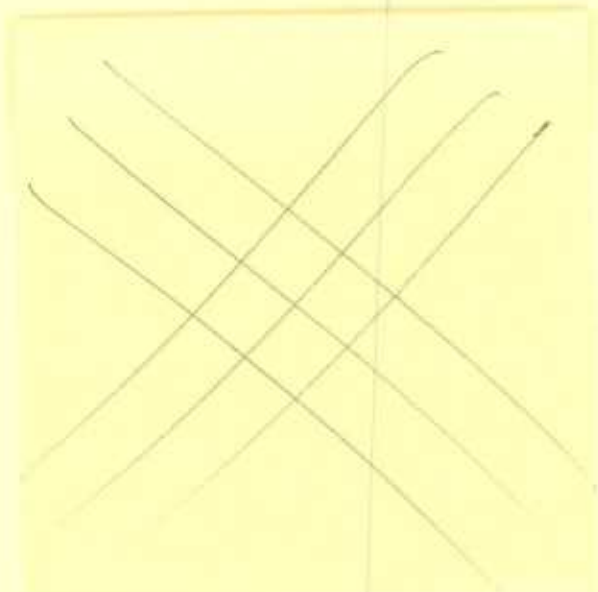Role of Women - Cohutta
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VN OLSEN'S

DOCUMENT

FOR ROLE

OF WOMEN

COMMISSION

JULY 1989

Martha Lunt said
George Reid said
Olson's manuscript
is a very important
document & should
be considered
personally. It is
very well done.

THE CHURCH IN THE OLD TESTAMENT

FOUNDATIONS OF ECCLESIOLOGY

The Christian concern for and the biblical study of the nature of the
church, its essential characteristics, its structure and ministry, are
expressed by the term: ecclesiology (the word about the church). However,
every aspect of ecclesiology--and especially the defining of the ministry--
is inseparable from theology (the word about God), christology (the word
about Christ), soteriology (the word about salvation), and peumatology (the
word about the Holy Spirit). As this study progresses it will be observed
in different connections, that there is a mutual interdependence and
reciprocal influence between ecclesiology and these doctrines; the former
serves as an index to the other. Further, the practical applications of
these doctrines are in and through the church, and this is the case with the
involvement of both the Trinity and man. What we have sought to say is
expressed in a different way in the following statement: "The Church is the
clue to the Bible as history, and it is also the culmination of the Bible as
theology." The same author continues by saying: "It might be said that the
Church is both the theme of the Bible and its writer. Bible and Church

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explain each other, judge each other, need each other. Both are organs of the living God, and neither can function properly without the other. If the Church fails, it is because it is not Biblical enough, and if Bible study becomes pedantic and arid, it is because it is divorced from worship and service in the living fellowship of the Church."[1]

While ecclesiology should reflect true biblical theology, christology, and soteriology, we unfortunately will find that church history reveals that non-biblical and non-christian elements in various forms--sociological, political, economic, institutional, etc.--became deciding factors in one or several aspects of ecclesiology and thus in turn weakened, deluded and even changed biblical theology, christology and soteriology as well as the working of the Holy Spirit, which inaugurated the New Testament church on the day of Pentecost and will be with the church to the end of time.

The understanding of the nature of the church and the formation of any structure of the church and its ministry becomes--for better or for worse--a test or expression of one's understanding of Christ. When or where ecclesiology is in trouble or challenged it is, generally, because of distortions in theology, christology, and soteriology either on the theoretical or pragmatic level, or on both. Whenever an issue regarding ecclesiology arises it should be solved in the light of theology, christology, and soteriology, for the church is not an organization or institution of man, neither should it be administered as such, but it is a living organism, the body of Christ.

When in our thought processes we seek back to the beginning of the beginnings, we cannot move beyond a certain point. That point is the giving of the covenant of life. Since God is the Creator and everything is rooted in Him and His activities, it follows that the covenant is not negotiable

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but has to be a commanding covenant: obey and live, disobey and die. Accordingly, we speak about the covenant as a testament in which the testator makes his will known to the heirs who will carry out his will on his conditions. For this reason the books of the Bible are referred to as the Old and New Testament.

The covenant of life was more than a mere mandate or order; it was a statement regarding the facts of the law-governed universe, which grew out of love, the very essence of God. This covenant embodied the very principles of life; we therefore call it the covenant of life. Life was based on conformity to or oneness with the principles that constituted the very life itself. Failure of conformity could only result in the loss of life--that is death.

To live means that human consciousness exists and has to make moral decisions. Law and purpose go together; since God had a purpose for life, it needs to be law-governed. We can also say it is this way: We know God's purposes from His law or will for us.

The Christian world-view begins with God as lawgiver and creator. God is the final source for our moral obligations. In Exodus, the giving of the commandments is introduced by the words: "You shall have no other gods before Me" (Ex. 20:3). It is in a relationship of obedience to God that life is fulfilled. To live means that human consciousness exists and has to make moral decisions. It has been expressed in this way: "The emergence of the moral element in human life means that man has realized himself as a person; it means that the whole of life is now regarded from the point of view of decision, self-determination, freedom, responsibility."[2]

The biblical Creation story clearly tells us that man as a moral being

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was placed within the covenant of life. God not only "created" man and "blessed them," but in his first personal dealing with man "God said" and "the Lord commanded" (Gen. 1:28, 2:16). At the time of the first temptation it was acknowledged both by the serpent and by Eve that "God has said" (Gen. 3:1, 3). Life itself necessitated that practical decisions had to be made and in order to be true to life these had to be made in accordance with the norms or laws established by the Creator. Law and purpose go together.

In the Creator-creature relationship life was to find its fulfillment in doing God's will. Since the universe is a moral universe, it should be noticed that Christ is not only Creator but also the Mediator of the moral precepts, or the Lawgiver. The prophet Isaiah exclaimed: "For the Lord is our judge, the Lord is our lawgiver" (Is. 33:22). While on the earth Christ came "to fulfill" the law, and stated most emphatically: "For truly I say to you, until heaven and earth pass away, not the smallest letter or stroke shall pass away from the law, until all is accomplished: (Matt. 5:17-18). It is therefore said about Christ, "He knew no sin" (2 Cor. 5:21).

When in the very beginning the covenant of life--obey and live, disobey and die--was established, the covenant of redemption was likewise. The latter made the provision that in Christ Jesus man could be redeemed from the consequences of disobedience. Christ is "the Lamb slain from the foundation of the earth" (Rev. 13:8, K.J.). Like the two sides of the same coin these two covenants are two aspects of the one everlasting covenant. Law and justice, grace and mercy are blended together in the nature of God. The everlasting covenant expresses the very character of God and is therefore immutable as God Himself is. The covenant of life was based on love for it is inseparable from the covenant of redemption where the Godhead took the

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consequence of transgression into their own hearts.

The requirements, the norms, and the value judgment of the covenant of life were fulfilled in the life and person of Jesus Christ; likewise, the covenant of redemption. In His love, and by grace and mercy, God substitutes Christ's obedience for man's disobedience, and He accepts Christ's death as a replacement for man's eternal death. This is the good news, the gospel. As through Adam's "disobedience the many were made sinners, even to through the obedience of the One, the many will be made righteous" (Rom. 5:19), writes the apostle Paul. He also states: "Christ redeemed us from the curse of the Law, having become a curse for us" (Gal. 3:13). Christ fulfilled the law (Matt. 5:18) and His righteousness becomes ours by faith. The two sides of the same coin, referred to above, is stated by the apostle Paul, when he writes: "Do we then nullify the Law through faith? May it never be! On the contrary, we establish the Law" (Rom. 3:31).

If the covenant of life--obey and live, disobey and die--could have been eliminated, it would not have been necessary for Christ to have been incarnated and then die on the cross. Man is a moral being and that could not be altered. Transgression leads to condemnation, but the promise of forgiveness by grace came in alongside law from the very beginning in the covenant of redemption. In Jesus Christ man is brought into a new covenant relationship with God. We therefore speak about the covenant of grace. Our standing with God is by grace, and the renewed life is also by the enabling grace of God accepted by man through faith. The covenant of grace is rooted in the covenant of redemption; Christ is the Mediator of both. Theologically, christologically and soteriologically the church is constituted in the covenant of life and the covenant of redemption, and every aspect of eccles-

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iology will have to be viewed within the framework of the two covenants. The covenants contain the overarching principles and control-factors which should assist the exegetes when they seek to interpret the biblical material as for example the Pauline statements on man-woman relationships.

THE CHURCH IN EDEN

The family, the church, and the Sabbath have their origin in Eden. When God created man and woman He established the family. Being in a true relationship with God through the covenant of life they were the family of God. After the Fall it was possible to restore the relationship with God by entering the covenant of redemption; doing so the family of God was renewed and became the people of God, which--as we will observe--historically became the remnant.

The church, according to the Protestant Fathers, antedates New Testament times. In emphasizing the existence of the church, from the time of the creation and the Fall, the Protestant reformers sought to identify the church covenants of life and redemption or with the order of creation and with God's redemptive acts in past history. Further, that history--together with the principles and theological concepts that undergirded it--is contained in the Bible and is in the purest sense church history and ecclesiology under the heading of the family of God or people of God.

Since the centrality of faith is the same at all times, and the true church (the people of God) is likewise the same at all times, it became supremely important for the Protestant reformers to be able to unfold true church history and ecclesiology for the reformed church. As an example we will turn to Luther.

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Luther makes the Garden of Eden the beginning of the history of the church: "The church has always existed; there has always been a people of God from the time of the first person Adam to the very latest infant born, even granting that at times the church has been exceedingly weak and so dispersed that it was manifest nowhere."[3]

Before the Fall the church became a reality for Adam when God commanded that he should not take the fruit of "the tree of the knowledge of good and evil." This tree was "Adam's church, altar and pulpit. Here he was to yield to God the obedience he owed, give recognition to the Word and will of God, give thanks to God, and call upon God for aid against temptation." Here we have in a nutshell the first church program. It is of interest to notice that Luther points out: "Thus this text truly pertains to the church or theology."[4] If Adam "had remained in innocence, this preaching would have been like a Bible for him and for all of us. . . . This brief sermon would have brought to its conclusion the whole study of wisdom."[5]

Together with the establishment of the church, and that of the family, the Sabbath was inaugurated as a day of worship "for 'holy' is that which has been set aside for God and has been removed from all secular uses. Hence to sanctify means to set aside for sacred purposes, for the worship of God." Even if the Fall had not occurred Adam "would have held the seventh day sacred." Luther writes:

"It follows, therefore, from this passage that if Adam had remained in the state of innocence, he nevertheless would have held the seventh day sacred. That is, on this day he would have given his descendants instructions about the will and worship of God; he would have praised God; he would have given thanks; he would have sacrificed, etc. On the other days he

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would have tilled his fields and tended his cattle. Indeed, even after the Fall he kept this seventh day sacred; that is, on this day he instructed his family, of which the sacrifices of his sons Cain and Abel give the proof. Therefore from the beginning of the world the Sabbath was intended for the worship of God."[6]

We have so far seen that the family, the church, and the sanctity of the Sabbath with divine worship were constituted and merged together in the Creation order.

When we turn to the history of ecclesiology after the Fall we will notice three basic concepts, each with related topics, appear over and over again. They are the covenant, the remnant, and the eschaton (the end or the advent).

THE CHURCH OF THE COVENANTS

After the original Fall of man God gave Adam and Eve the promise of a Redeemer (Gen. 3:15) and "what baptism and the Lord's Supper are for us, sacrifice and offering was for Adam after the promise,"[7] writes Luther, but in both periods they confirmed the covenant relationship between God and His church.

In the divine administration of the covenant, the Old Testament reveals successive covenants reaching their fulfillment in Jesus Christ; but in each instance the covenant was established by God's promise and grace and accepted by man through faith. Those who went into the covenant relationship with God made up the people of God: the church.

At the time of the Flood "the earth was corrupt in the sight of God, and the earth was filled with violence" (Gen. 6:11). In other words, the

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law or covenant of life had been transgressed. "But Noah found favor in the eyes of the Lord" (Gen. 6:8), and God established "My covenant" with Noah (Gen. 6:18). By faith the ark was built; "Noah did according to all that the Lord had commanded him" (Gen. 7:5). Immediately after the flood "Noah built an altar to the Lord" (Gen. 8:20), and God said: "I establish my covenant with you" (Gen. 9:11).

Regarding Abraham we read that God also with him established "My covenant" (Gen. 17:2, 7, 10). The covenant was based on a promise given by God and accepted by Abraham. We read that Abraham believed "in the Lord; and He reckoned it to him as righteousness" (Gen. 15:6). Abraham was asked to offer his son Isaac, the son of promise; and in this event Abraham "experienced" the divine Father and Son encounter with the result of disobedience: death. He also obtained a deeper understanding of the cost of sin and the love manifested by bearing its penalty. We read about Abraham and Isaac: "So the two of them walked on together" (Gen. 22:8). When Abraham was about to sacrifice his son, God intervened and said: "I know that you fear God, since you have not withheld your son, your only son from Me" (Gen. 22:12). Then Abraham looked up and saw a lamb. Now, he no doubt better understood the everlasting covenant with its two components: covenant of life and covenant of redemption. He also realized that his relationship to God was established by promise and grace and accepted by faith; therefore, his relationship with God was a covenant of grace.

On Mount Moriah Isaac had asked, "Where is the lamb for the burnt offering?" And Abraham said, "God will provide for Himself the lamb" (Gen. 22:7-8). Jesus Christ is "the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world" (Rev. 13:8). Isaac's question "Where is the Lamb?" was answered by John the

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Baptist when he saw Christ and said: "Behold, the Lamb of God who takes away the sin of the world" (John 1:29).

In the history of the church of the patriarchs we find a model of subsequent church history. The Epistle to the Hebrews (chapter 11) records the faith of those who built the church altars during the first period of church history. About Abraham it is said: "By faith Abraham, when he was called, obeyed by going out to a place which he was to receive for an inheritance; . . . for he was looking for the city which has foundations, whose architect and builder is God" (Heb. 11:8, 10).

Prior to the time of Abraham "the church suffered great damage, for ungodliness had increased to such an extent that even the descendants of the saints were carried away into error. Therefore it was necessary for Moses to point out (Gen. 12:1) how in this great peril God accomplished the rebirth of the church, lest it collapse entirely and true religion be utterly blotted out", so writes Luther.[8] Accordingly, Abraham built an altar "to the Lord who had appeared to him" (Gen. 12:7). Luther comments: "That is, he appoints a definite place where the church should come together to hear the Word of God, offer prayers, praise God, and bring sacrifices to God; for this is what it means to build an altar."[9]

When Jacob, as a sojourner, came to Haran and in a dream saw a ladder on which "the angels of God were ascending and descending" (Gen. 28:12) he said: "This is none other than the house of God, and this is the gate of heaven" (Gen. 28:17). Jacob called the place Bethel and promised: "And this stone, which I have set up as a pillar, will be God's house; and all that Thou dost give me I will surely give a tenth to Thee" (Gen. 28:22). In this connection God renewed his covenant with Jacob.

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The covenant made with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob was renewed with Israel. The initiative was made by God, and the gracious and unmerited release from the bondage in Egypt is the basis for the covenant at Mount Sinai (Ex. 19:4; 20:2)--which is one of promise and grace. It was the failure of Israel when they made it into a covenant of works. The religious services first in the tabernacle and later in the temple had as their purpose to establish and retain relationship with God. The everlasting covenant and the covenant of grace were foundational for the services.

As in an ellipse there were two centers in the tabernacle and the temple complex: one the ark with the law of God in the most holy, and the other the altar in the courtyard on which the lamb was sacrificed. The two centers represented respectively the covenant of life and the covenant of redemption. Over the ark was the mercy seat making the covenant one of grace by Faith in the promise of forgiveness in the lamb. When Christ died on the cross as "the Lamb of God," the meaning of the temple services ceased. The covenant of grace was confirmed and rectified, and its legalistic use by the Jews made nil; so we can speak about the newness of the covenant of grace. In the New Testament, and strongly emphasized by the churches of the Protestant reformation, we find baptism and the Lord's Supper as visible signs of the church of the covenant. One's understanding of theology, christology, soteriology, and consequently ecclesiology are expressed in one's concept of the sacraments and their administration (this topic will be taken up later).

When we speak about the new covenant, we mean the newness of the administration of the everlasting covenant, which between Christ and the believer becomes the covenant of grace by faith. Christ is the mediator between God

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and man (1 Tim. 2:5) as well as the "guarantee" of the covenant (Heb. 7:22). The prophet Jeremiah had spoken about this: "But this is the covenant which I will make with the house of Israel after those days," declares the Lord; "I will put My law within them, and in their heart I will write it; and I will be their God, and they shall be My people" (Jer. 31:33). The New Testament asserts that this promise is fulfilled in the people of the New Testament (Heb. 8:10). The apostle Paul writes: "And if you belong to Christ, then you are Abraham's offspring, heirs according to promise" (Gal. 3:29). His concluding remarks read: "But may it never be that I should boast, except in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, through which the world has been crucified to me, and I to the world. For neither is circumcision anything, nor uncircumcision, but a new creation. And those who will walk by this rule, peace and mercy be upon them, and upon the Israel of God" (Gal. 6:14-16).

The Westminster Confession of Faith, 1647, which has influenced the English speaking people more than any other creed, closes its discussion of the covenants by pointing out that the covenant of grace was in principle always the same, but differently administrated in the Old and New Testaments. In the former "it was administered by promises, prophecies, sacrifices," etc. pointing to Christ but in the New Testament "when Christ the substance was exhibited, the ordinances in which this covenant is dispensed are in the preaching of the word and the administration of the sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper."[10] In other words, the church and its ecclesiology always was and always will be the custodian of christology and soteriology.

Before we leave the Westminster Confession we may notice, as we did

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earlier, that Sabbath worship and the church was inseparably connected from the very beginning. The Sabbath is "by a positive, moral, and perpetual commandment, binding all men in all ages."[11]

THE REMNANT CHURCH

As we turn to the meaning of the remnant we will notice that the successive renewals of the covenant were connected with the remnant. In the midst of all the calamities—including destruction and exile—that came upon the people of God as a result of their disobedience to God's instruction, moral injunctions, and religious precepts, there was always a faithful remnant which constituted the true church. In some cases God postponed the punishment and destruction for the sake of the remnant, but when the disasters came God promised survival of His people through the remnant, composed of His faithful and obedient children (Is. 1:9, Zeph. 2:3).

The concept of a surviving and faithful remnant among the Israelites has its antecedents in the story of the flood and Noah. "Then the Lord saw that the wickedness of man was great on the earth, and that every intent of the thoughts of his heart was only evil continually. . . But Noah found favor in the eyes of the Lord" (Gen. 6:5, 8). We have already noticed that God established "My covenant" with Noah and "according to all that God had commanded him, so he did" (Gen. 6:18, 22). God's mercy, promises and instruction, and man's acceptance of them as well as their actualization in obedience to God is constituted in the biblical theology of the remnant, which in turn is inseparable from the theology of covenants. Before we turn to Israel as a kingdom it may be helpful to notice two further antecedents from the Pentateuch.

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In Genesis, chapter 45, is recorded how Joseph made himself known to his brethren when they visited Egypt in order to purchase grain. "Joseph said to his brothers, 'Please come closer to me.' And they came closer. And he said, 'I am your brother Joseph, whom you sold into Egypt. And now do not be grieved or angry with yourselves, because you sold me here; for God sent me before you to preserve life. . . to preserve for you a remnant in the earth, and to keep you alive by a great deliverance'" (Gen. 45:4-8).

When Jacob, at the return of the sons, received the message that Joseph was alive, he went with the sons to Egypt. On the way the covenant relationship with God was renewed when at Beersheba he "offered sacrifices to the God of his father Isaac" and God in turn spoke to him saying: "I am God, the God of your father" (Gen. 46:1, 3).

The Book of Leviticus contains a further and more detailed instruction given to Moses after the lawgiving on Mount Sinai and the erection of the tabernacle. Chapter 26 describes the blessing of obedience and the penalties for disobedience. The latter would lead to the desolation of the land, but if the remnant will "confess their iniquity" God said: "Then I will remember My covenant with Jacob, and I will remember also My covenant with Isaac, and My covenant with Abraham as well" (Lev. 26:36, 40, 42).

In further detail the blessings and the curses were delineated in Deuteronomy, chapters 26 and 27. As instructed by Moses the Israelites, when they came into the promised land, renewed the covenant with God with half of the tribes standing on Mount Gerizim and the other half on Mount Ebal, respectively proclaiming the blessings of obedience and the curses resulting from disobedience.

When we come to the kingdom of Israel we find reference to the remnant

in the story of Elia who spoke about the impending judgment to King Ahab in the 9th century, B.C. In his discouragement Elia said to the Lord: "I have been very zealous for the Lord, the God of hosts; for the sons of Israel have forsaken Thy covenant, torn down Thine altars and killed Thy prophets with the sword. And I alone am left; and they seek my life, to take it away" (1 King 19:14). But God said to Elia that a remnant was left (1 King 19:18).

The fact of the remnant also brings to church history a twofold aspect of the church or two kinds of churches: the true and the false or apostate church. The struggles between Cain and Abel, Ishmael and Isaac, Esau and Jacob reflect contrasting religious attitudes and theological principles as revealed in the subsequent history of Israel and in church history of the Christian era.

Prophets Amos, Micah and Isaiah of the eighth century B.C. who left us their predictions and proclamations of an imminent judgment, point to the remnant as survivors. God "may be gracious to the remnant of Joseph" (Amos 5:15) and "surely gather the remnant of Israel" (Micah 2:12; 5:3). For the prophet Isaiah the theology of the remnant was so important that he named his son by the symbolic name: a remnant shall return (Shear-jashub, Is. 7:3). The truth of this name is stated in these words: "A remnant will return, the remnant of Jacob, to the mighty God. For though your people, O Israel, may be like the sand of the sea, only a remnant within them will return; a destruction is determined, overflowing with righteousness" (Is. 10:21-22). When this was written Israel had been conquered by the Assyrians and taken into captivity. Judah alone functioned as a nation. A few years later all Judah was conquered except Jerusalem. When the Babylonians invad-

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ed Judea they left a remnant, but Jeremiah warned that even that remnant would be removed. The prophecy of Isaiah (10:20-22) predicted that it is only the remnant that will be saved; this the apostle Paul believed to be fulfilled in the church of the New Testament. Likewise, he points out that as in the days of Elia "there has also come to be at the present time a remnant according to God's gracious choice" (Rom. 11:5).

After the return of some from the Babylonian captivity in the fifth century, B.C., Nehemiah speaks of these as the remnant "who survived the captivity" (Neh. 1:2, 3). Further, both Jeremiah (Chapter 23:5-6; 31:7) and Zechariah (8:11-12, 12:8-10, 14:1-9) used the term remnant with reference to the messianic future. The prophets messages of imminent judgment is at one and the same time historical and eschatological; and the promises to the remnant are in the deepest and purest sense messianic for they are growing out of the first promise (Gen. 3:15) given by God after the Fall. This aspect of the remnant will be noticed when we deal with the eschaton.

John the Baptist perceived his calling as one gathering the repentant as a remnant who would be ready to accept the Messiah. In the gospels much suggests that Christ Himself understood His mission as the redemption of the remnant.

Christ came to the covenant people, and beginning with Abraham He could look back upon nineteen centuries of history. Throughout the Old Testament--generation after generation--God continually pleaded with His covenant people and the nations regarding the blessings of obedience and the disastrous results, named curses, by disobedience. The agenda of the prophets consistently listed the moral issues of the time and their social and religious implications as well as the moral and spiritual remedies.

The story of Israel from Abraham to Christ is well known; it tells about the peoples' moral failures and disobediences resulting from their lack of trust in and loyal acceptance of God's promises. At the time of Moses the people erected an idol to worship. During the time of judges they were brought under oppressive neighboring nations seven times. The united monarchy lasted only during three kings and was divided into two kingdoms. The Northern kingdom was conquered by the Assyrians and later the Southern kingdom by the Babylonians. Only a remnant returned from captivity, and their personal and national behavior and understanding of God's promises showed but little improvement. Christ said, "How often I wanted to gather your children together, the way a hen gathers her chicks under her wings, and you were unwilling. Behold, your house is being left to you desolate!" (Matt. 23:37-38). These words were spoken by Christ just prior to his great prophetic talk regarding the destruction of Jerusalem and "the end of the age" (Matt. 24:3). After the judgment on Jerusalem had been spoken and the promises for Israel were given to the remnant, the New Testament church, the apostle Paul wrote: "Behold then the kindness and severity of God; to those who fell, severity, but to you, God's kindness, if you continue in his kindness; otherwise you also will be cut off" (Rom. 11:22).

Christ came to save the remnant, but all forsook Him, even Peter denied Him. Christ Himself became the remnant and the Second Adam; a new humanity began with Him and a new beginning began for the remnant: the New Testament church. In the image of the beautiful woman and child of Revelation 12, the Revelator unites the church of the Old and New Testaments by suggesting, under the symbol of a woman, that the church gave birth to Christ.

The last direct reference to the term, the remnant, is found in connec-

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tion with the description of the last anti-christian struggle between Satan
and the remnant church under the picture of the woman and her seed. We
read: "And the dragon was enraged with the woman, and went off to make war
with the rest of her offspring, who keep the commandments of God and hold to
the testimony of Jesus" (Rev. 12:17). The same remnant is also described by
the words: "Here is the perseverance of the saints who keep the commandments
of God and their faith in Jesus" (Rev. 14:12). Both statements point out
that the remnant before the second advent of Christ has the characteristics
of the covenant relationship with God as we have seen them to be from the
beginning.

THE CHURCH AND THE ESCHATON

The Old Testament places the people of God, the church, in the center
of a great cosmic drama which began back in eternity and the last scenes
would take place at the coming of the Messiah. In the ancient world man had
little concept of history, and what understanding he had was conceived as a
circular movement of historical events. The uniqueness of the Hebrew
prophets' idea of history was a specific linear concept climaxing in the
appearance of the Son of man.

A landscape painter may in the same painting portray in the foreground
a village, with its houses and people, and in the background a valley,
hills, sky, and sun, even though some are a very great distance away. Like-
wise, the Old Testament writers, in describing the future, depicted the
first and second advents of Christ, the first as the foreground and the
latter as the background of salvation history or church history.

Christ Himself was a part of the remnant both as its ruler and

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fulfillment; it is therefore not surprising that eschatology is connected with the remnant motif in the writings of the Old Testament prophets. Accordingly, the remnant-eschaton motif, both historically and in the person of Christ become significant for ecclesiology.

In the Old Testament the eschaton is centered in the One who would come. In the light of Genesis 3:15 He who comes is the victor. He is the ideal leader fulfilling the role of prophet, priest, and king, who all were anointed, which is the meaning of the name Messiah. Israel failed to be God's servant, but One would come fulfilling that role. Jesus referred to Himself as "the Son of man" (Matt. 12:8), a title given by the prophet Daniel to the One who would come at the end of time (Dan. 7:9-14). The remnant-eschaton motif also made the prophets speak about the coming One as the judge and redeemer.

The history of Israel was a "saving history," accordingly, we speak about salvation history. Its historical events and the successive renewals of the covenant relationship with God, together with the prophets inspired interpretations--not only in the Old Testament but also in the New Testament--revealed God's redemptive work among men. Likewise, the many aspects of the remnant events were a microcosm of the final eschaton, which moves, as an ellipse, around two foci: the first and second advent of Christ.

In our bird's eye view of the church in the Old Testament we observed that the Creation order and the covenant-remnant-eschaton motif were of significance for the understanding of an ecclesiology formulated within a fourfold parameter of theology, christology, soteriology, and penumatology. As we turn to the nature of the church in the New Testament, we will notice

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that New Testament ecclesiology is inseparable from the Old Testament in motif and content, and only thus can it be true to a theology constituted in the principles: the Bible alone and Christ alone. Further, the covenant-remnant-eschaton motif was fulfilled in Jesus Christ and that in turn brings into existence the church as the body of Christ, which continues the ministry of Christ.

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THE NATURE OF THE CHURCH

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THE NATURE OF THE CHURCH

THE BIRTH OF THE CHURCH

The New Testament church was born on the resurrection day of Christ and inaugurated on the day of Pentecost when the Holy Spirit, as Christ's representative, came in fullness to the infant church "of about one hundred and twenty persons" (Acts 1:15). The nature of the church must be studied contextually within the framework of pneumatology: the word about the Holy Spirit. It must also be kept in mind that the church was a reconstruction or reconstitution of the old Israel into a new and true Israel.

On the resurrection day two perplexed disciples on the road to Emmaus were joined by Jesus incognito. He answered their inquiries about the meaning of the Christ-events over the weekend. "And He said to them, 'O foolish men and slow of heart to believe in all that the prophets have spoken!...' And beginning with Moses and with all the prophets, He explained to them the things concerning Himself in all the Scriptures." When He later revealed Whom He was and left, "they said to one another, 'Were not our hearts burning within us while He was speaking to us on the road, while He was explaining the Scriptures to us?'" (Luke 24:25, 27, 32).

Later the same day when the two disciples returned to Jerusalem they "found gathered together the eleven and those who were with them, . . And they began to relate their experiences on the road. . . And while they were telling these things, He Himself stood in their midst" (Luke 24:33, 35-36). To the total disciple group Christ then repeats His instruction: "These are My words which I spoke to you while I was still with you, that all things which are written about Me in the Law of Moses and the Prophets and the Psalms must be fulfilled. Then He opened their minds to understand the Scriptures" (Luke 24:44-45).

After Christ's ascension we find Peter's approach to be the same as that of his Master. "And at this time Peter stood up in the midst of the brethren. . . and said, 'Brethren, the Scripture had to be fulfilled, which the Holy Spirit foretold'" (Acts 1:15-16). Peter's speech at Pentecost, as well as later speeches by him and Paul, have the same subject: Christ fulfilled what was written in Moses, the Prophets, and the Psalms.

The nucleous of the Christian church came into being as an eschatological community: the new people of God. When the Christ-events were proclaimed by Christ Himself and later by the disciples as being the fulfillment of God's promise to Israel embodied in the covenant-remnant-eschaton concepts the prophetic and apocalyptic message they proclaimed became constitutive for the church and thereby normative for the church at all time. In this connection the following should be noticed:

"A large part of the Church's failure throughout the ages has just lain in her failure to understand the prophetic and apocalyptic preparation. When authority and compulsion seemed a sure and quick road to truth and unity, it was difficult to regard the Church as other than a world corpora-

tion, and to remember that she stood for God's rule in however few, and by God's way of the patient endurance of love, however long. It is the things Christ does not trust in, which men have been so slow to learn."[1]

Having referred to experimentation with new types of ministries one theologian writes that "they must be governed and limited by the awareness that the early church did not plan its ministries according to the needs of the time but mainly according to the vision it held of the eschatological nature of the church which was taken seriously at that time."[2]

THE CHRISTOLOGICAL FOUNDATION

The apostle Peter in his speech before the Jewish leaders in Jerusalem makes the following statement about Christ: "He is the stone which was rejected by you, the builders, but which became the very corner stone. And there is salvation in no one else; for there is no other name under heaven that has been given among men, by which we must be saved" (Acts 4:11, 12). Previously, Peter had said: "Everyone who calls on the name of the Lord shall be saved" (Acts 2:21). On another occasion the apostles were flogged and ordered "to speak no more in the name of Jesus" . . . So they went on their way from the presence of the Council, rejoicing that they had been considered worthy to suffer shame for His name" (Acts 5:40, 41). The Old and New Testaments, like the ancient people at large, placed great significance on a person's name for it was bestowed in order to express attributes, personality, essence and character.

In the case of Jesus God has "bestowed on Him the name which is above every name, that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of those who are in heaven, and on earth, and under the earth, and that every tongue

should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father" (Phil. 2:9-11). Christ asked His followers to pray in "My name" (John 16:23-24), and the apostle Paul tells the believers: "And whatever you do in word or deed, do all in the name of the Lord Jesus" (Col. 3:17).

To believe and know the name of Jesus Christ means to apprehend and witness the attributes that characterize the different names which Scripture bestows upon Him--Messiah, Prophet, Priest, King, Servant, Redeemer, Judge, etc. These names personify in Christ the many faces of Christology which were perceived within the context of the biblical covenant-remnant-eschaton motif. The church and its ministries are founded in Christ as a person. He is par excellence the Apostle (Heb. 3:1), the Prophet (Matt. 21:11; Luke 24:19), the Priest (Heb. 5:6), the Shepherd or Pastor, the Bishop or Overseer (1 Peter 2:25), the Deacon (Luke 22:27).

Since Christianity is experienced by a relationship to Jesus Christ as a person, He Himself became the authority of His own teaching. Jesus placed Himself in front of His teaching. When He met man face to face His first question was "Who do you say that I am?" Christ's "I am" statements in the gospel of John make this plain. He said, "I am the bread of life" (John 6:48), thus telling us that life is sustained by partaking of Him. To his contemporaries the picture of the sheep and the shepherd was a familiar one. When the evening came, the sheep were led into a fenced-in sheltered and safe area through a gate. Christ said, "I am the door" (John 10:9)--emphasizing that only through Him are we safe and do we have protection. Christ did not come merely to point the way to God, define truth, or explain the meaning of life He said, "I am the way, and the truth, and the life" (John 14:6). Only by an intimate relationship to Christ has man true life. He

declared, "I am the vine, you are the branches; he who abides in Me, and I in him, he bears much fruit; for apart from Me you can do nothing" (John 15:51).

In light of the centrality of Christ Himself in the Christian religion, it is no wonder that His followers were "called Christians" (Acts 11:26). When Paul made his defense before King Agrippa he presented Christ as the fulfillment of "what the Prophets and Moses said" and made his appeal: "King Agrippa, do you believe the Prophets? I know that you do." No doubt Agrippa knew what the new religion was all about, for he replied: "In a short time you will persuade me to become a Christian" (Acts 26:22, 27, 28).

During the history of the church many descriptive names have been added to the word "church" in order to characterize how its members perceived their particular church, especially as compared with other churches.

While the New Testament describes the church of God with different metaphors (and these we will notice), Paul no doubt used the most appropriate name when in his epistle to the church in Rome brings greetings from the other churches with these words: "All the churches of Christ greet you" (Rom. 16:16, see also Gal. 1:22). The opening words to the church in Phillippi reads: "To all the saints in Christ Jesus" (Phil. 1:1).

The New Testament maintains that Christianity is only Christian in proportion to its correct theological understanding of Jesus Christ and the practical religious application of this understanding. The only valid evaluation of the church, with its doctrines, structures, functions and life, is the Christ-evaluation. The Christ-evaluation asks whether or not all the components making up the church are Christ-originated, Christ-founded, Christ-motivated, Christ-oriented, Christ-spirited, Christ-approved, Christ-

centered, and Christ-like. If we remove the Christ of Scripture from the church we will be left with an empty shell or a house built on sand and not on the rock (Matt. 7:24-29). The total life and teaching of Christ laid the foundation in which the church was erected. Further, Christ is the One in Whom "all the fullness of Deity dwells in bodily form" (Col. 2:9, 1:19). Likewise, the church as the body of Christ is "the fullness of Him who fills all in all" (Eph. 1:23). Christ "is also the head of the body, the church . . . so that He Himself might come to have first place in everything" (Col. 1:18).

THE ENDOWMENT OF THE HOLY SPIRIT

We have observed that all the hopes and purposes of the church are constituted in Jesus Christ, but at the same time it must also be pointed out that their relization are rooted and grounded in the Holy Spirit.

In Christ's own life the Holy Spirit played an intimate role as for example in His conception (Matt. 1:18, 20); at His baptism the Holy Spirit descended as a dove upon Him (Matt. 3:16); and next we read "And Jesus, full of the Holy Spirit, returned from the Jordan and was led about by the Spirit in the wilderness" (Luke 4:1). Returning from the wilderness to Nazareth "He entered the synagogue on the Sabbath, and stood up to read." He read from the Prophet Isaiah: "The Spirit of the Lord is upon Me" (Luke 4:16, 18). Concurring with the prediction of John the Baptist that Christ would baptize "with the Holy Spirit" (Matt. 3:11), Jesus promised that the Holy Spirit would come to the individual believer and the church at large (John 14:26; 15:26; Acts 1:5).

On the last night before His ascension Christ said to the disciples:

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"And I will ask the Father, and He will give you another Helper, that He may be with you forever; that is the Spirit of truth, whom the world cannot receive, because it does not behold Him or know Him, but you know Him because He abides with you, and will be in you. I will not leave you as orphans" (John 14:16-18). The word Helper has been translated in different versions as the Comforter, Counselor, Advocate and Paraclete (John 14:16, 26; 15:26; 16:7); all of these names testify to the Spirit's work as Christ's representative.

The Spirit is called, "The spirit of truth" which will bear witness about Christ and glorify Him (John 14:17, 15:26, 16:14). The Spirit will "convict the world concerning sin, and righteousness, and judgment" (John 16:8). The apostle John also records that on the evening of the resurrection day Christ came to where the disciples were gathered and He said: "Peace be with you, as the Father has sent Me, I also send you. And when He had said this, He breathed on them, and said to them, 'Receive the Holy Spirit'" (John 20:21, 22).

In accordance with Christ's final words to His disciples: "you are to stay in the city until you a clothed with power from on high" (Luke 24:49) they "went up to the upper room, where they were staying . . . These all with one mind were continually devoting themselves to prayer" (Acts 1:13, 14). As a result, on the day of Pentecost "they were all filled with the Holy Spirit" (Acts 2:4) and Peter delivered his renown speech in which he said: "be baptized in the name of Jesus Christ for the forgiveness of your sins; and you shall receive the gift of the Holy Spirit." As a result three thousand were baptized (Acts 2:38, 41).

John the Baptist's call to repentance and baptism, the baptism of

Christ and the Holy Spirit's descending upon Him, and the baptism of Christ's followers by the Holy Spirit on the day of Pentecost, became eschatological signs of the renewal of the covenant relationship with the remnant.

We have observed that the church was founded on and by christology, which in turn is normative for all aspects of ecclesiology, both theological and practical in nature. Further, from the inauguration of the church we learn that the actualization of that Christology in and through the church was accomplished by two factors: Those who were to become the nucleous of the church "all with one mind were continually devoting themselves to prayer," and as a result "they were all filled with the Holy Spirit." This cause and affect relationship between the followers of Christ and God are as constitutive for ecclesiology as christology. This should not surprise us for the Holy Spirit is Christ's representative fulfilling His words, with which Matthew closes his gospel: "I am with you always, even to the end of the age" (Matt. 28:20).

The church is in a unique sense the community of the Holy Spirit. No one can make the confession that "Jesus is Lord, except by the Holy Spirit" (1 Cor. 12:3). Those "who are being led by the Spirit of God, these are sons of God" (Rom. 8:14). Church membership meant "the fellowship of the Holy Spirit" (2 Cor. 13:14, Phil. 2:1).

The fourth book of the New Testament bears the name: The Acts of the Apostles, but it records the acts of the Holy Spirit in community. It directs the activities and endeavors of the church (Acts 6:3, 8:29, 10:19-20, 16:6-8). The sign that the first gentile converts were acceptable as part of the new Israel was that "the Holy Spirit fell upon all those who were

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listening to the message" (Acts 10:44-47, 11:15-18).

While the Holy Spirit bestows the followers of Christ with various gifts (1 Cor 12:4, 11, 28; Eph. 4:11) they were not for private possession but for the building up of the church. The processes (business) regarding the building up of the church do not take place as in secular society and political systems with its propaganda and orchestration of opposing views and ideas. On the contrary, motivation and methodology are found in the principles of the kingdom of God actualized in unity and love through prayer and the power of the Holy Spirit. The ekklesia is not only the church of Christ but also the church of the Holy Spirit. The Holy Spirit is a gift, which fulfilled the hope of the Old Israel (as spoken by the prophets; see Joel 2:27-29), but it transcended Israel of old and became the hallmark of the New Israel, the Christian community (see Acts 2:16-21). The church is the church of Jesus Christ in equal proportion to its possession of the Holy Spirit. There is no substitute for that gift and any "church" activity, which is not directed and empowered with that gift, will be man-made activities. While good may be produced sociologically, these activities will not transcend into the spiritual realities of reconciliation. Only the Holy Spirit can endow the individual and the church with a life and activities resulting in the fruits of the Spirit. Paul writes: "Now the Lord is the Spirit; and where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty. But we all, with unveiled face beholding as in a mirror the glory of the Lord, are being transformed into the same image from glory to glory, just as from the Lord, the Spirit" (2 Cor. 3:17-18).

We have previously emphasized that whenever an issue regarding ecclesiology arises--either on the theoretical or pragmatic level--it should be

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solved in the light of christology. We stated that the Christ-evaluation asks whether or not all the components making up the church are Christ-originated, Christ-founded, Christ-motivated, Christ-oriented, Christ-approved, Christ-spirited, Christ-centered, and Christ-like. To this must now be added that the "Christ," and thereby true ecclesiology, can only be realized by being filled with the Holy Spirit. Negatively, here lies the lack and need of the church, but positively it is the key to solve its problems and the source for fulfilling its glorious mission. The endowments of the Holy Spirit given to the church at its inauguration include methodology and motivation as well as power for actualization, and will always serve as the model for the church.

EKKLESIA DEFINED

The English word "church," as its equivalent "kirche" (German), and "kirke" (Danish), is derived from the Greek "kuriakon" meaning "belonging to the Lord." The French "eglise" and the Spanish "iglesia" stem from the Latin "ecclesia" which in turn is a translation of the Greek "ekklesia." The latter is the word for church in the Greek New Testament. It is composed of two words: the preposition "ek" meaning "out" and "kaleo" (the verb form) "to call."

The word "ekklesia" reminds us that the church is made up of those who are "called out" (the remnant motif) from the world into fellowship with Christ to Whom they belong (kuriakon). Before the Jewish Council in Jerusalem the apostle James said: "God first concerned Himself about taking from among the Gentiles a people for His name" (Acts 15:14). The apostle Peter writes that the Christian is one called "out of darkness into His marvelous

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light" (1 Peter 2:9).

In the New Testament we find three qualifying expressions regarding the ekklesia. It speaks about "the churches of God" (1 Cor. 11:16), telling us that God is its originator; it has its beginning in theology. Next, ekklesia is described as "the churches of Christ" (Rom. 16:16) reminding us that it has Christology as its foundation. Thirdly, we find the expression: "the churches of the saints" (1 Cor. 14:33) pointing out that it is made up of those who have experienced salvation (soteriology).

In classical Greek "ekklesia" was used for an official gathering or assembly of citizens, and thus a secular expression, as noticed in the Acts of the Apostles (19:32, 39-41). However, it is in the Septuagent (the Greek translation of the Hebrew Old Testament) that we find the religious roots of "ekklesia" and another historical link between the Old and New Testaments. The Septuagent translates the Hebrew "fahal" (meaning assembly, congregation, gathering) with "ekklesia" (See 1 Kg. 8:14, 22; 1 Chron. 13:2).

Since the ekklesia of the Septuagent has the connotation as mentioned above, we find that ekklesia is also rendered "congregation" (See Acts 7:38, Heb. 2:12). Luther in his translation of the New Testament preferred the word congregation for church. As an example, it could be mentioned that in the three references we have referred to regarding the churches of God, of Christ and of the Saints, Luther uses the word "gemeinde" (the German word for congregation).

The ekklesia is the gathering of those who belong to Christ; therefore, the word "church" (kuriakon) is proper. However, the word "ekklesia" has the added emphasis of being called out from "the world" in order to belong to Christ. Further, historically the word "church" has the connotation of

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the larger structured Christian community with its developed hierarchy and institutionalism as in the Anglican Church and the Roman Catholic Church. At the other end of the spectrum we have Congregationalism in which the church is defined as the local assembly of Christians. The useage of the word "ekklesia" in the New Testament will clarify this issue.

The first and original ekklesia mentioned is the one in Jerusalem (Acts 5:11; 8:1,3). Next, we notice that the local assemblies are named the ekklesia, as for example "the church of the Thessalonians" (1 Thess. 1:1; 2 Thess. 1:1). Others are Antioch, Rome, Cenchrea, Ephesus, Caesara, Corinth, Laodecia, etc. The assembly in a home is called ekklesia (Rom. 16:5). Within a specified territory ekklesia (in the singular and plural) denotes the total number of churches as in Judea, Samaria, Galilee, Galatia, etc. (Acts 9:31, 14:23; Gal. 1:2). Finally, ékklesia means the church universal for Christ is the head of His body, the total church (Col. 1:18, 24; Eph. 1:22; 3:10, 21). Christ said: "Where two or three have gathered together in My name, there I am in their midst" (Matt. 18:20). This means that the total essence of Christ (My name) is present in the local ekklesia, and not separated from but representative of the essence of the universal church, which is one with the local ekklesia, whether it be a house church, a city church, or a provincial church. The ekklesia is universal for it exists that it may be the salt, leaven and light of the world at large. Christ said to his followers: "Go into all the world and preach the gospel to all creation. He who has believed and has been baptized shall be saved; but he who has disbelieved shall be condemned" (Mark 16:15-16).

Being the church and churches of God, of Christ, and of the Saints, the ekklesia is at one and the same time a local and universal fellowship in

Jesus Christ. Individually and collectively the believers belong to Jesus Christ (kuriakon); accordingly, we can speak about the local, provincial, and world- wide ekklesia as the church (kuriakon).

STRUCTURAL METAPHORS

The New Testament is rich in concepts, images, analogies and metaphors providing us with a better understanding of the nature of the ekklesia and the meaning of ecclesiology, just as the name of Christ is descriptive of Christology and soteriology. Of the metaphors we already have observed, the most common is "the people of God," which binds together the meaning and oneness of ekklesia in all ages.

The apostle Peter presents a small sample of ekklesia metaphors when he writes: "But you are a chosen race, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, a people for God's own possession, that you may proclaim the excellencies of Him who called you out of darkness into His marvelous light; for you once were not a people, but now you are the people of God; you had not received mercy, but now you have received mercy" (1 Peter 2:9-10). Each of these titles have their antecedence in the ekklesia of the Old Testament (see Ex. 19:6; Deut. 4:20, 7:6, 10:15, 14:2).

One of the most beloved Psalms of the Old Testament is the shepherd Psalm, telling us that the one who has God as his shepherd "will dwell in he house of the Lord forever" (Ps. 23:6). The shepherd-sheep image typifies God's relationship to His people; specifically, it is used by the prophet Micah to express the covenant-remnant-eschaton motif. Chapter 4 begins by stating that his message will describe what "will come about in the last days" and then he writes: "'In that day,' declares the Lord, 'I will as-

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semble the lame, and gather the outcasts, even those whom I have afflicted. I will make the lame a remnant, and the outcast a strong nation, and the Lord will reign over them in Mount Zion from now on and forever. And as for you, tower of the flock, hill of the daughter of Zion, to you it will come-- even the former dominion will come, the kingdom of the daughter of Jerusalem'" (Micah 4:6-8). With the help of this Old Testament allegory we can better understand the full meaning of Jesus' words: "'But seek for His kingdom'--'Do not be afraid, little flock, for your Father has chosen gladly to give you the kingdom'" (Luke 12:32).

In the Gospel of John Christ describes at great length (chapter 10) the ekklesia as a shepherd-sheep relationship, and He frames His description within christology, soteriology, and ecclesiology. The gospel of John closes by relating a meeting between Christ and His disciples after the resurrecton. To this nucleous of the new ekklesia Christ asked Peter as a representative of the group: "'Do you love Me?'" The question was asked three times. Receiving an affirmative answer each time, Christ expressed three times the thought: "'Tend My lambs'; 'Shepherd My sheep'; 'Tend My sheep'" (John 21:15, 16, 17).

The early church practiced the shepherd-sheep motif. The apostle Paul on a visit to Ephesus called together "the elders of the church." Knowing that he would never see them again his words were solemn: "'And now, behold, I know that all of you, among whom I went about preaching the kingdom, will see my face no more. Therefore I testify to you this day, that I am innocent of the blood of all men. For I did not shrink from declaring to you the whole purpose of God. Be on guard for yourselves and for all the flock, among which the Holy Spirit has made you overseers, to shepherd the church

of God which He purchased with His own blood. I know that after my departure savage wolves will come in among you, not sparing the flock; and from among your own selves men will arise, speaking perverse things, to draw away the disciples after them'" (Acts 20:25-30). The ecclesiological shepherd-sheep analogy was understood by the early church and its practical applications considered pertinent.

Also in the Gospel of John (chapter 15) Christ compares Himself to a vine, and His followers to the branches. As an ecclesiological metaphor its antecedent is also found in the Old Testament. Isaiah writes: "The vineyard of the Lord of hosts is the house of Israel" (See Isa. 5:1-7; Ps. 80:8-11; Hosea 14:7). Previousy the apostle Paul's reference to the olive tree has been noticed (Rom. 11:17-24; see also Jer. 11:16). The metaphor of the latter and the vine teach that the test of the true ekklesia is its fruitfulness which only can be realized when it has its existence in Chist.

In the Bible marriage is used as an analogy to express the relationship between God and his people and Christ and the ekklesia (Isa. 62:5; Eph. 5:25-33). A pure woman is used to illustrate the ekklesia and as such she is the bride of Christ (2 Cor. 11:2). The false or apostate church is depicted as "the mother of harlots" (Rev. 17:5). The marriage between Christ and His bride is used with a specific emphasis on eschatological preparedness. In this regard the parable of the ten virgins is pertinent (Matt. 25:1-13), and likewise the announcement of the marriage feast described in the closing chapters of the Bible. When the time for the inauguration of the everlasting kingdom came we are told "His bride had made herself ready" (Rev. 19:7).

Most of the images of the ekklesia, as well as other concepts explaining the essence of the ekklesia, advocate the idea that the church is not a corporation or institution, but it is a living, super-natural and divine organism comprised of those who individually and collectively are 1) reconciled to God, 2) belong to and abide in Christ and 3) are filled with the Holy Spirit. In this threefold experience the nature of the church is defined; that is, its inborn character, original and essential qualities. This is further explained in two major and distinct metaphors; namely, the ekklesia as a temple and the body of Christ. These will be considered when next we turn to the marks of the church.

THE MARKS OF THE CHURCH

When the apostolic church moved into the second century we find that the Apostolic Fathers (c. 100-150 A.D.) and the early Church Fathers, who followed them, described the church as one, holy, catholic, and apostolic. The early creeds make these four characteristics a part of the confession of the Christian faith.

The Protestant Fathers in their study and renewal of Christianity coined four expressions: "the Bible alone," "Christ alone," "by faith alone," and "by grace alone." Further, their reformatory activities automatically led to a study of the concept and nature of the church. They adhered to the four ancient marks of the church, but added another two, which grew out of the theological and reformatory battle in which they found themselves. The two marks are: "The gospel rightly preached," and "the sacraments rightly administered." As we examine these notes of the church it will be noticed again that ecclesiology grows out of theology, christology, and soteriology. Further, when the latter three are true to the Bible the former will be too. We will now consider these six notes of the church one by one.

1

THE UNITY OF THE CHURCH

The unity or oneness within the local church and the universal church was constantly in the mind of Christ and the apostles. The oneness of the church has its source in the unity of the Godhead.

In Christ's great intercessory prayer offered by Him just prior to His crucifixion He asks that His followers "all be one; even as Thou, Father, art in Me, and I in Thee, that they also may be in Us, that the world may believe that Thou didst send Me" (John 17:21). It should be observed that Christ repeats His constitutional prayer for ecclesiology when He petitions, "that they may be one, just as We are one; I in them, and Thou in Me, that they may be perfected in unity, that the world may know that Thou didst send Me, and didst love them, even as Thou didst love Me" (John 17:22-23). Christ here points out that perfect unity is the key witness of the church's redemptive role to the world. Being reconciled to God the church will live in oneness as a reconciling community inwardly and outwardly to the world. The apostle Paul writes: "God was in Christ reconciling the world to Himself, not counting their trespasses against them, and He has committed to us the word of reconciliation. Therefore, we are ambassadors for Christ, as though God were entreating through us; we beg you on behalf of Christ, be reconciled to God" (2 Cor. 5:19-20).

In connection with the shepherd-sheep analogy, Christ said to his audience: "'And I have other sheep, which are not of this fold; I must bring them also, and they shall hear my voice; and they shall become one flock and one shepherd'" (John 10:16).

Prior to its inauguration the nucleus of the church was "all with one

mind" (Acts 1:14) and afterwards "those who believed were of one heart and soul" (Acts 4:32). Accordingly, Christ's prayer had been fulfilled, and Paul later could say of the believers: "you are all one in Christ" (Gal. 3:28).

The apostle Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians is to a large degree an appeal to unity. After his opening remarks he writes: "Now I exhort you, brethren, by the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that you all agree, and there be no divisions among you, but you be made complete in the same mind and in the same judgment" (1 Cor. 1:10). The exhortation was caused by certain misdirected apostolic factions. Paul writes that he has been informed, "that there are quarrels among you. Now I mean this, that each one of you is saying, 'I am of Paul,' and 'I of Apollos,' and 'I of Cephas' and 'I of Christ.' Has Christ been divided?" (1 Cor. 1: 11-13). The Church in Corinth had lost its center of unity, which is Christ, by a misguided and fragmented apostolic authority. The same has been repeated over and over again in the history of the church.

Paul always seeks to heal any division, whatever its nature may be, by christocentric exhortations. The knowledge or wisdom and faith, which unite the church, are "in Christ Jesus, who became to us wisdom from God, and righteousness and sanctification, and redemption" (1 Cor. 1:30). Further, it does "not rest on the wisdom of men, but on the power of God," neither is it a wisdom "of this age" but taught by the Word and the Spirit (1 Cor. 2:5, 6).

In the first part of the Epistle to the Ephesians Paul deals with the blessings of redemption in a moving and Christ centered way, climaxing with the words: "To Him be the glory in the church and in Christ Jesus to all

generations forever and ever. Amen" (Eph. 3:21). In this christological setting Paul expresses his appeal for unity. He writes: "Preserve the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace. There is one body and one Spirit, just as also you were called in one hope of your calling; one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all who is over all and through all and in all" (Eph 4:3-6). This statement could rightfully be named the Pauline Magna Carta of church unity.

The apostle Paul presents the organic Christ-centered unity of the church by the body metaphor. The church is defined as Christ's body (Col. 1:18, 22) and He is its head (Eph. 1:22; 5:23, 29) and as such He is the Lord of the church and directs all its activities; the church is completely dependent upon Him.

While Paul has stressed that in the Christ-unity of the church no class distinction is found but equality, he at the same time tells us, in two major passages (Rom. 12:4-8; 1 Cor. 12:12-31), that there are functional differences in the church, illustrated by the different functions of the members of the physical body. Every part is important and belongs to the body, if one part is lacking the body can't function properly and what seems "to us to be less admirable we have to allow the highest honour of function. . . God has harmonized the whole body by giving importance of function to the parts which lack apparent importance, that the body should work together as a whole with all the members in sympathetic relationship with one another" (1 Cor. 12:23-25, P.T.).

The organic Christ-centered unity as a mark of the church will also be noticed when we deal with the catholicity and apostolicity of the church. But first we will turn to the church of the saints.

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THE CHURCH OF THE SAINTS

The church is comprised of the saints (1 Cor. 1:2, 2 Cor. 1:1, Eph. 1:1, Phil. 1:1, Col. 1:1). The word is translated from the same Greek word as sanctify and holy, making them synonymous. Its biblical meaning is that of consecrated persons and things for divine worship or set apart for the gods (classical Greek), and for God (the biblical usage); that which is set apart for God belongs to Him.

