Donald Senior and Timothy Weber concluded that "curriculum should be mission-driven rather than market-driven."[44] Curriculum, they assert, must not be conceived as merely the collection of various courses, but rather as "an overall process of critical reflection and integration."[45]

In that same year, Lyle Schaller, a voice from outside ATS, evaluated the seminary situation even more harshly. He asserts that "the time has arrived for a new system for enlisting, training, screening, and credentialing the next generation of parish pastors."[46]

Most of the literature regarding seminary curriculum, especially in the past ten years, has shown a strong emphasis on these themes of reflection, integration, and adaptation to societal changes. While there is some emphasis in the literature on seminaries' provision of practical hands-on training,[47] most writers stress the crucial connection between practical experience and theological reflection on that experience.[48] Robert Franklin

[43]American Assocation of Theological Schools, "The Good Theological School," *Theological Education* 30/2 (1994): 1-88.

[44]Donald Senior and Timothy Weber, "What Is the Character of Curriculum, Formation, and Cultivation of Ministerial Leadership in the Good Theological School?" *Theological Education* 30/2 (1994): 22.

[45]Ibid.

[46]Lyle Schaller, *Innovation in Ministry* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1994), 21.

[47]See Paul Ballard and Stephen Pattison, "Practical Theological Education—A Profile," *British Journal of Theological Education* 13/2 (2003): 97-105; Roland Riem, "Why Calling Matters More: Weighing Vocational and Competency Approaches to Ministerial Development," *British Journal of Theological Education* 14/1 (2003): 78-92; and Philip Tovey, "A Case Study of Accreditation of Prior Learning in Ministerial Training," *British Journal of Theological Education* 12/2 (2003): 145-153.

[48]See Robert W. Burn and Ronald Cervero, "How Pastors Learn the Politics of Ministry Practice," *Religious Education* 97/4 (2002): 304-321; Kraig Klaudt, "The Ashram as a Model for Theological Education," *Theological Education* 34/1 (1997): 25-40; Patricia A. Lamoureux, "An Integrated Approach to Theological Education," *Theological Education* 36/1 (1999): 141-156; Lewis S. Mudge and James N. Poling, *Formation and Reflection: The Promise of Practical Theology* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1987); R. T. Gormann, K. Talvacchia, and W. M. Smith, "Teaching from a Community Context: The Role of the Field Educator in Theological Education," *Theological Education* 37/2 (2001):1-57; Stephen Pattison, Judith Thompsen, and John Green, "Theological Reflection for the Real World: Time to Think Again," *British Journal of Theological Education* 13/2 (2003):119-131; Eric Stoddart, "Living Theology: A Methodology for Issues-led Theological

called for seminary training that would equip pastors to perform the functions of parish ministry, such as resolving conflicts, convening meetings, or mobilizing members—functions which should be seen as theological expressions rather than mere technical skills.[49] Donald Beiswenger makes a similar point in describing six paired items that must be integrated within seminary field-school experiences, three of which include theory and practice, academic study and ministry activities, and personal faith and social realities.[50] Efrain Agosto used the phrase "rigorous reflection on pastoral action" to describe the leadership-development method needed in seminary curriculum.[51] As Terry Veiling[52] and David Kelsey and Barbara Wheeler[53] independently observe, when discussing reflective learning as a means of pastoral leadership development, this approach incorporates the basic ideas advanced in Farley's *Theologica*. Carolyn Jurkowitz summarizes it well: "Professional learning happens in communities where students not only learn through reflective practices how to apply knowledge, rules, and procedures and to think like a particular type of professional, but where they are coached to invent new rules, reframe problems, and make new sense out of uncertain, unique, or conflicted situations."[54]

The literature appears to contain more challenges and suggestions for leadership development than case studies of seminaries that have experimented with innovative approaches or research which evaluates the

Reflection in Higher Education," *British Journal of Theological Education* 14/2 (2004): 187-201; Andrew Todd, "What Is Theological about Theological Reflection?" *British Journal of Theological Education* 11/1 (2000): 35-45; and Malcom L. Warford, "Renewing the Practices of Ministry," *Theological Education* 33/2 (1997): 69-77.

[49]Robert M. Franklin, "Future Directed: Trends in Theological Education," *Theological Education* 37/2 (2001): 114.

[50]Donald Beiswenger, "Field Education and the Theological Education Debates," *Theological Education* 33/1 (1996): 49-58.

[51]Efrain Agosto, "The Gift of Urban Theological Education: A Personal and Professional Reflection," *Theological Education* 33/1 (1996): 100.

[52]Terry Veiling, "Emerging Issues Concerning the Practices of Theological Education," *Religious Education* 94/4 (1999): 411-427.

[53]David H. Kelsey and Barbara G. Wheeler, "The ATS Basic Issues Research Project: Thinking about Theological Education," *Theological Education* 30/2 (1994): 71-80.

[54]Carolyn M. Jurkowitz, "What Is the Literature Saying about Learning and Assessments in Higher Education?" *Theological Education* 39/1 (2003): 85.

effectiveness of those efforts. Key ideas from those reports will be briefly summarized below.

One of the specific suggestions for developing pastoral leaders through an integration of theory and experience is the partnership of seminaries with local churches.[55] Robert Ferris reported on a successful partnership between the Canadian Theological Seminary (CTS) and local churches. Students participate in a three-month internship, with local pastors providing instruction and supervision. A CTS outcomes study of the program indicated that students who had served as interns considered themselves better prepared for ministry on eleven out of eleven ministry categories than those who had not served as interns.[56] Harry Poe reported on several types of partnerships between seminaries and local churches. According to Poe, the Conservative Baptist Seminary of the East, which has no permanent campus, sends its faculty to teach on location. Conservative Baptist's goal is to develop individualized learning internships for ministerial students in their local churches.[57] Poe also cites the Biblical Institute for Leadership Development (BILD), a parachurch training center; the In-Ministry program of Bethel Theological Seminary that allows pastors to earn an MDiv degree without leaving their full-time parish ministry; and certain mega churches that select and train leaders for ministry from within their congregation.[58] According to Eddie Gibbs, the latter example is an idea that seminaries and churches of the future will need to explore and exploit.[59]

Emmanual School of Religion has attempted two innovative programs for pastoral leadership development. The first program is an integrative approach to teaching the subjects of "preaching and worship, education, counseling, evangelism, administration, and leadership."[60] The entire

[55]See Eddie Gibbs, *Church Next* (Downers Grove: InterVarsity, 2000); Philip S. Keane, "What Is the Character of Teaching, Learning, and the Scholarly Task in the Good Theological School?" *Theological Education* 30/2 (1994): 35-44; and Ronald E. Osborn, *The Education of Ministers for the Coming Age* (St. Louis, MO: CBP Press, 1987).

[56]Robert Ferris, *Renewal in Theological Education: Strategies for Change* (Wheaton, IL: Billy Graham Center, 1990), 46.

[57]Harry L. Poe, "The Revolution in Ministry Training," *Theological Education* 33/1 (1996): 28.

[58]Ibid.

[59]Gibbs, 92-100.

[60]Bruce E. Shields, "Integrating Ministry and Theology," *Theological Education* 33/2

practical theology faculty team-teaches, designs integrative assignments, and seeks to "lead students to develop their understanding of ministry in the light of the nature of the church and to integrate the various activities of ministry together into a theology of ministry."[61] The second innovative program is a three-module, field-education, ministry-supervision program. The three modules include assessment (initial and final), supervised ministry experience that incorporates a learning covenant and personal-growth goals, and, finally, weekly group meetings for interactive reflection on students' ministry experience.[62]

United Theological Seminary offers two semesters of mentoring and pastoral supervision. Students are required to work ten to twenty hours per week in some community ministry, meet regularly with their supervisor, attend class sessions one day per week, and receive feedback from a lay-advisory committee. The leadership-development focus is on self-awareness and practical application of biblical and historical themes in a ministry context.[63]

A final example reported in the literature is Wycliffe College, an Anglican seminary in Toronto, Ontario, Canada. Wycliffe provides weekly opportunities for students to lead in liturgy, public worship, and small Bible-study and prayer groups. A mentoring program and counseling referral program address spiritual and personal issues for emerging leaders. Students are required to participate in several mission projects locally and abroad. Wycliffe's program also includes significant elements of personal reflection and objective assessment, evaluation, and feedback. Most of the worship and service is done with faculty and students working closely together in informal mentoring settings.[64]

One indication from the literature is the need for more reports and studies regarding innovative leadership development in seminary programs. In particular, seminaries with such programs need to conduct research to evaluate the effectiveness of their leadership development and publish the

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(1997): 12.

[61]Ibid., 14.

[62]Ibid., 16.

[63]Cathy Lynn Hall Stengel, "Pastoral Supervision as a Vehicle for Leadership Development in Theological Education" (D.Min. dissertation, United Theological Seminary, 1998), 88-103.

[64]Merv Mercer, "Formational Initiatives at Wycliffe College," *Theological Education* 39/2 (2003): 53-63.

results for the benefit of other seminaries. Until such studies are reported, it will be difficult to determine the validity of isolated examples or the many suggestions currently present in the literature.

Program Comparison

Dallas Theological Seminary

Dallas Theological Seminary is an ATS member school in Dallas, Texas. The bulletin describes the seminary as "transdenominational and seeks to serve those of like biblical faith in evangelical Protestantism."[65] Dallas is a large seminary, with a reported enrollment of 1,877 in the 2004-2005 academic year. The core program preparing candidates for pastoral ministry is the Master of Theology (ThM). The enrollment in that program is 877.

A Dallas Theological Seminary ThM requires 122 semester hours. Students with undergraduate majors in Bible or theology may receive up to 30 hours of advanced standing toward the degree. The 122 hours include 19 hours in a ministry track, 2 hours for an internship, plus 15 hours of open electives. Included in the required courses for all ThM students are 4 credits of spiritual formation. Such courses, for the purpose of the comparisons of this study, are considered part of the leadership-development credits of a seminary program.

We assessed graduates of the "Pastoral Leadership" track. The 19 required credits include 6 in preaching courses emphasizing leadership in expository preaching, 3 credits in leadership of worship, 3 in leading and managing the church, 3 in leading the church to growth, 2 in counseling, and 2 in a leadership internship. It may be assumed that available electives add to the leadership course portfolio, and electives in leadership and church management are available.

In 1996-1997, the 3 credits in "Leading the Church to Growth" were recast as "Leading the Church to Effective Ministry."[66] In the same year, the number of open electives was reduced to 12 hours, with required research courses being added to the required curriculum. The academic year 1999-2000 saw the required credits in the ThM curriculum reduced to 120, a reduction in elective hours to 9 for those in pastoral ministry tracks, and a reduction of the leadership track to 14 hours, removing 3 credits in "Leadership in Preaching" and 2 in counseling.

Our review of Dallas Theological Seminary's ThM program

[65]*Dallas Seminary Bulletin*, 1994-1995, 14.

[66]Ibid., 96-97, 24.

curriculum reveals a traditional class-based development approach, with emphasis on pastoral ministry as leadership, as well as added curriculum for those taking the leadership track in pastoral-ministry education. The 1999-2000 bulletin lists three ministry goals for students: communicating the Bible effectively; demonstrating skills in various ministries; and leading a local church or other group by means of biblical exposition, leadership skills, evangelism, and service.[67]

Vanguard University

Vanguard University of Southern California, founded in 1920, is a Christian liberal-arts university of 2,000 students offering four-year Bachelor of Arts and Bachelor of Science degrees and several Master's-level professional degrees, including an MA in Religion or ThM.

We assessed graduates of Vanguard University's MA in Religion who had a concentration in Leadership Studies. The program "emphasizes disciplined research and theological reflection for the study of local and global church mission and leadership. This concentration, based on a blend of theological reflection and the social sciences, will be especially beneficial for church and religious organization leaders or graduate students who desire the enrichment of theological education."[68] The objectives of the program are to provide an understanding of the theological and ethical mission of the local and global church; offer a holistic understanding of leadership that integrates theology with the social sciences; develop an intercultural framework for local and global church mission; examine the principles for the development of vision and its implementation through organizational structures; and learn how to conduct research for developing, testing, or applying theory and hypotheses related to local and global church mission and leadership.[69] Vanguard also offers an MA in Leadership Studies for Hispanic Leaders, which has a similar structure.

Vanguard's 36-unit program is traditional class-based development, but in some ways it is distinct from the approach of ATS seminaries. It is the most clearly dedicated to leadership studies of the three programs reviewed in this study. The program requires theological study on the undergraduate level and thus does not attempt to advance biblical studies,

[67]Ibid., 99-100, 15.

[68]Cf. www.vanguard.edu, Vanguard University of Southern California, October 18, 2004.

[69]Ibid.

except in the understanding of leadership. The 12 core course units, 18 elective units, and 6 units in thesis or project focus entirely on leadership studies, including theological, missiological, and sociological reflection on leadership. Students may choose to include up to 6 units of the 18 electives in preaching or pastoral care.

Biblical Institute for Leadership Development (BILD)

Finally in this study, we assessed graduates of BILD International, an organization based in Ames, Iowa, which fosters the paradigm of church-based theological education. BILD has developed and implemented a curriculum of church-based theological education that distributes to the local church the context, delivery, and professors for professional ministry preparation. It is not a traditional seminary, and thus it does not attempt to replicate the approach of the traditional seminary. Its vision is to "train leaders within churches, by churches, and for churches."[70]

The philosophy of BILD is further described:

> Theological Education: The context of theological education must be the multiplying and establishing of local churches. In that way, character, skills, and academics are integrated into a hands-on, apprenticeship type training and development under a qualified and proven minister of the gospel within a community context. Theology: Theology has become institutionalized. It must be returned to the activity and sphere of local churches, and not as a field of Christianity delegated to scholars in institutions. For theology to become fresh, engaging, and applicable, it must again return to the living and ministering local church.[71]

Jeff Reed, founder of BILD, in his apologetic for BILD's philosophy of theological education, "Church-Based Theological Education: Creating a New Paradigm,"[72] quotes Jonathan Chao's comments on the Lausanne Covenant.

> It is not possible to "improve theological education" as suggested by the covenant, in isolation from its ministerial context. Rather, a complete, integrated approach to the development of indigenous leadership within the overall context of the church and her ministry must be undertaken. . . . A critical and historical analysis of the traditional missionary model of ministry exported from the West shows that it is built on the

[70]Cf. www.efcc.org/BILD, BILD International, October 18, 2004.

[71]Ibid., BILD International Ministry Philosophy, October 18, 2004.

[72]Ibid., BILD International, "Church-Based Theological Education: Creating a New Paradigm," October 17, 2004.

administrative structure reflecting the Roman mentality rather than on a functional structure of service as found in the New Testament. . . . This kind of rethinking, although by no means new, implies that any attempt to "improve" the present form of theological education is not enough. What we need is not renovation, but innovation. The whole philosophy and structure of theological education needs to be completely reshaped.[73]

Pastors receive training/mentoring as they apply curriculum materials in small groups in local churches. They must "live with the matter" as ministry is done. Wisdom as opposed to information or knowledge is focused upon. The pastors who engage in training are not qualified by academic degree, but by success in ministry. Courses focus on evaluation of ministries, transformation of people in ministry, team formation, mission emphasis, and mission models. Each course requires study within a congregational context for 15-18 weeks. Courses are described as "theological readers"—series of questions around issues believed to be of primary importance. There are five progressive program levels, with leadership as the second and paradigm transforming as the third. The distinctive element of this program is the delivery of the education process within active church ministry (as opposed to the traditional class-based approach) in the company of parishioners and a mentor.

Assessment Findings

In this study, we benchmark graduates of the SDATS at Andrews University with graduates of the three programs described above.[74] Research on MDiv graduates from the SDATS through the application of the LPI has been accomplished in two previous studies, and the SDATS is found to follow a traditional seminary curriculum among ATS schools. The SDATS MDiv degree requires a minimum of 96 semester credits. As with Dallas Theological Seminary, a required spiritual formation course is part of the MDiv curriculum; however, the SDATS requires 2 credits rather than 4. A counseling course is required, but there are no preaching courses emphasizing leadership in pulpit ministry. There is one required course in church leadership and administration for 2 credits, and 2 credits in church growth are required. It should be noted that a comparison of the

[73]Jonathan Chao, "Education and Leadership," in *The New Face of Evangelicalism: An International Symposium on the Lausanne Covenant* (Downers Grove: InterVarsity, 1976), 198-199, 202.

[74]See n. 6 above.

SDATS curriculum with the Dallas leadership emphasis and Vanguard's MA in Religion with a Concentration in Leadership Studies is not equitable, since the SDATS MDiv program does not have an emphasis in leadership studies nor a program dedicated to that area.

The following table provides data comparing LPI scores for graduates of SDATS with the three institutions examined for this study.

Comparisons of Pastors from Leadership-Emphasis Institutions
with Seminary-educated Seventh-day Adventist Pastors
on Five Leadership Practices

Leadership Practice	Mean of Pastors Leadership Institutions	Mean of Pastors Adventist Seminary Graduates
Challenging the Process	45.3	41.0
Inspiring a Shared Vision	47.6	44.0
Enabling Others to Act	50.4	46.7
Modeling the Way	49.8	44.9
Encouraging the Heart	44.9	44.1
Combined Leadership Score	238.0	220.7

Conclusion

Our research, accumulated in all three published stages, indicates a consensus among thoughtful investigators that an effective approach to leadership development within the professional programs of ATS seminaries is deficient. Generally, seminaries defer to traditional theological disciplines, even in their professional programs. There are noted exceptions, surfacing in relatively recent years, and in such cases further research will contribute to evaluation. However, the means for effective leadership development in graduate theological education are identified, and significant reflection on the challenge is present.

Stage 1 of this study affirmed that using superior leadership practices enables pastors to be more successful in their ministry. Given the correlation between leadership practices and pastoral success, the

formation of key leadership practices that prepare a person for success in ministry is an appropriate goal of graduate theological education. The assessment data applied in this third stage, while offering a limited sample, affirms that experimentation with leadership curriculum and delivery in the three institutions studied has translated to greater ministry effectiveness. Graduates of the three examined programs noted as offering unusual leadership development integration into their programs consistently scored higher in the LPI assessment in all five scales after four or more years of ministry.[75] It is our observation that both curriculum revision and church-centered delivery paradigms impact the effectiveness of leadership development in graduate theological education.

The application of empirical data to measure leadership effectiveness in ministry after four or more years provided in the three stages of this research is the first such attempt we have discovered. Valuable benchmarks have been established. Further, such analysis will yield additional specific information and inform program revisions.

The researchers believe the mission of graduate theological education calls for a paradigm revision that accomplishes integration of theory and practice and theological reflection and leadership skills within a professional learning context inclusive of coaching. Faithfulness to mission in graduate theological education requires such change.

[75]See "Research Method" section above.

UTOPIA PARK, UTOPIAN CHURCH: A CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF JAMES K. HUMPHREY AND THE UNITED SABBATH DAY ADVENTISTS, 1930-2000[1]

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Introduction

Scholars of African American religion have noted that almost from the instant that people of African descent in America began to appropriate the symbols of the Christian religion taught to them by their European masters, the brand of Christianity that African Americans practiced exhibited a conflicting strain and contradictory nature.[2] Eugene Genovese calls the phenomenon the "dialectic of accommodation and resistance."[3] On one hand, African Americans practiced a retooled Christianity that provided them with emotional and psychological strength in an alien, unfriendly world. On the other hand, their Christianity was both a form of self-expression and a vehicle of resistance to the discrimination they often experienced in the broader culture. Yet African American Christianity did not oscillate between accommodation and resistance, holding them instead in dynamic, dialectical tension. United Sabbath Day Adventists reflected this tension in African

[1]James K. Humphrey was a Baptist minister who joined the Seventh-day Adventist (SDA) Church shortly after migrating to the United States from Jamaica at the turn of the twentieth century. A leader of uncommon skill and charisma, Humphrey ministered in Harlem, New York, during the time the area became the black capital of the United States, leading his congregation to a position of primacy in the Greater New York Conference of SDAs. Yet Humphrey believed that the African American experience in Adventism was one of disenfranchisement, a problem he tried to ameliorate with the establishment of the Utopia Park Benevolent Association. When Humphrey refused to abort or alter his plans at the request of SDA church leaders, his credentials were revoked and his congregation expelled from the denomination. Subsequently, Humphrey established an independent black religious organization, the United Sabbath Day Adventists. See R. Clifford Jones, "James Kemuel Humphrey and the Emergence of the United Sabbath Day Adventists," *AUSS* 41 (2003): 255-273.

[2]The contradictory nature of African American religion is given full treatment by Hans A. Baer and Merrill Singer in *African-American Religion in the Twentieth Century: Varieties of Protest and Accommodation* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1992). The tension is reflective of the "double-consciousness" that W. E. B. Du Bois, one of the twentieth century's most probing African American thinkers, believed characterized his people. In 1903, Du Bois wrote: "One ever feels this two-ness, an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder" (*The Souls of Black Folk* [New York: Library of America, 1990], 8-9).

[3]Eugene Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Built* (New York: Pantheon, 1974), 659.

American religion. In retaining several salient features of Seventh-day Adventist (SDA) doctrine and organizational structure, even as they splintered to form a distinct religious body, United Sabbath Day Adventists display the juxtaposition of accommodation and resistance characteristic of twentieth-century African American religion.

The Socioeconomic Context

In his historical overview of ministry in the black church, E. Forrest Harris Jr. offers the following division: the pre-Civil War Black Church;[4] the Formative Period, from the Civil War through Reconstruction; the Maturation Period, from Reconstruction to the beginning of the Great Migration; the Expansion-Renaissance Period, from the Great Migration to World War II; the Passive Protest Period, from World War II to 1955; and the Radical-Reassertion Period, from 1955 onward.[5] The period during which Humphrey labored as an SDA pastor and later United Sabbath Day Adventist leader was the Expansion-Renaissance Period,[6] even though the organization Humphrey established in 1930 survived the twentieth century.[7]

Calling the Expansion-Renaissance period a watershed era in the social history of ministry in black churches, Gayraud S. Wilmore says that it was during this period that people of African descent in America needed the church more than ever. He contends that by World War I blacks were more segregated and discriminated against than they had been when the Fugitive Slave Law was enacted. He cites an "unprecedented wave of

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[4]During slavery, the black church existed as the "Invisible Institution." The standard work on the church during this era is Albert Raboteau's *Slave Religion: The "Invisible Institution" in the Antebellum South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978).

[5]E. Forrest Harris Jr., *Ministry for Social Crisis: Theology and Praxis in the Black Church Tradition* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1993), 19.

[6]Humphrey gave up leadership of the United Sabbath Day Adventist organization in 1947, five years before his death. His last days were shrouded in uncertainty, conjecture, and suspicion. Humphrey became legally blind toward the end of his life, and, put simply, died a sad man. His spouse of half a century having preceded him in death, his daughter from that union having long since terminated her association with the United Sabbath Day Adventists, and with his family situation the subject of speculation and allegation, Humphrey often felt alone and misunderstood. The bishop confessed that he felt he had not achieved his objective in establishing an independent religious organization that provided African Americans with the power and self-determination they lacked in those denominations operated by whites. Ironically, for reasons that remain unclear, Humphrey's funeral service did not take place at the New York United Church's facility (Ucilla La Condre, interview by author, tape recording, Bronx, New York, June 11, 2000).

[7]After Humphrey, the New York United Sabbath Day Adventist Church was pastored by William Samuels (1947-1987), William Pointer Jr. (1987-1992), Berwyn La Mar (1992), Howard Brooks (1993-1996), Kevin L. Jenkins (1996-1999), and Princeton Holt (1999-2000). Jenkins and Holt were, like Humphrey, former SDA pastors who had run afoul of the denomination.

lynchings, Ku Klux Klan and other anti-Negro hate groups, violence and dire poverty in the black community" as reasons for the deluge of blacks seeking asylum in the North. As a consequence, Wilmore concludes, black churches were hard pressed to provide sanctuary to newly arrived blacks, some of whom showed up at church doorsteps with all their belongings.[8]

From about the last decade of the nineteenth century to about World War II, African American religion—never a homogenous, monolithic phenomenon but a dynamic, creative force that expresses itself in a rich variety of ways—exploded in a number of forms in American cities. Mainstream black denominations saw many of their members leave to join storefront groups that seemed to more adequately meet the needs of the thousands of blacks pouring into American cities, especially those in the North. The sheer diversity of these religious groups testifies to their fierce independence, a fact that receives additional backing when the names of these groups are brought into focus.[9] Yet not all African Americans left predominantly white or white-led denominations to join or form black ones.

Why did some African Americans remain in predominantly white congregations? Why did some blacks establish independent black congregations in white-controlled religious groups? How did the black congregations in white-controlled denominations adapt the teachings and policies of these denominations to their cultural context? Hans A. Baer and Merrill Singer pondered these questions, failing to come up with meaningful answers. They noted that blacks belonging to white-controlled denominations fell into three broad social categories: a middle class, whose members tended to join the mainstream denominations; a new middle class, whose members tended to join unconventional religious groups; and a working class, whose members tended to join white-controlled sects such as Jehovah's Witnesses and SDAs.[10] The authors stress that blacks in these

[8]Gayraud S. Wilmore, *Black and Presbyterian: The Heritage and the Hope* (Philadelphia: Geneva Press, 1983), 43.

[9]Gayraud S. Wilmore, *Black Religion and Black Radicalism* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1972), 152.

[10]Baer and Singer, 103. The debate over whether the SDA Church is a cult has raged for years, with church leaders vigorously denying the charge. Walter Martin has studied the issue extensively (*The Truth About Seventh-day Adventism* [Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1960] and idem, *The Kingdom of the Cults* [Minneapolis: Bethany, 1997]). In the latter work, Martin, 517, has a chapter entitled "The Puzzle of Seventh-day Adventism," saying in it that "it is perfectly possible to be a Seventh-day Adventist and be a true follower of Jesus Christ despite certain heterodox concepts." See also Richard Kyle, who says that SDAs are "an established, institutionalized sect that is set off from society by certain peculiar beliefs and practices." Included in those beliefs are the Sabbath and dietary practices (*The Religious Fringe: A History of Alternative Religions in America* [Downers Grove: InterVarsity, 1993], 151). For Kyle, Seventh-day Adventism is a sect, though one that possesses cultic characteristics. H. J. Bergman argues that whether SDAs are a

religious bodies were still predominantly members of all-black congregations. Citing W. E. B. Du Bois, Baer and Singer claim that particularly in the early twentieth century most African American congregations of white-controlled denominations pitched their message to elite blacks, while all-black denominations catered more to the middle- and lower-middle-class black.[11] This was not the case with either First Harlem SDA Church, which boasted an enviable giving record, or the United Sabbath Day Adventists, who, almost from their inception, struggled financially. Yet First Harlem's giving patterns may have been due to the premium SDAs ascribe to stewardship, a concept the denomination views as involving much more than financial contributions. Humphrey's independent Sabbath Day Adventist movement struggled from its inception not because it catered to middle- to lower-class blacks, many of whom were expatriates from the West Indies, but because SDAs tend to look askance at independent movements. Do African Americans who belong to white-controlled religious bodies tend to be less activist than African Americans in black-controlled ones? Not so, according to many scholars.[12]

The United Sabbath Day Adventists: Cult or Sect?

In an attempt to understand the religious diversity evident in African American religion, Baer and Singer proposed a typology of black sectarianism, coming up with a four-cell matrix in which each cell represents a different type of sect. As they see it, mainstream denominations accept the cultural norms of the broader society, aspire to obtain a piece of the proverbial American pie, and primarily draw members from the middle class who have achieved a measure of social legitimacy and stability. Second, Messianic-Nationalist sects combine religious beliefs with a goal of achieving political, economic, social, and cultural autonomy. Founded by charismatic individuals whom followers tend to view as specially gifted leaders, Messianic-Nationalism groups tout a glorious black past and a future age of accomplishment for blacks. Third, Conversionist sects lean toward an otherworldly apoliticalism, eschewing activism. They prize conversion and sanctification, and are often criticized as being escapist. Fourth, thaumaturgical sects utilize the magical as a means of achieving such socially acceptable goals as wealth and health.

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cult or sect is not as important as why cults exist and the reasons people join them (*The Religious Fringe: Cults, Cultists and Seventh-day Adventists* [College Place, WA: H. J. Bergman, 1991]).

[11]Ibid., 49.

[12]Ibid., 108. See also August Meier, *Negro Thought in America, 1880-1915: Racial Ideologies in the Age of Booker T. Washington* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1966), 222.

Like mainstream denominations, they generally accept the cultural norms of the larger society.[13] In this typology, the United Sabbath Day Adventists fall into the Messianic-Nationalist category.

Arthur Huff Fauset has noted that the penchant of black churches to split from white-led denominations in the early part of the twentieth century was due in part to their nationalist tendencies. Especially when these groups existed as "cults," nationalism often eclipsed a focus on more traditional and widely accepted Christian tenets, including foundational doctrines such as the Trinity.[14]

United Sabbath Day Adventists, like the SDAs from whom they splintered, resist being identified as a cult, holding that they are in the mainstream of evangelical Christianity.[15] Yet one reason United Sabbath Day Adventists may have flourished, especially from 1930 to 1950, was because of the social climate permeating black America. According to Miles Fischer, during those two decades "some unorthodox religious group which makes a definite appeal to Negroes" was to be found "almost in every center, particularly urban."[16] Exploiting the slowness of the organized Christian churches to address the emotional and social as well as the spiritual needs of the urban masses, these groups were led, for the most part, by unlettered individuals who deliberately avoided the historical-critical method of biblical interpretation popular at the time. These leader-preachers appealed directly to Scripture in search of material for the proof-text kind of preaching for which they were known. C. Eric Lincoln and Lawrence Mamiya contend that this was an era characterized by a "relative quietism and an apparent vacuum of church leadership" into which cult leaders flowed with promises of utopia.[17] Black cults and sects met in storefronts and other unpretentious

[13]Baer and Singer, 55-64. See also idem, "Toward a Typology of Black Sectarianism as a Response to Racial Stratification," in *African-American Religion: Interpretative Essays in History and Culture*, ed. Timothy E. Fulop and Albert J. Raboteau (New York: Routledge, 1997), 257-276.

[14]Arthur Huff Fauset, *Black Gods of the Metropolis* (New York: Octagon, 1970), 9, 76.

[15]The terms "cult" and "sect" are usually used pejoratively. Yet, as Joseph Washington Jr. reminds, historically several religions were seen by outsiders as cults before they evolved into sects and then churches. Christianity itself was initially regarded as a Jewish cult. It then became a persecuted sect before growing into a denomination and finally into a triumphant world movement and accepted church. See Joseph R. Washington Jr., *Black Sects and Cults* (New York: University Press of America, 1986), 1, 2; and James R. Lewis, *Cults in America* (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 1998).

[16]Miles Mark Fischer, "Organized Religion and the Cults," in *Afro-American Religious History: A Documentary Witness*, ed. Milton C. Sernett (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1985), 392.

[17]C. Eric Lincoln and Lawrence H. Mamiya, *The Black Church in the African American Experience* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1990), 121.

assembly halls, often operating social ministries out of them.

Joseph R. Washington Jr. states that sectarianism is the response to power desired and denied, adding that the black "cult-type" was not just a religious movement. It was also a political, social, and economic force that spoke of ultimate black triumph over antagonistic principalities and powers—a "call to new life" and a "call to new power" in this present world. Though they created an abundance of myths, advocates of the black "cult-type" lived in a world devoid of myths. Yet their central and ultimate power was God, who empowered their leaders to transcend the immediate materiality of the world with transcendent, supernatural force.[18]

Arthur Huff Fauset posits that people were drawn to the cults for a number of reasons: a desire to be closer to the supernatural, the charismatic personality of the leader, and race consciousness. Additionally, they wanted to rid themselves of physical and emotional illness.[19] The first three of Fauset's reasons seem to apply to the United Sabbath Day Adventists. Many of those attracted to the new religious movement expressed a desire for "a closer walk with the Lord," and found that the articles appearing in the *Messenger*, the United Sabbath Day Adventist journal, spoke to that desire and need. Additionally, race consciousness was a factor that drew people to the United Sabbath Day Adventists. Indeed, the group had splintered from the SDAs on that very issue. Finally, Humphrey's charismatic personality was no small draw to the group.[20]

That Humphrey may have had problems with the law and may have spent time in jail on charges that were ultimately dropped in no way detracted from his appeal and/or discounted his influence. Not a few of the cult leaders of Humphrey's time had run afoul of the law themselves. Yet, according to Fischer, it was uncommon for a cult leader to be "adjudged guilty of anything other than insanity." According to him, one cult leader of the era was arrested twenty-six times, including six times for insanity. Another, Father Chester Talliafero, founder of Saints' Rest in Philadelphia, was arrested three times for gross misconduct "only to be detained in an asylum from which he was released."[21] Cult leaders were charismatic personalities whose appeal depended in part on physical and psychological idiosyncrasies, and even quirks. Indeed, a distinguishing

[18]Joseph R. Washington Jr., *Black Sects and Cults* (Phildelphia: Fortress, 1979), 245.

[19]Fauset, 107-109.

[20]Irene Jarvis, interview by author, tape recording, Brooklyn, New York, August 15, 2000; Bernice Samuel, interview by author, tape recording, St. Albans, New York, April 17, 2000; Dorothy Simmonds, interview by author, tape recording, Mt. Vernon, New York, June 11, 2000; La Condre.

[21]Fischer, 397.

feature of the independent black-church movement was the captivating, if not transfixing, personality of the leader, an element that applied to the United Sabbath Day Adventists. Humphrey's "stately bearing" helped to set him apart as a specially chosen vessel of God, and his struggles with the SDA denomination only added to his allure.[22]

The most celebrated Harlem religious leader during the 1930s was Father Divine, or George Baker, as he was named at birth. More than any other African American religious leader during the time, Father Divine personified and epitomized the "Black Gods of the Metropolis" tradition. Divine's Peace Mission achieved legendary, if not mythical, status in New York City because of his power and clout. Allegedly, a letter was once addressed to him simply as "God, Harlem, U. S. A.," and the United States Postal Service delivered the piece of correspondence to him.[23]

Divine's fame and notoriety were challenged by Daddy Grace, the most flamboyant and controversial of the "Black Gods of the Metropolis." Grace, who was born in the Cape Verde Islands, established the United House of Prayer for All People in Massachusetts in 1921. More messiah than nationalist, Grace presented himself as the liberator African Americans had been looking for, appealing to them to turn to him for salvation. To be sure, Grace never promoted himself as a deity. Yet his penchant for flashy jewelry, shoulder-length flowing hair, and fancy suits did set him apart, as did the assortment of household goods and toiletries bearing his name that his organization promoted.[24]

There are stark differences between Humphrey and these "Black Gods of the Metropolis," the most obvious being that at no time did Humphrey conceive of himself as a messiah or deliverer. Humphrey never had any delusions of grandeur and never called himself God or the son of God in the theological sense. He deliberately avoided a life of flamboyance and ostentation, and was never carried on the shoulders of followers, driven in a horse-drawn carriage, or chauffeured in a limousine.[25] To be sure, Humphrey

[22]La Condre.

[23]Two excellent works on Father Divine are Robert Weisbrot, *Father Divine and the Struggle for Racial Equality* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1983); and Jill Watts, *God, Harlem, U. S. A.: The Father Divine Story* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995).

[24]Fauset, 155.

[25]Marcus Garvey, the diminutive Jamaican who succeeded in establishing the first mass black movement in America, was known for the grand parades his Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) staged. In them, Garvey, often bedecked in plumes and royal attire, rode in limousines and was sometimes carried aloft. Scholars are divided as to whether Garveyism was a religion or not, or as to its religious elements and dimensions. Fauset did not include the movement in his study of black cults in the urban north. Yet other scholars could not help but see religious elements in Garveyism. See, for example, Randall

was urbane and suave, but empire building was never on his agenda. His book was the Bible, and he remained a Bible student and preacher to the end, keeping the attention of his members riveted on the Bible. Humphrey lifted up Jesus Christ as the Living Word. Yet, as all conscientious clergy do, he did appeal for funds to keep his organization afloat. But the bishop never focused attention on finances to the exclusion of other critical organizational issues.

James K. Humphrey and the United Sabbath Day Adventists: An Assessment

What kind of black religious leadership did Humphrey provide? E. Forrest Harris Jr. has identified four styles or models of black religious leadership relative to the "liberation praxis" in the African American church: the pastoral, the prophetic, the reformist, and the nationalistic. The pastoral model seeks to "comfort and to console those battered by life's adverse circumstances"; the prophetic seeks to "reveal the contradictions inherent in the life of the community and dominant culture and to clarify the ethical vision of justice in situations of human oppression"; the reformist is a "mix of politics and religion" on behalf of a disenfranchised black community; and the nationalistic model, which believes that self-determination is a basic ethical and political right of people, advocates "some form of racial separation to allow blacks to gain a self-determined vision and control over their own destiny." The effectiveness of each model is tied to "moral accountability to the black community." Summing up, Harris says that ministry in the black church is "an attempt to preach, teach, and live out the biblical message of freedom under God so that it powerfully impacts the realities of black existence in a context of cultural, social, political, and economic oppression." Yet this does not mean that black religious leaders discount inner transformation. Indeed, they generally hold that inner renewal is at once a prelude and postlude to social transformation.[26]

K. Burkett, who examines Garvey as a black theologian (*Garveyism as a Religious Movement: The Institutionalization of a Black Civil Religion* [Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow, 1978]). See also Henry J. Young, *Major Black Religious Leaders: 1755-1940* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1977); Wilmore argues that Garveyism was "in the best tradition of the Black Church in America" (*Black Religion and Black Radicalism*, 203). Randall K. Burkett posits that the Garvey movement cannot be fully understood apart from its religious dimensions (*Black Redemption: Churchmen Speak for the Garvey Movement* [Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1978]). Tony Martin is widely considered the authority on Marcus Garvey (*Marcus Garvey: Hero* [Dover, MA: Majority, 1983]); idem, *Marcus Garvey: Message to the People* (Dover, MA: Majority, 1986); and idem, *The Pan-African Connection: From Slavery to Garvey and Beyond* (Dover, MA: Majority, 1983).

[26]Harris, 93-98.

Using Harris's scheme, a reasonable conclusion is that Humphrey was prophetic and nationalistic as an SDA minister and more pastoral as leader of the United Sabbath Day Adventists. To be sure, as Harris has allowed, African American religious leaders have seldom been exclusively one or the other, combining many elements of each model in their attempts to serve their congregants.[27]

Did Humphrey accomplish his objective of creating self-determination among black Adventists who keep the Sabbath? And did the United Sabbath Day Adventists become the autonomous religious organization its founder envisioned?

Measured merely by numbers, the United Sabbath Day Adventists have failed to thrive, especially in comparison to black SDA churches. As the twenty-first century dawned, the average weekly attendance at the New York United Sabbath Day Adventist Church was sixty; today there are no viable branches of the group elsewhere. Most urban African American SDA congregations, especially those in New York City, have membership in the hundreds, while Ephesus SDA, the outgrowth of the reorganized First Harlem SDA congregation, has a current membership of approximately 2,200. Still, success is not always a function of numbers. New York United may be small in numbers, but not in spirit or pride.

Regrettably, not many African American SDAs are familiar with the name James K. Humphrey or the group he founded, and even among those familiar with the history of the Sabbath Day Adventists there is much confusion. Yet Humphrey's bold move in establishing an independent religious organization, replete with General Conference sessions modeled after those conducted by SDAs, inspired a generation of African Americans caught up in the throes of the Great Depression and World War II. To West Indians, struggling to resonate with a new culture, and to indigenous blacks, many of them newly arrived from the South, Humphrey's stance against an established power heralded a new day of resistance and nonacceptance of conditions and practices he and his followers considered hostile toward people of African descent.

Unable to reconcile Christianity's teaching of inclusion and community with SDA behavior he considered discriminatory,[28] Humphrey concluded that the time had come for an independent church, founded and operated by blacks. Such an organization would be an antidote to the lack of self-determination and power evident in the African American population. Moreover, the new religious body would more effectively evangelize the black community, meeting not just its spiritual but its social, political, and

[27]Ibid., 93.

[28]See Jones, 259-260.

economic needs as well. More importantly, it would be a visible monument to the black theology of liberation.[29]

To be sure, Humphrey's brand of activist rhetoric never did approximate that of the nineteenth-century black liberator David Walker, whose cry to "awaken his afflicted brethren" struck a responsive strain within them that was broad and deep.[30] Nor was Humphrey's message a new interpretation of what other black "liberators" had been saying for a long time. Even Humphrey's act of leaving the SDA Church, in 1929 a predominantly white religious body, was not unprecedented. Long before Humphrey established his independent organization, Richard Allen had walked out of the Methodist Church to do just that.[31] Indeed, in its break from the SDAs, United Sabbath Day Adventists saw history repeating itself, claiming that both Richard Allen and Humphrey broke from their denominations because of white mistreatment of blacks.[32]

To the United Sabbath Day Adventists, launching an independent religious organization was truly a revolutionary act. They asserted that Christianity was birthed in revolution, having been founded by an individual who renounced the "ideas and ideals of the religious leaders of his day" in favor of the "practical and humane." Protestantism, too, had been born in revolution, the Protestant church developing and growing through the sacrifices of pioneers like Huss, Jerome, Zwingli, Melanchthon, Tyndale, Latimer, Knox, Ridley, and Cranmer. It was in the tradition of these individuals that, according to United Sabbath Day Adventists, Humphrey had stood up to the SDAs. Inspired by their legacy of resistance to injustice and error, Humphrey and his supporters had "raised their voice against such enormities, realizing that all men are

[29]According to James H. Cone, the establishment of independent black churches was, and continues to be, a "visible manifestation of Black Theology" (*A Black Theology of Liberation* [New York: Seabury, 1969], 59). Cone has distinguished himself as a leader among scholars of black theology, writing extensively on the subject (*God of the Oppressed* [San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1975]; and idem, *Risks of Faith: The Emergence of a Black Theology of Liberation, 1968-1998* [Boston: Beacon Press, 1999]). Other works that explore the phenomenon known as "Black Theology" include Will Coleman, *Tribal Talk: Black Theology, Hermeneutics, and African American Ways of "Telling the Story"* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000); James H. Evans, *We Have Been Believers: An African-American Systematic Theology* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992); J. Deotis Roberts, *Black Theology in Dialogue* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1987); and Dwight N. Hopkins, *Introducing A Black Theology of Liberation* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1999).

[30]See Peter J. Hinks, *To Awaken My Afflicted Brethren: David Walker and the Problem of Antebellum Slave Resistance* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997).

[31]See Carol V. R. George, *Segregated Sabbath: Richard Allen and the Emergence of Independent Black Churches, 1760-1840* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973).

[32]*United Sabbath Day Adventist Messenger*, August 1932, 14-15.

created equal." Seventh Day Baptists had been compelled to create an institution, they claimed, "where all can serve the creator instead of the creature, and work in fairness and righteousness to all."[33]

Humphrey never claimed to be a deliverer of his people like the OT character Moses. Instead, Humphrey chose to cast his struggle with the SDA denomination within the broader framework of race relations. Yet one reason people embraced Humphrey was because of the mood of the times. A glut of migrants from the South and a stream of immigrants from the West Indies conspired with economic uncertainty to create the ideal conditions for a religious leader such as Humphrey. As thousands of newly arrived blacks searched for meaning amid the limited material resources they encountered in American cities, they turned increasingly from the mainline churches to small, independent sects and groups with unique names and extraordinary leaders. Thus Humphrey was but one in a generation of religious leaders who held themselves out as viable options, if not irrefutable answers, to the strange and new challenges of urban life.

The post-Humphrey Sabbath Day Adventist Church has been beset by challenges that have seen its numbers drastically reduced, and attempts at reconciliation with the SDA denomination continue to be frustrated by long-held, deeply entrenched grudges Sabbath Day Adventists refuse to give up.[34]

[33]Ibid., 13-14.

