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BIBLICAL ARCHAEOLOGY

DISSERTATION ABSTRACTS

BOOK REVIEWS

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"CALL UP SAMUEL": WHO APPEARED TO THE WITCH AT EN-DOR? (1 SAMUEL 28:3-25)[1]

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> Boy: Are you a good witch or a bad witch?
>
> Endora: Comme çi, comme ça.
>
> -TV series *Bewitched*

The dark narrative of Saul's night visit to the witch at En-Dor has intrigued readers for millennia. One key interpretive question is the identity of the figure who appeared to the medium and spoke to Saul. Was it the *post mortem* Samuel or a demon impersonating Samuel in order to deceive Saul?[2] Historically, Jewish and Christian interpreters have been divided on the question.[3]

The view that the figure was Samuel has been held by one group of interpreters at least since Joshua ben Sirach: "And after this he [Samuel] slept, and he made known to the king, and shewed him the end of his life, and he lifted up his voice from the earth in prophecy to blot out the wickedness of the nation" (Ecclesiasticus 46:16-23). Arnold observes that some of this group regarded Samuel as a "disembodied soul" while others thought he had a "resuscitated physical body." "Some of the interpreters in this category appear to have worked from a specifically dualist anthropology, but others apparently assumed a resuscitated physical body, perhaps not unlike the resurrection body of Jesus."[4] For example, Josephus thought only the soul of Samuel appeared from Hades, equating the Greco-Roman view of the underworld with the Sheol of the Old Testament[5] while Augustine, by contrast, compared Samuel's appearance at En-Dor to that of Moses on the

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[1]A version of this paper was presented at the BRI Jerusalem Bible Conference in June 2012, and the author thanks those present for their feedback, particularly Dr. Richard M. Davidson.

[2]There are of course various other views, for example a rationalist reading that views the 'ghost' as a product of trickery and Saul's conversation with it as reflecting the conflict in his own head. See Fred Blumenthal, "The Ghost of Samuel: Real or Imaginary?" *Jewish Bible Quarterly* 41, no. 2 (2013): 104-106.

[3]See K.A.D. Smelik, "The Witch of Endor: 1 Samuel 28 in Rabbinic and Christian Exegesis till 800A.D.," *Vigilae Christianae* 33 (1979): 160-179.

[4]Bill T. Arnold, "Soul-Searching Questions About 1 Samuel 28: Samuel's Appearance at Endor and Christian Anthropology," in *What About The Soul? Neuroscience and Christian Anthropology,* ed. Joel B. Green (Nashville: Abingdon, 2004), 75-83.

[5]Athalya Brenner, *I Am . . . : Biblical Women Tell Their Own Stories* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2005), 202.

Mount of Transfiguration.[6] Many commentators today see the apparition as Samuel, present at the medium's séance but actually sent by God.

A second group of interpreters saw the figure as a demonic impersonator giving a false prophecy calculated to deceive and destroy Saul. For example, Tertullian thought the apparition was a demon, applying the apostolic warning about Satan masquerading as an angel of light and his servants as servants of righteousness (2 Cor 11:14-15). Many commentators in this group argued that it was "impossible for a holy prophet to be disturbed and raised from the dead by necromantic rituals. Saints may be able to exorcize evil spirits, but the reverse is not true—demons are not able to call up dead saints."[7] Smelik finds that historically this group "seems to have been the most authoritative."[8]

This paper will argue that the exegetical evidence favours the second view.

1. The context involves Canaanite ritual

En-Dor probably still had a Canaanite population in Saul's time. Manasseh took En-Dor during the occupation, but failed to drive out the inhabitants of the land (Josh 17:11-12), and Hutter[9] argues that the place name En-Dor came from *enna durenna*, the Hittite term for the gods. Collins notes, "The Hittites maintained an active line of communication with the deities who lived beneath the earth in order to retain their goodwill." She compares the En-Dor story to a Hittite ritual where the "ritual specialist" makes figurines of the underworld gods, opens a pit in the ground into which honey, wine and other libations are poured and money is thrown, and conjures the spirit. "Such rituals typically included sacrificing an animal over the pit as well."[10]

Recent discoveries from Ugarit offer important background to this passage, and suggest that the medium works to summon deceased and divinized ancestors from the underworld in a Canaanite style. Arnold summarises the situation:

> Whereas previous scholarship tended to deny the presence of ancestral worship in ancient Israel, it is now generally agreed that normative Yahwism battled against the practice of necromancy and other death rituals, such as self-laceration and offerings to deceased ancestors. As with such practices in comparable cultures, it is assumed that Israelite cults of the dead sought to appease the dead or to secure favours from them.[11]

[6]Arnold, "Soul-Searching Questions," 77, 199 n.8, citing Augustine, *De octo dulcetii quaestionibus,* 6.1-4.

[7]Arnold, "Soul-Searching Questions," 77.

[8]Smelik, "Witch," 165.

[9]Manfred Hutter, "Religionsgeschichtliche Erwagungen zu *elohim* in 1Sam 28,13," *Biblische Notizen* (1983) 32-36.

[10]Billie Jean Collins, *The Hittites and Their World* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2007), 169-170.

[11]Bill T. Arnold, "Religion in Ancient Israel," in *The Face of Old Testament Studies: A Survey of Contemporary Approaches* (ed. David W. Baker and Bill T. Arnold; Grand

Egyptian and Mesopotamian ancestor worship is well attested, but Ugarit provides the closest parallel material to the En-Dor narrative. One tablet from Ras Shamra (KTU 1.161) describes the liturgy for a mortuary ritual which invokes departed royal ancestors to bless the current king and the immediately deceased king. It invites the *rp'm* (similar to the Hebrew *rephaim*), who are long-deceased ancestors, and the *mlkm,* the recently-deceased rulers, to help and bless. This text and others reveal "a vibrant cult of ancestor worship at Ugarit" and explain "an ongoing battle throughout Israel's history between normative Yahwism and practitioners of death rituals in the popular religion."[12]

Del Olmo Lete notes that the Ugaritic ritual text KTU 1.124

> suggests an illuminating comparison with 1 Samuel 28, the episode of the "witch of Endor." The recently established "king" of Israel forbids necromancy in his kingdom as well as every other funerary divination connected with the typically Canaanite cult of the dead. However, he uses these practices when the "Yahwistic" systems of cultic response (dreams, lots, and oracles) fail him. It is clear that the ban is determined by the demands of his faith, but it must be asked whether it is not due to defending a royal monopoly, inherited from the Canaanite model of royalty through which the sovereign addresses the "founder of the dynasty," in this case Samuel, to question him about matters concerning his kingdom. . . .Yet the persistence of Canaanite usage and beliefs is more obvious in the phrases used by the necromancer to express her experience: "I see a god (*'elohim*) who is coming up from the earth/underworld" (1 Sam 28:1). This is exactly one of the epithets (*ilh/ilhm*) given to the dead and deified kings of Ugarit (KTU 1.39:5). Saul and his sons would also belong to this royal aristocracy when they died the following day (v.19).[13]

(Within this paradigm, one can imagine that the prediction that Saul and sons would be "with me" [1 Sam 28:19] would have suggested the flattering promise of being included among the great in the next world.) In a section on royal necromancy, Del Olmo Lete describes a Canaanite ritual of "summoning" which is similar to what we see at En-Dor, and several other texts depicting a model of cultic consultation and reply, seeking "divine people" (especially

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Rapids, MI: Baker, 1999), 414. See also T. J. Lewis, *Cults of the Dead in Ancient Israel and Ugarit,* HSM 39 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989). B. B. Schmidt, *Israel's Beneficent Dead: Ancestor Cult and Necromancy in Ancient Israelite Religion and Tradition,* FAT 111 (Tubingen: Mohr, 1994; reprinted Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1996). Klaus Spronk, *Beatific Afterlife in Ancient Israel and in the Ancient Near East,* AOAT 219 (Kevelaer: Butzon and Bercker; Neukirchen-Vluyn; Neukirchener Verlag, 1986). N. J. Tromp, *Primitive Conceptions of Death and the Nether World in the Old Testament,* BibOr 21 (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1969).

[12]Arnold, "Religion," 415. See also Pierre Bordeuil, "Ugarit and the Bible: New Data from the House of Urtenu," in *Ugarit at Seventy-Five* (ed. K. Lawson Younger, Jr.; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2007), 89-100:93.

[13]Ibid.*,* 315.

dead kings) and "netherworld gods" (*ilm*, cf Hebrew *'elohim)*.[14] So the woman is likely a "Canaanite priestess."[15]

Saul asks her to divine for him using a *'ob* (28:8; KJV "familiar spirit"; cf 28:3, 8, 9). Hutter[16] sees this word as related to the Hittite expression *api,* which means "both the one buried and enclosed in earth" and also a "sacrificial grave/ burial site." He cites a ritual text from Hattusa which refers to a sacred burial spot, and which seeks guidance from ancient gods and from Aduntarri who was a prophet—as was Samuel. Strauss[17] sees an *'ob* as a "conjuring pit" where the dead (who are thought of as *'elohim*, diving beings, cf Babylonian *etemmu*, divine ancestors in the underworld) are supposed to come up from the underworld. He cites Isaiah 29:4 as an instance of this. Podella[18] argues that an *'ob* is related to *'ab* = father or ancestor, and means "deceased ancestor," by analogy with the Ugaritic *ilib* which is made up of *il* = god and *ib* = father, hence "divine ancestor." He identifies Mesopotamian necromancers named *muselo sa etemmi* "the one who brings a spirit of the dead," which he compares to וְשָׁאַל אוֹב וְיִדְּעֹנִי "the one who asks ancestors and knower of the future" and וְדֹרֵשׁ אֶל־הַמֵּתִים "the one who questions the dead" (Deut 18:11). It would seem that the meaning of the term *'ob* included both the spirit, believed to be that of the deceased ancestor, and the conjuring site through which it spoke.

Tsumura offers the fascinating proposal that the medium tries to conjure the Solar goddess, who was believed to travel through the underworld from west to east each night and act as the "*psychopompe,* that is, the one who brings the spirit of the dead up or down." He also cites text 1.161 from Ugarit as describing her escorting the newly deceased king Niqmiddu down to the underworld. Thus the phrase אֵשֶׁת בַּעֲלַת־אוֹב could mean a servant of the solar goddess, or "woman who serves the Lady of dead spirits."[19]

This Canaanite background should be influential in interpreting 1 Samuel 28. Hutter's conclusion is that the witch "speaks of an old local custom of conjuration of underworld deities" rather than of a supernatural Samuel. He supports this by arguing that "conjuring the dead originally meant nothing other than a cult of foreign gods" which explains the radical prohibitions of it (Deut 18:10; Lev 20:6). He argues that if the narrator of 1 Samuel meant

[14]Ibid*.,* 346.

[15]Serge Frolov and Vladimir Orel "Notes on 1 Samuel," *Biblische Notizen* 74 (1994), 15-23.

[16]Hutter, "1Sam 28,13," 32-36. See also J. Ebach and U. Rutersworden, "Unterweltbeschworung im Alten Testament" *UF* 9 (1997): 57-70; *UF* 12 (1980): 205-220.

[17]Hans Strauss, 'Uber die Grenzen? Exegetische Betrachtungen zu 1 Sam 28, 3-25 auf dem Hintergrund bestimmter Stromungen im Rahmen des sogenannten "New Age," *Biblische Notizen* 50 (1989): 17-25.

[18]Thomas Podella, "Nekromantie*," Theologische Quartalschrift* 177 (1997): 121-133.

[19]David Toshio Tsumura, *The First Book of Samuel* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2007), 630-631.

to describe the real "spirit of the deceased Samuel" other words would have been used, such as אִטִּים (Isa 19:3) or רְפָאִים (Prov 21:16).[20]

This scene depicts a clash of worldviews—that of orthodox Yahwism and of the Canaanite paradigm of life after death. The woman should be not be expected to express an "Old Testament" or "biblical" worldview, or to speak for the writer of Samuel.

2. The medium speaks as a polytheist

The medium tells Saul, "I see *'elohim* ('gods', KJV) coming up from the earth" (28:13). The term *'elohim* can be translated as a singular (God or god) or plural (gods), usually depending on context,[21] but here the medium uses it with a plural verb: "they are coming up." This is consistent with polytheism: the Philistines use *'elohim* with plural grammar (4:8), and it is used in describing the worship of gods other than Yahweh (8:8; 26:19).[22] Saul's reply ignores her plural, and uses the singular: "What does he look like?" (28:14). Saul is a monotheist. The medium then perhaps changes her story to suit her audience, or perhaps focuses on just one of the apparitions she sees arising,[23] and says, "An old man is coming up" (28:14). Many commentators do not mention the change from plural to singular, while some see it merely as an anomalous grammatical change without rhetorical effect, but it reveals that two different religious paradigms are in conflict in this conversation.

This misunderstanding produces irony when Saul complains to an apparition who has just been called *'elohim* (plural) that *'elohim* (singular, and parallel to the term "Yahweh") is no longer answering him and so he has

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[20]Hutter, "1 Sam 28,13, " 35.

[21]J.C.L. Gibson, *Davidson's Introductory Hebrew Grammar—Syntax* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1994), 23, s26, says "When אֱלֹהִים means *gods* it takes a plur., and in a few cases even when it is *God*, Gen. 20.13 (or in an address to foreigners is *the gods* meant?); 35.7, Ex. 22.8 (in both of which a polytheistic background may be detected or be being exploited, cf. Gen. 28.12)."

[22]For a helpful analysis of more examples of the use of *'elohim* with plural predication, see Michael S. Heiser, "Should אֱלֹהִים 'Elohim With Plural Predication Be Translated Gods?," *BT* Vol. 61, No. 3: 123-136. Heiser sees rare cases of "anomalous grammatical agreement," e.g. when a "normally singular verb form will be plural in agreement with the so-called plural of majesty." He cites Paul Joüon, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew* (trans. and rev. Takamitsu Muraoka; 2 vols.; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 2003; 2005), 2:553. Heiser's treatment of 1 Sam 28:13 is brief and does not come to a conclusion about whether it should be read as God or gods, perhaps because his analysis is based on the assumption that this text and the others he considers "bear no hint that the biblical writer wants the reader to assume that a foreigner or apostate is anywhere in view" (125). I would submit that the En-Dor narrative has both a foreigner (as argued in point 1 above) and an apostate (see point 4 below).

[23]The Talmud suggests that Samuel came up, bringing Moses with him. See Shaul Bar, "Saul and the 'Witch of En-Dor,'" *Jewish Bible Quarterly* 39:2 (2011): 99-107.

"called on you" (28:15). He has just exchanged the '*elohim* of Yahwism for the '*elohim* of Canaanite religion as a source of guidance.

3. *The meal is part of the ritual*

Meals have received more attention in biblical studies in recent years,[24] and this one is fully described in an otherwise economical narrative,[25] which suggests something more than mere nutrition is going on. When the medium kills the calf (the violence creating chilling atmospherics), the verb is not טָבַח (= slaughter, butcher, slay . . . animals for food, BDB370) but זָבַח (= slaughter for sacrifice, BDB256). Of the word's 129 uses, 127 clearly refer to 'cultic ritual slaughter'.[26] Sacrifice (mainly described using this word but also by synonyms) is an important motif in the book of Samuel, beginning with the faithful sacrifice of Elkanah (1:3, 4, 21); then the abuse of sacrifice by Eli's sons (chap. 2), a sin whose guilt cannot be removed by sacrifice (3:14). Saul is called to kingship at a sacrificial meal (chap. 9) and enthroned after sacrifice (chap. 10-11). His first disobedience is sacrificing for himself (13:8-14) and his second involves the excuse of using the animals for sacrifice (15:15, 21) though Samuel fires back that obedience is better than sacrifice (15:22). Saul's kingship, begun at a sacrificial meal, now ends at one (chap. 28).[27]

The meal may also form part of a covenant ritual. Reis[28] argues this was a ritual meal, citing Leviticus 19:26, "Do not eat any meat with the blood still in it. Do not practise divination or sorcery." The parallelism suggests eating

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[24]Gerald Klingbeil, "'Momentsaufnahmen' of Israelite Religion: The Importance of the Communal Meal in Narrative Texts in I/II Regum and Their Ritual Dimension," *ZAW* 118 (2006): 22-45; 31-32, notes that meals had a meaning beyond the pragmatic, creating "community," "political dimensions related to contracts," and "covenants in the religious sphere" (Exod 24:11), and "were part and parcel of standard cultic procedure in the context of religious feasts." Further see Nathan MacDonald, *What Did the Ancient Israelites Eat? Diet in Biblical Times* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2008), and *Not Bread Alone: The Uses of Food in the Old Testament* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

[25]Frolov and Orel, "Notes," 19, count six verses, starting from v. 19 where food is first mentioned.

[26]J. Milgrom, "Profane Slaughter and a Formulaic Key to the Composition of Deuteronomy," *HUCA* 47 [1976], 1-2. The two exceptions are Deut 12:15, 21 which, in a chapter commanding sacrifice only in Yahweh's ordained place, also permit 'secular' butchery and eating of clean animals at home, as long as the blood is not consumed. In Samuel, all occurrences of זָבַח describe Yahwistic sacrifice, although Judges 16:23 depicts Philistine sacrifice to Dagon.

[27]For a fuller treatment of parallels between these two scenes, see Grenville J. R. Kent, *Say It Again, Sam: a literary and filmic study of narrative repetition in 1 Samuel 28*. (Eugene, OR: Pickwick Publications, 2011), 148-152.

[28]Pamela Tamarkin Reis, "Eating the Blood: Saul and the Witch of Endor," *JSOT* 73 (1997): 3-23.

the blood is related to sorcery. Maimonides saw eating this bloody meal as a ritual of witchcraft:

> They thought it was the food of the spirits [the dead]; by eating it, man has something in common with the spirits, which join him and tell him future events. . . . They imagined that . . . love, brotherhood and friendship with the spirits were established, because they dined with the latter . . . ; that the spirits would appear to them in dreams, inform them of coming events, and be favourable to them. . . . The Law . . . forbade the eating of blood, and emphasized the prohibition in exactly the same terms as it emphasizes idolatry.[29]

Grintz[30] distinguishes between two offences: that of eating blood (Gen 9:4; Lev 3:17; 7:26-27; 17:10,13,14; Deut 12:16,23; 15:23), which is based on the idea of the life being in the blood, and the offences of eating "on" or "upon" (על or אל) the blood (Lev 19:26; 1 Sam 14:32, 33, 34 [אל] and Ezek 33:25 [על]), which he claims is based on the identification with witchcraft due to the parallelism between the first and second clauses of Lev 19:26.[31]

The En-Dor narrative spends three verbs on the preparation of *matzah* bread (28:24), a constituent of a sacrificial offering (e.g. Lev 2:4, 11).

In considering eating in the cultic context of worshipping foreign deities, one recalls Israel's earlier encounter with Moabite worship. In Num 25:1-3, Israel "ate and bowed down before these gods" (*'elohim*), with tragic results. The psalmist describes the Moabite incident in these terms: "They joined themselves to Baal-Peor and ate the sacrifices of the dead" (106:28). This matches recent findings that the Moabites regarded their dead as divinized, and that their worship involved sharing food generated by sacrifice, presumably in an attempt to secure blessing and guidance. Yet the psalmist goes further, describing a time when Israel left orthodox Yahwism and "sacrificed their sons and their daughters unto devils" (NIV "demons"), and then parallels this in the next verse with sacrificing them "to the idols of Canaan" (Ps 106:37-38). This parallelism equates the idols of Canaan with devils (c.f. also Deut 12:31). Deut 32:16-18 also speaks of sacrificing to strange gods who are devils,[32] not Israel's known *'elohim* (Yahweh) but foreign *'elohim* (gods).

Frolov and Orel seem correct in observing that the meal "is a symbolic act confirming [Saul's] covenant with the medium of En-Dor and the host of

[29]Moses Maimonides, *The Guide for the Perplexed,* trans. M. Friedlander (repr.; New York: Dover, 1956), 362.

[30]Jehoshua M. Grintz, "'Do Not Eat on the Blood': Reconsiderations in Setting and Dating of the Priestly Code," in *Annual of the Swedish Theological Institute,* vol 8, ed. Hans Kosmala (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1972), 78-105.

[31]Grintz, "Do Not Eat on the Blood," 80, notes that "modern Jewish Biblical research has continued to understand the verse [1 Sam 14:33] in the same way: viz. that the act of 'eating on the blood' was for purposes of divination."

[32]As does a later commentator in 1 Cor 10:20.

evil spirits in a futile attempt to change his fate."[33] For them, this shows "Saul left the God of Israel and fell into paganism."

So the meal is a necromantic sacrifice to the dead, including eating of blood as explicitly forbidden by the Torah, and is an "unholy but legally effective covenant between God's anointed and an idolatrous shaman." Reis puts it neatly: "The witch does not set before the king so dainty a dish as has been hitherto supposed."[34]

4. Saul has shown vulnerability to fortune-telling and the demonic

Samuel's second rebuke of Saul back in 1 Samuel 15 hangs over the entire story of Saul in a telling way. Samuel said obedience is better than sacrifice, and added:

> "Because rebelliousness is like the sin of divination/witchcraft (*chattath–qesem*) And to be stubborn is like the evil of idolatry (*teraphim*)" (1 Samuel 15:23).

At the time, this remark felt harsh and perhaps even undeserved. Would Saul, who has had his heart changed by Yahweh and has been among the prophets, really be in danger of *qesem*, the pagan divination practiced by the Philistines (1 Sam 6:2) and forbidden as the practice that saw other nations driven out of the land (Deut 18:10-14), and the sorcery that Balaam attempted to use against Israel (Num 22:7; 23:23; Josh 13:22)? Would Saul really be tempted by *teraphim*, the household idols which were used by Laban (Gen 31:19, 30–35,[35] where they are also called *'elohim*), who practiced divination (30:27), and which were part of the disastrous apostasy of Micah (Jdg 17:5-18:20)? Podella describes *teraphim* as statuettes, household images of deceased ancestors similar to the "household gods" of Nuzi and Meskene (Emar) in Syria which are at times associated with the *metu* = dead and the *etemmu* = spirit of the dead.[36] Later, *teraphim* would be among the foreign worship practices abolished by the reforming King Josiah, associated with הָאֹבוֹת and הַיִּדְּעֹנִים and הַגִּלֻּלִים (= idols, 2 Kgs 23:24). The Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar would use *teraphim* in divining which path to take with his armies (Ezek 21:16). Zechariah also describes *teraphim* as communicating trouble or wickedness, and parallels them with הַקּוֹסְמִים who have seen a lie and told false dreams (Zech 10:2). Would Saul really fall for such obvious idolatry? Are Samuel's words going to fall to the ground?

We are kept in suspense for four chapters until, in a tense scene, Saul's daughter Michal puts a *teraphim* in David's bed to cover his escape (1 Sam 19:13, 16). Saul in his throne room sees the *teraphim* (the term appears twice, the second with a *hinneh* emphasising Saul's point of view), but Saul offers

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[33]Frolov and Orel, "Notes," 20.

[34]Reis, "Witch," 4.

[35]In contrast with Joseph, whose claim to be able to divine (*nachash*, Gen 44:12) may have been part of his act of deception against his brothers, making him look more Egyptian.

[36]Thomas Podella, "Nekromantie," *Theologische Quartalschrift* 177 (1997): 121-133.

no shocked or negative comments about idolatry, and so we can assume he knows about it and tolerates it. Samuel's prophetic word has been shown to be reliable.

And then, thirteen chapters later, we are told that Saul had previously gotten rid of occult practitioners. This seems to contradict Samuel's prediction about witchcraft, and creates some suspense, but it proves to be a narrative feint: just four verses later Saul consults a witch and begins with the exact word Samuel used: *qasami-na ba'ob*. So while the *teraphim* appeared subtly in the background of an scene, the *qasami* is blatantly spoken by Saul himself, even after hearing Samuel grammatically connect the term to sin (*chattath–qesem*, 15:23). This then is deliberate rebellion. While Saul's defection to the witch is shocking and tragic, it merely reveals in crisis those trends which were hidden but present in his normal life, and which Samuel had prophetically seen. One tradition of scholarship[37] sees Saul as harshly treated due to Yahweh's favouritism for David, but Saul's deliberate and ongoing defiance seems to provide solid reasons for Yahweh to remove him as king.

Related to this, Saul had a history of what could be called demonic oppression. Immediately after David is anointed, the Spirit of Yahweh came upon David, but almost immediately afterwards we are told that the Spirit of Yahweh had departed from Saul, and an evil spirit from Yahweh tormented him (1 Sam 16:13-14).[38] This seems to be a regular problem which is openly acknowledged at his court (16:14-15, 23; 18:10; 19:9). Some contemporary exegetes take this as a primitive, pre-scientific description of mental illness[39] rather than a serious pneumatological and parapsychological statement, but Hebrew had clear terms to describe madness (e.g. 1 Sam 21:15-16). While the word רוּחַ can be used of human emotions such as קְשַׁת־רוּחַ (1:15), the usage in 16:14 has the name of God attached, suggesting more than merely a human spirit. Saul had previously been influenced by the divine Spirit: after his anointing (predicted in 10:6, "Spirit of Yahweh," fulfilled in 10:10, "Spirit of God") and before his successful defence of Jabesh-Gilead (11:6).

So by the time Saul visits En-Dor, he seems vulnerable to demonic deceptions.

5. The rebuke by the apparent Samuel dramatically escalates the punishment

In the stinging speech of rebuke delivered by the apparent Samuel at En-Dor, many commentators hear no significant difference from the previous

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[37]Reflected in John Goldingay, *Men Behaving Badly*, (Carlisle, England: Paternoster, 2000), 584-85, who puts the view that Saul was punished too harshly for a "marginal sin committed under increasing pressure."

[38]David later prays the Spirit of God will not leave him. Ps 51:11.

[39]Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder, depression, and epilepsy are considered in a contemporary therapeutic perspective presented by G. P. Williams and M. Le Rou., 2012, 'King Saul's mysterious malady', *HTS Teologiese Studies/Theological Studies* 68, no. 1 (2012): 6 pages. Accessed September 9, 2014. doi: 10.4102/hts.v68i1.906.

rebukes by the living Samuel[40] except that a timeframe is now given. Many conclude it is therefore a genuine prophetic message. However, while it is clear that this last rebuke does repeat a lot of Samuel's previous comments, a careful comparison of the three rebukes[41] shows that the last one increases his punishment quite dramatically.

The first rebuke (1 Sam 13:10-14) blames Saul for sacrificing unlawfully and against a clear instruction. After a confronting but fair-minded opening question that elicits Saul's excuse, Samuel delivers the consequence: Saul's kingship will not endure. Yahweh has sought "a man after his own heart" as leader "because you have not kept Yahweh's command." There is no thought of death for Saul or his family when the kingship ends.

The second rebuke (1 Sam 15:13-35) is for failing to execute *cherem* on the Amalekites. It too begins with a question. It faults Saul for an attitude of rebelliousness and stubbornness comparable to witchcraft and idolatry, and then states the punishment: "Because you have rejected the word of Yahweh, he has rejected you as king." But even after this mention of occult activity, death is not mentioned for Saul or anyone else.

The last rebuke, given by the apparent Samuel in En-Dor, has some similar features. It begins with a question. There is one new element: the "neighbour" is named for the first time as David, but that was already obvious from the plot and Saul's own words (1 Sam 24:20). Otherwise, verses 17-18 merely repeat the living Samuel's previous rebukes and the existing punishment of losing the kingdom because Saul did not obey Yahweh. These similarities could suggest either the same speaker or alternatively a clever impersonator. Yet verse 19 is new material. "Yahweh will hand over both Israel and you to the Philistines, and tomorrow you and your sons will be with me." These elements—military defeat for Israel, death for Saul, death for his sons—are totally new, and massively extend the punishment *for the same offences*. Yet these outcomes were by no means inevitable: as Goldingay has observed, "Defeat did not have to mean death. It had not done so in previous engagements between Israel and Philistia, whichever side won. Even if it did, his death did not have to mean his sons' deaths."[42] This third rebuke did not mention any new sins (though see point 7 below), so one could ask why a just God would add to the punishment? Could this suggest that the speaker is not Samuel?

After this rebuke, Saul is devastated. He goes out into the night, both literally and figuratively, only to lose the next day's battle and to commit suicide. One would expect the real Samuel to make some attempt to reconcile Saul to God before his death, to offer him grace despite his sins and suggest he should repent, to remind him of Israel's gospel of sacrifice for sin and

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[40]J. P. Fokkelman, *Narrative Art and Poetry in the Books of Samuel: a full interpretation based on stylistic and structural analyses, Vol II, The Crossing Fates (I Sam. 13-31 & II Sam. 1)* (Assen/Maastricht/ Dover, NH: Van Gorcum, 1986), 618; Goldingay, *Behaving Badly*, 584.

[41]For more detailed analysis see Kent, *Say it again, Sam*, 186-194.

[42]Goldingay, *Behaving Badly,* 178.

guilt, but the message has none of these elements and in fact drives Saul to despair and self-destruction. Is this message consistent with the justice and grace of Yahweh? If not, is it likely that the one who delivered it was Yahweh's prophet Samuel?

6. The rebuke by the apparent Samuel complains about "bringing me up"

One smaller detail also questions the identity of the apparent Samuel. The opening line of his rebuke is "Why have you disturbed me by bringing me up?" Considering the scale of the issues at stake for Israel and its king, this would be a rather petty and self-focussed comment for the real Samuel.[43] And it would be strange indeed if it came from a prophet who was very willing to be awakened, and to disturb Eli repeatedly, in order to hear a word from Yahweh (1 Sam 3). If, as a number of commentators argue,[44] God seized the initiative to turn an occultic consultation into an opportunity for true prophecy, why would Samuel begin by complaining about being there at all? Would he not willingly go on a mission for God?

Further, why would the real Samuel credit the woman or Saul with bringing him up? The phrase "come/bring up" is noticeably repeated in the conjuration scene. Saul has asked the woman to bring someone up (28:8, Hiphil of עלה), and she has asked him whom to bring up (28:11, Hiphil of עלה) and been told to bring up Samuel (28:11, Hiphil of עלה), then described the divinized dead and then an old man coming up (28:13, 14, Qal of עלה) and after all that repetition of the phrase, the apparent Samuel than complains about being brought up. As Pigott points out, "according to Samuel's words in v.15, he was disturbed from his sleep by the conjuring."[45] If this was the real Samuel sent by God, why would he suggest the medium had brought him up? This would attribute to her the ability to decide what happens to Yahweh's faithful prophet, who is under divine control. According to Hannah's speech, which functions as a predictive overture introducing key themes of the book, it is Yahweh who brings down to Sheol, and who brings up (1 Sam 2:6, Hiphil of עלה).[46]

Further, these repeated mentions of coming up raise the question: From where? In the traditional Christian paradigm, would God's prophet and a lost

[43]Bar, "Witch," 104, considers Phoenician royal tomb inscriptions warning against grave-robbing, and claims Samuel complains Saul is "desecrating his grave and disturbing his rest," but the text makes clear that Saul is in En-Dor while Samuel's grave is in Ramah.

[44]E.g. W.A.M. Beuken, "1 Samuel 28: The Prophet as 'Hammer of Witches.'" *JSOT* 6 (1978): 3–17 and Ralph W. Klein, *1 Samuel* (Waco, TX: Word, 1983), 271.

[45]Susan M. Pigott, "1 Samuel 28—Saul and the Not So Wicked Witch of Endor," *Review & Expositor 95* (Summer 1998): 435-44: 442, n.12.

[46]The parallelism here with "kills and makes alive" suggests that this may well be one of the rare OT mentions of the possibility of resurrection. The wicked, by contrast, are "made silent in darkness" (2:9).

king really end up in the same place after their deaths? This does not seem to fit with traditional notions of eternal life in heaven or hell. It could fit with some constructs of Sheol, yet these have problems of their own and are not held by all scholars, though full discussion is outside the scope of this paper.

If the real Samuel would have been unlikely to complain, or to attribute to the medium the power to bring him up, then is it likely this figure is him?

7. The rebuke ignores the most obvious issue

The rebuke by the apparent Samuel does not blame Saul for his most obvious sin of all—the divination itself. One grumpy, self-centred complaint about having his own sleep disturbed is hardly equivalent to a rebuke for the damning sin of divination. Miscall observes: "Samuel says nothing of Saul's sin of divination and consulting a medium."[47] Pigott also comments: "In every passage where necromancy is mentioned, the Hebrew Bible clearly decries the practice and/or condemns the practitioner—every passage, that is, except one. . . . [O]ne of the most striking aspects of the account is the complete absence of the expected negative word about the witch."[48]

By contrast, Chronicles reveals that the divination was a key reason for Saul's death: "Saul died for his transgression which he committed against the Lord, *even* against the word of the Lord, which he kept not, and also for asking *counsel* of *one that had* a familiar spirit [an *'ob*], to inquire *of it;* and inquired not of the Lord: therefore He slew him." (1 Chron 10:13, 14, KJV, italics reflecting words supplied by the translators). Some[49] have seen here a contradiction with 1 Samuel, which says Saul did enquire of God (28:6). This can be harmonised in various ways[50] but the Chronicles passage may be understood as revealing from whom Saul really enquired at En-Dor—from an *'ob* spirit but not from God. The Chronicler gives a summary of Saul's disobedience (c.f. the incidents in 1 Sam 13 and 15), and of the key sins is the divination which remains secret through Saul's story except for Samuel's exposure of it. Chronicles reveals that the divination finally results in Saul's death, perhaps not least because of a discouraging and self-fulfilling prophecy

[47]Peter D. Miscall, *1 Samuel: A Literary Reading,* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1986), 169–70. Bill T. Arnold, *1 & 2 Samuel* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2003), 375 likewise notes that there is no rebuke for "the sin of necromancy and the presence of the medium."

[48]Pigott, "Not So Wicked Witch," 435, uses this as evidence for a positive view of the witch.

[49]E.g. Jacob M. Myers, *The Anchor Bible: 1 Chronicles* (New York: Doubleday & Co, 1965), 82.

[50]For one thing, the two passages use different Hebrew verbs. The question is beyond the scope of this paper, but for one example of harmonisation, see J. A. Thompson, *NAC 1, 2 Chronicles* (Broadman & Holman, 1994), 266, who cites other Chronicles references where enquiring of God or seeking God is a broad attitude which involves devotion and obedience in all of life.

that results in his battlefield suicide. This is actually quite consistent with the narrative of Samuel.

It is striking indeed that the apparent Samuel does not mention this sin in a rebuke which is otherwise comprehensive, when the real Samuel had previously raised divination as a major issue (1 Sam 15:22-23).

8. *The apparent Samuel's predictions are questionable*

Many commentators accept that the predictions of the apparent Samuel come true, but careful examination reveals nagging questions about the accuracy of some details. Of course the prediction generally comes true: Israel suffers military defeat. Yet this was not difficult to predict, and Saul already feared it (1 Sam 28:5). However some details do not fit. The prediction is, "Yahweh will hand over both Israel and you to the Philistines, and tomorrow you and your sons will be with me." Yet Saul is not handed to the Philistines—he kills himself before they can get him. The Philistines do take his body, but this does not happen "tomorrow" as they do not come to strip the bodies until the day after (31:8), and the men of Jabesh Gilead soon recover his body immediately and put it permanently beyond Philistine reach (1 Sam 31:12-13; cf 2 Sam 21:12-14). And perhaps most obvious, Saul's sons do not all die on the same day. It appears that they have, as three sons die in battle (1 Sam 31:2) and the narrator has so far listed only three sons for Saul (Jonathan, Ishvi, Malki-Shua, 1 Sam 14:49) compared with four listed by the Chronicler (Jehonathan, Malki-Shua, Abinadab and Esh-Baal, 1 Chron 8:33).[51] Yet a few chapters after the apparent Samuel's prediction, "Ish-Bosheth son of Saul" appears, with the title "son of Saul" repeatedly linked to his name even when it is not necessary as he has already been introduced (2 Sam 2:8-10, 12, 15; 4:8).

Why might these inconsistencies become apparent? Perhaps the narrator was initially withholding information to create mystery, planning to reveal the whole story later so that readers would go back and question the identity of the apparent Samuel. These nagging discrepancies raise doubts that the speaker at En-Dor could be the prophet Samuel, who always spoke Yahweh's word accurately, with no words falling to the ground (1 Sam 3:19-21). Evans says of the apparent Samuel, "if this really was Samuel, his information was somewhat limited."[52] As the attentive reader notes these mistakes, curiosity may cause a re-examination of what was actually said, revealing that it was the apparent Samuel who sent us down the wrong path. This leaves the unsettling feeling of having been tricked by an occult practitioner, and the reader's emotional involvement makes the story hard to forget. Of course

[51]This can be harmonised seeing Ishvi and Abinadab as alternate names for the same man, seeing Ish-Baal/Ish-Bosheth as a younger son not mentioned by the Samuel narrator for some reason, and recognizing that slightly different spellings are not uncommon.

[52]Mary J. Evans, *The Message of Samuel* (Leicester, England: Inter-Varsity Press, 2004), 154-155.

the narrator has allowed this temporary confusion by withholding key information, yet this is not unreliable narration;[53] it is mystery writing that results in a bewitching story with a memorable theme.

9. *Torah allusions offer clear guidance*

While engaging in mystery writing, the narrator also guides the alert reader with clear allusions to the Torah's strong prohibitions of necromancy, and these ring alarm bells about what is really going on. The medium asks Saul why he tries to lay a snare (מִתְנַקֵּשׁ) for her life, and she uses a word which has been used only once previously in Scripture as part of a passage warning against being ensnared by the religious practices of the Canaanites (Deut 12:29-13:5). This Torah warns against being ensnared (פֶּן־תִּנָּקֵשׁ, v.30), and also warns against enquiring (דרשׁ cf. Saul in 28:7) after "their gods" or "other gods," אֱלֹהִים cf. 1 Sam 28:13), and goes on to mention the role of a prophet (נָבִיא Deut 13:1; cf. 1 Sam 28:6, 15) and to command that, even if their predictions are fulfilled, Israel should not heed/obey (שׁמע Deut 13:3; cf. 1 Sam 28:21, 22, 23) that prophet but should heed/obey Yahweh's voice (תִּשְׁמֹרוּ וּבְקֹלוֹ Deut 13:4; cf. 1 Sam 28:18) because that prophet or dreamer is trying to drive them from Yahweh's chosen path הַדֶּרֶךְ (Deut 13:6; cf. 1 Sam 28:22). So much shared vocabulary strongly suggests a deliberate inter-textual allusion to Deuteronomy, which should put the reader on guard. The woman accuses Saul of laying a snare for her, but the twist is that it is Saul who, in Deuteronomic terms, is really ensnared.

The question of heeding/obeying also features in the En-Dor scene. Saul has been rebuked for heeding the voice of the people (1 Sam 15:18–21) and not heeding Yahweh's voice (1 Sam 28:18), and now the woman claims that she has heeded Saul's voice and his words (28:21, x2) and so he should heed her voice: Reinhartz notes the striking contrast between her "ostensibly self-deprecating language and the bold tone, and presumption of mutuality"[54] in 28:21. The woman says Saul should eat so that he can go on his way (28:22). Eventually Saul heeds (28:23). This is a not-so-subtle power play

[53]Meir Sternberg, *The Poetics of Biblical Narrative: Ideological Literature and the Drama of Reading* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1985), 51 insists the "narrator is absolutely straightforward and reliable." Robert Alter, *The Art of Biblical Narrative* (London: George, Allen & Unwin, 1981), 117, mentions the "reliable" narrator. This reliability is questioned by David M. Gunn and Danna Nolan Fewell, *Narrative in the Hebrew Bible* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993) 53-56, who suggest narrators can employ irony against readers. Gordon J. Wenham, *Story as Torah: Reading Old Testament Narratives Ethically* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 2000), 10-11, sees the narrator as "omniscient" but allows "there are arguably a few places where the statements of the narrator conflict with other data in the text, which could suggest the author does not endorse every word of the narrator." Wenham cites Joshua, though no specific reference.

[54]Adele Reinhartz, "Anonymity and Character in the Books of Samuel." *Semeia* 63 (1993): 117-141.

on the woman's part, which effectively replaces Yahweh's voice with hers as Saul's source of guidance. The "issue of who is listening (that is obeying)" is vital to the story.[55] Early in the scene, Saul is giving orders (28:8, 11, 13) and overcoming her reluctance, but late in the scene she is giving orders and overcoming Saul's reluctance (28:21–25). She has taken the upper hand. She has survived. Saul will not.

The En-Dor scene is also written with conscious allusions to a passage in Deuteronomy 18 containing very similar concepts. The warning against Canaanite religious practices contains the term קֹסֵם קְסָמִים (Deut 18:10) used in Saul's request in 1 Sam 28:8, and וְשֹׁאֵל אוֹב וְיִדְּעֹנִי וְדֹרֵשׁ אֶל־הַמֵּתִים (Deut 18:11), which matches the terms used about the occultists Saul banned (28:3, 9) and also Saul's seeking (cf. 1 Sam 28:7) of Samuel when Samuel is dead (1 Sam 28:3, repeated after 25:1). These practices are said to be the reason the Canaanites were expelled (which links this passage to Deut 12:29-30 above) and then genuine prophecy is introduced as the true Yahwistic alternative (Deut 18:12–22; cf. 1 Sam 28:6, 15).

In a mysterious plot, these references to the Torah[56] show the alert reader how to understand what is really happening.

10. The woman is a mixed character

The medium has often been described as entirely evil or entirely saintly. Art by Salvator Rosa portrays "a withered hag, with blood-shot eyeballs staring from their sockets, harpy talons, pendent dugs, and snaky tresses; amid a court of attendant imps, grotesque and hideous as herself."[57] Yet many contemporary commentators[58] paint her as totally nice, like Samantha in *Bewitched*. She offers food and insights to Saul, an enemy who had previously banished her craft[59] and whose nation was committed to wiping out hers. Robinson even finds her kindness a "'Christian' act."[60]

Yet the narrator is too deft a dramatist and too realistic a theologian to write a one-dimensional characterization. Which human is totally good or

[55]Kenneth M. Craig, Jr. "Rhetorical Aspects of Questions Answered with Silence in 1 Samuel 14:37 and 28:6." *CBQ* 56 (1994): 221–239.

[56]A recent study explores inter-textual links from the three rebukes of Saul to the Shema of Deuteronomy 6, though it does not differentiate the third rebuke. Ming Him Ko, "Fusion-Point Hermeneutics: A Theological Interpretation of Saul's Rejection in Light of the Shema as the Rule of Faith," *Journal of Theological Interpretation* 7.1 (2013): 57-78.

[57]Edward Smedley, *Saul at Endor: A Dramatic Sketch* (London: Baldwin and Cradock, 1829), 57-58, n.15.

[58]E.g. Uriel Simon, "A Balanced Story: The Stern Prophet and the Kind Witch," *Prooftexts* 8 (1988): 159-171. Pigott "Not So Wicked Witch."

[59]She uses a more violent verb for this banishment (28:9) than the narrator does (28:3), clearly revealing her bias towards her craft and against Saul.

[60]Gnana Robinson, *Let Us Be Like the Nations: A Commentary on the Books of 1 and 2 Samuel,* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1993), 144.

evil? The medium is a mixture of motherly kindness and hard self-interest, of hospitality and cunning survival. Measured by objective outcomes, Saul actually leaves her presence worse than he came. He begins very afraid (28:5), twice calming her fears (28:9, 13), but after the encounter he is prostrated by fear and shaking (28:20, 25). So the kindness of the meal may be a cover for a death blow. Fokkelman, who praises the woman as a "mother figure," sees that Saul receives the "invitation to surrender, to accept the truth that everything is over,"[61] and an "unrelenting damnation" that leaves Saul "trembling and totally shattered."[62] So this encounter sends Saul out to battle believing a prophecy of his certain death, surely an influential factor in his choice to commit suicide. Many commentators believe Saul is fated to destruction, implacably doomed by God's will: for example, Craig writes, "Saul's asking is superfluous. . . . His fate has been decided long ago (13:14; 15:26)."[63] Many see the witch as delivering this verdict as mercifully as possible, providing spiritual palliative care and analgesia. Yet this view does not seem to account for the freedom allowed to characters in the text (e.g. 1 Sam 12:24-25). What if Saul had turned to Yahweh in repentance and faith, even at the eleventh hour? He could not have saved his kingship, but could he, perhaps by strategic withdrawal of his army, have avoided disaster for his sons, for Israel's troops, even for himself? At least he could have gone to his death reconciled to God. In this light, the effect of the medium's actions was to persuade him to give up on his ability to make moral choices, to repent, or to seek God's kindness, and to prevent him from inspiring his army. Perhaps her war effort was gaining a psychological victory by emphasizing his guilt rather than speaking of grace and hope in God. This would make a successful covert operation against an old enemy of her craft. Saul leaves her house completely demoralised, and commits suicide the next day. So perhaps her hospitality is for self-preservation, her service for manipulation, and her motherly kindness for the destruction of a threat.

Reis further argues that feminist scholarship has wanted to make the woman a hero, but she reads here

> a feminist statement in defence of the Bible's evenhandedness. . . . When women are depicted . . . Scripture refreshingly eschews stereotypes. Contemporary feminist commentators treat women as victims or saints— valiant either way. Patronizing male exegetes have for centuries seen the witch of Endor as a womanly, albeit slightly ditsy, nurturer. The text, however, with gender-impartial objectivity sees her as intelligent and adept. . . . The author neither venerates the female nor condescends to the little lady.[64]

"The witch of Endor has cast a spell over biblical commentators," quips Reis, so that for most scholars "God's vehement condemnations of witchcraft

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[61]Fokkelman, *Crossing Fates,* 622.

[62]Fokkelman, "Saul and David: crossed fates" *Bible Review* 5 no. 3 (1989), 20-32: 31.

[63]Craig, "Questions," 235.

[64]Pamela Tamarkin Reis, "Eating the Blood: Saul and the Witch of Endor," in *Reading the Lines: A Fresh Look at the Hebrew Bible* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 2002)*,* 150.

are discounted . . . and the witch of Endor basks in approval, continuing to entrance exegetes down the centuries."[65]

11. Does the narrator say Samuel appeared?

A number of commentators reason that the real Samuel must have appeared because the narrator tells us that Saul "knew" (NIV) or "perceived" (KJV) "that it was Samuel" (1 Sam 28:14), and then that "Samuel said to Saul" and "Samuel said" (28:15, 16). I submit that this is an example of focalization, the technique in which the narrator temporarily adopts the point of view of a character. It is well accepted among literary scholars that an otherwise omniscient narrator can put aside that privilege for a time to adopt "the perspective of one of the characters, and see 'through his or her eyes.'"[66] Alter shows that *hinneh* "(the familiar 'behold' of the King James Version) is often used to mark a shift in narrative point of view from third-person omniscience to the character's direct perception."[67] He notes:

> The biblical narrator…often uses the term [*hinneh*] to mark the crossover between his perspective and that of a character, the "Behold" becoming in effect part of the unspoken inner speech of the personage, especially at moments when something unexpected or untoward is seen.[68]

Weiss adds:

> When the Bible speaks about the protagonists, it embodies . . . their state of mind, through the structure and style of the description. It is as if at that moment the Biblical author identifies with the actors in the story and speaks from their hearts and minds—not in their words, but in his own.[69]

[65]Reis, "Witch", 4, 22.

[66]Jean Louis Ska, *"Our Fathers Have Told Us . . .": Introduction to the Analysis of Hebrew Narratives* (Roma: Editrice Pontificio Instituto Biblico, 2000), 65-76. The term focalization comes from Gérard Genette, *Narrative Discourse: An Essay in Method* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1980), 161-211. Scholarly responses to Genette are summarised by D.F. Tolmie, *Jesus' Farewell to the Disciples: John 13:1-17:26 in Narratological Perspective* (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 173. See further application in Daniel Marguerat and Yvan Bourquin, *How To Read Bible Stories* (London: SCM Press, 1999), 72-76, 68. Other literary scholars treat the topic of focalisation in different words: "Viewpoints and Interpretations" in Meir Sternberg, *The Poetics of Biblical Narrative: Ideological Literature and the Drama of Reading* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1985), 129-85; "'Point of View' in Adele Berlin," *Poetics and Interpretation of Biblical Narrative* (Sheffield, United Kingdom: The Almond Press, 1983), 43-110. Further see Gary Yamasaki, *Perspective Criticism: Point of View and Evaluative Guidance in Biblical Narrative* (Cambridge, United Kingdom: James Clarke and Co, 2012).

[67]Robert Alter, *The Art of Biblical Narrative, Revised and Updated* (Philadelphia: Basic Books, 2011), 238, n.5.

[68]Robert Alter, *The Pleasures of Reading in an Ideological Age* (New York: Simon & Schuster/ Touchstone, 1989), 176-177

[69]Meir Weiss, *The Scriptures in Their Own Light: Collected Essays* (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1987), 293-311. His example is Jacob's morning surprise that *hinneh*—lo and

A writer can show a character's views and perceptions either in that character's own words (direct speech) or in a focalized narration (free indirect speech), but the effect is very similar. Even if the character's views and perceptions are wrong, the dependable, reliable biblical narrator has the flexibility to use focalization when it suits a purpose, such as letting the reader enter a character's "mind and . . . secret motives or 'participate in the experience with the protagonist.'"[70] These shifts in point of view can be marked by the use of *hinneh* ("behold"),[71] but also "verbs of perception ('to see,' 'to hear,' 'to know') can be important indicators of specific focalizations," though "the context is decisive."[72]

This focalization technique is apparent elsewhere in 1 Samuel. For example, in 4:5-11 the Philistines *hear* a shout and *know* (verbs of perception) that a god has come into the camp, but in fact this is merely their perspective: it is not a god but the ark of Yahweh. In this case the narrator renders their perception by quoting their direct speech in contradiction of what he has told us really happened, but elsewhere the narrator also uses focalized narrations (free indirect speech) to reflect a character's perception. For example, in 1 Samuel 5 the narrator describes the idol of the Philistine god Dagon as if it were a person. The description adopts the perspective of the Philistines. The narrator tells us that they enter the temple and then the narration cuts (or focalizes) to their point of view: "and *hinneh* (behold, KJV), Dagon was fallen on his face on the ground before the ark of Yahweh! And Dagon's head and both the palms of his hands were broken off on the threshold. Only Dagon was left to him" (1 Sam 5:4[73]). Here a stone idol is described as if it were a living *'elohim* by a writer who does not actually think it is, but wants to imitate the Philistine point of view. The effect is to let the reader experience the consternation of the Philistines, in a way that mocks their god from within their religious paradigm.

Similarly, in the En-Dor scene the narrator first focalizes to the medium's point of view using a verb of perception: "And the woman *saw* Samuel" (28:12). No doubt that was her perception. Twice Saul asks what she sees, and twice she tells him, the second time zooming in on a detail that he asked about (28:13-14a). Then the narrator then focalizes to Saul using a verb of perception: "Saul *knew/perceived* that it was Samuel." A verb of seeing would not be appropriate because Saul did not see anything, but had to ask the

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behold!—he was with Leah. The translated of the Hebrew original is from Walter Herzberg in "Traditional Commentators Anticipating A Modern Literary Approach," in *Boundaries of the Ancient Near Eastern World: A Tribute to Cyrus Gordon*, eds. Meir Lubetski, Claire Gottlieb and Sharon Keller (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), 517-532.

[70]Ska, *Our Fathers,* 70, 76.

[71]For examples in Samuel, see Fokkelman, *The Crossing Fates*, 130, 158, 179, 204, 216, 218, 411, 533, 586, 632.

[72]Ska, *Our Fathers,* 68.

[73]Author's translation. The suffixes applied to Dagon are masculine singular.

woman what she saw (28:13-14), and his perception was provided by what she told him. For example, he identifies Samuel by her description of his clothing (28:14), which seems too trusting when Saul has just disguised himself using other clothing (28:8). Then, in Saul's perception, Samuel speaks to him, Saul answers, and Samuel speaks again. No doubt this is what he perceived to be happening, but then he fell to the ground and nothing more was exchanged.

The importance of this to the subject of our paper is that some narrations reflect the views and perceptions of the medium and of Saul, and should not be taken out of context as if they simply stated the view of the authoritative narrator. They should be read as part of an artful interplay of focalizations, with the medium's perceptions strongly influencing Saul's. Again, poor Saul is asking: *Sha'ul* has to *sha'al*.[74] The reader feels the force of the deception that destroyed Saul, which makes the story and its lesson even more dramatic and memorable.

12. Little ironies

This artful story abounds in little ironies which alert the reader, especially when taken together. As observed above, Saul complains to an apparition named as an *'elohim* that *'elohim* no longer speaks to him. He also takes an oath "as Yahweh lives"—while enquiring from the dead and from other gods, a strategy that is mocked in Isaiah 8:19-20: "why consult the dead on behalf of the living?" Saul also complains that God no longer speaks to him through prophets—but the complaint is to a supposed prophet who has just spoken to him (28:15). Saul's complaint uses a unique expression: by "the hand of prophets." The apparent Samuel then takes up this saying like a rhetorical stick to beat Saul: God has done what he said by my hand, and torn the kingdom from your hand (28:17), and will give Israel, you, and the army into the hand of the Philistines (28:19, x2). In narrative context, Saul's complaint seems unfair. God has spoken to him through Samuel, through other prophets and through his own gift of prophecy (1 Sam 10). Saul has been among the prophets! And even when Saul became increasingly resistant, God makes Saul's men prophesy and even pours the gift of prophecy onto Saul himself (1 Sam 19:19-24).[75] When finally in chapter 28 God does not respond, it is because Saul has repeatedly ignored Samuel, has hunted away God's chosen messiah and thus the prophet Gad who seems to have defected to David (22:5), has killed the priests who used the ephod for reputable guidance (22:18) so that the one remaining priest brings that advantage to David,[76] has not sought the other prophets presumably still available (19:20), but who is now blaming God's non-communication rather than repenting and asking for mercy. Is Saul among the prophets? Not now. He is soon to be among the dead.

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[74]Cf. Barbara Green, *King Saul's Asking* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press), 2003.

[75]Though the term here may also suggest mad raving.

[76]1 Sam 22:20-23; c.f. 23:2, 4; 30:8; 2:1; 5:19, 23

Conclusion

So the medium's worldview is not that of the author of Samuel or of orthodox Yahwism, but of the idolatrous neighbours of Israel. This dark and murky tale seems intended to make the audience feel and experience the deception of Saul, and to invite careful consideration of the subtle clues in the text to determine what is really going on. Within this story, the apparent Samuel speaks for the dark side and helps make Saul's downfall irrecoverable. Thus the story echoes timeless biblical warnings against necromancy as opposed to genuine prophecy.

We might say the devil is in the details.

IMAGES OF POWER AND A KINGDOM OF PRIESTS

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As far back as human records allow, hierarchy formed the structure of the ancient Near East.[1] From an early priest-king to the "great man" (king), royal rule united both the secular and the sacred.[2] Sometimes viewed as the shepherd of his people,[3] the king united himself ceremonially to a goddess in a "sacred marriage" by which he gained validation and elevation in office as well as religious supremacy.[4] During the second millennium, patrimonialism dominated the hierarchic landscape, whereby "the house of the father" stratified society. The "fathers" included the eldest son, his father, all ancestral "fathers" (though deceased), the father of the clan, the father of the tribe (if such existed), and the king. The king also possibly served a suzerain "father" as his vassal, and all kings, whether vassal or overlord, served the gods, the ultimate fathers. This meant that every man had at least one "father" over him and most men had someone under them. Viewed as producers of male heirs, women held considerably less power. However, if married to a "father" higher up in the hierarchy, a woman possessed some freedom and limited ability to manage affairs.[5] During the first millennium B.C., the great kings of the Neo-Assyrian period ushered in a new era of increased military might and

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[1]This study contains a portion of a larger paper, entitled, "Images of Power, the Image of God, and a Kingdom of Priests," which I presented at the annual meeting of the Adventist Society for Religious Studies, November 16, 2012, in Chicago, Illinois.

[2]See J. N. Postgate, "Royal Ideology and State Administration in Sumer and Akkad," *Civilization of the Ancient Near East,* ed. Jack M. Sasson; 4 vols. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1995), 396, 397; Henri Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods: A Study of Ancient Near Eastern Religion as the Integration of Society and Nature* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1978), 215-223. Samuel Noah Kramer, *History Begins at Sumer: Thirty-Nine Firsts in Man's Recorded History* (3d ed.; Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1981), 31.

[3]*CAD* 14:310; the Laws of Hammurabi Prologue; Benjamin R. Foster, *Before the Muses* (Bethesda: CDL, 1993), 1:62.

[4]Pirjo Lapinkivi, "The Sumerian Sacred Marriage and Its Aftermath in Later Sources," in *Sacred Marriages: The Divine-Human Sexual Metaphor from Sumer to Early Christianity,* ed. Martti Nissinen and Risto Uro (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2008), 7-16; see also Pirjo Lapinkivi, *The Sumerian Sacred Marriage in the Light of Comparative Evidence* (SAAS 15; Helsinki: Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project of the University of Helsinki, 2004), 9-16.

[5]I obtained this portrayal from J. David Schloen, *The House of the Father as Fact and Symbol: Patrimonialism in Ugarit and the Ancient Near East* (HSMP; SAHL 2; Harvard Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2001).

far-reaching territorial power, to be followed by the Chaldean kings of the Neo-Babylonian period. While patriarchy still bore sway, government became increasingly bureaucratic and powerful.[6]

Power and the Marginalization of Women

Since men both wrote the vast bulk of ancient texts and were also the predominant readers and teachers of those texts, these materials reflect the views of a male-dominated society. Certainly in folk religion, women contributed to the myths about goddesses in their oral origins and may have felt drawn to worship goddesses. At the canonical level of society, however, particularly in Mesopotamia, the perception of goddesses served to undergird society's prescribed roles of women rather than to enlarge them. Instead of serving merely as women's chosen archetypes, they represent the roles that society held sacred for women, roles that men would understand and appreciate as they read and taught these stories.[7]

As power increased in society during the first millennium, so women's inequality with men intensified in nearly all areas. Women no longer appeared as administrators and could not enter most professions. Whether temple priestess or merely a wife, a woman remained under the governorship of men during the Neo-Babylonian period.[8] Thus what appears axiomatic—that power correlates with inequality and disempowerment of others—bears true in studying the trajectory of authority in ancient Mesopotamia.

Power and the Hebrew Bible

By the time of the patriarchal period (equivalent to the Old Babylonian period) hierarchical organization had structured society for over a millennium. Inevitably, the people who comprised what became the Israelite community brought with them a heritage based on power. For this reason, much, if not most, of the Hebrew Bible speaks in terms that seem to legitimize domination and control.[9] Utilizing a unique form of canonical criticism, I have chosen to call this predominant view the "major voice" of the Hebrew Bible.[10] The

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[6]Benjamin R. Foster, "Western Asia in the First Millennium," in *Women's Earliest Records: From Ancient Egypt and Western Asia*, ed. Barbara S. Lesko; Brown Judaic Studies 166 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989), 213-214.

[7]Tikva Frymer Kensky, *In the Wake of the Goddesses: Women, Culture, and the Biblical Transformation of Pagan Myth* (New York: Free Press, 1992), 14.

[8]Paul-Alain Beaulieu, "Women in Neo-Babylonian Society," *Canadian Society for Mesopotamian Studies* 26 (1993): 9-13.

[9]See, e.g., the book of Numbers for repeated references to "the house of the father;" Josh 1:16-18; Judg 18:1; 21:25; 1 Sam 8:1-6; 2 Sam 7:1-3; 1 Kgs 12:1-16; 2 Chron 1:2; Ezra 10:1-44; Job 1:5; Ps 2; 23; 40:9; 72:1-17; Prov 2:1; 3:1; 14:28; 23:1-21.

[10]See James A. Sanders, *Canon and Community: A Guide to Canonical Criticism* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984). My use of canonical criticism lies closer to that of Brevard S. Childs, *Biblical Theology in Crisis* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1970), 99-138.

major voice more closely resembles the human voices of the ancient Near East, yet it is an inspired voice mediated through Israelite voices and acceding to their will and ways, yet modifying them and selecting from among them what the present situation requires.

If the Bible only reflected the major voice, power would have the final word. Yet a closer reading of biblical texts reveals another voice, sometimes direct and confrontational, but often subtle and unrecognized. Usually represented in moments of "beginnings," this minor voice represents God's preferred will and for that reason it often challenges the major voice of dominance and power. Rather than attempt to select between the plethora of seemingly contradictory messages, viewing some as "wrong" or "not inspired,"[11] I hold both voices to be equally canonical but recognize that they play separate roles.[12] The major voice reveals how God mediates and adapts his will to the reality of human choices, whereas the minor voice represents God's original or preferred will for the people.

Quite clearly, the minor voice of the Hebrew Bible opposes hierarchy and domination at all levels. Several examples will have to suffice. The prophet Samuel speaks directly against Israel's insistence on kingly authority,[13] while prophets Amos and Micah denounce the powerful and their injustices against the poor. Isaiah speaks of leveling mountains (a term for hierarchy) and lifting up valleys to make everything equal.[14] God casts down two kings, portrayed as fallen heavenly beings, because of their arrogance and tyranny in oppressing even their own people.[15] Finally, Zechariah declares to the governor Zerubbabel that the Lord would make the mountain of opposing forces a plain "not by might, nor by power, but by my spirit."[16] Overall, the prophets frequently rebuke the kingly powers. This contrasts significantly with the Assyrian prophets who extolled their kings, promising them protection and greatness,[17] though at times they might criticize them for cultic failures.[18]

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[11]As James E. Brenneman (*Canons in Conflict: Negotiating Texts in True and False Prophecy* [New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997], 137) seems to do.

[12]My utilization of the basic hermeneutic of *prophetic* (equals minor voice) and *constitutive* (equals major voice) differs here from Sanders, *Canon and Community*, 70, and Brennenman, *Canons in Conflict*, 101.

[13]1 Samuel 8:1-18.

[14]Isa 40:4; cf. Mark S. Smith, "The Baal Cycle," in *Ugaritic Narrative Poetry*, ed. Simon B. Parker; SBLWAW 9 (Scholars Press, 1997), 91-95, 98, 106, 110.

[15]Isa 14:4-27 and Ezek 28:1-19.

[16]Zech 4:6, 7, NRSV.

[17]Simo Parpola, *Assyrian Prophecies* (State Archives of Assyria 9; Helsinki: Helsinki University, 1997), 4-11, 38, 39.

[18]Martti Nissinen, "The Social Religious Role of the Neo-Assyrian Prophets," in *Prophecy in Its Ancient Near Eastern Context: Mesopotamian, Biblical, and Arabian Perspectives,* ed. Martti Nissinen; SBL Symposium Series 13 (Atlanta: SBL, 2000), 105; SAA 9 3.5 iii 13-37 in Parpola, *Assyrian Prophecies* 26, and cited by Nissinen.

Even in Mari, where prophets warned kings, they aimed only to guide the king, not to confront him.[19]

A Kingdom of Priests

The Pentateuch and wisdom literature contain more examples, but chiefly this study focuses on the Sinai covenant in Exod 19-24 and particularly 19:3-6. Through a close reading of the text, one may find an equalization of Israel, so that the entire nation, whether a "father" or subordinate, whether male or female, finds itself included in the covenant.

> Moses went up to God, and Yahweh called to him from the mountain, saying, "Say this to the house of Jacob, and announce this to the sons of Israel: 'You have seen what I have done to the Egyptians, and how I lifted you up on the wings of eagles and brought you to me. Now, if you will really listen to my voice, and if you will keep my covenant, then you will be for me my personal possession out of all of the peoples; for all the earth is mine. As for you, you shall be for me a kingdom of priests and a holy nation.' These are the words you shall declare to the sons of Israel."[20]

This message neatly encapsulates Yahweh's objectives in making a covenant with Israel, since it contains a prologue similar to what precedes the Decalogue, followed by a statement of Israel's purpose, then the stipulations, and finally the response of the elders.[21] Yet, initially, it appears that the people will hear only the major voice of hierarchy and male dominance. The terms "house of Jacob" and "sons of Israel that frame this passage, recall "the house of the father" with its patriarchal governance. No doubt, the Israelite community understands these words in such terms. Moses immediately summons the elders of that community and sets this covenant before them. They in turn report it to the males under them (usually their sons and younger brothers), but not necessarily to their women. Later, when instructing the people to prepare themselves to meet God, Moses orders the men, "Do not go near a woman."[22] When Yahweh speaks the Ten Commandments to Israel, he will speak to them individually in the second masculine person singular. In Exod 19:3, only Moses may ascend to the top of the mountain; in the tiered ascent of 24:1-2, only Moses may come near the Lord, while Aaron, his sons, and the 70 elders of Israel must remain at some distance on the mountain. The people stay on level ground at its foot.

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[19]Herbert B. Huffmon, "A Company of Prophets: Mari, Assyria, Israel," in *Prophecy in Its Ancient Near Eastern Context: Mesopotamian, Biblical, and Arabian Perspectives*, ed. Martti Nissinen; SBL Symposium Series 13 (Atlanta: SBL, 2000), 56.

[20]Exod 19:3-6, my translation.

[21]Brevard S. Childs, *The Book of Exodus: a critical theological commentary* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1974), 366.

[22]Exod 19:15, NRSV; cf. Drorah O'Donnell Setel, "Exodus," in *The Women's Bible Commentary*, ed. Carol A. Newsom and Sharon H. Ringe; London: SPCK (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 1992), 33.

So far I have highlighted the major voice of Scripture, but a closer reading may result in a very different interpretation. The terms "house of Jacob" and "sons of Israel" in Exod 19:3, while they do indeed designate "the house of the father," do not exclude women. The "house" of an ancestor included all his descendants, male and female; likewise the term "sons of Israel" (*bene yisrael* [בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל] denotes the descendants of Israel.[23] In the opening lines of chapter 19, "the sons of Israel" come out of Egypt and camp in front of Mount Sinai.[24] Clearly, "the sons of Israel" consist of the entire camp of Israelites, men, women, and children. These same "sons of Israel" God addresses in his covenant promise.

In the context of this information, the terms "kingdom of priests" and "holy nation" gain new meaning. According to W. Propp, these terms can be read two different ways—"one elitist and the other egalitarian." In the elitist sense, the "priestly kingship" would mean that priests rule the Israelite nation, thus becoming "a holy nation ruled by (even holier) priests." Though some immediate, scant evidence supports this view, considerably more substantiation underlies the "egalitarian" view.[25] In this stance, *all* Israelites will serve as priests to the surrounding nations.[26] Evidence for this includes the fact that the people obey the divine command to wash their clothes and Moses sanctifies them—both priestly functions. From then on, various passages refer to the Israelites as individually holy; [27] holiness as a requirement, therefore, embraces all, not just the priests.[28] Throughout the Hebrew Bible, the Israelites individually must observe priestly kinds of regulations in areas such as marriage, diet, hygiene, and mourning that belong to the priestly arena.[29]

The fact that God later orders the priests not to "break through to come up to the Lord"[30] suggests that the giving of the covenant leveled the playing field for Israel, leaving priests and people on the same footing. But who are these priests? Canonically, the Aaronite priesthood remains future. Do these

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[23]See *TDOT* 1:151; cf. Schloen, *The House of the Father*, 108, 112, 113, 149, 150, 249.

[24]Exod 19:1-2.

[25]William H. C. Propp, *Exodus 19-40: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 2A; New York: Doubleday, 2006), 157-159.

[26]Exod 19:5; cf. Carol Meyers, *Exodus* (NCBC; Cambridge: Cambridge University, 2005), 147; Douglas K. Stuart, *Exodus* (NAC 2; Nashville: Broadman and Holman, 2006), 423.