The linguistic meanings of the word "holy," as a mark of the church, is illustrated in the titles of the church given by the apostle Peter: "you are a <u>chosen</u> race, a royal <u>priesthood</u>, a <u>holy</u> nation, a people for God's <u>own</u> <u>possession</u>, that you may proclaim the excellencies of Him who <u>called</u> <u>you</u> <u>out</u> of darkness into His marvelous light" (1 Peter 2:9).

The church is holy because it is set apart from the world to serve God. When Paul calls the Christians saints he also calls them sanctified. To the church in Corinth he writes: ". . . to those who have been sanctified in Christ Jesus, saints by calling" (1 Cor. 1:2), and similarly to the Thessalonians: "God has chosen you from the beginning for salvation through sanctification by the Spirit and faith in truth" (2 Thess. 2:13).

A new life begins for the one God sets aside. We read again from the pen of Paul: ". . . those who have been chosen of God, holy and beloved, put on a heart of compassion, kindness" etc. (Col. 3:12). Here the topic of "being chosen" and "holy" is placed in the middle of ethical exhortations when those who are truly baptized "have put on the new self who is renewed to a true knowledge according to the image of the One who created him." In this renewal "Christ is all, and in all" (Col. 3:10-11).

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In the history of redemption, as recorded in the Bible and in church history, we find over and over again a prophetic message presented as a protest against lack of ethical relevance in the life of the church. The church is holy because it lives under a new order: the Spiritual reign or kingdom of God. A "new man" is said to be "created in Christ Jesus for good works" (Eph. 2:10); therefore, "if any man is in Christ, he is a new creature; the old things passed away; behold, new things have come" (2 Cor. 5:17).

Christ spoke about the "new man" as one "born again," and the apostle Peter reiterates it in these words, "Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who according to His great mercy has caused us to be born again. . . . not of seed which is perishable but imperishable, that is, through the living and abiding word of God" (1 Peter 1:3, 23). This experience can only be perceived by the one who is involved in it.

Renewal is the action of making the "new man," as noted in the following passages: "And do not be conformed to this world, but be transformed by the renewing of your mind, that you may prove what the will of God is, that which is good and acceptable and perfect." Further, "our inner man is being renewed day by day" (Rom. 12:2; 2 Cor. 4:16).

The concept of a spiritual resurrection, symbolized by baptism, is conveyed by making the "old man" who is considered as "dead in trespasses and sins" but made "alive together with Christ" (Eph. 2:1, 5).

Jesus Christ, as Redeemer, is the spring and means of every action put forward "to create," "give birth to," "make alive" and "renew" man, so he may become a "new man;" likewise, the "new man" is always identified with Jesus Christ. The New Testament presents Christ as the example for the

Christian, who is exhorted to be "like Christ." Christ Himself said, "I gave you an example that you also should do as I did to you" (John 13:15), and "This is My commandment, that you love one another, just as I have loved you" (John 15:12). Paul writes: "Therefore be imitators of God, as beloved children; and walk in love, just as Christ loved you" (Eph. 5:1, 2). "Have this attitude in yourselves which was also in Christ Jesus" (Phil. 2:5), "just as the Lord forgave you, so also should you" (Col. 3:13). The apostles Peter and John follow the same trend of thought. Christ left "an example for you to follow in His steps" (1 Peter 2:21), and "the one who says he abides in Him ought himself to walk in the same manner as He walked" (1 John 2:6).

The growth of the Christian life is that of being "conformed to the image" of Jesus Christ (Rom. 8:29). To "have put on a new self" means "being renewed to a true knowledge according to the image of the One who created him" (Col. 3:10). Remembering that the glory of God does not merely point to His power and honor, but represents value, moral excellence and character, we will take not of the following statement, "But we all, with unveiled faces beholding as in a mirror the glory of the Lord, are being transformed into the same image from Glory to Glory, just as from the Lord, the Spirit" (2 Cor. 3:18). Just as the "old man" has born "the image of the earthly," so the "new man" will "bear the image of the heavenly" (1 Cor. 15:49), and become "a letter of Christ. . . written not with ink, but with the Spirit of the living God, not on tablets of stone, but on tablets of human hearts" (2 Cor. 3:3).

The New covenant, which is a renewal of the everlasting covenant (combining the covenant of life and the covenant of redemption) is the basis for

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the church becoming "a chosen race, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, a people of God's own passion." (The covenant-remnant motif is reflected in these titles).

The holy God is a "personification" of the original character and essence of the everlasting covenant and in this He is one with Christ and the Holy Spirit. Being created in the image of God man mirrored the character of God before the Fall. Christ, being the God-man, is the true image of God and the second Adam, the prototype of the true or new man and the head of the new community. Only in Jesus Christ—"who became to us wisdom from God, and righteousness and sanctification, and redemption" (1 Cor. 1:30)—can man regain the true image of God. In the covenant relationship with Christ the church will mirror the character of God, it will be holy or the church of the saints.

THE CATHOLICITY OF THE CHURCH

The word "catholicity" conveys the meaning of totality or universality (from the Greek kath'holon), and is practically equivalent to the word "ecumenical" (sometimes spelled oecumenical), which is translated from the Greek "oikumene," "worldwide" or "the whole inhabited world."

In the examination of the usage of the word "ekklesia" in the New Testament we noticed that it was applied to the local church as well as to the universal church. The Fathers of the ancient church expressed the universality of the church by the word "catholic." Further, a local church is truly catholic by the fact that it is one with and represents the universal church or total Christian community in a particular location. In other words, the local church is the universal church in miniataure. Although the

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word "catholic" is not used in the New Testament with reference to the church, its meaning, as used in the post-apostolic church, is a biblical one.

Ignatius of Antioch was condemned as a Christian and taken as a prisoner to Rome (c. 110-117). On his journey he wrote six letters to different churches. In one of these he writes: "Wheresoever Jesus Christ is, there is the Catholic Church."[1] Polycarp of Smyrna (c. 69 - c. 155) was another martyr and church leader, who's life overlapped with some of the apostles, and therefore named Apostolic Father. In the record of his martyrdom, written shortly after his death, it is told that he prayed for "the whole Catholic Church throughout the world."[2]

Cyril, the bishop of Jerusalem from about 349 A.D., delivered a series of 24 lectures to the catechumen; one of these (Lecture XVIII) deals with the doctrine of the church. Here, the word "catholic" is mainly used to mark the difference between the Catholic Church and others, who called themselves churches, but differed doctrinally from the former. Cyril writes that the church is catholic because "it extends over all the world . . . and because it teaches universally and completely one and all the doctrines which ought to come to men's knowledge . . . and because it brings into subjection to godliness the whole race of mankind, governors and governed, learned and unlearned; and because it universally treats and heals the whole class of sins . . . and possesses in itself every form of virtue which is named, both in deeds and words, and in every kind of spiritual gifts . . . . If ever thou art sojourning in cities, inquire not . . . merely where the church is, but where is the Catholic Church. For this is the peculiar name of this Holy Church, the mother of us all, which is the spouse of our Lord

Jesus Christ."[3]

The enlargement of the word catholicity was continued by Augustine (d. 430 A.D.). In North Africa, where he was bishop, the so-called Donatist schism had arisen. The Donatist denied the validity of the ordination and the administration of the sacraments by any who had forsaken the faith during persecution. Since the church is one and holy they formed their own church and converts were required to be rebaptized. Augustine strongly opposed the Donatists and wrote a number of treatise against them. His argument was that the causes of the Donatist schism was a local phenomenon and not in harmony with the church universal and the See of Rome.

Finally, the medieval church claimed that catholicity could only apply to the Roman Catholic Church, as the universal custodian of Christian doctrine and tradition.

Historical Protestantism has always emphasized its faithfulness in life and doctrine to the early ancient church. Its confessions claimed catholicity inasmuch as they draw extensively from the ancient church Fathers and the early general councils. The Protestant reformers of the sixteenth century asserted this catholicity. According to both Luther and Calvin "the church had been Christian and catholic before the papacy; therefore it could be both Christian and catholic without the papacy. In the name of such Christian catholicity they were willing to challenge Rome." Thus writes Jaroslave Pelikan. He further observes, "Recent research on the Reformation entitles us . . . to say that the Reformation began because the reformers were too catholic in the midst of a church that had forgotten its catholicity."[4] Luther, in his invective against the Catholic Duke Henry of Brunswick, said: "I shall prove that we have remained with the true,

ancient church, yea, that we are the true, ancient church. But you have

fallen from us, that is, from the ancient church, and set up a new church in

opposition to the old."[5]

The conflict between the Protestant reformers and Rome grew out of the

reformers' claim and adherence to catholicity, so well expressed by Jaroslav

Pelikan:

"Nothing so illustrates the tragic character of the Reformation as

this: the Roman church excommunicated Luther for being too serious about his

catholicism, while it retained within its fellowship the skeptics and the

scoffers who did not bother to defy its authority. In keeping with this

action, Roman Catholics ever since have displayed an astonishing incapacity

to understand the Reformation, and an unwillingness to admit that the reli-

gious convictions of the reformers were animated by their fidelity to catho-

lic ideals."[6]

Pelikan here implies that the papal claim to universal supremacy is

challenged by the question of catholicity. Indeed, both the Orthodox

Churches and the Anglican Churches challenge papal supremacy on this basis,

observing further that God has given Peter to the church, not the church to

Peter.

In his book, Unitive Protestantism, John T. McNeill emphasizes the non-

catholicity of Roman Catholicism. He writes:

"The Reformation was a revolt, not against the principle of unity and

catholicity, but against the privileged and oppressive monarchy of Rome--an

uprising not merely of national, but of catholic feeling, against what had

become a localized and over-centralized imperialism in Christianity, which

made true catholicity impossible. . . . The parish was not a congregation,

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but an administrative unit. The governmental aspect of unity was not supported by an adequate religious bond. The Roman Church had substituted the idea of "Roman obedience" for the earlier conception of catholicity expressed in a universal free communion. . . . In the Reformation the Christian people were taught to think, to believe, and to sing together, and given a new vision of the high and universal fellowship which is the church catholic."[7]

In view of the different concepts of catholicity as perceived by Roman Catholics and Protestants, it is important to notice that the ancient church and the churches which grew out of the Reformation in the sixteenth century affirmed that catholicity, in order to be genuine, should be apostolic, that is, faithful to the teaching of the apostles and the practices of the New Testament church--the primitive and pure church--before the corruption of post-apostolic times. To this topic we will now turn.

THE CHURCH IS APOSTOLIC

Apostolicity as a constitutive note of the church is stated unequivocally by the apostle Paul when he writes that the church is "built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Christ Jesus Himself being the corner stone" (Eph. 2:20). Christ as the corner stone is an obvious reference to Christ's own words: "The stone which the builders regarded, this became the chief corner stone" (Matt. 21:42; repeated by Peter in Acts 4:11, 1 Peter 2:7).

The new Jerusalem which will be the abode of the glorified church has "twelve gates" representing the church of the Old Testament, and "twelve foundation stones" with "the names of the twelve apostles" (Rev. 21:12, 14).

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Apostolicity is faithfulness to the teaching of and witness about Jesus Christ as proclaimed by the apostles. Accordingly, Paul writes that in its truest sense "no man can lay a foundation other than the one which is laid, which is Jesus Christ" (1 Cor. 3:11).

In this connection it should be noted that the New Testament speaks about the church as a building, sanctuary, or temple of God. The context for Paul's statement of Christ as the corner stone is that of the church as a temple. The passage reads: "And He came and preached peace to you who were far away, and peace to those who were near; for through Him we both have our access in one Spirit to the Father. So then you are no long strangers and aliens, but you are fellow citizens with the saints, and are of God's household, having been built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Christ Jesus Himself being the corner stone, in whom the whole building, being fitted together is growing into a holy temple in the Lord; in whom you also are being built together into a dwelling of God in the Spirit" (Eph 2:17-22).

The church as a temple is described as a living organism, similar to the analogy of the church as a body. Also, in Ephesians Paul writes of "the building up of the body of Christ;" and "the growth of the body for the building up of itself in love" (Eph. 4:12, 16). The apostle Peter expresses the same: "You also, as living stones, are being built up as a spiritual house for a holy priesthood, to offer up spiritual sacrifices, acceptable to God through Jesus Christ" (1 Peter 2:5). The church or the body of Christ and the body of the individual Christian are as a temple, the dwelling place of the Holy Spirit (1 Cor. 3:16, 6:19).

The apostles were building up the church by the authority given to them

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by Christ and attested by the Holy Spirit. Paul speaks about "our authority, which the Lord gave for building you up" (2 Cor. 10:8); Further, "it is in the sight of God that we have been speaking in Christ; and all for your upbuilding, beloved" (2 Cor. 12:19). In his closing remarks to the Corinthians he speaks about "the authority which the Lord gave me, for building up and not for tearing down" (2 Cor. 13:10).

The building of the universal church into one living temple was accomplished by the apostles' constant traveling and by writing, whereby they had opportunity to give counsel and nourish mutual assistance and oneness in life and doctrine. The apostolic churches had common practices (1 Cor. 11:16, 14:33); no single church was to act as if "the word of God" began or ended with them (1 Cor. 14:36); likewise, the churches were to live "according to the tradition" which they had received from the apostles (2 Thess. 3:6). The apostles were conscious of the fact that they had received by Jesus Christ the true knowledge of God's redemptive purposes as compared with Rabbinical teaching. They, therefore, spoke about Christianity as "belonging to the Way"; other statements read: "concerning the Way"; "I (Paul) persecuted this Way"; "exact knowledge about the Way." (Acts 9:2, 19:23, 22:4, 24:14, 22). Using the analogy of the way the apostles no doubt also had in mind Christ, Who calls Himself "the way, and the truth, and the life" (John 14:6).

The early ancient church recognized that the church in order to be apostolic must be based on the writings of the apostles. In this recognition they followed the example of the first Christians, who "were continually devoting themselves to the apostles' teaching" (Acts 2:42). The apostolic writings became the rule or measuring rod for life and doctrine.

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The competition of the writings by post-apostolic church leaders and to meet heretical teaching and groups the apostolic writings were canonized; they became our New Testament, the canon for the church. (From the Greek word "kanōn," meaning a strait rod, a ruler). The messages and witness of these writings became the norm for the church. The Protestant Fathers, who revived the original meaning of apostolicity, emphasized the apostolic reality when they coined the phrase "the Bible alone." For the Reformers the Bible was an unregulated regulator. Any creed or confessional statement had to be submitted to the judgment of the Bible. We are reminded of the words of Ellen G. White: "The Bible, and the Bible alone, is to be our creed, the sole bond of union."[8] According to authentic Protestantism and the sola Scriptura principle, the formulation of faith (dogma), as it developed, must be identical with the apostolic formulation revealed in Holy Scripture. It is in the succession of apostolic proclamation, or the teaching of the Word, that catholicity is preserved and not in a mechanical succession of the bishops.

Apostolicity is listed as the fourth mark of the church, but in actuality it is the first, for the church cannot be one, holy, and catholic without being apostolic.

THE GOSPEL RIGHTLY TAUGHT

Even though the Protestant Reformation has been viewed from the particulars of political, social, nationalistic, liberal, and economical forces at work, it was essentially religious in character. Within the sphere of religion the primary issue was religious certainty and authority and how to articulate the true meaning of Scriptures.

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In 1513 Luther began to lecture on the book of Psalms; this lasted for more than two years. Important are his remarks on the subject of righteousness by faith in his comments on Psalm 31 and Psalm 71, where he stated his rediscovery of the gospel: "The righteous man shall live by faith" (Rom. 1:17). Psalm 31:1 reads, "In Thee, O Lord, I have taken refuge; let me never be ashamed; in Thy righteousness deliver me." The text opened his eyes to consider faith as trust in God's righteousness and not his own works or righteousness.

In 1515, 1516, and 1517 Luther began to lecture on the epistles to the Romans, Galations, and Hebrews respectively. The key which opened the Bible for him was the centrality of Christ discovered in the Psalms. We refer to that as the Christomonistic principle. The word Christomonistic is a combination of two Greek words: Christos, meaning Christ; and monos, meaning alone. A principle is defined as (1) a source or cause from which a thing comes, (2) a settled rule, and a truth which is general and upon which others are founded. "Christ alone" is a principle thus defined. Accordingly, the apostle Paul writes about "his master plan of salvation for the church through Jesus Christ" (Eph. 3:21, L.B.), and that "we have redemption" according to God's "kind intention which He purposed" in Christ (Eph. 1:7, 9). The Christomonistic principle can be compared to the central point of a circle.

We may also say that Christ is the hub of the wheel. As from a star many rays radiate, so from the hub we have spokes: forgiveness, conversion, new birth, repentance, justification, sanctification, atonement, regeneration, adoption, resurrection, glorification. Each is an attempt to describe what happens to the believer when he puts by "grace alone" his "faith alone"

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in "Christ alone." The rim keeps them all together in Christ who is the totality of the soteriological message. We may call this illustration the wheel of salvation.

We must remember that faith introduces an individual into a personal relationship with Christ, and in this relationship we have the theology of experience where two persons give themselves to one another; we by faith, Christ by grace.

The Lutheran Reformation of the sixteenth century grew out of Luther's personal experience with "Christ alone." The same can be said of John Wesley's "conversion experience" and its relationship to the Wesleyan revival and the founding of Methodism in England during the eighteenth century. On May 24, 1738, John Wesley, at that time thirty-five years of age, went to a small chapel in Aldersgate Street, London, where the Moravian brethren, who were followers of Zinzendorf and German Pietism, held worship. The speaker read Luther's preface to the Commentary on Romans. What followed can best be told in Wesley's own words: "About a quarter before nine, while he was describing the change which God works in the heart through faith in Christ, I felt my heart strangely warmed. I felt I did trust in Christ, Christ alone for salvation; and an assurance was given me, that He had taken away _my_ sins, even _mine_, and saved _me_ from the law of sin and death."[8] Here we find expressed not only Wesley's kinship with Luther and Paul, but with all believing souls in every age.

When the Protestant Confessions or Creeds defined the "one holy church" as "the congregation of saints in which the gospel is mightily taught" (_Augsburg Confession_, Art. VII), it was understood that correct teaching and preaching adhered to the four principles: "the Bible alone," "Christ alone,"

"grace alone," and "faith alone."

THE SACRAMENTS RIGHTLY ADMINISTERED

The medieval church developed an elaborate sacramental system composed of seven sacraments: baptism, confirmation, the eucharist, penance, unction, ordination, and matrimony. The Protestant reformers opposed the Roman Catholic sacramental system, which they believed brought the faithful into bondage to the priestly hierarchy. They asserted that, tried by Scripture, there are only two sacraments: baptism and the Lord's Supper. They also criticized the denial of the cup to the laity.

For the purpose of the present study we do not need to go into the theological niceties of the sacraments, but only wish to point out that one's concept of the sacraments has a direct bearing on ecclesiology, especially the concepts of the Christian ministry and ordination, as well as church structure (to be dealt with later). We are here thinking of state-churches, which always practice infant baptism, contrary to free-churches which in most cases adhere to adult (believers) baptism and believe in separation of church and state. Likewise, there is a totally different concept of the ministry and its ordination by those who believe in the Lord's Supper as a memorial, a sign or body of Christ's redemptive work, and the Roman Catholic eucharist with its sacrificial character in the hand of a priest with sacerdotal power.

Whatever mark of the church we have considered, it has been noticeable that it points to Christ as its source for realization. Oneness, holiness,

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catholicity and apostolicity were living organical entities building up the church as a living body or temple of Jesus Christ. We also observed that four theological concepts served as hermeneutical principles. "The Bible alone" is the framework within which the church moves; it is the primary source from which the church forms its concepts and makes its decisions. Within that framework there is another principle that is a settled rule, a source, a truth on which all others are founded: "Christ alone." Within the "Christ alone" we have two other principles as two movements. One from Christ to man "by grace alone," and one from man to Christ, "by faith alone." Thus the uniqueness, necessity, and all-sufficiency of Christ became predominant in each mark of the church.

What we have said so far regarding the motifs inherited from the Old Testament, the principles foundational for the nature of the church and the notes of the church should serve as control factors and guide-posts for any evaluation and structuring of the church, including its ministry.

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THE PRIESTHOOD OF BELIEVERS

The New Testament tells us, unambiguously, that the members of the church are "a holy priesthood," "a royal priesthood, a holy nation, a people for God's own possession," and Jesus Christ "has made us to be a kingdom, priests to His God and Father" (1 Peter 2:5,9; Rev. 1:6; 5:10).

The doctrine of the priesthood of believers is constitutive for the concept and structure of the church and in turn it has foundational consequences for the understanding of the ministry of the church including the rite of ordination. The beginnings of our subject is found in the Old Testament.

ISRAEL: A KINGDOM OF PRIESTS

The Covenant of Priesthood. Three months after the Israelites had left Egypt, Moses reminds them that God had brought them out of bondage and entered into a covenant relationship with them. God then asked Moses to tell the people: "Now then, if you will indeed obey My voice and keep My covenant, then you shall be My own possession among all the peoples, for all the earth is Mine; and you shall be to Me a kingdom of priests and a holy

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nation" (Ex. 19:5-6, Deut. 4:20, 14:2). The concept of the priesthood of the people or the laity was part of the covenant at Sinai. The people replied: "All that the Lord has spoken we will do!" (Ex. 19:8).

Next follows the proclamation of the Ten Commandments and the detailed instruction about the tabernacle, its furniture, and services. This means that God's ethical standards, the rule of life, were presented to the people, but at the same time the source for God's reconciliation and gracious election was depicted in the sacrificial system.

The Sanctuary and its Priests. The sanctuary with its worship and sacrificial system was the center for the life of the covenant community and their covenant faith. The sanctuary made the plan of redemption "tangible." The gospel or the good news in Jesus Christ can only be fully understood when it is seen in the light of the Old Testament sanctuary and the epistle to the Hebrews, which in the New Testament deals with Christ's high priestly work in the heavenly sanctuary, and from which the earthly is patterned.

Also, at the time of Moses and in connection with the establishment of the covenant the official priesthood was instituted. Aaron was the first high priest and from then on the priests were all of the family of Aaron. They were responsible for the worship and sacrifices, first in the tabernacle and later in the temple. The family of Aaron belonged to the tribe of Levi; those of the tribe, not of the family of Aaron, assisted the priests and were responsible for the maintenance of the temple complex.

The priests officiated when individuals brought their sacrifices (Lev. 1-6), and after examination pronounced the unclean clean (Lev. 13-14). The daily sin offerings and meat offerings were for the whole people and here the high priest officiated. The representative and mediatory nature of the

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priestly order is most clearly illustrated when the high priest, once a year, on the Day of the Atonement, went into the most holy of the temple, and standing before the ark containing the Ten Commandments he sought forgiveness and atonement for the whole nation by sprinkling blood on the mercy seat, thus renewing the covenant relationship between God and the people (Lev. 16).

A Priesthood for all Nations. God had intended that through the covenant with Israel, as a "kingdom of priests," the covenant blessings would reach all nations; that is, the blessings from being reconciled to God through the atonement He had provided, and the blessings by obeying the divine constitutional principles of life. Referring to "strangers" and "foreigners" the prophet Isaiah says to Israel: "You will be called the priests of the Lord; you will be spoken of as ministers of our God" (Is. 61:6). However, Israel failed, not in building a sanctuary, neither in performing the worship and rituals connected with it, but the people failed in becoming a priesthood at large. The promises and hopes for Israel were then proclaimed to be fulfilled in Christ and through Him to a new Israel who would become a royal and holy priesthood (see Isa. 42:1-4; 53; 55:3-5; 56:3-8).

CHRIST THE TRUE HIGH PRIEST

The End of the Earthly Sanctuary. In the moment Christ died on the cross "the veil of the temple was torn in two from top to bottom, and the earth shook" (Matt. 27:51). The priesthood of Aaron had come to an end and the perfect priesthood conceived in the one person Jesus Christ, took its beginning as predicted: "The Lord has sworn and will not change His mind,

'Thou art a priest forever according to the order of Melchizedek'" (Ps. 110:4).

Christ's priesthood is compared to that of Melchizedek, whom Abraham met after he had entered into a covenant relationship with God (Gen. 14:18-20); it is royal, it is forever (Heb. 7).

Christ's High Priestly Ministry. As a high priest Christ presented within the veil in the heavenly sanctuary His own blood (Heb. 6:20; 8:3; 9:7, 12, 24), made atonement, and "obtained eternal redemption." By dying on the cross Christ "offered one sacrifice for sins for all time" and He did this "once for all." Further, "for by one offering He has perfected for all time those who are sanctified" (Heb. 10:12, 14; 7:27).

Christ The High Priestly Mediator. Compared with the earthly sanctuary Christ "obtained a more excellent ministry, by as much as He is also the mediator of a better covenant" (Heb. 8:6). Christ is also said to be "the mediator of a new covenant" (Heb. 9:15), and He Himself "has become the guarantee of a better covenant" (Heb. 7:22). This was a fulfillment of the prophetic word of the Old Testament: "For this is the covenant that I will make with the house of Israel after those days, says the Lord: I will put My laws into their minds, and I will write them upon their hearts. And I will be their God, and they shall be My people. And they shall not teach everyone his fellow citizen and everybody his brother, saying, 'know the Lord,' for all shall know Me, from the least to the greatest of them. 'For I will be merciful to their iniquities, and I will remember their sins no more'" (Heb. 8:10-12; Jer. 31:31-34).

It is the total witness of the New Testament that the ascended and glorified Christ is the only mediator between God and man. Paul writes:

"For there is one God, and one mediator also between God and men, the man Christ Jesus, who gave Himself as a ransom for all" (1 Tim. 2:5-6).

Christ Himself had said: "I am the way, and the truth, and the life; no one comes to the Father, but through Me" (John 14:6). The author of the epistle to the Hebrews accordingly encourages the believers with the words: "Let us therefore draw near with confidence to the throne of grace, that we may receive mercy" (Heb. 4:16).

Christ has brought once and for all the sacrifice, so the believer does not bring an external sacrifice but a sacrifice of praise and thanks: "Through Him then, let us continually offer up a sacrifice of praise to God, that is, the fruit of lips that give thanks to His name. And do not neglect doing good and sharing; for with such sacrifices God is pleased" (Heb. 13:15-16). Thus the believers share in the universal priesthood of the Savior Jesus Christ.

Having in great details dealt with the topic: Jesus the High Priest, Oscar Cullmann writes that "the High Priest concept describes more fully and adequately the New Testament understanding of Jesus." Referring to the epistle to the Hebrews he says that "it is clearly the central theme of a canonical writing of the New Testament." [1]

THE COMMUNITY OF BELIEVERS AS A ROYAL PRIESTHOOD

A Spiritual Temple of Believers. The immediate effect of Christ's high priestly office makes it possible for the individual believer (as the priests in the Old Testament) to have direct access to the throne of grace (Heb. 10:19-22). Collectively, the believers, when filled with the Holy Spirit, become the temple of God. Through Christ we have "access in one

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Spirit to the Father. So then you are no longer strangers and aliens, but you are fellow citizens with the saints, and are of God's household, having been built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Christ Jesus Himself being the corner stone, in whom the whole building, being fitted together is growing into a holy temple in the Lord; in whom you also are being built together into a dwelling of God in the Spirit" (Eph. 2:18-22).

The Christian as a "priest" brings his whole life as a sacrifice to God. Paul writes: "I urge you therefore, brethren, by the mercies of God, to present your bodies a living and holy sacrifice, acceptable to God, which is your spiritual service of worship. And do not be conformed to this world, but be transformed by the renewing of your mind, that you may prove what the will of God is, that which is good and acceptable and perfect" (Rom. 12:1-2). After this statement Paul enumerates the spiritual gifts given to the church as the body of Christ (see also 1 Cor. 12). Further from the pen of Paul: "For we are the temple of the living God; just as God said, 'I will dwell in them and walk among them; and I will be their God, and they shall be My people. Therefore, come out from their midst, and be separate' says the Lord. 'And do not touch what is unclean; and I will welcome you. And I will be a father to you, and you shall be sons and daughters to Me,' says the Lord Almighty" (2 Cor. 6:16-18).

Priest, sacrifice, and temple are all entities in the spiritual experience of the priesthood of believers as the apostle Peter tells us: "And coming to Him as to a living stone, rejected by men, but choice and precious in the sight of God, you also, as living stones, are being built up as a spiritual house for a holy priesthood, to offer up spiritual sacrifices acceptable to God through Jesus Christ . . . . . you are a chosen race, a

royal priesthood, a holy nation, a people for God's own possession, that you may proclaim the excellencies of Him who has called you out of darkness into His marvelous light" (1 Pet. 2:4-5, 9).

The Ministry of Reconciliation. The practical effect of Christ's high priestly office upon ecclesiology is twofold: The church has no need of a priestly order with supernatural power to change the bread and wine of the Lord's Supper into a sacrifice; and all believers are priests by the fact that they are one with Christ in a holy and royal priesthood of reconciliation. The apostle Paul writes: "Now all these things are from God, who reconciled us to Himself through Christ, and gave us the ministry of reconciliation, namely, that God was in Christ reconciling the world to Himself, not counting their trespasses against them, and He has committed to us the word of reconciliation. Therefore, we are ambassadors for Christ, as though God were entreating through us; we beg you on behalf of Christ, be reconciled to God" (2 Cor. 5:18-20).

Christ's last command to His followers was "Go into all the world and preach the gospel to all creation" (Mark 16:15; Matt. 28:18-20; Acts 1:8). After Christ's ascension the priesthood of believers "went out and preached everywhere" (Mark 16:20; Acts 2). They were empowered to fulfill the words of Christ: "You are the light of the world" (Matt. 5:14).

When the apostle Peter speaks about the believers as "a royal priesthood" the reason is given: "that you may proclaim the excellencies of Him who has called you out of darkness into His marvelous light" (1 Peter 2:9). That all believers take part in sharing with others the "marvelous light" of the gospel no doubt is reflected in the numerous terms used for the activity of witnessing as f.ex.: announce, admonish, confess, explain, proclaim,

teach, preach, etc.

Testimony of the Early Church.   In the second century we find church
leaders re-echoing the New Testament belief in the royal priesthood of the
believers. The apologist Justin Martyr (d.c. A.D. 165) wrote: ". . . being
inflamed by the word of his [Christ's] calling, we are the true high-priest-
ly race of God."   Another apologist, Aristides, wrote (about A.D. 146),
"that all Christians could trace their genealogy from the High Priest Jesus
Christ."   Irenaeus (d.c. A.D. 200) expressed himself in these words: "All
who are justified through Christ have the sacerdotal order."   Tertullian
(d.c. A.D. 220) asked the question with the answer implied: " Are not even
we laics priests?   It is written in Revelation 1:6: 'A kingdom also and
priests to his God and Father, hath he made us.'"[2]   It should be observed
that the four church leaders wrote respectively from Rome, Athens, Gaul, and
Carthage.

The ecclesiology of the early church in all its aspects, including
organization and administration, enhanced the doctrine of the priesthood of
believers. As we later will observe, we find that oneness and equality in
functional difference was realized, and all for the sake of the minisry of
reconciliation.

Baptism: the Ordination to Priesthood.   The believers are ordained
priests by their baptism; they enter into the new covenant relationship with
Christ.   Tertullian wrote: "Thereupon as we come forth from the laver, we
are anointed with the holy unction, just as the Old Dispensation priests
were anointed with oil from the horn of the alter."[3]   A similar picture is
given by St. Laurentius (d. A.D. 358), a deacon in Rome, who died as a
martyr: "From that day and that hour in which thou camest out of the font

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thou art become to thyself a continual fountain, a daily remission. Thou hast no need of a doctor or of a priest's right hand. As soon as thou descendest from the sacred font thou wast clothed in a white robe and anointed with the mystic ointment; the invocation was made over thee, and the threefold name came upon thee, which fills the new vessel (that thou wert) with this new doctrine."[4]

At the time of the Protestant reformation Luther expressed the same concept. He asserts that "through baptism we have all been ordained as priests" and we "are all priests as long as we are Christians" or "ministers," as the apostle Paul does (1 Cor. 4:1). "It is enough that you are consecrated and anointed with the sublime and holy chrism of God, with the word of God, with baptism, . . . then you are anointed highly and gloriously enough and sufficiently vested with priestly garments."[5] Therefore, "the Holy Spirit in the New Testament diligently prevented the name sacerdos, priest or cleric, from being given to any apostle or to various other offices, but it is solely the name of the baptized or of Christians as a hereditary name with which one is born through baptism."[6] Further, from the pen of Luther: "All Christians are truly of the spiritual estate, and there is no difference among them, save of office alone. As St. Paul says, we are all one body, though each member does its own work, to serve the others. This is because we have one baptism, one gospel, one faith, and are all Christians alike; for baptism, gospel and faith, these alone make spiritual and Christian people."[7]

The Anointment to the Priesthood. At baptism the believer is anointed by the Holy Spirit as the priests and kings in Old Testament times were anointed with oil. At the baptism of Christ the Spirit of God descended

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upon Him (Matt. 3:16). Peter on the day of Pentecost said: "Repent, and let each of you be baptized in the name of Jesus Christ for the forgiveness of your sins; and you shall receive the gift of the Holy Spirit" (Acts 2:38).

Just before the ascension Christ has promised "you shall be baptized with the Holy Spirit" (Acts 1:5). Over and over again we read in the Acts of the Apostles (which could be named the Acts of the Holy Spirit) that "they were all filled with the Holy Spirit" (Acts 2:4; 4:8, 31; 6:5; 7:55; 8:19; 9:17; 11:16, 24; 13:9; 15:8).

By baptism and the endowment of the Holy Spirit the believers became "living stones" in the temple and "a spiritual house for a holy priesthood" (1 Peter 2:4-5). Accordingly, the apostle Paul could write to the believers that they were "in the Spirit, if indeed the Spirit of God dwells in you. But if anyone does not have the Spirit of Christ, he does not belong to Him" (Rom. 8:9). He admonishes them by saying: "Walk by the Spirit, and you will not carry out the desire of the flesh" and encouranges them to seek "the fruit of the Spirit" (Gal. 5:16,22). He also identifies the believers as those "who are spiritual" (Gal. 6:1). "Now we have received, not the spirit of the world, but the Spirit who is from God, that we might know the things freely given to us by God, which things we also speak, not in words taught by human wisdom, but in those taught by the Spirit, combining spiritual thoughts with spiritual words" (1 Cor. 2:12-13).

George Huntston Williams makes the following summary statements about the ancient church, AD 30-313: "To sum up, the laic in the ancient Church had an indelible 'ordination' as priest, prophet and king, no longer in bondage to the world, but freed through Christ to know the truth in the illumination of the Spirit, to exercise sovereignty over the inner temple of self,

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to join in the corporate thanksgiving of the redeemed, and to forgive the brethren in Christ's name."[8]

THE LAITY AND CLERGY

In analyzing the concept of the priesthood of believers further, it will be profitable to notice the history and usage of the two words laity and clergy.

The Laos of God. The terms laity and laymen are generally used of the body of believers in contrast to or to distinguish them from the clergy: the official or professional ministry of the church. This distinction was found in the Old Testament, but it is not present in the New Testament. While the New Testament speaks about the priesthood of believers, it is significant to notice that it never uses the word "priest" to designate a public or official position in the church.

In the New Testament the church members are also designated as the laos of God. In Greek laos is the word for people and our term laity is derived from it. We have observed that in the Old Testament Israel was chosen to be "a kingdom of priests" to the nations of the world (see Ex. 19:4-6). Israel failed in their individual and collective role as priests to the gentiles, but the people (laos) of the New Testament became the new "royal priesthood" (1 Peter 2:9) and constituted collectively a priestly kingdom (Rev. 1:6). Regarding the laos of God we read: "God first concerned Himself about taking from among the Gentiles a people for His name;" "I will call those who were not My people, My people;" "I will be their God, and they shall be My people;" Christ "gave Himself for us, that He might redeem us from every lawless deed and purify for Himself a people for His own possession;" "you are a chosen race, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, a people for God's own

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possession" (Acts 15:14; Rom. 9:25; 2 Cor. 6:16; Titus 2:14; 1 Peter 2:9). From a New Testament point of view "laity" or "laymen" (men and women), in totality, are the people (laos) of God.

The Clergy of God. Our English word "clergy" comes from the Greek kleros and has the meaning of inheritance, possession, portion or lot (see Mark 15:24, Acts 1:17, 26; 8:21; 26:18; Col. 1:12). In the Old Testament the people of God are called "His own possession" or "inheritance" (Deut. 4:20). Likewise, in the New Testament the church as the body of Christ is God's kleros. The technical use of the word kleros or clergy as we know it from the Middle Ages first began in the third century.

Already in the middle of the third century we find the New Testament picture changed. Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, writes about the Lord's Supper as a sacrifice in the hands of bishops: "The Lord's passion is the sacrifice we offer." He likewise emphasizes episcopal apostolicity and finds the church fulfilled in the bishop: "Whence you ought to know that the bishop is in the Church and the Church in the bishop."[9]

The sharp change which took place in the third century regarding the priesthood of believers has been pinpointed in these words: "It is evident, however, that though the ancient doctrine of the priesthood of all believers might still occasionally be remembered, it had purely theoretical value. In practical Christian life the clergy, by the middle of the third century were a distinct, close-knit spiritual rank, on whom the laity were religiously dependent, and who were in turn supported by laymen's gifts."[10] Later we find that the medieval world was, to a large degree, indebted or enslaved to Greek ideas. The Greek dichotomy of spirit and matter led to the concept that the highest element of man is spirit, while the body belongs to man's

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lower existence. The free man, the Hellene, was the bearer of the spirit, and his activities were in the realm of the mind. The work which needed to be performed for the necessities of life was considered degrading and belonged to the servant and the slave. In addition, the physical work was depreciated.

Christianity was to a large degree conquered by Aristotelian theory and scale of values, which became the base for theological, political, and social concepts, including that of vocation. The theology and ecclesiology of the medieval church reached its peak in the writings of Thomas Aquinas, who was philosophically an Aristotelian. While in the Greek society the free man found his "spiritual activities" in the social and political sense; the medieval "spiritual man" found it in the religious sense; and it was epitomized in the priest, the monk, and the nun. Based on Aristotelian philosophy, the Church created a homogeneous society--religiously, politically, and socially. But the scale of values moved from the serf and the peasant--who, at the lowest level of life, were busy with the material and animal life--to the highest life--that of the religious person--and reached its apex in the pope. The Greek dichotomy of spirit and matter was maintained, but it must be emphasized that this opposition between the two is neither biblical nor Christian.

In light of this historical fact it is understandable that Luther, with the other Protestant reformers, had to re-evaluate ecclesiology and as a consequence renewed the apostolic and early church's understanding of the holy and royal priesthood of the believers.

Church historian Philip Schaff tells us that the "social or ecclesiastical principle of Protestantism is the general priesthood of believers,

in distinction from the special priesthood which stands mediating between Christ and the laity."[11] This principle means that all the believers are active participants in the total life of the church; they must be anchored in the Word of God by studying it for themselves and offer prayers at the throne of grace both for themselves and in intercession for others. The believers are endowed with different spiritual gifts by which they serve the body of Christ, thus the totality of the believers (men and women alike) is the clergy of God.

THE PRIESTHOOD AND VOCATION

Vocation and Calling. In the New Testament the words "vocation" and "calling" are derived from the same Greek term "klesis." Accordingly, the Pauline exhortation: "Work worthy of the vocation" has also been translated: "Walk worthy of the calling" (Eph. 4:1 in K.J., N.A., J.V.).

In the Middle Ages only the clergy had a vocation or calling (from the Latin voco, calling), but the laity had no divine calling. Before the Protestant reformation, the clergy, in the main, were the professionals both in the church and in the state. Here lies the background for using the word vocation for "professionals," and a sociological distinction was made. However, such was not the case in the early church.

Vocation in the Early Ancient Church. We are so used to connecting Christianity to church buildings and beautiful cathedrals that we forget that it was first at the close of the second century that simple church buildings were erected and that was only in cities with large populations. To be objective in our evaluation of the apostolic and post-apostolic period in the second century we must forget many of the later associations with the

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word "priest" and "bishop." Those who were appointed to serve the church were chosen by the people and were themselves "lay-people."

Cyprian, who became bishop of Carthage (A.D. 248-58), did much to depreciate the concept of the priesthood of believers and enhance the power of the bishop. In spite of his great influence we must not forget that "he was simply the chief pastor of the Christian congregation at Carthage and of its outlying mission districts. He had no diocese and never exercised diocesan rule. He had no cathedral, not even a church. His congregation met in the audience hall of a wealthy Carthaginian burgher."[12]

In order to have a realistic historical picture of the early church we will quote Thomas M. Lindsay: "The office-bearers of the early Church were clergy in virtue of their call, election, and setting apart by special prayer for sacred office; but they worked at trades, carried on mercantile pursuits, and were not separate from the laity in their every-day life. We find bishops who were shepherds, weavers, lawyers, shipbuilders, and so on, and the elders and deacons were almost invariably men who were not supported by the churches to which they belonged. . . . The power of the laity in the early Church did not depend simply on the fact that they chose the office-bearers and had some indefinite influence over councils, as some modern writers put it, but on the fact that in the earliest times none of the office-bearers, and for many centuries few of them, depended upon the Church as a whole to provide them with the necessaries of life. They were clergy, as has been said, in virtue of their selection for office and of their solemn setting apart to perform clerical functions; but they had daily association with the laity in the workshop, on the farm, in the warehouse, in the law-courts, and in the market-place. They held what must seem to be

a very anomalous position to medieval and modern episcopalians. . . . But the practice had its value in the early centuries and has its importance now. It knit clergy and laity together in a very simple and thorough fashion, and brought men, whose life and callings made them feel as laymen do, within the circle of the hierarchy which ruled, and so prevented the hierarchy degenerating into a clerical caste."[13]

Vocation in the Prostestant Reformation. The Protestant reformation of the sixteenth century was religious in character but had social, political, and economic consequences. Among other things it became a revolt against medieval and Roman Catholic values in the area of vocation. It all began with Martin Luther's formulation of the doctrine of the priesthood of believers, which made null the dichotomy between clergy and laity. Likewise, a new era was initiated by his belief that each person should serve God according to his station in life, no matter how humble; and he should discharge his occupation as a Christian vocation or calling.

Commenting on Luther's concept of the priesthood of believers, Philip Schaff makes the following pertinent observation: "This principle, consistently carried out, raises the laity to active co-operation in the government and administration of the church; it gives them a voice and vote in the election of the pastor; it makes every member of the congregation useful, according to his peculiar gift, for the general good. This principle is the source of religious and civil liberty which flourishes most in Protestant countries. Religious liberty is the mother of civil liberty. The universal priesthood of Christians leads legitimately to the universal kingship of free, self-governing citizens, whether under a monarchy or under a republic. The good effect of this principle showed itself in the spread of Bible know-

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ledge among the laity, in popular hymnody and congregational singing, in the institution of lay eldership, and in the pious zeal of the magistrates for moral reform and general education."[14] The dictum, "Things that effect all must be dealt with by all," is part of the concept of the priesthood of believers.

If a Christian, according to Luther, has accepted God's calling (voco), his work should be discharged as a vocation (calling) in which he serves God and his neighbor. He realizes that the "poor, dull, and despised workers" are adorned with the grace of God "as with costliest gold and precious stones." The mundane things of life become vehicles for the Spirit of God. Said Luther: "If you are a craftsman you will find the Bible placed in your workshop, in your hands, in your heart; it teaches and preaches how you ought to treat your neighbor. Only look at your tools, your needle, your thimble, your beer barrel, your articles of trade, your scales, your measures, and you will find this saying written on them. You will not be able to look anywhere where it does not strike your eyes. None of the things with which you deal daily are too trifling to tell you this incessantly, if you are but willing to hear it; and there is no lack of such preaching, for you have as many preachers as there are transactions, commodities, tools, and other implements in your house and estate; and they shout this to your face, 'My dear, use me toward your neighbor as you would want him to act toward you with that which is his.'"[15]

The Protestant work-ethic is part of the New Testament doctrine of the priesthood of believers reminding us that Jesus Christ during the major part of His life was Jesus the Carpenter from Nazareth. The concept has had a spiritual, moral, and social impact of paramount importance upon the West,

both in its Lutheran, Reformed, and Free Church traditions. Likewise, we find here the roots and inspiration to the founding and early history of America. Here reference should be made to Calvin's presbyterianism. In his presbyterian form of church organization Calvin gave a significance to the individual "which of necessity leads to a democratic conception and development of the entire ecclesiastical system."[16] In the various councils in Geneva, laymen, teachers, and ministers decided together on disciplinary matters. Calvin also gave to the local congregation a voice in the choice of its officers. Nevertheless, it was only with the presbyterian and congregational forms of church government, in a society with absolute separation of church and state, that religious liberty and modern democracy could be fully developed.

RETROSPECT

We have observed that it would be a dichotomy to speak about the priesthood of the laity and the priesthood of the clergy, for there is only one holy and royal priesthood: the priesthood of the believers.

The realization of Christianity and the church as the body of Christ is, historically, found to be equal to the realization of the doctrine of believers. Positively, it is illustrated in the apostolic and sub-apostolic periods and in the Reformation of the sixteenth century. The medieval church demonstrates the negative results of a hierarchical church with its final authority residing in the pope. It is not an incidental feature that those who prepared the way for the Protestant reformers opposed the structure of papacy and Roman Catholicism by proclaiming the concept of the priesthood of believers with all what that implies. We are here thinking of

Marselius of Padua (c. 1275-1342) who has been called "the prophet of a new social order," and William of Occam (c. 1300-1349) whom Luther called "my dear master."[17]

Characteristic is Occam's constant appeal to Scripture as the final source of authority. No doctrine not rooted in holy Scripture should be acknowledged as catholic and necessary to salvation; neither the church nor the pope could make new articles of faith. In this way he contributed to upsetting the medieval theory of the seat of authority and assailed the traditional doctrines of his time.

Marsilius' and Occam's ideas of representative government in the church are of the highest significance. For more than a century they were the core of violent debate, in the attempt to transform the papacy from an absolute into a constitutional monarchy reflected in the Conciliar Movement and the Reforming Councils prior to the Protestant reformation, to all of which the Vatican Council of 1870 gave a final "no."

Marsilius' and Occam's teaching influenced John Wyclif and John Hus so they became reformers. Both died as martyrs for the doctrine of the priesthood of believers, but became the morning stars of the Protestant reformation. The English reformation, especially Puritanism, took roots quickly, where the soil had been prepared by the followers of Wyclif, the so-called Lollards, known as the "Poor Preachers."

When the popes later condemned such men as Wyclif, Hus, Luther, among others, they charged them with having obtained their ideas from Marsilius. As late as in the Canon Law of 1917 the editor, after having referred to the pope's as "supreme and full power of jurisdiction in the whole Church," comments: "All those who pervert the essential divine organization of the

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Church as a perfect society of the monarchical type, necessarily deny the power of the Roman Pontiff. The so-called democrats of the later middle ages (Marsilius, Jandunus, Wyclif, and Hus) were deliberately bent on destroying the pure notion of papal power. But the Jansenists, Gallicans, and Josephinists were also far from the true idea of papal power."[18]

Reference has been made to the spiritual, moral, and social effects of the concept of the priesthood of believers on the countries where Protestantism has been influential. As a parenthesis the question should be asked: Is the spiritual and moral decline with social consequences in the Protestant West caused because people at large only function as citizens, and not as a priesthood of believers? We should remind ourselves what Pietism did for Germany in the 17th century and its influence on John Wesley, who in 18th century England founded the Methodist Movement with its many chapels and "lay preachers." We should also keep in mind the Great Awakening in 18th century America as well as the Second Great Awakening in the 19th century. To this should be added the "lay-people's" involvement in the rise of foreign missions, establishment of Bible Societies and other Christian societies.

The Ecumenical Movement, which to a large degree has characterized Christendom in the last half of the 20th century, has rediscovered the importance of the laity. The department on the laity of the World Council of Churches has published a work, "The Layman in Christian History." The closing chapter quotes Hendrik Kraemer (author of "A Theology of Laity") saying: "Never in church history, since its initial period, has the role and responsibility of the laity in Church and world been a matter of so basic, systematic, comprehensive and intensive discussion in the total oikoumene as

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today. This discussion 'is a totally new phenomenon', it 'implies a new examination and general reshaping of all ecclesiologies which we have had for centuries' and it 'is the most important aspect of the longing for the renewal of the Church which arises in the Churches all over the world'."[19]

Accordingly, the questions of church structure and the ministry of the church (the role of men and women, lay and clergy) and the issues connected with them have come to the forefront. Attempts are made to meet the issues--which have to be met on all its fronts--and no one can be neutral. The question of the ordination of women is only a tip of the iceberg, and first when that is recognized, can the total or manifold issues of ecclesiology (the doctrine of the church) be solved.

Hans Kung in his voluminous work "The Church" deals with the topic of the priesthood of all believers and wrote in his introduction: "The fundamental error of ecclesiologies which turned out, in fact, to be no more than hierarchicalogies (where ecclesia-hierarchia) was that they failed to realize that all who hold office are primarily (both temporally and factually speaking) not dignitaries but believers, members of the fellowship of believers; and that compared with this fundamental Christian fact any office they may hold is of secondary if not tertiary importance. Bluntly put: the believer who holds no office is a Christian and member of the Church of Christ; a man who holds office without faith is no Christian and not a member of the Church. The Church must be seen first and foremost as a fellowship of faith, and only in this light can ecclesiastical office be properly understood.

"Does this mean that the community precedes ecclesiastical office, or that the community rather than the office is the higher authority? There is

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no question of having to make such a choice in the New Testament, where we find both community and office represented as equal authorities, both subject to a highest authority, namely Jesus Christ, the Lord of the Church, acting in time through his Spirit."[20]

Having described Christ as the only high priest and mediator, he concludes by saying: "If then all believers have to make sacrifices through Christ, this means that all believers have a priestly function, of a completely new kind, through Christ the one high priest and mediator. The abolition of a special priestly caste and its replacement by the priesthood of the one new and eternal high priest has as its strange and yet logical consequence the fact that all believers share in a universal priesthood."[21]

One has only to look at the documents of the Second Vatican Council to observe that Roman Catholicism tries in one form or another to give the "lay people" a more prominent place within the church. However, the structure of the Roman Catholic Church maintains a tension between the believer and the hierarchy, as well as within the hierarchy itself. It is therefore understandable that Hans Kung and many with him are disappointed with the Church in the post-Vatican II era. The same is also to a large degree the case among Catholics in America, which, as a country, has both ecclesiologically and politically, constitutive principles different from Roman Catholicism.

There are many signs indicating that the question on the nature of the church and its ministry will be from many sides and for many reasons the burning issue as we come to the close of the 20th and enter the 21st century. However, the issues can only be solved in the spirit of the priesthood of the first believers.

The early believers did not have a speculative abstraction, a vague

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idea, or an undefined concept of the church, but one that was most realistic and concrete in their total existence. Christ had said, "you are the salt of the earth. . . . You are the light of the world" (Matt. 5:13, 14). In their burning love for Christ, the early Christians were set aflame for Him, confirming the saying that "the church exists by mission just as fire exists by burning." They saw it as their mission to manifest Christ. They found an immense satisfaction in being Christ's representatives and taking part in transforming the lives of others. They had been changed by Jesus Christ, and therefore they were able to change the world. They exclaimed, "But thanks be to God, who always leads us in His triumph in Christ, and manifests through us the sweet aroma of the knowledge of Him in every place. For we are a fragrance of Christ to God among those who are being saved and among those who are perishing" (2 Cor. 2:14, 15).

The early church became a specific and unique historical phenomenon for the believers fulfilled the calling and covenant of "a chosen race, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, a people for God's own possession" (1 Peter 2:9).

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THE CHURCH MINISTRY

The church is a community or society and as such it must necessarily
have a structure, but the nature of its structure is not comparable to any
in the secular society. Neither should there be conflict between concept of
the priesthood of believers and an official appointed ministry, the latter
should enhance the former. The terms "minister" and "ministry" are commonly
used synonymously with "pastor" and "pastorate;" but, as will be observed,
they have much broader meanings and manifold applications, both in the New
Testament and in the history of ecclesiology.

THE NATURE OF THE MINISTRY

The Usage of the Term "Ministry" and "Minister." The New Testament
refers to the work of the church mostly by the use of the word "ministry."
The apostle Paul speaks about "varieties of ministry" but with reference to
the total body of priesthood of believers. The context reads: "Now concern-
ing spiritual gifts, brethen, I do not want you to be unaware. . . . Now
there are varieties of gifts, but the same Spirit. And there are varieties
of ministries, and the same Lord. And there are varieties of effects, but

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the same God who works all things in all persons. But to each one is given the manifestation of the Spirit for the common good" (1 Cor. 12:1, 4-7). Speaking about the household of Stephanas Paul writes that "they have devoted themselves for ministry to the saints" (1 Cor. 16:15). Paul himself and other church workers are also spoken of as "ministers" called to "the work of the ministry" (1 Cor. 12:5; 2 Cor. 3:6-8; Col. 1:7, 25; 2 Cor. 5:18; 1 Tim. 1:12; Eph. 4:12). Paul encouraged Timothy to be "a good servant of Christ Jesus" and "fulfill your ministry" (1 Tim. 4:6; 2 Tim. 4:5). He also refers to Apollos, Tychicus, and Epaphras respectively as "servants through whom you believed," "faithful minister in the Lord" and "faithful servant of Christ" (1 Cor. 3:5; Eph. 6:21; Col. 1:7).

The Ministry a Service, the Minister a Servant. The words "ministry" and "minister" are translated respectively from the Greek "diakonia" and "diakonos;" their meanings are "service" and "servant." Translations of the New Testament have therefore also interchangeably used the latter two words for "ministry" and "minister" as already observed.

The basic secular meaning of "diakonia" and "diakonos" is that of the service rendered by a waiter and used with that meaning in the New Testament (Luke 17:8; John 12:2). To be a servant is the opposite to that of a minister; however, to be a minister of Christ means to be a servant (diakonos). Christ said: "But let him who is the greatest among you become as the youngest, and the leader as the servant. For who is greater, the one who reclines at the table, or the one who serves? Is it not the one who reclines at the table? But I am among you as the one who serves" (Luke 22:26-27).

The New Testament usage of "diakonia" and "diakonos" has theological,

christological and soteriological roots. The apostle Paul writes: "There-
fore if any man is in Christ, he is a new creature, the old things passed
away; behold, new things have come. Now all those things are from God, who
reconciled us to Himself through Christ, and gave us the ministry of recon-
ciliation" (2 Cor. 5:17-18). The New English Bible reads: ". . . service of
reconciliation."

The ministry or service of reconciliation begins with the covenant of
redemption. "God so loved the world, that He gave His only begotten Son"
and Christ gave Himself in self-denying love. "Have this attitude in your-
selves which was also in Christ Jesus, who, although He existed in the form
of God, did not regard equality with God a thing to be grasped, but emptied
Himself, taking the form of a bond-servant" (Phil. 2:5-7). Christ is the
bond-servant, that is the minister par excellence.

The ministry of Christ's mother, the Virgin Mary, is often overlooked
within Protestantism. She replied to the Angel: "Behold, the bondslave of
the Lord; be it done to me according to your word. . . . And my spirit has
rejoiced in God my Savior. For He has had regard for the humble state of
His bondslave" (Luke 1:38, 47-48). The church was inaugurated on the day of
Pentecost with the outpouring of the Holy Spirit upon God's "bondslaves,
both men and women" (Acts 2:18).