[34]Almost from the moment they splintered, attempts have been made from both sides to reconcile United Sabbath Day Adventists with SDAs. Before his death in 1947, Humphrey often visited SDA congregations, and attempts at reconciliation intensified after his death. Humphrey's immediate successor, William Samuels, went so far as to invite a delegation from the local regional conference, the Northeastern Conference of SDAs, to make a case for reconciliation before his church. The event was a watershed in that it represented the first time SDAs had met with Sabbath Day Adventists to intentionally try to broker an agreement between the two religious bodies (Joe Mesar and Tom Dybdahl, "The Utopia Park Affair and the Rise of Northern Black Adventists," *Adventist Heritage* 1/1 [January 1974]: 53). Yet attempts to bring the two groups back together have met with no success. Early barriers included Sabbath Day Adventists' refusal to accept SDA policies on property ownership. Property ownership had played no small role in the break of 1929, and it was only after the local conference, union conference, and General Conference officials had agreed at the business meeting of the First Harlem SDA Church on the night of November 2, 1929, to turn over the title of First Harlem's building, that the SDA church leaders had been allowed to leave the premises unharmed. When the judge, in ruling on their property in the 1930s, stated that Ellen G. White was not a prophet, he unwittingly created another barrier to Sabbath Day Adventist reconciliation to the SDA Church (La Condre). Yet the main reason United Sabbath Day Adventists refused initially to return to the SDA organization was their belief that black conferences within the SDA denomination lacked the autonomy and power Humphrey had envisioned they would have (Mesar and Dybdahl, 53-54). The bishop had pictured regional conferences as the answer to the lack of self-determination among African American SDAs, a dream he believed had not come true in the present structure (La Condre). As the twenty-first century dawned, Princeton Holt, pastor of the New York United Sabbath Day Adventist Church, had as one of his major

Sabbath Day Adventists have experienced difficulty attracting clergy aware
of its history and committed to its vision, with the result that pastoral tenures
since William Samuels have been marked by tension and apprehension, if not
suspicion.[35] Still, as the twenty-first century dawned, New York United
Sabbath Day Adventists pulsated with hope and the promise of a return to
the "glory days" that would spark unprecedented church growth and
outreach sure to bring transformation to the Harlem community.

    Ostensibly, Humphrey founded the United Sabbath Day Adventist
organization because of the treatment people of color were experiencing in
the SDA Church. The bishop had no doctrinal disputation with the SDAs,
unless one counts his unclear position on Ellen G. White. Yet Humphrey,
doctrinally an SDA to the end, embraced a theology of service that reflected
a historic African American synthesis of pietism and pragmatism.
Consequently, Humphrey refused to drive a wedge between the spiritual and
social needs of his people. He combined moral regeneration and renewal with
economic and educational self-help initiatives. For Humphrey, any theology
that failed to resonate with pressing, real-life issues such as social injustice was
meaningless, and when it became clear to him that SDA theology was not
addressing black issues, he reasoned that he could remain true to Adventism's
essence while repudiating its practices.

    Assessing Humphrey's career based on his personality is difficult.
That he was part of a generation of ambitious West Indians who rose to
leadership in Harlem is a tenable argument. Yet what motivated him
psychologically is difficult to gauge. Admittedly, his immigrant status, as

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objectives the return of that congregation to the SDA denomination (Princeton Holt, interview
with author, tape recording, New York, New York, August 11, 2000). Yet Holt knew he faced
daunting hurdles, not the least of which were the deep-seated attitudes of distrust and hostility
that a feisty minority still had for the SDA Church, which they believed mistreated Humphrey.

    [35]William A. Samuels, an Antiguan who moved to New York City in 1910 and was
married by Humphrey in 1919, was a member of First Harlem SDA Church until the split
in 1929. He became Humphrey's "right-hand man" when Humphrey established the United
Sabbath Day Adventists, and led the group from 1947, when an ailing Humphrey gave up
leadership, to 1987. Samuels's major accomplishment was the erection of New York United's
present facility, a beautiful brick structure believed to be the only church building
constructed by Adventists in New York City. Yet it was under Samuels's watch that Sabbath
Day Adventist membership plummeted, the main reason being the backlash over the alleged
use of tithe funds to build the facility (Aileen Hunter, telephone conversation with the
author, March 4, 2001). After Samuels, a succession of "first-day" ministers followed,
including one who claimed he was a black Jew. These individuals functioned more as pulpit
preachers than as pastors/ministers, with few, if any, ever articulating a renewed or expanded
vision for the Sabbath Day Adventists. Indeed, both the day-to-day operation and long-term
planning for the church were left in the hands of an administrative body, which jealously
guarded its power. New York United's last two pastors of the twentieth century were former
SDA ministers, who, like Humphrey, had run afoul of SDA Church policy.

well as his status as an African American in an essentially segregated society, shaped his thinking and ministry. Based on what has been preserved of his writings and sermons, clues to his personality slowly evolve, with Humphrey emerging as a complex individual, a study in paradox and ambiguity. That he was a gifted leader is certain. During his tenure as bishop of the United Sabbath Day Adventists, congregations were spawned and attendance at United Sabbath Day Adventist General Conference sessions was high. And although Humphrey managed his organization closely, it does not appear that he was victimized by megalomania.[36] To the congregations he spawned across the country, Humphrey assigned and fostered indigenous leadership and autonomy, and the bishop was not averse to female leadership.[37]

Yet Humphrey never pursued his dream of Utopia Park once he split with the SDAs. Undoubtedly, the struggle to keep a new religious organization afloat during economically,[38] socially, and politically difficult times, as well as conflicts within the infant organization,[39] consumed much of the bishop's time and energy. Still, that Humphrey aborted the project for which he gave up a successful career as an SDA minister is noteworthy. More

[36]While he did not rule with an iron hand, Humphrey did manage his church closely. The bishop authored all the materials used for study in the Sabbath School, and, beginning in 1934, served as editor of the organization's journal. Humphrey was usually present for the rehearsals of both the senior and youth choir and seldom took a vacation. Yet what amply demonstrates Humphrey's close management style is the role he played in the church's treasury department. Humphrey is remembered as teaching the treasury staff how to "keep the books," even showing them how to wrap coins (La Condre, interview).

[37]Although men dominated the leadership roles of the United Sabbath Day Adventists, two women were voted as departmental leaders at the group's General Conference Session in 1939 (*United Sabbath Day Adventist Messenger*, June 1939, 8).

[38]Humphrey and the United Sabbath Day Adventists certainly proved false the myth that during the Depression all "black preachers drove Cadillacs" and all "black churches had plenty of money." His organization was poor, like most other small independent black churches, and during its infancy began to experience the secularism that was then sweeping through city churches (Wilmore, *Black Religion and Black Radicalism*, 161).

[39]Almost from their inception, United Sabbath Day Adventists experienced internal conflicts. It appears that as early as 1934 a power struggle imperiled the group. At the Fourth Annual General Conference Session that year, the vice president and secretary of the infant group were removed from office, as were the editor and assistant editor of the *Messenger*. No reasons for the actions were noted in the periodical. Also at that Session, Humphrey's title was changed from president to moderator of the Session, ostensibly because the word "'President' is more political than religious." Samuels, Humphrey's first successor as leader of the organization, claimed that the only religious body that used "President" for its chief officer was the SDAs, and that since "moderator" denotes a "chairman," "it seems to us more fitting than the word 'President'" (*United Sabbath Day Adventist Messenger*, January, 1935, 8). Yet Samuels assumed the title of president when he later became leader of the group (*United Sabbath Day Adventist Messenger*, January-March 1953, 3).

importantly, it does not appear that Humphrey or the United Sabbath Day
Adventists ever promoted or operated any coherent, comprehensive program
for the economic uplift of its members or community. Admittedly,
Humphrey encouraged youth to seek higher education, but he never
entertained plans to operate a school on any level in New York City. United
Sabbath Day Adventists sponsored no benevolent or burial societies, as other
black religious groups did. Indeed, it appears that after his split with the
SDAs, Humphrey became far more conservative in his theology, and the
group he established became a deradicalized church.

Conclusion

The emergence of the United Sabbath Day Adventists forms an important
chapter in the history of race relations in the SDA Church. Humphrey's
break with the SDA Church in 1930 set the tone for black-white relations in
the SDA Church since then, and almost certainly was the catalyst that
sparked the creation of the separate administrative structure for blacks in the
denomination in 1945.[40] United Sabbath Day Adventists view their church
history as one of resistance to, not domination by, an established, superior
power. They are pleased about the stand Humphrey took against the SDA
Church, viewing him as a pioneer in the struggle of people of African descent
for autonomy and self-determination both within and outside the church.
Additionally, they are inclined to argue that their stand is the reason for the
gains African Americans have made in the SDA Church. Furthermore, they
contend that the real beneficiaries of Humphrey's stand are not the United
Sabbath Day Adventists, but African Americans in the SDA Church. Yet to
say that Humphrey's split helped to modernize the SDA Church is to arrive
at a conclusion for which credible evidence is lacking.

[40]Mesar and Dybdahl, 53.

"OUR STRUGGLE": *ECCLESIA MILITANS*
IN EPHESIANS 6:10-20

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At the end of the Epistle to the Ephesians, Paul employs vivid military imagery in a bid to summarize and apply the themes of the composition.[1] The addressees are invited to outfit themselves with the armor of the divine warrior (6:10-11) as a way of ensuring victory in their struggle against the cosmic powers (6:12). A reprise of the exhortation to dress for battle offers the command in a more detailed way. Readers are to clothe themselves with a soldier's weaponry, donning it in the order in which a soldier might prepare himself for battle (6:13-17). This elaborate military imagery is completed by a call to prayer both for "all the saints" and for Paul (6:18-20).

If judged by the frequency of adoption of the imagery in later Christian writings, this use of military metaphor proved a rhetorical success. The appeal of the "armament passage" is again and again demonstrated in what has become a long and intricate history of interpretation. In modern popular Christian writing, one can trace its continuing appeal. In such literature, the passage is read usually in an individualist manner as a description of the Christian's internal battle against temptation.[2] Precedents for such a reading abound, beginning with early Christian interpretations, such as those of John Chrysostom and Gnostic appropriations of the passage and continuing through modern commentaries.[3] In the commentaries and monographs on Ephesians by Thomas Abbott, Heinrich Schlier, Karl M. Fischer, Leslie Mitton, Markus Barth, G. B. Caird, J. L. Houlden, Adrienne von Speyr, F. F. Bruce, Ernest Best, and Harold W. Hoehner, the emphasis of the passage is either explicitly taken to be on the individual or simply assumed to be so.[4]

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[1] I assume that Paul is personally involved with the composition of the document.

[2] A notable exception is Richard J. Foster, *Money, Sex and Power: The Challenge of the Disciplined Life* (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1985), 189-193. Foster, 193, writes: "Paul's military metaphor is a wonderful picture of the company of the committed working in concert, advancing against the powers, conquering in Christ's name."

[3] John Chrysostom, *Hom. Eph.* 23 & 24, NPNF 13.163-172; Gnostic sources include *Exeg. Soul* II,6.131 and *Hyp. Arch* II,4.86.

[4] Thomas K. Abbott, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistles to the Ephesians and to the Colossians*, ICC (New York: Scribners, 1897), 180-190; Heinrich Schlier, *Der Brief an*

Thomas R. Yoder Neufeld asserts that "virtually all commentators . . . speak always of 'the [individual] Christian'" when treating this passage.[5]

The individualist interpretation has been formulated in a most sophisticated way by J. Paul Sampley.[6] In tracing what he calls "the movement and design" of Ephesians, Sampley argues that Eph 6:10-20 represents the "ultimate restriction of scope" in the epistle. The author begins the composition with a cosmic, universal reach which encompasses "all things . . . [,] things in heaven and things on earth" (1:10). The first

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die Epheser: Ein Kommentar, 5. Auflage (Düsseldorf: Patmos, 1965), 288-307; Karl M. Fischer, *Tendenz und Absicht des Epheserbriefes*, FRLANT, 111 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1973), 165-171; C. Leslie Mitton, *Ephesians*, NCB (London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1973), 218-230; Markus Barth, *Ephesians*, 1st ed., 2 vols., AB (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1974), 2:759-808; G. B. Caird, *Paul's Letters from Prison: Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, Philemon, in the Revised Standard Version*, New Claredon Bible (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976), 91-93; J. L. Houlden, *Paul's Letters from Prison: Philippians, Colossians, Philemon, and Ephesians*, Westminster Pelican Commentaries (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1977), 337-340; Adrienne von Speyr, *The Letter to the Ephesians*, trans. Adrian Walker (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1996), 253-269 (trans. of *Der Epheserbrief*, 2. Auflage [Einsiedeln: Johannes Verlag, 1983]); F. F. Bruce, *The Epistles to the Colossians, to Philemon, and to the Ephesians*, NICNT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1984), 402-413; Ernest Best, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Ephesians*, ICC (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1998), 584-611; Harold W. Hoehner, *Ephesians: An Exegetical Commentary* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2002), 817-866. Here I am reflecting my review and update of the survey of Martin Kitchen, *Ephesians*, New Testament Readings (London: Routledge, 1994), 116-119. I have added Mitton, Bruce, Speyr, Best, and Hoehner to Kitchen's list and subtracted J. Armitage Robinson and Rudolf Schnackenburg, both of whom reflect a corporate understanding. Referring to the church as "God's New Man," Robinson writes that "God's New Man must be clad in the very armour of God." The intention of the passage is that "the Church may realize and consummate" the triumph of Christ, a triumph that "has to be realised in His Body the Church" (*St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians* [London: Macmillan, 1903], 130-136). Schnackenburg writes: "The metaphor of the battle against evil can certainly be transferred to the moral struggles of the individual Christian, as happened not infrequently in the history of the exegesis of these verses. But the picture here painted still lies primarily in a cosmic perspective of the Church's battle against all the powers of evil, and its original intention should not be blurred" (*The Epistle to the Ephesians*, trans. Helen Heron [Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1991], 285).

[5]Thomas R. Yoder Neufeld, *Put on the Armour of God: The Divine Warrior from Isaiah to Ephesians*, JSNTSup, 140 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 152. Yoder Neufeld's own commentary, as would be expected, adopts a corporate perspective (*Ephesians*, Believers Church Bible Commentary [Waterloo, ONT: Herald, 2002], 290-316). Similarly, Martin Kitchen, 119, can remark: "It is a curious phenomenon of the history of the exegesis of this epistle that apparently all its interpreters have assumed that the image in 6.10-20 is to be interpreted as referring to the individual Christian, perceived as a soldier." However, Kitchen's comment may deserve revision based on a re-evaluation of the scholars he surveys (see n. 4, above). Moreover, it is possible to develop a corporate understanding of the passage without adopting Kitchen's view that the church is portrayed in it as a single soldier.

[6]J. Paul Sampley, "Ephesians," in *The Deutero-Pauline Letters: Ephesians, Colossians, 2 Thessalonians, 1-2 Timothy, Titus*, ed. Gerhard Krodel, Proclamation Commentaries (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993), 21-23. Sampley's treatment of Ephesians is lightly revised from the first edition of 1978.

two chapters employ a "wide-angle lens. . . . The scope is vast." Chapters 3 through much of 5 narrow the scope to believers, to the church, while the Household Code of Eph 5:21–6:9 further restricts the focus to the Christian household. Ephesians 6:10-20 represents the "ultimate restriction of scope" in focusing on the individual Christian.[7] However, to this survey of the "movement" of Ephesians, Sampley appends a note that "the author of Ephesians never resorts to stark or independent individualism," and points to features of the passage which show that "the community context of the life of faith is constantly in view." The exhortations are placed in the plural, and prayer is invited "for all the saints" (v. 18).[8]

It is to just such features that a number of recent scholars have pointed in defending and developing a corporate understanding of Eph 6:10-20. These students of Eph 6:10-20 founded their corporate view on the idea that the pericope is both summation and conclusion of the epistle. Yoder Neufeld, for example, calls Eph 6:10-20 "a forceful concluding summation of the burden of the oration as a whole, as well as a final call to action."[9] In their view, an individualist reading fails to take seriously this insight.

For some advocates of a corporate reading, the church is to be identified with the divine warrior of Isaiah. On the level of the imagery of the passage, the church becomes a single armed warrior. This view is advocated in studies by Yoder Neufeld and Martin Kitchen.[10]

The title of Yoder Neufeld's 1989 Harvard University dissertation summarizes his position: "God and Saints at War: The Transformation and Democratization of the Divine Warrior in Isaiah 59, Wisdom of Solomon 5, 1 Thessalonians 5, and Ephesians 6."[11] He sees a trajectory for the armament imagery from Isa 59 and Wis 5 through 1 Thess 5 to Eph 6. His method is "to explore what interpretive possibilities suggest themselves when the text is

[7]Lewis R. Donelson seems to follow Sampley: "The cosmic scale on which the letter began is seen again in this marvelous concluding exhortation. The letter opened by rehearsing the cosmic story of the gospel and closes by placing the single Christian into the center of the cosmic battle" (*Colossians, Ephesians, 1 and 2 Timothy, and Titus,* Westminster Bible Companion [Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 1996], 108).

[8]Sampley, 22-23.

[9]Neufeld, 111.

[10]William Klassen adopts a similar perspective, arguing that "here it is not a virtuous person fighting against vices or evils. It is a community clothed in the armor of God and battling, not against people, but against the structures of evil which lie behind them" ("War in the NT," in *ABD* 6:871).

[11]Thomas R. Yoder Neufeld, "God and Saints at War: The Transformation and Democratization of the Divine Warrior in Isaiah 59, Wisdom of Solomon 5, 1 Thessalonians 5, and Ephesians 6" (Th.D. dissertation, Harvard Divinity School, 1989). Published as Neufeld, *Put on the Armour of God.*

read as the youngest in a series of attempts to elucidate the meaning of the Isaianic image of the Divine Warrior in armour, with the consciousness of standing in a stream of interpretation."[12]

In Yoder Neufeld's view, Isa 59 and Wis 5 share the same paradigm—YHWH is the divine warrior in the heavens who, outfitted in armor and implements of war, battles foes on earth. This pattern is "democratized" in 1 Thess 5, where it is now the Christian addressees who wear the divine armor and do battle. Development continues in Eph 6 in which, likewise, it is the Christian community that is equipped for battle. However, the battle of Isaiah and Wisdom of Solomon is now inverted. Instead of YHWH doing battle from the heavens with his enemies on earth, the armed Christian community is "directly at war with the peers of God, as it were—the devil and his principalities and powers."[13]

Moreover, the author of Ephesians intends the passage as critical comment on the portrayal of warfare in 1 Cor 15:24, where Christ fights the cosmic enemies of God. The author of Ephesians "replaces Christ the warrior with the saints as corporate warrior.... He exploits the implications of Paul's ecclesiology which identifies the church as σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ by now moving the church into the battle Christ wages in 1 Corinthians 15." The community is placed "into the armour of God, in imitation directly of God."[14] In Yoder Neufeld's view, then, the armament passage does not portray Christian believers in battle dress, waging war together against the dark powers of the cosmos, so much as it pictures the church as a single warrior.

Though Yoder Neufeld does not make the point, one could argue that the author of Ephesians is following a pattern laid down earlier in the letter of identifying the church with a unitary figure. Just as the church is the "body of Christ," the "one new person" (2:15), the "perfect man" (4:13) and the bride or wife of Christ, so Christians in community are identified with a single warrior.

The complexity of Yoder Neufeld's thesis may be its undoing. It depends on having Eph 6:10-20 serve as detailed commentary and critique on a number of traditions: first, on the tradition of the divine warrior in Isaiah and Wisdom of Solomon; second, on 1 Thess 5:8 and others of Paul's writings, such as 1 Cor 15:24. In his reappropriation of 1Thess 5:8, Yoder Neufeld believes that the author of Ephesians provides "a critique of fellow tradents

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[12]Neufeld, *Put on the Armour of God*, 153.

[13]Ibid., 128.

[14]Ibid., 124-125.

of the Pauline inheritance."[15] Ephesians 6:10-20 should be read as a rejection of the failure of 2 Thessalonians to democratize the image of 1 Thess 5:8 and instead portray divine intervention as only a future event. It should also be taken as negative comment on the Epistle to the Colossians, in which "there is no cosmic threat. The heavens are empty of hostile powers; the cosmos is safe." Instead of removing any "sense of anxiety," as does Colossians, Ephesians confronts "the believers within the Pauline circle of churches with both their status as co-regents with Christ and with the urgency of the still unfinished task of cosmic struggle and victory."[16]

More telling is the fact that Yoder Neufeld's view requires a shift in emphasis at v. 18: "The focus has shifted slightly from the corporate community in armour to the community looking to the needs of its members engaged in battle."[17] The need for such a shift raises the question as to whether Yoder Neufeld's view has been teased out of the context or is determined by the creative use of his method.

A similar corporate understanding is supported by Kitchen in his 1994 contribution to the New Testament Readings series: "The whole of the epistle focuses upon the corporate nature of Christian origin, existence and behaviour. It is therefore most likely that the final section of the epistle should end with an emphasis not on the individual, but on the corporate nature of Christian being."[18] Emphasizing the liturgical setting of the epistle and its conclusion, Kitchen argues that "the man seen here in armour is the community of Christians at worship, where, in the sight of God, battle is waged with the forces of evil."[19] In the light of Bruce J. Malina's anthropological insights, Kitchen argues that an individualist perspective would be anachronistic. Instead, the image of the warrior should be interpreted in view of the earlier exhortation to grow into the "perfect man" (4:13). Kitchen concludes:

> The various linguistic and theological strands therefore come together in this final section. The powers are defeated, Jew and Gentile are reconciled, and consequently God and the whole of humanity are reconciled; the whole of the human community of the world is therefore recreated, or renewed in the person of Christ, who is the perfect Man that Adam was destined to be. The church, the body of

[15]Ibid., 97.

[16]Ibid.

[17]Ibid., 145.

[18]Kitchen, 119.

[19]Ibid., 126. Kitchen, 118-119, elaborates: "The liturgical presupposition is of primary importance here; the worshipping community is regarded by the writer of Ephesians as the complete man who stands before God."

> Christ, is the living embodiment of that re-creation and thus lives out in
> its own life, which is the microcosm of the whole creation, the rule of
> Christ, the reconciliation of all peoples and the new human order.[20]

However valid the idea of a corporate reading of Eph 6:10-20, it is possible
to claim too much.

Andrew Lincoln's application of ancient rhetorical categories to
Ephesians points the way to a more adequate corporate understanding.
Lincoln's 1990 commentary broke new ground with its interest in the
rhetoric of Ephesians. Lincoln proposed that Eph 6:10-20 should be
understood as the *peroratio* of the composition, which, while employing new
imagery, recapitulates earlier themes.[21] He elaborated this view in a 1995
article in *Biblical Interpretation*.[22] Lincoln argued that Eph 6:10-20 displays the
basic elements expected of a *peroratio* by ancient rhetoricians. To follow the
outline of Aristotle, it seeks to make the audience well-disposed toward the
speaker and ill-disposed toward the opposition. It also magnifies leading facts,
excites the required kind of emotion in the hearers (including pity, emulation,
pugnacity, and confidence), and refreshes their memories through
recapitulation.[23]

[20]Ibid., 127.

[21]Andrew T. Lincoln, *Ephesians*, WBC, 42 (Dallas: Word, 1990), xli-xlii, 429-460.

[22]Andrew T. Lincoln, "'Stand Therefore . . .': Ephesians 6:10-20 as *Peroratio*," *BibInt* 3
(1995): 99-114.

[23]Ibid., 108. The identity of the passage as *peroratio* has been both affirmed and disputed.
John Muddiman (*A Commentary on the Epistle to the Ephesians*, BNTC [London: Continuum,
2001], 282-283); and Hoehner, 817, contend that it is inappropriate to apply the label to the
passage. Muddiman argues that Eph 6:10-20 "is not really a summary of what has gone
before," while Hoehner believes that "the author of Ephesians gives no obvious hints of links
with the whole book." Both find a response in tracing the numerous ways in which Eph
6:10-20 does recapitulate major themes and is linked with the content of the letter. For
succinct summaries of such links, see Klyne Snodgrass, *Ephesians*, NIV Application
Commentary (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1996), 335; Cynthia Briggs Kittredge, *Community
and Authority: The Rhetoric of Obedience in the Pauline Tradition*, HTS, 45 (Harrisburg, PA:
Trinity Press International, 1998), 144-145; Peter T. O'Brien, *The Letter to the Ephesians*,
Pillar New Testament Commentary (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999), 458-459. A broader
dispute has to do with whether or not rhetorical categories are, with propriety, applied to
the Pauline Epistles in general and the Epistle to the Ephesians in particular. In line with
these criticisms, Snodgrass, 335, followed by O'Brien, 459, understands Eph 6:10-20 to be the
summation or conclusion to the document, but questions whether or not it is appropriate
to label it as *peroratio*. Elna Mouton, on the other hand, advocates the propriety of applying
rhetorical categories to epistles in general and to the Epistle to the Ephesians in particular,
though she ignores Eph 6:10-20 ("The Communicative Power of the Epistle to the
Ephesians," in *Rhetoric, Scripture, and Theology: Essays from the 1994 Pretoria Conference*, ed.
Stanley E. Porter and Thomas H. Olbricht, *JSNT*Sup, 131 [Sheffield: Sheffield Academic,
1996], 280-307). Stanley E. Porter offers a carefully reasoned essay in which he argues against
the technical application of rhetorical categories to Paul's letters while affirming the value

Lincoln finds an additional parallel to ancient rhetoric reflected in Eph 6:10-20. Following a suggestion in his commentary, Lincoln compares this concluding exhortation of Ephesians to a specific genre of ancient literature, the frequently cited hortatory speeches delivered by generals "before battle, urging their armies to deeds of valor in face of the impending dangers of war."[24] The author of Ephesians, in line with the advice of the likes of Cicero and Quintilian with regard to "magnification" in the summation, adopted fresh, military metaphors and "built them into an extended call to battle."[25] Like the ancient genre on which it is patterned, this conclusion asserts the need for valor, points out the strengths of the enemy, and "braces its soldiers for a successful outcome of the battle by reminding them of the superior strength, resources and equipment they possess."[26]

It is important here to augment Lincoln's reflections on ancient battle speeches. These speeches also emphasize heavily the need for soldiers to have confidence in one another, to be unified in their fight for a common cause. An obvious and central purpose of such speeches is to strengthen the *esprit de corps*. To cite an example of one such speech, Dionysius of Halicarnassus relates a speech by "the Roman dictator" when his army was on the point of engaging the enemy. Caesar provides an extended reminder that the gods are his soldiers' allies and then propounds three particular advantages "conducive to victory prepared for us by Fortune." "First," he says, "there is the confidence you have in one another, which is the thing most needed by men who are going to conquer their foes; for you do not need to begin to-day to be firm friends and faithful allies to one another, but your country has long since prepared this boon for you all." The second "advantage" resounds with a similar tone: "Secondly, the struggle, in which your highest interests are at stake, is common to you all alike."[27] More

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of "functional correlations," a strategy he believes provides "a way forward in the study of Pauline rhetoric." He concludes that "so long as one is aware of the limits of claims made for Pauline rhetoric, rhetorical categories can be profitably used to interpret Paul's letters" ("Paul of Tarsus and His Letters," in *Handbook of Classical Rhetoric in the Hellenistic Period 330 B.C.-A.D. 400*, ed. Stanley E. Porter [Leiden: Brill, 1997, 2001], 533-585. Citations are from pp. 584-585). I assume the validity of a similar line of reasoning for the disputed Pauline epistles. The argument of my essay does not depend on the strict application of the subgenre of *peroratio* to Eph 6:10-20, but does depend on identifying it as the summation of and conclusion to the epistle.

[24]Lincoln, *Ephesians*, 433.

[25]Lincoln, "'Stand Therefore,'" 110.

[26]Ibid., 111.

[27]*Ant. Rom.* 6.6-7 (Cary, LCL).

significantly, perhaps, the importance of *esprit de corps* is reflected in examples of battlefield speech from the OT.[28]

In his study of the rhetoric of Eph 6:10-20, Lincoln does not pit a corporate understanding against an individualist one. However, it is clear that his views inform that choice and imply a corporate view. For Lincoln, Eph 6:10-20 recapitulates all the author has been saying about the identity of the church. Reviewing the images applied to the church earlier in the epistle, Lincoln states:

> Now in the *peroratio* this concern with the readers' identity and status is expressed under the new imagery of the spiritual battle. The readers are to envisage themselves as the *militia Christi*, as Christian soldiers fitted out in God's full armour and having available to them all the resources of power that God has provided for them.[29]

Such a view, based on an understanding of both the role of the passage as summation and its genre as mimicking battle exhortations, provides a satisfying basis for a corporate reading.

A corporate reading along these lines invites fresh assessment of the ecclesiology of the letter. Clinton Arnold complains of a "conspicuous neglect" of Eph 6:10-20 in recent attempts to understand the theology of the letter. With regard to the passage, he asks: "What relevance does it [Eph 6:10-20] have for an understanding of the theology of the epistle?"[30] Indeed, assuming a corporate understanding, how should the passage figure in tracing the ecclesiology of the epistle?

Because of the prominent role the church plays in Ephesians (the term ἐκκλησία is itself used nine times), it is usual for commentaries to summarize the ecclesiology of the letter. It is an interesting exercise to survey these surveys of the theme of the church in Ephesians.[31] Invariably,

[28]For example, Deut 20:5-9 commands: "The officials shall continue to address the troops, saying, 'Is anyone afraid or disheartened? He should go back to his house, or he might cause the heart of his comrades to melt like his own'" (v. 8, NRSV). See John K. McVay, "Ephesians 6:10-20 and Battle Exhortations in Jewish Literature," in *The Cosmic Battle for Planet Earth: Essays in Honor of Norman R. Gulley*, ed. Ron du Preez and Jirí Moskala (Berrien Springs: Old Testament Department, Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary, 2003), 147-169.

[29]Lincoln, "'Stand Therefore,'" 104-105.

[30]Clinton E. Arnold, *Power and Magic: The Concept of Power in Ephesians*, 2d paperback ed. (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1997), 104-105. Arnold does not consider the military metaphor of Eph 6:10-20 to be one of the major images of the church in Ephesians, and his comments often seem to suggest an individualist reading (ibid., 158-159; 103-122).

[31]Among recent summaries are Bruce, 235-237; Schnackenburg, 321-331; Andrew T. Lincoln, "The Theology of Ephesians," in *The Theology of the Later Pauline Letters*, Andrew T. Lincoln and A. J. M. Wedderburn, New Testament Theology (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 132-133; Pheme Perkins, *Ephesians*, ANTC (Nashville, Abingdon,

they focus on the three "principal metaphors" for the church: the church as body, the church as temple, and the church as bride or wife.[32] These metaphors are highlighted, presumably, because they are quite fully developed and because they occur at significant points in the literary structure of the letter. The temple metaphor of Eph 2:19-22 may be cited as an example. It is complex, since a number of submetaphors are invoked, and has been labeled "the most elaborate temple metaphor" in the NT.[33] Someone has said that the author describes "nearly everything about this structure but the shape of the roof!"[34] Moreover, it occurs as the culminating metaphor in a series of telescoped ones and provides a fitting climax to Eph 2:11-22. If these two points—full development and occurrence at crucial points in the letter—are true of the three earlier, major metaphors for the church, they are also true of the corporate metaphor of the church as *militia Christi* or *ecclesia militans*.

It may be argued that the term ἐκκλησία is absent from Eph 6:10-20 and that this should exclude it as a major ecclesial metaphor. However, the author has already used the term in conjunction with the Christian community's relationship to the powers (3:10), and the author would expect his hearers to recall that striking use in the present context.

A reflection on one brief survey of the ecclesiology of Ephesians suggests the need to add the church as *ecclesia militans* to the principal metaphors for the church. Best, author of the International Critical Commentary on Ephesians, published, in 1993, the brief volume on Ephesians for the JSOT Press series, New Testament Guides, in which he argues that the church is "one of the major, if not *the* major, theological theme of Ephesians."[35] Best reviews the "three major images" used to describe the church: the church as Christ's body, as a building or temple, and as the bride or wife of Christ. In reflecting on his summary, he faults the ecclesiology of the letter for a number of lacunae—lack of interest in the non-Christian world, an absence of any sign of harassment of Christians, and a lack of reference to suffering,

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1997), 23-27; O'Brien, 25-29; Hoehner, 111-112.

[32]My own dissertation highlights just these three commonly identified "major metaphors" ("Ecclesial Metaphor in the Epistle to the Ephesians from the Perspective of a Modern Theory of Metaphor" [Ph.D. Thesis, University of Sheffield, 1995]).

[33]C. F. D. Moule, *The Origin of Christology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 91.

[34]Sampley, 15. Those who understand the "cornerstone" as a coping rather than a foundation stone may wish to disagree with even this limitation.

[35]Ernest Best, *Ephesians*, NTG (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993), 65.

something which "lends a triumphalist aspect to the church."[36] Inclusion of Eph 6:10-20 and its military metaphor for the church would have adjusted this list and provided a clearer and more adequate understanding of the nature of the church in the letter.

Since the passage, which is the focus of this essay, is a summation, it seems appropriate to conclude with one: Read as the culmination of both the content and rhetoric of the Epistle to the Ephesians, Eph 6:10-20 is best understood in a corporate rather than an individualist manner. The passage represents a call to arms that is especially interested in the *esprit de corps* of believers. It does not envision Christians (or Paul) as lone warriors battling in splendid isolation, but instead portrays the *ecclesia militans* in which the addressees are to enlist as fellow soldiers against the church's foes. Read in this way, the passage presents a developed metaphor for the church, the importance of which is highlighted by its climactic position in the letter. When included with other major metaphors for the church in Ephesians, it holds promise of more adequate understandings of a theme that is of central importance for the letter—the nature of the church.

[36]Ibid., 72.

HOLINESS VERSUS MERCY: HOW THEOLOGY BOTH HINDERS AND FACILITATES THE CHURCH'S RESPONSE TO THE HIV/AIDS PANDEMIC[1]

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Two theological forces propel the Christian church to action: compassion based on God's mercy, and a quest for holiness that stems from an awareness of God's inscrutable character. How the church views these two ideological poles guides its response to social phenomena. This study analyzes ethnographic focus-group interviews of a set of committed Latino church leaders of various Christian denominations in the U.S.A., and the theological implications of the church's practice of medical evangelism. The findings show that the Christian church's ideology simultaneously promotes acceptance (based upon its understanding of mercy) and rejection (based upon its understanding of holiness) of the HIV/AIDS population. The authors propose a model for helping the church commit itself to a more central sphere of action in fighting this pandemic.

Introduction

What the contemporary Christian church thinks of AIDS patients is parallel to what the NT church thought of lepers.[2] Leprosy was perceived as a cursed disease because of its origins in socially unacceptable behavior. Since the church's inception, it has been guided by theological ideology—what Scripture and tradition say about social phenomena. Concerning the HIV/AIDS pandemic, two main theological perspectives have informed the church's response. On one side, the church is moved to action by the doctrine of God's mercy toward all sinners, particularly those most despised by society. On the other side, the church, due to its understanding of holiness, is constrained from becoming involved with patients of a disease that is transmitted primarily through sexual practices despised by society at large and which the Bible condemns as immoral.

[2]Peggy L. Cockrum, "AIDS: An Issue for the Church," *Austin Seminary Bulletin* 105 (1989, Faculty Edition): 3-64.

While many have accused the Christian church of being cold and uncaring, K. Bockmühl defends the church by making a distinction between Christ and his true followers and the church and its theologians. He notes that "where Christianity is liable to such criticism, it is not in the perfection of Jesus Christ, but in the imperfections of those humans who constitute His church and who develop its theologies."[3] Christianity is to concern itself with love of neighbor and hands-on concern for the neighbor's well-being. "Rather than enforcing an otherworldly theological inhumanity," he continues, the church is vitally concerned with "bodily works of mercy." Instead of enslaving humanity and denying human dignity, it sees humanity cooperating with God as his "vice-regent" on earth.[4] Bockmühl's view of the church, engaged in "bodily works of mercy," is based on the mercy of God and the duty of the church to communicate such mercy.

Mercy: Moving the Church toward Action

The church, manifested in bodily works of mercy toward those despised by society, is solidly established upon Scripture. Of particular interest are those passages in the Gospels that describe Jesus and his dealings with lepers. It seems that Jesus went out of his way to reach out to and even touch lepers (cf. Matt 8:2-4). While social norms of propriety and health demanded that all healthy people maintain a distance from lepers, Jesus touched them as he healed their disease. This countercultural approach to leprosy has continued to inspire the church to help lepers throughout the ages.[5]

The comparisons between leprosy and HIV/AIDS are obvious. In 1986, Methodist Bishop W. W. White called the HIV/AIDS epidemic the leprosy of today.[6] R. Lee, editor of *Engage/Social Action*, dedicated the Fall 1986 issue of that publication to the discussion of aspects of the HIV/AIDS pandemic

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[3]K. Bockmühl, "Karl Marx's Negation of Christianity: A Theological Response," *Evangelical Review of Theology* 9/3 (1985): 251.

[4]Ibid.

[5]L. C. C. Stanley, "'So Many Crosses to Bear': The Religious Hospitallers of St. Joseph and the Tracadie Leper Hospital, 1868-1910," in *Changing Roles of Women within the Christian Church in Canada*, ed. ed. E. G. Muir and M. F. Whiteley (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), 19-37; M. H. Gómez Reyes, "Un siglo de amor y de servicio en Agua de Dios (1892-1992)," in *Dominicos y el Nuevo Mundo siglos XVIII-XIX*, ed. John R. Sommerfeldt and Larry Syndergaard (Salamanca, Spain: Editorial San Esteban, 1995), 419-442; R. Palmer, "The Church, Leprosy and Plague in Medieval and Early Modern Europe," in *The Church and Healing Papers: 20th Summer Meeting and 21st Winter Meetings of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, ed. W. Sheils (Oxford: Blackwell, 1982), 79-99; H. H. Gwinn, "Life in the Medieval Leprosary," in *Studies in Medieval Culture*, ed. J. R. Sommerfeldt, L. Syndergaard, E. R. Elder (Kalamazoo: Western Michigan University, 1974), 225-232.

[6]W. W. White, "Persons with AIDS: Today's 'Lepers,'" *Engage/Social Action* 14 (1986): 2.

and its parallels with the status of leprosy in the ancient world of the early church.[7] R. W. Lyon calls contemporary Christians to assume the position of the NT church in regard to leprosy,[8] because the stigma that characterized leprosy is now attached to HIV/AIDS. E. Rosenthal notes the now-obvious developmental stages of social stigma that many diseases go through. HIV/AIDS is dirty, unclean, and shameful; thus it occupies the former role of leprosy in the social psyche.[9]

Lepers, HIV/AIDS patients, and others rejected as unclean, dirty, and suffering from shameful conditions all have a common need for the mercy of society. The church has been called by God to extend his mercy to all in need.

Because of its strong tradition of mercy, the church has not completely ignored the HIV/AIDS pandemic. In fact, as a nongovernmental organization the church has, proportionally speaking, done much to help those suffering from HIV/AIDS. R. H. Phillips estimates that one third of the earliest agencies created to respond to and provide services for HIV/AIDS patients were faith-based organizations.[10]

Ken T. South, Executive Director of the AIDS National Interfaith Network, Washington, DC, however, finds a paradox in the overall response to AIDS by the spiritual community, noting that "religion's response to AIDS has been a best kept secret."[11] The popular headlines about Christian fundamentals, oppressive or outmoded church laws, and a conservative slant to certain "hot button" topics tends to give the impression that AIDS and the church have not mixed. But to the contrary, "religion has provided the largest, single non-governmental response to the AIDS epidemic."[12] Of the nearly 5,000 AIDS service organizations, more than 2,000 (roughly one-third) are founded and

[7] Lee Ranck, ed., "The Church in the Midst of the AIDS Epidemic," *Engage/Social Action* 14 (1986): 2-46.

[8] R. W. Lyon, "Becoming the New Testament Church to Serve These 'New Lepers,'" *Engage/Social Action* 14 (1986): 12-17.

[9] E. Rosenthal, "Better Watch Out—Which Illness You Get," *To Your Health: The Magazine of Healing & Hope* 11 (September-October 1999): 7. Not long ago, cancer was also a taboo subject. No one admitted to the shame of having it. Public opinion concerning cancer, though not as rabid as that surrounding HIV/AIDS, was just as derogatory. People with cancer were ostracized and considered dirty and somehow unclean. Little was known about the disease, including how it was transmitted and how it could be treated. Cancer was a death sentence, and those who had it merely waited to die.

[10] R. H. Phillips, "True Grace and True Grit," *AIDS, Medicine & Miracles* 8 (Winter 1997): 2.

[11] Ibid.

[12] Ibid.

operated by the faith community. Rooted in churches of many faiths, the successful development and implementation of AIDS care teams and other related church organizations provide a variety of services from housing and meal programs to counseling, medical, and social services.[13]

To facilitate the transformation of attitude from stigmatization of people with HIV/AIDS to action in their favor, there was a need to see a theology of wholeness that encompasses people with HIV/AIDS. E. N. Senturias discusses how people within the church who are living with HIV/AIDS have forced the church to redefine wholeness by showing us "a way of looking at life in the midst of illness."[14]

Holiness: The Struggle to Find a Theology of Wholeness

The forces that emanate from theological convictions are simultaneously paralyzing and a catalytic for change. Being holy has been the call of the church from its very inception, but holiness—often interpreted as separation from the world—can motivate the church to abstain from anything perceived as sinful or as a source of contamination.

The ability of the church to fully integrate within itself those who carried the HIV/AIDS virus has been slower to develop. While the church has been able to provide medical and social services to those suffering from this disease, it continues to struggle with active and meaningful social relationships with afflicted individuals. This hesitation emanates from complex ideological and theological ramifications of the concept of holiness, and especially its aspect of separation from the world. W. G. Britt describes holiness in the context of self-esteem. He argues that "God's holiness is defined and elucidated in relation to both Old and New Testament believers. The process by which believers partake of His holiness is tied to His dwelling among them."[15] Since the self-esteem of the church depends on its perception of itself as holy, argues Britt, anything that detracts from this holiness is to be abandoned and excluded from its midst. Thus not only biblical theology, but also sociocultural perceptions permeate the church and influence what the church defines as holy, acceptable, and liable for rejection. Thus, rather than being immune from social stigma, the church is guided by it. Furthermore, the church multiplies the stigma by invoking the direct authority of God in condemning specific practices, particularly those related to the sexual impurity associated with the HIV/AIDS pandemic.

[13]Ibid.

[14]E. N. Senturias, "God's Mission and HIV/AIDS: Shaping the Churches' Response," *International Review of Mission* 83 (1994): 278.

[15]W. G. Britt, "God's Holiness and Humanity's Self-Esteem," *Journal of Psychology & Theology* 16 (1988): 213.

Not only the church, but society as well, treats behaviors such as homosexuality and prostitution as degenerate or illegal because they violate moral sanctions. Community and government responses to diseases such as AIDS draw from these preexisting reservoirs of stigmatization. "The overall impact of stigmas on public health continues to be dramatically underemphasized," says epidemiologist Bruce G. Link of Columbia University. "We need a new era of research into stigma and its health consequences."[16] Thus both cultural stigmas and God-given rules of propriety bind the church—a situation similar to that of leprosy in the NT period.[17]

The Church's Response to HIV/AIDS

The church, along with all other faith-based organizations, is a "sleeping giant" in need of being roused up. Faith-based organizations are accused of promoting stigmatizing and discriminating attitudes, based on fear and prejudice; of pronouncing harsh moral judgments on those infected; of obstructing the efforts of the secular world in the area of prevention; and of reducing the issue of AIDS to simplistic moral pronouncements that have not made churches or mosques places of refuge and solace, but places of exclusion to all those "out there" who are but "suffering the consequences of their own moral debauchery and sin."[18]

To fully embrace HIV/AIDS outreach as part of the church's missionary agenda will require a paradigm shift within the church of God. The Christian church is being forced to reexamine its views of and approaches to despised sexual practices and their consequences. The HIV/AIDS pandemic is changing the North American church. The next section of this article will document the theological reflections that committed church leaders discussed as part of a series of focus groups. These reflections represent a living theology for addressing the ills of a society in sin.

Method

Following W. Wagner et al., this article defines a focus group as an ethnographic tool for the analysis of narratives.[19] Focus groups were

[16]B. Bower, "Plight of the Untouchables," *Science News* 160 (October 27, 2001): 271.

[17]Ranck, 2-46.

[18]S. Parry, *Responses of the Faith-Based Organisations to HIV/AIDS in Sub-Saharan Africa: Report Prepared for the World Council of Churches Ecumenical HIV/AIDS Initiative in Africa* (Geneva: World Council of Churches, 2003), 3.