[27]Exod. 22:30. Num. 16:3; Deut. 7:6; 26:19; 28:9.

[28]Propp, *Exodus 19-40*, 157-158; Jacob Milgrom, *Leviticus 17-22: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 3A; New York: Doubleday, 2000), 1714.

[29]Propp, *Exodus 19-40*, 157-159.

[30]Exod 19:24, NRSV. Cf. Propp (*Exodus 19-40*, 166); J. A. Motyer, *The Message of Exodus: The Days of Our Pilgrimage* (BST; Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 2005), 195-210).

priests refer to the firstborn, obviously males, [31] whom God earlier commands to be consecrated to him?[32] Their role remains unstated; parents dedicated them to Yahweh against the backdrop of the final plague of Egypt, in which the firstborn was slain.[33] Later, God tells Moses not to make gold or silver images or build altars to him of materials other than dirt or unhewn stones and directs these injunctions "to the sons of Israel," not to the priests.[34] Finally, Moses selects young men (not elders) to offer the sacrifices instead of "the priests," thus placing nearness to God's presence—not priesthood— as the highest level of holiness.[35] Given all this evidence, the "kingdom of priests" connotes a kingdom without a king, with every individual Israelite a priest.[36]

But does "every individual" include the women? Immediately after Moses told the elders the words of Exodus 19:3-6, "*all* the people answered together and said, 'We will do all that Yahweh has declared,'" apparently speaking through their elders.[37] From this point until Exod 20:22, the narrator and the voice of God do not refer to the "sons of Israel" but only to "the people" (*ha'am* [הָעָם] or *'am* [עָם]).[38] The shift prepares the reader for the event of God speaking to all the people from Sinai.

Later, however, when giving the priestly orders for washing the clothes, Moses says "*to the people* (*'am* [עָם]), 'Prepare for the third day; do not go near a woman.'"[39] Here it appears that "the people" consist only of men.[40] One could appeal to the notion that in ancient patriarchy men controlled the sexual activity of women; thus in the Hebrew Bible, sexuality rarely finds mutual expression but operates male to female.[41] Yet, a close reading of this passage shows that Moses added these words as a natural extension of the preparation God required. The divine command includes "have them wash their clothes and prepare for the third day,"[42] but states nothing about avoiding women sexually. Here, I loosely follow Robert Alter's use of rhetorical analysis in noting that, in speeches repeated by another, changes or

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[31]See Exod 13:13, 15.

[32]See Exod 13:2, 11-16.

[33]See Exod 13:14-16.

[34]Exod 20:22-26.

[35]Propp, *Exodus 19-40*, 294.

[36]Motyer (*The Message of Exodus*, 199); cf. Durham (*Exodus*, 263)

[37]Exod.19:8, my translation, with italics supplied.

[38]For a study of this term, see *TDOT* 11: 174-176.

[39]Exod 19:15, NRSV.

[40]Setel, "Exodus," 33; Carol Meyers, *Exodus* (NCBC; New York: Cambridge University, 2005), 154.

[41]Tamara Cohn Eskenazi, ed., *The Torah: A Women's Commentary* (New York: Women of Reform Judaism, 2008), 414-415.

[42]Exod 19:10-11, NRSV.

additions may indicate significance and meaning.[43] Since Moses clearly adds the injunction—"do not go near a woman"—it seems therefore he serves as mediator between God and the people, naturally representing the major voice that dominates his cultural heritage.[44] God's intended message embraces every Israelite in the preparation for his descent on Sinai.[45] In other words, the original message conveys inclusivity; but as Moses mediates it to the people, his wording reflects "the house of the father."[46] Nevertheless, just as everyone—men, women, and children—wash their clothes and abstain from sex, so everyone participates in priestly cleansing.

The real test of inclusion is the question, Whom does the covenant that God speaks from Sinai take in? Since the terms "kingdom of priests" and "holy nation" are part of the Sinai covenant,[47] they correlate with the Decalogue. These terms therefore concern all those who hear the voice of God speak the Ten Commandments. Exod 19:17, NRSV, states that "Moses brought the people out of the camp to meet God." The Hebrew is explicit— "the people (ha'am [הָעָם])—not "the men," nor "the house of Jacob," nor the "sons of Israel." Does "the people" include the women?

In a good example of the inclusiveness of the term "people ('am [עָם]," Moses speaks for Yahweh to Pharaoh: "Let my people go." In response, Pharaoh asks who will go with him to worship Yahweh. Moses replies, "We will go with our young and our old . . . [and] with our sons and daughters."[48] Deductively, the "we" includes the wives; to leave behind the wives would deprive the "young" of the care they would need. Though, the term 'am [עָם] finds its semantic roots in patrimonial, kinship, and cultic relationships,[49] R. Good did a thorough study of it and concluded that it stems originally from the sound a sheep makes and thus refers anciently to a flock or herd of humans.[50] A flock of sheep without ewes seems anomalous, but even if Moses led only the men to the foot of Sinai, who heard the great voice of God pealing through the desert? Did not everyone hear the Ten Commandments,

[43]Robert Alter, *The Art of Biblical Narrative* (New York: Basic Books, 1981), 100-104. Though he applies this to changes in repeated speeches that convey foreshadowing of a future event, I believe in principle that the technique can be used to express other meanings.

[44]See Meyers, *Exodus*, 154.

[45]Cf. U. Cassuto, *A Commentary on the Book of Exodus,* trans. Israel Abrahams (Jerusalem: Magness, Hebrew University, 1967), 230.

[46]I agree with Cassuto (*A Commentary*, 230), who sees this not as Moses's addition to what God has said but rather clarification about God's intentions. Cf. Childs (*The Book of Exodus*, 369) who agrees.

[47]Childs, *The Book of Exodus*, 366.

[48]Exod 10:3, 9, NRSV.

[49]*HALOT* 838.

[50]Robert McClive Good, *The Sheep of His Pasture: A Study of the Hebrew Noun 'Am(m) and Its Semitic Cognates* (HSM 29; Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1983).

regardless of where they stood?[51] Earlier, God had announced to Moses, "On the third day the Lord will come down upon Mount Sinai *in the sight of all the people*."[52] Who all could see the glory, hear the trumpet and thunder, and feel the earthquake? Surely every man, woman, and child.[53] Thus God spoke the covenant to all these people and included them thereby in the "kingdom of priests" and "holy nation."

Yet, in the giving of the Ten Commandments, God addresses the second *masculine* singular. Do these commandments apply to each Israelite individually,[54] or only to each male Israelite? D. Stuart notes that virtually all the laws of the Hebrew Bible address the men.[55] To apply this to the Decalogue, then, when God says, "I am Yahweh your (masculine singular) God who brought you (masculine singular) from the land of Egypt out of the house of slavery,"[56] it means that God brought only men out of Egypt, something denied by the song of Miriam.[57] To be sure, the tenth commandment forbids "you" (masculine singular) to covet "your" neighbor's wife. Yet any Israelite (male or female) would find a command for "you" (feminine singular) not to covet "your" neighbor's husband incomprehensible, since in antiquity adultery occurred between a man and another man.[58]

In reality, when choosing to speak in the second person singular, one had only two options in Hebrew—masculine or feminine.[59] Therefore, the second masculine singular pronoun serves to indicate "each" person in the Israelite community.[60] The fourth commandment heightens the inclusivity of the ten by employing the infinitive absolute as an intensive "imperative": [61] "Remember (*zakor* [זָכוֹר]) the Sabbath day." This seems especially appropriate since the Sabbath commandment enjoins rest equally on all—"you, your son or your daughter, your male or female slave."[62] The apparent exclusion of "wife" in the text only lends support for her inclusion in the second masculine singular

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[51]See Eskenazi, *The Torah*, 413.

[52]Exod 19:11, NRSV, italics added.

[53]See Stuart, *Exodus*, 445.

[54]Propp, *Exodus 19-40*, 167.

[55]Stuart, *Exodus*, 427 n. #293.

[56]Exod 20:2, my translation.

[57]Exod 15:20-21.

[58]See Meyers, *Exodus*, 175-176.

[59]A. van Selms, "Some Reflections on the Formation of the Feminine in Semitic Languages," in *Near Eastern Studies in Honor of William Foxwell Albright*, ed. Hans Goedicke (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1971), 421.

[60]Eskenazi, *The Torah*, 416.

[61]The infinitive absolute contains no gender. See E. Kautzsch and A. E. Cowley, eds., *Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar* (2d English ed.; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1910), 316-317; 324-326; 346.

[62]Exod 20:10, NRSV.

verb "you shall not do" (*lo'-ta'aSeh* [לֹא־תַעֲשֶׂה]). Otherwise, wives would have to work on Sabbath—something completely out of harmony with the general thrust of the commandment. The fact that the next commandment orders children to honor both father and mother underscores this assumption for the second masculine singular. In light of this evidence, the covenant includes *all* Israel—men on all levels in "the house of the father," and women equally. Thus its corollary, "a kingdom of priests," equally applies to every individual in the Israelite community.

Final questions concern the leadership of Moses and Aaron. Did Moses not act as leader in the hierarchical sense? In answer, I suggest that Moses' role as intercessor with God for the people resembles the function of early women of ancient Sumer whom society cast in this role.[63] Though the Bible consistently portrays him as Israel's deliverer from Egypt, God specifically states that he himself will bring Israel out before he assigns that task to Moses.[64] Indeed, Moses does not even direct Israel when to leave camp or when to stay; rather God's symbol of his presence indicates movement.[65] Moses' style of leadership chiefly manifests itself in telling Israel what God has said and in acting on God's behalf.[66] Though the former appears prophetic and the latter seems kingly,[67] God clearly has the upper hand throughout the stories of Moses' leadership, and truly reigns as Israel's King.[68] Furthermore, the apparent hierarchy in the approach of Moses, Aaron, his sons, and the seventy elders to God in Exod 24 stems, not from power over people, but from holiness in terms of nearness to God.[69] The sanctity of the mountain demands distance, not merely because people will profane it by their ascent, but because, if they enter the cloud to look at Yahweh, they will perish—the reason why later Moses himself cannot see God's face.[70] Three times, in Exod 19, God tells Moses to warn the people not to come up on the mountain, thus emphasizing the potentially deadly presence of Yahweh to people in their unholy state.[71]

God's holiness, then, requires a holy character to receive its presence.[72] In the dispute between Miriam, Aaron, and Moses, God selects Moses as one

[63]See Jean-Jacques Glassner, "Women, Hospitality and the Honor of the Family," in *Women's Earliest Records From Ancient Egypt and Western Asia*, ed. Barbara S. Lesko Brown Judaic Studies 166 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989), 78.

[64]Exod 3:7-10; 19:4.

[65]Exod 13:21; 40:34-38; Num 9:17.

[66]Exod 3:7-12.

[67]Baruch A. Levine, *Numbers 1-20: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 4; New York: Doubleday, 1993), 338-43.

[68]See, e.g., Exod 5:22-6:8; 13:17-14:4, 19-26, 30-31; 17:1; 25:1-8.

[69]Cf. Meyers, *Exodus*, 154.

[70]Exod 19:21; 33:20-23.

[71]Cf. Childs, *The Book of Exodus*, 599.

[72]See Milgrom, *Leviticus 17-22*, 1711.

with whom he speaks "face-to-face—clearly, not in riddles; and he beholds the form of the Lord," while prophets receive the divine revelation through dreams and visions.[73] Thus Miriam, the prophet,[74] stood at a greater distance from God than her youngest brother Moses. Significantly, Aaron, the priest, receives no mention in this context. Given that in Exod 33:19 and 34:6-7, God equates his glory with his moral, spiritual nature rather than with his power, it would seem that this "hierarchy" signifies elevation that stems from a person's ability to enter the divine presence, rather than a bestowal of authority over others. Moses communicates with God person-to-person while Miriam, more distantly, accepts visions and dreams. Aaron, as high priest, deals with sacrifices and other cultic rituals where the revelation and presence of God remain the most remote (aside from Aaron's ability to see the Shekinah once a year on the Day of Atonement).[75] The "hierarchy," then, relates to one's ability to receive divine revelation, not to one's power over others (perhaps the reason the narrator styles Moses as the meekest person on earth).[76]

A hierarchy of holiness, then, does not result in domination over people but in individual obedience to God. Perhaps this is why Schloen believes that in Israel a flattening of hierarchy occurs to the point where an individual could envision a personal relationship with God directly rather than worship through a network of intermediary, hierarchical fathers.[77]

Similarly, the Mount Sinai experience flattens the people into non-hierarchical status with one another. When God comes to speak to Israel, every person, including the priests, stands on level ground below the mountain. Though God finally tells Moses to bring up Aaron with him,[78] the text does not indicate that Moses made it back up with Aaron in time for God to speak.[79] Ignoring the chapter break, Exodus 19:25 and 20:1 (NRSV) read as follows: "So Moses went down to the people and told them. Then God spoke all these words." It appears, then, that God spoke the Ten Commandments to all Israel standing on one level place. No priest, prophet, leader, elder, man, woman, or child stood on higher ground. They all together formed "the kingdom of priests."

Given this, why did the Aaronite priesthood come into existence? In my canonical approach to the Hebrew Bible, I believe the minor voice usually indicates first God's preferred plan, followed by a response of the people involved, either of trust and obedience or of distrust and disobedience. In the latter case, the major voice responds by adapting to the will of the people. Both expressions represent God's will, but the minor voice reflects his preferred

[73]Num 12:6-8, NRSV.

[74]Exod 15:20.

[75]Lev 16:2; contra Jacob Milgrom, *Leviticus 1-16: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 3; New York: Doubleday, 1991), 1012-1013.

[76]Num 12:3.

[77]Schloen, *The House of the Father*, 91.

[78]Exod 19:24.

[79]Stuart, *Exodus*, 433.

will while the major voice reflects his willingness to let people have their own way and to work within their choices.[80] In the case of Israel at Sinai, this shift to the major voice takes place when the people request not to hear God speak to them. Frightened by the real, powerful display of God, they request a mediator, Moses.[81] The priestly role entails communication with divinity as a mediator on behalf of others. Originally, God intends each Israelite to serve in this capacity as members of the priesthood on behalf of the rest of the world;[82] he therefore speaks directly with them all. Because they cannot handle the voice of God or His presence manifested on Sinai, they reveal their lack of holiness and preparation for meeting God, thus failing the test he has given them.[83] Instead of meeting his ideal, they essentially retreat to "the house of the father," where patriarchy and mediation play viable roles. From then on, God communicates through the hierarchy of Moses, Aaron and his sons, and the seventy elders to complete the covenant and communicates to them that he wishes his people no harm.[84]

Not long after, the Israelites move still farther away from their sacred priestly role when they make a graven image of a male calf, creating their own gods to lead them. The events that follow include the visible breaking of the stone tablets containing the Ten Commandments, the slaying of 3,000 people by the tribe of Levi and, as a result, the establishment of the Aaronic priesthood.[85] Reading the text in its canonical order enables the reader to see that the more Israel fails its priestly role, the more hierarchy, dominance, and inequality prevail. The minor voice retreats at the will of the people; the major voice dominates whenever required by the people for them to continue in relationship with God. Both voices remain the voice of God; both reveal His "will" but only the minor voice retains his preferred plan.

Conclusion

By examining the contours of power in the ancient Near East, this study shows that to the extent that hierarchy bears sway, inequality and marginalization of others result. Yet the ancient mind could only conceive of social order if someone or a network of individuals possessed the power to control the lives of others. Though this hierarchical structure did not completely deprive people of their ability to function as human beings, the word "autonomous"

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[80]My use of "major" and "minor" voices here serves as variations on the "prophetic" and "constitutive" in Sanders, *Canon and Community*, 70. Jesus himself uses this approach when dealing with the divorce laws (Matt 19:8).

[81]Exod 20:18-21.

[82]Exod 19:5; cf. Meyers, *Exodus*, 147; Stuart, *Exodus*, 423.

[83]Exod 20:20; Childs (*The Book of Exodus*, 373) understands this test to determine whether Israel would respond to God with "fear," that is, obedience.

[84]Exod 24:1-11. This is the meaning of the statement in v. 11 that God did not lay a hand "on the chief men of the people of Israel" (Propp, *Exodus 19-40*, 296).

[85]See Exod 33:19-29.

does not describe them. Freedom to them meant power—power to control others, gain wealth, and acquire descendants and thus perpetuity.

In this world of dominance, Yahweh, a deity relatively unknown outside of Israel, attempts to form a people who will break the power that profanes what he has destined to be holy. When forced into slavery in Egypt, Yahweh responds creatively to bring them out of bondage. At the foot of Sinai, the people stand on one level plain while God peals out the terms of his covenant with them. Called to be a "kingdom of priests" and a "holy nation," Israel falls far short of this ideal, opting instead for "the house of the father" as its guiding principle.

Nevertheless, throughout both Old and New Testaments, the reader can hear the minor voice of God's preferred will, often missed due to traditional and more powerful ways of reading texts. In his minor voice, he calls his people to forsake the path of dominance and power for service to others, justice toward the poor and weak, and holiness born of humility. The call of Israel to be a "kingdom of priests" reflects one of the means by which the minor voice speaks. This call to men, women, and children, when heeded, creates unity (that is, oneness), whereas hierarchy creates control, subservience, and inequality. This call prefigures a prophetic time when God's Spirit will be poured out on all flesh so that both sons and daughters will prophesy. This call foreshadows the New Testament teaching of the priesthood of all believers.

THE TRAJECTORY OF AN EGALITARIAN ETHIC IN THE LETTERS OF PAUL: THE CASE FOR WOMEN'S ORDINATION

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Introduction

The apostle Paul believed that the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus ushered in the new creation. Consequently, "if anyone is in Christ, there is a new creation. The old things have passed away; behold, new things have come into being" (2 Cor 5:17).[1] The new creation is characterized by an eschatological reality in which the power of God—manifested in the proclamation of the cross (1 Cor 1:17-18, 23-24; Rom 1:16) as well as the indwelling Spirit within the believing community—has begun a transformation not only of the church but also of creation in its entirety.[2]

The dawn of the new creation means that believers walk between the times, between the inauguration of the new age and its full realization at the second coming of Jesus, between "the already" and the "not yet." Already the divine powers of the new age are at work, delivering believers from "the rulers of this age" (1 Cor 2:6) and placing them within the rule of Christ's love; not yet have the evil powers of the old age been destroyed and believers liberated from its malevolent effects. Already the new age has broken in with a whole new order, beginning the process of replacing the old age—"for this world in its present form is passing away" (1 Cor 7:31)[3]; not yet has the old order been completely eradicated; that will occur at the parousia—"then the end will come, when he hands over the kingdom to God the Father after he has destroyed all dominion, authority and power" (1 Cor 15:24).[4]

The diverse teachings on the relation of men and women within the Pauline literature must be understood in light of the above dialectical eschatology (already/not yet).[5] And this dialectical eschatology of Paul's

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[1]Translation is my own.

[2]Victor Paul Furnish, *II Corinthians*. AB 32A (New York: Doubleday, 1984), 314, 332-333. Furnish believes Paul drew the motif of newness from apocalyptic Judaism (ibid., 314-316). Moreover, Furnish argues that "the more 'objective' side of this transformation is one's being drawn under the rule of Christ's love, which has been established through the cross (vv. 14-15) and is present in the powerful leading of the Spirit (Rom 5:5; Gal 5:13-26). The more 'subjective' side of it is the total reorienting of one's values and priorities away from the world (self) and toward the cross (Christ, others), vv.15bc, 16" (ibid., 332).

[3]Unless otherwise noted, scriptural passages are from the TNIV.

[4]Furnish, *II Corinthians,* 333.

[5]Richard Hays, *The Moral Vision of the New Testament: A Contemporary Introduction to*

"is not just one motif among numerous others, but helps to provide the fundamental perspective within which everything else is viewed."[6] As Paul reflected on the eschatological life of the Christian community, aware that believers live in an aeon where two conflicting ages overlap, it is clear that he *struggled* to discern the will of God on how he might implement the oneness and equality of the new creation for the church. This struggle to articulate the new creation equality is reflected in his ethical teachings on gender roles. The apostle's instructions in this area are characterized by diversity, complexity, and dissonance, making it quite difficult to find a unified and coherent moral vision.

Richard Hays believes coherence in Paul's discourse on gender roles can be obtained by locating his teaching within a narrative framework, a foundational story that has three key images: community, cross, and new creation.[7] Placing Paul's teaching on gender roles within this narrative/theological framework, and striving to adequately account for the tension between the old and new orders, the foundational story provides a lens that brings into focus a coherent moral vision on male-female relationships.

Looking through the foundational story lens, one recognizes that the coherence of the moral vision on gender roles springs from an interaction between the new creation and the present fallen order. According to Hays, while Paul's gospel affirms that men and women are equal in Christ, this equality does "not sweep away all the constraints and distinctions of the fallen order."[8] Christians who live at the turn of the ages must therefore "live sacrificially within the structures of marriage and community, recognizing the

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New Testament Ethics (New York: HarperCollins, 1996), 55.

[6]Victor Paul Furnish, *Theology and Ethics in Paul* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 2009), 214. Similarly, Hays maintains that "Paul's eschatology locates the Christian community within a cosmic, apocalyptic frame of reference. The church community is God's eschatological beachhead, the place where the power of God has invaded the world. All Paul's ethical judgments are worked out in this context. The dialectical character of Paul's eschatological vision (already/not yet) provides a critical framework for moral discernment: he is sharply critical not only of the old age that is passing away but also of those who claim unqualified participation already in the new age. To live faithfully in the time between the times is to walk a tightrope of moral discernment, claiming neither too much nor too little for God's transforming power within the community of faith" (*The Moral Vision of the New Testament*, 27).

[7]Hays, *The Moral Vision of the New Testament*, 193-200. Hays believes the foundational story is as follows: "The God of Israel, the creator of the world, has acted (astoundingly) to rescue a lost and broken world through the death and resurrection of Jesus; the full scope of that rescue is not yet apparent, but God has created a community of witnesses to this good news, the church. While awaiting the grand conclusion of the story, the church, empowered by the Holy Spirit, is called to reenact the loving obedience of Jesus Christ and thus to serve as a sign of God's redemptive purposes for the world."

[8]Ibid., 55.

freedom of the Spirit to transform institutions and roles but waiting on the coming of the Lord to set all things right."[9]

Does Hays's proposal that a foundational story brings an intelligible unity to the dissonant teachings on gender roles within Paul's letters adequately account for the *tension* between the new order and the old order?[10] That is, does Hays's proposal accurately sketch the *extent* to which Paul applied the vision of the new creation, perhaps best expressed in the baptismal formula of Gal 3:28 ("there is neither Jew nor Gentile, neither slave nor free, neither male nor female, for you are all one in Christ Jesus") to Christian communities that lived in a culture that was comprehensively patriarchal and hierarchical? Put another way, to what *extent* was the vision of the new creation accommodated or perhaps compromised by the hierarchical culture of Paul's Greco-Roman world?

Given the limitations of this paper, I will answer these questions by employing the first two tasks of Hays's methodological proposal for ascertaining the NT's moral vision: the descriptive and synthetic tasks.[11] The descriptive task will disclose the dissonance of Paul's discourse on gender roles by an exegetical analysis of a number of passages (1 Cor 11:2-16; 14:33-36; Gal 3:26-29; Rom 16; Phil 4). The synthetic task, on the basis of the new creation focal image, will endeavor to articulate a coherent moral vision on gender roles among the discordant teachings found within the NT.

The Descriptive Task: Reading the Texts

Suitable Attire at Public Worship (1 Cor 11:2-16)

[2] I praise you for remembering me in everything and for holding to the traditions just as I passed them on to you.

[3] But I want you to realize that the head of every man is Christ, and the head of the woman is man, and the head of Christ is God. [4] Every man who prays or prophesies with his head covered dishonors his head. [5] But every woman who prays or prophesies with her head uncovered dishonors her head—it is the same as having her head shaved. [6] For if a woman does not cover her head, she might as well have her hair cut off; but if it is a disgrace for a woman to have her hair cut off or her head shaved, then she should cover her head.

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[9]Ibid., 55-56.

[10]Judith Gundry-Volf, "Putting the Moral Vision of the New Testament into Focus: A Review.," *Bulletin for Biblical Research* 9 (1999): 279-280.

[11]Hays, *The Moral Vision of the New Testament*, 3-7. The descriptive task explicates the original intent of the biblical texts; the synthetic task articulates a unity and coherence of ethical perspective within the diverse teachings of the NT; the hermeneutical task relates the biblical text to our postmodern situation, striving to bridge the chasm of the culture/world of scripture to our contemporary situation; and the pragmatic task endeavors to live out the biblical texts, "embodying Scripture's imperatives in the life of the Christian community."

[7] A man ought not to cover his head, since he is the image and glory of God; but woman is the glory of man. [8] For man did not come from woman, but woman from man; [9] neither was man created for woman, but woman for man. [10] It is for this reason that a woman ought to have authority over her own head, because of the angels. [11] Nevertheless, in the Lord woman is not independent of man, nor is man independent of woman. [12] For as woman came from man, so also man is born of woman. But everything comes from God.

[13] Judge for yourselves: Is it proper for a woman to pray to God with her head uncovered? [14] Does not the very nature of things teach you that if a man has long hair, it is a disgrace to him, [15] but that if a woman has long hair, it is her glory? For long hair is given to her as a covering. [16] If anyone wants to be contentious about this, we have no other practice—nor do the churches of God.

The Corinthians wrote a letter to Paul seeking counsel on a number of issues related to the life of the church (1 Cor 7:1); they were particularly concerned with certain matters of the Christian assembly—the head-covering of women when they pray and prophesy (1 Cor 11:2-16); divisions occurring during the Lord's Supper (1 Cor 11:17-34); and the nature and exercise of spiritual gifts (1 Cor 12-14). Two passages in 1 Corinthians engage male-female relationships (11:2-16; 14:34-36) and reveal Paul's struggle to articulate the ethical implications of the gospel for the community and how its members ought to concretely manifest this ethical vision within the social structures of the world. We begin with the passage on women's head-covering (11:2-16), one of the most extensive discussions on gender roles in the NT.[12]

Nature of the Problem

Determining the precise nature of the problem during the worship service and Paul's awkward response to the situation is a difficult task for interpreters,[13] yet it is possible to sketch the overall contours of the problem and the apostle's response.[14]

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[12]This passage has received a great deal of attention from scholars. See the extensive bibliography in Anthony C. Thiselton, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*. NIGNT (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2000), 806-809.

[13]Robin Scroggs describes 11:2-16 as "an extremely difficult text, not only… because in the way it is usually read it seems to put women down, but also (and primarily) because the passage as a whole is opaque" ("Paul and the Eschatological Woman: Revisited," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 42 [1974]: 534.) A number of scholars have suggested the passage is a post-Pauline interpolation (see for example, William Walker, Jr., "1 Corinthians 11:2-16 and Paul's Views Regarding Women," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 94 (1975): 94-110.

[14]We must acknowledge however, that every significant exegetical issue is contested by scholars. For a description of the options, see Gordon Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*. NICNT (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1987), 491-498; David E. Garland, *1 Corinthians*. BECNT (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 2003), 505-511.

As Paul proclaimed the dawn of the new creation—framed, as we have seen, within his apocalyptic eschatology, coupled perhaps with the teaching of the new realities of baptism (Rom 6:1-4) and an egalitarian ethic where in Christ there is *no male and female* (Gal 3:27-28)—some believers, who conceived of themselves as spiritual (πνευματικός 1 Cor 2:15), embraced an over-realized eschatology.[15]

1 Cor 7 and 11 suggest that some women adopted this newfound freedom in Christ. Specifically, Christian women prophets began to exercise their freedom by praying and prophesying during worship services with their heads "uncovered." This kind of behavior blurred gender distinctions— especially the established symbols of a woman's identity and her subordination to men—threatening the well-being and unity of the church.[16] This innovative activity represented "a challenge to conventional patterns of authority which assume a hierarchical and patriarchal order of 'head.'"[17] Moreover, within an honor-shame Mediterranean culture, the praying and prophesying by women without the appropriate headdress left the Christian assembly open to "incurring social shame through boundary transgressing hairstyle."[18] The Corinthian church was thus struggling to ascertain "the appropriate *embodiment* (both individual and social) of Christian identity (cf. 1 Cor 7)" within a pagan world.[19]

[15]Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians,* 498; see also Roy E. Ciampa and Brian S. Rosner, *The First Letter to the Corinthians*. PNTC (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2010), 503-504; Richard Hays, *First Corinthians*. IC (Louisville: John Knox, 1997), 182-183; Marion Soards, *1 Corinthians*. NIBC (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1999), 224.

[16]Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians,* 498.

[17]Stephen C. Barton, "1 Corinthians." In *Eerdmans Commentary on the Bible*, ed. James D. G. Dunn and John W. Rogerson (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2003), 1337. Barton argues that "In this case, the women's sense of new identity expresses itself in innovation relating to the head: specifically, letting their hair down and/or removing the veils . . . and so 'uncovering' their heads (11:3-5). Because the head is a symbolic location of authority, and hairstyle is emblematic of status and group affiliation, such innovation seems to be causing contention in the church and perhaps also in the wider society."

[18]Judith Gundry-Volf, "Gender and Creation in 1 Corinthians 11:2-16: A Study in Paul's Theological Method," in *Evangelium, Schriftauslegung, Kirche: Festschrift für Peter Stuhlmacher,* ed. Jostein Adna, Scott J. Hafemann, and Otfried Hofius (Göttingen, Germany: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1997), 154-155. According to Gundry-Volf, "the Christian pneumatics praying and prophesying with unfeminine or unmasculine headdress takes place in a worship assembly where outsiders might be present and which was thus a situation of potential gain or loss of social acceptability. . . . The pneumatics head-covering practices ignored the social boundaries between male and female and thus brought shame upon themselves and upon their 'heads.'"

[19]Barton, "1 Corinthians," 1337.

Paul's Response

Paul initially responds to this situation by delineating a hierarchy of "heads," involving God, Christ, man, and woman: "But I want you to realize that the head of every man is Christ, and the head of the woman is man, and the head of Christ is God" (11:3). The freedom believers enjoy is rooted in a "divine ordering of things" and "is not a license to behave willfully."[20] This divine structure of things is hierarchical and is symbolically disclosed by the metaphor of "the head" (κεφαλή).[21] Whether κεφαλή means "ruler" (one who exercises authority over another) or "source" (one through whom the other exists), or preeminent (one who is foremost or representative) is difficult to determine. Nevertheless, it is hard to escape the notion that κεφαλή conveys a sense of subordination.[22] There is thus a hierarchy, disclosed in an ascending order: woman, man, Christ, God.

A man who prophesies with his head covered disgraces his head (i.e., Christ) and a woman who prophesies with her head uncovered disgraces her head (i.e., the man). Such shameful conduct threatens the divine ordering of things and fails "to maintain the distinctions—of status, gender, ethnicity —around which society organizes common life."[23] Paul believes these distinctions remain important for the communal life of the church but in such a way that is transformed by the dawn of the new creation.[24]

In order to reinforce the hierarchical divine ordering of things sketched in 11:3 and stress the point of how men and women ought to pray and prophesy during worship, Paul appeals to the creation accounts of Gen 1-2. Reinterpreting Gen 1:27—"so God created human beings in his own image, in the image of God he created them; male and female he created them"— Paul maintains that men should not cover their heads because they are the "image and glory of God" (εἰκὼν καὶ δόξα θεοῦ) while women are "the glory of man" (δόξα ἀνδρός).[25]

[20]Ibid, 1338.

[21]Ibid.

[22]For the "ruler" interpretation, see: Joseph A. Fitzmyer, "Kephale in I Corinthians 11:3." *Interpretation* 47 (1993): 52-59; Wayne Grudem, "Does KEFALH (Head) mean "Source" or "Authority over" in Greek Literature? A Survey of 2,336 Examples. *Trinity Journal* 6 (1985): 38-59. For the "source" interpretation, see: C. K. Barrett, *The Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians* (New York: Harper & Row, 1968), 248-249; F. F. Bruce, *1 & 2 Corinthians*. NCB (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1971), 103; Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians,* 501-505. For the "preeminent" interpretation, see: A. C. Perriman, "The Head of a Woman: The Meaning of κεφαλή in 1 Cor 11:3." *Journal of Theological Studies* 45 (1994): 602-622; Thiselton, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 811-822.

[23]Barton, "1 Corinthians," 1338.

[24]Ibid.

[25]Ciampa and Rosner argue that 11:7 must be interpreted in light of 1 Cor 15:49, where Paul "understands all humanity to share (even if imperfectly) in the image of God as it has been passed down to us through Adam, and that part of our redemption

The logic of Paul's argument appears to be that "the uncovered head of the man will reflect the glory of God (cf. 2 Cor 3:18) and that, since the uncovered head of the woman reflects the glory of *man*, and thus will deflect attention from the glory of *God*, the woman should go with her head covered (11:7)."[26] The apostle finds further justification for the priority of man over woman by noting that in Gen 2:18-23, Eve was created from and for the sake of Adam (11:8). For this reason, "a woman ought to have authority on the head because of the angels" (ὀφείλει ἡ γυνὴ ἐξουσίαν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαπῆς διὰ τοὺς ἀγγέλουζ 11:10). The "authority on the head" of the woman appears to refer to the head covering, but it is difficult to ascertain whether it speaks of her authority to pray and prophesy or of her subordination to male authority.[27] In any case, by covering her head, the woman allows a sense of propriety and orderliness during the worship service and thus honors "the divine presence represented by the angels worshipping with them and (perhaps) inspiring their prayer and prophecy."[28]

But now Paul's argument moves in an entirely different direction, from a rather subordinationist ethic (11:7-9) to a more egalitarian one: "Nevertheless, in the Lord woman is not independent of man, nor is man independent of woman. For as woman came from man, so also man is born of woman. But everything comes from God" (11:11-12). Paul qualifies his previous sketch of male-female relationships, drawn from the creation accounts, by distinguishing between the origin of men and women over against the origin of Adam and Eve. There is a marked interdependence between man and woman in the cycle of life because woman came from man and man is born

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in Christ entails the restoration of God's perfect image in Christ" (*The First Letter to the Corinthians,* 524). Thus, if we interpret 11:7 in light of 15:49, it appears that Paul understood Adam to be "created directly in the image of God and that the rest of us (from Eve on) are made in God's image as we inherit it from Adam and our parents (cf. Gen. 5:3; 9:6)." Similarly, Soards asserts that "God brought forth man who now as the creature is explicit evidence of God's glory. Yet, woman was brought forth by God from man, so that if she is displayed explicitly, glory will go to man rather than to God. The point is that the creatures (man and woman) bring glory to the one from whom they come—man to God and woman to man" (*1 Corinthians,* 225).

[26]Barton, "1 Corinthians," 1338.

[27]See Ciampa and Rosner for the options (*The First Letter to the Corinthians,* 531-533). They argue that "the woman's head is not one over which others have authority. God has granted her authority to pray and prophesy. She exercises that authority in a dignified way by respecting both herself and the rest of the congregation through the avoidance of provocative attire or any dress or behavior which would bring shame on herself, others, or God, in a context where all eyes and every heart should be focused on God's glory in the midst of his holy people."

[28]Barton, "1 Corinthians," 1338; see also Hays, "*First Corinthians,*" 187-188. For the possible ways of construing the phrase "because of the angels," see Thiselton, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians,* 838-841; Ciampa and Rosner, *The First Letter to the Corinthians,* 529-533.

of woman. Thus, "the community's application of the principle drawn from the narration of the creation of the first human couple is *tempered* by the way God has determined to bring every other human being into his creation."[29]

Moreover, and importantly, *in the Lord*, gender relationships are transformed. That is, the dawn of the new creation ushers in new realities for how men and women are related to one another: "Whereas the creation order entails a differentiation that may also embody a hint of priority, at least in terms of the Genesis narrative, Paul adds that in the gospel differentiation is determined more explicitly by a principle of mutuality and reciprocity."[30] The egalitarian thrust of 11:11-12 stands in tension with the subordinationist sketch of 11:3, 7-9 and suggests that Paul is moving in a direction of actually inverting the hierarchical and patriarchal ways of understanding male-female relationships: "the assertion, 'just as the woman is from the man, so also the man is through the woman,' thus abolishes man's exclusive priority in the creation and gives women equal status. Both are origins of the other, though in different ways, which respects their creational difference."[31] The phrase, "but everything comes from God" (11:12c) reminds the Corinthians that God is the source of everything, particularly the existence of men and women; such an assertion relativizes "the significance of other factors in the creation of men and women and clearly [emphasizes] that it is his glory and honor that must govern all that is done."[32]

Paul concludes his argument by appealing to common sense (11:13), nature (11:14-15), and custom (11:16). Surely the Corinthians will exercise good judgment and recognize the importance of cultural standards that emphasize the unsuitability of women praying "to God with her head uncovered" (11:13).[33] Nature itself, that is, "the natural world as God made it

[29]Italics mine. Ciampa and Rosner, *The First Letter to the Corinthians,* 535. Similarly, Alan Johnson states that "the original historical creation of man and woman (woman from man) is compared with the creation order of how human life is produced: "man is born . . . of woman." This comparison qualifies what Paul has previously stated. That woman has priority over man in the created order must at least balance the previous male priority argument (vv. 7-9) and may stand in tension with it" (*1 Corinthians*. IVPNTC [Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 2004]), 198.

[30]Thiselton, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians,* 842. Hays argues that 11:11-12 depict a functional equality: "The result is that Paul supports a *functional* equality of men and women in the church. Women are free to pray and prophesy and exercise leadership of all sorts through the guidance of the Spirit, so long as they maintain the external markers of gender difference, particularly with regard to head coverings" (*First Corinthians,* 189).

[31]Judith Gundry-Volf, "Gender and Creation in 1 Cor 11:2-16," 163.

[32]Ciampa and Rosner, *The First Letter to the Corinthians,* 537. Gundry-Volf maintains that the phrase, "everything comes from God" denies the exclusiveness of man's privileged status on the basis of creation ("Gender and Creation in 1 Cor 11:2-16," 163.)

[33]Ciampa and Rosner, *The First Letter to the Corinthians,* 538-539.

. . . has made men and women different from each other, and has provided a visible indication of the difference between them in the quantity of hair he has assigned to each."[34] Thus, long hair upon a man is a *dishonor* (ἀτιμία), but upon a woman, it is her *glory* (δόξἄ 11:14-15). Finally, Paul appeals to the Corinthians by asking them to adhere to the traditions, customs, and practices of "the churches of God" regarding the manner men and women ought to attire themselves during worship (11:16).[35]

Paul's overarching concern in this extended discussion of suitable head-covering for men and women in the Christian assembly is clear: he wishes to bring peace and order to a potentially volatile situation where Christian women prophets are seeking to eliminate the customary dress codes or social standards of the day by inappropriately using newfound Spirit-inspired liberty in a self-aggrandizing display of personal freedom.[36]

Women: Order & Propriety in Worship (1 Cor 14:33-36[37])

[33] For God is not a God of disorder but of peace—as in all the congregations of the Lord's people. [34] Women should remain silent in the churches. They are not allowed to speak, but must be in submission, as the law says. [35] If they want to inquire about something, they should ask their own husbands at home; for it is disgraceful for a woman to speak in the church. [36] Or did the word of God originate with you? Or are you the only people it has reached?

How is one to understand Paul's prohibition that "women should remain silent in the churches" and that "it is disgraceful for a woman to speak in the church" (14:34a, 35b) in light of his more favorable statements of women in ministry that one finds in other portions of the Pauline literature? A number of proposals have been offered to resolve this tension:

A post-Pauline interpolation. The harsh rule for women in 1 Cor 14:34-35 appears to contradict a number of assertions by Paul in which he speaks of the appropriateness of women praying and prophesying during public

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[34]Barrett, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians,* 256.

[35]Ciampa and Rosner, *The First Letter to the Corinthians,* 540-541; see also Barrett, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians,* 258; Hays, *First Corinthians,* 189-190; Thiselton, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians,* 847.

[36]Soards, *1 Corinthians,* 221, 224. Barton once again rightly captures Paul's intention: "For Paul, the matter does not have to do with the equality of the sexes or 'women's rights' but with how believers (men and women) are to embody their eschatological identity in everyday life in ways which are historically responsible and socially constructive. In relation to the Christian gathering, this means a practice of worship which respects the differences between the sexes (and other differences as well) and allows such differences to be incorporated into a more profound unity" ("1 Corinthians," 1338).

[37]The TNIV correctly places the phrase—*as in all the churches of the saints* (14:33b) with the general principle of, *for God is not a God of disorder but of peace* (14:33a); see Ciampa and Rosner, *The First Letter to the Corinthians,* 717-718.

worship (11:2-16); of a baptismal identity of equality that women and men enjoy in Christ (Gal 3:27-28); and of a charismatic church where women and men are in practical partnership to accomplish the apostolic mission (Rom 16).[38] These positive renderings of women's involvement in the life of the church, along with the evidence that some manuscripts place 14:34-35 after 14:40, lead a number of scholars to argue that 14:34-35 is an interpolation made by a conservative and patriarchally oriented believer who sought to counteract the charismatic authority of Christian women.[39]

A Corinthian slogan. The discordant note of 14:34-35 is a Corinthian assertion, a position of Paul's opponents, which the apostle cites in order to refute with an indignant reply—"Or did the word of God originate with you? Or are you the only people it has reached?" (v. 36).[40] 1 Cor 14:34-35 is not an expression of Paul's antifeminism but of his opposition to the men at Corinth who desire to control and subordinate women; this passage thus resonates with 11:5, where women pray and prophesy, and the egalitarian ethic of Gal 3:28.[41]

Paul's inspired silencing. Paul's earlier comments about women praying and prophesying during worship (11:2-16) did not truly disclose his understanding of women participating in the Christian assembly. The apostle now makes clear his true position: women are not permitted to speak in church; they must be silent (14:34-36).[42]

Disruptive speech. The verb *to be silent* (σιγάω) occurs three times within the section in which Paul strives to bring order and peace to the assembly (14:26-40): as a command to those who wish to speak in tongues to "remain silent" when no interpreter is present (v. 28); as another command to a prophet who must "remain silent" if someone present receives a revelation (14:30); and finally, as a command for women to "remain silent" (14:34). These directives of silence suggest Paul is correcting certain abuses that are taking place during worship.[43]

[38]Barton, "1 Corinthians," 1345.

[39]Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians,* 699-705; see also Hans Conzelmann, *1 Corinthians* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1975), 246; Gundry-Volf, "Putting the Moral Vision of the New Testament into Focus," 278; Hays, *First Corinthians,* 245-249; Jerome Murphy-O'Connor, "Interpolations in 1 Corinthians." *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 48 (1986): 90-92.

[40]Charles H. Talbert, *Reading Corinthians: A Literary and Theological Commentary on 1 and 2 Corinthians* (New York: Crossroad, 1987), 91-95; see also Neal M. Flanagan and Edwina H. Snyder, "Did Paul Put Down Women in 1 Cor 14:34-36? *Biblical Theology Bulletin* 11 (1981): 10-12; David W. Odell-Scott, "In Defense of an Egalitarian Interpretation of 1 Cor 14:34-36: A Reply to Murphy-O'Connor's Critique." *Biblical Theology Bulletin* 17 (1987): 100-103.

[41]Flanagan and Snyder, "Did Paul Put Down Women in 1 Cor 14:34-36?," 12.

[42]Antoinette Clark Wire, *The Corinthian Women Prophets: A Reconstruction through Paul's Rhetoric* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990), 149-158.

[43]Ciampa and Rosner, *The First Letter to the Corinthians,* 720f. Richard E. Oster

The disruptive behavior on the part of the women appears to involve asking questions in an inappropriate manner; such conduct is shameful and unsettles the worship gathering, creating a situation where learning and encouragement of believers (14:31) are made more difficult.[44] It is possible that Paul's admonition for the women to "ask their own husbands at home" (14:35) indicates that the primary cause of the disruptive questions was the lack of education on the part of the women.[45] Understanding the dilemma in terms of propriety and order of the Christian assembly rather than family order addresses more cogently the logic of Paul's instructions.[46] Thus, the apostle's patriarchally oriented comments in 14:34-35 disclose his wrestling with the tensions between household patterns and ecclesial patterns that inevitably arose among believers, since they were "at home" and "at church" in the same locale: "It is precisely because the 'coming together' takes place in a household setting (cf. 16:19) that misunderstandings and strife over meal practices (11:17-34) and gender roles (11:2-16; 14:34-35) are easy to envisage. . . . Paul's reassertion of a modified patriarchal authority—both in 11:2-16 and 14:34-35—may be understood as part of a pragmatic attempt to establish and maintain a framework of social order within which a Spirit-inspired common life can be built up."[47]

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maintains that "one ought to remember that all three imperatives for 'silence' were in the setting of a correction of aberrant behavior, and therefore the silence desired was only in relationship to the point of abuse. . . . In the same manner, the conditions of 'silence' and 'not allowed to speak' can only contextually and consistently mean that the ban against the speech of these women (γυναῖκες *gynaikes*) is in for only so long as they are in violation of the principles and regulations of 1 Cor 14:34-35. The principle that these particular women were violating is that of submission" (*1 Corinthians* [Joplin, MO: College Press, 1995], 355-356); see also Ben Witherington, *Conflict & Community in Corinth: A Social-Rhetorical Commentary on 1 and 2 Corinthians* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1995), 276.

[44]Ciampa and Rosner, *The First Letter to the Corinthians,* 728-730.

[45]Craig S. Keener, *Paul, Women & Wives: Marriage and Women's Ministry in the Letters of Paul* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1992), 81-85. Keener quotes Plutarch to note how, typically, women/wives were less educated than men/husbands: "And for your wife you must collect from every source what is useful, as do the bees, and carrying it within your own self impart it to her, and then discuss it with her and make the best of these doctrines her favourite and familiar themes" (Plutarch *Bride* 48; *Moralia* 145B, LCL; cited by Keener, 85).

[46]*Contra* Elizabeth Schüssler Fiorenza who argues that Paul's prohibition of 14:34-35 applies only to wives, because the apostle did not want active pneumatic participation of wives during worship (*In Memory of Her: A Feminist Theological Reconstruction of Christian Origins* [New York: Crossroad, 1983], 230-233).

[47]Barton, "1 Corinthians," 1346; see also Barton's article, "Paul's Sense of Place: An Anthropological Approach to Community Formation in Corinth," *New Testament Studies* 32 (1986): 229-234.

New Relationships in Christ (Gal 3:26-29)

[26] So in Christ Jesus you are all children of God through faith, [27] for all of you who were baptized into Christ have clothed yourselves with Christ. [28] There is neither Jew nor Gentile, neither slave nor free, neither male nor female, for you are all one in Christ Jesus. [29] If you belong to Christ, then you are Abraham's seed, and heirs according to the promise.

In Gal 3:15-29 Paul appeals to the story of Abraham and states that God gave the covenant-promise to Abraham and to his offspring, Christ (3:16-18). With the arrival of the era of faith (3:23a), God occasions the "faithful fulfillment of the promise to Abraham and Abraham's seed in the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ (see 1:1-2; 2:20; 4:4-5)."[48] The implication of the revelation of the "coming faith" (3:23) is that all those who are in Christ Jesus become members of Abraham's family—"children of God/Abraham's seed, heirs according to the promise" (3:26, 29).

The children of God are initiated into the family of Abraham by being baptized into Christ and then "clothed with Christ."[49] The clothing metaphor may allude to the practice of the baptismal candidates removing their clothing prior to baptism and then given a new garment (see Rom 13:14; Eph 4:22-24; Col 3:9-10).[50] By being clothed with Christ believers are united with him and undergo a transformation of identity, embracing the qualities and character of Christ.[51]

Baptism symbolizes the realization of new relationships among believers: *There is neither Jew nor Gentile, neither slave nor free, neither male nor female, for you are all one in Christ Jesus* (3:28). The marked divisions among humanity that lay at the center of culture and society—ethnic (Jew and Greek), economic (slave and free), and gender (male and female) are radically transfigured in Christ. The dawn of the new creation transforms the distinctions characteristic of the old age and achieves, "in Christ," a profound new unity and equality among believers.

[48]Beverly R. Gaventa, "Galatians." In *Eerdmans Commentary on the Bible*, ed. James D. G. Dunn and John Rogerson (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2003), 1380.

[49]Paul probably cites an early baptismal liturgy in 3:27-28. See Hans Dieter Betz, *Galatians: A Commentary on Paul's Letter to the Churches of Galatia* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979), 181-201; Richard N. Longenecker, *Galatians*. WBC 41 (Dallas: Word Books, 1990), 154-158; Gaventa, "Galatians," 1380; G. Walter Hansen, *Galatians*. IVPNTC (Downers Grove, IL; InterVarsity, 1994), 110-114; Richard B. Hays, "The Letter to the Galatians." In *The New Interpreter's Bible*. Vol. XI (Nashville: Abingdon, 2000), 271-273; J. Louis Martyn, *Galatians*. AB 33A (New York: Doubleday, 1997), 373-383.

[50]Wayne Meeks, *The First Urban Christians: The Social World of the Apostle Paul* (New Haven, CT: Yale University, 1983), 151.

[51]Hays, "The Letter to the Galatians," 272. Hays argues that "Paul's language of 'putting on Christ' is another figurative way of describing the mysterious personal union with Christ to which he referred to in 2:20. In such a union, those who are 'in Christ' share in his divine sonship and take on his character. The baptismal liturgy here, then, points to the transformation of identity that the Galatians have undergone."

What exactly does the new creation achieve in terms of male-female relationships? The new creation does *not* accomplish a unified, genderless, androgynous humanity where believers, when they "put on" Christ—the genderless image of God—are remade into new, sexually undifferentiated persons, fostering a situation where women are able to cancel the privileges of men and experience significant social gains.[52] *Nor* does the new creation achieve a universal humanity where believers, when they "put on" Christ in baptism are incorporated into the risen Christ—the Christ according to the Spirit—and are remade into "an ideal of a universal human essence, beyond difference and hierarchy."[53]

On the contrary, the new creation renders sexual differences insignificant, "where being male or female is no advantage or disadvantage in relation to God and others and where men and women are reconciled and united as equals. Christ is not portrayed as amalgamizing Christians into a new 'one' above fleshly distinctions by virtue of being himself genderless or androgynous. . . . Within this new community of equals created in Christ the creaturely differences remain and play a role in the formation of Christians' new identity and interrelations."[54]

[52]*Contra* Wire, *The Corinthian Women Prophets,* 126. Wire argues that "the new creation in Christ, God's image, is *not* like the old creation [which granted a privileged position to men]. . . . If God created the male first and then the female for the man, now in Christ, God creates an identity not male and female. The language is drawn from the creation story, but the meaning is not a new understanding of God's first act. Rather it is an announcement of God's new act to create in Christ, God's image, a new reality lacking the privilege of male over female."

[53]*Contra* Daniel Boyarin, *A Radical Jew: Paul and the Politics of Cultural Identity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 7.

[54] Judith Gundry-Volf, "Christ and Gender: A Study of Difference and Equality in Gal 3,28." In *Jesus Christus als die Mitte der Schrift. Studien zur Hermeneutik des Evangeliums,* 439-477, ed. Christof Landmesser, Hans-Joachim Eckstein and Hermann Lichtenberger. Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche 86 (New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1997), 439-440.

*Women's Involvement in Paul's
Apostolic Ministry (Rom 16; Phil 4)*

Paul lists a considerable number of women who are involved in his apostolic ministry at the conclusion of the letter to the Romans (Rom 16). Phoebe is described as a minister/servant (διάκονος) of the church at Cenchreae (16:1) and a benefactor/patron (προστάτις) of many, including Paul himself (16:2). These two terms—διάκονος and προστάτις—indicate that Phoebe played an influential and leading role in the Cenchreae church.[55] Priscilla and her husband Aquila, who had a house church in Ephesus (1 Cor 16:19), were co-workers with Paul and "risked their lives" for him (16:3).[56] Priscilla performed the role of a *teacher*, instructing Apollos in "the way of God more adequately" (Acts 18:26). Junia, along with her husband Andronicus, are called *prominent among the apostles* (16:7).[57] Paul mentions other women by name who "worked hard in the Lord": Mary, Trypheona, Tryphosa, and Persis (16:6, 12).

At the church of Philippi there were two women leaders, Euodia and Syntyche, whom Paul says "have contended at my side in the cause of the gospel, along with Clement and the rest of my co-workers" (Phil 4:3). Paul encourages these influential women to settle their differences and "be of the same mind in the Lord" (Phil 4:2). And, as we have seen, at the church of Corinth, women took up the role of *prophet*, regularly praying and prophesying during communal worship (1 Cor 11:5, 13).

The powerful outpouring of the Spirit upon *all* flesh (Acts 2:17), the changes in socioeconomic factors, and the willingness of women to work hard, all doubtless contributed to women taking up prominent roles in the life of the early church within a culture that was unreservedly patriarchal and hierarchical.[58]

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[55]Robert Jewett, *Romans: A Commentary*. Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2007), 944-948. Jewett argues that Phoebe, who probably carried Paul's letter to Rome, was a woman of high social standing with considerable material resources, having a residence large enough for the community to gather for worship (ibid., 947). Similarly, Joseph Fitzmyer believes the term patron connotes "a person of prominence in the ancient Greco-Roman world." Phoebe was thus "a superior or at least a leader of the Christian community at Cenchreae. . . . She probably owned a house there and, as a wealthy, influential person involved in commerce, was in a position to assist missionaries and other Christians who traveled to and from Corinth" (*Romans*. AB 33 [New York: Doubleday, 1993], 731).

[56]The fact that Priscilla's "name is mentioned first indicates her higher social status in the Roman context" (Jewett, *Romans*, 955).

[57]Ibid, 961-964. Eldon Jay Epp makes a cogent case for Junia being a woman apostle (*Junia: The First Woman Apostle* [Minneapolis: Fortress, 2005]).

[58]Judith Gundry-Volf, "Gender Distinctives, Discrimination, and the Gospel." *Evangelical Review of Theology* 21 (1997): 45. Gundry-Volf aptly describes the contribution of women to the early church: "There were quite a few women in the early church who took up the same roles as men: they prophesied, taught other Christians, including men, performed the tasks of apostles by going on missions that involved preaching

Summary

The foregoing exegetical analyses of certain Pauline passages that engage the male-female relationship reveal unmistakably the dissonance and intra-canonical tensions which are characteristic of Paul's discourse on gender roles.

On the one hand, there are several passages that appear to restrict women's service in the church, espousing a subordinationist ethic:[59]

The man is the head of the woman (11:3). Whether the term head (κεφαλη,) means ruler, source, or preeminent, the term has hierarchical connotations and does convey a degree of subordination of the woman toward man.

Creation accounts support gender difference and hierarchy (11:7-9). Paul appeals to the creation accounts to make the point that in the Christian assembly man's purpose is to bring glory to God and woman's purpose is to bring glory to man. Moreover, man has priority over woman because she was created from man and for the sake of man.

Women ought to be silent in the churches, remain in a state of submission, because it is disgraceful for them to speak in the Christian assembly (1 Cor 14:34-36). Even if one interprets this passage as a problem of disruptive speech on the part of some women who are improperly using their Spirit-inspired freedom during worship, the passage asserts a patriarchal authority, entreating the women to be silent during worship and, if they have a question about a particular issue, to ask their husbands at home.

On the other hand, there are a number of passages that speak positively of women's ministry in the church, with some texts articulating an egalitarian ethic:[60]

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and teaching, worked hard as ministers of the gospel, were entrusted with important responsibilities such as bearing apostolic letters to churches, and shouldered financial responsibility for missionaries and churches. They came into these roles through being empowered by the Holy Spirit, enabled through their personal circumstances based on socio-economic factors, and by their own choice and determination. And so these women made a very valuable contribution to the growth and vitality of the early church. The fact that their names and activities are recorded in the New Testament is a witness to the importance of their contribution and others' appreciation of it."

[59]There are other texts from the Pauline corpus that also suggest subordination and patriarchy: 1. Wives are called to submit and respect their husbands because the husband is the head of the wife (Eph 5:22-24, 33; see also Col 3:18-19). 2. The suitable manner in which women should learn is in "quietness and full submission." Moreover, women are not allowed "to teach or to assume authority over a man; she must be quiet." The reason women ought to act in such a fashion is because "Adam was formed first, then Eve. And Adam was not the one deceived; it was the woman who was deceived and became a sinner" (1 Tim 2:11-14). For a well-crafted analysis of this passage, which advocates a "situational" approach, see Samantha Angeles, "Shall Women Be Silent?" *Spectrum* 40 (2012): 28-33.

[60]Other passages in the Pauline literature also suggest egalitarianism: 1. In the sexual relationship, men and women are equal, with both exercising "authority" over

Creation accounts support gender difference and equality (11:11-12). Paul once again appeals to the creation accounts to make the point that, "in the Lord," there is an interdependence of men and women; and this interdependence is grounded from the perspective of creation in which both man and woman are the source of each other's existence. Thus, men and women are different sexually but equal in Christ. And, ultimately, both men and women owe their existence to God the Creator.

Early Christian baptismal liturgy proclaims a profound equality of men and women before God (Gal 3:26-29). Through baptism the bodily inscribed creational differences are not erased. Rather, "through baptism the differences which served the basis for privilege and disadvantage are nullified, and those who were once excluded are included."[61] Gal 3:28 thus functions as the theological basis for an egalitarian practice within the church.[62]

Women's involvement in Paul's missionary endeavors and the life of the church (Rom 16; Phil 4; 1 Cor 11:5). As we have seen, there were quite a few women who participated in Paul's apostolic ministry, performing the roles of prophets, ministers, teachers, and apostles. The women's exercise of these spiritual gifts underscores the Spirit's freedom to allot "to each one individually just as the Spirit chooses" (1 Cor 12:11, NRSV).

The Synthetic Task: Gender Roles in Light of the New Creation

There have been a number of proposals that have sought to account for the intra-canonical tensions on Paul's ethical teachings of male-female relationships in the Christian community.[63]

Different social settings. The discordant features on gender roles in Paul's letters can be understood as pastoral responses to specific social/historical settings. Paul responded in different ways because he encountered diverse settings which warranted unique and particular responses: "When Paul fought those who defended the old—as in Galatia—his bold vision of the new expressed itself most strongly, as in Galatians 3:28. When he discerned the overstatement of the new he spoke up for the old, as in Corinthians."[64]

However, in regards to the worship setting of the Corinthian church (e.g., 1 Cor 11:2-16), Paul's diverse pastoral responses on gender roles to different Christian communities "does not explain the presence *side-by-side* of

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each other's bodies (1 Cor 7:3-4). 2. Both wives and husbands are called to mutual submission to one another "out of reverence for Christ" (Eph 5:21).

[61]Gundry-Volf, "Gender Distinctives, Discrimination, and the Gospel," 45-46.

[62]Ibid., 46.

[63]The following analysis is very much informed by Gundry-Volf's article, "Gender and Creation in 1 Corinthians 11:2-16: A Study in Paul's Theological Method," 167-171.

[64]Krister Stendahl, *The Bible and the Role of Women: A Case Study in Hermeneutics* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1966), 37.

egalitarian and hierarchical perspectives as double poles of reflection in Paul's response to a *single* community."[65]

Varied social contexts, different maps. Jerome Neyrey argues that in Gal 3:28 Paul fashions a new map of persons—no Jew or Gentile, no slave or free, no male or female—that describes the liminal state of believers as they enter into the church, where, being "in Christ," there is no distinction.[66] However, once believers return to the social structures of the world, these new maps may be adjusted as Paul finds himself compelled to utilize the "old maps."[67] Depending on the situation, Paul will employ "traditional orderly maps of persons" or reverse those maps or present new maps.[68] Thus, again with respect to Corinth, "Paul can adopt both a patriarchal and an egalitarian framework for gender roles [1 Cor 11:2-16] because he has two, contrasting social contexts in mind: the Corinthians' wider social context and the cultic setting of Corinthian worship."[69]

Wearing two hats at once. Gundry-Volf nuances Neyrey's proposal. She argues that at Corinth (e.g., 1 Cor 11:2-16), Paul had to merge two diverse social settings into *one*:

> The Corinthians' wider social context in which shame and honor depended on the preservation of distinct gender identities and roles, and the cultic context of Corinthian worship in which gender boundaries were crossed and hierarchy transcended. It is while assuming identical functions in the assembly that the Corinthian women and men are to have different headdress symbolizing the gender difference which formed the basis for a hierarchical relationship between the sexes, and thereby avoid shame. In other words, the Corinthian pneumatics had to wear two "hats at once. . . . The women and men wore the "hat" of the pneumatic which was "neither male nor female" and symbolized their equality in the Lord, and at the same time, they wore the "hat" of the first century Mediterranean man or woman which was either masculine or feminine and carried the connotations of traditional gender roles in a patriarchal society.[70]

It was the dawn of the new creation, concretely experienced as men and women prayed and prophesied in the worship life of the Corinthian church, which led Paul to a new understanding of the creation accounts that stressed the interdependence and equality of men and women (1 Cor 11:11-12).[71] And, at the same time, it was the recognition that the believing community lived within the Mediterranean honor-shame culture that led Paul to utilize

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[65]Gundry-Volf, "Gender and Creation in 1 Cor 11:2-16," 167.

[66]Jerome Neyrey, *Paul, in Other Words: A Cultural Reading of His Letters* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox), 67.

[67]Ibid., 68.

[68]Ibid., 71.

[69]Gundry-Volf, "Gender and Creation in 1 Cor 11:2-16," 168.

[70]Ibid.

[71]Gundry Volf, "Putting the Moral Vision of the New Testament into Focus: A Review," 283-284.

aspects of the creation accounts that underscored hierarchy and patriarchy (1 Cor 11:7-9), so that the church might obtain social acceptability toward the outside world as it discharged its mission (e.g., 1 Cor 9:22; 10:32; 14:23; 1 Thess 4:12).[72] Paul essentially "lets social roles 'in the world' and social roles 'in the Lord' clash right in the setting of worship."[73]

Concluding Reflections

Our analysis of Paul's discourse on gender roles has demonstrated that the apostle truly *struggled* to discern the will of God for male-female relationships within the Christian assembly. As he traveled throughout the Roman Empire, founding Christian communities, it seems Paul frequently asked himself, "How might I achieve the new creation equality for believers who live in a sin-dominated world?"[74]

It is clear that "the deepest logic of [Paul's] gospel declares that men and women are one in Christ and ought to live in relations of loving mutuality."[75] At the same time, it is also clear that Paul's gospel, particularly its new creation dimension, faced the very real "constraints and distinctions of the fallen order."[76]

Consequently, Paul found himself at times needing to accommodate the vision of the new creation to the cultural sentiments of the first century A.D. One gains the sense he wanted to carry out more fully the realities of the new creation but the recalcitrance of the old order held him back. Accommodations and compromises were necessary because Paul's missionary endeavors compelled him "to preserve the attractiveness of the gospel for outsiders."[77] And these compromises with the old order, which were grounded in the creation accounts (e.g., 1 Cor 11:7-9; 1 Tim 2:11-15), reinforced patriarchal and hierarchical gender distinctions.

Nonetheless, these patriarchal renderings of gender roles are not normative for the church but "culturally-conditioned, unredeemed interpretations of the differences" between

[72]Ibid., 284-286.

[73]Gundry-Volf, "Gender and Creation in 1 Cor 11:2-16," 169.

[74]Hays, *The Moral Vision of the New Testament*, 56.

[75]Ibid., 55.

[76]Ibid.

[77]Eckhard J. Schnabel, "How Paul Developed His Ethics," in *Understanding Paul's Ethics: Twentieth Century Approaches*, ed. Brian Rosner (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1995), 288. Paul's concern for the church's witness to outsiders can be seen in his encouragement to the Thessalonians, "But we urge you, beloved, to do so more and more, to aspire to live quietly, to mind your own affairs, and to work with your hands, as we directed you, so that you may behave properly toward outsiders and be dependent on no one"(1 Thess 4:10-12, NRSV). It can also be seen in his exhortation to the Corinthians, "So, whether you eat or drink, or whatever you do, do everything for the glory of God. Give no offense to Jews or to Greeks or to the church of God, just as I try to please everyone in everything I do, not seeking my own advantage, but that of many, so that they may be saved" (1 Cor 10:31-33; cf., 1 Cor 14:23; 1 Tim 2:2).

men and women.[78] The *cultural* dimension of Paul's ethical teachings on gender can be seen in (1) the degree to which his discourse was influenced by his missional apologetics, that is, his deep concern that unseemly conduct and disunity within the church not adversely affect its witness to outsiders who lived in a pagan culture; and (2) in his adaptation to the cultural conventions of the time for how men and women ought to attire themselves in public; depending on the setting, the apostle can ground theologically *hierarchical* as well as *egalitarian* readings of male-female relationships from the *creation accounts*.

Therefore, one cannot claim that the created order supports women's subordination to male authority nor can one claim, on the basis of the created order, that men and women are equal ontologically but unequal in their functional roles within the church. The apostle's utilization of the creation accounts for hierarchical *and* egalitarian readings negates the possibility of giving priority, on the basis of the created order, to either reading.

If Paul's vision of the new creation was moving in the direction of the *first creation* sketched in Gen 1-2—where men and women were equal and there was no hint of dominance or subordination between the sexes[79]—yet had to be accommodated to the cultural inclinations of the first century A.D. Roman world, might it be possible for the believing community of the twenty-first century living in the Western world, to extend the newness and equality of the new creation *further* than Paul was able to do so, given our contemporary culture's wholehearted embrace of equality between men and women? Yes, I believe so. The trajectory of an egalitarian ethic in certain Pauline passages,[80] albeit framed within the context of a comprehensively hierarchical culture, encourages us, perhaps even compels us, to embrace

[78]Gundry-Volf, "Putting the Moral of the NT into Focus," 282.

[79]See Richard Davidson's cogent analysis of "equality of the sexes without hierarchy" in his book, *Flame of Yahweh: Sexuality in the Old Testament* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2007), 22-35. After weighing the pertinent arguments on the male-female relationship of Gen 1-2, Davidson concludes, "Gen 2, like Gen 1, contains no statement of dominance, subordination, or leadership/submission in the relationship of the sexes. The man and the woman before the fall are presented as fully equal in rank, with no hint of an ontological or functional hierarchy, no leadership/submission relationship between husband and wife" (ibid., 34-35).

[80]Briefly again, here are the pertinent passages: 1. In the sexual relationship there is equality of the wife and husband, for "the wife does not have authority over her own body but yields it to her husband. In the same way, the husband does not have authority over his own body but yields it to his wife (1 Cor 7:4). 2. In the Lord, men and women are interdependent because in creation they have equivalent roles. The creation of Eve from Adam parallels the procreation of man through woman (1 Cor 11:11-12). 3. Wives and husbands are called to "submit to one another out of reverence for Christ" (Eph 5:21). 4. In public worship, men and women had identical roles; both "prayed and prophesied" (1 Cor 11:4-5, 13). 5. The baptismal formula of Gal 3:28 relativizes and redeems the ethnic, economic, and gender relationships of believers, articulating a profound equality.

this ethic of equality more fully in our Western culture, with its postmodern sentiments and outlook.

If Paul were alive today, engaged in missionary activities in the Western world of Europe and North America, would he not *insist* that the church reflect critically on its cultural context, and make the necessary adaptations and accommodations so that it might proclaim the gospel more effectively and provide a gracious and loving witness to outsiders? Would he not entreat the church to utilize his missionary approach to soul-winning in order to bring people into the life-transforming community of believers?