The apostles Paul, James, Peter, Jude, and John were true ministers of
Christ, they called themselves "bond-servants of Jesus Christ" (Rom. 1:1, 2
Cor. 4:5, Titus 1:1, Jas. 1:1, 2 Peter 1:1; Jude 1:1; Rev. 1:1). In all
these texts the word bond-servant is translated not from the Greek:
diakonos, but from doulos, meaning a slave. As a slave belongs fully to his
master and has nothing he can call his own so a minister and the ministry

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belong to Jesus Christ, it means a total dedication to Christ in the service of reconciliation and for the concern of one's fellowmen.

A New Value System. An ambitious mother sought for her two sons the two highest positions within the government of the country. She expected that the ancient Jewish tradition of a great and glorious kingdom, like that of David, was imminent, and believed with many that the hope of the kingdom would be realized by Jesus of Nazareth. So the mother of James and John came to Jesus with a bold request. "She said to Him, 'Command that in Your kingdom these two sons of mine may sit, one on Your right and one on Your left.'" In response Jesus taught His followers that service is a basic principle of the kingdom of God and the nature of the Christian ministry. Said Jesus: "You know that the rulers of the Gentiles lord it over them, and their great men exercise authority over them. It is not so among you, but whoever wishes to become great among you shall be your servant, and whoever wishes to be first among you shall be your slave, just as the Son of Man did not come to be served, but to serve" (Matt. 20:21, 25-28).

The kingdom of God is not a domain but the rule of God. In this fallen world it is a 180-degree turnaround in the concepts of values as proclaimed in the Sermon on the Mount: Blessed are the poor in spirit, those who mourn, who are gentle, merciful (and so on)--theirs is the kingdom.

As we study the lives of the disciples of Christ it becomes obvious that the concepts of self-forgetful service as the highest realization of self, and manifesting itself in true success and achievement, was something new for them and contrary to the behavior of man. That was not the kingdom they expected. It is therefore no wonder that Christ spoke about the need of "conversion" and to "be born again" in order to enter the kingdom of God.

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The growth and realization of the servant image and the kingdom of God was illustrated by Christ in the parable of a seed planted in the soil. The seed disintegrates but gives birth to a new life; thus, by losing self in service, a new life begins, resulting in the fullest realization of the very self of man. The story of the disciples is a story of this realization through the recreative power and grace of God, which brought a complete change in attitude and practice on every level of their inner life and outer world.

In this connection it should be noticed (brought to our attention by Hans Kung), that in the New Testament "words in secular Greek for civil and religious authorities are consistently avoided in connection with the ministries of the Church; that is, Greek words which imply a primacy and rank or an office of power and authority." Likewise, "the remarkable fact is that the word 'priest' is not used once anywhere in the New Testament for someone who holds office in the Church."[1]

The nature and the essence of any church ministry is that of service in the spirit and method of Christ. Any structural and vocational aspect of the ministry must have as its soul the covenant of redemption. If the church and church institutions (as schools, hospitals, etc.) loose that sense of Christ-ministry it ceases to be church, it discontinues to be a unique community and becomes secular, united in many inconspicuous ways with the business, finances, and methods of the kingdom of this world. Church history tells us that here lies the constant danger for the church; therefore, the church must continually be called to a renewal and reformation regarding the soul of its ministry, for the structure of any church ministry is dead without the soul: the being a bond-servant of Jesus Christ in the

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saving work of reconciliation. This includes the total priesthood of believers. The apostle Peter writes: "As each one has received a special gift, employ it in serving one another, as good stewards of the manifold grace of God. Whoever speaks, let him speak, as it were, the utterances of God; whoever serves, let him do so as by the strength which God supplies; so that in all things God may be glorified through Jesus Christ, to whom belongs the glory and dominion forever and ever. Amen" (1 Peter 4:10-11).

THE APOSTOLATE

The Meaning of Apostleship. Apostleship has its beginning in Christ Himself. Paul writes: "Therefore, holy brethren, partakers of a heavenly calling, consider Jesus, the Apostle and High Priest of our confession. He was faithful to Him who appointed Him" (Heb. 3:1-2). As Christ was appointed by the Father as an apostle, so Christ Himself "appointed twelve, that they might be with Him, and that He might send them out to preach" (Mark 3:14). The Gospel of Matthew calls "the twelve" disciples and designates them as apostles (Matt. 10:1,2). By choosing twelve Christ no doubt had in mind Israel composed of twelve tribes. Another statement of Jesus makes this obvious, though it is symbolic. To the disciples He said: "You also shall sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel" (Matt. 19:28). Indirectly, Christ intimates that the New Israel is also structured.

The word "apostle" is a translation of the Greek word "apostolos" composted of a compound Greek verb apo "off" and stello "to send," speaking of the act of sending someone. Apostolos is therefore used for a messenger, ambassador, envoy or delegate.

After Christ had appointed the twelve apostles we read: "Now after this the Lord appointed seventy others, and sent [apostello] them" (Luke 10:1). The appointment of seventy again reflects that Christ no doubt had in mind a new Israel as a continuation of the old Israel. Moses had appointed seventy elders to assist him (Ex. 24:1; Num. 11:16) and at the time of Christ the Jews had a council of seventy, the Sanhedrin. As in the case of the Twelve their seems to have been in the mind of Christ--in embryo--a certain functional structure. This is further supported by the fact that the word "apostle" is used as a title in the gospel narratives (Luke 17:5, 22:14, 24:10), and Matthias was carefully chosen to fill the place of Judas (Acts 1:23-26).

The Uniqueness of the Twelve. The position of the twelve apostles was a unique one. In the days of His incarnation Christ had personally called them, taught them and associated with them in His personal ministry. They had witnessed His crucifixion, resurrection and ascension and received the mandate to proclaim the good news.

The Twelve were in a true sense Christ's personal ambassadors. Their primary task was to preach the gospel, then to teach, to oversee, to organize or unify, and pray that the brethren might receive the Holy Spirit. This is the picture we have from the story of the beginnings of the primitive church (Acts 1:2-26; 2:37-42; 5:12; 6:1-8; 8:14-24).

The ministry of the Twelve was foundational for the universal church. The unique position of the Twelve was confined to the apostolic period of the primitive church. The chursh is "built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Christ Jesus Himself being the corner stone, in whom the whole building being fitted together is growing into a holy temple in

the Lord; in whom you also are being built together into a dwelling of God in the Spirit" (Eph. 2:20-22).

Apostolic succession is not to be found in the establishment of an apostolic office, order or position, but to be found functionally in proclaiming, as Christ's ambassadors, the gospel as they did. However, the essence of the various functions and offices or orders of church ministry, as it developed within New Testament time, is rooted in the apostleship of the Twelve. The different ministries which Paul mentions in his list of spiritual gifts were to a large degree bestowed upon the twelve; in them the foundation was laid. In this sense, and only in this sense, can we speak-- as the Protestant fathers--about apostolic succession.

THE CHARISMATIC MINISTRY

Spiritual gifts. The apostle Paul deals with the different functions of the ministry in terms of spiritual gifts (Rom. 12:6-8; 1 Cor. 12:1, 8-10, 28-30; 14:1; Eph. 4:11-12). These were gifts of divine grace (the Greek word "charisma" means a free gift, favor or benefit). Therefore, when we speak about a charismatic ministry we speak about a service graciously endowed by the Holy Spirit. All ministerial functions and offices are "Spirit-given;" however, in our discussion we will apply the phrase charismatic ministry to certain functions of the ministry in order to differentiate them from any office within the ministry. A person in the latter category may exercise a charismatic function; on the other hand, one with a charismatic gift may not necessarily occupy an office.

The apostle Paul gives us two lists of charismatic ministries. The one in 1 Corinthians reads: "And God has appointed in the church, first

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apostles, second prophets, third teachers, then miracles, then gifts of healings, helps, administrations, various kinds of tongues" (1 Cor. 12:28). The second list enumerates apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors, and teachers (Eph. 4:11).

The Missionary-Apostle. We have observed that the uniqueness of the apostleship of the Twelve ceased with their death. However, the term apostle has a secondary usage; its application widens. Christ Himself was the apostle par excellence; the twelve had a unique apostleship; Paul was an apostle on a par with the twelve and his writings were included in the New Testament.

In one instance Christ uses the term "apostle" in a broader sense (Luke 11:49). Accordingly, others are later mentioned as apostles and their function was that of a missionary, one who was sent as an envoy or ambassador (apostolos). Within Judaism the word "apostle" was used for an envoy or agent who had a representative task in behalf of the people.

From its very inception the church was a missionary community, and its activities and its ministry must necessarily be evaluated in that context. The apostles were called "our brethren . .. messengers [Greek: apostles] of the churches, a glory to Christ" (2 Cor. 8:23). In one sense Paul belongs to the group of the twelve and in another to the wider group which includes Barnabas, Andronicus, Junias, Sikes, Timothy, Appollos and Epaphroditus. Directly and indirectly these are referred to as apostles. (See Acts 13:2, 3; 14:14; Gal. 2:9; Rom. 16:7; 1 Cor. 4:9; 1 Thess. 1:1,6; Phil 1:1; 2:25). The Revelation refers to "saints and apostles and prophets" (Rev. 18:20).

Prophets. At the advent of Christ the spirit of prophecy was renewed when Zacharias prophecied about the birth of his son John the Baptist, who

would be "the prophet of the Most High" (Luke 1:67, 76). Simeon had the gift of prophecy; he and the prophetess Anna gave testimonies regarding "the child Jesus" (Luke 2:25-38). The people considered Christ as a prophet: "He is a prophet, like one of the prophets of old." "They began glorifying God, saying, 'A great prophet has arisen among us!' and, 'God has visited His people!'" (Mark 6:15; Luke 7:16).

Christ made reference to "prophets and apostles" (Luke 11:49) and also said: "I am sending you prophets (Matt. 23:34).

On the day of Pentecost Peter said: "You shall receive the gift of the Holy Spirit" and the words of the prophet Joel should be fulfilled: "Your sons and Your daughters shall prophesy" (Acts 2:38, 17).

Among the twelve apostles John was in a unique way also a prophet, being the author of the Revelation. The Acts of the Apostles mentions by name the following prophets: Agabus, Barnabas, Symeon, Lucius, Manaen, Saul of Tarsus, Judas, and Silas (Acts 11:28; 13:1; 15:32). Reference is also made to the fact that the four daughters of Philip, the evangelist, were prophetesses (Acts 21:8-9).

It appears that some were prophets and teachers in strength of being apostles (missionaries). Others were itinerary prophets and teachers. Christ may have had in mind the itinerary prophets among the primitive church when He said: "He who receives a prophet in the name of a prophet shall receive a prophet's reward" (Matt. 10:41). Christ's statement is at least applicable to the situation in the early church. In general, prophets and teachers were found in the local churches. In Antioch were prophets and teachers and it was through them "while they were ministering to the Lord and fasting, the Holy Spirit said, 'Set apart for Me Barnabas and Saul for

the work to which I have called them'" (Acts 13:1-2).   God had called Paul

and Barnabas, but the church under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit com-

missioned them.   The unity between the church and the prophet is expressed

in the phrase "(the) saints and (the) prophets" (Rev. 11:18; 16:6).

The congregation was endowed with the Spirit to discern if the message

of the prophet and teacher was from God. Paul says: "You judge what I say"

(1 Cor. 10:15), and "Do not quench the Spirit; do not despise prophetic

utterances.   But examine everything carefully" (1 Thess. 5:19-21).   John

writes: "Beloved, do not believe every spirit, but test the spirits to see

whether they are from God, because many false prophets have gone out into

the world" (1 John 4:1). Enumerating the various gifts in the congregation,

Paul also mentions the one of discernment (1 Cor. 12:10). In the Didache, a

church manual, also named the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles, from the

middle of the second century, we find this statement: "Not everyone that

speaks in a spirit is a prophet, except he have the behavior of the Lord.

From his behavior, then, the false prophet and the true prophet shall be

known."[2]   The Book of Revelation tells us that God's remnant "hold to the

testimony of Jesus" which "is the spirit of prophecy" (Rev. 12:17; 19:20).

Teacher.   Christ not only makes reference to "prophets and apostles"

but He also mentions teachers: "I am sending you prophets and wise men and

scribes" (Matt. 23:34).   When we speak about the essence and character of

the teacher in the New Testament, then Christ is the One par excellence.

Nicodemus, one of the Jewish rulers, said to Christ: "Rabbi, we know that

You have come from God as a teacher" (John 3:2). It will be observed in

another connection that the teacher had a prominent role within judaism at

the time of Christ. Thinking of Christ's promise of sending "wise men and

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scribes" and the church as Christ's representative, it is not surprising that Paul speaks about "teachers" as part of the charismatic ministry (1 Cor. 12:28).

The teachers were "wise men" and had the "gift" of knowledge. They edified the congregation (1 Cor. 14:26); they instructed candidates for baptism and others in the basics of Christianity (Gal. 6:16). Paul's writings give a clear indication how he as a teacher instructed the congregations in the rudiments of the Christian faith and built up the membership in knowledge and understanding (See 1 Cor. 11:23 ff; 15:3-8, 51-58; 2:6 ff.; 7:6, 10, 14; 2 Thess. 2:15). Paul could, with good reason, say: "Retain the standard of sound words which you have heard from me" (2 Tim. 1:13), and to the Romans he expresses thankfulness because they had been obedient to his "form of teaching" (standard or pattern of teaching; Rom. 6:17).

Paul no doubt expected that each church had teachers so the members no longer should "be children, tossed here and there by waves, and carried about by every wind of doctrine, by the trickery of men" (Eph. 4:14). James refers to the seriousness of being a teacher: "Let not many of you become teachers, my brethren, knowing that as such we shall incur a stricter judgment" (James 3:1). The function as a teacher remained after the apostolic age. Prominent teachers in the second and early third centuries were either laymen or "elders."

Evangelists. In the Epistle to the Ephesians Paul lists "evangelists" among the ministries (Eph. 4:11). Linguistically, evangelist means the messenger of the good news, as the gospel means the good news. Only in two other places are evangelists mentioned in the New Testament. Writing to his young co-worker Timothy Paul says: "Preach the word . . . reprove, rebuke,

exhort, with great patience and instruction. For the time will come when they will not endure sound doctrine, but wanting to have their ears tickled, they will accumulate for themselves teachers in accordance to their own desires, and will turn away their ears from the truth, and will turn aside to myths. But you, be sober in all things, endure hardship, do the work of an evangelist, fulfill your ministry" (2 Tim. 4:2-5).

When Paul, at the close of his third missionary journey, came to Caesarea (A.D. 58) we are told that he stayed in "the house of Philip the evangelist, who was one of the seven" (Acts 21:8). We first meet Philip in Acts, chapter six (A.D. 35). He was one of the seven chosen to assist the congregation with pragmatic matters as "the daily serving of food" to the widows. After the stoning of Stephen, when the believers had to flee from Jerusalem, Philip is in the city of Samaria, where he "proclaimed Christ," accompanied with healing and the casting out of unclean spirits' (Acts 8:5-8). Next we find him on the road to Gaza where he meets the Ethiopian eunuch and baptizes him. Thereafter, he preaches in various cities and was finally located in Caesarea where Paul stayed in his home.

It appears that "evangelist" expresses a function and not an office. The apostles were intrusted with "the gospel of Christ" and thus evangelists too (Gal. 1:6-7).

Pastors. In Ephesians Paul also lists "pastors" and places them in the list after "evangelists" and before "teachers" (Eph. 4:11). "Pastors" are translated from the Greek word for a shepherd. The ministerial shepherding is also originated in Christ. From the prophetic word the high priests and scribes believed that the Messiah would "shepherd my people Israel" (Matt. 2:6). When Christ came, He speaks about Himself as "the good shepherd"

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(John 10:11) and is spoken about as "the great Shepherd of the sheep" (Heb. 13:20), "the Shepherd and Guardian of your souls" (1 Peter 2:25), and "Chief Shepherd" (1 Peter 5:4). As such Christ said to Peter: "Shepherd My sheep" (John 21:16).

Only in Ephesians is the word "shepherd" used in connection with the ministry, but as a verb it is used three times. The first time by Jesus to Peter as already noticed, where it is synonymous with the word "tend" (John 21:15, 16). Paul uses the word when the elders of the church in Ephesus came to Miletus to see him on his way to Jerusalem. Paul said: "Be on guard for yourselves and for all the flock, among which the Holy Spirit has made you overseers, to shepherd the church of God" (Acts 20:28). It should be noticed it was the elders in Ephesus who had the function as "overseers" and that of shepherding.

The apostle Peter, like Paul, uses the words "to shepherd" when he addresses the elders. He writes: "Therefore, I exhort the elders among you, as your fellow elder and witness of the sufferings of Christ, and a partaker also of the glory that is to be revealed, shepherd the flock of God among you, exercising oversight not under compulsion, but voluntarily, according to the word of God; and not for sordid gain, but with eagerness; nor yet as lording it over those allotted to your charge, but proving to be examples to the flock" (1 Peter 5:1-3).

No doubt the work of the local pastor and teacher may also have been combined in one individual, who was both shepherd and teacher of the flock of God.

Post-Apostolic Period. At the turn of the first century a letter was sent from the church of Rome to that of Corinth. In it we are told that the

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apostles preached "from district to district, and from city to city."[3] An anonymous letter bearing the name Barnabas (c. A.D. 130) describes the twelve apostles as twelve evangelizers.[4]

In writings from the early or middle second century we also find the term apostles used to describe traveling missionaries. These apostles were greatly respected: "Let every Apostle who comes to you be received as the Lord." There must have been a growing number of apostles for we read that in order to distinguish between a true and false apostle the following counsel was given: "But let him not stay more than one day, or if need be a second as well; but if he stay three days, he is a false prophet. And when an Apostle goes forth let him accept nothing but bread till he reach his night's lodging; but if he asks for money, he is a false prophet."[5] While the title apostle disappeared, in general, from the vocabulary of the Christian ministry and substituted by the word missionary, those missionaries who were Christian pioneers to certain countries were historically honored by the title apostle. When the Greek language is still used, as in the Greek Orthodox Church, the missionaries are named "holy apostles."

In the middle of the second century reference is made to the three ministries: "The thirty-five are the prophets of God and his servants, and the forty are apostles and teachers of the preaching of the Son of God."[6] The charismatic ministries mentioned in the New Testament continued into the second century. We have observed that Christ and John listed "prophets and apostles" (Luke 11:49, Rev. 18:20). Paul says: "I was appointed a preacher and an apostle (I am telling the truth, I am not lying) as a teacher of the Gentiles in faith and truth" (1 Tim. 2:7, 2 Tim. 1:11). In the Revelation we notice that "the woman Jezebel, who calls herself a prophetess . . .

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teaches" (Rev. 2:20).

In the Epistle of Barnabas the author writes: "I hasten to write in devotion to you, not as a teacher, but as it becomes one who loves."[7] In Didache the teacher is among the itinerary ministry; like the prophets they were honored but should also be tested whether or not they were genuine."[8] Christian apologists, as Justin Martyr and Tatian (middle of the second century), were no doubt itinerary teachers, but teachers were also found in the local congregations. Eusebius, the church historian at the time of Constantine, refers to "the presbyters and the teachers of the brethren in the villages."[9]

The work of the teacher was "to influence in a large but indefinite manner the whole action of the infant Christian communities." This has been summarized in this way: ". . . they were not office-bearers in any sense of the word. They were not elected, nor were they set apart by any ecclesiastical action to a place of rule. Their vocation was immediate and personal. They could be tested, and their ministry might be accepted or rejected, but there the power of the Church with regard to them and to their ministry came to an end."[10]

The charismatic ministries we have dealt with were not considered as offices per se, but represented different functions and spiritual gifts given to the church. While there are different gifts and thus distinctions--although fluid--of functions, there was, as we saw, also overlapping or interrelatedness. Jesus Christ Himself embodied the charismatic ministry, and others were apostles, prophets, teachers, shepherds, and evangelists of Jesus Christ composed of and representing the total priesthood of believers.

THE MINISTERIAL OFFICES

It is generally agreed that during the New Testament period, there were two church offices: "deacon" (Greek: diakonos) and "elder-overseer" (Greek: presbuteros-episkopos). The word presbyter is another name for elders, as bishop is for overseer. Before we examine these two offices we will take note of the appointment of the seven in Acts, chapter 6.

The College of the Seven. The story of the first attempt to "structure" the apostolic church in Jerusalem read as follows: "Now at this time while the disciples were increasing in number, a complaint arose on the part of the Hellenistic Jews against the native Hebrews, because their widows were being overlooked in the daily serving of good. And the twelve summoned the congregation of the disciples and said, 'It is not desirable for us to neglect the word of God in order to serve tables. But select from among you, brethren, seven men of good reputation, full of the Spirit and of wisdom, whom we may put in charge of this task. But we will devote ourselves to prayer, and to the ministry of the word.' And the statement found approval with the whole congregation; and they chose Stephen, a man full of faith and of the Holy Spirit, and Philip, Prochorus, Nicanor, Timon, Parmenas and Nicolas, a proselyte from Antioch. And these they brought before the apostles; and after praying, they laid their hands on them" (Acts 6:1-6).

It is interesting to notice the procedures of this church-business meeting. The Twelve called the congregation together, made a suggestion which "found approval with the whole congregation." After the congregation had chosen seven persons, they were presented to the twelve and after having had prayer, hands were laid on them. Two of the Seven, Philip and Stephen,

were evangelists. The word deacon and elder are not used, they were named the Seven.

The choosing of the Seven must be seen within the context of salvation history and as an analogy to Old Testament events. For the early church the event of Acts 6 was a significant moment in the early development of church organization and was analogous to the organization of Israel as an ekklesia. But we notice, as previously mentioned, that the New Testament ekklesia is a restructuring or reconstruction of the Old Israel and that the New Israel adopts and chooses rites and terminology of the Old Israel but gives them new theological and structural significance.

The pragmatic situation of Acts 6:1-6 and the terminology used reflect or compare with the actual events under Moses: the entrance into the promised land, Moses choosing the 70 elders and appointing Joshua, and the people laying their hands on the Levites. Then and now the people of God (the covenant-remnant people) were on march into a realization or fulfillment of God's promises which would bring them "even to the remotest part of the earth" (Acts 1:8). The setting of Acts 6 is within salvation history.

The promise was given to Abraham that his descendents would multiply (Gen. 22:17) and so did Israel in Egypt (Ex. 1:7, 10, 20) and now the New Israel did the same: ". . . the disciples were increasing in numbers" (Acts 6:1) and "continued to increase," even "a great many of the priests became followers" (Acts 6:7).

Through the leadership of Moses God multiplied signs and wonders in Egypt (Ex. 7:3). Stephen, one of the Seven and the one listed first, "full of grace and power, was performing great wonders and signs among the people" (Acts 6:8).

We read that "all the congregation of the sons of Israel" complained and murmured over the lack of food so Moses and Aaron called the people together (Ex. 19:2, 6); likewise, "the twelve summoned the congregation" (Acts 6:2).

The twelve, like Moses (Num. 11), felt the weight of administration too heavy and in both cases the responsibility was distributed respectively to seven and seventy.

The question may be asked: Why seven? We have previously mentioned that Christ, by analogy, had a structural "community" in mind for the New Testament ekklesia, when he chose the Twelve and the seventy. We know from Jewish writings that a local community of 120 could choose seven as a council and they were called the "seven of the city." As such they were involved with the administration of the synagogue in behalf of the city. No doubt here is another analogy to Judaism. It should also be noticed that when Peter spoke to the first Christian community Luke makes a point of the fact that the gathering was "of about one hundred and twenty persons" (Acts 1:15). The choice of Hellenistic Jews, including a proselyte, indicates a widening scope of mission and structure of the Christian community. We should notice that in Acts 6 no reference is made to elders or deacons. After the re-organization or organization of the church (Acts 6) Stephen, "full of grace and power, was performing great wonders and signs among the people," defended the faith before the Council and suffered martyrdom. Philip went into evangelistic work and some 20 years later we find him living in Caesarea and on a visit Paul and his companions stayed in his home. Recording this event, it is mentioned that Philip was one "of the seven" (Acts 21:8). This indicates that Acts 6 was considered as an important

historical event and the Seven had held or hold a significant place in an emerging church structure.

The Seven have been referred to as deacons and also elder-deacons. It may even be more appropriate to say overseer-deacons; however, they were more likely elder-overseer and have also been referred to more correctly as the college of the Seven. It is therefore not surprising that A. M. Farrer in his book The Apostolic Ministry writes: "The supposition that the Seven are regarded by St. Luke as deacons is a very old error."[11] In this connection is is interesting to notice the Roman Catholic theologians who always have endorsed this tradition, also admit that "it is disputed whether the term "diakonos," as used in Acts 6, designates exactly the same thing as the later ecclesiastical office of deacons.[12]

Further, it should also be observed that Vatican II's document on the church and its ministry makes no reference to Acts 6. Hans Kung explains: "With reference to the term 'deacon', and again in contrast with Trent, the traditional text for the biblical foundation of the diaconate, namely Acts 6:1-6, is no longer quoted. The commission's reasoniong runs as follows: 'As far as Acts 6:1-6 is concerned, exegetes are no longer completely convinced that the men spoken of here correspond to our deacons, altough they have traditionally been regarded as their forerunners. For this reason the text is not quoted in the Constitution."[13]

Deacons are not mentioned anywhere in the Acts of the Apostles. When Paul and Barnabas brought relief to the poor believers in Jerusalem from the brethren in Antioch the relief was sent not to deacons, but to the elders (Acts 11:30). That seven were chosen could not but remind everybody about the Seven of local community boards, thus indicating that church-structure

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was evolving, but they were not elders or deacons as described by Paul in the Pastoral Epistles. We will comment further on "the seven" when we deal with the question of ordination.

We have previously pointed out that diakonos primarily denotes "a servant," the verb diakoneo "to serve" and diakonia "service." Reference is made to Christ as a diakonos (Rom. 15:8; Gal. 2:17), who came not "to be served, but to serve" (diakoneo, Matt. 20:28). The followers of Christ are His "servants" (John 12:26) and in the relationship to one another they should be servants (Matt 20:26; 23:11). Those engaged in preaching and teaching are called servants of Christ (1 Cor. 3:5; 2 Cor. 3:6; 6:4; 11:23; Eph. 3:7; 6:21; Col 1:7, 23, 25; 4:7; 1 Thess 3:2; 1 Tim. 4:6). The office of deacon reminds us that any ministry and ministerial office is diaconal in purpose and sructure, just as the church itself, established for the sake of service.

The Formal Office of Deacons. Two Pauline references indicate that the office of deacon was established in churches and had an origin and function different from "the seven." The only description of the qualifications (the work is not spelled out) of a deacon is found in Paul's letter to Timothy (1 Tim. 3:8-13), where also the qualifications of an overseer (episcopos, bishop) is mentioned (1 Tim. 3:1-7). When addressing the church in Philippi (Phil. 1:1) Paul merely lists "overseers and deacons" without any comments. In the lists of the charismatic ministries (Rom. 12:6-8; 1 Cor. 12:28-31; Eph. 4:11-12) the titles of elder, bishop (overseer), and deacon do not appear. The pair overseer-deacon may have been patterned—although not exactly—after the Jewish synagogues where the worship was entrusted to two offices, while the total administration of the synagogue was in the hands of

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a committee of elders. (See Luke 7:3-5). The word diakonos is not used, but another Greek word "hyperates," which also means a servant. One example of its use is found in the story of Christ's visit to the synagogue in Nazareth where He was given the opportunity to read the Scripture-reading. After reading "he closed the book and gave it back to the attendant" (Luke 4:20). King James Version reads: "to the minister." The other person was a president, ruler or leading elder of the synagogue and functioned as overseer; in the Greek he was named "archisynagogos." In connection with the raising of Jairus' daughter from the dead we find reference to this leader of the synagogue: Jairus being such a one (see Luke 5:22, 35, 36, 38; 8:49). In the Hebrew the one is called the head or leader (rosh) of the assembly and the other the servant or assistant (hazzan). In the synagogue some were also appointed as collectors and distributors of alms; they had no responsibility with the worship as such.[14]

Deaconesses. Regarding an office of deaconess we find no conclusive evidence in the New Testament. The only place where the word "deacon" applies to the feminine is in the closing chapter of Romans where some versions translate it with "servant," others with "deaconess." The text reads: "I commend to you our sister Phoebe, who is a servant of the church which is at Cenchrea, that you receive her in the Lord in a manner worthy of the saints, and that you help her in whatever matter she may have need of you; for she herself has also been a helper of many, and of myself as well" (Rom. 16:1-2). In view of the fact that the help Phoebe rendered is not spelled out, it seems most natural to use the word servant for the service rendered could have been manifold, and no doubt was so; this so much more so as other women are mentioned who extended help, but its nature is not described.

Priscilla, together with her husband Aquila, Paul calls "my fellow workers in Christ Jesus who for my life risked their own necks, to whom not only do I give thanks, but also all the churches of the Gentiles; also greet the church that is in their house" (Rom. 16:3-5). Paul likewise asks: "Greet Mary, who has worked hard for you. . . Greet Tryphena and Tryphosa, workers in the Lord. Greet Persis the beloved, who has worked hard in the Lord" (vs 6, 12). First Timothy 5:9-10 is also rather obscure and ambiguous in regard to a relationship between a supposed order of deaconesses and widows.

The Elders of Israel. Reference has already been made to the "elders of the people" or the "elders of Israel" at the time of Moses as well as at the time of Christ and the twelve apostles. In the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles we read that Christ and the apostles were brought before this council, which was composed of seventy members. The council, the so-called Sanhedrin, was believed to be a resemblance of seventy councilors establish-ed by Moses after God had said: "Gather for Me seventy men from the elders of Israel, whom you know to be the elders of the people and their officers . . . . and I will take the Spirit who is upon you, and will put Him upon them; and they shall bear the burden of the people with you, so that you shall not bear it alone" (Num. 11:16, 17). It should be noticed that Moses "told the people the words of the Lord." He then "gathered seventy men of the elders of the people." The elders represented the people. "Then the Lord came down in the cloud and spoke to him; and He took of the Spirit who was upon him and placed Him upon the seventy elders. And it came about that when the Spirit rested upon them, they prophesied. But they did not do it again" (Num. 11:24, 25). We further read that two of the elders had not been with the others but remained in the camp, where they received the

Spirit and began to prophecy; Moses speaks about these as prophets (Num. 11:29). Here we observe that the seventy had the office as elders but also had the gift of prophecy. It is also of interest to notice that when "the names of the sons of Israel," that is of Jacob, are listed, then we are also told that "all the persons who came from the loins of Jacob were seventy in number" (Ex. 1:1, 5).

The council of elders both at the time of Moses and Christ represented the total Israel, but they were also God's spokesmen to the people, when filled with the Holy Spirit as in the time of Moses. When Christ chose the seventy to represent Him, He most likely would have thought of them as a kind of analogy to the "elders of Israel."

Elders in the Jersualem Church. It appears that the church in Jerusalem was administered somewhat similarly to the synagogue. James, the brother of Jesus and the leader, was associated with elders. We are told that the church in Jerusalem sent Barnabas to Antioch for a special mission. The Christians in Antioch decided "to send a contribution for the relief of the brethren living in Judea." The money was sent "in charge of Barnabas and Saul to the elders" (Acts 11:29, 30).

When Paul came to Jerusalem after his third missionary journey we read: "And when we had come to Jerusalem, the brethren received us gladly. And now the following day Paul went in with us to James, and all the elders were present. And after he had greeted them, he began to relate one by one the things which God had done among the Gentiles through his ministry" (Acts 21:17-19). It appears that the apostles together with elders made up a council, a sort of Sanhedrin, for the growing church outside Jerusalem.

When the question arose about circumcision "the brethren determined

that Paul and Barnabas and certain others of them should go up to Jerusalem to the apostles and <u>elders</u> concerning the issue. And the apostles and <u>elders</u> came together to look into this matter" (Acts 15:2, 6). After Paul had given a report we read: "Then it seemed good to the apostles and <u>the elders</u>, <u>with the whole church</u>, to choose men from among them to send to Antioch with Paul and Barnabas—Judas called Barsabbas, and Silas, leading men among the brethren, and they sent this letter by them, "The apostles and the brethren, <u>who are elders</u>, to the brethren in Antioch. . ." (Acts 15:22-23).

The Establishment of Local Elders. Regarding churches outside Jerusalem we find that in the churches Paul founded during his first missionary journey, he appointed elders "in every church" (Acts 14:23). When Paul wrote to Titus he reminded him that he left him in Crete that he "might set in order what remains, and appoint elders in every city as I directed you" (Titus 1:5). On Paul's third missionary journey "from Miletus he sent to Ephesus and called to him the <u>elders</u> of the church' (Acts 20:17). Having reminded them about his work among them he exhorts them: "Be on guard for yourselves and for all the flock, among which the Holy Spirit had made you <u>overseers, to shepherd</u> the church of God which He purchased with His own blood" (Acts 20:28). Two things should be noticed: the elders (presbyteroi) are called "overseers" (episcopi) and as such they should "shepherd the church of God." The latter is in greater detail expressed by Peter, who writes: "Therefore, I exhort <u>the elders</u> among you, as your <u>fellow elder</u> and witness of the sufferings of Christ, and a partaker also of the glory that is to be revealed, <u>shepherd the flock of God</u> among you, <u>exercising oversight</u> not under compulsion, but voluntarily, according to the will of God; and not

for sordid gain, but with eagerness, nor yet as lording it over those allotted to your charge, but proving to be examples to the flock. And when the Chief Shepherd appears, you will receive the unfading crown of glory" (1 Peter 5:1-5; see also Eph. 4:11). Peter calls himself "your fellow elder."

Presbyter–Bishop. The term elder or presbyter (Greek: presbyteros) and overseer or bishop (Greek: episcopos) are used interchangeably (See Acts 20:17, 18: Titus 1:5-9). In his letter to Timothy Paul writes: "Let the elders who rule well be considered worthy of double honor, especially those who work hard at preaehing and teaching" (1 Tim. 5:17). The King James version reads: ". . . they who labor in word and doctrine." The word "rule" (Greek: troestemi) means "to lead," "attend to," (indicating care and diligence), "to superintend," "preside over," thus conveying the idea of overseeing. First Timothy, chapter 3, describes the qualifications of overseers (bishops and deacons) but does not use the word elders (presbyters). In 1 Timothy 5 only elders are mentioned, thus the two words are used interchangeably. It seems that elder expresses the office of eldership while overseer refers to function. Accordingly, the New American Standard Bible consistently translates episcopos with overseer (Acts 20:28; Phil. 1:1; 1 Tim. 3:1, 2; Titus 1:7). The apostle James only refers to elders (not bishops); he writes: "Is anyone among you sick? Let him call for the elders of the church, and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord" (James 5:14). In the second and third Epistle of John the author speaks about himself as "the elder" (2 John 1; 3 John 1).

Elders were overseers but they, no doubt, as members of the body of Christ, had individual gifts--shepherding, preaching, teaching, administration, etc. (See Rom. 12:3-8; 1 Thess. 5:12)--which were recognized and used

in their role as elders. Eldership, as an appointment to minister (diakonia), seems reflected in the fact that there are elders in heaven, who also serve the church on earth (See Rev. 5:5, 8; 7:13).

RETROSPECT

The doctrine of the priesthood of believers is foundational or constitutional to the concept of the church in general and to the official ministry specifically. The appointed ministry is representative in its nature; it is a service (diakonia) in which responsibility (a better word than authority) is transferred. The consecration, which each Christian has expressed in his baptism, the commissioned person demonstrates and discharges in a public or official way in behalf of the body of Christ and in the name of Christ.

We have observed that the nature of the church ministry is expressed by the words "servant," "to serve" and "service" are also translated "minister," "to minister" and "ministry." This is, for example, the case in the King James version which rather consistently does so. We need to keep in mind that when we speak about a minister and a ministry that we speak about a servant (diakonos) and a service (diakonia). No ministerial office represents status or rank in a political or social sense; its influence is measured by its Christ-likeness and how far it is a medium of the working of the Holy Spirit. The office holder is elected and commissioned by the collective priesthood of believers for whom it is obvious, that the office holder is called and used by the Holy Spirit who has given the person the discernment and spiritual gifts needed to serve and represent the collective group of believers: the priesthood of believers.

The story of the formulation of a structure in the apostolic church reveals two aspects: a charismatic and appointed ministry, unified in a Christ-centered and spirit-filled diakonia. In such a setting the charismatic ministry did not create confusion or disorder; on the other hand the appointed ministry preserved order and unity so necessary for any "society," but without making the church into an "institutional" and "hierarchical" organization. The total diakonia preserved the apostolic church as "the body of Christ."

In the New Testament the development of an official ministry and a church structure is obvious, even though all details are not clear. When we compare the known development in the New Testament and the structural principles which emerge with the various developments in the centuries to follow and observe their results—for better or for worse—then it should be possible for the people of God to ascertain a ministry and church structure which can be true to the nature of the priesthood of believers, and what the New Testament tells us about the nature and notes of the church and its ministry (diakonia). The body of Christ should then also be able to distinguish between what is biblically normative and circumstantial. What we so far have observed will be further evaluated in the light of some historical and theological observations and perspectives.

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PRIESTHOOD AND ORDINATION: SOME HISTORICAL OBSERVATIONS
AND THEOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES

When ministerial functions and offices developed outside the framework
of the nature of the ministry, and the doctrine of the priesthood of
believers--as described in the New Testament--or evolved contrary to the
principles embodied therein, then the structure of the church and the mini-
stry changed. Regarding this we will attempt to make some historical obser-
vations and point out some theological perspectives. We will note that "as
the history of the world is a judgment of the world," so "in a relative
sense the history of the church is a progressive judgment of the church."[1]

While changes gradually took place during the second century, we find
that by the middle of the third century the concept of the ministry, and
thereby the doctrine of the church, was greatly altered through the work and
writings of Cyprian. To him the essence, foundation, and unity of the
church are found in the bishop, as his famous dictum says: "Ye ought to
know that the bishop is in the church and the church in the bishop, and if
any one be not with the bishop, that he is not in the church." From now on
ecclesiastical offices more and more constituted the basic nature and
structure of the church. As a result church history in general, and eccles-

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iology in particular became, to a large degree, hierarchical; that is, the story of a growing power of the bishop not only administratively but also theologically, until it found its apex in the pope as the vicar of God. The future outcome of Cyprian's teaching was institutionalized churches contrary to the New Testament pattern.

The doctrine of the church and its ministry as presented by Cyprian "produced a greater change in contemporary Christian thought than any movement before the Reformation."[2] We will first seek to sketch the development of the ministry up to the time of Cyprian, keeping in mind that in general, scholars agree "that in the New Testament the terms bishop and presbyter seem interchangeable, nor is there anything to show how the former term came to be used for an office that had taken on apostolic functions."[3]

EARLY CHRISTIAN WRITERS

Clement of Rome. The earliest Christian writers in extent outside the New Testament was written under the name "The First Epistle of Clement to Corinth."[4] The introductory salutation makes it clear that the letter was sent from one church to another, and not from one bishop or church leader to another.

The letter was sent by three members of the Roman church prompted by the fact that some presbyters had unjustifiably been dismissed causing disunity in the church of Corinth. We find that the words bishop and presbyter are used interchangeably as in the New Testament. Likewise, most often presbyter is used and describes an office, while bishop a function (I. i, 3; iii. 3, XXI.6; XLIV, 5; XLVII, 6; IV. 4; LIV. 21; LVII.1; LVII.4, 5). The name given to the function of presbyters was "episkope" (having oversight).

We quote: "Our Apostles also knew through our Lord Jesus Christ that there would be strife for the title of bishop [episkope]. For this cause, therefore, since they had received perfect foreknowledge, they appointed those who have been already mentioned, and afterwards added the codicil that if they should fall asleep, other approved men should succeed to their ministry. We consider therefore that it is not just to remove from their ministry those who were appointed by them, or later on by other eminent men, with the consent of the whole Church, and have ministered to the flock of Christ without blame, humbly, peaceably, and disinterestedly, and for many years have received a universally favourable testimony. For our sin is not small, if we eject from the episcopate those who have blamelessly and holily offered its sacrifices" (I XLIV. 1-4). There is no doubt that the name "episcopate" (translated bishop in verse 1 but the same as in verse 4) was used for the function of presbyters for one reads: "Blessed are those Presbyters who finished their course before now, and have obtained a fruitful and perfect release in the ripeness of completed work, for they have now no fear that any shall move them from the place appointed to them. For we see that in spite of their good service you have removed some from the ministry which they fulfilled blamelessly" (I XLV. 5-6). It is further substantiated from the following statements: "It is shameful . . . that on account of one or two persons the steadfast and ancient Church of the Corinthians is being disloyal to the presbyters set over it." "Only let the flock of Christ have peace with presbyters." "You therefore, who laid the foundation of the sedition, submit to the presbyters" (I, XLVII.6: LIV.2; LVII.1).

Ignatius of Antioch. A decade or two after the Epistle of Clement, we find that Ignatius of Antioch wrote several letters while he was on his way

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to Rome where he suffered martyrdom (c. 110-115 A.D.).[5] Six of these were addressed to churches in Asia Minor and one to the Polycarp of Smyrna. In these letters we are introduced to a threefold ministry: bishop, elder, and deacon, but it is not synonymous with the later episcopacy.

It should be noticed that the word bishop is always used in the singular, with the presbyter in the plural. Further, the work of the bishop (episcopos) is always described with relationship to the presbytery (presbyterion). Ignatius expresses the hope that the church "may be pinned together in one subjection, subject to the bishop and the presbytery." He mentions the "justly famous presbytery" (Ephesians, II 2; IV. 1).

In the letter to the Magnesians he writes: "Be zealous to do all things in harmony with God, with the bishop, presiding in the place of God and the presbyters in the place of the Council of Apostles, and the deacons, who are most dear to me, entrusted with the service of Jesus Christ." In the next paragraph he repeats "As then the Lord was united to the Father, and did nothing without him, neither by himself nor through the Apostles, so do you nothing without the bishop and the presbyters" (Magnesians VI.1; VII.1).

The same concept is expressed to the Trallians: "You should do nothing without the bishop, but be also in subjection to the presbytery, as to the Apostles of Jesus Christ our hope, for if we live in him we shall be found in him." Further, "Whoever does anything apart from the bishop and the presbytery and the deacons is not just in his conscience" (Trallians II. 2; VII. 2).

In the letter to the Romans no reference is made to a bishop--the same was the case in the letter of Clement of Rome--but this statement is made:

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"Remember in your prayers the Church in Syria which has God for its Shepherd in my room. Its bishop shall be Jesus Christ alone, --and your love" (Romans IX. 1). He expresses a clear difference between a bishop and the apostles when he writes: "I do not order you as did Peter and Paul; they were Apostles" (Romans IV. 3).

A threefold ministry is also mentioned to the Philadelphians. As there is one Eucharist so "there is one bishop with the presbytery and the deacons." "Give heed to the bishop, and to the presbytery and deacons" (Philadelphians IV. 1; VII. 1).

Ignatius closes his message to the Smyrnaeans with this greeting: "I salute the godly bishop, and the revered presbytery, and the deacons my fellow-servants, and you all, individually and together, in the name of Jesus Christ" (Smyrnaeans XII.2). In his personal letter to Polycarp of Smyrna he also advises the Christian community when he writes: "Give heed to the bishop, that God may also give heed to you. I am devoted to those who are subject to the bishop, presbyters, and deacons" (Polycarp VI. 1).

The main impression we have from the letters is the great burden Ignatius has for the unity, sanctity, universality, and apostolicity of the church. To preserve this unity the local church has an overseer (bishop), presbyters, and deacons. The bishop (overseer) is chairman of the presbytery. With good reason we can speak about a presbyter-bishop. In the light of this it is understandable that the Lord's Supper, baptism and "agape" meals could not be performed without the bishop or "by one whom he appoints" (Smyrnaeans VIII. 2). The presbyter-bishop was, it seems, the presiding host at the Lord's Supper.

Before we leave Ignatius we will note the following observation: "But

if there be no sacerdotalism, no apostolic succession, no one-man rule, and no diocese; if every Christian community is to be organized under a leader, who is called a bishop and sometimes a pastor, who presides over a court of elders, and has under him a body of deacons; . . . if nothing is to be done without the consent of the pastor or bishop, neither sacrament nor love-feast, nor anything congregational--then while the resemblance to modern episcopacy, with its diocesan system, is but small, there is a very great amount of resemblance to that form of ecclesiastical organization which re-emerged at the Reformation and which is commonly called the presbyterian, though it might be more appropriately named the conciliar system of Church government."[6]

Polycarp. We not only have Ignatius' letter to Polycarp of Smyrna (died as martyr c. 155 A.D.) but also a letter from him to Philippi.[7] The opening sentence reads: "Polycarp and the Elders with him to the Church of God sojourning in Philippi." While he in detail speaks about the qualifications of presbyters and deacons, he does not mention bishops at all.

The Apologist Justin Martyr. Justin Martyr, who also suffered martyrdom in Rome (c. 165 A.D.), was a native of Samaria. He lived for some time in Ephesus and later settled in Rome. He became a Christian apologist. He regularly refers to the bishop as the "president" (Greek, proestos). This could be another word for "overseer." It has been suggested that "this usage may have been dictated by a concern to avoid specifically ecclesiastical language in addressing the pagan world."

In the description of the local church service and the celebration of the Lord's Supper Justin tells us that after Scripture reading the "president" gives a discourse and the congregation stands up and prays. "There is

then brought to the president of the brethren bread and a cup of wine mixed with water" (Apol. I ch. 65, 66).[8] This seems to be another picture of an elder-pastor who as "overseer" (bishop) presides in the church, and is the host of the Lord's Supper. Further, "the president" (bishop, overseer) no doubt was chairman of the committee of presbyters as the Jewish synagogue chose one of their group as the head.

Hermas of Rome. Also counted among the Apostolic Fathers is Hermas of Rome (c. A.D. 100-140).[9] He is remembered for his book The Shepherd, which is composed of a series of visions, moral instructions, and ten parables. His references to the ministry are scanty, but the structure presented indicates similarity to that of Clement where the words bishop and presbyter are used. It is presbyters who preside in the church (Vis. II. 4. 2.). He also refers to "the leaders of the Church" (proegoumenoi) without identifying them. Twice he mentions bishops in the plural. The church is built on a foundation of "the Apostles and bishops and teachers and deacons who . . . served the elect of God in holiness and reverence, as bishops and teachers and deacons" (Vis. III. 5. 1). Bishops are mentioned as "hospitable men who at all times received the servants of God into their houses gladly and without hypocrisy, and the bishops ever ceaselessly sheltered the destitute and the widows by their ministration, and ever behaved with holiness" (Sim. IX. 27. 2).

The Church Manual Didache. Reference has previously been made to "The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles," also referred to as the "Didache."[10] Here references are made to a charismatic ministry and bishops and deacons, reminding us of the ministry found in the writings of Paul.

We find traveling teachers, apostles, and prophets with instruction how

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to treat them and test them. The apostles are traveling missionaries and are not expected to stay more than two days, and "if he ask for money, he is a false prophet." A true prophet and teacher may settle down in a church, but practical arrangement should be made for their sustenance (Didache XI, XII, XIII). Regarding the local ministry we read: "Appoint therefore for yourselves bishops and deacons worthy of the Lord, meek men, and not lovers of money, and truthful and approved, for they also minister to you the ministry of the prophets and teachers. Therefore do not despise them, for they are your honourable men together with the prophets and teachers" (Didache XV. 1., 2.)

The words bishops and deacons, no doubt, are used as by Paul (Phil. 1:1, Acts 20:17, 18) where bishops are used synonymously with elders. The word bishop is therefore in the plural. In the writings of the Apostolic Fathers we observed that when the word bishop was used it was in the singular, referring to the presbyter-bishop among a group of presbyters and deacons.

Irenaeus of Gaul. At the close of the second century we find Irenaeus, a native of Asia Minor, bishop of Lyons in the present-day France from 177 to his death (c. A.D. 200). Here he wrote the work "Against Heresies" in which we find reference to the ministry. He also uses the words bishop and presbyter interchangeably, indicating that a fixed designation between two orders of ministry has not yet been fully developed. In this connection it is interesting to notice that church historian Eusebius, at the time of Constantine, refers to Irenaeus as "a presbyter of the diocese of Lyons."[11]

In Irenaes' struggle against the gnostic heresy his great argument is that the Christian church is genuine where apostolic succession is found in

teaching and in office-bearers: presbyters-bishops. A few quotations from "Against Heresies"[12] speak for themselves:

"When we refer them to that tradition which originates from the apostles and which is preserved by means of the successions of presbyters in the Churches" (III, ii. 2.), "It is within the power of all, therefore, in every Church, who may wish to see the truth, to contemplate the tradition of the apostles manifested throughout the whole world; and we are in a position to reckon up those who were by the apostles instituted bishops in the Churches, and the succession of these men to our own times" (III. iii. 1.), "In this order, and by this succession, the ecclesiastical tradition from the apostles and the preaching of the truth, have come down to us" (III. iii. 3.), "Wherefore it is incumbent to obey the presbyters who are in the Church, --those who, as I have shown, possess the succession from the apostles; those who, together with the succession of the episcopate, have received the certain gift of truth, according to the good pleasure of the Father. But to hold in suspicion others who depart from the primitive succession, and assemble themselves together in any place whatsoever" (IV.XXVI.2.), "It behoves us. . . to adhere to those who, as I have already observed, do hold the doctrine of the apostles, and who, together with the order of priesthood (presbyterii ordine), display sound speech and blameless conduct for the confirmation and correction of others" (IV.XXVI.4.). "Such presbyters does the Church nourish, of whom also the prophet says: 'I will give thy rulers in peace, and thy bishops in righteousness.' . . . Where, therefore, the gifts of the Lord have been placed, there it behoves us to learn the truth, from those who possess that succession of the Church which is from the apostles" (IV.XXVI.5.), "As I have heard from a certain

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presbyter, who had heard it from those who had seen the apostles, and from those who had been their disciples" (IV. XXVII.1.), "Then shall every word also seem consistent to him, if he for his part diligently read the scriptures in company with those who are presbyters in the Church, among whom is the apostolic doctrine, as I have pointed out" (IV. XXXII.1).

Tertullian of Carthage. Early in the third century Tertullian of Carthage, North Africa, wrote a defense against the gnostic heresy similar to that of Irenaeus.[13] We will also let him speak for himself:

"Jesus Christ our Lord . . did, whilst he lived on earth, Himself declare what He was . . . what the Father's will was . . . what the duty of man was . . . to His disciples, of whom He had chosen the twelve chief ones to be at His side. . . . After first bearing witness to the faith in Jesus Christ throughout Judaea, and founding churches (there), they next went forth into the world and . . . founded churches in every city, from which all the other churches, one after another, derived the tradition of the faith, and the seeds of doctrine. . . . Therefore the churches, although they are so many and so great, comprise but the one primitive church (founded) by the apostles, from whom they all (spring). In this way all are primitive, and all are apostolic, whilst they are all proved to be one, in (unbroken) unity, by their peaceful communion, and title of brotherhood, and bond of hospitality,--privileges which no other rule directs than the one tradition of the selfsame mystery" (ON Prescription Against Heresies XX).

In another connection Tertullian writes: ". . . all doctrine which agrees with the apostolic churches--those moulds and original sources of the faith must be reckoned for truth, as undoubtedly containing that which the (said) churches received from the apostles, the apostles from Christ, Christ

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from God" (Ibid. XXI).

While Irenaeus interchangeably used bishops and presbyters we find that Tertullian only speaks about succession of bishops (Ibid. XXXII, XXXVI). Philip Schaff writes that Tertullion "was the first who expressly and directly asserts sacerdotal claims on behalf of the Christian ministry, and calls it sacerdotium, although he also strongly approves the universal priesthood of believers. . . he uniformly and clearly distinguishes bishops and presbyters."[14]

Tertullian had studied and practiced law in Rome prior to his conversion and return to Carthage. He was the first prominent church writer to use Latin and therefore provided in different ways a new terminology which led to new concepts that later would become general. For example, in connection with the celebration of the Lord's Supper the bishop is called the "high priest" and the presbyter "priest." He speaks about them as sacerdotes (On Baptism, XVII).[15]

It is somewhat ironic that Tertullian, who provided the Latin vocabulary to the ecclesiology of the Latin church, became a Montanist. Montanism was first an eschatological revival movement with a renewal of the spiritual gifts, especially prophecy; later the stress was laid upon rigid morality in contrast to a general laxity in the "orthodox" church. Tertullian has been described as an Episcopalian in the first part of his life and in the second part as a Montanist. His writings from the Montanist period represents a different side to Tertullian's ecclesiology, and we may add, a necessary one. He writes: 'The very Church itself is, properly and principally, the Spirit Himself, in whom is he Trinity of the One Divinity--Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. (The Spirit) combines that Church which the Lord has made to

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consist in 'three.' And thus, from that time forward, every number (of persons) who may have combined together into this faith is accounted 'a Church,' from the Author and Consecrator (of the Church). And accordingly 'the Church,' it is true, will forgive sins: but (it will be) the Church of the Spirit, by means of a spiritual man; not the Church which consists of a number of bishops (On Modesty XXI).[16] Tertullian's twofold ecclesiastical view has been described in this way: "Tertullian, then, provides us successively with both an advanced catholic sacerdotal view of the office of the bishop and presbyter and a radical Spiritual doctrine of the priesthood of all believers"[17]

The following balanced view of Tertullians ecclesiology is worthy of notice: "Tertullian, we may conclude, was protesting not so much against the idea of ministerial order as such as against the failure of bishops, whether by laxity or by officialism, to be what they should have been. Such protests have been needed, and that of Tertullian and the Montanist was the first of many."[18]

Hippolytus of Rome. The oldest Christian record of an ordination rite is found in the writings of Hippolytus who was a presbyter in the Church of Rome in the early part of the third century (d. 236). In his book The Apostolic Tradition we find the position of the bishop further enhanced.[19] While the bishop is chosen by the people it is the other bishops who ordain him by laying "their hands on him, and the presbyters shall stand by in silence." In the dedicatory prayer he is called God's "high priest," and that "by the Spirit of high-priesthood to have authority to remit sins" (I. 2, 3). The sacerdotal aspect of the aaronic priest is implied and thereby began a change of the New Testament ministry. It has been so well expressed

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in the following statement: "This was to introduce a new idea of the Christian ministry, and one which endangered the teaching of the N.T. that the sacrifice of Christ alone is the sufficient redemptive act on man's behalf. This view of the ministry, as it gained acceptance, doubtless aided by the common use of sacerdotal terminology, inevitably led to a new ecclesiology which sees the Church as essentially a hierarchical body. The concept of the Church as the whole people of God lost ground, and the distinction between clergy and laity was highly sharpened as the latter were relegated to the role of passive dependants. This ecclesiology was to come under formidable attack in the sixteenth century."[20]

The difference between the bishop and presbyter was further widened by the fact that only the bishops can ordain. "The presbyter has only the power to receive; but he has no power to give. For this reason a presbyter does not ordain the clergy; but at the ordination of a presbyter he seats while the bishop ordains" (I. 9. 7-8). In the case of a deacon, only the bishop places his hands on him for "he is not ordained to the priesthood, but to serve the bishop and to carry out the bishop's commands. He does not take part in the council of the clergy; he is to attend to the bishop such things as are needful" (I.9).