[19]W. Wagner, G. Duveen, R. Farr, S. Jovchelovitch, F. Lorenzi-Cioldi, I. Markova, and D. Rose, "Theory and Method of Social Representations," *Asian Journal of Social Psychology*

conducted in five major metropolitan areas of the U.S.A.: Philadelphia,
New York, Los Angeles, Chicago, and Orlando. These cities were selected
as a sample of convenience. All focus-group participants were committed
to inner-city ministry. Nueva Esperanza, Inc., a nonprofit faith-based
organization with headquarters in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, through its
regional directors for its Hispanic Capacity Building (HCP) project,
invited all the focus-group participants for the study. These regional
directors have access to interdenominational networks of churches in their
respective cities. Regional HCP coordinators invited pastors, educators,
healthcare professionals, and other Latino religious leaders through letters,
telephone, and radio public-service announcements.

The use of focus-group methodology as a tool to learn church
leadership's point of view, theological or otherwise, has been used by
others in order to understand the incarnation of theological constructs in
the life of the church. This approach has been particularly useful when
addressing the response of the church, as instructed by its theology,
toward various social ills and diseases.[20]

The sampling frame used in each city was the list of pastors and
other religious leaders whose names appeared in the regional network
membership lists. As previously stated, no random sampling procedures
were used to select participants. Everyone on the lists was invited, and
it was up to the individual religious leader to decide whether or not to
participate in the event. Participants received no remuneration or other
incentive to participate in the study. Informed consent for participation
was implied by the participant's willingness to express his or her
opinion, and all participation was voluntary.

Upon arrival at a focus-group site, participants were assigned to a focus
group. Focus-group discussions took place in English and/or Spanish,
depending on the preferences of the participants. One to two focus-group
discussions were held per site, depending on the number of participants. As
dictated by standard qualitative-research procedures, the size of focus groups
ranged between six and twelve participants. Discussions were recorded with

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2 (1999): 95-121.

[20]A. M. Villarruel, L. S. Jemmott, M. Howard, L. Taylor, and E. Bush, "Practice What We
Preach? HIV Knowledge, Beliefs, and Behaviors of Adolescents and Adolescent Peer Educators,"
Journal of the Association of Nurses in AIDS Care 5 (1998): 61-72; K. L. Braun and A. Zir, "Roles
for the Church in Improving End-of-Life Care: Perceptions of Christian Clergy and Laity," *Death
Studies* 25 (2001): 685-704; B. W. McRay, M. R. McMinn, K. Wrightsman, T. D. Burnett, and S.-T.
D. Ho, "What Evangelical Pastors Want to Know about Psychology," *Journal of Psychology &
Theology* 29 (2001): 99-105; P. Isaac and M. Rowland, "Institutional Barriers to Participation in
Adult Education among African Americans within Religious Institutions," *Journal of Research on
Christian Education* 11 (2002): 101-119.

audiocassette recorders and were subsequently transcribed. The research team then analyzed the transcribed discussions.

Discussion

The church has traditionally regarded "fullness of life" to be a spiritual pursuit (Col 1:9). The church seeks fullness and health as a reflection of the works of God on earth.[21] This search has led to an enhanced definition of the term "fullness of life" and to the conviction that the church's response to current health needs in the world should be determined by how the healer, Jesus of Nazareth, would respond to those same needs. For many years, the suggestions of those who spoke in favor of an active ministry among the sufferers of HIV/AIDS were rejected. As poignantly narrated by one of the focus-group respondents, those proposing such an approach to ministry were reprimanded.

> I stood up and said, "Please bless those who are suffering from AIDS and God please console their families." Oh my God! . . . [T]he teacher . . . called the principal, [who] took me out of the class, took me over to the rectory, . . . [and] sat me down: "Why, why did you mention that word, did you not know you are not to mention that word?" They called my parents; it was a big thing. They did a whole conference with the other kids' parents. They basically excommunicated me.[22]

The voices of the focus-group respondents testify to the attitudes and ideas that shape the church's responses to the unprecedented health crisis of HIV/AIDS. The church has focused so exclusively on "spiritual" responses to the needs of the world that the idea of preaching the word of God through medical approaches and asking questions of health and healing of the body has come slowly to the North American church.[23] It took a paradigm shift from the "send a preacher" style of evangelism to a "send a medical missionary" approach to see that medical work could be a part of the overall goals of mission. Later, the two approaches were combined.[24] Medical outreach and the establishment of hospitals and clinics became a way to evangelize the world.

While the church of today recognizes the death experience of HIV/AIDS patients and responds medically and even socially to that need, it is not quick to respond to the whole life experience of those who suffer

[21]M. Marty, "The Tradition of the Church in Health and Healing," *International Review of Mission* 83 (1994): 227.

[22]Anonymous respondent, Chicago focus group #1, Chicago, Illinois.

[23]G. Crawley, "A New Paradigm for Medical Mission: A North American's Perspective," *International Review of Mission* 83 (1994): 303-312.

[24]Ibid., 303.

from the disease. The first faith-based organizations' responses to the HIV/AIDS pandemic were framed by moral repulsion and calls to sexual purity.[25] In June 25-27, 2001, a United Nations special session on HIV/AIDS was unable to reach agreement on a plan to halt or reverse the spread of the disease by 2015.[26] The impasse came as a result of a religious coalition between representatives of the Islamic nations and the Vatican. The Vatican joined the majority of Arab nations in objecting to a paragraph that calls on governments to develop national strategies by 2003 in order to protect the most vulnerable. The objection raised by the Vatican and Arab nations was moral in nature. The majority of individuals most vulnerable to HIV/AIDS are primarily those who practice socially unacceptable behavior: homosexuals, people with multiple sex partners, intravenous drug users, and prostitutes.[27] This coalition of Muslim and Catholic believers objects to the special treatment of those who are perceived as being outside of God's grace and kingdom. How can a faith-based organization, which believes that there is a set of appropriate sexual behaviors, help a group perceived as being outside of God's grace?

Prevalent cultural taboos and misconceptions about HIV/AIDS, sexuality, and prevention are often compounded by theological views about sin, God's retribution, and judgment. A mix of cultural mores and theological views can produce a powerful anesthetic that prevents the church from acting or even talking about the HIV/AIDS pandemic. A focus-group respondent, who finds such attitudes disturbing, is hopeful that the church can move from total rejection to encompassing grace. He outlines a possible three-phase process:

> I cannot speak for the other churches, but [for] my church, which is in Manhattan, lower side, the first stage was silence. People were passing away. We went to their funerals, but there was a silence. . . . The second stage was awareness. I was able to bring some health care [workers] to do workshops with the leadership early on [in] the process[, but] it was a secret workshop, because they [members of the church] didn't trust the person [who] was . . . talking about AIDS. . . . Then the third phase. My pastor started saying, . . . "We have to do something about this."[28]

The most difficult question for the church to address is the most basic

[25]Senturias, 277-285; A. N. Somlai, T. G. Heckman, J. A. Kelly, G. W. Mulry, K. E. Multhauf, "The Response of Religious Congregations to the Spiritual Needs of People Living with HIV/AIDS," *Journal of Pastoral Care* 51 (1997): 415-426; n.a., "Religion, Morals Stall Efforts Against AIDS," *Health & Medicine Week*, < www.otohns.net/default.asp/id=8262 > (May 4, 2005).

[26]"Religion, Morals Stall Efforts Against AIDS."

[27]Ibid.

[28]Anonymous respondent, New York focus group #1, New York, New York.

one. Is HIV/AIDS a church problem? As a focus-group respondent comments: "They [members of the church] are saying it is not our problem; we have to take care of our own, and our own are not doing that kind of stuff."[29]

However, the same theological mores that can immobilize the church can also facilitate the church's active response to the present need. "The church," declares another focus-group respondent, "now sees HIV/AIDS as a legitimate and necessary area of ministry"; therefore, the church should have trained elders and leaders who are committed to the ministry of HIV/AIDS outreach. "When a person walks into a church," he notes, it should be a "one-stop shopping" experience.[30]

Although many contemporary churches are ready to confront the HIV/AIDS pandemic, most have theological scruples about sexuality and the best ways of approaching prevention and sex education. Because there are no easy answers to these dilemmas, the reported approaches acknowledge these ideological conflicts. A focus-group respondent notes that "we are not thinking about how [to] protect a young person from dying." Instead, he notes, all that people worry about is whether their children are virgins. "We think about protecting ourselves from sinning," but sinning isn't the only problem. However, he continues, it is possible to shift from one paradigm to the other. But in order for this to happen, it is necessary to provide a safe place for pastors and the church to revise their theology.[31] Thus the first barrier in the church for addressing the prevention of HIV/AIDS is ideological and theological in nature. It will take education and time to properly address this challenge; "it is a process."[32]

The second barrier for doing something for those who are living with HIV/AIDS has to do with financial resources and an organization's ability to access public and private funding. One focus-group respondent laments:

> The money for these types of programs does not exist. . . . I spent two years trying to find money . . . [by] looking through all [available] grants, looking for who had money, who would give something away.[33]

But even if funds did materialize, he continues, the process of actually receiving awarded money takes time and organizations are in desperate need of funding right now.[34]

[29]Anonymous respondent, New York focus group #1, New York, New York.

[30]Anonymous respondent, New York focus group #1, New York, New York.

[31]Anonymous respondent, New York focus group #1, New York, New York.

[32]Ibid.

[33]Anonymous respondent.

[34]Ibid.

The scarcity of resources turns many committed leaders away from action. Even those who are successful in finding resources report spending an inordinate amount of time in securing them.

With two formidable barriers blocking the alleviation of suffering among HIV/AIDS patients, what is the church to do?

Prevention: A Possible Solution

A cheaper, more immediate approach to the AIDS/HIV pandemic—and one that the church is particularly well equipped to address—is prevention. Many church leaders are emphasizing prevention because they see the church as an effective vehicle for prevention. The question, then, is how best to present the issue of prevention, both within the church and without.

Prevention is about communicating knowledge in order to change inappropriate behaviors; the business of the church has always been to change behavior. K. L. Braun and A. Zir learned from focus groups comprised of various lay and ministerial church leaders that when dealing with death and dying, "ministers are not trained" in how best to help patients go through the end-of-life process. "A clinical pastoral-care provider notes that 'if the [church] leader is reluctant, that's going to reflect on how we even talk about the issue.'"[35]

Education of church leaders about HIV/AIDS will facilitate prevention of the disease. In educating church leaders, the first task is theological—even before talking about public-health concerns and approaches. The theological task may be seen as a three-step approach to promoting prevention via the preaching of the church. The first step is a theology of wholeness that includes people living with HIV/AIDS, the "least" of these brothers and sisters of Jesus (Matt 25:40, 45). The second step is public-health education about the prevention of the disease. The third step is reaching out to the world as a moral force of mercy and not of isolation. When the church chooses to engage the world, it has much to offer.

Conclusion

"Congregations and individual Christians need to interpret in their own context what it means to have a mandate of healing."[36] Each congregation must engage in a theological redefinition of wholeness and the process of living with disease. Faith-based organizations are confronting a new challenge—a challenge they can face with great success—but this engagement

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[35]Braun and Zir, 702.

[36]S. Møgedal and M. Bergh, "Challenges, Issues and Trends in Health Care and the Church's Mission," *International Review of Missions* 83 (1994): 276.

requires a reinterpretation process, a theological revolution. This revolution will encompass a redefinition of health as wholeness and the engagement of the church with the body of its members and the world. From a sole focus on "spirit," faith-based organizations must shift to a holistic focus on "body." This refocusing demands political and theological engagements.

Out of the above-mentioned focus groups, a model has emerged—a three-step process for engaging and responding to the HIV/AIDS pandemic.

STEPS	EXPLANATION	CHURCH'S RESPONSES
First Step		
THEOLOGY + Cultural Mores	➜ BOTH facilitate and hinder the church's responses to HIV/AIDS.	ACKNOWLEDGE its limitations and biases.
Second Step		
EDUCATION + Open Theological Forums	➜ WILL OPEN ideological doors to change.	CONFRONT theological ideology and its limitations.
Third Step		
The Church IS READY to address the HIV/AIDS pandemic and is willing to engage the challenge	➜ WILL LEARN to live with and accept people living with HIV/AIDS.	Use a HOLISTIC APPROACH to engage people living with HIV/AIDS and to minister to their needs.

This model grows out of the expression of Latino church leaders and a church in movement—a church which desperately needs guidance, political will, theological direction, and financial help in order to accomplish its mission. The process documented in this article is already in motion; the church, as a living entity, is growing and developing the necessary theological and action steps.

While theology can be written in the cloister, the life of the church is conducted outside for all to see. The HIV/AIDS pandemic is a landmark in the life of the church. How the church responds determines its degree of adherence to the Jesus of the Gospels, the one who once created havoc by touching the untouchables. The church must respond.[37] The "long litany of the history [of] moral pretense that has been the frequent reaction to disease, reveals the sorry spectacle of authorities, political and religious, using the victims of disease as vectors of moral suasion."[38]

[37]P. L. Allen, *The Wages of Sin: Sex and Disease, Past and Present* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000).

[38]L. Stewart, review of *The Wages of Sin: Sex and Disease, Past and Present*, P. L. Allen,

Further, the need for proper education about HIV/AIDS is urgent because the HIV/AIDS pandemic is so pervasively deceptive that it not only fools the "righteous" who want to remain holy, but it also fools the statisticians who want to believe that the victims of the disease deserve what they get. "Many people, especially the church, fell silent on addressing HIV and AIDS based in part on the narrow view that the disease was a curse for practicing homosexuality, promiscuity and drug addicted lifestyles."[39]

The church has two options: to deceive itself by ignoring those perceived as unholy, or to connect with the Christ who suffers along with those who carry the disease of HIV/AIDS. Christ, in the "least of these" (Matt 25:31-46), has HIV/AIDS. Thus the question to be answered by the church of today is, Will the church touch the untouchables, the "least of these"?

Canadian Journal of History 37 (2002): 205-208.

[39]Ibid.

THE CHALLENGE OF SPIRITUAL
INDIVIDUALISM (AND
HOW TO MEET IT)

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In the "nation with the soul of a church,"[1] interest in religion has always been high. More people in America attend religious services than in any other developed country, and in recent years increasing numbers are taking a personal interest in religion. According to one poll, 14 percent of Americans belong to a Bible study group.[2] In the wider culture, the figure of Jesus has never been more popular. His picture appears almost regularly on the cover of national magazines. In the weeks after it opened in early 2004, Mel Gibson's film "The Passion of the Christ" set all kinds of box office records.[3] And for months, the best-selling hardcover book in America was *The Da Vinci Code* by Dan Brown, a mediocre murder mystery, whose back story rests on the speculation that Jesus married and had children.

All this interest in religion, however, does not translate into enthusiasm for conventional Christianity. Instead, many traditional Christian communities are in decline. In *Reclaiming the Church*, John B. Cobb Jr. suggests that the mainline churches of the past are now better described as "oldline," or even "sidelined," institutions.[4] To a greater degree than ever before, people today are more interested in *religion* than in *religions*. They are not aligning themselves with established denominations. They are not looking for a tradition to follow or an organization to join. Instead, they are looking for something that will help them in their personal spiritual quest. For them, the function of religion is basically "therapeutic." Its purpose is to help us feel better about things and cope more effectively with life's challenges.

As is often the case, California provides vivid examples of what is happening on the broader social scene. An article in the *Los Angeles Times* illustrates these developments. "Spiritual Blend Appeals to People of Many

[1]G. K. Chesterton's expression.

[2]Diane Cole, "Hooked on the Book," *U.S. News & World Report*, March 15, 2004, 78.

[3]As of April 9, 2004, the film, which had grossed $355 million in the U.S.A. and over $100 million in other countries, was well on its way to becoming one of the highest-earning motion pictures of all time (*Los Angeles Times*, April 9, 2004, E8).

[4]John B. Cobb Jr., *Reclaiming the Church* (Philadelphia: Westminster John Knox, 1997).

Faiths," reads the headline. The story begins with a woman who describes herself as "a nice Jewish, Southern Baptist, Buddhist girl," who relishes this "customized spiritual arrangement." "It works for me," she says. "I literally feel like I am at a buffet." The article goes on to describe the current scene with expressions such as "do-it-yourself religion," "mix-and-match spirituality," "cutting and pasting," and the "smorgasbord approach." The combination of religious diversity and extreme individualism means that "each individual is ultimately the arbiter of personal fulfillment and personal meaning."[5]

Not surprisingly, mix-and-match religion results in some strange combinations. There are born-again Christians, who believe in reincarnation, communication with the dead, and earning salvation through good works. And there are atheists and agnostics, who believe in life after death and the value of accepting Jesus Christ. This approach to religion appeals to people because it makes things so convenient. Those who are religious on their own terms don't face the constraints and demands that established religions make of their adherents. "People can pick the pieces that make them feel good without having to make any changes."[6]

These examples may be extreme, but within American Adventism there are parallels to these general developments. The Seventh-day Adventist Church is going strong, and growing strong, in many parts of the world; but in the U.S.A., the country of its origins, these seismic religious shifts have had an impact, particularly on the younger generation. Young Adventists seem to be more open to religion than at any time in recent memory. They are taking religion seriously and assuming responsibility for their own religious life. But for many of them, this interest does not translate into denominational loyalty. They are looking for a satisfying religious experience wherever they can find it—outside as well as inside Adventism. And many of them have serious questions about the church—not necessarily about specific beliefs and practices, but about the whole idea of corporate religion. As they see it, religion is deeply personal, and that means it is essentially private. Whether or not your religion involves the church is purely discretionary. It is entirely up to you.

This attitude is characteristic of large numbers of the young people I work with—university students, mainly from an Adventist background. In fact, during the thirty years I have taught courses in Adventist beliefs and Christian doctrines, the doctrine of the church consistently meets with more resistance than any other topic we cover. I suspect that this reaction is

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[5]K. Connie Kang, "Spiritual Blend Appeals to People of Many Faiths," *Los Angeles Times*, December 27, 2003, B2.

[6]Ibid.

characteristic of large segments of younger Adventists, particularly those with the sort of talents and training that the church will sorely need in the years to come.

To distill this challenge to a single expression, let us describe it as the challenge of *spiritual individualism*. It is a challenge that takes at least two forms. One is the conviction that religious beliefs are merely matters of personal preference, which leads people to pick and choose the ones they like and mix them as ingredients of a tossed salad. Another is the conviction that religion is essentially a private matter, which leads people to concentrate on inner experience and to pursue religious goals entirely on their own. Each side of the individualistic challenge is formidable, and each deserves a serious response. This discussion addresses the second one. After briefly tracing the development of this cultural phenomenon, we will explore some ways to respond to it.

The Road to Individualism

One of the things that makes individualism such a formidable challenge is the fact that it is hard for us to see it as a challenge. In fact, it's hard for us to see it at all. The fundamental assumptions of any age or culture occupy a level of our cognitive architecture so deep that it seems unnatural to question them. They are so deeply woven into the fabric of our thinking that we typically think *with* them, not *about* them.

Individualism is one such concept. It is one of the most influential and pervasive categories of Western consciousness, so ingrained in our thinking that it is characteristic of the way we think. Yet individualism is not intrinsic to human existence. Like many of our cultural assumptions, it has a history, and its roots reach deep into the soil of Western tradition.[7]

By all accounts, "the inaugurator of the modern concept of the self"

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[7]The emergence of the self in Western thought, as well as its subsequent demise, has attracted a great deal of scholarly attention. The most comprehensive discussion to date is no doubt Charles Taylor's magisterial account, *Sources of the Self: The Making of the Modern Identity* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989). A number of works deal with various aspects of the modern and/or postmodern self, including Adam B. Seligman, *Modernity's Wager: Authority, the Self, and Transcendence* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000); and Calvin O. Schrag, *The Self after Postmodernity* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997). An influential sociological study of the self in contemporary America is Robert Bellah et al., *Habits of the Heart: Individualism and Commitment in American Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985). Stanley J. Grenz provides a readable and reliable account of the self's long history in *The Social God and the Relational Self* (Philadelphia: Westminster John Knox, 2001). The affective domain of our experience has recently received considerable attention. See, for example, A. R. Damasio, *Descartes' Error: Emotion, Reason, and the Human Brain* (New York: Putnam, 1994); and Martha Nussbaum, *Upheavals of Thought: The Intelligence of Emotions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

was Augustine, the great Latin father, who sought God by journeying into the soul. Several centuries later, Boethius defined a person as "the individual substance of a rational nature," placing the center of personal identity within us, in an "inner self." Coupled with Augustine's introspection, Boethius's elevation of the individual eventually led to the familiar concept of the self as "the stable, abiding reality that constitutes the individual human being."[8]

Once this notion of the self was established, the big question was how to understand it. What is this inner reality? The answer of the Enlightenment was *reason*. For Descartes and his successors, the self-conscious, rational self, certain of its own existence, was the essential principle in reality and the final arbiter of truth.[9] Kant's careful analyses of reason completed the long progression to radical individualism, the view that the essential humanity is the thinking individual, self-conscious and detached, the master of an objective world. For Romanticism, the self is particular rather than universal, and it consists of feelings, rather than reason.[10] Instead of self-mastery, the goal of Romanticism was self-expression.[11] The key to happiness was to embrace oneself, to celebrate one's own nature. The self of Rousseau is thus the self-absorbed self, devoted to itself, affirming of itself.[12]

Certain religious developments are closely tied to this narrative of the self. Martin Luther found assurance in the soul's trust in God, the personal experience of faith. And we see inwardness and individuality in the understanding of religion that followed the Reformation. For Puritans, Pietists, and their heirs, true religion is essentially internal. We experience it individually, and we feel it so deeply that it transforms our behavior. Furthermore, we can test our religious growth and know with certainty whether we have received salvation.[13]

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[8]Grenz, 63-67.

[9]"While I thus wished to think everything false, it was necessarily true that I who thought so was something. Since this truth, *I think therefore I am, (or exist)*, was so firm and assured that all the most extravagant suppositions of the skeptics were unable to shake it, I judged that I could safely accept it as the first principle of the philosophy I was seeking" (Descartes, *Discourse on Method and Meditations*, 24; cited in Grenz, 69).

[10]Grenz, 105.

[11]Ibid., 99-100.

[12]Eventually the Romantic quest for self-expression "opened the door for the loss, dissipation, or deconstruction of the self that developed in the twentieth century." For radical postmoderns, the self is not an object in the natural world, but a cultural artifact. All that's left is a de-centered, fleeting self, constructed at each moment of its existence, splintered into multiple subjectivities (ibid., 118, 134, 136).

[13]Ibid., 82-85.

Ever since Augustine, then, Western thought has been preoccupied with the discovery and the fulfillment of the individual human being—discovery by introspection, by turning within ourselves, and fulfillment either through the rational self-mastery, or through a celebration of personal uniqueness. Throughout its variations, however, the idea persists that the real person, the true self, is something that lies within us, and the essential unit of human reality is the individual by him- or herself. In other words, the modern self is the solitary self, detached and disconnected from others.

On this atomistic concept of humanity, society is nothing more than "a collection of autonomous, independent selves, each of whom pursues his own ends."[14] People may still form relationships, but they do so only to meet their individual needs. If they don't need the group in order to reach their private goals, they feel free to leave. The object of their commitment is the self, not the community.

It is not hard to see why individualism poses a formidable obstacle to religious community. If the individual is the center of religious life, and the essential function of religion is to help individuals face their challenges and enhance their private experience, then the value of corporate religion—communities, organizations, institutions, traditions—is problematic. For some, religious communities are unnecessary. When people say, "I'm spiritual, but I'm not religious," they usually mean that they seek a private connection with the divine, but they have no interest in religious organizations. Others believe that religious organizations have value, but only because they can help people to meet private spiritual needs. Someone I know compares the church to a twelve-step program. It's there for those who need it, he opines, but it is not necessary for everyone, and it is not required for anyone.

Responding to Spiritual Individualism

Religious individualism poses a tremendous challenge to Christianity in the Western world today not just because it leads people to discount the importance of the church, but because it makes it virtually impossible for them to comprehend the meaning of the church. As we saw, the problem is not that people today are uninterested or uninvolved in religion. The problem is the way they think about it. From Augustine onward, the broad sweep of Western thought, secular and religious alike, elevates and isolates the individual as the fundamental unit of humanity. From this

[14]Ibid., 99.

perspective, religion is intensely private.[15] It belongs to the sphere of inner life that we can access only by ourselves. Others may advise and encourage us as we take our journey, but we must ultimately take it alone.

The Adventist Church has made great strides in the developing countries of the world. But it has a future in developed countries, in so-called "First World" countries, only if we grasp the magnitude of this challenge and find effective ways to respond to it. Here are some things that may help us to counteract the serious and insidious challenge that individualism poses for biblical Christianity.[16]

Think Seriously about the Church

The first step is to make the church an object of careful theological reflection. Over the years, Adventists have not thought a great deal about the church, at least not in a careful, systematic way.[17] If we review the standard list of doctrinal themes—revelation, God, humanity, salvation, church, and last things—it is apparent that Adventists have given the church less consideration than any of the others. We have a good deal to say about the Sabbath and the Second Coming—elements in the denominational name. Adventists have also written in depth about human nature.[18] We are known for our position on the "state of the dead," and for the wholistic view of human existence that goes with it.

Disagreement often stimulates discussion, so Adventists have had a lot to say, mainly to each other, about topics related to salvation. The condition of Christ's human nature, the source of his sinless life, the

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[15]According to Richard Sloan of Columbia-Presbyterian Medical Center, for example, healthcare givers have no business getting involved in the spiritual life of their patients because religion is essentially a private matter (Claudia Kalb, "Faith and Healing," *Newsweek*, November 10, 2003, 50).

[16]For further discussion of the following points, as well as a more extensive treatment of the topic of this article, see Richard Rice, *Believing, Behaving, Belonging: Finding New Love for the Church* (Roseville, CA: Association of Adventist Forums, 2002).

[17]Two articles in the *Handbook of Seventh-day Adventist Theology* (Raoul Dederen, ed. [Hagerstown, MD: Review and Herald, 2000]) help to redress this deficiency (although it is interesting that just two of twenty-seven articles are devoted to this theme)—"The Church," by Raoul Dederen, and "The Ordinances: Baptism, Foot Washing, and Lord's Supper," by Herbert Kiesler. The bibliography to Dederen's article illustrates how little Adventists have written on the topic. Only three of thirty-one entries refer to Adventist authors, and two of these are primarily historical in nature.

[18]The Adventist position on this doctrine is sometimes described as "conditional immortality," i.e., immortality is conditional on the atonement of Christ, as opposed to "natural immortality," the idea that the soul is immortal and never ceases to exist. For the definitive examination of this issue, see L. E. Froom, *The Conditionalist Faith of Our Fathers*, 2 vols. [Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1965-1966]).

meaning of his death—we have considered all of them. We have also written a good deal about the meaning of justification and sanctification, and particularly the possibility of perfection. In the last few decades, Adventist scholars have devoted great attention to the nature of biblical inspiration. From the 1950s to the 1990s, the church conducted a number of Bible conferences and special General Conference sessions devoted to biblical hermeneutics.

This leaves the doctrine of the church, and here we find a notable lack of activity. We have always been interested in the remnant, and we have had a lot to say about spiritual gifts. But the church as such is seldom discussed, and certain facets of the doctrine have received scarcely any theological attention.[19]

Why has the doctrine of the church generated so little attention among Adventists? One reason may be a long-standing suspicion of ecclesiastical institutions. The Millerites did not intend to create a new denomination. They felt that they had a message for people in all denominations. When early Adventists turned to church organization, they did so reluctantly. They were acutely aware of the flaws of organized religion, and some feared that organizing was a first step on the road to Babylon.

Another factor that has hindered us from developing an ecclesiology may be our preoccupation with last things. Adventists, by definition, believe that the end is near and eagerly anticipate the soon return of Christ. Yet the word "church" suggests something that lasts over a long period of time—long enough to develop an elaborate structure with numerous traditions and layers of organization. So, the notion of church seems to conflict with a sense of immediacy.

Time has passed and times have changed. The vibrant community that characterized early Adventists has become a worldwide network of more than fourteen million people in widespread and diverse cultures. If we are to remain one church, we need to understand what is means to be the church, particularly where the church is challenged by spiritual individualism.

Clarify the Nature of Christian Community

Once we have decided to give the church serious attention, we come to the most important and most difficult step in counteracting spiritual individualism: demonstrating that the church is unlike anything else in human experience. We may find analogies for the church in other human groups, we may find precedents for it in other religious communities, and we may find metaphors to illustrate it throughout our experience. But there are

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[19]The statement of Fundamental Beliefs of Seventh-day Adventists did not even mention the Lord's Supper until the 1980 revision.

things about the Christian church that distinguish it from every other
dimension of human existence. So, what is it that makes the church so
special? What sort of community does the NT describe? What is the nature
of its corporate life?

The Bible's most important descriptions of the church come from the
chronological bookends of the NT—the letters of Paul and the Fourth
Gospel. According to these sources, the church is the creation of the Holy
Spirit, who extends Christ's saving work in the world, and the central
dynamic of the church is the love that Jesus' life perfectly exemplified.

The "farewell discourses" that culminate in Jesus' "high-priestly"
prayer, John 14–17, reveal that the purpose of Jesus' ministry was to create
a community whose inner dynamic reflects God's inner reality. In fact, the
church is the means of embracing human beings within God's own life.
These important chapters show that Jesus sought to bring his disciples into
the love that radiates between the Father and the Son—the endless circle
of affection that is central to God's life, the affection that *is* God's life.
Thus Jesus says: "As the Father has loved me, so I have loved you; abide
in my love. If you keep my commandments, you will abide in my love,
just as I have kept my Father's commandments and abide in his love."[20]

The goal of Jesus' mission to the world is thus to incorporate his
followers within the fellowship that defined his own relation with God.[21]
Following his earthly life, the Spirit that unites the Father and the Son
unites Jesus with his disciples, and this same Spirit joins Christ's followers
to one another. The relationships among Christians arise from the
spiritual power that Christ's ministry makes possible.

By virtue of its connection to God, through Christ, in the Holy Spirit,
the church represents a unique social reality. The Holy Spirit unites its
members into a community unlike any other. The Spirit generates distinctive
modes of human relationship, and in their togetherness-in-Christ, people
experience new and unprecedented forms of fellowship.

Central to the NT concept of church, then, is the conviction that
Christ creates a new "communal consciousness," a new way of thinking,
feeling, and relating. The cultivation of this communal consciousness
was the overriding concern of Paul's letters. Their purpose was to help
early Christian congregations understand their identity in Christ and
fulfill that identity in the way they lived, particularly in their relations

[20]John 15:9-10. Cf. John 14:16-17, 23; 15:12; 16:27; 17:20-23.

[21]Wolfhart Pannenberg describes it this way: the Spirit connects believers with the Son,
and in so doing incorporates them into God's own life. Consequently, believers' relation to
God reflects Christ's own relation to God. The same mutual love that unites Father and Son
in eternity appears in them. As a result, they share in Jesus' own sonship and participate in
God's own life (*Systematic Theology* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1991-1997], 3:11).

with one another. (Paul's letters say very little about the relations between Christians and non-Christians,[22] and there is a notable lack in them of any instruction to evangelize.[23])

Accordingly, his letters typically divide into two parts—theological and paranetic. The apostle first tells his readers about the wonderful blessings that salvation brings. Then he tells them how to live lives consistent with their spiritual identity. Ephesians provides a good example of this format. After a glorious description of the church, Paul transitions to a discussion of various practical matters with this statement: "I therefore, the prisoner in the Lord, beg you to lead a life worthy of the calling to which you have been called, with all humility and gentleness, with patience, bearing with one another in love, making every effort to maintain the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace" (Eph 4:1-3).

What are the features of this communal consciousness? How, in fact, do Christians relate to one another? In his most famous statement on the topic, Paul identifies the central elements of Christian existence as faith, hope, and love, and asserts that love imparts to the Christian community its unparalleled quality of life (1 Cor 13:13). Because they belong to a loving community, members of the church share one another's experiences, both positive and negative. "Carry each other's burdens," Paul wrote to the Galatian Christians, "and in this way you will fulfill the law of Christ" (Gal 6:2). Members of the Christian community reach out and share each other's sorrows and difficulties. In the church as in the body—Paul's famous metaphor—"If one part suffers, every part suffers with it" (1 Cor 12:26).

In the life together that Christ makes possible, mutual suffering leads to mutual comfort. "For just as the sufferings of Christ flow over into our lives, so also through Christ our comfort overflows. . . . We know that just as you share in our sufferings, so also you share in our comfort" (2 Cor 1:3-7). There are deep channels of sympathy and support that connect us to one another in the Christian community.

Because the church is a loving community, its members also tend to each other's needs. "As we have opportunity," says Paul, "let us do good to all people, especially to those who belong to the family of believers" (Gal 6:10). The NT devotes considerable attention to this theme, and it

[22]According to Robert Banks: "Nothing in Paul's writings suggests that the gathering of believers has a *direct* function vis-à-vis the world." The famous "body" metaphor "basically refers to the interaction of the members with one another, not with outsiders" (*Paul's Idea of Community: The Early House Churches in Their Cultural Setting*, rev. ed. [Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1994], 64).

[23]See Terence L. Donaldson, "The Absence from Paul's Letters of Any Injunction to Evangelize" (paper presented at the annual meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature, Nashville, Tennessee, November 19, 2000).

was a prominent feature in the way the earliest Christians lived. Members of the Jerusalem community cared for their own. They ate together daily (Acts 2:46). They shared everything they had. In fact, "no one claimed that any of his possessions was his own" (Acts 4:32). As a result, "there were no needy persons among them. For from time to time those who owned lands or houses sold them, brought the money from the sales and put it at the apostles' feet, and it was distributed to anyone as he had need" (Acts 4:34-35). There was apparently a "daily distribution of food" to provide for those, such as widows, who needed assistance (Acts 6:1).

According to the letter of James, professions of religious devotion are worthless unless we care for others within the community of faith. "What good is it, my brothers," James demands, "if a man claims to have faith but has no deeds? Can such faith save him? Suppose a brother or sister is without clothes and daily food. If one of you says to him, 'Go, I wish you well; keep warm and well fed,' but does nothing about his physical needs, what good is it? In the same way, faith by itself, if it is not accompanied by action, is dead" (Jas 2:14-17). So, true faith comes to expression in the way we care for fellow Christians.[24]

As a serving community, the church reenacts and extends the ministry of Jesus, who "did not come to be served but to serve" (Mark 10:45). In a vivid demonstration of his willingness to serve, Jesus washed his disciples' feet, and told them to follow his example (John 13:12-15). And of course, the ultimate act of service was his death on the cross (Mark 10:45). As he told his disciples: "Greater love has no one than this, that he lay down his life for his friends" (John 15:13).

Important as suffering and serving are, the respect in which the church most closely resembles the mind of Christ lies in the fact that it is a forgiving community. Forgiveness, as one theologian puts it, is "the final form of love."[25] Paul's letters underline the importance of forgiveness in a number of places. "Be kind and compassionate to one another, forgiving each other, just as in Christ God forgave you" (Eph 4:32). "Bear with each other and forgive whatever grievances you may have against one another. Forgive as the Lord forgave you" (Col 3:13). Forgiveness also appears in the Lord's prayer. "Forgive us our debts," Jesus instructs us to pray, "as we also have forgiven our debtors" (Matt 6:12).[26]

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[24]There is evidence that Christians cared for those outside the community too. Gal 6:10 encourages believers to do good to all men. Bruce Winter argues that the early church taught a civic consciousness among its members (*Seek the Welfare of the City: Christians as Benefactors and Citizens* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994], 3).

[25]Reinhold Niebuhr, *The Irony of American History* (New York: Scribner's, 1952), 63.

[26]The church is a forgiving community because it is a forgiven community. And there

Christ's saving work thus reaches its culmination in the unique quality of Christian corporate life. The remarkable relationships that characterize the Christian community arise directly from the spiritual power of Christ's ministry as it continues through the Holy Spirit. "By this all men will know that you are my disciples," Jesus said, "if you love one another" (John 13:35). The church, then, is a unique social reality. The Holy Spirit draws its members into a community unlike any other.

Emphasize the Relation between
Salvation and the Church

Once we have established the unique character of Christian community, the next step in combating spiritual individualism is to show that church and salvation are integrally connected. From a biblical perspective, participating in Christian corporate life—in other words, entering into church membership—is intrinsic to the experience of salvation.

According to the NT, the salvation that Jesus Christ makes available to us involves two dimensions. One is a new relationship with God. On the objective side, we are adopted into the family of God. Thanks to Jesus' work, God treats us as his own children, and we have all the legal privileges and inheritance rights that natural children have. As Paul asserts, we are "heirs of God and co-heirs of Christ" (Rom 8:17). On the subjective side, we have a new experience of God. Jesus' personal connection to God surpassed anything human beings had known before. He spoke to God as openly and trustingly as a little child speaks to its parents. He addressed God as *Abba*, an expression of familiarity and affection. Furthermore, Jesus taught that the same relationship he enjoyed with God is available to us. Like him, we can think and speak of God as "Father." We can come to God openly, confidently—without a trace of fear. For this reason, the opening of the Lord's prayer summarizes the entire gospel. The words, "Our Father," embody the new relationship that Jesus came to establish.

Just as his relationship to God opens up a new way for us to relate to God, the way Jesus related to people creates and models new possibilities for human relationships. When people participate in this community, they find their lives opening to one another in astonishing ways. They can confess their faults to each another without fearing condemnation or rejection. They can share their burdens with one another, knowing they

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are those who believe that it is a greater challenge to live as the community of the forgiven than the community of the forgiving. To quote Stanley Hauerwas: "The fundamental orientation of Christian life is that we are forgiven. . . . More important than our learning to forgive is our learning to be forgiven" (cited in L. Gregory Jones, *Embodying Forgiveness: A Theological Analysis* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995], 148).

will receive nothing but help and encouragement. They can even entrust their money and their property to one another, confident their gifts will be appreciated and properly used.

Once again, no one speaks more vividly of the effects of salvation on human relationships than the apostles John and Paul. In words reminiscent of Jesus' farewell discourses, 1 John talks about the transition from sin to salvation as a dramatic change in our relationships with each other. "God's love was revealed among us in this way," he says. "Since God loved us so much, we also ought to love one another. . . . If we love one another, God lives in us, and his love is perfected in us. . . . God is love, and those who abide in love abide in God, and God abides in them. . . . Those who love God must love their brothers and sisters also" (1 John 4:7-21). To paraphrase, the love that God poured into the world through Jesus fills and vitalizes those who respond to it. God's love for us awakens a love for him in return, and this love also flows into our relationships with each other. God's love *for* us creates a love *within* us that embraces other people.

For Paul, the connection between salvation and community is just as close as it is for John. Indeed, as Paul describes it, the Christian community is not just integral to the plan of salvation; it is the goal of the entire process. As we typically think of it, the central concept in Paul's account of salvation is righteousness by faith, the idea that we are saved entirely by God's grace, not by success in keeping the law. This idea was certainly revolutionary for Paul, since he grew up regarding the law as a means of salvation.[27] But there was something else that amazed him even more, and that was the unique community that righteousness by faith makes possible.[28] Paul described it as a radically inclusive community that overcomes all the barriers that naturally separate people—the division between Jews and Gentiles, of course, but also the divisions between male and female, slave and free, the moral and immoral, even sinners and sinned-against.

For Paul, the culmination of God's saving work is this radically inclusive community. The reason righteousness by faith is so important is the fact that it makes this community possible. For no matter how different the members of the church may be in other respects, they are identical in the one respect that ultimately matters: they are all saved by grace through faith. And because this one great fact is true of all of them, they all belong to the same community. For Paul, then, righteousness by faith is important because it makes community possible. It brings together

[27]Paul describes the dramatic shift in his perspective on legal righteousness in Phil 3:4-9.

[28]"O the depth of the riches and wisdom and knowledge of God! How unsearchable are his judgments and how inscrutable his ways!" (Rom 11:33).

people from every conceivable background and overcomes all the obstacles that divide them. Righteousness by faith is the means; Christian community is the end.

We see this trajectory in familiar passages like Eph 2. Paul begins by assuring his readers that they are saved from sin by trusting in God's gracious gift, not by relying on their good works (vv. 8-9). Then comes his main point. He reminds his readers, "Gentiles by birth," as he calls them—that they were once without Christ—far off, aliens from the commonwealth of Israel, strangers to the covenants of promise, without hope and without God in the world. But now they are one with God's people. Christ Jesus, he emphasizes, "has made both groups into one and has broken down the dividing wall" between them. He abolished the law "that he might create in himself one new humanity" and "reconcile both groups to God in one body" (vv. 12-16). As Paul sees it, the ultimate effect of Christ's work is to bring diverse people together to form one radically inclusive community. Salvation by faith is important: it provides the basis for this community, a community open to Jew and Gentile alike.

We find the same strategy in Gal 3. Paul asserts that faith, not the law, is the basis of salvation (vv. 10-14). "In Christ Jesus you are all children of God through faith," he summarizes (v. 26). Then he draws this momentous conclusion: "There is no longer Jew or Greek, there is no longer slave or free, there is no longer male and female; for all of you are one in Christ Jesus" (3:28). Because all are saved on the same basis, all belong to the same community. Christ levels all the factors that typically divide people so they can participate in one inclusive community.[29]

As the NT describes it, then, the church is not incidental to the experience of salvation; it is integral to it. Indeed, it is central to it. The culmination of Christ's saving work is the creation of a community that bears his name and embodies his love. Consequently, no one can be a Christian—not in the full and fundamental sense of the word—and *not* be part of the Christian community.

From Theory to Praxis

Following the general strategy of Paul's letters, let's move from theory to praxis. Having discussed the nature and importance of the church, let's look for some things that will help us to become the church.

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[29]Paul's most famous letter follows the same pattern. In Rom 1-8, he presents a detailed explanation of righteousness by faith. And in chaps. 9-11, he shows what this means for human community: people of all backgrounds, Jews and Gentiles alike, are incorporated within the fellowship of God's love.

Find Effective Ways to Portray the Church

Theology goes only so far. Telling people what the NT says about the church and insisting that salvation and church membership go together probably won't change many minds. As the NT describes it, the church is both a spiritual community and a concrete reality in the world. To show how concrete Christian communities can embody the sort of relationship that the Spirit of Christ makes possible, we need to develop a perspective on congregational life that truly incorporates, or incarnates, their spiritual identity. And to make this connection, we need to find a metaphor that effectively portrays the central dynamic of Christian community. As scholars have demonstrated, most people do their thinking in concrete rather than in abstract terms. They use metaphors rather than concepts.[30]

The Bible employs a great many symbols for the church,[31] and over the years Adventists have used a variety of metaphors to describe the church and its activities.[32] Nevertheless, certain metaphors are more basic to the NT portrayal of the church than others. Those that are closest to the spirit of the NT, and most helpful in promoting community, are drawn from the bonds that unite husbands and wives, parents and children. The most fundamental and pervasive biblical metaphor for the Christian community is the family.

The OT ascribes both maternal and paternal functions to God.[33] In the NT, the significance of the word "Father" expands to become the divine name par excellence. We find it in the greeting that appears in all Paul's letters—"Grace to you and peace from God our Father"—and in important passages dealing with baptism and prayer (Matt 21:19; 6:9). Moreover, Jesus himself characteristically referred to God as "Father."[34]

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[30]Metaphors are the most natural means we have of expressing ourselves. We never simply *see*, we always *see-as*. We instinctively attribute to one thing the characteristics of something else (see, e.g., Mark Johnson and George Lakoff, *Metaphors We Live By* [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980]).

[31]One encyclopedia article on the church lists four basic meanings of the Greek word and ten additional "cognate ways of expressing the church idea" (P. S. Minear, "Church, idea of," *The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible* [Nashville: Abingdon, 1962], 1:608).

[32]Two that have been particularly influential among Adventists are military and economic metaphors. The army church appears in many of the songs we sing, the organizations we form, and the activities we engage in, such as ingathering and evangelistic "campaigns." The business church has become particularly influential in recent years, with calls to greater accountability and the development of strategic plans and behavioral objectives intended to help us run the organization more efficiently. There are biblical precedents for both metaphors, of course, in both OT and NT.

[33]Gen 49:25; Deut 32:18; Ps 103:13; Isa 9:6; 49:15; 66:13; Hos 11:3, 4.

