One of the most sought-after issues of *Time* magazine featured the editors’ pick of the twentieth century’s 100 most influential persons, good and bad. Grouped into five categories—Leaders and Revolutionaries, Artists and Entertainers, Builders and Titans, Scientists and Thinkers, Heroes and Icons—the selections included several men and women whose faith-driven activism turned them into household names and exemplars: Helen Keller, Mother Teresa, Billy Graham, Rosa Parks, and Martin Luther King, Jr.

No missiologists—not even David J. Bosch—made the list. Yet those of us who walk in his intellectual shadow know that in the world of mission studies, he is surely one of the most significant figures of the twentieth century. In their essay “Missiology After Bosch,” Stephen Bevans and Roger Schroeder go so far as to make the startling assertion that “after the twentieth century, any missiology can be done only as a footnote to the work of David Bosch.” Their “footnote” is a book, *Constants in Context: A Theology of Mission for Today*, reviewed in this issue.

David J. Bosch is only the latest in a galaxy of stars from which the rest of us have, over time, taken our missiological bearings. A South African who served as a missionary to the Transkei for nine years following completion of his doctoral studies in New Testament at Basel, he was professor of missiology at the University of South Africa (UNISA) from 1971 until his fatal car accident in 1992. Soon recognized, thanks to his prolific pen, as a towering intellectual presence in the field of mission studies, it was the publication of his *Transforming Mission*—referred to by Lesslie Newbigin as a *summa missiologica*—that, thirteen years after his death, has secured Bosch’s position as perhaps the most significant figure in contemporary missiological discourse. His masterful elucidation of mission theory within the matrix of six historical paradigms has provided scholars with a sense of time, place, and direction that gives coherence to missiological discourse, profoundly influencing the way we understand and teach mission history and theory.

Though he has been gone for well over a decade, we are only now beginning to appreciate the depth and the breadth of this great man. But with the clarity that can come only with hindsight,
we are also better able to discern the limitations of Bosch’s contribution, staggering though it is, to the field. In a perceptive essay marked by intellectual integrity and scholarly erudition worthy of his subject, Alan Kreider probes Bosch’s contribution by examining the profound impact of the advent of Christendom on the self-understanding and practice of all subsequent Christian mission, including the contemporary. Reacting to what he regards as an inadequacy in Bosch’s schema, Kreider argues persuasively that a more academically sound and ultimately more useful way of understanding ourselves across the 2,000-year continuum of Christian missionary endeavor is to think of not six but three historical paradigms of mission: pre-Christendom, Christendom, and post-Christendom. He suggests that we take another look at pre-Christendom mission and notice how fitting it is for the post-Christendom realities of today’s post-Euro-American world church. This thesis is echoed and reinforced by one of today’s leading interpreters of the global Christian movement, IBMR contributing editor Wilbert Shenk, in his essay “New Wineskins for New Wine: Toward a Post-Christendom Ecclesiology.”

“An institution is the lengthened shadow of one man,” wrote Ralph Waldo Emerson in his essay “Self-Reliance”—as monasticism is “of the Hermit Antony; the Reformation, of Luther; Quakerism, of Fox; Methodism, of Wesley; Abolition, of Clarkson . . . and all history resolves itself very easily into the narratives of all religious movements that have passed into history as institutions. Each institution is an attempt to prolong one of the enduring human sentiments—some human act of love and suffering.” Our sorry history bears testimony to the ease with which we allow our commissioining Lord’s shadow to be eclipsed by the grotesque deformities of human convention, whereby greed is overlooked, domination of all kinds is ignored, oppression is disregarded, and violence is downplayed—sometimes explicitly in the name of Christ. Thus even so venerable a mission society as the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, whose board of governors included the archbishop of Canterbury, had no scruples about deriving part of its revenues from the labors of Africans enslaved on its Codrington sugar plantation in Barbados. Branded across the chest of each of the estate’s slaves was the word SOCIETY.

As important as those are who, like Bosch, have shaped our approach to the study and the practice of Christian mission, truly Christian mission—as this issue of the IBMR reminds us in various ways—can never be the lengthened shadow of any mere mortal. At its redemptive best, it is always the lengthened shadow of the Son of Man, the Word made flesh, whose life, death, and resurrection are at once the source, the model, and the power for all who respond to his call. And his shadow does not reach to the horizon. It bears testimony to the ease with which we allow our commissioining Lord’s shadow to be eclipsed by the grotesque deformities of human convention, whereby greed is overlooked, domination of all kinds is ignored, oppression is disregarded, and violence is downplayed—sometimes explicitly in the name of Christ.

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David Bosch’s *Transforming Mission* is a great book. Its scope is comprehensive; it is, as Lesslie Newbigin put it, a *summa missiologica*. It is in three parts. Part 1, which reflects Bosch’s deeply committed study of the New Testament, develops his first paradigm: “the apocalyptic paradigm of primitive Christianity.” Part 3, which deals with the contemporary world, explores his sixth paradigm: “an emerging ecumenical missionary paradigm.”*²*

Between Bosch’s parts 1 and 3, between the New Testament and the contemporary world, lies part 2, “Historical Paradigms of Mission,” which I consider in this article. In his part 2 Bosch proposes four epochs in the history of mission, each of which has its own characteristic “paradigm”: the missionary paradigm of the Eastern church, which he calls “the Greek patristic period” (p. 190); the medieval Roman Catholic missionary paradigm; the Protestant (Reformation) paradigm; and the modern Enlightenment paradigm.

Bosch acknowledges Hans Küng as originator of this sequence of paradigms. He also recognizes that there are other ways of subdividing the history of the church (p. 188). He refers appreciatively to James P. Martin, who in 1987 proposed a three-epoch periodization: “precritical” (“vitalist,” including Küng’s Eastern, Roman, and Reformation paradigms), “critical” or “mechanical” (the Enlightenment), and “postcritical” (holistic and ecumenical).*³*

Here I evaluate Bosch’s treatment of the early church, which he deals with in his second and third historical paradigms. Having assessed Bosch’s chapters on the early church, I propose to join James Martin in suggesting a different, three-paradigm approach to the history of mission.

**Bosch’s Second and Third Paradigms**

David Bosch’s paradigm 2, “the Greek Patristic period,” extends from the late first to the sixth century. In it, Bosch observes, the Christians in the Roman Empire had begun to accommodate themselves to life in the world. They were an illegal religion (*religio illicita*) and hence were liable to periodic bouts of persecution. But their conduct was exemplary, as a result of which they continued to grow, even without the apparent active involvement of missionaries. Bosch’s main interest is theological. He traces the developing theology of the Eastern church as it distanced itself from the vivid apocalyptic expectations of primitive Christianity and as it charted its course through the Hellenistic religious environment. Bosch honors the decisions that the theologians of late antiquity made and salutes them for developing theology as a rigorous intellectual discipline. Mission, according to the Eastern Orthodox traditions, emanates from the life of the church as a “sign, symbol and sacrament of the divine” (p. 212). The heartbeat of mission, its very core, is worship—specifically, the Orthodox liturgy. On this point Bosch quotes the twenty-first-century theologian Karl Rose: “The light of mercy that shines in the liturgy should act as [the] center of attraction to those who still live in the darkness of paganism” (p. 207). Bosch states what he finds to be limitations in the Orthodox traditions—uncritical inculturation, nationalism, and abandonment of the eschatological urgency of primitive Christianity. But ultimately, Bosch expresses deep respect for the Eastern missionary paradigm, finding at its heart God’s love incarnate; for him, John 3:16 is its quintessential missional text.

Paradigm 3, in Bosch’s scheme, is “the medieval Roman Catholic missionary paradigm.” For Bosch the Middle Ages extends from approximately 600 to 1500. But Bosch finds the roots of the Roman paradigm beginning earlier, with Augustine of Hippo (d. 430) (p. 215). Augustine led the Western church, theologically as it shifted the focus from Christ’s incarnation to his cross and began to emphasize predestination and original sin. The alliance of the church with the Roman state, begun under Emperor Constantine I early in the fourth century, offered new possibilities for the church in its mission. Augustine was concerned for the spiritual formation of new Christians, but he accorded highest urgency to baptism, which incorporated them sacramentally into the church, within which alone there was salvation. For some years Augustine resisted the idea of compelling pagans or heretics to right belief, but through hard experience he overcame these hesitations (Ep. 93). Augustine thus provided precedents, and a theology, that led to a Western missionary paradigm in which Christians for the first time justified warfare, declared crusades, and launched “waves of forced conversions” across central and northern Europe (p. 226).

Nevertheless, Bosch argues, there was throughout the Catholic Middle Ages another missionary model—that of the monks, who by their arduous labors and exemplary life did much to spread the Christian message. And there were some monks, especially in the Celtic traditions, whose commitment to itinerant mission led to remarkable exploits. Bosch is critical in his assessment of the medieval Roman Catholic tradition, as is evident in his choosing Luke 14:23 (“Compel them to come in”) as the paradigm’s characteristic biblical text. But he is charitable in his assessment of the decisions that the Roman Catholic Christians made. In thinking about the conversion of the emperor Constantine, he joins Lesslie Newbigin in asking, “Could any other choice have been made?” And he judges that the decisions that emerged from this event were logical and inevitable (p. 237). Furthermore, he notes that Roman Catholics since Vatican II have been willing to change. As evidence of this point, we should note that the publisher of *Transforming Mission* is Orbis Books, a distinguished Roman Catholic press.

Bosch, in these historical chapters, proceeds with an unruffled authority. His survey demonstrates both theological acumen and Christian charity. The breadth of his survey does not allow him to make specialist assessments of the various periods, but he has incorporated the work of recognized authorities. I find these chapters attractive, and there is much in them that I agree with.

**Difficulties with Bosch’s Paradigms**

I have three difficulties, however, with Bosch’s treatment of the early church in these two paradigms.

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Alan Kreider is Associate Professor of Church History and Mission, Associated Mennonite Biblical Seminary, Elkhart, Indiana. For twenty-six years he was a missionary in England with the Mennonite Board of Missions. He is editor of The Origins of Christendom in the West (T. & T. Clark, 2001).
Difficulty 1. It is misleading to speak about the church of the period A.D. 100–600 as “the Eastern [or Greek] Church.” Bosch does so repeatedly. He refers to “the Greek Patristic period” (p. 190) and to “the Greek theology of the early centuries” (p. 210). Bosch shows discomfort with this characterization (p. 203), but it gives a certain ecumenical shape to his project: the early centuries are Orthodox; the medieval are Catholic; the early modern period is Protestant. This is tidy. But I am not happy with it, for two reasons.

First, it is inaccurate. The Christianity of the early centuries was indeed a phenomenon in the Hellenistic world, and the liturgical language, even of Christians in Rome up to the middle of the fourth century, was mainly Greek. But there were growing communities of Christians in the empire whose primary language was Latin. Bosch cites the leader of one of these communities, Cyprian of Carthage, in his treatment of the Eastern church (p. 201); this wording would have astonished Cyprian! Tertullian, the greatest Latin-speaking theologian before Augustine, lived and wrote a half century before Cyprian. The striking thing about the Christianity of this period was how itinerant it was; in Gaul Greek-speaking Christians who had been born in Asia Minor mingled with local Gaulois whose mother tongue was Latin. Christians were amazingly conscious, not of being Eastern or Western, but of being simply Christian—“resident aliens.” This sense of commonality extended well beyond the reign of Constantine. In the course of the centuries great controversies about doctrine and jurisdiction arose, which later split the church into Eastern and Western bodies whose languages were Greek and Latin. But this division had not happened by the centuries earlier times.

Second, I find it unfair to label the early centuries “Eastern” and the medieval period “Roman Catholic.” By this labeling Bosch ascribes irenic, incarnational qualities to the Eastern church, and the splendor of the gold and jewels in the buildings, the rhetorical features of the Word (readings and sermon), and especially the eucharist, as a highly exclusive activity, and rigidly excluded all strangers from taking any part in it whatsoever, and even from attendance at the eucharist. Christian worship was intensely corporate, but it was not public. . . . It was a highly exclusive thing, whose original setting is entirely domestic and private.

The sources are clear on this point: only the baptized and those being prepared for baptism (the catechumens) could be admitted to the first part of the Lord’s Day services—the service of the Word (readings and sermon); and only the baptized could be admitted to the second part, or the service of the Eucharist (prayers and communion). A deacon was stationed at the door of the church to keep the outsiders out! This approach seems counterintuitive: how does a church grow rapidly if it excludes inquirers until they have gone through a rigorous regimen of catechesis and initiation? In my writing I have struggled with this question and have concluded that worship—the liturgy—was indeed central to the growth of the early church, but for reasons very different from that stated by Bosch. The liturgy was central because it edified and formed Christians and Christian communities who were free in Christ and fascinating to outsiders. To be sure, in the early years of Christendom, worship services came to be missionary in intent: Christian leaders hoped that the sheer splendor of the gold and jewels in the buildings, the rhetorical eloquence of the sermons, and the magnificence of the ritual would move the nonbaptized to request baptism. The leaders facilitated this approach by lowering the hurdles to becoming a catechumen (e.g., children were often made catechumens at birth). But soon this approach was no longer necessary. In Christendom, from the sixth century onward, infant baptism was normal practice, and everyone was by law Christian, so the missionary quality of the liturgy no longer mattered.

Second, the centrality of doctrine. Bosch (p. 195) correctly observes the preeminent value that the Eastern church gave to “definitive statements of faith.” In the New Testament, he notes, there was an emphasis upon God’s participation in saving events in history, which “the Greeks” superseded by emphasizing correct statements about God. Bosch illustrates this shift of focus by contrasting the Sermon on the Mount with the Nicene Creed; the former is concerned with conduct, the latter, with metaphysics. This contrast is indeed striking. But Bosch does not address...
the questions of how and when the church moved from ethics to dogmatics. Was the church of the early centuries as preoccupied with ontology as the theologians of Nicaea? Was the Sermon on the Mount a peripheral concern in the missionary activity of the pre-Nicene church?

Bosch does not help us here, but the early church sources can. Justin, a teacher from Palestine who was martyred in Rome in 165, in his First Apology summarized the teachings of the Sermon on the Mount, and then commented (p. 16): “Those who are found not living as he [Christ] taught should know that they are not really Christians, even if his teachings are on their lips.” Athenagoras, writing a quarter of a century later in Athens, responded to a frequent question: “What are the teachings on which we are brought up? I say to you, love them who curse you, pray for them who persecuted you, that you may be the sons of your Father in heaven. . . . In our ranks . . . you could find common men, artisans, and old women who, if they cannot establish by reasoned discourse the usefulness of their teaching, show by deed the usefulness of the exercise of their will. For they do not rehearse words but show forth good deeds; when struck, they do not strike back” (Legatio 11). The earlier church, Greek as well as Roman, emphasized the missionary attractiveness of transformed lives, and Jesus’ teaching indicated what these transformed lives should look like. Nowhere does a pre-Christendom writer say that the Sermon on the Mount is unimportant, or that ordinary Christians cannot live its teachings. In pre-Christendom, non-Christians were not attracted by glorious liturgy or by superbly crafted theology; rather, they were drawn to faith in Christ by means of Christians and Christian communities who, because Jesus’ teachings were a living reality in their midst, were free, intriguing, attractive.

**Difficulty 3. Bosch’s paradigms are theological (his subtitle is Paradigm Shifts in Theology of Mission) but not practical; he thus overlooks the fundamental paradigm shift in Christianity’s first millennium—the Christendom shift.** Historically, midway through Bosch’s “Missionary Paradigm of the Eastern Church,” something astonishing happened—the Roman emperor Constantine declared that he was a Christian. It took several centuries before the changes resulting from this event became solidified. But they were far-reaching indeed, leading to the advent of the Christian civilization that in the West has been called Christendom. Noth- ing, I believe, changed missionary practice and theology more than this development. Bosch is of course aware of the impact of Constantine’s conversion; he notes that after the Edict of Milan, which in 313 granted Christianity legal status alongside other religions in the empire, “the situation was to change dramatically” (p. 202). This edict led to a compromise between the church and the emperor whereby “the emperor was to rule in ‘time’ and Christ in ‘eternity.’” Bosch obviously regretted this development (p. 222).

But I do not think that Bosch came to terms with the advent of Christendom and its consequences for mission. He mentions Christendom briefly (pp. 274–75), and as we have just noted, he saw that Constantine’s reign changed the situation “dramatically.” But from his perspective, it was not a change dramatic enough to constitute a paradigm shift in mission. I beg to disagree. Bosch’s title indicates that his concern is with Transforming Mission. I believe that there is nothing more transforming of mission—missional thought and missional praxis—than the coming of Christendom in both West and East. Christendom sought to subject all areas of human experience to the lordship of Christ. In this aim it had varied success, but it entailed things that I find troubling missionally: a marriage between Christianity and state power, between Christianity and compulsion, and between Christianity and conventional values. Below, I discuss the missional implications of the coming of Christendom under eight categories.

First, however, a word about Constantine himself. In 312, early in his career, on the eve of a decisive battle, Constantine had a vision—he saw a cross of light, with the inscription “Conquer by This.” The emperor, deeply moved, ordered a cross to be constructed. “A spear, overlaid with gold,” was made into a cross by attaching a transverse bar, on top of which was a wreath of gold and precious stones containing the Chi-Rho, or Christogram; hanging from the crossbar was an embroidered cloth laden with precious stones. The emperor henceforth used this cross as a “safeguard in all engagements with his enemies” (Eusebius, Vita Constantini [VC] 1.29, 31). What progress for the cross! From an instrument of the empire’s scornful violence that killed a provincial Jew accused of being a revolutionary, to a gesture by powerless Christians to invoke spiritual power for divine protection in danger (“sign of the passion,” Apostolic Tradition [attrib. to Hippolytus] 42a), to a gold-bedecked statement of the emperor’s adherence to Christianity—the cross has come a long way. After his dream, Constantine did not immediately become a Christian, although he did take steps to benefit Christianity. Not only did he end persecution, but he showered privileges upon Christian clergy, made Sunday a legal holiday for all, presided at the ecumenical council at Nicaea (325), and built elaborate church buildings, one of which he decorated with “purest gold” so that its interior would “glitter as it were with rays of light” (VC 3.36). Furthermore, he admitted bishops to his table, even though they were “mean in their attire and outward appearance” (VC 1.42).

Christianity had found a home—at court. Here was as graphic an expression as one could imagine of the transforming of mission. Here, in stark relief, was evidence of a massive paradigm shift. Not everything changed overnight in the church’s approach to mission; it took a century or more for the effects of this transformation to be worked out. In the 360s, in Asia Minor,

The Edict of Milan led to a compromise between the church and the emperor whereby “the emperor was to rule in ‘time’ and Christ in ‘eternity.’”

Basil of Caesarea was still attempting to train his baptismal candidates so they would be “conformed to the teaching of our Lord Jesus Christ like wax to the mould” (On Baptism 1.2.10). But in this respect Basil was conservative, maintaining traditional emphases in a world that was changing. For a corner was being turned, a paradigm was shifting. I find it helpful to think of this shift—the “Christendom shift”—using language of inculturation (which Bosch discusses beginning on p. 447). Bosch refers his readers to Andrew Walls, who proposes two principles necessary for the insertion of Christianity in any culture: the indigenizing principle, which calls for the Gospel to express itself in forms and language native to a society, and the pilgrim principle, by which the Gospel expresses universal values that challenge any soci-
Shifting from Pre-Christendom to Christendom

Let us consider and contrast these two critical missionary paradigms—“pre-Christendom” and “Christendom”—in terms of eight categories, as shown in the accompanying table.

1. **Vantage point.** The Christendom shift moved the perspective of Christians from the margins of society to its center. In pre-Christendom, before Constantine, Christianity was a religio illicita, an illegal superstition that could result in harassment by neighbors or persecution by the imperial authorities. Christianity was socially inclusive (women as well as men, educated and uneducated, poor and wealthy), but those at the apex of society—aristocratic males—were rarely attracted to it. When aristocrats came to faith, some of them, such as Cyprian, had to give up wealth and power to become free as Christians (Ad Donatum 3).17 Christians were excluded from centers of power, so they developed decentralized forms of life; their communities met in domestic settings (domus ecclesiae). They saw the world, read the Bible, and did theology, not from the top or the center, but from the margins. In pre-Christendom, a convert went “from ordinary citizen to fanatical member of a group that . . . deviates from the norms of the wider society.”18

In Christendom, Christians came to occupy central positions in society. Constantine’s sharing his table with the bishops showed this upward movement happening. Christians were no longer deviant. Indeed, Christianity had become the religion of the imperial establishment. Converting to Christianity now meant being “won over to the norms that society at large upholds.”19 So the aristocratic males began to join the church, whose values and traditions they proceeded to alter to conform to the values that their class had long espoused. The imperial governor Ambrose, unlike Cyprian, did not change fundamentally upon his baptism; instead, he proceeded to write a Christian equivalent of the “Duties” (De officiis) of Cicero, to indicate how Christian clergy and literate laity should behave.20 An “aristocratization” of the Christian world ensued.21 Acts of worship were now public, taking place in basilicas rather than houses.22 Christians now saw the world and interpreted the Bible and did theology, not from the margins, but from the center.

2. **Attraction.** The Christendom shift buttressed Christianity’s appeal with imposing incentives, thereby changing the nature of its attraction. In pre-Christendom, non-Christians were attracted by the countercultural freedom, justice, and joy of the Christians. People who were attracted to Christianity faced imposing disincentives. Some of these were imposed by the wider society. Christians encountered harassment and ostracism from their non-Christian neighbors; at times they even faced execution. The Christian church also imposed its own disincentives to cheap conversion; its lengthy catechetical program helped ensure that converts were genuine.23 Nevertheless, despite these deterrents, people persisted in becoming Christian at an astonishing rate.24 Why did they join? Time and again, the testimony was the same—people were attracted to Christianity because Christians were attractive. Origen stated, “The churches of God which have been taught by Christ, when compared with the assemblies of the people where they live, are ‘as lights in the world’” (Contra Celsum 3.29). Justin reported that people’s hesitations were overcome “by observing the consistent lives of their neighbors, or noting the strange patience of their injured acquaintances, or experiencing the way they did business with them” (Justin, 1 Apol. 16). Christian leaders thus attempted to equip the Christians to be attractively distinctive. Their catechesis aimed to form Christians whose lives “may shine with virtue, not before each other [only], but also before the Gentiles so they may imitate them and become Christians” (Canons of Hippolytus 19). Their sermons sought to keep the believers to their commitments to attractive deviance (see 2 Clement 13). As one pre-Christendom apologist summed it up, “We [Christians] do not preach great things, but we live them” (Minucius Felix, Octavius 38.6).

In Christendom the disincentives to conversion were replaced by incentives. People became Christians for many reasons, but not least because it was the emperor’s religion. Christianity now provided access to professional advancement. It did not take long before people were complaining, in a way they never did in pre-Christendom, of “the scandalous hypocrisy of those who crept into the church, and assumed the name and character of Christians” (VC 4.54). People of social eminence and economic power became Christian and then told their underlings that it would be to their advantage to convert. Augustine characterized a typical candidate for baptism in early fifth-century Hippo as a socially inferior person who seeks “to derive some benefit from men whom he thinks he could not otherwise please, or to escape some injury at the hands of men whose displeasure or enmity he dreads” (First Baptismal Instruction 5.9).

### The Christendom Paradigm Shift: Mission

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of the believers’ attractive qualities, but the biggest disincentive to conversion was now often the Christians themselves. As Augustine noted in one of his sermons (15.6), “When someone is pressing him [a pagan] to believe, he will answer, ‘Do you want me to be like that so-and-so and the other?’” Non-Christians now resisted conversion on moral grounds. The ultimate answer of the Christendom church was force.

3. Power. The Christendom shift moved the church’s reliance from divine to human power. In pre-Christendom the Christians had very little power. Gradually, as time passed, the movement came to have some friends, especially women, at the imperial court. And the attractiveness of Christians and their communities led some locally prominent citizens (decurions) to join the church. But even these knew that they, in a crisis, might lose their lives. Perhaps because they had little political power, pre-Christendom Christians were recorded as relying upon God’s power. Tertullian noted that people were drawn to Christianity because of the magnalia (miraculous happenings) that occurred in their meetings (To His Wife 2.7). Origen reported that people came to faith “in spite of themselves, some spirit having turned their mind suddenly from hating the Gospel to dying for it by means of a vision by day or night” (Contra Celsum 1.46). Exorcisms were at the heart of the catechetical procedures by which Christians prepared candidates for baptism. Everett Ferguson has concluded that “an important factor in the Christian success in the Roman world was the promise which it made of deliverance from demons.”

After the Christendom shift the exorcisms continued, and in preparations for baptism they became ever more dramatic and terrifying. Miracles were reported in association with relics of saints and also on the edges of Christendom, in the East and the West, where “holy men” lived and where missionaries encountered opposition. But in Christendom’s heartlands, where Christians had power, miracles soon became a thing of the past. As Ambrose commented in Milan, “In the beginning there were signs for the sake of unbelievers; but for us who live in the time of the church’s full growth, the truth is to be grasped, not by signs, but by faith” (De sacramentis 2.15). God’s power was now experienced in more predictable, institutional ways.