Cyprian of Carthage. It is obvious from what we have observed that the way was prepared for Cyprian to whom we will now return. Cyprian was born and lived in Carthage. He became bishop two years after he became a Christian (c. A.D. 246) and suffered martyrdom in A.D. 258. We will quote from his Epistles.[21]

For Cyprian the basic principle of unity is found in the bishop: "Our Lord . . . describing the honour of a bishop and the order of His Church,

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speaks in the Gospel, and says to Peter: I say unto thee, That thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my Church. . . . Thence, through the changes of times and successions, the ordering of bishops and the plan of the Church flow onwards; so that the Church is founded upon the bishops, and every act of the Church is controlled by these same rulers" (Epistle XXVI. 1). "You ought to know that the bishop is in the Church, and the Church in the bishop; and if any one be not with the bishop, that he is not in the Church" (Epistle LXVIII. 8).

The church which previously was a brotherhood of the priesthood of believers became a community centered in the bishop. Cyprian often quotes Deuteronomy: "And the man who acts presumptuously by not listening to the priest who stands there to serve the Lord your God, nor to the judge, that man shall die; thus you shall purge the evil from Israel. Then all the people will hear and be afraid, and will not act presumptuously again" (17:12-13). Quoting Matt. 16:18-19, "I say unto thee, that thou art Peter and upon this rock will I build my Church," Cyprian points out that the same honor bestowed upon Peter by Christ is also granted to the bishop. Accordingly, Cyprian could state that "the Church is founded on the bishops, and every act of the Church is controlled by these same rulers" (Epistle XXVI.1).

The bishop has the "sublime power of governing the Church" (Epistle LIV. 2), and therefore is in charge of instructing and when necessary exercise discipline" (Epistle IV, 2; XIV, 2.); the elders and deacons may assist him, but he is in control (Epistle XV, 1). The right of binding and loosing which was given to the apostles belongs now to the bishops (Epistle LXXII, 7).

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As a priest the bishop is a representative of Christ, especially at the Lord's Supper, which is considered as a sacrifice; thus the priest is identified with the priesthood of Aaron. As a consequence the ministry has become a sacerdotal mediatory function and the priesthood of believers is a contradiction. In a lengthy discussion of this he says that the bishop does "that which Jesus Christ, our Lord and God, the founder and teacher of this sacrifice did and taught." Accordingly, the "priest truly discharges the office of Christ" and "offers a true and full sacrifice" (Epistle LXII, 1, 14).

A late fourth century document, "Constitution of the Holy Apostles,"[22] clearly reflects the result of Cyprian's teaching. The document tells us what the apostles supposedly said and did. We read: "But being taught by the Lord the series of things, we distributed the functions of the high-priesthood to the bishops, those of the priesthood to the presbyters, and the ministration under them both to the deacons; that the divine worship might be performed in purity. For it is not lawful for a deacon to offer the sacrifice, or to baptize, or to give either the greater or the lesser blessing. Nor may a presbyter perform ordination; for it is not agreeable to holiness to have this order perverted" (VIII, 5.46).

A CHANGED MINISTRY

The Birth of the Christian Priest. It must be re-emphasized that the term priest is not used in the New Testament with reference to a ministerial office, but it only applied collectively to the total body of believers. In Israel, as among the heathen nations around them, priests formed a distinct class (Gen. 41:45; 47:22); 1 Sam. 6:2; Acts 14:13). Their task was to

"appease" Jehovah and the gods by offering sacrifices. Among the Israelites the priesthood was hereditary and belonged to the tribe of Aaron. But among the heathen nations it was granted by the state; neither procedures were acceptable by the early church.

Beginning with Tertullian, Hyppolytus and Cyprian the word "priest" came into vogue. Especially two factors came together to accomplish this. The Lord's Supper became a sacrifice and from the analogy of the Hebrew and pagan religions, those who administrated the sacraments became priest (sacerdos); accordingly, we speak about sacerdotalism. In this connection it should be noticed that in the apocryphal Acts of John (c. 160-170) the table for the Lord's Supper is referred to as an alter; likewise, Polycrates of Ephesus (c. 190) spoke about the apostle John as a "priest wearing the breastplate."[23] At the same time the presbyter-bishop of a presbytery developed into an order above the presbyter. The outcome was that the presbyter became priest and the bishop was named high-priest.

Monarchical Episcopacy. When the council of presbytes with a presbyter bishop as its head developed into a monarchial episcopacy, the one-man autocracy in a local church found easy support on a larger scale until it reached its apex in the pope. The brotherhood of "the saints and the faithful brethren in Christ" (Col. 1:2) gradually disappeared, likewise the charismatic ministry, and gave place to an institutional and hierarchical church.

Apostolic Succession. Up to the time of Cyprian the bishops who presided over the churches founded by the apostles were in succession from the apostles, but now bishops are considered a succession of apostles, also representing Christ by having sacerdotal power as the priesthood of the Old Testament. Theologically and ecclesiologically, (the two go together and

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influence the ministry) the stage was set for the medieval church and the contours were given.

The Civil Administrative Structure of the Roman Empire. The Christian minisry and offices were not established in a vacuum. We have observed roots and antecedents in the Old Testament and in Judaism. In the second and third centuries the church expanded into the various parts of the empire and the structure of the appointed ministry began, to a large degree, to be organized as the civil administrative structure of the empire. For the sake of brevity we will quote Arnold Ehrhardt:

"It seems to be well established that the constitution of the early Christian churches was similar in form to the constitution of the <u>municipia</u> in the early Roman Empire; this is affirmed by modern historians and even by some early Fathers of the Church. The <u>municipia</u> were colonies of Roman veterans in the provinces of the Roman Empire, and their administration was roughly similar to that of the city of Rome itself. The magistracies were always held by more than one person; there was a council of elders, consisting of persons eligible for office, which prepared by its deliberations courses of action to be effected by the executive; there was on the other hand the popular assembly, called in the East the <u>ecclesia</u>, and officers called <u>adparitores</u>, or in the East deacons, who were the connecting link between the council and the assembly.'[24]

This historical observation speaks for itself; however, we wish to make a few comments. There was a council of elders, and the assembly was called the <u>ecclesia</u>, which is the common word for assemble and also used in the New Testament for the assembly of believers: the church. The officers are called <u>adparitores</u>, which is the Latin for servants as deacons is in the

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Greek.

The municipium (a Roman town, borough or colony) had as the head of the administration two or more magistrates; they were named quastors and functioned as prosecutors or judges; or treasury-official. Paul speaks about overseers (bishops) in the plural together with deacons (Phil. 1:1; Acts 20:28). It is first in the second century with the beginnings of the monepiscopacy or monarchical episcopacy that we find only one head in the administration of the local church. Without going into further discussion of a possible Roman influence at this time, we will once more quote Ehrhardt.

"It is here that we may outline the origin of the title episcopus so far as concerns the choice between the various non-ecclesiastical meanings of the word. Two facts stand out. The one is that the term was chosen prior to the introduction of mon-episcopacy, but preserved after its introduction. The other is that very rarely in pagan writers is the term used for the description of a supreme or a sacred position, even if describing the function of a heathen god. An episcopus is a functionary or an organization, political or non-political. The bursars of Hellenistic clubs were sometimes called episcopoi, and for this reason E. Hatch suggested that the bishops had originally adopted the name as treasurers of a Christian congregation. But Church-organization never followed the model of private societies, and it seems more likely that the royal inspectors of Hellenistic times who had become town officials afforded the pattern from which the title came into use."[25]

In this connection it should be noticed that Justin Martyr, in the middle of the second century, speaks about the president (the local elder or

bishop) as the one responsible for dispensing the collections in the church. He writes: "What is collected is deposited with the president, who succours the orphans and widows, and those who, through sickness or any other cause, are in want, and those who are in bonds, and the strangers sojourning among us, and in a word takes care of all who are in need."[26]

One hundred years later, about A.D. 251, Cornelius of Rome tells in a letter how the Master (the bishop) was the administrative dispenser in the work of charity. The letter tells us that in the church were "forty-six presbyters, seven deacons, seven sub-deacons, forty-two acolytes, fifty-two exorcists, readers and door-keepers, above fifteen hundred widows and persons in distress, all of whom are supported by the grace and loving-kindness of the Master."[27]

The Constantinian Church and its Sequel. Constantine's recognition of the church in the fourth century and its association with the Roman state was a determining factor in the practical organization of the church and the ministry. The church took shape from the civil organization of the empire. As Christianity spread, there had come to be generally a bishop for each city, together with the territory attached to it. "The power and prestige of the clergy--the Christian ordo--increased as those of the civil ordo--the municipal magistracy--declined, until the bishop became the most important figure in the life of the city and the representative of the whole communi-ty."[28] Bishoprics were grouped into provinces, as the districts already were for civil purposes, and its president was the metropolitan or arch-bishop.

After the state had placed a positive value on the church and it next became a part of the structure of the empire, lawgiving showed favor toward

the clergy and the church with the result that the church was bound together by political ties and the clergy became officials of the state.

When the masses entered the church it was followed by an influx of ideas from pagan temples and worship which were Christianized. This especially had a bearing on the sacerdotal concept of the priesthood. We have already observed that the priest and bishop, in celebrating the Lord's Supper, were compared to the Aaronic priesthood, now the same could be compared to the pagan priests. The sacramental concept of a mediatory ministry, more than anything, changed the ministry, theologically and structurally, as reflected in the development of the seven sacraments: Baptism, Confirmation, the Eucharist, Penance, Order, Matrimony and Extreme Unction. The believer lived his religious life from birth to death within the parameters of the sacraments believing that through them the priests were dispensing God's grace. The priest himself had by the sacrament of order been given an indestructible mark (character indelebilos) which made that possible. This indelible mark or character of the priest he could not loose. With the stroke of the pen the pope could place a single person, group of persons, a city, district, and a county under an interdict, which meant that the priests were not permitted to administer the sacraments and therefore spiritual death for those under interdict. Further, the distinction between clergy and laity was completed.

Reformation Attempts. While men and movements arose to challenge medieval ecclesiology,--as the Albigensians, Waldensians, John Eckhart (d. 1327), Marselius of Padua (d. 1342), William of Occam (d. 1349), John Wycliff (d. 1386), and John Huss (d. 1415),--it was first by the Protestant reformation of the sixteenth century that fruitful attempts succeeded in

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restoring or came close to the ecclesiology of the New Testament and the early church.

LUTHER AND THE MINISTRY

Luther's Reaction. It is significant to notice that the Protestant reformation was a reaction against the medieval concept of the ministry. The nailing of Luther's ninety-five theses on the door of the castle church in Wittenberg, 1517, was a response against the sale of indulgences. This final break with Rome came when he, in 1520, wrote, A Prelude on the Babylonian Captivity of the Church, in which he criticized the Roman sacramental system, which he believed brought the faithful into bondage to the priestly hierarchy. He asserted that, tried by Scripture, there are only two sacraments, baptism and the Lord's Supper. He also criticized the denial of the cup to the laity. In his opposition to papal supremacy and the sacramental system he attacked the very foundation and structure of Roman Catholicism and its ministry. His appeal to a general council as the highest authority was contrary to the concept of papal supremacy. Soon after completing The Babylonian Captivity Luther received the pope's bull, Exsurge Domine. In it Leo X speaks as an infallible and supreme judge, condemning twenty-one propositions selected from Luther's writings as heretical. Among these are Luther's attack on papal supremacy and the seven sacraments.

Luther's Faith Experience. The Lutheran reformation grew out of Luther's own religious experience in which he found justification by "faith alone" and "grace alone" through "Christ alone" and "the Bible alone." From this experience stems his ecclesiology: negatively as a reaction against

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sacerdotalism and positively in the doctrine of the spiritual priesthood of all believers. The latter we have noticed in our previous discussion, here we will observe its effect on the church ministry.

All Christians must express their faith in action and communication of love. "God has placed his Church in the midst of the world among countless undertakings and callings in order the Christians should not be monks but live with one another in social fellowship and manifest among men the works and practices of faith."[29] This was the conclusion Luther drew from the idea of the universal fellowship of believers.

A Delegated and Representative Ministry. While all Christians are ministers or priests for the sake of order, some must occupy the office of ministry. This was the new conception of the ministry that was to determine the whole history of Protestant Christianity. "We are all priests insofar as we are Christians, but those whom we call priests are ministers selected from our midst to act in our name, and their priesthood is our ministry."[30] Further from the pen of Luther: "Where the Word of God is preached and believed, there is true faith, that (certain) immovable rock; and where faith is, there is the Church; where the Church is, there is the bride of Christ; and where the bride of Christ is, there is also everything that belongs to the Bridegroom. Thus faith has everything in its train that is implied in it, keys, sacraments, power, and everything else."[31] "Every Christian has the power the pope, bishops, priests and monks have, namely, to forgive or not to forgive sins. . . . We all have this power, to be sure, but none shall dare exercise it publicly except he be elected to do so by the congregation. In private, however, he may use it."[32]

The distinction between clergy and laity was clearly removed, and the

word priest made obsolete. In view of the centrality of the Word the minister was generally called preacher and later pastor (shepherd).

Luther's Congregational Church Concept. According to Luther, the power of the church is limited to the ministry of the Word. For some time Luther expressed his concept of the church as rather congregational in its form of organization, built up as a voluntary group of committed Christians. In Luther's answer to a book by Gerome Emser, a secretary to Duke George of Saxony, he writes:

"Thus Emser too certainly knows from St. Jerome that priest and bishop are one and the same thing in Scripture. For St. Paul says in Titus 1 [:5], 'You should appoint a priest in every town' (that is, an elder over them); and soon afterward he says about the same priest, 'But this same bishop must be a blameless man' [Titus 1:7]. He clearly calls the same man priest, bishop, elder, and watchman. But no one should be surprised that bishop, pastor, priest, chaplain, cathedral dean, monk, and many similar names have different meanings now, since no word of Scripture has retained its true meaning. That is why God and his Scripture do not know the present bishops. The spiritual estate has been established and ordered by men's laws and regulations in such a way, and has become so deeply entrenched in the course of time, that one thinks it is founded on Scripture, even though it is more than twice as worldly as the world itself while calling itself and pretending to be spiritual. Yet there is nothing behind it.

"That is why I have called this same priesthood churchly, since it stems from the order of the church and is not founded on Scripture. For in previous times this matter was handled as follows, and this is the way it should still be done: since in every Christian town they were all equally

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spiritual priests, one of them—the oldest or rather the most learned and most godly—was elected to be their servant, official, caretaker, and guardian in regard to the gospel and the sacraments, just as a mayor in a city is elected from among the common mass of all citizens."[33]

Luther changed his concept of the church and also that of church-state relationships. For political reasons, Luther placed the church under the general supervision of the state, which then to a very large degree dominated the church. The price which Luther paid for the help of the territorial princes was all too high. Even Karl Holl, a defender of Luther, has to admit this, and adds, "The best energies of the Reformation were kept down through this development or they were forced to develop alongside and apart from the Church." An outstanding American Lutheran scholar, the late Professor J. L. Neve, has said that "the establishment of Lutheran territorial churches laid the foundation for a continuing injury to Lutheranism from which Germany is suffering to this present day."[34] Accordingly, Luther's original and ideal ecclesiology is most perfectly carried into effect by Lutheranism in America, where church and state are separated.

CALVIN AND THE MINISTRY

Calvin's Institutes of the Christian Religion. This major work of Calvin which first appeared as a small edition in 1536, was, after several editions, completed in 1559 and divided into four books.[35] It has profoundly influenced the development of the Reformed tradition of Protestantism. Book Four, which is the last and by far the longest of the Institutes, deals with the doctrine of the church. Chapters one and two deal to a large degree with the value and marks of the church and chapter three with the

ministry of the church. In the following sixteen chapters he discusses the history and ecclesiology of the primitive and ancient church. He then, at length, deals with the papacy and its sacramental system, and explains the true meaning of baptism (he sharply opposes the rebaptism) and the Lord's Supper. Book IV closes with a chapter on the civil government.

The Church and the Magistrates. Calvin aimed at making the government of Geneva a Christian one. With a Christian magistracy it was understood that, while the church maintained independence in spiritual matters, church and state wold mutually support one another. Sometimes the church-state relationship in Geneva has been referred to as a theocracy and bibliocracy and thereby expressing the influence the Bible had upon the magistracy. The influence upon the administration of the secular society has also character-ized the Reformed Churches and English Puritanism both in Europe and America. But only in America is Presbyterianism able to function without state interferance, in some form or another, as was the case in Geneva.

In Geneva the governmental power resided in three councils: The Council of the Sixty, who were members of the Council of the Two Hundred, the Council of the Twenty-five were made up of members from the other two Councils. The interrelationship between these civil councils and the church will be observed in several connections.

New Testament Ministry. Calvin strongly emphasizes a structured mini-stry and bases his concept especially on Ephesians 4:4-16. Having quoted these verses he makes the following comment: "By these words he shows that the ministry of men, which God employs in governing the Church, is a princi-pal bond by which believers are kept together in one body. He also inti-mates, that the Church cannot be kept safe, unless supported by those guards

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to which the Lord has been pleased to commit its safety. . . . Whoever, therefore, studies to abolish this order and kind of government of which we speak, or disparages it as of minor importance, plots the devastation, or rather the ruin and destruction, of the Church. For neither are the light and heat of the sun, nor meat and drink, so necessary to sustain and cherish the present life, as is the apostolical and pastoral office to preserve a Church in the earth" (Inst. V.III.2).

We will follow Calvin's own explanation of the different ministries (Inst. IV.III.4.5) of which he finds five according to Ephesians 4:11: "Those who preside over the government of the Church, according to the institution of Christ, are named by Paul, first, Apostles; secondly, Prophets; thirdly, Evangelists; fourthly, Pastors; and lastly, Teachers (Eph. IV. 11). Of these only the two last have an ordinary office in the Church. The Lord raised up the other three at the beginning of his kingdom, and still occasionally raises them up when the necessity of the times requires."

First the Apostles. "The nature of the apostolic function is clear from the command, 'Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature' (Mark xvi. 15). No fixed limits are given them, but the whole world is assigned to be reduced under the obedience of Christ, that by spreading the Gospel as widely as they could, they might everywhere erect his kingdom. Accordingly, Paul, when he would approve his apostleship, does not say that he had acquired some one city for Christ, but had propagated the Gospel far and wide--had not built on another man's foundation, but planted churches where the name of his Lord was unheard. The apostles, therefore, were sent forth to bring back the world from its revolt to the true obedience of God, and everywhere establish his kingdom by the preaching

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of the Gospel; or, if you choose, they were like the first architects of the Church, to lay its foundations throughout the world."

Secondly, The Prophets. "By Prophets, he means not all interpreters of the divine will, but those who excelled by special revelation; none such now exist, or they are less manifest."

Thirdly, The Evangelists. "By Evangelists, I mean those who, while inferior in rank to the apostles, were next them in office, and even acted as their substitutes. Such were Luke, Timothy, Titus, and the like; perhaps, also, the seventy disciples whom our Saviour appointed in the second place to the apostles (Luke X.1)."

Calvin next explains that these "three functions were not instituted in the Church to be perpetual, but only to endure so long as churches were to be formed where none previously existed, or at least where churches were to be transferred from Moses to Christ; although I deny not, that afterward God occasionally raised up Apostles, or at least Evangelists, in their stead, as has been done in our time. For such were needed to bring back the Church from the revolt of Antichrist. The office I nevertheless call extraordinary, because it has no place in churches duly constituted."

Pastors and teachers. Regarding these we read: "Next come Pastors and Teachers, with whom the Church never can dispense, and between whom, I think, there is this difference, that teachers preside not over discipline, or the administration of the sacraments, or admonitions, or exhortations, but the interpretation of Scripture only, in order that pure and sound doctrine may be maintained among believers. But all these are embraced in the pastoral office."

Calvin tries to compare the temporary and permanent ministries with the

result that he finds two pairs: Prophets and apostles, teachers and pastors. "We now understand what offices in the government of the Church were temporary, and what offices were instituted to be of perpetual duration. But if we class evangelists with apostles, we shall have two like offices in a manner corresponding to each other. For the same resemblance which our teachers have to the ancient prophets pastors have to the apostles. The prophetical office was more excellent in respect of the special gift of revelation which accompanied it, but the office of teachers was almost of the same nature, and had altogether the same end."

Calvin states it very categorically that "in giving the name bishops, presbyters, and pastors indiscriminately to those who govern churches, I have done it on the authority of Scripture, which uses the words as synonymous. To all who discharge the ministry of the word it gives the name of bishops" (Inst. IV.III.8). Here Calvin clearly distinguishes between presbyterianism and episcopalianism.

In presbyterianism the pastor is also referred to as the teaching elder and the local elder as the ruling elder. In the Institutes Calvin states "that three classes of ministers are set before us in Scripture, so the early Church distributed all its ministers into three orders. For from the order of presbyters, part wee selected as pastors and teachers, while to the remainder was committed the censure of manners and discipline. To the deacons belonged the care of the poor and the dispensing of alms" (Inst. IV.4.1.).

Local Elders and the Presbytery. Next, Calvin seeks to explain his biblical base for local elders and the presbytery as well as the office of deacons. He writes: "But in the Epistle to the Romans, and the First

Epistle to the Corinthians, he enumerates other offices, as powers, gifts of healing, interpretation, government, care of the poor (Rom. XII.7: 1 Cor. XII.28). As to those which were temporary, I say nothing, for it is not worth while to dwell upon them. But there are two of perpetual duration—viz. government and care of the poor. By these governors I understand seniors selected from the people to unite with the bishops in pronouncing censures and exercising discipline. For this is the only meaning which can be given to the passage, 'He that ruleth with diligence' (Rom. XII.8). From the beginning, therefore, each church had its senate, composed of pious, grave, and venerable men, in whom was lodged the power of correcting faults. Of this power we shall afterwards speak. Moreover, experience shows that this arrangement was not confined to one age, and therefore we are to regard the office of government as necessary for all ages" (Inst. IV. III.8).

The Office of Deacons. Calvin's further reasoning and scriptural reference for the office of deacons should be noticed: "The care of the poor was committed to deacons, of whom two classes are mentioned by Paul in the Epistle to the Romans, 'He that giveth, let him do it with simplicity;' 'he that showeth mercy, with cheerfulness' (Rom. XII). As it is certain that he is here speaking of public offices of the Church, there must have been two distinct classes. If I mistake not, he in the former clause designates deacons, who administered alms; in the latter, those who had devoted themselves to the care of the poor and the sick. Such were the widows of whom he makes mention in the Epistle to Timothy (1 Tim. V. 10). For there was no public office which women could discharge save that of devoting themselves to the service of the poor. If we admit this (and it certainly ought to be admitted), there will be two classes of deacons, the one serving the Church

by administering the affairs of the poor; the other, by taking care of the poor themselves. For although the term _diakonia_ has a more extensive meaning, Scripture specially gives the name of deacons to those whom the Church appoints to dispense alms, and take care of the poor, constituting them as it were stewards of the public treasury of the poor. Their origin, institution, and office, is described by Luke (Acts VI. 3)" (Inst. IV.III.9).

Four Church Offices. Calvin also distinguishes four offices in the church: pastor, teacher, elder and deacon. When Calvin, after a three year stay in Strasbourg, returned to Geneva in 1541, he reached an agreement with the city authorities which was expressed in the Ecclesiasatical Ordinances of the Church of Geneva.[36] Agreement was reached on the four church offices which became an integral part of the life of the city.

A minister was nominated by his fellow ministers and the name presented to the city council, which gave him certification. The imposition of hands, spoken of in the New Testament and practiced by the ancient church was not observed, even though it was permissable "providing that it take place without superstition and without offence. But because there has been much superstition in the past and scandal might result, it is better to abstain from it because of the infirmity of the times."

The office of the teacher or doctor was established "for maintaining the doctrine of God and defending the Church from injury by the fault of pastors and ministers." Further, "But because it is only possible to profit from such lectures if first one is instructed in the languages and humanities, and also because it is necessary to raise offspring for time to come, in order not to leave the Church deserted to our children, a college should be instituted for instructing children to prepare them for the

ministry as well as for civil government."

The heart of Calvin's system was the lay-elders, twelve of them, who, together with the ministers, met weekly. Of the elders two were chosen from the Little Council, four from the Council of the Sixty, and six from the Council of the Two-hundred, thus their was a direct link between the city administration and the church. Each elder was given a special section of the city to oversee. The nomination of the elders was made by the Little Council in consultation with the ministers and the Council of the Two-Hundred gave final approval.

As already observed Calvin advocated two kinds of deacons and they were chosen by the same method as the elders. Their responsibility is stated as follows: "There were always two kinds in the ancient Church, the one deputed to receive, dispense and hold goods for the poor, not only daily alms, but also possessions, rents and pensions; the other to tend and care for the sick and administer allowances to the poor. This custom we follow again now for we have procurators and hospitallers."

In his presbyterian church organization Calvin came closer to the New Testament than Luther; however, in his biblical reference and reasoning Calvin does not clearly distinguish between the charismatic and the official ministry; likewise, he confuses the meaning of function and office, when seen in the light of our study of the Church Ministry. Eric G. Jay, in his discussion of Calvin's ecclesiology, writes: "It is not necessary for our purpose to undertake a close examination of the fourfold ministry of pastors, teachers (or doctors), elders, and deacons. It must be said that his attempt to find a scriptural basis for it is not more noticeably successful than that of the papist, episcopalian, or congregationalist

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endeavouring to provide scriptural justification for the ministry of his own tradition. The evidence is forced, and what does not fit into the preconceived scheme is explained away."[37]

THE RADICAL REFORMATION

A Significant Movement. From the time of the Reformation church historians have made the grossest injustices in their description (or lack of description) of the Baptist movement. The fanatic Zwikau Prophets in Wittenberg and the millennarian enthusiasm of Thomas Muntzer, as well as the Munster revolution with its anarchy, poligamy and extreme Jewish apocalypticism—which is now admitted as a caricature of the Baptist movement—have been made representative of its beliefs and practices. The Baptist leaders have been depicted as the diabolical opponents of the great Reformers, and the angels of Satan incarnate.

When the Anabaptist movement is compared with the classical Protestant Reformation it should be remembered that the sober and evangelical leaders among the Anabaptists had much in common with the young Luther and Zwingli. However, after 1525, they dealt with a different Luther, who changed after submitting the Reformation church to the protection and support of the civil authorities, and thereby also compromised some of the basic tenets of evangelical Protestantism.

In the past, historians only spoke about the Reformation initiated by the Protestant Reformers and the opposition to it by the Roman Catholics in the Counter Reformation. Now, it is recognized that there was a third and equally important movement: the Radical Reformation. George H. Williams, of Harvard Divinity School, has contributed greatly to the recovery of this

fact. He says: "The Radical Reformation was a tremendous movement at the core of Christendom . . . it was as much an entity as the Reformation itself and the Counter Reformation."[38] The contributions made by the Baptists are significant and grew out of their doctrine of the church and its ministry. A knowledge of their history is of paramount importance for the understanding and evaluation of the ministry since the Reformation.

Separation of Church and State. The Baptists were firm in their rejection of an alliance between church and state in which each uses the other for its own sake. Further, their concept of the church as a voluntary congregation opposed the concept that the church was identical with the people at large in a given teritory. Further, the Baptists contrary to the Reformers, refused to let the problem of a possible survival influence their commitment to remain separated from the state. This refusal was anchored in their submission to Scriptures and specifically the teaching and practice of Christ Himself and His apostles.

Pristhood of Believers and Democracy. It has been widely recognized that the Protestant doctrine of the priesthood of all believers, which taught that all are equal in the eyes of God, made the Reformation the religious starting point of modern democratic ideas; but the development of democratic principles is found in that branch of the Protestant movement where the voluntary church principle is adhered to. Here the religious voluntarism of the Baptists is most significant. Their idea of the church as a fellowship of active believers and a self-governing congregation led them into an experience of working as a small and thoroughly democratic society, which did not use force in bringing into practice its decisions but was guided by a fellowship of discussion that assumed all the members of the

fellowship had something whereby to enlighten the others. Their rejection of external ecclesiastical and political compulsions and their application of the principle of consensus became important in the political sphere. The idea of freedom of conscience and toleration so basic for democracy originated not from the magesterial Reformers from the free church principle among the Baptists.

Religious Freedom. The concept of religious toleration was revived during the sixteenth century by the Protestant Reformers who in the early period of the Reformation advocated freedom of conscience, as well as obedience to God, as man's primary duty. Belief in the Bible as the sole authority in matters of faith, the truth of justification by faith, the doctrine of the priesthood of all believers, the participation of Christian laity in church government, as well as the Protestant concept of Christ as the sole head of the church, created a platform on which the cause of religious toleration could be furthered. On the other hand, the Reformers' alliance with the state, the doctrine of the sovereignty of God, and the spirit of Protestant orthodoxy and scholasticism led to intolerance. The Reformers required freedom of conscience and religious liberty for themselves, but generally they were not ready to grant this to others. The experience of the Baptists is a classic example of the latter. Referring to the Reformation monument in Geneva, which depicts the Protestant Reformers, Roland H. Bainton makes this sad comment, "The paradox of the monument is that it includes men who would have destroyed each other had they met in life."[39]

The Baptists and not the classical Protestant Reformers were the people who advanced the cause of religious toleration by adhering to the positive

Protestant beliefs mentioned above and at the same time rejecting those principles which curtailed the cause of toleration. The Baptists did not advocate toleration because they were persecuted. For them religious liberty resulted from the Gospel teaching of loving one's neighbor and from the example of Christ and His apostles of not compelling people to believe. It was part of their concept of the church as a voluntary and free society.

The Fall and the Restitution of the Church. One significant difference between the Magisterial Reformers and the Baptists is found in the fact that, while both groups believed that an apostasy had taken place in the church, the former aimed at a reformation of the church but the latter spoke about the restitution of the primitive apostolic church. This is again closely tied up with the Reformers' belief in the idea of the Corpus Christianum where church and state form one whole Christian body while the Baptists adhered to the concept of the believers' church. The former, therefore, considered the beginning of the golden age of the church from the time of Constantine, but the latter fixed the date of the fall of the church from the same period. Consequently the Baptists and other "radical" groups saw the beginning of the antichrist's rule in the bishop of Rome from the days of Constantine, while the Reformers recognized the power of antichrist in the medieval papacy. The Anabaptists noticed that the church before Constantine was a church of martyrs, and believed that the true church was generally a suffering church. Likewise the primitivism of the Apostolic church was to be normative in every age of the church. As man fell in the beginning, likewise the church fell, but as a full restitution was needed for man, so also the church needed a complete restitution. For the individual and the church, which is the voluntary body of believers, the

believers' baptism became a realistic symbol of the restitution.[40]

The Discipleship of Christ. The centrality of Baptists' belief is expressed by the German words, <u>Nachfolge-Christi</u>, conveying the thought: following Christ, imitating Christ, and as generally translated: the discipleship of Christ. The obedience of Christ and his perfect life was not only a prerequisite for his vicarious atonement for mankind, but became also the criterion for Christian ethics. Accordingly, Christ's perfect obedience to the Father should be exemplified (on the pragmatic level of every-day living) in the regenerated life of the believer. The whole life of the believer should be brought under the Lordship of Jesus Christ and the life and sayings of Christ as found in the four Gospels should be normative for Christian living and concretely and realistically imitated.

The Christian Brotherhood. Out of the Baptist concept that the church is a voluntary congregation of converted and dedicated Christians grew the concept of a Christian brotherhood. The Baptists addressed one another as brothers and sisters. In a realistic way the priesthood of believers was furthered. Their common faith eliminated class distinction and also affected their economic ethic which was characterized by sharing and bearing one another's burdens.

The Sociological Outlook. In all their human relationships the Baptists sought to apply the same principle of love to non-members as to their own. The principle of love functioned not between God and man alone, nor between man and man alone, but both inseparably together. In the Christian attempt to influence or even transform society, Roman Catholics and the Reformed churches have generally been optimistic. Luther was rather pessimistic regarding redeeming society and therefore tended to compromise. The

Baptists held the same pessimistic view, but they were under no circumstance ready to sacrifice any of the principles of the kingdom of God in their relationship with society. Since society at large was under the power of Satan, a true Christian social order could only be established within the brotherhood. On account of the great conflict between God and Satan, good and evil, there would always be a tension and very often a conflict between the true church and the world. The church was always the church militant. For the Baptists the ideals of the kingdom of God could not be realized in an ecumenical Corpus Christianum, but only in a brotherhood which adhered to the primitivism of the Apostolic church. However, even here there was a tension between the present and the eschatological fulfillment in the eternal kingdom. The fulfillment of the great commandment of loving God and one's neighbor was taken most literally as illustrated in their firm belief in pacifism, which made them abandon all participation in war and violence. While they did not believe that society at large would be transformed, they still maintained that the kingdom of God, as realized within the brotherhood, should be a light and a leaven in the world.

The Gathered Church. The conflict between the Magisterial Reformers and the Baptists did not begin with the issue of baptism, but regarding the concept of the church. It has been said that "the reformers aimed to reform the old Church by the Bible," but the Baptists "attempted to build a new Church from the Bible."[41]

For the Baptists apostolicity meant a realistic nachfolge (imitation) of Christ and a restitution of the apostolic ecclesiology and doctrine, and that in turn led to the significance of the believers baptism, which became the sign of the covenant. The church was the church of the gathered ones

(the called out) who had entered into a covenant relationship with God. "The idea of a covenantal relation to God and one's fellows became the foundation of the Anabaptist community."[42] The covenant-remnant-eschaton motif was foundational in their ecclesiology. As the sixteenth century moved on, Protestant theology, in the words of Robert Friedmann, "abandoned the idea of a second coming of Christ; concentrating exclusively on the personal certitude of salvation (Heils-gewissheit). There was simply no room left for a meaningful eschatology within the late Lutheran and post-Lutheran theology. The only place where such ideas were kept alive and had a legitimate function was the left way of the Reformation, or, as we all now call it, the Radical Reformation; Anabaptism and related movements."[43]

In this branch of the Reformation the advent hope shone brightly. To be ready and to be vigilant for the second coming of Christ became the eschatological framework within which great missionary zeal and endeavors were manifested. We are here distinguishing between those who held extreme chiliastic views and sought to realize them by force, and those who held to a peaceful eschatology.

Church Offices. In the brotherhood the doctrine of the priesthood of believers was realized. The spiritual gifts were sought, but also a structural Christian community was implemented. A Hutterite leader wrote: "How can there be a Christian Community where no Christian order and command is [maintained], with separation, the ban, discipline, brotherly love and other [practice]; further that one after the other may speak openly, give of his gifts and insights freely before the people at the appointed time."

The Hutterites Baptist communities founded in Moravia by Jacob Hutter (d. 1536), established clearly defined church offices. In one writing the

author admonishes "the brethren to honor one another and especially the 'Dienner' [servant]. These leaders were laymen, chosen by the congregation on the authority of the New Testament example of Acts 14:23; 20:17, 28; Titus 1:5; 1 Timothy 3, 5:17; 1 Corinthians 9:14. They were chosen, on the basis of piety and dedication, to shepherd the community--to read, to warn, to teach, to punish. There were other officers. Among the Hutterites the most notable were the 'shepherds' (Hirten), the missioners (Diener des Wortes-servant of the Word), the stewards (Diener der Notdurft-servant of those in need).'"[44]

In Holland, as in many other parts of Europe, Anabaptism spread first as an unorganized movement in which the lay people preached and explained the Word. However, the office of deacon was established in order to take care of the poor. Mention is also made of "those who bear the purse." As time moved on leaders of congregations were appointed; first they were named bishop, but later elders or the names were used interchangeably. In many cases elders were traveling evangelists who went from congregation to congregation. Such a one was Menno Simons, who became a Baptist in 1536 and remained as such unto his death in 1561. He did much to organize Anabaptism in Holland and his followers bear the name Mennonites.[45]

A Mennonite document of 1560 bearing the title "The Seven Ordinances of the True Church" lists them as follows: true teaching, correct ministry; proper use of the two sacraments, baptism and the Lord's Supper; foot-washing; evangelical separation; brotherly love; keeping all His commandments; and accepting suffering and persecution.[46]

The Mennonites had a great influence upon English Separatists who had fled to Holland, and on their return brought Anabaptism to their home

country. An English Baptist leader is referred to as a "missionary and elder," and a report of their meetings tell us that some of the members "are made bishops, elders, and deacons, who call them to one of the disciples' houses."[47]

The itinerant preachers, evangelists, or elders were also named apostles and prophets. Speaking about Austrian Anabaptism George H. Williams writes: "The consciousness of being prophets or apostles was keenly developed among them."[48] Dealing with Anabaptism in Strasbourg the same author refers to a certain John Bunderlin as a "visiting apostle;" he also points out that "the Italian Anabaptists readily called their itinerant pastors _apostoli_," and at the conclusion of a certain synod several participants were designated as "apostolic bishops to bring the synodal decisions to the constituant and related congregations." Reference is made to the fact that itinerary preachers "regarded themselves as apostolic emmissaries."[49]

RETROSPECT

In the New Testament the terms presbyter and bishop are used interchangeably, and most often the first is used to describe an office, while the second a function; such is also the case in the Epistles of Clement. Polycarp in his letter speaks about presbyters and deacons, but does not mention bishops. Hermas of Rome used the words bishop and presbyter as Clement of Rome did. In Didache reference is made to a charismatic ministry and the term bishop is used synonymous with elders. The same is the case with Irenaeus, indicating that a fixed designation between the two orders

had not fully developed by A.D. 200.

Ignatius of Antioch in his letters refers to a threefold ministry: bishop, elder or deacon, but it is not synonymous with the episcopy a hundred years later. The term bishop is always used in the singular while elder (presbyter) is the plural. The work of the bishop is always described with relationship to the presbytery. The bishop seems to function as the chairman of the presbytery, and thus served as overseer (bishop). Justin Martyr refers to the bishop as the "president," which no doubt was another word for overseer.

In the early part of the third century Tertullian distinguishes between bishops and presbyters. Hippolytus of Rome (d. A.D. 236) enhanced the position of the bishop by giving him sacerdotal power like the highpriest in the Old Testament and only he could ordain. A rather complete change took place in the New Testament ministry when Cyprian made the bishop the center of church-unity and gave him a sacerdotal mediatory function and this made null the doctrine of the priesthood of believers.

The changed ministry was also seen in the status of the bishop as a successor of the apostles (apostolic succession). The office of the presbyter-bishop developed into the monarchial episcopacy and the one-man autocracy in a local church found support on a large scale when the Constantinian church took shape from the civil organization of the empire and finally reached its apex in the pope as the Pontifex Maximus; the title of the supreme high priest in pagan Rome, who had the highest religious authority in the empire.

The Reformers of the sixteenth century--Luther and Calvin with their associates--revived the doctrine of the priesthood of believers and opposed

the papacy and the hierarchical structure of Roman Catholicism with its priestly sacerdotal power and sacramental system. The official ministry became a delegated or representative ministry. The word priest was substituted by the word preacher or pastor.

In the reconstruction of the Reformation church there were four options.[50] An episcopal system could be maintained but without the papacy. This was the case in the Scandinavian countries and in England. Secondly, in view of the fact the German bishops in general did not favor the Reformation the clerical episcopate was replaced by the civil magistrate, who made the appointments. Since the government was ordained by God and in the Christian community was part of the priesthood of believers, Luther taught that the Christian magistracy could represent the church and might therefore organize and supervise it. This was the pattern for the Lutheran churches in Germany. A third possibility was a presbyterian system "on the basis of the parity of ministers, congregational lay-elders, and deacons, and a representative synodical government, with strict discipline, and a distinction between nominal and communicant membership." Luther did not favor this, but it was realized by Calvin in Geneva. Finally, there is congregationalism which is based on the autonomy of the individual church but in a free association with other similar churches. The doctrine of the priesthood of believers would favor the last two forms, and in Luther's early writings much points in this direction, but was changed by the Peasant Revolt of 1525.

It is understandable that the Baptist groups which developed outside the Lutheran and the Reformed Churches felt more and more strongly, as the evil of the alliance between the church and the state became apparent, that outward separation from the state-church is anything but inward liberation

from the influence and principles of the theology and unbiblical ecclesiasticism of the Middle Ages. Thus they came to the conviction that in the alliance with the state the Reformers had only been half-way reformers, and they themselves became advocates of the principle of a free church in a free state.

The social, political, religious, and theological framework of the Baptist movement of the sixteenth century is in many respects different from that of the Magisterial Reformers and the Counter-Reformation of Roman Catholicism; that in turn influenced the Baptist concept of the nature of the church and its ministry, as well as their contributions to society and Christianity at large. For this reason it has been necessary to deal with Anabaptism at some length.

In the brotherhood the priesthood of believers and the primitivism of the apostolic church was realized. The covenant-remnant-eschatone motifs of the Old and New Testaments were basic to their ecclesiology. The local churches appointed deacon and elders and as in the early church evangelist, or missionaries, named apostles and prophets, unified the congregation in faith and mission, and made known synodical recommendations. The priesthood of believers functioned within a strong unity between the charismatic and the appointed ministry. The Anabaptist sought not a mere reformation of the church, but a restitution of the apostolic church.

In any ecumenical dialogue and study of ecclesiology the Anabaptist vision or view of the nature of the church and its ministry is of great importance and must not be neglected.

It is hoped that the historical observations we have made and the theological perspectives we have drawn, may not only have been helpful in evalu-

ating the nature of the ministry, but also prepare the way for the subject of ordination, and that in turn this subject will throw further light upon the Christian ministry. We will now attempt to answer the questions: What is ordination?

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36. Calvin: _Theological Treatises_, trans. J.K.S. Reid, (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1954), pp. 59, 63-64.

37. Jay, _Ibid._, p. 174.

38. George H. Williams, _The Radical Reformation_, (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1962), p. 846.

39. Roland H. Bainton, _The Travail of Religious Liberty_, New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1971), p. 55.

40. See Franklin H. Littell, "The Anabaptist Concept of the Church," in _The Recovery of the Anabaptist Vision_, ed. by Guy F. Hershberger, (Scottdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 1957), p. 119.

41. _Ibid._

42. Littell, _The Anabaptist View of the Church_, (Boston: Starr King Press, 1958), p. 85.

43. Robert Friedmann, _Theology of Anabaptism_, (Scottdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 1973), p. 102.

44. Littell, _Ibid._, pp. 93, 92-93.

45. See N. Van Der Zijpp, "The Early Dutch Anabaptists", in Guy F. Hershberger, _op. cit._, pp. 69-82.

46. Littell, _Ibid._, p. 42

47. Williams, _Ibid._, p. 789.

48. _Ibid._, p. 175.

49. _Ibid._, pp. 255, 560, 562, 860.

50. Schaff, _Ibid._, Vol. VII, pp. 515-520.

THE PAULINE MALE-FEMALE RELATEDNESS

IN CHRIST NEITHER MALE NOR FEMALE

In the current discussion on male-female relatedness Paul's statements
that "there is neither male nor female; for you are all one in Christ" (Gal.
3:28) is the _locus classicus_ and has become proverbial and a slogan. We
will make this text the beginning point for our comments on the Pauline
male-female relatedness.

Equal Salvific Standing. The epistle to the Galatians became "the
battle cry" of the Protestant Reformation because it is concerned with the
right relationship between law and grace, emphasizing that salvation is by
divine grace and faith alone apart from the works of the law (Gal. 2:16).
Luther speaks about his personal relationship to this epistle in these
words: "The Epistle to the Galatians is my epistle, to which I am
betrothed. It is my Katie von Bora" (the name of his wife).[1]

The epistle is a polemic against the Judaizers who wanted the gentile
Christians to be circumcised and follow the tradition of the Jews. Paul
writes: "It was for freedom that Christ set us free; therefore keep stand-

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ing firm and do not be subject again to a yoke of slavery. Behold I, Paul, say to you that if you receive circumcision, Christ will be of no benefit to you. And I testify again to every man who receives circumcision, that he is under obligation to keep the whole Law. You have been severed from Christ, you who are seeking to be justified by law; you have fallen from grace. For we through the Spirit, by faith, are waiting for the hope of righteousness. For in Christ Jesus neither circumcision nor uncircumcision mean anything, but faith working through love" (Gal. 5:1-6). Paul's assertion is that all people have the same status before God when it comes to salvation; accordingly, the epistle has been called the Magna Charta of Christian liberty.

Luther's comment that "in the matter of salvation" all are equal before God; writes: "Here many other titles could be added of offices that have been divinely ordained. For example: 'There is neither magistrate nor sub-ject, neither professor nor listener, neither teacher nor pupil, neither lady nor servant.' For in Christ Jesus all social stations, even those that were divinely ordained, are nothing. Male, female, slave, free, Jew, Gentile, king, subject—these are, of course, good creatures of God. But in Christ, that is, in the matter of salvation, they amount to nothing, for all their wisdom, righteousness, devotion, and authority."[2]

There is no doubt that Paul's main objective is to emphasize that before God all have the same salvific standing. In this connection it should be noticed that in three parallel texts (Rom. 10:12; 1 Cor. 12:13; Col. 3:11) baptism is mentioned as in Galatians 3:28, indicating that Paul seeks to emphasize that all have the same possibility to be baptized. Further, it should be noticed that in the listing of pair-categories only

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Galatians has "male and female" mentioned. His thrust is equal salvific standing. The equal status before God is christological for we read that it is made possible by being "in Christ Jesus," "baptized into Christ," and "clothed with Christ." Accordingly, in order to understand Galatians 3:28 the approach must be soteriological and not social or ethical, even though the former has implications for the latter. We will therefore first observe the soteriological and christological aspects of the text.

The Experience of Being in Christ. "In Christ" is a favorite, most familiar and meaningful expression of the apostle Paul. This and comparable words, such as "in Christ Jesus," "in the Lord," and "in Him," appears 164 times in his epistles.[3] For example, he writes, "There is therefore now no condemnation for those who are in Christ Jesus" (Rom. 8:1). When God looks at the person who is "in Christ," He sees only Christ, the image of God, and thus there is no condemnation. Christ's righteousness is the robe, or the wedding garment, that covers the person so that he can be admitted to the wedding feast (cf. Matt. 22:1-13; Rev. 7:9, 13, 14). The "being in Christ" experience is portrayed in the beautiful old hymn "Rock of Ages, cleft for me, Let me hide myself in Thee."

Christ's righteousness is imputed to the believer and reckoned as his. It is an experience of trusting in Christ. It is a judicial act whereby God declares the sinner guiltless and forgiven for "all manner of sin" (Matt. 12:31, KJV). The believer abides in Christ and instead of having guilt, fear, and anxiety, he has peace and joy. Through forgiveness the believer is born into a new life with Christ. But more than that, Christ's redeeming love establishes a relationship comparable to that between a bride and bridegroom, the head and the body, and the vine and its branches.

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Christ, being the true image of God and the second Adam, is the proto-
type of the new man and head of the new humanity. Only in Jesus Christ can
the real conjunction of God and man take place; likewise, only in Him can
man regain the _imago Dei_. An entire union with Christ is the necessary
condition for the Christian life. Christ said, "Abide in Me, and I in you.
As the branch cannot bear fruit of itself, unless it abides in the vine, so
neither can you, unless you abide in Me. I am the vine, you are the
branches; he who abides in Me, and I in him, he bears much fruit; for apart
from Me you can do nothing" (John 15:4, 5). The statements "you abide in
Me" and "I in you" specify the two great experiences named justification and
sanctification. In justification, grace is manifested as pardon, and in
sanctification, as renewing power. In both instances the source is Christ,
the means is grace, and the acceptance is by Faith.

The Experience of Christ in Us. Christ not only said, "Abide in Me,"
but also, "I in you." A second favorite expression of the apostle Paul is
"Christ in you," as occurs in the statement, "Christ in you, the hope of
glory" (Col. 1:27). Glory stands for the character of God (John 1:14). In
other words, Christ in us is the hoped-for character or moral excellence of
God. Paul claimed in Galatians, "It is no longer I who live, but Christ
lives in me"(2:20).

The result of this is sanctification. Paul expresses to the Christian
the hope that "the God of peace" may "equip you in every good thing to do
His will, working in us that which is pleasing in His sight, through Jesus
Christ" (Heb. 13:20, 21). It is pointed out that the moral implication of
Christ's "working in us" is that the Christian is to have the same "mind. .
. , which was also in Christ Jesus" (Phil. 2:5, KJV) and to bring"every

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thought captive to the obedience of Christ" (2 Cor. 10:5). Paul combines a
moral earnestness with total dependence upon Christ.

For the believer, Christlikeness, or being the imago Dei, is both a
gift and a goal; this truth, or experience, is expressed in the doctrines of
justification and sanctification. When a person has Christ, he cannot have
the one experience without the other, as pointed out in these words: "But
by His doing you are in Christ Jesus, who became to us wisdom from God, and
righteousness and sanctification, and redemption" (1 Cor. 1:30). We cannot
separate Jesus the Saviour from Jesus the Lord. Justification and sanctifi-
cation are together the achievement of grace for man and in man.

Here we will pause and make an observation on the pro and con of ordi-
nation of women. Those who oppose generally assert that Galatians, as it
historically has been the case, only speaks about the redemptive status of
equality before God, that is man's vertical relationship with God, and for
the question of the male and female relationship we will have to turn to
other Pauline texts. Proponents of the ordination of women, on the other
hand, would contend that being one in Christ brings results in horizontal
relationship in society and the church and one of these is equality as illu-
strated in emancipation of slaves. In the question and meaning of male-
female equality in Christ lies to a large degree the crux of the debate or
the Gordian knot of the issue.

In order to understand the Pauline text we will deal with, and for that
matter the Bible at large, we must move within a hermeneutical unity, which
is in correlation with a soteriological unity rooted or anchored (as pre-
viously pointed out) in the Trinitarian unity. The Trinitarian and
soteriological unity is reflected in the order of creation and the subse-

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quent Fall, when the covenant of redemption became "operative" within a distorted order. To be "in Christ" and "Christ in us" means to be within a unified and coherent redemptive theology as just mentioned.

The apostle Paul developed in detail the concept that in Jesus Christ as a person the imago Dei has been restored, and that in it the believer finds the ground of his existence as a Christian. Speaking about "the light of the gospel of the glory of Christ," Paul adds, "who is the image of God. . . . For God, who said, 'Light shall shine out of darkness,' is the One who has shone in our hearts to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Christ" (2 Cor. 4:4-6). In another connection he says that God has "delivered us from the domain of darkness, and transferred us to the kingdom of His beloved Son, in whom we have redemption, the forgiveness of sins. And He is the image of the invisible God" (Col. 1:13-14). In the epistle to the Hebrews the thought is similarly expressed that Christ "is the radiance of His glory and the exact representation of His nature" (Heb. 1:3).

Jesus Christ was not only fully God but also very man; He, therefore, bore not only the name Son of God, but He called Himself the Son of man. Being truly divine, He was the reality of God revealed; as very man He was the image of God. As the Son of man, He became the second Adam--the man par excellence or the ultimate archetypal man--and likewise He became the head of the new humanity. Jesus Christ displayed in His life the divine design for man, and on the cross He exhibited the results of the human distortion of that design. Jesus Christ taught that redeemed man could be brought into conformity to the imago Dei.

To be "in Christ" and "Christ in us" means that in the present age the

order of creation is inaugurated in the lives and in the fellowship of the believers. Jesus Christ Himself became the first of the new humanity. In two major passages the apostle Paul contrasts Jesus Christ with the first Adam (Rom. 5:12-19; 1 Cor. 15:45-49). As we find a contrast between the first and second Adam, so there is also a difference between those who belong to the humanity of the first Adam or to that of the second Adam. The Bible refers to the nature of the one belonging to the former as the "old man," while the latter is spoken of as the "new man," also distinguished by the "old self" and the "new self." A distinction is also drawn between the "natural man" and the "spiritual man." The natural man has a "carnal mind" that is in contrast to the "spiritual mind" (Col. 3:9-11; 1 Cor. 2:14). The contrast between the carnal-natural man and the spiritual man is also expressed in the designations the outward man and the"inner man" (Rom. 7:22-25). The "new man" is said to be "created in Christ Jesus for good works: (Eph. 2:10). "Therefore if any man is in Christ, he is a new creature; the old things passed away; behold, new things have come" (2 Cor. 5:17).

We have noticed that Jesus Christ, as Redeemer, is the spring and means of every action put forward to "create" "give birth to," "make alive," and "renew" man, so that he may become a "new man;" likewise, the "new man" is always identified with Jesus Christ. We give to Christ not only our inner life, but also our outward (social) life. In the redemptive (soteriological) unity with Christ (the Son of man, the new and perfect Adam) our inner and outward life is renewed into the image of God, which embraces an imitation of the Trinitarian relatedness and the order of creation. We will observe that in the key texts on male-female relatedness Paul refers directly and indirectly to the original order as the model for human relatedness.

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The wholeness of God's redemptive activities means both reconciliation and restoration.

The Eschtatological Implication. Through the Christ events (incarnation, crucifixion, resurrection) Christ re-established true humanity and in the present age it is inaugurated in the lives and in the fellowship of the believers. However, first at the second Advent of Christ will the new humanity be fully realized.

There is a "yet to be," or an eschatological implication, which is part of the soteriological aspect, when we speak about having the image of Christ. "Beloved, now we are children of God, and it has not appeared as yet what we shall be. We know that, when He appears, we shall be like Him, because we shall see Him just as He is" (1 John 3:2). Man as an individual and a historical being is part of the linear movement of history toward the not-yet-completely achieved new humanity. However, we know it will be achieved, for Jesus Christ is the first of the new humanity. On the day of the resurrection the Christian will "bear the image of the heavenly" (1 Cor. 15:49). "For our citizenship is in heaven, from which also we eagerly wait for a Savior, the Lord Jesus Christ; who will transform the body of our humble state into conformity with the body of His glory" (Phil. 3:20, 21). On that day a true and perfect humanity will be gloriously realized. Paul could therefore say, "I consider that the sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory that is to be revealed to us" (Rom. 8:18).

Paul, as mentioned, refers to the original order as the model, but as will be observed there are eschatological implications—the "not yet"—which cannot be ignored or separated from soteriology and some of Paul's state-

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ments must be seen in that light. We hope that what we have said and the comments we will make on the Pauline texts will clarify what we mean by speaking about a hermeneutical unity, which is in correlation with a soteriological unity rooted in the Trinitarian unity and relatedness, in the light of which human relatedness will have to be evaluated in order to be properly understood. With the New Testament at large Paul does not eliminate the tension between the "now" and the "not yet." He manifests a historical realism (rooted in theology and soteriology) and furnishes an eschatology with present and future dimensions. He tells us that we are moving toward the "ultimate," but still exist in the "penultimate."

Three Contrasting Pair-Categories. The immediate context of the Pauline statement under discussion bears this out. It reads: "For you are all sons of God through faith in Christ Jesus. For all of you who were baptized into Christ have clothed yourselves with Christ. There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither slave nor free man, there is neither male nor female; for you are all one in Christ Jesus. And if you belong to Christ, then you are Abraham's offspring, heirs according to promise" (Gal. 3:26-29).

The three contrasting pair-categories mentioned by Paul were rather a common expression both among Jews and Gentiles. Paul's positive assertion is significant when compared with negative Gentile and Jewish male expressions of thanksgiving. The Greek philosopher Thales of the sixth century B.C. remarked that he was thankful: ". . . that I was born a human being, not a beast; a man not a woman; thirdly a Greek and not a barbarian." A Jewish male prayers express thanksgiving for not having been a Gentile, a slave, or a woman.[4]

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> Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, King of the universe,
>
> who hast not made me a Gentile
>
> Blessed are thou, O Lord our God, King of the universe,
>
> who hast not made me a slave
>
> Blessed are thou, O Lord our God, King of the universe,
>
> who hast not made me a woman.