Would he not encourage us to embrace his remarkable statement of missional sensitivity? Where he became "a slave to everyone" so that he might "win as many as possible," where "to the Jews I became like a Jew, to win the Jews. To those under the law I became like one under the law (though I myself am not under the law), so as to win those under the law. To those not having the law I became like one not having the law (though I am not free from God's law but am under Christ's law), so as to win those not having the law. To the weak I became weak, to win the weak. I have become all things to all people so that by all possible means I might save some. I do all this for the sake of the gospel, that I may share in its blessings" (1 Cor 9:19-23). Absolutely.

Nonetheless, it must be underscored, that Paul's adaptable missionary strategy "is not a license for unlimited flexibility." [81] The apostle "does not think that fundamental and distinctive demands are negotiable, depending on the circumstances. . . . He did not tone down his assault on idolatry to avoid offending idolaters or to curry favor with them. His accommodation has nothing to do with watering down the gospel message, soft-pedaling its ethical demands, or compromising its absolute monotheism. Paul never modified the message of Christ crucified to make it less of a scandal to Jews or less foolish to Greeks."[82]

Paul would never say, "To the adulterer, I became as an adulterer, to win adulterers. To the drunks, I became as a drunk, in order to win drunks. To the robbers, I became as a robber, to win robbers" (cf. 1 Cor 6:9-10). While there

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[81]D. A. Carson, "Pauline Inconsistency: Reflections on I Corinthians 9:19-23 and Galatians 2:11-14," *Churchman* 100 (1986): 33.

[82]Garland, *1 Corinthians*, 435. Similarly, Marcus Dods states, "While accommodating himself to the practice of those around him in all matters of mere outward observance, and which did not touch the essentials of morality and faith, he at the same time held very definite opinions on the chief articles of the Christian creed" (*The First Epistle to the Corinthians*. 4th ed. [London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1893]), 207. Additionally, Michael Barram maintains Paul's flexible behavior is modeled for the believing community upon Christ's selfless redemptive example toward all persons: "Mission involves behavioral flexibility and adaptability as the Christian community purposively and intentionally embodies Christ's salvific example for the sake of all people, Christian and non-Christian alike" ("Pauline Mission as Salvific Intentionality: Fostering a Missional Consciousness in 1 Corinthians 9:19-23 and 10:21-11:1," in *Paul as Missionary: Identity, Activity, Theology, and Practice*, ed. Trevor Burke and Brian Rosner (New York: T & T Clark, 2011), 241.

are occasions where Paul can be an accommodating apologist, there are also abundant examples where he can be a resolute defender of orthodoxy.[83] *Thus, exegetical discernment is extraordinarily important when seeking to ascertain whether Paul is in the mode of accommodating apologist or defender of orthodoxy. And this important exegetical enterprise ought to take place within the context of the interpretive community of believers, the Church, which "derives its authority from Christ, who is the incarnate Word, and from the Scriptures, which are the written Word."* [84]

If Paul could go to the Genesis creation accounts in order to formulate hierarchal and egalitarian readings that were suitable for his first century A.D. Christian assemblies, would he not also utilize the creation accounts in a manner that is suitable for a contemporary, egalitarian culture, if he was engaged in missionary activity in the West? And would he not primarily appropriate the egalitarian elements of the creation accounts and apply them to our present-day Western culture? Indeed.

Paul's flexible missionary strategy (1 Cor 9:19-23) would certainly take into consideration the social settings of particular cultures and would doubtless look dissimilar in the different parts of our world. To paraphrase the apostle, he surely would say today, "To the European, I became as a European, in order to win Europeans. To the Africans, I became as an African, in order to win Africans. To the Asians, I became as an Asian, in order to win the Asians. . . . I have become all things to all people so that by all possible means I might save some" (cf. 1 Cor 9:19-23).

For believers who live in the Western culture of the early twenty-first century, Paul's struggle to implement the realities of the new creation within

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[83]Paul's flexibility and adaptability are particularly seen in Luke's portrayal of the apostle's missionary activity in Acts of the Apostles: "The Book of Acts pictures Paul in a way which adds significance to the dictum of 1 Corinthians 9. . . . In three fundamental ways Acts corroborates the implications of 1 Corinthians 9. First, Paul speaks regularly in the synagogues. He travels to Jerusalem to celebrate Jewish Pentecost (Acts 20.16) and he circumcises Timothy. Second, he converses in the *agora*. He gives a speech where pagan poets are cited, thus aligning himself with persuasive Greek style. Third, Acts witnesses to the difficulties inherent in living according to the dictum. Paul constantly ran into difficulties with the synagogues; he is ridiculed at Athens. His performance there even earned him accusations of being an idolater" (Karl Olav Sandnes, "A Missionary Strategy in 1 Corinthians 9:19-23?" in *Paul as Missionary: Identity, Activity, Theology, and Practice*, ed. Trevor Burke and Brian Rosner (New York: T & T Clark, 2011), 141. At the same time, Paul, in the role of defender of orthodoxy, is exemplified in his condemnation of the Judaizers' theology in Galatians, his opposition to the heretical philosophy/theology in Colossians, his disapproval of those who would deny the bodily resurrection (1 Cor 15), his prohibition of Christian participation in pagan festivals (1 Cor 10:14-22), his command for the Corinthians to expel the sexually immoral believer from the community (1 Cor 5), his sketch of sinful conduct in vice lists delineating those who will not enter the kingdom of God (1 Cor 5:9-13; 6:9-11; Rom 1:29-32; 13:11-14; 2 Cor 12:19-21; Gal 5:16-26; Eph 4:17-32; 5:3-14; Col 3:5-11; 1 Tim 1:9-11; 6:4-5; 2 Tim 3:2-4; Titus 3:3), etc.

[84]*Seventh-day Adventists Believe* (Boise, ID: Pacific Press, 2005), 163.

the church can be *exemplary* for us because we also need to perceive God's will for the church as we seek to embody the faithfulness of Jesus in a deeply egalitarian social context.[85]

The foundational story of the New Testament—of God redeeming the world through the death and resurrection of Jesus and empowering the church, through the Holy Spirit, to live out the loving obedience of Jesus —provides the overarching framework from which to understand Paul's discourse of gender roles. Examined from within this narrative/theological framework and viewed through the focal lens of the new creation, Paul's moral vision on gender roles is coherent and has an egalitarian trajectory, which can be seen in specific ethical teachings in the letters as well as the conspicuous contributions that both men and women made to his apostolic ministry.

Since believers who live in the Western world are by and large no longer constrained by the hierarchical and patriarchal dimensions of the present order, but instead live in a culture that profoundly values gender equality, the time has arrived for us to treat men and women as equals in the fullest sense, both ontologically and functionally, within the life of the church. The time has arrived to embrace more fully the trajectory of Paul's egalitarian ethic and ordain women to the gospel ministry. For it is clear that the Spirit's freedom is giving to women the gift of pastoral ministry, allotting "to each one individually just as the Spirit chooses" (1 Cor 12:11, NRSV).

[85]Hays, *The Moral Vision of the New Testament*, 56.

DOES GOD ALWAYS GET WHAT HE WANTS?
A THEOCENTRIC APPROACH TO DIVINE PROVIDENCE AND HUMAN FREEDOM

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If God is entirely good (omnibenevolent) and all-powerful (omnipotent), why is there evil in the world that he created? Whereas some thinkers resolve this perceived dilemma by denying either God's omnipotence or omnibenevolence, many theologians who affirm both of these divine characteristics appeal to the free-will defense. This perspective claims that, although God is entirely good and possesses the power to exclude evil altogether, God allows evil because to do otherwise would negate creaturely free will. However, theologians continue to vigorously debate whether Scripture supports the freedom of humans to will otherwise than they do. Whereas the indeterminist appeals to passages that support the freedom of humans, the determinist responds by asserting that human "freedom" is compatible with unilateral divine determination of all events (compatibilism). With this impasse in mind, this essay addresses the issue of whether Scripture actually supports free will by appealing to the logically prior and theocentric question: Does God always get what he wants?

The Debate over Human Freedom in Scripture

Does Scripture support the freedom of humans? This heavily debated and age-old question over the relationship between divine providence and human freedom has eluded consensus throughout the ages of Christian theology. Over time, the argument has become increasingly complex, with competing conceptions of what "free will" means. The two most prominent conceptions of human free will stem from the mutually exclusive conceptions of determinism and indeterminism, which lie at the crux of this issue. Determinists contend that God unilaterally and arbitrarily determines every occurrence such that creatures cannot will otherwise than they do. Nevertheless, many determinists contend that humans do indeed possess free will. In this view of soft determinism, known as compatibilism, free will means that a creature is not externally compelled but is nevertheless controlled by God's unilaterally efficacious will. In other words, the compatibilist contends that humans are free to do what they want but what they want is itself unilaterally determined by God.[1] Indeterminists, on the other hand, believe that the human will is not

[1]There are many varieties of compatibilism, and this description refers to what is sometimes referred to as broad compatibilism—that is, the view that determinism is compatible with free will and moral responsibility. Some compatibilists favor a narrow compatibilism (e.g., semicompatibilism) wherein agents may be determined such that they lack free will but nevertheless possess moral responsibility. On the various forms and contemporary issues regarding compatibilism, see the essays in Robert Kane, ed. *The Oxford Handbook of Free Will*, 2d ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011),

(entirely) determined by divine or other causes. Accordingly, humans have the freedom to choose otherwise than they do.[2] That is, they possess libertarian and significant freedom.[3]

The crux of the debate between compatibilists and libertarians, then, depends on whether God unilaterally determines the outcome of all events. Can creatures will otherwise than they do, as many libertarians affirm, or does God arbitrarily and unilaterally determine all occurrences such that creatures only do what God has eternally determined? For many scholars, the outcome of this debate hinges upon Scriptural support. However, many determinists and indeterminists claim biblical support for their positions while denying that the opposite position does justice to the biblical data.[4]

153-242.

[2]Some libertarians define human free will in a way that does not require the freedom to do otherwise. On one such view (source incompatibilism), alternate possibility is not required for freedom but merely "the absence of external causal constraints determining one's action." William Lane Craig, "Response to Boyd," in *Four Views on Divine Providence*, ed. Dennis Jowers (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2011), 226. This view that alternate possibility is not a necessary condition of genuine freedom accepts the upshot of Frankfurt-type examples that aim to demonstrate that the ability to do otherwise is not a necessary condition of moral responsibility. Since Harry Frankfurt's seminal article ("Alternate Possibilities and Moral Responsibility," *Journal of Philosophy* 66/23 [1969]: 829-839) such examples have been the subject of ongoing debate. See the various positions explained in David Widerker and Michael McKenna, eds., *Moral Responsibility and Alternative Possibilities: Essays on the Importance of Alternative Possibilities* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2003); Robert Kane, ed. *The Oxford Handbook of Free Will*, 243-308. I am among those not convinced that Frankfurt-type examples successfully refute the principle of alternate possibility (PAP). See, for one example of the philosophical defense of PAP, Carl Ginet, "In Defense of the Principle of Alternative Possibilities: Why I Don't Find Frankfurt's Argument Convincing," in *Moral Responsibility and Alternative Possibilities: Essays on the Importance of Alternative Possibilities*, ed. David Widerker and Michael McKenna (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2003), 53-74. Nevertheless, the conclusion of this essay does not hinge upon the PAP version of libertarian free will. A slightly more modest definition of creaturely libertarian freedom is sufficient, flowing from the fact of divine unfulfilled desires in Scripture, which suggest that creatures possess (at least) the freedom to choose otherwise than God desires.

[3]Significant freedom affirms, yet goes beyond, libertarian freedom by explicitly framing human freedom as moral freedom. See Alvin Plantinga, *God, Freedom, and Evil* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1977), 30, 47; Alvin Plantinga, *The Nature of Necessity* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974), 166-167.

[4]I firmly agree with John Piper that this decision should be made only "on the basis of what the Scriptures teach." John Piper, "Are There Two Wills in God?" in *Still Sovereign: Contemporary Perspectives on Election, Foreknowledge, and Grace*, ed. Thomas R. Schreiner and Bruce A. Ware (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 2000), 130. Cf. Piper's expansion of this essay in his brief book, *Does God Desire All to Be Saved?* (Wheaton, IL: Crossway, 2013).

The indeterminist who supports the significant freedom of humans might appeal to numerous passages that explicitly describe human choice. For example, in Deut 30:19, God proclaims, "I have set before you life and death, the blessing and the curse. So choose life in order that you may live."[5] Likewise, Joshua stated, "choose for yourselves today whom you will serve" whether YHWH or the false gods of Canaan (Josh 24:15; cf. 1 Kgs 18:21). Accordingly, God proclaims judgment against his people because they "chose [בחר] that in which" God "did not delight [חפץ]" (Is 65:12; cf. Ps 78:22).

Further, Scripture repeatedly points to the conditionality involved in the God-human relationship. For instance, in Deut 11:26–28, God states, "I am setting before you today a blessing and a curse: the blessing if you listen to the commandments of the LORD your God . . . and the curse, if you do not listen" (cf. 2 Chron 15:2; Jer 18:7-10). Likewise, in Rom 10:9, Paul states, "if you confess with your mouth Jesus as Lord, and believe in your heart that God raised Him from the dead, you will be saved" (cf. Acts 16:31; Heb 3:8, 12). Accordingly, Christ states, "I stand at the door and knock; if anyone hears My voice and opens the door, I will come in to him and will dine with him, and he with Me" (Rev 3:20; cf. John 1:12; 3:16-18; 8:31-32).

In my view, the verses above and many others do refer to the freedom of human agents to will otherwise than they do. However, the compatibilist responds to these passages by claiming that human freedom does not exclude determinism, and does so by defining freedom as merely the absence of external compulsion, not the freedom to choose otherwise than one does. That is, human free will and divine determinism are compatible if free will means that one's will is not externally compelled but is nevertheless determined by the unilaterally efficacious divine will. Compatibilists frequently appeal to passages such as Gen 50:20, where Joseph states of his brothers' evil in selling him into slavery, "you meant evil against me, but God meant it for good in order to bring about this present result, to preserve many people alive." Likewise, compatibilists point to Phil 2:12-13, which states, "work out your salvation with fear and trembling; for it is God who is at work in you, both to will and to work for *His* good pleasure." In these texts (and others like them), the compatibilist claims that the free will of humans (secondary causation) acts in subordination to God's overarching determinism (primary causation). Conversely, the indeterminist maintains that these texts (and others like them) do not support compatibilism but merely assert that God's providential actions, which do not preclude the libertarian freedom of humans, can bring good out of evil (Gen 50:20) and work out the salvation of those who respond positively to his free gift (Phil 2:12-13).[6]

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[5]Biblical citations are from the NASB unless otherwise noted.

[6]Indeed, the compatibilist perspective on Gen 50:20 raises the question as to why God doesn't just directly overrule the famine. Why take the circuitous route of determining that Joseph be sold into slavery to meet the problem of the famine when God could simply remove the famine unilaterally? It appears that some other factor or factors were operative.

This brings the debate between the compatibilist and the advocate of significant freedom to an apparent impasse. Both claim that their arguments are based on Scriptural passages that negate the perspective of the other. However, it seems to me that the discussion might remain on the basis of a canonical approach to theological method and yet be advanced by approaching the issue from a theocentric perspective.[7] That is, rather than focusing on human freedom *qua* human freedom, the discussion might be advanced by focusing on the logically prior question, is God's will always efficacious? That is, does God always get what he wants?[8]

God Does Not Always Get What He Wants

An abundance of biblical evidence suggests that God does not always get what he wants. That is, there are some things that God wills that do not come to fruition. Scripture displays a number of instances where God's will is unfulfilled because creatures reject or resist that which God desires.[9] For instance, Isaiah speaks of God's desire to save his people, saying that he "longs [חכה] to be gracious" to them and "waits on high to have compassion," but they were "not willing" (אבה; Isa 30:15, 18).[10] Likewise, God "called, but no one answer[ed]," and he "spoke, but they did not listen. And they did evil in [his] sight and chose that in which [he] did not delight" (Isa 66:4; cf. 65:12; Jer 19:5). In these instances, God desires to redeem his people but they themselves reject his will for them. The rejection of God's will by humans is also explicit in Luke 7:30, which states that "the Pharisees and the lawyers rejected God's purpose [βουλή] for themselves" (cf. Mark 7:24).[11] Further,

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[7]The canonical approach I have in mind here gives methodological priority to the canonical data. See John C. Peckham, "The Analogy of Scripture Revisited: A Final Form Canonical Approach to Systematic Theology," *Mid-America Journal of Theology* 22 (2011), 41-53.

[8]Here and throughout the article, to "want" refers to the desire or wish for some outcome (without connoting need), and that which God wants (or desires) is defined as that which God would bring about if he were to unilaterally and causally determine the outcome.

[9]Of course, a full discussion of the divine will is far beyond the scope of this essay. For further information on the canonical data regarding the divine will, particularly with regard to divine unfulfilled desires and human freedom, see the extensive survey in John C. Peckham, *The Concept of Divine Love in the Context of the God-World Relationship* (New York: Peter Lang), forthcoming. See also the discussion in John C. Peckham, "Providence and God's Unfulfilled Desires," *Philosophia Christi* 15/2 (2013), 453-462.

[10]That God "waits" (חכה) on the people suggests that God makes his action(s) dependent upon contingencies.

[11]As Joseph Fitzmyer comments, "the Pharisees and lawyers thwarted God's design on their behalf." *Luke I-IX*, vol. 28 (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1981). 670. Cf. Joel B. Green, *The Gospel of Luke*, NICNT (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1997), 301; Darrell L. Bock, *Luke 1:1-9:50*, BECNT (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 1994), 678. H. J. Ritz adds that this assumes "that the βουλη of God can be hindered." "βουλη," in

Jesus frequently refers to those who do "the will" [θέλημα] of the Father with the implication that God's will is not always done (Matt 7:21; 12:50; 18:14; Mark 3:35; John 6:40; cf. Matt 6:10; John 7:17; 9:31).[12]

Various Christological examples parallel the wider examples of God's unfulfilled desires.[13] For example, Jesus's will is explicitly thwarted or rejected when Jesus wanted (θέλω) no one to know of his location but "he could not escape notice" (Mark 7:24; cf. Luke 12:49).[14] Further, Jesus poignantly laments, "Jerusalem, Jerusalem, who kills the prophets and stones those who are sent to her! How often I wanted [θέλω] to gather your children together, the way a hen gathers her chicks under her wings, and you were unwilling [θέλω]" (Matt 23:37; cf. Luke 13:34; John 5:40).[15] Notice that, by the same verb (θέλω), Christ's will is directly opposed by the will of humans.

In many other instances, God's will is unfulfilled. God does not desire or have "pleasure" [חפץ] in the death of the wicked but desires repentance (Ezek 18:23, 32; 33:11). However, many reject him.[16] Therefore, God's will

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Exegetical Dictionary of the New Testament, ed. Horst Robert Balz and Gerhard Schneider (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1990), 224. Piper, however, claims that "themselves" does not modify "God's purpose" but modifies "rejected" such that "Luke would be saying that the plan of salvation preached by John the Baptist was accepted by some and rejected by others 'for themselves.'" Piper, "Are There Two Wills in God?" 119, no. 26. However, this interpretation is not convincing.

[12]See R. T. France, *The Gospel of Matthew*, NICNT (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2007), 246. Cf. John Nolland, *The Gospel of Matthew*, NIGTC (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2005), 288. Cf. Matt 21:31; Luke 12:47; 1 John 3:22. Marshall comments, "It is as we freely yield ourselves to God that he is able to accomplish his will through us and our prayers. In a very real sense, therefore, the accomplishment of God's will in the world does depend on our prayers." I. Howard Marshall, *The Epistles of John*, NICNT (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1978), 245.

[13]The relevance of such instances from the life of Christ to the present study depends upon the Christological perspective that one takes regarding the nature of the will of the person of Christ, an adequate treatment of which is far beyond the scope of this essay. Suffice it to say here that I consider the texts referenced here to be relevant examples on the affirmation of the full divinity and full humanity of the single person of Christ, on the basis of which I resist the tendency to assign particular actions of Christ to *either* his divine or human nature. Yet, those who question whether these might be properly taken as examples of the divine will might nevertheless see them as (minimally) relevant in that they parallel the earlier and later examples of divine unfulfilled desires.

[14]See Robert H. Stein, *Luke*, NAC (Nashville: Broadman & Holman, 2001), 364. Cf. C.F.D. Moule, *An Idiom Book of New Testament Greek*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 1959), 137, 87; I. Howard Marshall, *The Gospel of Luke*, NIGTC (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1978), 546.

[15]Human wills explicitly rejected the will of Jesus. See France, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 883; Nolland, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 951.

[16]Although God has no pleasure in anyone's death, "Yahweh will not impose his

is not unilaterally efficacious; some factor or factors bring about states of affairs contrary to God's will that cause him grief and bring him to judgment, though he "does not afflict willingly" (Lam 3:33; cf. 2 Chron 36:16). Indeed, God is profoundly troubled at the thought of bringing judgment against his people. Thus, he declares over his wayward people, "How can I give you up, O Ephraim? How can I surrender you, O Israel? How can I make you like Admah? How can I treat you like Zeboiim? My heart is turned over within Me, All My compassions are kindled" (Hos 11:8). However, finally God gives people over to their own choices (cf. Rom 1:24). God states that he called his people, "but My people did not listen to My voice, And Israel did not obey Me. So I gave them over to the stubbornness of their heart to walk in their own devices. Oh that My people would listen to Me, that Israel would walk in My ways! I would quickly subdue their enemies and turn My hand against their adversaries" (Ps 81:11-14). If God unilaterally determines the wills of all creatures, how can one make sense of such statements? Why would God lament and long for his people to "listen" to him when he is the one who has unilaterally determined that they would not listen to him?

Finally, and perhaps most importantly, numerous biblical texts assert God's desire that every person be saved. For example, God "desires [θέλω] all men to be saved" (1 Tim 2:4).[17] Yet, the NT elsewhere demonstrates that the divine desire that all be saved is not actualized (cf. 1 John 2:17; Heb 10:36). Likewise, God "is patient [μακροθυμέω] . . . not wishing [βούλομαι] for any to perish but for all to come to repentance" (2 Pet 3:9). However, not all repent (cf. Rev 2:21; 9:20-21; 16:9, 11) and divine patience itself presumes the possibility of unfulfilled desire (cf. 2 Pet 3:15). It is sometimes argued that the terms *anyone* and *all* in such passages may be referring to all kinds of people rather than every single individual or that such terms may simply be referring to the specific addressees of the letter.[18] However, such interpretations seem strained, especially in light of other texts that do not leave room for that kind of interpretation, such as Ezek 18:32, where God states, "I have no pleasure in the death of *anyone* who dies. . . . Therefore, repent and live" (emphasis

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grace on a rebellious people. They must accept responsibility for both the course of their lives and their destiny. Without repentance God cannot forgive and the death sentence remains inevitable." Daniel I. Block, *The Book of Ezekiel: Chapters 1–24* (NICOT; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1997), 589.

[17]Anton Vögtle contends that this verse excludes the Calvinist/Determinist perspective. *Der Judasbrief, der 2. Petrusbrief*, EKK (Düsseldorf: Benziger Verlag, 1994), 231-232. Cf. D. Müller, "θελω," *NIDNTT 3*: 1020. Further, a number of exhortations to prove, understand, and do the will of God imply that humans may will otherwise than they do (Rom 12:2; Eph 5:17; Eph 6:6; cf. Col 1:9; 4:12; 1 Thess 4:3; 5:18; cf. Phlm 14). While such exhortations are not positive examples of God's unfulfilled will, such exhortations would be superfluous if God's will were always carried out.

[18]Cf. Richard J. Bauckham, *2 Peter, Jude*, WBC (Dallas: Word, 2002), 313; Douglas J. Moo, *2 Peter and Jude*, NIV application commentary (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1996), 188.

mine).[19] God does indeed desire the salvation of every individual, yet some are lost.

The biblical data thus demonstrate that God's will is sometimes unfulfilled. The question, then, is *why* God's desires sometimes go unfulfilled. That is, why does God sometimes not get what he wants? As explained below, an appeal to compatibilism does not adequately explain these texts, because if God unilaterally determines all events, he should be able to bring to fruition everything that he desires without anything that he does not desire. The existence of unfulfilled divine desires does not make sense from a determinist perspective but is perfectly coherent from an indeterminist perspective.

God's Ideal and Effective Wills

Because God is omnipotent, that some of his desires do not come to pass suggests a distinction between two kinds of divine wills: ideal and effective.[20] God's ideal will refers to that which would take place if all agents acted in perfect accordance with God's desires, whereas God's effective will refers to God's will that has already taken into account all factors, including the wills

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[19]Many indeterminist interpreters agree. Thus, Davids states that God wants "'everyone'/'all' to come to repentance. . . . God's will may not be done, but it will not be for lack of trying on his part." Peter H. Davids, *The Letters of 2 Peter and Jude*, PNTC (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2006), 281. Similarly, Eric Fuchs and Pierre Reymond believe this text argues against determinism. *La deuxième Épitre de Saint Pierre. L'épitre de Saint Jude*, Commentaire du Nouveau Testament (Neuchâtel, Switzerland: Delachaux & Niestlé, 1980), 115-116. Likewise, some of the foremost determinist interpreters believe 1 Tim 2:4 and others describe God's genuine desire for the salvation of all. See Piper, "Are There Two Wills in God?" 108; Thomas R. Schreiner, *1, 2 Peter, Jude*, NAC (Nashville: Broadman & Holman, 2007), 382.

[20]Many others have also recognized some distinction in the will or wills of God. For example, I. Howard Marshall states, "We must certainly distinguish between what God would like to see happen and what he actually does will to happen, and both of these things can be spoken of as God's will." I. Howard Marshall, "Universal Grace and Atonement in the Pastoral Epistles," in *The Grace of God, the Will of Man: A Case for Arminianism*, ed. Clark H. Pinnock (Minneapolis, MN: Bethany House, 1995), 56. Consider also Kenneth Keathley's summary of the four primary positions on God's will, specifically as it relates to God's desire to save all or the lack thereof. Two major perspectives—universalism and decretal theology—view God's will as simple. The former view contends that God desires to save all and does so, whereas the latter contends that God desires to save only some. The other two major perspectives—the hidden/revealed wills paradigm and the antecedent/consequent wills paradigm—view God's will as complex. The former is represented by Schreiner and Piper in this essay, whereas my view corresponds more closely to the latter paradigm. Kenneth Keathley, *Salvation and Sovereignty: A Molinist Approach* (Nashville, TN: B&H Academic, 2010), 44-62.

of significantly free creatures.[21] As such, it includes not only the active divine will but also that which God merely allows (his permissive will).

For example, although God's ideal desire was that Adam and Eve not disobey him and eat the forbidden fruit, God also desired the kind of reciprocal divine-human love relationship that is predicated on the significant freedom of both parties. Therefore, God permitted Adam and Eve to depart from his ideal will in favor of allowing significant freedom. To take another example, God did not sadistically delight in, or ideally desire, the crucifixion of Christ (cf. Lam 3:32–33). Rather, it was his "pleasure" only in the wider context of the plan of salvation. That is, because of his love for his creatures, and because the death of his Son was the means of their redemption, God was "pleased to crush Him" (cf. Isa 53:10). Ideally, however, there would have never been sin and thus no occasion for such suffering and sacrifice. As such, when God is said to pleasure in things that are themselves distasteful to him, God's pleasure is in the wider result rather than the things themselves (cf. Isa 53:10; Matt 11:25–26; Luke 10:21).[22] In this manner, such passages do not contradict the clear meaning of passages that state that God has no pleasure in the death of anyone (cf. Ezek. 18:23, 32; 33:11).

This distinction between that which God ideally desires (ideal will) and that which often actually takes place (effective will) is supported by the primary word groups of God's will in both the OT (חפץ) and NT (θέλω and βούλομαι). In some instances these terms refer to God's unfulfilled will

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[21]In other words, it is that which God wills in accordance with the wider matrix of creaturely freedom. This distinction is similar to the Arminian distinction between antecedent and consequent wills. I have elected not to use these terms, to avoid any unintended connotations of ontology, especially with regard to the operation of the divine will as it relates to providence (specifically the theoretical order of the divine decrees). For a discussion of Arminius' view of the antecedent and consequent wills of God and their implications for divine sovereignty, see Roger E. Olson, *Arminian Theology: Myths and Realities* (Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 2006), 23. See also Alvin Plantinga's distinction between strong and weak actualization in his argument for the significant freedom of creatures *and* divine omnipotence and omnibenevolence. Plantinga, *The Nature of Necessity*, 172-173. Cf. Peckham, "Providence and God's Unfulfilled Desires."

[22]God's permissive will (as a subset of God's effective will) thus may function in accordance with wide principles of the extent of freedom afforded to creaturely agents. However, it is well beyond the scope of this work to delve more deeply into this issue of divine providence. Consider, for a brief overview of these issues of divine providence, Fernando Canale, "Doctrine of God," in *Handbook of Seventh-day Adventist Theology*, ed. Raoul Dederen (Hagerstown, MD: Review and Herald, 2000), 118-120; Thomas P. Flint, "Divine Providence," in *The Oxford Handbook of Philosophical Theology*, ed. Thomas P. Flint and Michael C. Rea (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 262-285. Cf. Francesca Aran Murphy and Philip Gordon Ziegler, eds., *Providence of God* (New York: T&T Clark, 2009); Dennis Jowers, ed. *Four Views on Divine Providence* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2011); Peckham, "Providence and God's Unfulfilled Desires."

and/or desires (Ezek 18:23, 32; 33:11; Isa 65:12; 66:4; Prov 21:3; Matt 22:37; Mark 7:24; Luke 7:30; 1 Tim 2:4; 2 Pet 3:9), whereas elsewhere the terms may refer to God's effective will rather than his ideal will (cf. Isa 46:10; 53:10; Acts 2:23; 1 Cor 4:19; James 4:15).[23] Thus, whereas theologians continue to debate the operation of the divine will, the biblical data demonstrate that there is nothing inherent in the terminology of will that requires or suggests unilateral efficaciousness.[24] In fact, as seen above, the biblical data show that, since many things occur that God does not want to occur, the divine will may be unfulfilled. The distinction between God's ideal and effective wills, then, corresponds to the data of Scripture and provides a compelling and internally coherent explanation for the texts that depict God's unfulfilled wishes, especially regarding God's actual desire to save everyone, which does not come to fruition despite God's genuine efforts (e.g., Isa 5:1-7).

The Determinist Conception of God's Two Wills

If God does not always get what he wants, it appears that one must reject determinism. However, some determinists have proposed a nuanced explanation that deserves careful consideration. John Piper and Tom Schreiner—two of the most influential determinist thinkers today—both agree that texts such as 1 Tim 2:4 (God "desires [θέλω] all men to be saved")

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[23]In the OT, the term חפץ may refer to God's desire and/or will, at times fulfilled and at times unfulfilled, but also may denote God's delight and/or pleasure. See G. Johannes Botterweck, "חפץ" *TDOT* 13:92; Leon J. Wood, "חפץ" *TLOT* 1:310; David Talley, "חפץ," *NIDOTTE* 2:232. In the NT, the θέλω word group relates to that which is willed, desired, wanted, taken pleasure in, or even liked. See Müller, *NIDNTT* 3:1018; M. Limbeck, "θελω" in *Exegetical Dictionary of the New Testament*, ed. Horst Robert Balz and Gerhard Schneider (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1990), 138; "θέλω" in *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament Based on Semantic Domains*, ed. Johannes P. Louw and Eugene Albert Nida (New York: United Bible Societies, 1996), 287, 300. The βουλομαι word group similarly relates to that which is wanted, desired, willed, intended, and/or planned, whether of volition or inclination, often with the connotation of deliberation. See D. Müller, "βουλομαι," *NIDNTT* 3: 1015-1017; Gottlob Schrenk, "βουλομαι, βουλη, βουλημα," in *TDNT*, ed. Gerhard Kittel, Geoffrey William Bromiley, and Gerhard Friedrich (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1964), 632. Even בחר, the primary term of election in the OT, may refer to God's unfulfilled desire (Prov 21:3 cf. Isa 58:5-6; Matt 9:13; Heb 10:5, 8; 13:21). See the extended discussion of these various terms and the import of their canonical usage in Peckham, *The Concept of Divine Love in the Context of the God-World Relationship*.

[24]I. Howard Marshall thus correctly comments that assuming that God's will is always done in "deterministic terms is inconsistent with the freedom which the Bible itself assigns to God's children." Marshall, *The Epistles of John*, 245. This is contra the sometimes misleading statements regarding these terms such as the contention that the use of the βουλομαι word-group "is always a case of an irrefragable determination." Müller, *NIDNTT* 3:1017. Cf. Gottlob Schrenk, "θελω, θελημα, θελησις," in *TDNT*, ed. Gerhard Kittel, Geoffrey William Bromiley, and Gerhard Friedrich (Grand Rapids, Mich, MI: Eerdmans, 1964), 3:47. Cf. Luke 7:30.

refer to God's genuine desire that all will be saved, while both nevertheless maintain the idea of double predestination.[25] To coherently maintain God's genuine desire that all be saved *and* double predestination, both Piper and Schreiner recognize a distinction between two divine wills. Schreiner distinguishes between God's "decretive will" and his "desired will," such that "God genuinely desires in one sense that all will be saved" and yet "he has not ultimately decreed that all will be saved."[26] As Piper puts it, "God chooses for behavior to come about that he commands not to happen" such that God's desires are "complex" and one may distinguish between God's "will of command" and his "will of decree."[27]

Piper points to a number of examples to support the complexity of the divine will. For instance, he claims that in the Exodus account, "there is a sense in which God does will that Pharaoh go on refusing to let the people go" (will of decree) and "there is a sense in which he does will that

[25]As Thomas Schreiner (himself a determinist) puts it, "By extension we should understand 2 Pet 3:9 in the same way as Ezek 18:32. It refers to God's desire that everyone without exception be saved." Schreiner, *1, 2 Peter, Jude*, 382. He adds that, in Ezek 18:32, "God's regret over the perishing of anyone is clear." Ibid., 381. Piper notes that it is possible that 1 Tim 2:4 does not refer to God's desire to save all but personally believes that it is the most likely interpretation, especially in light of Ezek 18:23, 18:32, and 33:11, and thus states that "as a hearty believer in unconditional, individual election I rejoice to affirm that God does not delight in the perishing of the impenitent, and that he has compassion on all people. My aim is to show that this is not double talk." Piper, "Are There Two Wills in God?" 108. He further states, "I affirm with John 3:16 and 1 Timothy 2:4 that God loves the world with a deep compassion and desires the salvation of all men. Yet I also affirm that God has chosen from the foundation of the world whom he will save from sin" (ibid., 130). However, Piper contends of 1 Tim 2:4, "When free will is found in this verse, it is philosophical, metaphysical assumption, not an exegetical conclusion" (ibid., 124).

[26]Schreiner, *1, 2 Peter, Jude*, 381-382. Elsewhere, he states, "God desires the salvation of all in one sense, but he does not ultimately ordain that all will be saved." Ibid., 381. In his view, "the Scriptures, if accepted as a harmonious whole, compel us to make such distinctions." Ibid., 382. This solution complements the traditional Reformed distinction between God's hidden and revealed wills, but with considerable nuance. See John Calvin, *Commentaries on the Catholic Epistles* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1948), 419-420; Martin Luther, *The Bondage of the Will*, trans. O.R. Johnston (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Books, 2003), 101. See also, in this regard, Paul Kjoss Helseth's treatment in "God Causes All Things," in *Four Views on Divine Providence*, ed. Dennis Jowers (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2011), 25-52, 165-169.

[27]Piper, "Are There Two Wills in God?" 114, 118. As Piper describes, "When God looks at a painful or wicked event through his narrow lens, he sees the tragedy or the sin for what it is in itself and he is angered and grieved" (ibid., 126). Cf. Ezek 18:32. "But when God looks at a painful or wicked event through his wide-angle lens, he sees the tragedy or the sin in relation to all the connections and effect that form a pattern or mosaic stretching into eternity. This mosaic, with all its (good and evil) parts he does delight in (Ps. 115:3)" (ibid).

Pharaoh release his people" as he commands (will of command).[28] Likewise, Piper explains that while Judas's betrayal of Jesus was "inspired immediately by Satan (Luke 22:3)" the Bible also declares that "Jesus [was] delivered up according to the definite plan (*boule*) and foreknowledge of God" (Acts 2:23).[29] For Piper, this is the "most compelling example of God's willing for sin to come to pass while at the same time disapproving the sin."[30] Yet, Piper explains, "in ordering all things, including sinful acts, God is not sinning," because "God can will that a sinful act come to pass without willing it as an act of sin himself."[31] Finally, Piper contrasts God's "desire" (חָפֵץ) to kill Eli's sons (1 Sam 2:25; cf. Deut 28:63) with the statements that God takes no pleasure in (חָפֵץ) the death of the wicked (Ezek 18:23, 32; 33:11).[32] Thus, "in one sense God may desire the death of the wicked and in another sense he may not."[33] Thus, both Piper and Schreiner agree that God's desires are complex and some do not come to fruition, especially with regard to his desire to save all. However, all of this evokes the question, Why would God's will be complex?[34]

[28]Ibid., 114. As Piper puts it, "The good thing that God commands he prevents. And the thing he brings about involves sin" (ibid). Significantly, however, according to the ordering of the texts in Exodus, Pharaoh hardened his own heart (Exod 8:15, 32) *before* God hardened it. Piper, to his credit, recognizes that the text does not explicitly say that God hardened Pharaoh's heart until the sixth plague (Exod 9:12; 10:20, 27; 11:10; 14:4). However, he contends that even if "God was not willing for Pharaoh's heart to be hardened during the first five plagues . . . for the last five plagues God does will this" and that God's action in this regard amounts to his willing of Pharaoh's self-proclaimed "sin" (Exod 10:17). Ibid. Cf. Deut 2:26-27, 30; Josh 11:19-20; Rom 11:25-26, 31-32.

[29]Likewise, Piper points to examples in Mark where Christ wills that sinners "turn and be forgiven (Mark 1:15), but he acts in a way to restrict the fulfillment of that will" by speaking in parables such that they may see but not perceive and hear but not understand (cf. Mark 4:11-12). Ibid., 115. Further, he contends, God "wills a condition (hardness of heart)" in Rom 11:25-26 "that he commands people to strive against ('Do not harden your heart' [Heb 3:8, 15; 4:7])." Ibid., 116.

[30]Ibid., 111.

[31]Ibid., 122-123. Cf. Jas 1:13.

[32]In fact, he emphasizes that God is said to act the way he does "because" of his desire to put them to death. Ibid., 117.

[33]Ibid. He claims that again "we are faced with the inescapable biblical fact that in some sense God does not delight in the death of the wicked (Ezek 18), and in some sense he does (Deut 28:63; 2 Sam 2:25)." Ibid., 118-119. On the other hand, the question is not whether God finally desired the death of Eli's sons but why he desired it. From an indeterminist perspective, God's "desire" to put Eli's sons to death was a result of their freely willed and persistent wickedness.

[34]It is important to note that each of the examples that Piper surveys in his arguments in favor of his conception of two wills (above) can be accounted for by the distinction between God's ideal and effective wills.

Why Are God's Desires Sometimes Unfulfilled?

As Piper puts it, "what are we to say of the fact that God wills something that in fact does not happen?"[35] For instance, if God is omnipotent and God wants everyone to be saved, as Piper and I agree that he is and does, why isn't everyone saved?[36] In the determinist views of Piper and Schreiner (among others), God in some sense desires that all be saved but nevertheless decrees, solely on the basis of his unilaterally efficacious will, that some will be damned. However, this raises an impenetrable difficulty: if God's will is unilaterally efficacious *and* God wants to save everyone, why does he not do so? As Jerry Walls states, "If freedom and determinism are compatible, God could have created a world in which all persons freely did only the good at all times."[37] If—as the compatibilist view presumes—God unilaterally effects his will, then God should determine "all to freely accept his love and be saved."[38]

Piper answers that "God wills not to save all, even though he is willing to save all, because there is something else that he wills more, which would be lost if he exerted his sovereign power to save all."[39] That is, "God is committed to something even more valuable than saving all," a "higher commitment."[40] Thus, "God's will to save all people is restrained by his commitment to the glorification of his sovereign grace (Eph 1:6, 12, 14; Rom 9:22-23)."[41] I agree with Piper's appeal to God's higher commitment. However, the crucial question is what that higher commitment is.

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[35]Piper, "Are There Two Wills in God?" 123.

[36]The omnipotence of God rules out the view that some power greater than God is overruling what he wills: "Neither Calvinist nor Arminian affirms this." Ibid.

[37]Jerry L. Walls, "Why No Classical Theist, Let Alone Orthodox Christian, Should Ever Be a Compatibilist," *Philosophia Christi* 13, no. 1 (2011): 82.

[38]Ibid., 96. "To put the point most bluntly, if compatibilism is true, it is all but impossible, in the actual world, to maintain the perfect goodness of God, and altogether impossible to do so if orthodox Christianity is true." Ibid., 80. Walls and David Baggett contend that the compatibilistic account relies on euphemistic and evasive language, stating "it's only the elect who can actually receive salvation, so no offer of salvation to the non-elect is a genuine offer. . . . To describe such an empty offer as a genuine one is worse than euphemistic." See the discussion in *Good God: The Theistic Foundations of Morality* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 72. Cf. the discussion in ibid., 67-73. David Bentley Hart adds, in this regard, that "freedom lies not in an action's logical conditions, but in the action itself; and if an action is causally necessitated or infallibly predetermined, its indeterminacy with regard to its proximate cause in no way makes it free." "Impassibility as Transcendence: On the Infinite Innocence of God," in *Divine Impassibility and the Mystery of Human Suffering*, ed. James Keating and Thomas Joseph White (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2009), 309.

[39]Piper, "Are There Two Wills in God?" 123.

[40]Ibid., 124, 130.

[41]Ibid., 130.

In my view, God's highest value is love, which is itself essential to his character and requires justice.[42] Since freedom is a prerequisite of love, God cannot unilaterally determine that creatures love him or one another.[43] Thus, though he never desires evil to occur, God allows humans the freedom to choose evil, including the human decision to reject salvation, because to exclude freedom would be to exclude love, which would run counter to God's own character, since "God is love" (1 John 4:8, 16).[44] Notice that, in this view, God's higher commitment to love is one that he cannot bring about without allowing freedom and, thus, the possibility of evil. God, in accordance with his universal love, wanted to save those who are finally lost but they are not willing (cf. Isa 66:4; Ezek 3:7; Matt 23:37; Luke 13:34).

For Piper's Calvinistic determinism, on the other hand, "the greater value is the manifestation of the full range of God's glory in wrath and mercy (Rom 9:22-23) and the humbling of man so that he enjoys giving all credit to God for his salvation (1 Cor 1:29)."[45] However, according to the logical conclusions of Piper's determinism, couldn't God accomplish this without the possibility, or reality, of evil? Could not God simply determine that all creatures recognize his glory to the utmost? If God unilaterally determines everything, as Piper and others suppose, then he could have willed the recognition "of the full range" of his glory and grace immediately.

One wonders, in this regard, why God would want to manifest his "glory in wrath," especially when the Bible contends that he does not afflict willingly nor desire that any perish (Lam 3:32-33; Ezek 18:32; 33:11; 2 Pet 3:9). Further, I see no rationale, from a determinist perspective, for viewing God's will as

[42]I categorically reject the way Piper frames the indeterminist view of this higher commitment. He states, "The answer given by Arminians is that human self-determination and the possible resulting love relationship with God are more valuable than saving all people by sovereign, efficacious grace." Ibid., 124. I am not concerned about "human self-determination" in and of itself, but I do care about the character of God as described by Scripture, and the significant freedom of humans provides the key to understanding God's character in light of the questions of theodicy.

[43]Many theologians, like Vincent Brümmer, believe that "love is necessarily free." *The Model of Love: A Study in Philosophical Theology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 177. Likewise numerous exegetes contend that "coerced love is not love." See James D. G. Dunn, *Romans 1–8* (Dallas: Word, 2002), 481. Thus, "God never imposes His love by overriding human will." Craig Blomberg, *Matthew* (Nashville: Broadman & Holman, 2001), 350. Of course, many question whether "love" actually requires freedom since the nature of love is itself debated. This question far exceeds the scope of this essay. See, in this regard, Peckham, *The Concept of Divine Love in the Context of the God-World Relationship.*

[44]Accordingly, the "fact that all are not saved can be attributed to the stubbornness of the human will rather than to the weakness of the divine intent." Thomas D. Lea and Hayne P. Griffin, Jr., *1, 2 Timothy, Titus* (NAC 34; Nashville: Broadman & Holman, 2001), 89. So Jerry L. Walls and Joseph Dongell, *Why I Am Not a Calvinist*; idem, "Why No Classical Theist," 98.

[45]Piper, "Are There Two Wills in God?" 124.

"restrained." It seems to me that in Piper's view there should be no such restraint. God could bring it about that all recognize the fullness of his glory without demonstrating it historically, since, for Piper, God can unilaterally determine anything and no one can question his will.

Indeed, Piper's view fails to account for why a sovereign God would have complex desires at all, whereas the significant-freedom perspective faces no difficulty in this regard. The problem with Piper's view does not lie with the concept of God's commitment to a higher purpose, which results in complex desires. I agree that God "wills" some things that he does not ideally desire because of a greater purpose that he desires more (without ever actually wanting any evil to occur). However, Piper's view falters because it maintains that God's higher commitment *requires* all of the suffering and evil in the world. Taking Piper's view to its logical conclusion, it appears that God willed and unilaterally determined all evil and suffering, even the sexual abuse of children and the burning alive of infants to pagan gods, along with every other single event of evil, *because* God wanted to demonstrate his glory, grace, *and* wrath.[46] Although God did not want children to suffer such abuse, he wanted to demonstrate his glory, grace, and wrath more. However, why would such things bring glory to God in the first place, even indirectly?[47]

In this regard, Thomas McCall presents an analogy wherein a father who is able to fully control every desire and act of his seven children, commands them not to play with matches, yet determines that they do so and thereby set their playroom ablaze. He then bursts into the room and carries three of them to safety. When asked why he does not also save the other four, the father replies that "this tragic occurrence had been determined by him" and "worked out in exact accordance with his plan." He further reminds them that he had told them not to play with matches and thus the other four get what they deserve. He claims that he has compassion on their siblings but that "this has happened so that everyone could see how smart he is" and "how merciful he is" and "how just he is." McCall concludes, "Surely the fact that such a man is a monster is beyond dispute."[48]

[46]See Thomas McCall's criticism of Piper in this regard that, on determinism, every evil (such as a father's murder of his 5-year old daughter) happens because "God determines that they will occur exactly as they do." "I Believe in Divine Sovereignty," *Trinity Journal* 29NS (2008): 209. On the other hand, Piper should be commended for his pastoral concern in stating by way of response that "if my affirmation that God wills that sin come to pass . . . or that God wills that people die of starvation (Jer 11:22), requires of someone that they believe in their hearts that God sins or that God is evil, then I say to them, 'Do not yet believe what I say. Your conscience forbids it.'" John Piper, "I Believe in God's Self-Sufficiency: A Response to Thomas McCall," *Trinity Journal* 29NS (2008): 234.

[47]McCall further asks where the supposition that God must display his glory comes from. It is not "demanded by any passage of Scripture." "I Believe in Divine Sovereignty," 223.

[48]Thomas H. McCall, "We Believe in Divine Sovereignty: A Rejoinder to John Piper," *Trinity Journal* 29NS(2008): 241-242. As William Lane Craig comments, "the

Even if such a powerful analogy can be effectively answered, Piper's account faces further difficulty. Specifically, if God unilaterally determined everything, he would not need evil things to occur to bring him glory in the first place. He could will the full recognition of his glory immediately. Moreover, even if one could provide a rationale for why a God who unilaterally determines everything could not efficaciously will the full manifestation of his glory immediately, if God needed to will evil to arrive at the manifestation of his glory, then we must say that God needed all of the evil that has occurred in order to glorify his goodness. As David Bentley Hart puts it, "If God needs the supplement of evil to accomplish any good he intends" then "he is dependent upon evil in an absolute sense."[49] This presents a massive problem for the moral character of God and appears to contradict the deterministic understanding of God's sovereign, efficacious will.[50]

The free-will defense, on the other hand, agrees that God's overarching desire for the universal harmony of all beings in loving relationship trumps his desire, in the short-term, to exclude all suffering and evil. However, this

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deterministic view holds that even the movement of the human will is caused by God. God moves people to choose evil, and they cannot do otherwise. God determines their choices and makes them do wrong. If it is evil to make another person do wrong, then in this view God not only is the cause of sin and evil, but he becomes evil himself, which is absurd." William Lane Craig, "Response to Helseth," in *Four Views on Divine Providence*, ed. Dennis Jowers (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2011), 61. Moreover, "[i]t is deeply insulting to God to think that he would create beings that are in every respect causally determined by him and then treat them as though they were free agents, punishing them for the wrong actions he made them do or loving them as though they were freely responding agents." Ibid., 62. Cf. Jerry L. Walls, "Why No Classical Theist," 98; Stephen T. Davis, "Universalism, Hell, and the Fate of the Ignorant," *Modern Theology* 6/2 (1990): 190.

[49]"Providence and Causality: On Divine Innocence," in *Providence of God*, ed. Francesca Murphy and Philip Ziegler (New York: T&T Clark, 2009), 49. See also McCall's similar criticism in "I Believe in Divine Sovereignty," 216-219. McCall argues that if evil is necessary for God's maximal glory, then God "would be imperfect without such evil," and this "pretty clearly violates robust accounts of both divine holiness and divine aseity" and, taken to its logical conclusions, makes God's existent contingent upon the actualization of this world. Ibid., 219-220. Further, Piper's account leaves one "wondering just why we should see sin and suffering as finally reprehensible." If evil is "that important for God" and his maximal glory, then "why should we detest sin, death, and the devil?" Ibid., 217. See Piper's response wherein he affirms divine aseity, saying that "God was fully God with no deficiencies before he created the world" and qualifies his earlier statements to say that God's "'maximal glorification' is essential to God" only "as he is acting in creation" such that "it does not contradict God's aseity to say that in the act of creation and redemption and judgment it is God's nature and glory and name to act freely in the display of grace and wrath." Piper, "I Believe in God's Self-Sufficiency," 229-230. Cf. Walter Schultz, "Jonathan Edwards's End of Creation: An Exposition and Defense," *JETS* 49/2 (2006): 269.

[50]On the moral goodness of God, see Baggett and Walls, *Good God*.

perspective claims that this is the case only because there is no other way to bring about his overarching purpose, and no other way exists precisely because his overarching purpose of love requires significant creaturely freedom.[51] That is, God could not have brought his ultimate purpose to fruition without at least the possibility of such suffering and evil, because doing so would have required eliminating significant creaturely freedom, which would itself remove the possibility of genuine love that was the higher commitment in the first place.[52] However, the free-will defense does not require that any evil and suffering actually take place in order to bring about God's purpose. That is, evil did not need to occur but occurred only because creatures exercised their freedom negatively. It would have been better had Satan never fallen, had Adam and Eve never sinned. Although God did not need evil to arise in order to manifest his character, God is manifesting his character of perfect love in dealing with evil once and for all, so that sin will never arise again and his ultimate purpose of eternal, universal harmony of love will ultimately come to fruition.

In all this, God calls for creatures to "judge" between himself and his people: What more could God have done that he has not done? (Isa 5:3-4). The indeterminist perspective answers unequivocally that God has done everything he could. He did not desire evil and he does not desire the destruction of anyone. This brings us back to perhaps the most crucial point regarding the validity of divine determinism: that God's desires are not always fulfilled is apparent in that God has no pleasure in the death of the wicked (cf. Ezek 18:23, 32; 33:11) and desires that none would perish (2 Pet 3:9; cf. 1 Tim 2:4–6). However, not all people will be saved, because God eventually gives people over to their desires (cf. John 3:18; Rom 1:24, 26, 28; 2:4–12; 1 John 2:17).[53] While God truly desires the salvation of each individual and works toward saving each one, some are lost because they reject God's gift of salvation through Jesus Christ (cf. John 3:18).

In contrast, the determinist view lacks a compelling answer to the question, If God possesses the power to save everyone and wants to save everyone, why does he not do so?[54] Indeed, why is there any evil at all? The

[51]As Gregory Boyd puts it, "God gave us the capacity freely to reject his loving will *because it was necessary for love*" (emphasis his). "God Limits His Control," in *Four Views on Divine Providence*, ed. Dennis Jowers (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2011), 190. Cf. Brümmer, *The Model of Love,* 177.

[52]As William Lane Craig puts it, "It is logically impossible to make someone freely do something." "The Coherence of Theism: Introduction," in *Philosophy of Religion: A Reader and Guide*, ed. William Lane Craig (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2002), 211.

[53]For a compelling biblical argument against universalism, see I. Howard Marshall, "The New Testament Does Not Teach Universal Salvation," in *Universal Salvation? The Current Debate*, ed. Robin Parry and Christopher Partridge (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2003), 55-76.

[54]If, as Calvinists say, God deems it wise and good to elect unconditionally some

appeal to God's two wills fails to answer these questions, because it raises another question; that is, why would a God who unilaterally determines everything have two conflicting wills? That is, a God whose will does not take into account the wills of others should not have complex desires because he could unilaterally will that only good occur, never evil. As such, the existence of unfulfilled divine desires throughout Scripture does not make sense from a determinist perspective but is perfectly coherent within an indeterminist perspective, based on the understanding of significant creaturely freedom.

Conclusion and Implications for the Free-Will Defense

In addressing the issue of whether a free-will defense can be adequately supported by a biblical doctrine of significant creaturely freedom, two central theocentric questions have been addressed. First, does God always get what he wants? As seen above, the biblical data demonstrate that God's will is sometimes unfulfilled, which answers this question in the affirmative but raises a second, equally important question, *Why* are God's desires sometimes unfulfilled? This article has demonstrated that determinism does not provide an adequate response to these questions. The appeal to compatibilism does not explain the biblical instances of God's unfulfilled desires, since, if God unilaterally determines all events, he possesses the ability to bring to fruition only that which he desires. The appeal to God's complex desires as a way to address this issue does not suffice, because there appears to be no sufficient, internally coherent reason for complex divine desires within a deterministic worldview. From the standpoint of determinism, God ought to be able to bring about his higher commitment *and* will only the good, never evil.

Determinism thus fails to provide an adequate explanation of the numerous biblical texts that directly assert that God's will is sometimes unfulfilled. The determinist appeal to God's two wills fails because it lacks a compelling and coherent rationale for why God would have complex desires. In the indeterminist view, on the other hand, the complexity of God's will arises because God has granted humans significant freedom that impacts the course of history such that God's ideal will may be unfulfilled and has done so because love, which requires such freedom, would be excluded otherwise. The indeterminist can thus present a coherent and biblically adequate explanation of God's unfulfilled desires, affirming that God never desires evil, while maintaining the final triumph of God's plan that will ultimately bring everlasting harmony to the universe.

In all this, the biblical data regarding God's unfulfilled desires point to the authenticity of significant human freedom, which itself undergirds the free-will defense. God never does evil or desires evil of any kind but has allowed creatures to have significant freedom because of his love. God's preservation of love exacted the highest price from God himself (John 3:16; 15:13). Christ

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to salvation and not others, one may legitimately ask whether the offer of salvation to all is genuine. Is it made with heart? Does it come from real compassion? Is the willing that none perish a bona fide willing of love?" Piper, "Are There Two Wills in God?" 127.

willingly took the sins of the world on himself and, in doing so, has preserved both his justice and his love (cf. Rom 3:23-26; Rom 5:8). To God alone be the glory (*soli deo gloria*), because God is love!

AN EXAMINATION OF BIBLICAL RECONCILIATION TEACHINGS IN THE CONTEXT OF THE WOMEN'S ORDINATION CONFLICT

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The discussion among Christians concerning women's ordination is not new. This article focuses on the Seventh-day Adventist (SDA) context with the goal of identifying biblical reconciliation principles and encouraging their application in all Christian communities. SDA theologians and other leaders have written papers and published articles and books on the topic of women's ordination.[1] The issue has been addressed at various administrative levels, and official actions have been taken.[2] Regardless, the issue of women's ordination continues to attract wide attention in our discussions.

While many hold strong positions on this issue, inspired writings seem not to give it nearly as much direct attention as some would wish. What if the Bible does not provide the convincing theological traction needed in this area for a decisive, universally-accepted conclusion for the worldwide Seventh-day Adventist Church? The Bible does not always address our current issues with powerful, unequivocal statements. And, regardless of how much scholars and other leaders deny manipulating or bending the text for their purposes, there is a strong temptation to decide what is "best" and then find ingenious biblical supports for our decisions.

The 1995 Utrecht General Conference Session featured debate and action on a motion to give world divisions the right to decide whether or not to ordain women to the pastoral ministry within their territories. Just weeks before that session I was at Andrews University to defend my Doctor of Ministry project on reconciliation and conflict resolution. My research and reflections support the proposal that biblical directions for reconciliation and conflict resolution are certainly relevant to the discussion on women's ordination and to any theological dispute for that matter. This may be especially true where biblical illumination on an issue seems less than crystal clear.

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[1]For example: Nancy Vyhmeister, ed., *Women in Ministry: Biblical & Historical Perspectives* (Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 1998); Mercedes H. Dyer ed., *Prove All Things: A Response to Women in Ministry* (Berrien Springs, MI: Adventists Affirm, 2000).

[2]Actions were voted at General Conference Sessions in 1990 and 1995. Actions in 2012 include those of the Northern German Union Conference, the Columbia Union Conference, the Pacific Union Conference, the Netherlands Union Conference and the General Conference Annual Council. For some indication of Ellen White's opinion about official church actions designed to resolve theological disagreements see par. 2 of the appendix.

Gauging the Conflict

Consider the current intensity of our women's ordination dispute through the lens of Speed Leas' five "Levels of Conflict in the Church."[3] These levels move from simple, easily-resolved disagreements to complex, war-like disasters. While there are a number of identifying characteristics for each level, the two characteristics Leas considers to be most significant are the *objectives* and the *language* of conflict participants.[4]

Synopsis of Conflict Levels[5]

At Level I the objective of conflict participants is to work together to resolve the problem. The communication language at this level is direct and clear. Participants do not hide information from each other, and they tend not to slant information to their own advantage.

At Level II the objective has moved to self-protection. Participants are cautious as mutual trust decreases. Participants will speak with each other without much hesitation, but their language becomes more guarded. It leans toward generalizations and may include cloaked insults and jokes with some sting.

At Level III the objective becomes victory. "I am right; you are wrong. I am good; you are bad. I must win; you will lose." The language is emotional and purposely misleading. It is often laced with exaggeration or personal attack. At this level people begin grouping into loose factions.

At Level IV the objective is to punish, wound, or expel opponents. Factions solidify and hope fades that opponents will change. The good of the subgroup is elevated over the good of the whole. Antagonists detach from each other, not communicating directly if they can avoid it. Trust and mutual respect drain away. The language appeals self-righteously to grand principles and tends to ignore specific issues. Criticism of opponents' positions is usually coupled with personal attack. Level IV conflict can result in the ejection of leaders, the exodus or expulsion of factions, and the ending of major ministries. Outside intervention is desirable.

At Level V the objective and language focus on the destruction of the enemy. Outside intervention is imperative.

Conflicts are generally best resolved early and at the lowest level possible. When a dispute reaches critical heights, the level of the conflict needs to be reduced for healthy resolution to take place. As the level of respectful

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[3]Speed Leas has spent over 40 years as an Alban Institute senior consultant to churches and synagogues. During that time he has dealt with numerous religious controversies and divisions and acquired an international reputation as an expert on conflict resolution.

[4]Speed Leas, *Moving Your Church Through Conflict* (Washington, DC: Alban Institute, 1985), 20.

[5]Leas, 20-25.

communication and mutual understanding is raised, restorative conciliation becomes possible. This is much more likely to happen where participants are keeping biblical peacemaking teachings and applications running in their minds as a backdrop to all other considerations. Being "right" is not necessarily God's way to righteousness or peace.

Estimate of Women's Ordination Conflict Level

To what level has our women's ordination dispute arrived? It is not easy to identify conflict levels, precisely because conflicts do not always move through the levels predictably and because of the somewhat porous boundaries between levels. Also, there are sometimes wide differences in attitude and approach among conflict participants who are on the "same side." With that said, it appears that denominationally the conflict is at a fairly high Level III, with some tilt toward Level IV.

While most conflict participants still seem to be at least somewhat willing to engage on the specifics related to the ordination of women, the language on both sides has taken on the sound of Level IV. Participants appeal strongly to eternal principles in support of their positions. Those for immediate women's ordination speak of justice and basic human rights. Those against the immediate ordination of women speak of God's desire for church unity and worldwide denominational harmony. Only God knows whether these appeals to grand principles are of the "self-righteous" variety.

Another Level IV element in the conflict is sentiment that nothing is likely to change in the General Conference position and that no amount of time spent in further study or discussion will make much, if any, difference. This position was voiced in discussions related to the 2012 actions voted by four separate union conference constituencies in favor of ministerial ordination without regard to gender.[6] This has resulted in an escalation of rhetoric that reflects increasing conflict within the church.

On October 16, 2012, Seventh-day Adventist world leaders attending the General Conference Annual Council voted a response statement to the ordination-related actions taken by the union conference constituencies. The Annual Council statement strongly disapproves of those actions and states that they are not legitimate.[7] It points out that planned current and future theological studies and deliberations are preparing the way for the world church to deal with the issue of women's ordination at the next General Conference session.[8] It urges the union conferences, along with all other Seventh-day Adventist organizations, to carefully consider the implications

[6]In order of their votes these union conferences are the North German Union Conference (Apr 23), the Columbia Union Conference (July 29), the Pacific Union Conference (Aug 19), and the Netherlands Union Conference (Nov 11).

[7]Annual Council Action 132-12G. Statement on Church Polity, Procedures, and Resolution of Disagreements in the Light of Recent Union Actions on Ministerial Ordination. PRE/PREXAD/GCDO12AC to TNCW-12AC, 2 (2012), 2.

[8]Ibid., 3.

and possible results of taking actions that contradict standing decisions of the world church at General Conference sessions.[9] And it asserts that the world church in General Conference session holds the highest administrative authority in the Seventh-day Adventist Church.[10] Significantly, the Annual Council statement does not announce or call for any punitive action toward the union conferences. This may be an attempt by world leaders to halt the conflict climb and even to begin decreasing its intensity.

Reconciliation and Conflict Resolution Basics

For the purposes of this work conflict is *a difference in opinion or purpose that frustrates someone's goals or desires*.[11]

Conflict Opportunities

Most Christians associate conflict entirely with sin, pain, and loss. This is unfortunate, because differences in purpose and opinion that frustrate goals and desires frequently open doorways to advancement and breakthroughs in learning, planning, creativity, and healthy relationships. When God is allowed to guide the conflict resolution and reconciliation process, conflicts can lead to extraordinary blessing and spiritual growth (for examples consider Gen 32-33; 2 Kgs 6:8-23; Dan 1; Acts 6:1-7; 15:1-35).

It would be helpful for Christians to see conflicts in a more positive light. Indeed, conflicts provide Christians with definite openings to glorify God (1 Cor 10:31-11:1), minister to opponents (Lk 6:27-31; Rom 12:17-21), and grow in Christlikeness (2 Cor 12:7-10).[12] When conflicts are seen as potential opportunities for good to be grasped under God's guidance instead of hazards to be avoided or threats to be attacked, there is much more likelihood of lasting resolution and growing goodwill.

Conflict Catalysts: Diversity, Misunderstanding, and Sin[13]

There are at least three major catalysts for human conflict. The first is our diversity, which stems from God's creation of this world. God's amazing design specifies that we multiply with a vast and growing variety. Humans are exceptionally diverse in their personalities, experiences, goals, methods, priorities, preconceptions, beliefs, values, customs, and traditions. . . . Our

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[9]Ibid., 3.

[10]Ibid., 4.

[11]Ken Sande, *The Peacemaker* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 2004), 29. Much of this paper is indebted to the organization of biblical concepts in *The Peacemaker*.

[12]Sande, 31-37.

[13]Bruce Boyd, "Development, Implementation, and Evaluation of a Seminar on Positive Resolution of Substantive and Interpersonal Conflict in the Hazelton, British Columbia, Seventh-day Adventist Church" (DMin project report, Andrews University, 1995), 1-7; Sande, 30.

differences and preferences, many of which are neither right nor wrong, add immeasurable richness to our human experience. God's breath-taking diversity in creation is a major ingredient in most, if not all conflict.

Misunderstanding of words and intentions is a second basic catalyst of most conflicts. With the complexities of communication, it is surprising that there are not more misunderstandings. During conflicts miscommunication, accidental or intentional, is so common that misunderstandings ought to be expected. Perhaps this is why the apostle James advises that we *be quick to hear, slow to speak and slow to anger* (Jas 1:19). Focused listening and understanding skills are generally more helpful for resolution and reconciliation than powerful logic or persuasive presentations. Noted Mennonite conflict consultant, David Augsburger, underscores the power of careful listening: *Being heard is so close to being loved that for the average person they are almost indistinguishable.*[14] This is especially true during times of conflict.

The third catalyst of human conflict is our basic selfishness, which has continued and darkened since the sin of our first ancestors. Jeremiah suggests that we can barely begin to understand how deeply *deceitful* and *desperately wicked* we are in our innermost selves (Jer 17:9, KJV).[15] The stories of nearly all Bible characters reveal them as selfishly enmeshed in multiple conflicts, often with damaging and even destructive results. Our sinfulness is like a deadly gravity, automatically pulling our conflicts toward disaster (Rom 3:23; 7:14-20).

One of the common places our sinfulness exhibits itself is in the demands we make during conflict. When our desires, even good desires, become demands, they are usually selfish. (Unselfish demands are associated with defending God's reputation or protecting people who are being mistreated.[16]) Significantly, it appears to be impossible to become angry unless one or more of our desires have become covert or overt demands. Conflicts are invariably rooted in demands, which are often flagged by words like "ought," "must," and "should." Destructive conflicts are associated with this ordered sequence of verbs: desire, demand, judge, punish.[17] Martha's unhappiness with Mary (Luke 10:40-41) and Joab's murder of Abner and Amasa (2 Sam 3:27; 20:10) are mild and extreme examples of this sequence. Layers of conflict demands

[14]David Augsburger, *Caring Enough to Hear* (Ventura, CA: Regal, 1982), 12.

[15]Unless otherwise noted, all Bible quotations are from the New American Standard Bible.

[16]Ellen G. White, *The Desire of Ages* (Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press, 1940), 310. Righteous demands are illustrated by the life of Jesus who makes relatively few demands. Jesus dramatically cleanses His Father's dishonored temple (John 2:13-17), He publically levels stern "woes" against Jewish leaders who are smearing God's reputation and abusing their own people (Matthew 23), and when Pharisees will not consider flexing and recalibrating their narrow Sabbath-keeping beliefs and practices to honor God and bless others, Jesus is *grieved* and responds *with anger.* He dramatically opposes them and heals a man's disfigured hand during a Sabbath synagogue worship service (Mark 3:1-6).

[17]Sande, 102-109.

can mushroom and fill much of the space in our hearts, space God asks us to reserve for a trusting friendship with Him.[18] In conflict settings it would be best if most of our demands could be returned to their earlier desire form and examined.

Giving God standing "permission" to bring our basic selfishness to mind during conflicts is helpful.

Our sinful tendency is to pin conflict blame to others. Instead, Jesus instructs us to search for and remove *logs* from our eyes so that we can see clearly enough to remove *specks* from our opponents' eyes (Matt 7:3-5). Reconciliation and conflict resolution are much more likely to occur when we take complete responsibility for our negative attitudes and actions early.