4. Sanctions. The Christendom shift changed Christianity from a voluntary movement to a compulsory institution. In pre-Christendom believers came to faith and baptism despite formidable disincentives. In a world where fate, demons, and social conventions kept people in bondage, they saw their conversion as an assertion of freedom. As Justin observed, “At our first birth we were born of necessity without our knowledge,” but in baptism the Christians had been reborn through their “free choice and knowledge” (1 Apol. 61). Cyprian gave as one of the fundamental principles of the North African church that “the liberty of believing or not believing is placed in free choice” (Ad Quirimum 3.52). Christianity was therefore incompatible with force or compulsion, for the God whom the Christians worshiped did not work “by violent means . . . but by means of persuasion” (Irenaeus, Adv. Haer. 5.1.1). The Christian church was growing rapidly, but it was growing freely, voluntarily, as an invitation to a rich and adventurous life, from the bottom up.

In the fourth century this situation gradually changed. Basil of Caesarea, writing in Cappadocia in the 360s, was deeply committed to a pre-Christendom approach: “One must not use human advantages in preaching the Gospel, lest the grace of God be obscured thereby” (Moralia 70.26). But by the last decades of the century, powerful Christians regarded this view as old fashioned and found ways to make Christianity compulsory. These ways, according to Ramsay MacMullen, were typically “laws, monks, and landowners.” Laws passed in 380 and 392 deprived “heretical” Christians and pagans of the freedom to worship in public (Codex Theodosianus 16.10.2; 16.1.2). As Augustine noted approvingly, “For long Christians did not dare answer a pagan; now, thank God, it is a crime to remain a pagan” (Enarr. in Ps. 88). Churchmen worked together with provincial governors to despoil pagan temples and shrines. The role of the monks is less familiar. Bosch noted the contribution of monks in spreading the Gospel throughout Europe, sometimes by their active preaching and often by the “missionary dimension” of their common life (p. 233). At their best the monks were also committed to spiritual disciplines of repentance, reconciliation, and hospitality, “taking on the nonviolent identity of Jesus.” But the monks also, especially in the East, provided shock troops for de paganization. The role of landowners in converting their peasants is unsurprising. When landowners were motivated to do so, they could require peasants to present themselves for baptism—or else. “If such a proprietor became a Christian,” Augustine commented, “no one would remain a pagan” (Enarr. in Ps. 54.13). A final way of making Christianity compulsory, which MacMullen did not mention and which Bosch ignored, was infant baptism. In pre-Christendom this practice had been exceptional, even in Christian homes, but in the fifth century a “baptismal revolution” made it the norm, and the infants had no choice. In Christendom the sanctions had shifted. Instead of non-Christians overcoming disincentives to become Christian, now non-Christians had to overcome tremendous pressure if they wished to continue to be pagan or Jewish. In the Christianized countries of Europe, few of them did so. Christianity, which had been a voluntary assertion of freedom, had become a compulsory inevitability. The church, in Christendom, grew from the top down.

5. Inculturation. The Christendom shift caused Christianity to be at home in society, so that it lost the capacity to make a distinctive contribution to society. In pre-Christendom, especially in the first and second centuries, the word that Christians habitually used to describe themselves was “resident aliens” (paroikoi). Christians were conscious of being at home, but also not fully at home, wherever they lived: “Every foreign country is a fatherland to them, and every fatherland is foreign” (Ep. Diognetus 5). To maintain this sense of distinctiveness in the midst of a larger society, the churches developed careful prebaptismal catechises. This training, which could last for several years, imparted to the apprentice Christians the narratives of the Bible, the teachings of Jesus, and the ethics and folkways of the Christian community. An experienced Christian who served as sponsor (or godparent) accompanied the baptismal candidate at these teaching sessions. By these means, new Christians were equipped to join a church that was attempting to inculturate the faith with fidelity

In Christendom’s heartlands, where Christians had power, miracles soon became a thing of the past.
—being at home in society (the indigenizing principle) while remaining true to Christianity’s distinctive convictions (the pilgrim principle). Christians constantly weighed which practices and symbols of the wider society they could appropriate and Christianize, and which they must repudiate. Some of their decisions were fascinating. For example, many Christians adopted the refrigerium, the funerary meal, to celebrate the anniversaries of the death of the Christians, despite its associations with paganism and overdindulgence.34

In Christendom, as the church grew even more rapidly and began to infiltrate the imperial elite, indigenizing tendencies were heightened, and the pilgrim principle came under strain. Roman aristocrats were understandably uncomfortable with the centuries-old customs and traditions of Christianity. Augustine, late in the fourth century, met this uneasiness in Volusian, a Roman administrator in North Africa who was cautiously exploring Christianity. Volusian informed Augustine that “the preaching and doctrine [of Christ] were not adaptable to the customs of the state.” Augustine corrected his correspondent. The teachings of Jesus that alarmed Volusian referred only to “the interior dispositions of the heart,” not to political behavior, which could be guided by “a sort of kindly harshness.” A Roman aristocrat could safely become a Christian without having to challenge the values of his class (Augustine, Epp. 136–37). Augustine’s exchange with Volusian illustrates the process of “aristocratization” that was taking place throughout the Christian church in the century after Constantine. On point after point, Christian leaders smoothed off the angularities of the Christian tradition so that Christianity could fit neatly into a society that would be dominated by its traditional elite who were now presenting themselves for baptism. Fourth-century teaching for baptismal candidates concentrating, not on how to live the teachings of Jesus, but on how to avoid the errors of heresy.35 Literature began to appear to guide the behavior of the Christianized aristocrats. In the 380s Bishop Ambrose of Milan wrote De officiis (Of the duties), a Christian appropriation of the similarly titled work by the pagan Cicero, to make the church intelligible to the aristocrats. In the 380s Bishop Cyprian called Jesus “the Lord, the teacher of our life and master of eternal salvation,” who provided “divine commands” and “precepts of heaven” that were to guide all believers (On Works and Alms 7).

In Christendom, as Bosch rightly observed, Christians “underexposed” Christ’s humanness and depicted him “in terms reminiscent of the emperor cult” (p. 202). Jesus the Good Shepherd, healer, and teacher disappeared; in his place came Christ the Pantokrator (ruler of all), exalted, dressed as an emperor, with the imperial nimbus around his head.36 A sample of this “new look” comes from the Church of San Vitale in Ravenna, neatly poised culturally between East and West. Its visual climax, the apse mosaic, depicts Christ, resplendent in gold and jewels; under him, carrying the chalice and paten for the Eucharist, are Emperor Justinian and Empress Theodora.37 This Christ is not one of us. The Arian controversy had shown the “orthodox” that it was necessary to de-emphasize Christ’s humanity and to highlight his divinity so that his teaching could be appropriated, and his example could be imitated, only by special, ascetic Christians.38 So a new, dual-level, Christian ethic appeared; it had its roots in previous centuries, but in Christendom it came to full flower.39 Eusebius of Caesarea expressed it concisely in the 330s: “Two ways of living were thus given by the law of Christ to his church. The one is above nature, and beyond common human living; it admits not marriage, childbearing, property, nor possession of wealth, but wholly and permanently separate from the common customary life of mankind, it devotes itself to the service of God alone in its wealth of heavenly love. . . . Such is the perfect form of the Christian life. And the other more humble, more human, permits men to join in pure nuptials and to produce children, to undertake government, to give orders to soldiers fighting for right. . . . [This is] a kind of secondary grade of piety” (Demonstratio Evangelica 1.8.29b–30b).

Ambrose, in his De officiis, picked up the same theme, not to depreciate his lay readers, but to give them a clear sense of the possible. It was, he argued, only the “perfect” celibates who were to “love our enemies, and pray for those that falsely accuse and persecute us” (1.36–37, 129, 175–77). The exalted Christ could do this; so also, with difficulty, could the clergy who would be perfect. But such behavior was not possible, and not desirable, for the ordinary Christian aristocrat who was to love his neighbor (if not his enemy) by defending cities and administering estates. If Christ was not the role model for the Christians, who then was? According to Ambrose it was the patriarchs. In De officiis he pointed to a succession of Old Testament role models—but not to Jesus, who, in a world where everyone was Christian, was a model for religious professionals.

7. Worship. The Christendom shift transformed worship from humble gatherings that edified Christians to grand assemblies that attempted to evangelize outsiders. In pre-Christendom churches, worship services were generally small in scale, domestic in setting, rhetorically unpolished, ritually unimpressive, and restricted to Christians. Their aim was not to impress the masses but rather to worship God, equipping the Christians as individuals and communities to live their faith attractively. To this end, worship fed them with spiritual food, from the Word and table, necessary to sustain them as they followed Jesus in a dangerous world.

In Christendom, Christian services still attempted to facili-
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tate worship of God, but their social function changed. They became public, glorious in ornately decorated basilicas. Attendance was at times compulsory, with some people irritated at being forced to be there, others eager to be entertained. People misbehaved; in Syria the deacons circulated in the services to ensure that the people would not “whisper, nor slumber, nor laugh, nor nod” (Apostolic Constitutions 2.57). Worship, like the buildings, was designed to move the congregation emotionally, to give them an overwhelming experience of God that was being revealed to them in the awe-inspiring rituals. In the early years of Christendom the services attempted to attract unbaptized catechumens to submit their names for baptism. As means of evangelizing those present, the services employed gifted rhetorical preachers, grand liturgies, and symbolism and artifacts that were society’s highest indicators of value—gold, jewels, and imperial imagery. Johannes Quasten has noted that “more and more the liturgy changed shape from the simple celebration of the Lord’s Supper, as it had been celebrated in the houses of the first Christians, to a court ceremonial, to a royal reception.”

In pre-Christendom, worship was for Christians, to prepare them to live in evangelical attractiveness; in Christendom, worship was aimed at the half-committed and the uncommitted, to dazzle and convert the reluctant masses.

8. Missional style. The Christendom shift altered the focus of the church from mission to maintenance, except on the fringes of the “Christian” territories. In pre-Christendom, mission was central to the identity of the church. The centrality of mission is something about which the early Christians wrote very little. But one can see it in the topics the Christians dealt with in their writings. A significant proportion of early Christian writings were “apologies,” showing that they took their pagan and Jewish neighbors seriously and were working to find ways to converse with them. Another sample of mission at the heart of the identity of the early Christians is an odd document coming from North Africa in the late 240s. It is a collection of 120 precepts that Cyprian prepared to guide the church in Carthage. He included the following: “that we must labor not with words, but with deeds”; “that the Holy Spirit has frequently appeared in fire”; “have been found possessed by the error of unholy and abominable pagans and doing those things which move the Benevolent God to wrath.” Some people were even teaching “the insanity of the unholy pagans” to others, thereby “destroy[ing] the instructed persons’ souls.” These people were to be subject to “vengeance proper to their convicted sins.” Anyone who had not yet been baptized was to approach the churches, “along with their wives and children and all the household belonging to them,” to be taught and baptized; their young children were all to be baptized immediately. Anyone who resisted this law was not to be allowed to own property but was to be “abandoned in poverty,” besides being subjected to unspecified “appropriate penalties.” Here was a new form of mission! No longer did Christians have to take the pagan and Jewish options seriously, for force had won the argument. So Christians could devote their literary talents to defining orthodoxy and to defaming the heterodox. By imperial law, which made everyone an orthodox Christian, mission was unnecessary.

But even in Christendom, mission kept intruding. Pastorally astute people were aware that many people had been lightly Christianized—poorly catechized, scarcely converted. Baptized Christians continued to engage in subterranean pagan practices, which they combined with attendance at Mass. A churchful of people was also certain to contain a large number of “depraved persons” (Augustine, First Catechetical Instruction 7.12). So there was always the case for “inner mission” to revive the ardor of the faithless “faithful.” And then there was mission on the frontiers of the Christian world. There, where Christians met pagans, missionary encounter could still take place. It might be genuine, or (alas!) it might lead to conversion by conquest.

Reflections on the Christendom Shift

These eight categories, I contend, define a paradigm shift in mission in the fourth century—the Christendom shift. This schematization, like any attempt to bring conceptual clarity to historical change, is too neat. It overlooks anticipations, such as the many signs of growing respectability in the churches of the third century. Also, it ignores the ways in which examples of early radicalism continued to occur a century and a half after Constantine; for example, the Alexandrine Synodos, a fifth-century Coptic church order, stipulated that a soldier shall be admitted as a catechumen “only if he leaves that [military] occupation.” Historical change is always untidy.

Nevertheless, in missiological terms the Christendom shift is important. Of Bosch’s six paradigms, three—the Eastern, Roman Catholic, and Reformation (Protestant)—have more in common with each other than they do with pre-Christendom; or four, if one includes the Enlightenment paradigm, whose worldview was profoundly shaped by Christendom. In each of our eight categories of mission, the Eastern, Roman Catholic, Reformation, and Enlightenment paradigms are strikingly similar to one another, and markedly different from the church that preceded Constantine. If I am right here, the most profound paradigm shift occurred in the fourth century. That century, which brought the early church to a conclusion and ushered in Christendom, is truly the century that befits Bosch’s title “trans-forming mission.”

Christendom was in many respects admirable. The Holy Spirit continued to be active in the church, and saints and scholars, missionaries and artists from the Christendom centuries have bequeathed a rich legacy to subsequent Christians. Furthermore, there were things that the pre-Christendom church

In pre-Christendom, mission was central to the identity of the church.

“that widows and orphans ought to be protected” (Ad Quirinum 3.96, 101, 113). Nowhere among the 120 precepts did he admonish the faithful to evangelize. And yet the church was growing rapidly because Christians were living attractively, alert to the concerns of their non-Christian neighbors, and “chattering” unself-consciously to them about their faith. And they were doing these things so naturally that they did not need Cyprian to lecture them to do so.

In Christendom it ceased to be natural to be missionary. The church grew, aided by imperial favor and legislation, until by the sixth century it came to include all inhabitants of the empire. Those who held out against conversion were bludgeoned into conformity. A law of Emperor Justinian of 529 symbolized the end of this process and also indicated the difficulties it had faced. This law observed that some people who had been baptized

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had not worked out. The theological issues that preoccupied (too greatly?) the church of the fourth and fifth centuries were lurking in the third century, and they needed to be addressed.

Nevertheless I, like James P. Martin, propose that we think of six but of three historical paradigms of mission: pre-Christendom, Christendom, and post-Christendom. The first two of these I have discussed in some detail. The third, Christians are exploring in many countries in the West as Christendom’s institutions and assumptions stagger on or disintegrate.

This threefold succession of paradigms works, in a rough and ready way, for the United States and western Europe. In the United States theologians debate whether America’s Christendom era is over; recent developments may indicate that it is experiencing a resurgence.

In most countries in Europe the issue is more clear-cut; there theologians have begun to write books about “mission after Christendom” and to develop a distinctive style of church life and evangelization for the post-Christendom era.

The pre-Christendom church, they are discovering, can be a resource and conversation partner for them as they find their way through uncharted territory.

In other parts of the world, outside of historic Christendom territories, the threefold distinction of pre-Christendom, Christendom, and post-Christendom paradigms can also be useful. Churches in many countries were founded by Western missionaries who imported Christendom assumptions and institutions as an integral part of the Gospel. Increasingly the leaders of these churches are finding that they must listen anew to their own cultures, and to the pastoral realities that they face, for their churches are suffering from nominalism, and their people are unattractive, demonstrating a lack of Christian integrity at work, and their life and worship are unappealing to young people. People in these churches often find that pre-Christendom is fascinating. For them, pre-Christendom patterns can provide a means of critiquing the Christendom practices and assumptions that are weighing their churches down and can point ways forward toward a hopeful future.

There are other churches throughout history, and also today, for which Christendom has never had relevance. I think of the Church of the East (called “Nestorian” by outsiders), which had remarkable success in evangelizing central and east Asia in the first millennium, and which has demonstrated that a tradition can be simultaneously non-Christendom and liturgical. I think also of the many churches around the world today that have sprung spontaneously to life within the past half century. These churches have not been shaped primarily by the West. The pre-Christendom, Christendom, and post-Christendom paradigms do not apply to them. Indeed, Christendom is of little interest to them—their life experience is close to that of the primitive church. But when they learn about the pre-Christendom church, their interest perks up. They say, “That’s just like us!” Or, “That’s really useful to us!”

Despite this fascination with the early church, these churches may be tempted to make decisions about mission and inculturation that are very similar to those that fourth-century Christians made. For them, a study of the Christendom shift can be prophetic, a source of sobriety and caution.

Whatever the situation—in the West, in the Christendom-affected global church, or in the new churches of the world—I find that the early, pre-Christendom churches speak with freshness and hope. In the last section of his book, David Bosch writes of “the emergence of a postmodern paradigm.” Although Bosch does not say so, I believe that this is also implicitly a “post-Christendom” paradigm. Many of Bosch’s insights will be useful in equipping Christians for life in this peculiar, fascinating, wonderful era in which Christians are less and less encumbered with power. So also, if we have an ear to hear, will be the insights of the early Christians who lived before the Christendom shift.

Notes


6. A third example has to do with Bosch’s treatment of eschatology. On the one hand Bosch sees eschatology as definitional, as a way of differentiating his second paradigm from his first (“the apocalyptic paradigm of primitive Christianity”). I find that Bosch, in the area of eschatology as well as in the other two areas that I cite, introduces later theology into the early centuries. And yet he hedges his bets. On p. 198 he observes that a realistic eschatology including climaxism, bodily resurrection, and the reign of the saints with Christ “was upheld by those Christians who formed the solid body of the church and contributed the majority of its martyrs,” a statement that can be borne out by the sources. I therefore find his second paradigm to be incoherent. If it is to be resuscitated, the area of eschatology needs emergency treatment!


8. Testamentum Domini 1.36.


10. A prime example would be Augustine of Hippo. See his Confessions 1.11.17.


15. Upon conversion, Constantine decided to “patronize the church using the full panoply of imperial wealth and wealth-based propaganda” (Dominic Janes, God and Gold in Late Antiquity [Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1998], p. 113).


17. For a discussion of the downward mobility evident in Cyprian’s conversion, see Kreider, Change of Conversion, pp. 7–9.


19. Ibid.


22. In the fourth and fifth centuries, in keeping with long-established tradition, Christian worship services remained private, that is, open solely to the baptized (the Eucharist) and the catechumens and baptized (the service of the Word). But as a result of the devaluation of the catechumenate and the spread of infant baptism, the majority of the populace now qualified for admission to services. Hence my statement that Christian worship in Christendom had become public.


35. David Smith states: “The further Christendom recedes in our rearview mirror, the more relevant the experience of the fathers of the church will be found to be” (*Mission After Christendom*, p. 124).


38. Sri Lankan evangelist and missiologist Vinoth Ramachandra concludes his book *The Recovery of Mission* (Carlisle, Eng.: Paternoster Press, 1996) as follows: “Through humble conversation with the early Christians we shall perhaps discover resources that equip us to face the challenges of interaction with the worldviews and ideologies of our world at the end of the twentieth century, and to bear witness to Jesus Christ with integrity and radicalness” (p. 282). For the use that a gifted Ghanaian theologian is making of the early Christian writers in dialogue with contemporary African societies, see Kwame Bediako, *Theology and Identity: The Impact of Culture upon Christian Thought in the Second Century and in Modern Africa* (Oxford: Regnum Books, 1992).

Missiology After Bosch: Reverencing a Classic by Moving Beyond

Stephen B. Bevans, S.V.D., and Roger P. Schroeder, S.V.D.

In a famous though possibly mythological moment in the history of theology, Albert the Great, preaching at the funeral of Thomas Aquinas in 1274, is supposed to have declared that all theology henceforth would be nothing but a footnote to his student’s massive body of work. In the 1960s Vatican II is still urging that dogmatic theology be “exercised under the tutelage of St. Thomas.” In so many ways, therefore, Albert was right: all theology after Aquinas would be inspired by him.

In another sense Albert was wrong, and especially wrong when we consider today that theology is not so much a content to be understood as a process to be entered into, a conversation in which Christians engage not only with the content of Scripture and tradition but also with the context in which they live. No one can write a universal theology, not even Thomas Aquinas. As Dominican theologian Thomas O’Meara puts it so well: “Aquinas’ thinking offers insights and principles but it does not give final systems or universal conclusions... The future of his thought lies with us.”

There is and there must be real theology done after Aquinas, even though it will always be with his inspiration. Successors like Luther, Calvin, Las Casas, Barth, Gutiérrez, and Ruether have contributed more than their share from perspectives that Aquinas could never have imagined. Theology continues today to be much more than a footnote to the past, no matter how brilliant and normative that past has been.

A Footnote to Bosch?

We mention Albert’s famous prediction about Aquinas’s theology because we believe that, in a roughly analogous way, it might be claimed as well that, after the twentieth century, any missiology can be done only as a footnote to the work of David Bosch. Particularly in his 1991 work Transforming Mission: Paradigm Shifts in Theology of Mission, Bosch offered—as Lesslie Newbigin wrote on the book’s back cover—“a kind of Summa Missiologiae” that in his opinion would “surely be the indispensable foundation for the teaching of missiology for many years to come.”

With immense learning, great breadth, and deep theological insight, Bosch suggested that only by understanding the rich diversity of concepts of and approaches to mission down through the ages can one propose a definition of mission that might be adequate for the church in the final years of the twentieth century and into the twenty-first. Accordingly, he first presented the biblical foundations of the church’s mission and argued convincingly that, in Martin Kähler’s apt phrase, mission was the “mother of theology” and that “Christianity is missionary by its very nature.” Bosch then proceeded to present a sweeping history of mission through the patristic era, the Middle Ages, the Protestant Reformation, and the Enlightenment, explaining the divergences in theology and practice by the use of Thomas Kuhn’s and Hans Küng’s concept of paradigms.

Perhaps, however, the book’s greatest contribution to the theology of mission is in Bosch’s massive chapter 12, where he sketches out thirteen “elements of an emerging missionary paradigm,” elements that represented the “state of the question” with regard to mission at the end of the twentieth century. One of his key convictions is that dialogue “is not opting foragnosticism, but for humility. It is, however, a bold humility—or a humble boldness. We know only in part, but we do know. And we believe that the faith we profess is both true and just, and should be proclaimed. We do this, however, not as judges or lawyers, but as witnesses...; not as high-pressure salespersons, but as ambassadors of the Servant Lord.” Another central point is Bosch’s insistence that mission is to be the perspective from which all theology begins and toward which it is oriented.

As magisterial as Transforming Mission is, several scholars have indicated that it is by no means the last word in missiological reflection. Norman Thomas discovered as he was preparing his companion volume of original sources that, while Bosch “provided some coverage of emerging thought in Africa, Asia, and Latin America, it is contained mostly in his chapters on contemporary paradigms of mission as justice, liberation, and witness to people of other living faiths.” Otherwise, his primary dialogue was with European and North American scholars, and one looks in vain for the contribution of women scholars. In fact, we found only twenty-four bibliographical entries by Third World authors and only four by women. In addition, Bosch’s history was written basically from a Western perspective. It is not what Dale Irvin and Scott Sunquist call a “history of the world Christian movement,” and it does not take into account the important fact that Christianity’s “dominant phase in the West, as impressive as it was, was never more than part of the story.”

Andrew Kirk reports being surprised that important topics that have become more and more central to missiological reflection (e.g., peacebuilding, ecojustice, and partnership) are not covered in Bosch’s work. In addition, Robert Schreiter has identified reconciliation and globalization as crucial issues for mission today, but neither one appears in Bosch’s index. We should note, however, that the first of Schreiter’s studies on reconciliation appeared only in 1992, and the bulk of Bosch’s book was certainly written before the momentous changes of 1989 and the beginning of the “new world order.”

In a review of Transforming Mission, Bevans pointed out that Bosch gave rather short shrift to the reemergence of Catholic mission within what he calls the Enlightenment paradigm in the nineteenth century. This was a time of immense interest and activity in missionary work on the part of Catholics. Bosch, however, focuses much more on Protestantism at this time and its amazing commitment to mission. In a similar vein, William Burrows suggests that Bosch would have done well to include a “Catholic Inculturation Paradigm.” Such a paradigm, says Burrows, “follows and modifies the Medieval Catholic Paradigm. It antedates and then runs parallel with the Protestant Reformation Paradigm. It had its own encounter with the Enlightenment.”

Far too little was said in Transforming Mission about the evangelization of Latin America, Africa, and Asia and about the work of people like Las Casas, Lavigerie, Valignano, Ricci, and de Rhodes.

The last flaw we will mention in Bosch’s magnum opus is his neglect of Pentecostalism, particularly its incarnation in the
African Initiated (or Independent) Churches (AICs). Pentecostalism—today the fastest growing type of Christianity—finds no place in his index, and when it is mentioned, no historical context is provided. Similarly, one looks in vain for key figures of the Pentecostal movement. Given Bosch’s South African roots, one is a bit surprised that the movement of AICs hardly receives a mention outside of a footnote.16

Bosch has presented us with a masterful synthesis of missiology that never existed before and that will be normative in some ways for many years to come. He was able to present a scriptural reflection that went far beyond proof-texting; his history and theology of mission is detailed, ecumenically open, and theologically rich. His thirteen paradigms have virtually set the agenda for theological and missiological reflection far into this new twenty-first century. One hears the voice of a deeply convinced Christian who has learned that mission can be done only in “bold humility.” Like the theology of Thomas Aquinas, David Bosch’s vision of mission will not and cannot simply be replaced. It can only be built upon and nuanced. The only way we can do missiology after Bosch is to do it under his inspiration, as new insights emerge and new situations develop.