However, as will be noticed later, at the time of Paul we also find a liberating attitude within the Roman empire. At the present we will merely point out that it has been "convincingly shown how numerous strands of rabbinic and Greco-Roman thought could affirm essentially the same type of equality as Paul did in Gal. 3:28 while at the same time promoting a role differentiation."[5] It is therefore one sided only to look at the negative statements when we evaluate society at the beginning of the Christian era. While Paul uses terminology similar to Jewish and Greco-Roman writers, he is nevertheless unique and revolutionary because his equality originates and exists in Christ.

The categories "Jew nor Greek," "slave nor free man," "male nor female" of Galatians 3:28 are, with variations, listed by Paul in other epistles and for the same reason. They illustrate a Pauline hermeneutical and soteriological unity. For example, in the first Epistle to the Corinthians we read "For by one Spirit we were all baptized into one body, whether Jews or Greeks, whether slaves or free, and we were all made to drink of one Spirit" (12:13). The same theme is expressed in Colossians: You "have put on the new self who is being renewed to a true knowledge according to the image of the One who created him—a renewal in which there is no distinction between Greek and Jew, circumcised and uncircumcised, barbarian, Scythian, slave and

freeman, but Christ is all, and in all. And so, as those who have been chosen of God, holy and beloved, put on a heart of compassion, kindness, humility, gentleness and patience; bearing with one another, and forgiving each other, whoever has a complaint against anyone; just as the Lord forgave you, so also should you. And beyond all these things put on love, which is the perfect bond of unity. And let the peace of Christ rule in your hearts, to which indeed you were called in one body; and be thankful" (Col. 3:10-15). Paul then deals with relationships between husbands and wives, parents and children, and masters and slaves (Col. 3:16-4:1). Ephesians deals with the same three categories (5:22-6:9) and 1 Corinthians 7:17-22) mentions the Jew-Gentile and slave-free man pairs, while 1 Timothy (6:1-2) and Titus (2:8-10) only includes slavery. The Epistle to the Romans tells us that "there is no distinction between Jew and Greek; for the same Lord is of all, abounding in riches for all who call upon Him, for whoever will call upon the name of the Lord will be saved" (10:12-13), but the epistle also makes reference to ruler-subject relationships (13:1-7). In a language similar to that of Paul the apostle Peter deals with the question of rulers and sub- jects, servants and masters, wives and husbands (1 Peter 2:13-3:7).

There also seems to be a correlation between Galatians 3:28 and the apostle Peter's speech on the day of Pentecost when people from all parts of the Roman empire (of different nationalities, both Jews and proselytes, listened to his speech) and the words of the prophet Joel was fulfilled: "Even upon My bondslaves, both men and women, I will in those days pour forth of My spirit. . . . And it shall be, that everyone who calls on the name of the Lord shall be saved" (Acts 2:18, 21; compared also with Rom. 10:12-15 quoted above). We will now observe how the relatedness on the

horizontal level is affected by the experience "you are all one in Christ."

Neither Jew nor Greek. Defining the doctrine of the church in the document "Fundamental Beliefs of Seventh-day Adventists," Article 13 deals with the unity in the body of Christ and reads: "The church is one body with many members, called from every nation, kindred, tongue, and people. In Christ we are a new creation; distinctions of race, culture, learning, and nationality, and differences between high and low, rich and poor, male and female, must not be divisive among us. We are all equal in Christ, who by one Spirit has bonded us into one fellowship with Him and with one another; we are to serve and be served without partiality or reservation. Through the revelation of Jesus Christ in the Scriptures we share the same faith and hope, and reach out in one witness to all. This unity has its source in the oneness of the triune God, who has adopted us as His children."[6]

We have previously observed that three of the marks of the church is that of being one, holy and universal. It is a miracle by the Holy Spirit that this can happen in spite of differences in culture, race, and nationality. The unity is rooted in apostolicity: faithfulness to apostolic teaching, and that means hermeneutical and soteriological unity; the oneness of the triune God is at one and the same time the source and the model for that unity. It is a restoration among the believers of the original order, but there remains a tension with another order: the kingdom of this world. In spite of being one in Christ a Greek remains a Greek and a Roman remains a Roman. Following the instruction of Christ, "Then render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's; and to God the things that are God's (Matt. 22:21), Paul and Peter speak about the Christian relationship to civil

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authorities (Rom. 13:1-7; 1 Peter 2:13-17).

Before the Fall and after the second Advent of Christ we find no nationalities and ethnic groups. The story of Babel (Genesis 11) reminds us of the restraining power of nationalities. It falls outside the scope of this study to deal with this topic, but it is mentioned as an example of eschatological implications (as mentioned previously) in connection with the horizontal unity in Christ. In the interim period between the "now" and "then" we find biblical instruction in which principles are laid down how to relate to the orders of this world. To speak humanly, God has instructed us how to walk a tight rope between the kingdom of God and the kingdom of the world. Paul does not contradict himself when he speaks about there being "neither Jew nor Greek" and still they remain Jew and Greek. A unified hermeneutic must necessarily embrace both aspects.

Neither Slave nor Free Man. With God there is no class or social distinctions and the same should be the case in the Christian church. It is said "that there is neither slave nor free man." Paul expresses the same elsewhere when he writes: "For he who was called in the Lord while a slave, is the Lord's freedman; likewise he who was called while free, is Christ's slave" (1 Cor. 7:22), and "there is no distinction. . . between slave and freeman, but Christ is all, and in all" (Col. 3:11).

A run away slave by the name of Onesimus was converted by Paul. Paul sent him back to the master Phileman with the words: "No longer as a slave, but more than a slave, a beloved brother, especially to me, but how much more to you, both in the flesh and in the Lord" (Philemon 16). Paul encouraged the slaves to be fruitful servants "knowing that whatever good thing each one does, this he will receive back from the Lord, whether slave

or free." Likewise, he encouraged the masters to be good to the slaves for the real Master "is in heaven, and their is no partiality with Him" (Eph. 6:5-9; see also Col. 3:22-25; 1 Tim 6:1-2; Titus 2:9-10).

At the time of Paul slavery was a complex issue in the Roman empire and cannot be compared to the one in the United States. It embraced all races, and it had many levels within society. Some became freemen, others voluntarily became slaves. Paul, to a degree, dealt with an issue of employer-employee relationship. Samuel Dill, late professor at Oxford and an authority on Roman Society, has described this situation in the first and second centuries of the Christian era. He helps us to better understand the actual historical situation in which Paul worked and wrote. Professor Dill writes: "We can now see that the rise of the emancipated slave was not only inevitable, but that it was, on the whole, salutary and rich in promise for the future. The slave class of antiquity really corresponded to our free labouring class. But, unlike the mass of our artisans, it contained many who, from accident of birth and education, had a skill and knowledge which their masters often did not possess. The slaves who came from the ancient seats of civilisation in the East are not to be compared with the dark gross races who seemed to be stamped by nature as of an inferior breed. This frequent mental and moral equality of the Roman slave with his master had forced itself upon men of the detached philosophic class, like Seneca, and on kindly aristocrats, like Pliny. It must have been hard to sit long hours in the library beside a cultivated slave-amanuensis, or to discuss the management of lands and mines and quarries with a shrewd, well-informed slave-agent, or to be charmed by the grace and wit of some fair, frail daughter of Ionia, without having some doubts raised as to the eternal

justice of such an institution. Nay, it is certain that slaves were often treated as friends and received freedom and a liberal bequest at their master's death. Many educated slaves, as we have seen, rose to distinction and fortune as teachers and physicians. But the field of trade and industry was the most open and the most tempting."[7]

In Paul's time, as now, the employer-employee relationship took many forms. Today, not only in underdeveloped and developing countries but in highly industrialized countries we find one form or another of "slavery" in their employer-employee relationship indicating that society is far from being liberated by the spirit and principles of the kingdom of God, yet the Christian has to live in the world.

Paul like Peter (1 Peter 2:18-25) did not endorse slavery, but clearly indicated that it was undesirable. They sought to mitigate a complex social malady in a world where the divine order is distorted, by encouraging all involved to manifest a Christ-like character. This may be illustrated in the two possible translations of 1 Corinthians 7:21. The first rendering of the Greek text reads in the New English Bible: "Were you a slave when you were called? Do not let that trouble you; but if a chance of liberty should come, take it." The footnote presents a second reading: "but even if a chance of liberty should come, choose rather to make good use of your servitude." Christ and the apostles taught us that the Christian's contribution to the solution of a wrong employer-employee relationship is the manifestation of Christian virtues. "But if when you do what is right and suffer for it you patiently endure it, this finds favor with God. For you have been called for this purpose, since Christ also suffered for you, leaving an example for you to follow in His steps" (1 Peter 2:20-21). From a soterio-

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logical and eschatological point of view (the two aspects included in the Pauline hermeneutical unity), there is no dichotomy between Paul's statement that in Christ "there is neither slave nor free man," and his advice on the social issue of employer-employee relationship, even when that took the form of a slave-master relationship.

Neither Male nor Female. The last pair of the triad, "neither male nor female" is a direct reference to Genesis 1:27. The Greek construction of this phrase of Galatians 3:28 is exactly the same as in Genesis of the Greek Old Testament. This third pair-category: male and female, has its setting in the order of creation, while the first two originated after the Fall. The words "male" and "female" are two adjectives strongly pointing out gender differentiation (see Luke 2:23; Rom. 1:27). If we therefore, as Karl Barth has pointed out, in any way seek to neutralize the parity of the sexes we will dehumanize man (male-female, mankind). Man and Woman do not become male and female, they are born as such.[8] Paul followed the example of Christ and used the same words saying: "Have you not read, that He who created them from the beginning made them male and female, and said, 'For this cause a man shall leave his father and mother, and shall cleave to his wife; and the two shall become one flesh'" (Matt. 19:4-5; Mark 10:6-7). Referring to "the beginning" is not merely a reference to primeval time, but to an original condition and a constitutive principle.

We have observed that the primary thrust of Galatians 3:28, as in other Pauline parallel passages, was to point out salvific equality for all in a vertical man-God relationship. But we have also noticed that "being in Christ" has consequences for relatedness on the human horizontal level, and its model is the relatedness of the triune God for Genesis 1:27 (which Gala-

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tians 3:28 refers to) clearly states that Man: male and female was created in the image of God. We have at some length examined this topic. The principle of divine relatedness expressed in oneness, equality, and functional difference must be imitated in the horizontal human: male and female relatedness if man: male and female is going to be an image of God. Oneness and interdependence do not mean complete role-interchangeability, for man still remains a male and woman a female.

The Godhead in its total being and acting can best be defined in terms of relatedness; accordingly, we speak about the trinity or the triune God. Likewise, man (mankind, humanity) exists in the polarity of man-male and man-female. The divine relatedness is characterized by equality in being and acting with the result of oneness and identity in value judgment manifested in functional complementarity. This in turn leads to a "headship" (defined in terms of the "first" or "chairman" among equals), which is one of representativeness, responsibility and love (agape) and does not create the categories of superiority and subordination. In human terms this is a contradiction, but not so from the divine point of view. The distorted relational principles of the Fall (as authoritative domination and subservience) can't be used when evaluating the divine relatedness. A true concept of divine relatedness—of which male-female relatedness should be an image—establishes a philosophical and theological framework so different from that among the Greeks, specifically Aristotle and among the theologians in the West, specifically Thomas Aquinas, but Luther and Calvin, in several aspects, do not fall far behind Aristotle and Aquinas in spite of their christological and soteriological re-discoveries and insights.

It is only by a renewing, "being born again," "being in Christ," "bap-

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tized into Christ," that the divine relatedness can be truly contemplated and exemplified. It is significant that Galatians 3:28, and its parallel passages, is in a juxtaposition to the topic of baptism, which symbolizes the new birth into a new life with a new value system; that is, the principles and the spirit of the kingdom of God and manifested in the life of Christ in Whom the charactor or glory of God was revealed (John 1:14) and the second Adam restored (1 Cor. 15:22, 45). In our previous discussion of the nature of the Christian ministry we dealt with the concept of diakonia (service) as exemplified in the life of Christ.

Different Levels of Relatedness. When we examine Pauline texts in order to observe the male-female relatedness, it will be helpful to keep in mind certain theological concepts and realities which "operate" on different "levels" but in theory and practice are brought together and can therefore create a certain tension, seemingly a contradiction or inconsistency in life and understanding.

First we have the divine relatedness which the original human relatedness should reflect. In direct contrast to this we find the distorted human relatedness of the Fall with implications for the human relationship with God, man, and nature. In the concrete fallen state the consequences of the Fall (named curses) have restraining power (some of these have been mentioned) and may serve as guideposts or emergency measures for the better under given circumstances in view of the fact that we eschatologically live in the penultimate. Next, could be mentioned the renewal of the divine image in man by being in Christ, and as a result the divine relatedness inaugurated in the male-female relationship as part of a new relatedness with vertical and horizontal dimensions. We use the word "inaugurated"

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because the new "element," which is "born" or brought in, has eschatological dimensions; there is a tension between the "old man" and the "new man" as well as between the present and what is yet to come and be fully realized and restored at Christ's second advent.

Dealing with the topic of relatedness theologically, soteriologically, christologically, and ecclesiologically, Paul seems to bring these various strands together but generally in the setting of a local situation, which we may not fully understand because the text does not describe all the details and we do not know all the circumstances or social and cultural conditions; thus a certain ambiguity may arise. However, in this context the theological, soteriological, christological, and ecclesiological verities or timeless truths remain clear and undisturbed in contrast to time-related events and circumstances. This is the uniqueness of the Bible as a literary document where topics rooted in creation and redemption transcend social, cultural, and ethnic conditions and limitations. The verities or timeless truths, which we have referred to, should be upheld by the expositor of Paul, as he himself does, and they should be used consistently as overarching control factors in all exposition, especially if the text seems unclear or ambiguous and therefore often is interpreted in different ways, resulting in opposing views by which sides are taken and destructive divisiveness created.

GREEK AND ROMAN CONCEPTS

Generally speaking the more we know of the actual historical situation the more obvious it becomes that the biblical writers are faithful to the eternal and divine verities and do not compromise these. We have observed

that the master-servant relationship was not exactly what some thought it to be at the time of Paul, and likewise the same can be said about the male-female relationship.

The Dignity of the Roman Woman. Referring to the fact that parental authority has "disappeared with the parent's right to oppose a match desired by their children," it is pointed out that the "same phenomenon occurred in the Roman empire. Having shaken off the authority of her husband by adopting the marriage sine manu, the Roman matron was freed from the leading strings of guardianship by the free choice the times allowed her in contracting a union. She entered her husband's home of her own free will and lived in it as his equal."[9] It is further stated: "Contrary to general opinion--which colours the conditions existing under the empire with memories of the early days of the republic and of long-lapsed republican customs--it is certain that the Roman woman of the epoch we are studying enjoyed a dignity and an independence at least equal if not superior to those claimed by contemporary feminists. More than one ancient champion of feminism under the Flavians, Musonius Rufus for one, had claimed for women this dignity and independence on the ground of the moral and intellectual equality of the two sexes. The close of the first century and the beginning of the second include many women of strong character, who command our admiration. Empresses succeeded each other on the throne who were not unworthy to bear at their husband's side the proud title of Augusta."[10]

The Influence of Plato. While Plato "was no 'feminest' in the modern sense" and "always regards women in general as by nature inferior to men," he is nevertheless "most radical and original in dealing with the distinction between male and female." We will notice the following question and

the answer: " If women are inferior beings, why does Plato advocate their emancipation, and propose that they take their place beside men in all the occupations of the ideal state? His answer is that the sex distinction is a different kind of division from that grouping according to natural aptitudes on which the organisation of the polis is to be based. With the exception of their functions in the production of children, man as such and woman as such are not fitted for any particular pursuit. Women can and should under-take any role in the community, even those of soldier and ruler, although in each they will normally be less successful than men."[11]

The Concepts of the Cynics and Epicureans. Turning to the Cynics we are told that they "emphasised the cleavage between wisdom and folly to the exclusion of other divisions: among the unnatural conventions to be ignored by the sophos were those distinctions of sex, race and class which still retained so strong a hold on the Greek mind, and which Aristotle was so concerned to justify. Antisthenes declared that goodness was the same for women as for men. Diogenes advocated sexual promiscuity dependent on mutual consent. . . . Although the Cynic wise man, far in advance of most fourth-century thought, ignores the traditional barriers that make female inferior to male, slave to master, foreigner to Greek, the Cynics themselves enlarged and strengthened the other barrier which loomed so large in contemporary thinking about mankind. The Cynic conception does not unite the human race, but draws a single great dividing line across it, separating the few wise men from the many fools, whom Diogenes described as 'one finger removed from lunacy.'"[12]

Regarding the Epicureans we have the following information: "Plato, the Cynics and others had set the ideal wise man above the barriers that

divide normal human beings. Similarly, within the circle of participants in Epicurean wisdom, but only there, these divisions were ignored and all could join in friendship. Women, including courtesans, were admitted, although they were excluded from Plato's Academy; and their high status is indicated by the fact that one of them became president. Slaves were members of the school, and one of them, named Mys (Mouse), is mentioned as particularly prominent."[13]

Zeno's Radical Views. Zeno's views on male-female relationship were most radical and their influence were felt even at the time of Paul. We will therefore quote, at some length, a summary of his thoughts.

"Like both Plato and the Cynics, he saw one of the main sources of social conflict in the institution of the family, and put forward startling views on sex relations which have a prominent place in our evidence, presumably because hostile critics found here the most promising material for attack. His proposal is often called 'community of wives', but 'freedom of intercourse between the sexes' would be a better translation. It is not limited by plans for organised breeding, as in the Republic, but implies complete promiscuity; and the ground for this is no doubt correctly stated by a later author, though the words are not likely to be Zeno's own: 'We shall then have fatherly affection for all children alike, and there will be an end to jealousy arising from adultery' (Diog. L. Vii. 131). For the same basic reason, Zeno gave a place to homosexual relationships in the ideal community: 'The wise man will love boys whose physical beauty shows the goodness innate in their character' (Diog. L. Vii. 129). Here we are not far away from Plato's Symposium, and the eros felt by the wise citizen is in accord with that worship of Eros which is to help to preserve the state.

The same thought clearly lies behind the proposition that all the citizens, both men and women, should wear the same clothing (Diog. L. VII. 33): unity is to be promoted by the simple device of putting both sexes into the same uniform. One is reminded of the Cynic Crates, Zeno's teacher, and his wife Hipparchia, who both wore the rough Cynic cloak in the streets of Athens."[14]

Further, Zeno's ideal "was a one-class, or classless, society, attaining unity through uniformity. The common denominator of its citizens was not mere rationality, in which all human beings have some share, but the high ideal of wisdom. Like the Epicurean circle of friends, with which Zeno's Utopia had not a little in common, they might be drawn from any of the accepted divisions of the human race—men or women, Greeks or barbarians, free men or slaves: but wisdom they must have."[15]

We have pointed out these "liberation" thoughts and movements among the Greeks in order to illustrate that Paul had to meet the issue of male-female relatedness on many fronts in order to uphold the divine ordained male-female order, and not to confuse that order with social, cultic, and religious (i.e. mystery religions) concepts in their various forms. Before we turn to the Pauline texts to which reference is generally made when dealing with the topic of the role of women and Galatians 3:28, we will observe Aristotle's negative view of women, and his influence upon Thomas Aquinas, Luther and Calvin. Paul also had to meet the concepts of Aristotle, and many interpreters of Paul, without realizing it, have also been influenced by him through the latter three; we will therefore consider them briefly.

ARISTOTLE'S NEGATIVE VIEW OF WOMEN

The philosphy of Aristotle (384-322 B.C.) influenced not only Greek and

Roman but also Western thought, both politically and theologically, as well as placed its stamp upon ecclesiology, specifically in Roman Catholicism.

Prior to Aristotle, Democritus (c. 460-370 B.C.) tells us that in Greek society slavery was part of the common life: "Use slaves like parts of the body, each for his own work." The inferiority and subordination of women were also stated.[16] Xenophon (c. 435-355 B.C.) in his book on administration of a household, likewise "takes the inferiority of women and the subjection of slaves for granted."[17]

This early and common Greek outlook was reinforced by Aristotle. Aristotle despises the multitude because they do not seek the harmony which should unite society. He writes: "It is their nature to obey not a sense of honour but only fear, to abstain from wrong not because of the disgrace but for fear of punishment. Living as feeling guides them, they run after the pleasures that suit their nature and the means to these pleasures, and avoid the corresponding pains; but of what is noble and truly pleasant they have no conception, as they have never tasted it."[18]

H. C. Baldry further explains: "In Aristotle's view several categories of mankind, constituting the numerical majority of the species, are 'defective', and by nature fall short of that level of humanity, that degree of fulfilment of the human telos, [goal, purpose] which can be reached by normal, undefective, man." This reminds us of Hitler's concept of the superiority of the German race. Turning to Aristotle's concept of the woman we are told: "The mental and physical differences between men and women are such that women are not only inferior, but fitted for a different role in life." Further, had "set her in a category which has a distinct and subordinate place in the pattern of human society. . . . Woman's partnership with

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man, necessary for the procreation of children and the survival of the species, is the basis of the family unit; but the wife must be the subordinate partner, the husband lord and master. 'The male is by nature superior in relation to the female, and the female inferior, the one rules and the other is subject.'"[19] However, Aristotle is not devoid of attachment and fondness between a husband and a wife. We read: "Among other animals the association of the sexes aims only at the production of offspring, but human beings live together not only for this purpose but to provide what is required for a full life. The functions of the man and the woman are distinguished from the first, and by pooling their individual abilities they satisfy their joint needs. Hence it is generally thought that affection between husband and wife combines utility and pleasure. It may also be founded on moral worth, if the pair are of good character; for either sex has its own excellence, and this can be a source of joy to both of them."[20]

The influence of the negative thoughts are reflected in the interpretation of Paul both by Catholic and Protestant interpreters, but they are not in accord with the unique Pauline soteriological liberation available for all mankind in Christ.

Medieval Concept of Woman. Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274) is the foremost "typical exponent of what a recent historian has called the catholic mind."[21] In 1567 Pope Pius V declared Thomas Aquinas to be the "Doctor of the Church." As late as 1879 Pope Leo XIII pronounced, in his encyclical of that year, that the theology of Thomas Aquinas is "the standard of Catholic orthodoxy."[22] He was also made patron of Catholic universities, and upon the occasion celebrating his canonization in 1923, Pope Pius XI re-emphasized his authority as the theologian of the Roman Catholic Church. Thomas

Aquinas aimed to harmonize reason and revelation, to reconcile the doctrine of the church and rational philosophy, which classic learning had revived. In his philosophical outlook he was an Aristotelian. In passing we may notice that the theologian Reinhold Seeberg writes regarding Aquinas' political theory: "The church attains its summit in the pope. With Aristotle, it was held: 'But the best government of a multitude is that it be ruled by one.'"[23]

In his Summa Theologica Thomas Aquinas has a special section on the creation of the woman. When we compare that with the one on the man we find the former rather depreciating. Answering the Aristotalian argument that "the female is a misbegotten male," and should therefore not have been created "in the first production of things" Aquinas answers (rather in the form of an excuse): "It was necessary for woman to be made, as the Scripture says, as a helper to man; not, indeed, as a helpmate in other words, as some say, since man can be more efficiently helped by another man in other works, but as a helper in the work of generation."[24] Further, "As regards the particular nature, woman is defective and misbegotten, for the active force in the male seed tends to the production of a perfect likeness in the masculine sex, while the production of woman comes from defect in the active force or from some material indisposition, or even from some external change, such as that of a south wind, which is moist, as the Philosopher observes. On the other hand, in relation to the universal nature, woman is not misbegotten, but is included in nature's intention as ordered to the work of generation. Now the universal intention of nature depends on God, Who is the universal Author of nature. Therefore, in producing nature, God formed not only the male but also the female."

Then the questions comes up: "But woman is naturally of less strength and dignity than man, for the agent is always more honourable than the patient. Therefore woman should not have been made in the first production of things before sin." His reply reads: "Subjection is twofold. One is servile, by virtue of which a superior makes use of a subject for his own benefit, and this kind of subjection began after sin. There is another kind of subjection, which is called economic or civil, whereby the superior makes use of his subjects for their own benefit and good; and this kind of subjection existed even before sin. For good order would have been wanting in the human family if some were not governed by others wiser than themselves. So by such a kind of subjection woman is naturally subject to man, because in man the discretion of reason predominates. Nor is inequality among men excluded by the state of innocence, as we shall prove."[25]

The proof he refers to is found in his discussion of whether there was equality "in the state of innocence." He states: "We must admit that in the primitive state there would have been some inequality, at least as regards sex, because generation depends upon diversity of sex."[26]

To the argument that "God foresaw that the woman would be an occasion of sin to man. Therefore He should not have made woman," the reply reads: "If God had deprived the world of all those things which proved an occasion of sin, the universe would have been imperfect. Nor was it fitting for the common good to be destroyed in order that individual evil might be avoided, especially as God is so powerful that He can direct any evil to a good end."[27]

The question is also raised "whether woman should have been made from man?" Aquinas, among others, gives the following affirmative reasons:

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"First, in order thus to give the first man a certain dignity, so that just as God is the principle of the whole universe, so the first man, in likeness to God, was the principle of the whole human race. And so Paul says that God made the whole human race from one (Acts 17:26). Secondly, that man might love woman all the more, and cleave to her more closely, knowing her to be fashioned from himself."[28]

When it comes to the question of ordination of women, Aquinas' objections are given by commonly expressed reasons: "It is said (I Tim. 2:12), I suffer not a woman to teach (in the church, I Cor. 14:34) nor to use authority over the man. . . . Since it is not possible in the female sex to signify eminence of degree, for a woman is in a state of subjection, it follows that she cannot receive the sacrament of Orders. . . . Wherefore, even though a woman were made the object of all that is one in conferring Orders she would not receive Orders. . . ."[29]

We will close our brief discussion of Aquinas by making two observations. In his discussion of the creation of man he asks the question: "Whether the image of God is found in every man?" Among his answers he writes: "The image of God, in its principal signification, namely the intellectual nature, is found both in man and in women. Hence after the words, To the image of God He created him, it is added, Male and female He created them (Gen. 1:27)." Having said that he modified it by stating: "But in a secondary sense the image of God is found in man, and not in woman, for man is the beginning and end of woman, just as God is the beginning and end of every creature. So when the Apostle had said that man is the image and glory of God, but woman is the glory of man, he adds his reason by saying this: For man is not of woman, but woman of man; and man was not

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created for woman, but woman for man."[30]

In view of what we have said about the relatedness of the triune God and the male and female relatedness as an image of the divine, it should be noticed that no reference is made to the latter by Aquinas, but this is characteristic for the theology of the West both within Roman Catholicism and Protestantism.

LUTHER'S VIEW OF WOMEN

Roman Catholicism and Eastern Orthodoxy adhere to an only male priesthood on account of their sacramentalism. Believing in the doctrine of the priesthood of believers the Protestant Fathers ceased to use the word priest, because of its sacramental connotation. They spoke about an official ministry chosen by and representing the believers, but they were equally emphatic that only a male could be consecrated or ordained to such a ministry. We will briefly notice their theological and exegetical reasons. We will first turn to Luther.

In Luther's exposition of 1 Peter 2:5 he denies a New Testament priesthood as found in the Old Testament. The ministry is merely an office. Luther asks the question: "Now you may say: If it is true that we are all priests and should preach, what sort of chaotic condition will follow? Is there to be no distinction among the people, and are women also to be priests?" He then explains: "They who are now called priests are all laymen like the others, and only some are officials, elected by the congregation to preach. Thus there is only an outward distinction for the sake of the office to which one is called by the congregation, but before God there is no difference. And only for this reason are some individuals selected

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from the multitude that in place of the congregation they may bear and exercise the office which they all have, not that anyone has more authority than another. Therefore no one should rise up of himself and preach in the congregation; but out of the multitude one is to be selected and appointed, and he may be removed when it is desirable. . . . When you look at people as Christians, you must recognize no distinction; you should not say, This is a man or a woman, a servant or a master, old or young, as Paul tells us (Gal. 3:28)). They are all one and are a purely spiritual people." Since all believers--men and women--belong to the priesthood of believers, the question is then raised about the possibility of women preaching. Luther expresses his opinion in these words: "Therefore one and all are priests; all may proclaim God's Word, except that women are not to speak in the church but should let the men preach, because of the command that they are to be subject to their husbands, as St. Paul teaches us (2 Cor. 14:35). Such order God permits to remain, but He makes no distinction as to authority. However, if no men are present, but women only, as in a nunnery, there a woman may be selected to preach."[31]

The subjection of the wife to the husband is expressed in a sermon of 1516. "A woman should either be subject to her husband or should not marry. If she does not want a master, then let her keep from taking a man; for this is the order God has prescribed and ordained through His apostles and Scripture."[32]

We will now notice how Luther integrates Scripture on this point. Commenting on Genesis 1:27 he writes: "Moses here places the man and the woman together in order that no one might think that the woman was to be excluded from the glory of the future life. The woman certainly differs

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from man, for she is weaker in body and intellect (than he). Nevertheless, Eve was an excellent creature and equal to Adam so far as the divine image, that is, righteousness, wisdom and eternal salvation, is concerned. Still, she was only a woman. As the sun is much more glorious than the moon (though also the moon is glorious), so the woman was (created) inferior to the man both in honor and dignity, though she, too, was a very excellent work of God."[33]

Among his remarks to Genesis 2:18 we read: "Here we are told of the institution of the home, for God changed the only bachelor into a husband by giving him a wife whom he needed for the propagation of the human race."[34]

"The propagation of the human race" and the upbringing of the children were the wife's primary tasks. "Men are commanded to rule and to reign over their wives and families. But if woman, forsaking her position (officio), presumes to rule over her husband, she then and there engages in a work for which she was not created, a work which stems from her own failing (vitio) and is evil. . . . Woman was created for the benefit (usum) of man, that is, for the prudent and sensible training of children. Everyone does best when he does that for which he was created. 'A woman handles a child better with her smallest finger than a man does with both hands (Fausten).' Therefore let everyone stick to that work to which God has called him and for which he was created."[35]

In his comments on 1 Timothy 2:11-13, "Let a woman quietly receive instruction with entire submissiveness. But I do not allow a woman to teach or exercise authority over a man, but to remain quiet. For it was Adam who was first created, and then Eve," Luther writes: "I believe that Paul is still speaking about public matters. I also want it to refer to the public

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ministry, which occurs in the public assembly of the church. There a woman must be completely quiet, because she should remain a hearer and not become a teacher. She is not to be the spokesman among the people. She should refrain from teaching, from praying in public. She has the command to speak at home. This passage makes a woman subject. It takes from her all public office and authority. . . . Where men and women have been joined together, there the men, not the women, ought to have authority. An exceptional example is the case where they are without husbands, like Huldah and Deborah who had no authority over husbands. Another lived in Abela. The evangelist Philip had four unmarried daughters, etc. (cf. Acts 21:9). He forbids teaching contrary to a man or to the authority of a man. Where there is a man, there no woman should teach or have authority. Where there is no man, Paul has allowed that they can do this, because it happens by a man's command. He wants to save the order preserved by the world--that a man be the head of the woman, as 1 Cor. 11:3 tells us. Where there are men, she should neither teach nor rule. She rules in the homes and says: 'Be quiet,' but she is not the master."[36]

CALVIN'S VIEW OF WOMEN

Calvin's opinions on women are basically the same as Luther's. In a sermon based on 1 Cor. 11:4-10 he writes: "I am not one of those who wanders so far off as to know neither my end nor my present lot; rather God has placed an obligation upon me. As married, I am to serve my husband and show him honor and reverence. As unmarried, I am to walk in the way of complete sobriety and modesty, acknowledging that men hold a superior station and that they must be the rulers. Any woman who desires to exempt

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herself from this role forgets the very law of nature and perverts what God commands as necessary to observe."[37] In his Commentary he writes similarly on the same text: "As regards spiritual connection in the sight of God, and inwardly in the conscience, Christ is the head of the man and of the woman without any distinction, because, as to that, there is no regard paid to male or female; but as regards external arrangement and political decorum, the man follows Christ and the woman the man, so that they are not upon the same footing, but, on the contrary, this inequality exists."[38]

Turning to chapter 14 of the same epistle where Paul says (verses 34-40) that women should not speak in the churches, Calvin comments, "He forbids them to speak in public, either for the purpose of teaching or of prophesying. This, however, we must understand as referring to ordinary service, or where there is a Church in a regularly constituted state; for a necessity may occur of such a nature as to require that a woman should speak in public; but Paul has merely in view what is becoming in a duly regulated assembly. . . . The office of teaching is a superiority in the Church and is, consequently, inconsistent with subjection. For how unseemly a thing it were, that one who is under subjection to one of the members, should preside over the entire body! . . . Paul's reasoning, however, is simple--that authority to teach is not suitable to the station that a woman occupies, because, if she teaches, she presides over all the men, while it becomes her to be under subjection."[39]

The same subject is taken up in his Commentary on 1 Timothy 2:12, "But I do not allow a woman to teach or exercise authority over a man, but to remain quiet." Here he writes: "Not that he takes from them the charge of instructing their family, but only excludes them from the office of teach-

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ing, which God has committed to men only. . . . If any one bring forward, by way of objection, Deborah (Judges iv.4) and others of the same class, of whom we read that they were at one time appointed by the command of God to govern the people, the answer is easy. Extraordinary acts done by God do not overturn the ordinary rules of government, by which he intended that we should be bound. Accordingly, if women at one time held the office of prophets and teachers, and that too when they were supernaturally called to it by the Spirit of God, He who is above all law might do this; but, being a peculiar case, this is not opposed to the constant and ordinary system of government. He adds—what is closely allied to the office of teaching—and not to assume authority over the man; for the very reason, why they are forbidden to teach, is, that it is not permitted by their condition. They are subject, and to teach implies the rank of power or authority."[40]

Dealing with the text of Ephesians 5:22-23, "Wives, be subject to your own husbands, as to the Lord. For the husband is the head of the wife, as Christ also is the head of the Church", Calvin comments: "The community at large is divided, as it were, into so many yokes, out of which arises mutual obligation. . . . He begins with wives, whom he enjoins to be subject to their husbands, in the same manner as to Christ,—as to the Lord. Not that the authority is equal, but wives cannot obey Christ without yielding obedience to their husbands. For the husband is the head of the wife. This is the reason assigned why wives should be obedient. Christ has appointed the same relation to exist between a husband and a wife, as between himself and his church. This comparison ought to produce a stronger impression on their minds, than the mere declaration that such is the appointment of God. Two things are here stated. God has given to the husband authority over the

wife; and a resemblance of this authority is found in Christ, who is the head of the church, as the husband is of the wife."[41]

Calvin expresses himself in a similar way in his exposition of 1 Peter 3:1, "In the same way, you wives, be submissive to your own husbands, so that even if any of them are disobedient to the word, they may be won without a word by the behavior of their wives." We read: "He proceeds now to another instance of subjection, and bids wives to be subject to their husbands. And as those seemed to have some pretense for shaking off the yoke, who were united to unbelieving men, he expressly reminds them of their duty, and brings forward a particular reason why they ought the more carefully to obey, even that they might by their probity allure their husbands to the faith. But if wives ought to obey ungodly husbands, with much more promptness ought they to obey, who have believing husbands."[42]

In his remarks on Genesis 1:27-28 Calvin tells us that "the woman was added to him [Adam] as a companion", "but the main purpose was for procreation." "But here Moses would simply declare that Adam with is wife was formed for the production of offspring, in order that men might replenish the earth. God could himself indeed have covered the earth with a multitude of men; but it was his will that we should proceed from one fountain, in order that our desire of mutual concord might be the greater, and that each might the more freely embrace the other as his own flesh."[43] From Calvin's notes on Genesis 2:18 we read: "Moses now explains the design of God in creating the woman; namely, that there should be human beings on the earth who might cultivate mutual society between themselves. . . . The commencement, therefore, involves a general principle, that man was formed to be a social animal. . . . Now, since God assigns the woman as a help to the man,

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he not only prescribes to wives the rule of their vocation, to instruct them in their duty, but he also pronounces that marriage will really prove to men the best support of life. We may therefore conclude, that the order of nature implies that the woman should be the helper of the man."[44]

Explaining the curse which came upon the woman after the Fall he points out, "The second punishment which he exacts is subjection. For this form of speech, 'Thy desire shall be unto they husband,' is of the same force as if he had said that she should not be free and at her own command, but subject to the authority of her husband and dependent upon his will; or as if he had said, 'Thou shalt desire nothing but what thy husband wishes.' As it is declared afterwards, 'Unto thee shall be his desire,' (chap. iv. 7.) Thus the woman, who had perversely exceeded her proper bounds, is forced back to her own position. She had, indeed, previously been subject to her husband, but that was a liberal and gentle subjection; now, however, she is cast into servitude."[45]

TWO PAULINE MALE-FEMALE SUBJECTS

The Pauline texts in question are centered on two main topics: 1) The headship of man (1 Cor. 11:2 ff; Eph. 5:23 ff), and 2) A woman should not teach in the church (1 Cor. 14:34 ff; 1 Tim. 2:12 ff); these two topics are interrelated with the question on submissiveness on the part of the woman (Col. 3:18; Eph. 5:24; 1 Cor. 14:34; 1 Tim. 2:11). We will appraise the relevant texts of the two topics within the theological framework of divine relatedness as Paul himself does.

THE QUESTION OF HEADSHIP

The two pertinent texts regarding headship read, "But I want you to understand that Christ is the head of every man, and the man is the head of a woman, and God is the head of Christ" (1 Cor. 11:3), and "wives, be subject to your own husbands, as to the Lord. For the husband is the head of the wife, as Christ also is the head of the church, He Himself being the Savior of the body" (Eph. 5:22-23). The word "head" is a translation of the Greek "kephale ."

Three Concepts of Headship. In general, there are three ways in which expositors look at headship. The first follows the common meaning of being the chief, the ruler or commander with inherited superiority and authority over the subservient. Within the ancient world and Judaism it has been understood in this way and recognized in a way which literally fulfilled the "curse" of Genesis 3:16. As previously observed the same concept, with variations, was in general adhered to by the church from the time of the early Church Fathers.

Among the many usages of the word "head" listed in an English Dictionary, is also that of "origin" or "source." A number of present-day expositors advocate this concept and refer to texts which seem to indicate that headship means other than authority (see Col. 2:16-19; Eph. 4:11-16; 5:18-22, 1 Cor. 11:3; 12:22-27). It is suggested that Christ's headship emphasizes the oneness between Him and the church, illustrating the oneness between husband and wife.[46]

A third possible meaning or emphasis is that of "the first", "the point", "the top" as a "prominent" or "honored" representation of the whole

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body, rather than authority or source.[47]

HEADSHIP AS GOD IS HEAD OF CHRIST

Whatever linguistic or technical sense the word "kephale" may have, Paul's statement on headship must first and foremost be seen in its theological meaning as arrived from the meaning of "God is head of Christ." Accordingly, we have at some length dealt with the theology of divine relatedness and the male and female relatedness as an image of the divine.

That "God is the head of Christ" (1 Cor. 11:3) does not mean, as previously observed, authority for the members of the triune God are equal and one in being and acting. Equality and oneness likewise characterize the male and female relatedness. In 1 Cor. 7:3-4 Paul deals with the intimate coitus relationship and expresses complete mutuality. In chapter 11 where Paul speaks about the headship of man, equality and oneness between man and woman is clearly pointed out: "However, in the Lord, neither is woman independent of man, nor is man independent of woman. For as the woman originates from the man, so also the man has his birth through the woman; and all things originate from God" (1 Cor. 11:11,12). Headship is one of love manifested in responsibility of giving and sacrificial service (John 3:16). "Christ is the head of every man" (1 Cor. 11:3), and as the "second Adam" he became "the first" of the "new man." God gave and Christ gave Himself: "Have this attitude in yourselves which was also in Christ Jesus, who, although He existed in the form of God, did not regard equality with God a thing to be grasped, but emptied Himself, taking form of a bondservant, and being made in the likeness of men. And being found in appearance as a man, He humbled Himself by becoming obedient to the point of death, even death on

a cross. Therefore also God highly exalted Him, and bestowed upon Him the name which is above every name, that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of those who are in heaven, and on earth, and under the earth, and that every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father" (Phil. 2:5-11). By giving and serving in love and sacrificial responsibility (the essence of divine headship) Christ became "the top", "the first", "the head" of man and the church (see Eph. 1:22-23; 4:15; Col. 1:18). Keeping this in mind we can read: "For the husband is the head of the wife, as Christ also is head of the church. He Himself being the savior of the body." In this same connection mutual submission is expressed "Be subject to one another in the fear of Christ. Wives, be subject to your own husbands, as to the Lord. . . . Husbands love your wives, just as Christ loved the church and gave Himself up for her. . . . Husbands ought also to love their own wives as their own bodies." They ought to nourish and cherish it, "just as Christ also does the church." A man shall "cleave to his wife and the two shall become one flesh" (Eph. 5:21-22, 25, 26, 28, 29, 31).

Our relationship to God is not that of a fearful subject to an autocratic lawgiver. We are in a loving and trusting child-father relationship with God: "Because you are sons, God has sent forth the Spirit of HIs Son into our hearts, crying, 'Abba! Father'" (Gal. 4:6; Rom 8:15). In such a relationship the Holy Spirit renews us into the image and relatedness of the triune God.

Christ has life in Himself underived and original, thus the Father is not the head in form of a source or fountainhead. Likewise, man and woman are equally created in the image of God. Biblical headship both on the

divine and human levels are not "the first" or "the top" of a hierarchal structure, but of an organic unity and is therefore representative. It is in the strength of the representative nature that headship has a certain "authority" in the form of responsibility which represents the will and purpose of a common oneness, equality and action (we may here recall what was said about the representative nature of the official ministry of the church). Paul tells us that "the head cannot say to the heel, 'I don't need you.' 'On the contrary, those parts of the body which seem to have less strength are more essential to health; and to those parts of the body which seem to us to be less admirable we have to allow the highest honor of function. The parts which do not look beautiful have a deeper beauty in the work they do, while the parts which look beautiful may not be at all essential to life! But God has harmonized the whole body by giving importance of function to the parts which lack apparent importance, that the body should work together as a whole with all the members in sympathetic relationship with one another" (Phillips Translation, 1 Cor. 12:21-25).

Paul's picture of the body points to a relatedness of oneness in which there are functional differences including the principle of headship defined by the divine. The same relatedness is also expressed in Paul's statement that man is the "glory of God; but the woman the glory of man" (1 Cor. 11:7). "Glory" represents or expresses the result of true association and relationship, while dishonor or disgrace stands for the opposite (read verses 4-7). 1 Cor. 11:3 does not express a chain of command, for then it would have begun with God to Christ, Christ to man, and man to woman; instead the three categories end with God and Christ. The text should be read in light of the meaning of glory and honor or disgrace and dishonor which

result from true or false relatedness (verses 4-7). The implication is that man can bring honor or dishonor to Christ, woman to man, but Christ can only bring glory, honor to God; therefore the same should be the case with the first two pair-relationships[48]

Man-male in his representative position as "head" must have a relationship with God as Christ on earth, so he like Christ may reveal the character of God (glory, John 1:14) and bring honor to God (glory); likewise the woman should be in "one flesh" relationship with the husband and bring honor to him as the representative head, and thereby indirectlty to herself as "one flesh" with him. It is only by being in Christ, that the divine relatedness of equality, oneness, headship, and functional differences can successfuly operate on the human level. If man and/or woman--being one flesh--fails here, their headship begins to operate (the same is the case in the church) on a different level; namely, the distorted level of the Fall.

Wherever there is functional relationship in life headship is necessary, but if the divine headship is not exemplified, then it will be the one of the Fall, where the "curse" under the given circumstances even may have a certain restraining power, as already noticed in connection with the power of the state. This element should not be overlooked when we deal with the Pauline texts relevant to our topic.

The Pauline key to realization of true relatedness and headship is to be "in Christ" and the "old man" being conquered by the "new man." The question of headship for the Christian must be seen in the light of the redemptive acts of Christ (christology, soteriology) in the heart of the "new man."

For Paul the overarching principle--by which everything stands or

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falls--is the "being in Christ." No man-made decisions, planning or structuring can accomplish it. Accordingly, we have sought to bring the Pauline texts under discussion within a soteriological framework, where we believe the only solution is found in order to be true to the biblical material.

At the one and same time Paul deals with timeless truths, he is also concerned with time-bound local problems in man-woman relationships; or to say it the other way around: when Paul has to solve local time-bound problems, he makes also reference to timeless truth, but the two levels must not be confused, so the time-bound become timeless truths, or visa versa. At the same time we must also acknowledge that when Paul gives advice in a given situation guideposts are erected which have timeless value for the church universal, if we clearly understand the time-bound circumstances.

A WOMAN SHOULD NOT TEACH

As we turn to the topic that women should "be quiet" and "not teach" we must, in our evaluation, keep in mind what has been said about relatedness in connection with headship. The two pertinent texts read: "Let the women keep silent in the churches; for they are not permitted to speak, but let them be subject themselves, just as the Law also says. And if they desire to learn anything, let them ask their own husbands at home; for it is improper for a woman to speak in church" (1 Cor. 14:34, 35). Next, "Let a woman quietly receive instruction with entire submissiveness. But I do not allow a woman to teach or exercise authority over a man, but to remain quiet" (1 Tim. 2:11-12).

When we move from 1 Cor. 11:5 where Paul approves the prophesying of

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women to chapter 14 where he admonishes the women to keep silent and not speak in the church, there seems to be a contradiction, which becomes sharper when we add the prohibition of 1 Tim. 2:12 that women should not teach and then at the same time acknowledge that women took an active part in the ministry of the early church (Acts 9:36; 12:12; 16:14, 16, 40; 18:26; Rom. 16:1-4, 12: Phil. 4:2, 3), and were endowed with the gifts of the Spirit (Joel 2:28-32, cf. Acts 21:1-4, 17-21; 1 Cor. 11:5 and chapter 12) of which the prophetic gift was a significant one, listed as the second before pastor and teacher for "the work of service, to the building up of the body of Christ" (Eph. 4:10-13). The women both prayed and prophesied publicly in the church (1 Cor. 11:5).

The context for the text under discussion (1 Cor. 14:34) is found in a detailed consideration of the gifts of the Spirit, specifically prophecy and the speaking in tongues (1 Cor. 12-14). One of Pauls' great concerns is expressed in his closing statement, "But let all things be done properly and in an orderly manner" (1 Cor. 14:40). Earlier he had said (notice it is in verse 33, prior to the statement of verse 34) "God is not a God of confusion but of peace, as in all the churches of the saints." It should also be noticed that prior to this admonition Paul had said that revelation had priority over prophecy, and those in the latter group should acknowledge that by keeping silent (1 Cor. 14:29-30).

The two most common and plausable explanations are that Paul urged silence of babblers in general or to ask questions or express improper objections as i.e. in relationship to prophecy and revelation where Paul already had said, "And let two or three prophets speak, and let the others pass judgment. But if revelation is made to another who is seated, let the

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first keep silent" (1 Cor. 14:29-30, see also vs. 1-6).

In Paul's request for silence he may also have had in mind tongue speaking or "enthusiasts." Outlining the order of a church-service Paul says: "When you assemble, each one has a psalm, has a teaching, has a revelation, has a tongue, has an interpretation. Let all things be done for edification. If anyone speaks in a tongue, it should be by two or at the most three, and each in turn, and let one interpret, but if there is no interpreter, let him keep silent in the church" (1 Cor. 14:26-28).

It has been pointed out that the "verb _lalein_, to speak, occurs 23 times in chapter 14. It signifies _to speak in tongues_, except in verses 3, 19, and 29. In verses 3 and 29 the context shows that it has to do with the one who prophesies; and in verse 19 it is a question of speaking with intelligence in order to teach others. Apart from that in 19 cases, the verb clearly means to speak in tongues. Therefore it could be asked whether in the last instance, relative to women, it does not have the same meaning."[49]

The cultic background for those who had been converted from paganism may also have played a role in view of the fact that Paul describes the Corinthian church members in general as carnal and quarrelsome, creating divisions among themselves (1 Cor. 11-12; 3:1-4). ". . . many Corinthians would have had a vivid memory of the orgiastic madness of much of their previous worship. . . . It is almost inconceivable that the cultic frenzy, exchange of sex roles, including hair style, change of clothing, and authoritarian attitudes on the part of women would not have had some effect on the Corinthian church. With Paul's convictions regarding homosexuality, he must have viewed the exchange of sexual roles with horror."[50] At the same time Paul must also have been concerned about the Christians moral reputation in

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terms of honor and glory, contrary to shame, dishonor and disgrace not only as it was stipulated by the Greek and Latin moralists (The Christians should not fall short compared with them), but specifically as it should be demonstrated in male-female relatedness as discussed in chapter 11 of the same epistle. When the text says that women "are not permitted to speak, but let them subject themselves just as the Law also says," we find again the exegetes are in disagreement. Some suggest that it is a reference to Gen. 3:16, but others find it doubtful that a descriptive curse could become prescriptive.[51] Suggestion has therefore also been given that the reference is to Genesis 2 as in two other Pauline passages (1 Cor. 11:8-9; 1 Tim. 2:13).[52]

Still another view is "that 'the law' meant women must be silent, only because over the years, rabbinic authority had come to interpret it that way."[53] It has been pointed out that "several New Testament scholars believe that verse 35 illustrates what is meant by the speaking referred to in verse 34. Paul appears to be saying 'Don't ask your questions and interrupt the church services. Rather, ask your husbands later at home!'"[54] The divergent views (expressed by honest Bible-believing scholars who each may have a valid point) would be harmonized if we read "Law" in the light of our discussion of headship. We may consider "Law" as expressing the principle (law) of headship. It operates as a principle (law) in all spheres of life: the divine order, the distorted order of the Fall, and the order of the "new man" in Christ both in the family and the church.

It seems clear that women are recipients of Spiritual gifts significant to the spiritual life of the church--specifically to prophecy--while at the same time upholding the propriety (following an established rule) and the

respect (hold sacred or inviolable) of the divine ordained male-female rela-
tedness, which is the overarching principle in the Pauline discussion of
relatedness, when reference is made to different circumstantial relation-
ships.

DIFFERENT S.D.A. VIEWS ON 1 TIM. 2:8-11

The passage of 1 Timothy 2:11-12 is generally considered most signifi-
cant, but also rather difficult. During the last three years (1985-88) a
number of research papers dealing with this passage alone or part of a study
have been submitted to the S.D.A. Biblical Research Committee. The writers
represent a wide spectrum of the theological leadership of the church.
Their conclusions, which we will point out, bring into focus different
views.

Georges Steveny believes that "Paul speaks of meetings of the church. .
. . It is not a matter of women not interrupting the worship by ill-times
questions, but of women who would presume to dominate man, forgetting as it
were, his birthrights--As the husband is the head of the household, so also
is he the natural leader of the group of households in the church congrega-
tion (S.D.A. Commentary). . . . He instructs men to live as men and women
to live as women." His conclusion reads: "On first reading Paul's verses
to Timothy surprise us and divert us from the actual context. Nevertheless
upon reading them carefully, we discover there the same teaching already
given in other epistles. Since Creation, God foresaw an order which He
wrote into nature. Now nature is controlled only by obeying its laws. To
fail to take account of this is to run the risk of falling."[55]

On the other hand, George E. Rice draws the conclusion that "the impo-

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sition of public worship as the context for the interpretation of this passage appears to be arbitrary and artificial. . . . Vv 9-15 deals with the home in which the husband is priest and how the wife is to relate herself to this spiritual role of her husband. . . . Paul's counsel after v 8 does not deal with public worship, but how women should behave themselves in the Christian community, as Paul's summary remarks in 3:14, 15 show, 'I hope to come to you soon, but I am writing these instructions to you so that, if I am delayed, you may know how one ought to behave in the household of God, which is the church of the living God. . . .' This passage is not speaking of behavior inside a building during worship service. It is addressing interpersonal relationships within the household of God--the living community of Christ."[56]

George E. Rice seems to consider the passage as a household code. Some New Testament scholars find four of these in the New Testament (and bear the German name: Haustafeln). The passages are Colossians 3:18-19; Ephesians 5:21-33; 1 Peter 3:1-18; and Titus 2:1-5. In an unpublished manuscript John Brunt deals with these. It should be noticed that Ephesians 5:21-33 is included, a passage which is generally referred to when dealing with male-female relatedness not only in the home but also in the church. Likewise, the same is the case with the other passages, especially in connection with the topic of submission on the part of women.

Speaking about the relevance of the Haustafeln, John Brunt writes, "First of all, the New Testament Haustafeln would call into question any attitude toward marriage which gives the husband a domineering, hierarchical authority over his wife. There can be no privileged partner if we take the Haustafeln seriously, for privilege is always transformed into sacrificial

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service. On the other hand, the New Testament _Haustafeln_ also call into
question any kind of feminist position that would detract from the wife's
commitment to husband and children, or that would denigrate the sanctity of
those relationships. There is a kind of feminism that would lead to inde-
pendence and isolation rather than mutuality, and the _Haustafeln_ call this
into question as well. We cannot expect the _Haustafeln_ to spell out the
specific roles of husband and wife in the 20th century. They do not even do
that for the first century, but they do call on all marital relationships to
be governed by a spirit of mutual responsibility.

"Thus far, we have spoken only of the husband-wife relationship. What
is the relevance of these passages, however, for the broader question of the
role of women in the church and in the ordained ministry?

"We should first notice that there is nothing in this material that
speaks directly to the question of women in ministry or the ordination of
women. That means that nothing in this material would forbid ordination to
women."[57]

Having considered the question of spiritual gifts (Eph. 4) and other
Pauline passages (1 Cor. 11:2-16; 14:34; 1 Tim. 2:8-15) Herbert Kiesler
draws the following conclusions: "From these passages the following under-
standing of Paul's thinking on the role of men and women in the Christian
community has emerged: The prime objective of the apostle is the edification
of believers in the setting of the worship service. In order to achieve
this goal, Paul unfolds his concept of church order. From a theological as
well as sociological perspective the order which the apostle envisions be-
tween the sexes is rooted in the headship of God." He writes: "We have
observed that Paul manifests a positive attitude toward both sexes. For

instance he does not object to women's active participation in prayer and prophesying. And yet he clearly enunciates the significance of the role differences between men and women. In 1 Timothy 2:11 ff, e.g. the apostle maintains that women are not to hold positions of authority over men within the Christian community. This view we have observed is based on the way men and women were created."[58]

Mario Veloso in his paper "Exegesis and Theologicl Implications of 1 Timothy 2:8-15" expresses the opinion "That which Paul prohibits for woman is the exercise of teaching which defines doctrine and transmits it with authoritative orders. . . . It seems clear that Paul prohibits women from exercising authoritative teaching as a function of the pastoral office. This is confirmed in other Pauline texts where he authorizes women to teach specific groups--young women (Titus 2:3-5) and individuals (Acts 18:26). Paul refers to women as apostolic fellow laborers (Philipians 4:2, 3) and as prophetesses who publicly take part in worship (1 Corinthians 11:5), but never as pastors nor elders (bishops). Such a position is in harmony with the content of the sentence, 'I suffer not a woman. . . to usurp authority over the man' (1 Timothy 2:12)." Quoting Joseph Henry Thayer he continues: The word that Paul uses to identify this authority is authenteō. This verb appears only this once in all the New Testament. It means to exercise do-minion over someone, to act with one's own power or authority. From it comes the word 'autocrat.'"[59]

As noticed, the words "exercise authority" is a translation of the Greek authenteō. At this point a reference should be made to a detailed study of a classicist's view of 1 Timothy 2:12. Here it is confirmed that it "is a Greek verb so rare that it appears nowhere else in the entire New

Testament. The concept of ruling or exercising authority over another oc-
curs frequently in the New Testament, but always with other words. . . . .
the noun from which the verb authenteo̅ is derived, had essentially the
significance of the person beginning or being responsible (aitios) for an
action, situation or state."[60] Examples are given how it is used to "denote
an originator or instigator," "to take a matter or inheritance into one's
own hands," to declare or "represent oneself as the author, originator, or
source of something." The author demonstrates the prominant role of women
in the ancient religions of Ephesus (the place where Timothy worked), for
example the Great Mother God "was considered the all-sufficient source of
life and being. A male was apparently not thought necessary for the mighty
Artemis. . . . Among the Lycian worshipers of Artemis, the generative role
of the male was held to be unimportant."