Conflict Issues: Substantive and Interpersonal

Conflicts can orbit around substantive issues, interpersonal issues, or both. Substantive issues, sometimes called material issues, can be phrased as questions that need to be answered before conflict resolution is possible. Among other things, they can involve principles (Paul and the Galatians: *Is a strict keeping of the law the pathway to salvation?*); applications (participants in the Jerusalem Council: *Do Gentiles need to be circumcised in order to become Christians?*); methods (Moses and Zelophehad's daughters: *Where sons are absent, may daughters inherit property in order to keep it in the family?*); traditions (Jesus and the Pharisees: *Is it permissible to eat food with unwashed hands?*); facts (Aaron and Miriam opposing Moses: *Does God speak only through you, or does He speak through all three of us?*); goals (Joseph's brothers at the pit: *Shall we let Joseph go free, or shall we get rid of him?*); or rights (prodigal son's father and older brother: *Is it fair to celebrate the return of the prodigal son?*).

Interpersonal conflict issues are connected to negative feelings and attitudes that conflict participants have toward each other. These could include various combinations of irritation, embarrassment, fear, anger, jealousy, dislike, disdain, disrespect, rejection, judgment, hatred, prejudice, etc. Interpersonal issues can flow from participants' beliefs that they have been mistreated or from how participants imagine their opponents are viewing them, evaluating them, criticizing them, or planning to mistreat them.

In most conflicts both interpersonal issues and substantive issues are present. Where this is the case, interpersonal issues almost always must be dealt with first for a lasting positive outcome.[19] In other words, healthy interpersonal reconciliation is a prerequisite to wholesome conflict resolution. This fact is of vital importance!

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[18]David Paul Tripp, *Instruments in the Redeemer's Hands* (Phillipsburg, NJ: P&R Publishing, 2002), 57-94; Sande, 100-116.

[19]Sande, 81.

Lost Sons

An excellent example is found in the story of the lost sons of Luke 15. The repentant younger son stumbles home with a genuine, heartfelt confession, and his father runs to offer complete acceptance and forgiveness. Interpersonal issues between them are dealt with, and the substantive issues will obviously be resolved. But later, in a painful exchange between the father and his older son, interpersonal issues remain unresolved. The older brother chooses to argue angrily and bitterly about his rights, while his father pleads for interpersonal reconciliation. We are left with no hint that the older brother moves away from proving his self-righteous substantive positions to sincerely addressing the interpersonal issues that separate him from his brother and father.

Christians in conflict too often mirror the angry older son. Interpersonal issues are frequently ignored or denied while substantive issues get most or all of the attention. This probably happens because interpersonal issues are considered to be sinful. Many of us, including and perhaps especially those with leadership positions, find it difficult to take responsibility for our sinful contributions to the conflict. We protect our reputations and become blind hypocrites. Interpersonal issues are best dealt with before all other considerations through prayerful, humble confession (Prov 28:13; Luke 15:17-21; Jas 5:16), through careful, caring correction (Matt 5:23-24; 18:15-20) and through the miraculous gift of forgiveness (Matt 18:21-35; Eph 4:32).

Overlooked Widows

When interpersonal issues have been dealt, with the way is opened for careful, collaborative negotiation between the reconciled parties. A mutually agreeable and long-lasting resolution of substantive issues becomes far easier to attain. This is what happens in Acts 6:1-6, where the Grecian Christian Jews are deeply offended by the perceived and perhaps actual unfair treatment of their widows by the Hebraic Christian Jews. This conflict appears to be serious enough to have split the early church.

Fortunately, the overworked apostles, who are probably considered to be members of the Hebraic faction, refuse to ignore the conflict or to be insulted. Instead, they deal with it immediately, apparently listening respectfully and carefully without defending themselves. The interpersonal issues are sorted out, and the way opens for resolving the substantive issue: *What is the best way to fairly and consistently meet the needs of our widows?* God inspires his leaders to propose a creative new ministry method for doing His work more effectively. Interestingly, in a huge gesture of trust and goodwill by the Hebraic Christian Jews, all seven members of the new ministry team seem to come from the Grecian faction, as is evidenced by their Greek names. The seven are entrusted with the important task of caring for all Christian widows.

Amazingly, there is unanimous approval from both factions for this solution. Coming out of this conflict, the church is wonderfully united,

energized, and motivated. And at this point many priests, who have been observing the new movement from the outside, are finally convinced of its authenticity and join the increasing flood of new believers.[20]

A Pauline Approach

It appears that the apostle Paul has the reconciliation of interpersonal issues in mind when he writes these instructions: *Therefore, as God's chosen people, holy and dearly loved, clothe yourselves with compassion, kindness, humility, gentleness and patience. Bear with each other and forgive one another if any of you has a grievance against someone. Forgive as the Lord forgave you. And over all these virtues put on love, which binds them all together in perfect unity. Let the peace of Christ rule in your hearts, since as members of one body you were called to peace. (Col 3:12-15, NIV).*

Food Offered to Idols

Perhaps a strategy used by Paul in dealing with a conflict over food offered to idols could inform us as we grapple with our conflict over women's ordination. Paul speaks directly to the conflict over food offered to idols in 1 Cor 8 and 10:23-31, and he seems to have it in mind along with other current areas of controversy in Rom 14.[21] The substantive issue in 1 Cor 8 and 10 asks: *Is it permissible for faithful Christians to eat food which has been offered to idols?*

We need to notice that the major emphasis of Paul's approach is on dealing with the interpersonal or relational issues swirling around this conflict.[22] His first objective is that the believers embroiled in this conflict treat each other with the utmost respect and care. Paul opens in 1 Cor 8 by observing that having knowledge ("having the truth," "being right") can be problematic because it is so often associated with arrogance and pride (v. 1). He follows this by reminding his readers that our fullest knowledge is at best only partial (v. 2), implying that all believers, perhaps especially those who consider themselves to be the most knowledgeable, need a large dose of growing humility.

In the related Rom 14 passage Paul warns both those who are opposed to eating food offered to idols, etc., and their opponents who are comfortable eating food offered to idols not to judge each other (vv. 1 and 13). He strongly cautions those in the first group not to be harsh or condemnatory and those in the second group not to be contemptuous or condescending (vv. 3 and 10). Further, he warns both sides to treat the other as family (*brothers*), remembering that God is the only judge and that God will ultimately evaluate

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[20]See par. 3 of the Appendix.

[21]John C. Brunt, *Romans, The Abundant Life Bible Amplifier,* ed. George R. Knight (Boise, ID: Pacific Press, 1996), 238; Martin Luther, *Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans,* tr. J. Theodore Mueller (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1954), 178; John Murray, *The Epistle to the Romans, vol. 2, The New International Commentary on the New Testament,* ed. F. F. Bruce (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1968), 173.

[22]Brunt, 237.

each conflict participant by His divine relationship criteria (v. 10). Speaking to both groups, Paul admonishes, *Therefore let us not judge one another anymore, but rather determine this—not to put an obstacle or a stumbling block in a brother's way* (v. 13). He continues, *we pursue the things which make for peace and the building up of one another. Do not tear down the work of God for the sake of food* (vv. 19-20).

In 1 Cor 10 Paul continues the discussion of food offered to idols begun earlier in that book. In chapter 8 Paul has clearly addressed the substantive issue by stating his belief that there is absolutely no sound theological argument against eating food offered to idols where believers do not consider it to be an act of worship (vv. 4-8). Picking up on this in chapter 10, he bridges back to the interpersonal issues when he declares, *All things are lawful, but not all things are profitable. All things are lawful, but not all things edify. Let no one seek his own good, but that of his neighbor* (vv. 23-24). Paul's conflict solution for those who have no guilt eating food offered to idols is to eat it freely with unbelievers and, presumably, with fellow Christians of the same opinion (vv. 25-27). At the same time, he tells them to abstain from eating it when they are with Christians who disagree with them, because of their care and respect for these fellow believers (v. 28, see also 8:4-13; Rom 14:13-15).

Principles and Applications

Interestingly, Paul's substantive position seems to slant away from the action of the Jerusalem Council (Acts 15:20), from warnings to the churches in Pergamum and Thyatira (Rev 2:14, 20) and perhaps from the stand of Daniel in his conflict with Nebuchadnezzar over the food Daniel was to eat (Dan 1). It is obvious that Paul does not believe his position on food offered to idols is going against any basic Christian principle, just as he does not consider his position on circumcision to cut across such a principle. To him these are clearly areas of application.[23] The book of Acts and Paul's own writings make it clear that many of his Christian contemporaries disagree with him, considering these to be areas of unchanging principle.

To Paul the wisest applications are flexible, determined by various current factors. In the area of circumcision he frequently deals with Christians who consider the practice necessary for salvation. This belief goes contrary to a universal Christian principle, and here Paul is unequivocal, taking an unbending stand. Yet, in spite of his very strong language on the topic in Galatians and Philippians, Paul does not forbid circumcision, which is an application issue when it is not considered a means to salvation. In one situation, perhaps to avoid criticism and distraction from his mission to share the gospel, Paul has Timothy circumcised (Acts 16:3).

As we have seen in the area of food offered to idols, Paul advocates a split application practice.[24] Where people feel that eating food offered to

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[23]*Principles* are fundamental truths that are always valid in every culture for each person. Because principles are theoretical or abstract by nature, they sometimes need to be interpreted carefully into concrete *applications*.

[24]A few verses earlier in 1 Cor 9 Paul seems to suggest that best Christian practice

idols is an act of false worship, he states that it should not be eaten. In other places, where people do not consider eating food offered to idols to be an act of worship in any way, Paul advises that it ought to be eaten thankfully without questions (1 Cor 10:25-30). He concludes this section with the well-known admonition: *Whether, then, you eat or drink or whatever you do, do all to the glory of God. Give no offense either to Jews or to Greeks or to the church of God just as I also please all men in all things, not seeking my own profit but the profit of the many, so that they may be saved. Be imitators of me, just as I also am of Christ (vv. 31-11:1).*

Toward Resolution

The move toward reconciliation in the SDA context helps us identify principles that are applicable in all Christian communities. When we are ready to deal with this substantive issue, we need to consider some related questions. Is this conflict directly over principle and not application? If principle, which principle or principles? Are some principles subordinate to other principles? Or is this conflict over the application of principle? If this is an application issue, what approach do the times call for? Consider the fact that during his life Paul does not seem to think it is the right time to proclaim freedom for slaves (Eph 6:5-9) even though he pens the ringing words of Gal 3:28. What is currently the best application approach to further the gospel in the various situations in our world field? Does the application need to be the same in every area for every member of a world church? We have seen that there is little, if any, record of Paul taking a universal approach to application situations.

Before and while Christians answer these questions, we could deal with our interpersonal issues. We could allow God's Holy Spirit to remind us that we are family and that those ties are of exceptional importance to Him and to us. As continual recipients of our Father's unselfish kindness and love, we could let the Holy Spirit empower us to respond in kind with supreme love to God and unselfish care for each other. We could ask God to help us see the multiple logs in our eyes before we go after specks. We could repent of and confess uncaring attitudes, demands, and attack words or actions. We could climb down from the soapboxes we love and learn better to listen carefully and caringly to each other. We could give each other the benefit of the doubt and bathe all of our exchanges with a genuine and growing respect. We could

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in the application of principle can be exceptionally varied simultaneously in different parts of the world. Paul elevates the value of sharing the gospel above his own rights and freedoms as he explains that his approach is greatly modified by the place where he is working and the company he is keeping. *For though I am free from all men, I have made myself a slave to all, so that I may win more. To the Jews I became as a Jew, so that I might win Jews; to those who are under the Law, as under the Law though not being myself under the Law, so that I might win those who are under the Law; to those who are without law, as without law, though not being without the law of God but under the law of Christ, so that I might win those who are without law. To the weak I became weak, that I might win the weak; I have become all things to all men, so that I may by all means save some. I do all things for the sake of the gospel, so that I may become a fellow partaker of it* (vv. 19-23).

gently confront those we consider to be in error, knowing that we might be wrong because we are fallible. We could accept God's miraculous gift of forgiveness and let Him teach us to forgive others as we wish Him to forgive us. We could be optimistic and expectant during all conflicts, including this one because, while conflicts are often painful, they are opportunities for our Father to teach us things of importance and to grow us in delightful ways to be the people He has designed us to be.

APPENDIX

Excerpt from Ellen White's Letter 29, 1889

Christ prayed that His disciples might be one, even as He and His Father are one. In what does this unity consist? That oneness does not consist in everyone having the same disposition, the very same temperament, that makes all run in the very same channel. All do not possess the same degree of intelligence. All have not the same experience. In a church there are different gifts and varied experiences. In temporal matters there is a great variety of ways of management, and yet none of these variations in manner of labor, in exercise of gifts, need to create dissension and discord and disunion. One man may be conversant with the Scriptures, and some particular portion of the Scripture is especially appreciated by him because he has seen it in a certain striking light; another sees another portion as very important; and thus one and another presents the very points to the people that appear of highest value. This is all in the order of God. One man blunders in his interpretation of some portion of the Scripture, but shall this cause diversity and disunion? God forbid. We cannot then take a position that the unity of the church consists in viewing every text of Scripture in the very same shade of light.

The church may pass resolution upon resolution to put down all disagreement of opinions, but we cannot force the mind and will, and thus root out disagreement. These resolutions may conceal the discord but they cannot quench it and establish a perfect agreement. Nothing can perfect a perfect unity in the church but the spirit of Christlike forbearance. Satan can sow discord; Christ alone can harmonize the disagreeing elements. Then let every soul sit down in Christ's school and learn of Christ who declares Himself to be meek and lowly of heart; and Christ declares that if we learn of Him, then our worries will cease, and we shall find rest to our souls.

The great truths of the Word of God are so clearly stated that none need make a mistake in understanding them. When you as individual members of the church love God supremely and your neighbor as yourself, then there will be no labored efforts to be in unity; there will be a oneness in Christ, the ears to reports will be closed, and no one will take up a reproach against his neighbor. The members of the church will cherish love and unity and be as one great family. Then we shall bear the credentials to the world that will testify that God has sent His Son into the world. Christ has said, "By this shall all men know that ye are My disciples, if ye have love one to another." The divinity of Christ is acknowledged in the unity of the children of God. Brethren, when you humble your hearts before God you will see that there is danger of Phariseeism, danger of thinking and praying as did the self-righteous Pharisee. "I thank God that I am not as other men are." Oh, that there may be a breaking up of the fallow ground of the heart, that the seeds of truth may take deep root and spring up and bear much fruit to the glory of God.

Letter 29, 1889. (Written November 8, 1889, from Battle Creek, Michigan, to Brother and Sister Buckner.) *Manuscript Releases*, 15:149-150.

CONFRONTING THE SHADOW SIDE OF ORDINATION: HUMILITY AND CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP

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Those formally "set apart" for Adventist ministry, such as myself, receive public blessing and encouragement, the sense of divine and communal support for challenging responsibility. Therein lies temptation. In being singled out for affirmation, the set-apart receive an impression, however muted, of their own worth. The public ceremony may resonate with reminders of grace and finitude, but the words and gestures nevertheless express confidence in the ability and character of particular human beings. The risk for those set apart is that the impression of fitness for special ministry may edge into the sense of superiority and entitlement to power. The history of Christian "ordination," and of its slant toward arrogance and hierarchy, draws attention to this point. Lost humility is the shadow side of the laying on of hands.[1]

A clue from one of Christianity's most forceful interpreters suggests that one shield against the temptation to arrogance may be deliberate, sustained focus on the virtue of humility. Augustine argued that the way of Jesus "consists, first, of humility, second, of humility, and, third, of humility." He said that unless humility "precedes, accompanies, and follows whatever we do . . . pride will have bereft us of everything." Humility is the virtue that supports all the others. "Are you thinking," he asks, "of raising the great fabric of spirituality? Attend first of all to the foundation of humility."[2]

On this account, humility would be particularly important for those formally set apart. But in spite of this, humility receives relatively little consideration. Two well-known works of contemporary pastoral theology explore ordained ministry without attending to this virtue at any length. One is Thomas C. Oden's *Pastoral Theology: Essentials of Ministry*, a book whose index mentions just two pages that address humility. On one the author calls for "humble submission" to the authority of divine revelation. On the other he quotes Jesus' declaration that the truly great are as "humble" as children. But in summing up what Jesus meant by this comparison Oden writes: "Jesus regarded children in their simplicity, trust, and innocence as heirs of the Kingdom." He does not elaborate on the meaning or importance of humility per se. The second work is William H. Willimon's *Pastor: The Theology and*

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[1]My paper assumes that the "laying on of hands" may be fitting in connection with induction into pastoral ministry. But as I indicate later, the rite of "ordination" as we know it came into being after the New Testament period.

[2]For these quotations I rely on Daniel J. Harrington, SJ; James F. Keenan, SJ, *Paul and Virtue Ethics: Building Bridges between New Testament Studies and Moral Theology* (New York: Roman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2010), 143-145. The first two direct quotes are from Augustine's Letter 118, the third from Sermon 60 from his *The Word of God.*

Practice of Ordained Ministry. Its subject index contains no reference to humility. And when the author sums up the "virtues required to be a good pastor," he names "wisdom, truth telling, courage, compassion, study," saying, truthfully, that these "do not come naturally to most of us." He makes no mention of the one virtue that may be most basic and most difficult of all.[3]

Both works touch on humility indirectly, without paying specific attention to it. The *Seventh-day Adventist Minister's Manual* is similar. I notice that the 1992 edition, which I keep at home, reminds pastors to "overcome their pride," and urges resistance to the "assumption that your holy calling makes you holy." But the index to that edition contains no reference to humility. The only such reference in the 2009 edition concerns the footwashing ("Humility, ordinance of"), but the text's three-paragraph discussion, which begins with the story in John 13, provides only how-to directives for the conduct of the footwashing ceremony. There is no theological exposition, no account of how the narrative might inform an authentically pastoral frame of mind.[4] But just this latter—the authentically pastoral frame of mind—is what inattention to humility gravely imperils. In what follows I wish to establish the Augustinian, or better, *biblical*, claim that humility is utterly basic for Christian consciousness, a virtue so indispensable as to be the "mother of all virtues."[5] And if this is so, it surely invites the particular attention of those "set apart," those who have received public assurance of their fitness to be *leaders* among Christians.

As I suggested earlier, the story of pastoral self-consciousness underscores the relevance of this point. Although "ordination" became the name for formal induction into pastoral ministry, that word does not appear in the New Testament (except as a mis-translation).[6] The New Testament confers no special status upon a class of "ordained" Christians; the distinction between the clergy and the laity does not even appear.[7] The New Testament church did, however, "select" persons for special responsibility. Acts 6:1-6 contains the most complete account of the setting apart process, which in this passage concludes with public affirmation involving prayer

[3]Thomas C. Oden, *Pastoral Theology: Essentials of Ministry* (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1983), 138, 143; William H. Willimon, *Pastor: The Theology and Practice of Ordained Ministry* (Nashville: Abingdon, 2002), 24.

[4]The Ministerial Association of the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists (Silver Spring, MD) "prepares and publishes" the *Seventh-day Adventist Minister's Manual.* The quotation from the 1992 edition appears on p. 59; the material from the 2009 edition, which I will reference again, appears on p. 170.

[5]In his *Humilitas: A Lost Key to Life, Love, and Leadership* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2011), 131, John Dickson quotes this phrase from Stephen R. Covey.

[6]V. Norskov Olsen, *Myth and Truth: Church, Priesthood and Ordination* (Riverside, CA: Loma Linda University Press, 1990), 6, 123-125, 176-177.

[7]Gottfried Osterwal is the Adventist theologian who first emphasized this point, in *Mission: Possible* (Nashville: Southern Publishing, 1972), especially in the chapter on "The Role of the Laity," 103-120.

and the laying on of hands.[8] But in the New Testament, *all* the faithful are "saints," all set apart for service under God. All belong (1 Pet 2:9) to the "royal priesthood" that constitutes "God's own people."[9] Thus Hendrik Kraemer, the Dutch theologian of the laity, could say that in New Testament perspective all members have the "same calling, responsibility and dignity." Gottfried Osterwal, the Adventist theologian who learned from Kraemer and in 1972 published the excellent *Mission: Possible*, echoed the thought: every member, he wrote, "shares equally in [the church's] life, worship, mission, and government."[10]

Due largely to the idea (not found in the New Testament) that the Lord's supper is a sacrifice of the sort familiar from the Hebrew Bible, a distinction between priest and lay person comes into view by the start of the third century, some one hundred years after the end of the New Testament period. By now Christian writers are also distinguishing among levels of pastoral authority, with bishops having primacy relative to elders (presbyters) in the developing sense of hierarchy. No description of an ordination rite for installment to pastoral ministry appears in the Christian literature until about this time, and the description reflects these changes: now the bishop alone has authority to ordain presbyters and deacons, and these latter, the deacons, are not priests at all, nor even recipients of "the Spirit that is possessed by the presbytery." Deacons exist to carry out the bishop's commands.[11]

Between 248 and 258 C.E. the bishop of Carthage was Cyprian, an adult convert to Christianity who suffered persecution for his faith and was finally beheaded. But in his concern for the "unity" of the church, he expressed vivid and highly influential support for the hierarchical point of view. Cyprian wrote that the church is "founded upon the bishops, and every act of the Church is controlled by these same rulers." He said further: "You ought to know that the bishop is in the Church, and the Church is in the bishop; and if anyone be not with the bishop, that he is not in the Church."[12]

Early in the fourth century, Constantine set out to reconcile his political domain with the Christian faith, a move that had the effect of accelerating the church's drift toward centralization of authority. More and more, it took

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[8]Some other pertinent passages are Acts 13:2, 3; 1 Tim 4:14; 2 Tim 1:6. The book of Acts links the laying on of hands with reception of the Holy Spirit (8:18, 19; 9:17), but without suggesting that the gift of the Spirit *depends* on the laying on of hands (10:44-48).

[9]Paul refers to recipients of his letters as "saints," as in, e.g., 1 Cor 1:2, 2 Corinthians 1:1, and Philippians 1:1. As Olsen writes, 26, the term's biblical meaning is that of "consecrated persons" or persons "set apart" for God.

[10]Hendrik Kraemer, *A Theology of the Laity* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1958), 160; Osterwal, ibid., 105.

[11]I am relying as in the paragraph and in the one that follows on Olsen, ibid., 97-100; also 149, 150, where the author summarizes perspective on the ordination rite found in *The Apostolic Tradition* by Hippolytus, a Roman presbyter.

[12]See fn 12.

on the trappings of empire. As V. Norskov Olsen, the Adventist historian and former president of Loma Linda University, wrote, pagan Rome "grew into papal Rome." By the middle of the fifth century Pope Leo the Great was reinforcing his authority by conjuring up a theory about the apostle Peter's connection with the bishop of Rome. His ideas fed the process that finally established the medieval papacy, an organization whose most illustrious eleventh-century leader, Pope Gregory VII, could declare that the Roman pontiff "may be judged by no one."[13]

Challenges to medieval ecclesiology occurred several times, but it was Martin Luther, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, whose challenge finally ignited the Protestant Reformation. Appealing to the New Testament, he simply denied the clergy-laity distinction. In his *Open Letter to the Christian Nobility*, written in 1520, Luther asserted that each baptized Christian "can boast that he is already a consecrated priest, bishop, and pope," even if, to "exercise such office," the individual must await the "consent and election" of the "community." He meant by this to reclaim the New Testament idea of the priesthood of all believers. John Calvin, the Reformation's greatest systematic thinker, was of similar mind. In Christ, he wrote, "we are all priests."[14]

With respect to the ordained ministry, an institution both Luther and Calvin upheld, this reaffirmation was clearly a shift away from the sense of superiority and entitlement to power. That shift was radicalized in the thinking of the Anabaptists. Their movement, a part of the so-called Radical Reformation, was a protest against continuing reliance on state power under Luther, Calvin, and other Magisterial (as they are now called) Reformers. This latter was left over from the shift to church-state partnership that had occurred under Constantine, and further confirmed the idea that some church members may have authority *over* others. More than the other Reformers, Anabaptist writers put great emphasis on the *shared* authority of church members. For the "common good," said one of the Swiss Brethren, each voice matters. To his Zurich-rooted Anabaptist community, sermonic monologues themselves were ill-advised. Paul had noted (1 Cor 14:26) that when Christians assemble, each may bring a "lesson" or "interpretation." No one was to dominate. The same Swiss Brother spoke unhappily of "preachers" who "presume that they need yield to no one." That posture simply went against the movement's grain. Another Anabaptist, the lengthily named Ambrosius Spitelmaier, described the Radical way as follows: "When they have come together they teach one another the divine Word and one asks the other: how do you understand this saying?" Expanding on the point, he declared: "Thus there is among them a diligent living according to the divine Word."[15]

[13]Ibid., 50-54; on p. 175 of his book's "Epilogue," a theological reflection on Christian ministry, Olsen repeats the point about pagan Rome growing into papal Rome.

[14]Quoted ibid., 155. Luther's remark may be found in *Luther's Works*, 44:129; Calvin's remark is from *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, IV. xix. 28.

[15]Walter Klaassen, ed., *Anabaptism in Outline: Selected Primary Sources* (Scottdale, PA: Herald Press, 1981). See 126 for the quote from the Swiss Brother, and 124 for the

Teaching, then, was for the sake of Christian practice, or "living," just as in that favorite Adventist passage, 2 Tim 3:16, 17, where the proper use of Scripture is equipping "everyone who belongs to God . . . for every good work." To the Radical Reformers, the point of shared authority was "edification," so that congregations could "be a bright light" against the "presumptuous attacks of the adversaries."[16]

Prominent Neo-Anabaptists, modern heirs of the Radical Reformation heritage, emphasize that all this evokes the ideal of "consensus." Commenting on 1 Cor 14, John Howard Yoder notices in Paul's letter the "simple trust that God himself, as Spirit, is at work" in the local community's "disciplined human discourse." Instead of limiting responsibility to those formally credentialed or empowered, this chapter and its Anabaptist interpreters embrace what Yoder calls "dialogical liberty," a conversational strategy in which "the individual participates and to which he or she *consents*." Neither "arbitrary individualism" (I am my own pope) nor "established authority" (the hierarchy decides) resolves the questions that arise in Christian life. This process is a matter, as he later puts it, of "decision making by open dialogue and consensus."[17] In a similar vein, James Wm. McClendon, Jr., Neo-Anabaptism's most accomplished systematic thinker, explains why he visited twenty-five "centers" of Anabaptist thought (one was Walla Walla College) before publishing the first volume of his three-volume systematic theology. He did so in deference to an Anabaptist paradigm he calls "consensus based on conversation."[18]

Conversation takes place, of course, under the authority of Christ. Anabaptism's quarrel with the Magisterial Reformers over matters such as obeisance to the state reflected the movement's conviction that the "apostolic pattern" must have "normative character."[19] Under the apostles, Christ trumped all other claims on human loyalty, including the state's. "To him," wrote one Anabaptist, "is given all authority in heaven, on earth, and under the earth," and his followers must therefore honor and love him "above all creatures." Even to understand Scripture "correctly," the reader must acknowledge that it comes under the authority of Christ. "The content of the whole Scripture," wrote another Anabaptist, "is briefly summarized in this: Honor and fear God the almighty in Christ his Son."[20]

Spitelmaier remarks.

[16]Remarks of the same Swiss Brother, ibid., 126.

[17]John Howard Yoder, *The Priestly Kingdom: Social Ethics as Gospel* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1984), 29, 22, 24 (italics mine); the later remark is from Yoder, *Royal Priesthood: Essays Ecclesiological and Ecumenical* (Scottdale, PA: Herald Press, 1998), 368.

[18]James Wm. McClendon, Jr., *Ethics: Systematic Theology*, vol. 1, rev. ed. (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2002), 8.

[19]Robert Friedmann, *The Theology of Anabaptism* (Scottdale, PA: Herald Press, 1973), 121.

[20]Klaassen, ed., ibid., 27, 150; Leonhard Schiemer wrote the first quote, Bernhard

Just this authority, together with the Anabaptist penchant for Scripture's *practical* meaning, sheds a dramatic light on the pastoral frame of mind that befits the end of hierarchy and the embrace of consensus based on conversation. Both Yoder and McClendon give careful attention to the famous hymn, found in Phil 2, that follows Paul's admonition to lay aside "conceit" and "in humility regard others as better than yourselves." Paul elaborates by explicit reference to Christ: "Let the same mind be in you that was in Christ Jesus," following up with a long quotation from the hymn.

Both these Neo-Anabaptist scholars say that the hymn may be read simply as an account of the Incarnation. Both notice, however, that it begins (Phil 2:6) by saying that Jesus was in God's form or image, and both notice that God-likeness is an intended attribute of Adam (Gen 1). So the hymn may be about Jesus' story on earth; it may, indeed, parallel the Old Testament story of creation and fall, where the first temptation (Gen 3) is about grasping after equality with God. On this reading the hymn is a summation of Jesus' life, of his magnificent spiritual victory. Like Adam, he faces the temptation to seize high status ("equality with God") but, unlike Adam, he empties himself, embracing service (Phil 2:7) as a way of life. Indeed, Jesus humbles himself to the point (v. 8) of enduring a shameful death, "even death on a cross." And it is just because of this—just because of the humility that Adam, for his part, spurned—that God can "exalt" Jesus (vv. 9-11) into someone whom we may confess as "Lord."

Without insisting that this is the only legitimate reading of the hymn, McClendon notes that in the earliest patristic literature it was the dominant one, and that this reading continued to appear in later patristic authors. The aforementioned Cyprian, for example, said the passage makes the very same point as the footwashing story of John 13, where Jesus lays aside all conceit and shows his high regard for others.[21]

In any case, on this Neo-Anabaptist interpretation of Paul's hymn, Jesus is unmistakably a brother to his disciples, unmistakably an example to be imitated. And precisely to the point Augustine made and to the one I am making now, this (and even the other) interpretation puts humility at the center of the God-oriented life. *If pride portends a fall, and if humility both underlies Jesus' exaltation and also defines true discipleship, then Augustine said rightly that humility is the "foundation," the virtue that must precede, accompany, and follow "whatever we do."*

In light of all this, consider Norskov Olsen's perspective. Writing as an Adventist, he takes careful note both of the Anabaptist claim that "all the members of the fellowship had something whereby to enlighten the others" and also of its rejection of "external ecclesiastical and political compulsions."

Rothmann the second.

[21]See John Howard Yoder, *Preface to Theology: Christology and Theological Method* (Grand Rapids, MI: Brazos Books, 2002), 81-87; and James Wm. McClendon, Jr., *Doctrine: Systematic Theology*, vol. 2 (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1994), 266-269. McClendon also published "Philippians 2:5-11," in *Review and Expositor* 88 (1991): 439-444.

He speaks as well of the movement's "principle of consensus." At least three times, moreover, he remarks on how "covenant-remnant-eschaton motifs" color Anabaptism's ecclesiology, and he quotes Robert Friedmann's assertion that among the sixteenth-century reforming movements, only the Radical Reformation persisted in giving the Second Coming a "legitimate function" in the life of faith.[22]

This is more than a hint of the movement's special relevance to Adventism, although Olsen does not make that argument explicitly. But several have done so (one at book length), each making the point Adventism's Reformation roots go back to Anabaptism.[23] And Charles Bradford, the former North American Division president, drew a clear connection between the Anabaptists and the Adventist pioneers in an article specifically focused on ministerial ordination. In light of this connection he declares that we "must stoutly resist any reappearance of hierarchy in any form." In just this spirit he cites the third verse of 1 Pet 5: "Do not lord it over those in your charge, but be examples to the flock." He also cites Ellen White, whose "phrase 'kingly power'" was "a warning to pastors and leaders not to abuse their authority." Summing up, he writes: "The Christian ministry is not a new priestcraft. Anything that smacks of exclusivity, of special class, of privilege that comes by initiation (ordination) must be demolished with the trust and reality of the gospel."[24]

If the story of pastoral self-consciousness bends toward arrogance, it seems, then, also to bend back. The papal declaration that the Roman pontiff "may be judged by no one" gives way, especially in the Radical Reformation, to the idea of shared authority under Christ. And this latter idea has taken hold, though somewhat feebly, in Adventism. As Charles Bradford saw, it may be found in the writings of Ellen White, a founding member of the Seventh-day Adventist Church. An example would be her commentary on Jesus and the footwashing, which focuses attention on "humility of heart," a trait precisely at odds with the human "disposition" to seek "the highest place."[25] And a familiar theme in her work is "primitive godliness," which she explicitly associates with "apostolic times" and thus with the age before hierarchy and centralization of authority.

[22]Olsen, ibid., 115, 117, 176; the Friedmann quote is from Friedmann, ibid., 102.

[23]See W. L. Emmerson, *The Reformation and the Advent Movement* (Hagerstown, MD: Review and Herald, 1983). Emmerson, who was born in 1901 (!), argues that the Reformation—in particular, the Radical Reformation—anticipates the vision that comes to full expression in Seventh-day Adventism. I myself located Adventism's roots in Anabaptism in "Radical Discipleship and the Renewal of Adventist Mission," *Spectrum* 14 (December, 1983), 11-20. In *A Search for Identity: The Development of Seventh-day Adventist Beliefs* (Hagerstown, MD: Review and Herald, 2000), George Knight argues that the Radical Reformation is an important key to Adventist identity.

[24]Charles E. Bradford, "An Emphasis on Ministry: Is Ordination for Honor or for Service?" *Adventist Review*, May 1995, 8-10.

[25]Ellen White, *Desire of Ages* (Nampa, ID: Pacific Press, 2002), 650.

All this has an Anabaptist ring, though Ellen White would not have known it, since the Anabaptist movement was practically unknown during her lifetime. That unawareness—historians didn't recover the story until well into the twentieth century—may account for some of her ambivalence about centralized authority. She objected, it is true, to "kingly power." And she certainly doubted whether the General Conference could speak for God, remarking in 1899 that it "has been some years since I have considered the General Conference as the voice of God." But earlier she had said that the General Conference *is* God's "highest authority" on earth.[26]

In popular Adventism, and also among most current leaders, her earlier remark is the better known and honored. But at its very beginning, Adventism recoiled from locating theological authority in any leadership elite. During the 1861 organizing meeting of the Michigan Conference, the first of such entities, James White argued that an official creed, voted by meeting delegates, would block "new light" and stand in "direct opposition" to the "gifts" of the Holy Spirit. And when Adventist leaders put forth a somewhat lengthy statement of their faith in 1872, it was merely informational: they were explaining themselves to the wider world. The preamble of the statement said it was to have no "authority with our people," nor was it meant to "secure uniformity among them, as a system of faith."[27] Today it is still important to remind ourselves that official statements of belief voted at General Conference sessions are not doctrinal litmus tests giving the spiritual elite who attend these sessions as delegates (most of them ordained) a certain power *over* the rest of the church.

The argument Neo-Anabaptists make concerning humility and shared authority is a compelling reason for Adventists, who in any case share the same heritage, to adjust toward fuller embrace of the Radical Reformation point of view. Phil 2 seems itself to settle the case for humility. And any concordance-assisted perusal of the New Testament will easily turn up thirty

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[26]The cited remark on "primitive godliness" is from *The Great Controversy* (Nampa, ID: Pacific Press, 1911) 464. Ellen White's comments on the General Conference range from the claim (written in 1875, *Testimonies to the Church*, vol. 3 [Nampa, ID: Pacific Press, 1885], 492) that the General Conference is "the highest authority that God has upon the earth" to the thought that regarding the General Conference as "the voice of God" is "almost blasphemy," in MS 37, 1901, April 1, 1901. The comment against the General Conference as "the voice of God" appears in the 1899 *GC Bulletin*, 74. I was first indebted to Bert Haloviak, now retired from the Ellen White Estate, for this information. Now a collection of quotes on these matters may be found at http://www.truthorfables.com/Gen_Conf_Highest_Aut.htm (accessed October 9, 2014).

[27]The Michigan Conference story is told in *Seventh-day Adventist Encyclopedia*, (Hagerstown, MD: Review and Herald, 1996), 310. Another account appears in Arthur L. White, *Ellen G. White: The Early Years, 1827-1862* (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1985), 453, 454. See http://www.greatcontroversy.org/gco/orc/fb1872.php/ for the 1872 statement (accessed October 3, 2012). A brief account of Adventist statements of beliefs appears in Gary Land, *Historical Dictionary of the Seventh-day Adventists* (Oxford: Scarecrow Press, 2005), 107-108.

or more passages that bolster the case, among them the many virtues lists that highlight humility.

A crucial passage is Luke 18:9-14, which records Jesus' words to "some who trusted in themselves that they were righteous and regarded others with contempt." In the parable told here, the very praying of the Pharisee is prideful, whereas the praying of the tax collector involves "beating of his breast" and a plea for mercy "to me, a sinner!" The tax collector, not the religious leader, is the one who finds favor with God. "[A]ll who exalt themselves will be humbled," Jesus concludes, "but all who humble themselves will be exalted." The parable feels, indeed, like an echo of the hymn in Phil 2.[28]

Another passage of particular importance is Eph 4:1-6. The disciples must live in "humility and gentleness, with patience, bearing with one another in love, making every effort to maintain the unity of the Spirit and the body of peace." Those to whom Christ grants the various gifts of leadership—here "pastors" are mentioned—do their work for no other purpose than to "equip the saints" for ministry and to build up "the body of Christ." They seek the "unity of the faith" and the maturing of the faithful into "the full stature of Christ." Again, the theme is humility and service, and both of these summon the believer into "the same mind…that was in Christ Jesus" (Phil 2). The hymn that clinches Augustine's argument for humility as the "foundation" of spirituality seems again to have found an echo. And in this light the ideal of shared authority makes all the more sense for Christ's followers today, not least because in the New Testament there is, in any case, no hint of hierarchy.[29]

How, then, may those "set apart" for Adventist ministry come to embody the virtue of humility? Were a "consensus" about this virtue to emerge, discussion of its meaning would go on and on. But some things seem immediately clear. Pastors would lay aside conceit and regard others who are in Christ as (so Paul puts it) "better than" themselves. These others would include truck drivers, landscapers, nurses, computer programmers, entrepreneurs, and (not least!) scientists. What is more, the widespread sense of "hierarchy" in Adventism, to whatever degree it may be warranted, would become an embarrassment. Conversation on how to distribute authority more widely would ensue, but in such a way (although this is a subject all its own) as to preserve and enhance Adventism's sense of worldwide unity and reach. In the course of the give-and-take, the idea that the fundamental unit of Christian fellowship is the "two or three" of whom Jesus spoke would

[28]Here and in the next paragraph, when I say "feels like" and "seems to" I mean no more than that; as a New Testament nonspecialist, I am neither asserting nor denying the influence of the Philippians hymn upon the writers of the two other New Testament documents.

[29]The Catholic New Testament scholar Luke Timothy Johnson, in his *Prophetic Jesus, Prophetic Church: The Challenge of Luke-Acts to Contemporary Christians* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2011), 70, argues that leadership in Luke-Acts is not hierarchical, not about directives from a centralized theological authority. In Acts, he says (this is, in part, a comment on Acts 15) we "find no sign of hierarchy." I have made an argument to this effect in "Drift, or Adventist Ideals at Risk," *Spectrum* 40 (Spring 2012): 3-4.

command sustained attention and would drive Adventism toward respect for, and patience with, local nuance.[30] At all times, however, it would be understood that humility and shared authority are *for* the unity of all—*for* the unity of all *through* the participation of all.

This agenda would be difficult. Owing to the derangement of the human spirit, the underlying values would blow hot and cold; and like the tax collector Jesus spoke about, the church—and the pastors it ordains—would often have to acknowledge their sin and pray for mercy. But this would be healthy. Karl Barth, an enormously influential theologian of somewhat Anabaptist temper, toppled the self-satisfactions of early twentieth-century Protestantism with his commentary on Paul's Letter to the Romans. Remarking on the first verses of chapter 12, he declared that precisely repentance—the "renewing" of mind, the "transformation of thought"—is the "'primary' ethical action." This is the action "upon which all 'secondary' ethical conduct depends and by which it is illuminated." Just here, in repentance, is that "turning about" by which we are "directed to a new behavior."[31]

This primary *action* corresponds, surely, to the primary, or foundational, *virtue* of humility. Its repetition is a path to moral growth, and when the *Seventh-day Adventist Minister's Handbook* counsels the ordained to engage in "[d]evotional repentance," it strikes exactly the right note. Faithfulness here would be the best possible support for every pastor's pledge to work for the church and to offer its members (as we might say) humble service in the name of Christ.[32]

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[30]See Matt 18:15-20, a passage crucial for the original Anabaptists and also for their Neo-Anabaptist heirs.

[31]Karl Barth, *The Epistle to the Romans,* trans. Edwyn C. Hoskyns (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988; translation first published in 1933), 436. I owe Daryll Ward thanks for directing me to this passage.

[32]In her commentary on Judas at the Passover meal, Ellen White, in *Desire of Ages*, 645, suggests a link between humility and repentance, as follows: "But he would not humble himself. He hardened his heart against repentance . . ." The Ministerial Association of the General Conference, ibid., 21. I owe the phrase "humble service in the name of Christ," which I love, to Adele Waller, a lead teacher of the Sabbath School class I attend.

"NOT A HAND BOUND; NOT A VOICE HUSHED":[1] ORDINATION AND FOUNDATIONAL ADVENTIST UNDERSTANDINGS OF WOMEN IN MINISTRY

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It was the work of the gospel to remove distinctions among men in race, nationality, sex, or condition. Paul declares that "there is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female: for ye are all one in Christ Jesus." Gal. 3:28. This text has a generic application; it is of universal force wherever the gospel reaches. In the light of such a statement, how can woman be excluded from the privileges of the gospel?

-George C. Tenney, "Woman's Relation to the Cause of Christ"[2]

Introduction

Near the end of the nineteenth century, the *Review and Herald* published an editorial written by Australian church leader Elder G. C. Tenney titled, "Woman's Relation to the Cause of Christ."[3] As editor of the Australian Adventist Church paper, Tenney was responding to a query concerning certain New Testament passages that were traditionally used to prohibit women from serving as preachers, teachers, and leaders both in the Christian churches and the public arena. A questioner had asked the editor of the *Bible Echo,*

> Will you kindly give your opinion upon 1 Cor. 14: 34, 35; and 1 Tim. 2: 12, where the apostle seems to teach that women should not speak in the churches. —A. G.[4]

Uriah Smith, editor of the *Review and Herald,* decided to reprint Tenney's answer in the *Review* with the following introduction: "[OUR esteemed editorial contributor, Elder G. C. Tenney, now editor of the *Bible Echo* in Melbourne, Australia, has, it seems, the usual editorial experience of being frequently called upon to explain 1 Cor. 14:34, with reference to the question

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[1]"Not a hand should be bound, not a soul discouraged, not a voice should be hushed; let every individual labor, privately or publicly, to help forward this grand work." Ellen G. White, "The Duty of the Minister and the People," *Review and Herald* 72, no. 28 (July 9, 1895): 433-434.

[2]George C. Tenney, "Woman's Relation to the Cause of Christ," *Review and Herald* 69, no. 21 (May 24, 1892): 328-329.

[3]Ibid.

[4]Ibid.

whether women should take any public part in the worship of God . . ."[5] Smith remarks that "he [Tenney] gives, under the foregoing heading, the following excellent thoughts upon this subject, which we are happy to transfer to our columns as a further reply to those to whom we are so often called upon to respond on this question:—]"[6]

It is clear that this type of question was frequently raised in the 1890s, as Tenney began his comments with the following statement:

> There is no point of Scripture teaching that excites more questioning than that raised by our correspondent. Several times we have replied to similar questions, and some have been passed by. The queries come by post and by word of mouth. Devout people, skeptics, believers, advocates of women's rights, advocates of men's rights, church people, non-church people, husbands of meek wives, husbands of garrulous women, wives of meek husbands, wives of lordly husbands, people that are neither husbands nor wives,—all are interested in the solution of this question, What is woman's place in the church, and what would happen if she should get out of it into the man's place? People who slight judgment, mercy, and the weightier matters of the law, halt, hesitate, ahem, shake the head, and perhaps do worse, when they learn that some women do actually speak in church, because Paul said: "Let your women keep silence in the churches: for it is not permitted unto them to speak;" and, "I suffer not a woman to teach, nor to usurp authority over the man, but to be in silence."[7]

After this telling introduction to the topic, Tenney launched into his explanation of the texts in question and directly addressed the concerns voiced. He argued forcefully that the perceived prohibition of women's full participation in every aspect of Christian ministry comes from an inadequate hermeneutical approach.

> The difficulty with these texts is almost entirely chargeable to immature conclusions reached in regard to them. It is manifestly illogical and unfair to give to any passage of Scripture an unqualified radical meaning that is at variance with the main tenor of the Bible, and directly in conflict with its plain teachings. The Bible may be reconciled in all its parts without going outside the lines of consistent interpretation. But great difficulty is likely to be experienced by those who interpret isolated passages in an independent light according to the ideas they happen to entertain upon them. Those who were brought up to believe it to be a shame for women to speak in meeting, look no further than these texts, and give them sweeping application. Critics of the Bible, critics of womankind, as well [as] women who are looking for an excuse for idleness, seize these passages in the same manner. By their misuse of these texts, many conscientious people are led into a misconception of what Paul meant to teach.[8]

[5]Ibid.

[6]Ibid.

[7]Ibid.

[8]George C. Tenney, "Woman's Relation to the Cause of Christ," *Review and Herald* 69, no. 21 (May 24, 1892): 328-329.

The question itself, along with Tenney's response and the introductory notes supplied in the *Review*, goes to the heart of the current debate on the ordination of women to the gospel ministry. While the debate is now framed in terms of whether or not women should be ordained, the deeper question in the mind of many is how women can be recognized as spiritual leaders and affirmed as ministers by ordination when certain passages in Paul appear to require women's silent submission and nowhere does the Bible contain a mandate to ordain women. For many, unanswered questions remain concerning the relationship of scriptural instructions on proper gender behavior to Adventist practices of ordaining women to church offices and utilizing women's gifts in the preaching ministry and ordained leadership of the church.

The explanation for the current impulse towards inclusivity lies within Adventism's very roots. While many other conservative churches struggle against their own tradition as well as their misreading of the biblical text, Seventh-day Adventism has a heritage of encouraging women to become educated and to use their gifts in the public arena. This chapter will review the major stages of Adventism in the nineteenth century, outlining the working realities, policies, and understandings of ministry and ordination and the role of women in church evangelism and outreach.

Women in Ministry and the Legacy of Millerism

Seventh-day Adventists trace the beginning of their denomination to the movement begun in the early nineteenth century by New England farmer, soldier, and justice of the peace William Miller. After a careful two-year study of the Bible (1816-1818), Miller concluded that "in about twenty-five years from that time all the affairs of our present state would be wound up,"[9] and Jesus would return (circa 1843 or 1844). His conclusion drove him back into further Bible study for another fourteen years, sharing his conviction only casually with family members and friends. By 1830, Miller covenanted with God to share the results of his study if asked, and requests from rural New England towns began to press him into action. His Scripture studies drew many to embrace his conclusion that the Second Advent was near, forming a movement around his message. This movement was jump-started when clergyman Joshua V. Himes of Boston heard Miller deliver his series. Himes became William Miller's publicist, using all his contacts and skills to give Miller a hearing in the large urban churches.

Joshua Himes was an energetic, popular, and well-connected minister affiliated with the Christian Connexion, a new Christian church endeavoring to rid the church of human traditions and restore a "primitive," or a New Testament form, of Christianity.[10] It is noteworthy that seven of the sixteen

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[9]William Miller, *Apology and Defense* (Boston: Joshua Himes, 1845), 6.

[10]Connexionists believed that it was necessary to strip away the accrued layers of traditions, creeds, and social conventions and start fresh with worship practices based on scriptural models and mandates. They emphasized the importance of the

preachers who called for the first General Conference on the Advent Near were Christian Connexion members. Himes was also a prominent member of Boston's reform movement.[11] Experience working with women on reform projects convinced some of the male reformers that women's voices were necessary for the success of the various campaigns and needed to be heard despite strong cultural conventions to the contrary.

When Himes became the publicist and engine behind the Millerite movement, he utilized his influence and drew on his contacts from both these groups. In short, the Millerite movement was soon populated by Christian Connexion members and led by men drawn from reform circles. Individuals from both of these circles (which frequently overlapped) were more accustomed to and in favor of women's participation in the public sphere than were the vast majority of their contemporaries. While not all Millerites were ready to think beyond the social and religious conventions of the day, there were both men and women willing to do so. Those from the Connexion were willing to argue that women's preaching was a fulfillment of the Acts 2: 17 prophecy: "In the last days . . . your daughters shall prophesy."

The inspirited women who accepted the call to preach faced and endured persecution, as they defied social expectations when they spoke before crowds containing men as well as women. Despite the hardships of travel, public ridicule, and, occasionally, family resistance, they continued as itinerant preachers. The urgency of the message of Christ's soon-coming meant that all believers should do whatever they could to warn the world. As difficult as breaking social norms and convention was, they reasoned that if one's gift

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Holy Spirit and the gifts of the Spirit as evidence of God's presence, affirmation, and blessing on their Christian endeavors. They were open to a larger role for women in their meetings than was permitted by most of their contemporaries, as they valued the scriptural promises of spiritual gifts given to the church. They noted that both Joel and Acts claimed that in the last days, "Your daughters shall prophesy." Joshua Himes became an important link between the Christian Connexion and Millerism. For a general discussion of the Christian Connexion and its relationship to Adventism, see ch. 3, "The Christian Connexion," in Gerald Wheeler, *James White: Innovator and Overcomer* (Hagerstown, MD: Review and Herald, 2003), 29-36. Two focused and helpful sources on this tie are Bert Haloviak's articles, "Some Great Connexions: Our Seventh-day Adventist Heritage from the Christian Church," General Conference Archives, May 1994, and "A Heritage of Freedom: The Christian Connection Roots to Seventh-day Adventism (Some Pertinent Documents)," General Conference Archives, November 1995.

[11]An outgrowth of the Second Great Awakening, the reform impulse was fueled by the postmillennialist belief that Christ would come after a period of a thousand years of peace. This peace was to be accomplished by human resolve to establish God's kingdom on earth and to order society along the lines of God's intentions for human relationships. Their commitment to create a society whose institutions reflected Christian standards of conduct led to reform efforts in a variety of areas, including peace (nonresistance or pacifism), abolition, temperance, care for the indigent and the mentally ill, and eventually, women's rights.

lay in preaching, to bury that talent rather than to use it could only lead to spiritual disaster. As they ventured forth, certain of the women drew great crowds and were considered excellent evangelists. Among these were Lucy Maria Hersey Stoddard, Lauretta Elysian Armstrong Fassett, and Emily C. Clemons, who worked New York State and City; Mary D. Wellcome and Sarah J. Paine Higgins, who were laborers from Massachusetts, while Anna Eliza Boyd Smith and Clorinda S. Minor from Philadelphia played active, public roles in the movement there. Even beyond the borders of the United States, women such as Miriam McKinstry carried the message in Quebec, Canada.[12]

While these women's skill at preaching and commitment to the movement did not erase general religious and social prescriptions concerning women's appropriate sphere, it did introduce many more individuals to the experience of women speaking in religious meetings and the effectiveness of their public ministry. It left a legacy in the Millerite movement that persisted even after the failure of the expected return of Christ on October 22, 1844.

Women in Ministry During Sabbatarian Adventism's Formative Period, 1844-1863

After considerable effort by Captain Joseph Bates, James and Ellen White, and a handful of other stalwarts such as Hiram Edson, Samuel Rhodes, and J. N. Loughborough, the sabbatarian branch of the Advent movement emerged and began to take hold. The growth was painfully slow during the eight-year shut-door period in which they recruited among Millerites only, with the group reaching only 200 in 1850. Yet by 1852, about 2,000 adherents had made the covenant to "keep the commandments of God and the faith of Jesus."[13] Joseph Bates and James White began issuing signed identification cards to the messengers in order to "thwart imposters" who either taught a confusing mix of doctrine or meant to simply abscond with monies collected for the *Review* and the support of the work.[14] Movement leaders would soon find a need to ordain ministers, as well, an action which brought criticism from those quick to note that they had no formal authority to do so. As an upstart movement, they lacked direct sanction or link to apostolic succession. Although not fully articulated in the *Review* until later, they had their reply to such a charge. They asked, "What man or woman who has labored to any great extent in the cause of evangelical Protestantism, or religious reform, has failed to have cast at him or her the Romish objection to his or her work, 'You have no right to labor. You have not apostolic succession?'" Their bold response was that they had the "same authority that the apostles had for preaching the 'unsearchable riches of Christ.' Their power and authority for

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[12]Carole Rayburn, "Women Heralds of 'The Advent Near,'" *Adventist Heritage* 17, no. 2 (1997): 11-20.

[13]George R. Knight, *A Brief History of Seventh-day Adventists* (Hagerstown, MD: Review and Herald, 1999), 58.

[14]Ibid., 59.

labor came direct *from the Lord."* [15] They proceeded from a New Testament model, stressing the call to discipleship and empowerment by the Holy Spirit over the Jewish model of priesthood or traditions later adopted by the Roman Catholic Church. They modeled their activities on the freedom found among the various communities of the early church to set apart individuals for ministry by the laying on of hands. The gift of the Spirit and the community affirmation of the individual's call to preach were deemed an adequate basis for inclusion into the ranks of Adventist ministry.

By the time the Adventist Church was formally organized in 1863, there were thirty full-time ministers recognized by the Church and 3,500 members. By 1863, Seventh-day Adventists embraced a mission to take the three angels' messages to the world and had managed to create an organizational base to support their movement. During this period, Sabbatarian Adventists relied on two main avenues of endeavor for recruiting members. The first was the labor of itinerant preachers, or "messengers" as they were called, who variously visited former Millerites to share the group's emerging theological stance or headed into new territory, trying to obtain a hearing from other Christians. After James White began publishing the *Review and Herald* in 1850, the journal served as a printed "messenger," reaching individuals in areas where the traveling ministers had not yet arrived.[16] While the paper also became

[15]H.M.J. Richards, "Apostolic Succession," *Review and Herald* 68, no. 7 (February 17, 1891): 107. The complete introductory passage reads as follows:

"What man or woman who has labored to any great extent in the cause of evangelical Protestantism, or religious reform, has failed to have cast at him or her the Romish objection to his or her work, 'You have no right to labor. You have not apostolic succession?'

"To such as present this objection, it is of no consequence that God's Spirit has attended the work with power, and bound souls have been made free from the galling yoke of sin, and caused to 'sit together in heavenly places in Christ Jesus.' Eph. 2:6. The Romanist says, 'It amounts to naught. You labor in vain. You have not the succession!' As if God and his power could be limited by such 'worms of the earth' as men, or by any circumstances poor mortal man could devise or arrange!

"Are we not told that God is able of the very stones 'to raise up children unto Abraham'? Matt. 3:9. From whence, then, comes the succession? What shall we say, then, of those honest souls who, having sought the Lord earnestly, have found pardon, complied with his known will, and received the gift of the Holy Spirit? – They are 'created in Christ Jesus' (Eph. 2:10), by 'The Spirit of adoption, whereby we cry, Abba, Father!' Rom 8:15. For 'now are we the sons of God.' 1 John 3:2. These tell of the mighty things God has wrought for them, and of the wondrous Saviour they have found. From whom is their succession? Since they are the 'sons of God,' is it not directly from God himself? Does not the line of succession run from father to son?—It certainly does.

"But this is the same authority that the apostles had for preaching the gospel of the 'unsearchable riches of Christ.' Their power and authority for labor came direct from the Lord."

[16]For a discussion of the role of the *Review* during this critical period, see

a way for messengers to communicate their proposed destinations and interested individuals to request a visit of a messenger to their areas, the work was loosely organized, with no central agency to coordinate the itinerants' efforts.[17] Every bit as problematic for the group was the lack of regular salary for the messengers, who were self-supporting. It is small wonder that even by 1863 there were only about thirty ministers.

Groups of believers organized as congregational churches, even though a legal mega-structure had not been formalized. The process they followed was simple, reflecting the Connexion roots of James White and others. A letter from Joseph Bates to the *Review,* describing organization in a Michigan village, reflects the recommended process:

> Monterey, Nov. 9, 10. After faithfully acting upon the plan suggested in the conference address, fifty brethren and sisters solemnly covenanted together to keep the commandments of God and the faith of Jesus Christ, leaving the way open for several that were not present, or could not attend the meeting, to unite with us, provided they come in by unanimous consent of all the members.[18]

Wherever possible, groups of believers were organized into companies or churches to function as a local or regional base for spiritual nurture and missionary outreach.

In a significant essay in 1858, "Unity and Gifts of the Church," James White articulated his stance on the responsibilities and expectations of Sabbatarian Adventists in a period when differences in former church affiliation, theology, ecclesiology, and vision for the future created internal tension and conflicts.[19] White believed that adopting a common approach to their life as a spiritual community could create unity. Basing his understanding

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Ginger Hanks Harwood, "'Like the Leaves of Autumn': The Utilization of the Press to Maintain Millennial Expectations in the Wake of Prophetic Failure," *Journal for Millennial Studies*, http://www.mille.org/publications/winter2001/Harwood.html.

[17]Examples of the way this communication worked can be found in a notice posted in the "Appointments" section of the *Review*: "The Lord willing, there will be a gathering of the brethren in Western New York at the house of Bro. J. Lamson, Clarkson Center, Monroe Co., N. Y. on Sabbath and first-day, May 25 and 26. It is expected that Brn. M. Hull and C. W. Sperry will meet with us. B .F. C." Similarly, the following notice read, "Providence permitting, we will meet the brethren in conference in the neighborhood of Bro. Moses Porter's, five miles north of Mantorville, Dodge Co., Minn., on the 25th and 26th of May. We hope to see a general attendance of brethren and sisters. We would like to see Bro. Morse at this meeting. We wish to take into consideration some matters connected with the running of the tent this season. We would like to hear from Bro. Andrews at this meeting. Jno. Bostwick. H. F. Lashier." *Review and Herald* 18, no. 1 (May 21, 1861): 8.

[18]Joseph Bates, "Meetings in Michigan," *Review and Herald* 18, no. 25 (November 19, 1861): 197.

[19]James White, "Unity and Gifts of the Church, No. 4," *Review and Herald* 11, no. 9 (January 7, 1858): 68-69.

roughly on the hermeneutic used by Miller, White created what could be termed "the Adventist way." The "way" that would unify them did not attempt to close the gap between idiosyncratic understandings in conflicting areas. Instead, it created common ground by establishing a minimalist doctrinal concord and a standard process and approach to spiritual life together. Adventists were expected to continue to search and study the Scriptures as they continued in their quest for more knowledge and understanding of God and godliness. They were to apply reason as they sought to understand the sayings, teachings, and commandments. They were to expect that the Holy Spirit would be poured out upon them, as had been promised to those in the last days. White was clear that true spiritual growth required a willingness to abandon previously held beliefs and customs when new light was discerned.

In his article, White also pressed the necessity of accepting and supporting the spiritual gifts given to the Church through all members, regardless of gender. He saw the gift of prophecy as particularly significant, as it is 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. He built on the generally accepted understanding that the gift of prophecy is for the building up of the Church and that to prophesy is to exhort, edify, and comfort the Church, as specified in 1 Cor 14:3. Using 1 Thess 5:19-21 as the core of his argument, he reminded the believers of Paul's admonition to the early church community. Believers must "Quench not the Spirit," "Despise not prophesyings," "Prove all things; hold fast that which is good." He was certain that adhering to these instructions would assist believers in moving beyond their religious and cultural conditioning into a unified body, growing in spiritual discernment and discipline, willing to embrace truth, correction, and exhortation from whomever the Holy Spirit had sent to give the message, even when the message came from a woman. He also sounded a word of warning from Thessalonians: If the gift of prophecy were not cherished, it would be withdrawn.[20]

In addition to assisting Adventist efforts to move beyond difference into a cohering body, movement leaders labored to create structure for the newly formed congregations. One major task was that of sketching the relationships between the itinerant ministers and the churches. One aspect of this task involved an examination of church offices and a clarification of their duties. In 1856, R. F. Cottrell published an article discussing the expected operation of local churches and the function of various persons within them. He pointed out the need for better understanding of the church offices: the officers were servants of the group, not dominating rulers over it. The itinerant ministers proclaimed the gospel in new areas, established new congregations, and ordained local church members to their offices.[21] It should

[20]White, "Unity and Gifts of the Church, No. 4," 68-69.

[21]"Order in the Church of God has been vindicated by different writers in the *Review*, and has been established to a considerable extent by the ordinations of officers in the churches. But perhaps the duties of those officers have not been made

be noted that Cottrell expected the congregation to be self-sustaining and functioning independently of the labor of the minister. While the itinerants were busy taking the message to new fields, the local congregations saw to the operation of the individual churches.

For James White and many others, it was apparent that local organization was not sufficient to meet the needs of the expanding movement. He, along with others, launched a full-scale campaign for "Gospel Order," the establishment of the Church as a legal entity. As he determined the necessity of incorporation, he came to a crossroads. As a Connexion member, he had understood that a church had no working brief beyond the explicit instructions found in Scripture. Yet an honest assessment of the needs of the situation revealed that biblical descriptions of the early church did not cover the complexity of the situation in which the nineteenth-century church found itself. Based on logic and pragmatic considerations, White found it imperative to move beyond his former belief in the necessity of finding scriptural warrant for every church practice. He made the decision to take the road that led beyond that limitation, and encouraged others to follow his lead. In his argumentation for church organization, he presented a reasoned discussion to help others see that acknowledging the move beyond a specific "Thus saith the Lord" for every church action was a necessary step forward. He carefully demonstrated to his readers ways in which they had already started on that path, even if they had not been acknowledging it.

In his 1860 reply to those who were certain that formal organization would rend apart their spiritual movement and plunge it into a fallen state,

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sufficiently clear. . . . I shall not disagree with the generally received opinion that the difference between an elder and a deacon is that the former serve more especially in a spiritual, and the latter in a temporal sense. Both are not only leaders and rulers, but servants of the church. As servants they should do such duties in behalf of the church as are not common to each member individually. All moral duties are common to all; but in attending to the ordinances of the gospel, some one must act as a servant of all to administer. I believe that each church should have the power and means within itself to walk in all the ordinances of the house of God, and to admit others who may be brought into the truth to all the privileges of membership with them. A traveling elder or evangelist is not always at hand to administer in those duties that frequently devolve upon a church. A Timothy or a Titus whose duty it is to travel from place to place and "ordain elders in every city," cannot be expected to be present to administer the ordinances in every church on every occasion; but when he has performed his duty— has "set in order" the church by ordaining proper officers, they should be prepared to keep the faith of Jesus, to celebrate his death, to shine as the light of the world, and thus bring others into the fold of Christ, to administer baptism, receive to membership, and be the pillar and support of the truth; while those who labor in the field are going into new places to raise the standard of truth, gathering churches, and setting them into order. Thus the churches would be sending out the truth to others, while they were living it out at home." R. F. C., "What Are the Duties of Church Officers?" *Review and Herald* 8, no. 22 (October 2, 1856): 173.

White established the rule that was to guide the church in the choices it would need to make in the future:

> But if it be asked, where are your plain texts of scripture for holding church property legally? we reply, The Bible does not furnish any; neither does it say that we should have a weekly paper, a steam printing-press, that we should publish books, build places of worship, and send out tents. Jesus says, "Let your light so shine before men," etc.; but he does not give all the particulars how this shall be done. The church is left to move forward in the great work, praying for divine guidance, acting upon the most efficient plans for its accomplishment. We believe it safe to be governed by the following RULE: All means which, according to sound judgment, will advance the cause of truth, and are not forbidden by plain scripture declarations, should be employed.[22]

That stance permitted the church to begin a rapid growth as it committed the group to utilize all available means and methods not biblically forbidden or contrary to its spirit, for the advancement of the Adventist message. It meant that it was possible to establish church structures and define policies that the Scriptures had not explicitly mandated. Given the seriousness with which the group regarded Scripture, if the decision had not been made to go beyond explicit commands found in the Bible, continuing the trajectories indicated, as long as an action forwarded the spread of the gospel and did not countermand clear biblical instructions, the Seventh-day Adventist Church could not have been started or grown to become what it is today. As James White would have been quick to point out, there are no Scriptures commanding us to operate health-care facilities, educational systems, and publishing houses, to say nothing of an institutional church.

The Sabbatarian Adventist Movement's View of Women and Church

Far from being cautious or uncertain concerning the expanded roles women were playing in the Sabbatarian Advent movement, the leaders in the group understood women's preaching, teaching, exhorting, and prophesying as a significant identifying mark of the true end-time church. It was a fulfillment of the prophecies in Joel and Acts that the last days would experience an outpouring of the Holy Spirit upon all people. They argued,

> 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.[23]

[22]James White, "'Making Us a Name,'" *Review and Herald* 15, no. 23 (April 26, 1860): 180-182.

[23]S. C. Welcome, "Shall the Women Keep Silence in the Churches?" *Review and Herald* 15, no. 14 (February 23, 1860): 109-110.

They articulated women's public presentation of the gospel message as a restoration of the biblical model rather than an innovation. They repeatedly cited examples from both the Hebrew Scriptures and the letters of Paul, who commended women ministers and officers to church leaders in new areas where they were going to work. They contrasted their inclusive practices and recognition of the gifts of the Spirit with the restrictive practices of society and the "fallen churches." They enjoyed gospel freedom, whereas other churches "quenched the Spirit" if it did not flow through socially accepted channels. Naturally, the obligation to exercise the gifts given applied to women as well as men and was viewed as necessary for individual salvation.

B. F. Robbins made a particularly strong case for this practice in his article, "To the Female Disciples of the Third Angel's Message," when he depicted their tendency to ignore or deny their gifts in terms of defective religious socialization. After noting that "I have my fears that many of you who I believe are sincerely endeavoring to keep 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," he began an effort at re-education:

> Here in the precious promise there is neither male nor female, all are one in Christ Jesus. I know 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; and we are aware that in them the pride, and popularity, and conformity to the world, and worldly fashions tolerated by them, and besides 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. Perhaps many of you feel the embarrassing influence of our former associations; for I believe it is so with some with whom I am acquainted, and to such, scattered abroad, let me speak a few words of encouragement and exhortation.[24]

Robbins continued with his review of the biblical model of women's inclusion in spiritual gifts and their practice in the early church. For Robbins, this was argument enough that the "sisters" needed to get over their hesitancy and assume their duties as full disciples of Christ.

The charismatic model that movement leaders applied created a new set of responsibilities and expectations for women. No longer relegated to the listener's role, women were expected to recognize their position as disciples and fully participate in God's mission of redemption. They needed to utilize their spiritual gifts for the building up of the church and be willing to endure censure or hardship when their calling took them beyond convention.

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[24]B. F. Robbins, "To the Female Disciples in the Third Angel's Message," *Review and Herald* 15, no. 3 (December 8, 1859): 21-22.