**Missiology After Bosch**

In the various critiques of Bosch’s work cited above, one can get a sense of some of the issues that either Bosch did not treat directly in his own writings or that have emerged in the years since the completion of *Transforming Mission* and his untimely death. Andrew Kirk’s discovery of the need to include issues like peacemaking, ecology, and partnership within his missiological writing has led to seminal contributions to a missiology that is nourished by Bosch’s genius but that responds to current issues. Similarly, Robert Schreiter’s insistence on the centrality of reconciliation is a perspective that needs to shape missiological praxis. In *Mission in Today’s World*, Donal Dorr begins with a chapter on mission as dialogue, mainly because “it provides a corrective for the very one-sided notion of mission which people took for granted in the past.”17 There has been discussion, especially among Asian theologians,18 that mission is essentially dialogue. Indeed, although there is much debate today within the Catholic Church about the relationship between dialogue and proclamation, magisterial documents certainly affirm the fact that “dialogue is . . . the norm and necessary manner of every form of Christian mission.”19

A major area in which missiology has developed since *Transforming Mission* is the emergence of the “new church history.”20 As Karl Rahner and Walbert Bühlmann pointed out decades ago, we are now living in a “world church” where the vast majority of Christians are members coming from the “third church” of the South, or the “Two-Thirds World.”21 David Barrett’s statistical studies have basically confirmed this shift, and Philip Jenkins has predicted that by 2025 fully two-thirds of Christians will live in Africa, Latin America, and Asia. One may not agree, as Peter Phan emphatically does not (nor do we), with all of Jenkins’s interpretations of the implications of this epochal demographic shift, but scholars are fairly unanimous in acknowledging the accuracy of the facts.22 The “average Christian” today is female, black, and lives in a Brazilian javeia or an African village.

Lamin Sanneh has drawn a close connection between these new Christian demographics and the emergence of a new way of conceiving and writing the history of Christianity itself. Sanneh writes that “those of us who stand today with a breathtaking view of the headwaters of the new world Christian movement must demand fresh navigational aids. We must simply reject old assurances; reject attempts at projecting the old ideas, organization, control and direction into the future.”23 Sanneh’s words appear in a volume entitled *Enlarging the Story: Perspectives on Writing World Christian History*, which includes other important essays by mostly Third World scholars. They all call for a “new” church history, conceived as a narrative and told from many perspectives; as a narrative “of ordinary people, of worship and worshiping communities,” not “of mainly synods and doctrinal development.”24

Another important volume of the last several years is Justo González’s *Changing Shape of Church History*, in which—using the metaphors of geography—he calls for a new cartography, a new topography, and a new evaluation of continental shifts.25 In the old church history (in many ways, Bosch’s perspective), the center of the historical map was Europe. In the new church history, the map is the entire world. Second, the topography of the old church history was basically orography (i.e., the study of mountains)—the study of the prominent, the rich males who had influence and power. The new church history will attend to the entire terrain by listening to the voices of all people in the church, especially those on the margins: women, people of color, people involved in ordinary life. Third, more attention in church history needs to be given to hitherto neglected “continental shifts.” In the past, church history was built around the conversion of Constantine, the patristic and medieval church of Europe, the Protestant Reformation, and the nineteenth century. In contrast, González believes, for example, that the second century will grow in importance because the minority status of Christianity then is similar to many situations today, and that the Reformation “will eventually take second place” to the evangelizing of Latin America in terms of the importance of events in the sixteenth century.26

The scholar who may well be considered the dean of the new church history, Andrew Walls, has written eloquently of the fact that Christianity has developed through the ages, not in a triumphal procession of progress and expansion, but through a “serial process of recession and advance.”27 Not until around 1500, Walls writes, with the *conquista* in Spain and the end of Christianity in central Asia and Nubia, did Europe become “essentially Christian” and Christianity become “essentially European.”28 But now Christianity is receding in the West, with the future belonging to the non-Western world. The *full* story of Christianity needs to be told, not just the relatively short story of Western dominance. Also, the story of women in Christianity needs to find its rightful place.

Two prime examples of this new approach to church and mission history—both of which clearly go beyond Bosch’s telling—are Dale Irvin and Scott Sunquist’s two-volume *History of the World Christian Movement* and Frederick Norris’s *Christianity: A Short Global History*. Rather than beginning with the westward expansion of Christianity, Irvin and Sunquist’s first volume begins with the church’s growth in Syria and Mesopotamia and then highlights the church’s early existence in India and Africa. Islam and the life of Christians under Islamic rule are treated extensively. Their second volume (in preparation) will describe Christianity in Africa, the Americas, India, and Russia before treating the Reformation. Norris’s book brilliantly treats every period of church history through the lens of Christians’ relationships to people of other faiths, of their dealings with the cultures in which they found themselves, and of their embodiment of core Christian values and doctrines. For Norris there is no distinction between “church history” and “mission history.” Christianity
thrive as a religion that witnesses God’s good news to the world; it shrivels in significance when it does not. This last point is something that Bosch would surely say; Norris, Irvin and Sunquist, however, have said it in a way that is more embracing of the entire church’s history.

Central to our aim was to do missiology that was an example of theology with a “missionary imagination.”

This idea is paired primarily with official Orthodox documents on mission. A second theology of mission focuses on sharing and continuing Jesus’ mission of preaching, serving, and witnessing to the reign of God. This perspective appears with particular clarity in Evangelii nuntiandi and the documents of conciliar Protestantism. A third theology is represented by John Paul II’s Redemptoris missio and appears as well in documents issued by evangelicals and Pentecostals. This is a Christocentric perspective, emphasizing that Christ is the unique savior. In terms of González’s typology, the first strand of theology basically reflects Type B, the second Type C, and the third Type A. While we believe that each one of these perspectives is valid in its own way, we also believe that today’s context calls for a theology that synthesizes the best aspects of each.

A theology of mission for today is one that is, first of all, thoroughly dialogical, recognizing the goodness and holiness of human culture, and recognizing the presence of God in other
religious ways. Bosch was so right in speaking of mission being done in humility! But Bosch went on to say that mission should be done in bold humility, and this phrase led us to the phrase articulated by our own Society of the Divine Word, where mission is described as “prophetic dialogue.” Dialogue, yes, but prophetic dialogue.

The final chapter of our book sketches the contours of mission conceived as prophetic dialogue. Recognizing that mission is a “single but complex reality,” 32 we propose that mission today might be conceived as having six discrete but interconnected elements, each of which has a dialogical as well as a prophetic dimension. Readers of Bosch will recognize many of his thirteen “emerging paradigms” among the six, but they will recognize also that we have taken into account contributions like those of Andrew Kirk and Robert Schreiter. We realize that these six elements are not the last word, but we find them the most adequate way of “unraveling” mission’s contemporary complexity. 33 They are (1) witness and proclamation; (2) liturgy, prayer, and contemplation; (3) justice, peace, and the integrity of creation; (4) interreligio dialogue; (5) inculturation; and (6) reconciliation. At the end of our reflections on each of these elements, we also reflect on how each of these elements answers the questions posed by the six constants.

Have we moved beyond Bosch? Only our readers will be able to tell us, and we eagerly look forward to those conversations. We do believe, however, that if our efforts are to be a real contribution to the discipline of missiology, it must be grounded in Bosch’s classic work and do him the honor of moving his ideas into the twenty-first century.

Conclusion

If we may use the phrase, Aquinas and Bosch are the great constants in their respective disciplines. Anyone who engages in theology and missiology must wrestle with their voluminous published work, their formidable intellects, and their insatiable questioning. We live, theologize, and witness to the Gospel, however, in ever-changing and always-diverse contexts, and so, paradoxically, faithfulness to what is past always involves the possibility of change, adaptation, and posing new questions. Theology and missiology are living disciplines, and so while we honor the past, we honor it best by faithfully moving beyond it. Theology and missiology, therefore, need always to be done after Aquinas, and after Bosch. The future of their thought, to paraphrase O’Meara, lies with theologians and missiologists today.

Notes

5. Ibid., pp. 16, 9.
6. Ibid., pp. 489, 494.
20. This section is based on Bevans and Schroeder, “The ‘New’ Church History.”
26. Ibid., p. 44.
Taking stock of more than a millennium of history, systematic theologian Hendrikus Berkhof asserted, “For centuries a static conception of the church prevailed.” Historical Christendom emphasized the institutional and pastoral character of the church. Hierarchical leadership and ecclesiastical tradition reinforced the authority of the church over the members. Theology was preoccupied with the intellectual and pastoral concerns of the church, not its missionary engagement with the world. Mission as intentional witness to the world with a view to winning the allegiance of men and women to the kingdom of God played no direct role in the life of the church of Christendom. When missionary impulses did arise, these were channeled through monastic orders or missionary societies so that the traditional patterns and structures of the church were not disturbed, challenged, or changed. By isolating the question of mission, the church was effectively insulated from the adjustments that missionary engagement inevitably brings.

Since the sixteenth century the missionary movement has contributed to the expansion of the church into the Americas, Asia, Africa, and Oceania, so that the Christian faith has put down roots in a wide variety of cultures and languages. By 1995 at least one book of the Bible had been translated into 2,092 languages, compared with only 60 languages in 1750. The scope and pace of Christian missions accelerated considerably after 1800, setting in motion forces that have reshaped the Christian movement worldwide. Defying powerful inherited habits of mind, this global development demands a rethinking of the nature of the church from every angle: biblical, theological, historical, sociological, and missiological. This work of revision is by no means finished, but significant contributions have already been made. In place of the static and insular model of historical Christendom, it is increasingly acknowledged that only a missional church will dynamically engage a changing cultural context effectively.

The new ecclesial varieties of this century are emerging from a wide array of linguistic-cultural contexts. We are beginning to recognize that from this diversity of sources we are starting to reap a harvest of new insights and fresh perspectives on the meaning of the Gospel, the varied ways it is being experienced by believers across the world, and the implications this reformation holds for the mission of each church. Although it has become commonplace to say that there is no language into which the Bible cannot be translated, we need to recognize that to be credible, the form of the church must engage its cultural-linguistic context in the idiom of that culture.

In this essay I argue that (1) the church was instituted by Jesus Christ for mission; but (2) with the rise of the Constantinian church in the fourth century, mission was eclipsed, and consequently the church became deformed. However, (3) the modern mission movement contributed to the undermining of this nonmissionary model of church by showing that, in the end, missionary action cannot be divorced from the church, for the fruit of authentic mission will be new members of the body of Christ. Finally, (4) the evidence that a church is missional will be the quality of its life.

The Purpose and Constitution of the Church

Although the nature and purpose of the church may seem to be quite straightforward, history shows that it has been understood and interpreted in different ways according to the historical period and the particular social, political, and cultural circumstances. It is essential that we start with the biblical foundation of the church.

According to Scripture the church has been sent into the world by Jesus Christ to continue the witness he began. As such, the church is the primary instrument or means of mission to the world (John 17:18). The church glorifies God by declaring his glory to the nations, calling all people to renounce their idols and turn to the living God, and demonstrating the new reality of the kingdom of God in the way God’s people live. Scripture emphasizes that the church has a special responsibility in relation to the world.

Although the church emerges only at Pentecost, its roots can be traced to the calling of the people of God in the Old Testament. The basic pattern is set in Genesis 12:1–3, when God enters into a covenant with Abraham and his descendants: “Now the Lord said to Abram, ‘Go from your country and your kindred . . . to the land that I will show you . . . and I will bless you . . . and in you all the families of the earth shall be blessed.’” The Abrahamic covenant has been called the original Great Commission. This covenant-commission is foundational for Abraham and the people of God. It becomes clear that God’s strategy for redeeming the world is to call out a people that will be the means by which the nations will learn to know and worship God. This strategy is based on the principle of the “one or the few for the many” (i.e., pars pro toto).

Since the 1940s certain biblical scholars have argued that the Great Commission that Jesus gave to his disciples following the resurrection is essentially an ecclesiastical statement. That is to say, in giving the Great Commission, Jesus renewed the Abrahamic covenant, instituting the church as a primary means of continuing the mission of Jesus in the world (John 17:18; 20:19–23), the one for the many. But the church was not yet ready to be launched. Only after the ascension of Jesus Christ and the coming of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost could the church be called into being. The period between Pentecost and the return of Christ is the age of the Holy Spirit, the time when the church is dispersed throughout the whole world by the Holy Spirit with the mandate to call men and women to believe the Gospel, repent, and live under God’s reign.

The Bible interprets the life and meaning of the church primarily through narrative and images that describe the church in living and dynamic terms. When Peter preached at Pentecost (Acts 2), he interpreted what was unfolding at that moment as being in continuity with what God had been doing over the centuries through the patriarchs and prophets. When New Tes-
tament writers describe the church, they do so by using images such as people of God, body of Christ, and bride of Christ. Paul S. Minear’s classic study Images of the Church in the New Testament has greatly enhanced our understanding of the nature of the church. In this book the author identifies ninety-six images used by New Testament writers to describe and define the purpose and functioning of the church. In other words, the Bible relies on word pictures and metaphors to convey to us what the church is and what the church is to do rather than giving us systematic dogmatic formulations.

More recently John Driver extended this line of inquiry by examining these same biblical word pictures from the standpoint of their missiological significance. These images readily cluster into four groups: (1) pilgrimage (the way, sojourners, the poor); (2) new-order (the kingdom of God, new creation, new humanity); (3) peoplehood (the people of God, the family of God, the shepherd and the flock); and (4) transformation (salt and light, a city, a spiritual house, a witnessing community). Taken together, these images describe the church as a covenant community of missionary witness and transformation that moves throughout the world—God’s people among the peoples.

These studies yield two observations. First, the church as the people of God is “set apart” because of its special vocation on behalf of all other peoples. There are no people to whom it is not responsible to witness concerning God’s saving purpose; the scope of its responsibility is the whole world. Second, the form of the church is not at issue. The church is not at issue.

The Church in History

Although there is no consensus among historians as to whether the rise of Constantinism was a positive development or not, they do agree that the church was decisively changed by the decisions taken by Emperor Constantine after A.D. 313 that ultimately led to Christianity being recognized as the official religion of the Roman Empire in 380 under Emperor Theodosius I.

The church as the people of God is “set apart” because of its special vocation on behalf of all other peoples.

Christianity was transformed from a movement located on the margins of society into the official religion of the Roman Empire, from being perceived as a threat to the security of the empire into a guardian of the status quo. Such a profound change in the identity of the church could not fail to have far-reaching implications. Indeed Europe would be known as Christendom until the twentieth century.

It is not our purpose here to evaluate this development. We only note that once Christianity was recognized as the official religion of the empire, it lost its sense of missionary purpose in relation to the world. The nature of evangelization changed. The concern of the rulers was to pacify the European tribes by whatever means necessary. Eventually, the claim was made that lands governed by Christian kings were Christianized, and the notion of territoriality was linked to the meaning of “church.”

The church was understood to be the institution responsible for the pastoral care of the citizenry and one of the pillars of society. Whereas before A.D. 313 Christians were generally a disadvantaged minority, now as an official part of the establishment, the church played an essential role in the affairs of state.

The long-term consequences of the Constantinian settlement are well known. By the sixteenth century the hierarchy of the church had grown corrupt. The Protestant Reformation challenged certain Catholic practices and doctrines, especially in its great affirmation that sinful humans are “justified by grace alone,” not by works. But the Protestant Reformers left intact, among other things, the traditional understanding of how church and state relate, including the assumption that Europe was a Christian culture. Indeed, one of the criticisms leaders of the Counter-Reformation leveled at the Protestant Reformers was that Protestants did not engage in missionary work—meaning sending missionaries from Christendom to other parts of the world.

Some Protestants did engage in evangelization in Europe in the sixteenth century, but only in the seventeenth century did a handful of Protestants begin to initiate missionary outreach beyond Christendom. Since Christendom offered no model of a missionary church, these early mission advocates turned to the only existing organizational model of cross-cultural process: the trading company. Starting in the fifteenth century, when the Portuguese and Spanish crowns received authorization from the pope to carry out exploration beyond the borders of Christendom, it became a common practice among European monarchs to grant charters for the establishment of trading companies for the purpose of trade and exploration in other parts of the world. These charters, following the papal precedent, included the requirement that the companies hire chaplains to provide pastoral care of the European employees, along with conducting missionary work among the “heathen.” As history shows, the companies allowed the chaplains to perform their pastoral duties among European staff and their families, but they generally discouraged or disallowed them from evangelizing among the indigenous peoples. The Christendom pattern of treating mission as an extraecclesial activity that was permitted only beyond the borders of Christendom persisted among Protestants through the nineteenth century.

Mission and Church Renewal

Already in the seventeenth century concern about the widespread nominality among Protestants was growing. Spiritual life was at low ebb. The Pietist movement arose in Germany in 1675, and in the 1730s the Evangelical Revival started in the Anglo-American world. At each step the official church opposed these efforts to renew the church. Yet Pietism and the Evangelical Revival together were the catalyst for a multifaceted process of renewal that resulted in a range of new initiatives in Christian witness at home and abroad. These many new ventures generated resources for the extension of the church to other parts of the world while instituting a range of new ministries at home—antislavery movement, prison reform, Sunday school movement, literature, Bible societies, and social reforms.

The modern missionary movement emerged around 1800. The immediate evidence that a new initiative was under way was the rapid formation of new missionary agencies in Great Britain, the Netherlands, Germany, and the United States between 1786...
and 1825. As quickly as possible these agencies, often with considerable fanfare, began deploying their missionaries to various parts of the world. This movement has contributed substantially to the reshaping of the Christian movement, so that by 1990 more than half of all Christians were to be found beyond the borders of historical Christendom.

What is little appreciated is the way the world mission movement became a leavening influence (some have called it the “blessed reflex”) on the so-called sending churches of Europe and North America. In Andrew Walls’s telling phrase, the missionary societies aided and abetted “the fortunate subversion of the church.”[13] Even though most leaders of Protestant churches in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were not prepared to endorse missionary work, the actions of groups of evangelicals—often laypeople—who were committed to foreign missions and a range of domestic philanthropic and evangelistic work became the engine of renewal of the Western church in terms of activity, although not of theology.

Some of the most prominent promoters of foreign missions were men who had been employed by the trading companies or were active in commerce and politics.[14] Using the voluntary society, a legal device introduced into British law around 1700, as the mechanism for recruiting missionaries, raising financial support, and conducting the work, these “enthusiasts” created alternatives to the status quo. In the long term this initiative effectively undermined the ecclesiastical status quo. Over time missionary action exposed a fundamental defect in ecclesiological understanding and practice that kept the church from fulfilling its calling; it also provided a way for pent-up missions enthusiasm to find an outlet.

By the twentieth century the relationship between the churches and missions had changed considerably in terms of formal organizational relationships. The challenge to established modes of thinking came from multiple sources. In addition to the missionary movement that surged ahead during the period 1890–1914, the Pentecostal movement erupted around 1906. Committed to a pneumatically based faith experience and a sense of urgency about world evangelization, in the twentieth century the Pentecostals and the charismatics exerted influence on the wider Christian movement in terms of worship, spirituality, and the role of the laity. Their witness led to a renewed awareness of the work of the Holy Spirit.

Nonetheless, the overshadowing influence of Christendom continued to be felt throughout the Christian church, so that the ecclesiocentric attitude persisted. Notionally, “mission” has remained separate from “church,” and “missions” were activities that continued to be carried on through special agencies or programs. In practice, the long-established churches were content to maintain the status quo. The idea that “the church exists by mission as fire by burning” has remained a remote ideal.[15] The process of re-formation cannot yet be said to be complete.

Up to this point we have followed the conventional way of tracing the history of the expansion of the Christian faith. This history starts with the Jerusalem church in A.D. 33 and then follows the spread of the church from the Mediterranean region into Europe. It then moves northward across Europe. From Europe the faith crosses the Atlantic to North and South America. It continues spreading to all the other continents from this European base. The entire Christian movement can be linked genealogically to one church or the other in the West. But an important corrective is needed if we are to give a more adequate account of what has happened since 1800.

Spread across the world today is another variety of church: the indigenous Christian movement. This is not a united movement but rather a conglomerate, for these movements started locally with leaders drawn from their own ranks. Nonetheless, these indigenous groups do owe something to the Christian missions. The coming of the missions inevitably set up an encounter with the local cultures and traditional religions that sparked response.[16] Some people became Christians and affiliated with the churches that were organized by missionaries, while others accepted the message the missionary brought but declined to join the “missionary” church with its foreign connotations. From the beginning, relations between mission-founded churches and indigenous churches were troubled. Whether one considers groups like the True Jesus Church and Little Flock in China or the many indigenous churches in Africa, the mission-related churches generally treated the indigenous groups with contempt mixed with suspicion. And the indigenous churches reciprocated in kind.

While the two groups share a common indebtedness to missionary initiative, presence, and witness, they have also been separated by a profound difference. The indigenous groups did not start from a formal relationship with missionary agencies; they have never experienced dependency on an outside agency or body. From the beginning, they have chosen to pursue Christian faith in their own way, adapting the Christian message to their context as seemed good to them. They have developed their own hymnody, church structures and polity, and theological identity. In other words, these indigenous churches, all of which have emerged since 1800, represent many new varieties of church.

At this point our conventional understanding of the church needs to be challenged. It is generally assumed that once a local church is established, as a self-sufficient entity it can be expected to grow and function as a viable expression of the body of Christ. The energies of the sponsoring church can be devoted continuously to establishing new churches. But actual experience shows that this assumption must be questioned, for it fails to take into account an important issue: church growth dare not be separated from church renewal. The seeds of decay are present in every local church, no matter how healthy it appears to be. What is needed is an ecclesiology that addresses both dimensions by holding church growth and church renewal in tension. A missional ecclesiology attempts to do this.

**Missional Ecclesiology**

The quest for a new ecclesial vision will not be realized easily. The inertia of the old form is formidable. The new will come to birth only through struggle. It will involve a conversion in our understanding of the church and the role of the church in the world.

**Mission the test of faith.** Without mission the church dies. Although what we ordinarily call the church may continue to exist as a religious group, a missionless church is no longer an authentic church. The proof of its missionary character will be demonstrated by its response to the world. W. A. Visser ’t Hooft

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*Although it may exist as a religious group, a missionless church is no longer an authentic church.*

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proposed that missionary witness is a test of Christian faith and ecclesial reality because of three requirements:

- In the missionary situation the church must demonstrate that it actually believes in the “happenedness” of what God has done in Jesus Christ.
- In the missionary situation the church must declare whether it believes in the universal claims of the Gospel.
- In the missionary situation the church must affirm that God’s Word is not bound to any one culture, and especially not to Western cultural forms.\(^\text{17}\)

These requirements put the church on notice that it carries special responsibilities in relation to both God and the world. No other body or religious group is defined by these three criteria. When the church no longer makes these affirmations, it has changed character and has forfeited its distinctive purpose.

Today we have grounds for believing that we can look forward to the flowering of a missional ecclesiology in the twenty-first century, for we have resources that hitherto were not available. The growth of the church throughout the world over the last two centuries has had a twofold effect. First, this development has decisively relativized the historical ecclesial model inherited from Christendom by showing that it belongs to a particular historical period. Second, this growth has occurred in a vast array of cultures and peoples where there was no church in 1800, which has opened our eyes to a conceptual and theological richness not recognized before. Furthermore, the authenticity of these newer expressions of Christian faith has been tested by persistent opposition and, frequently, in the fires of persecution.

Noteworthy

**Announcing**

Crowther Hall in Selly Oak, Birmingham, England, has been closed. For thirty-five years (1969–2004) it served as the center for missionary training for the Church Mission Society. The decision to close Crowther Hall, despite a growing student body, came from Anglicanism’s need for “more contextually appropriate [training] approaches as, increasingly, churches everywhere throughout the world are sending people in mission,” according to Tim Dakin, CMS general secretary. George Kvoor was director and principal of Crowther Hall, which was named in honor of African missionary bishop Samuel Adja Crowther.

A Chinese-language edition of *Rescuing the Memory of Our Peoples: Archives Manual* has been produced by the Centre for the Study of Christianity in Asia, Trinity Theological College, Singapore. The original, in English, was compiled by Martha Lund Smalley and Rosemary Seton and published in 2003 for the International Association for Mission Studies. Both editions are available online without charge at www.OMSC.org (Research and Publications).

Samford University’s *Beeson Divinity School*, Birmingham, Alabama, will commence a missionary-in-residence program with the 2005–6 academic year. In exchange for teaching two courses and speaking in various campus forums, the individual chosen will receive a stipend of $15,000. Those who offer a minimum of five years experience in cross-cultural ministry and affirm both the Lausanne Covenant and Samford’s Statement of Faith may contact Mark R. Elliott for details at the Global Center, Beeson Divinity School, global@samford.edu or www.samford.edu/groups/global.