Turning to Gnosticism we find "In Gnostic cosmologies, female activity
was often responsible for the creation of the material universe, and Eve was
a potent force. She was said to possess the ability to procreate without
male assistance: 'Eve is the first virgin, who gave birth without a man.
She is the one who played her own doctor.' Among the Powers and Archons,
strange celestial beings who filled the Gnostic world, Eve found a place.
She was identified both as a Power and as the daughter of a Power. As such,
she was said to have pre-existed Adam and gained a knowledge that she would
later impart to him. In one account, she was the hermaphrodite from whose
side man was formed. In other accounts, Eve was involved in the creation
activities of John 1:1-3 and became mother of everything in the world"

It is suggested that this "demonstrates the presence of motifs that
must have had an earlier stage of development. Irenaeus, a native of Asia

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Minor, appears to have known a similar text when he composed his treatise Against Heresies in A.D. 180. It cannot be established for certain that the false teachers in the Pastorals possessed a full-blown system of Gnostic theology, though it is not impossible." There are scholars who are of the opinion "that Gnosticism arose in the second century B.C. at Alexandria as rebellious Jews circulated myths which stood in direct opposition to the biblical accounts. By the late first century, Cerinthus had brought a form of Gnosticism to Ephesus. He was steeped in Egyptian lore and named the chief deity Authentia, an appellation also used very early by Satornilus and other Gnostics. This name was based on the same root as authenteō, the verb in 1 Timothy 2:12 that is customarily translated 'to exercise authority.' In the Pasorals, there is certainly a complicated mythology with a Jewish background and some highly controversial genealogies (1 Tim. 1:7; Tit. 1:10-14). The question of origins, who had issued from whom, was a topic of heated debate (Tit. 3:9). In a Jewish genealogy, Adam and Eve would hold a place; and Eve as source of Adam could not fail to be an inflammatory topic."[61]

On such a cultural backdrop it is understandable that Paul emphasized that Adam was created first, and Eve deceived first (1 Tim. 2:13-14). (In other places Paul says that "in Adam all die", see Rom. 5:14; 1 Cor. 15:22).

Regarding 1 Timothy 2:15 and childbearing a classicist view is expressed as follows: "If this passage is a reaction to a pro-Gnostic type of teaching, verse 15 becomes more comprehensible. Childbearing and marriage were forbidden by certain Gnostic groups because they pulled the soul-atoms back into material bodies instead of liberating them to ascend to their ultimate source. The Gnostic Phibionites, who cherished a 'Gospel of Eve,'

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engaged in ritual promiscuity that ended in coitus interruptus. Any woman found to be pregnant was forcibly aborted and the fetus consumed in a sacramental meal. According to the Gospel of the Egyptians, Jesus came to do away with the works of women, that is, childbearing. Only after women ceased from childbearing could the final consummation take place. Women must become men in order to be saved, according to the Naasene Gospel of Thomas, while Zostrianos urges believers to 'flee from the bondage of femininity and to choose for themselves the salvation of masculinity.'

"The heretics of the Pastorals who forbid marriage (1 Tim. 4:2) oppose the orthodox view, that women should marry and having children (1 Tim. 5:14). But the writer of 1 Timothy asserts that women are acceptable to God within their childbearing function and need not change their sexual identity to find salvation. He extols the virtues of faith, love and holiness with self-control. What splendid maternal attitudes!

"Such an interpretation of 1 Timothy 2:11-15 would recognize more fully the numerous statements in the Pastorals about false teaching and the need to resist it. It accounts for the mythological and genealogical concerns of the writer."[62] As verses 11 and 12 are interpreted differently so also 13-15. We have referred to the cultural-religious backdrop to indicate that several strands may be found woven into Paul's discussions.

Gerhard Hasel points out that the passage in content and context has to do with church activities. His closing sentence reads: "The larger context of 1 Tim. 2:8-15 with the instruction on elders (1 Tim. 3:1-7) and deacons (1 Tim. 2:8-13) puts the passage on men and women in 1 Tim. 2:8-15 that precedes it in a setting of universal application for the church."[63] Hasel's comment on 1 Tim. 2:9-10 is as follows: "The exhortation of the

role of women in the church begins in 1 Tim. 2:9. The opening term 'likewise' (hōsautōs) refers back to vs 8. The injunction of women refraining from ostentatious dress and outward adornment is as serious as what follows in vss 1-15. These high standards are transcultural and are opposed to the larger societal contexts of the world. The progression in Paul's thought moves from public prayer by men (vs 8) to women's dress and adornment standards (vss 9-10) to women's role in public worship (vss 11-12)."[64] The injunction "not to teach" is to be "understood in this context that a woman is not to teach a man in the sense of having authority over him, i.e. that a woman is not to be an authoritative teacher in the church. . . . It seems inevitable that the meaning of authoritative teaching over men is supported by the context and Paul's usage of this form in his other writings. If it seems sound contextually to understand 'teaching' in 1 Tim. 2:12 in the light of and explained by the phrase 'to have authority over man' with the meaning of authoritative teaching over men, then by implication non-authoritative teaching would be permissible."[65]

Hasel seems to agree with the suggestion that "Eve's deception is the result of her asserting a role independent of and above Adam. In asserting leadership Eve placed herself above equality and lost by falling into sin first. Therefore, Paul suggests women in the church ought not to assert leadership, but to take seriously the role differentiation made part of the creation order. If roles are exchanged, then disaster can take place as in the events that led to the deception and fall of Eve. Paul concentrates on Eve because he discusses the role of women. The essence here is the role of women in the church. Women ought not to teach authoritatively and have authority over men because this is not their role. They can teach children

and women (Titus 2:3-4; cf. 2 Tim. 1:5; 3:15); they can pray and prophesy (1 Cor. 11:5,14; Acts 18:26; 21:8-9; Phil. 4:3; Rom. 16:12), but Paul suggests that they should not teach in a manner where they have authority over men. This may mean that they should not hold the office of elder (1 Tim. 3:1-7), because he is to be an 'apt teacher' (vs 2) who teaches with authority. Women can engage in various forms of church ministries. Their functions are broad but seem to be circumscribed by what appears to be teaching authoritatively and exercising authority over men, an injunction which Paul supports by the theological use of the creation order."[66]

In his conclusion Samuele Bacchiocchi expresses a similar view: "The conclusion of our examination of 1 Timothy 2:9-15 is that the intent of this passage, in the light of its immediate and wider context of the pastoral epistles, is not to prohibit women from participating in the general teaching ministry of the church ('the [women] are to teach what is good'--Titus 2:3), but rather to restrain women from aspiring to the restricted teaching role of the leader of the congregation. The reason for Paul's ruling is that for a woman to exercise such a headship role is incompatible with the subordinate role which at the beginning God assigned to women in the home and in the church. Essentially the same view is expressed by Paul in 1 Corinthians 14:33b-36."[67]

In the light of the discussion on the ordination of women James J. C. Cox in his "Notes on 1 Corinthians 14:34, 35" lays down "two rather simple but basic, valid, time-honored, and universally-held principles of Biblical interpretation." The first is, "We should not use any text of Scripture either to affirm or negate a position the church should or should not take, on any matter, unless it either explicitly or implicitly speaks to the pro-

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posed position." Accordingly the text "says nothing about either their rights (or, again, non-rights!) to leadership roles in the assembly or their ordination as full-time professional pastors. Only a manipulated eisegesis (note that I did not say exegeis!) can construe the text as speaking to those questions." The second principle reads: "A particular first-century application of a 'basic Christian principle' should not be turned into a 'general and timeless prescription' to be applied in all places, times, and circumstances in the continuing experience of the universal church. While it may have paradigmatic significance, prescriptive significance should not be imposed upon it." The conclusion is that "1 Cor. 14:34, 35 is a particular first-century application of the basic Christian principle, that, in worship, everything is to be done respectably and orderly (1 Cor. 14:40). It should not be turned into a general and timeless prescription for our time. The basic principle itself is most certainly applicable. Not so its particular first-century application."[68]

George W. Reid has written "A review of the principal arguments for and against the ordination of women to the gospel ministry" as well as their practical implications. In his personal evaluation he makes the following closing observation: "In interpreting the relevant texts the theologian must decide whether a synthesized theological construct saying that God sees men and women in identical light shall supercede Biblical passages that appear to support ordered, separate functions planned from the beginning. Are there genuine tensions in Scripture that require a dialectic approach or can unity be found in the most basic premises? Historically Adventists have defended the unity of truth when rightly understood. Ellen White supported this approach.

"But exegesis has failed to lead to consensus, even among Adventist scholars, for the reason that the genuine decisions too often are made outside the Scriptures. There is a reasonable level of agreement about what each individual Biblical text is saying but substantial disagreement about how to use its contribution in constructing an overall synthesis."[69]

The different and even contradictory interpretations of 1 Timothy 2:8-15 point to the fact that the division caused between churches and within churches on the issue of women's role in the church, are not merely a social and ethical issue (even it is also so), neither is it merely a practical or organizational church issue, but an exegetical and theological issue. Consequently, the way in which it is sought to be solved and any final conclusions arrived at, will have consequences--for better or for worse--not only for ecclesiology, but also for theology, christology, soteriology, and dogmatics.

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THE PAULINE MALE-FEMALE RELATEDNESS

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WHAT IS ORDINATION?

Ordination is considered the legitimate rite and action admitting a person to the official ministry of the church. On this there is general agreement among churches, but when it comes to defining its theological meaning and ecclesiological usage and significance we find not only variations but fundamental differences.

ORDINATION DEFINED

The Roman Catholic Concept. The Roman Catholic sacramental concept and sacerdotalism is rooted in the sacrificial functions of the priesthood who by ordination are endowed with supernatural power to administrate the sacraments, which in turn by the very act--ex officio--confers supernatural grace to the recipient. According to the Council of Trent at baptism and ordination to the priesthood "a character is imprinted which can neither be effaced nor taken away." Therefore, they are in error who assert "that those who have once been rightly ordained can again become laymen, if they do not exercise the ministry of the Word of God." Further, the bishops "have succeeded to the place of the Apostles. . . they are superior to the priests"

whom they ordain. Accordingly there is "a hierarchy by divine ordination." The bishops assume their position "by authority of the Roman Pontiff." It should further be noticed that in ordination the consent of the people is not required and those who say "that order, or sacred ordination, is not truly and properly a sacrament. . . or, that it is only a kind of rite for choosing ministers of the Word of God and of the sacraments: let him be anathema."[1]

Canon Law of 1917 and 1983 confirm that "the church is hierarchical in nature and only clerics can obtain jurisdiction," and the "ministry is viewed as fundamentally sacramental and clerical. The role of non-clerics, including religious, is to assist the cleric in fulfilling the responsibilities of ministry." Defining the nature of the sacrament of order, Canon Law of 1983 (c.1008) states: "By divine institution some among the Christian faithful are constituted sacred ministers through the sacrament of orders by means of the indelible character with which they are marked." The hierarchical and papal structure of the ministry is confirmed by the fact that "No bishop is permitted to consecrate anyone a bishop unless it is first evident that there is a pontifical mandate" (c. 1013). In turn only the bishop can ordain priests and deacons (c. 1015). Here, ordination is in conflict with the doctrine of the priesthood of believers; further, ordination distinguishes not only between different kinds of ministries, but establishes degrees or a hierarchy of ministries.[2]

The Protestant Concept. Among the Protestant churches ordination is commonly defined as the setting apart, the recognition and confirmation of a divine call, the commission, the consecration or the installation to an official ministerial function or public office in the church. However, the

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functions and offices are not uniformly defined among the different branches of Protestantism; yet, they seek to have an official ministry which ecclesiologically is not to be in conflict with the doctrine of the priesthood of believers. The principle of equality but with functional differences without being hierarchical is attempted (more or less successfully) to be maintained within a spiritfilled organical structure: the body of Christ. For those who hold the sacrmental concept of ordination it is the act of ordination which gives significance to the person and ministry, but not so for the one who does not hold that view. Here it is the function, order, office, or service which modifies the act of "ordination" that is the installation or election. From a Biblical perspective a better word may be dedication or consecration. Since there is a variety of ministerial functions so the installation or consecration must differ in their specific purpose; however, the general purpose of all ministries is to serve the body of Christ in the work of reconciliation.

The Word "Ordain" in the New Testament. The meaning of ordination or installation must be sought in the Bible, but when one turns to the Bible we find that confusion arises from the translations in the various versions of the Bible. In the English speaking world the King James Version has been very influential for three centuries. Here, the word "ordain" is translated from twenty-one different Hebrew and Greek words, each having their own connotation.[3] When the word "ordain" is read with one's pre-conceived idea of ordination then it has tainted the interpretation of the Biblical material. We will notice the usage of the word when it relates to the appointment of an official ministry.

The only place in the Gospel narratives where one finds the word ordain

is in Mark 3:14 (K.J.): "And he ordained twelve, that they should be with him, and that he might send them forth to preach."[4] Modern translations have a more correct reading of the Greek, when they write that Christ "appointed twelve." The Greek actually says that he "made twelve," indicating that they were a closely united group. The word is used more than 3200 times in the Greek Old Testament to express God's creative, helping, and redeeming activities. The Living Bible says: "He selected twelve."

When it came to replacing Judas among the twelve, King James Version reads: "Beginning from the baptism of John, unto that same day that he was taken up from us, must one be ordained to be a witness with us of his resurrection" (Acts 1:22). Here is used a Greek word meaning "to become." Other translations do not use the word "ordain," but "select," "join us," "become with us," etc.

The apostle Paul writes about himself: 'Whereunto I am ordained a preacher, and an apostle, . . . a teacher of the Gentiles in faith and verity" (K.J. 1 Tim. 2:7). Here "ordain" is translated from still another Greek word, the meaning of which is to place, set, assign, etc. In the text just quoted modern versions, in the main, use the word "appoint." The Living Bible has the word "chosen" and the Jerusalem Bible has "been named." The same Greek word is used in John 15:16 where King James reads: "I have chosen you, and ordained you," but again newer translations have the word "appointed;" the Jerusalem Bible has the word "commissioned."

The New American Standard Bible has correctly not one single place where the word "ordain" is used in the New Testament.[5] When K.J. reads that Titus should "ordain elders in every city" (Titus 1:5) newer versions read in the main "appoint," but never "ordain." The Greek word here means: cause

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to be or arranged; it is also translated "put in charge" (see Matt. 24:45, 47; Luke 12:14). The same is the case with Acts 14:23 where K.J. reads: "And when they had ordained them elders in every city;" the Greek word means appointed and it is a technical word expressing appointment or agreement by lifting the hand in voting. The same Greek Word is used in 2 Cor. 8:19 where it is said that Titus had "been appointed by the churches to travel with" Paul.

The apparent confusion, lack of clarity, and fluid character of foundation for ordination by the use of the word "ordain" is also found in other areas. In Romans 12, 1 Corinthians 12, and Ephesians 4 are listed the special gifts given to the church "for the work of service" (Eph. 4:12). In none of these three chapters is ordination mentioned. There seems to be no relationship between the possession of these gifts and the exercise of them and ordination. Paul lists apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors and teachers (Eph 4:11), but no reference is made to ordination.

THE LAYING ON OF HANDS

In the church rite of ordination the laying on of hands has become so significant that it seems unthinkable to have ordination without the laying on of hands, leaving the impression that ordination is the laying on of hands.

In the case of Timothy we read: "Do not neglect the spiritual gift within you, which was bestowed upon you through prophetic utterance with the laying on of hands by the presbyters" (1 Tim. 4:14). Was this a "common ordination" to the gospel ministry, to become an elder? What role is there between prophecy and "ordination?" In his second epistle to Timothy Paul

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writes: "I remind you to kindle afresh the gift of God which is in you through the laying on of my hands" (2 Tim. 1:6). In the first case the hands were placed "by the presbytery" and in the second by Paul. Are there here two different events or ordinations of Timothy? Since the laying on of hands in the case of the conversion of Paul (Acts 9:10-18) and the disciples in Ephesus (Acts 19:1-7) were not for an "ordination" but for the reception of the Holy Spirit and in the case of Paul for regaining his sight, it may be asked how shall we understand Timothy's twofold experience regarding "the laying on of hands?" (We will later return to the subject of the laying on of hands in the New Testament).

The Symbolic Meaning of the Hands. From ancient time the hand has had a most significant symbolic meaning, which is richly illustrated in the Old Testament and in secular history. We will merely attempt to summarize.[6] Hands were considered the principal organ of feelings, the instrument of power. Hands were the symbols of human action; just hands were pure action and unjust hands were deeds of injustice. Washing of the hands was the symbol of innocence. Prayer was accompanied with lifting up the hands. The elevation of the right hand was the method of voting in assemblies. To give the right hand was a pledge of fidelity and was considered as confirming a promise.

Hands in general were the symbol of power and strength and the right hand particularly. To hold by the right hand was the symbol of protection and favor. To stand or be at one's right hand was to assist or aid someone. The right hand of fellowship signifies a communication of the same power and authority. To lean upon the hand of another was a mark of familiarity and superiority. To give the hand, as to a master, was the token of submission

and future obedience. To kiss the hand was an act of homage.

In the Bible the hand of God is spoken of as the instrument of power, and to it is also ascribed that which strictly belongs to God Himself. As the symbolism of the hand goes back to antiquity so also the imposition or laying on of hands, which takes place in various settings.

When we turn to the Old Testament in order to observe what rites may serve as a background for New Testament practices of installation to the ministry of the church, we will notice that the New Testament adopts, or chooses, rites and terminology and gives them a new theological significance.

The Laying on of Hands by Jacob. The first Biblical reference goes back just prior to the death of Jacob, when Joseph came to visit his father with his two sons, Manasseh and Ephraim. When it came to the moment of blessing Joseph and his two sons Jacob "stretched out his right hand and laid it on the head of Ephraim, who was the younger, and his left hand on Manasseh's head, crossing his hands, although Manasseh was the first born" (Gen. 48:14). Joseph had placed the two sons before Jacob so his right hand could be placed on Manasseh, the first born. Joseph objected, but the father said that Ephraim was going to be the father of a greater people than Manasseh. Here the imposition of the hands represented the transmission of a special blessing.

The Appointment of Joshua. Prior to his death Moses was told by God to appoint Joshua as his successor. A very close relationship had existed between the two. Joshua was with Moses on the mountain and when God spoke to Moses in the tent (Ex. 24:13; 33:11).

Regarding the installation and consecration of Joshua we read: "So the

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Lord said to Moses, 'Take Joshua the son of Nun, a man in whom is the Spirit, and lay your hand on him; and have him stand before Eleazar the priest and before all the congregation; and commission him in their sight. And you shall put some of your authority on him, in order that all the congregation of the sons of Israel may obey him. Moreover, he shall stand before Eleazar the priest, who shall inquire for him by the judgment of the Urim before the Lord. At his command they shall go out and at his command they shall come in, both he and the sons of Israel with him, even all the congregation.' And Moses did just as the Lord commanded him; and he took Joshua and set him before Eleazar the priest, and before all the congregation. Then he laid his hands on him and commissioned him, just as the Lord had spoken through Moses" (Num. 27: 18-23).

Several points should be noticed. Joshua's experience made him an obvious choice. He was richly endowed by the Holy Spirit. His call was from God and confirmed by the Urim and Thummin placed on the breastplate of the high priest. He should be commissioned in the sight of the congregation, who were convinced that his call was from God. Moses placed his hands on him indicating that Moses' authority and responsibility rested in Joshua. It was a once and for all installation for a specific and unique historical event: the entrance into the promised land by "the congregation in the wilderness" (Acts 7:38). The uniqueness of the laying on of hands in the case of Joshua may also be seen by the fact that it was not repeated and in the installation of priest, king, and prophet no imposition of hands took place.

The Hands Placed on the Sacrifice. The laying on of hands played a significant part in the sacraficial system. When a person offered a burnt-offering (Lev. 1:4), a peace-offering (Lev. 3:2), and a sin-offering (Lev.

4:4) he placed his hand on the head of the animal. In the case that a person had blasphemed and cursed he should be brought "outside the camp, and let all who heard him lay their hands on his head; then let all the congregation stone him. And you shall speak to the sons of Israel, saying 'If anyone curses his God, then he shall bear his sin'" (Lev. 24:14-15).

The services in the temple reached an annual high-point on the Day of the Atonement. The climactic event of that day, and thus of the church calendar, took place in the ritual of the scapegoat. God had commanded: "Aaron shall lay both of his hands on the head of the live goat, and confess over it all the iniquities of the sons of Israel, and all their transgressions in regard to all their sins; and he shall lay them on the head of the goat and send it away into the wilderness by the hand of man who stands in readiness. And the goat shall bear on itself all their iniquities to a solitary land; and he shall release the goat in the wilderness. . . it is on this day that atonement shall be made for you to cleanse you; you shall be clean from all your sins before the Lord" (Lev. 16:21-22, 30).

In connection with the sacrificial system the laying on of hands meant that guilt, sin, and punishment were transferred.

The Hands Placed on the Levites. The priestly functions in the sanctuary were performed by Aaron and his descendents who belonged to the tribe of Levi and they acted as mediators between God and the people; the rest of the Levites assisted the priests in various ways (Num. 1:50-53; 3:6-9, 25-27; 4:1-33; 1 Sam. 6:15; 2 Sam. 15:24; 1 Chron. 24-26). It should also noticed that the Levites represented the first-born among the Israelites (Num. 3:12, 41, 45; 8:14, 16: 18:6) and thereby the people. Their consecration or installation is described in Numbers, chapter eight. After

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purification, offering, and sacrifice Moses was asked to "present the Levites before the tent of meeting. You shall also assemble the whole congregation of the sons of Israel and present the Levites before the Lord; and the sons of Israel shall lay their hands on the Levites" (Num. 8:9-10). The Levites' role as representatives of the people is confirmed by the act of hands being laid upon them by people (probably represented by the first-born or elders). The service of the Levites was now representative in nature and their consecration was the people's consecration. We read that after the hands were laid upon the Levites, Aaron should "present the Levites before the Lord as a wave offering from the sons of Israel, that they may qualify to perform the service of the Lord" (Num. 8:11).

God concludes his instructions about the consecration of Levites with these words: "And I have given the Levites as a gift to Aaron and to his sons from among the sons of Israel, to perform the service of the sons of Israel at the tent of meeting, and to make atonement on behalf of the sons of Israel, that there may be no plague among the sons of Israel by their coming near to the sanctuary" (Num. 8:19). As in the case of the priests and highpriests the Levites' functions were by birth and the laying on of hands was not repeated.

The Meaning of three Hebrew Words. Before we leave these examples of the laying on of hands, it should be noticed that "the laying on" is translated from three different Hebrew words.[7] Where we deal with a special blessing the words "sim" or "shith" (synonymous) are used as in the story of Jacob and the sons of Joseph; the act of healing, for example, would fall into this category. In the case of consecration and offering the Hebrew makes use of the word "samakh." This Hebrew word was used when Moses laid

his hands on Joshua, and the people placed their hands on the Levites. The first two Hebrew words are expressed by a light touch, but the latter by a heavy touch as when "to lean upon." The examples we have observed illustrate that when "samakh" was used, the person transfers "something" (conditioned by the particulars of the event) to another person (or sacrificial animal) who then become his substitute or representative; a joining of responsibility takes place. Much confusion could be avoided if the different meanings and usages of the Hebrew words are kept in mind. They can illuminate the various usage of "the laying on of hands" also in the New Testament. When it comes to the lifting of hands in priestly blessing then the Hebrew word "nasa" is used, as when "Aaron lifted up his hands toward the people and blessed them" (Lev. 9:22).

THE INSTALLATION OF PRIEST, KING AND PROPHET

The Consecration of the Priest. We have previously observed that Israel in their covenant relationship with God became a kingdom of priests, and thus occupied a unique role among the nations. In the early history of Israel the first-born son gave leadership to the life of the family and thus also served as priest, as in connection with the passover ceremonies and rites. At the time of Moses Aaron and his sons were installed as priests. A detailed description is found in Exodus, chapters 28 and 29 and Leviticus, chapter 8. After having described "the vestments for the consecration of Aaron as my priest," God said to Moses: "With these invest your brother Aaron and his sons, anoint them, install them and consecrate them; so shall they serve me as priests" (N.E.B. Ex. 28:41).

Only Aaron, the high-priest, was anointed or "the anointed one;" his

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anointment no doubt embraced the sons.

The word "consecrate" (in N.E.B. and N.A.S.B.) is from the word "sanctify" (K.J.), meaning "separate" or "set apart."

The word "install" (N.E.B.) is the most difficult to translate. K.J. has "consecrate" and N.A.S.B. "ordain." The Hebrew word from which it is translated means "to fill the hands." The most likely meaning is that the hands should be filled with those objects they were to offer up in the temple as part of the sacrifice. "In Eastern lands installation into office was usually accomplished by putting into the hand of the official the insignia marking his functions. Here certain portions of the offerings were used for that purpose."[3]

The words "fill the hands" (Hebrew: mille' yadh) clearly emphasizes that the installation is to a service totally connected with the sacrificial system and rites of the temple. (See Ex. 29:20-28).

All the rituals connected with the installation of Aaron and his sons refers to "mille' yadh," and is translated install or consecrate. It should be noticed that the N.A.S.B. does not once use the word ordain in connection with installation in the New Testament but uses it constantly in connection with the installation of Aaron and his sons. We have the "ram of ordination," "the flesh of ordination," "the ordination offering," "the period of your ordination is fulfilled" (See Ex. 29:22, 26, 27, 31, 33, 34; Lev. 7:37; 8:22, 29, 31, 33).

The Anointing of the King. In the inauguration of a king the anointing was of central significance and symbolized the endowment of "the Spirit of the Lord" (1 Sam. 10:1; 16:13). The king as the custodian of the book of the law was supposed to copy it with his own hand (Deut. 17:18-20). The

covenant was renewed as a covenant between God, the king and the people. While the highpriest's hands were filled with oblations the king's hands were "filled" with the Law. He was also crowned and enthroned (See 1 Kings 1:33 ff; 2 Kings 11:12, 17; 1 Chron. 29:22 ff.)

The Anointing of the Prophet. Regarding the consecration of the prophet we know that Elisha was anointed by Elijah and received the prophetic mantle (1 Kings 19:16). It appears that "the anointed" and the prophets are the same in Psalm 105:15. The Lord's servant (Is. 61:1) speaks about himself as being anointed "to bring good news." This was fulfilled in Christ Himself (Luke 4:18).

The installation or consecration to the office of highpriest, king, and prophet was fulfilled in Christ, who renewed the covenant relationship with God. Christology and soteriology must always be seen in light of this threefold office of Christ. Calvin writes: "Therefore, that faith may find in Christ a solid ground of salvation, and so rest in him, we must set out with this principle, that the office which he received from the Father consists of three parts. For he was appointed both Prophet, King, and Priest; though little were gained by holding the names unaccompanied by a knowledge of the end and use" (Inst.II.15.1).[9]

JEWISH RELIGIOUS LIFE

Before we turn to the subject of the laying on of hands as it relates to ordination and the ministry in the New Testament, we will inquire about the Jewish religious life at the time of Christ and the apostles.

Declining Importance of Priesthood and Levites. The religious and spiritual influence and authority of the priesthood were not of paramount

significance at the time of Christ. The priests, when not performing routine rites in the temple, were engaged in common secular business and work as the people in general. The succession of Aaron's descendents to the high priestly office ended after the Maccabean revolt (160 BC) when the Maccabeans appointed the high priest from their own family. That ceased when Herod (35 BC) executed the high priest, who from then on was named by the civil authorities, generally from the Sadducees, a small group of aristocrats. The high priests were administrators of the temple and had a strong political influence.

After the Babylonian captivity only a comparatively small number of Levites returned. In the Gospels there are only two references to the Levites; one in the parable of the Good Samaritan (Luke 10:30-37), and another telling us that the Jews sent to John the Baptist priests and Levites to inquire from him, "who are you?" (John 1:19). We are only told about one Levite becoming a follower of Christ (Acts 4:36) while "a great many of the priests were becoming obedient to the faith" (Acts 6:7).

On account of the nature of their work the Levites were of less importance than the common priest. Serving mainly as gatekeepers and musicians their religious influence was negligible. The functions of the priests and Levites were granted not by ordination but by birthright.

The Importance of the Synagogue. In the life of Christ, the twelve apostles, and early Christians we find a close relationship with the synagogue as recorded in the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles. New Testament ecclesiastical structures and ministerial practices were not created in a vacuum. Names and structure of the time were often used but given a new Christian content. For example, after having traced the

development of Christian worship and liturgy during the first four centuries Professor C. W. Dugmore came to the conclusion: "It has become clear that the Church's debt to the Synagogue in the matters of worship is great indeed."[10] H. K. Booth in his study writes" "The synagogue became the pattern for the early church. Many of the Pauline churches were started in the synagogues, and the records we possess of the apostolic age show how closely these churches adhered to the synagogue in organization and worship."[11] The same author also writes: "But the one distinctive feature of the synagogue which must be kept in mind was its democracy. The officers were elected by the people; the service was informal and in it the people could participate both in response and discussion; both scripture and prayer were offered not by a priestly hierarchy of celebrants, but by any layman chosen by the congregation."[12]

The religious affairs of a local Jewish community, including the control of the synagogue, were in the hands of a board or council of elders (Luke 7:3-5). It has been brought to our attention that "the older communal order of the local Jewish community is continued in the constitution of the synagogue. To the local board, usually made up of 7 members, there corresponds in places with a separate Jewish cultic community the synagogal council."[13] The council appointed the "ruler of the synagogue" (Luke 8:41), who in turn was responsible for arranging the church service, including choosing the readers and the one who should deliver an address. He also appointed the "chazan" or sexton who assisted him during worship and was custodian of the building. B. S. Easton has pointed out that "neither ruler or chazan was ordained"[14]

Wherever there were Jews, at the time of Christ and the apostolic

church, we find one or more synagogues. Synagogues were established wherever there were ten adult males. Archaeological and literary sources inform us that synagogues were found in some 150 places in various parts of the Roman Empire from Mesopotamia in the east to Gaul and Spain in the west as well as Africa and Egypt, even in the Crimea. The number in Jerusalem is given as 480 and 394. This is by some considered as an exaggeration, but others think that it may not be so fanciful since the synagogues were generally small. We know that in the city of Rome there were at least 13 synagogues and in Alexandria there were numerous. The historical beginnings of the synagogue goes back to the time of exile and the return, and is closely related to the development of the Sanhedrin.

The Sanhedrin. When Ezra and Nehemiah, with a group of the exile, returned to Jerusalem they called an assembly (Neh. 7-10) which has been named "the Great Synagogue." This assembly was replaced by a standing assembly which then became the Sanhedrin. The sources do not give a uniform picture of its history, structure and authority. No doubt it varied from the Persian, Hellenistic, Maccabean, and Roman period. The significant aspects of the Sanhedrin at the time of Christ has been summarized as follows: "The sanhedrins existed everywhere. In villages they had seven members, in larger places twenty-three. Jerusalem is said to have had two consultative sanhedrins of three members each, while over all was the Great Sanhedrin of seventy-one (including the high priest _ex officio_). From the lowest to the highest the functions of all these bodies were of the most general character, combining without distinction executive, legislative and judicial duties."[15]

The Great Sanhedrin in Jerusalem consisted of three groups and they are

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listed together in the Gospel narratives: they were the chief priests, scribes and elders (Matt. 27:41; Mark 11:27; 14:43, 53; 15:1). The chief priests were retired high priests, the elders had their seats as lay nobles, and the scribes at the time of Christ were mainly from the Pharisees and represented the developing theology of Judaism.

The Elder, Scribe and Rabbi. In the light of the historical and theological development of Judaism, the importance of the elders and the scribes become obvious. We have previously mentioned that the religious and spiritual influence of the priesthood was negligible. When Simon Maccabeus (ca. 150 BC) was appointed as high priest instead of a descendent of Aaron it was said "until there should arise a faithful prophet" (1 Macc. 14:41).[16] There was a Messianic expectation: the coming of the ideal prophet, priest and king. The significance of these titles for Christ and christology has been mentioned earlier. John the Baptist pointed out the eschatological expectation of the time when he said: "The time has come at last--the kingdom of God has arrived. You must change your hearts and minds and believe the good news" (P.M.E., Mark 1:15).

As a reaction to Hellenistic and Roman culture and influence, as well as priestly aristocracy, the elders and Pharisaic scribes came into vogue. The study and obedience to the Torah became of paramount importance. While the priesthood traced their lineage back to Aaron, the elders and scribes traced their succession back to Joshua and Moses and the seventy elders chosen by Moses. We have previously pointed out that Moses placed his hands on Joshua and also referred to the consecration of the seventy elders as recorded in Numbers, chapter 11. We observed that hands were not laid upon them and there is no historical evidence that ordination of elders was prac-

ticed from that time on. We should, however, notice that when God speaks to
Moses about "seventy men from the elders of Israel, whom you know to be the
elders" (Num. 11:16) the Greek Old Testament reads scribes. Thus the
scribes could trace their lineage back to the time of Moses and they had
established a line of succession.

The rabbis were considered the custodians and interpreters of the law
of Moses and the oral traditions and thus the biblical scholars and
theologians of their time with religious authority to speak for God as Moses
did. One writer has said that the scribes were anxious for ritual purity
outside the Temple "as if they were priests." When the Temple was destroyed
the scribes or rabbis were therefore ready to be the "new priests" in
Judaism. The same author just quoted writes: "Rabbinic Judaism claimed
that it was possible to serve God not only through sacrifice, but also
through study of Torah. A priest is in charge of the life of the community,
but a new priest, the rabbi. The old sin-offerings still may be carried out
through deeds of loving-kindness; indeed, when the whole Jewish people will
fully carry out the teachings of the Torah, the Temple itself will be
rebuilt."[17]

The growing importance of the rabbi for the religious life of Judaism
is seen in the fact that they were ordained by the laying on of hands:
samakh (Hebrew). We know that the practice was common after the destruction
of the Temple, but it was no doubt also practiced prior to that event. In a
summary of source-material and studies on first-century ordination of
scribes or rabbis we find the following information: "The scribes first
became a cohesive group in the second century B.C. through the pressure of
Hellenization on Jewish culture and religion. At first, many of the priests

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were scribes, but gradually the division between the priesthood and the lay theologians widened. Soldiers, merchants, and even proselytes could become scribes if they were zealous for the Law and were willing to devote themselves to it wholeheartedly. A scribe attached himself to a teacher, and when he was proficient in both Torah and traditions, and could argue the halakah or the haggadah after the customary fashion, his teacher could ordain him into the company of the scribes as an ordained scholar or sage. He became a teacher, a 'servant of the Torah.' He could also decide matters of a legal or ritual nature and financial cases not involving fines. The decisions of the sages had the power to 'bind or loose for all time.' 'Rabbi,' at first a term of respect for one well versed in the Law, later became the formal title of the sage. Along with the priestly (Sadducean) and lay aristocracy (the Elders), ordained scribes occupied seats in the Sanhedrin. They were not a clerical group; they played no role in the liturgical or sacerdotal life, though they might be called on to read the Torah in the synagogue."[18]

Ordination of the Scribe-Rabbi. The teacher (sage, scribe, rabbi),--in cooperation with two assistants and in the presence of witnesses--, laid hands (samakh) on the pupil (disciple) as Moses laid his on Joshua and thereby made the disciple his representative; an association was established for joint responsibility. The new rabbi became (in their understanding) another link in an unbroken chain reaching back to Moses.

Before we proceed further a word about rabbinical literature may be helpful. The earliest collection of the writings of the scribes or rabbis came from the close of second century of the Christian era, but it contained material which was older, and thus can supply us with information from the

first century and can be helpful in throwing light on Judaism in the time of Christ and the apostles. At the same time care must be taken in evaluating the material for the rabbis, as the Christian theologians, often read theological concepts of their own or of the time into the historical material. We find two types of writings: Midrash Halacha and Midrash Haggadah The first dealt with the Torah, written and oral, and the second contained expositions for the purpose of religious edification. This literature was brought together into what is the Talmud, which means teaching or instruction. The Talmud also contains a commentary on the Mishna called the Gemara. The Talmud has two editions: The Jerusalem and the Babylonian Talmud and it covers teaching from the time of Ezra. The two editions were completed respectively about 400 A.D. and 500 A.D. The ceremony of the installment of a sage (scribe, rabbi) into the Sanhedrin prior to 70 A.D. is found in the Mishnah. We read: "Before them (the Sanhedrin) sat three rows of disciples of the Sages, and each knew his proper place. If they needed to appoint (samakh) another as judge they appointed him from the first row, and one from the second row came into the first row, and one from the third row came into the second. . . . ."[19] We notice that the word "samakh" was used.

It is understandable that after the destruction of Jerusalem the influence of the rabbis increased, but at the same time the administrative function of the Sanhedrin decreased. It was reorganized as a religious council at Jamnia near Joppa, and its head (the nasi) was considered the "Patriarch."

During the second Jewish revolt, the Bar Kokhba Revolt (A.D. 132-35), Emperor Hadrian sought to end the spiritual influence of the Sanhedrin and

the rabbis by forbidding the ordination of any new rabbi. We are told "that it was declared that 'whoever performed an ordination should be put to death, and whoever received ordination should be put to death, the city in which the ordination took place demolished, and the boundaries wherein it had been performed uprooted' (Sanh, 14a)."[20]

The historical sequel of rabbinic ordination until it ceased about one hundred years later has been stated concisely by David Daube. He writes:

"From the latter half of the 2nd cent. A.D., far-reaching reforms were introduced into the institution of Rabbinic ordination. Above all, whereas before that time any scholar himself authorized could confer authority on others, now the right to ordain became the exclusive right of the Patriarch and his court. About the middle of the 3rd cent. at the latest the ceremony of samakh itself was abandoned. The centralization of ordination at the Patriarch's court may have contributed to this result. For one thing, it was certainly a factor making for the ordination of absent candidates, in which case the rite was physically impossible; for another, once it was no longer the teacher who ordained his own disciple, the notion of the creation of a second self would naturally lose ground. Again, the practices of the Patriarch Judah II, who seems on occasion to have sold the Rabbinic author-ity for money, doubtless helped to diminish the importance of the ceremony: a samakh performed by such a man cannot have been regarded as a sacred act. Another reason for giving it up probably was the increasing role played by the imposition of hands in the Christian religion."[21]

Some Ecclesiological Observations. In connection with the cessation of ordination of the rabbis in the third century but its "increasing role" within the Christian community, a few church historical and ecclesiological

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observations should be made.

It was previously mentioned that the synagogue and the elders and scribes worked within a collegiate system; it was a democracy where authority was exercised collectively. No ordination was performed which established a hierarchy; the samakh had a representative nature. They were all members of a "royal priesthood." Here is a parallel with the New Testament church. While we will deal in more detail with the ordination or laying on of hands in the New Testament, we should at this point take note of the historical fact that the earliest historical record we have of a Christian church ordination with the laying on of hands (by whom and for whom) is from the Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus in the first part of the third century. In our historical observations we previously referred to this document and the fact that sacerdotalism, sacramentalism and hierarchical church organization came into bloom in the third century. In our previous discussion of Tertullian we noticed that in his treatment of the Lord's Supper the bishop is called "high priest" and the presbyter "priest." He speaks about them as "sacerdos." In the development of sacerdotalism and sacramentalism the church ministry is (more and more) compared to the Old Testament priesthood and the gulf between the priesthood of believers and the Christian ministry widened.

The collegiate system of the early church was changed and the ministry became hierarchical. None of the historical sources of the second century, even when they deal with the question of bishops, elders, and deacons, refer to the laying on of hands. This, of course, does not mean that it was not practiced, but it neither helps us to ascertain to what degree the laying on of hands was practiced.

The Apostolic Constitution of the late fourth century contains, as previously mentioned, a collection of liturgical regulations and ecclesiatical legislations. It clearly pinpoints the theological emphasis on the Old Testament priesthood when the official church of the fourth century discussed ecclesiology, its hierarchical ministry and ordination.[22]

THE HANDS OF GOD IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

We have previously observed that in the Old Testament the hand of God (mentioned about 200 times) is spoken of as the instrument of power, and to it is also ascribed that which strictly belongs to God Himself.

When Israel (Jacob) prophesied and blessed his sons he spoke about the "hands of the Mighty One of Jacob" (Gen. 49:24). Moses reminded the people and told them to teach their children, that "the Lord brought us from Egypt with a mighty hand" (Deut. 6:21; Ex. 13:9). Moses was God's spokesman and we often read that revelation and instruction came from the hand of Moses: "Aaron and his sons did all things which the Lord commanded by the hand of Moses" (K.J. Lev. 8:36).

Old Testament Motif fulfilled in Christ The metaphor of the hand of God and the hand of his servants were throughout the history of Israel specifically used within the covenant-remnant-eschaton motif. When we, therefore, come to the fulfillment of this motif in Christ as the Messiah it is not surprising that we find the hand of God used anew as an instrument of power and to confirm the covenant relationship of the remnant as the New Israel. It is most significant that about John the Baptist it was said: "The hand of the Lord was certainly with him" (Luke 1:66), and when he baptized Christ he said: "The Father loves the Son, and has given all things

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into His hand" (John 3:35). The stories of blessings and healings by the hands of Jesus are well-known and need not to be dealt with.

The Hand of God in the Early Church. In the founding of the church and in the life of the apostles the mighty hand of God is significant. We read (Acts 4) that five thousand men had accepted the Gospel and the apostles were brought before the Council. Peter "filled with the Holy Spirit" gave a short speech, the Council conferred and decided to let them go but denied them to preach again. Peter and John replied: "Whether it is right in the sight of God to give heed to you rather than to God, you be the judge; for we cannot stop speaking what we have seen and heard" (Acts 4:19-20).

Returning from the Council to "their own companions" they reported the event and in unison they all expressed their belief that God's hand was with the New Israel as a fulfillment of the covenant-remnant-eschaton motif.

"And when they heard this, they lifted their voices to God with one accord and said, "O Lord, it is Thou who didst make the heaven and the earth and the sea, and all that is in them, who by the Holy Spirit, through the mouth of our father David Thy servant, didst say, 'Why did the Gentiles rage, and the peoples devise futile things? The kings of the earth took their stand, and the rulers were gathered together against the Lord, and against His Christ.'

"For truly in this city there were gathered together against Thy holy servant Jesus, whom Thou didst anoint, both Herod and Pontius Pilate, along with the Gentiles and the peoples of Israel, to do whatever Thy hand and Thy purpose predestined to occur.

"And now, Lord, take note of their threats, and grant that Thy bond-servants may speak Thy word with all confidence, while Thou dost extend Thy

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hand to heal, and signs and wonders take place through the name of Thy holy servant Jesus.

"And when they had prayed, the place where they had gathered together was shaken, and they were all filled with the Holy Spirit, and began to speak the word of God with boldness. And the congregation of those who believed were of one heart and soul; and not one of them claimed that anything belonging to him was his own; but all things were common property to them.

"And with great power the apostles were giving witness to the resurrection of the Lord Jesus, and abundant grace was upon them all" (Acts 4:24-33).

Next we read that "at the hands of the apostles many signs and wonders were taking place among the people; and they were all with one accord" (Acts 5:12).

Stephen in his speech of defense before the Council clearly compares the New Israel to that of the Old covenant-remnant-eschaton motif and speaks about God's active hand (See Acts 7:25, 35, 50; K.J. has hand as in the Greek).

The Samaritans who had only been baptized by the baptism of John the Baptist received the Holy Spirit when the apostles laid their hands upon them (Acts 8:17).

When Ananias came to Paul he laid his hands upon him; Paul regained his sight, was filled with the Holy Spirit, and was baptized (Acts 9:17, 18).

Luke records that the persecution after the stoning of Stephen became a blessing by the fact that the believers scattered and witnessed wherever they went. In this connection he mentions that some "men of Cypress and

Cyrine" began to preach to the Greeks in Antioch "And the hand of the Lord was with them, and a large number who believed turned to the Lord" (Acts 11:20-21).

When Paul and his companions came to Iconium we read that "they spent a long time there speaking boldly with reliance upon the Lord, who was bearing witness to the word of His grace, granting that signs and wonders be done by their hands" (Acts 14:3).

Also in Ephesus we find a group of people who had been baptized "into John's baptism" and had "not even heard whether there is a Holy Spirit." They were then "baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus. And when Paul had laid his hands upon them, the Holy Spirit came on them, and they began speaking with tongues and prophesying" (Acts 19:1-7). It is further stated that "God was performing extraordinary miracles by the hands of Paul (Acts 19:11). One of these is mentioned in Acts 28 where it is recorded that on the Island of Malta the father of Publius "was lying in bed afflicted with recurrent fever and dysentery; and Paul went in to see him and after he had prayed, he laid his hands on him and healed him. And after this happened, the rest of the people on the island who had diseases were coming to him and getting cured" (Acts 28:7-9).

THE LAYING ON OF HANDS AND THE MINISTRY

Of the numerous texts in the New Testament, which deal with the laying on of hands, only two in the Acts of the Apostles (6:6; 13:3) have relationship to the ministry and two or three more are found in Paul's two letters to Timothy. Exegesis of the four or five texts dealing with "ordination" so-called should take place within the context of the text and within the total

framework of New Testament ecclesiology. No ecclesiological and church historical concepts should be read into the text, its context and framework.

Terminology: the Hebrew Background. Before we turn to these it should be kept in mind that the laying on of hands we have referred to so far in the New Testament brought a special blessing and was in the Old Testament expressed by the two Hebrew words sim or shith. The laying on of hands we now turn to was in the Old Testament expressed by samakh; the meaning of which we have studied in detail. However, even in the latter case the writers of the New Testament did not have in mind to give a study of church organization and the ministry, but the references to the laying on of hands were an integral part of total salvation history demonstrating God's mighty hand in creating a New Israel, using the Old as an analogy. We are here thinking of Moses "samakh" Joshua and the people "samakh" the Levites.

The Laying on of Hands Upon the Seven. The first incidence recorded in the New Testament of the laying on of hands for church ministry is the well-known story of the Hellenistic widows who "were being overlooked in the daily serving of food" (Acts 6:1-6).

The importance of the event lies in the fact that it is the first attempt of organization and the principle of representative ministry or service appears. The membership was to choose out of their midst seven members. This reminds us of the Jewish local council (or Sanhedrin) to which seven elders were chosen if the community had at least 120 members. There is no sacrosanct in the choice of seven, but it is indicative of the need and principle of organization and proper administration. Further, here at the beginning of the organization of a growing world-wide ekklesia a fundamental principle of representation, substitution as well as joint re-

sponsibility was established by the laying on of the hands (samakh). In the history of God's people the event and the historical situation may be compared to that of Moses and Joshua who should lead the people into the promised land. Joshua, on whom Moses laid his hands samakh, was "a man in whom is the Spirit" (Num. 27:18). The Seven were "men of good reputation, full of the Spirit and of wisdom" (Acts 6:3).

It was the whole congregation who chose the seven. The congregation presented the seven to the apostles for the work which they were previously responsible for, but now belonged to the Seven. Then prayer was offered and "they laid their hands on them" (Acts 6:6). "They" refers to the same (people) who presented them to the apostles. We have here a laying on of hands (samakh) as we find when the people laid their hands (samakh) on the Levites. The Seven now represented the people and served them. A decade later when hands were laid on Barnabas and Paul (Acts 13:1-3) it was likewise representative of the church who did so. We have previously described the unique role of the Seven. In the Greek there is nothing grammatically which indicates that those who laid the hands on the Seven were the apostles. Old Testament presedence and the story of Paul and Barnabas all indicate that it was the people or the elders who laid the hands on the Seven in behalf of the people at the historical moment when the New Testament church was being organized.

The Commission of Paul and Barnabas. The record of the laying on of hands upon Paul and Barnabas (Acts 13:1-3) is clearly a consecration service for a special missionary task. They were themselves among the group of prophets and teachers in Antioch, but while the group was praying and fasting the Holy Spirit impressed them to set apart Barnabas and Paul for a

missionary work. In our discussion of the Christian ministry we observed that the word apostle was used in the secondary sense for others than the Twelve. Both in the Empire, in the Old Testament and Judaism were found emissaries who brought special messages and represented the sender. They were called apostles (Greek: apostoloi; Hebrew: shaliach). There is no indication that within Judaism hands were laid on those who performed a function as emissaries.

The extension of the local church in Antioch into a world-wide church is expressed by the laying on of hands and "they sent them away" (Acts 13:3). Their work for Christ was extended through their two representatives who became apostles (messengers, emissaries, agents). The language used in the laying on of the hands upon Paul and Barnabas corresponds to the consecration of the Levites (who by the samakh represented the people) to which there is indirect reference. God told Moses: "Take the Levites from among the sons of Israel . . . you shall separate the Levites from among the sons of Israel" (Num. 8:6, 14). In Acts the directive of the Holy Spirit was: "Set apart for Me Barnabas and Saul for the work to which I have called them" (Acts 13:2). Regarding the Levites it is also said that they were set apart to the work (Num 8:11, 15) to which God had called them (the Septuagint, Greek Old Testament has the same word "argon" for work as the New Testament). Also in the event of Acts 13:1-3 we find the basic concept of the rite of samakh (representation) persevered (with indirect allusions to Old Testament antecedence) but given a New Testament circumstantial role and significance.

The Laying on of Hands Upon Timothy. In the two epistles to Timothy we find three references to the laying on of hands. They read as follows: "Do

not neglect the spiritual gift within you, which was bestowed upon you through prophetic utterance with the laying on of hands by the presbytery" (1 Tim. 4:14).

"Do not lay hands upon anyone too hastily and thus share responsibility for the sins of others; keep yourself free from sin" (1 Tim. 5:22).

"I remind you to kindle afresh the gift of God which is in you through the laying on of my hands" (2 Tim. 1:6).

The explanation of these three texts have caused the exegetes some difficulty. The obvious one is that in the first reference the presbytery placed its hands upon Timothy and in the other it was Paul. Next, if Paul ordained Timothy (2 Tim. 1:6) and Timothy in turn ordained others (1 Tim 5:22), then--it is said--we have the earliest example of a bishop ordaining another to become bishop, that means apostolic succession. Since apostolic succession first began to appear in the second century, many scholars felt that Paul is not the author of the two epistles but it is from the second century.

The Paul-Timothy Relationship. A common and plausible explanation is that the presbytery ordained Timothy, but that Paul presided at the occasion. During most of Paul's ministry we find a close relationship between him and Timothy. In the evaluation of the texts under discussion a few chronological facts on the relationship between the two men may be help-ful.

Paul calls Timothy "my true child in the faith" (1 Tim. 1:2), "Timothy, my son" (1 Tim. 1:18), "My beloved son" (2 Tim. 1:2), and "My beloved and faithful child in the Lord" (1 Cor. 4:17). He and his family may have been converted during Paul's first visit to Lystra during his first missionary

journey (A.D. 45-47). During his second journey Paul again visits Lystra and Timothy is mentioned by name as one "well spoken of by the brethren" (Acts 16:1-2). Timothy accompanied Paul on his second missionary journey (A.D. 49-52) through Asia Minor and Greece. When Paul left for Jerusalem Timothy may have stayed in Greece. During his third journey (A.D. 53-58) Paul stayed three years in Ephesus and from there Timothy was sent on a special mission to Corinth (1 Cor. 4:17) and Macedonia (Acts 19:21,22). Later Paul joins Timothy in Corinth (Rom. 16:21) and together with others they travel to Jerusalem (A.D. 58).

Paul was imprisoned in Rome (A.D. 61-63) for the first time and for two years (Acts 28:30). During some of the time Timothy was with him in Rome (Col. 1:1, Phil. 1:1). In the letter to the Phillipians he says that he hopes "to send Timothy to you shortly" (Phil. 2:19).

Paul was released from prison for a period of about three years (A.D. 63-66) and probably wrote the first letter to Timothy about A.D. 64. Prior to that Paul and Timothy must have been together for he wrote: "As I urged you upon my departure for Macedonia, remain on at Ephesus, in order that you may instruct certain men not to teach strange doctrines" (1 Tim. 13:3). Ephesus had become a center for the work in Asia Minor during Paul's time and the apostle John lived there prior to his exile to Patmos.

Paul was arrested anew and taken a second time as a prisoner to Rome (c. A.D. 66) and writes his second letter to Timothy urging him to come quickly (2 Tim. 4:9). Timothy, no doubt, fulfilled this request.

Timothy, the Apostolos. Timothy's nearly two decades of association with Paul clearly tells us that he was a close associate with Paul and served the church as an emissary (apostle). Timothy's position was similar to

that of Titus about whom Paul writes: "He has also been appointed by the churches to travel with us in this gracious work." In the same connection Paul also speaks about the "messengers [apostoloi] of the churches" (2 Cor. 8:19, 23). That Paul should have ordained Timothy, as a bishop in later centuries would ordain another to become bishop in apostolic succession, is not true to the historical situation. The act of laying the hands on Timothy no doubt took place early in his service for the church. His career followed that of Paul and was not that of a local elder or overseer (bishop). Paul himself had a twofold experience of the laying on of hands. First, when Ananias laid his hands on him and he regained his sight and was "filled with the Holy Spirit" (Acts 9:17). Second, when the brethren in Antioch were told by the Holy Spirit to set apart Barnabas and Paul and having "fasted and prayed and laid their hands on them, they sent them away" (Acts 13:3).

In the unique historical situation and task of Paul in the early church to which Timothy was closely related and often represented Paul personally, Paul may have laid his hands upon him. One thing is sure, Timothy represented Paul and he also represented the church universal; the presbytery as a whole had placed their hands upon him, and Paul no doubt was with them and possibly presided over the rite in 1 Tim. 4:14, and thereby 2 Tim. 1:6 refers to the same event. Whether there is one or two occasions of the laying on of hands is of minor importance; the significant fact is that Timothy was chosen by the Holy Spirit, commissioned by Paul (who had as the twelve a unique and once for all apostolate) and the people as an emissary (apostle). What has just been stated was fully recognized in Paul's writings to the different churches at different times. "Timothy my fellow work-

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er greets you" (Rom. 16:21); "I exhort you therefore, be imitators of me. For this reason I have sent to you Timothy, who is my beloved and faithful child in the Lord, and he will remind you of my ways which are in Christ, just as I teach everywhere in every church" (1 Cor. 4:17); "But I hope in the Lord Jesus to send Timothy to you shortly, so that I also may be encouraged when I learn of your condition. For I have no one else of kindred spirit who will genuinely be concerned for your welfare. For they all seek after their own interests, not those of Christ Jesus. But you know of his proven worth that he served with me in the furtherance of the gospel like a child serving his father" (Phil. 2:19-23). The following epistles were sent not only in the name of Paul but jointly in the name of Timothy: 2 Corinthians 1:1; 1 and 2 Thessalonians 1:1; Philippians 1:1; Colossians 1:1; and Philemon 1:1. (In 1 and 2 Thessalonians Silvanus is also mentioned.)