Between the time when the *Review and Herald* was first published in 1850 and the church was formally organized in 1863, the *Review* published eight articles specifically focused on women's public speaking ministry. The authors included Adventist noteworthies, such as James White, J. A. Mowatt, David Hewitt, B. F. Robbins, S. C. Welcome, and Uriah Smith.[25] Each article, from James White's challenge to opponents of women's spiritual leadership in "Paul Says So" to Uriah Smith's "triumphant vindication of the right of the sisters" to preach, broke with traditional views that women should be silent in the church. Each article supported the participation of women in the preaching ministry, often naming women's speaking or preaching 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 fledgling 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, as James White noted, "do not like to hear the Marys preach a risen or coming Saviour."[26]

Women in Ministry and the Realities and Issues in SDA Ministry, 1863-1881

Although certain factions within the movement continued to be ambivalent about Adventism's new status as an established church, completion of the campaign for formal organization allowed James White and other recognized leaders to turn their attention to additional issues concerning church life, mission, and the state of the ministry itself. These issues became increasingly important during the time between formal church organization and James White's death in 1881. The church underwent a significant transformation in numbers, growing from 3,500 members, all located in the United States, to nearly 15,500 with about 600 outside the U.S.[27] The percentage of non-Millerite adherents increased, and the church's commitment to structural

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[25]Beverly Beem and Ginger Hanks Harwood, "'Your Daughters Shall Prophesy': James White, Uriah Smith, and the 'Triumphant Vindication of the Right of the Sisters' to Preach," *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 43, no. 1 (Spring 2005): 41-58.

[26]James White, "Paul Says So," *Review and Herald* 10, no. 19 (September 10, 1857): 152.

[27]Knight, *A Brief History of Seventh-day Adventists*, 132.

formalization encouraged its redefinition of and commitment to worldwide mission.

Once the Civil War had subsided and the church was freer to concentrate on its mission to a split and ravaged country, as well as to the larger world field, the issue of mission rose to the surface. J. N. Andrews captured the group's commitment to continued expansion and their understanding of the urgency of their mission in an 1874 article, "Our Work." As he stated there,

> God has committed to the Seventh-day Adventists a work of immense magnitude and of vast importance. It is to give warning to the world of the near advent of Christ, and to teach the true preparation for that great event. Never was a greater responsibility committed to a body of men than that which God has given to this people. The time for this work is short. It can only be accomplished by the direct help of the Spirit of God.[28]

Statements urging the participation of all members in the outreach of the gospel ministry, like that provided by Andrews above, filled the pages of the *Review* with increasing frequency as the decade moved forward. Every member was challenged to ask where his or her gifts could be utilized to bring a saving knowledge of Christ to the world. This call would become even more intense later in the decades of the 1880s and '90s.

Despite a numerical growth of individuals considering themselves messengers/evangelists, the situation of the ministry and the ministers remained a major challenge to the church. Even after the formal organization of the movement into a church in 1863, Adventist clergy continued to be missionaries or traveling evangelists. Ministers journeyed from site to site, preaching, conducting Bible studies, selling church literature, and organizing companies of believers within the state or area in which they were licensed.[29] This type of ministry posed several distinct challenges to women, as the lack of funds available for regular lodgings, the entry into new towns without proper introductions, and traveling alone or with a partner outside their own family,

[28]J. N. Andrews, "Our Work," *The True Missionary* (November 1874): 84.

[29]A report from one such minister, Bro. Lawrence, serves to highlight the frenetic nature of the labor: "My last report was from St. Clair, May 15. Bro. Gurney and myself found a good home with warm friends of the truth. I gave five discourses in their district school-house which seemed to awake a good interest to hear, and it was thought some would obey the truth. First-day, the 21st, I went ten miles to Smith's Creek; preached in the forenoon, after which I baptized two. I spoke again in the evening, with great liberty, to a full house. The people manifested a good interest to hear more. The 23rd, we went twelve miles north-east to Kenochee where an appointment had been sent, but it did not reach them. We had appointments circulated. In the meantime, Brn. Lamson and Wakeling came from Brockway Center where they had stirred up an interest and some opposition, so that the school-house had been closed against them. After consultation, it was decided that Bro. Gurney should go to Port Huron, and telegraph for the tent, and Brn. Lamson and Wakeling return to Brockway Center, and I remain there to fill my two appointments Wednesday and Thursday evenings." R. J. Lawrence, "Report from Bro. Lawrence," *Review and Herald* 38, no. 1 (June 20, 1871): 7.

compromised a woman's respectability and thus diminished her usefulness for the spread of Adventism. Thus, most women found it almost impossible to be a messenger without either being married to another messenger or having their husband as a traveling companion. It is not surprising that the idea of partnered ministry found such favor during this time.

The messengers' mission was to spread the gospel to new areas, which they did through several methods. One of these was through engagement with local clergy, typically through publicized debates or challenges in the area papers, depending on the arguments presented to convince the audience that its previous understandings of Scripture and Christian practice were in error. Occasionally, minsters were invited to come to an area to give a series of meetings and Bible studies after an individual or small group became interested in Adventism through Adventist publications or letters from a friend or family member encouraging them to examine their Bible on issues of Sabbath, the state of the dead, or the soon coming of Christ. The missionary evangelists would move on after establishing an interest and organizing a company committed to observe the Sabbath and further the message in the local community. This understanding of the minister's role continued until the beginning of the 20th century. As late as March of 1912, when the General Conference president addressed a ministerial institute in Los Angeles, he was able to say,

> We have not settled our ministers over churches as pastors to any large extent. In some of the very large churches we have elected pastors, but as a rule we have held ourselves ready for field service, evangelistic work and our brethren and sisters have held themselves ready to maintain their church services and carry forward their church work without settled pastors.[30]

However positive the effects of congregational responsibility in this time period, the practice of messengers attempting to respond to specific calls for their help from whatever direction they might come, along with the lack of a central coordination of these efforts, led to clergy exhaustion and burnout.[31] Thus, Dudley Canright had every reason to call the 1879 decision to assign defined fields of labor in which the messengers stayed at least a year "A Move in the Right Direction."[32] Yet it was not a sufficient move to overcome certain of the flaws in the organization's model of ministry.

[30] A. G. Daniells, quoted in Russell Burrill, *Revolution in the Church* (Fallbrook, CA: Hart Research Center, 1993), 41.

[31] For an interesting story of the near loss of two of Adventism's finest pioneer preachers (J. N. Andrews and J. N. Loughborough) due to the lack of pay and grueling tours of duty, see Richard W. Schwarz and Floyd Greenleaf, *Lightbearers: A History of the Seventh-day Adventist Church* (Nampa, ID: Pacific Press, 2000), 84-86.

[32] D. M. Canright. "A Move in the Right Direction," *Review and Herald* 53, no. 5 (January 30, 1879): 37. "At the late Conference in Battle Creek, a resolution was adopted recommending that ministers be assigned their fields of labor at the commencement of the Conference year, and that they continue to labor in that section of the Conferences at least one year. I see that other Conferences have since recommended

In addition to the fact that the number of ministers was inadequate to meet the needs, many of the messengers enrolled on the records lacked any formal or systematic preparation for the ministry. The Millerite experience of fervor and knowledge of specific points in Bible prophecy as the only necessary qualifications for an evangelist called by the Spirit to teach and preach the warning message had created a tradition of untrained clergy. While the Millerite movement boasted many leaders who were theologically educated as well as enthusiastic lay evangelists, few recognized clerics accepted Sabbatarian Adventism, and none were being trained for the future. The church did not possess any institutions for ministerial education to remedy the situation. James and Ellen White were both concerned about the meaning of an untrained clergy for the future of the church.

As a stopgap measure, a program for clergy education was begun through the pages of the *Review*. Since many of the messengers lacked the resources or academic background necessary to pursue a formal course of study at a recognized university, lists of books and questions on their content were provided to encourage and begin the project of self-education. The concern was that Adventist ministers would not only know enough to help individuals review a set of texts on basic religious doctrines, but that they also would be able to interact with and answer the questions of educated individuals. Recommended work extended from basic grammar to respected books on history and theology. The lessons in the *Review* were just a first step toward a more professionally trained clergy.

The next step was to provide training for ministers through a month-long series of lectures. It should be noted, that even as men were invited to sign up for this short course, women were specifically encouraged to attend the sessions and train, as well. The following notification of the proposed course, sponsored by the Minister's Lecture Association, a group open to both men and women, invited all interested parties to enroll:

MINISTER'S LECTURE ASSOCIATION

PROVIDENCE permitting, there will be a course of lectures before this association at Battle Creek, Mich., for the term of four weeks following General Conference. The price of membership is $5 for men, and $3 for women. During the term there will be as many lectures, and sessions of Bible-class, as members may desire. There will be, if desired, lessons given in penmanship, and English grammar. Board will not exceed $2 per week. All those persons, far and near, who wish to become members of this association, and attend these lectures, and the course of instruction

the same thing. The importance of this move can readily be seen. As it has been in the past, in many cases the traveling expenses of the ministers have been about as much as their weekly wages. This should not be so. Sometimes our most efficient ministers have been called hither and thither to different parts of the field, and they have had to travel hundreds of miles to reach their appointments. In the case of one of the presidents of a Conference or some such person, this cannot be avoided; but there is no reason why all the ministers in a Conference should thus run about."

connected therewith, will please inform us without delay. More particulars hereafter.[33]

This notice, one of several that appeared during this period, reveals the expectation that women as well as men would train for the ministry. It is especially interesting to note that the cost of the program was reduced for women so that finances would not be a major impediment to them.[34]

The Church and Women in Ministry

During the first two decades after the church was organized, the *Review and Herald* periodically printed articles defending women in ministry, just as it had earlier defended women as public speakers. The authors of these articles included church noteworthies M. W. Howard, I. Fetterhoof, M. E. Cornell, James White, J. N. Andrews, George Starr, and N. J. Bowers. In addition to the articles written by Adventist leaders, the *Review* featured pieces that supported women's preaching and teaching activities gleaned from other religious publications.[35]

The call to faithful discipleship was portrayed in the *Review* as inclusive, binding on all. The May 19, 1874, issue of the *Review* featured a short article, "Who Shall Preach?" urging all members to take up their responsibilities as preachers of the gospel. Pressing the soul-winning obligation of all Christians, the author challenged the reader, "Let each one proclaim the message, so that all may hear; for how can they hear without a preacher, and how can they preach unless they be sent?" While recognizing that churches ordain

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[33]J[ames] W[hite], "Minister's Lecture Association," *Review and Herald* 37, no. 4 (January 10, 1871): 32. Further articles on the need for ministers' training before the school could be opened include an article by the General Conference Committee reviewing the General Conference resolution that Brother Uriah Smith would present a series of lectures to help prepare the "young men and women among us who would be glad to receive instruction in the doctrines of our faith" to labor for souls. The sense of urgency was strong: "It is well known to most of the readers of the *Review* that our cause stands in great want of laborers properly qualified to present our views to the people who are everywhere ready to listen to them." "Ministerial Lecturers," *Review and Herald* 41, no. 15 (March 25, 1873): 117.

[34]Calls for workers were frequent and gender-inclusive, as every person's effort was needed to accomplish the work. In the article cited above, James White concluded his description of the proposed lectures with a challenging appeal to all. It read, "We earnestly call the attention of our young men and women of inquiring minds to this subject. Is it not time to recognize the claims of God upon you? When are we going to realize that a world is to be warned of its approaching doom? Will your skirts be clear of the blood of souls if you neglect opportunities for proper preparation to labor in the cause of God?" "Ministerial Lectures," 117.

[35]Ginger Hanks Harwood and Beverly Beem. "'It Was Mary That First Preached a Risen Jesus': Early Seventh-day Adventist Answers to Objections to Women as Public Spiritual Leaders," *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 45, no. 2 (Autumn 2007): 221-245.

certain individuals to ministry, the author directed the reader's attention to a larger reality, "the Heaven-ordained ministry of *all* Christ's disciples." The author explicitly included women among those so ordained and obligated to preach: ". . . let it be done by all sorts of instrumentalities, young or old, men, women, or children." He added, "The Head of the church would fain call into the field a great many more of those preachers, who, like those scattered men and women in the early days of Christianity, went everywhere preaching the word." The article closed with the reminder that "we are our brother's keepers," prompting believers to take up their duties to preach.[36]

Rather than struggling with what women could do and still remain within the bounds of scriptural propriety, the church's concern was with women who insisted on staying within the socially accepted roles for Christian women. Merritt Cornell, reporting in the *Review* on his evangelistic work in California in 1873, noted, "One of the greatest drawbacks here has been the prevailing idea that women ought not to speak in social meetings. Many seem more than willing to have it so—to believe the sentiment. Being unused to speaking, they regard it as a great cross." He was not willing to accept their tradition-based passivity, correcting their notions by referencing the biblical model. Reflecting the Adventist understanding of the matter, he remarked, "But the Scriptures seem clear on the point. Not one word in the whole Bible is ever found with which to oppose it, except in the writings of the apostle Paul. And a careful comparison of all Paul's statements on the subject shows that he had reference only to unbecoming conduct of women in the public assembly, such as contradicting, altercating, and assuming authority over men in business meetings of the church."[37]

Until his death in 1881, James White continued his support for the active role of women in every aspect of church ministry. He assured the *Review*'s readers that women in positions of spiritual leadership were part of a natural and consistent trajectory experienced since New Testament times. He reminded the church that "The Christian age was ushered in with glory. Both men and women enjoyed the inspiration of the hallowed hour, and were teachers of the people. . . . And the dispensation which was ushered in with glory, honored with the labors of holy women, will close with the same honors."[38]

Ellen White added her voice to express similar sentiments. In an 1879 address to the church printed in the *Review*, she stressed the need to mobilize all Christians in the work of the gospel. In it, she unequivocally endorsed women as preachers and appealed for more women to dedicate their lives to the ministry. As she stated, "Women can be the instruments of righteousness, rendering holy service. It was Mary that first preached a risen Jesus. . . . If

[36]"Who Shall Preach?" *Review and Herald* 43, no. 23 (May 19, 1874): 178 (selected).

[37]M. E. Cornell, "Woodland, Cal.," *Review and Herald* 41, no. 25 (June 3, 1873): 198.

[38]J[ames] W[hite], "Women in the Church," *Review and Herald* 53, no. 22 (May 29, 1879): 172.

there were twenty women where now there is one, who would make this holy mission their cherished work, we should see many more converted to the truth."[39]

Church Practices: Women Preachers and Evangelists

The church continued to utilize women as preachers and evangelists after its official organization, and the women filed their reports of work in the *Review* along with all other evangelists.[40] Church officials expected women to apply for licenses to preach and participate in the same process as their male colleagues. Church policies regarding women's ministerial licenses did not differ from those for males. Individuals obtained their licenses as a preliminary step toward being ordained.

In many ways, the attitude of the church toward women during this time is best summarized in a brief 1871 *Review* advertisement that announced a journal, "Woman and Her Work." The authors reported that the Woman's Christian Association monthly journal stated that its objective was to "help those women who labor in the gospel" and to enlarge "the sphere of woman's usefulness, especially in that department which becomes her so well, namely, Christian charity." The paper wishes them "God-speed" for helping women prepare themselves to work among the poor. It is at that point the editors' stance becomes clear as they put forward their own policy, one that did not promote the nineteenth-century definition of "woman's sphere" or limit women to a ministry of individual acts of compassion, however significant that function might be. The editors noted,

> We are not among those who would hedge up before woman any avenue of labor or usefulness. Of the thirty-one persons now employed in this Office, twenty are women, filling positions with eminent ability, as editors, book-keepers, mailing clerks, compositors, proof-readers, and book-binders. Let woman work in public, and in private, in whatever position her varied capacities may render her efficient.[41]

Despite the fact that Protestant churches were becoming increasingly polarized on the issue of women's "place" in the church, dividing themselves into liberal and conservative camps around the issue, the *Review* continued to report women's evangelistic labors and successes and encouraged women to move into active and visible roles within church life. M. W. Howard, in his 1868 article, "Woman As A Co-Worker," captured the essence of Adventist

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[39]Ellen G. White, "Address and Appeal, Setting Forth the Importance of Missionary Work," *Review and Herald* 53, no. 1 (January 2, 1879): 1-2.

[40]The reports filed by John and Sarah Lindsey in the 1870s serve as examples of the many reports that indicate the work done by women (frequently as part of a husband-wife team). See, John Lindsey, S.A.H. Lindsey, "Pennsylvania," *Review and Herald* 37, no. 17 (April 11, 1871): 134; "Report of Meetings," *Review and Herald* 35, no. 10 (February 22, 1870): 78; "Beaver Dam, N.Y.," *Review and Herald* 39, no. 7 (January 30, 1872): 54.

[41]"Woman and Her Work," *Review and Herald* 37, no. 12 (March 7, 1871): 96.

Church leaders' response to those who would "hedge up" or restrict the arenas in which women could function on the basis of a "conservative" approach to the Bible. He related that his own search of the scriptural record of women's leadership and teaching in the early church convinced him that conservative Christians (those who follow scriptural teaching and practice) must welcome the labors and messages of women. In the article, he noted, "And thus as I reflected upon that conservatism which so readily takes fright at the prominence accorded to a woman, I was convinced that the conservatism should be in another direction."[42]

The 1881 General Conference Resolution to Ordain Women to the Gospel Ministry

It is not surprising that the General Conference in Session took up the question of women's ordination to the gospel ministry for formal action in 1881. Given the group's practice of recognizing women as messengers and licensing them as ministers, women such as Ellen Lane, Sarah Lindsey, and Julia Owen serving as evangelists in various areas of the United States, and the record of successful evangelism that women had established, the next logical step was to ordain these licensed ministers. The resolution read as follows:

> Resolved, That females possessing the necessary qualifications to fill that position, may, with perfect propriety, be set apart by ordination to the work of the Christian ministry.[43]

This resolution, recorded in the *Review* as discussed and referred to the General Conference Committee (George Butler, Stephen Haskell, and Uriah Smith), demonstrates the church's recognition of women as ministers and the need to consider them for ordination. Close reading of the resolution shows that the issue is whether women can be ordained with "perfect propriety," not whether or not women are regular ministers. Political correctness or timing seems to be the concern. The discussion in the session of the resolution involved Elders J. O. Corliss, A. C. Bourdeau, E. R. Jones, D. H. Lamson, W. H. Littlejohn, A. S. Hutchins, D. M. Canright, and J. N. Loughborough, and was referred to the General Conference Committee. The account published in the *Signs of the Times* listed the motion to ordain women as among the resolutions adopted at the General Conference.[44]

The conflicting reports on the action offered between the denomination's two major papers are not altogether surprising, as the 1881 General Conference itself was conflicted and confused. The recent death of James White had deprived the group of one of its most powerful voices and created an upset in the balance of power within the church. Ellen White was not in attendance

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[42]M. W. Howard, "Woman As A Co-Worker," *Review and Herald* 32, no. 9 (August 18, 1868): 133.

[43]"General Conference—Business Proceedings (Continued)," *Review and Herald* 58, no. 25 (December 20, 1881): 392.

[44]"General Conference," *Signs of the Times* 8, no. 1 (January 5, 1882): 8.

to add the weight of her influence to help resolve any of the issues before the group. The split between the "conservative" and "progressive" camps within the church, as well as the tension between John Harvey Kellogg and the Whites, added to a general sense of disunity and low morale. Additionally, recent changes in the definition of tithing to 10% of all personal income to be used "to support his servants in their labors," introduced in a series of *Review* articles by Dudley Canright, was also a source of tension and discontent.

Given the number of challenges facing the Church immediately following the General Conference Session, including the pending National Sunday Law legislation sponsored by Senator Blair in the U.S. Senate and the mobilization of Adventist resources to deal with the legal situation of Adventists who had been arrested and imprisoned for Sunday breaking in several states, it is not surprising that women's ordination did not receive priority. For the handful of women who were ready and qualified to receive ordination, the timing was inopportune.

A thorough examination of issues presented in the *Review* between the years of 1863 and 1881 reveals the theology and practices of early, established Adventism. In this period of expanding mission, the labors of all were needed to accomplish the great work of the Third Angel's message. Calls for laborers were inclusive, citing the need for men and women to serve in various capacities. Women were regarded as workers, called by God, gifted with spiritual gifts in a process common to all. Women were regularly reminded that they were responsible for the salvation of others and that their own spiritual well-being and security depended on their willingness to exercise the talents entrusted to them.

Reports from women evangelists continued to appear in the *Review,* along with those of male workers, and letters were published that testified to the efficacy of their ministry. During this time, ministers were more like roving evangelists than pastors of a single church which created a particular set of challenges for women. Women traveling alone were regarded with suspicion, yet women found ways to circumvent the obstacles and serve as full-time evangelists. The *Review* regularly reported their selection as conference officers and licentiates.

During this period of time, the emphasis in the *Review* articles dedicated to the question of women and the church focused on women's obligation to serve as fully functioning disciples rather than debating whether or not women had the right to exert spiritual leadership. Although the relatively small number of articles devoted to addressing the topic reflects that women's ministry was not a highly contested subject, the articles that did appear indicate that some members needed assistance harmonizing the practice of women's spiritual leadership with certain Pauline passages. The articles addressing this issue did just that and instructed the readers in Adventist hermeneutics, as well.

The various authors read each text in its historical context, examined the heritage of women's leadership through the biblical record, compared Scripture with Scripture, and demanded that the selected Pauline texts be harmonized with the whole of Paul's teachings and example to resolve

inconsistency. The Paul that instructed women in proper attire when leading out in worship could not be used to silence women on the basis of isolated verses taken out of context. Paul's instructions had to be viewed in light of the context in which they were given and his purpose to eliminate confusion and disorder.

Going even beyond this step, the authors insisted that Paul's teaching be harmonized with the rest of the scriptural record, which included numerous examples of women in public scriptural leadership. They reflected on God's freedom to select whomever he might choose, and the positive results of the work of biblical women. The authors repeatedly stressed Joel's promise, repeated in Acts 2:16, that the handmaidens would prophesy in the last days, and they defined "prophesying" as speaking "to edification, exhortation, and comfort."[45] This was a promise that applied to the Seventh-day Adventist Church. Thus the gifts of the sisters should be cherished, not rejected.

Throughout this period, the writers and editors of the *Review* were forceful and unambiguous in their defense of the appropriateness, even the duty, of women to engage fully in preaching and teaching in the church. The primary arguments, as shown above, were that God had always used women, as well as men, to lead and instruct his people, and that he has promised to pour out his Spirit on all, both sons and daughters, in the last days. Far from being a problem, or unscriptural, the presence of women who preach and lead was considered to be the very sign of God's presence among his remnant people.[46]

*Women in Ministry and the Realities and
Issues in Adventism, 1880-1900*

Both the size and composition of the Seventh-day Adventist Church changed radically in the two decades following James White's death. While membership was calculated to be a little over 15,000 in 1880, that number nearly doubled in the next ten years to some 29,711 by 1890.[47] With the heightened missionary activity through the end of the century, numbers continued to explode: by

[45]Geo[rge] B. Starr, "Does Paul Contradict Himself?" *Review and Herald* 56, no. 25 (December 16, 1880): 388. Starr's article presents this discussion clearly and serves as a good example of the articles that carefully defined the meaning of the term "to prophesy" in such a way as to point the readers to its exhortative, educational, and consolatory aspects rather than the occasional "foretelling" function.

[46]Harwood and Beem, "'It Was Mary That First Preached a Risen Jesus,'" 221-45.

[47]It is important to note that growth more than doubled in some areas. Doug Johnson has detailed church growth in the Pacific Northwest during this period and has shown that it expanded from a total of 231 members and nine churches served by four ministers in 1880 to a membership of 3,375, with 104 churches and 62 ministers (32 ordained) by 1900. During that same period, the church in the state of Montana grew from a membership of 25 in 1890 to a membership of 339, with ten churches and eight ministers by 1900. Doug Johnson, *Adventism in the Pacific Northwest: Since the 1860's* (Olympia, WA: American Speedy Printing Center, 1989), 16, 70.

1900, membership stood at 75,767. Further, 12,432 of these members resided outside of North America.[48] The evangelistic success had added to the pews an overwhelming number of Adventists whose religious background was different from the original New Englanders with a Millerite heritage. The new converts created a tremendous challenge to Adventism in terms of creating and maintaining common ground among the members, fostering group identity, international communication and cooperation, ongoing religious education, and organizational coordination, responsiveness, and flexibility. The basic structures developed in 1863 to promote "church order" for the 3,500 members in the 125 North American Adventist churches were outgrown and unwieldy by the 1890s.[49]

This period was also marked by tremendous growth in the numbers and types of church-related institutions. In addition to the original newspaper, printing operations, and the 125 churches that claimed Adventism in 1863, denominational interest in health, education, and missionary outreach had created a myriad of institutions. Battle Creek Sanitarium had become an imposing structure employing hundreds, and the publishing house was becoming the largest press in all Michigan. Equally impressive were the size and influence of the Tract and Missionary Society. The *SDA Encyclopedia* states, "According to J. N. Loughborough, from 1871 onward almost as many converts were won by the efforts of Tract and Missionary Society lay workers as through the work of the ministry itself."[50]

Shape of the Ministry

Church growth created a need for an increased number of ministers and required increasing sophistication in preparation for ministry, coordination of efforts, and supervision. From the thirty ministers licensed in 1863, the number grew to 260 by 1880, 400 by 1890, and just under 1,500 by 1900.[51] By then, the ministry had evolved from being a small band of messengers well known to the leaders at the Conference hub in Battle Creek to a legion scattered over several continents. Earlier concerns about efficiency and

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[48]Knight, *A Brief History of Seventh-day Adventists*, 132.

[49]Ellen White's experiences in both Europe and Australia had convinced her of the inadequacy of the church's structure and the necessity for a general rethinking of its structure and a major reorganization of the various arms of its work. While her call for structural change during the 1901 General Conference is considered the starting point for the changes that were fine-tuned in the early twentieth century, it is important to note that the problems had been so apparent that various church leaders had been experimenting with new patterns of organizing the work since the mid-1880s. Innovations in Europe, South Africa, and Australia all contributed to the 1901 resolution addressing the problems of over-centralization.

[50]*Seventh-day Adventist Encyclopedia*, vol. 10 of The Commentary Reference Series (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1966), svv. "Tract and Missionary Societies."

[51]Knight, *A Brief History of Seventh-day Adventists*, 132.

effectiveness were joined by an increased awareness over matters of pastoral accountability, educational levels, and spiritual fitness to minister.

In 1883, the *Review* published the established policy articulating the path for ordination. The statement began with a brief justification for church oversight of those representing themselves as Seventh-day Adventist ministers:

> It is but just that every denomination of Christians should be permitted to determine who shall, and who shall not, represent them in the capacity of public teachers. In doing so it is customary to employ credentials and licenses. These are certificates issued by competent authority, setting forth the fact that the persons holding them are accredited ministers of the denomination issuing the same.

The article then explained the process with finer detail:

> Credentials are given to those ministers only who have been ordained. Licenses, on the contrary, are granted to certain persons before their ordination.

> Whenever a member of the church feels that it is his duty to labor in the capacity of a preacher of the gospel, he should apply for a license, personally, or through his friends, to either the State Conference Committee, or (in case the State Conference itself is in session) to the Committee on Credentials and Licenses.

> Before the license is granted to him, he will be subjected to an examination with a view to ascertaining whether he is sound in matters of doctrine, and qualified both spiritually and intellectually for the work in which he wishes to engage. It is necessary that licenses should be renewed every year.

> After an individual has preached acceptably one or more years as a licentiate, it is customary for the State Conference to ordain him, and give him credentials, and a certificate of ordination.[52]

[52]The remainder of the policy states that, "These credentials, like licenses, are to be renewed each year. Like licenses, they can also be withdrawn from the individual, even before the year terminates, provided that, in the judgment of the State Conference Committee, the individuals to whom they were granted have proved themselves unworthy of them. Licentiates are not allowed to organize churches or to administer the ordinances of the Lord's house. As efficient laborers are too few in number, and as excessive modesty sometimes prevents those who are well qualified for that work from applying for licenses, churches who have among them individuals who they think would make successful ministers, should by vote recommend them for that purpose to the favorable consideration of the State Conference." W. H. L[ittlejohn],"The Church Manual (Continued)," *Review and Herald* 60, no. 37 (September 11, 1883): 586-587.

*Ellen White's Concern for the Church's Understanding
and Practice of Ministry*

During her final decades of service, Ellen White fought to establish a theology of grace, move the church into being an active incarnation of God's love for humanity, and transform the SDA church structure and understanding of ministry. While Ellen White had provided counsel on the pastoral nature of ministry since 1871, by the 1890s she was actively lobbying for major changes in Adventist ministerial style. She felt that the church needed to re-vision ministry and the role of the minister, believing that the model then employed was insufficient to accomplish the mission of the church. She noted,

> I am now writing upon the great mistakes made in extending our labors where we can not look after it, and having a feverish unrest to create new interests and leave the people already raised up to die for want of help. This is the case all over the different states. I tell you there must be more visiting the churches and caring for those already raised up, strengthening the things that are ready to die. . . . Churches are raised up and left to go down while new fields are being entered.[53]

Concerned about the way churches were started and then left to "ravel out," she stressed the need to train ministers to do their work more thoroughly, even as she labored to broaden the definition of ministry and the working brief of ministers. In letters to church leaders, as well as in public statements and addresses, she pushed ministers to rethink the responsibilities of their position, to impress upon them that ministry involved more than just preaching. "Merely to preach the Word is not ministry. The Lord desires His ministering servants to occupy a place worthy of the highest consideration. In the mind of God, *the ministry of men and women* existed before the world was created."[54] She pointed ministers to Christ as their example in ministry, urging them to adopt his methods. "Our Savior went from house to house, healing the sick, comforting the mourners, soothing the afflicted, speaking peace to the disconsolate."[55]

In Ellen White's eyes, the mission of the minister was to reach souls for God, and soul-winning required personal labor with individuals. "Many love to preach, but they have very little experience in ministering. Search the Scriptures with the families you visit,"[56] she wrote. "It is not preaching alone that must be done. Far less preaching is needed. More time should be devoted to patiently educating others, giving the hearers opportunity to

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[53]Ellen G. White, Letter H-1, 1879 (to S. N. Haskell, January 27, 1879), 1; portions repr., *Evangelism*, 323-24.

[54]Ellen G. White, diary entry, Sunday, March 15, 1891, MS 23, 1891, emphasis supplied.

[55]Ellen G. White, *Gospel Workers: Instruction for All Who Are "Laborers Together with God"* (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1915 [1948]), 188.

[56]Ellen G. White, MS 7, 1891, 6. This letter partially documents Ellen White's efforts to expand the concept of ministry in the SDA Church.

express themselves. It is instruction that many need, line upon line, precept upon precept, here a little, and there a little."[57] She reflected sadly that "It is very difficult to impress the minds of our ministering brethren with the idea that sermons alone cannot do the work that is needed for our churches."[58]

Ellen White identified specific components that needed to be regarded as legitimate and essential to the minister's brief if the mission of the church were to be realized. They included preparation to teach Adventist doctrines and strengthen the faith of both believers and those just exploring Adventism. She considered it important that individuals who possessed these abilities be selected for the ministry:

> There should be selected for the work wise, consecrated men who can do a good work in reaching souls. Women also should be chosen who can present the truth in a clear, intelligent, straightforward manner. . . . We need as workers men and women who understand the reasons of our faith, and who realize the work to be done in communicating truth, and who will refuse to speak any words that will weaken the confidence of any soul in the word of God or destroy the fellowship that should exist between those of like faith.[59]

At the same time, she was clear that the minister was to be a shepherd of the flock, not an expositor only. The task facing the expanding church by the last two decades of the century demanded that the ministers be ready to nurture the converted that had found their way into the church. When she addressed a group of ministers, she noted that

> There is a word more I had almost forgotten. It is in regard to the influence the minister should exert in his preaching. It is not merely to stand in the desk. His work is but just begun there. It is to enter into the different families, and carry Christ there; to carry his sermons there; to carry them out in his actions and his words. As he visits a family, he should inquire into the condition of that family. Is he the shepherd of the flock? The work of a shepherd is not all done in the desk. He should talk with all the members of the flock; with the parents, to learn their standing; and with the children, to learn theirs. A minister should feed the flock over which God has made him overseer.[60]

An essential part of the minister's role was visitation in the homes of individuals who showed an interest in public meetings:

> When a minister has presented the gospel message from the pulpit, his work is only begun. There is personal work for him to do. He should visit the people in their homes, talking and praying with them in earnestness and humility. There are families who will never be reached by the truths of God's word unless the stewards of His grace enter their homes and point them to the higher way. . . . Let ministers teach the truth in families, drawing

[57]Ellen G. White, MS 7, 1891, 7; repr., *Evangelism*, 338.

[58]Ibid.

[59]Ellen G. White, Letter D-142, 1909, 8; repr., *Evangelism*, 472.

[60]Ellen G. White, "Address to Ministers," *Review and Herald* 37, no. 24 (May 30, 1871): 187.

close to those for whom they labor; and as they thus co-operate with God, He will clothe them with spiritual power.[61]

She made the case even stronger by naming the willingness to engage in personal ministry as an identifying mark of the legitimate pastor. She was unhappy that

"While in the midst of a religious interest, some neglect the most important part of the work. They fail to visit and become acquainted with those who have shown an interest to present themselves night after night to listen to the explanation of the Scriptures. . . . Ministers who neglect their duty in this respect are not true shepherds of the flock."[62]

Ellen White emphasized that giving Bible studies in the home should be regarded as an essential task for the minister. Far from being peripheral or a labor to be carried on by a lesser part of the team, Bible studies were a minister's work:

To my ministering brethren I would say, By personal labor reach the people where they are. Become acquainted with them. This work cannot be done by proxy. Money loaned or given cannot accomplish it. Sermons from the pulpit cannot do it. Teaching the Scriptures in families,—this is the work of an evangelist, and this work is to be united with preaching. If it is omitted, the preaching will be, to a great extent, a failure.[63]

She also suggested that a minister's training should begin with public visitation, where one might be introduced to the community and their needs, spiritual and otherwise. She tied this activity with literature evangelism, which she saw as being a means both to introduce Adventism into the homes of strangers and to acquaint aspiring ministers with the broader community whom they were to reach for God. This work put them face to face with the world of souls looking for a word of hope:

All who wish an opportunity for true ministry, and who will give themselves unreservedly to God, will find in the canvassing work opportunities to speak upon many things pertaining to the future immortal life. The experience thus gained will be of the greatest value to those who are fitting themselves for the work of the ministry. It is the accompaniment of the Holy Spirit of God that prepares workers, both men and women, to become pastors to the flock of God.[64]

Ellen White believed that women were ideal for labor in many of these aspects of ministry. She saw that they had been prepared to make the individual contacts and had greater ease entering into the homes and finding out the needs of neighbors. As women, they posed less of a threat to propriety than men

[61]Ellen G. White, *Gospel Workers*, 187.

[62]Ellen G. White, *Testimonies for the Church* (Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press, 1948 [1881]), 4: 535-36.

[63]Ellen G. White, *Gospel Workers*, 188.

[64]Ellen G. White, "Canvassers As Gospel Evangelists," *Review and Herald* 78, no. 3 (January 15, 1901): 33-34. Ellen White clearly recognized that women had the capacity for being pastors, as is evidenced in this article.

would when entering the domestic sphere during hours when husbands were absent. While she recognized the limitations that motherhood and household duties imposed on women's time, she was convinced that their labor in the ministry was needed. She did not believe that accepting the ministerial call resulted in a neglect of "women's duties." Instead she pressed for wages for ministering women so that they could pay for domestic assistance. Preferring the established Adventist pattern of husband/wife teams, she pressed this model: "When it is possible, let the minister and his wife go forth together. The wife can often labor by the side of her husband, accomplishing a noble work. She can visit the homes of the people and help the women in these families in a way that her husband cannot."[65]

Despite preference for couples' ministry, Ellen White sketched a model beyond that of the team approach currently being used where only the husband was licensed and paid when she advised the conferences to take additional action:

> Select women who will act an earnest part. The Lord will use intelligent women in the work of teaching. And let none feel that these women, who understand the Word, and who have ability to teach, should not receive remuneration for their labors. They should be paid as verily as are their husbands. There is a great work for women to do in the cause of present truth. Through the exercise of womanly tact and a wise use of their knowledge of Bible truth, they can remove difficulties that our brethren cannot meet. We need women workers to labor in connection with their husbands, and should encourage those who wish to engage in this line of missionary effort.[66]

She outlined a plan whereby even women available for only part-time ministry were ordained for labor. Pressing the variety of paths through which evangelism should be pursued, she said,

> 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. . . . This is another means of strengthening and building up the church. We need to branch out more in our methods of labor. Not a hand should be bound, not a soul discouraged, not a voice should be hushed; let every individual labor, privately or publicly, to help forward this grand work.[67]

The "grand work" of reaching all with the message of God's redemptive love required the redefinition of ministry and the recognition of the significance of the several arenas of outreach. She saw the need for consecrated women in each of these arenas. As she noted in a 1909 letter on the need to send more missionaries to the cities, "Not merely one or two

[65]Ellen G. White, Letter D-142, 1909, 5; repr., *Evangelism*, 491.

[66]Ibid.

[67]Ellen G. White, "The Duty of the Minister and the People," *Review and Herald* 72, no. 28 (July 9, 1895): 433-434.

men are called to do this work, but many men and women who have ability to preach and teach the word."[68]

It is also noteworthy that despite the fact that the adoption of orphans was encouraged among Adventists at this time, she did not advise women who were actively laboring in ministry to shift their efforts to the home sphere. Instead, she saw their public work as having priority, and she counseled that it must not be abandoned for childrearing. She noted that "the enemy would be pleased to have the women whom God could use to help hundreds, binding up their time and strength on one helpless little mortal, that requires constant care and attention."[69] Ellen White was clear: It hurt the cause of the message when women fit for ministry became tied totally to the domestic sphere with the care of children, rendering themselves unavailable for public evangelism. As sacred as the duty of the home sphere was, it was not to be used as an excuse to exclude women from the wider field of ministry.

Official Church Defenses of Women in Ministry

During the final two decades of the nineteenth century, the *Review and Herald* continued to provide periodical education to its readers on the topic of what Elder George Tenney called "woman's relation to the cause of Christ." During this time, N. J Bowers, W. H. Littlejohn, G. W. Morse, George Starr, G. C. Tenney, and two-time General Conference President George I. Butler published articles defending women in evangelism/ministry, as well as republishing James White's earlier defense published in 1879.[70] Repeatedly, they answered the supposed biblical objections to women by applying the Adventist hermeneutic. They pointed out that Paul's letters needed to be understood in their cultural context and that some injunctions were meant for specific circumstances and not to be seen as binding upon Christian actions for all times. They also utilized all the ideas of any biblical writer, thus tending towards internal consistency, possible only when all statements of an author on a particular topic were evaluated together.

The flood of new converts swelling the ranks of Adventism responded with surprise and skepticism when they encountered the leadership roles

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[68]Ellen G. White, Letter D-142, 1909, 4.

[69]Ellen G. White, "The Laborer Is Worthy of His Hire," MS 43a, 1898, 4.

[70]James White, "Women in the Church," *Review and Herald* 65, no. 9 (February 28, 1888): 139. This article and G. C. Tenney's "Woman's Relation to the Cause of Christ," *Review and Herald* 71, no. 23 (June 5, 1894): 362 were reprinted from earlier publication, and editors frequently referred questioners to these articles as definitive of the Adventist position. G. W. Morse, in his introduction to James White's article on 1 Cor 14:34-35, wrote that the article "should be sufficiently conclusive to dispel all doubts in the minds of any." Other articles include N. J. Bowers, "May Women Publicly Labor in the Cause of Christ?" *Review and Herald* 57, no. 24 (June 14, 1881): 372; George B. Starr, "Does Paul Contradict Himself?" *Review and Herald* 56, no. 25 (December 16, 1880): 388; George I. Butler, "Prayer and Social Worship," *Review and Herald* 71, no. 23 (June 5, 1894): 362-363.

Adventist women played. The *Review* was the mediator between local church practices and the converts' concerns. When *Review* readers sent letters to the editor expressing these concerns, their questions were addressed in a regular section of the paper, often bearing the title, "In the Question Chair" or "To Correspondents," or "Scripture Questions."[71] The issues revolved around the Pauline passages that appear to restrict the role of women in the church. A couple of these inquiries demonstrate the struggle and the way in which the replies were formulated. When "An 'Inquirer'" wrote, "'Please give an explanation of 1 Cor. 14: 34, 35. I cannot reconcile Paul's language with the idea of sisters preaching,'" the respondent answered,

> But what about Paul's language in 1 Cor. 11:4, 5? "Every man praying or prophesying, having his head covered, dishonoreth his head. But every woman that prayeth or prophesieth with her head uncovered dishonoreth her head." This prophesying is generally understood to include a public exposition of the prophecies. It certainly denotes some public exercise; for it is to the edification of the Church. 1 Cor. 14:4. Here, then, is instruction in regard to the public speaking of women in the Church. But does Paul contradict himself in chap. 14: 34, 35?—By no means. This latter was to correct some irregularity and disorder which were growing upon the Church.[72]

The second example of a query over women's role in the church, or "woman's position," as outlined in 1 Cor 11:10, was answered in terms of specific situations and social conventions that are inapplicable in Western culture, and the underscoring of the spiritual equality of all:

> Ans. – This verse stands as a conclusion from what has been said before; and in the preceding verses the apostle speaks of certain things which are decorous and becoming in a woman. The things he specifically mentions are, wearing the hair long and having a covering upon the head. In that country, and in that age of the world, for a woman to lay aside either of these, was a badge of infamy. For this reason, in their gatherings for religious worship, which were ordained by the Lord, and were objects of regard by divine beings, and where, of course, the angels would be present (Heb. 1:14), it was important that no impropriety be tolerated, but that all be properly attired.

[71]"An 'Inquirer' Writes [1 Cor. 14: 34, 35.]," *Review and Herald* 67, no. 14 (April 8, 1890): 224; "Answers to Correspondents, # 467. – Women in the Church," *Review and Herald* 72, no. 3 (January 15, 1895): 42; S. N. H[askell], "The Supremacy of One Prophet above Another in the Church at Corinth," *Review and Herald* 71, no. 15 (April 10, 1894): 233-234; "In the Question Chair, # 152. – Women Speaking in Meeting, 1 Cor. 14:34, 35," *Review and Herald* 69, no. 8 (February 23, 1892): 118-119; "In The Question Chair, # 256. – Woman's Position. 1 Cor. 11:10," *Review and Herald* 69, no. 42 (October 25, 1892): 664; "Answers to Correspondents, # 445. – Women in the Churches," *Review and Herald* 71, no. 47 (November 27, 1894): 747 [Refers questioner to Tenney's article published June 5, 1894.]; "To Correspondents, #7. –Will you please give a full exposition of 1 Cor. 14:34, 35 and 1 Tim. 2:11, 12. The Bible-workers in this city have these texts to meet. Please turn on the light," *Review and Herald* 73, no. 4 (January 28, 1896): 58.

[72]"An 'Inquirer' Writes," *Review and Herald* 67, no. 14 (April 8, 1890): 224.

By the word, "power," is doubtless to be understood the covering upon the woman's head as a token of her subjection, not to a degrading position of servitude under the hand of her husband, but subjection to that rule which the Lord had ordained as order and propriety in his church. The gospel raised women to a spiritual equality with men; and it seems that some of the Corinthian women took advantage of this, to make undue assumptions and go to disgraceful extremes. This accounts for some of the expressions in this chapter, and that much-mooted instruction in chapter 14: 34, 35. The principle holds good still; but owing to the lapse of centuries, and the difference in customs between the East and the West, it is not now to be carried out by the same observances.[73]

Similar sentiments appear in the several "Scripture Questions" responses where the writers emphasize that "the restrictions of the apostle would not apply to countries where the speaking of women in public is not regarded as objectionable."[74]

To summarize, the articles and responses in the *Review* during this period to questions concerning the role of women in the Church remained consistent with the earlier periods. The editors of the paper recognized the growing concern over the issue introduced by the changing membership and attempted to educate their readers in terms of proper hermeneutics, including attention

[73]"In the Question Chair, #256.—Woman's Position. 1 Cor. 11:10," *Review and Herald* 69, no. 42 (October 25, 1892): 664.

[74]"Scripture Questions, #137. – The Speaking of Women in the Churches: Will you please give the meaning of 1 Cor. 14:34? Ans. A difficult thing to do to my own satisfaction. It is certain, however, that the apostle does not mean to prohibit altogether the speaking of women in the public congregation, since in 1 Cor. 11:5 he prescribes certain rules which should govern them in the matter of dress, while thus speaking. There are two explanations which might be given,—first, that the apostle had reference to questioning and disputing with the men publicly, on questions of conscience and doctrine (14:35); secondly, that the apostle prescribed this stringent rule for the Corinthian church because the Greeks permitted none but the lower order of women to speak in their assemblies; consequently, had the Christian women of Corinth departed from the public standard of taste in that matter, they would have prejudiced the interests of Christianity itself. If the latter view be correct, then of course the restrictions of the apostle would not apply to countries where the speaking of women in public is not regarded as objectionable." *Review and Herald* 60, no. 25 (June 19, 1883): 394. Another example of the "cultural context" answer appears in, "To Correspondents, F. H. Morrison: We think 1 Cor. 11: 5, 6 has reference to the customs of society at the time the language was written. With the Greeks and Romans in those days it was usual for all the women of modest deportment and virtuous characters, to wear a veil. Only those of an opposite character appeared without them. Hence a woman so appearing, dishonored her head, or husband, verse 3. By the law of Moses, a woman suspected of adultery was deprived of her veil. Num. 5:18. And if a woman refused to wear a veil, let her, says Paul, be shorn (of her hair); this being, at that time, a punishment for adultery. If the woman would persist in presenting an immodest appearance, let her wear the badge of infamy by being shaven." *Review and Herald* 36, no. 7 (August 2, 1870): 53.

to cultural concerns when various passages were written and the inclusive call to mission. At a time when Adventists believed they were seeing the closing events of earth's history, the emphasis was on making a final, worldwide call to humanity. There was a work for all to do, and the church could ill-afford to discriminate against the calls to service given by the Holy Spirit.

Church Practices: Women Preachers and Evangelists

Despite the fact that many new converts were struggling with the role of women, the church increased its grants of licenses to women during this time. Church yearbooks list a number of women with ministerial license, including Anna Fulton, Ellen S. Lane, Julia Owen, Libbie Collins, Hattie Enoch, Libbie Fulton, Lizzie Post, Anna Johnson, Ida W. Ballenger, Helen L. Morse, Ruie Hill, Ida W. Hibben, Mrs. S. E. Pierce, Flora Plummer, Margaret Caro, Mrs. S.A.H. Lindsey,[75] Sarepta Miranda Irish Henry, Lulu Wightman, Edith Bartlett, Hetty Haskell, Mina Robinson, Carrie V. Hansen, Emma Hawkins, Mrs. E. R. Williams, and, of course, Ellen White. These women were licensed variously in Minnesota, Michigan, Kentucky, Tennessee, Kansas, Illinois, Vermont, Iowa, New Zealand, New York, British Conference, General Conference, and Utah.[76] Other women, who did not apply for licenses, labored alongside their husbands as full- or part-time ministers. Ellen White mentioned the work of Mrs. Robinson, noting, "Here we found Sister Robinson doing the work of ministering, fully as valuable as any ordained minister."[77]

Yet the hiring and licensing of these women do not show the full picture of either the numbers of women actually doing ministry or the situation of women in ministry during the last decade of the century. The 1890s were a very difficult time for the Adventist Church. Internal tensions and power struggles between Dr. John H. Kellogg and William C. White (speaking both for himself and for Ellen White), theological controversies over pantheism and perfectionism, and tensions between the field and the General Conference over issues of autonomy and control added to the complexity of receiving and educating new converts into Adventist culture. Reeling under the financial impact of a major and long-lasting recession in the 1890s and requests by church members for return of monies lent to the church, administrators struggled to keep faith with church commitments. The church had sent a flood of foreign missionaries during the late 1880s and the 1890s, started new evangelistic efforts in the South, and invested in a burgeoning number of city missions, fledgling schools, and medical institutions. Additionally, efforts to halt the National Sunday Bill and aid Adventists who had been imprisoned by state Sunday laws required serious economic resources. The organization was

[75]Brian E. Strayer. "Sarah A. H. Lindsey: Advent Preacher on the Southern Tier," *Adventist Heritage* 11, no. 2 (Fall 1986): 16-25.

[76]This list is only a partial list, and it was compiled from the church Yearbooks. For a discussion of this list and the women who served during this period, see "Women Licensed as Ministers, 1878-1975," *Spectrum* 16, no. 3 (August, 1985): 60.

[77]Ellen G. White, MS 182, 1898, 7.

overcommitted, overextended, and faced the pressure of the need to give the world its final warning call. As such, it is not surprising that it was more than willing to accept the sacrificial service of women who served as ministers without recognition or pay.

It was Ellen White who spoke to the injustice of the situation. She saw it as part of her role as a prophet and meant to be as true to that part of her calling as every other. She noted, "Disagreeable though the duty may be, I am to reprove the oppressor, and plead for justice. I am to present the necessity of maintaining justice and equity in all our institutions."[78] She outlined the general principles of the use of tithe generally understood and accepted throughout the denomination and then applied them to women workers: "The tithe should go to those who labor in word and doctrine, be they men or women."[79] She spelled out the situation clearly:

> The ministers are paid for their work, and this is well. And if the Lord gives the wife as well as the husband the burden of labor, and if she devotes her time and her strength to visiting from family to family, opening the Scriptures to them, although the hands of ordination have not been laid upon her, she is accomplishing a work that is in the line of ministry. Should her labors be counted as nought, and her husband's salary be no more than that of the servant of God whose wife does not give herself to the work, but remains at home to care for her family?

> While I was in America, I was given light upon this subject. I was instructed that there are matters that need to be considered. *Injustice has been done* to women who labor just as devotedly as their husbands, and who are recognized by God as being as necessary to the work of ministry as their husbands. The method of paying men-laborers and not their wives, is a plan not after the Lord's order. Injustice is thus done. A mistake is made. The Lord does not favor this plan. This arrangement, if carried out in our Conferences, is liable to discourage our sisters from qualifying themselves for the work they should engage in. . . .

> Women who work in the cause of God should be given wages proportionate to the time they give to the work. God is a God of justice, and if the ministers receive a salary for their work, their wives, who devote themselves just as interestedly to the work as laborers together with God, should be paid in addition to the wages their husbands receive, notwithstanding that they may not ask this. As the devoted minister and his wife engage in the work, they should be paid wages proportionate to the wages of *two distinct workers*, that they may have means to use as they shall see fit in the cause of God. The Lord has put his spirit upon them both. If the husband should die, and leave his wife, she is fitted to continue her work in the cause of God, and receive wages for the labor she performs.[80]

[78]Ellen G. White, "A Messenger," *Review and Herald* 83, no. 30 (July 26, 1906): 8-9; repr., *Selected Messages from the writings of Ellen G. White* (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1958), 1:33.

[79]MS 149, 1899, 8; repr., *Evangelism*, 492.

[80]"The Laborer is Worthy of His Hire," MS 43a, 1898, Manuscript Release No. 267; emphasis added.

She brought out specific cases where the women in the work were being mistreated:

> These women [Starr, Robinson, Haskell, and Wilson] give their whole time, and are told that they receive nothing for their labors because their husbands receive their wages. I tell them to go forward and all such decisions will be revised. The Word says, "The laborer is worthy of his hire." *When any such decision as this is made, I will in the name of the Lord, protest. I will feel it my duty to create a fund from my tithe money, to pay these women who are accomplishing just as essential work as the ministers are doing, and this tithe I will reserve for work in the same line as that of the ministers, hunting for souls, fishing for souls.* I know that the faithful women should be paid wages as is considered proportionate to the pay received by ministers. They carry the burden of souls, and should not be treated unjustly. These sisters are giving their time to educating those newly come to the faith and hire their own work done, and pay those who work for them. All these things must be adjusted and set in order, and justice be done to all.[81]

Ellen White was not reluctant to clarify misconceptions that arose concerning the roles some women played in the ministry that were regarded as a secondary or lesser part of ministry than pulpit evangelism, therefore less eligible for payment from the tithe set apart for ministers. "Women, as well as men, are needed in the work that must be done. Those women who give themselves to the service of the Lord, who labor for the salvation of others by doing house-to-house work, which is as taxing as, and more taxing, than standing before a congregation, should receive payment for their labor."[82] As she noted, "If women do the work that is not the most agreeable to many of those who labor in word and doctrine, and if their works testify that they are accomplishing a work that has been manifestly neglected, should not such labor be looked upon as being as rich in results as the work of the ordained ministers? Should it not command the hire of the laborer?" Lest conference leaders feel that they could still exercise their own prerogative on this issue, she continued further, invoking the authority of God:

> This question is not for men to settle. The Lord has settled it. You are to do your duty to the women who labor in the gospel, whose work testifies that they are essential to carry the truth into families. Their work is just the work that must be done. In many respects a woman can impart knowledge to her sisters that a man cannot. The cause would suffer great loss without this kind of labor. Again and again the Lord has shown me that women teachers are just as greatly needed to do the work to which he has appointed them as are men."

During this period of recession and economic hardship, it was more than tempting for conference leaders to reduce the financial load that came from supporting ministers by only paying the husbands in the husband-wife teams, especially as they regarded preaching as *the* significant form of ministry. Ellen White spoke to correct this misunderstanding, pointing out that, "A great

[81]To Brethren Irwin, Evans, Smith, and Jones, April 21, 1898, Letter J-137, 1898, p. 9 ; emphasis added.

[82]MS 149, 1899, 8.

work is to be done in our world, and every talent is to be used in accordance with righteous principles. If a woman is appointed by the Lord to do a certain work, her work is to be estimated according to its value. Every laborer is to receive his or her just due." Not content to rest there, she directly addressed those in charge that felt comfortable accepting the devotion and sacrificial attitudes of women in ministry. She demanded that they remediate their own practices of allowing women to give themselves away to the work, while paying men for the same efforts, labeling such practice as robbery hated by God:

> It may be thought to be a good plan to allow persons to give talent and earnest labor to the work of God, while they draw nothing from the treasury. But this is making a difference, and selfishly withholding from such workers their due. God will not put his sanction on any such plan. Those who invented this method may have thought that they were doing God service by not drawing from the treasury to pay these God-fearing, soul-loving laborers. But there will be an account to settle by and by, and then those who now think this exaction, this partiality in dealing, a wise scheme, will be ashamed of their selfishness. God sees these things in a light altogether different from the light in which finite men view them.

> Those who work earnestly and unselfishly, be they men or women, bring sheaves to the Master; and the souls converted by their labor will bring their tithes to the treasury. When self-denial is required because of a dearth of means, do not let a few hard-working women do all the sacrificing. Let all share in making the sacrifice. God declares, I hate robbery for burnt offering.[83]

Ellen White on Ministry and Women in the Closing Years of the Nineteenth Century

Ellen White spent her life in the ministry of the Seventh-day Adventist Church. After the Great Disappointment, she became a messenger, as Adventist ministers were then called, travelling from town to town, encouraging the wavering with a word of hope. With James White, she worked to make the theology of the church more Christ-centered, redefine evangelism from public debate to Christian compassion and care for the suffering, and make the ministry more pastoral. While Ellen White referred to herself as "ordained by God," and made the point that she did not need any further ordination from the hands of men, she carried regular church credentials identifying her as an ordained minister and received a minister's salary from the church.[84]

It may also be noted that Ellen White exercised a wide range of ministerial functions. As well as preaching, teaching, and correcting laity, ministers, and church leaders, she examined ministers who applied for

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[83]MS 47, 1898, 8-9; repr., *Evangelism*, 491-492.

[84]A copy of Ellen White's credentials appears in Pat Habada and Rebecca Brillhart, eds., *The Welcome Table: Setting a Place for Ordained Women* (Langley Park, MD: TEAM Press, 1995), 308.

licenses and ordination.[85] Women were among those whom she examined and variously approved or counseled as to their individual readiness for the licensed ministry. As she would note in the *Review,* it took more than a desire to be recognized as a minister and more than a thorough knowledge of the Advent message. She considered not only patterns of work and indications of solid character, but evidence of the impress of the Holy Spirit. "It is the accompaniment of the Holy Spirit of God that prepares workers, both men and women, to become pastors to the flock of God."[86]

Ellen White challenged church ideology and praxis as she worked to establish new ways of understanding the nature of ministry and the work of the ministers. Although James White and other church leaders had stated earlier that men should be in charge of managing the business matters of the church, changing circumstances and evolving understanding led Ellen White to speak emphatically in the opposite direction. By 1879 her counsel on even this point was for appointment to service based on individual gift rather than gender. As she noted,

> It is not always men who are best adapted to the successful management of a church. If faithful women have more deep piety and true devotion than men, they could indeed by their prayers and their labors, do more than men who are unconsecrated in heart and in life.[87]

As Ellen White worked to transform Adventist ministry in the later part of the nineteenth century from the earlier pattern of evangelistic efforts in new areas to the nurture and care of established congregations, she became increasingly vocal on the issues that surrounded women in ministry. She made it clear that the church needed the ministrations of women in the pastoral setting as well as in field evangelism:

> There are women who should labor in the gospel ministry. In many respects they would do more good than the ministers who neglect to visit the flock of God. Husband and wife may unite in this work, and when it is possible, they should. The way is open for consecrated women.[88]

She repeatedly drew the attention of the brethren to ways in which the spread of the gospel would be hindered until women were full participants in ministry. She believed that women were in fact ideally suited for the new forms of ministries that she was trying to regularize because she saw them as central to success in church mission. Her concerns were not that women were stepping out of their sphere by serving as ministers and evangelists, but

[85]"I was unable to sit up yesterday, for with much writing, reining myself up to meet different ones who put in requests for license, speaking in public, and showing the unfitness of different ones to attempt to teach others the truth, it was too much for my strength." To Edson and Emma White, written from Salem, OR, June 14, 1880, W-32a, 1880.

[86]Ellen G. White, "Canvassers as Gospel Evangelists," *Review and Herald* 78, no. 3 (January 15, 1901): 33-34.

[87]Letter J-33, 1879, 2 (undated, to Brother Johnson).

[88]MS 43a, 1898,4; repr., *Evangelism*, 472.

that women's reluctance to go into the ministry was crippling the progress of the cause. In 1898 she wrote, "Christ speaks of women who helped him in presenting the truth before others, and Paul also speaks of women who labored with him in the gospel. But how very limited is the work done by those who could do a large work if they would."[89] Her encouragement to Sister S.M.I. Henry, an Adventist convert who was a famous evangelist for the Women's Christian Temperance Union, captured her desire for women to use the gifts and talents given to them: "You have many ways opened before you. Address the crowd whenever you can; hold every jot of influence you can by any association that can be made the means of introducing the leaven to the meal. Every man and every woman has a work to do for the Master."[90]

While neither Ellen White nor the other women in ministry provided the public defense of women's right to serve as regularly licensed ministers during the formative years of the Adventist Church, by the final two decades of the century (after James White's death), Ellen White became more proactive on this issue. In the face of the changes in the membership of the church, the strong hold of the Cult of True Womanhood on social conventions and attitudes, and increasing conservatism on gender issues emerging in certain religious circles, Ellen White found it necessary to refute the widely held opinions that women were unfit for ministry in the public arena. Disputing contemporary claims that women would "de-sex" themselves and become "mannish" if they pursued higher education or held positions of authority in the public arena, she answered the charges head-on:

> Woman, if she wisely improves her time and her faculties, relying upon God for wisdom and strength, may stand on an equality with her husband as adviser, counselor, companion, and co-worker, and yet lose none of her womanly grace or modesty. She may elevate her own character, and just as she does this she is elevating and ennobling the characters of her family, and exerting a powerful though unconscious influence upon others around her. *Why should not women cultivate the intellect? Why should they not answer the purpose of God in their existence? Why may they not understand their own powers, and realizing that these powers are given of God, strive to make use of them to the fullest extent in doing good to others, in advancing the work of reform, of truth and real goodness, in the world?* Satan knows that women have a power of influence for good or for evil; therefore he seeks to enlist them in his cause.[91]

Women in Ministry and Ordination: Conclusion

As do many world-wide churches, the Seventh-day Adventist Church today faces great challenges as we endeavor to maintain a sense of unity in the face of great diversity. Being a global church means that the church is comprised

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[89]Letter H-31, 1894, 14; repr., *Evangelism*, 465.

[90]Ellen G. White's letter to S.M.I. Henry containing this quote was published in the "Women's Gospel Work" section of the *Review and Herald.* See "The Excellency of the Soul," *Review and Herald* 76, no. 19 (May 9, 1899): 293.

[91]Ellen G. White, "Influence of Woman," *Good Health* 15, no. 6 (June 1880): 174-75 (emphasis supplied).

of individuals with very different experiences who have been socialized to accept varying social arrangements regarding the relationships between races, classes, castes, and genders. Fortunately, when we come to these issues, we are not without guidance from our own church heritage.

From the beginning of Adventism, our leaders and pioneers made it clear that God distributed spiritual gifts among all the faithful according to his own purpose and wisdom. These gifts were to be embraced and utilized for the edification of the church. The faithful utilization of one's gifts for the furtherance of the gospel was part of God's plan for human redemption. It was necessary both for the work and for the individual entrusted with the gift. Additionally, the presence of the gifts of the Spirit, with the sons and daughters prophesying, was viewed as the mark of the Holy Spirit's presence and affirmation of the church. Women speaking, preaching, and assuming spiritual leadership positions alongside their brethren was seen as a significant feature of the church in the end times. The founders of the Seventh-day Adventist Church both recognized and celebrated the partnership of men and women in the final days of earth's history. While social and legal factors caused them to hesitate over women's ordination to the pastoral ministry, as did some other Christians, they moved ahead with ordination to the office of deacon, preparing the way for ordination to other offices. They left women's ordination to pastoral ministry to a time and place where it would not create social or legal difficulties when women exercised this function.[92]

We can speak with great certainty that the Adventist heritage necessitates that we expect that God will continue to give spiritual gifts to the church. Men and women will both continue to be called to provide important messages from God for our own education, correction, encouragement, and consolation, and sound God's message to the larger world. The whole of Scripture is a sure guide where the diversity of our backgrounds creates uncertainty as to the meaning of individual texts. This gives a very clear vision of the God of love whom we serve, and the inclusive community he is calling into being. We have received a heritage that is rich in instruction on spiritual growth and the necessity to follow the light we have been given. And despite the fact that we have only existed as a church for about a century and a half, the lives and words of Adventist pioneers have left us "surrounded by a cloud of witnesses" to faithful Christian living.

From these faithful pioneers, we have a legacy of meeting challenges, change, and division with prayer, study, and a willingness to move forward on our pilgrim journey. From them we have learned that with our feet firmly planted on the path leading homeward, and our eyes on Jesus, we need not yield to the spirit of fear, even when new light causes controversy and

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[92]It is important to note that even by the last two decades of the century, when a few churches had made the move to ordain women, that action was neither socially approved nor uniformly legal. In 1885, the *White Pine County News* reported that Massachusetts had passed a law stating that weddings performed by women would not be legally recognized. News Note, *White Pine County News* 19, no. 46 (March 14, 1885): 4.

demands that we move beyond the familiar ground where we have been resting comfortably. As Ellen White showed us, the people of God are "constantly obtaining a clearer understanding":

> Whenever the people of God are growing in grace, they will be constantly obtaining a clearer understanding of His word. They will discern new light and beauty in its sacred truths. This has been true in the history of the church in all ages, and thus it will continue to the end. But as real spiritual life declines, it has ever been the tendency to cease to advance in the knowledge of the truth. Men rest satisfied with the light already received from God's word and discourage any further investigation of the Scriptures. They become conservative and seek to avoid discussion.

> The fact that there is no controversy or agitation among God's people should not be regarded as conclusive evidence that they are holding fast to sound doctrine. There is reason to fear that they may not be clearly discriminating between truth and error. When no new questions are started by investigation of the Scriptures, when no difference of opinion arises which will set men to searching the Bible for themselves to make sure that they have the truth, there will be many now, as in ancient times, who will hold to tradition and worship they know not what.[93]

While currently there is controversy around the issue creating agitation, that does not mean that inclusive ordination practices must divide us or threaten church unity. We can rely on James White's 1858 counsel that it is the acceptance of the gifts of the Spirit that brings us into unity.[94] The reexamination of our current ordination practices is an opportunity to explore the possibility that we need to move forward. While holding to a former practice is interpreted as a sign of conservatism, perhaps, as M. W. Howard noted in 1868, "the conservatism should be in another direction."[95] The conservatism we need is one that preserves our identity as a pilgrim people, journeying toward our eternal home. As pilgrims, we abandon many beliefs and attitudes based on the customs and traditions our culture has given us as we press forward. At various points in our journey, we must stop briefly and reappraise our practices in light of biblical truth. We must be certain that we, like the Advent pioneers, follow closely the admonitions given to all Christians: "Quench not the Spirit. Despise not prophesyings. Prove all things; hold fast that which is good" (1 Thess 5:19-21). Preparation to live in the City

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[93]She also added, "When God's people are at ease and satisfied with their present enlightenment, we may be sure that He will not favor them. It is His will that they should be ever moving forward to receive the increased and ever-increasing light which is shining for them. The present attitude of the church is not pleasing to God. There has come in a self-confidence that has led them to feel no necessity for more truth and greater light." "The Mysteries of the Bible a Proof of Its Inspiration," *Testimonies for the Church* (Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press, 1948 [1889]), 5: 706-9.

[94]James White, "Unity and Gifts of the Church, No. 4," *Review and Herald* 11, no. 9 (January 7, 1858): 68-69.

[95]M. W. Howard, "Woman As A Co-Worker," *Review and Herald* 32, no. 9 (August 18, 1868): 133.

of God requires willingness to shed even our most treasured predispositions and certainties as we conform ourselves to God's way. As Ellen White noted, "We have many lessons to learn, and many, many to unlearn."[96]

[96]Ellen G. White, "Search the Scriptures," *Review and Herald* 69, no. 30 (July 26, 1892): 465-466; repr., *Counsels to Writers and Editors* (Nashville, TN: Southern Publishing Assn., 1946): 37.

LESSONS AND LEGACIES OF THE ROLE OF SCRIPTURE IN SCOTTISH MISSIONS TO CONTEMPORARY MISSIONARY PRAXIS

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One of the greatest influences of modern history is what has been referred to as the Golden Age of World Missions. With missions considered to be one of the greatest secularizing agencies of this millennium, missionaries have been the most influential civilizing agents in human history. Beginning from the late eighteenth century, the missionary movement spread from western Europe to North America, South America, Asia, the Middle East, and Africa. Alongside international traders, and the trade posts they had established, missionaries brought the gospel, education, and civilization to the peoples they encountered. One of the earliest and most influential of these missionary movements was the Scottish Missionary Society, established in 1796. While it was neither the first nor the largest mission agency of its time, Scottish missions nevertheless wielded a powerful influence in several countries, especially in India and Africa, and left behind an unquestionable legacy that is worthy of note and important as a study. Central to its legacy was its centrist biblicist position that influenced its mission theory and praxis. This paper will examine some of the lessons this remarkable period of history has for the practice of missions in our contemporary world, and the role Scripture and its interpretation played in the Scottish missions of that era, with a special focus on the African context.

History of Protestant Missions

Protestant missions trace their origins back to the seventeenth century, when Protestant nations, seeking to establish new trade relations and colonies, sent out ministers serving as chaplains to various trading companies and military outposts.[1] One of the earliest tasks of some of these chaplains became the translation of Scripture into the vernacular of the local people. Later, cursory missionary activities followed. Pioneering missionary ventures, however, owe their existence to the Pietist movement and the influence of the writings of Philipp Jakob Spener and his book, *Pia Desideria*.[2] The first non-Roman Catholic missionaries sent from Europe to India at the instance of Ferdinand IV, King of Denmark, were Bartholomew Ziegenbalg and Henry Plutschau from Halle, Germany, since the king could not find suitable missionary candidates in his own country.[3] Besides King Ferdinand, who was a Pietist

[1]Dana L. Robert, *Christian Mission: How Christianity Became a World Religion* (West Sussex, UK: John Wiley and Sons, 2009), 41.