The Outreach Foundation of the Presbyterian Church, Franklin, Tennessee, and Presbyterian Frontier Fellowship, Eden Prairie, Minnesota, in cooperation with the Worldwide Ministries Division of the Presbyterian Church (USA), Louisville, Kentucky, will sponsor a mission conference, “From Everywhere to Everyone: The New Global Mission,” on October 20–22, 2005, at Peachtree Presbyterian Church in Atlanta, Georgia. The conference will focus on ways Western churches’ evangelistic witness and missional identity are being shaped by the growth and mission initiative of the global church. Speakers include Samuel Escobar, missiologist and author of *The New Global Mission: The Gospel from Everywhere to Everyone* (2003); Kwame Bediako, director of the Akrofi-Christaller Memorial Centre for Mission Research and Applied Theology, Ghana; and Andrew F. Walls, professor emeritus, Centre for the Study of Christianity in the Non-Western World, University of Edinburgh, Scotland. Details are available from The Outreach Foundation, info@theoutreachfoundation.org, or Presbyterian Frontier Fellowship, shells@pff.net.

To commemorate the seventy-fifth anniversary of the establishment of a chair of missiology at Radboud University, Nijmegen, Netherlands, a conference is being organized for October 28, 2005, with the theme “Southern Christianity and Its Relation to Christianity in the North.” Philip Jenkins, author of *The Next Christendom: The Coming of Global Christianity* (2002), will be the keynote speaker. Contact Frans Wijzen, chair of missiology, f.wijzen@theo.ru.nl.

The Baylor Institute for Faith and Learning, Baylor University, Waco, Texas, will host the Pruitt Memorial Symposium on “Global Christianity: Challenging Modernity and the West,” November 10–12, 2005. Dana L. Robert of Boston University School of Theology, Lamin Sanneh of Yale Divinity School, and Brian Stanley of the University of Cambridge, all of whom are contributing editors of the *International Bulletin of Missionary Research*, will be among the plenary speakers. Proposals for papers are welcomed until May 15. Contact Douglas Henry, director, at ifl@baylor.edu or visit www3.baylor.edu/IFL.

The British Library is hosting a project for Endangered Archives funded by the Lisbet Raising Charitable Trust. The project is particularly concerned with endangered archives of non-Western societies and may therefore be applicable to missionary archives and related materials in those countries, according to Rosemary Seton, archivist at the School of Oriental and African Studies, London. The *Endangered Archives Program* aims to safeguard archival material relating to societies before “modernization” or “industrialization” generated institutional and record-keeping structures for the systematic preservation of historical records. The time period will therefore vary according to the society. Any theme or regional interest will be considered, although particularly welcomed are applications concerned with non-Western societies. For details, visit www.bl.uk/endangeredarchives.
With the collapse of historical Christendom, the church today is a minority in most countries. To be viable the church must assume a missionary relationship to every culture.

*Mission and the signs of the time.* Mission is the means by which God is restoring humankind to God’s original purpose in creation. Mission gives history a goal, namely, the realization of the kingdom of God. The present age of the Spirit is marked by intense conflict between the kingdom of God and the kingdom of the world. Mark 13 outlines the nature of this conflict and the way the church is implicated in it.16 We can make four observations about the role of mission in this “end time.” First, the witness to the Gospel will take place in a situation of claims and counterclaims. Many pretenders will proclaim themselves to be messiah, but these false messiahs cannot deliver what they promise (Mark 13:6, 21–22). Messianic options can also take the form of ideologies and revolutionary movements that claim they will liberate humankind from its present dilemma. The people of God must engage in careful discernment of the times under the guidance of the Holy Spirit. Unless the church is clear and convincing in its testimony, its witness will be confused and ineffective.

Second, the kingdom of the world will mount intense opposition, including resort to tactics of intimidation and physical abuse, but nothing must be allowed to stand in the way of witness “to all nations” (Mark 13:9–10) that Jesus is the Messiah. The church dare not make the mistake of thinking that it must gain control of society in order to proclaim the Gospel. God has not called the church to govern the world but to witness to God’s plan to renew the world based on the justice/righteousness of God. There is no part of this world to which God has relinquished claim. God has ceded no territory or people to the control of

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**Personalia**


*The World Evangelical Alliance Mission Commission*, at its September 17–19, 2004, meeting held in the Netherlands, appointed *Bertil Ekström* as executive-director-designate, effective in July 2006. Ekström, 52, is a missionary with InterAct, or Evangeliska Frikyrkan, a Swedish missionary society. A resident of Campinas, Brazil, Ekström has led the Brazilian Association of Mission Agencies, been president of COMIBAM Internacional, and chaired the Great Commission Roundtable. Outgoing executive director *William D. Taylor* will continue as a staff member, interfacing with North American mission movements and initiating a task force for mentoring younger global mission leaders. He will continue to edit *Connections: The Journal of the WEA Mission Commission*. *Jonathan Lewis* was released from his role as Mission Commission associate director to become full-time director of WEA’s International Missionary Training Network and to focus on MC publications. At the meeting, the WEA/MC changed its name from “Missions Commission” to “Mission Commission,” which, they said, “underscores the MC’s intent to advance its missional and holistic commitments, while keeping a sharp focus on the cross-cultural mission of God’s people.”

*Geoff Tunnicliffe*, director of global initiatives, Evangelical Fellowship of Canada, has been appointed interim international coordinator for WEA, following the recent resignation of *Gary Edmonds* as WEA general secretary.

*David A. Kerr*, professor and director of the Centre for the Study of Christianity in the Non-Western World, University of Edinburgh, Scotland, has been appointed chair of missiology and ecumenics at the Centre for Theology and Religious Studies, Lund University, Sweden. He is a contributing editor of the *International Bulletin of Missionary Research*.

On September 22, 2004, *Hwa Yung*, director of the Centre for the Study of Christianity in Asia, Trinity Theological College, Singapore, and former principal of Seminari Teoloji Malaysia, was elected bishop of the Methodist Church in Malaysia. Hwa is also chairman of the board of directors of the Oxford Centre for Mission Studies.

**Died. J. T. Seamands**, 87, Methodist missionary to India (1940–60) and professor of Christian mission at Asbury Theological Seminary (1961–87), August 29, 2004, in Wilmore, Kentucky. John Thomas Seamands grew up in India as the son of Methodist missionary parents. Known for his musical talent and linguistic skills, he mastered the Kanarese language of South India and wrote many Christian songs and his first two books in that language. Twelve more books followed in English, including his well-known *Tell It Well: Communicating the Gospel Across Cultures* (1982). In his 26 years teaching at Asbury Seminary, Seamands became famous for encouraging students to enter cross-cultural ministry and for teaching future pastors how to develop a church mission program. He was also the founding director of the E. Stanley Jones School of World Mission and Evangelism, in 1982.

**Died. Jacques Dupuis**, S.J., 81, of a cerebral hemorrhage, December 28, 2004, in Rome. Born in Belgium, Dupuis entered the Jesuit novitiate before departing for India in December 1948. He finished theological studies in India and was ordained there, received a doctorate from Gregorian University (1959), and returned to India, where he taught theology until 1984, when he was assigned to teach at Gregorian. Dupuis edited *Vidyajyoti* in India and *Gregorianum* in Rome. He wrote *Jesus Christ at the Encounter of World Religions* (1991), *Who Do You Say I Am?* (1994), *Toward a Christian Theology of Religious Pluralism* (1997), and *Christianity and the Religions: From Confrontation to Dialogue* (2002). Dupuis’s teaching and writing centered on articulating for the contemporary era a Christology that was faithful to Scripture and tradition, while dealing forthrightly with the challenge of religious pluralism.

**Catherine Rae Ross**, director of the School of Global Mission, Bible College of New Zealand, Auckland, has accepted the position of mission interchange adviser for the Church Mission Society, U.K. Ross and her husband spent time in Rwanda and Belgium prior to working with the Anglican Church for three years in the Democratic Republic of Congo. She previously worked for CMS, 1991–98.
Satan. That is why witness to the Gospel must be carried to the whole world. This claim is of course contested, and those who witness to the lordship of Jesus the Messiah will inevitably be called to suffer.

Third, the missional church will not lose sight of the fact that the mission does not belong to the church. Mission is the work of the Holy Spirit, who indwells the church. As Mark’s gospel reminds us, “Whenever you are arrested and brought to trial, do not worry beforehand about what to say. Just say whatever is given you at the time, for it is not you speaking, but the Holy Spirit” (Mark 13:11 NIV). The missional church will be acutely aware that it is the instrument the Spirit is using to accomplish the mission of Jesus.

Finally, in spite of the threats the world will inevitably hurl at the church, it will quietly draw confidence from the conviction that God alone will determine the outcome (Mark 13:32b).

Missional ecclesiology tested. We can learn from the experiences of Christian disciples who have demonstrated a strong sense of missionary purpose in their particular situations at various times over the past two thousand years. The two examples cited here have not been chosen because they report on perfect churches. Rather, what we want to illustrate is what has been the instinctual faith-response of a missional church to its historical-cultural context.

In the first case we actually know little of the church(es) being described, but the description suggests a church that exhibited an authentic missional ethos. The Letter to Diognetus, believed to have come down to us from the second century, characterizes a particular Christian community:

Christians are not differentiated from other people by country, language or customs; you see, they do not live in cities of their own, or speak some strange dialect, or have some peculiar lifestyle.

They live in both Greek and foreign cities, wherever chance has put them. They follow local customs in clothing, food and the other aspects of life. But at the same time, they demonstrate to us the wonderful and certainly unusual form of their own citizenship.

They live in their own native lands, but as aliens; as citizens, they share all things with others; but like aliens suffer all things. Every foreign country is to them as their native country, and every native land as a foreign country.

They are treated outrageously and behave respectfully to others. When they do good, they are punished as evildoers; when punished, they rejoice as if being given new life. They are attacked by Jews as aliens, and are persecuted by Greeks; yet those who hate them cannot give any reason for their hostility.

To put it simply—the soul is to the body as Christians are to the world. The soul is spread through all parts of the body and Christians through all the cities of the world. The soul is in the body but is not of the body; Christians are in the world but not of the world.19

The Meserete Kristos Church (MK) in Ethiopia provides us with a contemporary example. In 1982 the Communist government singled out this church for persecution by sealing all the MK church buildings and forbidding the holding of church services. The main leaders of the church were put in prison, but the members of the church responded quickly. They worked out a plan by which the entire church was organized into house groups. Services had to be held in secret. Since there was always the possibility of a police raid, such things as hymnbooks were not brought to the meetings. The number of members in each group was limited so as not to attract attention. Women took charge of many of these groups. New converts were baptized in secret. Sunday school materials were produced and distributed. Communication among MK congregations was strictly by word of mouth, lest written documents fall into the hands of government officials. The ban against the Meserete Kristos Church was not lifted until the Communist government was overthrown in 1991. As happened in China during the years 1949–79, the Meserete Kristos Church grew during the years of persecution. In 1982 baptized membership was reported to be 27,440. When the ban was lifted in 1991, membership had risen to 48,056.20 The MK has continued growing in the years since.

Defining characteristics. What can we say are the main features of a missional ecclesiology? At least five things will characterize a missional church:

• The missional church is intensely aware that its priority is to witness to the kingdom of God so that people are being liberated from the oppressive power of idols. The church is consciously discerning and naming the idols.

• The church is deeply committed to the world but is not controlled by the world. In other words, the church knows that it has been placed in the world but is never to be subservient to the world. The absence of this tension indicates that the church has made its peace with the world.

• Mission is patterned after the example of Jesus the Messiah; that is, mission is cruciform. The vision of Isaiah 53 is being fulfilled as God’s people serve and witness. The cross is central.

• The missional church has a keen awareness of the eschaton. In Jesus Christ the kingdom has been inaugurated, but the people of God eagerly await the consummation of the kingdom.

• Church structures will serve and support its mission to the world. Human cultures inevitably change over time. The church must stay abreast of its changing cultural context, which will require the dismantling of archaic forms that impede missionary witness and the devising of new structures that support the mission.

Conclusion

When our Lord launched his earthly ministry, he called individuals to follow him. Questions were soon raised about the way the disciples of Jesus, in contrast to those of John the Baptist, were departing from traditional practice with regard to fasting. Jesus responded by interpreting his ministry in new terms. A new age was dawning, he said, in which the old rules no longer made sense. To clarify this point Jesus told two parables. He said the sensible person does not tear a piece of cloth off a new garment and use it to patch a hole in an old one; likewise, it is foolish to pour new wine into an old wineskin (Matt. 9:14–17; Mark 2:18–22; Luke 5:33–39). In effect, said Jesus, we must pay attention to what God the Holy Spirit is doing in a particular time and place. Forms and practices are not sacrosanct. The action of the triune God expressed as missio Dei is authoritative in determining what the people of God do.
The thrust of this essay has been to argue that the ecclesiology inherited from Christendom has been marked by a twofold distortion: (1) Christendom ecclesiology is nonmissional, and (2) it has been regarded as permanently normative. I have contended that the New Testament leaves no doubt as to the fundamental purpose of the church but does not prescribe the polity or form of the church. As the primitive church began spreading around the Mediterranean basin and into Asia, issues arose as to theology, ethics, and missionary engagement. Paul forged his theology in the thick of missionary witness. In his epistles to these new churches, the apostle grapples with the issues being raised in the context of Christian expansion into new cultures. At no point does he address the problem of structure and form. Rather, he focuses on matters of Christian commitment and discipleship.

When we turn to examples from history where churches have shown authentic spiritual vitality, we observe that such churches have been marked by a strong sense of their identity as the body of Christ engaged in faithful witness to the world. To carry out this witness has invariably required new structures and forms appropriate to the cultural context. Old wineskins cannot handle new wine.

Over the past two centuries the modern mission movement has been the instrument for extending the church to all parts of the world. The cultural variety that marks the worldwide church today is without historical precedent. As the Gospel has penetrated these diverse cultures, it has yielded this extraordinary fruit. The Gospel is the pearl of great price that no human can ever fully comprehend. At best we grasp only a part of the Gospel. By the same token, the way the Gospel is heard and appropriated by any local church will reflect its cultural and linguistic particularities. What validates these diverse expressions of Christian faith is the vitality of the witness of each church in its own context.

Notes

3. The term “missional” has been used increasingly since the 1990s. However, already in the mid-1970s John Howard Yoder began teaching a course, “Ecclesiology in Missional Perspective,” at the Associated Mennonite Biblical Seminary. “Missional” describes the church defined by its relationship to the missio Dei, or mission of God. “Missiology” refers to the process of systematic study of missionary action. For a recent attempt to rethink ecclesiology from a missional perspective, see Darrell L. Guder, ed., Missional Church: A Vision for the Sending of the Church in North America (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998). Note that this book develops a missional ecclesiology in relation to a particular cultural context.
5. Inagrace T. Dietterich, The Church and the Reign of God (Chicago: Center for Parish Development, 2002), suggests that five things characterize the church: (1) the church was founded at God’s initiative, not by human decision; (2) the church’s God-given mission is threefold: to be sign, foretaste, and instrument of the coming kingdom of God; (3) the church is called to discern and participate in God’s vision of the future, not a program of the church’s own devising; (4) the church is called to continual renewal of its life and ministry; and (5) each local church must discover the orientation for its life in terms of two processes: discerning God’s vision and discerning God’s call (pp. 2–3).
9. Not until the Protestant Reformation was the principle cuius regio, ejus religio formalized. Such a principle was the logical outcome of the foundational concept forged by Constantine and Theodosius I.
12. Official Roman Catholic teaching continues to maintain this definition. See John Paul II’s encyclical Redemptoris missio (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Catholic Conference, 1990), sections 34 and 37. Some ambivalence is evident in this restatement of traditional teaching.
14. Perhaps the best-known example was the Clapham Sect, so named because this group of men and their families lived in Clapham, South London, between 1785 and 1815. This group comprised prominent bankers, lawyers, members of Parliament, and merchants who were also convinced evangelical Anglicans. Included in their number were Charles Grant, a leading director of the East India Company; William Wilberforce, merchant and member of Parliament; and Zachary Macaulay, governor of the Sierra Leone Company in the 1790s. The Clapham Sect supported many of the new evangelical societies that sponsored foreign missions and philanthropy at home.
16. Based on his unparalleled knowledge of these movements worldwide, Harold W. Turner argued this point repeatedly. See his article “Religious Movements in Primal (or Tribal) Societies,” Mission Focus 9, no. 3 (September 1983): 45–55.
21. See John V. Taylor, The Growth of the Church in Buganda (London: SCM, 1958), pp. 252–53. Taylor approaches the issue as “a question of communication” and brilliantly illustrates how missionaries and Bugandans talked past each other, even though both were responding to the Gospel, and how a strong church emerged among the Buganda. In 1884–85 persecution of Christians broke out, and in early 1885 three young men sealed their faith in death. Persecution against the Christian community continued, but the church only grew in strength.
Describing the Worldwide Christian Phenomenon

Todd M. Johnson and Sandra S. Kim

Christians can be found today in every country in the world. Although Christianity has been gradually expanding since its earliest days, only recently has it achieved a near-universal presence around the world. In 1942 Archbishop William Temple spoke of “a Christian fellowship which now extends into almost every nation” as “the great new fact of our era.”

Kenneth Scott Latourette opened his book The Emergence of a World Christian Community (1949) with the words, “One of the most striking facts of our time is the global extension of Christianity.” In each case these writers acknowledged that, by the middle of the twentieth century, Christianity had reached a new level of engagement with the world’s population. John J. Considine of Maryknoll took the matter further with his statement that “Christianity is not true Christianity unless it embraces all mankind—unless it is World Christianity.” This article examines in detail the strengths and weaknesses of three different terms currently used to describe this worldwide phenomenon.

Early Christians Anticipate Universal Expansion

One of the most significant features of nascent Christianity was its universal outlook. Jesus told his followers to “go ... and make disciples of all nations [ethne]” (Matt. 28:19). John was later given a glimpse of the future, as he saw “a great multitude that no one could count, from every nation, from all tribes and peoples and languages, standing before the throne and before the Lamb” (Rev. 7:9). Early Christians understood this Christian responsibility in terms of the oikoumenikos—which belongs to the oikoumen, or whole inhabited world. Kenneth Cragg observed that “the faith is not fulfilled unless the oikoumen, with its cultures and claims, is both the measure and test of their trust.”

James Addison noted, “We shall not know the possibilities of our own religion until it has come to include all for whom it was meant. ... For only a Church in which all races can bring to full expression ‘the unsearchable riches of Christ.'”

Christians, therefore, even as a tiny minority in the Roman Empire, had reason to anticipate a future worldwide fellowship where all languages, tribes, and peoples would contribute to the whole of Christianity.

The Rise and Fall of Christendom

Over the course of many centuries and especially with the rise of European Christendom (by 1500, fully 92 percent of all Christians were Europeans), and then later with its world empires, Christianity increasingly became identified with the political and economic agenda of the West. “It is simply impossible to overlook the fact that the ‘great era’ of Christian missions occurred as people of European origin extended their political and economic control until it encompassed 84 per cent of the land surface of the globe.” This European colonial system, with its global preeminence, gave rise to the idea that the Christian faith is exclusively Western—even though significant non-Western Christian movements were already present in the sixteenth century.

Although Christianity was dominated by the North from 950 to 1950, its center of gravity has been steadily shifting southward. In the early part of the twentieth century, Christianity broke the bonds of Europe and the Americas and began to spread widely in Africa and Asia. Nonetheless Cragg noted that “the geographical universality of the Church, or nearly so, had been achieved only in the context of a deep cultural partiality.”

Cragg was aware of burgeoning movements of indigenous Christianity, but he recognized that Christianity was largely still characterized by Western culture.

Only in the late twentieth century did Christianity around the world begin to disentangle itself from its colonial character. This change was entirely appropriate, for “the full-grown humanity of Christ requires all the Christian generations, just as it embodies all the cultural variety that six continents can bring.” No longer is the picture of the average Christian a white Westerner. Indeed, in 1980 an average of 7,600 such Christians were abandoning the faith each day. Rather, we have witnessed the coming of age of the younger churches within the context of decolonization and rising nationalism. In spite of the accusations of anti-Christian nationalists and of critics who accused it of being cultural-imperial in nature, Christianity provided the tools (e.g., education) for national resistance to colonial domination.

Instead of destroying indigenous societies, Christianity, especially with its emphasis on the translation of the Scriptures into the vernacular, allowed for the preservation of indigenous languages and cultures. Churches persisted and grew in the face of opposition because of the strength it provided people in sociopolitical, economic, and cultural upheaval.

Not only is the church growing in the non-Western world, but the voice and sense of identity of Southern Christians among the global Christian community is growing as a result of globalization. The European colonial empire left a legacy of “a global religious heritage”—a common experiential and historical interconnectedness between former colonies and imperial powers.

This legacy is being transformed by the exponential rise of the world population, urbanization, and migration in the last two centuries. Much of the global population growth in the coming decades will occur in urban centers, and fifteen of the seventeen urban conglomerations over 10 million in population are located in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. These burgeoning urban centers are also the loci of new Christian growth in the South. Christian ecclesiology and theology will likely develop in this context and be exported to the rest of the world. This trend is especially important in light of Andrew Walls’s observation that the course of Christian history is “not progressive but serial,” which implies that the South might be the center of Christian life for some time to come.

Three Terms for Worldwide Christianity

Current literature describing Christianity on a worldwide scale uses three different phrases: “Christendom,” “world Christianity,” and “global Christianity.” These terms are often used interchangeably, and their usage seems to vary from author to author. Each phrase, however, carries particular connotations that have

Todd M. Johnson is Director of the Center for the Study of Global Christianity at Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary, South Hamilton, Massachusetts.

Sandra S. Kim recently graduated with a master of divinity degree from Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary.
evolved over time and are continuing to be redefined today. Here we examine the three in some detail and comment on their suitability as terms in the twenty-first century.

Christendom. The Christendom model of conceptualizing the international scope of the Christian faith is rooted in geopolitical and economic power. It is a loaded term that has been shaped over the course of nearly sixteen centuries of official Christianity in the Western world in which ruling powers of a nation would determine which religion, or more specifically which form of Christianity, would have dominion or reign supreme. (This practice goes back to the seventeenth-century principle of cuius regio, eius religio, literally, “whose the region, his the religion.”) As seen through the lens of this model, the Christian faith is successful when it “gain[s] more quantitative power in the world, and more territory.” In the Christendom model, Christian mission is seen as expansion and the goal as acquisition of more territory. The task of mission is the purveyance of a common culture and thought life, and consequently it tends to breed intolerance. Mission in the Christendom model is not primarily concerned with indigenous appropriation and expression of the Christian faith on a grassroots cultural level; rather, it is more concerned with the presence and influence of the Christian faith on the geopolitical level. To put it another way, the Christendom model tends to emphasize a top-down approach from a position of power and influence rather than an organic bottom-up inculturation of the faith.

According to Douglas John Hall, this enmeshment of Christian mission with the territorial expansion of Western geopolitical powers is in essence “a palpable missiological confusion” rooted in the desire of the West to be able “to tell the Christian story as a success story.” Today the confusion is heightened, for of power and influence rather than an organic bottom-up on the geopolitical level. To put it another way, the Christendom model, Christian mission is seen as expansion and the goal as acquisition of more territory. The task of mission is the purveyance of a common culture and thought life, and consequently it tends to breed intolerance. Mission in the Christendom model is not primarily concerned with indigenous appropriation and expression of the Christian faith on a grassroots cultural level; rather, it is more concerned with the presence and influence of the Christian faith on the geopolitical level. To put it another way, the Christendom model tends to emphasize a top-down approach from a position of power and influence rather than an organic bottom-up inculturation of the faith.

According to Douglas John Hall, this enmeshment of Christian mission with the territorial expansion of Western geopolitical powers is in essence “a palpable missiological confusion” rooted in the desire of the West to be able “to tell the Christian story as a success story.” Today the confusion is heightened, for current immigration/emigration trends demonstrate that there are no clear-cut boundaries with practitioners of other faiths being solely in far-off lands. Now they are next-door neighbors. Additionally, there is no longer a clear-cut moral and cultural superiority of the Christian faith in the West. As a result of this decline, Hall argues, the West now has the opportunity to reexamine and embrace the Christian faith with fresh insight and conviction, shifting from a position of dominance to being the salt, yeast, and light of the world.

“Christendom” thus seems inextricably tied to European dominance. Philip Jenkins tries to introduce a new usage of the term when he refers to the rise of Christianity in the global South (not Christianity as a whole) as “the next Christendom.” Jenkins goes further to say that the rise of the church in the non-Western world will lend a creative and diversifying fire to the cultural mix for all Christians, not only enabling those in the West to see Christianity “with fresh insight and conviction” but also transforming Christianity into a truly global expression of the faith. Jenkins aptly describes the contours of the rise of Southern Christianity, although his referring to it as “the next Christendom” may not ring true. What he is describing is not a geopolitical reality but a religious and cultural one. Consequently, “Christendom” or “next Christendom” may not be the best term to use in describing the reality of Southern Christianity or of Christianity as a worldwide phenomenon.