The Injunction of 1 Timothy 5:22. Among a number of injunctions which Paul writes to Timothy is the following: "Do not lay hands upon anyone too hastily and thus share responsibility for the sins of others; keep yourself free from sin" (1 Tim. 5:22). In the light of the meaning of the two texts dealing with the laying on of hands on Timothy it is obvious that it was not an ordination to be a bishop, who then in turn could ordain another bishop, priest or deacon (which is a second and third century phenomenon). But this is the way it has often been interpreted. Acts 6:6 and 13:3, 1 Tim. 4:14; 5:22, and 2 Tim. 1:6 have been brought together and given the sense of ordination, as the church later conceived ordination. At the same time Timothy is considered a bishop of Ephesus. The confusion is expressed in the translations of the New Testament. The King James Version, Revised Standard Version, Jerusalem Bible, the New International Version, and the New Ameri-

can Standard Bible have a literal translation of the text. But the New English Bible reads: "Do not be over-hasty in laying on hands in ordination;" the Living Bible: "Never be in a hurry about choosing a pastor, you may overlook his sins and it will look as if you approve of them;" and Philips Modern English: "Never be in a hurry to ordain a man by laying your hands upon him."

The context itself seems to favor that Paul speaks about a person who has been under church discipline, specifically an elder. Paul therefore also admonishes Timothy that he himself be sure to live "free from sin," that is a pure, chaste, blameless, and upright life. Kenneth S. Wuest in his word studies writes: "The words, 'Lay hands suddenly,' have to do with the restoration of a sinning church member back into the fellowship of the local church. . . . In verse 19, we see the accusation, in verse 20, the conviction and sentence, and in verse 22, the restoration to church fellowship. Expositors say: 'Timothy is bidden to restrain by deliberate prudence, the impulses of mere pity. A hasty reconciliation tempts the offender to suppose that his offence cannot have been so very serious after all; and smooths the way to a repetition of the sin; 'good-natured easy men' cannot escape responsibility for the disastrous consequences of their lax administration of the law. They have a share in the sins of those whom they have encouraged to sin. Those who give letters of recommendation with too great facility, fall under the apostolic condemnation.'"[23] The three texts just examined do not deal with church-ordination as generally perceived. The two key texts tell us about Timothy's calling and commission as an associate of Paul, which is similar to that of Paul and Barnabas (Acts 13:3). The texts do not set a precedence for a second and third century concept of

a bishop and his role in performing the rite of ordination within the framework of sacerdotalism and sacramentalism.

For most people ordination, as the laying on of hands, is taken for granted, and it is therefore a surprise to find that the rite is not so clearly and directly defined in the New Testament as expected. We have earlier pointed out that the word ordain does not appear in the Greek New Testament at all, and in most recent standard translations the word "appoint" is the one most commonly used (Mark 3:14, 16; Luke 10:1; John 15:16; Acts 14:23; 1 Cor. 12:28; 1 Tim. 2:7; 2 Tim. 1:11). The words "set apart" also appear (Acts 13:2).

Having examined the texts under discussion Professor R. Newton Flew of Cambridge in Jesus and His Church says: "As the New Testament says so little about 'ordination', we may rest content with the conclusion" of the renown Cambridge theologian, F. J. A. Hort (in The Christian Ecclesia) who wrote: "It can hardly be likely that any essential principle was held to be involved in it. It was enough that an Ecclesia should in modern phrase be organized, or in the really clearer Apostolic phrase be treated as a body made up of members with a diversity of functions; and that all things should be done decently and in order." R. Newton Flew himself says: "Was ordination necessary for any or all of these ministries? We do not even know whether ordination was practised for the chief of the offices which survived, that of presbyters. . . . There is nothing in that Greco-Roman world comparable to this community, conscious of a universal mission, governed and indwelt by an inner Life, guided by the active divine Spirit to develop these ministries for the expression of its message to mankind. All the ministries are based on the principle of the universal ministry of all

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believers."[24]

We will now briefly turn to Luther and Calvin in order to ascertain their concepts of ordination, the Protestant reformation being the watershed between medieval and modern christendom.

LUTHER'S AND CALVIN'S CONCEPT OF ORDINATION

Ordination is Not a Sacrament.   Luther's early attack on the Roman sacramental system in his A Prelude on the Babylonian Captivity of the Church (1520), includes his criticism of ordination as a sacrament and opens up some of his concepts of ordination. Ordination, the sixth of the seven sacraments, "the church of Christ knows nothing; it is an invention of the church of the pope. Not only is there nowhere any promise of grace attached to it, but there is not a single word said about it in the whole New Testament. Now it is ridiculous to put forth as a sacrament of God something that cannot be proved to have been instituted by God" (L.W. 36:106-107).[25] Accordingly, for Luther "ordination, if it is anything at all, is nothing else than a certain rite whereby one is called to the ministry of the church" (L.W. 36:116).   Luther closes his discussion of the ministry as sacraments by pointing out that the "indelible character" which the sacrament is supposed to give a person is a "fiction," and a minister can either be "suspended temporarily, or permanently deprived of their office" (L.W. 36:117).

In his criticism of the Roman Catholic sacraments "falsely so called" Calvin likewise attacks the sacramental idea of ordination, which is supposed to confer upon the recipient power to "offering sacrifice to appease God." It is accordingly "injurious to Christ who call themselves

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priests in the sense of offering expiatory victims" (Inst.IV.19.28).

Ordination and the Priesthood of Believers. The call to the ministry is connected with the doctrine of the priesthood of believers. Through baptism and faith "every Christian possesses the word of God and is taught and anointed by God to be priest" (L.W. 39:309) wrote Luther in 1523 and that concept he never changed. Ceremonial ordination was first instituted in Wittenberg in 1535 but even after that he wrote (1539): "It is enough that you are consecrated and anointed with the sublime and holy chrism of God, with the word of God, with baptism, . . . then you are anointed highly and gloriously enough and sufficiently vested with priestly garments" (L.W. 41:152).

Writing to the senate and the people of Prague (1523) concerning the ministry, Luther points out that a Roman Catholic "Priest is not identical with Presbyter or Minister—for one is born to be priest, one becomes a minister." He further writes: "First, regard as an unmovable rock that the New Testament knows of no priest who is or can be anointed externally. If there are such, they are imitators and idols. There is neither example nor command nor a simple word in Gospels or Epistles of the apostles in support of this vanity. They are established and brought in only by the kind of human invention of which Jeroboam once was guilty in Israel's history [I Kings 12:32f.]. For a priest, especially in the New Testament, was not made but was born. He was created, not ordained. He was born not indeed of flesh, but through a birth of the Spirit, by water and Spirit in the washing of regeneration [John 3:6f.; Titus 3:5f.]. Indeed, all Christians are priests, and all priests are Christians. Worthy of anathema is any assertion that a priest is anything else than a Christian. For such an assertion

has no support in the Word of God and is based only on human opinions, on ancient usage, or on the opinions of the majority, any one of which is ineffectual to establish an article of faith without sacrilege and offense, as I have sufficiently shown elsewhere" (L.W. 40:18, 19).

Having emphasized "that all of us that has been baptized are equally priests" and "we are all priests, as many of us as are Christians," Luther points out that those who are priests so-called "are ministers chosen from among us" and the ministry is "committed to them, yet with our common consent, they would then know that they have no right to rule over us except insofar as we freely concede it. . . . All that they do is done in our name; the priesthood is nothing but a ministry;" (L.W. 36:112-13).

While every Christian through baptism is "assured of this, that we are equally priests, that is to say, we have the same power in respect to the Word and the sacraments;" yet, that "power" no on should use on his own initiative for "what is the common property of all, no individual may arrogate to himself, unless he is called" (L.W. 36:116). Here is expressed Luther's bridge to an official or public ministry.

In An Open Letter to the Christian Nobility Concerning the Reform of the Christian Estate (1520) Luther challenged the older system of emphasizing the responsibility of the laity in church affairs. Here he writes: "For whoever comes out of the water of baptism can boast that he is already a consecrated priest, bishop, and pope, although of course it is not seemly that just anybody should exercise such office. Because we are all priests of equal standing, no one must push himself forward and take it upon himself, without our consent and election, to do that for which we all have equal authority. For no one dare take upon himself what is common to all

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without the authority and consent of the community" L.W. 44:129).

Luther's concept of the priesthood of believers grew out of his christology and soteriology: "Because we all have one baptism, one gospel, one faith, and are all Christians alike; for baptism, gospel, and faith alone make us spiritual and a Christian people" (L.W. 44:127). In turn, because of the ekklesia being the priesthood of believers, the official ministry is a representative ministry, also referred to as the delegation or transferral ministry. In the present study (by examining ecclesiology within the framework of theology, christology and soteriology) we have come to the same result even though the route was a little different: we are thinking of the meaning and usage of the words "samakh" (the laying on of hands) and "appoint."

The Protestant Reformers common view of the priesthood of believers was in a special way brought into practice by Calvin in his presbyterian form of church organization. Calvin emphasized that as believers in Christ "we are all priests" (Inst.IV.19, 28) and from the point of view of the conducting of church affairs it was illustrated in the work of the presbytery. Here the pastors and the elders, which outnumbered the pastors, exercised paternal criticism, counsel and discipline. The members of the Presbytery or Consistory met every Thursday.

The appointment of a new minister came from a suggestion of the ministers who had their own council: the Venerable Company, but the consent had to be obtained from the body of believers and finally from the city authorities. The pastor was installed or commissioned by the people, their church councils and the civil government.[26]

The Importance of the Call and the Commission. We have observed that

Luther refers to ordination as a ritual. The reason for this is that it is in the call rather than the ceremony of laying on of hands which is decisive and confers the position of the ministry. In a detailed study of this subject R. W. Schoenleber comes to the following result: "Luther denied the idea that ritual ordination at the hands of a bishop is a necessary prerequisite for holding and exercising the office of the ministry. A call, not ritual ordination, is the only theological prerequisite for holding the office of the ministry. A ceremony using prayer and the imposition of hands may be used to install ministers in their congregations (as a public affirmation of their call), but it is optional and repeatable each time the ministers change congregations.

"In his polemics against the Enthusiasts and self-appointed preachers Luther emphasized the necessity of a proper call but he did not stress ordination. Luther's theology of ordination did not change from 1525 to 1535 even though he increasingly found himself in the role of being a representative of the religious establishment."[27]

It is also pointed out that in "the final analysis, neither having ceremonial ordination nor lacking it made any difference to Luther. The real issue for Luther was always the nature of the office rather than the presence and absence of ordination . . . The emphasis was entirely on the 'call and commission' to the office of the ministry."[28] This point coincides with the observation previously made in this study, that it is not ordination which modifies the office but vice versa.

Likewise for Calvin it is the call which is important and not the rite of ordination. Having discussed the various offices in the church Calvin writes: "Therefore, if any one would be deemed a true minister of the

church, he must _first_ be duly called." Together with "the external and formal call which relates to the public order of the church" we also have "that secret call of which every minister is conscious before God" that is "the good testimony of our heart, that we undertake the offered office neither from ambition nor avarice, nor any other selfish feeling, but a sincere fear of God and desire to edify the church. This, as I have said, is indeed necessary for every one of us, if we would approve our ministry to God" (_Inst._IV.3.10, 11).

Having discussed "whether a minister should be chosen by the whole Church, or only by _colleagues_ and _elders_, who have the charge of discipline; or whether they may be appointed by the authority of one individual," Calvin writes: "We see, then, that ministers are legitimately called according to the Word of God, when those who may have seemed fit are elected on the consent and approbation of the people. Other pastors, however, ought to preside over the election, lest any error should be committed by the general body either through levity, or bad passion, or tumult" (_Inst._IV.3.15). The call of the church and a service of commission were the essential elements in the installment to a church office. The laying on of hands was not always practiced in Geneva. In this connection it should be mentioned that in French-speaking countries, i.e. Africa, the Seventh-day Adventist ministerial credential does not read ordained but commissioned minister.

Ritual Ordination Not Necessary. It should be noticed that in Luther's endeavors to establish an evangelical church prior to 1535 "ritual ordination was not required for holding the office of ministry, and no regular method of ordination for the new church was introduced until 1535."[29] Even when that happened there "is no evidence to indicate that before 1535 Luther

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either tried to persuade the Elector to authorize ordinations or ever claimed that ordination is necessary for holding the office of the ministry."[30] In this connection it is of interest to notice that Philip Melanchthon, who was the founder and systematizer of Protestant theology and recognized by Luther as his superior in scholarship was a lay theologian.

Calvin found biblical support for the laying on of hands in connection with the installation ceremony of a minister. Luther did the same. However, Calvin like Luther looked at it as a mere rite or ceremony, agreeing unto order and comeliness, but having "of itself no force or power."[31]

As already observed, it is the call which is important and not the rite of ordination. The call is recommended by the church. "It is asked, 'Was grace given by the outward sign?' To this question I answer, whenever ministers were ordained, they were recommended to God by the prayers of the whole Church, and in this manner grace from God was obtained for them by prayer, and was not given to them by virtue of the sign, although the sign was not uselessly or unprofitably employed, but was a sure pledge of that grace which they received from God's own hand."[32] "In sum, this is the end why they laid their hands upon Barnabas and Paul, that the Church might offer them to God, and that they might with their consent declare that this office was enjoined them by God; for the calling was properly God's alone, but the external ordaining did belong to the Church, and that according to the heavenly oracle."[33]

Speaking about a candidate for the ministry, Calvin writes: "As to the manner of introducing him, it is good to use the imposition of hands, which ceremony was observed by the apostles and then in the ancient Church, providing that it takes place without superstition and without offence. But

because there has been much superstition in the past, and scandal might result, it is better to abstain from it because of the infirmity of the times."[34]

Formal Ordination Required. In the spring of 1535 the Elector John of Saxony mandated that formal ordination was to be a prerequisite for holding ministerial office in his territory. Candidates for the ministry were in the future to be examined and ordained by the theological faculty in Wittenberg. "It seems that the Elector doubted that unordained people were truly able to hold and exercise the office of the ministry. He evidently saw a theological necessity for ritual ordination and so finally mandated ritual ordination as a legal precondition for holding the office of the ministry."[35]

The pastor of the city church in Wittenberg, Johann Bugenhagen, "was initially opposed to the new practice. He did not like the separation of the confirmation of the call from the actual installation of the new pastor in the calling congregation. He felt that at most the lay elders of a calling congregation should consecrate their new pastor."[36]

Luther accepted Elector John's mandate without changing his theological concept of ritual ordination as long as the preaching of the Word could be enhanced. He seems to have been motivated pragmatically; he saw the mandate as an opportunity by which a needed ministry could be developed with higher morality, better education, and reasonable salary, and a recognized and respected professional and social status in society; a worthy goal but to be achieved by the assistance of the secular powers. In the autumn of 1535 Luther delivered an ordination sermon in which he further explained the reason and result of the new ordination arrangement. Referring to this

sermon the following comment is made: "The ordination mandate was in accord with the practice of the early Christian Church since the early Church, too, found it necessary to adopt centralized rather than local ordinations lest disunity in doctrine develop. Luther noted that Saxony faced a major threat from false teaching in its parishes and that the ordination mandate was a proper step towards rooting out false teaching since it gave Wittenberg control over the quality of new pastors. By 1535 the ordination mandate was possible in a practical sense because there was by then a well-established mechanism of ecclesiastical authority that could enforce sound doctrine in Saxony."[37] In other words, Luther recognized advantages "in a governmentally enforced necessity of ordination for holding the office of the ministry in Saxony. Yet he did not modify his theology of ordination in order to justify the new governmental policy of 1535."[38] Here is expressed a church-state relationship dilemma and a theological-pragmatic dilemma and contradiction which has remained with Lutheranism and other branches of Protestantism and seen up to the present time.

We will now return to the situation in Geneva where we observed that Calvin found it best to abstain from the laying on of hands. When Calvin returned to Geneva from Strasbourg in 1541 the city council had promised to cooperate with him, but as the Calvin scholar Francois Wendel has pointed out, only "on condition that this did not infringe any of the prerogatives of the civil power, or affect certain customs that the Genevan Church observed in common with the Bernese Churches, and which had to be maintained for political reasons." As an example Wendel refers to different practices regarding how often the Lord's Supper should be celebrated; "Thus it was that Calvin was not able to obtain the celebration of Holy Communion every

month as he desired, but only once a quarter." Regarding not laying on the hands at the time of the installation service we read: "Similarly, the installation of new pastors could not be accompanied by the laying on of hands according to the example of Strasbourg; they had to be inducted simply by a prayer, and with a sermon upon the pastoral functions. There were, after all details of minor importance, and Calvin gave way."[39]

It is of interest to observe that Luther introduced the rite of laying on of hands under the influence of the Duke of Saxony, while Calvin withheld it because of the civil authorities, according to Wendel.

Robert G. Bolt, in a study on the ordination in the worship of Calvin, confirms what seems to be the conclusion from the various statements we have quoted from Calvin. He writes: "Calvin feared the misunderstanding of the people. Laying on of hands might appear to be a rejection of the priesthood of all believers, and an artificial elevation of the minister. It also might give to the ordained too much of the rejected notion of the absolutism and indelibility of the Roman ordination. For the time Calvin laid aside the imposition of hands. The practice could be resumed when the Church had a clearer understanding of its purpose."[40]

So far the present writer has not been able to pinpoint a special date when the rite of laying on of hands began in Geneva. However, note should be taken of two references. Between his first and second (and final) stay in Geneva Calvin spent three years in Strasbourg as minister for the congregation (1539-41). Here, he was greatly influenced by Martin Bucer.

Bucer was later invited to England (1549) and became professor of divinity at Cambridge. He was highly regarded by the young Protestant king, Edward VI, and to him Bucer dedicated his major work, De Regno Christi,

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1550. Here Bucer makes reference to the practice of laying on of hands, and his statement the Reformers in general would no doubt agree with. He writes: "We have spoken above about the laying on of hands for those who are consecrated to the sacred ministry of the Church; although we have no express command of the Lord, we have nevertheless the examples of the apostles (Acts 6:6; 13:3) and also a precept to Timothy (1 Tim. 4:14; 5:22), so that it is entirely likely that the apostles used that sign for the ordination of ministers of the Church at the command of the Lord. On this account, this ceremony was observed in the early churches quite religiously, and in the Reformed churches it has now been devoutly recalled into use."[41]

The question is, did Bucer, in the last sentence, include the church in Geneva? That Calvin agreed with Bucer theologically there is no doubt. In the last edition of the Institutes (Latin, 1559 and French, 1560) Calvin in a positive way endorsed the ritual of laying on of hands by referring to the common texts in the New Testament. He takes it for granted that pastors, teachers, and deacons were consecrated in this way. He admits that "there is no fixed precept concerning the laying on of hands," but he considered it a useful symbol by which "the dignity of the ministry should be commended to the people, and he who is ordained, reminded that he is no longer his own, but is bound in service to God and the Church. Besides, it will not prove an empty sign, if it be restored to its genuine origin. For if the Spirit of God has not instituted anything in the Church in vain, this ceremony of his appointment we shall feel not to be useless, provided it be not superstitiously abused" (Inst. IV.3.16). Here Calvin seems to plea for a proper and not a superstitious use of the rite.

Martin Bucer's statement that among the Reformed Churches the rite of

laying on of hands "has now been devoutly recalled into use" needs further explanation. J. L. Ainslie, in his extensive study of the ministry in the Reformed Churches of the 16th and 17th centuries,[42] takes up the question of "the rite or ceremony of the imposition of hands in the service of admission to the Ministerial Order of the Reformed Churches." He makes this comprehensive statement: "It may be said at the outset that opinions have differed in most of the churches, both Reformed and others, as to the rite being essential in ordination or otherwise. Some have held it to be absolute essential, while others have considered it better omitted, or, at the most, not essential, but only to be used as a helpful outward indication of ordination."[43]

A number of examples which J. L. Ainslie gives illustrate the different concepts. However, it is also pointed out that the rite eventually found acceptance by all. For example, the Scottish First Book of Discipline speaks against the imposition of hands. "The rite continued to be regarded as unnecessary from thirty to forty years after the Church had been instituted, even though it might come to be practiced more and more, and though these were those latterly who laid more stress on it as the years ran towards the 17th century.[44] In 1581 the Second Book of Discipline was issued and "it definitely authorized the rite, though this is to be noted, the wording does not indicate any enforcing of it in ordinations. And it was not enforced. Ministers were admitted freely, in what proportions one cannot say, without the use of the rite, and without their ordination being thought irregular."[45]

The Reformed Church in Holland also found the rite unnecessary. In its Canons of 1577 "the omission of laying on of hands in ordinations" was de-

creed, but at the Synod of Dart, 1619, the imposition of hands was stipu-
lated.[46]

Where the imposition of hands was practiced there were variances regar-
ding who should lay on the hands. "The chief differences in the agents of
ordination will be that sometimes the act of ordination will be performed by
one minister, in other cases by several ministers, and in other cases by
ministers and laymen."[47] The different arrangements reflect the different
interpretations of the meaning of the laying on of hands (and by whom) in
the Old and New Testaments; a topic which we dealt with earlier.

In our discussion of ordination in the Lutheran reformation we observed
that Philip Melanchthon was not ordained. In the case of Calvin "no formal
ceremonial ordination" took place. "He was invited by the Genevan authori-
ties to be a minister in their city. He had been recognized and accepted as
such by the people. That would be sufficient to constitute his induction to
the Reformed Church of Geneva." The same was the case with Guillaume Farel
(1485-1565), a close colleague of Calvin in Geneva and a reformer of the
City of Neuchatel.

When we turn to Scotland we are told that Andrew Melville (1545-1622),
"although occupying some of the highest positions in the Church, yet appar-
ently had never been ordained with the imposition of hands." We are also
informed that Robert Bruce, "the leading minister in Edinburgh," had been
admitted to the ministry without the rite, and without any question, indeed
with the Assembly concurring and joining in his appointment, and not requir-
ing any ceremonial of imposition of hands. That was about 1587. He contin-
ued as an honored minister in Edinburgh for over ten years, and occupied the
highest places in the Ministry. He was twice Moderator of the Assembly."[48]

These examples may tell us two things. First, that it is the call and the appointment which are of basic significance and not any formal ceremonial rite. Secondly, that God, under specific circumstances, calls people to some unique tasks; the call—through the Holy Spirit—being obvious to the persons themselves and all concerned. In our previous discussion of Calvin's comments on apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors, and teachers (Eph. 4:11) we noticed that Calvin wrote, "that of these, only the two last have an ordinary office in the Church. The Lord raised up the other three at the beginning of His kingdom, and still occasionally raises them up when the necessity of the times requires" (Inst. IV.3.4). It was no doubt perceived that the leaders of the Reformation belonged to this latter group.

Peter Martyr (1500-62), an Italian belonging to the order of the Augustinians, got through the writings of Bucer and Zwingli sympathy with the Protestant reformation. He had to flee his home country and went to Zurich, Basel and then Strasbourg, where he was appointed professor of theology by Bucer (1542). Two years later he came to England and was made professor at Oxford. When Mary came to the throne in England he fled to Strasbourg, where he took up teaching again, but from 1556 to his death he was professor in Zurich. From here he was in correspondence with future reformers during the Elizabethan period. From this highly respected and well-known man we have the following statement, which has bearing upon the point under discussion. Peter Martyr writes: "Since the Ministry, alike under the ancient Law as according to the gospel, has been fulfilled without imposition of hands, this imposition is not absolutely necessary. . . . One does not need to be astonished, if, amidst the vices and corruptions of the church, God, in order to restore it, has caused to arise vocations out of the ordinary. . .

. The Holy Spirit is not bound to eternal ceremonies."[49]

In our discussion of the requirement of formal ordination we noticed, especially in Wittenberg and Geneva, how in different ways church and civil administrations took part in nominating and electing the candidate. For this reason some pertinent observations regarding church-state relationship will be attempted.

Some pertinent observations regarding church-state relationships will be attempted.

Ordination and Church-State Relationship. Some readers may have wondered why time and space has been given to a sketch of church-state issues and religious liberty at the time of the Reformation (in Some Historical Observations) and what that has to do with ordination. Our answer is that not only theology, christology and soteriology have influenced ecclesiology, but also church-state issues, and there is here a reciprocal influence, which in turn has a bearing upon the concept and usage of ordination.

The Protestant reformation of the sixteenth century resulted ecclesiologically in the establishment of territorial and national churches. At the Peace of Augsburg, 1555, it was decided that each ruler should determine the faith within his territory after the principle: cuius regio, eius religio (that is, each region, his--the ruler's--religion). The pragmatic application of this principle and its bearing on ecclesiology and ordination was already illustrated twenty years earlier in Saxony and Wittenberg. The different types of ecclesiology: Roman Catholic, Eastern Orthodox, Anglican, Classical and Radical Protestantism have been influenced by their respective church-state philosophies and it has theoretical and pragmatic

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consequences on the meaning of ordination. The moral, spiritual, and educational preparedness of the candidate for the ministry is part of the process of leading to a call confirmed by the rite of ordination; but it must be theologically motivated, rooted, and originated, and thus ordination becomes correctly a badge of the unity and nature of the church, but accomplished not through the authority or support by the civil government, directly or indirectly. Ordination must be evaluated in the light of theology, christology, soteriology, and ecclesiology, and the question must be asked: Are there any church-state concepts attached to the rite of ordination which are not in full accord with the biblical nature and marks of the church? In this connection the truth of the dictum that "in a relative sense the history of the church is a progressive judgment of the church" becomes of special significance. Luther was justifiably criticized by Catholics and Free Church leaders, each in their own way. Luther's pragmatic and apparent plausible and progressive action and wellmeaning mistakes may serve as an excuse for church leaders who fall for the temptation to deal with ecclesiological precepts and concepts pragmatically, but isolated from the constitutional marks and nature of the church; however, the judgment of history will unavoidably and with depressing consequence invalidate such compromising methods. History tells us that in church-state relations energies which should be used for spiritual pursuits are diverted or diluted in cooperation with secular powers who do not have spiritual goals but different motivation and methodology; ecclesiology cannot help but be tarnished and the spiritual representative status of the ordained minister is compromised.

We wish to repeat that ordination is an index to ecclesiology, and that

in turn to a church's theology, christology and soteriology. This is also illustrated by the significant fact that within the ecumenical movement a major "stumbling block" for unity is the question of ecclesiology, including ordination.

RETROSPECT

While Christian churches seek to confirm their doctrine of the ministry by tracing it back to the New Testament they often, and unconsciously, read the concepts which may characterize their ecclesiology into one or several aspects of New Testament ministries. Even at best, where ecclesiology is sought to be established from the New Testament directly without the baggage of church tradition or denominationalism, it appears difficult not to be selective because ecclesiology is—for better or worse—determined from within a certain church tradition, which separates us from the first century of the Christian era.

In the King James Version the word "ordain" is translated from twenty-one different Hebrew and Greek words, and it would be easy to read one's concept of ordination into these words. Mordern translations use, generally and more correctly, words which express appointment.

The laying on of hands in the New Testament must be seen in the light of Old Testament practices; especially as seen in the light of the Hebrew word "samakh" where a person transfers "something" (conditioned by the particulars of the event) to another person (or sacrificial animal), who then became his representative or substitute.

Of the many texts in the New Testament which deal with the laying on of hands only four have reference to the ministry; of these, two are found in

the Acts of the Apostles and the other two refer to Timothy in the epistles to him. In Acts, chapter 6, no reference is made to elders or deacons, and in the other three incidences hands were laid upon Paul, Barnabas, and Timothy, not to appoint them elders or pastors, but to commission them to represent the church as missionaries. Deacons are not mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles. Elders and deacons are said to be appointed, not ordained, and no reference is made to hands being laid upon them.

We read that elders should be appointed and that they were functioning as overseers assisted by deacons (they were lay people and there is no reference to the laying on of hands). At the time of the New Testament church-organization and worship services were to a large degree patterned on the synagogue. We must remember that there was no salaried and full-time pastor; the charismatic ministry was prevalent in service and worship.

We have observed that the official or public minister (called, commissioned, installed, consecrated) grew (of necessity and in harmony with divine and biblical instruction) out of the fellowship of believers because what belongs to all, no one can take upon himself, exercise by himself and in his own way. This becomes significant when we deal with the two ordinances of the church: baptism and the Lord's Supper. These two ordinances with all that they imply, belong to all. They represent in an "official" way the covenant relationship between God and the ekklesia; accordingly, the ordinances are administered by those who have been appointed to the official service (ministry). This leads to a further representative aspect of ordination, which differs from church to church, all depending upon their ecclesiology as it relates to the structure of the church, either in the form of congregationalism, presbyterianism, a national and territorial

church or a universal church. In the first an "ordained" or "appointed" person represents the local church and in the last a universal church.

The ordinance of baptism brings a person into a covenant relationship with Christ but also into relationship with the covenant people. If the church believes and considers itself called universally to be the people of the covenant-remnant-eschaton, then the baptism leads into that fellowship and can only be performed by a person who's "ordination" or appointment represents the universal church.

In different connections it has been pointed out that it is the purpose of the ministerial function and office which determines the nature of the "ordination" or appointment. Further, it is the call and appointment which constitutes the installation. This becomes significant when we deal with the oversight (jurisdiction) of a universal church on the various levels as districts, conferences, (territorial and national) and global.

We have also noticed that in the church of the New Testament the presbyter (the elder) is basic as an order or office. It must also be remembered that presbyter (elder) was the overseer (bishop). The believers were endowed with special gifts and engaged in all the functions of the church. They were all motivated by the Word and witnessed about Christ; but the elders served as overseers assisted by the deacons, and that implied administration more than the preaching of the Word. Based on the New Testament it seems to be an anomaly to say that only on a pastor, elder and deacon (as we now define their work) can hands be laid, "ordained," called or commissioned. We are here concerned that any action may not be motivated in the name of the New Testament but not having its sanction. It is the biblical, theological and moral basis for motivation and action, which be-

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comes an issue. For example, compare the work of a deacon, who mainly serves as a doorkeeper and takes up the collection (and may be changed or re-elected every year) with that of a missionary doctor, who serves the church and humanity for life. In some churches the deacons are part of the official priesthood, in others they are not. It is not the New Testament which creates this dichotomy, but the ecclesiology of the churches.

The one who, today, has the oversight (overseer-bishop-elder) over a smaller or larger territory universally represents the people by the call, appointment, and commission, but that call is given by the people within the given territory which is represented in the function and/or office. The call or the appointment and the acceptance thereof is therefore generally given in an official way with the invocation for the Holy Spirit and God's blessing. What applies to the service (better word than position) of oversight may also apply to functions determined by the church within the framework of its ecclesiology constituted by the Bible.

The principle and function of an official ministry with oversight and responsibility (more correct than to say jurisdiction and authority) is divinely instituted in the New Testament, but it is a transferral ministry of the priesthood of believers. Both aspects are divinely instituted and must be emphasized in theory and practice, but between the two a polar tension can easily arise as the history of different forms of church structure testify to. That tension we always find in the political and social sense within democracy. However, the church is not an institution or an organization, it is a spiritual organism, the body of Christ, and filled with the Holy Spirit. Accordingly, the working of the Holy Spirit must never be substituted by or confused with a mere public relationship office, man-made

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orchestration of human convictions, opinion polls or self-determined opinions so prevalent in the social and political activities of institutions and society. The polar tension between the priesthood of believers and the official ministry and between them separately will appear in equal proportion to the lack of the Holy Spirit. We must therefore emphasize the importance of the Christ foundation and the endowment of the Holy Spirit as constitutional for the nature of the church and its ministry. The priesthood of believers and the appointed ministry both act in the name of Christ, who is the head of the body, the church. Paul speaks about those who have oversight as brother and brethren (2 Cor. 8:18, 23).

The called, appointed, commissioned person and the members of the body of Christ together realize the divine call and the commissioned person equally acknowledges the representative or transferral nature of his ministry. The appointed and commissioned (ordained) ministry grows out of the nature of the church, and it becomes a badge and guardian of the very essence and characteristics of the church.

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THE DIVINE ONENESS, EQUALITY, AND RELATEDNESS
IN FUNCTIONAL DIFFERENCES

RELATEDNESS: THE CENTER OF DIVINE REALITY

In contemplating the Christian worldview, and in all man's quest for,
and evaluation of, the meaning, purpose, and condition of life we must begin
where the biblical revelation begins, "In the beginning God." These opening
words of Holy Scripture are most profound and of great significance. Divine
reality preceded human reality. This is the primeval and fundamental fact
supporting everything else. But God is a triune God. In the biblical Crea-
tion story we are told that God said, "Let Us make" (Gen. 1:26). The word
Us is significant, for it tells us that only in the divine plurality (Us) is
found the fullness of divinity and within the triune God are personalities
in absolute harmony and in complete unanimity of intention, plan, and
action. True relatedness lies in the center of divine reality. The creative
and sustaining power of the universe flows from the divine relational one-
ness; likewise, the possibility and reality of the redemption is rooted in
it.

Redemption is restoration and the theology and message of the New Tes-
tament are retrospective going back to: "In the beginning." It is most

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significant that Christ, when He speaks about the man-woman relationship in marriage and the question of divorce, said that certain Mosaic laws had been given "Because of your hardness of heart, . . . but from the beginning it has not been this way" (Matt. 19:8). Whenever we have "relatedness" we have "persons." At the same time, we cannot speak about personality without relationship. Within the Godhead (the trinity) exists a perfect relationship, and so it should be between God and man, and man-male and man-female.

ONENESS AND EQUALITY

The everlasting covenant of redemption was born between God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Spirit, and is expressed in John 3:16, 17: "For God so loved the world, that He gave His only begotten Son." In other words, the Godhead took the consequences of the Fall into Their own hearts by having Christ become man. "Only begotten" means "the unique one," "the only one of its kind." The Father is not God without the Son. But the Son is not only true God; He is also true man, making Him the only one of His kind. As true man, He represents mankind, who in Him and through Him is united with God, as is Jesus Christ Himself. The God-man relation, which was broken by sin, He ratified.

It is worthy of note that the Son was obedient to the choice of love and grace and gave Himself to mankind by being incarnated as man. The at-one-ment (atonement) between God and man is made possible through the total person-event of Jesus Christ, in which God became one with man in Jesus Christ. Further, it was the decision of the Holy Spirit to make glorious the unity of the Father and the Son. In the covenant of redemption, realized through the incarnation and the crucifixion, we have the best theo-

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logical explanation for the doctrine of the Trinity and the reason that Christ had to be fully God and fully man. In the covenants of life and redemption all of man's true relationships are constituted; likewise, the divine relational purposes are rooted here and the power for their realization found. In the beginning of our study, where we sought to define ecclesiology, we pointed out the significance of the covenants for our topic.

The unity of the triune God--that is, the coexistence of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; or the One God existing in Three Persons but of one indivisible essence--is a foundational belief in Christianity and is theologically referred to by the Trinity. While there is no formal teaching on the Trinity in the Bible, the relationship of God the Father to Christ and to the Holy Spirit, and of Christ to the Holy Spirit, are spoken of or referred to throughout the Bible. The Three Persons are mentioned and linked together in the baptismal formula. In the one name of "the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit" (Matt. 28:19) the disciples should baptize. This is a clear indication of the unity of the Trinity, which is also expressed in the apostolic benediction, "The grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the fellowship of the Holy Spirit, be with you all" (2 Cor. 13:14).

The foundational Christian belief in the Trinity is expressed in the ancient Athanasian Creed, saying that in the "Trinity none is above or after another: none is greater or less than another. But the whole three Persons are co-eternal, and co-equal. So that in all things, as aforesaid: the Unity in Trinity, and the Trinity in Unity, is to be worshiped."

EQUALITY IN FUNCTIONAL DIFFERENCES

Although the unity of the Godhead exists in oneness of substance, nature, will, operation, majesty, etc.--implying absolute equality--functional differences are exercised in complete harmony or unison, as noticed in the covenant of redemption and clearly spelled out in the biblical description of the functions of the three Persons both in the work of Creation and redemption. These functional differences are well-known to the student of the Bible.

On account of the very nature of the divine oneness and equality, identified in all aspects of existence within the Trinity (none of them would think and act differently from one another), there can never be domination in the functional activities, different as they are of necessity even within the divine realm. There is no need for authority in order to "enforce" conformity or unity. Yet, there seems to be an apparent hierarchy: Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. Jesus said: "Truly, truly, I say to you, the Son can do nothing of Himself, unless it is something He sees the Father doing; for whatever the Father does, these things the Son also does in like manner. For the Father loves the Son, and shows Him all things that He Himself is doing. . . . I can do nothing on my own initiative. As I hear, I judge; and My judgment is just, because I do not seek My own will, but the will of Him who sent Me. . . the works which the Father has given Me to accomplish, the very works that I do, bear witness of Me, that the Father has sent Me. And the Father who sent Me, He has borne witness of Me" (John 5:19, 20, 30, 36, 37). The oneness and functional differences of the Godhead is significantly portrayed in its redemptive aspects by the apostle John: "Son in the Father

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and the Father in Me" (see chapters 14, 15, 16). We find that Jesus calls Himself the "I Am," which corresponds to the Yahweh of the Old Testament (see John 4:26; 6:20; 8:24, 28, 58; 13:19; 18:5-6).

GOD, THE HOLY SPIRIT

At the beginning of creation we read that the Spirit of God "moved," "hovered," "stirred," or "brooded" over "the surface of the waters" (Gen. 1:2). As the Holy Spirit was involved in the creation so also in the incarnation of God: the Son.

Mary "was found to be with child by the Holy Spirit," and to Joseph it was said that what had conceived in Mary "is of the Holy Spirit" (Matt. 1:18, 20). After Christ's baptisms "the Spirit of God" descended as a dove upon Him" (Matt. 3:16).

In the farewell discourse of Christ (John 14-17) Christ not only spoke about His unity with the Father, but also about His unity with the Holy Spirit, and their common unity with the Father. Christ calls the Holy Spirit "the Helper" (also translated Comforter, Counselor, Advocate). We read: "And I will ask the Father, and He will give you another Helper, that He may be with you forever. . . . But he Helper, the Holy Spirit, whom the Father will send in My name, He will teach you all things, and bring to your remembrance all that I said to you. . . . When the Helper comes, whom I will send to you from the Father, that is the Spirit of truth, who proceeds from the Father, He will bear witness of Me. . . . But I tell you the truth, it is to your advantage that I go away; for if I do not go away, the Helper shall not come to you, but if I go, I will send Him to you" (John 14: 16, 26; 15:26; 16:7). The word "Helper" is translated from the Greek word

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"parakletos" and is peculiar to the Gospel of John (The only other place it appears is in 1 John 2:1).

In addition to what already has been said about the role of the Spirit within the Trinity a few other observations should be made. In the Old Testament the Spirit of God (Hebrew: ruah) is in the feminine gender. When God in the life of the Israelites is described as a mother, it is no doubt an indirect reference to the working of the Holy Spirit, as for example when Isaiah writes: "you shall be nursed, you shall be carried on the hip and fondled on the knees. As one whom His mother comforts, so I will comfort you" (66:12-13). While God is constantly referred to as the Father it has been pointed out that "various attributes of God are described with feminine imagery. In the Old Testament, the mercy of God is one of these attributes. The very word, mercy, in Hebrew is raham, a word that also means womb." Accordingly, "when God is merciful, this is an image of the mother surrounding the child with warmth, with her life-begetting spirit."[1] A classical statement in this regard is Is. 49:15: "Can a woman forget her nursing child, and have no compassion on the son of her womb? Even these may forget, but I will not forget you."

At the beginning of creation we read that the Spirit of God "moved," "hovered," "stirred," or "brooded" over "the surface of the water"; likewise, God is depicted as a mother bird: "Like an eagle that stirs up its nest, that hovers over its young, He spread His wings and caught them, He carried them on his pinions" (Deut. 32:11). There is an analogy between the Holy Spirit and the women in their common nurturing role and the unique way in which they are the bearers and sustainers of creative powers. We find the same in the New Testament. Only by being "born of the Spirit" can one

enter the kingdom of God. The Spirit creates, gives birth to, and sustains a new life (see John 3:8; Rom. 8:9, 10; Titus 3:5).

Grammatically, the analogy does not come so strongly to the foreground in the New Testament, because the Holy Spirit is referred to by the pronoun "he" in most translations, including the Latin Vulgate and the King James Version. Contrary to the Hebrew and the Aramaic, the Greek Old Testament has the word "Spirit" in the neuter gender, and no doubt this is so because the Jewish translators wanted to emphasize their monotheistic god-concept (god is one).

The writers of the New Testament described a Trinitarian god-concept, which points to "interrelationship" as central to divine reality within the monotheistic idea of oneness. Yet, the translators (Christ and the apostles spoke Aramaic) and writers (as Paul) of the Greek New Testament retained the neuter gender of the Greek Old Testament, but at the same time described the Spirit as a person. It is understandable that the "he" of the various vernacular translations has blurred the analogy of the Hebrew "she," and thereby also the male-female and Christ-Spirit analogy.

THE DIVINE HEADSHIP

In the biblical description of the various spheres of functional relationship within the Trinity a certain headship is exercised by God the Father; "God is the head of Christ" (1 Cor. 11:3). In the eschatologicl fulfillment Christ "delivers up the kingdom to the God and Father, when He has abolished all rule and all authority and power. . . . that God may be all in all" (1 Cor. 15:24-28). This does not mean that one of the three is ultimate and the other two are reduced. The Father reveals Himself through

the Son (John 1:14, 18). He created the world through Christ (John 1:1-3; Heb. 1:2; Col 1:16); but the Spirit was also present (Gen. 1:2) and the triune God associated together (Gen. 1:26). God the Father and the Holy Spirit were present in Christ's reconciliating work (2 Cor. 5:19; John 1:32) and likewise they take abode in the heart of the believer (John 14:17, 20; Col. 1:19; 2:9). It is with the divine oneness in mind--a unity of complementary functions--that Christ prayed that the believers "may be one, even as We are one" (John 17:11). There is a complete harmony between the being and acting of the triune God, and so it should be in the male and female relationship.

On account of the very nature of oneness and equality, the divine headship is not authoritative, but represents a responsibility created by love (agape) and manifested in giving and serving, (diakonia) as expressed in the words: "For God so loved the world, that He gave his only begotten Son" (John 3:16); it is illustrated also in the headship of Christ as expressed by the apostle Paul when he says that God "gave Him as head over all things to the church, which is His body, the fullness of Him who fills all in all" (Eph. 1:22, 23). That Christ's headship meant responsibility in giving and service is expressed in the words, "Have this attitude in yourselves which was also in Christ Jesus, who, although he existed in the form of God, did not regard equality with God a thing to be grasped, but emptied Himself, taking the form of a bond-servant, and being made in the likeness of men. And being found in appearance as a man, He humbled Himself by becoming obedient to the point of death, even death on a cross. Therefore also God highly exalted Him, and bestowed on Him the name which is above every name" (Phil. 2:5-9). In other words, Christ did not find equality antithetical

with headship (or a certain hierarchy) and functional differences. Christ exemplified, as man, the divine relatedness and renewed the order of creation by a life of agape and servanthood and by total submission to the divine will of the Father; His very being was in full harmony with the divine will, therefore His actions were likewise. Accordingly, subordination is not the right word to express Christ's relationship with the Father.

Humanly speaking, even within the Trinity, headship resembles the role of a chairman, the first among equals, who are in complete accord; any directive given is rooted in a "delegated" or "representative" authority (the words "representative responsibility" are more correct than "authority") reflecting order, oneness, and harmony (John 14-17).

There exists within the Godhead perfect relatedness. Cautiously we may even say that the Godhead consists of "relational beings," as long as we do not set up man's personality as a measuring rod by which we measure God. At the same time, we must also acknowledge that we cannot speak about personality without relationships.

We began this part of our study by emphasizing the significance of Trinitarian theology as the starting gate or post for all our thinking and evaluation of life. We will conclude with the following observation: "The notion of the Trinity is based on the self-revelation of a God who is at heart relational, not a bare unity, or an isolated divine monarch. A monarchical notion of the deity encourages the idea that relationship is secondary to God; a trinitarian concept asserts relationship as fundamental to the divine. Furthermore, to speak of the interrelationship of the persons of the Trinity as the key to understanding the divine is to establish personal interrelationship as the foundation of God's interaction with the

world. . . . The principle of coherence for the world which emerges from a trinitarian deity is not that of a divinely imposed fiat, but an affirmation of a diverse and interrelated creation."[2]

In the biblical record of man's creation we read: "And God created man in His own image, in the image of God He created him; male and female He created them" (Gen. 1:27). The word man is used in a generic sense, so we speak about man-male and man-female. There is in the order of creation an analogy between the I-Thou relationship of God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Spirit; and the I-Thou relationship between man-male and man-female.

We will now turn to man: male-female relatedness as an impage of the divine oneness, equality, and relatedness in functional differences.

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MAN AND WOMAN AS RELATIONAL BEINGS

THE DIVINE-HUMAN RELATIONSHIP

Man is created so he can enter into a reciprocal relationship with God;
but more than that, it is only in communion and reapproachment with God that
his humanness can be realized. The innermost parts of man's personality—as
for example the ability to will, decide, and purpose—are designed to func-
tion in a cognitive union of love and trust with God and his fellow men for
their rightful ends. Carl F. H. Henry, for many years the chief editor of
Christianity Today, once wrote: "The Bible depicts man primarily from the
perspective of his relation to God because his nature and destiny can be
grasped only from this standpoint. Its interpretation of man is therefore
primarily religious. . . . The Bible does not discriminate man from the
animals in terms of morphological considerations, but rather in terms of the
imago Dei. Man is made for personal and endless fellowship with God, invol-
ving rational understanding (Gen. 1:28, ff.) [and] moral obedience (Gen.
2:16 f.) and religious communion (3:3, 16)."[1]

Relatedness: Constitutive for the Image of God. Whatever aspects of the
image of God we deal with (and there are many and both male and female re-

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flect these), it is found that their common denominator or their precondition is found in man's relationship with God. The triune God and man (male and female) are relational beings; there is on the divine level as well as on the human level a horizontal relatedness, but there is also a divine-human vertical relatedness. The divine I-Thou relatedness is constitutive for the human I-Thou relatedness, which, in order to be genuine, should be an image of the first; the divine relatedness is not only the model but also the source (in a vertical relationship) for the realization of the horizonal human relatedness as the image of the divine.

A Three-Dimensional Relationship. We can also say that from the I-Thou constitutive relationship of the Godhead grows a three-dimensional relationship like a triangle: God to man, man to man, and man to God. All three dimensions are necessary and form an inseparable unity. Within this relational triangle man was designed to live and develop his humanness as a relational being: having his true humanness by a being-in-relation. This constitutional principal was expressed by Christ when He answered the question: "Teacher, which is the great commandment in the Law?" (Matt. 22:36), by stating that love to God and man was "the great and foremost commandment." Whether we are dealing with theology (the word about God) or anthropology (the word about man), we must deal with theoanthropology—that is the word, the doctrine or message about God and man between whom there is a joint communication and relationship. God's design for man was expressed in the assertion that true humanness is found in an existence as the image of God, reflecting the divine relatedness. Only in such an existence can personal fulfillment and purposeful activity be realized.

THE MALE-FEMALE RELATEDNESS

Oneness and Equality. Being an image of the divine the human related-
ness was destined to be one of unity and equality as pointed out in the
creation story of Genesis. Man (generic: mankind), was created bisexually
as man-male and man-female. Accordingly, Karl Barth succinctly wrote: "We
cannot say man without having to say male or female and also male and
female. Man exists in this differentiation, in this duality."[2] Both male
and female bore the image of God (Gen. 1:27); together, they were the crown
of creation and together "God blessed them" and said "Be fruitful and multi-
ply, and fill the earth, and subdue it" (vs 28).

The need for human relatedness is expressed when God said: "It is not
good for the man to be alone" (2:18). The male-female oneness is illustra-
ted in the fact that "God fashioned into a woman the rib which He had taken
from the man" (vs 22). This no doubt illustrates absolute unity and equali-
ty. She should stand by his said as a partner. When Eve was brought to
Adam he expressed this inseparable male-female fellowship and equality when
he exclaimed: "This is now bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh" (vs 23).
First in the complementarity and fellowship with the man-female did the man-
male find wholeness. Here, we will once more refer to Karl Barth who told
us that this creation story is the "Old Testament Magna Charta of humanity."[3]
It is therefore also said that man "shall leave his father and his mother,
and shall cleave to his wife; and they shall become one flesh" (vs 24). The
Old Testament scholar, Otto Piper, has pointed out that being "one flesh"
embraces more than sexual unification; it is a "unity that embraces the
natural lives of the two persons in their entirety. It is strange that two

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persons of separate wills and individualities should succeed in achieving real unity." Further, "Flesh, in the Biblical sense, denotes not only the body but one's whole existence in this world; and the attainment of oneness of the flesh, therefore, creates a mutual dependence and reciprocity in all areas of life. One is ready to sacrifice his life for the other person, one feels that life is valueless apart from him, and one wants to be and to act like him. Without previous examination one is able to share his views."[4]

Unity and Equality not Sameness. The male-female oneness and equality did not mean sameness; being created male and female (father and mother, husband and wife) each had their own stamp, which meant complimentary or functional differences in their mutual fellowship. This is further spelled out in the creation story of Genesis, chapter 2. In chapter 1 the emphasis is placed on the vertical divine-human relatedness, and in chapter 2 on the human horizontal relatedness. In discussing the meaning of man as the image of God historical theology the West generally refers to man as being in some way or another like God, but seldom reference is made to the significance of the human horizontal relationship as a reflection of the divine horizontal relatedness. On account of that much misunderstanding has prevailed throughout the centuries. It is hoped that the current discussions and much study regarding male-female relatedness in society and in the church may help to clarify the true meaning of relatedness as embodied in the order of creation, more specifically Genesis 1:28.

Headship but Equality. We have previously observed and explained what it means that a certain headship is exercised by God, the Father. While we speak about God the Father, God the Son and God the Holy Spirit we also designate the Trinity as God, the Son (Jesus Christ) and the Holy Spirit.

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In this case the "representative" nature of headship is expressed in the name God, used in a generic sense. In the creation story we find the same to be the case on the human level. Here, we are introduced to the term women from the Hebrew word ishshah, which in turn is derived from the word ish (man) with a Hebrew feminine ending. The ishshah and ish point to relatedness and equality within the framework of supplementary or functional differences. They both exist in correlation to one another, they stand vis-a vis one another in polarity. This was recognized when "the man called his wife's name Eve, because she was the mother of all the living" (Gen. 3:20).

Adam, the name of the first male, is the generic name for man (mankind), and the name woman is the feminine form of ish (man-male). As the representative of the human race it is Adam who gave the names to the living creatures as well as to man-female: women, Eve (Gen. 2:19; 3:20). Paul, likewise, considers Adam the representative of mankind: "Therefore, just as through one man sin entered into the world, and death through sin, and so death spread to all men, because all sinned" (Rom. 5:12).

Eve, a Suitable Helper. When Adam had given names to the living creatures we read that he recognized that "there was not found a helper suitable for him" (Gen. 2:20); a fact God had already pointed out when He said: "It is not good for the man to be alone; I will make him a helper suitable for him" (Gen. 2:18). Examining the two keywords "helper" and "suitable" we find again oneness and equality interrelated with complementary in functional differences.

In the Hebrew Bible the word "suitable for" reads: "neged" meaning: "one like him," "corresponding to," "a counterpart." In the Greek Old Testament, the Septuagent, the Greek word is "homoios" and it likewise has the

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meaning: "one like him," "similar," "of the same rank," "of the same nature." It should also be observed that in the statement of Genesis 1:26 saying that God would create man in His own image and likeness, the Greek has the words "eicon" and "homoiousios." The latter is the noun corresponding to the adjective "homoios" and conveys the idea of likeness, as the English translation states.

We have identified the word "suitable" first because it modifies the word "helper" (Hebrew: 'ezer), telling us that the "helper" is not an inferior one with a lower status, which the word "helpmeet" in the King James Version so easily can imply. It has been brought to our attention that the word "helper" ('ezer) is "in Old Testament instances" emloyed in contexts which refer to a beneficial relationship" and "primarily for God."[5] When it is said that God is a helper to man, it does not make Him inferior to man. In this connection it is of significance to remember (as pointed out previously) that the Holy Spirit was called the Helper as recorded in the Gospel of John. We have also observed the symbolic creativity-relatedness between the Holy Spirit and the woman. Male and female were made in the likeness (homoiuois) of God, consequently the man-female in order to be a suitable helper had to correspond to ("homoios," "similar to" or a "counterpart of") man-male. As the concepts of the man: male-female unity, equality and functional differences should reflect or image the divine, the word "helper" in order to be fully understood, has to be seen and exemplified in the light of the divine Helper's (Holy Spirit) functional "role" within the Trinitarian unity and equality.

Equality in Functional Differences. From the creation account, which is constitutive for human life, we have observed that the divine I-Thou

relation, exercised in different functions, is a model for the human situa-
tion and a part of the imago Dei. Being created man-male and man-female
means that in the oneness and equality of personhood there are inherent
functional differences between being husband and wife, father and mother.
We have previously observed the analogy in connection with the Holy Spirit
as the Helper and Comforter, and Eve as the helper. Dealing with the crea-
tive powers of womanhood and its sense of wonder, Edith Deen points out that
"from earliest times a sense of wonder filled the heart of a mother when she
looked into the face of her new-born child. Next she quotes Bishop Fulton
J. Sheen sayin that every mother is "the bearer of life that comes from
God." Further, she is "to h;umanity the bearer of the Divine. . . when she
gives birth to a child, for the soul of every child is infused by God. She
thus becomes a co-worker with Divinity; she bears what God alone can give."[6]

The Swiss theologian Emil Brunner makes this observation: "The primal
truth, however, is this: God created man in His own image; male and female
created He them. This truth cuts away the ground from all belief in the
inferior value of woman. The Creator has created man and woman not with
different values but of different kinds, dependent upon one another, a
difference in kind which means that each complements the other. Together
with their different natural destiny--which as an original Creation should
be taken seriously and not regarded as a secondary matter--man and woman
have received a different stamp as human beings, as persons, which extends
to their existence-for-community. Both are called to be persons, to live in
love, in the same degree, but in different ways."[7]

Emil Brunner recognizes that in the "distinctive qualities" of male and
female "there lies a certain super-and sub-ordination; but it is a purely

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functional difference, not a difference in value, it is not a scale of values." As already mentioned, an apparent super- and sub-ordination may also be found when one observes the functions of the one God existing in three Persons. When we deal with functional differences, we have to recognize a value-system founded on love and expressed in service in order to avoid the pitfalls of human concepts regarding super- and sub-ordination. This is explained in the following statement: "The special call to serve where love is perceived as the meaning of life, is rather a privilege than a humiliation. This different attitude is maintained in the Bible, even in the Creation narrative. A 'helpmeet' is given to man. In our corrupted world that means 'a subordinate, dependent, less important person,' but originally this was not the intention; this is how it is interpreted by masterful people who want to be like God, positively by the man, and negatively by the woman. For mutual service is the supreme proof of fully mature and well-developed human life. From this center there should issue a transformation of all values, derived from Him who came 'not to be ministered unto but to minister,' and who by that very fact has revealed the meaning of human life."[8]

A New Value System. The kingdom of God is not a domain, but expressed the rule of God. In this fallen world it is a 180-degree turnaround in the concepts of values as proclaimed in the Sermon on the Mount: Blessed are the poor in spirit, those who mourn, who are gentle, merciful (and so on)—theirs is the kingdom.