[34]According to the Gospels generally, Jesus spoke of God as "my Father" and used

Although all people are God's children by creation (cf. Acts 17:28-29), they become his children in a special way through Jesus. Through his ministry believers become part of God's family and enter the sort of relationship to God that he enjoys (cf. John 20:17). In effect, Jesus extends his own relation to the Father to include us. Connecting with him connects us with the Father too.

Paul refers to the action that brings us into God's family as "adoption,"[35] which was widely practiced in the Greco-Roman world. "Under Roman law an adopted child became a new person. He received a new name, a new identity, . . . and was given a legal right to the wealth and fortunes of his new family."[36] According to Paul, the presence of the Spirit in our lives enables us to cry, "Abba, Father," and "testifies with our spirit that we are God's children." This means that we are God's own children, with all the rights and privileges of God's "natural" Son. Consequently, everything that belongs to him also belongs to us: we are "heirs of God and co-heirs with Christ" (Rom 8:15-17; cf. Gal 4:6-7).[37] Our new relationship to God brings with it a new relationship to others. In contrast to ancient Mediterranean society, which was filled with different social strata, the Christian family acknowledges no differences in rank or prestige. "You are all sons of God through faith in Christ Jesus. . . . There is neither Jew nor Greek, slave nor free, male nor female, for you are all one in Christ Jesus" (Gal 3:26, 28).

In this family, there is unity as well as equality. The most important things about its members are things they all have in common. "There is one body and one Spirit—just as you were called to one hope when you were called—one Lord, one faith, one baptism; one God and Father of all, who is over all and through all and in all" (Eph 4:4-6).

Of all the metaphors applied to the church, none is more helpful than the family. At least, that was the choice of the apostle Paul. According to one scholar, Paul's use of family terminology is so frequent that "the

"Father" in his prayers (John 12:27-28; 17:1). In Matthew and Luke, Jesus refers to God as "your Father" in a number of passages: Matt 5:16, 48; 6:1ff.; 7:21; Luke 6:36; 12:30. In John, he characteristically speaks of "the Father" (14:6).

[35]Rom 8:15, 23; 9:4; Gal 4:5; Eph 1:5.

[36]George E. Rice, "Adoption," *Ministry*, March 1987, 13.

[37]Since many people today question the use of patriarchal language for God, it is helpful to note that the NT does not conceive of God as a heavenly version of an earthly parent. "God as Father" means first "God-as-Father-of-Jesus" and then "God-as-our-Father-through-Jesus." It takes its content from Jesus' relation to the Father, not from our biological fathers. According to Banks, 49, "All Paul's 'family' terminology has its basis in the relationship that exists between Christ, and the Christian as a corollary, and God. . . . In a unique sense Jesus is God's Son, and it is only through his identification with humans and his actions on their behalf that they are able to 'receive adoption as children' (Gal 4:4-5, NRSV; cf. 1 Thess 1:10)."

comparison of the Christian community with a 'family' must be regarded as the most significant metaphorical usage of all. . . . More than any of the other images utilized by Paul, it reveals the essence of his thinking about community."[38] To reorder our thinking about church, then, we need to take family as our central metaphor.

Find Ways to Cultivate Community

Once we have a basic metaphor for church, we need to find ways to cultivate spiritual community within Adventist congregations. The family metaphor has important implications for church growth, to cite one example. When we talk about church growth, we typically think of growth in numbers. But there is another kind of church growth, and that is relational growth. If we make relational growth basic to our numerical growth, we will build stronger communities and we can bring our converts into a community that will sustain and support them in their Christian experience. Paul seldom talks about church size (though he marvels at the spread of the gospel), but he often talks about relationships. And if we follow Paul's thinking, we will make community building basic to everything the church does.

Take evangelism, for example. A recent cover article in *Ministry* describes fellowship as "our greatest witness."[39] Several years ago, a general field secretary of the General Conference called for Adventists to move to "a relational model of outreach." Consequently, we should try to fellowship with people first and then indoctrinate later. "The way it works best," said Gary Patterson, "is to bring people into our fellowship; then they will want to learn our doctrines."[40]

The family metaphor also has implications for worship, and even for church architecture. The shape of a church and the arrangement of its furnishings can promote or hinder fellowship among its members. A family-oriented congregation may seek more appropriate architectural forms than an auditorium or lecture hall.

It is also possible to create programs designed to promote community within a congregation. Relational skills can be learned and taught, and we should avail ourselves of those who can help us develop them. People can learn how to listen carefully to each other, how to support those with special needs, and, most important, how to extend forgiveness and achieve reconciliation. The primary role of the pastor in the family church is building

[38]Ibid.

[39]James Coffin, "Fellowship: Our Greatest Witness," *Ministry*, April 2004, 5-8.

[40]Gary Patterson, "Is Our Upbringing Defining Us?" *Adventist Review*, September 19, 1996, 27.

community, and pastoral training should give as much attention to this responsibility as to pulpit ministry and theological study.

Avoid Individualism and Affirm Individuality

There are helpful and harmful ways to affirm the value of individual human beings. The distinction is critical, but it is easy to miss. In fact, spiritual individualism is so pervasive that we often use language that unwittingly supports it. Evangelistic appeals frequently encourage people to think of their religious experience in individualistic terms. When preachers urge people to decide for Christ in solitude—with heads bowed and eyes closed—they send a powerful message: your salvation is strictly between you and God. It is highly personal, and it is very private. It really doesn't involve anyone else. The same is true when they deliver sermons like "God Has No Grandchildren." Their message is that you can't be saved through someone else's devotion. You may have devout parents, missionary grandparents, godly teachers, and spiritually minded friends. God doesn't save us in groups. He saves us only one by one.

A lot of moral instruction also emphasizes the importance of individual behavior. We tell our children to go against the crowd, to stand for the right even if no one else does, and we point to those who withstood the forces of darkness all by themselves, such as Joseph, Elijah, Daniel, and Martin Luther. Adventist mission stories often feature people who overcome the pressures of family and culture in order to become Christians. They tell of children who are disinherited for accepting Christ and wives whose husbands beat them for attending evangelistic services.

Nothing moves us like a solitary figure who resists the world's pressure to conform and remains loyal to God whatever the cost. These examples are certainly valuable, but their overuse reinforces the view that moral and religious qualities apply primarily to individuals. It encourages people to think that what you are by yourself is what counts the most.

When people ask, "Why is going to church all that important?" a typical reply consists of individualistic reasons. "You may think you can make it on your own spiritually," pastors often say, "but you really can't. Without Christian fellowship, you will lose your own experience. It's like a bed of coals in a fireplace. Take one coal away from all the rest and it will soon go out. To stay hot, it needs others around it." Another tack is to remind people of their responsibilities. "Maybe you are one of those rare people who can make it on his own," we may say, "but most people aren't. And they need the strength and encouragement that you can provide. You still have a responsibility to come."

Look carefully at these arguments and an astonishing fact emerges.

They ultimately depend on the very individualism that they are supposed to combat! They defend attending church on the grounds that it either meets an individual religious need or fulfills an individual religious duty. In each A case, the ultimate court of appeal is the individual and his or her personal experience. Unless church attendance makes a difference here, apparently, it has no value.

This ironic fact demonstrates how serious our problem is. Our thinking is literally saturated with individualism—so much so that even those who try to counteract it instinctively talk as if it's true. To meet the pressing challenge facing the Adventist Church today, we must somehow overcome the deep-seated conviction that religion is essentially a private matter.

Individualism is the nemesis of community, but individuality is not. There is nothing in Christian faith that denies the significance of individual human beings. In fact, our modern appreciation for the individual, and our insistence that each human being has unalienable rights, is arguably the fruit of biblical principles.

The Bible affirms the value of the individual in various ways. One is by emphasizing personal responsibility. Certain passages insist that God will not condemn people for the sins their parents committed.[41] The biblical concept of the resurrection also affirms the individual. Citizenship in God's kingdom is not just for the generation that happens to be alive when it finally arrives. Every human being is important enough to participate in the fulfillment of God's plan for human existence. The Bible's most important affirmation of individual value is the way Jesus specifically invited people, such as Nicodemus and the Samaritan woman, to mention just two, to enter the kingdom of God.[42] The point of these Gospel stories is not that entering the kingdom is a private experience, but that the kingdom is open to everyone. Jesus assured people that God's kingdom was meant for them no matter what their background or social connections were.

From a Christian perspective, then, there is nothing wrong with individuality. The problem is individualism. Individuality affirms the value of the person; individualism exaggerates and ultimately undermines it. To do justice to the biblical view, we need to replace individualism with individuality. More accurately, we need to replace individualism with individual-in-community. Only if we do this can we become, individually and communally, everything that God wants us to be.

To conclude, spiritual individualism presents Adventism with a formidable challenge in the developed world today, but there are ways to

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[41]A notable passage is Ezek 18, where the word of the Lord asserts, "It is only the person who sins that shall die" (vs. 3; cf. vs. 20).

[42]John 3 and 4.

respond to it. In fact, we can draw on the increased interest in religion to remind people of one of Christianity's greatest themes: Christ creates a community to which all are welcome and in which all that divides and separates us is overcome. In the final analysis, participating in the fellowship of God the Father, Son, and Spirit is the ultimate gift of salvation.

DEACONESSES IN HISTORY AND IN THE
SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTIST CHURCH

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In the Seventh-day Adventist Church, deaconesses traditionally prepare the communion bread, pour the grape juice, and make sure each participant in the women's room has a partner for the foot washing. They are not usually ordained. Where do these traditions come from?[1]

In order to answer this question, this article will examine evidence relating to the role and function of deaconesses in the Christian church during various stages of its history. We will begin by evaluating the NT evidence. Then we will trace the story of deaconesses from the early church onward, finally coming to Seventh-day Adventist practice and understanding of the female diaconate.

The Word: "Deaconess"

The word "deaconess" is the feminine counterpart of the male "deacon." Both words come from the Greek verb διακονέω ("to serve, to assist, to minister"). Related nouns are διάκονος ("one who serves, or deacon") and διακονία ("service or ministry").

In Matt 8:15, Luke 10:40, and Acts 6:2, the verb means to serve at a table, which is consistent with the earliest Greek usage of the word. For instance, at the end of the forty days in the wilderness, angels "waited on" Jesus (Matt 4:11). The meaning broadens to include other aspects of ministry: Jesus came to minister or serve (Matt 20:28), Paul considered his trip to Jerusalem to deliver the offering gathered in Europe as a ministry (Rom 15:25), and the author of Hebrews commends the practice of serving the saints (Heb 6:10). Thus serving others is what deacons do (1 Tim 3:10, 13).

The noun διακονία is used to describe the table ministry the apostles entrusted to the seven (Acts 6:1, 2). In Acts 20:24, it is Paul's God-given ministry of the gospel, which he also calls the "ministry of reconciliation" (2 Cor 5:18). Timothy is encouraged to carry out his διακονία (2 Tim 4:5). Spiritual gifts are to prepare the saints for διακονία (Eph 4:12).

The noun διάκονος (διάκονοι, pl.) is used in several ways. For example, it denotes one who waits on tables, as in the wedding feast at Cana (John

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[1]This article is a tribute to my deaconess mother, now in her 96th year. I well remember how reverently she baked communion bread, and how she wore her special black suit and white gloves to uncover and cover the table on communion Sabbath.

2:5). Jesus told his disciples to be διάκονοι if they wished to be great (Mark 10:43). Tychicus is Paul's διάκονος, who ministers to him and helps him (Col 4:7). With Paul, the word takes on a specifically Christian sense. Paul is a διάκονος of the new covenant (2 Cor 3:6), of God (2 Cor 6:4), and of the church (Col 1:25). He calls Timothy a διάκονος of Jesus Christ (1 Tim 4:6). In these texts, the meaning is much closer to "minister" than to "servant."

In Phil 1:1 and 1 Tim 3:8-13, διάκονος is used to identify specific church officers, the "deacons." Theirs was evidently a spiritual occupation, for the characteristics required of them were personal integrity and blamelessness. While they seem to have held a position lower than that of the elders (or presbyters), they were recognized church leaders—not merely people who opened and closed the church or carried gifts to the poor.

The Greek, which usually distinguishes carefully between masculine and feminine forms of a noun, does not do so with διάκονος. The same word is used for male and female religious servers, both in pagan religions and in Christianity. When the article is used, the gender is visible: ὁ διάκονος (masculine) and ἡ διάκονος (feminine). The canons of the first general council of Nicaea (325) contain a neologism: διακόνισσα, a feminine form of διάκονος.

Another Greek word speaks of service: δοῦλος (verb, δουλεύω), which means "slave," is consistently mistranslated "servant" in the KJV. Unlike a διάκονος, the δοῦλος has no say over his own person. A δοῦλος is totally committed—willingly or otherwise—to a master. The "servants" in Jesus' parables are actually slaves rather than servants. In Rom 6, Paul portrays human beings as "slaves," either to sin or to God. Paul calls himself a δοῦλος of Jesus Christ (Rom 1:1), thereby showing his total commitment to God.

Women Deacons in the New Testament

In the NT, women served the church in many ways. This article will examine only those women who served in official capacities. Those women who served in unofficial capacities, among whom would be the women who provided for the needs of Jesus and his disciples (Luke 8:3)—for example, Tryphaena, Tryphosa, and Persis, who "worked hard in the Lord" (Rom 16: 12), and the older women, whose task it was to teach the younger (Titus 2:4-5)—will not be discussed in this article.

Phoebe

Paul, in Rom 16:1-2, called Phoebe a διάκονος of the church of Cenchraea. Besides this brief statement, nothing is known about Phoebe, except that

she was a "benefactor" of Paul and others, and that Paul commended her to the church in Rome.

That she was a benefactor or patroness (προστάτις) suggests a woman of wealth and position. In the first-century Mediterranean world, patronage provided sustenance to the clients and honor to the patron. A patron or benefactor funded the construction of monuments, financed festivals or celebrations, supported artists and writers, or even provided a synagogue for a Jewish congregation in exile. In return for the patron's support, the client—individual or group—provided gratitude, honor, and, sometimes, the fruit of their artistic labor.[2] In ancient Athens, the male equivalent, προστάτης, was the title of a citizen whose responsibility it was to see to the welfare of resident aliens, who had no civic rights.[3]

That she was commended to the church in Rome is usually accepted as evidence that Phoebe carried the letter to the church for Paul. Given that Cenchraea was the eastern port city of Corinth, Phoebe would have been known to Paul, who seems to have written from Corinth, as is suggested by references to Gaius and Erastus, who were clearly from Corinth (Rom 16:23; cf. 1 Cor 1:14, 2 Tim 4:20).

Of interest to this study is Phoebe's title, διάκονος. The Greek word appears here in the masculine but, as noted above, the word was used for both males and females. Paul recognized Phoebe as a διάκονος, or minister, of the church at Cenchraea. Only here is διάκονος used in relation to a specific church, implying that the word refers to some kind of position in the church. Translation of the term διάκονος in this passage has more to do with the translator than the meaning of the Greek word. The KJV has "servant"; the NIV has "servant," with "deaconess" in the note; the NRSV says "deacon," with "minister" in the note.

Early church writers give their own interpretation of this passage. Origen (185-254) interprets Paul's statement as follows: "This passage teaches that there were women ordained in the church's ministry . . . because they helped in many ways."[4] Writing about Phoebe and the other women of Rom 16, John Chrysostom (ca. 347-407) wrote: "You see that these were noble women, hindered in no way by their sex in the course of virtue; and this is as might be expected for in Christ Jesus there is neither

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[2]For more on patronage, see Nancy Vyhmeister, "The Rich Man in James 2: Does Ancient Patronage Illumine the Text?" *AUSS* 33 (1995): 266-272.

[3]W. E. Vine, *Expository Dictionary of Old and New Testament Words* (Grand Rapids: Fleming Revell, 1981), s.v. *"prostatis."*

[4]Origen, *Epistola ad Romanos* 10.17.2, cited in *Ancient Christian Commentary of Scripture*, vol. 6, *Romans*, ed. Gerald Bray (Downers Grove: InterVarsity, 1998).

male nor female."[5] Theodoret (393-460) noted that the "church assembly at Cenchreae was already so considerable as to have a woman deacon, prominent and noble. She was so rich in good works performed as to have merited the praise of Paul."[6]

"The Women Likewise"

In 1 Tim 3:2-7, Paul lists the characteristics of bishops or overseers, which is the literal translation of the Greek ἐπίσκοπος. Verses 8-10 describe the spiritual traits required of διάκονοι.[7] Verse 11, however, seems something of a digression: "Women likewise must be serious, not slanderers, but temperate, faithful in all things."

Who are these "women"? The Greek word, which can be translated "women" or "wives," has been variously translated as "women," with "women deacons" or "their [deacon's] wives" in the note (NRSV); "women," with "either deacons' wives or deaconesses" in the note (NASB); "their wives," with "or deaconesses" in the note (NIV)"; or "*their* wives," with *their* in italics, admitting its absence in the original text (KJV).

However, the implication that the term refers to a wife of the deacon presents difficulties, for in the Greek there is no possessive, so it would not be possible to know whose wives the text was referring to. On the other hand, if one takes the context seriously, these are women who serve the church as do their male counterparts. Quite probably, these women were female deacons, as was Phoebe. In the late second century, Clement of Alexandria (155-220) indicated that this text presented evidence for the existence of διάκονον γυναικῶν ("women deacons"). John Chrysostom and Theodoret, writing in the fourth and fifth centuries respectively, also understood these women to be female deacons.[8]

As in the case of Rom 16:1-2, the translation of 1 Tim 3:8-10 varies according to the translator's presuppositions. The present is interjected into the past, with the result that because there are no women deacons in my church now, there must not have been any before, or because we have deaconesses in the church today, they could have had them in the first century. Finally, if no other interpretation works, it is always appropriate for the spouses of church officers to be serious Christians.

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[5]John Chrysostom, *Homily 30*, on Romans 15:25-27, *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church* (NPNF) (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996).

[6]Theodoret *Interpret. Epist ad Rom.* 16:1, *PG* 82, cols 217D, 220A.

[7]Interestingly, the Miles Coverdale Bible (1563) translated διάκονος as "minister."

[8]Clement *Stromata* 3.6.53, *Clement of Alexandria*, trans. John Ferguson, The Fathers of the Church (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America, 1991), 289; John Chrysostom, *In Epistola 1 ad Timotheus 3, Homily* 11.1, NPNF.

Women Deacons in the Early Church

During the early centuries, there is mention of women deacons (διάκονος), deaconesses (διακόνισσα), and widows (χήρα) as recognized church leaders. We will examine evidence regarding the existence, tasks, and ordination of women in the diaconate.[9] Then I will point to reasons for the demise of the female diaconate in the church.

The Existence of Women Deacons

Somewhere between 111 and 113, Pliny the Younger, governor of Bithynia, wrote to the Emperor Trajan, asking how he should deal with Christians. In the letter, he tells of questioning two women, who were called *ministrae*, the Latin equivalent of διάκονος.[10]

Of the ministry of women, Clement of Alexandria wrote:

> But the apostles in conformity with their ministry concentrated on undistracted preaching, and took their wives around as Christian sisters rather than spouses, to be their fellow-ministers [συνδιακόνους, "fellow deacons"] in relation to housewives, through whom the Lord's teaching penetrated into the women's quarters without scandal.[11]

The *Didascalia Apostolorum*, which has a complex and debated history, presents information on the work of women in the church. The document, which is undoubtedly from the East, seems to have been composed in the third century and has survived in Greek, Syriac, and Latin fragments. Chapter 16 gives specific instructions about the role of men and women church workers:

> Therefore, O bishop, appoint yourself workers of righteousness, helpers who cooperate with you unto life. Those that please you out of all the people you shall choose and appoint as deacons: on the one hand, a man for the administration of the many things that are

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[9]For further information on the history of female deacons, see "The History of Women Deacons," at < www.womenpriests.org/traditio/deac_ovr.htm >. See also, John Wijngaards, *No Women in Holy Orders? The Ancient Women Deacons* (Norwich, UK: Canterbury, 2002). While Wijngaards interprets the evidence as including women deacons in the clergy, Aimé Georges Martimort, whose careful analysis *Deaconesses: An Historical Study* (San Francisco: Ignatius, 1986), is considered a classic on the topic, admits the existence of women deacons but denies that they were ever considered clergy. See Shirley A. Groh, "The Role of Deaconess through the Ages," www.wls.wels.net/library/Essays/Authors/G/GrohRole/GrohRole.htm (August 17, 2004); and Philip Schaff, *History of the Christian Church*, vol. 3, *Nicene and Post-Nicene Christianity. A.D. 311-600*, section 52, "The Lower Clergy," < www.ccel.org/s/schaff/hcc3/htm/iii.viii.v.htm#_fnf5 > (July 28, 2004).

[10]Pliny *Letters* 10.96.

[11]Clement *Stromata* 3.6.53

required, on the other hand, a woman for the ministry of women.[12]

The *Apostolic Constitutions*, from the fourth century, incorporates most of the *Didascalia* and thus includes much the same material on deaconesses.[13]

In answering questions posed by the bishop of Iconium, Basil of Caesarea points out that ἡ διάκονος who has committed fornication can repent, but will not be returned to her office for a period of seven years.[14] Basil's canon 44, which comes from the late fourth century, takes for granted the existence of deaconesses and shows that purity and even celibacy were expected of them. Canon 15 of the Council of Chalcedon (451) anathematizes an ordained deaconess who marries.[15]

Grave inscriptions also provide evidence of the existence of female deacons in the church. An inscription found in the vicinity of the Mount of Olives tells of "Sophia the Deacon." Dated to the second half of the fourth century, the tombstone reads: "Here lies the slave and bride of Christ, Sophia, the deacon (ἡ διάκονος), the second Phoebe."[16] As a "bride of Christ," Sophia would have been celibate. As an imitator of Phoebe, she was a deacon.

A fifth-century inscription from Delphi, Greece, reads as follows: "The most pious deaconess [διακόνισσα] Athanasia, who led a blameless life in decorum, was installed as deaconess by the most holy bishop Pantiamianos. She has placed this monument. Here lie her mortal remains."[17] A sixth-century inscription from Cappadocia in Asia Minor gives not only the title, but shows what this female διάκονος did:

> Here lies the deacon Maria of pious and blessed memory, who according
> to the words of the apostle raised children, sheltered guests, washed the
> feet of the saints, and shared her bread with the needy. Remember her,
> Lord, when she comes into your kingdom.[18]

[12]"Concerning deacons and deaconesses," *The Didascalia Apostolorum in Syriac*, ed. Arthur Vööbus, Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientalium, 407 (Louvain: Sécretariat du Corpus SCO, 1979), 2:156. The Latin calls them *diaconissae*, Erik Tidner, ed., *Didascaliae apostolorum, Canonum ecclesiasticorum: Traditionis apostolicae, versiones latinae* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1963), 42, 59, 111.

[13]*The Apostolic Constitutions*, ANF 7:799-1043.

[14]*Canons of St. Basil*, 44, < www.ccel.org/fathers/NPNF2-14/7appndx/basil.htm > (July 22, 2004).

[15]Chalcedon, Canon 15, *Conciliorum Oecumenicorum Decreta* (Bologna: Istituto per le Scienze Religiose, 1972), 94; also < www.fordham.edu/halsall/basis/chalcedon.html > (July 21, 2004).

[16]Ute E. Eisen, *Women Officeholders in Early Christianity: Epigraphical and Literary Studies* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2000), 159.

[17]Ibid., 176-177.

[18]Ibid., 164-167.

In the East, deaconesses appear as late as the twelfth or thirteenth century. The *Liber Patrum* states:

> As for deaconesses, they must be wise. Those who have provided a clear witness of purity and fear of God are the ones who should be chosen. They should be chaste and modest and sixty years or older in age. They carry out the sacrament of baptism for women because it is not fitting that the priest should view the nudity of women.[19]

Thus duly constituted women deacons or deaconesses are clearly evident throughout the first centuries of the Christian church. Some have suggested that the existence of women deacons or deaconesses were an evidence of apostasy, while others are firmly convinced that the women who served the church were simply heirs of Phoebe.[20]

The Ordination of Women Deacons

The *Apostolic Constitutions* gives instruction to the bishop on the ordination of church leaders, male and female. The bishop is to lay hands upon the woman and pray:

> O Eternal God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Creator of man and woman, who didst replenish with the Spirit Miriam, and Deborah, and Anna, and Hulda, who didst not disdain that Thy only begotten Son should be born of a woman; who also in the tabernacle of the testimony and in the temple didst appoint women to be keepers of Thy holy gates,—Do Thou now also look down on this Thy servant who is to be ordained to the office of a deaconess, and grant her Thy Holy Spirit, and cleanse her from all filthiness of flesh and spirit, that she may worthily discharge the work committed to her to Thy glory and the praise of Thy Christ, with whom glory and adoration be to Thee and the Holy Spirit for ever. Amen.[21]

At the Council of Chalcedon (451), the ordination of deaconesses is expressly called both χειποτονεῖσθαι and χειροθεσία (ordination by the imposition of hands). Members of the Council agreed that "a woman shall not receive the laying on of hands as a deaconess under forty years of age, and then only after searching examination."[22]

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[19]*Liber Patrum*, ser. 2, fasc. 16, in S. Congregatio pro Ecclesia Orientali, *Codificaziones canonica orientale, Fonti* (Rome: Tipografia Poliglotta Vaticana, 1930), 34, cited in Martimort, 158.

[20]At opposite poles are the authors at <www.womenpriests.org>, who use the historical material to support the ordination of women deacons and priests, and Martimort, 241-250, who finds the evidence for women deacons as part of the clergy ambiguous.

[21]*Apostolic Constitutions* 8.3.20, ANF 7:492.

[22]Canon 15, *Conciliorum Oecumenicorum Decreta*, 94.

Emperor Justinian directed a *novella* (March 16, 535) to the archbishop of Constantinople, settling the number of clerics that should be paid by the churches. Among the clergy of the Great Church of the capital city, the emperor directed that there should be forty women deacons. In a subsequent *novella*, he stated that the same rules should apply to women deacons as to priests and deacons. As virgins or widows of one husband, they merited sacred ordination.[23]

The Barberini Greek Euchology, an eighth-century Byzantine ritual for the ordination (χειροτονία) of male and female deacons calls for the laying-on of hands in ordination. Two prayers were to be said. The first prayer, said by a deacon, notes that God sanctified the female sex through the birth of Jesus and has given the Holy Spirit to both men and women. The second prayer, said by the archbishop, states:

> Lord, Master, you do not reject women who dedicate themselves to you and who are willing, in a becoming way, to serve your Holy House, but admit them to the order of your ministers. Grant the gift of your Holy Spirit also to this your maid servant who wants to dedicate herself to you, and fulfil in her the grace of the ministry of the diaconate, as you have granted to Phoebe the grace of your diaconate, whom you had called to the work of the ministry [*leitourgia*].[24]

The *Gregorian Sacramentary*, a Roman liturgical book of the eighth century which contains the sole surviving Western formulary for the ordination of a deaconess, reuses the formula for the ordination of a deacon, but with the feminine gender.[25]

Tasks of Women Deacons

From ancient documents, we learn of the functions performed by the deaconesses of the early church. The *Apostolic Constitutions* commands the bishop to "ordain also a deaconess who is faithful and holy, for the ministrations towards women. . . . For we stand in need of a woman, a deaconess, for many necessities."[26] Female deacons had a special ministry for women, especially in pagan homes, where male deacons were not welcome. They took the Eucharist to women who could not attend church. In

[23]Justinian *Novellae* 3.1; 6.6; *Corpus Iuris Civilis, Novellae* (Zurich: Weidmann, 1968), 3:20-21, 43-45.

[24]Barberini Greek Euchology 336; for the original Greek, English translation, and the history of the manuscript see < www.womenpriests.org/traditio/deac_gr1.htm > (July 27, 2004).

[25]Matthew Smyth, "Deaconesses in Late Antique Gaul," < www.womenpriests .org/deacons/deac_smy.htm > (July 15, 2004).

[26]*Apostolic Constitutions* 3.2.15, ANF 7:431.

addition, they ministered to the sick, the poor, and those in prison.[27]

The most important ministry of the female deacons was to assist at the baptism by immersion of women. The deaconess anointed the baptismal candidate with oil, apparently over the whole body. In some cases, she was to hold up a veil so that the clergy could not see the naked woman being baptized. It would appear that she also accompanied the woman into the water. The *Apostolic Constitutions* states that "in the baptism of women, the deacon shall anoint only their forehead with the holy oil, and after him the deaconess shall anoint them: for there is no necessity that the women should be seen by the men."[28]

The *Disdascalia* points to the role of women deacons in the teaching ministry: "And when she who is being baptized has come up from the water, let the deaconess receive her, and teach and educate her in order that the unbreakable seal of baptism shall be (kept) in chastity and holiness. On this account, we say that the ministry of a woman deacon is especially required and urgent."[29] In her role of teaching, the deaconess would, evidently, deal only with women, for in the section regarding widows, the *Apostolic Constitutions* is clear that women should not teach or baptize.[30]

Women deaconesses were active in the church service. Public duties included presiding over the women's entrance into the church, examining the commendatory letters of strangers, and assigning them the appropriate places in the church.[31]

Evidence indicates that deaconesses were to be in charge of convents—the "mother superior," so to speak. Between 532 and 534, Jacobite bishops in exile in Antioch gave the opinion that in the East "the superiors of female monasteries should be deaconesses and should share the mysteries with those who are under their power," when no priest or

[27]Mary P. Truesdell, "The Office of Deaconess," in *The Diaconate Today*, ed. Richard T. Nolan (Washington, DC: Corpus, 1968), 150. Truesdell, an Episcopalian deaconess, unfortunately based much of her writing on secondary sources, such as *The Ministry of Women: A Report by a Committee Appointed by His Grace the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury* (London: SPCK, 1919). The chapter is available online, but without footnotes, at <www.philosophy-religion .org/diaconate/chapter_7.htm> (July 18, 2004).

[28]*Apostolic Constitutions* 3.2.15, ANF 7:431. For details and documents, see "The Woman Deacon's Role at Baptism," <www.womenpriests.org/traditio/deac_bap.htm> (July 27, 2004).

[29]*Didascalia* 16, Vööbus, 2:157.

[30]*Apostolic Constitutions* 3.1.6, 9; ANF 7:427-428, 429.

[31]See "A Woman's Supervisory Role in the Assembly," <www.womenpriests .org/traditio/deac_dis.htm> (July 27, 2004).

deacon was available to do so.[32] About 538, the bishop of Tella, not far from Edessa, granted the deaconess the authority to assist the priest in the communion service and to read the "Gospels and the holy books in an assembly of women."[33]

James of Edessa (683-708) summarized the activities of the deaconess in the Eastern church during his time:

> The deaconess has absolutely no authority regarding the altar. . . . However this is the authority she has: she can sweep the sanctuary and light the sanctuary lamp, and this even when the priest or deacon is not there. Also, if she lives in a community of nuns, when there is no priest or deacon, she can take the holy sacrament from the tabernacle and distribute this to the women who are her companions, or to children who happen to be there. But she is not allowed to consume the blessed sacrament on the table of the altar itself, or to put the blessed sacrament on the altar, or to touch the altar in any way.[34]

Demise of the Female Diaconate

While deaconesses appear in the Eastern church until the twelfth or thirteenth century, in the West their end came much earlier. This is corroborated by the British monk Pelagius (✝ ca. 420), who wrote that the female diaconate was an institution fallen into disuse in the West, though remaining in the East.[101]

A late fourth-century Synod of Nimes (396) points out that the problem with deaconesses was that women had "assumed for themselves the ministry of the Levites," which was "against apostolic discipline and has been unheard of until this time." Further, "any such ordination that has taken place is against all reason and is to be destroyed."[102]

A series of church councils pronounced against the ordination of deaconesses. The First Council of Orange (441) ordered: "In no way whatsoever should deaconesses ever be ordained. If there already are

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[32]Canon 9, in I. Rahmani, *Studia Syriaca* 3 (Sharfé, 1908), 33, cited in Martimort, 139-140; see A. Vööbus, *Syrische Kanonessammlungen*, Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientalum, 307:167-175.

[33]John bar Qursos, "Questions Asked by the Priest Sargis," in A. Vööbus, ed., *The Synodicon in the West Syrian Tradition*, Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientalum, 368:197-205, cited in Martimort, 140-142.

[34]*Syrian Synodicon*, in "James of Edessa," < www.womenpriests .org/traditio/james_ed.htm > (July 27, 2004).

[101]Pelagius, *Commentary on Romans 16:1*, Theodore de Bruyn, *Pelagius's Comentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1993), 150-151.

[102]Charles Joseph Hefele, *A History of the Councils of the Church from the Original Documents* (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1871), 2:404.

deaconesses, they should bow their heads beneath the blessing which is given to all the people."[103] The Burgundian Council of Epaon (517) ruled: "We abrogate totally within the entire kingdom the consecration of widows who are named deaconesses. If they desire it, they may receive only the benediction which is given to penitents."[104] The Second Synod of Orleans (533) follows up on this prohibition. Canon 17 states: "Women who . . . have received the benediction as deaconesses, if they marry again, must be excommunicated." Canon 18 continues: "To no woman must henceforth the *benedictio diaconalis* be given, because of the weakness of the sex."[105]

The ordination of deaconesses, rather than their work, seems to have become an issue, perhaps because of their monthly "impurity." Bishop Epiphanius of Salamis (315-405), who held that women "are a feeble race, untrustworthy and of mediocre intelligence," pointed out that deaconesses were not clergy, but served the "bishops and priests on grounds of propriety."[106] In a letter to John, Bishop of Jerusalem, he insisted he had never "ordained deaconesses . . . nor done anything to split the church."[107] By 1070, Theodore Balsamon, Patriarch of Antioch, could affirm that "deaconesses in any proper sense had ceased to exist in the Church though the title was borne by certain nuns."[108] One of the reasons he gave was the "impurity of their menstrual periods" and the fact that law "prohibits women from entering the sanctuary."[109]

Jacobite author Yahya ibn Jarir, writing from Persia in the third quarter of the eleventh century, wrote:

[103]Canon 26, Council of Orange, in Charles Joseph Hefele, *Histoire des concile d'aprés les documents originaux* (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1908), 2:1:446-447. The note that follows this canon runs from pp. 446-452 and outlines the history of the female diaconate and points to examples of noncompliance, such as canon 73 of the Council of Worms (A.D. 868), which reaffirms Chalcedon's Canon 15, as well as certain eleventh-century pontifical decrees that allowed for the ordination of deaconesses (451-452). The author maintains that the Council of Orange had to take strict measures with deaconesses because they were attempting to "extend their attributions" (447).

[104]Council of Epaon, Canon 21, in Edward H. Landon, *A Manual of Councils of the Holy Catholic Church* (Edinburgh: John Grant, 1909).

[105]Hefele, *A History of the Councils,* 4:187; note that "ordination" is no longer mentioned, but merely "benediction."

[106]Epiphanius of Salamis, *Against Heresies* 79.1, 3, 4. <www.womenpriests.org/traditio/epiphan.htm> (July 28, 2004).

[107]Epiphanius, *Letter to John Bishop of Jerusalem,* §2 <www.womenpriests.org/traditio/epiphan.htm> (July 28, 2004).

[108]*Catholic Encyclopedia,* s.v "Deaconesses."

[109]*Replies to the Questions of Mark,* reply 35, <www.womenpriests.org/traditio/balsamon.htm> (July 15, 2004).

In antiquity deaconesses were ordained; their function was to be concerned with adult women and prevent their being uncovered in the presence of the bishop. However, as the practice of religion became more extensive and the decision was made to begin administering baptism to infants, this function of deaconesses was abolished.[110]

Michael the Great, Patriarch from 1166 to 1199, seemed to agree:

In ancient times there was a need for deaconesses, principally to assist with the baptism of women. When converts from Judaism or paganism became disciples of Christianity and thereby became candidates for holy baptism, it was by the hands of the deaconesses that the priests and bishops anointed the women candidates at the time of their baptism. This was why they performed an ordination or *cheirotonia* on the one chosen to be a deaconess.

But we can plainly see that this practice has long since ceased in the Church. The reason for this is that it is now at birth or during infancy that those who are destined for baptism receive this baptism. There is no longer any need for deaconesses because there are no longer any grown women who are baptized.[111]

Thus two main considerations seem to have contributed to the demise of the female diaconate. First, infant baptism replaced adult baptism, making the assistance of a female at the baptism of adult women unnecessary. Second, the sacrifice of the mass, which gave to the priest the power of converting bread and wine into the very body and blood of Jesus, shaped the understanding of clergy and laity and removed lay people—male and female—from ministry. Further, the rise of monasticism, with the institution of nunneries and the insistence on celibacy, changed the focus of church work for women.

The Rediscovery of the Female Diaconate

Following the Reformation in Europe, the office of deaconess is first attested among the Independents in Holland. In 1575, the "conclusions drawn up by Thomas Cartwright and Walter Travers . . . contained a clause 'touching deacons of both sorts, namely men and women.' Both were to be chosen by the congregation and 'to be received into their office with the general prayers of the whole Church.'"[112] The Puritan governor WilliamBradford's *Dialogue* describes an "ancient deaconess" in Holland, who served the congregation for many years after she was chosen at age sixty.

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[110]Jahya ibn Jarir, *Book of Guidance of Jahya ibn Jarir*, G. Khori-Sarkis, *Le livre du guide de Yahya ibn Jarir, Orient Syrien* 12 (1967): 461, cited in Martimort, 166.

[111]*Syriac Pontifical*, Vatican Syriac MS 51, cited in Martimort, 167.

[112]D. S. Schaff, "Deaconess," *The New Schaff-Herzog Religious Encyclopedia*, 3:375.

She honoured her place and was an ornament to the congregation. She usually sat in a convenient place in the congregation, with a little birchen rod in her hand, and kept little children in great awe from disturbing the congregation. She did frequently visit the sick and weak, especially women, and, as there was need, called out maids and young women to watch and do them other help as their necessity did require; and if they were poor, she would gather relief for them of those that were able, or acquaint the deacons; and she was obeyed as a mother in Israel and an officer of Christ.[113]

Kaspar Ziegler, a German Protestant jurist, theologian, and hymnodist, showed a renewed interest in the topic of the deaconess in his book, *De diacone et diaconissis veteris ecclesiae liber commentarius*, published in Wittemberg in 1678.

In 1734, the nonjuring bishops of Scotland were led by their study of Christian antiquities to desire the revival of the office of deaconess. They designed a service for the making of deaconesses, complete, beautiful, and in full accord with ancient tradition, and which provided for the laying-on of hands. There is no evidence, however, that this service was ever used.[114]

The office was gradually introduced elsewhere. One early eighteenth-century work on the subject indicated that a deaconess was not to be ordained before the age of forty; her duties were "to assist at the baptism of women, to instruct children and women before baptism, to supervise the women in Church and rebuke and correct those who misbehave," and "to introduce any woman who wanteth to make application to a Deacon, Presbyter, or Bishop."[115]

While Mennonites in Holland employed deaconesses, the modern revival of the office may be said to have begun at Kaiserwerth in 1836, when Lutheran pastor Theodore Fliedner formed the "Society of Deaconesses for the Rhenish Provinces of Westphalia" to care for the unfortunate. The members received "consecration," but were not considered ordained. They formed voluntary societies for common life and work, which the volunteers could leave at the call of more urgent duties. At the Kaiserswerth Institute, women were trained for nursing, teaching, and parish work.[116]

[113]Leslie McFall, *Good Order in the Church*, < www.btinternet.com/%7Elmf12/HTML-GOITC/women_as_elders.htm > (July 13, 2004); see also Lucy Rider Meyer, *Deaconesses: Biblical, Early Church, European, American* (Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe, 1889), 29-30; Schaff, 3:376.

[114]Truesdell, 158.

[115]McFall.

[116]An interesting detail is that Florence Nightingale studied there and later wrote about Fliedner and Kaiserwerth (*The Institution of Kaiserwerth on the Rhine* [London: London

In time, there was an attempt to introduce the idea of ordination into the induction of deaconesses. This came about unofficially in 1861, when Dr. Tait, Bishop of London, invested Elizabeth Ferard with the office of deaconess. By 1871, the deaconess was "a woman set apart by the bishop under that title for service in the Church."[117]

According to Mary P. Truesdell, "one of the first persons in America to have a clear concept of the office [of deaconess] was Bishop Cobbs, the first Episcopal Bishop of Alabama." His plan called for a cathedral in Montgomery, "with a house for deacons who were to do missionary work and assist in pastoral ministrations and a house for deaconesses who were to teach and take care of the sick and poor." The plan, however, did not work, probably because of the Civil War.[118] Bishop Cobbs was succeeded by his friend, Richard Hooker Wilmer, who, late in December 1864, "instituted" as deaconesses—but did not lay hands on—"three godly women who offered themselves for whatever work the bishop might assign them." The group organized to care for war orphans. In 1885, the first deaconesses were ordained. The General Convention of the Episcopal Church adopted a canon authorizing the "setting apart" of deaconesses. Thus the ancient institution was reinstated in the Episcopal Church.[119]

In 1917, the Archbishop of Canterbury appointed a committee of scholars to study the historical material regarding deaconesses. After much discussion, the Lambeth Conference of 1930 affirmed that "the Order of Deaconess is for women the one and only ministry which we can recommend our branch of the Catholic Church to recognize and use."[120] Subsequently, the Convocations of Canterbury and York stated: "At her ordination as a Deaconess, a woman receives by episcopal ordination a distinctive and permanent status in the Church and is dedicated to a life-long service and ministry."[121]

The first American Lutheran deaconesses came to the United States in 1849. Theirs was a nursing ministry in the Passavant Hospital in Pittsburgh, which was modeled after the Kaiserwerth Institution.[122] In

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Ragged Colonial Training School, 1851]). American editions followed.

[117]Schaff, 3:378.

[118]Truesdell, 159-160.

[119]Ibid., 160.

[120]Ibid., 165.

[121]Ibid., 166.

[122]"Commission for Women," < www.elca.org/cw/ordination/panel5/5.1.html > (July 28, 2004).

1884, seven additional deaconesses came to the German Hospital.[123] Much later, it was decided that nursing was not the only service women could render, and deaconesses began to serve in other capacities.[124]

The work of Lucy Rider Meyer laid the basis for the Methodist deaconess movement in the United States. After receiving an M.D. in 1887, Meyer organized a number of her women students into a program of visitation and social service among the urban poor. In 1889, she published *Deaconesses: Biblical, Early Church, European, American: A History of the Movement*.[125] At the Methodist General Conference of 1902, deaconesses were accepted, but not without debate and the warning, by some of the "brethren," that the work of "trained women would displace that of ministers themselves." That same year, the magazine *Our Homes* carried a full description of deaconesses. Not a preacher, "she is not ordained; therefore she is not a female deacon." Yet, she is "authorized and appointed by the Church, which gives her the right to do some of the things she could not otherwise do." "As a pastor's assistant she becomes a leader for the women of that congregation in Church work."[126] By 1909, forty-five deaconesses "had been trained, consecrated, and appointed by the Church to various types of service."[127] In 1915, it was decided that deaconesses were to have completed high school and two years of college work in nursing, teaching, or business.[128]

Most nineteenth-century deaconesses belonged to "sisterhoods" and lived together in "houses." They wore uniforms and were either single or widowed. Theirs was a life fully consecrated to service to the church. Deaconesses were not merely part-time church workers.

Deaconesses and Adventism

The Seventh-day Adventist Church grew up in the nineteenth century, when the office of deaconess was springing up in various churches in Europe and the United States. Thus it is not strange that Seventh-day

[123]Mark Concepcion and Edward Chen, "Deaconesses of German Hospital," < www.aahn.org/gravesites/deaconess.html > (July 28, 2004).

[124]E.g., the history of Lutheran deaconesses, < www.curf.edu/departments/deaconess/IMustDoSomething.htm > (July 28, 2004).

[125]*Encyclopedia Britannica*, s.v. "Meyer, Lucy Jane Rider."

[126]Elizabeth M. Lee, *As among the Methodists: Deaconesses Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow* (New York: Woman's Division of Christian Service, Methodist Church, 1963), 52-53.

[127]Ibid., 54.

[128]Ibid., 55.

Adventists also considered the possibility of having women serve as deaconesses.