World Christianity. Conceptualization of Christianity as “world Christianity” developed slowly in the early part of the twentieth century. Missionary publications before World War I refer to “world evangelization” but stop short of using the term “world Christianity.” This restriction in usage is understandable, because as recently as 1900 over 80 percent of all Christians were still located in the Western world. As found in the reports and records of the conferences in Edinburgh (1910), Jerusalem (1928), and Tambaram (1938), the phrase “world evangelization” was used by Western missionaries to speak of bringing the Christian faith to distant lands of unbelievers.

“One world Christian” appears as a transitional phrase that emerged after World War I as an educational concept to help (specifically American) Christians gain more respect for other peoples of the world. The term thus predates “world Christianity” and refers to cultural awareness and sensitivity.

The phrase “world Christianity” emerged after World War I in recognition not only of the numerical strength of Christianity around the world but also of the contributions to be made by each of the different cultures represented. The timing was more than coincidental, as Western Christians lost confidence in their cultural form of Christianity in the trenches of World War I. The phrase became focused on “international friendship” to unite the church, though not so much on diversity of cultural and theological expression. There was not yet an overt acknowledgment of the contributions of non-Western Christians, although indigenous voices were increasingly important in global gatherings.

This gradual change can be seen in the composition of world missionary conferences. In Edinburgh in 1910, only 17 of 1,100 delegates were “nationals” from mission fields. At Jerusalem in 1928, a quarter of the delegates came from younger churches, and at Tambaram in 1938 half were non-Western. Nonetheless, as late as 1959 Latourette, while issuing a call for a “world Christian fellowship,” admitted that “Christianity is still chiefly the faith of Occidental peoples.” “World Christianity” was still used more in the context of spreading the Gospel and moving towards a worldwide ecumenical Christian body. This understanding is reflected in the first book to use the phrase “world Christianity” in its title—Henry Smith Leiper’s World Chaos or World Christianity: A Popular Interpretation of Oxford and Edinburgh (1937). Leiper used the term in anticipation of the formation of the World Council of Churches, which he hoped would become a truly ecumenical worldwide fellowship.

In recent literature “world Christianity” has been used to describe the remarkable cultural and linguistic diversity of Christianity around the world. According to Lamin Sanneh, “World Christianity is not one thing, but a variety of indigenous responses through more or less effective local idioms, but . . . without necessarily the European Enlightenment frame.” This positive sense can be seen in the ubiquitous use of the term in the academic study of Christianity. A quick Web search located nearly thirty different professorships and other academic positions incorporating “world Christianity” (a few use “global Christianity”) in today’s seminars and universities.

Global Christianity. The phrase “global Christianity,” in contrast, has a much more recent history and is often used to describe the cultural and theological rather than political dimensions of the Christian faith as it finds expression across the globe. The first usage of “global Christianity” appears to be in the opening sentences of the preface of David Barrett’s World Christian Ency-
choopedia. In 1981 he wrote (fittingly, from Nairobi, Kenya), “In 1968, a group of church demographers met and decided that the time was ripe to undertake, for possibly the first time in Christian history, a comprehensive survey of all branches of global Christianity.” Barrett and his colleagues considered the global reach of Christianity in all its forms as worthy of empirical study. Empirical study has since enhanced Christian awareness of the global nature of Christianity by showing its ecclesiastical diversity (37,000 denominations) and its ethnic and linguistic reach (among 9,000 of the 13,000 peoples in the world).

More recently, scholars such as Dana Robert, Philip Jenkins, and Mark Juergensmeyer all utilize “global Christianity” in describing the “fluid process of cultural interaction, expansion, synthesis, borrowing and change” that takes place in any global religion, and here more specifically the Christian religion, which has always “maintained permeable boundaries.” In their view, “global Christianity” has developed as a result of “increasing indigenization within a postcolonial political framework,” involving “urbanization, dislocation caused by war and violence, ethnic identity, the globalizing impact of cyberspace, and local circumstances . . . . The time when Christianity was the religion of European colonial oppressors fades ever more rapidly into the past.” The global reality of the Christian faith is no longer about “faithful replication” of the European model but about increasing local cultural expression in the larger world community of saints as the result of increasingly varied movements of people, ideology, and technology.

Choosing Terms

Having seen the negative implications of “Christendom,” we are left with either “world Christianity” or “global Christianity” for describing worldwide Christianity. We have seen how the former has evolved from its earlier connotations of Western paternalism in an ecumenical context. Today it has more positive connotations. The latter term, “global Christianity,” to which we now turn, has a more recent history.

In current literature, Bert Hoedemaker outlines “the problem of unity and diversity, of ‘one gospel and many cultures,’” as one brought on by the “power of emerging global Christianity as a rival to major alternatives such as ‘secular civilization’ and non-Christian religions” (emphasis added). Hoedemaker weads this dominant conception as expounded by Lesslie Newbigin to the term “global Christianity.” According to Hoedemaker, “global Christianity” is a force birthed from the “secular creation of a certain global unity” and the result of modernity. Sanneh also conceptualizes and defines “global Christianity” in cultural and imperialistic terms, seeing it as a product of the Enlightenment that faithfully replicated European expressions and accoutrements of the Christian faith, carrying the “vestiges still of that root imperial phase . . . [with] the economic and political security interests of Europe . . . or else a reaction to it.” Sanneh then juxtaposes “world Christianity” with “global Christianity,” equating only the former with successful, variegated, indigenous expressions of the Christian faith as created from below, whereas for him “global Christianity” is equivalent to cultural imperialism with the creation of uniformity and replication of European expressions of Christianity.

Sanneh is not incorrect in correlating “global Christianity” with globalization. The very nature of globalization itself, however, is multilayered; it is a multifaceted phenomenon that has contradictory movements within itself that are in tension. Yale University’s Center for the Study of Globalization (http://www.ycsg.yale.edu) defines globalization in both positive and negative terms. Globalization is not the same as Westernization nor just about economics. Globalization, instead, refers to “increasing global interconnectedness, so that events and developments in one part of the world are affected by, have to take account of, and also influence, in turn other parts of the world. It also refers to an increasing sense of a single global whole.” It assumes multiple levels, from economics and politics, migration and social interaction, music and culture, and permeates all facets of life.

For our purposes it is important to note that globalization takes place from two different directions—from the global level to the local, and from the local level to the global. This synergistic dynamic from the top down and from the grassroots up has been labeled “glocal” or “globalisation.” David Smith is particularly helpful in distinguishing between globalization from above and globalization from below. He delineates the former as “the spread of economics”; it is “a reconstruction of the processes of imperialism in which the institutions of Western capitalism ‘send out voracious tentacles all over the globe seeking markets and profits’ to the advantage of an already rich and powerful minority based mainly in North America and Europe.” Globalization from below, in contrast, is the dynamic “resulting from person-to-person contacts through Non-Governmental Organisations, cultural exchange programmes and the work of missions . . . . It is exposure of the West to the cultural, religious, social and economic realities of peoples in the southern hemisphere . . . [and it is] driven not by the search for profit but by a spirit of human solidarity and compassion.” It is this globalization from below—that focuses more upon culture, religion, and ideology—that shapes Christianity on a global scale. All Christians can “embrace the larger story as ‘our history’ because it clarifies their identity as members of a common—though culturally variegated—experience over time.” Just as the nature of globalization in and of itself is complex, so the effects of globalization on Christianity are also complex and sometimes even contradictory. Thus, we feel that Sanneh’s division between “global Christianity” (i.e., Western domination of the world) and “world Christianity” (i.e., the diversity of Christianity around the world) is overstated. While tensions between these two concepts exist, we do not believe that the preference of one term over the other is so obvious. A far more nuanced approach to both terminologies is required.

Definitions

The Oxford English Dictionary defines “global” as “comprehensive, all-inclusive, unified, total; spec. pertaining to or involving the whole world; world-wide; universal.” “World” is defined as “of or pertaining to the whole world, embracing the whole world, world-wide, universal.” Thus, these two words, used as adjectives, can have strikingly similar meanings. Furthermore,
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“global” is defined in Webster’s Third New International Dictionary as “distributed over or extending throughout the entire world.” In relation to our two terms for describing Christianity, these definitions indicate little or no difference.

In a chronological sense, “world” belongs to the modern era with its connotations of “uniformity” and “empire,” while “global” belongs to the postmodern era with its connotations of “hegemony,” “diversity” and “fragmentation.” Thus, either term carries with it much potentially negative baggage. Sanneh’s attempt to clarify these two phrases is valuable, especially in leading us to give closer attention to their connotations. A survey of the literature throughout the twentieth century, however, reveals that the two phrases have come to be used interchangeably, as is also the case in the new century. A closer look at the literature through the past century indicates that “global Christianity,” more so than “world Christianity,” is used to connotate the panoply of cultural expressions of the Christian faith around the world. In fact, historical evidence would indicate that “world Christianity” has had a longer association with the notion of the Christian faith as a singularity replicated by the West worldwide.

We feel that either term can be used in the positive sense that Sanneh assigns only to “world Christianity.” It seems that younger Christians, whether in Africa, Asia, the Americas, or Europe, seem to prefer the term “global.” Nonetheless, in the final analysis, either “global” or “world” can refer to a phenomenon spread across the entire earth. “Global Christianity” or “world Christianity,” then, is all forms of Christianity among all peoples, languages, and cultures. It is up to us who utilize either term to carefully define and discern the specific tenor of its usage. We truly live in the age of global Christianity, of world Christianity, of worldwide Christianity, of Christianity on six continents, of Christianity in every country of the world, and, perhaps soon, of Christianity among every people in the world. What this great fact means to particular Christians will continue to challenge both local and global expressions of the faith.

Notes

7. In this article we use “West” and “North” interchangeably. We are also equating “non-West” with “South.” Both of these dichotomies are used in the literature we are interacting with. For statistical evidence for the dominance of the North, see Todd M. Johnson and Sun Young Chung, “Tracking Global Christianity’s Statistical Centre of Gravity, A.D. 33–A.D. 2100,” International Review of Mission 93, no. 369 (April 2004): 166–81.
18. Christendom is “the portion of the world in which Christianity prevails or which is governed principally under Christian institutions” (Webster’s Third New International Dictionary). See also Smith, Mission After Christendom, pp. 88–90.
20. Ibid., pp. 21–22, 64.
33. Ibid., p. 5; see also Craig Detweiler and Barry Taylor, A Matrix of Meanings: Finding God in Pop Culture (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2003), p. 147.
From Bank Clerk to Evangelist

I decided not to be poor like my father but to become comfortably rich. In 1943 I began an apprenticeship at a private bank in Zurich. I also worked at the Zurich Stock Exchange, which allowed me to read the Financial Times and other economic and financial literature. So I began to understand the mechanisms of international finance and trade.

As usual at the time, I was sent to Sunday school in the Swiss Reformed Church. It was utter chaos, with three hundred children shouting and making noise, so I did not understand a thing. I protested to my mother that if I had to go to Sunday school instead of playing football, then I wanted at least to learn something. So my mother transferred me to a Pentecostal Sunday school, where there was discipline. An older woman told Bible stories, which I liked very much. I quickly became their youth leader and conductor of the youth choir.

Although I listened regularly to reports of missionaries on furlough, I never felt a call to overseas mission. God spoke in another way to me. He told me that it was not my calling to work at the stock exchange to make rich people richer, but instead to serve as a Pentecostal pastor. This I did not like at all, because I knew that Pentecostal pastors could not become rich—at least not at that time. So I wrestled with God for two years, until I suddenly experienced what the Pentecostals call “baptism in the Spirit.” It was a kind of fire experience, similar to the one Blaise Pascal describes in his famous memorial that was found after his death, sown into his jacket. The result of this deep and shaking experience was that I stopped resisting God’s call to the ministry. Together with my future wife, Erica Busslinger, I went to the International Bible Training Institute in England (1948–49). Upon our return to Switzerland I was offered a fantastic banking career, which I declined. Shortly thereafter I was ordained pastor of the Swiss Pentecostal Mission and on June 30, 1951, we were married.

From 1955 to 1957 we experienced a considerable revival in Zurich. The congregation doubled in a short time, and many people were healed. I invited new converts to attend Bible courses in private homes so that they could get to know the older members of the congregation. Most of these new participants did not own a Bible, so I had to start from the beginning and explain what the big numbers (chapters) and small numbers (verses) meant. They spoke unashamedly in the office or the factory about their newly acquired Bible knowledge. Such enthusiasm provoked their colleagues to ask if they too could come to the Bible course.

In spite of considerable success, I was not convinced of my own biblical competence, since I had no access to the biblical languages or scholarly commentaries. In using the official translation of the Reformed Church of Zurich (the so-called Zurich translation, which was extremely influential on the King James Bible), I was struck by the critical notes. For instance, there was a note on Matthew 1:16 stating that, according to Old Syriac manuscripts, Jesus was the son of Joseph. Other notes stated that the story of the adulterous woman in John 8, as well as the end of the Gospel of Mark, were missing in the oldest manuscripts. My teachers from England and my colleagues in the pastorate did not have a clue how to deal with such information. I therefore asked a Presbyterian pastor with a university education what he thought about these notes. He advised me not to believe them, as they were written by unbelieving professors of theology. This answer disappointed me. Even if the notes were written by unbelieving professors, the question was whether the statements were true or false. I decided to find out for myself.

I prayed and fasted several weeks together with my wife, and we came to the conclusion that I would pass the Swiss Matriculation Examination for Greek, Latin, French, German, mathematics, and many other topics. I then would study theology at the University of Zurich, and my wife would take up her former profession as private secretary to an industrialist. My former teacher, Donald Gee, and an American friend, David J. Du Plessis, encouraged me in this direction. Both warned me not to go to an American Bible college but to do my studies in my own country, or I would never be taken seriously. So, while serving as a part-time Pentecostal pastor, holding meetings on Sundays and teaching Bible courses in the evenings, I studied during the days at the university. As a consequence of my studies, we have no children. This was a conscious decision. At the time, no scholarships were available for married people. My wife was the breadwinner, and when I finished my studies we were both approaching forty.

Pastor and Missionary Executive

As a pastor of the Swiss Pentecostal Mission (1950–58), I was ex officio a member of its mission committee. I realized quickly that in most cases, the indigenous evangelists, who worked under the missionaries, were better equipped for missionary and educational work than the Swiss missionaries, who in general had only an elementary education. This imbalance resulted in well-meaning but uninformed mission policy.

One particularly telling example was that the Pentecostal mission committee assumed that what was good for Switzerland must also be good for Lesotho, in southern Africa. The apprenticeship system has been a blessing for Switzerland and is the backbone of its quality industry. The mission committee collected money to build a school for apprentices in Lesotho and hired a Swissair plane to fly the whole infrastructure down to Lesotho. When it arrived, the African Christians were not amused. They had not even been asked if this was what they wanted. Besides, who were to be the students, and who the teachers? And how were the costs of running the program to be met? Since these questions went unanswered, the Swiss were given one week to pack their rubbish and fly it back home. The committee was angry, feeling that this was yet another example of how stupid...
and ungrateful the Africans were. It did not dawn on them that, in the kingdom of God, money is not enough. We also need understanding.

As a pastor I did not always follow the Pentecostal party line. I did not tell young female converts that a Christian woman had to have long hair (1 Cor. 11:6) or that all jewelry—even wooden necklaces—was an abomination before the Lord. I questioned the widespread conviction that the Bible was written “for us.” If it was written for us, why was it not written in German? And why was it addressed to the Romans, the Corinthians, the Galatians, themselves. Professor Blanke noted that most of the languages of these other groups were taught at the university. So, over the next several years I studied them, learning in all about twenty more languages.

A whole new world opened up before me. What I discovered was not the Pentecostalism I knew from Switzerland or what I was acquainted with at the British Bible school. I discovered a bewildering, pluralistic, worldwide, ecumenical movement. On almost all points of doctrine and ethics, there existed variations differing from what I had learned. In particular it became obvious that the type of Pentecostalism presented to the Western public through the media domination of American Pentecostalism is, within the worldwide Pentecostal community, a very small minority, comparable to the minority of the Vatican within Roman Catholicism.

Unfortunately, historian Philip Jenkins has failed to grasp this fact. He uses the basic categories “conservative” and “liberal” to describe this worldwide revival. But this revival cannot be described in the terms of a U.S. election. Third-World Pentecostalism has its own dignity. Certainly Pentecostals use evangelical language; they do not know any other. That does not prevent some of them from being ministers in left-wing governments. Third-World Pentecostals trust the Bible in everything, including financial matters, without thereby becoming clones of Western fundamentalism.

My research was published in a ten-volume Handbuch der Pfingstbewegung. It contains the declarations of faith of all Pentecostal denominations worldwide known to me at the time, in the original languages and in German translation, plus other information and analysis.

During this time in my life, one of the most outspoken critics of German Pentecostalism asked me to forswear in public all Pentecostal connections. “How can I?” I asked him. “In spite of all its shortcomings, I became a Christian through Pentecostalism. One does not forswear one’s mother.” I have remained in lifelong contact with Pentecostalism. In Birmingham, England, together with others, I founded an institute at the university in order to train black Pentecostal working pastors, and I trained many Pentecostal educators through my doctoral programs. Occasionally I taught in their Bible schools and preached in their churches. I even received the Life-Time Achievement Award from the Society of Pentecostal Studies in recognition of my scholarly contributions.

In the year 2003 I gave my library on Pentecostal and Pentecostal-like churches and my vast archive to the Free University of Amsterdam. They founded a Hollenweger Center for the interdisciplinary, intercultural, and ecumenical study of Pentecostal and charismatic movements. It offers a postgraduate program and online resources on Pentecostalism.

Professor of Mission at a Secular University

In 1965 I was called to the World Council of Churches as secretary for evangelism and served there until 1971. During that time I realized that mission in the mainline churches, including many evangelical churches, was not in the first instance evangelistic work. They still used the ideology of “saving souls” in their propaganda, but most of their activity was educational and general development work.

When I was appointed the first and only professor of mission at the University of Birmingham in Britain (1971–89), I was confronted even more with the inherent discrepancies in Western mission. I was often asked where I had been a missionary, the
questioners expecting me to speak about India or China or Africa. I answered truthfully that, in the past, I served in Switzerland and now in Birmingham. Indeed Europe—and perhaps also the United States—is in need of a modern type of missionary.

My educational appointment was simultaneously at the Selly Oak Colleges, also in Birmingham. At these institutions, one of my tasks was to lecture to future missionaries. Most of them were well-meaning young people with rather weak educational backgrounds, especially regarding their language capacities, but with strong convictions about being “called” to missionary work. Many of them wanted to teach theology overseas but did not know much about the diversity of Christian theology, not to speak of the history of Christian theology. They believed with all their hearts that their conversion experience and their British understanding of the New Testament were sufficient preparation for missionary work—a catastrophic misunderstanding when confronted with the situation overseas.

I also taught an increasing number of doctoral students from all over the world. Those who came from Third World countries typically were better educated than the missionary candidates. Their problem was financial. One day a black student from South Africa told me that he had run out of money and would have to go back home. I told all the students and future missionaries and all my friends to pray for this doctoral student. The result was rather meager. When the time came for him to pay his university fee, I pleaded with the registrar’s office, “Please give us another two weeks. We are praying for him that he will get the necessary money.”

Now the University of Birmingham is not a Christian Bible school; it is a secular university. Most of its staff members—and even some of its theology professors—are agnostics. The registrar smiled and said, “Of course, we grant him the two weeks.” In the meantime I phoned the Methodist missionary office in London and told them about the plight of the student, who was a Methodist pastor. The answer was an absolute and firm No. I insisted that it would be more profitable to train South African blacks to the highest possible level than to send well-meaning but ill-prepared British young people to South Africa. “This student,” I said, “is of exceptional quality and will become an important professor at one of the South African universities or perhaps a cabinet minister in postapartheid South Africa. It is in your interest to give him the best possible education.” My efforts were in vain. The Methodist Missionary Board probably did not believe in a postapartheid South Africa. In any case, they doubted that a Zulu could become a university professor.

I feared I had to give up, but then God intervened. I received a letter from a medical doctor who had attended the Methodist board meeting where my request was discussed and rejected. He wrote that he was ashamed of his church and enclosed a check for the amount needed. I went back to the registrar, paid the money, and said, “Mr. Bongani Mazibuko stays at the university.” Looking at the astonished faces, I added, “I told you we were going to pray for Mazibuko.” Indeed, Bongani Mazibuko finished his dissertation and became dean of the Department of Missiology at the University of Durham, South Africa. This experience confirmed the direction I would take in mission. Dozens of students who came through my courses are now well-trained theologians teaching in their native countries. Sometimes they or their children visit me in Krattigen, my home in retirement in Switzerland.

Indeed, I am astonished that Third World Christians are eager to learn about Christianity and the Bible from a white European. I have asked many of them why they come to me to study theology, and their answer is the same: “It is because of that man Jesus of Nazareth.” This Jesus, this historical man, has a tremendous attraction for Christians and non-Christians. Not our Christologies, not our theories about Jesus, but Jesus “according to the flesh” (pace Paul, 2 Cor. 5:16). These Christians do not want to be on their own. They want to be part of the church family worldwide, to know the ecumenical tradition of this Jesus.

A New Understanding of Mission

My experiences in the Western Pentecostal church, the WCC, the university, and the classroom have brought me to a new understanding of mission, one that redefines four standard components of mission. First, because mission is about church growth, we must invest our resources in indigenous evangelists, pastors, and theologians, who can do the job better and cheaper than Westerners. This fact is slowly but surely dawning on some mission societies. Moreover, in many places of the world the departure of missionaries has given the indigenous churches an important evangelistic impetus.

Second, mission is about theological education, but not in the one-directional approach of the past. It has been reasoned that, since many independent Third World churches are theologically rough and underdeveloped, we Westerners have to send them our theological teachers. Certainly Third World churches could learn something from Western theology, if we send them people who have done their homework and know that Western Christianity is a textbook example of a syncretistic Christianity; namely, a blend of Christianity and capitalism, of advertising and the Gospel. How is our brand of syncretism any better than that of an Indian guru church or the South African Zionists? If we understand that our task is to teach and to learn, that theological education is a mutual learning process, and if our missionaries and theological teachers learn as much from their students as they from them, then this would be a very promising approach to mission. I, for my part, have learned more from my students than from anybody else; especially I have learned to keep quiet on issues where I am not competent.

One important aspect of that learning process would be to integrate into our ministry a therapeutic aspect dealing with the body. It has always astonished me how important the body was for Jesus. We misuse such healing texts as sermon texts, instead of taking them as examples for our liturgy. We should take seriously the World Health Organization’s appeal not to reject Korean, African, or Latin American therapeutic traditions, but to combine them with Western analytic medical traditions.

Third, mission that typically comes in the form of development aid (e.g., sending food to the starving people in Bangladesh or Sudan) misunderstands the problem. (Aid is a secondary solution, although in some circumstances it might be necessary.) The problem is not in the first instance to be tackled in India or in Africa, but at the places where decisions on life and death for the majority of human beings are made, namely Frankfurt, Zurich,

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London, and New York. We need to abolish trade obstacles, in particular, those in the agricultural sector. We speak proudly about globalization when it is to our advantage, but when Third World countries produce cheaper and better steel, food, or cars, we close our frontiers or massively subsidize our products. This system is evil, even if those who manage it are “good Christians.”

What did Christ do when he encountered corruption that led to systemic poverty and misery? He went directly to the exploiter—he invited himself to Zacchaeus’s house! We do not know what Jesus told him, but we know that this chief executive officer of the Roman administration gave away half his fortune, and where he had wronged people, he paid them back fourfold.

I am pleading for a Zacchaeus mission, for people to evangelize the Zacchaeuses of our time. The best missionaries to the Bantu are Bantus, to the Dalit are Dalits, and the best missionaries to those who administer our trade system are bankers, leading managers, and CEOs. It is said that the 200 richest people of the world possess as much as the two billion poorest ones. Of these 200 rich people some are born-again Christians. If the Zacchaeus mission can convince the rich people (both the born-again and the others) that the Holy Spirit is interested not only in that which happens in the bedroom but equally in that which happens in the boardroom, then our trade system would change drastically.

Fourth, because mission has to do with our ecumenical calling, we ought to begin now at our doorsteps. The Lord has sent us hundreds of missionaries from the Third World. They are the direct or indirect product of our mission efforts. Now they come back to us in the form of immigrants, refugees, and foreign students. They belong to our synods, universities, and mission societies. They help us in understanding our ecumenical calling. They might also vitalize our worn-out Christianity.13

Evangelist Through Theological Plays

In 1989 my wife and I returned to Switzerland, and I was commissioned to write the Jubilee play for the 700th Anniversary of Switzerland. In Birmingham I had begun to write plays for my students because many of the black students went to sleep during my lectures.14 This was understandable because they were working the whole day as bus drivers or railway workers and came to the university in the evening and on weekends.15 I told them, “If you sleep during my lectures, you will not pass your examination.” “Well,” they answered, “the way you teach us, we cannot understand you.”

“How must I teach you so that you can understand?” I asked. “Only what we have sung, danced, and played have we understood,” was their response. So, together with the drama, music, and dance departments, I began to experiment with using plays, music, and dance for university theological education.