[2]Stephen Neill, *A History of Christian Missions* (London: Penguin Books, 1964), 194.

[3]Ibid.

himself, another group influenced by the Pietism in Halle was the Moravian Brethren (*Unitas Fratrum*), who launched the most remarkable missionary movements ever seen in Christian history, taking the gospel to outposts in the Virgin Islands, Greenland, North America, South America, South Africa, and Labrador within the eighteenth century.[4]

The first missionary movement arising from the evangelical awakening of the eighteenth century, led by men like John and Charles Wesley, that sent out William Carey, "father of modern missions," was the Baptist Missionary Society in 1792.

The London Missionary Society followed in 1795.[5] A year later the growth of evangelicalism in Scotland saw the organization of both the Glasgow Missionary Society (GMS) and the Scottish Missionary Society (SMS).[6] Up to fifty-seven missionary societies were established in Scotland between 1795 and 1825—two of these being women's missionary societies.[7] However, the establishment of these missionary societies was not without resistance. The typical pattern, as church historian James Nichols observes, was through the means of voluntary associations that were more or less independent of the established churches of the day.[8] It will be helpful at this stage to briefly review the socio-cultural milieu in which the Scottish Missionary Society emerged. The following section examines some of these conditions.

Scottish Context

Kenneth Latourette in his seminal volumes on church history and missions paints the picture of a country whose economy, population, and living standards were on the rise during the period that followed the Industrial Revolution.[9] The cultural and intellectual florescence which peaked between the 1750s and 1790s came to be known as the Scottish Enlightenment.[10]

[4]Ruth Tucker, *From Jerusalem to Irian Jaya: A Biographical History of Christian Missions*, 2d ed. (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2004), 99.

[5]Stuart Piggin, "The Expanding Knowledge of God: Jonathan Edwards' Influence on Missionary Thinking and Promotion," in *Jonathan Edwards: At Home and Abroad-Historical Memories, Cultural Movements, Global Horizons,* ed. David W. Kling and Douglas A. Sweeney (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2003), 273.

[6]Kenneth Scott Latourette, *A History of Christianity in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries, Vol 1: The Nineteenth Century in Europe-Background and the Roman Catholic Phase* (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1958), 185.

[7]John Roxborogh, *Thomas Chalmers: Enthusiast for Mission: The Christian Good of Scotland and the Rise of the Missionary Movement* (Cumbria, UK: Paternoster Press, 1999), 259-260.

[8]James Hastings Nichols, *The History of Christianity 1650-1914: The Secularization of the West* (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1956), 309.

[9]Latourette, *A History of Christianity*, 182-183.

[10]Natasha Erlank, "'Civilizing the African': The Scottish Mission to the Xhosa,

The influence of the Enlightenment on Scotland was evident in the debates regarding missionary methods that raged in Scotland and England over which should have priority over the other, civilizing or evangelizing.[11] One unique feature of the missionary societies in Scotland was that they were composed of local associations of people who were interested in, and were enthusiastic for, mission.[12] It has been noted that "with the exception of the Established Church of Scotland, in no Protestant State church have missions been from their inception the concern of the church."[13] It was the laity that was the driving force for mission in the churches of Scotland. Another notable feature that contributed to the missionary focus of this era was the Scottish form of Presbyterian Church government, which had the active participation of lay people, and as a result Scottish missions were largely lay-driven.[14]

Spread of Scottish Missions

The first overseas mission of both the Scottish Missionary Society (SMS) and the Glasgow Missionary Society (GMS) was to Sierra Leone in 1797, a mission that was described as "disastrous and short lived."[15] Other mission outposts to which these combined agencies sent missionaries were Cape Colony, Kaffraria, India, and Jamaica, but only in South Africa and Jamaica were their labors crowned with success.[16] Scottish missionaries were also involved in missions to the Native Americans and the Middle East. In much later years through its educational institutions, Malawi[17] and Nigeria[18] were places that became major outposts of Scottish missions.

1821-64," in *Christian Missions and the Enlightenment*, ed. Brian Stanley (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2001), 142.

[11]Ian Douglas Maxwell, "Civilization or Christianity: The Scottish Debate on Mission Methods, 1750-1835," in *Christian Missions and the Enlightenment*, ed. Brian Stanley (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2001), 124.

[12]Erlank, "'Civilizing the African,'" 146-147.

[13]Gustav Warneck, *History of Protestant Missions* (Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson and Ferrier, 1906), 84.

[14]Andrew F. Walls, *The Cross-Cultural Process in Christian History* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2002), 259.

[15]Erlank, "'Civilizing the African,'"147.

[16]Warneck, *History of Protestant Missions*, 99.

[17]Harvey J. Sindima, *The Legacy of Scottish Missionaries in Malawi* (Wales, UK: Mellen Press, 1992), 18.

[18]William H. Taylor, *Mission to Educate: A History of the Educational Work of the Scottish Presbyterian Mission in East Nigeria, 1846-1960* (Leiden, Netherlands: E. J. Brill, 1996), 14.

Prominent Pioneers of Scottish Missions

From the early days of the missionary movement Scotsmen have contributed significantly in shaping the methods and policies employed by the nascent societies. As notable church historian Andrew Walls explains, despite the establishment of the Scottish societies, the London Missionary Society secretariat in London was often dominated by expatriate Scottish ministers living in London and received a large proportion of missionary candidates from Scotland.[19] Between 1796 and 1842 one hundred and forty-five Scotsmen served as directors with the LMS (in various locations, such as Aberdeen, Edinburgh, and Glasgow), with several of them serving for upwards of twenty years.[20]

Among the first Scottish missionaries sent to work with Native Americans was David Brainerd (1718-1747), whose journal became an inspiration to many future missionaries.[21] After an initial period of discouragement, Brainerd found success among the Indians in New Jersey; however, he soon succumbed to illness and died of consumption in the home of Jonathan Edwards.[22] It was Edwards who compiled and published Brainerd's missionary journal of his activities among the native Indians, a book that had a significant influence on the missionary movement of this era, thereby endowing upon Brainerd an iconic stature in Protestant missions.[23] Jonathan Edwards, himself a notable theologian, made an indelible mark on modern Protestant missions. His missionary paradigm is considered to have had seven connected facets—theology, history, philosophy, pragmatics, practice, spirituality, and aesthetics.[24] One person who was strongly influenced by Edwards' mission theology was Thomas Chalmers. Chalmers, while a student at St. Andrews, had read Edwards and was deeply impressed.[25] In his later years Chalmers returned as a lecturer to St. Andrews, where he taught for five years, during which time he influenced several of his students to sign up

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[19]Andrew Walls, "The Eighteenth-Century Protestant Missionary Awakening," in *Christian Missions and the Enlightenment*, ed. Brian Stanley (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2001), 36.

[20]Roxborogh, *Thomas Chalmers*, 261-267.

[21]Ibid., 165.

[22]Tucker, *From Jerusalem to Irian Jaya*, 80-84.

[23]Andrew F. Walls, "Mission and Historical Memory: Jonathan Edwards and David Brainerd," in *Jonathan Edwards at Home and Abroad: Historical Memories, Cultural Movements and Global Horizons*, ed. David W. Kling and Douglas A. Sweeney (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2003), 253.

[24]Stuart Piggin, "The Expanding Knowledge of God: Jonathan Edwards' Influence on Missionary Thinking and Promotion," in *Jonathan Edwards at Home and Abroad: Historical Memories, Cultural Movements and Global Horizons*, edited by David W. Kling and Douglas A. Sweeney (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2003), 267.

[25]Roxborogh, *Thomas Chalmers*, 40.

as missionaries, he headed the town missionary society, became president of the new St. Andrews Missionary Society, and was responsible for increased student enrollment in the classes he taught.[26] Among Chalmers' most notable students who also became missionaries was Alexander Duff. A graduate of St. Andrews, Duff was the first overseas missionary of the Church of Scotland who set sail for India and began ministry to the educated elite of India, the Brahmin, setting up schools where he combined education with evangelism.[27] Duff became a missionary statesman of great repute, who preached to the American Congress and even secured a private meeting with the president. Through his influence it is believed that tens of thousands volunteered for foreign missionary service.[28] Another pioneering missionary statesman worthy of mention is Henry Venn, who once served as the Secretary of the Church Missionary Society (CMS). It was Venn who came up with the vision of churches in Africa that would be self-supporting, self-governing, and self-propagating.[29] Venn ordained the first African bishop, Samuel Ajai Crowther, and responded to the call from David Livingstone for the establishment of a CMS mission in the southern region of Africa that led to the evangelization of Malawi.[30]

David Livingstone, an explorer and missionary, perhaps more than most missionaries greatly influenced the establishment of missions in the African continent. Also, the work of one woman must not pass unnoticed—Mary Slessor—a charismatic Scottish woman whose life and sacrifice are forever remembered in the southeastern region of Nigeria. There she influenced the establishment of technical schools for training locals, inspired and recruited single women to serve as missionaries in Calabar, Nigeria, and helped reconcile warring tribes.[31]

The Bible's Role in Scottish Missions

A discernable factor undergirding the Scottish missionary endeavor was the role that Scripture and its understanding played in that context. It is believed that a fresh approach to Scripture, alongside the evangelical preaching of men like George Whitehead and the Haldane brothers, was contributory to this movement.[32] One writer opines that Scotland at this stage of its history could be referred to as the "country of a book"—that book was the Bible.[33]

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[26]Roxborogh, *Thomas Chalmers*, 198-206.

[27]Tucker, *From Jerusalem to Irian Jaya*, 141-143.

[28]Ibid., 143.

[29]Walls, *The Cross-Cultural Process*, 165.

[30]Sindima, *The Legacy of Scottish Missionaries*, 1.

[31]Taylor, *Mission to Educate*, 110, 103, 96.

[32]Thomas F. Torrance, *Scottish Theology* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1996), 249.

[33]A. C. Cheyne, *Studies in Scottish Church History* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1999), 124.

Church historian Alec Cheyne affirms that supreme among the factors that contributed to the greatness of the Scottish nation were the Scriptures.[34]

Bible Societies were established with the express purpose of producing and distributing translations in other languages. Walls explains that the Aberdeen Female Servants Society for Distributing Scriptures Among the Poor had a weekly subscription of a halfpenny; that played a critical role in raising the dignity of the poor by recognizing them as donors to a lofty cause.[35] The Bible Societies served to increase the support base and contributions for mission, and to increase interest in volunteers among the poor for missionary labor.[36]

A prime example of the role the Bible played in Scottish missions was demonstrated in the ministry of Alexander Duff in India. For the Scots, as Walls asserts, education was mission.[37] Duff observed that the secular education offered by the government of India and the British was corrosive and destructive and therefore saw the need to introduce a new component to education, the teaching of Scriptures, in order to provide an integrating worldview that would bring renewal to the Indian society.[38] Duff was a mission educationist who regarded science as "the record and interpretation of God's visible handiworks," and was reported to have told a staff to convert, "every fact, every event, every truth, every discovery into a means and an occasion of illustrating or corroborating sacred verities."[39] For this reason Duff could be considered among the pioneers of integration of faith and learning, which is integral to religious education.

The other influence of Scripture in Scottish missions was evident in their educational institutions that recognized freedom of the human will and the equality of all humans, believing that both the heathen and missionaries were made in the image of God.

It is noteworthy that the Enlightenment introduced the concept of higher criticism, thus threatening to undermine traditional views regarding the inspiration and authority of Scripture and making contrary positions appear quaint or unscholarly. However, for a good period of time higher criticism hardly had any influence on the average minister or parishioner.[40] It was not until much later that belief in the compatibility of faith and criticism

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[34]Ibid., 124.

[35]Walls, *The Cross-Cultural Process*, 233-234.

[36]Ibid., 234-35.

[37]Ibid., 262.

[38]Ibid., 265-66.

[39]Michael A. Laird, "Alexander Duff: 1806-1878: Western Education as Preparation for the Gospel," in *Biographical Studies of Leaders of the Modern Missionary Movement*, edited by Gerald H. Anderson, Robert T. Coote, Norman A Horner, and James M. Phillips (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1994), 272.

[40]Cheyne, *Studies in Scottish Church History*, 123.

became accepted; however, the leading theologians of the day never lost sight of the importance of the inspiration and authority of Scripture.[41]

Legacies of Scottish Missions

The work of the Scottish missions left enduring legacies in those regions where their operations were well established. Among the best-organized missions in the world were the Scottish Presbyterian missions, with their vast array of enterprises—evangelistic, medical, educational, industrial, and agricultural.[42] The United Presbyterian Church of Scotland particularly emphasized practical vocational education in their mission stations. Hope Waddell Training Institute, named after the first Presbyterian missionary to Calabar, was a prime example of this unique blend of education where the four R's were taught—reading, 'riting, 'rithmetic, and religion—in addition to the vocational classes, which were to provide opportunities for developing the local economy.[43] David Livingstone's dream of industrial mission to replace slave trade as the major commerce in Africa was fulfilled through the establishment of schools where vocational skills and agriculture were taught in the Blantyre mission.[44] At Hope Waddell, among the courses offered to the men were carpentry, masonry, blacksmithing, coopering, naval engineering, brickmaking, bricklaying, shoemaking and shoe-repairing, while the ladies were taught dressmaking, tailoring, domestic science, accountancy, and teacher-training for a while.[45]

Another important feature of Scottish missionary education was the egalitarian manner in which all who attended their schools were treated. Slaves and their owners were not only treated alike, sitting next to each other, but also instructed with identical lessons and given equal attention.[46] Also, an outstanding contribution of Scottish missions was their emphasis on learning and instruction in the local vernacular. This emphasis resulted in the production of written Yoruba—a factor that contributed to the educational progress of this group from Western Nigeria, giving them an edge over other tribes in the country. Scottish missionary Henry Venn was involved in the language-translation enterprise, which engaged the best linguistic expertise from Europe, such as that of Samuel Lee of Cambridge, German philologist Lepsius, and German missionary and language expert J. F. Schon.[47] Efik language also acquired an important place in Nigeria's language map, even though the tribe was small in comparison to others in the region. This

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[41]Ibid., 137-138.

[42]Neil, *A History of Christian Missions*, 327.

[43]Taylor, *Mission to Educate*, 225-226.

[44]Sindima, *The Legacy of Scottish Missionaries*, 56-58.

[45]Taylor, *Mission to Educate*, 128.

[46]Ibid., 21.

[47]Walls, *The Cross-Cultural Process*, 160.

happened because Efik became the chosen language of instruction of the missionaries at the basic school level.[48]

Despite hagiographic controversies regarding the role of missionaries in the independence movements in Africa, it is clear that educational institutions established by Scottish missions in Nigeria and Malawi contributed in preparing students for leadership positions in the society and to serve as change agents in their respective communities. These schools, which trained locals to support the work of the missions, exerted effort to ensure that the students were not merely instructed intellectually, but also displayed moral rectitude.

Another important legacy of this period was the cardinal initiative of Alexander Duff, who proposed the establishment of a chair of evangelistic theology (known today as missiology) with a scope that would be "broad, catholic, and comprehensive;" this was to be in addition to a missionary institute that would respond to questions arising from the encounter of Christianity with other cultures.[49] Walls argues that the foundation for the studies of African history, political science, economics, linguistics, anthropology, and sociology are found in the proposal made by Duff for theological and cultural education of missionaries.[50]

From Malawi, where the Scottish missionaries established two missions, one named after Livingstone (Livingstonia), and his hometown (Blantyre), comes another missionary legacy—empathy for the traditional values of Africans and respect for the culture and people of the region.[51] Scottish missionary relations with African people appeared to be paradoxical; they manifested negative attitudes toward African religion and displayed a paternalistic stance toward local church leadership, yet it cannot be denied that the missionaries set themselves on a collision course with colonial government and contributed toward the struggle for national independence.[52] For instance, Frank Barlow, a Scottish missionary, deserves mention for helping restore land that had been unjustly appropriated in Kenya.[53] Nevertheless, the support of missionaries to the colonialists on the issue of taxation portrayed the missionaries as collaborators with colonialists due to their insistence that locals should pay taxes to the colonial powers.[54] Unfortunately, the nationals

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[48]Taylor, *Mission to Educate*, 226.

[49]Andrew F. Walls, "Missiological Education in Historical Perspective," in *Missiological Education for the 21st Century: The Book, the Circle and the Sandals*, ed. J. Dudley Woodberry, Charles Van Engen, and Edgar J. Elliston (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1996), 12-13.

[50]Ibid., 20.

[51]Jack Thompson, *Ngoni, Xhosa and Scot* (Zomba, Malawi: Kachere Series, 2007), 152.

[52]Sindinma, *The Legacy of Scottish Missionaries*, 107.

[53]Walls, *The Cross-Cultural Process*, 99.

[54]Elizabeth Isichei, *A History of Christianity in Africa* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1995), 234-235.

could not understand why they needed to pay taxes, since they did not see how in any way these benefitted them.

Other aspects of Scottish missions that shaped and informed their success included the establishment of prayer societies, outgrowths of the evangelical awakening and the mobilization of laity to mission service, which resulted in the flowering of mission societies in that age.[55] Scottish missions were driven by the belief that "means" was an important factor in the success of missionary work—this "means" was prayer. Affirming this belief in the power of prayer is the quote attributed to John Eliot, missionary to the Native Americans: "it was in the power of pains and prayers to do anything."[56]

Another remarkable heritage of the missionary movement is evident in the experience of women in missions. It was the mission field that uniquely opened the way for a new status for women in the church and society, culminating in what Walls refers to as the "increasing indispensability of the woman missionary."[57] Another development of this period was the production and circulation of missionary literature among women, such as the *Edinburgh Review* or the *Quarterly Review*. As reports came in from the mission field, this helped generate interest in missions and provide the platform for volunteering opportunities in overseas missions.

While the golden age of missions may be history, the experience of those engaging in short-term missions indicates that another age of missions beckons. As churches carefully coordinate and report the encounters of Western youth in their vacation witnessing, the capacity for raising funds and volunteer personnel for these missionary programs will continue to expand exponentially.

Lessons of the Scottish Missionary Movement

Independence from colonial dominance brought an end to the century and a half of Scottish missions to Africa. Having briefly examined its enduring legacies, attention shall now be directed to the lessons they present for contemporary missionary praxis. One of the first lessons comes from the experience of missionaries in Ngoniland, Malawi. Following a period of drought and the futile attempts by local rainmakers to produce any results, the missionary Walter Elmslie was approached to pray for rain in the community. Although at first reluctant, Elmslie eventually made special prayers for rain on January 17, 1886, which resulted in slight showers that day, followed the next day by heavy rain.[58] The lessons from this experience are twofold: first, belief and confidence in the power of God to answer the prayers of his messengers is of great importance in mission contexts. Second, the response

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[55]Roxborogh, *Thomas Chalmers*, 161.

[56]Ibid., 199.

[57]Walls, *The Cross-Cultural Process*, 231.

[58]T. Jack Thompson, *Christianity in Northern Malawi: Donald Fraser's Missionary Methods and Ngoni Culture* (Leiden, Netherlands: E. J. Brill, 1995), 51.

of missionaries for intervention in the affairs of the locals is also vital for successful missions.

Another lesson can be derived from the experience of the Scottish missionary David Fraser with the Ngoni people. By initiating a special thanksgiving service for farm crops, Fraser was able to establish an annual convention that brought together large numbers of the Ngoni people. This practice, which had precedence in the *incwala* gatherings that had welded the nation together in the past, and were often preceded by war raids, now had a Christian and functional purpose, resulting in rapid growth.[59] In missiology what Fraser did can be regarded as finding a functional substitute.

This is a clear demonstration that for Christianity to be established successfully in any land and among people groups there will need to be some sort of continuity and discontinuity. New Christian practices will in some way resonate with, or foreshadow, ancient ritual or religious customs; however, new beliefs will need to transform old practices and provide new interpretations with renewed significance. The burden therefore rests upon contemporary missionaries and missiologists to discover bridges with postmodern and unentered cultures in order to convey the rich and powerful themes of salvation in the Scriptures in relevant forms.

The lethargy, and in some cases reluctance, of missionaries to ordain local elders and leaders for churches provides another lesson opportunity. In certain cases, some local leaders left the mission churches to establish churches of their own, while among others the plaintive cry heard was: "Let me be ordained before we die."[60] The charge of paternalism has often been leveled against missionaries, many of whom expressed the conviction that Africans were incapable of leading themselves, even regarding them as children.[61] Strangely enough, echoes of this same charge of immaturity are still heard in different forms from some missionaries today, despite the records, which reveal that the spread of Christianity in Africa and Asia was largely the result of indigenous workers.

The process of Bible translation into vernacular languages, an enterprise that contributed to the rapid spread of Christianity, also has important lessons for contemporary practice of missions. Just as Bible translation involved collaboration between missionaries and local translation assistants, even so today the new paradigm of missionary praxis calls for collaboration and interdependence. It needs to be recognized that multiple competencies are required for effective missions and that all the players involved bring to the table qualities that are direly needed in the global task of gospel propagation in this complex age. As with the human body all parts are equally important (Rom 12:4-8); in missions, every race, gender, and talent are needed today for the task of global evangelization.

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[59]Thompson, *Christianity in Northern Malawi*, 91-93.

[60]Sidinma, *The Legacy of Scottish Missionaries*, 87-88.

[61]Walls, *The Cross-Cultural Process*, 99.

Incidentally, the emergence of African Independent, or Indigenous Churches (AICs), was triggered by the scorn and disdain displayed by the mission churches toward local beliefs, and the lack of sensitivity to their culture and people. From this episode one can infer that great knowledge of the entire Scriptures, with comprehensive understanding of local languages, and even the willingness to be martyred, are not as important as mutual respect, humility, and love for all people. In this regard the comment of the sage Andrew Walls rings so true: "The missionary movement was a great learning experience for Western Christianity."[62]

Finally, one of the greatest impulses for mission was the goal of civilization. For Scottish missionaries education was the vehicle through which this objective could be attained. Western education was regarded as *praeparatio evangelica*, that is, a means to make the locals receptive to the gospel.[63] Another powerful motivation was the conviction that more rapid evangelization of the world would hasten the Lord's coming; a belief derived from a literal interpretation of Matt 24:24, which was also the watchword of the Student Volunteer Movement of that period.[64] An important question to consider in contemporary missions is, What in our times should constitute the motive for missions? African missiologist Tite Tienou cautions that missionary appeals, especially in the African context, should never be premised on pity.[65] Such a condescending standpoint, besides creating rice-Christians, could ultimately result in a repeat of past mistakes. One motivational concept that should prove successful in our age is disinterested benevolence. Christ in his life exhibited disinterested benevolence as He healed, delivered, forgave, and blessed simply because that was His nature to do so, and not because of any ulterior motive. Similarly, this must have been reflected in the life and ministry of David Livingstone, who so identified with Africans that he was regarded as a brother by the people he came in contact with. When mission is premised upon the recognition that all humans reflect the image of God and therefore all are special in His sight, it will influence one's devotion and commitment to humbly work as collaborators with recipients of the gospel.

From the flowering of mission agencies during the era of missionary movements, another important lesson to be learned is that there is room enough for various specialized societies, agencies, and missions even today. Each agency responds to a special need and fills a unique niche according to the calling and direction of the Lord. Also, just as the various societies thrived for a significant period of time during the missionary era, present-day

[62]Ibid., 258.

[63]Laird, "Alexander Duff," 271.

[64]Thompson, *Christianity in Northern Malawi*, 77.

[65]Tite Tienou, "The Training of Missiologists for an African Context," in *Missiological Education for the 21st Century: The Book, the Circle and the Sandals*, ed. J. Dudley Woodberry, Charles Van Engen, and Edgar J. Elliston (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1996), 99.

missionaries need to learn that wherever there is a need, God will provide the resources to accomplish the task

Noteworthy also are the critical roles played not just by the men, but especially by women and youth of that period. Missions will experience great advancement even today when women and youth join forces to embrace and expand the frontiers of mission. Of particular interest is the fact that the Ivy League universities in America, and in Britain, played crucial roles in recruiting and establishing volunteers for the missionary movement back then. Perhaps the time is ripe once again for another great awakening to commence among postmoderns dissatisfied with the pleasures and distractions this life offers and from those renowned campuses originally established for missionary training.

The legacies of Scottish missions are numerous; they include: the emphasis on holistic missions, egalitarian educational curricula, the benefits of vernacular in missions, evangelization to produce character formation, the value of practical theology, the role of prayer groups, and the indispensability of women in missions. The lessons contemporary missionaries may learn from Scottish missions include: contextualized ministries employing functional substitutes are needed for successful evangelization, training, and empowerment of local leadership, which is vital to enduring missions; collaboration and cooperation should be a new paradigm for missions; disinterested benevolence should be the motivation for contemporary missions, and spiritual reawakening, which involves women and youth, especially around campus settings, is again needed to launch a fresh wave of missions.

Perhaps the most remarkable offshoot of the missionary age is the great shift in world Christianity that has resulted in Africa, Asia, and Latin America emerging as major players in this religion. It could be that the greatest condition for successful missions in our postmodern, globalized world is the unfettered participation in the Great Commission of those who once were recipients of the exorbitant sacrifice of missionary lives. More voices seem to be rising in support of this view today.

TALL HISBAN 2011-2012: THE FINAL
SEASONS OF PHASE II[1]

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Introduction

Tall Hisban is a witness to global history and a window on daily life in Jordan through the ages. Since 1968, excavators have discovered traces of multiple civilizations and empires, including a thriving market town from the Assyrian, Babylonian, and Persian periods, a large quantity of amphora jars that stored fish sauce from the Greco-Roman period, the foundations of several public buildings from the Roman period, two basilica churches from the Byzantine period, and the private residence and bath (*hammam*) of the Mamluk governor of this part of Jordan during the fourteenth century A.D. Over the course of its nearly forty-five-year history, the Andrews University excavations at Hisban have experienced many changes while maintaining the highest standard of excellence in academic research. The project has become a model for other excavations in Jordan and has trained numerous professional archaeologists, volunteers, and students. Working in conjunction with a consortium of universities as part of the Madaba Plains Project, it continues to develop new ways of exploring the historical and cultural context of Tall Hisban in order to make the site relevant to scholars, visitors, and local residents alike.

History of Excavation

Tall Hisban has been investigated by archaeologists in two phases: the first, known as the Heshbon Expedition, took place from 1968 through 1976. The primary focus of the first phase was the quest for the site's biblical connections—hence the initial name given to the expedition, which attests to the excavator's primary interest in finding a connection between biblical Heshbon and the site of Tall Hisban (**Fig. 1**). The name Heshbon is mentioned thirty-five times in the Old Testament, and most eighteenth and nineteenth-century explorers believed that the site of Tall Hisban was, in fact, the Heshbon mentioned in Scripture. Biblical Heshbon played a prominent role in the story of the Israelite settlement in the land of Canaan. It was the stronghold of Sihon, King of the Amorites, whom the Israelites conquered on their march northward through the land of Moab and Ammon (Num 21:23-31). Numerous Old Testament texts also note that the town was rebuilt and settled by the tribe of Reuben, and a reference is made to the "pools of Heshbon" in Song of Solomon 7:4.

The founding director of the Heshbon Expedition was Siegfried H. Horn, Professor of Old Testament and the History of Antiquity at the Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary at Andrews University in Michigan, USA. Horn organized three expeditions: the first in 1968, the second in 1971, and the third in 1973. His successor at the SDA Theological Seminary, Lawrence T. Geraty, organized two subsequent seasons: one in 1974 and another in 1976. The chief archaeologist for all five seasons was Roger Boraas of Upsala College in New Jersey. The chief ceramicist was James Sauer, a doctoral student in Ancient Near Eastern Studies at Harvard University. Øystein S. LaBianca served as the "bone specialist" for the Heshbon Expedition.

The second phase—known as the Hisban Cultural Heritage Project—began in 1996 as a "clean-up operation," with the goal of making the site more accessible to tourists. Starting in 1997, stratigraphic excavations were resumed in order to clarify problems that became apparent during the process of planning and preparing for restoration and presentation of the site's most prominent archaeological features. Most problematic, in this regard, was Tall Hisban's Medieval and Early Modern history—hence a deliberate decision was made in 1998 to make these later periods a major focus of renewed stratigraphic excavation and restoration activity during 2001, 2004, 2007, and 2010. Another major emphasis during this second phase was an effort to engage the local community in helping to restore, protect and develop the site for tourism. To this end the Hisban Cultural Association was formed—a local NGO with whom the excavators could partner in developing the site for tourism. Thanks to the Nabulsi family, who own several large farm buildings in the nearby village, a location for a future Visitor Center for Tall Hisban has been secured.

Jordan Field School

The 2011 season marked the introduction of the Jordan Field School as a multidisciplinary approach to managing and preserving Tall Hisban as a cultural heritage site. Training and education have always been an important part of the Heshbon Expedition and Hisban Cultural Heritage Project, while past projects at Hisban had centered almost exclusively upon excavation and the training of field archaeologists and anthropologists. In 1998, the project introduced a new model that involved various stakeholders who were not necessarily archaeologists. The Jordan Field School continues this model, with a range of disciplines being offered to students, some of which have not been previously included in the curriculum. The primary focus has shifted from archaeology to cultural heritage preservation and presentation, allowing students to be involved in other aspects of learning and creative expression. Courses such as agriculture, architecture, communication, community development, history, landscape design, political science, religion, and sociology, as well as archaeology and anthropology (see table 1) are now a part of the curriculum. Many of these courses are offered only in Jordan because they involve hands-on projects and training only possible in the field. In addition, unlike previous expeditions that only returned to Jordan every 2-3 years, the Jordan Field School will try to return every spring/summer to continue its research and community projects. Despite the diversity of subjects taught and methods of research involved in the delivery of the Jordan Field School, what ties the various components together is a common agenda: namely, to work closely with local partners and stakeholders toward sustainable development, protection, presentation, and the dissemination of the cultural heritage of Jordan and Hisban.

AGRI345-040	Topics: Landscape Design and Plant History of the Arab World	S. Beikmann
AGRI499-040	Project: Urban Landscape Installation Hisban	S. Beikmann
ANTH455-040	Ethnography	K. Witzel
ANTH478-040	Anthropological and Archaeological Perspectives on the Middle East	Ø. LaBianca
ANTH496-040	Supervised Fieldwork	R. Bates
ARCH395-040	Community Project: Hisban Visitor Center	M. Smith
ARCH485-040	Topics: Vernacular Patterns	M. Smith
ART 380-040	Topics: Mural Painting in Jordan	B. Manley
ART 380-040	Field Sketching in Jordan	B. Manley
BHSC235-040	Culture, Place and Interdependence	Ø. LaBianca
COMM436-040	Intercultural Communication	K. Witzel
COMM454-040	Documentary Film in the Middle East	K. Witzel
COMM454-041	Communication and Community	K. Witzel
COMM454-041	Research Projects in Communication	P. Jones
COMM454-041	Topics: Photo Essays	P. Jones
HIST117-040	Civilizations and Ideas I	R. Bates
RELG111-040	Intro to Old Testament	J. Hudon

Table 1: Sample of courses offered in 2011-12

Excavation

The 2011 Season: Reopening the Reservoir Excavation[2]

In the 1970s several squares (B01-2, B4) were excavated in Area B on the south side of the acropolis (squares, **Fig. 2**) that left a large L-shaped pit. There were many discoveries found in this area, including a large Roman platform, an early Byzantine kiln, and an Iron Age reservoir. The reservoir attracted particular attention because of its size. Further excavations showed that the reservoir was abandoned by the end of the Iron Age and was filled in as a result of clearance operations on Hisban's acropolis during the early Hellenistic period. Among the debris found in the fill were several ostraca and numerous pottery sherds.[3] The earliest sherds found in the reservoir and

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[3]See Frank M. Cross, "Ammonite Ostraca From Tell Hesban," in *Small Finds: Studies of Bone, Iron, Glass, Figurines, and Stone Objects from Tell Hesban and Vicinity*. ed. Paul

below its plaster floor have been recently dated to the Iron Age IC (=Iron Age IIA) period.[4] This date roughly corresponds to the time of Solomon, and it has been suggested that this reservoir may have been one of the "pools of Heshbon" mentioned in Song of Solomon 7:4.

Goals and Objectives

The 2011 excavation season was conducted May 12-31, 2011. The main purpose of the 2011 excavation was to return to the south side of the acropolis and reinvestigate the area surrounding the reservoir (**Fig. 3**). Many questions still remain regarding the exact size and function of this ancient water system. Some have suggested that this pool may have ranged from as small as 5.1 x 5.1 m in its early phase to as large as 17.5 x 17.5 m in its later stages. An estimate of the volume suggests that this reservoir may have held as much as 2.2 million liters of water, well above what was needed for a small Iron Age city.[5] Indeed, unless a natural water source is found on the site, it is likely that the entire reservoir was filled using seasonal rainfall and water imported from local sources. This process would have taken a significant commitment in resources, including an organized labor force and centralized leadership. However, the questions still remain, why this site needed so much water, and where the water that filled the reservoir came from?

The proposed estimate for the size and purpose of the Hisban reservoir during the Iron Age remains a matter of debate. If this water source was only 3-5 m square and 3-4 m deep but was seldom more than half full when it was being used, then it would have been of reasonable size to sustain a small town and its surrounding residents. However, if the reservoir was 16-17m square and 4-5 m deep, even if it were only half full while it was in use, then it would still be the largest known water reservoir in Transjordan built during the Iron Age.[6] Indeed, it would rival most reservoirs built later during the Roman and Byzantine periods in the area.

Unfortunately, the exact size of the reservoir has not been clearly delineated, since only one side has actually been uncovered. In Squares B2 and B4, a 17m long rock face with a smooth, probably worked surface was discovered. Where the natural stone ends, a header and stretcher wall was used to fill in the gap. A thick (5-8 cm) layer of plaster was applied to the rock surface and the header and stretcher wall to make it waterproof. Rock-cut channels with plastered surfaces were made along the eastern shelf and the

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J. Ray, Jr. (Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 2009), 29-56.

[4]Paul J. Ray, Jr. *Tell Hesban and Vicinity in the Iron Age.* (Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 2001), 107-108.

[5]Ibid, 98-99, 107-108.

[6]A similar reservoir has been found dating from the Iron Age II period at Tall Jalul but further excavation is needed to clarify its actual dimensions. See Paul Gregor, Paul Ray, Randall Younker, and Constance E. Gane, "Preliminary Report on the 2011 Season of the Madaba Plains Project: Tall Jalul Excavations 2011," *Annual of the Department of Antiquities Jordan*, 55 (2011): 359-361.

rim to direct water into the reservoir or to other parts of the water system. The full length of the east side during the Iron Age was identified by the clearly articulated plastered corners on both the north and south ends of this wall (**Fig. 4-5**). In addition, three layers of plaster were found applied to the floor of the reservoir to keep it waterproof.[7] However, although the east wall of the reservoir was discovered, the north, west, and south walls were never found. It has been suggested that the remaining walls of the reservoir may be in the unexcavated areas west of Squares B1 and B4 (**Fig. 3**).

In an effort to establish the dimensions of the Iron Age reservoir two new squares were opened in Area B (**Fig. 3**). Square B8 was located on the south side of square B1 and the west side of Square B4. Square B9 was located on the west side of Square B1, northwest of B8 and immediately south of B6. It was hoped that positioning Square B8 next to B4 would expose the south side of the reservoir and that positioning Square B9 on the west side of B1 would expose the western side of the reservoir. Due to the elevation (elev. 887.68) of the two new squares, it was anticipated that it would take several seasons of excavation to bring them into phase with the top of the reservoir (at elev. 884.88) and several additional seasons to bring them down to the bottom of the reservoir (at elev. 882.20).

There were several challenges to excavating Squares B8 and B9, since each square's east balk formed the precipice that dropped between 7 and 9 m into B1-2 and B4. In addition, the original squares were laid out as 8x8 m squares with an extension added to B1 in order to further excavate a lime kiln (B1:10) that was discovered.[8] Although B8 was laid out as a 6x6 m square, much of the north balk had eroded away in the interim between seasons, so the balk had to be limited to only 0.2-0.3 m wide section, while the west balk was only a 0.6-0.7 m wide for the same reason. Unfortunately, the east balk of B9 was removed during the original excavation of Squares B1-2, B4. In order to accommodate the irregularity, a .25 m sub-balk was created to maintain stratigraphic control. Square B09 was treated much like a large probe, with the overall size of the excavation area limited to 3.5x5 m following the adjustment (**Fig. 3**).

Findings

Field Phase 3: Middle to Late Islamic

In Square B8 approximately 1.0 m of soil was excavated, and much of it was fill (**Fig. 6**). The pottery was a mixture of Middle Islamic glazed and painted wares with some Late Byzantine cooking pots, jars, glass fragments, and tesserae. There were remnants of architecture found on the west and south side of the square. A hard-packed mix of clay and soil extended from

[7]Paul J. Ray, Jr. *Tell Hesban and Vicinity in the Iron Age* (Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 2001), 100.

[8]Roger S. Boraas and Siegfried H. Horn, *Heshbon 1971: The Second Campaign at Tell Hesban, a Preliminary Report* (Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 1973), 44-48, Fig. 3A.

the south balk to the north balk, on the west side of the square. This may have been used as a foundation for a robbed-out wall. Wall 7 (B8:07) was found in the southwest corner of the square, extending out from the west balk approximately 2.0 m. The wall consisted of a single course of square-shaped unworked limestone blocks in two parallel rows. An 8-10-cm-thick plaster floor was found sealing against the wall, which may have been built on top of a plastered floor. The plaster continues from the north side of the wall around the east end to form a passageway (**Fig. 7**). Although glass fragments and small tesserae were discovered throughout the square, heavier concentrations were found near the plastered floors and walls on the south side of the square.

A second wall (B8:08) was found in the south balk, east of the Wall 7. This wall was also made of two parallel unworked medium sized (0.25 x 0.30 m) limestone blocks with a plastered base and continues into the south balk. The gap between Walls 7 and 8 appears to form a plastered doorway approximately 0.70 m wide. A third stone wall may also emerge from the southeast corner of the square. A single ashlar stone block of unknown size stands parallel to Wall 8 and may form a room approximately 2.0 m wide. The plaster floor between Walls 7 and 8 does not extend around the wall at and into the area between Wall 8 and the single stone block. Further excavation is needed to determine the relationship between Walls 7 and 8, and the stone ashlar in the southeast corner to determine if they form a building (**Fig. 7**).

Objects

Four small objects were found in Square B8. Near the northwest corner, a small (1.1 cm^2), white, cube-shaped die with incised circular patterns was discovered in the sift (H11.B8.002, **Fig. 8**). The die is made of ivory, and the pips are made up of two concentric circles with an incised hole in the center (double circle and dot). These incisions give the pips the illusion of two raised circles. Like conventional dice, the opposite faces add up to the number seven, with numbers one, two, and three arranged on a vertex in a clockwise or right-handed fashion. The patterns of the other numbers are arranged so the number one is in the center of one face, while the one pip in the upper left and one pip of the other number are placed in the lower right corner of the face as is typical of most dice. Similar gaming pieces have been found throughout the Middle East.

Three dice have been found at Tall Hisban in previous excavations, including a small bone cube with dotted circles from Statum 9 (Object No. 1441, HAM 73.071), a crudely fashioned limestone die with dark impressions from Stratum 3 (Object No. 2415, HAM 76.0292), and a well-made ivory piece with dotted circles also from Stratum 3 (Object No. 2653).[9] Additional Roman

[9]Paul J. Ray, Jr., ed. *Small Finds: Studies of Bone, Iron, Glass, Figurines, and Stone Objects from Tell Hesban and Vicinity* (Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 2009), 143 and Fig. 9.25, 145.

Period examples were found at el-Bahnasa, Egypt, ancient Oxyrhynchus,[10] as well as similar examples from the Late Byzantine at Tel Beth Shean.[11] Indeed, the double circle-dot concentric-incised pattern is frequently found on ivory handles of knives and kohl sticks, as well as castanets and hair pins which date to the Roman and late Byzantine periods.[12] In addition, similar dice have also been found during the Early-Mid Islamic period as well.[13] Since there is no typology for gaming pieces in the ancient Near East, it is difficult to determine whether the die belonged to the Late Byzantine or Middle Islamic periods.

Two metal objects were found near the north and west balks. The first was a thin, flat, round, 1.8-cm-in-diameter, copper disk (**Fig. 9a**). It was badly corroded with no letters or symbols visible. It may have been either a coin or a decorative piece attached to a necklace or garment. The second thin, flat, round disk is a copper coin, 1.9 cm in diameter, from the Early Islamic period (ca. 600-800 A.D.). Commonly known as an Umayyad *fals* or copper coin, it was minted in the city of Tabariya (Tiberius) on the Sea of Galilee, which was a regional capital at the time (**Fig. 9b**).[14]

Both the obverse and reverse sides of the coin bear an inscription typical of Umayyad coins from the period. One side of the coin declares the oneness of God, and the other the role of Muhammed as a prophet. Together these two statements make up the *Kalimat ash-Shahadah,* which is the first and most fundemental declaration of Islamic faith. This statement can be found on many plaques hanging in mosques, as well as the state flags of Saudi Arabia, Somaliland, and Afghanistan. It is similar to the motto "In God We Trust" found on modern American currency.

The obverse side consists of three lines within three concentric rings or decorative braids and was struck slightly off center. The three lines form the beginning of the *Shahada* and read:

La ilah

Illa Allah

Wah.dahu

(There is no god but God the one)

The inscription on the reverse side consists of three single-word lines and a marginal inscription that forms the border that surrounds them. The

[10]New York Metropolitan Museum of Art, No. 97.4.123-124, 126.

[11]Amihai Mazar, *Excavations at Tel Beth-Shean 1989-1996, Vol. 1: From the Late Bronze Age IB to the Medieval Period* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2006), 667, 672-673; No. 101515.

[12]Ibid., 667, 669-671.

[13]New York Metropolitan Museum of Art, No. 38.40.93-95; 48.101.211b-e.

[14]Type 289 in Ilisch, Lutz. *Sylloge numorum Arabicorum Tübingen 4a : Bilad aš-Šam ; 1, 4a : Bilad aš-Šam ; 1.* Tübingen: Wasmuth, 1993. 302ff.

circular border inscription identifies the place where the coin was struck or minted. It reads:

bism allah d.uriba hadha al-fals bi-T.abariya

(In the name of God, this fals was struck in Tabariya)

The three words within the circular border contain the common epithet for Muhammad:

Muh.ammad

Rasul

Allah

(Muhammad is the messenger of God)

The obverse side was also struck slightly off center.[15]

The fourth object found during the 2011 season was a small terracotta zoomorphic head that was broken diagonally from the right eye to the left side of the neck (H11.B8.001, **Fig. 10**). The inside of the head was hollow and connected to a 1.0-cm-diameter hole in the snout. Two black ears or horns (2.0 cm) protrude from the forehead, with a black line painted at their base. The face and neck were painted a pale white/cream color, and the back of the neck shows the remains of black paint that may have once extended from the ears or horns down the back of the neck to the body. Two concentric circles painted black with dots in the center make up the eyes, but the right eye is partially broken. A thin black line runs along the left cheek just below the snout and under the eye and extends to the back of the neck, probably connecting with the black line at the base of the ears/horns. This line resembles a cheek strap used in an animal harness, and the line at the base of the ears/horns forms a brow strap. Together, these features have a whimsical or comical appearance similar to the popular American greeting card characters Hoops and Yoyo. It is possible that this vessel was meant for a child much as modern-day sippy cups are made in the shape of a whimsical animal.

Zoomorphic figurines with hollow snouts are found throughout the ancient Near East. This type of vessel is known as a rhyton and has Aegean roots. Typically the head was attached to a hollow, tubular body, which roughly reflects the animal's shape. A hole was placed in the middle of the back of the animal, and a spout, lip, and/or handle was added. Legs, horns, eyes, and tail were usually attached or painted after the body was connected to the head. A white slip was applied, and it was decorated with black lines. Liquid (probably water) was poured into the vessel and usually mixed with wine to dilute its contents. The body was then tilted and the liquid contents poured out through the snout. Frequently, these vessels were used for libation and poured over sacred objects like altars or into other sacred vessels. Sometimes the contents were poured directly into a recipient's mouth.

Early Iron Age Canaanite and Philistine rhytons were found at Ekron and include both bovine and equine zoomorphic examples. Although it is highly unlikely that the zoomorphic head found in Square B8 dates as early as the Iron Age given the location of its discovery, it does share many of the same features. For example, like Philistine Bichrome zoomorphic libation vessels, this object features a chalky white slip and typical black and red decorations including circle-shaped eyes, a blunted snout, cheek strap and black horns or ears.[16] However, Philistine zoomorphic rhyton heads extend vertically from the body at a near right angle to the snout, and the horns or ears go out from the sides. The head from Square B8 would have extended from the body at an angle.[17] Canaanite zoomorphic heads are attached at an angle, but their bovine snouts are typically longer and lack the decoration. Several bovine figurines have been found at Tall Hisban which date to the Late Iron Age, but these fragments do not represent parts of rhytons.

Unlike bovine–shaped rhytons, equine-shaped rhytons are fairly rare. The most complete example of a horse/donkey vessel was found at Ekron. Its body had two filling spouts where miniature vessels would have been attached.[18] Like the Hisban zoomorphic head, the ears of the Ekron vessel appear to have extended upward, the snout was blunted with a through hole to the body, and the head and neck attached at an angle. Unlike the Hisban head, however, the Ekron vessel was not decorated. Although equine rhytons were unusual, equine figurines were fairly common, especially during the Iron Age.[19] Examples have been found at Tell es-Saidiyeh and Busisayra as well.[20] Many equine figurines were often fitted with a human figure riding on the back of a horse and were known as a "horse and rider figurine." Several equine figurines that may have been of the horse–and–rider type were found at Hisban, including head fragments and other body parts (see Table 2). However, most of these figures were solid or partially hollow and were not part of a rhyton. Many of these equine fragments were painted with a chin, cheek, or neck strap or some other type of harness feature like the one painted on the zoomorphic head found in Square B8.

[16]David Ben-Shlomo, *Philistine Iconography: A Wealth of Style and Symbolism* (Fribourg, Switzerland: Academic Press Friboug, 2010) 107.

[17]Ibid., Fig. 3.56.

[18]Ibid., 121-125, Fig. 3.65.

[19]Several examples of horse–head figurines have been found at nearby Tall Jalul (J0660, J0760), with at least one having a hole through the snout (J0749). See Randall Younker, Constance Gane, Paul Gregor, and Paul Ray, *Tall Jalul 1* (Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, forthcoming).

[20]See Fig. 169:2 in James B. Princhard, *Tell es-Sa'idiyeh: Excavations on the Tell, 1964-66* (Hanover, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), and Piotr Bienkowski, *Busayra: Excavations by Crystal-M. Bennet 1971-1980* (London: Oxford University Press, 2002) 381-387.

Object no.	HAM no.	Description	Painted Decoration	Location	Date
76.2581	76.0357	bovine head and neck		B2:137:337	Ir2/Per
73.unreg	-	bovine hump		unknown	unknown
2581	-	bovine head		unknown	unknown
71.0817	71.0273	bovine hind quarters?	criss-crossing stripes	B4:15:47	Ir2
1576	-	equine head and neck	neck strap	B1:143:395	Ir2/Per
71.0651	71.0194	equine head fragment	brow strap and harness	B1:78:227	Ir2/Per
73.1681	73.0352	equine head fragment	cheek and nose strap	C2:44:503	Ir2/Per
73.1595	73.0290	equine head and neck		B2:40-48:475	Ir2/Per
74.1793	74.0134	equine head and neck		B4:205:403	Ir2/Per
76.2781	-	zoomorphic spouted head	head and neck paint	G14:16:36	Umm

Table 2: Bovine and equine terra cotta figurine fragments from Tall Hisban.

The zoomorphic head found in Square B8 was most likely part of an equine rhyton or other spouted vessel, and although equine rhytons or other zoomorphic vessels are rare, it should probably be dated to the Middle Islamic Period. The head itself resembles a horse, donkey, or possibly a mule that was found at Tall al-Umayri, preliminarily dated to the same period.[21] Its short neck would have been attached at an angle to a hollow vessel used for libation or drinking. The animal's body probably had fixed legs, a painted tail, and other decorations on the back. A filling spout or hole would have been on the animal's back in order to add liquid, which was poured out through the snout. This head is very similar to an Umayyad zoomorphic head found in probe G.14 locus 16:36 (76.2781) at Tall Hisban. Both have a blunt, spouted nose that attached at an angle to a vessel and painted eyes. However, only the zoomorphic head found in Square B8 has a clearly-identifiable equine harness painted on the object. Further study is needed to compare this object with similar artifacts from this period.

As noted above Square B9 was opened as a 3.5x5–m probe with a 0.2–m sub-balk on the east side (**Fig. 3**). Approximately 0.25-35 m of soil was removed, exposing an east/west wall and a plaster floor. Wall B9:04 was approximately 0.5 m wide and extended 3.5 m along the south balk. It was made up of small–to–medium–size, unevenly shaped field stones. Although

[21]Object B080023, Square M7K24, Locus 002. This object was found in the topsoil above a wall and may have been formed in a mold. Its function is undetermined. Further comparisons are needed to determine its function and precise date.

its height was not fully exposed, the balk from the adjacent squares suggests that the wall stood at least 1 m high.

The plaster floor covered the entire probe (17.5 m²) and was laid down in several phases. The first layer (B9:08) consisted of a pale white chalky limestone plaster, approximately 3-5 cm thick with a few small limestone chalk inclusions. The surface was hard-packed with a relatively smooth, even surface. The second phase (B9:07) was similar in appearance to the first phase but had more inclusions, and the surface was more uneven, with a slightly pinkish tint. The remaining layers (B9:05-6) were thickly laid (8-12 cm), with many large chalky limestone and other small inclusions. Some of the plaster had been worn away and fill dirt compacted into the gaps to create a more even surface (**Fig. 11**). While middle to late Islamic period pottery and glass sherds were found on the plaster surface, it is difficult to determine whether the surface was disturbed by more recent restoration activities.

The 2012 Season: Exploring the East Slope of the Acropolis[22]

The excavations for the 2012 season at Tall Hisban were conducted from May 14 to May 31, 2012, by faculty and students from Andrews University and a small group of volunteers. As with the 2011 excavations, this project was associated with the Jordan Field School, a multidisciplinary three–week study tour that functions as a part of the Hisban Cultural Heritage Project, directed by Øystein S. LaBianca as described above. Stanley H. Beikmann developed an overall landscape design for the site and cleared trails and assembly areas for visitors with the help of other Andrews University students. Tall Hisban Archaeological Director Bethany Walker read the pottery, and Maria Elena Ronza, director of Restoration and Conservation for the site, provided invaluable logistical support. Nassem Talal Obeidat was our Department of Antiquities representative. Once again, our efforts enjoyed the full support of the American Center for Oriental Research (ACOR), including logistical support and the loan of a transit level and tripod.

Goals and Objectives

For the past several seasons, an important objective of our project has centered upon preparing several key features of Tall Hisban in order to present the site as a tourist destination in Jordan and to share the story of Hisban with a much wider audience. In 2012, the project focused upon the acropolis and developing the visitor trails that traverse the site. The goal of the excavation was to expose additional sections of the perimeter wall along

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the eastern face of the acropolis in order to stratigraphically confirm the Hellenistic date previously assigned for its construction.[23]

Two parallel squares (R5-6) were opened on the steep slope immediately east of a recently-constructed educational trail in the newly inaugurated Area R (**Fig. 2**). It was believed that the western edge of these squares would abut and therefore follow the ancient wall, since the exposed SE and NE corner "towers" of the wall clearly indicated that its course ran just opposite of the apse of the Byzantine church on Hisban's acropolis. However, the topography and surface of both squares made excavation rather challenging. Unfortunately, earlier (Phase I) excavations may have used square R5 as a dump since a large number of previously excavated stones, including roughly-worked building stones, ashlars and column fragments, were carefully collected and placed in parallel lines along the eastern half of both squares. This created what was essentially a "stone garden" (**Fig. 12**). Subsequently, much effort was expended in moving these architectural stone fragments to alternative locations. Large amounts of tumbled building and field stones, as well as rubble in both squares, led to the conclusion that the area was also used as a dump in antiquity, when renovations were made on the acropolis during the Mamluk and perhaps also during the Ottoman period. Many of the stones required the use of a sledge to break them into manageably sized pieces prior to removal.

Findings

While the quantities, styles, and dates of the ceramic material and objects recovered from both squares correspond closely with Hisban's occupational history and do not reveal anything substantially new regarding the understanding of the site, the material finds are nevertheless an important contribution to our ongoing quest to understand and appreciate the people and cultures that inhabited Tall Hisban in antiquity. The few Iron Age II sherds and jar rims, like the other materials found in our squares, probably originated on the acropolis and represent occupational strata that were virtually obliterated by later clearing operations and construction.[24] The bulk of the recovered artifacts came from R5.

Due to the steep topography of Square R5, excavation began along its western edge and progressively encompassed more of the square, expanding towards the east, as excavation continued (**Fig. 13**). Only at the close of the

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[23]Larry H. Mitchel, *Hellenistic and Roman Strata: A Study of the Stratigraphy of Tell Hisban from the 2d Century B.C. to the 4th Century A.D. Hesban 7* **(**Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University, 1992), 17, 38.

[24]Mitchel reports that only one Iron Age locus was excavated in Area A (A.3:56), but Iron Age material was found in mixed loci from various squares on Hisban's acropolis (ibid., 18). Based upon the amount of material deposited in the Iron Age reservoir, L. G. Herr (cited by Mitchel, ibid., 18, 38) suggested that an average accumulation of approximately 2.2 meters of earlier material existed on the summit before the builders of Stratum 15 began their clearance operations.

season did the level of excavation reach ground level along the eastern edge of the square. As the entire slope was fill material, comprised mostly of stone rubble, there was no clear stratification, nor any *in situ* architectural features. However, several interesting architectural finds were unearthed, including a possible wall crenellation or tympanum fragment from a small doorway (**Fig 14**). While possibly from the Islamic period, this nicely-worked limestone piece probably originated from the Byzantine church or another classical structure that once stood on the acropolis. In addition, two large limestone blocks with offset sockets (or cup marks) were found. The blocks were similar in size but not identical, as one was more nicely worked than the other. Their original function is uncertain, but they may have served as threshold sockets for a gate or door hinge (**Figs. 15-16**). Both of these blocks were transferred to the Byzantine church on the acropolis and placed next to a column base alongside the nave.

Only a handful of preclassical body sherds, with white grit in the fabric, characteristic of the Iron Age II, was identified. No identifiable sherds from the Hellenistic period and only a few from the late Roman period were found. A good assortment of ribbed Byzantine period sherds and eastern terra sigillata (North African, rouletted design) ware was retrieved, along with Late Byzantine-Umayyad period palace ware and white–and–gray ware, red–and–white painted jars, red–on–red ware, white ware, gray ware, and Samarra ware from Iraq.[25] Only a few Ayyubid sherds were found, including Raqqa ware jars, red–on–red painted jars, and some Iraqi blue stained frit wares. The majority of the sherds were from the Mamluk period occupation of the site, including a concentration of Handmade Geometrically Painted Ware (*HMGP*) and other ceramics, including glazed cooking pots, sugar pots, molded glazed relief ware, Syrian imported ware, Sgraffito, monochome glazed bowls, and elephant–ear cooking pots that were uncovered in Square R5.[26] Some nonspecific Ottoman–period sherds were also uncovered. However, many of the sherds were small in size, exhibiting significant edge wear from migration after breakage, and appeared to have originated from a variety of vessels. Hence, it is rather unlikely that partially restorable forms exist among this assemblage.

Square R6 was located south of R05 and east of Area A (**Fig. 17**). It had a north/south line of stones (Wall R6:03) on the east side of the square, with two faces that gave an indication of a wall, but the level of the excavation did not go deep enough to uncover any additional courses. This wall extended into Square R5, and the final stone of the wall line appeared to be floating. A flimsy course of stones (Wall R6:02, not illustrated) ran along the surface in a north/south line close to the western edge of Square R6, but contained only one or two courses of stone and may have served as part of a more recent sheep fold or pen. Wall 7 (R6:07) abutted the north end of Wall 3 (R6:03) and

[25]Bethany J. Walker, "The Islamic Period," in *Ceramic Finds: Typological and Technological Studies of the Pottery Remains from Tell Hesban and Vicinity Hesban 11,* eds. J. A. Sauer and L. G. Herr (Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University, 2012), 525, 531.

[26]Ibid., p. 577-580; 562-563.

ran roughly southwest for about a meter and a half before turning northwest as Wall 8 (R6:08) and then into the balk. Only a single course was exposed, and no floor was uncovered that could be related to this wall. A small roughly-worked rectangular basin (or mortar) was found upside down at the corner (**Fig. 18**).   As with R5, no stratigraphy was noted in square R6 as only stone fall and mixed fill material were found.

Pottery sherds from Square R6 dated from the Hellenistic to Mamluk periods, with the majority dating from the latter. Hellenistic period bowls and handles, Roman period glass, and a number of ribbed Byzantine (terra sigillata and ribbed) sherds were retrieved. Roof tiles, numerous tesserae, and painted plaster fragments from the church were recovered, as were several bottle stoppers of uncertain age. Late Byzantine-Umayyad palace and painted ware, white–and–gray ware, and glazed jars were also found.[27] Some Abbasid sherds, including a Turban handle lid, an imported Iraqi bowl, and Iraqi splashed ware, were uncovered.[28] Like square R5, square R6 had wide variety of Mamluk period glazed and painted wares, including *HMGP* jars, white ware, molded glazed relief ware, slip-painted bowls, blue–and–white Syrian frit ware, Sgraffito and monochrome glazed bowls, together with coarse wares, sugar pots and an elephant–ear cooking pot.[29] Some mono-glazed Ottoman period jar sherds were also retrieved.

Progress in both squares was slowed considerably by the constant removal of field stones and rubble. In Square R5, siftable soil was collectable only from pockets within and around clusters of stone rubble. In Square R6, soil had to be completely removed from clusters of stone in order to ascertain whether the stones were part of a wall, installation, or simply tumble. Hence, this extra care and caution, although necessary, slowed progress. Unfortunately, the western balks of both squares were entirely composed of earth fill and consequently, no stone courses were exposed that might be related to the acropolis wall.

Objects

Notable among the excavated objects were early Roman– and Byzantine–Period plaster, including painted plaster, numerous tesserae and roof tiles (probably from the Byzantine period church), lithics, a grinder, green marble, Roman glass, a pedaled rim of a glass juglet, a complete thirteenth-century Ayyubid glass bangle, an Arabic inscription reading "everlasting glory" from a glazed relief Mamluk–period bowl, a crudely–worked basalt object that possibly served as a massebah (**Fig. 19**), a basalt pounder (pestle) (**Fig. 18**), an (as yet) unidentified coin, and fragments from a taboon.

[27]Ibid., 525.

[28]Ibid., 531.

[29]Ibid., 577-580; 562-563.

Conservation and Preservation

Another goal of the 2011-2012 seasons was to address some of the safety concerns related to the continued deterioration of the reservoir. Squares B1-2 and 4 were originally excavated in 1968-1976. In the process, an area approximately 17 m north/south and 12 m east/west was excavated leaving behind a nearly 10–m–deep, L-shaped pit. Although the balks have held up remarkably well over the years, the crumbling edges and the steep sides pose a hazard for the many local and foreign visitors to the site. In addition, the seemingly endless maze of pits and trenches is often difficult for the casual visitor to decipher even with the assistance of the numerous explanatory signs on site. Many of the important features of Tell Hisban's past have become unrecognizable as a result of site deterioration. It was hoped that by reestablishing balks, building new paths, retaining walls, and renewing excavation in this area, a safer environment could be achieved.

Trails and Signage

During the 2011-2012 seasons, the trails that primarily lead to the Hisban acropolis were redirected to include other places of interest at the site. In 2011, an area along the west side of the acropolis wall was cleared, leveled, and widened. A pathway was extended from the reservoir to the northwest corner of the acropolis to allow easier access to the visitor's platform (**Fig. 20**-**21**) on the summit. The main trail that leads from the Ottoman–period farmhouse to the medieval village was also connected to this path, as well as the small staircase that ascends to the visitor's platform. Additional pathways were added along to the south side of the Iron Age reservoir, with expanded viewing areas along its north and west sides.

In 2012, renovations on the trails continued under the direction of Stan Beikmann and students from the Agriculture/Landscape and Design Department at Andrews University in order to develop a more cohesive educational trail system (**Fig. 22**).[30] Beikmann's team cleaned, repaired, and rerouted several trails and created a small amphitheater on the acropolis overlooking the Byzantine period church. The amphitheater was made from large ashlars and discarded column fragments from the original church to provide a pleasant setting for on-site lectures. At the close of the season, Beikmann and his students submitted a comprehensive landscape design for a circular Socio-Economic Garden to be established in a natural bowl-shaped depression just inside the entrance to the site (**Fig. 23**). This site will provide a place for groups to gather before following the educational trail system. Native plants from the region will be included in the garden as well. Construction of this garden was scheduled to take place during the 2013 season.

In addition, Biekmann and his students began a project to document the indigenous vegetation present at Tall Hisban and to study how these

plants have adapted to their environment. An intensive survey was carried out on the site, and over 100 xeriscapic plants were collected, examined, photographed, and recorded. Xeriscapic plants require less water for survival than most other plant species and have adapted especially well to the vicinity of Tall Hisban in spite of grazing, drought, and harsh climatic conditions. The team noted the physiological differences of each plant and compared them to plants from wetter climates. Biekmann determined that at least three species of plants were the most suitable for transplant to semi-arid landscapes in the United States. These species include: *convolvulus dorycnium*, splendid bush morning gloria (**Fig. 24**); *astralogus strigosa,* blue forget-me-not (**Fig. 25**); and *salvaia,* golden sage (**Fig. 26**). Each plant produces a bright colorful flower, but requires little maintenance.

Conclusions and Future Plans

The results of these two seasons represent the end of the Phase II excavations at Tall Hisban and reveal a small but significant part of Hisban's role as a consistent witness to global history and as a window on local culture and survival over the *longue durée*. We anticipate that future excavations at the site will continue to reveal and clarify Hisban's significance as a showcase for local traditions as well as for regional and global powers. Work will also continue on the trails and signage at the site, with the goal to create a new seating area at the entrance with a garden featuring many of the native plants identified in the 2012 season. In addition, the long-term goal of involving the local community in the preservation and conservation of the site will continue as future plans involve developing a visitor's center in the adjacent Ottoman–period buildings, also known as the Nabulsi Complex (**Fig. 27**). These buildings will make Tall Hisban a destination for learning about how the past can inform present-day and future planning in Jordan and beyond. To this end, exhibits will be developed and displayed in the Nabulsi heritage buildings at Hisban that highlight how archaeology can illuminate the history of innovations in agriculture and water systems over the centuries and millennia. A special emphasis will be placed on understanding how the past can help us plan for a sustainable future.

Figure 1. Regional map of the Madaba Plains and the location of Tall Hisban in relationship to other sites nearby.
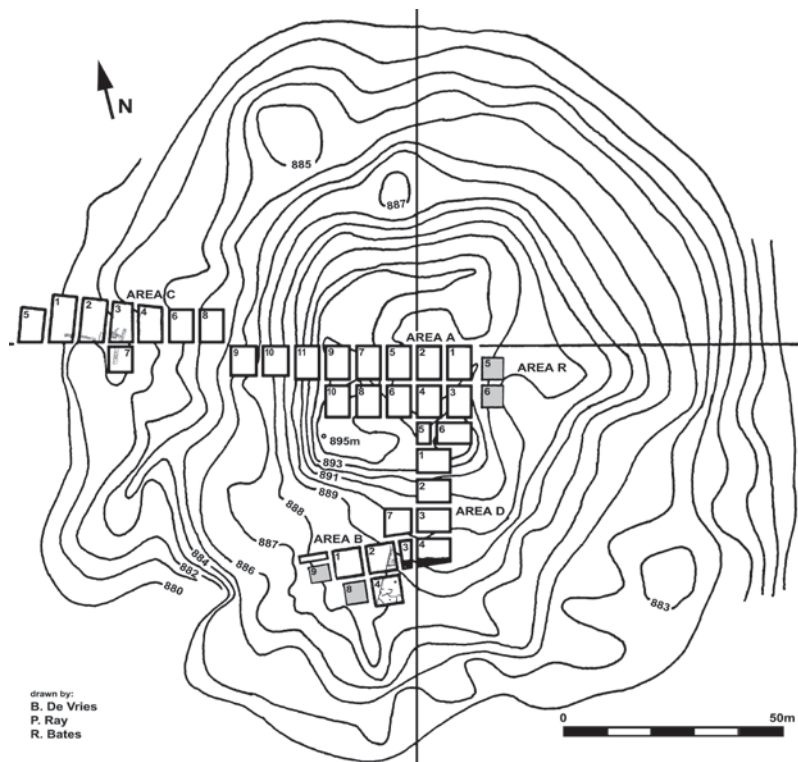
Figure 2. Topographical map of the Tall Hisban acropolis, showing Areas A-D, R. New squares highlighted in gray.
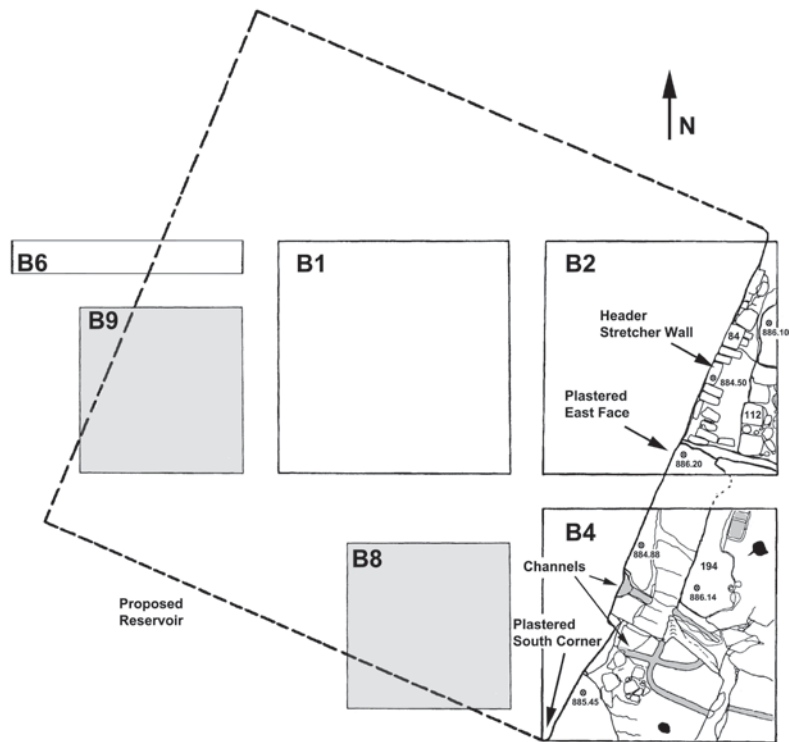
Figure 3. Area B. Square location B08 and B09. Note the plastered east face and south corners of the early Iron Age reservoir, including the plastered channels and header stretcher wall.