Early Adventism

As early as 1856, Joseph Frisbie wrote about deaconesses as church workers. He referred to the seven (Acts 6) and Phoebe (Rom 16:1), noting that they "were considered servants, helpers or laborers with the apostles in the gospel, not that they preached the word, but ministered or served their temporal wants." He then quoted from "Dr. A. Clarke's Commentary":

> There were deaconesses in the primitive church, whose business it was to attend the female converts at baptism; to instruct the catechumens, or persons who were candidates for baptism: to visit the sick, and those who were in prison; and, in short, perform those religious offices, for the female part of the church, which could not with propriety be performed by men. They were chosen in general out of the most experienced of the church; and were ordinarily widows, who had borne children. Some ancient constitutions required them to be forty, others fifty, and others sixty years of age. It is evident that they were ordained to their office, by the imposition of the hands of the bishop; and the form of prayer used on the occasion is extant in the apostolic constitutions.[129]

Frisbie then asked: "Would it not be well then, brethren, to appoint in all the churches deacons and deaconesses who may answer the qualifications that are laid down clearly in the Bible, with an understanding of what their duties are?" These duties are then summarized:

> 1. To see to the poor and destitute that may belong to the church; such as widows, orphans, the sick and afflicted that may be among us.
>
> 2. That it is the duty of such to first inquire into the wants of the cause, to introduce them to the church where they belong, at any proper time, to raise means for the support of the truth. That such be considered the treasures [sic] and agents of the church where they belong in all matters of finance.
>
> 3. That it may be the duty to keep on hand good wine [John ii,10] from grapes or raisins, for the ready ministration of the ordinances at any time on the visits of the messengers, which ordinances are too much neglected for the want of preparation; also to see to all other necessary preparations for the ordinances.[130]

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[129]Joseph Birchard Frisbie, "Deacons," *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, July 31, 1856, 0102 (Words of the Pioneers, CD ROM); the quotation is from Adam Clarke's *Commentary* on Rom 16:1, 2, < www.thebibletool.com/wordsearchresults.jsp?searchTerm= deaconesses >.

[130]Ibid.

In 1870, J. H. Waggoner published his ideas about "The Office of Deacon." His presentation, based on Acts 6:3 and 1 Tim 3:8-12, emphasized the spiritual characteristics of the deacons. These men were needed because "it is adopted by us as a custom, in the absence of an elder to have the deacon take charge of meetings, and exercise a general care for the church."[131] Where Frisbie had earlier included deaconesses, Waggoner makes no mention of them.

Ellen White and Deaconesses

Throughout North America, a large number of books, sermons, and pamphlets regarding deaconesses and their work were published in the last two decades of the nineteenth century. In addition, there are reports on deaconess homes and the ministry of deaconesses in major American cities, such as Chicago, Boston, and Philadelphia. In this environment, one might expect that Ellen White would have had some of these books in her library. She did not.[132]

A search for White's position on the appointment, ordination, or work of deaconesses proves disappointing. Only one direct reference is found in a letter written in September 1902, in which White scolds A. T. Jones for listening to the private woes of women: "You are not to set such an example that women will feel at liberty to tell you the grievances of their home life, and to draw upon your sympathies. When a woman comes to you with her troubles, tell her plainly to go to her sisters, to tell her troubles to the deaconesses of the church."[133]

Ellen White's 1895 message on the setting-apart of women is key to the Seventh-day Adventist understanding of the work of the deaconess.

> Women who are willing to consecrate some of their time to the service of the Lord should be appointed to visit the sick, look after the young, and minister to the necessities of the poor. They should be set apart to this work by prayer and laying on of hands. In some cases they will need to counsel with the church officers or the minister; but if they are devoted women, maintaining a vital connection with God, they will be a power for good in the church. This is another means of strengthening and building up the church.[134]

[131]J. H. Waggoner, "The Office of Deacon," *The Review and Herald*, September 27, 1870, 116.

[132]*A Bibliography of Ellen G. White's Private and Office Libraries*, 3d ed. (Silver Spring, MD: Ellen G. White Estate, 1993). She did, however, have Clarke's *Bible Commentary*, cited by Frisbie in 1856.

[133]Ellen G. White, Letter to A. T. Jones, *Manuscript Releases* 21, MR 1519.

[134]Ellen G. White, "The Duty of the Minister and the People," *Review and Herald*, July

On the strength of this declaration, deaconesses were ordained. The first ordination is recorded in the church minutes for August 10, 1895, at the Ashley Church in Sydney, Australia. After the election of new officers, "Pastors Corliss and McCullagh of the Australian conference set apart the elder, deacons, deaconesses by prayer and the laying on of hands."[135] The second ordination took place at the same church on January 6, 1900, with W. C. White officiating.[136] The third occasion was an ordination service in February or March 1916, when E. E. Andross, then president of the Pacific Union Conference, officiated, citing as his authority Ellen White's 1895 *Review and Herald* article.[137]

Adventist Deaconesses in the Twentieth Century

The process of becoming a deaconess and the role which the deaconess plays in the Seventh-day Adventist Church is still emerging.

Ordination of Deaconesses in the Seventh-day Adventist Church

The early ordination of deaconesses in the Seventh-day Adventist Church was soon forgotten. In the *Church Officers' Gazette* of December 1914, deacons and elders are to be ordained, for "until this is done they are not properly qualified to attend to all the duties of their office." The work of the deaconess, "closely associated with the deacon in looking after the many interests of the church," is "of the greatest well-being of the church," but nothing is said about the deaconess's ordination.[138] In spite of this, F. A. Detamore described a visit to a church in Sarawak, Borneo, and noted the ordination of "Sister Lee [as] deaconess."[139]

When the first *Church Manual* was published in 1932, the NT origin of the deaconess was noted. However, the *Manual* goes on to state that

9, 1895, par. 8.

[135]Arthur N. Patrick, "The Ordination of Deaconesses," *Adventist Review*, January 16, 1996, 18-19; see also Jerry Moon, "'A Power That Exceeds That of Men': Ellen G. White on Women in Ministry," in *Women in Ministry: Biblical and Historical Perspectives*, ed. Nancy Vyhmeister (Berrien Springs: Andrews University Press, 1998), 201-203.

[136]As recorded in the church minutes and the diary of W. C. White; see Patrick, 18-19.

[137]Correspondence on this is transcribed in Appendix C of Ellen G. White, *Daughters of God* (Hagerstown, Maryland: Review and Herald, 1998), 253-255.

[138]"O. A. Olsen, "The Duties of Deacons and Deaconesses," *The Church Officers' Gazette*, December 1914, 1.

[139]F. A. Detamore, "First Fruits in Sarawak, Borneo," *Adventist Review*, December 8, 1921, 11.

"there is no record, however, that these women were ordained, hence the practice of ordaining deaconesses is not followed by our denomination."[140] This sentence appears in the *Church Manual* through the sixteenth edition in 1986.[141]

The Annual Council of 1984 recommended revising the *Church Manual* to delete the sentence about not ordaining deaconesses, and to include Ellen White's 1895 statement about laying hands on women who would "consecrate some of their time to be of service to the Lord." The last sentence of the amended version was to read: "The church may arrange for the ordination of deaconesses by an ordained minister who holds current credentials from the conference."[142] The General Conference Session of 1985 voted to refer the amendment to the standing Church Manual Committee for consideration in 1990, after a delegate objected to calling Phoebe a deaconess.[143] At the 1990 session, it was voted to use the word "induction" rather than "ordination" to refer to the commissioning of deaconesses. Thus the 1990 *Church Manual* reads: "The church may arrange for a suitable service of induction for the deaconess by an ordained minister holding current credentials." Furthermore, the recognition of Phoebe as a deaconess is included.[144] This same sentence appears in the latest edition issued in 2000.[145]

It is understood that this "appropriate ceremony" may include the laying-on of hands, but ordination of deaconesses is not practiced in all churches. For example, in the year 2000, the Southeastern California Conference, well known for being progressive on women's issues, reported that only 38 percent of its congregations ordained women as deacons or deaconesses. The rest maintained the nonordination tradition.[146]

[140]General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, *Church Manual* (n.p, 1932), 34.

[141]General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, *Seventh-day Adventist Church Manual* (n.p., 1986), 64.

[142]Annual Council Minutes, 253-84G, October 15, 1984, <www.adventistarchives.org/docs/GCC/GCC1984-10/index.djvu?djvuopts&page=78 (11 August 2004>.

[143]"Ninth Business Meeting, Fifty-fourth General Conference Session, Tuesday, July 2, 1985," *Adventist Review*, July 4, 1985, 9.

[144]General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, *Seventh-day Adventist Church Manual* (Silver Spring, MD: General Conference of Seventh-day Adventist, 1990), 64.

[145]*Seventh-day Adventist Church Manual*, rev. ed. (Hagerstown, MD: Review and Herald, 2000), 56.

[146]"Southeastern California Conference Values Gender Inclusiveness," *Adventist Review*, March 23, 2000, <www.adventistreview.org/2000-12/news.htm> (August 10, 2004).

The Tasks of Deaconesses in the
Seventh-day Adventist Church

In the answer to a question regarding deaconesses in a 1909 *Review and Herald*, T. E. Bowen affirmed that the "work of the deaconess, properly carried on, is of great importance and will bring much blessing into the church. Her duty is not done when the quarterly meeting services are over." Deaconesses should visit "the sick and those in need of loving help. . . . They should take the lead in this noble work throughout the year and enlist the interest and help of other sisters in the church."[147] In the same year, in a plea for the use of proper baptismal robes, Mrs. S. N. Haskell points out that "those who accept, at the hand of the church, the office of deaconess, obligate themselves to spend time to attend to the things of the Lord's house." These things include baptismal robes.[148]

In June of 1914, the Seventh-day Adventist Church began to publish instructions for local church officers in *The Church Offices' Gazzette*. Its first two issues carried articles delineating the duties of deaconesses: "caring for the appointments of the church building, and looking after the welfare of the members of the church."[149] The first article emphasizes the second of these tasks: "It is her duty to become acquainted with the members by systematic visiting, and to render them such assistance as may be required." The attention required included caring for the sick, providing food and clothing for those in need, helping people to find work, and teaching the sisters how to cook and care for home and children. The deaconess should not do this alone, but should "solicit the assistance of the other members of the church, . . . thus leading them to become interested in one another's welfare and uniting the church as one family." Finally, the deaconess was to keep record of the "poor fund, administered by the deacon and deaconess." "It will be seen that the duties of the deaconess open before her a very wide field of usefulness in ministering to the needs of the members."[150]

Almost at the end of the article, the care of different aspects of the church building are considered: arranging the platform, placing flowers on the desk, and dusting the sanctuary. Deaconesses were entrusted with the preparation for communion and the women's ordinance of humility. They were also to care for baptismal robes and help the women who were baptized. Deaconesses should report their labors in a quarterly meeting. Summarizing the duties, the unknown author stated: "To faithfully

[147]T. E. Bowen, "Questions Answered," *Review and Herald*, January 7, 1909, 19.

[148]Mrs. S. N. Haskell, "Baptismal Robes," *Review and Herald*, March 11, 1909, 10.

[149]*The Church Officers' Gazette*, June 1914, 2.

[150]"The Duties of the Deaconess," *The Church Officers' Gazette*, July 1914, 2.

perform the duties that belong to the office of a deaconess means much hard work and self denial."[151]

The December 1914 issue of *The Church Officers' Gazette* repeats much of the advice given in the June issue. It ends by stating that "deaconesses should be real mothers in Israel. In connection with their other church duties, they will do well to take a special interest in the welfare and salvation of our children and youth."[152]

The article "Deacons and Deaconesses" in the October 1919 *Church Officers' Gazette* gives only one short paragraph to the care of the sick and the poor. Much more importance is given to the deaconess's part in preparing for the "quarterly [communion] service." The same *Gazette* recapitulates the duties of deaconesses in its issue of July 1923. While the practical help deaconesses may render "in the home or sick-room" did not disappear, the emphasis shifted from caring for and visiting the members to a concern with "dishes, decanter, goblets, and linen cloths" for communion.[153]

Among the 1929 Annual Council recommendations were several that had to do with "shepherding the flock." One was that members should be visited at least once a year "by the minister, or by the church elder, deacon, deaconess, or other spiritually minded person."[154]

The first Adventist *Church Manual*, published in 1932, dedicates five short paragraphs to the work of deaconesses. Their major tasks were preparing the communion table, overseeing the footwashing ceremony, assisting in baptisms, and doing "their part in caring for the sick, the needy, and the unfortunate, co-operating with the deacons in this work."[155]

In the *Church Officers' Gazette* of October 1948, deaconesses were instructed regarding the highly coreographed communion service. After folding the napkins covering the bread, "the deaconesses, always moving 'in sweet accord' and unison, return to the table to remove and fold the large cloth that covers the wine service. Somehow, women's fingers can do this so much more skillfully than men's."[156]

[151]Ibid.

[152]O. A. Olsen, "The Duties of Deacons and Deaconesses," *The Church Officers' Gazette*, December 1914, 1.

[153]M. A. Hollister, "Deacon and Deaconess," *The Church Officers' Gazette*, July 1923, 2; the article by O. A. Olsen, first published in 1914, was republished in a shortened form in February 1924, omitting the injunction for deaconesses to be "mothers in Israel" and the stress on the importance of the "home mission."

[154]"Report of the Autumn Council," *Adventist Review*, November 14, 1929, 15.

[155]*Church Manual*, 1932, 34.

[156]Dorothy Foreman Beltz, "Communion Service and True Worship," *The Church Officers' Gazette*, October 1948, 4.

In a 1952 essay on local church administration, Leif Tobiassen suggested that the church be divided into small groups under the leadership of deacons and deaconesses. He recommended that deaconesses be instructed "as to the details" of their office and work closely with the church elders. The greatest opportunity for service would be in a "campaign or a project," organized and promoted by the church. The pastor would not spend time promoting church activities from the pulpit, but deacons and deaconesses would lead their groups into activity and then report to the pastor. In this way, each member could be "an active worker. This ideal," wrote Tobiassen, "can most surely be reached by the pastor if he takes pains to educate the deacons and deaconesses to enlarge their vision of the significance of the part they should take in the spiritual and missionary management of the remnant church."[157] An echo of Tobiassen's idea, suggested by Harold Howard, was the "undershepherd" plan. Deacons and deaconesses would work with the elders to shepherd the flock.[158]

A task that is halfway between the care of church property and church people is the attendance of children during the church service. In a 1940 edition of *Ministry*, the deaconess is in charge of the mothers' room, supplying "picture books, crayons, blocks, and other busywork for tiny tots."[159] A 1954 *Review* article suggests that deaconesses could be in charge of a nursery where the little ones could play during the church service.[160] In 1963, deaconesses are told to encourage mothers to remove their noisy children from the sanctuary to the mothers' room.[161]

In a 1956 article in *Ministry*, Bess Ninaj delineates six major duties of deaconesses. The first has to do with the communion service; it involves preparing the bread and juice, and includes maintaining the table linens and covering, and uncovering the table. Another duty is attending to all that is necessary for the ordinance of humility, aided in the heavy work by the deacons. Deaconesses are in charge of all items necessary for baptism and assist women candidates. They also greet visitors at church services. In addition, deaconesses should care for the sick and the poor, which "may involve financial assistance, personal help with children in the home, assistance with household duties, or making arrangements for any

[157]Leif Tobiassen, "Adventist Concepts of Church Management," *Ministry*, November 1952, 18-20.

[158]Harold Howard, "The Undershepherd Plan," *Ministry*, September 1992, 26; see n. 95.

[159]W. E. Howell, "The Meaning of 'Holy Place'," *Ministry*, October 1940, 18.

[160]Eric B. Hare, "Conditioning the Child for the Church Service—Part 1," *Adventist Review* August 5, 1954, 9.

[161]Orval Scully, "Children in Church," *Adventist Review*, March 21, 1963, 11.

or all of these." Finally, "the deaconesses and deacons assist the pastor in his work of calling on the members of the church. It is suggested in the *Manual* that these visits be made at least once every three months, but preferably each month."[162]

After listing these duties, Ninaj notes that some of these duties "are recognized and carried out quite uniformly by the churches. Some of them are consistently neglected or unrecognized."[163] The second part of the article suggests that the care of people is neglected. To remedy this situation, Ninaj lists six tasks that deaconesses should carry out: home visitation in their own neighborhood, visitation in the homes around the church, conducting a "Sunday school at the church" for neighborhood children, conducting Vacation Bible Schools, developing a hospital visitation program, and visiting families that have had a bereavement. To achieve this kind of ministry, Ninaj insists, there "needs to be an awareness of the needs and possibilities" and also preparation. She concludes by quoting from Ellen White regarding the task of pastors in organizing and preparing the church for service.[164]

A two-part *Ministry* article in 1972 refers to the privileges and responsibilities of deaconesses in relation to communion and footwashing, and contains a recipe for communion bread.[165]

A ministry description, dated 2004 and prepared by the North American Division for deacons and deaconesses, lists the common duties of deacons and deaconesses as understood throughout the last century: deacons and deaconesses are in charge of greeting and ushering, keeping up the church property, seeing to security, and visiting members. Deaconesses are to help with the baptismal service, which includes preparing robes, laundering and storing equipment, and assisting women candidates. The functions regarding footwashing and communion are the same as those listed earlier. One item, however, is new: "It is appropriate for either deacons or deaconesses, who have been ordained, to assist in distributing the emblems and uncovering and recovering the table during the service." In addition—and here the list seems more similar to the ones of the early twentieth century—"they will join with the pastor and elders in visiting church members. Some churches assign a geographic area or certain number of members for deacons and deaconesses in teams of two or three

[162]Bess Ninaj, "The Deaconess and Her Work," *Ministry*, December 1956, 36.

[163]Ibid.

[164]Ibid, 36-37.

[165]Dalores Broome Winget, "The Deaconess and the Communion Service," 2 parts, *Ministry*, October 1972, 28-30; November 1972, 41-42.

to visit."[166] The final item bears quoting in full:

> In many churches an unwritten tradition gives the women who serve as
> deaconesses or deacons the responsibility of organizing hot meals for
> any church family that experiences a death or other tragedy. This may
> mean simply taking food to the home or, in some cases, the serving of
> an entire meal to family and guests after a funeral. Often the planning
> of wedding and baby showers is also done by this group. This is an
> important aspect of a caring ministry in the congregation. [167]

What Seventh-day Adventist deaconesses do varies according to the
nature of the local church they attend. In Black churches in North America,
deaconesses have more visibility than in White churches. A 1999 book, based
on a workshop given for deacons and deaconesses by the author Vincent
White, shows some of these differences. In Black congregations, deaconesses
are instructed to "be dressed uniformly in white outfits." In the church
service, they are to help maintain reverence and see that the preacher has a
glass of water by the pulpit.[168] Deaconesses make arrangements for the funeral
dinner and "serve as flower bearers."[169] In addition to the expected services a
deaconess might render at a baptism, she is to "privately call the pastor's
attention to candidates who may be wearing colorful cosmetics and
jewelry."[170] Deaconesses prepare for the communion service and footwashing.
If dressed appropriately in white, they may participate in the processional and
veil and unveil the table (for which activity specific details are given).
Deaconesses also prepare the communion kits for those who were unable to
attend, form part of the team that takes communion to shut-ins, and dispose
of the emblems of communion by burning the bread and pouring out the
wine on the ground.[171]

Deaconesses participate in visitation of church members so that all
families receive one ten- to fifteen-minute visit per quarter. When they find
problem situations, they are to use a nine-step problem-solving method to
meet the physical, social, and spiritual needs of those they work with. They

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[166]Church Resources Consortium, North American Division of Seventh-day Adventists,
Responsibilities in the Local Church , rev. ed., 2002, < plusline.org/article.php?id = 236 >
(August 10, 2004).

[167]Ibid.

[168]Vincent E. White Sr., *Problem Solvers and Soul Winners* (Knoxville, TN: AVA,
1999),11-12.

[169]Ibid., 14-15.

[170]Ibid., 18-19.

[171]Ibid., 20-39.

are backed up by interdisciplinary teams in the local church.[172] In addition, the head deaconess, together with her male counterpart, organizes the telephone committee and helps train those who participate.[173] Deaconesses are to be soul winners and help disciple new members.[174]

With this book, one might say that Seventh-day Adventists have returned full circle to the early vision of the deaconess. Unordained women carry out a ministry of caring—for things and people. At different times the emphasis has varied, yet one cannot doubt that these women have been an integral part of the leadership of their respective churches.

Conclusion

That women served the church as deacons in the NT is clear. What they did and whether they were ordained is not. But then, the same could be said about the deacons in the Pastoral Epistles.

The service of women as deacons in the early centuries is well attested. The most important of their duties had to do with the baptism of adult females, but they were also involved in visitation and care of women in the church. In the early church, their existence seems to be taken for granted and their ordination accepted. Later, as the understanding of ordination changed and people were ordained to a position rather than to a task, the role of deaconesses changed and nearly disappeared. Given the "indelible character" of ordination and the power it provided to the clergy, women were excluded—earlier and more completely in the Western than in the Eastern church. At the same time, adult baptism practically disappeared and monasticism became the preferred way for women to serve God and the church. Thus women deacons disappeared.

The Radical Reformation saw the beginning of a renewed interest in the service of deaconesses, but it was not until the nineteenth century that deaconesses came into their own. And then it was as sisterhoods for nursing, teaching, and ministry—single women devoting their full time to church service.

Adventism was born as a grass-roots movement. Everyone—including females—was needed to spread the message.[175] As early as 1856, Frisbie called for women deacons. Ellen White pleaded for women who gave part-

[172]Ibid., 47-58.

[173]Ibid., 59-65.

[174]Ibid., 67-79, 87-93.

[175]See Michael Bernoi, "Nineteenth-Century Women in Adventist Ministry against the Backdrop of Their Times," in *Women in Ministry: Biblical and Historical Perspectives* (Berrien Springs: Andrews University Press, 1998), 211-234.

time service to be ordained by the church. The women that Frisbie and White envisioned as serving the church were not to be ascetics or members of sisterhoods, living separate from the world. They were to be people involved in everyday life, giving of themselves; they were not clergy, but lay people who were ordained to specific tasks. My research would suggest that this concept of deaconesses was an attempt to recreate a NT or very early-church custom.

Twentieth-century Seventh-day Adventists, for the most part, lost the impetus and potential of the early deaconess movement. Deaconesses in pastoral ministry became a rarity, becoming, to a great extent, lovely ladies who poured wine and water and kept communion linens and baptismal robes. Marginal tasks, such as greeting people at the church door and distributing welfare to the poor, were sometimes added, but deaconesses were not a force to be reckoned with. Suggestions for instructing and organizing deaconesses appear as isolated calls to use the female talents in the church, but seem not to have been heeded.

Perhaps twenty-first century Seventh-day Adventists can learn from history. Seventh-day Adventist deaconesses may yet be recognized as lay ministers. Perhaps the church will find ways to instruct and enable them so that they may serve the church and its Lord with love and creativity, becoming a force for strength and growth within the church.

JOHN 4: ANOTHER LOOK AT
THE SAMARITAN WOMAN

Jo Ann Davidson
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Biblical Narrative Genre

For more than a century, biblical narratives have been assaulted by a major frontal attack from the formidable arsenal of the historical-critical method.[1] In the midst of the twentieth century, however, a new attitude regarding these narratives began to be heard as a result of several leading scholars, who called attention to the sophisticated nature of Hebrew narrative writing. These voices include Brevard Childs, Phyllis Trible, J. P. Fokkelman, Meir Steinberg, and Robert Alter.[2] These scholars' contributions have forced recognition of the distinctive literary features found consistently within the biblical narratives. They have suggested that narrative characteristics, such as word and phrase repetition and conversation inclusion and length, are indicative of implicit theological viewpoints rather than mere evidence of numerous redactors. Alter writes:

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[1]Cf., e.g., Rudolf Bultmann, *Form Criticism: Two Essays on New Testament Research: The Study of Synoptic Gospel*, trans. Frederick C. Grant (New York: Harper, 1962); and Julius Wellhausen, *Die Composition des Hexateuchs und der historischen Bücher des Alten Testaments* (Berlin: G. Reimer, 1963).

[2]Brevard Childs, *Biblical Theology of the Old and New Testaments: Theological Reflection on the Christian Bible* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993); see also Gene M. Tucker, David L. Petersen, and Robert R. Wilson, eds., *Canon, Theology, and Old Testament Interpretation: Essays in Honor of Brevard S. Childs* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988). Phyllis Trible, *Rhetorical Criticism: Context, Method, and the Book of Jonah* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1994); and idem, *Texts of Terror: Literary-feminist Readings of Biblical Narratives* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984). J. P. Fokkelman, *Reading Biblical Narrative: An Introductory Guide*, trans. Ineke Smit (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 1999); idem, *Narrative Art in Genesis: Specimens of Stylistic and Structural Analysis* (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991); idem, *Narrative Art and Poetry in the Books of Samuel: A Full Interpretation Based on Stylistic and Structural Analyses* (Assen, Netherlands: Van Gorcum, 1981); and L. J. De Regt, J. De Waard, and J. P. Fokkelman, eds., *Literary Structure and Rhetorical Strategies in the Hebrew Bible* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1996). Meir Steinberg, *The Poetics of Biblical Narrative: Ideological Literature and the Drama of Reading* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987). Robert Alter, *The Art of Biblical Narrative* (New York: Basic, 1981), 312.

What role does literary art play in the shaping of biblical narrative? A crucial one, I shall argue, finely modulated from moment to moment, determining in most cases the minute choice of words, and reported details, the pace of narration, the small movements of dialogue, and a whole network of ramified interconnections in the text. . . .

It is a little astonishing that at this late date literary analysis of the Bible of the sort I have tried to illustrate here in this preliminary fashion is only in its infancy. By literary analysis I mean the manifold varieties of minutely discriminating attention to the artful use of language, to the shifting play of ideas, conventions, tone, sound, imagery, syntax, narrative viewpoint, compositional units and much else.[3]

Building upon the results of this new literary paradigm, this paper will briefly probe the narrative of the Samaritan woman in John 4. Though this particular narrative was written in the Koine Greek, the writer was a Jew. Thus it would not seem unreasonable to suggest that the John 4 narrative would exhibit the same literary properties that Alter and others have noted are characteristic of Hebrew narrative writing. P. Joseph Cahill agrees that "the Samaritan interlude is not only a masterpiece of narrative design but likewise a story reflecting literary characteristics manifested in Old Testament narratives of great antiquity. . . . [T]hat literary analysis of NT narrative may enlarge the theological significance and secondly indicate dimensions of literary continuity between Old and New Testament narrative."[4]

Literary Presuppositions in Regard to the John 4 Narrative

Athough there is ongoing discussion regarding the authorship of the Fourth Gospel, this article will assume that it was written by the Apostle John. The intention of this article is not to explore textual issues, but to evaluate the Gospel narrative materials as they now come to us.

The Gospel of John is a textual unity. The writer deliberately mentions the intention to testify to the life of Jesus in such a way as to inspire belief in him. Out of an immense accumulation of incidents and miracles in Jesus' life and ministry, John has selected those which, in his opinion, would particularly reveal that Jesus is the Son of God (John 20:30). Further, although much current narrative work assumes the biblical narratives to be myths, this article will argue that the John 4 narrative reports an actual historical event and that there does not necessarily need to be a dichotomy between historical validity and literary

[3]Alter, 312.

[4]P. Joseph Cahill, "Narrative Art in John IV," *Religious Studies Bulletin* 2/2 (1982): 41.

quality.[5] Finally, any interpretive stance affects and informs hermeneutics. Alister McGrath argues:

> We may summarize our analysis of the relation between the biblical narrative and doctrine as follows. Narratives need to be interpreted correctly; Christian doctrine provides the conceptual framework by which the scriptural narrative is interpreted. Narratives demand interpretation. The scriptural narrative is no exception. . . . Doctrine articulates the particular interpretation, or range of interpretations, of the scriptural narrative appropriate to the self-understanding of the Christian community, calling others into question. Thus the assertion "Jesus is the Christ" is a doctrinal affirmation which allows the narrative of Jesus of Nazareth to be viewed in a particular light. This assertion is not, however, arbitrary: it is held to be legitimate in the light of that narrative itself.[6]

Scholarly Issues in the John 4 Narrative

Ongoing discussion of the John 4 narrative in scholarly literature points to a need for reevaluating the numerous details of this passage, particularly as they cast light on the theological significance of the ministry of Jesus and the status of women. All of the verbal and literary subtleties that are characteristic of the many narratives in the Gospel of John, including chapter 4, need to be accorded their proper attention to adequately inform interpretation and theological understanding.

As Alter suggests regarding the sequencing of Hebrew narratives, the theology of John's Gospel is expressed not only by choice of vocabulary, but also by John's careful linkage and balancing of one narrative scene with another. In the John 4 narrative, this becomes obvious with John's association of Jesus' conversation with Nicodemus, a learned Jewish rabbi (John 3), with his conversation with a Samaritan divorcee (John 4). The differences between Nicodemus's and the Samaritan woman's abilities to grasp the meaning of Christ's dialogue are subtly highlighted.

Irony is also a characteristic feature of biblical narrative writing. John's extensive use of irony is masterfully employed in the John 4 narrative. In fact, one of the most ironic questions in the entire Gospel comes when the Samaritan woman asks Jesus: "Are you greater than our father Jacob?" (v. 12). The irony of her next comment in v. 15—"Sir, give me this water, that I may not thirst, nor come here to draw"—will elicit a literal fulfillment, although she does not know it yet. She is still thinking of a place, not yet realizing that

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[5]This point was argued and defended in my recent dissertation "Toward a Theology of Beauty: A Biblical Aesthetic" (Ph.D. dissertation, Trinity Evangelical Divinity School, 2000).

[6]Alister McGrath, *A Passion for Truth: The Intellectual Coherence of Evangelicalism* (Downers Grove: InterVarsity, 1996), 113.

"living water" is not dependent on a well or spring.

The number of verses dedicated to this particular narrative alert the reader to its importance. Even more striking is the length of the first conversation between the Samaritan woman and Jesus. Dialogue is widely acknowledged as one of the notable features of the Fourth Gospel, as it is in all OT narratives. The initial conversation in John 4 is one of the longest found in all four Gospels,[7] taking up more than half of this particular narrative. On this basis alone, this passage in John 4 is significant.

There are several ongoing disputes regarding certain details within the John 4 narrative:

1. *Jesus' use of the word "must."* "He left Judea, and departed again into Galilee. And He *must* [ἔδει] of necessity go through Samaria" (4:3-4, emphasis supplied). In an attempt to interpret the word "must" (ἔδει), a number of different suggestions have been given regarding the reason for Christ's journey from Judea to Galilee through Samaria. If v. 4 is read with vv. 5 and 6, however, there is no ambiguity. Rather, this introductory section provides the narrative with a decisive starting point. And the answer to why Jesus "must" travel by necessity through Samaria lies in the nature of his mission. Careful narrative analysis of the Fourth Gospel finds that Jesus uses the word ἔδει for his mission (3:14; 9:10, 16; 16:12, 14; 29:9). Elsewhere throughout the Gospel, ἔδει is also used with the sense of divine necessity (e.g., 3:14, 30; 9:4). By the time the complete narrative of John 4 is read, concluding with the unexpected harvest in Samaria, it is clear that the ἔδει at the outset does indeed refer to the divine will (4:34).

2. *Literary transition.* There is additional deliberation on Jesus' seemingly abrupt turn from the subject of water to his request to "Go, call your husband, and come here," within the first dialogue (v. 16). Some commentators imply that this command disrupts the flow of the conversation. However, a favorite Johannine literary device of transition in a dialogue is often a recognition of Jesus' supernatural knowledge (e.g., 1:42, 48; 2:4-3:2). Jesus' request that the woman bring her husband functions as a preparation for his revelation that he knows all things. Her reaction in v. 19 shows that his request has the desired effect: "Sir, I perceive that you are a prophet." Thus there is no real digression in the conversation. Jesus is responding to the woman's request that she thirst no more. Before she can receive the gift he desires to bestow, she must be brought to recognize her need of a Savior.

3. *Chiastic structure.* Jesus' ensuing remarks (vv. 21-24), his longest

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[7]The conversation with Nicodemus ends ambiguously in the narrator's comments.

speech in the first dialogue, are recognized as foundational statements for mission theology, ecclesiology, and the theology of worship. Cahill even suggests a chiastic structure of this narrative, with the dialogue on true worship as its central focus:

> A Meeting of Jesus and the Samaritan woman at the well (vv. 5-9)
>> B Dialogue on living water (vv. 10-15)
>>> C Dialogue on true worship (vv. 16-26)
>> B' Dialogue on true food (vv. 27-38)
> A' Meeting of Samaritans and Jesus (vv. 39-42)[8]

Jesus' opening comment of this speech, "Woman, I assure you," gives his declaration special weight, indicating that what he is about to say is something to which the woman should especially devote her attention. Jesus had already shown that he was free from Jewish prejudice against the Samaritans. Now he seeks to break down the prejudice of this Samaritan woman against the Jews. He declares that the great truths of redemption had been committed to the Jews and that from them the Messiah was to appear. In their sacred writings, the Jews had a clear presentation of the character of God and the principles of his government (Ps 103:7).

Jesus then classes himself with the Jews, who are those to whom God had given a knowledge of himself. He also lifted the woman's thoughts above matters of form and ceremony and questions of controversy. The historical problem of Jewish versus Samaritan worship was thus transformed into a statement of the true encounter with God, ultimately climaxing in the dramatic divine claim of "I AM" (v. 26).

At this point in the conversation, Jesus no longer responds to the woman according to her comments and categories, but now introduces his own terms into the conversation. She is faced with a direct, definitive revelation of Jesus, rarely granted to anyone throughout Jesus' entire ministry. It is also strikingly different even from the ironic interplay they had been engaged in so far.

4. *The characterization of the Samaritan woman.* Because the first dialogue in John 4 contains a single reference to the woman's unlawful marital status (vv. 16-18), most exegetes have restricted their understanding of this woman to this single clue. As a result, she has been evaluated in a less than positive light, with commentators apparently ignoring numerous other hints included in the narrative regarding her character and allowing their interpretation to contradict these details. A closer look at the details, however, reveals that Jesus himself did not regard the woman from a negative perspective.

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[8]Cahill, "Narrative Art in John 4," 42.

a. *The "sixth hour" of the day*. The time reference to the "sixth hour," when Jesus is said to have arrived at the well (John 4:6), is often interpreted to mean that the woman comes to the well in the middle of the day to avoid meeting anyone in her embarrassment. As William Barclay writes: "May it be that she was so much of a moral outcast that the women even drove her away from the village well and she had to come here to draw water?"[9] Kenneth O. Gangel agrees: "About noon the woman came to the well, obviously a social outcast since that hot hour would have been an unlikely time to lug a heavy water jar back into the city."[10]

However, well use was not restricted to the evening hours, except by the rural shepherds. It is important to remember that no one at that time had running water in their homes! Furthermore, the comment of time in the narrative is immediately connected with Christ's journey and his weariness.

b. *"Living water."* The Samaritan woman seems, at first, to misinterpret Jesus' reference to "living water." Some commentators, such as Raymond E. Brown, wonder if "a Samaritan woman would have been expected to understand even the most basic ideas of the discourse."[11] Barclay exhibits the same attitude: "All Jewish pictorial religious language was full of this idea of the thirst of the soul which could be quenched only with the living water which was the gift of God. But the woman chose to understand this with an almost crude literalism. She was blind because she would not see."[12] By contrast, however, commentators are generally kinder when considering Nicodemus's initial misinterpretation of Jesus' comments. His lack of understanding is characterized as merely a misunderstanding.

Jesus, however, surely knew not only that the Samaritan woman's mind was capable of understanding theological discourse, but, more importantly, that her heart was receptive. In fact, a careful study of the Fourth Gospel narratives reveals that it is women who are the privileged recipients of Jesus' most important self-revelations: the Samaritan woman, who was one of the first to identify Jesus as the Messiah; Martha, who expressed her belief in Jesus' ability to raise her brother Lazarus from the dead (John 11); and Mary, to whom Jesus first appeared after his resurrection and to whom he entrusted the delivering of the news to the apostles (John 20:1-18).

[9]William Barclay, *The Gospel of John* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1975), 1:148.

[10]Kenneth O. Gangel, *John*, Holman New Testament Commentary Series (Nashville: Broadman & Holman, 2000), 74.

[11]Raymond E. Brown, *The Gospel according to John I-XII*, AB (Garden City: Doubleday, 1966), 176.

[12]Ibid., 154.

c. *"Go call your husband."* Commentators view the Samaritan woman's marital status as a primary indication of her low status and unworthiness of Jesus' consideration. For example, Gangel comments that

> here was a woman who lived outside the boundaries of any religious or cultural standards of her day. A string of five husbands followed by a lover is certainly not unknown in the twenty-first century, but it is hardly common even in our permissive society with its twisted tolerance for evil. In first-century Samaria, such a domestic arrangement was unthinkable.[13]

Others continue the negative picture of a woman living on the outskirts of society: "In order to receive Jesus' living water she must deal with the flagrant misuse of her sexuality. Jesus asked her to fetch her husband."[14] "Jesus finding her not only spiritually obtuse but even inclined to be flippant, tries to sober her by confronting her with the shady side of her own life and thereby to reach a part of her nature wherein he can awaken some response. He therefore bids her, 'Go and call your husband, then come back here.'"[15] "And then He opens up her whole confused situation. She has lived with a passing parade of men, five of them technically husbands, and the latest a live-in affair. None of them are lasting, meaningful relationships."[16]

While the Samaritan woman had been married five times, the text never informs the reader why the marriages were dissolved. Perhaps the woman was a five-time divorcee, as most commentators seem to believe, or perhaps there might be another explanation for her many marriages. Perhaps some of the marriages may have ended with the death of a husband. Furthermore, it is generally acknowledged that divorce in that era was the sole prerogative of the male: "In OT law, the initiative in instituting divorce proceedings lay entirely with the husband (Dt. 24:1-4). There is no hint of a divorce being initiated by a wife. This is in keeping with the double standard which characterized Israel as well as most of its contemporaries in the Mediterranean region."[17]

Whatever the cause for her five marriages, it is important to notice that Jesus was not criticizing the woman's previous marriages, but rather her

[13]Gangel, 76.

[14]Beauford H. Bryant and Mark S. Krause, *John*, College Press NIV Commentary (Joplin, MO: College Press, 1998), 120.

[15]G. H. C. MacGregor, *The Gospel of John*, MNTC (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1953), 101.

[16]Roger L. Fredrikson, *John*, Communicator's Commentary (Waco: Word, 1985), 99.

[17]C. R. Taber, "Divorce," in *The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible Supplementary Volume*, ed. Keith Crim (Nashville: Abingdon, 1976), 244.

present situation of living with a man without being married. In fact, he twice commends her honesty in describing her present marital status (vv. 17-18).

d. *Political savvy.* The negative castigations of the Samaritan woman have not been informed by this woman's political savvy. She was not culturally naive. For example, the conversation between the woman and Jesus opens with evidence that she is well aware of the political situation between the Samaritans and the Jews (v. 9). She seems to teasingly wonder about the "ignorance" of these matters on the part of the Jewish gentleman at the well when she responds to Jesus' request for a drink of water: "How is it that you, being a Jew, ask me for a drink since I am a Samaritan woman?' (for Jews have no dealings with Samaritans)."[18]

Furthermore, as the conversation progresses, the Samaritan woman's respect for the mysterious stranger deepens. She begins to call him "sir," and then wonders if he might be a prophet. Her questions and comments consistently reveal her profound understanding of both Samaritan and Jewish theology. The conversation in the narrative clearly reveals that she is not "unschooled" in contemporary political or theological matters, and, in fact, she discusses the two categories: "Sir, I perceive that you are a prophet. Our fathers worshiped in this mountain; and you say, that in Jerusalem is the place where man ought to worship" (vv. 19-20).

What the narrative details of John 4 seem to portray is an intelligent woman with a keen mind, who has pondered the theological and political realities of her day and culture. Furthermore, the progression in the dialogue reveals Jesus' desire to bring this woman to faith. The narrative implies that he did so with the assurance that her mind could grasp theological verities. Jesus did not regularly speak this directly regarding himself in Israel or even to his disciples.

e. *"Come see!"* D. A. Carson describes the Samaritan woman as "unschooled, without influence, despised, capable only of folk religion."[19] The textual evidence, however, does not support the idea that this woman is a person of "no influence." With her grasp of Jesus as the promised Messiah, she forgets the reason she initially came to the well, which strikingly fulfills Christ's earlier promise regarding "thirst" (v. 10). She leaves her waterpot and hurries to the town, going to where she knew the people were gathered to rest in the heat of the noontide. And at her invitation, they come to see for themselves what this woman was testifying about. Nor does the textual evidence allow her to be the town harlot. For it is hardly a possibility, if she was truly a low-class prostitute, that the men of Samaria would openly follow

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[18]Ezra 4:3-6, 11ff.; Matt 10:5; John 8:48; Acts 10:28.

[19]D. A. Carson, *The Gospel according to John* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1991), 216.

her to meet a person whom she described as being able to reveal everything a person ever did.

To this one solitary woman, Jesus proclaimed the fundamental issues of Christian theology and worship, making his most profound theological statement on true worship to this supposedly "ignorant" woman, even though he himself warned against "casting pearls before swine" (Matt 7:6). Thus Jesus' regard for the woman is not negative, but instead he entrusts her with his strongest statement of his divinity.

Like modern commentators, Jesus' disciples did not see any potential in the woman, for when they returned to the well, they wondered why Jesus would be speaking to a woman. Nor had they seen the Samaritans as potential believers, but only a source from which to purchase food.

The woman, however, was of a different mind and went immediately to invite the people of her town to meet Jesus. Jesus then waxes eloquent to the disciples about the "ready harvest" of Samaria: "Say not, 'There are yet four months, and then comes the harvest.' Behold, I say to you, 'Lift up your eyes, and look on the fields; for they are white already to harvest'" (4:35).

Some scholars suggest that the Samaritan woman was only half-hearted in her acceptance of Jesus as the Messiah. The clues in the narrative suggest, instead, that she was rather immediate in accepting Jesus' divine claim to be the Messiah. The learned Nicodemus by contrast was unable to make such connections from similar concepts spoken by Jesus in chapter 3. And, unlike Nicodemus, who quietly disappeared from the scene as Jesus' partner in conversation, the Samaritan woman became Jesus' coworker by inviting the men and women of Samaria to find the gift of salvation. In contrast to Jesus' disciples, who went into the city only to buy bread, she hurried there to spread the news of the "Bread of Life."

The Gospel of John records that the Pharisees despised the simplicity of Jesus, ignoring his miracles and demanding a sign that he was the Son of God (cf. 4:48). But the Samaritans, by contrast, did not ask for a sign, and Jesus performed no miracles among them, except in revealing to the woman the secrets of her life (v. 41). Many in Samaria, however, believed Jesus to be the promised Messiah. In their newfound joy, they said to the woman: "Now we believe, not because of your saying; for we have heard Him ourselves, and know that this is indeed the Christ, the Savior of the world" (v. 42). Thus they gave unassailable confirmation of the influence of this woman's testimony.

Conclusion

The negative picture generally drawn of the Samaritan woman in commentaries on the Gospel of John seems to miss numerous important

narrative details, and, as a result, misinterprets not only the conversations between her and Jesus, but also underestimates the Samaritan woman herself. This woman is not ignorant and base, nor is she the town prostitute. Rather, the Samaritan woman is a well-informed, politically savvy person to whom people listen when she speaks. An entire village believed her testimony regarding the identity of the Jewish man at the well and went to find the one who revealed himself to be the promised Messiah.

NATURAL DISSENT: THE ETHICS OF
EVOLUTIONARY BIOLOGY

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A visitor to the New England countryside stopping to ask directions from one of the natives is apt to receive the unsettling reply: "Stranger, you can't *get* there from here." The flinty retort is, of course, a logical fallacy, and so the lost traveler might insist that one can always get anywhere from anywhere, one way or another. Nevertheless, before pointing out the correct path, the obdurate Yankee will solemnly declare that to get *there* one really ought to begin *someplace else*.

In the essay that follows I will be taking the New England point of view with regard to some particularly rocky philosophical terrain: the terrain of evolutionary biology. I am primarily concerned with what natural selection means for ethical and moral reasoning, and here, I will argue, Yankee wisdom holds unbendingly true: You can't get there from here; you really ought to begin *someplace else*. To those who take their bearings from Darwinian theory, my thesis may be summarized by that old cartographer's premonition: Warning. There be dragons ahead.