The results were astonishing. My students wrote better examinations, which caused the white students also to want to become part of these innovative educational programs. I continued to explore this approach by writing the Bonhoeffer Requiem, which premiered in the Deutschlandhalle in Berlin for 10,000 spectators—at the very place where Goebbels and Hitler had held their inflammatory meetings.16

My ambition is to involve people who have given up the church in a new way of theological and missionary thinking. Instead of inviting them to an evangelistic meeting, I involve non-Christians in a theological play that lets them relive the life of Pilate or Peter or Dietrich Bonhoeffer or his fiancée, Maria von Wedemeyer. Through this active evangelism the unchurched evangelize themselves on the basis of biblical or theological texts. They will never forget having played Pilate, Maria von Wedemeyer, or even Jesus. Some of them become Christians.

I am convinced that, at least in Europe, missionary work of the past—in which a pastor or evangelist told an audience that they were sinners and needed conversion—is over. They know that they are sinners. What they do not know is the power of prayer and the beauty of life that is not dominated by money and prestige. People must be immersed in a story that lets them experience in their bones the biblical promise. If some of the players are committed Christians, all the better. They will learn from them that it is worthwhile to give up all in order to follow the man from Galilee. The life testimony of ordinary Christians can turn our churches into convincing missionary congregations.

Notes

4. This is not the only parallel between Roman Catholicism and Pentecostalism; see Walter J. Hollenweger, Pentecostalism: Origin and Developments Worldwide (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 1997), pp. 143–80.
8. Award presented in 1999 at Evangel University, Springfield, Missouri.
13. The entire July 2000 issue of the International Review of Mission was dedicated to this topic.
16. Bonhoeffer Requiem is available in English and German from Verlag Metanoia, P.O. Box 15, CH 8963 Kindhausen, Switzerland. On drama and liturgy in relation to theology, see Walter J. Hollenweger, Das Kirchenjahr Inszenieren (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2002).
It was my extraordinary privilege to be involved in mission from birth. I was born on November 1, 1928, in the American Hospital in Neuilly, a suburb of Paris. My parents, Floyd and Ada Taber, were there studying in preparation for missionary service in what is now the Central African Republic. Because my father wanted to practice missionary medicine in what was then a French colony, he had to learn French, get a French baccalaureate, and do premed and medical school. Meanwhile, my mother became certified to teach in French-language schools. The whole process took nine years.

This experience gave me the opportunity of learning English and French simultaneously and being able to switch back and forth without pause. I found this ability essential in at least one subsequent situation, when I had to teach in both languages at the same time in a seminar in Lebanon for Arabic prospective Bible translators.

My parents were missionaries under the Foreign Missionary Society of the Brethren Church and were faithful to that conservative, dispensational denomination all their lives. Paradoxically, they combined this loyalty with a broadly ecumenical perspective on the fellowship of Christians of all (Protestant) denominations. While we were living in the Paris suburbs, our small third-floor apartment was often the first port of call for missionaries of many agencies coming to study to serve in French colonies.

We spent my eighth year in the United States, which was the only time I knew my paternal grandparents. It was, in fact, at the urging of my grandfather that I was baptized, though I do not remember any momentous conversion.

Early Experiences in Africa

After a brief stop in France, we sailed in September 1937 for Cameroon and spent three months at an American Presbyterian hospital while my father did a crash internship in tropical medicine. My sister and I attended a missionary children’s school. From this time on and for the next eight years, our formal education was spotty. But our parents were the best teachers I have ever had, and our dinner table was a running seminar on everything under the sun. Despite their limited means, they made available a wealth of books, which I devoured.

We drove inland to western Oubangui-Chari, arriving just before Christmas 1937, and just in time for the annual meeting of missionaries. Apart from meeting about two dozen missionaries, my enduring memory of that conference is of a talk given by one of the missionary men on (I think) 1 Corinthians 14:34ff. This was a time in the Brethren Church of reaction after a period of relative freedom for women to minister. In fact, some of the earlier missionaries of many agencies coming to study to serve in French colonies.

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Given my mother, my two sisters, and later my wife and four daughters, I would have had to be stupid indeed to think in terms of “mere” women; there was nothing “mere” about any of them! It should be added that at that time and later, the mission was about two-thirds women, half of them single teachers and nurses.

After the conference, we drove to our assigned station, Yaloke, in the first days of 1938. After no more than a month of overlap before the senior missionary’s departure, and with no opportunity for language study, my father was left in charge. He had to be not only doctor but missionary pastor to a district, operator of a sawmill, custodian of a vast orchard, and mayor of the station village of mission employees.

At Yaloke we met Marc Voloungou, the local African pastor, and one of the most impressive Christians I have ever known. He was one of four ordained Africans then in the field. Son of a paramount chief, fully mature when the mission arrived in 1924, he was soundly converted, was taught French by one of the missionary women, taught himself the Bible in French, and became a powerful preacher and patriarch. Voloungou was only the first of many Africans who impressed me with their knowledge, their wisdom, and their godliness. It was also at Yaloke that I picked up the Sango language while playing with local schoolboys.

World War II came along, and our colony, after a brief but bloody struggle, sided with de Gaulle and the Free French. The greatest effect of the war on us was that my father was conscripted for a year to take part in the fight against sleeping sickness. Accordingly, we lived in Bangui, the capital, and I finished elementary education in a government school.

Almost immediately, because we could not get to the United States, we took river steamers and trains to Cape Town, South Africa, and spent six months there. I took the opportunity to begin high school in English and also attended a camp of the Children’s Special Services Mission. There, at age fourteen, I took another step of more serious commitment to Christ. After three months in Southern Rhodesia, we retraced our steps by train and river boat to our field.

About this time the missionaries began very belatedly to read Roland Allen and to talk about the indigenous church. The fruit of this reflection, which to some extent caught my attention, was harvested, with difficulty, only in the 1950s.

Building a Family

At the end of the war, we were finally able to sail to the United States. We settled in Allentown, Pennsylvania, my mother’s home town. There I finished high school, one year living with my

Charles R. Taber, a contributing editor, is Professor Emeritus of World Mission at Emmanuel School of Religion, Johnson City, Tennessee. He has been a missionary in the Central African Republic and a translations consultant with the United Bible Societies in West Africa, as well as editor of Practical Anthropology (1968–71) and Gospel in Context (1978–79).
parents, the second in the home of the local pastor. It was during that second year that I became exposed, from the inside, to a bitter church fight and almost became disillusioned with the whole idea of church. But, oddly enough, it was also during that year that I gradually came to the awareness that I was going to be a missionary.

The next four years, 1947-51, I spent at Bryan College, in Dayton, Tennessee, majoring in English, as well as being a student instructor in French for one year. But by far the most important thing that happened to me at Bryan was meeting my classmate Betty, a young woman who had been converted in a demonstration class. Somehow, things got done, but during our first term none of the young men passed the teaching certification examination. From Bryan we moved to Grace Theological Seminary, in Winona Lake, Indiana, where I intended to prepare to do theological education on the field. But the mission board, responding to pleas from the field, asked me to prepare instead to teach in the officially recognized French-language schools, which had had an on-and-off history. So I cut my seminary education to one year, and we sailed to France to gain the necessary credentials at the Alliance Française; because of my knowledge of French, this process took only eight months. Betty also studied but did not have enough time to get a diploma. In any case, our first daughter was born then.

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Teaching in Oubangui-Chari

We flew to Oubangui-Chari in July 1953. Betty was given no time to study Sango, but we were assigned immediately to Bassai, a fairly remote station that happened to have a vacant house and an old school building. Here I started a teacher-training school, taking young men with a junior high school education and in two years preparing them to be first- and second-grade teachers. The second year I was also the sole teacher of a sixty-pupil first-grade demonstration class. Somehow, things got done, but during our first term none of the young men passed the teaching certification examination.

The station had been built on a small mountain and was now isolated. Originally, there was a village on this mountain, but when a road was built in the valley below, the village moved down into the valley, leaving the school a steep mile-and-a-half climb up the mountain. People had to want to see us very badly to make that climb! There were two single women on the station with us, a nurse and a vernacular teacher. But the station was much too isolated, and the people too insular, for a school drawing students from all over the field.

By now a family of five, we spent the year 1956–57 on furlough, leaving the school in the hands of a temporary replacement. During that year one student was certified and was able to start a small school elsewhere. When we returned, we were able to move the whole operation to Yaloke, which was much more centrally located and more “cosmopolitan.” Before long, several students were certified and started several schools, and I began to do a lot of driving to supervise them. In God’s providence, we were able to recruit a Swiss couple who were certified and had cross-cultural experience. When we had to leave, they took over the program.

But our leaving was an unhappy time. The teachers in our little system, dissatisfied with the salaries paid them through government subsidy but at a level determined by a church board, appealed to the union of the Catholic school teachers for help. Feeling that the educational work was a failure and that two terms had been wasted, I overreacted, resigned from the schools, and asked for another assignment.

In the meantime, a son and another daughter were born. Our daughter, however, required serious surgery soon after birth. So we returned to the States on an emergency medical furlough, settling in Winona Lake, Indiana. But we will never forget the farewell we were given by the Yaloke Christians: thirty or forty people in our living room, singing and praying, and, as they left, giving us money! An extraordinary manifestation of Christian love, which went a long way toward healing the hurt of the departure.

Graduate Training in Hartford

Our daughter’s surgery was done successfully in Indianapolis, and I took the pulpit of a small church and became principal of a Christian day school. So when, after a year, mission support ended, we had two small salaries to live on. During this time it was discovered I had a large inoperable cancer in my abdomen. But a doctor suggested cobalt radiotherapy, and after seven weeks the tumor disappeared. We had no insurance, but once again we learned the meaning of Christian love. People all over the country were praying, doctors lowered their bills, and checks came in almost daily in the mail. At the end of the time, we were better off financially than we were before.

Meanwhile, we had to decide what to do next. Though I still had no major doctrinal disagreement with the Brethren Church, I was increasingly unhappy with its narrowness and belligerence. Besides, we could not return to Africa until doctors gave me a clean bill of health. Then a letter came from a former colleague, William Samarín, now teaching at the Hartford Seminary Foundation, in Hartford, Connecticut, inviting me to work with him on studies of Sango and to do graduate studies. God’s leading was so obvious that we accepted by return mail. July 1962 saw seven Tabers piling into our Ford Falcon and driving to Hartford, where we lived in campus housing.

There we found the teaching excellent and the fellowship of the student body congenial. What we had believed about the unity of the body and the communion of saints, we now experienced. We also found a warm welcome at Bethel Baptist Church, a congregation of the Baptist General Conference, conservative but irenic. And in classes, studying linguistics, anthropology, and African studies, which I should have studied before ever going to the field, I found a constant succession of “ahh!” experiences, finally understanding the reasons for some of my errors
Through God’s Eyes
A Bible Study of God’s Motivations for Missions
Patrick Cate
WCL359-6 William Carey Library, 2004 8.5 x 11, 172 pages List: $16.99  Our Price: $12.74  3 or more: $9.34*

World Christian Trends, AD 30-AD 2200
Interpreting the Annual Christian Megacensus
David Barrett & Todd Johnson
This valuable resource is a global overview of world Christianity that analyzes, interprets and evaluates the country-by-country data reported in the 2001 World Christian Encyclopedia. This is the missing 3rd volume that can also stand on its own. Special features include the first-ever statistical survey of evangelism/evangelization; statistical survey of persecution and Christian martyrs; and projections to AD 2200 about Christianity and world religions. Includes glossary, bibliography, color maps, and a CD-ROM. 10”x12.5”
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Rad Zdero
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and failures. I began to understand in depth the principles of indigenicity. Here I completed an M.A. in 1964 and a Ph.D. in 1966.

Before finishing up in Hartford, I was approached by Eugene Nida of the American Bible Society (ABS) and did a couple of projects under his direction. As soon as the Ph.D. was in hand, I began to work full-time for the ABS, formally connected to the New York office but living in Hamden, Connecticut. Several projects occupied my time, chiefly coauthoring with Nida Theory and Practice of Translation, which has recently been republished by Brill. I also did the French adaptation of the book, under the title La traduction: Théorie et méthode. But participation in the triennial meetings of United Bible Societies (UBS) translation personnel from around the world and translators’ workshops in Ghana and Zaire fostered in me a deep desire to return to Africa.

**Translations Consultant and Editor**

With a clean bill of health for me, the family sold the house in Hamden, packed up, and in July 1969 sailed by freighter for Abidjan, Côte d’Ivoire, where I was translations consultant in West Africa. After one year in Abidjan, we moved to Accra, Ghana, where the children could be with us and go to school in English.

I was responsible for the oversight of some two dozen translation projects in Ghana, Côte d’Ivoire, Togo, Benin, Burkina Faso, and Mali. I also taught with colleagues in a number of translations workshops. These were very fulfilling years. The demands of constantly novel and unexpected questions from translators, the joy of eliciting good answers from them, the “aha!” on the faces of translators as they got the point, were all ample compensation for the tedious hours in airports and planes. And the extraordinary collegiality of the corps of consultants from around the world was a bonus of a high order.

It was also during this time that I was the editor of *Practical Anthropology* for the last four years before it was taken over by *Missiology* on behalf of the American Society of Missiology.

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**I was intensely interested in the entire contextualization conversation and wrote a number of papers on the subject.**

Editing the writing of people like William Reyburn, Jacob Loewen, and a host of others was an education in missionary work: in indigenization, including crucially the cultural and theological dimensions, in personal adaptation, and in cultural understanding and respect.

During these years Betty and I came to realize as never before that the Bible does not need to be protected by a nineteenth-century philosophical scaffold; it just needs to be turned loose. We are grateful to my parents for the high view of the Bible that I received from them, though we no longer agree with some of the details of their position. I am grateful for the extensive knowledge of the contents of the Bible that came to me almost effortlessly through the activities in my home. When I read Lamin Sanneh, he confirmed what we had found out in the field: that the national church was capable of being guided by the Holy Spirit using the Scriptures. We also found it no longer possible to trust the dispensational hermeneutic that I had learned from childhood.

But the moving of a colleague meant that I would inherit responsibility for projects in five more countries, requiring me to travel more than half of the time instead of a third; this was no job for a man with family responsibilities. Also, I disagreed with certain changes in UBS personnel policy. So we began to look for a situation in the United States.

**Teacher of Missiology**

Unlike our move to Hartford, this one took a long time in prayer and correspondence. Finally, a letter came from Tetsunao Yamamori, then trying to establish an institute of world mission and church growth at Milligan College, in Johnson City, Tennessee, inviting me to be interviewed. So I made a dogleg in my return from a conference on frontier missions in Chicago, saw Milligan, and was invited to join the new program. We moved in the summer of 1973.

This was our first real exposure to what has been called the Restoration movement, or the Stone-Campbell movement. We came to find compelling and congenial the vision of Thomas Campbell in his “Declaration and Address” of 1809 regarding the essential unity of the worldwide church of Christ, under the sole authority of the Scriptures, for the evangelization of the world. Despite the splits in the movement, the vision is still upheld in institutions like Milligan and Emmanuel School of Religion.

When Yamamori went to another position, I inherited the program. But chiefly for financial reasons, the institute never materialized. Also, I found that my teaching style worked better at the graduate level. So in 1979 I moved across to Emmanuel School of Religion. Here I found in the small faculty a congeniality and mutual trust and respect similar to what I had experienced in the UBS. I also found capable, mature, and highly motivated students. It has been my privilege to see a number of them go into global mission in many countries. We have had in addition a number of international students, who have raised the spiritual tone and enlarged the world awareness of the Emmanuel community.

We have found in Grandview Christian Church a true church home, which was especially warming after our previous nomadic experience. In this church we have both at various times been teachers, elders, and members or leaders of ministry teams, especially in missions.

The international corps of missiologists is relatively small but highly ecumenical. I have been a member and president of both the Association of Professors of Mission and the American Society of Missiology, and I also have had some participation in the International Association for Mission Studies. It has been our privilege to find dear brothers and sisters across the ecclesial spectrum, including some with whom we heartily disagree about many things. A common commitment to the Gospel of the kingdom of God overrides all kinds of differences on lesser matters.

During the transition from Milligan to Emmanuel, I edited *Gospel in Context* for the two brief years of its existence. The learning experience was well worth the arduous effort of putting it together, given the dialogue format of the journal. Some of the outstanding missiologists of the world were associates. The journal was discontinued only because the financing was withdrawn.
During this whole period I was intensely interested in the entire contextualization conversation and wrote a number of papers for journals and books on the subject. Two sabbaticals, in 1983–84 and 1990–91, permitted me to participate in the missiological conversation. During the first, I had the pleasure of being once more a translations consultant, this time in Cameroon. During the second, I completed The World Is Too Much with Us, a study of the way the modern Protestant missionary movement has dealt with culture. My retirement in 1997 permitted me to write To Understand the World, to Save the World: The Interface Between Missiology and the Social Sciences.

What have we learned together in all these years? We have learned to marvel that God chose to use such unworthy and refractory coworkers as we; if God can use us, God can use anyone who will permit it. We have learned that the mission of the church is best carried out by a single, holy, catholic, and apostolic church when it manages to transcend its divisions, even momentarily. We have learned to love the incredible riches of the diversity of the worldwide church. Above all, we have learned that sin and salvation are not purely individual matters, as the standard evangelical model seems to suggest. On the one hand, the structures and systems of the world are in rebellion against God; on the other hand, salvation is God’s cosmic project to restore all things to God’s rule. And the church has been sent into the world as an alternative society, as a sign and witness of God’s rule.

The Legacy of François Elbertus Daubanton

Jan A. B. Jongeneel

François Elbertus Daubanton was born in Amsterdam on February 5, 1853, the son of a Walloonian minister in the Netherlands who sympathized with the revival movement of that time. François received a Dutch-French education marked by the piety of the 1850s evangelical revival. He began theological studies at Leiden University, where he developed a friendship with Herman Bavinck. He completed his studies at the Free Theological Faculty in Canton de Vaud, Switzerland, and was ordained in the Netherlands Reformed Church in 1878.

Daubanton married Catharina Maria Dros, who was about five years younger than he. They began married life in Zwolle in 1878, where he served for eight years as pastor of a Walloonian (French-speaking) congregation. This service was followed by pastoral ministry in Dutch-speaking congregations in Heemstede and Amsterdam (1886–1903). Six children were born to François and Catharina: three sons and three daughters. Two children served in Indonesia. One of the daughters married Arent J. Wensinck (1882–1939), professor of Arabic in the University of Leiden.

In 1903 Daubanton was appointed by the synod of the Netherlands Reformed Church to be the ecclesiastical professor of biblical theology, practical theology, and the history of mission in the theological faculty of Utrecht University. Succeeding the first Utrecht University professors of missions, Egbert H. Lasonder (1831–86) and Everhardus H. van Leeuwen (1833–1913),1 Daubanton taught at the university until his death in Utrecht on December 6, 1920. His wife outlived him by nearly eighteen years.

For thirty-four years, from 1883 to 1917, Daubanton was the general editor of the journal Theologisch studiën, popularly known as the Daubanton journal.2 Although Daubanton never undertook postgraduate studies or the writing of a dissertation, in 1886, on the occasion of the 250th anniversary of Utrecht University, the university conferred on him an honorary doctorate in virtue of his ecclesiastical activities, theological writings, and editorial work.

An Encyclopedic Scholar and Teacher

Daubanton was appointed to teach a wide range of theological disciplines. Gifted with an encyclopedic mind, he accepted without complaint an unusually demanding teaching load. He published an introduction to theology in which he distinguished between cognoscere (to learn), intelligere (to reflect), and facere (to do).3 Accordingly, he divided theology into three fields—empirical theology, philosophical or systematic theology, and practical theology—and he indicated appropriate methods for each field. Old Testament studies, New Testament studies, and church history belong to the first category; dogmatics and ethics to the second category; and all other disciplines to the third category, focusing on the maintenance and extension of the church. The science of mission (German Missionswissenschaft, Dutch Zendingswetenschap) and polemics relate to the third field, that is, to the extension of the church. As the Great Commission concludes the canonical Gospels, so the science of mission is the concluding section of practical theology and of theology as a whole.

Daubanton paid considerable attention to biblical studies. He not only supervised the translation of George B. Stevens’s theology of the New Testament but also published his own theology of the New Testament.4 The science of mission depends upon the theology of the New Testament because the latter supplies the principles of evangelical (i.e., Protestant) mission (p. 565).5 The overriding New Testament theme is the universal character of the kingdom of God, as preached by Jesus (p. 28). Daubanton also emphasized the progressive character of biblical revelation, beginning with the providential history of the people of Israel and culminating in the revelation in Jesus Christ. This revelation is rooted in God’s salvific will for humanity as a whole. Consequently the message and mission mandate of the Bible and Christianity are universal.

Although practical theology was included in Daubanton’s
teaching schedule, he gave his major attention to systematic theology. He focused on the works of the German systematic theologian Martin Kähler (1835–1912), a colleague of Gustav Warneck at Halle (pp. 416–30). Daubanton agreed with Kähler that the Great Commission is a Christian duty that must be defended against evolutionism, which he viewed as the destroyer of Christianity’s uniqueness. Daubanton argued that an Achilles’ heel of Christian mission would be exposed if the revelatory character of Christianity were to be removed (p. 429).

In an era before the budding of Third World theologies, Daubanton was already seriously concerned about the development of dogma outside the Western world. He maintained that the construction of Christian dogma had not ended with the theological developments in the Western church, for God did not give the fullness of the charis mata to the Western church alone but to all churches and all peoples. Christian mission opens a rich future to dogmatics, for the fullness of God’s revelation in Christ (p. 494) would be seen in the warm, moralistic, and contemplative contributions of Japan, China, and India (pp. 490–91). When humanity—in the plurality of all its peoples—regards itself as the one spiritual body of Christ, dogmatics will come into its fullness, for then the one ray of gospel light will reveal its full play of colors, unity sparkling in diversity.

**Daubanton’s Outline of Mission Studies**

Daubanton applied to the field of mission studies his encyclopedic, biblical (or empirical), and dogmatic (or philosophical) skills to produce his largest and probably most sublime work, *Prolegomena van protestantsche zendingswetenschap* (1911). In *Prolegomena* Daubanton demonstrates an admirable knowledge of how mission in his generation was being taught and researched in universities and theological colleges. Although he failed to mention his earliest predecessor at Utrecht University, Gisbertus Voetius (1589–1676), and tended to favor Continental (especially Dutch-German) mission history over Anglo-Saxon developments, he gave high honors to Alexander Duff (1806–78), the first professor to teach missions full-time in a European university. He described Duff’s inaugural lecture as “so warm, so enthusiastic, so courageous, by a man who, not only spoke, but translated his words into actions” (p. 276). The Norwegian mission scholar Olav G. Myklebust, while noting Daubanton’s disproportionate attention to Continental mission history, gave the *Prolegomena* high praise: “Daubanton’s *Prolegomena* is by far the most complete introduction to the study of Missions, not only in the Netherlands, but anywhere.”

Daubanton was the first scholar to provide a history of mission studies and to describe and analyze the systematics of mission studies as a discipline in its own right. Harvey Newcomb (1803–63) may have published the first *missionary* encyclopedia, but Daubanton’s *Prolegomena* is the first missiological encyclopedia. *Prolegomena* focuses on the structure, the name, the history, the encyclopedic character, the auxiliary sciences, and the methodology of the science of mission (pp. 136–577).

Daubanton’s voluminous study demonstrates his close relation with Gustav Warneck (1834–1910) as the founder of missiology as an academic discipline. Myklebust appropriately regards Daubanton as “a true, yet independent, disciple of Gustav Warneck.” Daubanton as theologian indeed followed Warneck (who, like Daubanton, lacked missionary experience outside the Western world) and quoted him, especially his *Evangelische Missionslehre* (1892–1903), more than anyone else.

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**Missiology is not just a discipline; it represents the direction in which theology as a whole is moving.**

But Daubanton devoted much more attention to the structure of missiology than did Warneck, and he dealt with missiology in just two sections rather than following Warneck’s tripartite model of mission history, mission theory, and missionary apologetics (pp. 218–23). According to Daubanton, the two sections of missiology are mission history and mission theory; missionary apologetics is considered a part of Christian apologetics in general rather than a part of mission studies. Given Daubanton’s threefold division of theology (empirical, philosophical, and practical theology), we might have expected a division of missiology into mission history (empirical studies), mission theory (philosophical studies), and mission practice (practical studies). This inconsistency may follow from Daubanton’s regarding the whole of missiology as practical theology. In his own words, the science of mission (missiology) is “the science of a praxis” (p. 130).

Daubanton emphasized the interaction of missiology with other theological disciplines (pp. 477–501) and with nontheological sciences such as ethnology, linguistics, and religious studies (pp. 502–62). His encyclopedic mind pushed him in this direction. Missiology, in Daubanton’s view, is not just a discipline or a department within the faculty of theology; it represents the direction in which theology as a whole is moving, for theology is essentially missionary theology. Furthermore, missiology not only requires the insights of ethnology, linguistics, and religious studies; it also contributes to the well-being of the latter sciences because missionaries, with their long experience in the non-Christian world, are better informed and more equipped to do research than anybody else.