An ambitious mother sought for her two sons the two highest positions within the government of the country. She expected that the ancient Jewish tradition of a great and glorious kingdom, like that of David, was imminent, and believed with many that the hope of the kingdom would be realized

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through Jesus of Nazareth.   So the mother of James and John came to Jesus with a bold request.   "she said to Him, 'Command that in Your kingdom these two sons of mine may sit, one on Your right and one on Your left.'" Here is expressed the distorted concept of relatedness as predicted after the Fall (Gen. 3) with its misconceived ideas of headship, subordination, power, and authority.   In His response Christ renewed the divine-human relatedness of the order of creation.   He taught the disciples a basic principle of the kingdom of God. Said Jesus: "'You know that the rulers of the Gentiles lord it over them, and their great men exercise authority over them. It is not so among you, but whoever wishes to become great among you shall be your servant, and whoever wishes to be first among you shall be your slave; just as the Son of Man did not come to be served, but to serve'" (Matt. 20:21, 25-28).

As we study the lives of the disciples of Christ it becomes obvious that the concept of self-forgetful service as the highest realization of self, manifesting itself in true success and achievement, was something new for them and contrary to the behavior of man.   That was not the kingdom they expected.   It is therefore no wonder that Christ spoke about the need to be converted and to "be born again" in order to enter the kingdom of God.   The growth and realization of the servant image and the kingdom of God was illustrated by Christ in the parable of a seed planted in the soil.   The seed disintegrates but gives birth to a new life; thus, by losing self in service, a new life begins, resulting in the fullest realization of the very self of man.   The story of the disciples is a story of this realization through the recreative power and grace of God, which brought a complete change in attitude and practice on every level of their inner life and outer

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world.

BIBLICAL ANTHROPOLGY AND WHOLISM

Before we leave Genesis chapter two and turn to the account of the Fall of man in chapter three we will take note of a constitutive statement regarding biblical anthropology and wholism, which has bearing upon our topic.

The Christian believes that God is the source of man's life: originally, at the present, and for eternity. Man was created by God as a whole being, an indivisible whole. The Creator "formed man of dust from the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life; and man became a living being" (Gen. 2:7). It was the unity of the body and the "breath of life" that made man "a living being." Man was not given an immortal soul, but the breath of life united with the body made him "a living being." This truth was expressed by T. H. Robinson. His words have become proverbial: "The Hebrew idea of personality is an animated body, and not an incarnated soul." "There is no trichotomy in Hebrew psychology, no triple division of human personality into 'body, soul, and spirit.'"[9] Man is a "whole" person; no part exists by itself or for itself, and that "whole" person is under the sovereignty of the Creator God.

The biblical words for body, soul, spirit, heart, will, mind, etc., have been debated through the centuries (but most often under Greek influence) and produced theories of a two-part or three-part human being in which one part may live independently of the others. But such a concept is not biblical. After having examined the biblical data, the distinguished Dutch theologian G. C. Berkouwer determined: "It appears clearly, then, that Scripture never pictures man as a dualistic, or pluralistic being, but that

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in all its varied expressions the whole man comes to the fore, in all his guilt and sin, his need and oppression, his longings and his nostalgia. And it is thus a priori unlikely that the biblical view of man will distinguish a higher and a lower part in man implying that the higher part is holier than the lower and stands closer to God, the lower as such then being impure and sinful and further away from the God of life."[10] Berkouwer further points out that it is in the concept of a lower and a higher part in man that we have the basis for dualism; it is also reflected in theology where the "soul then comes to be thought of as closer to God than the body." The result is a "depreciation of man's body," as illustrated in asceticism. Most emphatically Berkouwer states: "It is clear that there is no room for such a conception of a higher and lower part in the biblical view of man. This is especially apparent from the fact that sin, the evil and apostate in man, is never related to one or another part of man in the sense of an anthropologically distinct part, and is never localized in man, as though evil has its seat here or there—though there have often been attempts to find such localizations in the Scripture."[11]

The unity of man was also strongly emphasized by the late Paul Tillich. In an address to the New York Society for Clinical Psychiatry in 1960, Tillich said: "Man is a multidimensional unity. . . . The different qualities of life in man are present within each other and do not lie alongside or above each other. One can expediently, but not necessarily, distinguish the physical, the chemical, the biological, the psychological, the mental, the historical dimensions. . . . What is important, however, is that they do not lie alongside, but within each other.'[12] In his "Christian View of Man," Reinhold Niebuhr makes some similar observations: "The view of human

nature in Christian thought is to allow an appreciation of the unity of body and soul in human personality which idealists and naturalists have sought in vain. Furthermore it prevents the idealistic error of regarding the mind as essentially good or essentially eternal and the body as essentially evil. . . . Man is, according to the biblical view, a created and finite existence in both body and spirit. . . . The concept of an immortal man in a mortal body remains unknown to the end."[13]

God created man as male and female and man (mankind) is not whole without both. At the same time male and female, each--in their own totality of being and acts--has a wholeness, the parts of which (ie. physiologic and psychologic) cannot be separated from one another and in totality makes up the uniqueness of each. This in turn makes it possible for each to complement one another so together male and female can become man (mankind). What a person is in his or her wholeness of being he or she is in his or her acts, and this is most uniquely expressed in the complementary functions. Foundationally there is no dichotomy between the two. Accordingly, the constitutive anthropology of Genesis further confirms what has been observed about male-female relatedness constituted in oneness and equality, but expressed in supplementarity.

THE FALL OF MAN

The Covenant of Life. The biblical Creation story clearly tells us that man as a moral being was placed within the covenant of life. God not only created man and blessed him, but in His first personal dealing with man "God said" and "the Lord God commanded" (Gen. 1:28, 2:16). At the time of the first temptation it was acknowledged both by the serpent and by Eve that

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"God has said" (Gen. 3:1, 3). Life itself necessitated that practical deci-
sions had to be made, and in order to be true to life these had to be made
in accordance with the norms or laws established by the Creator. "For we
cannot make the smallest decision save in the light of a superior purpose, a
norm, a commandment; indeed, we cannot avoid having one supreme idea of
purpose and order--although this may be still very indistinct, and we may be
only dimly aware of it. Experience confirms the thought of Christian
anthropology; namely, that man must always have 'either God or an idol,'
even when the idol is only distinguished from God in a purely formal manner
by the fact that it will always be a more or less changeable deity."[14] So
writes Emil Brunner.

Sin as Disobedience. Since God is the Creator and everything is rooted
in Him and His activities, it follows that the covenant of life had to be a
commanding covenant: obey and live, disobey and die. The covenant of life,
more than a mere mandate or order, was a statement regarding the facts of
the law-governed universe, a covenant that grew out of love, the very
essence of God. This covenant embodied the very principles of life; we
therefore call it the covenant of life. Life was based on conformity to, or
oneness with, the principles that are the imperative of life itself. Fail-
ure to conform could only result in the loss of life--that is, death.

A realist-symbolic expression of the covenant of life is presented in
Genesis 2:16-17: "And the Lord commanded the man, saying, 'From any tree of
the garden you may eat freely; but from the tree of knowledge of good and
evil you shall not eat, for in the day that you eat from it you shall surely
die.'"

Predictive Consequences of Sin. The meaning of the Fall of Man depic-

ted in Genesis chapter 3 with its consequences (expressed as curses) for the God-man and man-nature relationships, must be seen in the light of the principles we have observed in the creation stories of Genesis 1 and 2.

When it comes to the understanding of the consequences of the Fall it is of fundamental importance to realize that sin is disobedience, and the result means broken relationships. Further, God does not have a vindictive character; His judgments are not capricious,--that is lacking standards or norms (to this should be added that these are rooted in love and are the principles of life itself)--they are natural consequences of the sins (transgressions) involved.

The "judgments" or "curses" expressed by God after the Fall are not commandments, but are predicative "judgments" pointing out that the results of transgression is a distortion of realities already in existence. It is the description of a new life-situation within the framework of the consequences of the Fall. At the creation God blessed Adam and Eve to "be fruitful and multiply" and to "subdue the earth," but after the Fall Eve has now a painful childbearing and Adam's cultivation of the soil is with toil. (Compare Genesis 1:28 with 3:16 and 1:28; 2:15 with 3:17-19.)

A Distorted Male-Female Relationship. The relationship between husband and wife established at Creation was distorted by the Fall. To Eve it was said: "Your desire shall be for your husband, and he shall rule over you" (3:16).

Original male and female was a unity in equality ("one flesh" Gen. 2:24), but now they are in conflict. The creation order is disrupted, they accuse not only one another for the Fall, but also God (Gen. 3:6-13). Both the vertical and horizontal relatedness are distorted.

The male headship of the order of creation--defined in the light of the Trinity--was likewise distorted. To Eve it was said: "He shall rule over you." We have two Hebrew words for "rule"; the one is used for ruling over the animals and the other never, indicating that in spite of sin the human rulership is not the same as over the animal world. However, it is a rulership which implies subordination. (See Gen. 37:8, Ex. 21:8, Deut. 15:6). The Greek Old Testament uses the word kurieuw (Gen. 3:16) meaning "master," "rule," "control," "lord over" as illustrated in the story of Joseph and his brethren. Having told his dreams to the brethren they said: "'Are you really going to rule over us?' So they hated him even more for his dreams and his words" (Gen. 37:8). However, in the Old Testament the Hebrew word for "rule" (masal) can also express the idea of protection and caring. One example is Genesis 1:16 where we read that "God made two great lights" to govern or rule the day and the night. We could also refer to the last words of David in which he said: "The Rock of Israel spoke to me. He who rules over men righteously, who rules in the fear of of God, is as the light of the morning" (2 Sam. 23:3-4). We will notice that in all the aspects of the predictive judgments there is also a restraining influence, which becomes a blessing under the given circumstances.

God had said regarding the eating of the tree of knowledge that "in the day that you eat from it you shall surely die" (Gen. 2:17). Literally the text reads: ". . . dying you shall die." Inherent in sin are the seeds of its own destruction. After the Fall the destructive power of death came into man's very existence, an enmity was created (Gen. 3:15, 19). Sinful man, the one not "born again" by the Spirit, rules in strength of God's judgment over sin that is death, symbolized in the use of the sword with

power and authority over the subordinated. The French philosopher, Blaise Pascal, one of the most profound thinkers of all time, declared: "The moldering kingdoms built by iron and blood preach about sin and judgment better than any evangelist." Even Eve's first son made use of that power when he killed his brother. Yet, at the same time the sword can also have a restraining power. Paul writes: "For rulers are not a cause of fear for good behavior, but for evil. Do you want to have no fear of authority? Do what is good, and you will have praise for the same; for it is a minister of God to you for good. But if you do what is evil, be afraid, for it does not bear the sword for nothing; for it is a minister of God, an avenger who brings wrath upon the one who practices evil" (Rom. 13:3-4). Genesis 3:15 deals specifically with the tension or "the enmity" which comprises a cursing but also a blessing because of the given situation. It is said that the serpent will bruise the seed of the woman (Christ) on the heal, but He in turn will bruise the serpents head.

The relatedness of the order of creation, and all that it implies, is different from that depicted as a result of the Fall. While it is said man would "rule over" the woman, Eve was told "your desire shall be for your husband." This does not mean that the husband does not have the same "desire," just as the woman would also experience toil when she was engaged in cultivating the garden. The statements were made respectively to the woman and the man because in her was embodied unique creative powers, and for that reason she was given the name Eve (Gen. 3:20). Adam was now given the providing responsibility.

At the time of Creation "God said to them" (man: male and female): "Be fruitful and multiply, and fill the earth, and subdue it" (Gen. 1:28). In

the state of innocence this task was considered a delight, a perpetual "holiday." Being free from sin in their inner and outer world they were exempted from defect, disadvantages and burdens, and could, with ease, perform and accomplish the God-given purposes. After the Fall the distinctive roles of man and woman became painful and a constant reminder about the new conditions under which they lived.

It also seems that the most intimate relationship between man and woman would be distorted as a result of the Fall. The meaning of "desire" includes a stronge urge, longing and craving. While it may be difficult to be dogmatic and only suggestive it seems however obvious from the content of chapter three that a new content regarding sexuality was brought into the polarity of the sexes.

The Creation story closes with the words: "And the man and his wife were both naked and were not ashamed" (Gen. 2:25). After the Fall they recognized "that they were naked; and they sewed fig leaves together and made themselves loin coverings" (Gen 3:7). We noticed that it was "loin coverings." Was it so that an added new element had entered their beings which in the late 20th century terminology could make man and woman "sex-objects" to one another? Sin distorted the relationship and the polarity of the sexes, (the nudity included more than physical nakedness) but must also have distorted the most intimate sex relationship. With the danger of over-simplification it could be said that all male-female relationships before the Fall were fully controlled by agape but after the Fall, among other aspects, a sensual (sexist) element came in and further distorted the original polarity. Seen in the perspective of secular and biblical history, including the 20th century, it is obvious that the original polarity of the

sexes has been greatly distorted and the original marriage concept and sexual relationship have been undermined in a most disturbing way. On the other hand when a home is established the most intimate relationship between man and woman can, as husband and wife, father and mother, restore a little "Eden" even in a sinful world.

We may summarize and close this section of our discussion by quoting Helmut Thielicke: "It is therefore certainly important that right at the beginning, when man is spoken of for the first time, the Bible does not speak of"man" but of a man, a particular, special man. God created him male and female, or more precisely, as man and woman. There is no such thing as a human being apart from a man or a woman.

"This is far more than a matter of mere biological difference. Obviously, the polarity of the sexes affects all of the ultimate mysteries of life. It cannot be ignored in either the spiritual or the secular realm. We must realize, therefore, how far-reaching and consequential is the fact that here the Bible does not speak first of the creation of man in general and then afterwards of the difference between the sexes, but rather from the very outset speaks of man only in the framework of the polarity of the sexes.

"Today let us do some thinking together on this mystery of the sexes. Besides hunger and the lust for power there is nothing that so fills our life and impels, torments, and delights us as does the mystery of our sexuality."[15]

It is only by God's restraining power (the Holy Spirit) that certain aspects of the prognostic judgments of Genesis have a restraining influence, power, and authority within society. On the other hand, the kingdom of God

is governed by love expressed in principles originated in the order of Creation and the covenant of redemption. However, in the present world there will always be a tension between the ideals and norms of the kingdom of God and the present world in our inner life and outward life.

The different aspects we have dealt with in our study of the first three chapters of Genesis will be further illuminated as we turn to the apostle Paul's several discussions of the male-female relatedness. It will be observed that the three chapters dealt with has an overarching importance in the Pauline discussions. Further, the different and also contrary interpretations of Paul (even among conservative and evangelical scholars) reflect in some cases the person's understanding of Genesis, and in others one's interpretation of Paul influences the explanation of Genesis.

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ADDENDUM ONE

MALE-FEMALE RELATEDNESS IN EASTERN ORTHODOXY

On account of the sacramental concept of the priesthood Eastern
Orthodoxy, as Roman Catholicism, adheres to the male character of the
official Christian priesthood. However, it will be noticed that the
sacramental nature of the priesthood (as an icon or image) is part of a
broad sacramental concept of the church. Further, we will observe that
Eastern Orthodoxoy, contrary to the West (until recent times) deals with the
human relatedness as an image (icon) of the divine.

As a spokesman for Orthodox doctrine and belief Thomas Hopko (a clergy-
man, a professor of dogmatics, and a member of the Faith and Order Commis-
sion of the W.C.C.) has presented his church's theological and dogmatic
explanations with references to the Trinity and male-female relatedness.
Writes Hopko:

"The one, true and living God is not, and according to orthodox theology
cannot be, 'alone' in his divinity. If he were 'alone' he would not be God,
for his very divine perfection is such that he has with himself--eternally
and essentially, by nature and not by decision, by his being and not by
deliberative choice--his only-begotten Son, also called his personal Logos

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and Image, and his Holy Spirit, who is the hypostatic personification of his divine activity and life. The Godhead is a Trinity of divine, eternal, essentially existing persons who are not simply 'one' but a 'union,' who are not simply a 'unity' but a 'community': the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit."[1]

When it is said that man was created in the image and likeness of God it means that humanity "like divinity, is a community of coequal, coessential persons united together in exactly the same nature, whose essential spiritual freedom makes it reflective and expressive of God. . . . The fact that human nature, enhypostasized in a multitude of human persons, is created by God as male and female is undeniable. Why this is so, what is its meaning, and how are the sexes to interrelate to be reflective of this divine Prototype has not been sufficiently explained in Christian tradition. Perhaps . . . the demand for a clear and distinct explanation of the theological meaning of human sexuality is with us now, and attempts must be made to meet this demand. . . . If human sexuality is spiritually necessary to proper human being and life beyond the need for the biological reproduction of the species, then its reason and purpose must be discovered and disclosed."[2]

Seeking to find the necessary spiritual meaning of human sexuality Hopko compares the human sexuality with the Trinitarian relatedness: "If we go beyond all the biological and cultural explanations for the necessity of human sexuality--the procreation of offspring, the perpetuation of the species, the divisions of labor in preserving life, the distribution of roles for preserving social harmony--and turn to theology, I believe that we can discover reasons for the necessary existence of human sexuality that radi-

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cally surpass all purely pragmatic and utilitarian purposes. These reasons are summed up, in a word, by the fact that multipersonal, desexualized spiritual existence is a necessity if human nature is to partake of the nature of God and reflect divine existence in the order of creation. For whatever human beings may _do_, they _are_, in their interpersonal and communal being and life, made in the image and according to the likeness of God. And what humans must do _in community_, and not as isolated individuals, is to acquire and activate, ever more perfectly, all of the spiritual and moral attributes of God."[3]

He further explains that the Trinity is expressed in "a perfect inter-relationship": "There are no human spiritual attributes that are not, essentially and perfectly, attributes of God. If the Godhead is a Trinity of divine persons fully united in a perfect community of one being, one life, one wisdom, one truth and one love, then humanity also, within its creaturely conditions, must be--or rather, more accurately, must ever more perfectly _become_--the same. If divinity is a perfect interrrelationship of many (three) distinctly existing persons, each with its own proper hyposta-tic characteristics and properties, none existing apart from the other and certainly not in opposition to the other, but each realizing and expressing that mode of divine existence proper to itself in oneness of nature, being and life with the others, so humanity, within its own creaturely possibili-ties, must be the same. If the persons of the Trinity are not isolated "individuals" but persons in relation with one another, each with its own proper manner of divine existence which is existentially, personally and hypostatically _different_ from the others, so humanity as well, according to its own proper form of being, must be the same."[4]

What has been said about divine interrelationship is next pointed out to be a pattern for "human being and action." Writes Hopko: "As the Father, Son and Holy Spirit do not exist or act without each other in their eternal being and action, as well as in the creation of the world and the dispensation of salvation, so, in the order of creation, Adam and Eve, male and female, do not and cannot exist and act without one another. As the Logos and the Holy Spirit perform and accomplish the will and the work of God in their common being and action, so human being and action, as performing and accomplishing the will and work of God, also require the two forms of human being: male and female. As there is not and cannot be the Son of God without the Holy Spirit, so there is not and cannot be Adam without Eve. Adam alone is not and cannot be 'the image and glory of God' (1 Co. 11:7) without Eve. He cannot be the 'type of the one who was to come' (Rm 5:14)—that is, the Christ—without her who is the 'mother of all living' (Gn. 3:20). There must be woman if man is to be what and who he is, just as woman would not be what and who she is without man. Even if we knew nothing about how in actuality the two forms of human existence are to be interrelate and interact so that humanity could live in the image and likeness of God, the very fact of human beings existing in this way should be enough for us to defend the necessity of this form of existence for human fulfilment and perfection of life."[5]

From the above follows that "there is a direct analogical, symbolic and epiphanic relationship between Adam and the Son of God, and between Eve and the Spirit of God. As Adam is the typos of him 'who was to come' as the final Adam, the 'high priest of our confession' and the 'pastor and bishop of our salvation,' so Eve is the typos, as the 'mother of all living,' of

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the 'life-creating' Spirit, who 'proceeds from the Father and rests in the Son' as the personal power and life of all that exists, both human and divine."[6] Hopko also asserts: "What this means is that as in the Godhead there is and must be a union between the Son and the Holy Spirit for the Father to be eternally and divinely expressed, so on the level of creation there is and must be male and female so that the same God could be temporally and humanly expressed within the life of his creatures, by his divine decision and grace communicated through his Son and in his Spirit."[7]

The Trinitarian concept means that in "the mode of being and acting" there is a difference between the Son and the Holy Spirit and it follows that the same is the case between the male and the female." "As the Son and the Holy Spirit are not the same and are not interchangeable in their unique forms of their common divinity, so the male and female are not the same and are not interchangeable in the unique forms of their common humanity."[8] It is strongly emphasized that while there is a difference in mode of being and action it "does not mean that there is something essentially belonging to divine nature that does not equally belong to the Son and the Holy Spirit, just as it does not mean that there is something essentially belonging to humanity that is not the common and equal possession of men and women. There are no 'attributes' or 'virtues' that the Son has that the Spirit does not have, or that Adam has which are not present in Eve."[9] Accordingly, Hopko closes this section of his discussion by stating: "But what is true is that the manner of realization of the attributes and virtues common to the same nature is different in the different forms of natural existence; and how the common virtues and attributes will be personally and existentially actualized in each will be different within the unbreakable

and indivisible communion of one with the other."[10]

It is recognized that any theological ideal may not be existentially fulfilled to perfection. However, "If men and women wish to realize the ideal of their perfect manner of being within the human community, they must seek to perfect in their mutual relations the relationship between Christ and the Church."[11] It therefore follows that positively any existential expression of biblical statements on man-male and man-female relationships and the manner of practical realization must be seen within the soteriological aspect of Christ's relationship to the church. Negatively, it means that the "fallen Adam" and the "sinful man" must be rejected as the ideal for "the greatest tragedy for human being and life is when sinful abnormality is accepted as normality, when the unnatural is taken for the natural, when the 'fallen' becomes the ideal, when the sin-conditioned 'exception' is accepted as the 'rule.'"[12]

According to Hopko true orthodoxy rejects both the Roman Catholic and Protestant views of the sacraments. "They are incorrect because they express a wrong understanding of the Church and the sacraments. The Church, to put it simply and perhaps to risk grave misunderstanding, should not be understood as an institution possessing sacraments, which are defined as special, divinely instituted acts that yield special spiritual graces, however many there may be and however their operation is explained. Rather, the Church herself is a sacrament, indeed the sacrament par excellence, having an essentially sacramental structure as her official, 'institutional' expression and life. The Church is the 'great mystery' of man's communion with God through Christ and the Spirit. It is the mystery of new life in the new humanity of the new Adam in the new creation."[13] The ordained

priesthood is therefore "in and for the Church—and not over and apart from it." "The priesthood of Christ is the priesthood of the body. There are not two priesthoods, only one. When people ask whether the ordained priest, bishop or presbyter 'represents Christ' or 'represents the faithful,' the question is unanswerable. When they place in opposition the 'ordained priesthood' and 'all the believers,' the opposition is unjustifiable and unreal."[14] It is pointed out: "As Christ is our high priest, pastor, teacher and bishop because he <u>first</u> is the presence and presentation of God in our midst, and as Christ takes us to the Father because he <u>first</u> brings the Father to us, so the ordained priest in the Church is the sacramental head of the community because he <u>first</u> is the sacramental image of Christ in the community as coming from God. This is the critical point that centers the official, sacramental gathering of the Christian community in and around its bishop and priest, rather than—speaking in human terms—placing the bishop and priest in the context of the gathering. . . . As a sacrament of the Church, the ordained priesthood is not an individual vocation or a personal charism or gift. It is not one of the several ministries of the members of the church community. It is rather the sacramental manifestation of the ministry of Christ in and for the Church, in which all of the personal and partial ministries of the members are rooted, fulfilled, validated and evaluated. . . . he is the sacramental term of reference, norm of evaluation and source of fulfilment of all churchly and human ministries."[15]

In his sacramental vocation the priest is a sign or image (icon) of "the <u>mysterion</u> of the objective presence of Christ in, with and for the body of believers—his mystical bride, with whom he is 'one spirit' and 'one flesh' always, 'until the close of the ages' (Mt 28:20).[16] It is the iconic

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character of the priesthood which necessitates that only man: male can be ordained as priest. Likewise, "if we use the word 'exclude' in it its common, popular sense, then to speak of women being 'excluded' from the sacramental ministry is an impossible way of stating the issue in the first place, for it supposes that women can hold the office but may not do so for some debilitating reason. To put it this way is like saying that the Holy Spirit is 'excluded' from being the Logos and the Christ, the high priest, head and husband of the Church, because of some defect or weakness in the Spirit's divinity. This, of course, is nonsense. And it is just as nonsensical to speak of women being 'excluded' from the priestly office of the Church."[17]

In view of the fact that the theology (as well as mode of thinking and expression) of Eastern Orthodoxy is generally not known or only vaguely understood, it has been necessary to quote at some length and for the same reason we will take note of some closing observations by Hopko. He makes an analogy between Christ as the Logos and man: male and the Holy Spirit and man: female. There are "two 'modes of divine existence' within the Trinity whose hypostatic characteristics and manner of interrelating, especially as they are revealed in the divine oikonomia of creation and salvation, bear a striking resemblance to the 'mode of human existence' and manner of interrelating created and commanded by God for men and women in the Bible and the Church, in the Old and the New Testaments."[18]

Hopko further explains: "There is of course no sexuality in God. But the Holy Trinity is the divine archetype for human being and life. Man is made in the image and according to the likeness of God, male and female. In the created order and within the boundaries of creaturely existence, the

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human *is* a reflection of the divine. Human nature does mirror the divine nature. Something of what the divine reality is, is manifested and realized in what human beings are. The divine reality is a Trinity of divine persons in a unity of divine nature, within which the one God and Father, the prin-cipium divinitatis, is manifested eternally in two forms of divine being and personhood--namely, that of the word and the Spirit--while human nature images the nature of the same one God and Father in two forms of human exis-tence--namely, that of male and female, albeit in a multitude of created human persons. The fact that there is but one Logos and one Holy Spirit, yet many men and many women, is a fact to be dealt with. But it is a fact which, in my opinion, is irrelevant to the fundamental intuition that there is something to be made of the comparison between the Logos and the Spirit in eternity and in the economy of creation and salvation, and man and woman in the created order. I continue to believe that a comparison between what we know about divine reality and what we know about the human is proper in theological and spiritual reflection and analysis."[19]

A basic argument against the orthodox concept is "that each human be-ing, male or female, is made in the image of God; that Christ is not simply the perfect male, but the perfect human and the image of perfection for all human beings, male and female; and that the Virgin Mary, as the image of the saved who bear the Word of God and keep it by the power of the Holy Spirit, is the image of the perfect response to God for all humans, both male and female, and not just for woman."[20] The reply to this objection reads as follows: "It is certainly true that all humans are made in God's image and likeness, and that the Son of God has become human in the incarnation as the pattern for perfection for all humans, which perfection is perfectly realiz-

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ed by creatures in the Virgin Mary. It is undoubtedly true that Christ's humanity, like that of the Virgin Mother, is the humanity of everyone, both men and women. But it is equally true and hardly to be denied--unless we deny both the Bible and church tradition--that there is a sense in which Jesus, as the bridegroom, head and husband, is a pattern for males; while the Church, imaged in the Virgin Mary, is a pattern for females, as the bride, the body and the wife. In short, there is a sense in which both Christ and Mary exemplify the perfection of human nature, a sense in which Mary is the perfect disciple and imitator of Christ. But there is also a sense in which Christ and Mary exemplify in their persons the perfection of the dual forms of human being and behavior: male and female."[21]

The Orthodox Bishop Kallistos Ware, professor at Oxford and a spokesman for Eastern Orthodoxy, in his discussion of man, woman and the priesthood follows the same trends of thought as noticed above. We will notice his thoughts on the priest as icon: "Why, we ask, should the ministerial priesthood be limited to men, whereas the royal priesthood is conferred on all alike? Why should God not call women to be priests? The answer lies in the 'iconic' character of the ministerial priesthood."[22] Among the answers we read this: "It is the function of an icon to make present a spiritual reality that surpasses it, but of which it acts as the sign. As an icon of Christ, therefore, the priest is not just a deputy or legal delegate of the people, and neither is he the vicar or surrogate of an absent Christ. The purpose of an icon is not to remind us of someone who is absent but to render that person present."[23] From this it follows "If the bearer, the icon and the fulfiller of that unique priesthood, is man and not woman, it is because Christ is man and not woman." Further, "it is imperative to pre-

serve the symbolic correspondence between Christ as a male and the ordained priest. . . . The ordination of women to the Holy Priesthood is untenable since it would disregard the symbolic and iconic value of male priesthood, both as representing Christ's malehood and the fatherly role of the Father in the Trinity, by allowing female persons to interchange with male persons a role which cannot be interchanged."[24]

The question of images, symbols or icons has its roots in the doctrine of revelation. God revealed Himself in words conveying pictures (images, symbols, icons). If we change these we change God's revelation and the whole foundation for Christian doctrines; if they are "ignored or outraged, our relationship with both God and with other humans alike will be fatally impoverished." We will take note of the observation and explanation:

"In our subconscious there are certain symbols and archetypes that are not invented but given. The same is true of the symbols revealed in Holy Scripture and used in Christian worship. We cannot 'prove' these symbols; all we know is that God has set his seal upon certain images and not upon others. We have been taught to say 'Our Father who art in heaven,' and not 'Our Mother who art in heaven'; the second person of the Holy Trinity is God the Son, not God the Daughter; Christ is the new Adam, not the new Eve; he is the Bridegroom and the Church is his bride--the relationship cannot be reversed. These symbols are 'given,' and they are absolutely fundamental."[25]

It is a well-known fact that advocates for the priesthood of women seek to re-write the terminology of the Trinity, both in the Bible and in the Christian hymns. It is true that "God in himself is neither masculine nor feminine, since he infinitely transcends any such categories;" however, "it

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does not therefore follow that we are free to apply to him whatever symbols we please. On the contrary, if we were to substitute a Mother Goddess for God the Father, we would not simply be altering a piece of incidental imagery--but we would be replacing Christianity with a new kind of religion."[26]

In closing his discussion on the priest as icon, Bishop Ware writes: "Those Western Christians who do not in fact regard the priest as an icon of Christ are of course free to ordain women as ministers. They are not, however, creating women priests, but dispensing with priesthood altogether."[27] This statement needs to be evaluated in the light of our discussion of the priesthood of believers. At the same time the symbolism of eternal varities must be taken seriously; likewise, the divine order or principles of relatedness must be upheld.

In his comments on the roles of man and women, Bishop Ware also refers to the order of creation. He makes the observation that "we are not saved _from_ our masculinity and femininity, but _in_ them," and writes:

"We cannot repent of being male and female, but only of the way in which we are these things. Grace cooperates with nature and builds upon it; the Church's task is to sanctify the natural order, not to repudiate it. In the Church we are male and female, not sexless. . . . The Christian faith, as held by the Church, is not a negation of nature but its salvation. The 'new creation' does not suppress the 'old,' but renews and transfigures it."[28] He further quotes an official Orthodox statement, saying: "God created men as 'male and female,' establishing a diversity of functions and gifts; these functions and gifts are complementary but not at all interchangeable. . . . There is every reason for Christians to oppose the current

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trends which tend to make men and women interchangeable in their functions and roles, and thus lead to the dehumanization of life."[29] C. S. Lewis, who pointed out this danger, is quoted as saying: "As the State grows more like a hive or an anthill it needs an increasing number of workers who can be treated as neuters. This may be inevitable for our secular life. But in our Christian life we must return to reality."[30]

Before we leave Eastern Orthodoxy further observation should be made regarding the "theological' significance of man-female. (They are not all together unique to Orthodoxy.) "The one God and Father, the principium divinitatis, is manifested eternally in two forms of divine being and priesthood--namely, that of the Word and the Spirit--while human nature images the nature of the same one God and Father in two forms of human existence--namely, that of male and female. . . ."[31] When Adam gave his wife the name Eve it was because she is the "mother of all the living" (Gen. 3:20). God said to the serpent: "And I will put emnity between you and the woman, and between your see and her seed" (Gen. 3:15). Adam is said to be "a type of Him who was to come" (Rom. 5:14), but that he could not become without Eve. When the time came for the incarnation of Christ the angel said to Mary: "The Holy Spirit will come upon you, and the power of the Most High will overshadow you; and for that reason the holy offspring shall be called the Son of God" (Luke 1:35). Through the indwelling of the Holy Spirit Christ (in whom divinity and humanity met) dwelt in her womb. As the mother of Christ and the "mother of all the living" Eve and Mary and with them man: female is in a most unique way the bearer and sustainer of creative powers. It is not without significance that the early Christians, when they, in simple drawings, depicted the waiting soul's longing and expecta-

tion for the Holy Spirit, did so in the shape of a woman.

While the veneration of Virgin Mary is deplored by Protestantism, it must, at the same time, also be mentioned that Protestantism has manifested a lack of theological comprehension of the salvific implications of the man-female "mystery" (image, likeness, icon). On this point Bishop Ware writes: "The human person who expresses most perfectly this royal and universal priesthood is not in fact a man but a woman--the Blessed Virgin Mary. She is the supreme example not just of female sanctity but of human sanctity as such. In the words of G. K. Chesterton, 'Men are men, but Man is a woman.' 'Behold, the handmaid of the Lord' (Luke 1:38). . . . It is significant that the movement for the ordination of women should first have emerged in those Christian communities that tend to neglect the Holy Virgin's place in Christ's redemptive work."[32]

Throughout our study we have emphasized that ecclesiology with its many aspects must be studied in the light of theology, christology, soteriology and pneumatology. In the current and much needed evaluation of the role of women and male-female relatedness in the fields of sociology, ethics, and psychology, it becomes more and more obvious that we are dealing with a subject, which transcends these fields of study. Sexuality is rooted in theologicl and spiritual realities, which, for the good of both male and female, should not be ignored, but have been ignored by both male (specifically; especially the theologian) and female. This we will pursue further in our next Addendum.

REFERENCE NOTES

ADDENDUM ONE

MALE-FEMALE RELATEDNESS IN EASTERN ORTHODOXY

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    p. 106. 6. Ibid, p. 106. 7. Ibid, pp. 106-107. 8. Ibid, p. 107.

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16. Ibid, p. 115. 17. Ibid, p. 122. 18. Ibid, pp. 130-131. 19. Ibid, p.
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    28, 29. 27. Ibid, p. 27. 28. Ibid, pp. 26-27. 29. Ibid, p. 27.

30. Ibid, p. 27. 31. Ibid, p. 131. 32. Ibid, p. 21-22.

ADDENDUM TWO

THE FEMINIST LIBERATION MOVEMENT

Dictionaries define freedom as the state of being free; independence; ease in performance; liberty of action; power of self-determination; exemption from defect, disadvantage, burden, duty, etc. These definitions fall short of the biblical concept of freedom. First of all, we must recognize that freedom does not operate in a moral, intellectual, spiritual, and relational vacuum; for God, our fellowmen, nature, and the physical world are basic realities in our existence. Man has no independent existence either within himself or in any relationship; consequently, freedom cannot stand alone. It has two elements, two functions, two objectives or purposes; freedom "for something" and freedom "from something." Even Friedrich Nietzsche recognized this when he said, "Free--from what? I should see it shining in your eyes. Free--for what?"

Paul Tournier, a renown Swiss physician who, through his writings and lectures, has made a great contribution to the subject of wholism as it relates to Christianity, has authored a book: The Gift of Feeling. In this he has a significant chapter on "The Mission of Women in the World." He refers to a leading feminist, Claire Evans-Weiss, and her book Le Déji

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feminin. She tells us that her father was a test pilot and as a young
feminist she aimed to be "the first woman to fly round the earth via the
north and south poles." However, things did not turn out as expected and she
began carefully to consider the meaning and purpose of the women's libera-
tion movement. She writes: "Ask the leaders of these movements, from what
it is they think they are liberating their sisters, and they will never be
at a loss for a reply. The list is long and varied: from male exploitation,
from economic exploitation, from slavery to taboos, from the servitudes of
pregnancy, the monotony of house-work, sex discrimination, and much more
besides." She adds, "'Free from what is easy to answer. But free for what
is not so easy.' . . .'What if we women decided first what is the goal for
which we want to be free, a goal which will project us beyond ourselves and
our limitations, a goal directly related to the contradictions of this
present world?'" Paul Tournier then makes this observation: "That raises
the question of the ultimate goal of the feminist movement, and the question
of a 'second wind' which might give it new strength if the liberty it claims
for women were to make it possible for them to undertake a historical
mission. . . . Man and woman are to build the world together--not a mascu-
line history filled only with the vicissitudes of an endless race for power,
nor a masculine civilization which asserts the priority of things over
persons."[1]

A similar sentiment, but from a different point of view, is expressed
by Carl E. Braaten (Professor at Lutheran School of Theology, Chicago) in
his book, _Eschatology and Ethics_. In it he has a chapter: "Reflections on
Women's Liberation." In his first observation he expresses the need or
necessity of a women's liberation. For example, "The women's liberation

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movement has rightly attacked the image of the female in Playboy philosophy.
The bunny is the symbol of the sexual exploitation of women by men. . . .
But the movement goes much farther than that. The goal is apparently a
completely new place for women in society. When the demand for liberation
is expressed in total terms and the rhetoric becomes revolutionary, many of
us become nervous." He feels that there are many ambiguities in the move-
ment and therefore asks the questions "What is it that the women's libera-
tion people want? How far should the movement go? Are there any norms or
guidelines?" And comments, "There are some real values at stake without
regard to which the liberation movement can result in the diminishment of
both men and women, the devaluation of sex, love, marriage, and the parental
role. Before we spell out--from a theological point of view--the conditions
under which the liberation movement ought to proceed, we offer a few more
preliminary observations on current ambiguities in the movement." Further,
"The women's liberation people make it sound as though a woman has to have
an important career to be liberated. Many married women feel they are look-
ed down upon as 'mere housewives.' If a woman is happy being a wife and a
mother, there must be something wrong with her head." Before he deals with
the subject of sex, love, marriage, and family, he makes the following pre-
liminary observation:

"First of all, women's liberation is a misnomer. There can be no libe-
ration of women without the liberation of men. It is not the case that the
liberation of women will cost men some of their freedom. They will become
free together or not at all. Women's liberation sometimes implies that men
are already free; women want only to get where freedom is. So they go to
work. Of all the odd ideas, this is the oddest--freedom is getting a job.

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But it could be that to go where the men are is for most women only to enter the slave market, and bitterly to discover their men in 'chains." Perhaps then we can have a new movement--human liberation. That would be freedom from the curse of a job that you really hate, freedom from the indignities you suffer to bring home a paycheck, the bulk of which is spent anyway on keeping the woman at work, what with baby sitting, maid service, car fare, lunch downtown, clothes in style, etc., etc. If women's liberation has nothing better to offer than to lure women into the job market, nothing has been accomplished to free people from the false consciousness that work defines the dignity of a person. It only reveals how hung-up women's liberation is on the work ethic of our Protestant past."[2]

Carl Braaten closes his discussion with the following paragraph: All power to the liberation movement--for women, for children and for husbands and fathers too. I have tried to state that liberation will not come through disregard of essential theological-ethical perspectives on sex, love, marriage and the family. The conditions of enslavement in our society from which we seek liberation do not come from an overdose of faithfulness to the Christian vision of love and marriage. Rather, our society is terribly underdeveloped in that regard. Christians should cease going downstream with our sexually perverted culture, hollow marriages and miserable family life-styles. Perhaps liberation will come only when people are revolted enough to try some drastically new ways of realizing the human potential envisioned in the incomparably high Christian ethic of sex, love, marriage and the family. A clear vision of these goals can keep the liberation movement on the right road, and spare it from foolish deviations and sub-human adventures."[3]

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While there is a different outlook between the Christian feminist movement and the secular one, then the Christian feminist has to be careful not to fall into the trap of the non-Christian, for then she will not be better off than the Christian male, who all too often, in his Christian vocation, has exhibited secular ambitions.

We will briefly refer to Toni Grant's recent book, On Being a woman (not written from a Christian perspective) as it demonstrates what we previously pointed out; namely, that the question on sexuality transcends sociology and ethics and it has an important bearing upon the latter and the latter has significance for sexuality. We believe that the question of theology and the spiritual has primary and foundational significance.

Dr. Toni Grant is a distinguished clinical psychologist and a pioneer in media psychology. In 1975 she originated the "Dr. Toni Grant Program," an award-winning psychology talk-show format syndicated nationally on the Mutual Broadcasting System and heard by millions daily. Dr. Grant received her B.A. from Vassar College and her M.S. and Ph.D. from Syracuse University.

In her book, which has a suubtitle "Fulfilling Your Femininity and Finding Love," she first points out "The Big Lies of Liberation." As an introduction she writes: "Today's woman is an imitation man, at war with actual men, confused and unsettled by it. . . . She is a product of her times. . . . At its inception, the feminist movement, accompanied by the sexual revolution, . . . made promises that could not be delivered. . . . Many a modern woman is now desperate to rediscover that which she has lost."

"Big Lie Number One: Having It all. . . . Contemporary movements led women to believe that they had an endless reservoir of physical and psychic

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energy, and, of course, they don't. . . . The woman who focuses her energy into shaping a brilliant career has that much less left over to improve her relationships, to support her man, and to raise her children. . . . She may have gained the whole world--or at least a place in it--but the price she has had to pay often feels like the loss of her very soul."

"Big Lie Number Two: Androgyny. This is the belief that men and women are fundamentally the same. This isn't true. Men and women are not only biologically and anatomically different, they are psychologically different as well. . . . To suggest, as [Simone] de Beauvoir and others have, that these differences are entirely cultural is absurd. In In a Different Voice, Harvard clinical psychologist Carol Gilligan discusses at great length the multitude of studies which have investigated and observed the playground behavior of young boys and girls. The studies selected clearly indicate consistently different behavior patterns between the boys and the girls."

"Big Lie Number Three: Desirability Is Enhanced By Accomplishment. This lie suggested that a woman's attractiveness to men would increase with her achievements. . . . Often the contemporary woman is shocked and profoundly disappointed that her hard-won accomplishments have not resulted in the male devotion and the improved relationship between the sexes that feminism promised her. The contemporary woman did not anticipate that being overeducated might hamper her ability to relate to men. . . . Simply put, it is a 'Big Lie' that men will lust after or greatly desire a woman because she is highly educated."

"Big Lie Number Four: The Myth of One's 'Unrealized Potential'. This is the erroneous belief that we all have tremendous potential that simply must be realized. . . . Many women today suffer from what is known as

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'grandiosity,' the belief that one is far more important than one really is. Psychologically, this is an inflation of the self, a disturbance in the accurate perception of one's personal reality. . . . The modern woman thus expends tremendous amounts of physical and psychic energy in the working world, yet is often disappointed by her lack of professional growth and life satisfaction. . . . Just like most men, today's average woman is just another cog in the wheel of the work force, with a rather low probability of ever becoming president of the company."

"Big Lie Number Five: Sexual Sameness. . . . Casual sex leaves most women feeling sad and unfulfilled. . . . The lie of sexual equality has led to widespread promiscuity among women, detachment from their bodies, and indeed, from their very souls."

"Big Lie Number Six: The Denial of Maternity. The contemporary woman's refusal to accept the inevitability of aging has led to the widespread postponement of marriage and children in the interest of pursuing individuality and solidifying career goals. . . . It is not so much a question as to whether motherhood can be postponed, but whether it should be postponed."

"Big Lie Number Seven: To Be 'Feminine' Is To Be Weak. This lie denies the power of femininity. Traditional feminine behaviors—softness, sweetness, kindness, and relatedness—were often viewed as downright ridiculous. . . . Many a 'liberated woman' failed to recognize that men respond most favorably to behaviors in women which are different from their own, not the same. . . . Many women today don't even seem to know how to operate in a feminine modality."

"Big Lie Number Eight: Doing is Better Than Being. That is, activity is better than passivity, expressivity better than receptivity. In other

words, speaking one's mind is better than listening and being silent. Traditional feminine behaviors do involve a type of passive receptivity and silence. These behaviors have been devalued by feminism as demeaning to women and ineffective in the world. . . . To listen, to be there, to receive the other with an open heart and mind--this has always been one of the most vital roles of woman. Most women do this quite naturally, but many have come to feel uneasy in this role. Instead, they work frantically on asser- tiveness, aggression, personal expression, and power, madly suppressing their feminine instincts of love and relatedness."

"Big Lie Number Nine: The Myth of Self-sufficiency. One might recall here the famous feminist slogan 'A woman needs a man like a fish needs a bicycle.' Attempts at self-sufficiency, sexual and otherwise, are hallmarks of Amazon thinking, not just in contemporary American society, but in ancient mythology. . . . In this past decade, however, it has not been un- common to hear contemporary women refer to men as 'studs'."

"Big Lie Number Ten: That Women Would Enjoy the Feminization of Men. As women embraced more masculine values and men more feminine values, we thought we would enjoy each other all the more. In fact, the contemporary 'soft male' (otherwise known as 'The New Wimp') has been brutally denigrated by women, and the search for the Macho Man is on."

Speaking about "bonding" Toni Grant makes these observations: "Bonding is one of our most basic human drives. We are first bonded to our mothers, these bonds shift and change and are reestablished with other people, new partners, and children. . . . Bonding is the central issue of living, yet the feminist and sexual revolutions encouraged women to 'break the bonds.'"

"No one can argue with a woman's right to seek employment and become economically self-sufficient. But what no one anticipated were the emotional consequences that followed these behaviors. Self-sufficiency in women has its roots in two sources: (1) rugged nineteen-sixties individualism, and (2) the feminist movement, both of which encouraged women to find themselves _before_ they bonded, the erroneous belief being that if one did that, one would be a better partner. In fact, the opposite is often true; the more independent one becomes, the less one is usually willing to compromise that independence. This is commonly known as being set in one's ways."

"Bonding is not an intellectual experience. It is emotional, spiritual, and sexual. Women who have been living only by their intellect are women who are aging without bonding, and they are trying to ignore this fact as though it had no relevance to the whole of their lives. Much of my time on the radio these days is spent in teaching women how to bond again, how to live and feel _as women_."

We will conclude our reference from the pen of Toni Grant with the following statement: "Love or power: a Double Bind. This is a chronic dilemma for the modern woman. The more successful she is, the more intense her conflicts become. The more success she enjoys on the professional level, the less secure she often feels on the personal or emotional level. This reality of life for modern woman was predicted many years ago in 'Femininity and Successful Achievement: A Basic Inconsistency,' a classic study by Matina Horner, now president of Radcliffe College. Dr. Horner discovered in her research that the brilliant and gifted Radcliffe women whom she studied had an uncanny fear of success, a fear which at the time

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was thought to be irrational. I believe time has proven that these fears were not irrational; these women intuitively suspected that high levels of accomplishment in the impersonal world might be detrimental to their happiness on a personal level. They accurately perceived the truth behind 'Big Lie Number Three: Accomplishment Enhances Desirability,' for in reality the reverse is often the case. When a woman embraces power over love, she usually must negate some aspect of her femininity, since the drive for power and the drive for love are polar opposites."[4]

Some constructive patterns, goals and aims regarding specific roles which the women most uniquely can perform should be suggested and concrete models established. The primitive church was created and sustained by the spiritual gifts; there was no ordination. The Reformation church declined to accept an official priesthood; an official ministry was established by defining the work of the church and then make appointment to that work as a ministry; later ordination was added but only as a rite, but theologically not necessary. It is therefore symptomatic of putting the cart before the horse if a committee on the role of women in the church, first and foremost deal with the question of ordination.

If the women's liberation movement seems to be radical or revolutionary then it must be admitted that on the historical background, it was necessary, but it also tells us that men need to be liberated, and that women are not liberated by merely taking men's place in society.

The basic question to be asked is: "Liberated from what—liberated for what?" For the Christian and the church the questions have to be asked within the framework of theology and Christian anthropology (order of creation). Man-female was created in the image of God and we have dealt with

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that subject in great detail and will not repeat what has been said, but only stress its importance. The theological or exegetical problem, as this writer sees it, is twofold among dedicated Bible-believing Christians, 1) Being in the image of God means equality and oneness; if complementarity is mentioned only lip service is paid to it. The divine relatedness, expressed in headship and functional difference, is not adopted into the being in the image of God. 2) In general, those who adhere to male headship and functional difference place emphasis on authoritative headship and a submissive subordination. Even where the aspects of authority and submissiveness are softened or graded it is still authoritative headship and submissive subordination. But as we have pointed out divine headship and functional difference are exercised as equals and none of the members of the triune God works in isolation but in oneness with one another. They are one in being and acting, including functional difference. Man and female cannot in themselves exemplify the divine relatedness, it is a soteriological and theological issue. Only when male and female are in Christ are they liberated _from_ the consequences of sin (curses) and liberated _for_ being in the image of God.

The Christian male and female equaliy is not a mechanical principle of sameness, but is rooted in an organic unity with complementarity and interdependence and it is manifested in love and oneness both in being and acting. A feminist movement cannot be a liberation movement except also man: male is liberated. As relational beings man and woman must be liberated together; it is fundamentally a soteriological issue.

The inescapable conclusion is that true freedom (_for_ something and _from_ something) in the inner and outer world of both men and women can only find

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its full and true realization in Jesus Christ. The _imago Dei_--reflected in
the dignity and freedom of man and woman--was re-created by Jesus Christ,
who said, "You shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free. . .
. If therefore the Son shall make you free, you shall be free indeed" (John
8:32-36).

FOOTNOTE REFERENCES

ADDENDUM TWO

THE FEMINIST LIBERATION MOVEMENT

1. Paul Tournier, The Gift of Feeling, (Atlanta, John Knox Press), pp. 130-131.

2. Carl E. Braaten, Eschatology and Ethics, (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1974), pp. 163-164.

3. Ibid, p. 174.

4. Toni Grant, Being A Woman. Fulfilling Your femininity and Finding Love, (New York: Random House, 1988), pp. 1-10; 27-28; 70-71.

ADDENDUM THREE

THE FAMILY AND THE CHURCH

The distortion of the male-female relatedness as originally constituted in the order of creation is tragically demonstrated in present-day marriage and divorce situations. We have mentioned several times that the divine I-Thou relation is constitutive for the human male-female relationship, which finds its purpose and power in relating to the divine. When the divine I-Thou relation becomes nonexistent, it will follow that the male-female unity will break up. Today this break is resulting in a most tragic human distortion of the divine design.

Marriage, which was intended to be lifelong commitment, is disintegrating at an alarming rate. In the United States every other marriage is expected to end in divorce. This in turn means that by the age of 16, one third of all White children and two fifths of all Black children will experience family disruption because of divorce. In 1980 the divorce rate was twice as high as in 1970. More than 20 percent of all children under the age of 18 are being raised by a single parent. In 1981 the number of children living with one parent was 54 percent higher than in 1970.

The same deterioration is occurring in Britain, where the divorce rate

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has increased 600 percent during the past 20 years. In 1980 "there were 409,000 marriages (35 percent of which were remarriages) and 159,000 divorces. The previous year it was calculated that a marriage took place every 85 seconds and a divorce every 180."[1] To this tragic picture could be added the grim scenario of unmarried teenage girls who become pregnant, child and spouse abuse, child molestation, abortion, unmarried couples living together, and homosexuals, with the attendant sexually transmitted diseases. With sorrow we must admit that man has moved far away from God's original design. Man is in pain, and God, who had intended otherwise and wishes to redeem us through Jesus Christ, is in pain. The question must also be asked: How can we expect proper relationships in society and peace among people and nations when in a "Christian" country every other marriage, the divine badge of relationalness, ends in divorce?

In the biblical revelation the family and the church stand in juxtaposition and it all begins with the divine order of creation. About the first couple it is said: "God blessed them; and God said to them, 'Be fruitful and multiply'" (Gen. 1:28). That first family was in covenant-relationship with God (obey and live, disobey and die, Gen. 2:16-17), and that made them the family of God. After the Fall the broken covenant relationship with God had the possibility of being restored through the covenant of redemption in Jesus Christ (we discussed this in our first essay dealing with the theological foundations for the church as found in the Old Testament). Those who entered into that redemptive covenant relationship with God renewed the family of God, became the people of God (the church), which historically became the remnant. The Christian marriage covenant between husband and wife is individually and collectively in juxtaposition with the redemptive

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covenant relationship with Christ and in turn in juxtaposition with the family of God: the body of Christ (the church).

Paul tells us that he instructed the young Timothy so that he "may know how one ought to conduct himself in the household of God, which is the church of the living God" (1 Tim. 3:15). Church members are called "the household of faith" (Gal. 6:10). Peter likewise speaks about the church as "the household of God" and as "a spiritual house" (1 Peter 4:17; 2:5). This concept is constituted in the Fatherhood of God, which has been referred to as the essence of the Gospel.

Christ told us to pray: "Our Father who art in heaven" (Matt. 6:9). Christians, among themselves, are designated as brothers and sisters (see 1 Cor. 7:15; 5:11; 2 Cor. 11:26; Gal. 2:4); accordingly, the church is a brother-and sisterhood filled with love (see 1 Peter 2:17; Rom. 12:10; Heb. 13:1). Christ Himself is "not ashamed" to be their brother (Heb. 2:11) and He said: "Whoever does the will of God, he is My brother and sister" (Mark 3:35). The picture of the church as the bride of Christ and He the bride-groom is a familiar one.

The Bible uses several metaphors to describe the church, but that of the family is more than a metaphor, it is a structural pattern or model for the church, specifically when we deal with the question of relatedness. The subject is richly illustrated in the Scriptures and the writings of Ellen G. White and it has practical implications for the church and its ministry. The results of broken relationships have to be met in the church (single parents, childen of single parents, working mothers, children who have fathers and mothers married, but not with one another, etc., etc.). This ministerial or pastoral work needs to be defined both for men and women, and

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calls extended and commissions authorized. The church must be the healing family of God. It needs a ministry of fathers and mothers, brothers and sisters. If the church stands in juxtaposition with the family, and if the family is the nucleous of church and society, then this subject should be number one on the church agenda. The apostle Paul writes: "I bow my knees before the Father, from whom every family in heaven and on earth derives its name, that He would grant you, according to the riches of His glory, . . . to Him be the glory in the church and in Christ Jesus to all generations forever and ever. Amen" (Eph. 3:14-21).

REFERENCE NOTES

ADDENDUM THREE

THE FAMILY AND THE CHURCH

1.   John Stott, <u>Issues Facing Christians Today</u>, (Londong: Marshalls,
        1984), p. 159. See also U.S. Department of Commerce, <u>Statistical</u>
        <u>Absract</u> of the <u>United States</u> 1985, pp. 56, 57; U.S. Department of
        Commerce, "Marital Status and Living Arangements: March 1981,"
        <u>Current Population Reports</u>, June 1982, pp. 2-6.