Perhaps the best place for us to begin is with what Darwin actually said. In outline, I will first review how Darwin's ideas about morality emerged from his general theory of natural selection. Next, I will show how these ideas of Darwin's were influenced by, and interacted with, the ethical philosophy of utilitarianism. I will then discuss the so-called "naturalistic fallacy"—the impossibility of deriving values from facts—and show how this impossibility foiled the early romance between Darwinians and utilitarians. I will next discuss the ethics of Friedrich Nietzsche, whose nihilism some scholars insist cannot be linked with Darwin's theory, but whose ideas others believe are a logical conclusion to *The Descent of Man*. We will then see how some evolutionists have sought to avoid the nihilistic implications of natural selection by resorting to an untenable fact-meaning dichotomy that rapidly breaks down under scrutiny. Finally, I will highlight the questionable status of natural selection as intellectual orthodoxy, and the ironic mantle of heterodoxy that now falls on those who persist in the older traditions.

Darwin's Theory Revisited

Charles Darwin's theory of natural selection was inspired not primarily by his observations of the natural world, but by Thomas Malthus's theory of scarcity. According to Malthus in his *Essay on Population* published in 1798, human population growth would increase geometrically until it outran food supplies unless checked by war, famine, or disease.[1] Darwin was deeply impressed by Malthus's gloomy presentiment, which he saw as having a broader significance for all organisms. "[E]very single organic being around us may be said to be striving to the utmost to increase in numbers," he wrote in *The Origin of Species* in 1859. Further,

> lighten any check, mitigate the destruction ever so little, and the number of the species will almost instantaneously increase to any amount. The face of Nature may be compared to a yielding surface, with ten thousand sharp wedges packed close together and driven inwards by incessant blows, sometimes one wedge being struck, and then another with greater force.[2]

Suffering, destruction, and death were thus the winnowing tools that allowed stronger and better adapted organisms to survive.

Under these circumstances, Darwin saw, any slight advantage that one organism gained over another would be critical to its success, while at the same time spelling its rival's doom. The mechanism, he believed, by which such competitive adaptations arose in nature, was random mutations. Pure chance conferred unpredictable advantages on the offspring of certain organisms. These products of indiscriminate luck were then preserved over generations according to the brute law of self-interest in the struggle for scarce resources. Through the accumulation of new modifications over time, some creatures evolved and diversified, while organisms that failed to keep pace in the mutational arms race were crushed to extinction by their more fierce or wily competitors.

The origin of the moral sense, it logically followed, was simply another adaptation aimed at ensuring human survival; its status was wholly relative to the function it performed. In *The Descent of Man*, published in 1871, Darwin laid bare this fact, outlining how, through selective pressures, emotions, sociability, morality, and religion, all emerged as byproducts of biological necessity.

According to Darwin, social instincts induce animals to render valuable services to one another, ranging from baboons grooming each other to wolves hunting in packs. As a rule, the greater the cooperation

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[1]See Robert Heilbroner, *The Worldly Philosophers: The Lives, Times, and Ideas of the Great Economic Thinkers*, 7th ed. (New York: Touchstone Books, 1999), 75-105.

[2]Charles Darwin, *The Origin of Species*, ed. J. W. Burrow (London: Penguin Books, 1968), 119.

between members of a community, the greater their offspring. The extent, however, to which creatures can engage in such acts of reciprocal altruism is strictly determined by their ability to communicate effectively. In the case of humans, more elaborate forms of cooperation emerged as a result of language development. As the wishes of the community came to be better expressed, Darwin believed, "the common opinion of how each member ought to act for the public good would naturally become in a paramount degree the guide to action."[3] This, then, was the essence of morality: biological utility mediated by social contracts.

Once the first links in the chain of cooperation were forged, social instincts were reinforced through sensations of pleasure at in-group success, and, conversely, feelings of pain at social ostracism. "[T]he individuals which took the greatest pleasure in society would best escape various dangers," Darwin wrote, "while those that cared least for their comrades and lived solitary, would perish in greater numbers." Group sympathies in this way became so strong that the mere sight of another person suffering could create feelings of pain in those witnessing the fact. "We are thus impelled to relieve the sufferings of another, *in order that our own painful feelings may be at the same time relieved*"[4] (emphasis supplied). Courage, honesty, and compassion might, therefore, develop along purely Darwinian lines of instinct and carefully masked self-interest.

Darwin's Ethics

The vacuousness of morality for its own sake, nevertheless, did not lead Darwin and his colleagues to despair. Critics of natural selection charged that the theory inspired an elitist ethic of "might makes right." But this could not be farther from the truth so long as the biological success of human beings included such elements as cooperation and sympathy. There was, thus, no contradiction between the ideals of liberalism and the laws of evolution. If anything, many of Darwin's supporters believed, his theory could be seen as providing scientific grounds for a radical new egalitarianism—a fact not lost upon Karl Marx, who offered to dedicate the English edition of *Das Kapital* to Darwin (though Darwin declined the honor).[5]

Darwin's political and ethical views were both pragmatic and optimistic, influenced to a significant extent by the philosophy of John Stuart Mill. Eight years before *The Descent of Man* was released, Mill published *Utilitarianism*, his famous argument for a universal ethic based upon calculations of the

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[3]Charles Darwin, *The Descent of Man* (New York: P. F. Collier and Son, 1902), 186.

[4]Ibid., 144-145.

[5]J. W. Burrow from the preface to Charles Darwin, *The Origin of Species*.

common good. "Utility, or the Greatest Happiness Principle," wrote Mill, "holds that actions are right in proportion as they tend to promote happiness, wrong as they tend to produce the reverse of happiness." This did not mean that individuals were free to satisfy their personal desires with complete disregard for other members of society, for maximal happiness, by definition, included the pleasure and pain of all human beings, and even "the whole sentient creation."[6] The entire field of ethical inquiry was, therefore, reduced to a simple question: What action most increases, in quantity and quality, the total happiness of humankind?

Calculations of this sort clearly left room for individual acts of heroism and selflessness. Such actions, though, were deemed virtuous only insofar as they contributed to the success of the group. "The utilitarian morality does recognize in human beings the power of sacrificing their own greatest good for the good of others," Mill declared. "It only refuses to admit that the sacrifice is itself a good. A sacrifice which does not increase, or tend to increase, the sum total of happiness is considered wasted."[7]

In Darwinian terms, "happiness" is a chemical or psychological state selected by nature to reinforce biologically successful behavior. ("[E]motions are just evolution's executioners," says Robert Wright.[8]) The transition from statements of fact about the "sum total of offspring" in Darwin to statements of value about the "sum total of happiness" in Mill, was, therefore, practically seamless. After the social instincts were formed, Darwin wrote in *The Descent of Man*: "The 'Greatest happiness principle' will have become a most important secondary guide and object."[9] Utilitarian morality, by implication, is the only morality under the laws of evolution.

In mid-nineteenth-century England, utilitarian ethics were closely linked to the doctrine of progress. Mill believed that the application of his philosophy to society at large, accomplished through political and legal pressure, would eventually eliminate unhappiness altogether. "[M]ost of the great positive evils of the world are in themselves removable and will, if human affairs continue to improve, be in the end reduced within narrow limits," he wrote. "As for the vicissitudes of fortune, and other disappointments connected with worldly circumstances, these are principally the effect either of gross imprudence, of ill-regulated desires, or of bad or imperfect social institutions."[10]

[6]John Stuart Mill, *On Liberty and Utilitarianism* (New York: Bantam, 1993), 144, 150.

[7]Ibid., 155.

[8]Robert Wright, *The Moral Animal* (New York: Vintage, 1994), 88.

[9]Darwin, *The Descent of Man*, 164.

[10]Mill, *Utilitarianism*, 153-154.

The solution to the problem of human suffering, thus, lay within the grasp of political and legal structures guided by reason: there was nothing inherent to the human condition to deny the ultimate perfectibility of humankind.

For Darwin, natural selection posited no final destination or purpose. Still, he predicted, the trajectory of evolution would lead to a utopian world order based upon the same utilitarian principles espoused by Mill. "As man advances in civilization, and small tribes are united into larger communities, the simplest reason would tell each individual that he ought to extend his social instincts and sympathies to all the members of the same nation, though personally unknown to him," he wrote. "This point being once reached, there is only an artificial barrier to prevent his sympathies extending to the men of all nations and races . . . becoming more tender and more widely diffused, until they are extended to all sentient beings."[11]

Standards of morality, through inheritance, would in this way rise higher and higher until humans rejected all "baneful customs and superstitions" and instinctively treated each other according to Christ's golden rule, albeit for natural rather than spiritual reasons. Darwin's own long opposition to slavery is perhaps the best illustration of the humanistic spirit that would come to characterize society. By his own account, he was merely hastening the inevitable.

Historians of science frequently discuss Darwin's theory of origins as challenging the creation story of Genesis. Far less consideration is given to Darwinism as prophecy, as the new Revelation. In the economy of belief, however, evolution functioned not only as a scientific conjecture about the past, but as a secular reformulation of traditional Christian eschatology. Nature, "red in tooth and claw" in Alfred Lord Tennyson's famous words, would ultimately redeem humanity through her own inner workings. "Looking to future generations, there is no cause to fear that the social instincts will grow weaker, and we may expect that virtuous habits will grow stronger, becoming perhaps fixed by inheritance," declared Darwin. "In this case the struggle between our higher and lower impulses will be less severe, and virtue will be triumphant."[12]

The Hinge

The undoing of the utopian dream lay in a single word: ought. At first glance, the transition from statements of fact in Darwin to statements of value in Mill appears to be seamless. Upon closer examination, though, the fatal flaw in the argument becomes clear: in a purely Darwinian universe, no

[11]Darwin, *The Descent of Man*, 166.

[12]Ibid., 169.

statements of value can be made. Ever. Every appeal to beauty, honor, justice, compassion, or purpose is excluded by hypothesis, so there is no standard by which any behavior can be judged, whether positively or negatively.

Ethical precepts in this regard have no intrinsic meaning or claim on human conduct, but are simply additional facts of natural selection to be catalogued alongside strong talons and sharp teeth. If something seems inherently right or good, it is only because what seems right generally aids humans in their struggle to survive. Yet should any particular moral trait cease to fulfill its biological function, morality would simply "evolve"—a euphemism to say that outworn ethics shall undergo extinction. Alternatively, individuals might retain an adaptively sterile code of moral behavior, but merely as a relic of their biological ancestry—an appendix to the soul.

In his classic treatise on liberal education, *The Abolition of Man*, C. S. Lewis exposed the futility of any ethical system founded on these premises.

Values, evolutionists tell us, are masks for self-interest and biological necessity. We must, therefore, learn to critically appraise all pretensions of goodness through the lens of reason. But what about the values of our educators? Lewis asks. "Their skepticism about values is on the surface: it is for use on other people's values: about the values current in their own set they are not nearly skeptical enough."[13] Consider the cries of indignation that scientists who write about the selfishness of all human behavior would evince if someone suggested that their own profession was based upon rules of narrow self-interest that had nothing to do with *reason*. Or, consider the utilitarian ethics scientists often invoke.

Sociobiologists declare that the "real" value of seemingly virtuous behavior lies in the utility of that behavior to the community. A firefighter bravely sacrificing himself to save others is thus praised for serving the common good. To say that the death of an individual will serve the good of the community, though, is merely to say that the deaths of some people are useful to other people. On what grounds, then, are particular individuals asked to die for others? A refusal to sacrifice oneself is surely no less rational than consent to do so.

Strictly speaking, Lewis pointed out, neither choice can be rational, or

[13]C. S. Lewis, *The Abolition of Man* (New York: Macmillan Publishing, 1955), 41. Lewis, I am aware, was no biblical literalist. Yet his positive statements regarding the idea of organic evolution do not weaken his critique of what he variously called "orthodox Darwinism," "the Scientific Outlook," "universal evolutionism," and "modern naturalism." "I am certain that in passing from the scientific point of view to the theological, I have passed from dream to waking," he wrote in his essay, "Is Theology Poetry?" "Christian theology can fit in science, art, morality, and the sub-Christian religions. The scientific point of view cannot fit in any of these things, not even science itself." See idem, "Is Theology Poetry" in *They Asked for a Paper*, C. S. Lewis (London: Geoffrey Bles, 1962), 211.

irrational, at all. "From propositions about fact alone no practical conclusions can ever be drawn. *This will preserve society* cannot lead to *do this* except by the mediation of *society ought to be preserved*" (emphasis original).[14] But without reinstating the transcendent ideals banished by natural selection, whence do we derive the idea that society ought to be preserved?

The Darwinian ethicist cannot appeal to the self-evident goodness of society—or even life—for then the same appeal to self-evident goodness could be made on behalf of virtues, such as justice and compassion, regardless of their utility. Philosophical materialism—that surly bouncer at the party of scientific inquiry—must expel all *oughts* that do not present an *is* calling card.

In the end, we are left with a conception of morality based not upon reason, but upon the mere fact of instincts. Humans sacrifice themselves for the good of the species not for any ultimate purpose, but in obedience to their natural urges. If these urges can be exaggerated in selected groups through the fiction of values, so much the better for the rest of us. Meanwhile, for those of us who are "in the know," all the old taboos are swept away at last. Sacrifice, being meaningless, may be avoided if others can be found to perform the task. Sexual desire, being instinctive, may be gratified whenever it does not endanger the species. Individual life, being expedient, may be ignored or disposed of whenever it does not serve the interests of the group.

Darwin understood all of this perfectly. Although he was not immune from the utopian spirit of his day, he also saw that his theory in fact left no foundation for morality of any kind. It could only endlessly describe behavior generated by instincts or whims. "The imperious word *ought* seems merely to imply the consciousness of the existence of a rule of conduct, however it may have originated," he wrote in *The Descent of Man* (emphasis original).[15] Earlier, in *The Origin of Species*, he had praised queen bees for their "savage instinctive hatred" of their young.[16] Now he implied there was no essential difference between bee morality and human morality:

> If, for instance, to take an extreme case, men were reared under precisely the same conditions as hive-bees, there can hardly be a doubt that our unmarried females would, like the worker-bees, think it a sacred duty to kill their brothers, and mothers would strive to kill their fertile daughters; and no one would think of interfering.[17]

Interference, after all, would only hinder the total happiness of the hive.

Evolutionists, like Dostoevsky's Grand Inquisitor, have thus taken upon themselves the tragic burden of truth for the sake of the greater happiness.

[14]Lewis, *The Abolition of Man*, 41.

[15]Darwin, *The Descent of Man*, 157.

[16]Darwin, *The Origin of Species*, 230.

[17]Darwin, *The Descent of Man*, 187.

Knowing that the facts of natural selection will potentially erode any basis for morality, prominent evolutionary philosopher Daniel Dennett suggests that the ideal of the "transparent society" might need to be abandoned—elites should *allow* the community to misunderstand what is actually being said.[18] In one of his notebooks, Darwin expressed a similar view:

> [Natural selection] will not do harm because no one can be really *fully* convinced of its truth, except man who has thought very much, & he will know his happiness lays in doing good & being perfect, & therefore will not be tempted, from knowing everything he does is independent of himself to do harm (emphasis original).[19]

What is good for English gentlemen, Robert Wright interprets in *The Moral Animal*, might not be good for the impressionable masses. Wright goes on to make the startling statement that the prevailing moral ethos of many university philosophy departments is nihilism, and that this can be directly attributed to Darwin.[20] The full philosophical implications of evolution, he notes, have long been the trade-secret of scientists. But for the sake of the many, shouldn't we be grateful for their silence? Total happiness may require, well, intellectual subterfuge.

From Reason to Nihilism

And yet. What about those who opt out of happiness? Although Darwin himself believed that utilitarianism was the logical outworking of natural selection, Mill is but one of several patron saints in the pantheon of evolutionary philosophy. An equally compelling vision of morality based upon evolutionary concepts may be found in the writings of Friedrich Nietzsche.

The problem with all previous explanations of morality, Nietzsche declared in his magnum opus, *Beyond Good and Evil*, was that they took morality itself as a given. Yet what society had come to perceive as evil was originally acknowledged as good. What traditional ethics—corrupted by Judeo-Christian teachings—condemned as vice were merely untimely atavisms of older ideals. In the premoral period (vaguely associated in Nietzsche's mind with pre-Socratic Greece), the value of a deed was determined not by the actor's motives, but by the action's consequences. Strength, cunning, and brutality held no moral stigma, but were simply

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[18]Daniel C. Dennett, *Darwin's Dangerous Idea: Evolution and the Meanings of Life* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1995), 509.

[19]Darwin, as cited in Wright, *The Moral Animal*, 350.

[20]Ibid., 328. Wright's project, it should be noted, is not to critique but to defend Darwin's vision and to rehabilitate sociobiology from its exile in the hinterlands of academic discourse following the twin disasters of American and Nazi race eugenics.

expressions of human vitality. "Strong wills" thus dominated "weak wills" as a means to their own self-preservation, while all effective energy was "will to power."

The moral period marked a reversal of this situation as deeds came to be judged by their underlying motives rather than their results. Nietzsche ascribed this readjustment in human psychology to religion, and particularly Christianity. "'God on the cross.' At no time or place has there ever been such a daring reversal, a formula so frightful, questioning, and questionable as this one," he wrote. "It ushered in a re-evaluation of all ancient values."[21]

Primarily, Christianity asserted the equality of all individuals and sided with those who suffer. Nietzsche found this notion—which he termed "slave-morality"—utterly insipid. "Among humans as among every other species of animal, there is a surplus of deformed, sick, degenerating, frail, necessarily suffering individuals," he wrote. By siding with these weaklings, Christianity had caused "the degeneration of the European race." It had "bred a diminished, almost ludicrous species, a herd animal, something good-natured, sickly, and mediocre."[22]

In opposition to the emasculated slave-morality of Christianity, Nietzsche proposed an ethic of the "free spirit" in which the noble elite engaged in their own projects of value creation and self-mastery. What was required of the Nietzschean paragon was the "hardness of the hammer,"[23] the rejection of unmanly and morbid pity for others:

> We are of the opinion that harshness, violence, enslavement, danger on the street and in the heart, seclusion, stoicism, the art of the tempter and every kind of devilry, that everything evil, frightful, tyrannical, predatory, and snake-like about humans serves to heighten the species "human being" as much as does its opposite.[24]

Apologists for Nietzsche suggest that his philosophy has been misunderstood and distorted. No doubt this is true. But Nietzsche's defenders give away too much: the impression that his ideas were harmless betrays historical reality.[25] The suggestion that Nietzschean ethics find no support in Darwin is equally disingenuous. As it happens, Nietzsche may have never read Darwin and expressed only contempt for the naive social

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[21]Friedrich Nietzsche, *Beyond Good and Evil*, trans. Marion Faber (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 44.

[22]Ibid., 56-57.

[23]Friedrich Nietzsche, *The Portable Nietzsche*, trans. Walter Kaufmann (New York: Viking Press, 1954), 563.

[24]Nietzsche, *Beyond Good and Evil*, 41.

[25]See, e.g., Jonathan Glover's *Humanity: A Moral History of the Twentieth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 11-44.

Darwinism that prevailed during his day. He was repulsed by the fact that under natural selection the weak herd may collectively overcome the strong few. And he resented the fatalistic undertones of the theory, which he deemed a threat to his own project of creating a new "science" of the Free Spirit. These significant differences in vision lay behind Nietzsche's "Anti-Darwin" diatribe in *The Will to Power*.[26]

Still, philosopher Hans Jonas points out, Nietzsche's nihilism is demonstrably connected with the impact of Darwinism. "The will to power seemed the only alternative left if the original essence of man had evaporated in the transitoriness and whimsicality of the evolutionary process."[27] It was precisely the inability of optimistic British gentlemen, such as Spencer and Huxley, to see that the old morality was truly dead and gone that Nietzsche sneered at—not Darwin's notion of morality emerging from the welter of chance and competition for scarce resources. Nietzsche railed against the "plebeianism of modern ideas," and insisted that the will to power could not be explained in material terms.[28] Yet his genealogy of morals, in fact, rested upon two ideas, both scientifically validated by the theory of natural selection: first, all of existence should be understood in terms of a constant struggle; and second, the natural world contained no inherent meaning. "If Nietzsche is the father of existentialism," writes Dennett, "then perhaps Darwin deserves the title of grandfather"[29]—absent Darwin's worldview, Nietzsche's would have had little intellectual currency.

Natural selection, Dennett goes on to declare, is "the universal acid"; it radically corrodes and ultimately destroys every traditional concept and belief in its path, whether in matters of cosmology, psychology, human culture, religion, politics, or ethics. Under natural selection, we are indeed "beyond good and evil"—or so a great many of Darwin's most widely read interpreters and defenders insist.

Gould's God

In the end, we may discover that we are able to order our lives in spite of—not because of—what we believe to be true: that morality is nature's greatest ruse. Staunch evolutionists are loving parents and upright citizens.

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[26]John Moore, "Nietzsche's Anti-Darwin," a paper presented at the 11th Annual Conference of the Friedrich Nietzsche Society, Emmanuel College, Cambridge, September 8, 2001, on the web at: www.mith.demon.co.uk.

[27]Hans Jonas, *The Phenomenon of Life* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1966), 47.

[28]Friedrich Nietzsche, *The Will to Power*, as cited by Moore, "Nietzsche's Anti-Darwin."

[29]Dennett, *Darwin's Dangerous Idea*, 62.

Darwin himself was one of the most decent and humane figures of his time. But whether the moral reserves of human instinct prove stronger than the new value relativism remains to be seen. A more pessimistic view is that Western culture, steeped in philosophical and scientific indifference to good and evil, is rapidly expending its inherited value fat, the spiritual capital of its Jewish and Christian heritage.

Ironically, this latter premonition is no longer merely the grist of theologians. It is the avowed goal of sociobiologists to demonstrate that all of our loftiest ideals are grounded in purely pragmatic impulses toward genetic self-preservation. But some scientists are unable or unwilling to concede the old morality. Paleontologist Stephen Jay Gould is one such individual. Conscious of the impossibility of deriving values from facts, he has attempted to articulate a new relationship between Darwinian science and religious belief. Is there no way, he asks, that natural selection and religion can be defined in mutually respectful and beneficial terms?

Gould proposes what he calls the "Principle of Non-Overlapping Magisteria" or NOMA. According to this principle, science (by definition Darwinianism) and religion can be perfectly harmonized by a simple division of labor. "Science tries to document the factual character of the natural world, and to develop theories that coordinate and explain these facts," he writes, while religion attends to the entirely unrelated realm of "meaning and moral value." All attempts to create a Darwinian ethic are thus inherently flawed since they invariably encroach on the domain of metaphysics. However, religion for its part must refrain from making any claims about "factual reality." Once religion is weaned away from erroneous statements of fact, Gould maintains, we will realize "a respectful, even loving, concordat between the magisteria of science and religion."[30] Wouldn't this solve the problem of post-Darwinian morality once and for all?

I think not. By saying that it is the business of religion to ascribe meaning to the inherently purposeless facts of nature, Gould merely recasts religion as a less angst-filled variety of existentialism. But if no natural occurrence contains any purpose or meaning in itself apart from a human projection of value upon it, what distinguishes the claims of religion from purely philosophical attempts to generate meaning and values out of the void? What gives religious ethics any credence if divine justice and purpose are merely wishful metaphors that we can safely say have never interposed themselves upon *factual reality*? Having chopped its legs from under it, will evolutionists now command the truncated torso of religion to pick up its bed and walk?

[30]Stephen Jay Gould, *Rocks of Ages: Science and Religion in the Fullness of Life* (New York: Ballantine, 1999), 4, 6, 9-10.

Nor will it do to simply post a marker at the boundary between the biological and social sciences—"Thus far but no further"—as Gould and others are wont to do. Darwin, we have already seen, was the first to extend the logic of his theory to questions about religion and morality. He may have done so with greater reticence than many contemporary evolutionists, but not with less philosophical necessity or consequence. "The theory of evolution is not just an inert piece of theoretical science," writes Mary Midgley. "It is, and cannot help being, also a powerful folk-tale about human origins." Hence, scientists "calling for a sanitary cordon" to keep facts and values or scientific and human concerns apart are calling for something that is "both psychologically and logically impossible."[31]

Yet Gould's overture to religion is not mere dissembling. The evolutionary lobotomy of the soul is the death of goodness. Even more, the treacherous kiss of materialism spells the death of reason: if there is no value in anything, there is no value in thought. After Darwin, Jonas observes, both the classical understanding of man as *homo animal rationale* and the biblical view of humanity as created in the image of God are blocked. Reason is thus reduced to a means among means toward the individual's survival:

> [A]s a merely formal skill—the extension of animal cunning—it does not set but serves aims, is not itself standard but measured by standards outside of its jurisdiction. If there is a "life of reason" for man (as distinct from the mere use of reason), it can be chosen only nonrationally, as all ends must be chosen nonrationally (if they can be chosen at all). Thus reason has no jurisdiction even over the choice of itself as more than a means. But use of reason, as a means, is compatible with any end, no matter how irrational. This is the nihilistic implication in man's losing a "being" transcending the flux of becoming.[32]

No scientist can long tolerate such a repudiation of the mind, so somehow the old values must be surreptitiously readmitted through rear

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[31]Mary Midgley, *Evolution as Religion: Strange Hopes and Stranger Fears* (London: Routledge, 1992), 1, 15-21. There is, of course, a sense in which it is possible to speak of some scientific and some religious matters as each having their own particular concerns within "non-overlapping spheres." But Midgley's point remains. We can only value things within a factual context that makes our valuing intelligible, while brute facts can only be grasped and ordered within a framework of values and beliefs. So neither facts nor values can be conceived in radical isolation from each other. Further, the theory of evolution according to natural selection is not itself a mass of facts: it is a historical conjecture by which factual data may be connected, ordered, and valued. It is, in other words, a worldview very much on the "values and meaning" side of the equation. Gould's NOMA says that all our troubles will go away if we simply learn to embrace more than one worldview at the same time. Unfortunately, this remedy proves a very poor placebo when the conflict between materialist and nonmaterialist worldviews is precisely what is at issue.

[32]Jonas, *The Phenomenon of Life*, 47.

entrances. Gould selects the back door of personal sentiment, writing about the richness of Berlioz's *Requiem* and the goodness of baseball. The emotive power of music and play, he suggests, is meat enough to sustain us as we wander to and fro in the factual wilderness. Lest we insist upon more rigorous logic, he diverts us with obtuse jargon. ("Science and religion interdigitate in patterns of complex fingering, and at every fractal scale of self-similarity."[33])

Wright, meanwhile, tries to reclaim traditional morality through the semblance of reason, telling us that Christ and Buddha were the ultimate self-help gurus. But all this scrambling after ancient wisdom is futile. Evolutionists have sawn off the limb on which they were perched. Lewis predicted the final contortions of education in the materialist mold. "In a sort of ghastly simplicity we remove the organ and demand the function. We make men without chests and expect of them virtue and enterprise. We laugh at honour and are shocked to find traitors in our midst. We castrate and bid the geldings be fruitful."[34]

Orthodoxy, Old and New

But what about the evidence? This, many will insist, remains the crux of the matter. We may not *like* the philosophical implications of natural selection, but we must still account for factual data in a way that is intellectually honest. What, then, are the alternatives? For many scientists and educators, there can be none. Intellectual honesty compels assent to evolution along Darwinian lines since materialistic explanations are, by definition, the only rational ones. Natural selection, we are told, was validated by individuals methodically pursuing an irrefutable empirical trail. That Darwinism is true is thus self-evident to anyone who has made a pilgrimage to the proper museum to gaze at the sacred bones.

Unfortunately, this account of Darwin's success, however sincerely believed or widely disseminated, is based upon a specious notion, namely, that materialism is a value-neutral method for interpreting factual data. It is not within the scope of this essay (nor the abilities of the author) to survey scientific challenges to natural selection. One need not be an expert, though, to detect a certain ill pallor, a weird and unwholesome glow, in statements such as the following one by Harvard biologist Richard Lewontin on the actual relationship between the empirical evidence and Darwin's theory: "Our willingness to accept scientific claims that are against common sense is the key to an understanding of the real struggle between science and the supernatural." He continues:

[33]Gould, *Rocks of Ages*, 65.

[34]Lewis, *The Abolition of Man*, 35.

> We take the side of science *in spite of* the patent absurdity of some of its
> constructs, *in spite of* its failure to fulfill many of its extravagant
> promises of health and life, *in spite of* the tolerance of the scientific
> community for unsubstantiated just-so stories, because we have a prior
> commitment, a commitment to materialism. It is not that the methods
> and institutions of science somehow compel us to accept a material
> explanation of the phenomenal world but, on the contrary, that we are
> forced by our a priori adherence to material causes to create an
> apparatus of investigation and a set of concepts that produce material
> explanations, no matter how counterintuitive, no matter how
> mystifying to the uninitiated. Moreover that materialism is absolute for
> we cannot allow a divine foot in the door.[35]

The implication could not be more clear. When evolutionists tell us
that we must accept certain "unsubstantiated just-so stories," *in spite of* all
countervailing reason, evidence, and common sense, it is clear that their
interest is no longer primarily the discovery of truth. It is inculcating "the
uninitiated" in the arcanum of a quite specific religious orthodoxy.[36] The
word for such religious practice is *fundamentalism*.

Let us, then, take the actual empirical evidence at face value: small-
brained, human-like hominids appear to have been in existence for over
three million years. Now, how does this fact relate to Darwin's
mechanism of natural selection—the only mechanism presently admissible
in scientific discourse? What are the ethical dimensions of Darwin's theory
as it relates to human development? How shall we understand the
persistent connections between Darwinism and nihilism in the field of
philosophy? And what are the social and political implications of seeing
the world through Darwin's eyes, through the lens of philosophical
materialism? Textbook representations of the "fact" of natural selection
have been less than forthcoming that these problems exist. The horns of
the dilemma are, it seems, that evolutionists must either deny the fact of
morality or abandon materialism as a paradigm to explain human nature
and origins, and a great deal else besides. Most are unwilling to make the
courageous cut, so instead they simply suppress the questions. Yet the
questions, like so many fossils in a geological column, persist.

A final word on Genesis and mythological thinking. Throughout this
essay I have argued that Darwinian theory is a highly corrosive
philosophical cul-de-sac, but I have said little about any alternative path or
my own beliefs about human origins. In fact, there may be numerous

[35]Richard Lewontin, as cited in J. Budziszewski, *The Revenge of Conscience* (Dallas:
Spence, 1999), 6.

[36]"Evolution," Midgley, 33, writes with no small piquancy, "is the creation myth of our
age."

alternative paths worth exploring, from Christian natural law theory to Aristotelian metaphysics. I am open to whatever insights may be gleaned from all of these. I also do not doubt that there are truths to be learned from Darwin himself; natural selection might well explain much of biological diversity. The nonmaterialist, G. K. Chesterton pointed out, can cheerfully admit a great deal of natural development according to physical laws into her worldview—it is the puritanical materialist who cannot allow any specks of the supernatural into his spotless machine.

My own heritage and study, however, have led me to a position probably best described as that of a "creationist." I use the word deliberately, despite its awkward pedigree not because I subscribe to a wooden literalism in reading the Bible, but because I can find no progress in the fact-meaning dichotomy set forth by Gould and embraced by so-called "process" theologians such as Reinhold Niebuhr (whose theology Stanley Hauerwas traces with sympathetic but ultimately devastating effect back to Darwin via William James[37]). Either the biblical creation story, in contrast to other creation myths, limns the contours of an actual event, or it is a false metaphor, a hollow conceit. History—what has happened in space-time—matters. And it matters not just for our thoughts, but for our feelings, our relationships, our values, and our actions.

The position I am advocating is close, I think, to that of J. R. R. Tolkien, a writer who fully understood myth and metaphor, and who deplored the dogma of scientism as unqualified Truth. In a letter to his son Christopher he wrote:

> I think most Christians, except the v. simple and uneducated or those protected in other ways, have been rather bustled and hustled now for some generations by the self-styled scientists, and they've sort of tucked Genesis into a lumber-room of their mind as not very fashionable furniture, a bit ashamed to have it about the house, don't you know, when the bright clever young people called: I mean, of course, even the *fideles* who did not sell it secondhand or burn it as soon as modern taste began to sneer. . . . In consequence they have (myself as much as any), as you say, forgotten the beauty of the matter even "as a story."[38]

The age of the earth and the precise order and nature of the creation might not be clear from the two Genesis accounts, Tolkien concludes, but the Garden of Eden—and our exile from it—are meaningful only so far as they are accepted as historical facts.

[37]Stanley Hauerwas, *With the Grain of the Universe: The Church's Witness and Natural Theology: Being the Gifford Lectures Delivered at the University of St. Andrews in 2001* (Grand Rapids: Brazos, 2001), 49, 61, 77-78.

[38]J. R. R. Tolkien, *The Letters of J. R. R. Tolkien* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1981), 109.

AMILLENNIALISM RECONSIDERED

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Introduction

G. K. Beale's latest commentary on Revelation and Kim Riddlebarger's new book *A Case for Amillennialism* have renewed interest in the debate on the nature of the millennium.[1] Amillennialism has an illustrious history of support from Augustine, theologians of the Calvinistic and Lutheran confessions, and a long line of Reformed theologians such as Abraham Kuyper, Arvin Vos, H. Ridderbos, A. A. Hoekema, and M. G. Kline.[2]

Amillennialists recognize that a straightforward reading of the text seems to show "the *chronological progression* of Rev 19–20, the futurity of Satan's imprisonment, the physicality of 'the first resurrection' and the literalness of the one thousand years" (emphasis supplied).[3] However, they do not accept a chronological progression of the events in these chapters, preferring instead to understand the events as recapitulatory. Their rejection of the natural reading of the text is driven by a hermeneutic of strong inaugurated eschatology[4]—the paradox that in the Apocalypse divine victory over the dragon and the reign of Christ and his church over this present evil world consist in participating with Christ in his sufferings and death.[5] Inaugurated eschatology emphasizes Jesus' victory over the powers of evil at the cross. Since that monumental event, described so dramatically in Rev 12, Satan has been bound and the saints have been reigning (Rev 20). From the strong connection between the two chapters (see Table 1 below) they infer that Rev 20 recapitulates Rev 12. This view that, beneath the play and counterplay of

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[1]See G. K. Beale's commentary on Rev. 20 in *The Book of Revelation: A Commentary on the Greek Text* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999); and Kim Riddlebarger, *A Case for Amillennialism: Understanding the End Times* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2003).

[2]Summarized in Riddlebarger, 31.

[3]R. Fowler White, "On the Hermeneutics and Interpretation of Rev 20:1-3: A Preconsummationist Perspective," *JETS* 42/1 (March 1999): 53.

[4]According to Anthony A. Hoekema, "Amillennial eschatology . . . gives us an inspiring vision of the lordship of Christ over history and of the ultimate triumph of his kingdom" ("Amillennialism," in *The Meaning of the Millennium: Four Views*, ed. Robert G. Clouse [Downer's Grove: InterVarsity, 1977], 187).

[5]R. Fowler White, "Agony, Irony, and Victory in Inaugurated Eschatology: Reflections on the Current Amillennial-Postmillennial Debate," *Westminster Theological Journal* 62 (2000): 172-175.

good and evil, God is triumphing, gives amillennialists an optimistic view of history.

Premillennialists also have an optimistic view of history, believing in the ultimate triumph of God over Satan, through Christ's victory at the cross. But they see victory coming progressively in the successive events of salvation history. They deny that there is break between Rev 19 and 20, or that Rev 20 recapitulates Rev 12. This article is an attempt to advance the debate over the millennium by demonstrating that there is *progression* rather than *recapitulation* in the major themes of the book. Further, it will be shown that chapters 19 and 20 are part of an inseparable unit that cannot be divided, and that chapter 20 should be seen as consummated rather than inaugurated eschatology. Finally, a form of premillennialism that eliminates significant problems inherent in other systems of interpretation will be suggested.[6]

A Summary of Amillennialism

Amillennialism may be summarized as follows: the thousand years of Rev 20 represent the entire Christian era, beginning with the cross, resurrection, and ascension of Christ and ending with the second coming. Two resurrections are found in Rev 20:4-5, one at the beginning of the thousand years and one at the end: the first resurrection is the resurrection of Christ (12:5) and a spiritual resurrection of martyred saints (20:4),[7] while the second resurrection is the physical resurrection of the saints and the wicked (20:12-13, 15) at the second coming of Christ.[8] The binding of Satan is his fall from power, with a "restraining order" placed upon him at the enthronement of Christ (Luke 10:18; 2 Thess 2:7; Rev 12:9-10). The loosing of Satan to deceive the nations at the end of the thousand years (20:7-10) is the campaign of the dragon, beast, and false prophet to deceive the world in the final conflict (16:13-14, 16). One event, which also includes the destruction of the enemies of God in 19:20-21 and 20:7-10, is represented by the battle of Armageddon (16:16), the war of the beast's armies against the armies of heaven (19:11-21), and the battle of Gog and Magog against the beloved city (20:7-10). The battle culminates in the second coming of Christ, the judgment of the wicked, and the rewarding of the righteous—events which mark the end of the millennial Christian era. Thus there is no future millennium.

Amillennialists cite parallels between the visions of Revelation as

[6]Unless otherwise noted, the RSV translation of the Bible is used. Limitations of space do not allow extensive treatment of every area touched upon, such as the Battle of Armageddon, the state of the dead, the fate of the wicked.

[7]Riddlebarger, 213-215; Beale, 995-996.

[8]Beale, 1003-1004, 1013-1014.

evidence that the same events are being described in a recapitulatory pattern. A classic example is that Rev 20 appears to be a recapitulation of chapter 12, with the following parallels in Table 1.[9]

<table>
<tr><td colspan="2" align="center">TABLE 1
RECAPITULATORY PATTERN OF
REVELATION 12 AND 20</td></tr>
<tr><td align="center">12:7-11</td><td align="center">20:1-6</td></tr>
<tr><td>heavenly scene (v. 7)</td><td>heavenly scene (v. 1)</td></tr>
<tr><td>angelic battle against Satan and his host (vv. 7-8)</td><td>presupposed angelic battle with Satan (v. 2)</td></tr>
<tr><td>Satan cast to earth (v. 9)</td><td>Satan cast into the abyss (v. 3)</td></tr>
<tr><td>the angels' evil opponent called "the great dragon, the ancient serpent, the one called the devil and Satan, the one deceiving the whole inhabited earth" (v. 9)</td><td>the angels' evil opponent called "the dragon, the ancient serpent, who is the devil and Satan" restrained from "deceiving the nations any longer" (vv. 2-3), to be loosed later to deceive the nations throughout the earth (vv. 3, 7-8)</td></tr>
<tr><td>Satan's expression of "great wrath because he knows he has little time" (v. 12b)</td><td>Satan to be "released for a short time" after his imprisonment (v. 3)</td></tr>
<tr><td>Satan's fall, resulting in the kingdom of Christ (v. 10) and his saints (v. 11; note the "conquering" theme) (v. 12b)</td><td>Satan's fall, resulting in the kingdom of Christ and his saints (v. 4)</td></tr>
<tr><td>the saints' kingship based not only on the fall of Satan and Christ's victory, but also on the saints' faithfulness even to death in holding to "the word of their testimony" (v. 11)</td><td>the saints' kingship, based not only on the fall of Satan, but also on their faithfulness even to death in holding to "the testimony of Jesus and the word of God" (v. 4)</td></tr>
</table>

This diagram demonstrates a strong relationship between the two passages. In both chapters, Satan is cast down and his power is restricted (12:7-9; 20:1-3). In both, the kingdom of Christ and his saints assumes new power (12:10-11; 20:4). But are these two passages referring to the same events? Or is chapter 20 an advance over and a climax to chapter 12?

[9]Beale, 992; Riddlebarger, 202.

Are the Cycles Repetitive or Progressive?

What the amillennialist view effectively uncovers is the recapitulatory nature of the visions. What it fails to recognize is that each vision represents an escalation in the conflict, detailing new victories in the warfare against Satan. As the book progresses, there is more than recapitulation—there is increasing victory for Christ and increasing defeat for Satan.[10] Each repetition reaches an octave higher for God and an octave lower for Satan, culminating in the climactic consummation. This is especially true in chapters 12 and 20. This principle can be illustrated in the repetitive themes of these chapters, such as the warfare between Christ and Satan, the kingdom of God and the reign of the saints, and the judgment. The following sections will begin with the commonly understood order of events, and then discuss whether there is recapitulation or a sequence of escalating events.

The Casting Down of Satan

The Bible identifies four downfalls of Satan, each one more decisive than the previous, resulting in further restrictions upon him and, ultimately, culminating in his final destruction.

1. *The primeval fall of Satan.* The primeval downfall of Satan is alluded to in Rev 12:3-4a: "Another portent appeared in heaven; behold a great red dragon. . . . His tail swept down a third of the stars of heaven, and cast them to the earth." This action was prior to his attack on the woman in order to devour her child (4b). The initial expulsion of Satan is implied in Isa 14:12-14 and Ezek 28:12-19.[11] The biblical narrative indicates that he subsequently tempted Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden (Gen 3) and appeared in heaven as the *satan* ("accuser") of men of God, such as Job and Joshua the high priest (Job 1 and 2; Zech 3:1-2). For this reason, the book of Revelation identifies him as "the accuser of the brethren" (Rev 12:10). Satan thus appears to have the role of prosecuting attorney in the heavenly courts.

2. *The fall of Satan at the cross.* Satan was expelled as earth's representative when the dragon, who deceives the whole earth, and his angels were cast out (Rev 12:9). This event happens at the cross, the place

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[10]Each vision brings advance for the cause of God: the Seven Seals climax in the wrath of the Lamb (6:16-17); the Seven Trumpets climax in the beginning of Christ's active reign (11:17); the Seven Wonders climax in the harvest of the earth (14:15-20); the Seven Plagues climax in the fall of Babylon (16:19); the Downfall of Satan's Kingdom climaxes in the death of Death (20:14); and the final vision climaxes in the eternal reign of the saints (22:5). See Appendix A for the list of visions.

[11]The name "Lucifer," from the Latin Vulgate, was first identified with Satan by Tertullian, Jerome, and other early church fathers (J. Ridderbos, *Isaiah*, trans. John Vriend [Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1985], 142). Though the passages deal with earthly kings, the language has overtones of a rebellion in heaven as described in Rev 12.

where salvation occurs by the Lamb's blood (vv. 10-11). Jesus himself affirms that "now [at the time of the cross] is the judgment of this world, now shall the ruler of this world be cast out," for when "I am lifted up from the earth, [I] will draw all men to myself" (John 12:31, 32). Therefore, the judgment that takes place at the cross, resurrection, and ascension of Christ replaced Satan, the accuser of the brethren, with Jesus, the true representative of the earth. The "accuser of the brethren" is replaced by the "advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ, the righteous" (1 John 2:1). Jesus describes this casting out of Satan in Luke 10:18: "I saw Satan fall like lightning from heaven."

3. *The fall of Satan into the abyss*. At the third stage of Satan's downfall, an angel with the key to the bottomless pit binds him tightly with a great chain, throws him into the pit, and locks him up (20:1-3) so that he can no longer deceive the nations. The symbols used to describe the angel's actions convey the idea that Satan is completely immobilized. He had previously lost access to heaven (12:9); now he has lost access to the nations of earth (20:3). He is in solitary confinement for a thousand years (20:2), bound to a chaotic abyss of his own making.

4. *The fall of Satan into the lake of fire*. At the fourth stage, after Satan is released to resume his work of deception and attack on the beloved city, he is cast into the lake of fire (20:10). There he is to be tormented until Hades itself is cast into the lake of fire and destroyed (20:10, 14). Jesus destroys "him who has the power of death, that is, the devil" (Heb 2:14). Thus Satan is reduced to ashes (Mal 4:1, 3); he ceases to exist—"never shalt thou be any more" (Ezek 28:19, KJV).