**Daubanton’s Approach to Mission History**

The task of the mission historian, according to Daubanton, is to investigate (1) the activities of established Christianity to propagate the Gospel and to plant Christ’s church elsewhere, and (2) the development of new Christian communities on the mission fields. Therefore, the history of mission can be divided into the “subject” and the “object” of mission—on one hand, the history of the *messengers* of the Gospel and, on the other hand, the history of the *receivers* of the Gospel.

The history of the mission subject—the messengers and their
proclamation of the Gospel—cannot be separated from world history because the universal Gospel is connected with the goal of world history. It investigates the missionary movement in six continents. At a time when rationalism pervaded the established churches (both orthodox and heterodox) and denied the universal mandate of the Gospel, Protestant visionaries such as the Moravians and William Carey challenged the neglect of missions by the established churches and pioneered new models of missionary enterprise.

The history of the mission object is as important as the history of the mission subject. It deals with the struggles and results of all endeavors on the mission fields. Three stages need to be discerned: (1) the implantation of the Gospel, (2) the growth of the implanted seed, and (3) the abandonment of the superstition and magic of heathenism in favor of the construction of a Christianized culture and community.

**Daubanton’s Conception of Mission Theory**

Daubanton maintained that mission theory is derived from mission history “by philosophical reflections in the light of biblical theology” (p. 202; see also pp. 199–210 and 335–443). He divided mission history into four sections: *thetiek* (its theses or propositions), *organiek* (its organs or instruments), *agriek* (its fields), and *methodiek* (its methods and work). This structure of mission history deviates from that given by Warneck in *Evangelische Missionslehre*.

Daubanton regarded mission as a “thesis” grounded in the divine will to save humanity. Although the church is rooted in God’s salvific will and in God’s grace, it repeatedly neglects mission; but it does so to its own peril, for a church that neglects mission will—sooner or later—die out. All non-Christians are God’s creatures and therefore are “predestined,” that is, entitled, to receive the Gospel. The history of nineteen centuries of mission stands as a powerful call to do mission everywhere.

God himself is “the mission universalist” (p. 19), and Jesus Christ, God’s missionary, is the founder of both world mission and God’s universal kingdom (p. 30). The church, missionary societies, and individual Christians are the concrete organs, or instruments, of mission. The church as a missionary church is the Christ, God’s missionary, is the founder of both world mission and religious schools. At a time when rationalism pervaded the established churches (both orthodox and heterodox) and denied the universal mandate of the Gospel, Protestant visionaries such as the Moravians and William Carey challenged the neglect of missions by the established churches and pioneered new models of missionary enterprise.

**Revelation Versus Evolution**

Daubanton followed Warneck in his criticism of the history-of-religions school (*religionsgeschichtliche Schule*), as advocated by Wilhelm Bouss, Hermann Gunkel, Ernst Troeltsch, and others. Daubanton and Warneck defended divine revelation against the claims of evolutionism. Daubanton makes clear that this criticism does not imply the denial of development. In essence, the Gospel does not arise from human sources but has its origin in God, the Father of Jesus Christ, who is the Lord of history. Evolutionists tend to explain the Old and the New Testaments, the history of Israel, and the history of the church anthropologically; they do not hesitate to view even the person and work of Jesus Christ as a natural phenomenon.

Daubanton criticizes three scholars especially: the Swiss Ernst Buss (1843–1928) and the Germans Ernst Troeltsch (1865–1923) and Adolf von Harnack (1851–1930). In a book on Christian mission, *Die christliche Mission* (1876), Buss proposed giving to Christian mission no other task than education (*Völkerpädagogie*), which he believed would bring non-Christians to a higher level of spiritual life. Daubanton rejects this evolutionaryist model (pp. 352–77), emphasizing that Christians must choose between immanent evolutionism and a genuinely new development deriving from the impact of God’s salvific revelation in Jesus Christ. Daubanton criticizes Buss for taking into account neither God’s providence nor humanity’s sin. He regards Buss’s Pelagianism as a variant of the philosophy of Gotthold E. Lessing (1729–81), who equated education with revelation in his treatise *Die Erziehung des Menschengeschlechts* (1780). To consider Jesus Christ as the highest moral achievement in the evolutionary process, reasons Daubanton, is to open the door to accepting other “revelations” in a future stage of world history as even higher than that of Jesus Christ.

Thirty years after Buss, Troeltsch also embraced evolutionaryism in articles about mission in the modern world that appeared in the journal *Die christliche Welt*. Warneck responded vigorously in a dialogue with Troeltsch. Daubanton referred to this exchange of ideas in a speech he delivered at a mission festival in 1907. He disagreed with Troeltsch’s advocacy of “elevation and development” instead of the orthodox understanding of salvation and conversion (p. 637). Daubanton maintained that the choice between Warneck and Troeltsch is not a choice between mission and religious studies but a choice between mission and a wrongly understood and developed *Religionswissenschaft* (science of religions). The latter is wrong when it naively underestimates the evil realities of heathendom and fails to recognize the salvatory dimension in the history of Christian mission. Evolutionism, by denying original sin, does not have the right view of salvation and conversion. The Christian mission allows for development—Daubanton himself speaks about development of the church, development of Christianity, Christian develop-
ment, and so forth—but we cannot have “evolutionism without God” (p. 533). Christianity cannot accept any view that eliminates God and his salvific revelation in Jesus Christ and that consequently rejects world mission.

As for the third of these writers, Daubanton regarded von Harnack’s two-volume work on the expansion of Christianity in the first three centuries as a masterpiece (pp. 314–16). But Daubanton reminds us that von Harnack also published a controversial book which, under the influence of evolutionism, denied Jesus’ missionary work among non-Jews. Along with other evolutionists, von Harnack denied that Jesus’ outreach crossed ethnic borders. Daubanton challenges the notion that Jesus could be a particularist in the wake of Isaiah’s universalism, and he contests von Harnack’s thesis that Paul was Jesus’ improver (p. 316). Along with Warneck, Daubanton opposes the idea that crossing ethnic borders begins with the disciples after Easter; it begins with Jesus. Daubanton concludes that von Harnack had no space for the mystery of God’s salvific revelation at the beginning of the Christian era.

Conclusion

Daubanton’s Prolegomena is to be honored as the first history of mission studies and the first formal study of missiology as an independent discipline. Several scholars in continental Europe who have written missiological encyclopedias have acknowledged Daubanton’s pioneering role, notably André V. Seumois (1951), Angel Santos Hernández, S.J. (1961), Alphonsus J. M. Mulders (1962), and Jan A. B. Jongeneel (1995–97). But a majority of scholars have failed to acknowledge the debt owed to Daubanton. As a result, Daubanton’s achievement remains relatively unknown, particularly in the English-speaking world.

Daubanton’s basic conviction regarding revelation versus planting of churches, and the Christianization of cultures over against the development of “civilization” and social work, including development programs, can refer to Daubanton as a predecessor.

Carel Poensen characterized Daubanton’s magnum opus as “the artistic porch of a beautiful cathedral.” The term Prolegomena indeed suggests that the book is no more than an introduction to the subject, and to some extent that is true. However, people who stand on the porch can see into the interior of the cathedral. The nature and content of Daubanton’s missionary theology come clearly into focus in his Prolegomena. The purpose of his missiology is to put every human being and all peoples in the light of the sun of God’s salvific will for humanity as a whole, which already has shined in the history of Israel (especially in the writings of the prophets) but thereafter abundantly radiates in the words and deeds of Jesus Christ, the founder of world mission and God’s universal kingdom.

Notes

2. In 1917 the publishers of Theologische studiën decided to launch a new series under the title Nieuwe Theologische studiën. Daubanton stepped down as editor, titling his last editorial “Suprema verba.” However, from time to time he contributed articles to the new journal.
3. François E. Daubanton, Ter inleiding tot de encyclopaedie der theologie (Utrecht, 1884).
5. Page numbers in parentheses refer to Daubanton’s magnum opus, Prolegomena van protestantse zendingswetenschap (Utrecht: Kemink, 1911).
6. François E. Daubanton, “Dogmatische fragmenten,” a series of five articles appearing over a period of eight years, 1891 to 1898, in Stemmen voor Waarheid en Vrede.
7. Martin Kähler, Dogmatische Zeitfragen (Leipzig: Deichert, 1908). The second part of this study, pages 340 to 487, is devoted to mission.
8. Daubanton dedicated this work to Professor Carel Poensen, for many years the editor of the prominent missiological journal Mededelingen vanwege het Nederlandsche Zendelingenweektijdschrift.
10. Alexander Duff, Evangelistic Theology: An Inaugural Address Delivered in the Common Hall of New College, Edinburgh, on Thursday, 7th November 1867 (Edinburgh: Andrew Elliot, 1868).
14. Daubanton used the term “science of mission,” whereas today the preferred term is “missiology.” In the rest of this article, “missiology” will be used where Warneck, Daubanton, and others used the term “science of mission.”
16. Gustav Warneck, Evangelische Missionskunde (Gotha: F. A. Perthes, 1892), 1:34–46. Daubanton also refers to other publications of Warneck in this field.
18. See Heinrich Balz, “Überwindung der Religionen” und das Ziel der

Daubanton challenges the notion that Jesus could be a particularist in the wake of Isaiah’s universalism.


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**Selected Bibliography**

**Works by François E. Daubanton**

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1911  

1911  
*Prolegomena van protestantische zendingswetenschap*. Utrecht: Kemink.

1912  

1916  

**Works About François E. Daubanton**


In response to several readers who have questioned the seemingly understated estimate of Indonesia’s Muslim population that appeared in “Christian Missions and Islamic Da’wah” (January 2005, p. 9), by Todd M. Johnson and David R. Scoggins, the authors put their figures in a larger context.

The percentage of Muslims in Indonesia (54.1 percent) reported in our article “Christian Missions and Islamic Da’wah” lacked the full context of the overall religious scene in Indonesia. The country includes large numbers of what we have called New Religionists (members of groups that hold various blends of Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism, and tribal religions), who number an estimated 50 million in 2005, or 22.0 percent of the total population. Although the Indonesian census lumps these groups indiscriminately with Muslims (reporting an overall figure of 87.5 percent Muslim for 2001), we enumerate them separately. Thus the discrepancy between our figures and those appearing in the government census.

—Todd M. Johnson and David R. Scoggins
Book Reviews


Editor’s comment: In the fall of 1997 Stephen Bevans, a contributing editor, and Roger Schroeder spent three months at the Overseas Ministries Study Center in New Haven, continuing foundational work for a book whose entrée—following its nine-year gestation—is noteworthy in that it could well serve as a standard introduction to mission theology for the next decade. As such, the book will be utilized in seminary classrooms across the entire ecclesial spectrum. Accordingly, six respected missiologists, each representing one of six distinctive ecclesial stances—Anabaptist, Conciliar, Evangelical, Orthodox, Pentecostal, and Roman Catholic—were invited to share their candid assessments of the book. Here, then, are the six reviews in alphabetical order by perspective.

Anabaptist. Although historians have long recognized the indisputable link between the modern missionary movement and the twentieth-century ecumenical movement, nowhere has this symbiotic relationship been demonstrated as clearly as in this volume. With evident respect for various theological and ecclesiastical traditions, and drawing on insights and convictions from diverse Christian streams, Stephen B. Bevans and Roger P. Schroeder have skillfully forged a vigorous theology of mission.

The structure of the book demonstrates the continual interaction between constants—Christology, ecclesiology, eschatology, soteriology, anthropology, and culture—in major historical contexts. The pitfall that besets much theology is that it is written from within one stream, largely oblivious, or simply in opposition to, other contemporary options. Schroeder and Bevans seek to overcome this reductionist tendency by adapting the historical-theological typologies of Justo L. González and Dorothee Sölle, identified as types A, B, and C. Each of these three types originates with a particular early Christian theologian in a particular cultural context who was responding to particular challenges. Each of these types, it is argued, recurs throughout church history.

In contrast to David Bosch’s use of historical paradigms in Transforming Mission (1991), which suggested that each new paradigm displaces the previous one, the typology used here demonstrates the interplay between continuity and variety across time. Furthermore, it takes account of the range of missional responses in each historical period. Groups and movements that have been ignored in theologies and histories of the Christian mission are recognized here. What has been regarded as a minority or marginal voice in one period can emerge later as representative of a new consensus. The sixteenth-century Anabaptist rejection of a territorially defined church would become normative for the modern mission movement. The Bevans-Schroeder approach is dynamic and responsive to contextual and historical processes but always in relation to the six constants.

This is a most useful book. Students will find it to be a reliable guide to a broad range of literature. It offers an up-to-date interpretation of a theology of the Christian mission.

—Wilbert R. Shenk
Anabaptist missiologist Wilbert R. Shenk, a contributing editor and Paul E. Pienso Professor of Mission History and Contemporary Culture at Fuller Theological Seminary, Pasadena, California, is author and editor of many books. Most recently he edited North American Foreign Missions, 1810–1914: Theology, Theory, and Policy (Eerdmans, 2004).

Conciliar. Regardless of one’s ecclesial tradition, the missiologist must be grateful for the substantive expansion of our teaching resources represented by Bevans and Schroeder’s Constants in Context. It does not attempt to replace David Bosch’s classic work; rather, it honors that work by building on it. Of particular value are the detailed explorations of Roman Catholic mission thought and practice. The authors’ survey of the broad and complex spectrum of historical missiology is to be commended for its admirable fairness, judicious choices of relevant material, and constructive proposals for the organization of their content.

The book shows how contextual analysis can be done in ways that take context seriously and yet not uncritically. The challenge is how to do so without losing sight of what Andrew Walls calls the “essential continuity” in the world Christian movement. Bevans and Schroeder take up that challenge by working with a matrix of six theological constants (Christology, ecclesiology, eschatology, soteriology, anthropology, human culture as context), which are analyzed by using Justo González’s typology of three basic forms of Christian thought. For the most part, this approach works—it stimulates provocative insights and uncovers important themes and motifs that cross over the boundaries of ecclesial traditions. Even where it does not work as well (and it gets progressively more complicated as the authors move into the modern period), the debate about their interpretive moves will prove fruitful.

The proposal of Bevans and Schroeder to define mission theology as “prophetic dialogue” is well argued and will foster helpful discussion. The appreciative conciliar Protestant student of mission will raise questions about their constant insistence that a particular theological approach must take either a “positive” or a “negative” stance on anthropology or the cultural context; there are constructive alternatives in the dialectical approaches modeled by Barth, Bosch, and Newbigin. That noted, this book is an ecumenical gift to the church!

—Darrell L. Guder
Conciliar representative Darrell L. Guder, a contributing editor and a Presbyterian, is Henry Winters Luce Professor of Missional and Ecumenical Theology at Princeton Theological Seminary and secretary-treasurer of the American Society of Missiology. He is editor of Missional Church: A Vision for the Sending of the Church in North America (1998).

Evangelical. Bevans and Schroeder are to be congratulated for developing a text that will almost certainly take its place beside David Bosch’s Transforming Mission as one of the most significant texts on contemporary missiology. Space limits us to three comments from an evangelical perspective.

First, it was unsettling that stream A—the stream of theology this reviewer represents—is characterized by the term “law” and that stream B (the liberal stream) is characterized by the word “truth.” Certainly all three streams presented are deeply concerned with truth. A better set of labels might indicate each stream’s perspective on truth. For example, label stream A “God’s revelation of truth,” stream B “the discovery of truth,” and stream C “the struggle for truth.” Being labeled as law-focused in light of
the grace offered in the New Testament makes stream A appear out of touch with its message. It is not surprising, then, that the authors’ proposal of mission as prophetic dialogue omits this stream’s orientation.

Second, it is surprising that spiritual warfare is not discussed in relation to stream A. While Lausanne is regularly discussed, the 1999 Lausanne consultation on spiritual warfare and the two books that came from it are not referenced anywhere. As an evangelical, I found ignoring Satan and his work in a mission theology text to be a serious omission.

Third, John Piper is one of the more prominent voices in current evangelical mission theology, but he is nowhere found in the book. Following Jonathan Edwards, Piper posits God’s glory as the overarching frame for mission. This perspective offers an appropriate rationale for the reign of God as the ultimate lens of mission, and adding this element in the presentation on stream A would have significantly enhanced the discussion. As well-researched as this text was, I as an evangelical found this omission surprising.

—A. Scott Moreau

Orthodox. This book is a survey of twenty centuries of mission history in the light of different models of mission theology and ends with a proposal for a mission theology for the twenty-first century. The theological models the authors use are based on those proposed by Justo L. González and Dorothee Sölle, who refer to as types A, B, and C. Type A is mission as saving souls and extending the church; type B is mission as discovery of the truth; type C is mission as commitment to liberation and transformation. The three models are typified in the early church by Tertullian of Carthage, Origen of Alexandria, and Irenaeus of Lyons respectively.

The authors go on to describe each model of theology in relation to six constants: Christology, ecclesiology, eschatology, salvation, anthropology, and culture. They then examine these constants in six different historical contexts. As an Orthodox Christian, I was not able to identify with the authors’ descriptions of type A and type B theology. Type C, however, was familiar to me; it was Orthodox theology. This is not surprising, since Irenaeus is regarded by the Orthodox Church as a saint and a Father of the church; Tertullian and Origen are not. As I read on, however, I felt marginalized: in all six periods of mission history the authors identified Orthodox mission with type B, and not with type C, yet made no attempt to explain this (to me) glaring discrepancy.

It is a pity that the book lacks a bibliography. The book is a good introduction to Roman Catholic mission history and theology. Its coverage of Orthodox mission history and theology, however, is thin and misleading. There is a flaw either in the models themselves or in the authors’ application of them.

—Stephen Hayes

Evangelical A. Scott Moreau, professor and chair of the Intercultural Studies Department at Wheaton College, Wheaton, Illinois, is editor of Evangelical Missions Quarterly and managing editor of the Network for Strategic Missions Knowledge Base (www.strategicnetwork.org).

Orthodox deacon and mission adviser to the Orthodox archbishop of Johannesburg and Pretoria. Stephen Hayes is the author of articles on Orthodox missiology and an African Independent Churches.

Pentecostal. Bevans and Schroeder are to be congratulated for producing a theology of mission designed to help Christians of all stripes understand the complexity and urgency of Christian mission at the beginning of the twenty-first century. Much to their credit, they listen attentively to the many voices speaking on mission today. Indeed, this is the first major theology of mission to recognize that Pentecostal missiology does not simply constitute a subcategory of evangelical missiology. This “coming-of-age” has become evident, not only in the sheer number of majority world and North Atlantic Pentecostal missionaries serving around the globe, but also in their missiological publications and the fruit of international dialogues in which they have participated.

Pentecostals and charismatics can learn from the rich historical insights found in the book, though one wonders about the accuracy of finding only three models of mission covering a range of two millennia. Furthermore, they can benefit from the constructive approaches offered in the centerpieces of Constants in Context—mission as “prophetic dialogue”—without diminishing their concern for the perishing multitudes that have yet to hear the Good News of Jesus Christ.

Despite the space given to the Trinitarian nature of mission, little is said about the ministry of the Holy Spirit in gospel proclamation accompanied by “power encounters” and the healing of the sick, as well as the role of the charismatic gifts in the life and mission of the church. Pentecostals will also challenge the assertion: “Jesus himself did not clearly conceive of a mission beyond Judaism. Even less did he foresee his disciples taking up a Gentile mission” (p. 14). How could Jesus Christ as the incarnate Son of God have such a limited understanding of the missio Dei? It was
not a feeble and uninformed Christ who announced: “The Spirit of the Lord is on me, because he has anointed me to preach good news to the poor. He has sent me to proclaim freedom for the prisoners and recovery of sight for the blind, to release the oppressed, to proclaim the year of the Lord’s favor” (Luke 4:18–19 NIV). Evangelist Aimee Semple McPherson once preached a sermon entitled “Is Jesus Christ the Great ‘I Am’ or Is He the Great ‘I Was’?” Rejoicing in the former, Pentecostals would still shout, “Hallelujah, sister, preach it!”

—Gary B. McGee

Pentecostal scholar Gary B. McGee, a contributing editor, is professor of church history and Pentecostal studies at Assemblies of God Theological Seminary in Springfield, Missouri. His recently published People of the Spirit (Gospel Publishing House, 2004) is a biographical history of the Assemblies of God (U.S.A.).

Roman Catholic. The appearance of this comprehensive survey of the history and contemporary theology of mission is a welcome event. It is eminently usable as a textbook for introducing mission to students. A consistent use of five theological themes and the concept of culture (called “constants,” in that each must be treated in an adequate theology of mission) and of three types of theology (borrowed from the work of Justo González and of Dorothee Sölle) makes for easy comparison of different epochs in the history of mission. The first part of the book sets up biblical foundations (the Acts of the Apostles) and the theological framework that will be used. The second part divides the history of mission into six epochs, from the early church down to 1991. The third part looks at three theological approaches to mission in the late twentieth century and proposes a synthesis that the authors call “prophetic dialogue.”

From a Roman Catholic point of view, this account provides a very good reading of mission in the past and in the present. Its theological perspective draws upon the mission theology expounded at the Second Vatican Council and its development since that time. It is thoroughly ecumenical and is sensitive to the role that laity in general and women in particular have played in mission. It is balanced in its treatment of viewpoints other than those of the authors. And it is keenly aware of the importance of context.

The book invites comparison with David Bosch’s Transforming Mission. Bosch provides a comprehensive account of New Testament theology, while this book restricts itself to Acts. This book gives more attention to Pentecostal mission than did Bosch. Both end with a model or paradigm that is essentially a summation of all the major themes operative in the present. Bosch speaks of an ecumenical paradigm; Bevans and Schroeder speak of a model of prophetic dialogue. Asking for a prediction of the near future may be too much to ask in this carefully researched and written book, a book that is likely not to be surpassed anytime soon.

—Robert Schreiter

Roman Catholic Robert Schreiter, C.P.P.S., is Vatican Council II Professor of Theology at Catholic Theological Union and professor of theology and culture at the University of Nijmegen in the Netherlands. He also serves as general editor of the Faith and Cultures series for Orbis Books.

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The Indian Church in Context: Her Emergence, Growth, and Mission.


This collection of essays is based on the Eighth Center for Mission Studies Consultation, held at Union Biblical Seminary in Pune, India, in February 2002. The editor teaches missiology at the seminary and coordinates the Center for Mission Studies.

The essays are organized in four sections of “Perspectives”—biblical, historical, theological, and contextual. They reflect and engage the Indian context in a variety of ways. Chris J. H. Wright’s essay “The Bible and Human Religions” and J. Manohar David’s “Israel Among the Nations,” for example, survey the biblical record without explicit reference to the Indian context. Brian Winkle’s “A Biblical Perspective on Idolatry” makes a brief application to the Indian setting. The Indian church is the central theme of most of the other essays. For example, there is a survey of Catholic mission in India, a study contrasting the missionary methods of Alexander Duff and those of John Clough, and essays on Hinduism and conversion, on building bridges to Hinduism, and on Christians in Northeast India.

The theme of Christian conversion emerges repeatedly in this collection, usually on the edges of other topics. Sometimes the essays address the motives for conversion (pp. 90, 98, 103, 124, 181) and other times the impact of conversion on national identity (pp. 161, 193-206). The fine essay by Sebastian C. H. Kim draws on Indian theologians to explore three models of conversion—secular, inculturation, and liberation—and through these perspectives Kim engages the global Christian discussion of conversion.

Most of the essays are accessible to readers with little knowledge of India. A teacher of biblical theology, church history, mission, or interreligious dialogue could refer students to individual chapters on these themes. The chapters stand on their own. Readers with considerable knowledge of the Indian church will be able to put the chapters into a larger context.

—James N. Pankratz

James N. Pankratz, Academic Dean of Mennonite Brethren Biblical Seminary in Fresno, California, has done two years of doctoral research in India.


Mission After Christendom.


These two books outlining the current situation of world mission are deeply aware of the new contexts that face Christian communities as they seek to fulfill the challenge of their divine calling. They both accept quite consciously the reality of a post-Christian West and a post-Western church.

Samuel Escobar, involved for many years in student ministries in Latin America and Canada and more recently as a teacher of mission in the United States and Spain, has had a wealth of experience of the church in mission. Although Escobar specifically mentions the relation between text and context only toward the end of his book, in fact the whole volume is built around the relation between global intellectual, social, and economic situations and the living reality of the triune God as normatively disclosed in
the Scriptures. The first chapter surveys the present situation and setting for the work of mission. Subsequent chapters trace the history of Christian mission and explore the reality and consequences of globalization, the end of the church’s Christendom experience, and the various reactions to the transition from the secularism of modernity to that of postmodernity. Three chapters elucidate biblically the Trinitarian pattern of mission, involving the missionary Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. The next two chapters explore the themes of contextualization and social transformation as mission imperatives. The final chapter discusses some of the present demands laid upon the people of God worldwide as they seek to be faithful to their apostolic calling. This is an expansive and visionary picture of the church’s mission enterprise across all continents. The book is easy to read. Readers without extensive prior knowledge of the subject will have their understanding and perception broadened.

David Smith, who served in West Africa for several years and is currently lecturer in mission and world Christianity at the International Christian College in Glasgow, tackles many of the same issues that Escobar does. He also follows a similar pattern of interaction between context and text. The book is organized around three main contemporary challenges to the global movement of mission: secularization, pluralization, and globalization. He observes that, since at least the 1960s, geographic boundaries have become less important in mission than the borders between belief systems, cultures, and global economic realities. The final chapter is both a summary of the argument and an attempt to peer into the future.