Figure 4. Facing south. Jennifer Shrestha, Jonathan Thompson, and Ruth Waynko take final measurements in Square B08. Note the plastered corner on the south end of the early Iron Age reservoir.
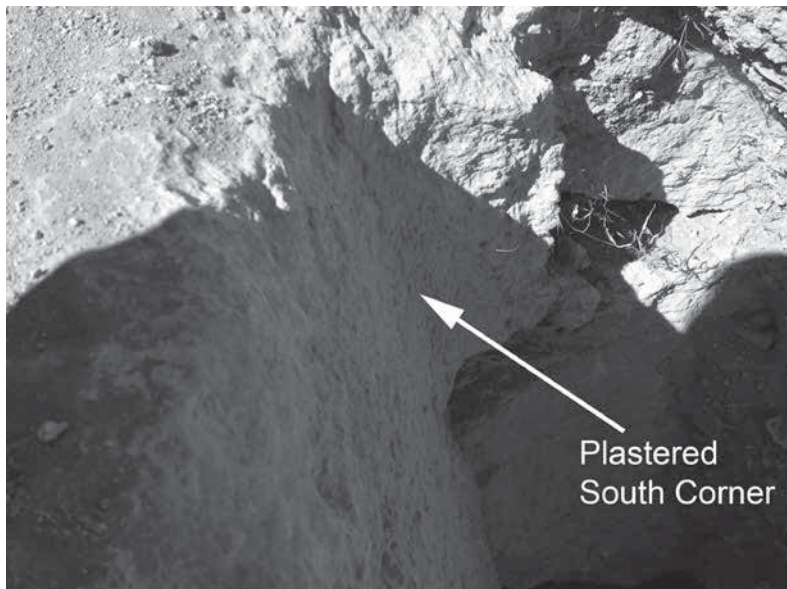
Figure 5. Facing south. Square B08. Note the plastered corner of the Early Iron Age reservoir in the north/south excavation trench.

Figure 6. Facing north. Final photo of Square B08. Note the stone wall in the foreground.
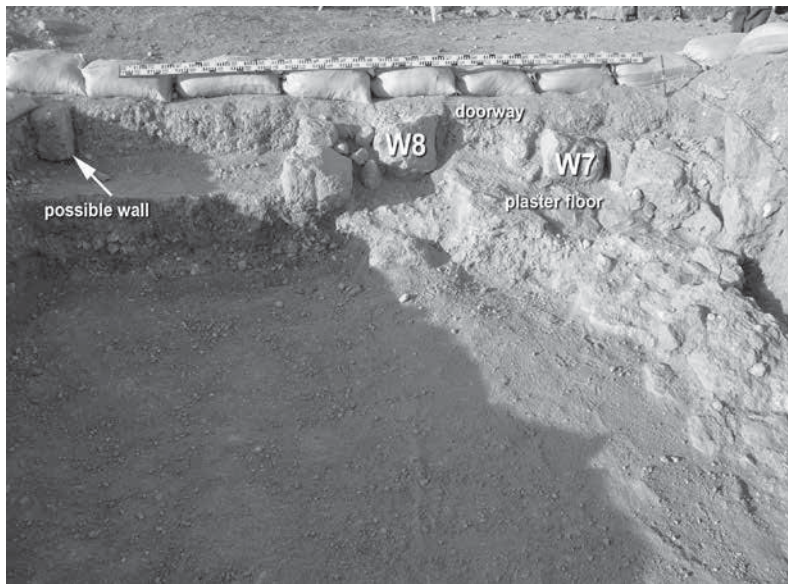
Figure 7. Facing south. South balk, showing Walls 7 and 8, doorway, plaster floor, mud foundation, and free–standing stone in Square B08.
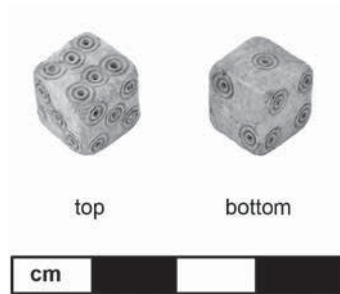
Figure 8. Top and bottom view of a single ivory die found in Square B8. Note the double circle and dot pips, giving a raised appearance.

Figure 9. Islamic coin and metal disk or possible coin.
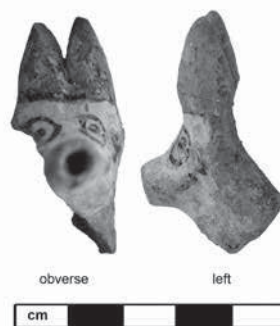
Figure 10. Animal figurine with painted eyes, ears, harness, mane, and a pouring spout.
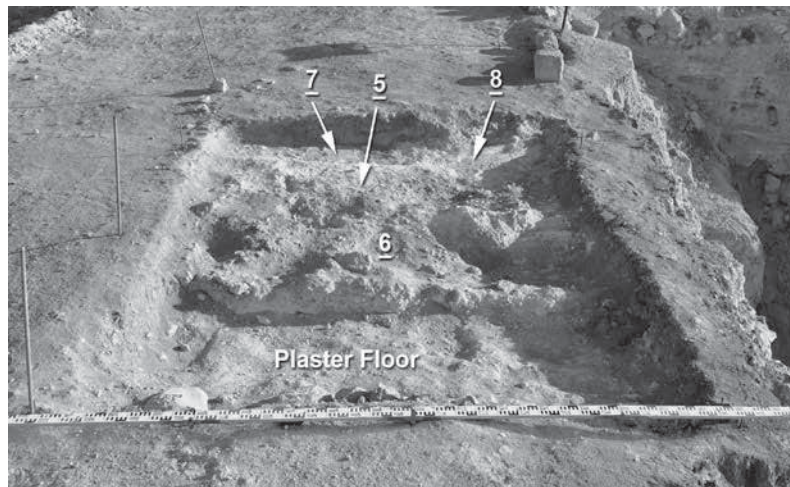
Figure 11. Facing north. Plaster surfaces in Square B09.

Figure 12. Facing south. Area R before excavation: Note the steep slope and heavy concentration of stones.

Figure 13. Facing west. Square R05, final photo.

Figure 14. A possible wall crenellation or tympanum fragment.

Figure 15. A possible socket for a gate or door.

Figure 16. Another possible socket for a gate or door

Figure 17. Facing west. Square R6: Final photo, showing walls R6:03, 07-08.

Figure 18. Three stone objects: the basalt *massebah*, a pounder (pestle), and a small rectangular basin (mortar).

Figure 19. The crudely–worked basalt object, possibly a *massebah*.

Figure 20. Facing north. New pathway along the west side of the acropolis that leads to the west visitor's platform.

Figure 21. Facing south. New pathway along the west side of the acropolis that leads to the west visitor's platform. Note the small trees planted along the edge.
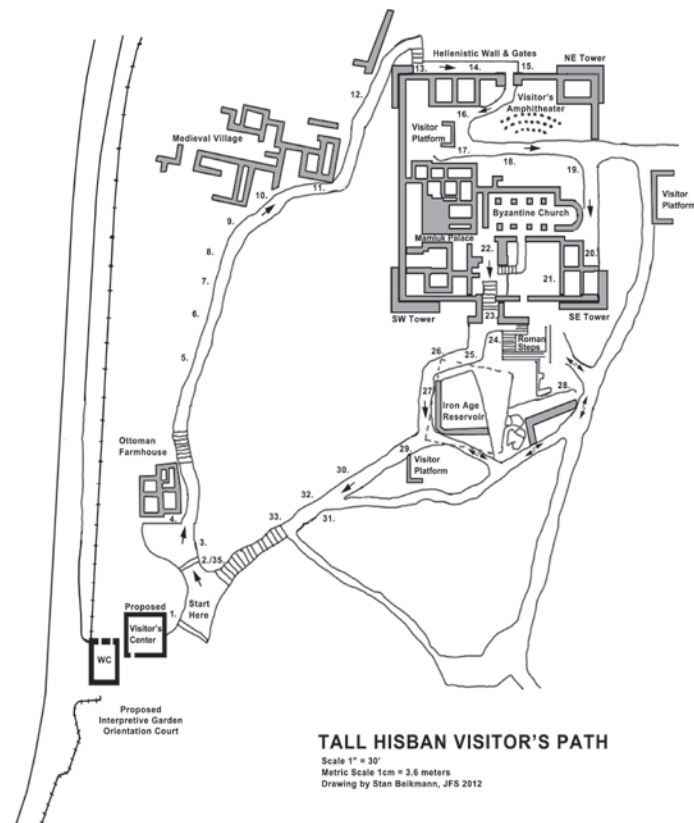
Figure 22. The proposed plan by Stan Beikmann for the Tall Hisban Visitor's Path, showing the thirty fiive proposed stations for new Arabic/English signs along the educational trail that leads up to the acropolis.
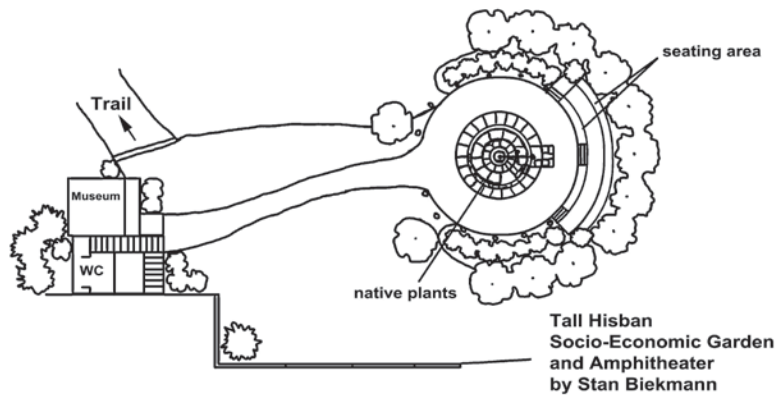
Figure 23. The proposed plan by Stan Beikmann for the Socio-Economic Garden that will be at the entrance of Tall Hisban, featuring many native plants.

Figure 24. *Convolvulus dorycnium*, splendid bush morning glory, produces a bright pink flower that is drought tolerant. It is one of the many flowering plants native to Tall Hisban that is suitable for arid climates in the United States.

Figure 25. *Astralogus strigosa,* blue forget-me-not, has a brilliant blue flower that grows in arid climates.

Figure 26. *Salavia*, golden sage, produces a bright yellow flower that thrives in hot, dry climates like those found in Jordan and in the western United States.

Figure 27. Building A in the Nabulsi Complex will become the Hall of Landscape and Agricultural History.

DISSERTATION ABSTRACTS

**THE ESCHATOLOGICAL ROLE OF THE JERUSALEM
TEMPLE: AN EXAMINATION OF JEWISH WRITINGS
DATING FROM 586 BCE TO 70 CE**

Name of researcher: Eric W. Baker
Name of adviser: Roy Gane, Ph.D.
Date completed: March 2014

Topic

This research investigates the relationshp between eschatology and the Jerusalem temple within the second temple period.

Purpose

The research investigates the role of the Jerusalem temple within the second temple Jewish writings to establish whether the Jerusalem temple has any role to play in relation to the end of the exile and the beginning of the *eschaton*. Previoius analyses of second temple Judaism have not focused on the role of the Temple in eschatology.

Sources

The primary documents investigated in this research were the proto-canonical, deutero-canonical, Qumran writings, and the Old Testament Pseudepigrapha.

Conclusion

The Jerusalem temple has been found to have an eschatological role in some second temple period Jewish writings. This research has investigated the Jerusalem temple in the Hebrew Scriptures as well as later writings. This research reports that in some second temple period Jewish writings, the Jerusalem temple plays an eschatological role in the sense that it is expected to hasten or speed up the conclusion of the present age and commencement of a new age. Such a role is indicatd in *1 Enoch*, *Jubilees*, Pseudo-Philo, Tobit, Sirach, 2 Maccabees, and the Temple Scroll.

THE IDENTITY AND ROLE OF THE SERVANT
IN ISAIAH 42:1-9: AN EXEGETICAL
AND THEOLOGICAL STUDY

Name of researcher: Stéphane A. Beaulieu
Name of adviser: Richard M. Davidson, Ph.D.
Date completed: June 2014

Problem

Over the centuries, there has been no consensus among biblical interpreters regarding the meaning of the servant of Isa 42:1-9. This dissertation studies the identity and role of the "servant" together with its relation to the neglected collection of other servant passages in Isaiah.

Method

This study consists of an exegetical and theological analysis of Isa 42. It includes an analysis of those passages in which the servant term is explicitly found in Isa 40-55 as well as other passages (Isa 9, 11, 61, 63) that are linked to the servant motif in Isa 42. Special attention is given to the term "servant" as well as to the structure of Isa 42:1-9 and its relation to the three other servant poems in contrast with the usage of the term "servant" in the rest of Isa 40-55. The dissertation is both exegetical and theological in nature.

Results

Chapter 1 introduces the topic, states the problem of no consensus regarding the identity of the servant in Isa 42:1-9, and provides a literature review of viewpoints regarding the "servant" in Isa 42 and 53. The purpose and justification of this research is given, followed by an outline of the methodology.

Chapter 2 provides an exegesis of Isa 42:1-9, beginning with an overview of various scholars' structural analyses of chs. 40 to 55 along with my suggested structure of those chapters. A narrower structure focused on Isa 42:1-9 is then provided, again beginning with what various scholars have suggested and then followed by my suggestion of an appropriate structure. Finally, a detailed exegesis of each verse is explored with suggestions of potential interpretations for key words. This chapter reveals two foundational characteristics of the servant: first, he is called (Isa 42:1-4), and second, he is commissioned to save Israel (vv. 5-9).

Chapter 3 explores the intratextual links of Isa 42:1-9 with other texts in the book of Isaiah—particularly with Isa 49:1-13; 50:4-9; and 52:13-53:12 followed by 41:8-9; 42:16-25; 45:1-8; other servant passages in Isa 40-55; and chs. 9, 11, 61, and 63—and how these texts contribute to the interpretation of Isa 42:1-9.

Chapter 4 presents a theological analysis of the main thematic motifs found from the intertextual study: first, the thematic motifs in Isa 42:1-9,

which include servanthood, the character of God revealed in the servant, servant as deliverer, covenant, servant and judgment, God and the future, servant as king and the Exodus motif; second, the thematic motifs in the theology of other Isaianic servant poems; and finally, a theology of the servant in the context of Isa 40-55.

Finally, chapter 5 is the summary and conclusion. It includes application and implications for further study.

Conclusion

In light of the main exegetical investigation of Isa 42:1-9, intratexual analysis with other Isaianic servant poems and additional servant texts in Isaiah, and the examination of theological motifs in the servant texts, it may be stated that the "servant of the Lord" in Isa 42:1-9 is indeed a messianic passage of hope, first to the Israelites, then second, to the people of the NT when the Messiah came, and finally to us as the Messiah will return in the eschaton. The inner-biblical origin of the "servant of the Lord" can be traced back to the Proto-Evangelium (Gen 3:15) and other messianic passages in the OT (Num 24:15-24), and is even seen in the covenant and kingship motifs of king David (2 Sam 7:1-17). Cyrus typologically represents a political deliverer and is a shadow of the Messiah in the period of history shortly after Isaiah (Isa 45:1-6). Isaiah portrays the servant as having characteristics of the Messiah in contrast to the servant as Israel in other Isaianic passages because the prophetic servant brings hope and reveals the ultimate outcome of what the servant is doing for humanity.

ADVENTIST MEDICAL MISSION IN BOTSWANA: TOWARD AN EFFECTIVE AND APPROPRIATE MODEL

Name of researcher:	Olaotse Obed Gabasiane
Name of adviser:	Bruce Bauer, D.Miss.
Date completed:	July 2014

Since holistic health is central to Africans, they will seek it from all possible health-care systems that include (1) African traditional medicine, (2) Western-oriented medicine, (3) Christian medical mission, as well as (4) African Independent Churches (AICs) with emphasis on spiritual healing. However, at times this comes with negative consequences.

This research sought to understand why medical pluralism exists in Botswana and the rest of southern Africa, and why it finds concurrent use by Africans; solutions can help Christian medical missions develop more effective and holistic ways to serve Africans. The research can also help Christian medical missions understand how they can especially engage with the African traditional and spiritual healing systems.

This qualitative research conducted a missiological historical study of the origin and development of Adventist medical mission in Botswana. By analyzing and comparing the Adventist methods with those of other Christian medical missions and traditional medical systems, the research developed guidelines for a suggested alternative model for Adventist medical mission in Botswana and beyond. In addition, it provides a documented history of Adventist medical missions in Botswana.

This study examined written and oral sources for research and data collection in order to discover the history of Christian medical missions, the biblical medical mission models, and the present health-care models that exist in Botswana. Thus the data collection process was a combination of documents and texts, as well as interviews with various Botswana government Ministry of Health (MOH) officials, Christian medical mission directors, senior nurses, current and retired chaplains and missionaries, village elders, traditional doctors, and prophet-healers.

This research showed that Africans have a holistic worldview. Any imbalance in the physical, social, mental, emotional, relational, environmental, or spiritual spheres of their lives constitutes illness. The biblical medical mission model revealed that God viewed humanity holistically and desired to restore them in all the aspects of life in the truism of shalom. By engaging in medical pluralism, Africans are attempting to optimize their opportunities to restore the imbalance they experience.

However, Western-oriented medicine, including Christian medical missions, was found lacking in this holistic view ideologically and/or practically. Therefore in the conclusion, I develop a suggested alternative biblical model for Adventist medical mission that offers a more holistic approach to health care. In order to serve Africans more effectively, I recommend that Adventist

medical missions consider opening dialogue with African traditional health-care systems. In addition, this research contributed to the body of knowledge on the socio-history of Adventist medical mission in Botswana.

STRUCTURE AND MISSION EFFECTIVENESS: A STUDY FOCUSED ON SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTIST MISSION TO UNREACHED PEOPLE GROUPS BETWEEN 1980 AND 2010

Name of researcher: Abraham Guerrero
Name of adviser: Bruce Bauer, D.Miss.
Date completed: December 2013

The present study examines the impact of the Seventh-day Adventist Church's structure on mission effectiveness in taking the gospel to unreached people groups between 1980 and 2010. A historical descriptive study, this dissertation's theory base includes structure from an anthropological perspective; structure, mission, and effectiveness from an organizational perspective; and church structure and mission effectiveness in Christian history.

The impact of structure on mission effectiveness is evaluated in the present work by looking for patterns in history in which the structure has been either a facilitator or a hindrance for establishing churches among those who have not been reached with the gospel. This work surveyed previous studies on the different areas of the theory base, and its primary sources include annual statistical reports and other documents from the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists and their Office of Archives, Statistics, and Research, as well as board minutes and denominational journals.

The findings reveal that, although the Seventh-day Adventist Church organization was started with missionary concerns in mind and has clearly defined its mission, its current performance metrics do not reveal much about the organization's effectiveness in achieving its mission. These measures—as reflected in the Annual Statistical Reports—as well as all administrative decisions, including but not limited to Interdivision Employee assignment, Thirteenth Sabbath School projects selection, and evangelistic/institutional employee ratios, should be better aligned with the mission of reaching the unreached.

It is also necessary to nurture a healthier, mutually affirming, government/industries-like relationship between the church's formal structure and the many semi-autonomous mission structures that have been born within the church, a relationship where the denomination regulates but not administrates its mission structures, and where mission structures actually engage in mission instead of wasting time and energy in demonstrating they do the work better than the denomination's structure.

THE SIN AGAINST THE HOLY SPIRIT IN THE WRITINGS OF G. C. BERKOUWER AND E. G. WHITE: A COMPARATIVE STUDY AND ETHICAL IMPLICATIONS

Name of researcher: Michael Davey Pearson
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Date completed: April 2014

While compatibilists claim that divine sovereignty either elects individuals to salvation or inevitably consigns them to damnation without the involvement of human response, non-compatibilism claims that divine love requires both human choice along with a behavioral response. This dissertation examines these respective dilemmas in the context of the sin against the Holy Spirit with the purpose of ascertaining how these views impact the sovereignty and character of God and the resulting ethical implications. Compatibilism is examined through the writings and theology of G. C. Berkouwer, while non-compatibilism is appraised through the writings and thought of Ellen G. White.

This dissertation embraces the idea that God imposes self-limitations on His sovereignty in respect of the integrity and sanctity of human free will. It also recognizes that neither compatibilism nor non-compatibilism is free of theological difficulties; yet arrives at a solution to both systems in Ellen G. White's understanding of perfection in the context of God's call for mankind's return to the image (character) of God. This occurs, as by beholding, man can become changed. By beholding, compatibilism's dilemma of non-human response and non-compatibilism's undercurrent problem of works-based religion are resolved: for the solution is discovered in the empowerment of Christ as we behold and become changed. Therefore, man's personal accountability for damnation is maintained without man being credited with salvation by works.

The first chapter provides an historical survey of the unpardonable sin as it is described in the synoptic texts (Matt 12:31, 32; Mark 3:28-30; and Luke 12:10). This includes an overview of Calvin and Arminius, the recognized founding fathers of compatibilism and non-compatibilism. The second chapter examines the most immediate antecedents to G. C. Berkouwer and Ellen G. White as they address the sin against the Holy Spirit.

The third chapter looks at G. C. Berkouwer's theological presuppositions that inform his understanding of the unpardonable sin, his understanding of the doctrine of sin, and his explanation of the sin itself. In turn, chapter 4 surveys the writings of Ellen G. White by dealing with her corresponding theological presuppositions and perspectives regarding the sin against the Holy Spirit. Much of White's positions appear in narrative form.

The fifth chapter of the dissertation highlights and then contrasts the theological presuppositions and doctrines of the unpardonable sins of G. C. Berkouwer and Ellen G. White. In so doing it is demonstrated that both

are consistent within their respective theologies. Yet both are confronted by a certain weakness. Berkouwer's weakness is found in God's total sovereignty and mankind's absence of response, while White's weakness is discovered present in that many who embrace her teachings find an opening for a works-oriented salvation.

The last chapter provides a final summary and conclusions and looks at the ethical implications of both systems of thought. The chapter also discusses the sovereignty dilemma of compatibilism and the works orientation of non-compatibilism. The chapter then provides a possible solution in White's theme of the restoration of the character of God, as by beholding individuals become changed. The dissertation then concludes by affirming that God voluntarily places Himself under limitations of sovereignty in His choice to win our free-will devotion through Calvary.

THE APOCALYPSE IN SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTIST INTERPRETATION: THREE EMPHASES

Name of researcher: Gluder Quispe
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Date completed: April 2013

The Topic

The historical development of the Seventh-day Adventist interpretation of the book of Revelation may be divided into three periods: (1) the Thoughts on Daniel and the Revelation period (1862-1944); (2) the Seventh-day Adventist Bible Commentary period (1944-1970); and (3) the multiple emphases period (1970-). Each of these periods marks a different emphasis: biblical-historical, biblical-theological, and biblical-exegetical, respectively. In the last period, each emphasis is represented by its major contributor: historical by C. Mervyn Maxwell (1925-1999), theological by Hans K. LaRondelle (1929-2011), and exegetical by Jon K. Paulien (1949-).

The Purpose

The purpose of this research was to describe, analyze, and assess the three different emphases of interpretation of the Apocalypse throughout of the history of the Seventh-day Adventist Church.

The Sources

This documentary study was based on both the published works and available unpublished documents (correspondence, transcripts of speeches, papers) from each of the three periods, underlining the three emphases: biblical-historical, biblical-theological, and biblical-exegetical, of Seventh-day Adventist contributions on the Apocalypse in recent years.

The assessment was based on comparisons of the principles of interpretation, the historical application of the seven trumpets (as a passage of significant diversity of views), and the central theme of the Apocalypse, Rev 12 (as essential agreement).

Conclusions

Adventist perspectives have developed progressively through emphasis on history, then on theology, and later on exegesis. All these emphases are still alive. Each one of the emphases has contributed to the Adventist understanding of the Apocalypse. The biblical-historical focuses on the historical application of the prophecy; the biblical-theological tends to hold to a Christ-centered way of interpreting the prophecies; and the biblical-exegetical focuses on the original text and audience.

BOOK REVIEWS

Bateman IV, Herbert W. *Charts on the Book of Hebrews.* Grand Rapids, MI: Kregel, 2012. 272 pp. Paper, $26.99.

Hebert W. Bateman IV is professor of New Testament at Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary. Already at the dissertation level he worked on the book of Hebrews, which led to the publication of *Early Jewish Hermeneutics and Hebrews 1:5-13* (Lang, 1997). After that he would still continue his interest in Hebrews by being instrumental in editing and publishing *Four Views on the Warning Passages in Hebrews* (Kregel, 2007). Most recently, he published the current monograph under investigation. In between, he has diverted his interest away from the book of Hebrews and published *A Workbook for Intermediate Greek: Grammar, Exegesis, and Commentary on 1-3 John* (Kregel, 2008), as well as *Jesus the Messiah: Tracing the Promises, Expectation, and Coming of Israel's King* (Kregel, 2012).

Charts on the Book of Hebrews is a giant compilation of 104 charts, which condenses a wealth of information in visual format for the "benefit of the pastors, teachers, students and anyone wanting to study as well as teach the Book of Hebrews" (9). The copyright page gives permission to use the charts "for classroom use or brief quotations in printed reviews" (4) as pedagogical tools from which these charts were most probably born. Preceded by a list of abbreviations (Bible Translations, Apocrypha & OT Pseudepigrapha, Ancient Texts, Periodical, etc.), the charts are divided into four parts: Introductory Considerations (charts 1-29), OT and Second Temple Influences on Hebrews (charts 30-55), Theology in Hebrews (charts 56-78), and Exegetical Matters in Hebrews (charts 88-104).

The first part of *Charts on the Book of Hebrews* covers:

The authorship of Hebrews (potential author of Hebrews first proposed; followed by authors proposed through the centuries; then authorship ascribed by modern commentators; concluded by considering the options most often selected as author of Hebrews: Barnabas, Paul, Luke, and Apollos).

Destination, recipients, and dating of Hebrews (Rome, Jerusalem, Antioch of Syria, Colossae or Cyrene; Jewish Christians, Gentile Christians or a Mixed audience; pre-70 A.D. or post-70 A.D. dating of Hebrews).

Genre and structure of Hebrews (being a homily or a mixed letter of exhortation and paraenesis; structured by thematic, rhetorical, chiastic, or text-linguistic arrangements).

The canonicity of Hebrews (the placement of Hebrews among different manuscripts; listing of church fathers who quoted Hebrews; different church canons having Hebrews listed while others missed Hebrews all together).

The second part contains charts on:

OT quotes and allusions (OT quotes; OT allusions; and OT people mentioned in Hebrews; quotes, allusions, and people are all mentioned in the order of the OT divisions: Pentateuch, Historical and Prophetic books, and Poetic books).

The Jewish Cultic System (the Tabernacle in Exodus, in the OT, and in Hebrews; Jewish feasts and celebrations; the Day of Atonement).

Second Temple High Priesthood (the Jewish High Priesthood; High Priest of the Persian, early Hellenistic, early Hasmonean, and Herodian periods; a Hasmonean and Herodian family tree).

Second Temple Messianic Figures (different portraits and titles of the Messiah; a comparison of Melchizedek in Gen 14, Ps 110, 11Q13, and Heb 1-7; a comparison of OT regal priest with Jesus in Hebrews; the character of Jesus as regal priest in Hebrews; the role of divine beings in Jewish Theology).

The third part includes charts on the theology of Hebrews:

The Godhead in Hebrews (portraits of God and Jesus in Hebrews; portraits of God and Jesus shared in Hebrews; portraits of God's Spirit in Hebrews; Jesus as Wisdom with reference to Prov 8:27-30, Wisdom of Solomon, the NT, and Heb 1:2-3; Titles of Jesus in Hebrews shared also in the NT).

Theological Themes in Hebrews ("better than" comparisons; angels and Jesus comparison; covenant(s); "once for all;" "perfection;" glory, hope, heir, oath, promise, world; rest; faith and Heb 11; extrabiblical references to Jewish ancestors in Heb 11).

Exhortations in Hebrews (listing of exhortations in Hebrews; active, passive, and external dangers of apostasy in Hebrews; concerns of apostasy in the warning passages; different scholars identifying between three and five warning passages; different scholars identifying the readers as "Real Christians" or "Professing Christians").

The fourth part spans over exegetical matters, such as:

Interpretive issues in Hebrews (comparing OT citations between the Masoretic Text, LXX, and Hebrews; examples of Jewish exegesis in Hebrews; examples of chiasms in Heb 1 and 11).

Text critical issues (manuscript evidence for Hebrews; consistently cited manuscripts for Hebrews with dates and classification; major textual issues in Hebrews).

Figures of speech (categorization, identification, definition, and examples of figures of speech in Hebrews).

Important words in Hebrews (words used frequently in Hebrews; unique words to the book of Hebrews).

The monograph is certainly very useful especially for visual learners. It summarizes introductory questions, background information, theological issues, and exegetical matters in few charts and gives the reader a quick overview of the most recent discussions in the study of Hebrews. Very helpful are charts on the tabernacle in Exodus, the Day of Atonement in Leviticus and Hebrews, titles ascribed to Jesus in Hebrews, "better than" comparisons, and "perfection" in Hebrews, just to mention a few.

Less useful or even unnecessary are charts like the one (#15, pp. 44-45) dating the whole New Testament by different NT scholars. Also charts on the Hasmonean and Herodian family (#44-46) are obsolete in this book. However, Bateman anticipates the critique of such charts as not being helpful for the

study of Hebrews and responds by stating that "due to the discontentment with the high priests during both the Hasmonean and Herodian periods that messianic expectations began to peak" (243). While that is true, Paul describes the coming of Christ ("when the fullness of time had come" Gal 4:4), as a prophetic moment in salvation history rather than an intervention triggered by the corrupted priesthood during the dynasties mentioned above. Hebrews talks about Jesus being an even better high priest than Aaron, who was called by God (Heb 5:3-4), rather than the corrupted high priests of the Hasmonean and Herodian period.

The most disturbing chart, in my opinion, is the one on the Jewish concept of rest found in Heb 3-4 (#77, p. 135). While the historical interpretation of the rest is accurate, the eschatological and philosophical ones are forced and lack support in Hebrews. That is the reason why Bateman has to resort to the Apocrypha, OT Pseudepigrapha, Philo, Pseudo-Philo, and the Babylonian Talmud to the expense of the context found in Heb 4 in order to interpret the "rest." Bateman claims that "the author of Hebrews explicates the physical place of rest to be entrance into God's place of rest in heaven" (250) based on the combination of Ps 95:11 and Gen 22. Furthermore, Bateman asserts that the term "to enter" speaks exclusively of entrance into a local reality. Thus the "rest" is a future resting place like the "heavenly city" (12:22), the "unshakeable kingdom" (12:28), or God's heavenly place of rest (4:11). Bateman follows in his interpretation Jon Laansma's *I Will Give You Rest*. There are several problems with this interpretation of rest in Heb 4.

First, the "rest" has to be defined from its immediate context in Heb 4, not from extrabiblical literature. Second, to define the "rest" as a "place of rest in heaven," based on Ps 95 and Gen 2:2, lacks any canonical support. Ps 95:7b-11 recounts the forty years in the wilderness and God's swearing at Kadesh-Barnea not to let the older generation enter the land of Canaan (Num 14). This has nothing to do with a "heavenly place of rest," neither in the MT nor in the LXX (Ps 94). Gen 2:2 talks about the first Sabbath (time) God rested after creating this world. Third, to claim that the term "to enter" refers exclusively to entrance into a local reality ignores Heb 4:10, where the author of Hebrews states: "And whoever *enters* God's rest, rested (κατέπαυσεν; Aorist; a past experience of the audience) from his own works just as (ὥσπερ; comparative conjunction) God did from his." The right question to be asked is not where (local) but when (time) does the audience enter God's rest? They enter when they imitate God by resting on the seventh day from all their work just as God did on the seventh day at creation (Heb 4:4 and Gen 2:2). This makes clear that "entering" refers to a local reality when the author of Hebrews talks about Canaan and the exodus generation, but about a "time," namely the Sabbath (σαββατισμὸς; Heb 4:9), when he talks to his audience. Lastly, to connect the "rest" of Heb 4 with the "heavenly city" or the "unshakeable kingdom" (Heb 12:22, 28) is unwarranted. Wray states: "Whether or not the author of Heb made the connection between REST and a spiritual land, the 'heavenly city,' that equation cannot be documented in the text" (Wray, *Rest as a Theological Metaphor*, 91).

Several enhancements of the book would be useful in a future edition. Charts 3, 9, 11, 14, 18, and 20 are all missing some of the European Hebrews scholars such as Franz Delitzsch, Erich Grässer, Ernst Käsemann, Otto Michel, Hans-Friedrich Weiss, et al. To the chart (#24; p. 58) concerning the text-linguistic structure of Hebrews, Cynthia Westfall, *A Discourse Analysis of the Letter to the Hebrews,* would add insights which Guthrie did not point out. On the chart (#23) regarding the chiastic arrangement of Hebrews Vanhoye's structure is accidentally duplicated (pp. 56, 57). On the charts (#83-84; pp. 143-145) about the words of exhortation and the danger of apostasy in Hebrews the exhortation and warning of Heb 4:11 is missing. On p. 180 in chart #97, under significance and explanation to Heb 9:14, a long space has mistakenly been inserted right after the variant a. On p. 205 in chart #103, under unique words in Hebrews, the verb δεκατόω has been mistakenly duplicated instead of the following adjective δέκατο, η, ον. On p. 151, under the explanations for charts 83-87, chart #85 is mentioned twice instead of chart #84. By the way, the explanations for each chart at the end of the book rather than at the beginning of every chart are user-unfriendly. I understand the rationale for not having them at the beginning of each chart since it takes up space and the charts are intended to be used in teaching. Lastly a scripture index would be accommodating.

Overall, the book deserves a place in the library of students, teachers, and scholars who are interested in the book of Hebrews. Bateman is to be commended for the compilation of such a vast amount of information. I will use this book as a reference book in my teaching of Hebrews.

Andrews University   ERHARD GALLOS

Bod, Rens. *A New History of the Humanities: The Search for Principles and Patterns from Antiquity to the Present.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014. 400 pp. Hardcover, £45.00.

This book review on Bod's *History of the Humanities* deserves to be of a more elaborate nature than what is common. Bod's work did create a big sensation not only in the academic scene but also in the public and major newspapers in the Netherlands, England, and more generally Western Europe. Not only did he accomplish something that has not been done before, namely, a written history of the humanities, but he also takes a perspective to this enterprise that redefines the role of the humanities especially in relation to the natural sciences. His work will prove to be a milestone for the further development of both the sciences and the humanities.

Today's humanities are in a phase where methodological reorientation has to take place. After classicism, positivism, structuralism, and post-structuralism the question has to be answered how the humanities have to approach and analyze human works in the twenty-first century. This question becomes an increasingly important issue in a world of digitization where most important works of literature, art, and music are available in their original and digitized

form. How should the humanities relate to algorithms and digitization after they have been influenced so strongly by Dilthey's, Windelband's, and Rickert's distinction between the natural sciences as explaining sciences ("erklärenden Wissenschaften") and the humanities as understanding science ("verstehende Wissenschaften")?

Any attempt to answer this question should be informed by Bod's exceptional work. As professor of computational and digital humanities and as director of the Center of Digital Humanities at the University of Amsterdam, Bod does something that no one has done before. He has presented to the scholarly community the first history of the humanities. While there are many histories of sub-disciplines of the humanities (history of art, history of linguistics, history of musicology, etc.), no effort has yet been seen that tries to trace what the Western world has called disciplines of the humanities. Bod's broad perspective allows him to detect relations between the different disciplines that had not yet been uncovered in modern description. Further the broad perspective allows him to redefine the humanities and critique the distinction between humanities and the natural sciences, bringing them closer to each other. His historical investigation will show convincingly that the most fruitful periods of the humanities have been those where the search for patterns, laws and norms dominated the study of human activities (speaking, writing, painting, building, playing, acting). As qualifier for the attribute "fruitful," Bod takes the problem-solving approach (243) that the humanities brought to the real world (e.g., language acquisition, literary source reconstruction, testing of arguments, creating realistic drawing, etc.).

Bod's history of the humanities discusses four different eras of the humanities and watches the development and interrelatedness of what we nowadays handle as eight different disciplines: linguistics, historiography, philology, musicology, art theory, logic, rhetoric, and poetics. The second chapter deals with Antiquity, the third with the Middle Ages, the fourth with the Early Modern Era (Renaissance and Enlightenment), until the Modern Era is finally addressed in the fifth chapter. The fact that Bod treats the time of the Renaissance and the time of the Enlightenment as one unit is remarkable but convincing. At the moment where one decides not to be restricted by the findings and impacts of single disciplines of the humanities, one is free to focus on the analysis (disregarding which discipline is carrying out the analyzing act) of patterns to be found in the expressions of the human mind. It is Bod's comparative analysis of the formulation of laws, norms, and regularities, based upon found patterns, that allows for new insights. On the basis of these insights Bod suggests a reorganization of the different historical phases of the humanities and states that "the modern compartmentalization of the humanities should not stand in the way of its history" (358).

When one expects that Bod's history is dictated by a Western, postmodernistic, digital agenda, one errs substantially. Testifying to his sensitivity for culturalism, anachronism, and other forms of colonialization, Bod studies in a labor-intensive manner the history of the sciences in China, India, Arabia, and Africa. Wherever possible, he bases his description on

available primary sources (Latin, Germanic, Semitic, African, or Asian languages). Each of the treated historical epochs covers the development of the humanities in different regions and cultures of the world. Primarily due to the lack of accessible primary data, his research did not include Japan, pre-Columbian America, and some Asian cultures such as the Khmer.

Due to the broad approach of historical analysis, it becomes clear that from the very beginning of the humanities, there was no separation from what we call today the natural sciences. Musicology and mathematics, art theory and architecture, historiography and physics were exercising the same mental discipline: searching for patterns in order to detect rules, norms, or laws, by which solutions for the mastering of life can be found.

The global perspective of Bod's work makes one realize some strikingly similar developments that appear to us as a lockstep movement between the different continents and cultures. These observations cannot easily be explained. However, they invite us to revisit our own understanding of Western history. As an example, the perception that the historical-critical method was based primarily on a Cartesian rationalistic agenda and was mainly utilized for deconstructing the biblical sources of Christianity is too simplistic after all. Similar methods have been developed in China without religious motivations and without the support of revolutionary philosophical worldviews. The first formulation of a text critical methodology was established by Gu Yanwu in the early modern times (158). The Chinese used this method for the reconstruction of hypothetically original texts. Likewise, Islamic scholarship had produced with its *isnad* method ways of analysis that are strikingly similar to modern historic-critical methods. The *isnad* method, however, was religiously motivated, serving to protect the legacy of the prophet Mohammed. A historical survey shows that during the Christian Middle Ages techniques "for unmasking forgeries or tracking down corruptions were virtually lost" (246). Modern textual criticism should therefore be taken as a "resurgence" of a lost philological skill.

While Bod moves into details of musicology (Pythagoras, Liu An, Hucbald, Galileo, von Helmholtz, et al.), logic (Zeno, Aksapada Gautama, Abelard, Ibn Sina, Leibniz, Frege, et al.) or art theory (Pliny, Xie He, Procopius, Abu'l Qasim, Alberti, Burckhardt, Panofsky, et al.), he always strives to conceptualize his descriptions. A number of the generated insights are not only new for many scholars, they are also refreshing in such a way as to offer new ways of thinking about the identity and focus of one's own discipline.

The historical description presented in chapters 2-5 generates the data and insights by which the questions that are asked in the Introduction (chap. 1) can be answered. Among others the most central questions presented to the reader are the following:

Where and how do the research methods of the humanities and the natural sciences differ? (1)

When and why did the humanities and science develop in different directions? (1)

What does a comparison of the western history of the humanities with other regions of the world bring to the fore? (5)

In the sixth and last chapter, Bod concludes by dedicating his attention mostly to the relation of the humanities and the natural sciences. Different topics come to the fore when a historical assessment of this relation is studied. I would summarize the most important findings of Bod's work in the following eight points.

First, from its very beginning, the methodology of the humanities has often been similar to the ones of the natural sciences. As an example, linguists such as the Indian Panini (sixth century B.C.E.) have been very similar to mathematicians such as Euclid with regard to their analytic procedures. This can be observed while no mutual influence can be tracked. In both, the case of the mathematician and the case of the linguist, a finite number of rules is abstracted to form patterns by which an infinite number of expressions is possible (be that language, discourse, or mathematic calculations).

Second, due to their similar approaches to patterns found, cross-fertilization between the humanities and the natural sciences was possible. The stemmatology of philology that was developed in order to reconstruct authentic original sources has been applied to genetics and the reading of DNAs in modern times (276). Likewise, the formal analysis of human language exercised throughout history enabled the development of artificial languages (Leibniz) being virtually identical with Boolean logic (195). Consequently, linguistics made possible the development of computer science.

Third, Bod concludes that "Nowhere in our history of the humanities did we come across an acute divide between the humanities and sciences" (355). What both have in common and what constitutes both sciences is their search for underlying patterns. When those patterns are found, every science, whether natural or human, expresses these regularities either in logical, procedural or mathematical terms.

This does not mean that patterns are to be understood as universally valid laws, by which the expressions of the human mind are determined. Rather, the historical survey shows that the conceptualization of found patterns ranges between "inexact regularities and exact laws" (9). Bod's history remarkably shows that the general assumption that the one side of the spectrum deals with the humanities ("inexact regularities") while the other side of the spectrum characterizes the natural sciences ("exact laws") is incorrect and ahistorical. While such a distinction was stimulated and remains cultivated in our modern times, it is a distinction that was only theoretically and programmatically made by the German neokantian school of Dilthey, Windelband, and Rickert (late nineteenth, early twentieth century). This distinction could not be found in antiquity, the Middle Ages, Renaissance, or the Enlightenment period. Humanities and natural science were not studied as separate disciplines. The same can be observed in the history of the humanities in China, India, and Arabia. Not only is this distinction historically mistaken, it also does not describe the present state of pattern reception in the natural sciences, be that biology, chemistry, or even physics. A biological

"law" is today understood foremost as "a pattern that is usually local and not universally valid and is moreover often statistical" (355). Even for physics the reference to "exact laws" is only utilized in theoretical physics (356). In applied physics, constant corrections or "provisos" are exercised, relativizing the "exactness" of a law that is drawn from pattern detection.

Fourth, from early on but especially in the Middle Ages a general relativizing of formal logic within historiography, musicology, philology, rhetoric, and art theory can be observed. Valla (fifteenth century) and others argued that not everything that is formally correct is convincing to the mind. Similar findings have been made in art theory, where the revolutionary introduction of the vanishing point was first established with the help of mathematical laws (215). However, the calculation of the vanishing point had to be "corrected" by empirics after realizing the dependence of the true point of focus on light, color, and shade if one desires to produce more realistic pictures. This correction to the mathematical foundation yielded much more realistic art, as demonstrated especially by the Dutch artists (220-222). Likewise, musicology first based its work on pure Pythagorean ratios. However, the definition of consonants had to be adapted by empirical data where musical perception was not exactly in "tune" with Pythagorean mathematical harmonies. Generally speaking, the early modern period moved from a theory-dominated approach to empiricism, allowing for nuance in music theory, art theory, and other disciplines.

Fifth, the most insightful patterns have been found when the different disciplines did not operate in reductionist ways. The analyses of human expression are most insightful when they are studied for what they are and not as reduced products of neuropsychological events. Bod then suggests—not for ideological reasons but for pragmatic ones—that the different disciplines should remain autonomous in such a sense that they are allowed to come to their objects of research with their own specific tools of analysis.

Sixth, the detection of patterns can be dangerous as well. The sophistication of grammar did not only lay the basis for computer science; it also stimulated imperialistic thoughts and nationalism at the moment where comparative linguistics discovered the Indo-European language family. The historical survey shows that the humanities have not always served the "humanistic" dream of freedom, equality, democracy, love, and peace. Rather, the finding of patterns has stimulated the developments of ideas such as Aristotelian classicism (through logic and rhetoric) or racism (through comparative linguistics and philology). The scholarly treatment of detected patterns therefore has to be accompanied by ethical cautiousness.

Seventh, while pattern detection in musicology, logic, linguistics, philology, art theory, rhetoric, and poetics has brought very successful concepts to the fore, this cannot be said about historiography. After discussing idealist, romanticist, Marxist, historicist, positivist, narrativist, and postmodernist historiography, Bod summarizes in a convincing and refreshingly sober way that the "most extreme form of history that rejected patterns produced little historiography, as did the most extreme form of pattern-seeking history"

(265). Further he argues that history is the object of study in which the findings of patterns is possible, but it is impossible to orchestrate them into a theory of history due to the fact that "history gives no boundaries to its subject" (271).

Finally, Bod's history presents a more nuanced understanding of western history and the development of modernity. It was not primarily the "new scientists" such as Kepler, Galileo, or Bacon that torpedoed the Christian-Aristotelian worldview. It rather was the sum of all early modern scholarship, with philology as the most influential element. With the humanists and their manuscript hunting (144), the need for the analysis of the reliability of the sources became important, especially since many forgeries were produced. With Valla's employment of his principles of consistency (chronological consistency, logical consistency, and linguistic consistency) the foundation for modern source criticism has been laid. The fruitfulness of this approach has led to the well-known denial of the genuineness of the Donatio Constantini. The use of textual criticism furthermore was utilized as a weapon against the Roman Catholic Church during the reformation time (148). Further development of the text-critical method (especially under Lachmann)—resembling to a great extent the Islamic *isnad* method (150) and earlier Chinese textual criticism—led to the rejection of Erasmus' "textus receptus," the reconstruction of Lucretius' works, and the Nibelungenlied. Finally, philology undermined what has been accepted as biblical authority. The consequences of the philological work stimulated the development of the modern worldview even more than the new sciences. National governments until this very day use source criticism and philology in order to establish the reliability of documents.

Clearly, Bod's *New History of the Humanities* should be read by every scholar whether he comes from or comes to the field of natural science or the humanities. I would not be surprised if this work becomes one of the epochal works of the early twenty-first century.

Andrews University   OLIVER GLANZ

Brown, Warren S., and Brad D. Strawn. *The Physical Nature of Christian Life: Neuroscience, Psychology, and the Church.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012. xii + 178 pp. Paper, $28.99.

What are the ecclesiological implications of a wholistic anthropology? Profound, according to Warren Brown, professor of psychology at Fuller Theological Seminary, and his former student Brad Strawn, now of Southern Nazarene University. Their well-researched, succinct, and readable book offers a new perspective on Christian community. If human beings are both embodied in physical forms and embedded in the world around us, they argue—not only physically, but socially, culturally, and especially psychologically—then interpersonal connections are constitutive of our identity. When it comes to the Christian life, therefore, the church is not

separable from or secondary to personal religious experience; it is essential to it. The authors develop their thesis in three different stages.

Part I of the book sets the biblical teaching about human nature over against the dualism that became dominant in Christian thought through the influence of Augustine (who derived it from Plato) and Descartes. A dualistic anthropology mitigates against the achievement of genuine Christian community for several reasons. If the human soul is conceived along Gnostic lines as an immaterial reality distinct from the physical body, then it is natural to regard Christian spirituality as basically individual, inward, and private. On this view, the relationships Christians have with one another are only incidental to their spiritual identity. Connecting with other church members may be a part of one's spiritual life, but not essential to it. Participating with others in worship and service are matters of personal preference. If some find it helpful in their quest for personal spiritual fulfillment, well and good. If others do not, equally well and good. Within such a perspective, the authors argue, genuine Christian community is not merely elusive; it is impossible. A mere aggregate of individuals does not, and cannot, constitute the body of Christ. It can never become the sort of community envisioned in the New Testament. The church is not just a collection of people who subscribe to the same doctrines, adopt a common lifestyle, and follow more or less the same private religious activities.

To support an embodied view of the human, Brown and Strawn review the neurological evidence for localization, the fact that mental operations and emotions have their physical bases in the different parts of our brains—evidence presented earlier in such works as *Whatever Happened to the Soul?* coedited by Brown along with Nancey Murphy and H. Newton Maloney, and *Bodies and Souls, or Spirited Bodies?* by Nancey Murphy. Brown and Murphy are well-known advocates of "non-reductive physicalism," according to which nothing human can exist apart from the body, yet a human being is more than a mere succession of events in the physical world.

In Part II the authors explain how embodiment accounts for the development of human persons. According to their description, the formative factors in personal development are almost exclusively interpersonal. We are what we are because we are not only embodied in physical forms but embedded in a physical world surrounded by other similarly embodied human beings. To explain how relationships shape us, the authors appeal to the theory of complex dynamical systems, which accounts for the way complex characteristics such as minds and personalities can emerge from myriad ongoing interactions involving millions of parts.

A "system," they indicate, as distinct from a mere aggregate, consists of individual parts that function as a unit. A "dynamical" system is one that has the capacity to reorganize in response to changes in the environment, specifically in response to "catastrophes," that is, mismatches between the system and its surroundings. And the various factors than enable a system to function *dynamically,* in the technical sense, are imitation, shared attention, attachment, and empathy, along with language and story. Physically embodied

and socially embedded in the world, the human self or person is subject to continual growth and transformation.

When Brown and Strawn bring these insights to bear on the nature and purpose of the church in the climactic section of the book (Part III), they offer some rather striking conclusions. When it comes to spiritual formation, they maintain, individual growth is a by-product of congregational growth. Since the processes of human formation in general are primarily social, spiritual growth is also social and interpersonal. An important element in spiritual growth is the development of "secure attachments," and the necessary context for this to take place is small groups of people who spend significant time together and learn to trust one another. It cannot happen when groups are too large or when members meet together only sporadically. A mere collection of people who "swarm" at the same time and place will never become more than a loose association of the independently spiritual.

Furthermore, in a dynamical system, that is, one in which significant growth can take place, there is reciprocal interaction between the individuals and the group. A family is a good example of such a system. In a family, influence flows from the individual to the group, and from the group back to the individual. As a result of these interactions, the roles family members play will be flexible, and the group as a whole proves to be more than the sum of its individual parts. "Families and churches develop capacities that go well beyond the singular capacities of any of the individuals in the family or church" (129).

These observations have interesting implications for church size. From the study of primate communities, scientists have concluded that the size of the ideal group is related to the brain size of the species. The greater a species' brain size, the larger the typical group its members forms. Accordingly, given the relative size of the human neocortex, the ideal number of persons who can form an effectively functioning human community is around 150, but this is too large a group for truly effective interaction. The size of an "optimally meshed network," one in which there are at most two relational steps between each member, is fifty persons, and the size of a "totally meshed network," one in which members have direct connections with each other, is about twelve people (137).

Brown and Strawn's observations are both informative and provocative. They challenge a great deal of conventional thinking about the nature of Christian spirituality. If human beings are embodied and embedded, as extensive research indicates, there is something profoundly mistaken about the religious individualism that is so pervasive today. If interpersonal relationships are not incidental to our identity, but constitutive of it, then we can be fully human, and we can be fully spiritual, only in community. And if the church is to be a body in any significant sense, it will comprise relatively small communities whose members interconnect over time in profoundly personal ways.

Their observations also challenge a great deal of conventional thinking about the church, including such things as congregational size, the measure

of denominational success, and the purpose of the church's mission. If the essential purpose of the church is to cultivate significant interpersonal relationships, and this can only happen in relatively small groups, then the formation of such groups should be a high priority. In the case of large churches, those with hundreds or thousands of members, church can happen, so to speak, only with the formation of small groups, churches within the church.

Their conclusions also redirect the focus of attention when it comes to the church's mission. Some Christian traditions or organizations encourage a strong sense of global identity. They provide information about church members in various parts of the world, especially in places where the church is growing remarkably or where church members are facing serious challenges. And they emphasize the important role that official church leaders play in coordinating its various activities, clarifying its doctrines, and establishing uniform policies for the entire membership. What does not get much attention by comparison is just what these scholars maintain is vital to the church conceived as the body of Christ, namely, the development of strong relationships within local congregations. If Brown and Strawn are on the right track, something more is needed than the concept that the church is primarily a worldwide movement that is identified by a message that is conceived as a set of doctrinal convictions. A collection of individuals does not constitute the church if it is defined only by a unified organization, commonly held beliefs, and similar religious practices. Church truly exists, their observations indicate, only where there is genuine community, that is, only where there are groups of Christians who form close caring relationships.

Brown and Strawn do not provide a full-fledged ecclesiology, nor do they intend to. The interface between church and society, or between church and world, does not come up. Nor does the perplexing phenomenon of all the deeply felt and long-standing divisions within Christianity. We could go on. But what they offer as a very specific proposal, namely, that a biblically informed concept of the church must take into account the wholistic view that humans are physically embodied and socially embedded, is entirely successful.

Loma Linda University   RICHARD RICE

Clayton, Philip, and Steven Knapp. *The Predicament of Belief: Science, Philosophy and Faith.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2011. x + 184 pp. Hardcover, $32.95.

What is the appropriate relation between the relative strength of the evidence that supports a religious belief and the degree of confidence with which the belief is held? In *The Predicament of Belief* Philip Clayton and Steven Knapp develop a carefully formulated response to this persistent question. The predicament of which they speak applies to those who find the claims of Christianity problematic from the standpoint of scientific and historical

investigation, and yet attractive, if not irresistible, from a personal standpoint. They argue that those who find themselves in this situation can continue to believe and still maintain their intellectual integrity.

Clayton and Knapp distinguish their own position from two contrasting alternatives. They want to embrace more of what Christians have traditionally affirmed than those who "may be minimalists in what they believe, but [. . .] maximalists in the confidence with which they believe it" (18)—a description that brings to mind the position of a neo-liberal theologian like Schubert M. Ogden, for whom theology has no final basis except our common human experience, a position that excludes a good many traditional Christian affirmations. At the same time, they differ with those who assent to a wide range of traditional Christian claims but are noticeably unconcerned with evidential considerations that would render them at all suspect—from fideists, for example.

So, while they embrace the commitment of liberal theology to render the contents of faith intelligible to the modern mind, they resist the liberal tendency to dismiss too quickly various Christian claims which the "modern mind" finds problematic.

These epistemological and doctrinal aspirations account for the most important features of their project. On the epistemological front, they formulate a highly differentiated view of rationality. And on the doctrinal front, they conclude that the central claims of Christian faith exhibit different degrees of credibility. What we have here, then, is a highly nuanced view of the way, or ways, in which believers today can be both responsive to the various challenges to their beliefs that arise in the modern world *and* faithful to the central Christian claims that continue to motivate and inspire them on a personal level—a position that Clayton and Knapp identify as "Christian minimalism."

When it comes to *beliefs,* Clayton and Knapp find compelling reasons to affirm that infinite or ultimate reality is "not-less-than-personal" in nature, that human beings are related to that reality, and that one particular human being, namely, Jesus, plays a "uniquely authoritative role" in that relationship (136). In contrast, they "stop short of affirming a number of the most dramatic traditional claims," in particular, those regarding miraculous divine intervention, Jesus' bodily resurrection, and Jesus' identity with one of three "Persons" constituting the divine reality (136-137). They are not emphatic in rejecting the latter, however, and they admit that their affirmations undergo significant revision.

Christian minimalism differs from traditional belief not only in the content of what is believed, but also in the manner in which one believes (148); and it is here, I believe, that Clayton and Knapp offer their most stimulating observations. They describe various ways in which religious believers—not just religious belief—can be intellectually responsible. In a chapter entitled "Doubt and Belief," they argue that there are no fewer than six degrees or levels of rationality (111), which they variously describe as forming an epistemic scale (128), a typology of degrees of rational justification (115-

116), and "a sufficiently nuanced framework for assessing the rational status of belief" (118). Each level is characterized by two things: the relative strength of the evidence in favor of a belief and the relative confidence of the believer in the truth of her belief.

On level one, someone believes something and believes that it is endorsed by the relevant community of experts (RCE). On level two, a person believes something even though the community of experts does not, because she believes the community of experts is mistaken in rejecting it. On level three, she believes something which she does not expect the community of experts ever to accept, because her personal experiences make it reasonable for her to believe.

On the first three levels, the believer's degree of conviction apparently remains constant even though the nature of the evidence changes. On levels four to six, however, this confidence noticeably declines.

On level 4, a person accepts a certain belief even though she does not expect the relevant community of experts ever to accept it, and is not sure herself that her experience provides enough evidence to justify the belief. Nonetheless, she finds the evidence sufficient to render the belief, if not rationally justified, then "rationally permissible." On level five, the person discovers that she does not have good reasons to embrace a certain belief, and therefore no longer believes it, but nevertheless still *hopes* that it will turn out to be true. On level six, the person no longer believes something, or even hopes that it will turn out to be true, but still finds it helpful, or useful. But she may suspend her disbelief while worshiping with others, and she may have occasional moments of conviction.

Clayton and Knapp deserve credit for emphasizing the importance of what we might call "responsible belief." Having good reasons for one's beliefs, and knowing just what level of justification applies to those beliefs, is important. Our most important decisions should be based on reasons that we think are good ones (118), and we should realistically and humbly assess the strength of these reasons.

In addition, the authors perceptively acknowledge the difficulty of achieving and maintaining responsible belief and the even more subtle difficulty of assessing one's level of belief. While responsible belief may be a worthy ideal, they seem to concede, in practical life it is almost impossible to realize. For one thing, there is no way for us to step outside our beliefs to compare them to reality itself (112). For another, human beings are not entirely, or even largely, rational. Some care about such things more than others, and among those who care, no one can cite a rational basis for everything she believes (111). And when it comes to assessing such a personal and urgent matter as one's own religious belief, things are even more difficult (118).

Due to the varying degrees of justification for religious beliefs (111) and the multiple ways in which a rational agent can be committed to a particular religious claim (134), the life of faith is one of constant flux. People are likely to slide up and down the scale of rationality over the course of their

religious experience (120), and the inventory of their beliefs that acquire and lose justification may be constantly shifting. Indeed, it is quite possible that someone will "adhere more strongly" to a belief that has less justification, or is even irrational by her own standards, than to one that has more (120).

Another noteworthy feature of their discussion is the fact that Clayton and Knapp acknowledge the difference between what Stephen T. Davis calls public and private evidence. There is evidence that is available to any informed, reasonable person, and there is evidence that is accessible only to an individual herself. The stronger evidence may well be of the latter sort. As Clayton and Knapp observe, however, having private evidence is not the same as having no evidence at all. In their epistemic scheme, a belief may be responsible, a person may be justified in embracing it, even though it may rest on evidence that is accessible only to the individual herself, and not to an objective, disinterested observer.

Perhaps the most important qualification they attach to their stratification of belief is the concluding "reminder" that the epistemic "levels" they describe are really "just convenient points along a continuum," and "for any individual believer, the location of any particular claim along that continuum is subject to revision in light of new arguments, new experiences, and new discoveries" (134-135).

Along with its helpful insights, *The Predicament of Belief* also raises several questions. Given the complexity of our beliefs and the varieties of justification, the expression "continuum" seems preferable to that of "levels," which appears much more frequently. The latter sets up a hierarchy of rationality, according to which some types of justification are superior to others, with the result that beliefs may descend (119), decline (120), even fall (126) from higher to lower levels. In light of the root cognitive metaphor that "good is up," and higher is better, the connotation is unavoidable that even though evidence of a distinctly personal nature may qualify as "rational," it is decidedly inferior to evidence of a public nature.

But suppose we place the various forms of justification at different locations on more or less the same level. Instead of a hierarchical arrangement of rationality, or "rationalities," therefore, I prefer that we place the various forms of justification at different locations on more or less the same level. This would allow us to regard beliefs that rely on different sorts of evidence—public *and* private evidence, for example—as equally responsible even though they derive from different sources. And it would allow people who hold a particular belief for different reasons to be equally rational in doing so.

Then, too, there is the role that private evidence plays in the lives of many believers. The paradigmatic figure that Clayton and Knapp have in mind, the person who finds herself in a predicament, seems to be someone who starts from a position of belief, encounters various reasons to doubt those beliefs, and then hopes to find enough evidence to retain them, if not in their original, then in modified form. My suspicion is that this underestimates the power of the initial experience of faith, which provides both the incentive for the believer to pursue this hope and often, in the final analysis, the decisive

evidence for her conviction. It may be that faith can weather the storms of doubt because it finds enough evidence of a public nature to dispel the doubts, or at least to defuse their power. But one may also find that the power of one's early experience, the private evidence that planted the seeds of faith to begin with, is sufficient to sustain it during the strongest intellectual gales.

The account Karl Rahner gives of his experience will sound familiar to many. "I find myself a believer and have not come upon any good reason for not believing. I was baptized and brought up in the faith, and so the faith that is my inheritance has also become the faith of my own deliberate choice, a real, personal faith."

Another reason to question the use of "levels" language with reference to different epistemic situations is that it seems to undervalue an essential characteristic of faith. As generally described, faith exhibits an "in spite of" quality. It involves trust in the absence of conclusive evidence or proof. Faced with overwhelming, or coercive, evidence, one would have no need—indeed, there would be no room—for faith. In that case, one's belief would simply be the product of the evidence. If one's embrace of certain beliefs involves faith, it seems, there must be a distance between what she affirms and what the evidence fully supports. What seems to be a relative deficiency from a purely epistemic standpoint therefore seems to be an essential feature of faith. If so, then the highest epistemic level in Clayton and Knapp's scheme is not necessarily superior to some of the other positions they describe.

Wolfhart Pannenberg's distinction between the "trusting certainty of faith" and "absolute theoretical certainty" may be helpful here. Because "faith lives from the truth of its foundations," it is entirely appropriate for us to assess the evidence that supports the claims of faith. But since true faith consists in the "total committal of one's existence in the act of trust," we distort the nature of faith if we seek to extend this theoretical credibility into "an absolute theoretical certainty."

However tempting it is to tweak their formulations, the fact remains that Clayton and Knapp provide a wonderfully nuanced account of responsible belief. I can't recall any discussion of religious epistemology that is more sensitive than theirs to the complex experience of those who find themselves grasped both by the power of religious commitment and the summons to intellectual responsibility. The authors have placed us all in their debt.

Loma Linda University   Richard Rice

Dunbar, S., Gibson L. J., and Rasi, H. M., eds., *Entrusted: Christians and Environmental Care*. Mexico: Adventus, 2013, x + 286 pp. Paper, $19.95.

A range of environmental issues have increasingly challenged Christians to consider the appropriate balance between consumption and preservation of limited resources, given the declining condition of our sinful planet. *Entrusted* is a collection of 23 articles that offer concise yet comprehensive introductory responses to these pressing issues. Under the editorial leadership of Dunbar, Gibson, and Rasi, a group of authors with diverse backgrounds (including

theologians, ethicists, scientists, environmentalists, and educators) have taken the task to guide Christians through these urgent matters by providing a theory and practice of earth stewardship grounded in the biblical mandate pronounced in Gen 1:27-30. All authors share a Christian worldview and build upon this common foundation with tools unique to their education, enriching the exposition with key insights from their area of expertise.

The book is structured in five sections, covering five main themes: Christians and the Environment, Animal and Environmental Ethics, Human Health and the Environment, Biodiversity and Conservation Strategies, and Environmental Education.

The first section is an overview of the biblical foundations for earth stewardship. Through a host of Bible verses, the writers show the extensive involvement God manifests in His care for all creation, and challenge us to consider our attitude toward animals and nature in light of God's example. The section does a marvelous job at highlighting biblical details referring to animals and/or nature that often are overlooked. Once unearthed, these details beckon the reader to rethink many familiar passages. Stories, laws, covenants and commands, poetry, feasts, and prophecies gain more depth and become more relevant as we discover how nature or animals are involved. From the opening section, the authors establish that there is a correlation between one's worldview and the care for nature, and state the belief in God as a foundational presupposition. Rasi makes a compelling case for a theocentric (versus anthropocentric or ecocentric) approach to environmental care. This biblical worldview and theocentric approach invites the reader to exercise free will by making responsible choices driven by an understanding of God's relation to His creation and the interconnection of all creatures, and not by greed, selfishness, and a desire to display power. The section concludes with Tonstad's exegetical case for Satan being the destroyer of the earth, while God is the healer, "no less [. . .] of the earth than of human creation" (60).

Section two tackles the relationship between humans and animals. Gerald Winslow makes a distinction between animals and other life forms (such as plants) and offers good argumentation that all animals (pets and wild animals alike) should be treated with equal care, though guided by specific principles based on the particularities of that animal. In view of this, he holds that, while humans and their basic needs come first, a plant-based diet is ethically preferable when possible, and that injuring animals for sport and entertainment is wrong (71). The section continues with an overview of the principles guiding animal research, wherein Mark Carr calls for higher standards than the already rigorous "Reduce, Refine, Replace" ethics of the AAALAC (77). Such higher standards, he suggests, should arise from our understanding of "dominion" in Gen 1:28 as responsible stewardship versus selfish use and abuse (79-80), and from our view of animals as having moral status (or moral value—that is, they are "so valuable that [they] should be treated with special regard" (77). Sandra Blackmer gives the reader insight into the animals' living conditions in industrialized farms today. Through concise yet frank and graphic descriptions, we learn of what the animals suffer from

birth to transport to slaughter, the impact of this treatment on the farm workers and the environment, and individual action we all can take. The last chapter offers a categorization of GMOs (genetically modified organisms) and an evaluation of the risks each type of GMO involves.

Section three covers the connection between environment and human health. Roy Gane analyzes key biblical passages that suggest an interrelation between the physical, spiritual, mental, and emotional dimensions of the human being (114), and elaborates on the impact that laws of restraint, rest, respect, and abstinence have upon human and environmental health. Dunbar emphasizes that "human health is intimately integrated with biodiversity in almost every conceivable way" (127), and educates the reader on the risks of biodiversity loss and ecosystems disruptions with specific, eye-opening examples. The section concludes with a presentation of the interconnection between geologic material and processes, and human health.

Section four goes more in detail on biodiversity and conservation strategies which, understood with the heart of a dedicated Christian, have great potential to make a difference for the better for the entire creation. Section five concludes the book with six chapters that guide Adventists on how we can contribute to holistic environmental health through practical measures to take in our homes, our institutions and industries.

Entrusted is a rich, much needed contribution to our theoretical and practical appreciation of the call to support a holistic earth health. It is written in an engaging style that maintains the reader's interest with many key insights from highly qualified contributors.

It is evident that a biblical worldview shapes the direction of thought of the authors of the book. The implications of their shared Christian worldview upon the research and proposals may be viewed as faulty by other professionals. Since the presuppositions are stated and affirmed from the beginning and throughout the book, however, a fair reading of their work must take into consideration the reference points they choose and consistently apply.

The book tends to be a little repetitive in some key thoughts. This is possibly a result of the authors' enthusiastic commitment to Scriptures, and an estimated occurrence for multi-authored books. A more thorough editorial scrutiny could have prevented the duplications without losing central ideas, and thus make the reading experience smoother.

The strength of the book resides in the variety of perspectives presented, substantiated with a solid number of primary and secondary references particular to the different areas of expertise. These perspectives enable the reader not only to get educated on the topic, but also to participate intelligently and responsibly in earth stewardship. The divine mandate to care for the earth is given to all humans, and therefore the initiative is always timely and valuable. The book is accessible to a general audience, and I believe that its transformative information can inspire us and those in our care both individually and collectively.

Berrien Springs, Michigan   ADELINA ALEXE

Fortin, Denis and Jerry Moon. *The Ellen G. White Encyclopedia*. Hagerstown,
    MD: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 2013. 1,465 pp.
    Hardcover. $69.99.

The editors of this important reference work, Denis Fortin and Jerry Moon,
are both renowned experts on the life and influence of Ellen G. White. Fortin
served as dean at the Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary at Andrews
University, and since 1995 teaches, together with Moon, a course about issues
in the study of Ellen White. Moon has written his Ph.D. dissertation about the
relationship between Ellen G. White and W. C. White, her son. He currently
serves as chair of the Church History Department. This work of 1,465 pages
is not theirs alone but has been written by more than 180 contributors from
all over the world.