The question at issue is whether the casting of Satan into the abyss in Rev 20:1-3 is the same as the prior one in 12:9, where he is cast down to the earth. In 20:1-3, the fall of Satan into the abyss, the text clearly indicates that Satan is no longer able to deceive the nations. However, according to Rev 12:9, the fall of Satan at the cross, Satan is still actively deceiving when he is cast out: "And the great dragon was thrown down, that ancient serpent, who is called the Devil and Satan, *the one who continually deceives* (ὁ πλανῶν) *the whole world*—he was thrown down to the earth, and his angels were thrown down with him" (emphasis supplied). Revelation 12:9, unlike Rev 20:1-3, does not indicate a cessation of Satan's work of deceiving. Rather, though he is now confined to the world, he is still a menace to the world, indicated by the cry, "Woe to you, O earth . . . for the devil has come down to you in great wrath" (Rev 12:12). If Satan were bound at this juncture, why the woe? Therefore, the downfalls of Satan described in Rev 12:9 and 20:1-3 cannot be describing the same event.

That the Christian era is characterized by satanic deception is indicated throughout the NT. "Take heed that no man *deceive* you. For many shall in my name saying, 'I am Christ,' and shall *deceive* many" (Matt 24:4-5, KJV, emphasis supplied; see also vv. 11, 24); "carried about with every wind of doctrine, by the sleight of men, and cunning craftiness, whereby they lie in wait to *deceive*" (Eph 4:14, KJV, emphasis supplied). Satan's deceitful work is also indicated in the following verses: "The god of this world has blinded the minds of the unbelievers, to keep them from seeing the light of gospel" (2 Cor 4:4); "even Satan disguises himself as an angel of light" (11:14); "the prince of the power of the air" is "at work in the sons of disobedience" (Eph 2:2); opponents are captured by the snare of the devil (2 Tim 2:26); "your adversary the devil prowls around like a roaring lion, seeking some one to devour" (1 Pet 5:8).

Beale's response to these texts is that God has restricted Satan so he cannot spiritually harm the true church.[12] The text, however, indicates that Satan no longer deceives *the nations* until the thousand years are finished (Rev 20:3). That *the nations* in 20:3 are not the true church, but rather God's enemies, is evident in several ways: at the end they are deceived by Satan, they gather to attack the camp of the saints, and they are consumed by fire (vv. 7-9).[13]

Beale questions the logic of "protecting the nations from deception by Satan in 20:1-3 after they have just been both deceived by Satan (16:13-16) . . . and destroyed by Christ at his return in 19:11-21."[14] However, Satan is not bound in order to protect the nations. Rather, he is bound by the circumstances that bring an end to his powers to deceive, namely, the destruction of his subjects (19:21). Satan always deceives when he has subjects to act upon. He stops only when all his people are dead and the earth is destroyed, making it an abyss (cf. Jer 4:23-28), the primordial condition described in Gen 1:2. As soon as the dead are raised at the end of the thousand years, he again deceives them (20:13, 7-8).[15] During the thousand years, Satan's

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[12]Beale, 985-986; see also Riddlebarger, 211.

[13]"The nations" (τὰ ἔθνη) in Revelation applies uniformly to the enemies of God (2:26; 11:2, 18; 12:5; 15:4; 16:19; 19:15; 20:3, 8) until the final chapters after sinners have been destroyed (21:24, 26; 22:2). Rev 15:4—"all nations shall come and worship thee"—is no exception since even the inhabitants of the sea and nether world will acknowledge God's justice (5:13; cf. Phil 2:10-11).

[14]Beale, 981.

[15]Notice the juxtaposition of texts, an example of *hysteron proteron*, the principle of anticipation found throughout the book of Revelation where something is mentioned first and explained later. In 20:12, the dead are judged; only in v. 13 are they raised to life. In 20:8-9, the beloved city is attacked, whereas only in 21:2 does it come down from heaven. The second resurrection is mentioned in 20:5 and described in vv. 11-15. See Ekkehardt Müller, "Microstructural Analysis of Revelation 20," *AUSS* 37 (1999): 243. For another explanation

activity is not partially curtailed—it is totally curtailed. He is tied up, locked up, shut up, and sealed up in the pit (20:1-3).

I conclude that after the fall of Satan at the cross (Rev 12), he is still active in the work of deception; whereas at his third expulsion, when he is cast into the bottomless pit, he is no longer able to deceive the nations (20:1-3).

There is a progression in the four stages of Satan's downfall: he is cast out primevally (Rev 12:3-4), he is cast out as "accuser of the brethren" at the cross (Rev 12:10), he is bound so he can no longer deceive the nations (20:2-3), and he is vanquished and annihilated as head of the armies of earth when he is cast into the lake of fire (vv. 8-10). Each time he falls, he is cast into a worse place: out of heaven, into the earth, into the abyss, and, finally, into the lake of fire. His powers are progressively diminished: he can no longer live with God, represent the earth, deceive the nations, or, finally, exist. Thus each successive fall represents further defeat for Satan rather than a recapitulation of a previous defeat.

The Warfare Theme

In the warfare between Christ and Satan, victory alternates between the two sides, but ends triumphantly for Christ. A possible sequential arrangement might look like the following:

1. At the ascension of the Man Child to heaven, there is war between Michael and his angels and the dragon and his angels. The dragon, called "Devil" and "Satan," is cast out of heaven, bringing joy to those in heaven but woe to the earth (12:7-12). The "brethren" have power to overcome the dragon "by the blood of the Lamb and the word of their testimony" as they lay down their lives in martyrdom (v. 11).

2. The dragon persecutes the woman for 1,260 days (12:13), but she is nourished during this time (v. 14). The beast from the sea makes war on the saints for 42 months (or 1,260 days) and overcomes them (13:5-7), but he is doomed to be killed with the sword (v. 10).

3. At the time of the fifth trumpet, a star that is fallen from heaven is given the key to the bottomless pit (9:1).[16] This fallen star, named Apollyon ("the destroyer," v. 11), can be identified as Satan (cf. Luke 10:18; Rev 12:9; Isa 27:1; and Amos 9:3, where "the deep" is the dwelling place of the

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of juxtapositions in Rev 20, see Ed Christian, "A Chiasm of Seven Chiasms: The Structure of the Millennial Vision, Rev 19:1-21:8," *AUSS* 37 (1999): 221.

[16]Some argue that the fallen star of the fifth trumpet is the same as the angel with the key to the bottomless pit in 20:1. But note that though the fallen star is given the key—the divine passive—he has only temporary custody of it in contrast to the angel of Rev 20:1, who owns the key.

dragon).[17] Satan opens it up, unleashing smoke from which emerge locusts, like horses arrayed for battle and which attack and torture men for a period of five months. They have no power to hurt the people of God (v. 4).

4. At the end of the "time, two times, and half a time" (i.e., 42 months or 1,260 days), the dragon is angry with the woman and makes war with the remnant of her seed (12:17). At the same time, the beast that ascends from the abyss makes war on the two witnesses and kills them (11:3, 7-8), but after three and a half days they are resurrected and ascend to heaven (vv. 11-12).

5. On the great day of God, demonic spirits gather the kings of the earth to battle at Armageddon (16:14, 16). These kings, represented by ten horns, receive power for one hour with the beast. "They will make war with the Lamb, but the Lamb will conquer them, for he is Lord of lords and King of kings" (17:12-14).

6. At the end of this period, a Rider on a white horse, followed by the armies of heaven, makes war with the beast, the kings, and the armies of the earth. The beast and the false prophet are cast into the lake of fire, while the Rider slays the rest with the sword that issues from his mouth (19:11-21).

7. Satan is cast into the abyss where he is bound for a thousand years (20:1-3).

8. At the end of the thousand years, Satan is loosed from his prison and gathers the resurrected nations from the four corners of the earth—Gog and Magog, who are as numerous as the sand of the sea—to attack the camp of the saints. Fire comes down from heaven and devours them (20:7-9).

Beale makes stage 1 (Rev 12:7-12) the same as stage 7 (Rev 20:1-3). But Satan is cast from heaven to the earth in stage 1, whereas he is cast into the abyss in stage 7—a much lower place.

The state of the abyss in the fifth trumpet (9:1ff.) contrasts vividly with its condition at the beginning of the thousand years (20:1-3). During the Christian era, Satan is not confined to the abyss because he has the key to unlock it. He exercises the power of the keys to unleash myriads of evil forces to torture humanity. He rules as king of that domain (v.11). By contrast, in chapter 20, an angel from heaven has resumed control of the key (v.1) and entrapped the devil.

Amillennialists would also make stage 5 (Rev 16:14, 16; 17:12-14) the same as stage 8 (Rev 20:7-9). There are differences, however, between the battle of Armageddon in 16:12-16 and the battle in 20:7-9. First, the

[17]Henry Barclay Swete, *Commentary on Revelation* (Grand Rapids: Kregel, 1977), 114; G. R. Beasley-Murray, *The Book of Revelation* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1981), 160; Ranko Stefanovic, *Revelation of Jesus Christ* (Berrien Springs: Andrews University Press, 2002), 302.

characters are different. In the former, the instigators are demonic spirits from the dragon, the beast, and the false prophet. In the latter, the beast and false prophet have been eliminated (19:19-20); the dragon (i.e., Satan) is the instigator. Second, the locations may be different—a place called Armageddon, alluding to Mt. Carmel in northern Israel,[18] versus "the beloved city," Jerusalem, to the south. Read sequentially, there are three stages of the Battle of Armageddon: the drying up of the river Euphrates—hence the fall of spiritual Babylon—(16:12-16), the battle of the armies of heaven versus the armies of the beast (19:11-21), and the attack of Gog and Magog on the camp of the saints after the 1,000 years (20:7-10). Read as recapitulation, there is only one stage to the battle—the climax in 19:11-21 being the same as the climax in 20:9-10.

It should be noted that there are significant differences between the battles in chapters 19 and 20. The participants in the former are the armies of heaven under the leadership of the Rider on the white horse versus "the kings of the earth with their armies" under the leadership of the beast (19:19). This battle reflects the last-day issue of the worship of the beast in chapters 13ff. and involves only the end-time enemies of God at the time of the *parousia*. The conflict in 20:7-10 encompasses the enemies of God from all ages under the leadership of Satan, the only remaining member of the satanic trinity of dragon, beast, and false prophet, who have been raised from the dead (20:13) to face the last judgment (v. 12). The fate of these enemies is different in each battle. In the former, the beast and the false prophet are cast into the lake of fire (19:20), while their armies are slain by the sword and the birds devour their flesh (v. 21). Chapter 20 describes the ultimate consummation: the devil and all his hosts are consumed by fire (vv. 9-10, 14).

Stages 6 (Rev 19:11-21) and 7 (Rev 20:1-3) must be consecutive. First, the beast and the false prophet are defeated and cast into the lake of fire. At the end of the thousand years, the dragon is cast into the lake of fire where the beast and the false prophet were already thrown (20:10).[19] Thus chapters 19 and 20 must be sequential.

In this warfare, there is constant progress toward victory for the Lamb

[18]To interpret Ἀρμαγεδών, commentators often cite historic battles fought around Megiddo or Mount Carmel (e.g., Swete, 209; Robert H. Mounce, *The Book of Revelation* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1977], 301). Others suggest that Ἀρμαγεδών is a corruption of *Har Moed* (בְּהַר־מוֹעֵד, Mount of Assembly), connecting it with the mountain of God in Isa 14:13, and Mount Zion, which would identify it with "the beloved city" of Rev 20:9 (Meredith G. Kline, "*Har Magedon*: The End of the Millennium," *JETS* 39/2 [1996]: 207-222; Beasley-Murray, 245). In this case, the location of the final battle would be the same.

[19]Though 20:10 has no verb (lit., "where the beast and the false prophet"), it is evident that they are absent in the final battle of the nations against "the beloved city." Only Satan is left to gather them to battle because the beast and the false prophet have already met their doom.

and his people. Though in the heat of the conflict they often are killed, yet their death is seen as victory—by their faithful testimony, even unto death, they overcome (12:11). Finally, God intervenes to defeat the dragon, the beast, and the false prophet. The Lamb is victorious at the end.

The Progressive Disintegration of Satan's Empire

Revelation 17–20 comprises a vision[20] that depicts the downfall of every aspect of Satan's kingdom—the great harlot, the city of Babylon, the beast and the false prophet, the armies of earth, the dragon, the wicked dead, and Death and Hades. Each is destroyed by fire.

In chapter 17, the harlot meets her doom, executed by the ten horns and the beast, who make her desolate, devour her flesh, and burn her with fire (v. 16). The great city Babylon falls, is burned with fire, and goes up in smoke (18:8-9, 18; 19:3).

The fall of the demonic trinity is described in chapters 19 and 20 in terms of a great battle. In the victory for the forces of heaven, the beast and the false prophet are captured and thrown into the lake of fire (19:20).

Chapter 20 continues the narration with the doom of the dragon, who receives a thousand years in solitary confinement. At the end of the thousand years, his hosts of evil humanity are raised from the dead so he can mobilize them for a resumption of the battle of 19:11-21. As they surround the beloved city, fire comes down from heaven and consumes them. At this point, as noted above, the devil joins the beast and the false prophet in the lake of fire (cf. 19:20; 20:10).

Next is depicted the end of the wicked dead. The sea and Death and Hades give up the dead to face the judgment of the great white throne. Since they are not found in the book of life, they are thrown into the lake of fire (20:11-15). Then Death and Hades are also thrown into the lake of fire, which is the second death (v. 14), where death itself is destroyed (1 Cor 15:26; Isa 25:8). Even the sea, which contained the wicked dead (20:13), no longer exists (21:1). Thus all parts of Satan's kingdom are destroyed, including Satan himself. There is not even a place for the lake of fire in the new heaven and earth since pain, crying, and death no longer exist (21:1, 4).

If the theme of chapters 17–20 is indeed the downfall of Satan's kingdom, the successive elimination of all its elements (i.e., Babylon, the beast and the false prophet, the armies of the beast, the dragon, the wicked

[20]The Sevenfold Structure of Revelation: Prologue: Rev 1:1-8; Seven Churches (1:9 to 3:22); Seven Seals (4:1 to 8: 1); Seven Trumpets (8:2 to 11:18); Seven Wonders (11:19 to 14:20); Seven Plagues (15:1 to 16:21); Downfall of Satan's Kingdom (17:1 to 20:15); New Heavens and New Earth (21:1 to 22:5); Epilogue: (22:6-21) (This sevenfold structure of the visions is commonly recognized, with minor variations. For a similar analysis, see J. W. Bowman, "Revelation, Book of," in *The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*.

dead, Death and Hades), then there is no room for a recapitulation of the whole Christian era in chapter 20.

The Kingdom and Reign of Christ and the Saints

The kingdom of Christ and the reign of the saints come in stages. Arranged sequentially, with significant words italicized, the stages might look like this:

1. Jesus Christ, by virtue of his resurrection ("first-born of the dead"), is "the *ruler of kings on earth*" (1:5). John, imprisoned on the isle of Patmos, saw himself *sharing a kingdom* (1:9). When Christ ascended to heaven, he established a kingdom of priests, who "*shall reign on earth*" (5:10). As a result of Christ's death, "*salvation and power and the kingdom of our God and the authority of his Christ have come*" (12:10). Thus the spiritual kingdom of God has new authority and power on earth as a result of Jesus' mighty act of salvation, and the saints have new power to overcome the enemy through the blood of the Lamb and their own martyrdom.

2. The reign of the saints is muted during the period of persecution (i.e., the 42 months or 1,260 days). The martyrs, crying out for vengeance for all they suffer, are clothed with white robes and told to wait until more fellow servants are killed as they have been (6:11). The saints, while enduring the trampling by the nations, worship in the temple of God (11:1-2). The woman, fleeing from the dragon, is nourished in the wilderness for 1,260 days (12:6). During this period, a rival kingdom is in power, which is ruled by the beast (16:10-11).

3. During "the great tribulation," the saints are spiritually with Christ (7:14): the great multitude stand before the throne, praising God for his salvation (vv. 9-10). The 144,000 stand on Mount Zion, singing praises and following the Lamb wherever he goes (14:1-5). As the plagues are poured out, they stand on the sea of glass (15:1-4), singing the song of Moses and the Lamb.[21] During this time, there is trouble for the *kingdom of the beast*—there is darkness and men gnaw their tongues in pain (16:10-11). The beast unites with the ten kings to make war on the Lamb, but in the end the Lamb will conquer them (17:12-17).

4. At the final battle, Jesus rides forth on a white horse to smite the nations and *rule them with a rod of iron*. On his robe, he has a name inscribed: "*King of kings and Lord of lords*" (19:11-16). He rules by smiting the nations and slaying them with the sword coming out of his mouth (vv. 15, 21).

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[21]See Beatrice Neall, "Sealed Saints," in *Symposium on Revelation*, Daniel and Revelation Committee Series 6, ed. Frank B. Holbrook (Silver Spring, MD: Biblical Research Institute, General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, 1992): 1:270-272; also idem, "Inaugurated Eschatology in the Apocalypse," <www.jesusinstituteforum.org>, under *Jesus and the Revelation*.

5. At the seventh trumpet, when God judges the dead, rewards the saints, and destroys the destroyers of the earth (11:18), *"the kingdom of the world [becomes] the kingdom of our Lord and of his Christ, and he shall reign for ever and ever"* (v. 15). At that time, God *takes His great power and begins to reign* (v. 17). Here "reigning" seems to be equated with "judging," "executing sentence," and "taking possession of the world."

6. During the thousand years, the souls who have been beheaded come to life *and reign with Christ* a thousand years. They *sit on thrones* and participate in the judgment process (20:4).

7. At the end of the thousand years, God creates "a new heaven and a new earth" (21:1). God and the Lamb are enthroned in the New Jerusalem (22:3) and the saints *"reign for ever and ever"* (v. 5).

The kingdom of God during the Christian era is a contested reign because there is a rival kingdom in power (16:10). God's kingdom might be compared to the Allied governments that were in exile during the Nazi conquest of Europe during World War II. God reigns, but the existence of a powerful rival kingdom limits his exercise of power. But when the kingdom of the world becomes the kingdom of God and Christ, God takes power and begins to reign (11:15-17) by judging his enemies and rewarding his saints (v. 18). Chapter 20 has moved into that time when God and his saints enter the work of judgment.

Is the spiritual reign of the saints during the 1,260-day period the same as their reign in Rev 20:4? Do they come to life and reign with Christ a thousand years? There are two amillennial explanations for 20:4: a spiritual reign of the saints during this life, and the reign of souls in heaven after their death (i.e., the "intermediate state").

The first view, held by Augustine, is that the first resurrection symbolizes the change in people as they die to sin and rise to new life.[22] Riddlebarger notes:

> Once Jesus burst from the tomb, the age to come dawned, and the new creation commenced. . . . If the first resurrection of which John spoke [Rev 20:4] is a spiritual resurrection, then in Revelation 20:6 John is not speaking of a future earthly reign of Christ but a present reign of Christ. This is further reinforced by Paul's argument that Christians are already raised with Christ, and while their outer bodies are dying, their inner beings are being renewed.[23]

This interpretation of the first resurrection is easily refuted. Revelation 20:4 speaks about "the souls of those who had been beheaded

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[22]M. Rist, "Millennium," *Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1962), 382. Riddlebarger, 217; Beale, 1011-1012.

[23]Riddlebarger, 117.

for their testimony to Jesus and for the word of God." This group initially appears in 6:9-11, where they are called "the souls of those who had been slain for the word of God and for the witness they had borne," who cry out for God to judge and avenge their blood on those who dwell on the earth. These are martyrs who have been killed (from σφάζω, "slaughter, murder"). Described again in 20:4, they were beheaded (πελεκίζω). It is not possible to interpret these souls as live saints, who are physically on earth while spiritually they are "seated with Christ in heavenly places" (Eph 2:6), since they are dead—they have been martyred. Rather, they have passed from this present earthly life to be resurrected to a heavenly life.

The more common amillennial explanation of the first resurrection is that it applies to the intermediate state—the souls of the righteous, who at death went to heaven where they reign and judge with Christ. But even here there is a difference between chapters 12 and 20—there has been an escalation in the victorious reign of the saints. When Satan is cast out at the cross, the saints "conquer him by the blood of the Lamb and by the word of their testimony, for they loved not their lives even unto death." They conquer Satan through their martyrdom. In 20:4, the martyrs are raised to life—death has no further power over them (v. 6).

More contrasts can be seen by comparing the status of the martyrs in chapter 6 with their status in chapter 20. The souls in chapter 6 are dead, having been slain for the witness they had borne (v. 9). In 20:4, they have come to life. In 6:9, they are "under the altar," their blood crying out for vengeance as the blood of Abel cried out from the ground (Gen. 4:10). In 20:4, they are no longer under the altar, but are sitting on thrones. In 6:10, they call for God to judge and avenge their blood, but are told to wait—the time of judgment has not yet come. In 20:4, they do the work of judgment. Their cry for vengeance has been answered. Beale does not see 20:4-6 as the "complete fulfillment" of the cry for judgment in 6:10—only a partial answer.[24] But this dilutes the thrust of the text—the souls who were "under the altar" crying for judgment on their enemies now sit on thrones judging their enemies.[25]

[24]Beale, 997-998.

[25]There is a second group mentioned in 20:4: those "who had not worshiped the beast or its image and had not received its mark on their foreheads or their hands." Beale, ibid., agrees with my conclusion that the syntax of the verse differentiates this group from the martyrs. This group that has not worshiped the beast or its image has come through the "great tribulation" of the end time (7:14). They have been under the death decree of the image to the beast (13:15). During this time they spiritually stand with the Lamb on Mt. Zion and the sea of glass (14:1; 15:2-3). In 20:4, they sit on thrones and judge their enemies. There is progress from their initial spiritual reign with Christ to their taking part in the final judgment. They "live and reign with Christ a thousand years."

The kingdom of God and reign of the saints must be seen as a suffering kingdom and reign during the Christian era, but a triumphant kingdom and reign after the second coming, which is described in 19:11-21. Chapter 20:1-6 is best understood as succeeding chapter 19 since it describes victory over the dragon, the resurrection of the martyrs, and their work of judging their enemies.

Further Consideration of the Two Resurrections

Another problem of the amillennial view has to do with the first and second resurrections. A simple reading of Rev 20:4-6 suggests a thousand-year period with a resurrection at its beginning and a resurrection at its close. It seems clear that the righteous are raised at the first resurrection and, by inference, the wicked at the second resurrection. The first resurrection consists of the "blessed and holy" (v. 6)—i.e., the saints—whereas "the rest of the dead," raised at the end of the thousand years, must be the wicked. The latter are called forth from the sea and Death and Hades (20:13)—enemy territory. John sees humanity in terms of inhabitants of heaven, earth, and sea (Rev 5:13; 12:12). The sea, synonymous with the abyss, was considered the realm of the demonic, the home of the dragon, beasts, and vast hordes of people under satanic rule (Ps 74:13-14; Isa 27:1; Dan 7:2-3; Rev 12:17; 13:1; 17:15).[26] The dead who come forth from the sea, then, could not have saints among them. Those coming out of the sea suffer the "second death" (v. 14), a fate which those raised in the first resurrection do not suffer (v. 6).

Beale's system is more complicated. The "first resurrection" at the beginning of the thousand years (i.e., Christian era) consists of the souls of martyred saints who are translated to heaven at death. Beale acknowledges that nowhere in Scripture is this intermediate state called resurrection.[27] Therefore, the first resurrection must be spiritual in nature, just as the second death (meaning eternal life in the lake of fire) is spiritual. Those who believe in annihilation would see the death of the wicked as literal. The lake of fire is *the second death* (20:14).

A minor problem with the spiritual view of the first resurrection is that the martyrs are said to reign with Christ a thousand years, indicating a simultaneous resurrection. What about those who were martyred hundreds of years after the cross event, some just prior to the second advent of Christ? They might have only a few years for their thousand-year reign.

[26]O. Bocher, "Thalassa," *New International Dictionary of New Testament Theology*, ed. Colin Brown (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1979). For a more detailed explanation of John's tripartite universe, see Neall, "Inaugurated Eschatology," 3-4.

[27]Beale, 1007-1008.

A more serious problem is locating the physical resurrection of the saints. If their souls have already been resurrected at the beginning of the thousand years—the Christian era—when is the resurrection of their bodies? Beale states that the second resurrection at the end of the thousand years (v. 5) includes both the righteous and the wicked.[28] This contradicts Jesus' sharp delineation of the two resurrections as "the resurrection of life" and "the resurrection of damnation" (John 5:29).[29] Verse 6 says the *first* resurrection is for the "blessed and holy." It is clear from the description of the second resurrection in vv. 11-15 that it is for the purpose of judging and destroying the wicked dead.[30] They stand before the throne and are judged by what is written in the books; then they are thrown into the lake of fire (20:12-15). If the souls of the righteous have already been awarded white robes (6:11), that is, judged innocent, and if they have already been seated on thrones, judging and reigning with Christ (20:4), why would they be summoned to appear before the throne to be again subject to judgment?

Problems for Premillennialists

Though the most natural reading of the text favors the premillennial position, there are still problems for premillennialists.

Revelation 15:1, which indicates that the seven last plagues complete the wrath of God, is problematic for premillennialists.[31] If God's wrath ends at the seventh plague, which occurs at the *parousia*, how could God pour out more wrath at the last judgment a thousand years later (20:15)? A careful examination of the text reveals that the seventh plague includes the destruction of the wicked in the lake of fire: "God remembered great Babylon, *to make her drain the cup of the fury of his wrath*" (16:19). What is "the cup of the fury of his wrath"? The third angel explains that to "drink the wine of God's wrath" is to be "tormented with fire and sulphur in the presence of the holy angels and in the presence of the Lamb" (14:10). Notice that the beast and the false prophet (synonyms for Babylon) are "cast into the lake of fire that burns with sulphur" at the *parousia* when the Rider on the white horse makes war with his enemies. The lake of fire

[28]Ibid., 1013.

[29]The two resurrections in Rev 20 might even be seen as an expansion of John 5:29, especially if the Johannine authorship of both passages is assumed.

[30]The word "dead" (νεκροὶ) in Rev 20 is a negative term applying only to the wicked. In v. 4, the "blessed and holy" ones came to life but are not called "the dead." See Müller, 243.

[31]G. K. Beale, "John's Use of the Old Testament in Revelation," *Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series* 166 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), 370.

also appears at the end of the thousand years: "the devil . . . was thrown into the lake of fire and sulphur where the beast and the false prophet were, and they will be tormented day and night for ever and ever" (20:10). The devil is cast into the lake of fire a thousand years after the beast and the false prophet were thrown there. Since the lake of fire appears at both the beginning and the end of the millennium, the seventh plague must encompass them both. In this respect, it is like the last great battle which occurs at the beginning and the end of the millennium.

With the seven last plagues, the wrath of God is *finished* (15:1). After the lake of fire consumes the earth (20:9; cf. 2 Pet 3:10, 13), God creates a new heaven and earth where there is no longer any pain, sin, curse (21:1-4; 22:3), or wrath of God.[32]

Another problem raised by Beale is that the three battles described in Rev 16:12-16; 19:11-21; and 20:7-10 all allude to parts of Ezek 38-39, which describe a single battle. He concludes that the three Revelation passages must also describe one event: 20:7-10 recapitulating 19:11-21.[33]

Ezekiel's final battle is described as follows: Israel returns from Babylonian exile and God dwells in his tabernacle in their midst, while David rules over them (Ezek 37:24-28); Israel dwells secure in unwalled villages (38:10-12). In the latter days, God stirs up the hordes of Gog from the north to fight against Israel (38:3-6) so that he can destroy Gog with earthquake, hail, and fire (39:20-22). He calls on the birds to devour Gog (39:4, 17) and the Israelites go out and burn their weapons, using them as fuel for seven years (9-10). In restoring Israel to their land following their exile, God has vindicated his name (39:27-28).

Since Israel failed to keep the covenant after the return from exile, even rejecting the Messiah (John 1:11), the OT prophecies of final events cannot be fulfilled exactly.[34] So John universalizes Ezekiel's vision from a local battle of the northern nations against Israel in unwalled villages to a global battle of satanic forces against the saints in the "beloved city." John also expands the one final battle in Ezekiel to include two phases:

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[32]The words *forever, eternal,* and *everlasting* can denote a period of limited duration. See, e.g., Exod 40:15, Deut 15:17, and Jonah 2:6. Perhaps infinity can be compressed into a short period of time—quality of time rather than quantity. Christ suffered infinite pain for the sins of the whole world in the few hours he was on the cross; believers in Jesus, though subject to death, enjoy eternal life now in this lifetime (John 5:24).

[33]Beale, *John's Use of the Old Testament in Revelation,* 361-371; idem, *The Book of Revelation,* 976-981.

[34]Just as the covenant lays out two possible futures—one resulting from obedience and one from disobedience (Lev 26; Deut 28)—so prophecy is conditional. For a detailed treatment of this subject, see "The Role of Israel in Old Testament Prophecy," *Seventh-day Adventist Bible Commentary* (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1977), 4:25-38.

one at the beginning and the other at the end of the thousand years. The sixth bowl (Rev 16:12-16) introduces the first stage of the battle with the drying up of the River Euphrates (a metaphor for the fall of Babylon), which prepares the way for the "kings of the east" (Christ and his armies, as seen in 19:11-16) to enter the fray.[35] The beast and his armies are slain with the sword. Thus all the enemies of God are temporarily disposed of. Following the interval of a thousand years, the second phase of the battle erupts (20:7-10). The enemies of God from all ages attack the "beloved city," but are judged and destroyed by fire (vv. 7-15).

The most serious problem for premillennialists is that Rev 20 is the only place in Scripture where a thousand years intervene between the resurrection of the righteous and the resurrection of the wicked.[36] It is clear from Scripture that the events at the end of the world—the *parousia*, the resurrection of the righteous and the wicked, the judgment, and hell fire—all occur on "the Day of the Lord."[37] As the Apostle Peter says:

> The day of the Lord will come like a thief, and then the heavens will pass away with a loud noise, and the elements will be dissolved with fire, and the earth and the works that are upon it will be burned up . . . [on] the day of God, because of which the heavens will be kindled and dissolved, and the elements will melt with fire! But according to his promise we wait for new heavens and a new earth in which righteousness dwells (2 Pet 3:10-13).

Peter here lists the *parousia* and hell fire as occurring on the Day of the Lord. However, according to v. 8, "with the Lord one day is as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day." There are precedents in salvation history for extensions of time that exceed human expectations. Eve expected her firstborn to be the promised Seed,[38] but he did not come for thousands of years. The two advents of Christ—the birth of Messiah, his righteous rule, his destruction of his enemies, and his everlasting kingdom—were seen as one event in the OT.[39] It wasn't until NT times that Christ's second coming in glory was separated from his first coming. Already two thousand years have

[35]For a historical background on the drying up of the Euphrates, "the kings of the east," and "the armies of heaven," see Stefanovic, 485-487.

[36]Notice, however, that the thousand years is not mentioned in one obscure verse. The expression is mentioned fully six times in Rev 20.

[37]For events associated with the second coming, see Matt 13:49-50; 16:27; 25:31-46; John 5:25-29; Acts 17:31; Rom 2:3, 5-10, 16; 1 Cor 4:5; 15:23-26; 2 Cor 5:10; Phil 3:20-21; 1 Thess 4:13-17; 2 Thess 1:7-10; 2:7-8; 2 Tim 4:1, 8; 2 Pet 3:10-13; Jude 14-15.

[38]A literal reading of the Hebrew in Gen 4:1 is "I have gotten a man, the Lord."

[39]E.g., Isa 9:6-7; 11:1-10; Dan 2:44; Mal 3:1-2.

intervened to separate the two advents. The NT writers saw themselves as living in "the last days" (e.g., Acts 2:17, 33; Heb 1:2; 1 John 2:18). They expected Christ to come "soon." Yet "the last days" have stretched out into two millennia. Therefore, it should not surprise us if the events of "the Day of the Lord" are stretched out over a period of a thousand years, giving God opportunity to deal with his various constituencies, as will be explained later—the righteous living, the righteous dead, the wicked living, the wicked dead, and Satan and his cohorts.
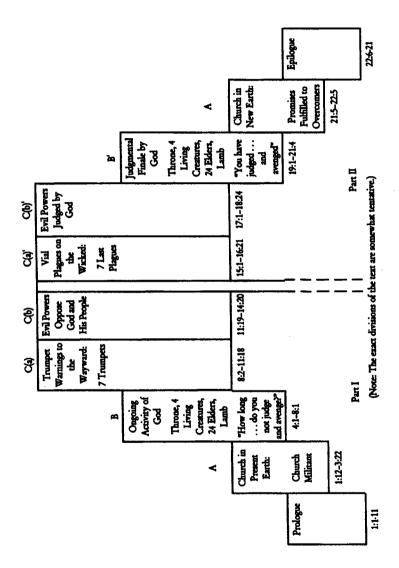
In eschatological prophecy, there is a principle of "repeat and enlarge" that flows through Scripture. In the prophecies of Dan 2, 7, 8–9, and 11–12, each prophecy enlarges upon the preceding one, especially the final events. The book of Revelation itself is an enlargement of Jesus' eschatological prophecies in Matt 24, Mark 13, and Luke 21. The same pattern persists in Rev 12–22.[40] Therefore, it should not be surprising that John's final vision enlarges the Day of the Lord prophecies to include a thousand additional years.

Some have charged that chapter 20 is an obscure, symbolic passage that ought to be negated by the preponderance of texts preceding it.[41] To the contrary, the final visions of Revelation are the climax of all Scripture, the grand finale of the warfare between Christ and Satan, the denouement of history. While the first three chapters of the Bible tell of creation, the Edenic state, and the entrance of Satan, sin, and death, the last three chapters of the Bible give us the most detailed account of the exodus of Satan, sin and death, the restoration of the Edenic state, and the new creation.[42] Therefore, the final chapters of Revelation can properly be used to inform the preceding Day of the Lord texts.

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[40]Chapter 13 is an enlargement of the warfare introduced in 12:17. The seven last plagues (chaps. 15–16) are an enlargement of the pouring out of God's wrath in 14:10. Chaps. 17 and 18 are an enlargement of the doom of Babylon in 14:8. The Battle of Armageddon (16:12-16) is enlarged in chap. 19:11-21 and 20:7-10. This identification is especially true if Kline's analysis, 207-222, of 'Αρμαγεδών as *har moed* (בְּהַר־מוֹעֵד, Mount of Assembly) is correct. Thus the focus of the final battle of 16:12-16 would be the same as 20:7-10—the holy city.

[41]L. Berkhof, *Systematic Theology* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1941), 715.

[42]In a plea for a less literal interpretation of Rev 20:1-3, White argues its dependence on the epic myths of the Divine Warrior's combat with the dragon in ancient mythology and Scripture. In spite of the dragon's attacks, the Divine Warrior succeeds in overcoming him and building his kingdom-city. White states that the dragon, figuratively slain in accounts of creation and the exodus, is not slain in history ("On the Hermeneutics and Interpretation of Rev 20:1-3," 53-66). I would disagree. The waters of chaos were overcome in the creation of land, the waters of the Red Sea were dried up in the exodus, and the Babylonian Empire was dismembered by the attacks of Cyrus *the Persian* (not Babylonian). Furthermore, Rev 20 is the complement of Gen 3, which depicts the entrance of the serpent. Rev 20 depicts the serpent's final capture and exodus.

TABLE 2: OVERALL CHIASTIC SCHEME OF REVELATION*

*Taken from Kenneth Strand, *Interpreting the Book of Revelation* (Naples, FL: Ann Arbor, 1979), 52.

Structural Evidence for the Unity
of Chapters 19 and 20

A strong plank in the amillennial position is the recapitulatory structure of Revelation. Thus the visions of the seals, trumpets, and wonders all portray the Christian era.[43] In harmony with this pattern, amillennialists assert that chapter 20 is not sequential to chapter 19, but is also a recapitulation of the Christian era.

A structural study of Revelation (see Table 2 on previous page) that is relevant to this problem is Kenneth Strand's pioneering analysis of the chiastic nature of Revelation.[44] In outlining the chiasm, he demonstrates that the visions in the first half embrace the whole Christian era, whereas the visions in the second half deal with end-time judgments, such as the seven last plagues (Rev 15–16), the judgment of the whore, Babylon (17–18), the final judgment (19–20), and the reward of the righteous (21–22).

Strand's analysis could be outlined differently as follows in Table 3.[45]

TABLE 3
ROUGH CHRONOLOGY OF THE VISIONS OF REVELATION

Time Line	John's Day	1260 Da/42 Mo.	Wrath/Parousia	1000 Yr.	New Earth
7 Churches (1-3)	⊢━━━⊣				
7 Seals (6-7)	⊢━━━━━━━━━⊣				
7 Trumpets (8-11)	⊢━━━━━━━━━━━⊣				
7 Wonders (12-14)	⊢━━━━━━━━━━━⊣				

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7 Plagues (15-16)			⊢━━⊣		
Judgment on Babylon (17-18)			⊢━⊣		
Rider on White Horse (19:11-21)			⊢━━━⊣		
Thousand Years (20)				⊢━━━⊣	

(Amillennial view [20]   ⅲⅲⅲⅲⅲⅲⅲⅲⅲⅲⅲⅲⅲⅲⅲⅲⅲⅲⅲⅲⅲⅲⅲⅲⅲⅲⅲⅲⅲⅲⅲⅲⅲⅲ)

New Earth (21-22:4)   ⊢━━▶

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[43]See n. 20, above.

[44]Kenneth Strand, *Interpreting the Book of Revelation* (Naples, FL: Ann Arbor, 1979), 52.

[45]The table begins with John's day and extends to the new earth. The seven churches may be understood as applying to John's day with relevance for the future. The seals extend from John's day to the time of wrath (6:16). The trumpets extend to the *parousia* (11:15), as well as the wonders (14:14-16). The wavy line represents the center of the chiasm. Note how the visions of the second half focus on final judgments and rewards. To see chapter 20 as a recapitulation of the Christian era (Center of Chiasm) does not seem appropriate for the structure of the visions.

Beale sees the bowls as paralleling the trumpets in time, covering the whole Christian

In the overall chiastic scheme of Revelation (Table 2), the millennial vision of 19–21:8 is a unit corresponding to the Seven Seals presented earlier in the book.[46] Each section of the millennial vision, marked by the formula καὶ εἶδον, corresponds to a section in the seals. Table 4 shows the parallels.

TABLE 4 COMPARISON OF TWO RELATED VISIONS			
The Seven Seals		The Millennial Vision	
4–5	Sanctuary Scene	19:1-10	Sanctuary Scene
6:1-2	Rider on white horse	19:11-17	Rider on white horse
6:3-4	Rider on red horse takes peace from earth	19:17-18	Birds to eat flesh of *horses and riders*
6:5-6	Rider on black horse	19:19-21	Beast and false prophet
6:7-8	Death on pale horse, followed by Hades	20:1-3	Dragon
6:9-11	Souls slain for their testimony cry for justice	20:4-6	Souls slain for their testimony raised to life and judge
6:12-17	Sky vanishes as scroll; enemies hide from one seated on throne	20:11	Earth and sky flee from the presence of one seated on throne
8:1	Silence in heaven one half hour	20:12-15	Dead stand before throne; books opened; dead judged
7:15-17	Saints praise God before throne. No more thirst; God leads to living waters; wipes away tears	21:1-8	God dwells with his people. No more death, crying, pain. Water of life for thirsty. God wipes away tears

era (*John's Use of the Old Testament in Revelation*, 196ff.). But the bowls are an elaboration of the third angel's message of 14:10 (drinking of the wine of the wrath of God poured out into the cup of his indignation, just preceding the appearance of the Son of man in the clouds [v. 14]). The next vision (chaps. 17-19, depicting the end of the harlot Babylon) is an elaboration of the sixth and seventh plagues on the fall of Babylon (the drying up of the Euphrates and the collapse of the city, 16:12, 18-19— it is "the judgment of the great harlot," 17:1). Thus the focus is increasingly on final events, supporting Strand's analysis that the second half of the chiasm of Revelation deals with events just preceding the *parousia*.

[46]This is abbreviated from an unpublished paper by William H. Shea, "Literary Structure and the Interpretation of Revelation" (unpublished manuscript, 1988), adapted by Neall in "Sealed Saints," 249-252.

From Table 4, it is evident that the repeated expression καὶ εἶδον that introduces each section in the right-hand column above is significant. Each section introduces a literary parallel to the vision of the seals. Therefore, chapters 19 and 20 seem to be an indivisible literary unit of sequential developments. To divide this section between chapters 19 and 20, as Beale attempts to do, making chapter 20 to parallel and recapitulate chapter 19, does not seem possible within the structure of the text.[47]

In the intricate structure of Revelation, not only do the visions in opposite halves correspond to each other in a chiastic pattern, but each vision itself is a chiasm. In a detailed study of the millennial vision, Ed Christian has demonstrated that Rev 19:1–21:8 is a unit in the form of a chiasm.[48] His analysis can be summarized as follows:

A Premillennial announcement of the inauguration of the marriage supper (19:1-10)
   B   Premillennial appearance of Christ in sky to judge and fight the wicked (11-16)
      C Premillennial defeat of those who war against God on earth (17-21)
         D   Binding of Satan in the abyss for 1,000 years (20:1-3)
            E   Millennial reign of Christ and saints in heaven (4-6)
         D' Release of Satan from abyss after 1,000 years (7)
      C' Postmillennial defeat on earth of those who war against God (8-10)
   B' Postmillennial appearance of God in sky to judge the wicked (11-15)
A' Postmillennial re-creation of earth and consummation of marriage (21:1-8)

Though Christian's premillennial and postmillennial labels may be contested, he has shown convincingly that Rev 19:1–21:8 is an inseparable unit. The chiasm also explains the peculiar sequence of the last battle in C', followed by the last judgment in B'. "On both sides of the chiasm, war against God leads to judgment, which leads in turn to execution, but the scenes of judgment have been separated from the scenes of warfare to emphasize their difference."[49]

A Premillennial View

Opposing amillennialism are several forms of premillennialism, including the historical and dispensational views, and postmillennialism, which

[47]Beale, *John's Use of the Old Testament in Revelation*, 359-360.

[48]Christian, 209-225.

[49]Ibid., 212.

Riddlebarger ably critiques in his book. Following is one form of premillennialism that appears to eliminate significant problems inherent in the alternate views:

1. Prior to the coming of Christ, demonic spirits gather the forces of evil to fight the battle of Armageddon (Rev 16:12-16). Jesus appears with the armies of heaven to vanquish his enemies (19:11-21—a depiction of the second coming of Christ).

2. At the second coming of Christ, the righteous dead are resurrected from their "sleep" in the grave and are "caught up to meet the Lord in the air," along with the righteous living (1 Thess 4:13-18). All are given immortal bodies (1 Cor 15:51-54) and ascend to be with Christ in heaven (John 14:2-3), where they reign with Christ (Rev 20:4). This is the "first resurrection," a bodily resurrection of all the righteous dead. The "priests of God" (v. 6) consist of the righteous of all ages. The millennial reign of the saints is in heaven.

3. At the same time, the wicked living are "slain by the brightness of His coming" and by his word, "the sword coming out of His mouth." Their dead bodies lie on earth, to be consumed by vultures (2 Thess 2:8; Rev 19:21).

4. The thousand-year reign of the saints in heaven consists of a work of judgment (Rev 20:4, alluding to Dan 7:22; cf. 1 Cor 6:2-3), perhaps examining the books to determine the justice of God's judgments in admitting and excluding people from heaven. The saints may even have a part in sentencing the wicked.

5. The earth is in an "abysmal" state. The "great earthquake," hail, and wrath accompanying the second advent have broken down the cities, devastated the earth, and slain all its inhabitants (Rev 16:18-21; cf. Isa 24:19-22; Jer 4:23-27[50]). Satan is figuratively "bound" on this planet (Rev 20:1-3), which has been reduced to its original state of primeval chaos (ἄβυσσος in Rev 20:1, 3, corresponding to תְהוֹם in Gen 1:2). He can no longer deceive the nations because the wicked are all dead and the righteous are all in heaven. He is receiving the first part of his sentence: a thousand years of solitary confinement to think about his rebellion and anticipate future judgment.

6. At the end of the thousand years, the New Jerusalem, with God and the saints in it, descends to earth (Rev 21:2; 20:9).[51] The wicked dead of all periods of history are raised to receive their final judgment (20:13,

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[50]Jeremiah, while predicting an immediate fulfillment at the time of the Babylonian captivity, looks back to the original primeval chaos and forward to the final Day of the Lord. For a parallel passage, see Zeph 1:2-3, 14-18. The day of the Lord has historical and eschatological fulfillment (David W. Baker, *Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah* [Downer's Grove: InterVarsity, 1988], 94).