Smith, like Escobar, writes as an evangelical Christian. He is more critical than Escobar of many of the present practices and implicit missiologies of evangelical strategists, and he is more sympathetic to the postmodern mood than other commentators. His book is the result of careful, well-researched, and imaginative contemplation of the current threats to, and opportunities for, mission globally. It contains an extensive bibliography and index.

Here are two books that are comprehensive in their coverage of the current global context for sharing and living the Gospel, perceptive in their handling of relevant biblical texts, and stimulating in the thought given to new ways of mission involvement.

—J. Andrew Kirk

J. Andrew Kirk has recently retired after a lifetime of mission teaching in Argentina, England, and many other places. He is the author of many books relevant to mission, including What Is Mission? Theological Explorations (London, 1999).

Who Can Be Saved? Reassessing Salvation in Christ and World Religions.


This book is a monumental, encyclopedic survey and critical assessment of various issues related to salvation in Christianity and other religions. Tiessen pursues two key questions: “How does God save people, and how do the religions fit into God’s purposes in the world?” (p. 12). These two questions provide the structure of this book of over 500 pages. The scope of the study is breathtaking!
The merits of Tiessen’s book are many and unsurpassed. In my view, its main contributions are its method and approach. With painstakingly detailed, well-documented, and critical exposition, Tiessen outlines various options in history and contemporary theology, to be followed by a strong, yet respectful and sensitive, defense of his own standpoint. While strongly Reformed/Calvinistic (monergistic) in his theology, Tiessen is also explicitly “accessibilist” (being hopeful about the possibility of salvation in Christ being extended to some people outside the church), thus attempting to overcome the typical Arminian-Calvinist divide. As a resource, the book is thus extremely helpful even for those who, like the present reviewer, do not share Tiessen’s theological background. It serves teachers, ministers, and students as well.

It also raises questions. Can one book really deal with both of the key questions it addresses? The second part is clearly weaker and could be better investigated in a separate study. Likewise, the sheer number of key theses—thirty altogether—is almost exhausting. Furthermore, I wonder whether the future of Christian theology of religions in a pluralistic and postmodern era is best served by a quite limited focus on topics (original sin, the penal-substitution view of the atonement, or salvation of infants) that seem to be burning issues mainly among evangelicals in one tradition. What about a wider evangelical voice? What about non-evangelical—say, Catholic—readers?

—Veli-Matti Kärkkäinen

Veli-Matti Kärkkäinen, a native of Finland, is Professor of Systematic Theology at Fuller Theological Seminary, Pasadena, California, and Docent of Ecumenics at the University of Helsinki.

Whose Religion Is Christianity? Christianity Beyond the West.


In his latest book, which is slim but not slight, Lamin Sanneh exploits the genre of a modern Socratic dialogue to publicize and discuss the phenomenon of Christianity as a world religion. He has summarized (or rephrased?) and answered questions from his students and colleagues over the years. The style is intriguing and draws the reader into the conversation between the lecturer and his questioners.

In this different key, Sanneh, professor of missions and world Christianity and professor of history at Yale Divinity School, writes with lucid elegance. His use of shrewd, pithy sayings and occasional flights of rhetoric enables readers who have not read his earlier books to pick up the thread of his thinking. He recapitulates the arguments of some of his earlier works, particularly Translating the Message (1989), which is certainly worth doing. The post–9/11 generation of students needs to recognize afresh the power of the vernacular when people hear God “speaking their language” in the Scriptures. Reiterated here are Sanneh’s thoughts on the untranslatability of the Qur’an, the concept of jihad, and the significance of the “Western guilt complex” of colonialism and the importance of recovering from it, the latter first published in the pages of the IBMR (see 7:165–71; 15:2–12).

Sanneh tries to make a sharp distinction between “world Christianity” and “global Christianity.” He approves of the former, which has appeared almost spontaneously in societies with weak states and impoverished populations, whereas...
the latter has been “orchestrated” by the West and is enmeshed in global structures of power and economics. His distinction is well made, but these designations may not be followed by other writers. Ironically, Philip Jenkins’s commendatory note on the back cover uses “global Christianity” for “world Christianity.”

In his engagement with skeptical Westerners, who would prefer that the Enlightenment agenda rather than the Christian message would spread throughout the world, Sanneh stresses the indigenous discovery of Christianity, rather than the Christian discovery of indigenous societies. He argues against their caricatured worry that “because of the alleged conservative religious outlook of world Christianity, the reevangelization of the West would mean the wholesale overthrow of the liberal achievements of the modern West that would cause a relapse into intolerance” (p. 27).

Sometimes Sanneh assumes too much background knowledge in making references and allusions. His brief case study on Samuel Ajayi Crowther, about whom he wrote in greater detail in his chapter in the CMS bicentenary volume, does not mention his further education, ordination, and consecration in Britain.

A gem of a book, in an imaginative style: evangelistic, recapitulative, apologetic. Worth buying—even an extra copy to give away.

—Graham Kings

Graham Kings, a contributing editor, is the Vicar of St. Mary, Islington, London.

Christianity in Modern China: The Making of the First Native Protestant Church.


David Cheung, who teaches at Asian Theological Seminary, Quezon City, Philippines, traces in detail the efforts of the Reformed Church in America, the English Presbyterians, and the London Missionary Society to establish what Cheung sees as the first truly indigenous Protestant church in China. This useful study concentrates perhaps too heavily upon the RCA mission, although we should note that the archives of the English Presbyterians suffered heavy damage in World War II bombing. Cheung argues that the RCA mission gave Chinese Christians unprecedented space to assume positions of genuine leadership and that there always was a remarkably close relationship between the Protestant missionaries and the native leadership in Banlam.

Cheung’s topic is an important one. The church in South Fujian was indeed noted for the important role played by Chinese leaders, even in the earliest stages of Protestant mission work. Sadly, the author limits his study to a rather old-fashioned institutional history of mission policies and practices, particularly the ways in which the missionaries worked toward implementing the three-self ideal.

One wishes that Cheung would have probed more deeply the social and cultural context of church growth in South Fujian, the backgrounds of the Chinese leadership, and the dynamic relationship between Chinese Christians and their neighbors.

Anyone interested in Chinese mission history will find this a useful but difficult book to read. Readers face entire pages of passive voice, frequent errors of syntax and grammar, and much needless verbiage. The author sometimes relegates important historiographical issues to the

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footnotes, while the body of the text is filled with minute details of mission life. In sum, this is a fascinating book that needed additional revision before publication.

—James R. Rohrer

James R. Rohrer is Associate Professor of Religion at Northwestern College, Orange City, Iowa. From 1995 to 1998 he served in Taiwan as an educational missionary of the United Church Board for World Ministries, teaching church history at Yushan Theological College.

This analysis of an important missionary text from Spanish America complements other recent studies of early Jesuit activity. Margaret Olsen, who teaches colonial Spanish American and Afro-Hispanic literature at the University of Missouri, Columbia, places Alonso de Sandoval’s 1627 De instauranda Aethiopim salute (On renewing the salvation of the Ethiopians) within several contexts: early modern European symbolic appropriation of others, baroque love of dichotomies, and evolving Jesuit self-representation. Writing to encourage his confreres to save themselves by washing Christ’s feet present in African slaves in Cartagena and elsewhere, Sandoval conceptually expanded “Aethiopia” to include most of the world that was configured as archetypally black. This symbolic sleight of hand made Europeans white and linked Jesuits and Aethiopes in past evangelization, thus legitimating Sandoval’s evangelization of African slaves in Colombia as merciful (saving white souls covered by black skin) and firmly Jesuit (imitating Francis Xavier).

Olsen illustrates the importance of Sandoval’s Jesuit formation, his reliance on José de Acosta, and his conflicts with the authorities of his day. She also reveals inherent contradictions within his evangelization, particularly between his belief in the soul’s primacy over the body and his convictions about the potential of African Christians despite their alleged inferiority. Interrogating Sandoval’s words, Olsen demonstrates how his discourse strained to resolve the irresolvable when faced with brutal enslavement. Previous analysts praised Sandoval’s compassion but faulted his timidity regarding the slave trade; Olsen appreciates his caution and discerns courage amid complexity, likening Sandoval to Las Casas.

Olsen’s closing chapter uses contemporary literary theory to uncover African voices within De instauranda. Better ethnographic details about the slaves—even fuller citations from Sandoval—would have lent this effort needed concreteness. The absence of a missiologial perspective also creates a vacuum, begging to be filled by theological questions about the identities emerging within Sandoval’s text. By showing the multivocality within missionary discourses, however, Olsen offers a model for uncovering hidden voices among the evangelized. She has also opened up to mission studies Sandoval’s regrettably neglected work.

—Paul V. Kollman

Paul Kollman teaches in the Department of Theology at the University of Notre Dame, Notre Dame, Indiana. He has studied, taught, and done research in eastern Africa.
Transcontinental Links in the History of Non-Western Christianity / Transkontinentale Beziehungen in der Geschichte des Aussereuropäischen Christentums.


This book is another evidence that we are in the springtime of a new generation of studies of the history of Christianity. It grew out of the Second International Munich-Freising Conference, an initiative to encourage fresh research and writing, and appears as volume 6 in the series “Studies in the History of Christianity in the Non-Western World,” being produced under the editorial guidance of Klaus Koschorke and Johannes Meier. Fifteen of the nineteen chapters in this book are in English, with summaries in German, and the remaining four are in German, with English summaries.

The essays are divided into three parts: (1) “Ethnic Diasporas as Transcontinental Networks,” (2) “Transcontinental Processes of Reception,” and (3) “Parallel Developments in Asia, Africa, and Latin America.” The standard ecclesiastical historiography, preoccupied with the “Westernity” of the church, simply prevented us from seeing and appreciating the varieties of Christian initiative that marked the development of the church over the past several centuries in the non-Western world, such as the strong interest of the African diaspora in the Americas in returning to Africa for the purpose of evangelizing and “civilizing” that continent; the efforts by Korean Presbyterians early in the twentieth century to send missionaries to Shandong Province, China; and more recent attempts by Aladura churches to penetrate societies outside of Africa. We dare not brush aside these case studies as merely exotic or peripheral. Historically, change has started on the margins and moved toward the center, not the reverse.

It is also evident that the ferment that gave rise to new movements was not isolated. The drive to initiate indigenous Christian movements in Africa, which gained momentum by the late 1800s, was paralleled by similar developments in India and other Asian countries during the same period. The studies in this book underscore the importance of migration and networks throughout the modern period.

This collection brings together fresh studies, rich in insights and suggestive of further historical research that begs to be done.

—Wilbert R. Shenk

Wilbert R. Shenk, a contributing editor, is Paul E. Pierson Professor of Mission History and Contemporary Culture, Fuller Theological Seminary, Pasadena, California. He edited Enlarging the Story: Perspectives on Writing World Christian History (Orbis, 2002).

Sources of Korean Christianity, 1832–1945.


The growth of Korean Christianity and its leading role in world mission, with currently more than 10,000 overseas missionaries, have been remarkable by any measure. Yet, documented primary sources on Korean Christianity have not specifically for deaf parishioners, Brenda relies on her LLSP education to guide her. For each six-week course that Brenda attends at Asbury, she spends at least three months sharing the teachings with the members of Master’s Hand.

“Interpreters are the ones standing in the gap,” she describes.

And Brenda’s Bible study members would agree—she has stood in the gap. Armed with her seminary training, she has helped expand their knowledge of Scripture and their love of Christ.

ASBURY THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

With campuses in Kentucky, Florida, and on the Internet, Asbury Seminary is preparing leaders seeking to transform the world. For more information on the degrees offered at Asbury Seminary, contact the admissions department.
been readily available, which could have spurred further studies on its vital growth and dynamic mission. In order to help bridge this gap, Sung-Deuk Oak, who received his Th.D. from Boston University and is visiting professor at the UCLA Center for Korean Studies, has edited an excellent sourcebook for scholars and students of Korean Christianity.

This topically organized volume focuses on the messages, messengers, and methods of mission; early Korean Christians; Korean religions; national crisis, Japanese colonialism, and Communism; controversies and revivals; and overseas Korean churches and the Korean missionary movement. A significant number of the documents appear here in print for the first time. All are in English, some of them having been translated from Korean or Chinese sources. Many include vivid narratives of early Korean Christians and missionaries.

Sources of Korean Christianity is a well-selected and well-organized collection of significant documents that introduces readers to the full breadth of Korean Christianity through 1945. The chapter on strategies of mission, for instance, illustrates various methods adopted by the missionaries, including the sociological methods of John Nevius and John Ross, as well as James Dennis. In particular, the book sheds light on the encounter between Christianity and Korean religions. It also contains a few documents that allow a glimpse of the early missionary movement, which sent its first Protestant missionaries in 1907 to the island of Quelpart (now Cheju) and in 1909 to Siberia.

Introductory notes provide historical background for the documents as a whole. They are rather sketchy and inadequate, however; fuller interpretive annotations would have made the book a more valuable resource. This volume almost exclusively focuses on Korean Protestantism, though Oak desires to incorporate more sources on Korean Catholicism in the second volume, which is planned to cover the period 1945 to 2000.

—Joon-Sik Park

Joon-Sik Park is the E. Stanley Jones Associate Professor of World Evangelism at the Methodist Theological School in Ohio, in Delaware, Ohio. He previously served as pastor of multicultural United Methodist congregations in Ohio and Kentucky.

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Contested Christianity: The Social and Political Contexts of Victorian Christianity.


Scholars will welcome this fine collection of essays, with its insistence that ideas, not least theology, matter far beyond the confines of intellectual history. Writing on religious history has been shaped by bald assumptions, for example, about secularization, biblical criticism, and religious skepticism as universally hostile or subversive in intent. More nuanced approaches are called for. Larsen explores “the history of biblical criticism and intellectual currents perceived as challenges to the Christian faith; and . . . the political implications of Dissenting theology, experience, and concerns” (p. 3).

For readers of the BULLETIN three topics are particularly notable. The chapter “Thomas Cook, Victorian Tourists, and the Holy Land” avoids tired descriptions of travelers’ “Orientalism.” Larsen combines intriguing discussion of Cook’s own religious commitments with illuminating analysis of Dissenters spurred on to pan-Protestant cooperation, while local landscapes offered evidence of biblical infallibility. Prejudices were confirmed against Roman Catholics and Orthodox as keepers of the holy places rather than Muslims. Second, chapter 5 redefines Bishop Colenso’s significance as biblical critic. Larsen shows how for liberals or Broad Church supporters, the central issue was the legal persecution of Colenso that followed publication of his book, not the work itself, which was seen as a poor, ineffectual piece of biblical criticism, damaging to reform and popular religious education, heavy-handed, and logically flawed. Finally, the Baptists’ role in the liberal onslaught on Governor Eyre for his brutal and illegal suppression of the Morant Bay disturbances in Jamaica (1865) provides both reflections on the notion of a “Nonconformist conscience” and a useful addition to recent work by Catherine Hall.

Other subjects include the power of women as church members; the reception of Strauss’s Life of Jesus; biblical criticism by Joseph Barker, Charles Bradlaugh, and Thomas Cooper; Free Church ecclesiology; and the evangelical case for religious pluralism, with its implications for the nature of politics and the state.

—Andrew Porter
Shembe, Gandhi und die Soldaten Gottes: Wurzeln der Gewaltfreiheit in Südafrika.


Isaiah Shembe (1870–1935) is an important figure in the history of the African Independent (Initiated) Church movement. He was the charismatic leader of the Nazareth Baptist Church (Ibandla lama Nazarethat), which was active in Natal and Zululand. His movement experienced a meteoric rise in the early decades of the twentieth century, and it challenged the orthodox teachings of the European missionaries working in the region, who incorrectly regarded him as a “pied piper.” He formed a “New Jerusalem” church center called Ekuphakameni and a network of regional missions, and the group’s use of pilgrimages and processions greatly impressed contemporary observers.

Shembe’s major achievement was to transform what had been a warrior community into the “Soldiers of God,” a peace church that overcame its historic legacy of violence. He saw the potential of a new social order based on nonviolence and reconciliation with one’s enemies.

Shembe was influenced by M. K. Gandhi, who in 1904 founded an ashram near Durban named Phoenix and carried out a dramatic nonviolent strike in 1913. Although Gandhi’s vision of satyagraha, or reform through passive resistance, focused on the Indian population and essentially excluded Africans, Shembe successfully appropriated its principles into an African context. This brought him in contact with the nascent labor movement and various expressions of cultural nationalism. Heuser traces this complex network of interconnections, analyzes Shembe’s theory of conversion and its theological implications, unpacks the political dimension of the poetic and symbolic life of the movement, and explains its appeal to the poor and landless indigenous population. Faith healing was a particularly significant component because it differentiated the modern conception of the Christian God from the ancestral gods. Shembe’s movement was a creative symbiosis of the Jesus healing charisma, African magic, and the New Testament Gospel of peace as embodied in Gandhian satyagraha. With this careful study, based on extensive fieldwork as well as mastery of the literature on African Independency, Heuser has filled an important gap in our knowledge of indigenously shaped Christianity in South Africa.

—Richard V. Pierard

The Chinese Face of Jesus Christ.
Vol. 2: Faces and Images of Jesus Christ from Ming to Qing.


This second volume of a four-volume set contains ten chapters devoted to Catholic experiences and five to Protestant efforts in China. They well portray the diversity and complexity of Chinese society itself.

Chapters on Protestant “faces” such as the sect of the “Revised One” and the “Jesus Sect” reflect the diversity of mission approaches by different denominations and the equally diverse reception by Chinese popular audiences. Richard Bohr’s chapter, “The Evangelical Roots of the Taiping Rebellion,” may have the most contemporary relevance, as he describes the popular appeal of the essentials of the Christian message to the disenfranchised and marginal in a world turned upside down by social disruption.

Richard V. Pierard is Stephen Phillips Professor of History at Gordon College, Wenham, Massachusetts.
caused by rising commercialism, government corruption and decline, and growing foreign influence. Indigenous appropriation of the message led to a movement that was eventually crushed by the weight of the waning orthodox state.

The scholarly quality of this second volume, while exceptionally high, is less consistent than that of the first. It has no bibliography or biographical notes on the authors, and footnotes vary in quality. It is a valuable reference, however, for historical examples of the diversity and complexity of the Christian mission and Chinese reactions to it. As with the first volume, this anthology contains excellent graphics and a useful glossary.

—Doug Lovejoy

Doug Lovejoy, Executive Director of the U.S. Catholic China Bureau, has taught courses in Chinese politics and international relations at Princeton University.

Han-Mongol Encounters and Missionary Endeavors: A History of Scheut in Ordos (Hetao), 1874–1911.


Patrick Taveirne is director of the Leuven Institute for Sino-Mongol Studies in Belgium and a researcher for the Holy Spirit Study Center in Hong Kong. In this comprehensive revision of his doctoral dissertation, he provides a detailed account of the Catholic missionary endeavor in the Chinese-Mongolian borderlands. The specific focus is on the vicariate apostolic of Southwest Mongolia, which included the great Yellow River Bend (known to the Chinese as “Hetao”) and the Ordos Plateau outside the Great Wall.

The volume opens with a helpful account of the precarious ecological, complex ethnocultural, and ambiguous geopolitical contexts, followed by a rather long chapter on the European background to the growth of the nineteenth-century missionary spirit. While much of that discussion is not essential to the story, it is significant that the missionary Congregation of the Immaculate Heart of Mary, also known as the Scheut Mission, was founded in Belgium in the 1860s in response to the counterrevolutionary and antiliberal Catholic revival. Maintaining “the nostalgic reverie of medieval Christendom” (p. 169), the Scheut Fathers were committed to exporting “Christian utopias to fields afar” (p. 174). A virtually unique characteristic of the Scheutist approach was the establishment of self-contained Christian settlements in the Ordos region by leasing extensive tracts of land from Mongol princes for cultivation. Although this dubious attempt at re-creating the medieval Christiunitas did not attract many Mongols, these farm villages brought increasing numbers of land-hungry Han Chinese migrants from China proper into the Catholic fold.

Taveirne’s book not only is a valuable account of the protracted struggle for souls, including a chapter on the bloody persecutions during the Boxer Uprising of 1900–1901, it also affords rare insights into the daily lives and religious practices of ordinary believers. It is an important addition to the growing body of regional studies of Christianity in China.

—R. G. Tiedemann

R. G. Tiedemann teaches modern Chinese history in the University of London and is a contributor to the Ricci 21st Century Roundtable Online Database Project on the History of Christianity in China at the Ricci Institute, University of San Francisco.


Andreas Nehring, a German theologian with working experience in Japan and India and currently a missiologist at...
Augustana in Neuendettelsau, Germany, deserves congratulations for presenting his multifaceted research findings. He examines numerous unpublished and printed documents by Karl Graul (1814–64), the director of the Leipzig Evangelical Lutheran Mission (LELM), and several of their missionaries. Nehring discusses the nature of Western, especially German, discussion of India and tries to unpack the LELM missionaries’ views on South Indian society, the caste system, and the philosophical and popular aspects of bhakti religions. In addition he shows how these missionaries enhanced the quality of Western perceptions of India.

Nehring also highlights another significant aspect of Western missionary historiography, namely, the general failure to acknowledge the role of native informants who assisted the foreign missionaries in their process of understanding non-Western cultures. Many prominent European missionaries indeed failed to acknowledge publicly the help they received from native agents. For example, S. Samuel Pillay played an important role in helping Graul comprehend several aspects of Tamil culture (Nehring reproduces lengthy passages that Pillay sent to Graul), yet Graul failed to acknowledge Pillay’s contributions.

Many colloquial forms of Tamil are found in this book. The reproduction and transliteration of Tamil words, however, are not consistent with the conventional system of writing. Yet Nehring’s work well illustrates the strengths and limits of intercultural learning, as well as the role of native agents in shaping the Western construction and representation of Indian society. Indologists, Orientalists, historians, and missiologists will find this comprehensive book very helpful. —Daniel Jeyaraj

Daniel Jeyaraj, a missiologist from India and a contributing editor, is the Judson-DeFrias Associate Professor of World Christianity at Andover Newton Theological School, Newton Centre, Massachusetts.


As Edward Said in his seminal book Orientalism (1978) portrays stereotypes that Western Orientalists have had of the East, so Buruma and Margalit in Occidentalism portray the stereotypes that “Occidentalists” have of the West. The latter, which include groups like al-Qaeda, criticize the sinful Western cosmopolitan city, the focus on commerce and comfort rather than willingness to suffer and die, the sterile rational mind without a soul, and the worship of these evils. Such infidelity, like a cancer, they believe, must be eliminated for society to be healthy.

The authors point out many parallels to these criticisms that have previously been made in the West and thereby conclude that their roots are largely in the West. This conclusion, however, is a major weakness of their thesis, since there are closer roots in Arab and Islamic history to which the radical Islamists themselves refer. For example, Ibn Khaldun in the fourteenth century describes the degenerating influence of the comforts of the city, which he observed, led to an Islamist resurgence about every 100 years. Likewise, the rationalistic mind of speculative theologians and philosophers was criticized by the conservative Habalites and early Ash’arites in the classical period of Islam.

Parallels to the practice of emphasizing the glories of the past when a group is humiliated need not be sought in German Romanticism (as on p. 77), since honor and shame are major themes of pre-Islamic Arab poetry still quoted today. The authors ascribe Arab Muslim hostility for the Jews to their links with the city and commerce and to reminders of the modern Western Israeli city in the heart of the Muslim East. But Muslim Arabs refer far more to the injustice of the loss of the Palestinian homeland and Jerusalem in particular because of its importance in their faith.

Viewed from a missiological perspective, the book gives insight into the context of the Muslim world today. For example, we know that many Muslims see Christian mission as a major ingredient of the corrupting influence of the West. Thus the book may well elicit repentance and sensitivity in these days of both increased Muslim hostility and receptivity to the Gospel. —J. Dudley Woodberry


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**Dr. Alan Kreider**

Dr. Kreider is associate professor of church history and mission at Associated Mennonite Biblical Seminary, Elkhart, Indiana. For 26 years, he and Eleanor, his wife, were mission workers in England, at the London Mennonite Centre. While in England, he served as director of the Centre for the Study of Christianity and Culture at Regent’s Park College, Oxford University.

**Dr. Marcella Hoesl, M.M.**

Since 2002, Dr. Hoesl has been professor of systematic theology at Oblate School of Theology, San Antonio. She previously was academic dean of the Texas school and dean and head of the department of mission at Selly Oak Colleges (1982–90). Her service as a Maryknoll sister includes experience in Mexico, Guatemala, southern Sudan, and the United Kingdom.

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Oct. 31–Nov. 4 Mission in the Early Church. Dr. Alan Kreider, associate professor of church history and mission, Associated Mennonite Biblical Seminary, Elkhart, Indiana, and OMSC senior mission scholar in residence, leads participants to ponder the dissimilarities and the affinities between the missional experiences of early Christians and Christians in many parts of the world today. Eight sessions. $145

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