   The Ellen G. White Encyclopedia contains general articles on the life written
work and theology of Ellen White. Included are a biography by Jerry Moon
and Denis Kaiser; a chronology by Robert W. Olsen and Roger W. Coon; an
article on her writings by George R. Knight; an essay on publications on Ellen
White, friendly as well as critical, by Merlin D. Burt; an article on some of
Ellen Whites more controversial statements in the area of science by Jud Lake
and Jerry Moon; and an article on her theology by Denis Fortin.

   The general articles are followed by a biographical section in which every
person of importance in her life, as well as everyone she has written to, is
listed with short descriptions. In combination with Appendix C, in which
every recipient of her letters is listed in chronological order, the reader is able
to quickly find background information on letters and manuscripts.

   The topical section contains hundreds of articles pertaining to topics she
spoke about, visions she received, institutions she wrote about, and events she
was a part of. In this part, *The Ellen G. White Encyclopedia* provides well balanced
resources about topics well known and often discussed, such as cheese and
sports, but also descriptions of her less-prominent journeys to places such
as Norway and New Zealand. Obviously, statements such as her being no
prophet but a mere messenger, or the development and abandonment of
the shut-door doctrine, are included and discussed at some length, not only
relying on Ellen Whites own writing, but taking into account many other
sources from the time in question. Her views on, and the development of,
teachings such as righteousness by faith or prophetic interpretation are
presented by experts in the field.

   The Ellen G. White Encyclopedia is indeed a book that should not be missing
on the shelf of any informed Adventist or anyone who is interested in
studying Adventism or the life of Ellen White. The price of $69.99 can really
be regarded as a bargain, given the information, the degree of organization,
and the international effort put into this undoubtedly most comprehensive
work ever written on Ellen G. White.

Berrien Springs, Michigan   Valentin Zywietz

Gane, Roy E., Nicholas P. Miller, and H. Peter Swanson, eds. *Homosexuality, Marriage, and the Church: Biblical, Counseling, and Religious Liberty Issues*. Berrien Springs: Andrews University Press, 2012. 600 pp. Paper, $24.99.

Andrews University Press recently released this book containing the following chapters:

Section 1: Theological Issues
1. Homosexuality in the Old Testament (Richard M. Davidson)
2. The Scriptural Case for a Male-Female Prerequisite for Sexual Relations: A Critique of the Arguments of Two Adventist Scholars (Robert A. J. Gagnon)
3. Some Attempted Alternatives to Timeless Biblical Condemnation of Homosexual Acts (Roy E. Gane)
4. Return to Innocence (Miroslav M. Kis)
5. Homosexuality and the Bible: What Is at Stake in the Current Debate (Richard M. Davidson)

Section 2: Legal Issues
1. Should Adventists Care About Protecting Traditional Marriage? (Nicholas P. Miller)
2. Wake Up and Smell the Equality: Same-Sex Marriage and Religious Liberty (Alan J. Reinach)
3. Northern Exposure: How the Church Is Faring under Canada's Same-Sex Marriage Regimen (Gerald Chipeur)
4. Freedom and Marriage (Scot Zentner)
5. Same-Sex Marriage and the Declaration of Independence (Gary V. Wood)

Section 3: Counseling Issues
1. A Pastoral Applications of a Three-Tier Distinction Between Same-Sex Attraction, a Homosexual Orientation, and a Gay Identity (Mark A. Yarhouse)
2. Ex-Gays? An Extended Longitudinal Study of Attempted Religiously Mediated Change in Sexual Orientation (Stanton L. Jones and Mark A. Yarhouse)
3. The Psychological and Scriptural Care of a Gay Man Who Chose Celibacy: A Case Study (Carlos Fayard)
4. Sexual Orientation and Skin Color: Deconstructing Key Assumptions in the Debates about Gay Marriage and the Church (Stanton L. Jones and Mark A. Yarhouse)
5. Good News for Adventists Attracted to Their Own Sex (Inge Anderson)

Section 4: Testimonies
1. Homosexuals Are God's Children, Too! (Ron Woolsey)
2. Into His Marvelous Light (Lisa Santos)
3. "Born That Way" and Redeemed by Love (Winston King)

4. Bondage to Freedom: From My Plan B to God's Plan A (Jonathan Smith)
5. By Beholding His Love (Virna Santos)
6. To Know His Love (Wayne Blakely)

Glanz, Oliver. *Wenn die Götter auferstehen und die Propheten rebellieren* [When the Gods Resurrect and the Prophets Rebel]. Alsbach-Hähnlein, Germany: Stimme der Hoffnung e. V., 2012. 304 pp. Paper. €24.99.

Oliver Glanz is a newly appointed assistant professor in the Old Testament Department of the Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary, Berrien Springs, MI. Prior to that, until April 2014, he worked as a researcher at the Department of Theology at the Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam (The Netherlands). Glanz, who holds two Master's degrees (Theology and Philosophy) and a Ph.D. (Exegetical Methodology and Philosophical Hermeneutics), is not unknown to the readers of *AUSS* due to several articles on biblical-theological methodology published in this journal.

In his monograph "Wenn die Götter auferstehen und die Propheten rebellieren" ("When the Gods Resurrect and the Prophets Rebel") Glanz offers an integrated approach to the question of reality in a postmodern culture, in dialogue with the biblical prophetic worldview. This prophetic outlook on reality reveals a criticism of religion (in biblical times the religions of the nations/Gentiles), which is similar to the modern religious criticism as revealed in the works of Marx, Feuerbach, Freud, Nietzsche, and others, where religion is rejected as a human projection of desires, hopes, and fears, and thus the faith in god(s) as a merely human invention. The biblical prophets have a very similar standpoint: common religion (as manifested in the nations) is merely an attempt to have a god/several gods at man's bidding, gods who can be manipulated by certain rituals, sacrifices, and other religious activity to give to man what man wants. But—and that is the big difference— they hold that true religion is only to be found with JHWH, the God of Israel, who cannot be manipulated but is an independent being who reveals himself when, where, and to whom he wants. Revelation always starts with God, never with man. There is no ritual mechanism made by man that ensures the reaction and blessings of JHWH, but rather JHWH himself reveals what he wants. The Bible is full of signs of JHWH's independency: "he speaks when he wants—even then, when nobody asks or inquires for it. He gives fertility— even then, when nobody expects it anymore. JHWH is a personality with His own will and own ideas, and this is the reason why he can become a 'you,' an *opposite* for man. The prophets declare that JHWH is a real 'you' for man and not only a mere reflection [of human desires]" (91. Translation by A. Kaiser). In an easily readable and intellectually inviting way, Glanz takes his reader on a journey through the implications this basic thought has for our understanding of reality: of history, of the future, of creation, of sin and sense, of fear, longing, and anthropology, as well as of death. Always dialoguing with

current (post)modern thoughts on these topics, the author shows that the biblical view of God has immense essential implications for every area of life. Foremost, however, this prophetic understanding of reality infuses those who accept it with a hope and a longing for active and intentional living, because it shows that our life hinges neither on subjectivism (1st person-perspective: "I create the world by the way I see things!") nor on objectivism (3rd person-perspective: "I have no say, but rather I get created by the biological data, social background, national history and religious context, etc., I grow up with!"). Our life rather hinges on relationships (2nd person perspective): the essential relationship to the ultimate You (JHWH), our creator and redeemer, and—flowing out from that relationship—to our fellow humans whom we see as real partners in our life. Thus, investing oneself by loving others and nurturing valuable relationships with our neighbors, is real living and is a fresh alternative to the widespread current lethargy among people of all ages, but especially among the youth.

The book is divided into four main parts: In Part I the author reflects on general questions and answers of (post)modern men and women in regards to reality. Part II offers an analysis of significant thought buildings which are based on (post)modern foundations. Having offered the perspective of the biblical prophets already from early on, Glanz invites the reader in Part III to get acquainted with the reading of reality according to the prophetical worldview. Part IV provides an analysis of the historical quality of prophetic texts.

Each of these four main parts consists of three to seven chapters (total of 21 chapters), which consist of three main parts each: 1) introduction into the chapter's topic, 2) discussion of the topic in subsequent short passages, and 3) clarification, or summary, of the chapter and a deepening part with concrete questions for personal reflection on the chapter or as a study guide for discussion groups. At the beginning of each chapter the author lists a selection of helpful readings (books, articles, etc.) that can broaden the reader's horizon regarding the point Glanz makes in the respective chapter.

The book is targeted at people of all ages, especially those who wrestle intellectually with the complexity of reality. Although the book aims at readers familiar with the most basic philosophical concepts, it does not present itself to this audience alone, since it keeps technical terms to a minimum and is easy to read by everyone who reflects deeper on life in general. The writing style is engaging, the order of topics well replicable, and the multiple graphics very supportive of the stream of thought. The literature suggestions in the beginning of the book and the questions at the end of each chapter recommend the book for discussion groups/readers desiring to continue and deepen their reflection on the topic. Some minor orthographical mistakes do not hinder the reader from encountering an enriching reading experience through a book that is designed to foster experimental thinking and living, as well as dialogue. In its recent yearbook the German *Verein für Freikirchenforschung* (Society of Research on Free Churches) called this monograph "eine anspruchsvolle philosophisch-biblische Auseinandersetzung mit den Denkvoraussetzungen

der modernen Welt" ("a challenging prophetic-biblical examination of the premises of the modern world." Freikirchenforschung, 23/2014, Münster/Westf., p. 317. Translation by A. Kaiser). The author of this review highly recommends the translation of Glanz's publication into English, as it holds the potential to fill an essential niche in the Christian and Adventist book market, not only in German-speaking countries of postmodern Europe, but more and more in the increasingly secular nations of the English-speaking world.

Berrien Springs, Michigan   Angelika Kaiser

Heinz, Daniel, ed. *Freikirchen und Juden im „Dritten Reich": Instrumentalisierte Heilsgeschichte, antisemitische Vorurteile und verdrängte Schuld* [Free Churches and Jews in the "Third Reich": Instrumentalized Salvation History, Antisemitic Prejudices, and Repressed Guilt]. Kirche – Konfession – Religion, Vol. 54. Göttingen: V&R Unipress, 2011. 343 pp. Hardcover, € 49.99.

The editor of this volume, Daniel Heinz, director of the European Archives of Seventh-day Adventist History at Friedensau Adventist University, Germany, previously authored an article about the self-sacrificing dedication and martyrdom of members of the free churches in the twentieth century. See "Dem Gebot und Gewissen verpflichtet: Freikirchliche Märtyrer," in *Ihr Ende schaut an: Evangelische Märtyrer des 20. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Harald Schultze and Andreas Kurschat (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2006), 83-96. The current volume addresses a surprisingly negative aspect in the history of the free churches in Central Europe, most of which actually have an American origin. The last twenty-some years have witnessed a growing awareness of the problematic relationship between the Christian denominations and the Jewish population in Germany during the time of the Third Reich. Many denominations began a process of coming to terms with their past and their own participation in the horrors of the Shoah. Although this process began quite late in the free churches, it is laudable that, after a number of individual studies and publications on that topic, in this book they present their mutual contribution to the accounting for the past of the free churches in Nazi Germany.

The first chapter provides significant background information to the book by describing views about Jews that many members of free churches held in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (13-33). The subsequent ten chapters are contributions that deal with specific free churches, such as the Quakers (35-64), the Mennonites (65-76), the Brethren Movement (77-102), Methodists (103-126), the Pentecostal Movement (127-149), the Baptists (151-181), the Free Evangelicals (183-214), the independent Evangelical-Lutheran Churches (215-245), the Free Moravian Church (245-280), and the Seventh-day Adventists (281-308). These chapters are followed by an appendix about the relationship between Jews and free churches in Austria,

specifically illustrated by the examples of the Baptist Arnold Köster and the Methodist Hinrich Bargmann (311-330).

The words from Obad 1:11 describe the general tenor of each chapter well: "On the day that you stood aloof, on the day that strangers carried off his wealth and foreigners entered his gates and cast lots for Jerusalem, you were like one of them" (151). Although in each denominational tradition there were individuals who tried to support, help, and save Jews or Christians of Jewish descent, all authors admitted that the majority of church members and their denominations in general were either passive bystanders or even fervent supporters of the Nazi regime. The only exception was the small group of the Quakers who manifested a great deal of acceptance, helpfulness, and lived solidarity, particularly toward Jews but also toward inmates of concentration camps in general (62, 63). The number of individual Quakers who, at the risk of their own life, went so far as to hide Jews was unusually high in relation to the small size of their denomination (63).

A reading of the book may otherwise be depressing, because it shows both the fear and darkness in many of the practices and policies of these churches. The free churches were united in their uncritical attitude toward the Nazi regime, their joy about an increased public recognition by the government, and the felt desire to do everything they could to secure the undisturbed practice of the life of the church. Yet, it was also pointed out that almost all free churches were open to theological views that justified anti-Judaism, something that may already be seen in their writings in the nineteenth century (13-33). Thus while they were not anti-Semites in a strict sense and sometimes even believed in an eschatological salvific function of the Jewish people, they nevertheless opposed the perceived materialistic and anti-Christian mentality of the Jews, including the alleged harmfulness to German society (e.g., 20, 21). The only solution to this problem was the evangelization of the Jews and the incorporation of converted Jews into the Christian body. That may have been the reason why, in 1933, many believers had reservations against the application of the Aryan Paragraph to Christians of Jewish decent; yet there was almost no opposition (27).

It may, however, also be encouraging and raise hope because, given the fact that the book deals with issues that are highly sensitive, it is even more remarkable that the chapters on the specific churches were all written by scholars who are, at the same time, pastors or members of these respective churches, demonstrating the willingness and the desire to critically assess their own denominational heritage, which is necessary for a true and genuine admission of guilt.

A few suggestions may be made. In his chapter on the Seventh-day Adventists, Heinz seems to imply that the harsh theory of the substitution of the Jewish people by the Christian church was rejected by German Seventh-day Adventists already at the very beginning (282), yet the source references show only primary sources from the 1980s and 2000s. The introductory section of that chapter (281-284) could have benefitted from a description of the relationships between Adventists and Jews in Germany before the 1930s,

similar to the background descriptions found in several other chapters (37-41, 66-69, 79-84, 108, 110-121, 185-188, 245-247). Such background information would also have been helpful in the chapters on the Pentecostal Movement, the Baptists, and the independent Evangelical-Lutheran Churches, because that information would show if some statements were made under the pressure of society and government, or if there existed already an inherent anti-Jewish attitude. While Wolfgang E. Heinrichs' chapter on the views about the Jews as held among Free Church members in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries attempts to meet this need, it can only accomplish it insufficiently because, in its discussion of views and individuals, it covers merely a part of the addressed churches. It is assumed that the selection of views and individuals is representative of all free churches.

The contributions found in this book close a gap in the research on free churches in the Third Reich and both their attitude and practice towards Jews. Although other individual articles and studies will probably provide more information on the policies and practices of specific churches regarding Jews, this book constitutes a concise and clear overview of the topic, as well as a mutual testimony and confession of the Free Churches in Germany, and thus a valuable contribution in the process of coming to terms with the mistakes and shortcomings of these denominational traditions, a significant step to learn from the past and to avoid repeating the systematic marginalization and persecution of minority groups.

Berrien Springs, Michigan   DENIS KAISER

Höschele, Stefan. *Interchurch and Interfaith Relations: Seventh-day Adventist Statements and Documents.* Adventistica 10. Frankfurt am Main, Germany: Peter Lang, 2010. 185 pp. Hardcover, $60.95.

Stefan Höschele completed his doctoral degree in Theology and Religious Studies in 2005 at the University of Malawi, Africa. His dissertation, titled "Christian Remnant – African Folk Church: The History of Seventh-day Adventism in Tanzania, 1903-1980," was published by Brill in 2007 under the same title. Höschele is currently a lecturer of Systematic Theology and Mission Studies at Friedensau Adventist University, Germany. Höschele's current publications reflect an interest in ecumenism and interchurch/interfaith relations, missiology, and eschatology.

The present work, *Interchurch and Interfaith Relations*, is a compilation of numerous texts (organized within forty-one sections), including resolutions, responses, and statements from within the Seventh-day Adventist Church. Since this is the first endeavor to compile documents of this nature, Höschele attempted to include "all relevant official texts" within the history of Adventism (Höschele, 11). In addition to the texts, Höschele has provided brief comments about each document without extensive interpretation or detailed exposition that may provide a bias.

The book is divided into three primary parts: (1) Interchurch Relations: Resolutions, Statements, and Other Texts; (2) Interchurch Relations: Dialogue Documents; and (3) Interfaith Relations. All of the documents are essentially organized in a chronological manner within each of the three sections. This not only allows the reader to easily locate a particular text, but also enables the documents to be read in historical order, which highlights growth and development within the denomination. A final section worthy of note is the five-page selected bibliography. This final part includes references for valuable articles, books, and dissertations on Adventist interchurch or interfaith relations.

Several documents relating to Seventh Day Baptists, Roman Catholics, the Ecumenical Movement, and other groups are found within the first section of the book. Höschele has also selected quotations from Ellen G. White that relate to other churches and included pertinent SDA Fundamental Beliefs. This section is rather diverse and primarily highlights the Adventist self-understanding vis-à-vis other denominations or Christian movements throughout its history.

Part 2 is composed of six interchurch dialogue documents. These statements reflect conversations between Adventists and the World Council of Churches, the Lutheran World Federation, Roman Catholics, the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, and the World Evangelical Alliance. Therefore, this section demonstrates that the Adventist Church has been in respectful dialogue with many major Christian denominations.

The third part is comprised of interfaith statements, with three quotations from Ellen G. White on the subject. Within this section the reader will find Adventist statements made to Muslims, Hindus, Buddhists, Jews, and secular society. With the addition of this section, it can be observed that Adventists have publically declared their respect and understanding of most major faith groups outside of Christianity.

The purpose of this compiled book is to benefit those interested in "church history, ecumenics, free church theology, and Adventism," and particularly "those interested in the study of interchurch and interfaith relations" (11). This goal will, without doubt, find achievement. This book is a convenient launching pad for more in-depth study on any of the individual documents or the subject as a whole. Adventists, as well as other Christians and faith groups, can express their appreciation to Höschele for bringing all of these documents together in one volume.

Since it was not Höschele's intention to provide in-depth analysis for each of these documents, his book raises many questions for researchers. What is the story behind each document? Why were most documents prepared in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries? Why did documents, such as the Euro-Africa Division of Seventh-day Adventists response to "Charta Oecumenica," remain unpublished for nearly a decade before being made public in Höschele's book? How have interchurch and interfaith relations affected Seventh-day Adventists' view of ecclesiology? Höschele has laid the

groundwork and has challenged scholars to utilize this sourcebook for further study.

The overall importance of this book cannot be dismissed. Höschele has prepared a seminal contribution to the Seventh-day Adventist Church and Christian and religious world as a whole. This book is a must-have for those interested in the topic, and it receives my full recommendation.

Berrien Springs, Michigan   KEVIN BURTON

Kessler, John. *Old Testament Theology: Divine Call and Human Response.* Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2013. ix + 623 pp. Paper, $59.95.

Kessler has been professor of Old Testament at Tyndale University College and Seminary in Toronto, Ontario, Canada, since 1992. His other publications include a monograph entitled *The Book of Haggai: Prophecy and Society in Early Persian Yehud* (Brill, 2002) and a *Festschrift for Donald Leggett, Teach Me Your Paths* (Clements, 2000), coedited with Jeffrey Greenman. He also has published articles in various journals, including the *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society, Transeuphratène, Vetus Testamentum, Catholic Biblical Quarterly,* and the *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament.*

Old Testament Theology: Divine Call and Human Response developed from two factors: first, from the author's own journey of studying the subject of Old Testament theology, and second, from being asked to prepare curricula and teach on this particular subject. The final content, structure, methodology, and purpose of this book were synthesized during his master's and doctoral studies. John Kessler's interest in Old Testament theology is directed toward the theological tradition of the Old Testament text. Several scholars, such as Eichrodt, John Bright, and John Goldingay, further developed his interest in OT theology. Perhaps the scholar with the most influence on Kessler's theology is Odil Hannes Steck, who established the "Theological Streams of Tradition." Kessler himself states, "One particular area of interest for me was the way in which, during the late Babylonian and early Persian period (sixth through fourth centuries B.C.E.), earlier traditions and texts were transformed and reconceptualized to meet the needs of later generations facing new and unforeseen contexts" (xi).

Kessler is persuaded that the key to understanding OT theology is found in "the ability to identify the theological traditions used in a given passage and to understand the kinds of responses to God that were generally associated with those traditions" (xi). Kessler calls these theological traditions "theological streams" and delineates six of them: Sinai Covenant Theology, Promise Theology, Priestly Theology, Theology of Divine Accessibility, Creation Theology, and Wisdom Theology. The theological traditions focus "specifically upon distinct conceptualizations of the divine-human relationship within the OT canon" (xii).

Kessler's *Old Testament Theology* is comprised of eleven chapters. The first three chapters are "Reading the Old Testament Theologically," "Hearing

God's Voice in the Old Testament," and "The Old Testament's Portraits of Relationship with God." In the first chapter, Kessler addresses the challenges with OT theology that a modern reader faces. He also explores some views and hermeneutical concepts proposed by earlier scholars. Kessler believes that the church needs the New Testament views of the OT and that the stories of the OT also reveal a relational component vital to today's church. In chapter 2, the author focuses on historical views of OT theology and their implications for his study. He suggests that OT theology is done through six streams and not from only one theme. In the latter part of this chapter, Kessler begins to reveal his methodology, which he further develops in chapter 3.

He outlines in chapter 3 the focus of his book: "discerning the various patterns of response to which the people of God are called in the divine-human relationship" (68). He calls the "response to a relationship with Yahweh" a "relational-response" or "poly-systemic approach" (68), found in the six streams. Therefore, the methodology suggested is a theological "diversity of perspectives present within the biblical canon" (78) when individual texts are placed side by side. Thus, Kessler's concept of theology is to be aware of the extreme views of rigid unity versus random unrelatedness that could arise from a systemic reading of OT texts (see 97-98) and then to use the theological streams to bring clarity in the diverse passages, since, for him, theological streams "manifest both unity and diversity within themselves" (100).

In chapter 4, the author begins to implement his theological methodology. In each following chapter, chapters 4-10, the author uses theological streams, or theological traditions, to develop his OT theology. Kessler introduces in chapter 4 the first stream: "Creation Theology: The Relationship of Knowing God as Creator and God's Purpose for Creation." As suggested by the title, Kessler reveals how creation theology is first found in the Ancient Near Eastern context. From there, creation theology is developed, starting from Gen 1-3, while looking at the structure, portrait of God, human person, and creation. He also traces creation theology through selected Psalms, Job, and Isaiah passages. Finally, theological reflections, foundational relational responses, and New Testament resonances conclude the creation theology.

Chapter 5 focuses on the "Covenants and Covenantal Relationships in Israel and the Ancient Near East: An Overview." Again, the author bridges the Ancient Near Eastern covenant understanding to the OT and demonstrates similarities. He shows the covenant metaphor and key covenant patterns in the OT, which lead him to conclude that the covenant in the OT is a "Promise Theology," the pattern being made with Abraham and David. In other words, this covenant stream stresses the "*gracious nature* of the covenant and its gifts and often places great emphasis on the *future fulfillment* of the promised gifts and upon the *stability* and *certainty* of the relationship" (189, emphasis Kessler's). Chapter 6 addresses "Sinai Covenant Theology," the focus being on the law and obedience as well as grace and forgiveness. However, Kessler's emphasis is on the covenant of obedience. "Grace is not without demand" (271). "Sinai Covenant Theology" demands Israel's loyalty;

their worship must be undivided. This theology also recognizes the reality of sin and justice, although God is always willing to restore relationships and is resistant to destroying his people. This covenant calls for a response to the demands of God, but from a sincere heart (see 272).

In chapter 7, the author continues by exploring the stream of "Promise Theology," which Kessler defines as "the solemn commitment by one person to do something for another" (277). For him, "Promise Theology" is a theological counterpoint to "Sinai Covenant Theology," directed to the future and highlighting humans' trust toward God. He includes many examples in Genesis, such as Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and David. He further makes a link with the prophet Isaiah and the Psalms and concludes with theological reflections.

Chapter 8 addresses the "Priestly Theology" stream, and it is here that Kessler first points out that the biblical terminology encompasses two parallel worlds, the seen world and the unseen world. These two realms are associated with the temple and festivities related to it as well as with the holy and the unholy. Kessler's main focus in this chapter is Leviticus and Ezekiel, but he also refers to other biblical passages scattered throughout the OT. Chapter 9, "The Theology of Divine Accessibility," is about human speech to God and God listening and responding in return. This theology "lies at the core of the expression of Israelite piety" (384). The Psalms are the primary text where this theology is found. Chapter 10 focuses on the last theological stream, "Wisdom Theology," where Kessler finds two main tones or foundational perspectives: the righteous and the unrighteous. The books of Proverbs and Deuteronomy especially reveal these moral perspectives. While the author looks at many components of wisdom theology, he also shows that this theology is rooted, for example, in creation, which he calls proverbial wisdom.

Finally, the last chapter summarizes all his previous chapters and outlines how the six theological streams can influence a modern reading of the OT. Kessler shares techniques to evaluate what he has done and concludes that this is the only correct way to come to a clearer understanding of OT theology. Although he acknowledges the limitations of his study, he remains confident that his approach will help both critical and traditional scholars.

Kessler's outline is the strength of his book, particularly chapters 4-10, which closely follow the same structure. He is particular about developing his methodology and informing the reader about it. He gives modern illustrations to prove his points and all the while challenges the reader to weigh the evidence that he is providing. His expertise is also revealed through his comprehensive treatment of the subject, a result of his years of study. The author is well acquainted with a variety of theological methods found among scholars and tries to be sensitive to all these views. His extensive research and knowledge of the topic of OT theology are also demonstrated through the extensive footnotes and 43 pages of bibliography.

However, Kessler's book has theological weaknesses that cannot be overlooked. First, Kessler undermines the primary aspect of Scripture: its inspiration. Because of the methodology outlined above, even though

he claims that he accepts the traditional Christian approach, Kessler has presupposed Scripture as mainly a human composition. Second, he has done a disservice by separating the theological streams into six categories. He himself acknowledges that some of these streams overlap at times; however, his primary purposes weaken OT theology. For example, he sees Gen 15:7-21 as different from Gen 17 (see 190-191), but in reality they are not different streams; these two passages are a continuation of the covenant theme. Kessler tries too hard to dissect the biblical text, using source criticism to do OT theology (see 517). Finally, Kessler's OT theology is based too heavily on the "Divine Call and Human Response." I was not convinced that this theology is found in all of the author's theological streams; in some streams, perhaps, but definitely not in all of them.

In spite of the book's weaknesses, readers will find great value in reading this book. It could be appropriately used as a textbook for graduate-level students. Kessler's book has challenged my thinking, and his contribution to OT theology will likely make a deep impact in the scholarly world.

Berrien Springs, Michigan   Stephane Beaulieu

Knoppers, Gary N. *The Jews and Samaritans: The Origin and History of Their Early Relations*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2013. 352 pp. Hardcover, $55.00.

North and south provide an important divide not only in the United States history. This geographical partition, with the power struggles, invasions, destructions and reconstructions connected to it, is also a hallmark of the history of Israel. In both cases the divide and its consequences shaped deeply the identity of its heirs and their conscience as a nation. Identity, in the case of biblical Israel, has been marred and/or highly neglected by biblical scholars, and Gary Knoppers desires to set it straight. For him the Samari(t)ans are legitimate Israelites with a long history of interaction with their southern Israelites siblings. The implications for the study of Israel's identity in the biblical texts are challenging, but not without basis.

Gary Knoppers is well acquainted with the history of ancient Israel during the monarchy and after it. For a decade being the head of the department of Classics and Ancient Mediterranean Studies at Pennsylvania State University, and since the summer 2014 Professor of Hebrew Bible at Notre Dame University, Indiana, his masterpiece is the two-volume commentary on Chronicles for the Anchor Bible series. Interested in the development of the divided monarchy and the Samari(t)ans' identity, especially after the demise of Israel as a nation at the hand of the Assyrians, Knoppers has written extensively about it, which makes him well qualified to guide the reader in a fascinating search for identity. As the title suggests, it is not the purpose of the book to set a full history of the relationship between southern and northern Israelites, but to focus on the most important period, its origins. Starting from the divided monarchy with the sons of Solomon till the Roman

period, Knoppers beautifully weaves the complex history of southern-northern relation in eight well-crafted and very objective chapters. Although not exhaustive in every sense, each chapter presents a compelling case and a clear progression of his main argument, which closely ties the development of the history of Jews and Samari(t)ans.

First he reviewed the traditional theory, which reads 2 Kgs 17 as a description of major bidirectional deportations or a "comprehensive northern exile" criticizing it in light of two kinds of data, the biblical literature and the material culture. The last is given more weight in his logic, because for him the major biblical texts (Deuteronomy, 2 Kgs 17 and Nehemiah) used to portray the Samari(t)ans as non-Israelites are very enigmatic and ambiguous. No wonder he first gives his "reinterpretation" of the data discussing the material culture of new archaeological findings (chaps. 2, 5, and 8) before presenting the related biblical passages of the historical period discussed chronologically from Assyrian to Roman time (chaps. 3, 4, 6, and 7). So, although one may find here and there questions unanswered by the author regarding a particular archaeological artifact, biblical verse, or historical development, in the larger framework the case he builds is very compelling.

From the material culture (chaps. 2, 5 and 8) his argument is, putting it simply, that there were Yahwistic worshippers who self-proclaimed to be Israelites during the Persian, Greek, and Roman periods. They shared cultural similarities with their southern counterparts (e.g., holy text—Pentateuch, place of worship—central sanctuary and later synagogues). And from the literary biblical data he argues that there is a mixed picture, which he sees as evidence that Samari(t)ans were not completely foreigners to the biblical authors. Chronicles and the Prophets show Samari(t)ans positively as part of a pan-Israelite family, not only because of progeny but mostly because of common religious beliefs (the theme of chap. 4—his focus is on Hezekiah and Josiah's religious reform, which included all Israel); 2 Kgs 17 (chap. 3), and Ezra-Nehemiah (chap. 6) advocate a radical interpretation of Pentateuchal laws equating Israel to Judah. However, even in these passages one still can find certain acknowledgment that not only were there worshippers of Yahweh in the north, but that they were closely connected with the southern Israelites, especially priests (e.g., Neh 13); and the Pentateuch law of cultic centralization (chap. 7), which is very ambiguous and could be/were interpreted by either Judean (Zion) or Samari(t)an (Gerizim) to support their own political claims. After detailed textual critical analyses he concludes that the ambiguity of these passages "hides" an obvious picture, that there were Yahwistic Israelites in the North after the Assyrian invasion.

Bringing in extensive data (more than 650 references and fifty-four pages of bibliography) from the most relevant sources available in archaeology, history, language, and biblical interpretation, he is able to persuasively argue the close proximity between the Israelites in the South and North after exile. Textual critics, biblical historians, and interpreters cannot anymore ignore that Samari(t)an connection in their respective areas. The most important one, that he spends a whole chapter dealing with, is the formation of the

Pentateuch, which he argues is a product of this exact relationship. The Pentateuch was a shared document at first in both communities from at least the early Persian period, and only after the Hasmonean time was finally edited with the sectarian views as we have it today.

The interesting characteristic of this book is that it does not have a formal conclusion as a separate chapter summarizing its content and pointing to some implications of the thesis presented. I acknowledge that the chapters are so well integrated to each other that a final summary is not needed, but I missed the application part in the end. Although for a scholar in the area of Samaritan studies the implication may be obvious, and although he mentions at least one implication of his ideas—regarding the formation of the Pentateuch, it could be a favor for the general public to show in the end other consequences of his thesis for biblical studies, which are very important.

Thus, I would like to highlight just three issues, all related to identity formation: one regarding definition of terms, the other two regarding prophetic-theological interpretation. In the quest for Israelite identity he shows that the best term to be used regarding the Northerners is Samarians and not Samaritans (geographically restricted). He also clarifies that in the Hebrew Bible the most predominant view about identity is of a pan-Israelite notion related to religious beliefs. That this is not a small issue, see the confusion of usage of terms and definition in prophetic interpretation (who/what is Israel in biblical prophecy?), the heated debate on Josephus about how to translate properly the Greek term *ioudaios* (Daniel R. Schwartz. *'Judean' or 'Jew'? How should we translate IOUDAIOS in Josephus?* in: Jörg Frey, Daniel R. Schwartz, and Stephanie Gripentrog. Jewish Identity in the Greco-Roman World. pp. 3-27 [Leiden: Brill, 2007]; Steve Mason. "Jews, Judaeans, Judaizing, Judaism: Problems of Categorization in Ancient History." *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 38 2007, 457-512.), and on how to understand Paul's stance on Gentiles and Israel/Jews (Kim, Seyoon. *Paul and the New Perspective: Second Thoughts on the Origin of Paul's Gospel.* Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001). Leaving academics aside, one can just look at the modern state of Israel, where the issue of identity is still a complicated one when a new case for *alyah* comes up in court. The question that always lingers is, Who is a legitimate Israelite? What/who is an Israelite anyway? ("Jewishness: Who is a Jew?—Competing answers to an increasingly pressing question." *The Economist.* 11th January, 2014). The data *Jews and Samaritans* brings together cannot be ignored—Israelism was not monochrome in Antiquity. This fact has been affirmed time after time by the studies of Second Temple Period, and it is reiterated through another angle by Knoppers.

Another implication from Knoppers' exposition is regarding sacred geography and the sanctity of Jerusalem. This has divided early and modern Christians in their prophetic interpretation, ecclesiological definition, and realization of the work of the Messiah (Christ) in the New Testament-foundational issues in Christianity. In chapter 7, *The Torah and "the place(s) for Yhwh's name"* Knoppers argues that the foundational document of Israel, the Pentateuch, does not define a specific place of worship. Jerusalem's

sacredness is a later one. In light of Jesus' phrase in John 4:21-24 and the book of Hebrews, Christians need to consider, what role modern Jerusalem (geography) has in biblical interpretation and how this shapes the definition of how humans are connected to, and who belongs to the people of, God. Apparently disconnected but very much related to sacred geography is the definition of the identity of God's people, or how one draws the borders to define who are "Israelites." As Knoppers' wordplay in the subtitles of chapter 6 suggests, should we talk of the enemies within or without? Describing the history of Jews and Samarians in the Persian period, with Sambalat (Samarian) and Jerusalemite priests closely connected, he demonstrates that there was more to be feared from within than from outsiders—non-Israelites. It was only later in the Greco-Roman, period with a clear geographical and textual boundary, that the enemies became "outsiders." The realization of this principle may be relevant as biblical scholars interpret the motif of the enemy or "antichrist" in biblical prophecy, which unfortunately has been mostly related to Antiochus Epiphanes, a complete "outsider."

And finally it would be good to pay attention to Knoppers' interpretation of Ezra-Nehemiah in its Persian context in the light of Seventh-day Adventist perspectives of Dan 9, including that of Ellen White (*Prophets and Kings*. Nampa, ID: Pacific Press, 2010). There is something worthy of further research. Overall, I highly recommend Knoppers' *Jews and Samaritans* for his intriguing, objective, and sound interpretation of an issue which has so many ramifications regarding religious identity.

Berrien Springs, Michigan   RODRIGO BARBOSA GALIZA

Norton, Anne. *On the Muslim Question*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2013. 288 pp. Hardcover, $24.95.

"The Jewish question was fundamental for politics and philosophy in the Enlightenment. In our time, as the Enlightenment fades, the Muslim question has taken its place" (1). With this assertion, Anne Norton offers her opening salvo.

Since 2001 and the beginning of the "war on terrorism," Americans have been obsessed with the threat of Islam coming to its shores, either in the shape of "kamikaze-type" attacks or as immigrants. Much of the heat of the issue has lacked a clear understanding of the realities. Anne Norton's provocative book deals more with the questioners than with the question. While she sheds light on Islam and Islamic beliefs and practice, she asks the readers to examine their own biases and information sources. The very question should focus attention on the questioner in the search for greater mutual understanding.

The Jewish question asked what we should do with the Jews and what possible place was there for them in Western societies. As time went on, Norton suggests, the West became more Jewish and the Jews became more

Western. The same process, she suggests, is taking place again with the Jews' Semitic cousins, the Muslims—in particular, with the Arab Muslims.

The point made is whether Islam is to be judged by Westerners on Western standards, or in a post-Enlightenment fashion, is Islam to be judged by Islamic standards? What makes the West more correct than the other? A parallel question is, "How possible is it to move into the other's world to gain both understanding of the other and of ourselves?" If the author's style seems awkward and, at times, difficult to follow, it is well worth the effort.

Norton explores Muslim attitudes on sex and sexuality through the lens of the Netherlands, which may not be the most objective; and this, I think, is just her point. How can we accuse the Muslims of being conflicted in this area, when the culture of Holland demonstrates even greater confliction?

The theme of this book appears to be to show that much of Western antipathy to Muslims actually stems from our own foibles and insecurities. Rather than deal with our own problems, we project them onto Muslims, much as we have done, in the not-too-distant past, with Jews and Blacks. Demonization is a very common way of establishing our own goodness and superiority. We condemn (and fear) the terrorism of fanatical Muslims, forgetting our own past and our veneration of "true believers" who willingly went to their death for the cause they espouse.

This makes this a troubling book, as it holds up a mirror to our own past and camouflaged present, exposing us to our own reality. To accuse Muslims of expansionism and various forms of discrimination is to ignore (deliberately?) Western colonialism and expansionism and varying forms of discrimination (i.e., women, races, the poor, the stranger, etc.)

There are times when Norton moves onto rather thin ice, in the view of this reviewer, such as her extension of fascism into current Islam. She is also, in my opinion, unrealistically hopeful and idealistic in her treatment of Arab democracy, which some would say is an oxymoronic term.

This will be excellent and important reading for missiologists, social anthropologists, political scientists, and others.

In closing, Norton writes,

> Knowing these things, I see the Muslim question as the Jewish question of our time: standing at the site where politics and ethics, philosophy and theology meet. This is the knot where the politics of class, sex and sexuality, culture, race, and ethnicity are entangled; the site where structures of hierarchy and subordination are anchored. It is here, on this terrain, that the question of the democratic—its resurgence or further repression—is being fought out (228).

In closing, I quote another political pundit, "We have met the enemy and it is us" (Pogo).

Berrien Springs, Michigan   Bruce Campbell Moyer

Richards, E., and B. O'Brien. *Misreading Scripture with Western Eyes*. Downers
Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 2012. 220 pp. Paper, $16.00.

The authors of this book are apparently student and teacher, both from a
conservative, evangelical background. Thus the book offers reflection on
practice.

When I was part of the pastoral team in a large multicultural church in
the Washington, DC, area, we pastors envied pastors of (presumably) all-
White "First churches" down the road from us. This book is written for those
churches making the transition from mono-cultural to multi-cultural. And
since multicultural congregations are increasingly the norm, this book will
be helpful to Christians worshiping in multicultural settings and to pastors
of these congregations. It will also be useful to those leading out in home
missions and short-term mission trips.

Beginning with easier topics, such as race and language, it progresses
to more difficult topics: individualism, shame/honor, time, and the self-
centeredness of North American (church) culture.

In all, this volume will help Westerners take a studied look at themselves
and how they read the Bible, in helpful contrast to the intentions of the
writers.

Each chapter ends with a list of "Points to Ponder," which will guide
conversations and study groups. The last (unnumbered) chapter offers the
reader five recommendations to becoming a multicultural congregation.

Berrien Springs, Michigan   BRUCE CAMPBELL MOYER

Stump, Eleonore. *Wandering in Darkness: Narrative and the Problem of Suffering*.
Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010. xix + 668 pp. Hardcover, $110.

Eleonore Stump says she has wanted to write this book all her adult life
(vi). It brings to fruition years of reflection on the topic and incorporates
material from various series of lectures, including the Gifford Lectures
of 2003, with which it shares its title. In view of its sweeping scope and
meticulous construction, *Wandering in Darkness* certainly rates as one of the
most important books on the topic to appear in recent years.

"Wandering" may aptly describe the experience of suffering, but it hardly
applies to this discussion. Like an experienced guide, Stump takes her readers
on a well-planned itinerary at a deliberate pace. She tells us just where we are
going at the outset, reminds us of our destination at regular intervals, and
carefully explains what everything she directs attention to contributes to our
progress.

On the other hand, the word "problem" correctly identifies the
philosophical objective of the book. Its overarching purpose is to provide an
effective response to the problem of evil, the challenge that suffering poses to
the credibility of theism. Invoking a familiar philosophical distinction, Stump
repeatedly asserts that her objective is to provide a defense, not a theodicy. In

contrast to a theodicy, which seeks to provide morally sufficient reasons for God to allow suffering in *this* world, a defense seeks only to describe a *possible* world that contains both God and suffering. And whereas the claims of a successful theodicy *must* be true, it is sufficient for an adequate defense if its claims *may* be true (19, 155, 377, 389).

Stump is also specific as to the sort of suffering she has in mind. Suffering comes in many forms, from animal pain to genocide, but her concern here is not the suffering of sentient beings in general, but only the suffering of "mentally fully functional human beings" (4, 378).

To construct the general framework of her defense, Stump employs the thought of Thomas Aquinas, in particular his view of the human good (81). On Aquinas's account, the ultimate proper object of love is God; the ultimate good for any human person is shared union with God (95); and the ultimate end of the love of persons is "union with God shared in the union with other human beings" (91). Love can achieve its goal, however, only if the one loved is undivided, and the perpetual obstacle to love in human experience is a "willed loneliness," which results in a divided self. Neither God nor other human persons can enjoy union with someone who is alienated from herself (156). God's remedy for this universal post-Fall affliction, as Aquinas describes it, is a surrender to divine grace. Operative grace is active in divine justification; cooperative grace, in sanctification. Together, they bring about the moral and spiritual regeneration "which is requisite for internal integration, which is necessary for all love" (172).

For Aquinas, suffering plays an integral role in this healing process. It is "God's medicine for the psychic disorder of post-Fall human beings." And because suffering helps to "ward off the worst things" that can happen to us—isolation from God—and "provide the best thing"—"glory in shared union with God" (398-401), there are "morally sufficient reasons" for God to allow it (396).

Helpful as Aquinas's thought is in addressing the problem of suffering, Stump says there are important facets of the experience that he does not account for. Besides a loving union with God and others, human flourishing also requires something quite different, namely, "the desires of the heart" (Ps 37:4-5), and suffering results when someone fails to get the desires of her heart or has and loses her heart's desire (7). A successful defense must therefore envision a way for us to achieve the desires of our hearts in a world where suffering interferes.

To do this, Stump argues, we must go beyond conventional analytic philosophy, with its preoccupation with knowledge. Since desires of the heart are intensely personal, the suffering involved in losing them is intensely personal as well, and we can grasp its distinctive qualities only by looking at the experience of individual, concrete sufferers. This is why narratives are essential to the sort of defense that Stump has in mind. Only narrative makes available second-person knowledge, or "Franciscan knowledge" (51), that is, intimate or shared knowledge of another person's experience. As the discovery of mirror neurons demonstrates, human beings are capable of

sharing, indeed participating in, the experiences of other persons (69-71); and personal stories, or narratives, are the means by which such knowledge becomes available.

Stump considers the loss of the heart's desires in the biblical narratives of four representative figures—Job, Abraham, Samson, and Mary of Bethany. Taken together, she maintains, these four characters provide "an iconic representation of the panoply of human suffering," in which all the modes of suffering are present. In their stories we find the pain and agony of the innocent victim, the evil of self-destruction, the heartsickness of losing what one loves the most, and the misery of being unwanted and shamed (375). In their "messy richness," these accounts "inform in subtle ways our intuition and judgments, just as real-life experiences do" (373). These stories do much more than illustrate abstract philosophical points. They provide direct insight into the actual experience of suffering.

Not only do these four narratives reveal the distinctive qualities of individual sufferings, they also show that sufferers who are originally denied their heart's desires may ultimately achieve these desires within a personal relationship with God. "[W]hen a person weaves her heart's desires into a deepest desire for God," Stump says, "it is possible for those desires to be transformed [. . .] so that even the worst external circumstances are not sufficient to prevent their being satisfied somehow in the union of love with God" (473). What the sufferer thought he or she most wanted, and failed to realize, is ultimately gained in "refolded" form within an intimate, second-person, relationship with God. In a union with God, each sufferer does, in fact, find the desires of his or her heart fulfilled. Remarkably, "the suffering that breaks the heart yields for the sufferer the desires of her heart" (479).

Moreover, within this intimate relationship with God, *mirabile dictu*, not only does the sufferer achieve a new form of what was lost, what he or she ultimately achieves seems to the sufferer "more worth having than what she originally hoped for" (473). Mary of Bethany, for example, enjoys a reunion with her brother Lazarus that is richer than what she hoped for before Jesus raised him from the dead. What Samson gained in his relationship to God at the end of his life was greater than everything he lost through betrayal and humiliation. And to cite a nonbiblical example, after the one thing John Milton desired more than all else, viz., the triumph of the Puritan cause, was lost, he wrote the majestic poetry for which he is known. But in that poetry, which would not have come about had Puritanism succeeded, the movement he cherished achieved an expression that was arguably greater than what his original vision entailed (469).

This concept of the way in which the desires of a person's heart may ultimately be received returns us to the essential theme of the Thomistic defense, and the integration of these two components completes Stump's response to the problem of suffering. Recall that for Aquinas the supreme human good, the essential requirement for human flourishing, is union with God. With the realization that the desires of the heart can ultimately be fulfilled in intimate relationship to God, we find a defense that addresses both

concerns. Within an intimate connection with God a person can realize both the fulfillment of human flourishing and the achievement of one's heart's desire. "When a person takes God as her deepest desire, what is highest on the scale of objective value and what is deepest on the scale of subjective value for her becomes the same for her." This weaves into a unity all the things a person cares about, her flourishing and all her heart's desires, which she now desires as gifts of God (449).

In sum, the Thomistic defense, when complemented by the insights contained in biblical narratives, provides an answer to "the central question" that suffering poses to religious belief" (455). There are, indeed, morally sufficient reasons for God to allow suffering.

By any standard, *Wandering in Darkness* is a remarkable achievement, well deserving of the generous praise it has received. It presents the work of a mature scholar addressing a fundamental philosophical question, drawing on a lifetime of careful research, thoroughly conversant with all the relevant discussions of the topic, as well as the various subtopics and secondary issues surrounding it. Moreover, the discussion is not merely informed, informative, and intellectually stimulating; it is personally moving. It obviously flows from the author's profound investment in the issue, and it is virtually impossible not to be drawn into the sort of personal concern that radiates from its pages.

Impressive as it is, this proposal, as do all treatments of suffering, leaves us with some lingering questions. One concerns the limited scope of the suffering Stump addresses, given the extensive, not to say elaborate, nature of her argument. Granted, one cannot do everything in a single book, as she says; but even though it is certainly worthwhile to address the suffering of fully functioning adults, there are other forms of suffering that pose enormous obstacles to theism. The suffering of children and the horror of the Holocaust, for example, are frequently cited as the most obvious reasons to question God's existence. One wonders how the defense Stump formulates would address such phenomena.

Another concern involves the limited time frame that factors into Stump's defense. In their well-known responses to the problems that suffering presents to theism, Marilyn McCord Adams and John Hick invoke the concept that human life will continue beyond death and that it is in the life to come that the negative effects of suffering will ultimately be redeemed. Granted, Stump seems to hold out the possibility that this is where some will finally enjoy union with God (Job's first ten children, for example), but the idea does not play a significant role in these reflections. Instead, the sufferings of the four figures that receive her detailed attention—Job, Abraham, Samson, and Mary of Bethany—all experienced an intimate union with God before their earthly lives ended.

Then there is a question that seems to hover over every attempt to reduce suffering as an obstacle to belief in God. Is the net effect of suffering's presence in the world ultimately positive or negative? Granted, Stump maintains that some good things are irrevocably lost in this life, and the hope provided by the stories she analyzes and the Thomistic defense she appeals to is "the

redemption of evil, not its elimination" (479, cf. 256). But she also maintains that the sufferer will regard the benefits eventually acquired following the loss of her heart's desire "more worth having" than what she originally hoped for. If so, we have to ask if anything of real significance is truly lost. If the good things that eventually follow, and necessarily presuppose, suffering prevent us from regretting that it ever happened, one has to wonder if its net effect is really negative. In spite of Stump's insistence that suffering is essentially negative and must be opposed and resisted, her defense leaves me with the impression that the potential gains that follow suffering outweigh the loss it involves.

But this presents us with a dilemma that seems to attach to any defense or theodicy. The more we emphasize the negativity and horror of suffering, the less effective our attempts to defuse its power will seem. Conversely, the more effective our responses to suffering become, the more we appear to minimize its negative character. *Wandering in Darkness* leaves me wondering if, in Stump's scheme of things, the particular benefits to which suffering can lead within one's intimacy with God ultimately outweigh the pain of the suffering itself. I see a similarity here to Marilyn McCord Adams's view that horrendous evils will be ultimately defeated because their victims will come to see them as making an irreplaceable and indispensable contribution to their intimate relationship with God.

The neglected alternative is that, whatever gains may come about in the wake of suffering, its presence in the world involves a net loss. In other words, our present world is a tragic world. The distinctive goods that could only be realized in the wake of suffering do not, in the final analysis, lead to its "defeat" in the way that some have argued. Instead, the world would have been better, all things considered, had suffering never come about. To some, this will seem to limit or detract from the power of God to overcome suffering and/or to underestimate, if not undermine, the good things that can be achieved in response to it. But elevating the potential benefits that can come about through suffering—or if not exactly through suffering, through creative responses to suffering—seems to minimize the negativity of the experience and turn it into something ultimately beneficial.

Whatever her response to such concerns might be, there is no doubt that Stump's remarkable achievement will attract admiration and stimulate discussion for years to come.

Loma Linda University   RICHARD RICE

Ulrich, Eugene. *The Biblical Qumran Scrolls: Transcriptions and Textual Variants*, vols. 1-3. Leiden: Brill, 2013. xvi + 796 pp. Paper, $99.

It was in the extremely sensitive political situation of post-WWII Palestine, right before the outbreak of the 1948 war, that the first manuscripts were discovered close to Qumran near the Dead Sea and Jericho. The Bedouin Muhammed edh-Dhib was the first to accidentally find the first three scrolls,

now known as the great Isaiah scroll (1QIsaᵃ), the Community Rule (1QS), and the Pesher Habakkuk. Even if Origen (185-254 A.D.), Eusebius (260/265-339/340 A.D.), and Seleucia Timotheus I (727-819 A.D.) reported finds of Old Testament books around Jericho, all such manuscripts were lost through the centuries. As scholars like Eleazar Sukenik (1889-1953) verified the authenticity and ancient dating of the newly found manuscripts, the race between legal scholarly and illegal Bedouin excavations to find more manuscripts started. Between 1947 and 1956, 11 caves were discovered containing around 900 scrolls—most of them in a fragmentary state. Among them were biblical manuscripts antedating previously known manuscripts by a millennium.

The discoveries at Qumran uncovered the presently oldest-known biblical manuscripts, as they were known at the end of the Second Temple period. Some of the first scrolls were published relatively soon afterward, but then the process slowed down. In the checkered history of the publication of the Qumran scrolls frustrations due to the delay increased among scholarship in general. All the scrolls did not become available before the 1990s, over forty years after the first find. The official and primary source where the scrolls were published (the *editions principies*) is the *Discoveries in the Judean Desert* series (DJD). Under the leadership of Eugene Ulrich all the biblical Qumran scrolls were published by 2009 in the DJD, in volumes 1, 3, 4, 9, 12, 14, 15, 16, 17, 23, and 32. Ulrich is O'Brien Professor of Hebrew Scriptures at the University of Notre Dame and Chief Editor of the biblical Qumran scrolls. He published six of the DJD volumes himself.

In 2010 Ulrich published the three-volume hardback of *The Biblical Qumran Scrolls* (BQS) of all the biblical Qumran scrolls, to a price of €143/$190. This marked a milestone in Qumran scholarship. In 2013 this paperback-edition of BQS was published to almost half the price, making all the biblical Qumran scrolls available in print at a relatively cheap price. As Ulrich explains in the introduction, this three-volume set did not include manuscripts found near the Dead Sea, 4Q ('Reworked') Pentateuch or other books that may have been considered as Scripture (such as *Jubilees*, *1 Enoch*, or *Sirach*), or more recently found fragments that do not add in a major way to our knowledge of the biblical scrolls, quotations in nonbiblical scrolls, or translations of biblical books into Greek or Aramaic. Two indices are included at the end of the third volume, one for the editors of the biblical manuscripts and one for the biblical passages. Besides a one-page preface to the volumes, there is no discussion of the Qumran scrolls. For this the reader needs to consult other resources. Further, only the Hebrew text is given and no translation. Martin Abegg Jr., Peter Flint, and Eugene Ulrich's translation in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Bible* might therefore be a good companion to BQS.

The manuscripts are presented as a transcript and in the biblical order, passage by passage, so that easy comparison between them is possible. The only exception to this order of presentation is found with Isaiah and Psalms. With Isaiah, first 1QIsaᵃ is presented (330-464) with Isaiah fragments following, while with Psalms first fragments are presented and then 11QPsᵃ (694-726). As in DJD, each passage in a manuscript is followed by a list of variants in

other textual witnesses. Here the reader can find references to manuscripts not found in critical editions like BHS. The volumes basically consist of these two elements, the transcribed manuscripts and textual variants. This is both the strength and weakness of these volumes. The strength is that it has allowed a low-cost publication of the complete biblical Qumran scrolls. It also enhances comparison between the various manuscripts, as there is minimal information around the text of the primary sources that can cause distraction. No longer is there a need to consult multiple volumes in DJD in order to find the various manuscripts containing a given biblical passage.

The weakness is that the reader is often left with a desire for more information about each manuscript and the reconstructions. As Ulrich explains, the reader then needs to consult DJD for more detailed introductions to each manuscript, explanatory notes, and analysis of variants or reconstructions. A question is whether some of the information in DJD could have been published in these volumes in an abbreviated form. Or, given the costs of the volumes in DJD, it is a question whether it would have been possible to publish DJD in a cheaper format, including the additional information and explanations. Taking BQS as a low-cost and reader-friendly edition of the biblical Qumran scrolls, allowing easy comparison of the various manuscripts, and DJD as a resource for more in-depth studies of the individual manuscripts, BQS and DJD will clearly function as complementary publications.

For some years, the biblical Qumran scrolls have been available through software programs like *Accordance* and *Logos*. Recently high-quality photographs of many of the Qumran scrolls have been made available online (see http://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/ and http://dss.collections.imj.org.il/). With Ulrich's three-volume set as assistance, it is now possible to do original research on the Qumran scrolls by a broader scholarship. Even if one might soon find oneself desiring more of the information in the DJD series, Ulrich's publication of all the biblical Qumran scrolls in this handy compendium is no doubt a significant contribution to biblical scholarship.

Berrien Springs, Michigan   Kenneth Bergland

Ulrich, Eugene and Peter W. Flint, with a contribution by Martin G. Abegg Jr., *Qumran Cave 1, II: The Isaiah Scrolls. Part 1: Plates and Transcriptions; Part 2: Introductions, Commentary, and Textual Variants* (DJD, XXXII; Oxford: Clarendon, 2010).

The *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert* (*DJD*) series is now complete, due to the publication of volume thirty-two in 2010, which is one of the more anticipated volumes in this series. This two-volume publication is a study analysis of the two Isaiah scrolls from Qumran cave 1: 1QIsa^a and 1QIsa^b coauthored by Eugene Ulrich and Peter W Flint with a contribution by Martin Abegg. The first volume is titled *Part 1: Plates and Transcriptions,* and the second is *Part 2: Introductions, Commentary, and Textual Variants*. While there are twenty-one

manuscripts (mss) among the Dead Sea Scrolls (DSS) that contain fragments of the text of Isaiah, these two have attracted the most attention since their discovery in 1947, especially 1QIsaᵃ. Scholars from a variety of fields have published works focusing on different aspects of these scrolls, such as their date, textual variations, and linguistic nature.

The first volume is divided into three sections. Its 151 pages consist of a table of contents, table of plates, preface, plates A-J, plates and transcription of 1QIsaᵃ, and plates and transcription of 1QIsaᵇ. In the preface, the editors describe the importance of the images for plate A-J. The images come from the photography of John Trever, James E. Trever, Ardon Bar Hama, Martin Shoyen, and David Harris. The images by John Trever are wide shots of 1QIsaᵃ columns I-IV (Plate A), column XLIX by James Trever (Plate B), John Trever, himself, photographing the Community Rule (Plate C), and columns XI-XIII (Plate D). Shoyen's images consist of images of vellum and repair materials (Plate E) and a black-and-white image of 1QIsaᵃ before the scroll was open (Plate F). Bar Hama's photography are color images of column XXI from scroll fragment 1QIsaᵇ (Plate G) and a black-and-white image of columns XXIII-XXVI from a fragment of 1QIsaᵇ (Plate J). There is one color image from Harris of columns XIX-XXII from scroll 1QIsaᵇ (Plate H).

The next sections comprise the bulk of this volume: the plates and transcriptions of 1QIsaᵃ and 1QIsaᵇ. This section contains impressive images of the plates and transcription of 1QIsaᵃ. The images are digitally remastered and provide a highly useful tool for scholars interested in reading the manuscript in this format. Where there is an image that contains letters, words, or phrases difficult to read, the transcriptions provide the most likely reading as well as the correction by the original scribe and possible reconstructions by the editors. An example can be found in column LIV of 1QIsaᵃ on page 108. At the end of line ten in the manuscript there is what appears to be a correction by the original scribe with a heavier hand. Close up the letters are barely legible, as the script is thicker. The transcription clarifies this line, while in volume two the editors state their explanation for the thicker writing (p. 118). The editors provide the explanation for these reconstructions in the second volume. The plates and transcription of 1QIsaᵇ contain black-and-white images with transcriptions of the remaining texts along with reconstructions. The black-and-white images are readable, and the reader can follow the Hebrew texts easily.

The second volume, *Part Two: Introduction, Commentary, and Textual Variants*, consists of 260 pages and provides an introduction and a linguistic profile of both scrolls. The introduction is a narrative from discovery of the scrolls to their present state for publication. The next section is a linguistic profile of the scrolls authored by Martin Abegg. After his initial physical description of the scroll and its relationship to the other Isaiah fragments, Abegg describes a variety of orthographic, phonological, and lexical features. His research is thorough, technical without being verbose. The editors provide a more specific introduction to each of the scrolls. One of the main issues within biblical scholarship that 1QIsaᵃˑ speaks to is the issue of the authorship. Regarding

1QIsa[a] the editors conclude that one scribe copied a parent text, while other scribes made corrections and expansions (p. 63). There is a division of this manuscript at chapter thirty-three in column XXVII; the scribe completes chapter thirty-three with at least three lines to spare at the bottom. Column XXVIII begins with the chapter thirty-four, but no sense of division between thirty-nine and forty-column XXXII. The editors maintain that there are orthographic and morphological features that occur in the second half of the text such as the more frequent use of mater lectionis. They attribute this feature to the possibility that this portion was originally a separate work.

The next section describes 1QIsa[b]. Orthographic, morphological, and paleographic analyses are described as well. The editors date this manuscript to the third quarter of the first century B.C. One of the features of this manuscript is that it dates earlier than 1QIsa[a], yet has more agreement with other Masoretic versions. The editors also conclude that though there are different versions of Isaiah, they all represent the final version of the book of Isaiah; however, based on the textual variants on the Greek translations, there are different families of texts.

This source will prove to be extremely useful for scholars in various fields. The editors have done a wonderful job of organizing these volumes into a useable resource. Scholars from both ends of the theological spectrum will find this source valuable for textual criticism, exegesis, and philological study. The editors maintain, as most scholars do, the possibility of a second Isaiah. They are fair with the evidence represented in these two manuscripts and will be the standard for those interested in this book.

Andrews University   Christopher R. Chadwick

van der Steen, Eveline, Jeannette Boertien, and Noor Mulder-Hymans, eds. *Exploring the Narrative: Jerusalem and Jordan in the Bronze and Iron Ages.* Library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies 583. London: Bloomsbury 2014. xxiv + 440 pp. Hardcover, $146.00; PDF e-book, $131.99.

This volume is a collection of essays that serves as a *Festschrift* honoring the scholarship of archaeologist and historian Margreet L. Steiner and contains twenty-one chapters written by twenty-seven of Steiner's European, North American, Israeli, and Jordanian colleagues. The title of the volume fittingly reflects Steiner's own focus of historical and archaeological research in Jordan (notably at Tell Deir 'Alla) and in Jerusalem, where she and her mentor, the late H. J. Franken, were given the responsibility of publishing part of Kathleen Kenyon's excavations on the southeast hill (the City of David). Consequently, the book is divided into two roughly equal parts, with contributors writing on topics relating to these two subjects.

Papers relating to Jordan include an essay on pottery production at Tall Hisban and Tall al 'Umayri by Gloria London and Robert Shuster, which both summarizes and expands upon their landmark study published two years earlier (Ceramic Technology at Hisban, (597-763) in *Ceramic Finds:*

Typological and Technological Studies of the Pottery Remains from Tell Hesban and Vicinity (Hesban 11), eds. James A. Sauer and Larry G. Herr. Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University, 2012). In "A Late Iron Age I Ceramic Assemblage from Central Jordan," Bruce Routledge and others attempt to place Khirbat al-Mudayna al-'Aliya in a cultural and political context with other nearby sites during the Iron I period. Larry Herr publishes a useful typology of Iron Age cooking pots from Tall al 'Umayri that covers the progression of main CP forms from the Late Bronze to the Persian period, and Piotr Bienkowski contributes an essay that surveys and discusses the paucity of evidence for Iron II Edomite Burials. Other topics relating to Jordan include studies of the Assyrian Province of Gilead, the cultural landscape of the Eastern Jordan Valley during the Late Bronze and Iron Age, regional interaction in Ammon during the Iron Age IIC, a paper on how ancients recycled pottery, two essays on Khirbet al-Mudayna (ath-Thamad) that highlight public textile production and bread ovens, an imagined conversation with the Iron IIC "Pit People" in the Jordan Valley, and the use of casemates.

Essays relating to Jerusalem include studies of the city during the transition from the Late Bronze to Iron I periods, painted figurines, and the concept of a heavenly Jerusalem in Judaism and Christianity. An important contribution by Avraham Faust reconsiders the date and process of Jerusalem's expansion over the Western Hill during the Iron Age II period. Faust refutes the claim that much of the Western Hill was only sparsely populated during the last two centuries of the monarchy and that the expansion was a rapid process that occurred over a short duration of time. Faust cites, among other factors, the abundance of pottery, an adequate supply of water from the Gihon Spring and cisterns, the remains of an enormous city wall, as well as extensive extramural and hinterland settlements to support a "maximalist" position that the Western Hill was intensively settled by at least the early eighth century B.C. He also provides crucial ceramic evidence to demonstrate that at least limited settlement on the Western Hill occurred during the ninth century B.C. The evidence marshalled by Faust is indeed compelling. The resultant historical conclusions have powerful ramifications regarding the current debate regarding dating the establishment and rise of the monarchy in Jerusalem, which have now also been published (Hayah Katz and Avraham Faust, The Chronology of the Iron Age IIA in Judah in the Light of Tel 'Eton Tomb C3 and Other Assemblages. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 371 [2014]: 103-127). Steiner's own conclusions regarding this debate are referenced in a study by Koert van Bekkum, who cautiously accepts the historicity of Solomon's District List (1 Kgs 4:7-19).

Norma Franklin's study of the term עֹפֶל (*'ophel*) leads her to suggest that the term, as it was utilized in ninth century B.C.E. Israelite and Moabite contexts, was synonymous with the Judahite word *millo*. Consequently, both refer to the well-known monumental step-stone structure that buttresses the upper western slope of Jerusalem's Kidron Valley and not to the area immediately south of the Temple Mount. According to Franklin, neither term refers to a natural topographic feature, but rather only to man-made

support structures that "bulged or protruded in a distinctive fashion" (294). Nevertheless, understanding the word as a raised platform or acropolis, whether natural or artificial, remains the convincing topographical definition and is exemplified at many ancient sites in Jordan, such as Tall Hisban, which has a walled platform, and the natural acropolis at Tall Jalul, as well as at (Bronze Age) Hazor and Afula in Israel; the latter site notably preserves the Semitic root of *'ophel*, probably as a result of the prominence of this ancient tell as an elevated landmark in the expansive Jezreel Valley. Franklin's rejection of locating the *'ophel* between the City of David and the Temple Mount is similarly problematic. The intensive occupation of this area from the Hellenistic through the Early Islamic Periods has virtually eradicated evidence of an earlier raised platform, as did the southern extension of the Temple Mount. Furthermore, the monumental tower and gateway explored by C. Warren and recently by E. Mazar (The Solomonic Wall in Jerusalem, pp. 775-785 in *I Will Speak the Riddles of Ancient Times: Archaeological and Historical Studies in Honor of Amihai Mazar,* eds. Pierre Miroschedji and Aren M. Maeir. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2006, and *Discovering the Solomonic Wall in Jerusalem: A Remarkable Archaeological Adventure.* Jerusalem: Shoham, 2011) admirably fits the descriptions preserved in the biblical text. An essay by Ilan Sharon and Anabel Zarzecki-Peleg (Podium Structures with Lateral Access: Authority Ploys in Royal Architecture in the Iron Age Levant. pp. 145-167 in *Confronting the Past: Archaeological and Historical Essays on Ancient Israel in Honor of William G. Dever,* eds. Seymour Gitin, J. Edward Wright and J. P. Dessel. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2006) argues that some raised or podium-based, multi-story monumental (royal) structures themselves served as an elevated *'ophel* to the surrounding epicenter or provincial city. Regrettably, Franklin either overlooked or chose not to consider Sharon's and Zarzecki-Peleg's paper. Nor does she refer to Aren M. Maeir's ("A New Interpretation of the Term *'opalim* (עפלים) in the Light of Recent Archaeological Finds from Philistia," *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 32 [2007]: 23-40 [esp. 30-32]) novel understanding of *'ophel* (supplemented by archaeological evidence) as it was purposely employed in the Ark Narrative (1 Sam 5-6).

Eveline van der Steen contributes a fascinating chapter on the prejudicial attitudes, skepticism and corresponding observations on Jerusalem by some of its nineteenth-century Western visitors. Similarly, Shimon Gibson provides an exhaustive study on the ancient tunnels in the Kidron Valley that were explored but only briefly mentioned by Charles Warren in his publications on Jerusalem. The tunnels were hewn in antiquity, probably to divert excess water away from the area during the rainy season. Relying heavily upon nineteenth-century explorer accounts, Gibson also gives an extensive treatment on the location and history of biblical En Rogel, which he identifies with Bir Ayyub. He classifies this unique, yet largely neglected, installation as a hybrid water system, rather than strictly a well or, during antiquity, a spring. Gibson only hesitantly dates En Rogel as early as the Iron Age, which is rather surprising, given the various references to the site found in the Hebrew Bible. The Festschrift concludes with the essay "Archaeological Voices from

Jerusalem," an interesting look inside the Israeli archaeological establishment, by Raz Kletter, who translates and comments on selected Hebrew archival documents that record the birth and growth, as well as the challenges and controversies that surrounded the fledgling Department of Antiquities, as well as its interactions with various personalities and institutions during Israel's formative years.

Typical of the series in which it appears, the editing and production of the book generally excellent as are many of its essays, several of which comprise important contributions to the field. However, the high price of the volume places it out of the reach of many scholars and most students.

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