[51]An illustration of *hysteron-proteron*. See n. 15 above.

12). Satan, now loosed from solitary confinement by the resurrection of the wicked, and finding his hopes of conquest revived by the vast hosts on his side, deceives them into attempting to conquer the saints in the "beloved city," the New Jerusalem. Then God, on his great white throne, appears before them and judges them according to their life records written in the books (vv. 11-13). Fire, which purifies the earth, comes down from heaven and devours them all (vv. 9, 14-15). Hell no longer exists, nor do sin and sinners, death, pain, and crying (21:4).

7. God re-creates "a new heaven and a new earth" and dwells with his people forever (21:1-3). The universe is clean.[52]

This view is elegant in its simplicity. The "souls" who reign with Christ a thousand years (20:4) are the saints who were resurrected or translated at the *parousia*. This view avoids the problem amillennialists encounter when explaining how Satan has been bound for the last 2,000 years when he appears to be very active. It also avoids the problem premillennialists have in explaining how unregenerate people can live together on earth with resurrected saints during the millennial reign of Christ, and how war can erupt again at its close.[53]

The Purpose of the Millennium

The millennium fulfills an essential purpose in salvation history—the punishment of Satan, who has caused havoc in the universe for thousands of years, anguish in heaven as God sacrificed his Son, and torture to the billions who have lived on earth. His greatest delight is in causing misery. He deserves the special punishment Rev 20 portrays—a thousand years of solitary confinement in the midst of the devastation he has caused in order to reflect upon his once exalted status in heaven, his ignominious defeat, and the prospect of future torment in the lake of fire.

Also the redeemed need to have opportunity to satisfy their deepest questions regarding the justice of God. Why are some judged worthy of eternal life and others, perhaps loved ones, excluded? Judgment is committed to them at this time (Rev 20:4). "The books" are available for the saints and even the universe to audit. Paul alludes to this time when he writes: "Do you not know that the saints will judge the world? . . . Do you not know that we are to judge angels?" (1 Cor 6:2-3).[54]

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[52]This view is most dramatically presented in Ellen G. White, *The Great Controversy between Christ and Satan* (Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press, 1950), chaps. 40-42.

[53]For a recent description of that scenario, see David J. MacLeod, "The Fifth 'Last Thing': The Release of Satan and Man's Final Rebellion," *Bibliotheca Sacra* 157 (2000): 202-207.

[54]Joel Badina, "The Millennium," in *Symposium on Revelation*, Daniel and Revelation Committee Series 6, ed. Frank B. Holbrook (Hagerstown, MD: Biblical Research Institute,

It is possible that wrongs will have to be righted and confessions made during this unusual time. David, Bathsheba, and the deeply-wronged Uriah will meet. David will have to demonstrate to Uriah the depth of his repentance. Nazi war criminals, responsible for the extermination of millions, but who surrendered to Christ before being hanged at Nurenburg,[55] will have the opportunity to meet their victims, beg their forgiveness, and fall down at the feet of Jesus in adoration for his power to save even mass murderers.

The millennium may even serve a function suggested by the Catholic doctrine of purgatory. How can sinners enter eternity when there is much dross in them that still needs to be consumed? While the millennium is not a time for purging—Jesus suffered the full penalty for sin at the cross—it may be a time for growth in sanctification. The thief on the cross, experiencing only an hour with Jesus after a lifetime of violence, will have the opportunity to demonstrate the sincerity of his repentance by living a transformed life. Much growth and healing needs to take place before God himself wipes the tears from every eye and admits his people into "a new heaven and a new earth" (Rev 21:4, 1). Transitioning straight from this sinful world to the new earth state eliminates the possibility for this time of healing.

Conclusion

The driving force behind amillennialism, its strong affirmation of the victory of right over wrong in world history, is commendable. It creates a positive view of history that focuses on the victories of the Lamb. I agree with the "triumphant irony" of "victory through tribulation" that permeates the book of Revelation. But it is difficult to apply chapter 20—the binding of Satan—to the Christian era.

To conform Rev 20 to a recapitulation pattern requires high-powered reasoning, extensive explaining, and often a dilution of the direct meaning of the text. One of Beale's strategies when faced with a problem is to dilute the apparent meaning by introducing alternate possibilities.[56] In all of this he is open and fair, evaluating all the options, clearly presenting objections to amillennialism, then giving his answers. The problem with his answers is that they are too tenuous and intricate to be convincing. They violate the principle of simplicity.

On the other hand, the plain reading of the text, the escalating nature

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General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, 1992), 1:241-242.

[55]F. T. Grossmith tells how Lutheran pastor Henry Gerecke led some of the Nazi war criminals to Christ before their execution in 1946 (*The Cross and the Swastika* [Boise, Pacific Press, 1989]).

[56]Beale, *The Book of Revelation*, 1005.

of the warfare between Christ and Satan, the successive annihilations of the enemies of God in chapters 17-20, the progressive nature of the triumphs of Christ and his saints, as well as the strong structural evidences for the unity of the millennial vision—all seem to favor the sequential reading of Rev 19-21. Therefore, I propose that Rev 20 be seen as consummated rather than inaugurated eschatology.

DISSERTATION ABSTRACTS

THE NATURE, FUNCTION, AND PURPOSE
OF THE TERM שְׁאוֹל IN THE TORAH,
PROPHETS, AND WRITINGS

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Date Completed: February 2005

The fact that scholars depict Sheol either as the underworld where the dead continue their existence or simply the grave has resulted in contradictory conclusions, fierce polemic, and unremitting dispute. This lack of consensus makes it imperative to justify another approach that is more comprehensive in its entirety in comparison with the earlier attempts that sought to determine the meaning of the term "Sheol," mainly by exploring its etymology and various nonbiblical sources.

Unlike previous studies, this exegetical research systematically examines all the sixty-six references to the term "Sheol" in the Hebrew Bible by almost exclusively focusing on its nature, function, and purpose. Chapter 1 provides a concise outline of the whole dissertation. Chapters 2, 3, and 4 comprise the major exegetical block. Chapter 5 establishes the nature, function, and purpose of the term "Sheol" in the Hebrew Bible as a whole, and draws together anthropological and theological insights.

Repeatedly drawn conclusions that the term "Sheol" functions as a poetic synonym of the place of the dead were reached by exploring the nature, function, and purpose of the term "Sheol" and by taking into consideration its various degrees of interrelation with other death-related terminology, the strength of their links, their interconnections and interdependence in the concrete context. This organic system of terminological interdependence, where one concept inevitably influences and clarifies another, plays an extremely important role in determining the factual meaning of the term "Sheol."

Sheol represents the place of the dead, where both the dead righteous and the wicked go. No physical, mental, or spiritual activity is possible there because it is never linked with life or any kind of existence, but exclusively with death. Besides, the examination of the term "Sheol" reveals two opposing anthropological and theological systems or paradigms: the so-called popular view of a disembodied personal existence in Sheol and the scriptural paradigm, where at death the body becomes again the dust of the earth, but the spirit of life returns to God.

Finally, there is a slight but extremely important distinction between the "grave" (common noun) and the term "Sheol" (proper noun), which is rooted in their classification. Because Sheol may refer to a number of entities by means of common characteristics pertaining to the sphere of death, it may function as a pointer to any place of the dead, regardless of its location, form, content, or description, and that is why it is best to consider the term "Sheol" as a poetic designation of the grave.

A CRITIQUE OF THE URBAN MISSION OF THE
CHURCH IN LIGHT OF AN EMERGING
POSTMODERN CONDITION

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The world is becoming an urban society. The urban expansion witnessed during the twentieth century and continuing into the twenty-first century is unprecedented in the history of the human civilization. Simultaneously, the Western world faces the paradigm shift from the modern era to a postmodern condition. Both movements have remarkable implications for the mission of the church in urbanized, postmodernizing societies. Shaped by the modern worldview, the church is now further ostracized by the postmodern condition.

   While the literature of urban mission has grown in the past few years, little consideration has been given to the particular issues and implications of urban mission in the context of postmodernity. Thus this study addresses the relationship between the urban mission of the church and the emergence of the postmodern condition.

   This investigation of urban mission in the light of the postmodern ethos is based on the historical, philosophical, sociological, and cultural analyses of the modern and postmodern eras provided in chapters 2 and 3, respectively. Chapter 4 explores the relationship between the urban mission of the church and the postmodern condition primarily by locating the emergence of postmodernism in the context of urbanization and globalization. Some urban missiological implications and suggested principles for reaching the postmodern mind in the urban context are drawn from the findings of this research and are presented in chapter 5.

   At the beginning of the twenty-first century, the centralizing power of the city—added to the pervasive influence of a global market—makes the urban environment the locus of the postmodern condition. Consequently, the challenges and opportunities for urban mission have never been greater. In spite of the major threats postmodernism poses for mission, the current urban sociocultural outlook offers opportunities that did not exist a few decades ago. Therefore, within the context of the combined forces of urbanization, globalization, and postmodernism, an extensive review of the strategies and methods of urban mission is vital for the development of postmodern-sensitive churches as the church seeks to fulfill its calling to participate in God's mission to urbanized, postmodernizing generations.

Das, A. Andrew. *Paul and the Jews*. Library of Pauline Studies, ed. S. E. Porter. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2003. 238 pp. Paper, $24.95.

The writing of any book requires an immense expenditure of energy and time, and it is always with trepidation that one releases one's work to the public. The present volume would have been no exception. Andrew A. Das's bold new volume has much that is commendable, but in the present form it fails to do justice to the wealth of valuable research it contains.

In the first chapter, Das prefaces his discussion by taking note of the fact that Paul's statements on the law and Israel can be interpreted in two very different ways—that Gentile Christians have replaced ethnic Israel as the new covenant people of God, and that ethnic Israel remains as God's covenant people in the new epoch. In the main body of the chapter, Das offers a brief survey of the history of the current debate, which is traced along two separate trajectories. The first is the traditional Lutheran understanding of Judaism, articulated by Ferdinand Weber in 1880, which saw Judaism as "fundamentally a legalistic religion" (4). The second trajectory is a newer view that argues that the Judaism of Paul's day was not legalistic, but fully cognizant of divine grace and mercy. Owing to E. P. Sanders's monumental *Paul and Palestinian Judaism* (1977), this second trajectory has, in recent decades, become the dominant view of Pauline scholarship. Interestingly, Das seems to come full circle in his perspective on Judaism. First, he essentially accepts the premise of this new understanding of Judaism, but rejects the perspective given to it by James D. G. Dunn, who argues that Paul's problem with Judaism was that Jews had misappropriated the Law of Moses as a means to bolster their "ethnic presumption" (10). Then, he proposes a different perspective, which is, essentially, a return to the traditional view: Paul's problem with Judaism was that its notions of grace and mercy could never be "efficacious for salvation" without faith in Christ (12). He feels his new proposal does justice to the strengths of the traditional view of Judaism, while fully taking into account the newer view. The rest of this chapter lays out the plan of the chapters to follow.

The second chapter, on Galatians, identifies Paul's opponents as Jewish Christians who wanted to circumcise the Gentile converts in order to avoid persecution from the Jewish community at large. This historical reconstruction is neither particularly new nor overly problematic, but the evidence Das adduces in support of his arguments and the inferences he draws from them about Paul's opponents and their theology are certainly idiosyncratic and problematic. The most troubling point of the chapter, and one on which much of the chapter's historical reconstruction is based, is that Paul *consistently* employs the third person plural ("they" as opposed to "we") in Galatians to refer to his Jewish Christian opponents. Although this is an intriguing suggestion, it is not a view that can be sustained (see below). In addition, Das postulates that the scriptural citations and the theological propositions appearing in Galatians are those used by Paul's opponents, which Paul is reinterpreting to buttress his own gospel. The main reason Das gives for his position is that Paul's scriptural exegesis and theology in

Gal 2 and 3 fit poorly with his overall argument in the letter (21, 32). This, however, is not a point that can be simply stated, but one which must be argued because many scholars feel that Paul's reading of Scripture in Gal 2 and 3 is compelling and fits well into his overall argument. Moreover, I find it difficult to agree with Das's notion that during the Second Temple period the covenants of Abraham and Moses were considered to be identical (42), at least not on the basis of Sirach. Das makes other problematic claims in the chapter without providing hard evidence. For instance, he suggests that Paul's opponents did not find the exile to be a continuing reality (38). The biggest problem, however, is that the overall thesis of the chapter is too finely formulated to be clear: in spite of his clarification on p. 33, it is unclear how Paul's new view on the law (that "the law must be understood . . . in terms of Christ" [48, emphasis supplied]) precisely differed from that of his opponents (who taught that "a gospel message . . . included Law observance along with faith in Christ" [48, emphasis supplied]). As we shall see, the lack of clarity on this point will continue to dog Das's fuller presentation of the Spirit's relationship to the law in chapter 7 (more below).

Moreover, in his critique of Dunn in this chapter, Das misrepresents Dunn when he translates Gal 3:10 as "Those who rely on their Jewish identity are under a curse" (39) in order to expose the weakness of Dunn's position. Dunn, however, is not arguing that "Jewish identity" is the only way to translate the Greek term ἔργα. Dunn's notion of "boundary marker" also needs to be evaluated as a concept, which, in my view, has much to commend.

Das also misses the mark in his critique of Mark D. Nanos. Nanos is not saying, as Das charges (24-29), that Paul was in conversation in Gal 2:1-21 exclusively, or even basically, with unbelieving Judaism. Nanos's point is that Paul's conversation in those verses cannot be limited to Jewish Christians. At some level, Paul must have been dialoguing with Judaism in general, not just Jewish Christians.

The apparent thesis of the third chapter (on Romans) is the straightforward traditional view that "Israel apart from Christ lies outside the sphere of salvation" (73). However, the reasons given in support of this thesis are idiosyncratic and rather involved. The discussion begins with a rather detailed dialogue on the dating, nature, and validity of Claudius's expulsion of the Jews from Rome in the fourth decade C.E. He argues that the expulsion primarily impacted the Jewish ring leaders who were involved in the "Chrestus" controversy, rather than the entire Jewish population of Rome (56-59). This tendentious conclusion then serves to establish the notion that Claudius's expulsion was the beginning of the "split" (59) between the Jewish and Christian communities of Rome and elsewhere (cf. 14-15). After further trying to bolster his conclusion with the internal evidence of Romans, Das postulates that the makeup of the Roman congregation was mostly Gentile, with the possible exception of the handful of Jews mentioned in Rom 16. The thrust of Das's extensive argument up to this point is that the "weak" mentioned in Rom 14 were Gentile Christians, who had been part of the Jewish communities of Rome before Claudius expelled the ringleaders. According to Das, the reason the weak abstained from meat and wine was that they were barred from obtaining kosher foodstuffs from the Jewish community, which then brings him to an unexpected conclusion: the unbelieving Jews are excluded from

salvation (cf. 73), and the believers are no longer under obligation to keep the Law of Moses since it has become a matter of indifference in Christ (75). The detailed discussion of the historical background of Romans here serves to underscore how little historical and exegetical basis there is for Das's expansive and general statement about the defective nature of the Law of Moses, a fact which threatens the credibility of the book as a whole.

Das accuses Nanos of being guilty of a "worse" anti-Semitism when Nanos applies the term "weak" to the Jews (76). Das's accusation is, however, inelegant and disingenuous. As Nanos makes clear, Paul nowhere uses the term "weak" in Rom 14 to disparage those who are struggling. Also, Das tries to sidestep the question of anti-Semitism by stating that Paul's argument in Rom 9–11 was "intra-Christian." But if Paul is indeed saying that unbelieving Jews are excluded from salvation, as Das argues, then it is no longer simply a matter of "intra-Christian" dialogue, but, in actuality, has far-reaching anti-Semitic implications for Judaism.

The fourth chapter is a detailed study of Rom 9–11, in which Das argues that ethnic Israel has a special place in God's plan of salvation at the end of time. Das opens the discussion by arguing that the apology of Rom 9–11 was necessitated by Paul's practice of applying the election language of the OT to his Gentile congregations. Then he launches into a detailed study of Rom 9–10 to reiterate the point of his previous chapter: Christ is the sole basis of salvation for both Jews and Gentiles. With this conclusion in hand, he proceeds to refute fallacious notions about Israel in scholarship. The first is the so-called two-covenant theory, according to which God has entered into two separate covenants: Jews are saved by keeping the Law, while Gentiles are saved by faith in Christ. According to this theory, Paul's criticism of non-Christian Jews was not that they refuse to believe in Christ, but that they refuse to recognize the inclusion of the Gentiles in the people of God by faith as an eschatological act of God. The second view Das rejects is one that sees Israel as the new covenant people, consisting of Jews and Gentiles. Das argues that this is impossible because the *term* Israel occurs in Rom 9–11 with consistent reference to ethnic Israel. The third view to be set aside is that the term *Israel* refers only to Jewish Christians, who function as the eschatological remnant of God. Das's key reason for rejecting this view is that the redemption of the remnant in the OT always resulted in the redemption of the rest of ethnic Israel. Das concludes the chapter by stating that the only viable option left is to see Israel in Rom 9–11 as the Jews who "will come to faith in Christ en masse" (109) at the end of time. The present chapter is the most coherent and well-argued piece in the entire book. If Das has accomplished nothing else in this chapter, he has effectively demonstrated through his carefully stated argument that the debate about the identity of Israel in Paul's letters is far from over.

In the fifth chapter, Das argues that Paul held fast to the notion of Jewish priority in spite of his conviction that both Jews and Gentiles are sinful and saved only by faith in Christ. Das tries to show that Paul's idea of Jewish priority and restoration is not something that suddenly popped up in Romans, but had antecedents in his earlier writings, particularly Galatians and 1 Thessalonians. This chapter is, unfortunately, full of digressions and contradictions. Das's discussion of Galatians gets bogged down on the question about Paul's usage of first- and second-

person plural pronouns in the letter. The problem of this drawn-out discussion is not only that it fails to directly address the central concern of the chapter, but makes statements that flatly contradict his earlier positions. In chapter 2, Das argued that the second-person plural "you" refers consistently and exclusively to the Gentile readers in Galatia: "Paul is *remarkably consistent throughout the letter* in employing the second-person-plural pronouns ('you') in clear contrast to third-person-plural pronouns ('they,' 'those people,' 'some'). . . . Paul addresses *his Galatian readers* with the second-person 'you'. . . . In Gal 4:8 he identifies the recipients of his letter as *former Gentiles*, or *non-Jews*" (18; emphases supplied). But in the present chapter, Das does an about face and declares: *"Paul freely shifts between pronouns. . . .* The best reading of [Gal 4] vv. 3-7 therefore takes the first-person pronouns as referring to *all believers, whether Jew or Gentile,* and *the second-person pronoun as similarly inclusive* but perhaps rhetorically pointed toward the Gentile recipients of the letter. *Paul does not appear to be speaking exclusively of Jewish or Gentile Christians*" (125; emphasis supplied). The phrase "perhaps rhetorically pointed toward" does little to mitigate Das's self-contradiction when he spends nearly nine pages of detailed discussion (120-128) to prove that Paul is remarkably inconsistent in his use of the personal pronouns. Another glaring contradiction is the way he speaks of the "Israel of God," mentioned in Gal 6:15-16. In the present chapter, Das clearly argues that "the Israel of God" includes anyone who believes in Christ, whether Jew or Gentile:

> Jewish Christians maintain a position of priority in God's plan *as the Gentiles flock to join their heavenly city* on the basis of common faith in Christ. Paul concludes the letter by affirming an "Israel of God" (Gal 6:15-16), *a people who "follow this rule,"* that "neither circumcision nor uncircumcision is anything; but a new creation is everything!" *For by faith in Christ, those who are of this Israel have died to the world* (Gal 6:14) (128, emphasis supplied).

Yet in chapters 3 and 4, he forcefully argued "that 'the Israel of God' refers to ethnic Jews" (107, n. 86) and cannot refer to "an 'Israel of faith,' all people who believe in Jesus Christ whether Jewish or Gentile" (106). It is unclear why Das has decided to leave these contradictions in his book. It is unfortunate that these and others mar the credibility of a work that is otherwise well researched.

Das's discussion on 1 Thess 2:14-16 is unnecessarily given to the question of authenticity—a discussion only marginally related to the question of Jewish priority, which is the issue at stake in this chapter. Time and space would have been better expended on fleshing out the controversial point that the apocalyptic understanding of Jewish recalcitrance in the 1 Thessalonians passage "neatly conforms to the statements of God's wrath in Romans" (139).

The sixth and seventh chapters attempt to lay bare Paul's concept of the law based on the occurrences of the term νόμος in his letters. In the sixth chapter, Das grapples with the fact that Paul's statements about the law come in both negative and positive varieties. He offers a three-pronged solution to explain this thorny problem: every occurrence of *law* (νόμος) in Romans and Galatians refers to the Law of Moses; Paul's negative statements about law point out the impossibility of obeying the Mosaic Law; Paul's positive statements about law portray the Law of Moses as prophecy promoting faith in Christ. The focus of chapter 6, however, is on the second point, namely, what Paul finds wrong with the Mosaic Law. Das

states: "The Mosaic Law, apart from the Abrahamic promises, has become in Paul's hand an empty set of requirements and stipulations that no human being could adequately obey" (155). Then in chapter 7, Das turns to Paul's positive statements about law in order to explain the identity of "the law of Christ" in Gal 6:2. Building on his foundational assumption that the term "law" in Romans and Galatians always refers to the Law of Moses, Das offers another three-pronged solution: the Law of Moses continues in the life of the Christian as the norm of conduct; the Christian fulfills the Law of Moses when the Spirit "takes hold of" the Law (84); and the Law of Christ is the Law of Moses *seen* through Christ. Das states: "The Christian fulfills 'the law of Christ,' the Law [*sic!*] when *viewed* in the hands of Christ. By the Spirit's power the believer looks to and follows Christ's example. *Then the requirements of the Mosaic Law will take care of themselves*" (172, emphasis supplied). This last point is a bit slippery, however.

Indeed, many questions remain unanswered in these chapters. For the sake of space, I shall point out only the most obvious ones. If Das is correct, one wonders whether Paul's position on law really differed from that of his opponents. He claims that the problem with Paul's opponents at Galatia was that they "were supplementing the gospel message with guidance from the Mosaic law" (167). But in his conclusion, he equivocates on this point: "The Law [of Moses] often remained an unstated premise in [Paul's] ethical reasoning, *even though he preferred first to admonish the community to embody Christ-like behavior*" (191, emphasis supplied). If Paul was in the habit of reaching for the Law of Moses when his first wave of admonitions failed to do the job, wasn't Paul just as guilty of supplementing his "gospel message with guidance from the Mosaic law" as did his opponents? Moreover, Das never satisfactorily explains how the teachings and example of Jesus are able to function as an interpretive key to the Law of Moses. The passages he cites on pp. 173-180 fail to suggest a clear hermeneutical direction, except that "Christians must treat one another as likewise in Christ" (176)—a point to which Paul's opponents would have readily agreed (cf. Gal 2:16c: καὶ ἡμεῖς εἰς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐπιστεύσαμεν). In addition, the subsequent history of the church has made it abundantly clear that even when the Law of Moses has been filtered through Jesus' teachings and example, it cannot be made serviceable to Christianity without mutating into yet another—perhaps even more lethal—form of boasting and works of righteousness (cf. 5). Finally, Das offers no convincing reasons as to why Paul should have rejected those portions of the Law of Moses that have an "ethnic" Jewish flavoring, such as circumcision and the Sabbath.

In the eighth and final chapter Das tries to summarize and bring together all the loose ends of his arguments, which, unfortunately, compounds, rather than alleviates, the book's lack of clarity. The reason for the lack of clarity is that his discussions in the present book too often vacillate between whether there is or isn't something fundamentally wrong with the Law of Moses. Until he makes up his mind on this point, his argument will always have—his erudition notwithstanding—a ring of uncertainty and confusion.

Andrews University   P. RICHARD CHOI

Doukhan, Jacques B. *Secrets of Revelation: The Apocalypse Through Hebrew Eyes.*
      Hagerstown, MD: Review and Herald, 2002. 206 pp. Paper, $16.99.

Jacques B. Doukhan is Professor of Hebrew Scripture Exegesis and Jewish Studies
at the Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary, Andrews University, Berrien
Springs, Michigan. He is the author of a number of scholarly books and
publications, as well as the editor of the journals *Shabbat Shalom* and *L'Olivier.*
Doukhan comes to the book of Revelation more as a Hebrew Bible scholar than
as a NT apocalyptic exegete.

      Written by a Christian scholar of Jewish heritage, *Secrets of Revelation* surveys
the Apocalypse through Hebrew eyes. The aim of the book is to show how the
book of Revelation is embedded in the Hebrew mind-set. Though it moves
chronologically through the Apocalypse, the book is actually organized around
the annual cycle of Jewish feasts, a view that goes back to Austin M. Farrer (1949).
The book duplicates, in many ways, the information found in other books on the
Apocalypse, particularly the traditional historicist application of the apocalyptic
visions. However, it contains enough interesting material—expressed in a concise
manner—to capture the attention of the general reader.

      The strongest aspect of the book is its rich background from the Hebrew
Bible and Jewish extrabiblical sources. Like Doukhan's previous book, *Secrets of
Daniel,* the present volume is user-friendly, clearly written, and easy to read. It
will undoubtedly appeal to pastors and lay Bible students because scholarly
considerations, though adequate, do not outweigh the inspirational and practical
applications of the apocalyptic text from a historicist perspective.

      As I read the book, I enjoyed the substance. Often apocalyptic imagery is
brought to light by Doukhan's explanation of the Hebrew background. However,
there is a major problem when it comes to the interpretative application of the
biblical text. Doukhan, at times, seems to misread the literary context and does
not always give careful attention to the nuances of the Greek. It can safely be said
that many interpretive points brought out in the book appear to be based on
exposition controlled strictly by the historicist reading of Revelation rather than
on attentive interaction with the text. Indeed, much effort was made to have every
prophecy of Revelation fit into a historical application.

      Two examples will help to illustrate how the overall position taken in the book
is not in harmony with the text and its context. The author takes for granted the
traditional view that the seven messages of Revelation are predictive, sequential
prophecies of the seven successive periods of Christian history (26-48). However, the
sequential language of Rev 1:19 and 4:1 obviously does not support such an idea. This
is not to suggest that the seven messages are not prophecies, but rather that the
context does not indicate that Rev 2-3 outlines the sequence of Christian history, as
is the case, for instance, in Dan 2 and 7. A better genre fit for these two chapters is
ancient classical prophecy. Read in this light, Rev 2-3 deal exclusively with the time
of the author of the book of Revelation. However, these timely messages to the seven
churches in Asia also bear a timeless message for the church throughout history.

      Revelation 12:7-9 speaks of the war in heaven and the subsequent casting of
Satan from heaven to earth. In his analysis of the text, Doukhan refers to that scene

as a description of Lucifer's expulsion from heaven after his rebellion against God at the beginning of the history of sin (109-110). However, the context (12:10-12), along with other NT texts (cf. John 12:31-32; 14:30; 16:11), indicates that the expulsion of Satan described in Rev 12 took place after the cross and Christ's subsequent ascension to heaven and exaltation to the heavenly throne at the right hand of the Father.

Once again, it is important to remember that a reading of the Apocalypse should not be controlled by a particular method of interpretation. The interaction with the text should be controlled by the principle of letting the text itself govern the method of interpretation. If the text under study refers to events occurring throughout the course of history, a sound interpretation undoubtedly calls for a historicist approach to the text. However, historicism must not be assumed irregardless of the indicators within the text any more than one should make a *carte blanche* assumption of preterism or futurism. Strong evidence is needed in order to demonstrate that the scenes and symbols in the text are associated with events that occur throughout history rather than to events primarily in John's time or the time of the end.

Despite the afore-expressed criticisms, many discussions and insightful points, as well as the practical and clear writing style, commend Doukhan's *Secrets of Revelation* to the serious reading audience. I believe this book will find its place on the shelves of many pastors and serious lay Bible students who are seeking to understand the Hebrew background to the images and visions of the book of Revelation.

Andrews University   RANKO STEFANOVIC

Loader, William. *The Septuagint, Sexuality and the New Testament: Case Studies on the Impact of the LXX in Philo and the New Testament*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004. x + 163 pp. Paper, $19.95.

The LXX is not merely a translation of the MT. Rather, the LXX is a translation of a Hebrew text that differs in places from the MT, as well as an interpretive translation of that variant text. William Loader's study examines the differences in text (whether interpretive or due to the *vorlage*) and the ways in which the LXX text influenced (or did not influence) the NT writers and Philo of Alexandria.

Beginning with the Decalogue, where the adultery commandment precedes murder in the LXX (cf. Exod 20:13, 15; Deut 5: 17, 18, LXX), Loader examines NT texts that may have been influenced by this order. Then he examines the creation stories, where details can have important reflexes in later works. These details include the term *duo* (two) in Gen 2:24, as well as the varied translation choices for the Hebrew term *adam*. The third section of the book focuses on divorce. Loader focuses particularly on Deut 24 and passages on divorce in the NT and Philo. Finally, the Pauline letters and the Gospel of Thomas are examined for their use of LXX texts. Following his concluding chapter, he provides appendices, a bibliography, and an index of sources.

Throughout the book, Loader provides the reader with Greek and Hebrew biblical texts, along with translations. Thus the reader can instantly compare the texts under discussion. Texts from Philo, however, are not provided. Most of the

LXX and MT texts appear again in the appendices in parallel columns, although the only NT appendix passage is Mark 10:1-9. While Loader explicitly avoids the question of the Hebrew *vorlage* of the LXX, he does not always do so successfully. By juxtaposing the MT and the LXX, the book makes this issue unavoidable to the reader.

The chief scholarly contribution of this volume is the translation of the Hebrew words *adam* and *ish* as *anthropos, andros*, or the proper name "Adam." In the Hebrew text, it is not always clear whether *adam* is generic or a proper name, or whether *ish* should be understood as "man" (as in "adult male"), "husband," or something more generic. A helpful table of translations appears on p. 33, but the discussion continues intermittently through p. 59. In addition to Loader's commentary, this book provides an excellent opportunity for the reader to contemplate these texts with their variants, interpretive translations, and NT usage. Undoubtedly, most readers will notice points of interest that are not discussed by Loader.

Loader's study sometimes presupposes a rather narrow audience. Among Jews, Protestants, Orthodox, and Catholics, there are at least three major numbering systems for the two versions of the Decalogue, but Loader assumes only one. For instance, he refers to the commandment(s) on coveting collectively as "the tenth" and calls the adultery commandment simply "the seventh commandment," without any additional comment on his choice of numbering (5). As this introduces a discussion on the different order of the commandments in the LXX, such a simplistic use of numbering seems somewhat unwise.

Loader's translations often leave something to be desired. At times, this seems due to poor proofreading. For example, he translates "in the image" as "in his image" (51), and later in that paragraph an extraneous *resh* appears in a Hebrew phrase. Other times, there seems to be some theological impulse. For example, Loader exaggerates the contrast between the LXX and the MT for Gen 3:6, where the Greek could be translated as "attractive to understand" rather than "beautiful to look at" (45). For some reason, Loader wishes to distance the Hebrew term ספר from its standard Greek equivalents βίβλος and its diminutive βιβλίον. For instance, he translates ספר as "list" and βίβλος as "book" (Gen 5:1), though there is no warrant for choosing the term "list" (49). However, for Deut 24:1, he chooses "certificate" for ספר and "document" for βιβλίον (72, 75). In context, ספר can be translated either "list" or "certificate," while βίβλος can be rendered "book" or "document," making his distinction unnecessary.

There is one glaring omission in this book. Loader missed an opportunity to discuss Paul's use of terms in 1 Cor 6. Though Paul faithfully quotes the LXX of Gen 2:24 ("The two shall be one flesh [σάρξ]"), throughout the rest of the passage he consistently uses the term σῶμα ("body"). In Paul's writings, σάρξ is used for the sinful human nature, which is opposed by the πνεῦμα ("spirit"); but he uses σῶμα as a neutral term for the body. Clearly, Paul would have preferred that the LXX translators had chosen σῶμα instead of σάρξ to translate בשר, but he did not feel free to alter the common translation. In his eight-page analysis of 1 Cor 6:12-20, Loader never notices Paul's nuanced usage of the LXX. Similarly, Eph 5:28-31 shows a less consistent pattern, though also favoring σῶμα. And

again, Loader fails to notice Paul's use of the LXX.

Another point neglected by Loader is the omission of the commandment against coveting in Matt 19, Mark 10, and Luke 18. Loader does not consider why this commandment was left out of these lists. Instead, the reader is left to ponder or to resolve this and other similar questions by consulting other commentators.

Loader's study on the influence of the LXX in the NT and other writings is indeed interesting, as much for the raw material of the selected texts, as for his analysis. It is a commendable—if incomplete—effort. Fortunately, the book is not particularly expensive and is a useful stimulus for the careful reader where Loader's analysis falls short.

Madison, Wisconsin   JAMES E. MILLER

Noll, Mark A. *The Rise of Evangelicalism: The Age of Edwards, Whitefield and the Wesleys.* Downers Grove: InterVarsity, 2004. 330 pp. Hardcover, $23.00.

Mark Noll has written a book on the Great Awakening and its aftermath that is encyclopedic in its scope, evenhanded in its presentation, lively in its pacing, but also possessed of soul and spirit. Both Wesley and Whitefield would surely approve of the manner in which the intellect is informed and the soul moved by this inspired, if slightly overambitious, recounting of the beginnings of modern evangelicalism.

Noll begins by tracing the political, ecclesiastical, and spiritual landscape prior to the Great Awakening, noting in particular the spread of British influence overseas and the footholds made by Dissenters in the Anglican establishment. It is here that one of the book's few weaknesses emerges. Noll tries, but arguably fails, to fully come to grips with the definition of "evangelicalism," an admittedly amorphous concept. Noll suggests, in turn, that "evangelicalism" may be defined as a core of beliefs involving conversion, the cross, and holy living; a heart experience of religious renewal; and an attitude that disregards traditional denominational boundaries and structures, i.e., a sort of eighteenth-century "ecumenism."

Noll discusses the issue of beliefs in the Introduction. However, his primary focus is on the question of heart experience and the issue of "ecumenism." One is left with the impression that the path to widespread revival involves a willingness to discard denominational barriers and seek for the experience of religious renewal on the basis of a few shared beliefs about the new birth and the atonement. This is a conclusion that Edwards, Whitefield, and Wesley—the primary theologians of the Awakening—would not have endorsed. Noll probably does not endorse it either. But his choice to not deal with the theological framework of the movement more extensively pushes the message of the book in that direction.

Noll deals with the heart of his topic, the unfolding of the Great Awakening, in an essentially chronological, narrative fashion. He expertly weaves personalities, events, and theologies together as they appear on the time horizon. Deftly moving from the young Wesleys at Oxford to the Moravians in Saxony, Jonathan Edwards in New England and back to Whitefield in Oxford, Noll sketches mini-biographies of important figures, yet keeps the flow of historical events moving rapidly forward. The unfolding of the Awakening never bogs down—a fate to be

avoided by summary histories and revivals alike.

Halfway through, Noll interrupts his story-telling to insert a chapter on "Explanations" of the causes for the Awakening. This is a weaker chapter, as Noll seems unwilling to exclude any proffered cause. He examines, in turn, the Holy Spirit, the role of great men, the flow of history, shifting societal structures, socioecclesiastical status, intellectual evolution, and psychological forces—all causes proposed by various historians. He bravely accepts that all these causes may well have played a role in bringing about the Great Awakening.

One is tempted to rejoin that accepting all explanations makes any particular explanation somewhat vacuous. In fairness, Noll's primary point seems to be that one can accept spiritual explanations for revival and still acknowledge that conventional historical conditions also play a role. Simply put, God works with and through history, not apart from it. But surely one could make this point *and* say that the psychological tension caused by the clash of materialism and authority in colonial America is a far-fetched explanation that involves too many unknown and unknowable variables to be a useful analysis.

Noll continues by looking at the later development and maturing of the Awakening. He traces with particularity the impulses that the revival brought to different existing denominations, as well as the new denominations created in its wake, most notably, Methodism's split from Anglicanism. This section is one of the few departures from the theme of "ecumenism" throughout the book. At the end of the book, he again leaves his chronological scheme to examine evangelicalism's role and impact "In the World," followed by the final chapter on "True Religion."

These two chapters balance each other, as the latter chapter's recognition that evangelicalism is concerned primarily with individual spiritual renewal does not obscure the former's acknowledgment that evangelicals did have an often-profound impact on society. Opposition to slavery, championing of religion and education among the poor and oppressed classes, the running of orphanages and schools, and even the creation of a firewall against the type of revolutionary fervor and class warfare that engulfed France are all benefits to society attributed to evangelicalism.

These chapters are probably beyond the scope of the book. Telling the story of the Great Awakening and the beginning of evangelicalism in less than three hundred pages is challenge enough. Trying to provide explanations about evangelicalism's impact on society is probably overly ambitious and detracts from time that could have been spent by examining more fully the period's theological framework. These topics deserve a book of their own, which, if we are lucky, the prolific Mr. Noll may soon write for us.

Berrien Springs, Michigan   NICHOLAS MILLER

Olson, Roger E. *The Westminster Handbook to Evangelical Theology.* Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 2004. 329 pp. Paper, $39.95.

Roger E. Olson, Professor of Theology at George W. Treutt Theological Seminary, Baylor University, is the author of several books on theology and historical theology, including his recent *Mosaic of Christian Belief: Twenty Centuries*

of Unity and Diversity (Downers Grove: InterVarsity, 2002). The present volume is part of a series of Westminster Handbooks to Christian Theology, which already includes *The Westminster Handbook to Reformed Theology* (2001); *The Westminster Handbook to Origen* (2004); and *The Westminster Handbook to Patristic Theology* (2004).

In the *Westminster Handbook to Evangelical Theology*, Olson admirably surveys the broad parameters of evangelical theology, including numerous prominent evangelical authors. The sections of the book are organized under the titles "The Story of Evangelical Theology," "Movements and Organizations Related to Evangelical Theology," "Key Figures in Evangelical Theology," "Traditional Doctrines in Evangelical Theology," and "Issues in Evangelical Theology." As befits a "handbook," the reader will find historical essays and material on people, organizations, and theological positions. Only near the end of the book, however, does Olson give his definition of "evangelicalism." He notes that "evangelicals are Protestants profoundly influenced by the later renewal movements of Pietism and revivalism" (317). Earlier, though, he is careful to differentiate between Protestantism and evangelicalism, the two of which are not to be confused.

Olson's handbook is helpful in the congregate depictions of many aspects of evangelicalism, including the Puritans and their effect on evangelical theology, Calvinism, the Holiness-Pentecostal movements, and the issue of different worship styles in the various traditions. Each of the sections closes with a helpful, though brief, bibliography for further study.

This is an unusual handbook in that Olson is the sole author. Works of this nature generally involve a number of writers, contributing to the many categories necessary in a handbook compendium. Olson, however, exhibits his capability to survey the historical development of evangelical theology, its many movements, individuals, doctrines, issues, and institutions. No information is given on how topics or published theologians were selected for inclusion—whether by Olson or by the editors. The formatting of the book is also unique in that some of the sections are printed in the standard full-page style, whereas some sections are formatted in a two-column manner.

In his reporting on the varied and extensive viewpoints of evangelical theology, Olson attempts to be even-handed and give each side of a theological debate an impartial description. But the discerning reader can detect where Olson's sympathies lie. He quotes most often Donald Bloesch as the definitive word on a subject, or as one who can supply the needed wisdom to resolve a troubling or decisive issue. In fact, the book is dedicated "with gratitude and affection" to Bloesch, as one "who has served as a model of irenic evangelical theology and generous orthodoxy."

Olson's personal perspective can also be detected through his reporting of the sometimes heated issues that evangelical theology works its way through by referring to the "strife over the secondary matters of the Christian faith" (52). However, he never provides an explanation of how he determines what issues are "primary" in theology. He does, "unconsciously," reveal his own posture through the adjectives he selects. For example, when dealing with the issue of creation, he writes: "The vast majority of evangelical scholars and theologians reject young-earth creationism and

seek a more moderate approach to reconciling Genesis with science" (166). Is the issue of creation and its relationship to science a "secondary" matter that can merely be resolved by a "more moderate approach"? Or is this a "primary" issue that needs more theological wrestling? The topic of creation is referred to by almost every biblical writer in the canon. Can this really be a "secondary" issue? Is the "moderate" position the best reflection of the position of the biblical writers?

Olson's choice of words in describing other dissonant situations is also intriguing. When surveying eschatological discussions in the twentieth century, he reports that the "evangelical movement as a whole seemed to be obsessed with the second coming of Jesus Christ and the events surrounding it" (146). For a movement such as evangelicalism, which proclaims the coming of Jesus as a "primary" doctrine, should a determined focus be deemed an "obsession"? Again, when describing a document entitled "The Gospel of Jesus Christ: An Evangelical Celebration," Olson describes the document's closing argument as a "theologically fussy statement of 'Affirmations and Denials'" (192). With the use of adjectives such as "fussy," it is not difficult to determine how Olson relates to the document. One final example (though many more could be cited) is Olson's passing remark about "secondary matters of the faith such as biblical inerrancy" (108). By relegating biblical inerrancy as a secondary matter, Olson is, perhaps, attempting to bypass the many heated arguments over the nature of Scripture. But who *really* determines that this is a "secondary" theological matter? Would not the primary source of all theological construction deserve supreme status? Though discussions of biblical inerrancy and infallibility cause sharp divisions, the solution should not be to relegate the discussion to secondary matters.

Olson does call for Scripture to inform theology, even if that means deviating from the received Protestant tradition. He notes that "authentic evangelical faith must shed its last vestiges of fundamentalism in maximal conservatism and defensiveness of human traditions (e.g., Old School Princeton Calvinism) and examine everything afresh in the light of new understandings of God's Word" (128). However, I would be curious to know how far Olson would go in doing this, and how he would determine which are the "primary" and "secondary" matters that might need revamping. Would Olson allow for evangelical theological positions, which have been held for centuries, to be revised in light of further scriptural understanding? Probably not, since such theological discussion usually involves discord. If a doctrine is divisive, it appears that Olson merely suggests that it is a "secondary" matter.

Olson also decries the exclusively white, male dominance within evangelicalism. He argues that "women and persons of color" have "not profoundly impacted" evangelical theology (2). However, there are now a number of studies by "women and persons of color" within the evangelical theological perspective. Perhaps Olson could have looked a little harder! Overall, however, the handbook is a valuable volume with excellent reference material. If a person wants to become better informed about evangelical theology, this is a rich place to start.

Andrews University   JO ANN DAVIDSON

GUIDELINES FOR AUTHORS AND REVIEWERS

"Guidelines for Authors and Reviewers" and frequently used abbreviations may be found on our website at www.auss.info, or in *AUSS* 40 (Autumn 2002): 303-306 and back covers, or copies may be requested from the *AUSS* office.

For general English style, see Kate L. Turabian, *A Manual for Writers of Term Papers, Theses, and Dissertations*, 6th ed., rev. John Grossman and Alice Bennett (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996).

For exhaustive abbreviation lists, see Patrick H. Alexander and others, eds., *The SBL Handbook of Style* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1999), 68-152, 176-233. For capitalization and spelling examples, see ibid., 153-164.

Articles may be submitted by email, attached document. Queries to the editors in advance of writing are encouraged. See "Guidelines for Authors and Reviewers" for further details.

TRANSLITERATION OF HEBREW AND ARAMAIC

CONSONANTS

א	= ʾ	ה	= h	ט	= ṭ	מ	= m	פ	= p	שׁ	= š
ב	= b	ו	= w	י	= y	נ	= n	צ	= ṣ	שׂ	= ś
ג	= g	ז	= z	כ	= k	ס	= s	ק	= q	ת	= t
ד	= d	ח	= ḥ	ל	= l	ע	= ʿ	ר	= r		

MASORETIC VOWEL POINTINGS

ַ = a	ֶ = e	ֵ = ê	ֹ = ō	וֹ = ô
ָ = ā	= ē ̄e	= i	= o	וּ = û
ֲ = a (vocal shewa)	= ֵ	= î	= o	= u

No distinction is made between soft and hard begad-kepat letters; dāgēš forte is indicated by doubling the consonant.

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